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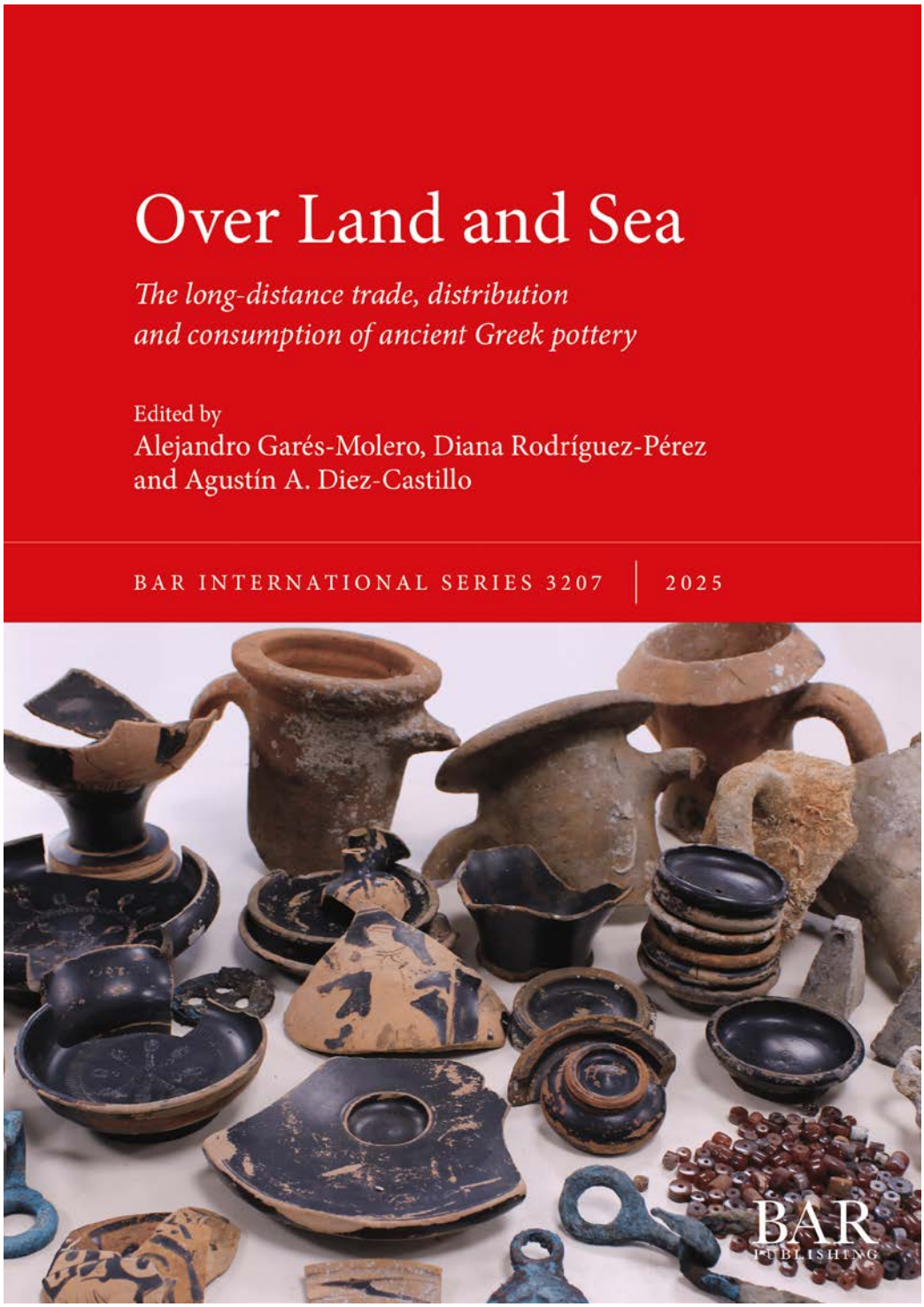

7
Sailing from the Attic Ports to the Coast of *Ophiussa*. The Trade Routes of Attic Vases to the Western Hesperides

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Abstract: Between the end of the seventh and the fourth centuries BCE, Greek pottery –mainly Attic– reached the Iberian Peninsula, eventually arriving at settlements located in what is currently Portuguese territory. This paper aims at reconstructing the travel of these pots from its production centre up to their final destinations. In particular, we will try to answer the following questions: From which Attic ports pottery cargoes were shipped? What maritime routes were followed? And how, when and where these products were integrated into local contexts and circuits? Import pottery is not the result of direct trade between faraway hubs but rather the result of a concatenation of operations between different ports trying to obtain the best benefits. In the current Portuguese territory, the impact of the Phoenician and the Greek commercial presence to Early Iron Age peoples was felt in a scenario characteristic of societies in transition. The arrival of these goods, their acceptance and reappraisal varied according to each community and the spatio-temporal context.

