

Commercial Relationships of Phocaea in the Light of Archaic Trade Amphorae

[ARKAİK TİCARİ AMPHORALAR IŞIĞINDA PHOKAİA'NIN TİCARİ İLİŞKİLERİ]

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ÖZET

12 İon kentinden biri olan Phokaia'da ilk kazılar 1913 yılında F. Sartiaux tarafından yapılmıştır. Daha sonraki kazılar E. Akurgal tarafından aralıklarla 1950-1970 yılları arasında gerçekleştirilmiştir. Üçüncü dönem kazıları 1989 yılında Ö. Özyiğit başkanlığından başlamış ve halen devam etmektedir. Bu makalede, 1989-2017 yılları arasında Phokaia'da bulunan Arkaik Dönem ticari amphoralar ışığında, kentin ticari ilişkileri değerlendirilmiştir. Phokaia MÖ 630 yıllarında Khios, Klazomenai, Samos ve Lesbos ile ticarete başlamıştır. Devam eden yıllarda Etrüsk ve Miletos ile ilişkiler başlamış ve bu ilişkiler Arkaik Dönem sonuna kadar devam etmiştir. Phokaia'da bulunan amphoralar arasında Lesbos %31'lik oran ile ilk sırada yer alır. Ardından Khios (%26), Klazomenai (%22), Samos (%11), Miletos (%5) ve Etrüsk (%2) gelir. SOS amhorası sadece bir örnek ile temsil edilir.

ABSTRACT

The first excavations in Phocaea, one of the 12 Ionian cities, were carried out by F. Sartiaux in 1913. Subsequent excavations were conducted by E. Akurgal at intervals between 1950 and 1970. The third period of excavations was begun by Ö. Özyigit in 1989 and is ongoing. This study evaluated the commercial relationship of Phocaea in the light of trade amphorae dating from the Archaic Period found in Phocaea between 1989 and 2017. Phocaea began trading with Chios, Clazomenae, Samos and Lesbos around 630 BC. In the following years, commercial relations were entered into with the Etruscans and Miletus and these mercantile activities continued up to the end of the Archaic Period. A maximum of 31% of the amphorae found in Phocaea were from Lesbos, followed by 26% from Chios, 22% from Clazomenae, 11% from Samos, 5% from Miletus and 2% of Etruscan origin. The SOS amphorae were represented by only one specimen.

Introduction

Phocaea is about 60 km north of the city of Izmir. Geographically, it was located in the Aeolis Region, but politically it was among the 12 Ionian cities (Fig. 1). The first excavations in Phocaea were carried out by F. Sartiaux in 1913. Later, E. Akurgal conducted excavations at intervals between 1950 and 1970 and found the Athena Temple, one of the most important structures of the city. Between 1970 and 1989, no excavations were carried out in Phocaea. Under the presidency of Prof. Dr. Ömer Özyigit, excavations were resumed in 1989 and are ongoing. In this study, commercial amphorae found in Phocaea between

1989 and 2017 were investigated. Studies have identified approximately 500 Archaic amphorae in the repository. As a result of our investigations, it was determined that these amphorae were of Attica, Chios, Clazomenae, Lesbos, Samos, Miletus and Etruscan production.

1. SOS Amphora (Fig. 2, No. 1)

This is so named because of an embellishment in the form of “ΣΟΣ” along its side. These amphorae began to be produced in the late 8th century BC.¹ In the early examples, the body is long, with

¹ *Agora VIII*: 32.

a cylindrical neck and base.² Over time, the rim and base were flared outward and the base became higher in form.³ Johnston and Jones note that these amphorae were produced in Attica and Euboea, and possibly in Metapontion, Sybaris and Megara Hyblaea.⁴ One SOS amphora base fragment was found in the Phocaea excavations (Catalogue No. 1).⁵ This base displays a high circular form directly flaring outward. Its clay properties and shaped structure indicate that it is of Attica origin. Number 1 of the Johnston Group A-type dates to the last quarter of the 7th century BC.⁶

2. Chian Amphorae (Fig. 2-3, Nos. 2-15)

Ancient sources frequently refer to the quality of the Chios wine. In addition, the presence of an amphora and grapes on the Chios coins of the 5th century BC indicates the wine and amphora production on the island. From the early 20th century onwards, published research on amphorae⁷ and clay analyses⁸ has proven that amphorae were produced in Chios from the middle of the 7th century BC.

Among the Archaic amphorae found in Phocaea, after Lesbos amphorae, Chian amphorae form the second largest group and are seen throughout the Archaic Period (Table 1). Chian amphorae are divided into three main groups: “white-slipped”, “funnel-necked”, and “bulbous-necked”.

The earliest Chian amphorae are called “white-slipped” because of the white slip coating that was applied. This group has a specific and well-known decoration system. The amphorae have horizontal bands on the rim, between the neck and shoulder, on the lower part of the shoulder (early examples have three bands), on the middle of the body, on the lower part of the body and on the base. Vertical bands are seen extending from the rim, down the handles and to the lowest

band of the body. There are horizontal “S” motifs on the shoulder as a decoration.⁹ White-slipped amphorae usually date from the middle of the 7th to the last quarter of the 6th century BC.¹⁰ Earlier examples have large, broad bodies with squat necks, large circular bases and broad decorative bands. Early specimens from Chios have been dated to 660-630¹¹ (mid-7th century) in Cerveteri.¹² Sezgin reclassified the white-slipped amphorae and divided them into three groups: Khi1, Khi2 and Khi3. The Khi1 is the earliest group, dated 650-620 BC.¹³ Five Chian amphorae having broad firmis bands and large ring-like bases were found at Phocaea (Fig. 2, Nos. 2-3).

The “standard white-slipped Chian amphorae” were produced from the end of the 7th to the last third of the 6th century BC. In these amphorae, the form is elongated compared to early specimens and the diameter of the base and mouth is smaller. On the shoulder there is a horizontal S-shaped motif and on the rim, neck, shoulder, underside of the body and base there are horizontal bands.¹⁴ However, these bands are thinner than those of early specimens. The white