Keywords: Economic history and archaeology, Portuguese territory, Greeks overseas, trade networks, Greek pottery

Resumo: Entre os finais do séc. VII e o séc. IV a.e.c. a cerâmica grega, em particular a ática, chegou à Península Ibérica, acabando por se estabelecer em arqueossítios localizados no atual território português. Este estudo tem como objetivo reconstituir a viagem destas cerâmicas desde o seu início (e.g., os portos de partida) até ao seu destino final. Em particular, analisar-se-á a partir de que portos a cerâmica foi possivelmente embarcada, que rotas seguiu e como, quando e onde foi introduzida em contextos locais. Os produtos embarcados não são o resultado de um comércio direto entre portos, mas sim o resultado da sua redistribuição entre diferentes portos, tentando obter os melhores benefícios. No atual território português, o impacto da presença comercial dos fenícios e dos gregos nas primeiras sociedades da Idade do Ferro fez-se sentir num cenário caraterístico de sociedades em transição. A chegada destas mercadorias, a sua aceitação e reutilização variou consoante as comunidades e o seu contexto espácio-temporal.

Palavras-chave: História económica e arqueologia, território atualmente português, gregos fora da terra natal, redes comerciais, cerâmica grega

> "First, sailing enables men to become wiser… as they go from one land to another; it makes them brave as they contemplate maritime life and attempt to battle the winds. They are made just by the [very] boarding of the ship as they must avoid suffering from the gods, and so they are more just than anyone. It is thus that their alienation from the land endows them with restraint… If sailing thus derives from the gods and affords the opportunity to exercise every virtue, [we see] how honourable seafaring is".
>
> Libanius, 8.565, late fourth century CE (cited in Vryonis 1993, 120).

7.1. Introduction

As already noted by some of the authors of this chapter (Morais *et al.* 2017, 61-70), the traditional arguments that defend the existence of specific areas controlled by Phoenicians and Greeks, based on the traded goods, should be nuanced, and subject to a more critical analysis. It is currently accepted that the exchange models of eastern products in the Iberian area are associated with a network of markets *(emporia*) or ports of trade attended by merchants (*emporoi*) who managed the shipment of products from different origins. The import of products is not the result of direct trade between faraway hubs but rather the result of a series of redistribution initiatives among different ports trying to obtain the best benefits. The archaeological data are in line with some literary and epigraphic sources that witness the existence of a complex trade system, in which Punic, Greek and Iberian traders took part with the same types of responsibility, benefits and knowledge.

In the current Portuguese territory, the impact of the Phoenician and Greek commercial presence to Early Iron Age peoples was felt in a scenario characteristic of societies in transition. The arrival of these goods, their acceptance and reappraisal varied according to each community and its spatio-temporal context. Considering this situation, this contribution is going to assess how Greek pottery –and, in particular, Attic productions– may have reached the Western Mediterranean between the seventh and the fourth century BCE. In the first place, we will offer an account of the possible ports of Attica from which trading companies shipped these products. Then, we will analyse the maritime routes that Greek pottery may have followed westwards. Lastly, we will cover the ways these imports were introduced, exchanged and assimilated by a plurality of Atlantic local communities.

7.2. Possible points of departure in Attica

Amongst the 922 pieces of Greek pottery found in the territory of present-day Portugal (Ferreira 2019a; 2020), 908 have been catalogued as Attic productions and attributed to a timespan fluctuating between the seventh and the fourth century BCE. To identify the possible points of departure of the Attic vases that eventually reached the current Portuguese region, it would be necessary to assess and combine three different parameters:

- The natural geography of the Attic coasts[1], i.e., their configuration and their potential exposure to the winds, waves and currents regime.
- The evolving Attic network of contacts, which was in constant evolution across the centuries under consideration (seventh - fourth century BCE) and that could have favoured the use of specific points of departure over others, and vice versa.
- The location and chronology of the kilns that have been identified and documented in the region.

An analysis of the topography of the Attic coastline –in combination with observations on the meteorologic and oceanographic conditions of this area– reveals that in Antiquity this region offered several natural harbours. Both the northern and the southern sides of Attica were, in fact, richly indented, and they offered different bays and sheltered places to seafarers and traders. Additionally, the majority of these natural harbours were capable of guaranteeing a sufficient level of protection from the prevailing N-NE winds[2] (Mauro 2017, 186-214; and 2019): while the southern harbours were opened in the opposite direction, the harbours located on the northern Attic coastline were sheltered by the presence of the island of Euboea. To these favourable meteorologic and oceanographic conditions, it must be added that most of the Attic harbours were naturally suitable to be used for launching small and medium-sized ships, even without the need to be equipped with any specific artificial infrastructure.

The *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax, a text dated to the third quarter of the fourth century BCE and partially based on maritime data, records the following information when describing the Attic coastline:

> "The first [place] in Attica is Eleusis, where there is a sanctuary of Demeter and a fort. By this is Salamis, an island with a city […]". (*Periplus*, 57.1).

Combining Pseudo-Skylax's testimony with the evidence obtained from a survey of other literary sources and archaeological findings, it is possible to glean an overall idea of the distribution of natural harbours along the Attic coast (Figure 7.1).

[1] Within this contribution the use of the term "Attica" is made in a geographic sense, rather than in a political one. Thus, it generally identifies the peninsula projecting into the Aegean Sea between the Saronic Gulf and the island of Euboea –east of the Euripos Strait–, without considering the changes that occurred in its political borders over time. As an example, Skala Oropos is here included as part of Attica, even if it was alternatively controlled by Attica and Boeotia.

[2] In the Aegean Sea, the N-NE winds, the Etesians, can come up in clear weather without any warning and blow at 7-8º Beaufort. They blow from about mid-May to mid-September.

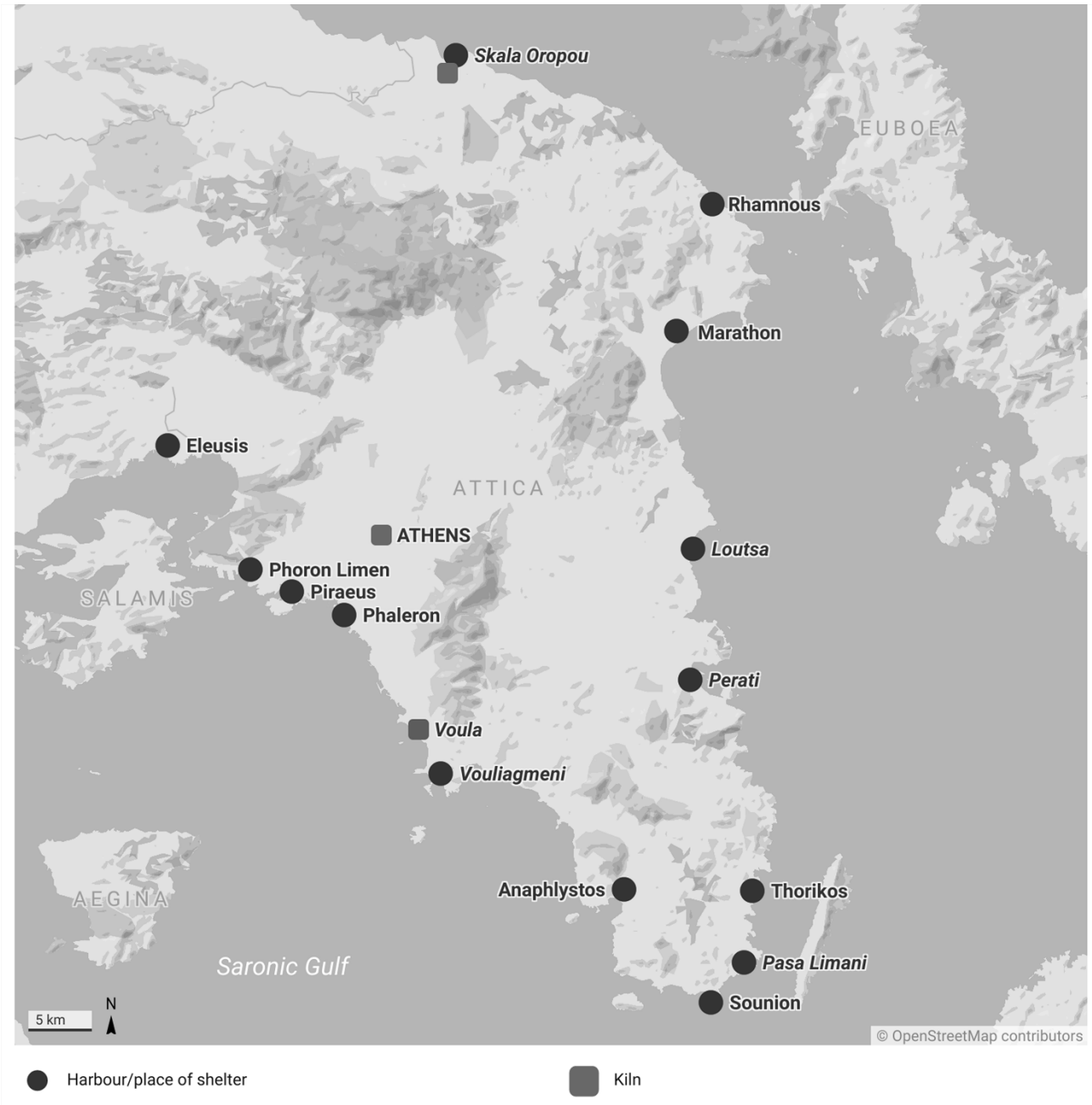

Figure 7.1. Map showing the distribution of harbours and kilns in Attica. The identification of harbours is based on the combination of Pseudo-Skylax's passage (§ 57) with other literary and archaeological evidence. The distribution of the kilns is based on Hasaki (2002). Toponyms written in italics correspond to the modern name of the locality. Own work.

Once identified the harbours used in Antiquity, the examination of the Attic network of contacts can further contribute to clarifying what, amongst them, were more active during a particular century and to assess whether the points of departure could have varied over time. This point will be analysed in conjunction with what is currently known about Attic kilns (Hasaki 2002). Until the Late Geometric period (*ca.* 750-700 BCE), the Attic connection with the island of Euboea was particularly intense, resulting in frequent transactions and in the flourishment of the harbours on the northern coast –e.g., Skala Oropos, Perati, Marathon–.

In particular, during this period and the following centuries, the harbour of Skala Oropos may have played a significant role in pottery production and trade, as the archaic Attic kiln found in this area seems to suggest (Hasaki 2002, 133)[3]. Starting from the seventh century BCE, Attic traders began to establish profitable relations

[3] In Skala Oropos, two Archaic kilns have been identified (Hasaki 2002, no. 16 and 17). Some sherds were found inside kiln A (no. 16), whilst kiln B (no. 17) seems to have been rather used for "the firing of metal crucibles and was probably not used for the systematic firing of pottery" (Hasaki 2002, 333).

with different external agents; such a modification had a visible effect on the use of Attic harbours. After the seventh century BCE, the settlements located near capes Sounion and Zoster experienced a sudden growth, certainly connected to the increasing seaborne trade in the Saronic Gulf; this intensifying activity was possibly managed through the harbours of Sounion and Vouliagmeni (cf. with the numerous archaic ship graffiti found in that area and published by A. Van de Moortel and M. K. Langdon (2017). In this same chronological and economic context, also the bay of Phaleron may have gained importance as a harbour centre: though there is no direct evidence in terms of harbour structures, the presence of extensive early archaic cemeteries in this area (Morris 1987, 226, no. 35) should undoubtedly be interpreted as a reflection of the newly upcoming wealth. Similarly, the natural harbours at Mounichia –one of the three bays of the Piraeus peninsula– and Eleusis may have played an important role in this intensification of maritime contacts. The noteworthy number of *ex-voto* deposited during the seventh and the sixth centuries BCE in the sanctuaries of Artemis (Mounichia) and Demeter (Eleusis) testifies to the existence of a substantial flow of people (Houby-Nielsen 2009, 187-211; Paliokrassa 1991). From a practical perspective, these movements can be read in light of the position that the two sites occupied: both of them were, in fact, placed along the maritime path that –passing to the north of the island of Salamis– followed the coast until it reached the Corinthian territory. The harbours of Mounichia, Eleusis and Phaleron could have therefore been used to embark the pottery produced in the several workshops that were active in the city of Athens during this period (Hasaki 2002, 225-230).

Since the end of the seventh century BCE and probably until most of the sixth century BCE, Athens was still not sufficiently stable economy-wise. It is reasonable to consider that the rapid and continuous growth of its southern harbours (i.e., Sounion, Halai Aixonides, Phaleron and Mounichia) was not connected to long-range exports directly promoted by Attic traders; rather, it should be associated to the fact that these favourable maritime shelters were placed along maritime routes that communicated Attica with other economic agents. At this stage, the main economic actors capable of transporting and selling Attic wares to Central and Western Mediterranean settlements were possibly the Corinthians and the Eastern Greeks. Corinth, located on the isthmus overlooking the Saronic Gulf, was easily reachable from any of the harbours situated on the southern side of Attica. From harbours like those of Sounion and Phaleron, the Attic wares were therefore firstly headed to Corinth and, from there, carried further west aboard of Corinthian ships[4]. In addition, other merchants that could have embarked Attic pottery on their western ventures may have been the Samians and the Phocaeans, both involved in long oversea trade from the end of the seventh century BCE[5]. Also, in the case of the routes departing from Samos and Phocaea, the harbour of Sounion was a fundamental stopping point for the ships heading to the west (see routes no. 114-115 in Arnaud 2005, 225-226).

This scenario drastically changed in the course of the fifth century BCE. The sudden prominence gained by Athens after the Persian Wars opened a new period in the Attic affairs and contacts[6]. It also implied the inauguration of a new maritime network policy for long-distance travelling in which Attica, and Athens in particular, was not only the place of production, but it was also converted into the main exporter of Attic pottery. This fact, together with the visionary Themistoklean plan that transferred the main harbour area from the Phaleron to the Piraeus, brought a progressive centralisation of the maritime trade, which now found its new core in Kantharos, the western basin of the Piraeus. Hence, during the entire Classical period, the Piraeus acted as the main maritime hub. This does not mean that the other Attic harbours ceased to be used; however, with the massive rise of the Piraeus, they passed to function as mere crossing points: from there[7], local merchandise could have been led to the Piraeus, where it was embarked on merchant ships and transported all over the Mediterranean and beyond.

7.3. The dynamic geography of maritime spaces

The natural conditions of navigation were determined by the winds, currents and the nature of the routes, and, naturally, the type of vessels used and the

[4] Corinth was enjoying one of the greatest periods of its mercantile activity and it was also establishing a series of colonies in the Central Mediterranean. Its network of routes and contacts converted this polis into an advantageous intermediary for the distribution of Attic pottery to the Western Mediterranean during the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.

[5] With regard to the first, it is famous the episode of Kolaios, the Samian trader who allegedly reached the wealthy metal-producing region of Tartessus only by chance: he was sailing for Egypt when he was suddenly driven off course (Herodotus, *The Histories*, 4.152).

[6] The expansion of the Athenian horizons overseas can be traced back to the second half of the sixth century BCE, coinciding with the last period of Peisistratus' tyranny. However, at this stage caution should be used when connecting the exports of Attic wares with actual active trade, as such a correlation could not be automatically inferred.

[7] In the fourth century BCE, for example, a kiln is documented at Voula, not so far from the harbour of Vouliagmeni. In this case, the harbour at Vouliagmeni could have been used to embark the production headed to Athens. It is worth specifying, however, that it is not precisely known the kind of production carried out inside the classical kiln at Voula (Hasaki 2002, no. 57).

meteorological and orographic conditions of the coastal areas. To these natural constraints we must add political and economic reasons, assuming multiple commercial stops, following pre-established routes. In periods of greater meteorological instability and the existence of extreme prevailing winds or prevailing thermal breezes, the most reasonable solution would be to use coastal navigation (Arnaud 2005, 15-17, 28 and 33-34). But, in antiquity the opposition between high-sea shipping and coastal shipping is fallacious. We should rather think of the existence of binary systems which combined these two types of navigation, a composite or segmented navigation, taking care, as we mentioned above, to address different variants, natural and material, including economic and political issues (Arnaud 2005, 107-113). As we can see from the shipwrecks, even in the case of the so-called deep-sea navigation, there was certainly a need to foresee certain technical stops associated on the one hand with watering, the supply requirements, the repair, shelter or a haven to wait for a favourable wind, and, on the other hand, with fulfilling the multiple commercial stops imposed by the stipulated transactions (Arnaud 2005, 112, 188-119 and 123; Rougé 1978, 69-71).

The maritime trade involved different modalities following a dynamic geography of maritime spaces: a direct transport of products over long distances, without depending on return flows, the redistribution of products between ports and warehouses of greater or lesser size, and cabotage routes following multiple commercial scales, fulfilling long-distance trade and other redistribution on a smaller scale. These modalities of trade involved different types of navigation also: direct sea crossings between distant points, following a high seas navigation and without technical stops; a navigation strategy of several days following the coastline in the distance; a day-long navigation along the coast and compound routes that could combine the three previous types. The choice of a particular route was also conditioned by the seasons and the direction of the crossings (Arnaud 2005, 125-127).

Herodotus (*The Histories*, 4.85-86), in the middle of the fifth century BCE, provides us with the first attempt to elaborate a system to calculate linear distances from the time travelled, taking as reference the Black Sea (*Pontus Euxinus*), the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmara (*Propontis*) and the Dardanelles (Hellespont), establishing a diurnal journey of navigation in about 700 stadia –about 87.5 miles– (Arnaud 2005, 72-74). As Ptolemy mentions (*Geography,* 1.10 and 1.17), the average value of daytime navigation is lower as the route is longer since the sailing conditions rarely remain stable and certain less favourable conditions had to be considered. Knowledge of the times to be travelled on long crossings was recorded, along with the Greek Periplos (*Periploi*) and Portolans (*Limenes* or *Peri Limenon*) that described the coasts, allowing, at least from *ca*. 350 BCE, the preparation of maps with specific crossings (*diaploi*) with more detailed, actionable information (Arnaud 2005, 106-108).

7.4. Traveling west

Navigation and trade in the Western Mediterranean adopted the technical knowledge and the economic practices developed during the second millennium BCE by Mycenaean traders, later improved by the Phoenicians, who defined new trade routes in the ninth and eighth centuries BCE. Trade thus turned from an economic structure built on personal transactions, established on the basis of hospitality pacts and prestige offers, to a clearly entrepreneurial economy. For the Phoenicians and, a little later, the Greeks, ready access to ports and the sea was essential for trade. But who were these men, and what ships did they trade on? Despite the scarcity of literary sources, we know that the exploration and colonisation of the Mediterranean was a collective undertaking rather than an individual adventure. This idea is present in literary sources when they deal with themes of mythology, as in the most celebrated ship in antiquity, Argo, built by Jason in his quest for the Golden Fleece, that counted among her crew with Orpheus, Herakles, the Dioscuri, the Boreads and many others collectively known as the Argonauts. However, we know of some adventurers' names, whose epics would have taken them to faraway lands, as is the case of Euthymenes and Pytheas, both from the Greek colony of *Massalia* - Marseille (Mauro 2024). As can be seen in the representation of different naval vessels represented on Greek vases, these had affinities among themselves and, as such, could be used by people of different origins, and they could even manoeuvre them in common. As D. Von Bothmer (1993, 28) reminds us "even the fleet of the Persians trapped in the waters of Salamis was, as we know, manned not by Persians, but by crews pressed into service by the Great King from his satrapies: Phoenicia, Egypt, Cyprus and Anatolia".

From the Attic coast the gateway to the Tyrrhenian Sea was the Strait of Messina, which connected mainland Italy to the east, Sicily to the south, and Sardinia and Corsica to the west (Figures 1.2 and 7.2). At first, around the ninth century BCE, under the Phoenicians, the products travelled westwards, preferably through the Maghreb coasts, towards the rich region of Tartessos, in

today's Western Andalusia, around the Guadalquivir basin, leading to the foundation of Cádiz, Lixus and Utica. Later, at the end of the following century, under the action of the Phocaean colonists, other access routes were sought by crossing Cape Bonifacio towards the southern coast of Gaul, multiplying the cultural and commercial contacts between the local populations and the eastern immigrants and merchants, leading, among others, to the foundation of Marseille. The presence of the Phocaeans was accentuated thanks to an unexpected event that took place in 545 BCE: their metropolis, Phocaea, fell to the Persians, forcing their populations to seek refuge in the west, leading to a second great wave of new Phocaeans colonial settlements and the transformation of Marseille into a great metropolis.

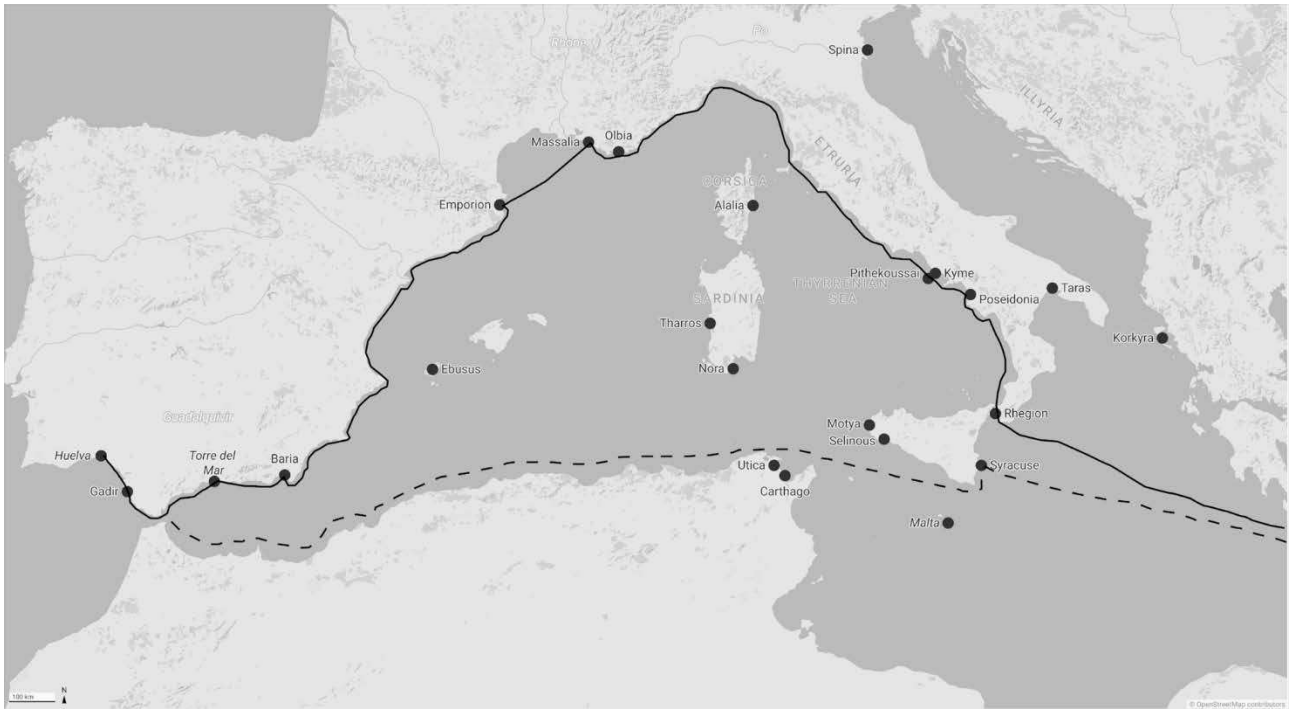

Figure 7.2. Two main coastal circuits (southern and northern circuits). Along the Atlantic axis, colonial-type port establishments instituted contacts with various ports of trade and anchorage points –i.e., islands and estuaries– of the Atlantic coast. Toponyms written in italics correspond to the modern name of the locality. Own work. A full picture of the maritime routes of Greek pottery is given in chapter 1.

In the specific case of the Atlantic seaboard, the larger nuclei and other smaller indigenous settlements gradually benefited from these contacts. Together with the literary sources, the archaeological ones allow us to consider a series of data of the utmost interest. The archaeological knowledge gathered so far in the present-day Portuguese territory allows us to draw a new map of the Phoenician presence –and, indirectly, of the Greek– which shows the advance of Semitic and Orientalising nuclei along the Atlantic façade up to the Mondego River, situated in a strategic position to access regions north of this river, up to the Minho and the Rias Bajas. The presence and settlement of the Phoenicians on the Portuguese coast occurred at a relatively early time, eighth century BCE, as proven by radiocarbon dating (Arruda 1999-2000) and by some archaeological materials. South of the present-day Portuguese territory, the Eastern Mediterranean and orientalising vestiges, dating from at least the second half of the eighth century BCE, are relatively well represented, especially in Tavira and Castro Marim[8] (Algarve), thanks to contacts with Phoenician settlers in the Strait of Gibraltar area. On the Atlantic front, we can highlight the Tagus and Sado basins. According to radiocarbon data and archaeological and epigraphic remains, the lower Tagus valley seems to have been one of the first areas to be colonised[9]. In the Sado valley, the settlement of exogenous communities is perceptible in Abul and Alcácer do Sal[10] (Alentejo).

[8] Amadasi-Guzzo and Zamora-López 2008; Arruda 1999/2000; 2003; 2005; Arruda *et al.* 2007, 2008, 2009 and 2013; Maia 2000 and 2003.
[9] Data obtained from Arruda 1999/2000; 2005a; Barros and Soares 2004; Neto *et al*. 2016; Pimenta *et al*. 2014 and 2015; Soares and Arruda forthcoming; Zamora-López 2014.
[10] Arruda 1999/2000; Arruda *et al*. 2015 and forthcoming; Cardoso and Arruda 2016; Fabião 1998; Gomes 2016; Mayet and Silva 2000; Silva *et al.* 1980/1981.

But this oriental presence is also felt further north in the Mondego estuary, particularly in Santa Olaia and *Conimbriga* (Correira 1993; Pereira 1997; Rocha 1908). As A. M. Arruda (1997) has pointed out, the presence of archaic ceramics from Corinth is certainly associated with Phoenician-Punic trade and the Attic ceramics dating from the classical period to Turdetanian trade, from the ports of the Straits, particularly Cádiz. The prevalence of the Phoenician and Turdetanian trade worlds, does not mean, however, that we should minimise the presence of some Greeks among the traders, whether they were free men or slaves. In fact, the existence of Greeks in Huelva in the first half of the sixth century BCE, confirmed both by the remarkable quantity of Greek pottery and the Greek graffiti in locally produced ware (Domínguez-Monedero 2013), suggests that such a presence might have extended to a very near west. Nonetheless, we may safely speak of a certain "Hellenisation" of these territories, led by Turdetan agents that brought new habits of consumption and social behaviour, which materialised in manufactured goods and food products.

7.5. The Final destination

Since the mid-1960s, important assemblages of pottery originating from the Eastern Mediterranean have been recovered in the Portuguese territory. Among these artifacts are Greek vases, amounting to just over 900 individually identified specimens, which have been recovered across 42 archaeological sites (Figure 7.3) located along the Atlantic coastline (Ferreira 2019a/b; 2020; 2022; Arruda and Ferreira 2022). As previously mentioned, aside from a limited selection of Corinthian vases, the Greek pottery recovered in Portugal predominantly comprises Attic productions, encompassing a diverse range of shapes and decorative techniques. A black figure "floral band-cup" (see *ABV* 197; Beazley 1932, 167-168) from the Necropolis of Olival do Senhor dos Mártires (Alcácer do Sal), dating from the early fifth century BCE, marks the beginning of the imports of Attic vases to this territory (Figure 7.4.A). In the Iberian Peninsula, band-cups are scarce, mostly displaying animal decorative motifs and human representations (e.g., Rouillard 1991, 737). However, we found similar vases to the one from Alcácer do Sal, in Emporion, on the Mediterranean coast of Catalonia, Spain (Domínguez-Monedero and Sánchez-Fernández 2001, 146, fig. 56.4) also attributed to the sub-variant "floral band-cups" and decorated with floral motifs alongside chains of lotuses and palmettes. Once again, the vase from Alcácer do Sal can be associated with the supply of Greek products to Phoenician and Orientalising sites in the Iberian Peninsula.

Between the second half of the fifth century and the early fourth century BCE, red-figure pottery gradually extended its presence across the current Portuguese territory (Figure 7.4.B). However, it is *ca*. 400-350 BCE that we witness a significant increase on the import of Attic pottery, particularly black-glaze vases. Comprising around two dozen of distinct shapes, these productions are mostly represented by stemless cups (Figure 7.4.C), abundantly found in several contexts (Ferreira 2019a, 427-468; 2020 and 2022, 271-308). In comparison, red-figure pottery is generally less frequent than black-glaze ware, except for two specific funerary areas. Specifically, the necropolis of Olival do Senhor dos Mártires, that stands out for its abundance of well-preserved red-figure vases, and the necropolis of Cerro Furado, which only presents Attic ware with this decorative technique.

In terms of geographical distribution, Greek pottery is spread throughout the entirety of the present-day Portuguese territory. The majority of these vases, though, have been found in coastal regions and within the basins of large rivers, taking advantage of the convenient accessibility enabled by these locations. This observed pattern of distribution implies a dissemination primarily along the coast, facilitated by either maritime or river routes, and complemented by shorter terrestrial routes allowing penetration into more inland regions (Ferreira 2019a, 427-468; 2020; 2022, 271-308). The South stands out as the primary consumer of Greek vases, displaying a significantly larger quantity of this pottery when compared to the rest of the Portuguese territory.

This tendency is particularly evident during the fourth century BCE, when the trade of goods from the Mediterranean was most intense. During this period, new settlements were founded, suggesting a context of economic prosperity and probable demographic growth, e.g., Monte Molião (Arruda *et al*. 2005, 205; 2008; 2011) and Faro (Paulo and Beja 2002; 2003). As the archaeological data confirms, these emerging communities actively engage with and capitalise on established trade networks by importing foreign materials, particularly Greek vases. In contrast to the southern areas, in the north of the current Portuguese territory, this redistribution occurred on a small scale and the archaeological sites with evidence of Greek ceramics were generally located less than 20 km from the present coastline. The exception is Castro de Palheiros, more than a 100 km away from other settlements with identified Greek pottery. Thirteen fragments were identified in this archaeological site,

corresponding to a single red-figure bell-krater dating from 400-350 BCE (Sanches and Pinto 2005, 44-45; Ferreira 2019a/b, 527-528 and 2022, 142). The transport of this large size and fragile krater would certainly have required the main fluvial route of the region to access this remote region. The presence of an Attic vase in the archaeological site of Crasto de Palheiros indicates the establishment of inter-regional exchanges with the coastal communities, culturally with obvious and well-known differences.

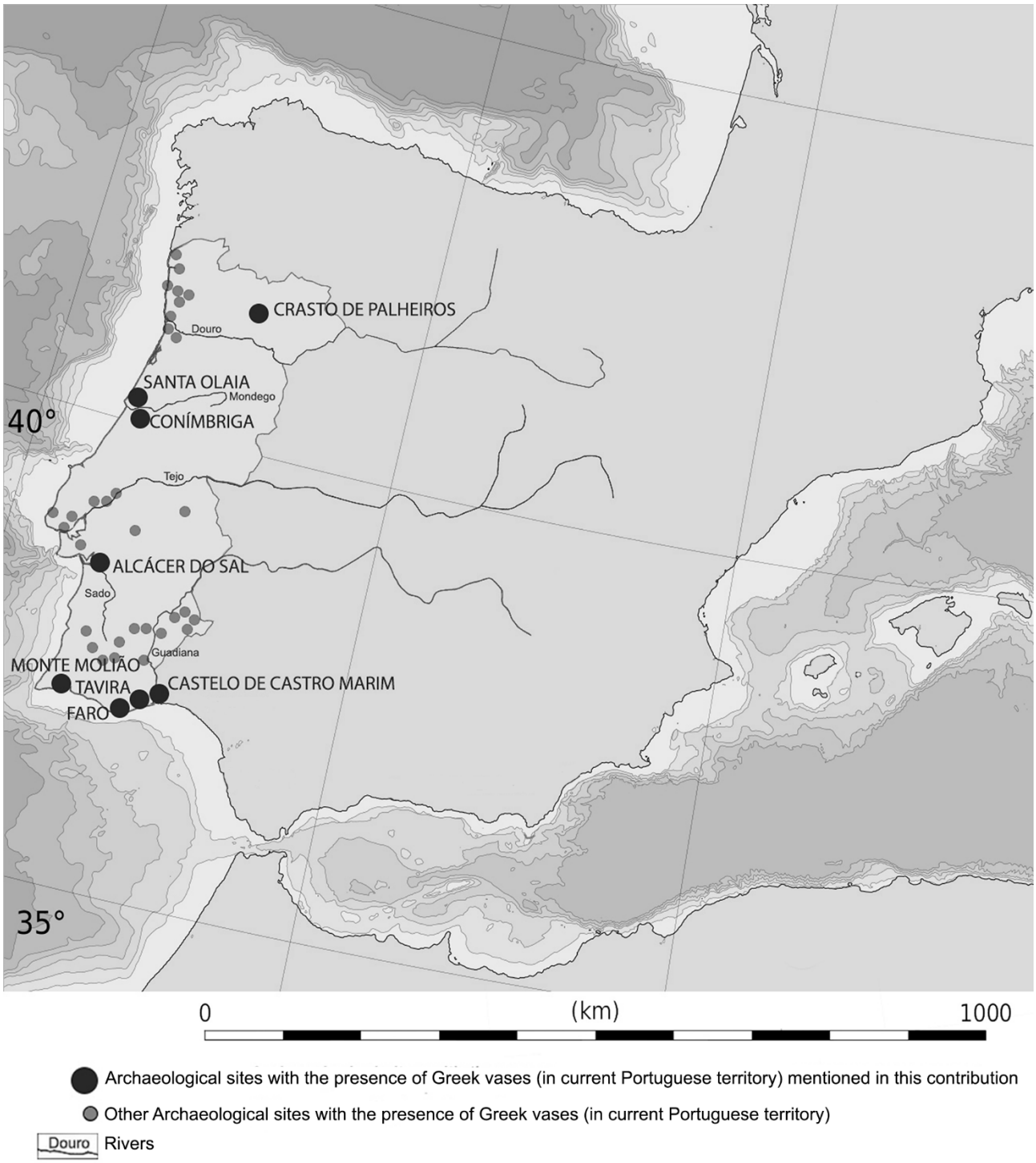

Figure 7.3. Greek vases in the Portuguese territory. Own work.

Figure 7.4. A. Floral band-cup from the Necropolis do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires, in Alcácer do Sal (photograph: Arruda 2019, adapted). B. Red-figure fish-plate from the Necropolis do Olival do Senhor dos Mártires, in Alcácer do Sal (Ferreira 2019a, 405). NMA, Portugal - REF. 11241, OSM 848 (27211). C. Black-glaze stemless cup of Cástulo type from Cabeço da Azougada (Ferreira 2019a, 405). NMA Portugal - REF. 24735.2000.471. 51233.

7.6. Conclusions

The aim of this study was to present a summary of the Greek vases found in Portugal, particularly in the Atlantic façade and areas that benefited from river courses. The dissemination of these products corresponded to a certain "democratisation" of consumption, albeit differentiated according to the economic areas and the period(s) and regions covered. But it is by combining written sources and epigraphic and archaeological data that we can get a rough idea of the organisation of trade from the export centres in Attica and its arrival in these Atlantic territories, beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

Despite the data known to date, we are still subject to inevitable grey areas and questions that remain unanswered. Nevertheless, we should consider the existence of a segmented chain of redistribution of products towards the west, from the major commercial ports we have identified, with various interlocutors and players. But we must not lose sight of the fact that, objectively, the production and commercialisation of Attic ceramics only represents a tiny fraction of the mass of commodities traded. However, if there was an interest in the supply of Greek vases to the west, we should not forget that they are not the result of a direct trade between ports but rather the result of the redistribution of products among different ports trying to obtain the best benefits, until they arrive to its final destination. To conclude, the distribution of Greek vases in the Atlantic façade raises a series of questions that sketch a new research agenda about their consumption, namely the supply network and organisation. Were they a luxury in terms of the costs it absorbed? and how was the supply perceived by the consumer, namely in the Early Iron Age societies? But despite all the questions, we have, in essence, enough clues to suggest that the trade in the Atlantic façade was an important vital artery for the trade of Greek vases between the end of the seventh and the fourth century BCE.

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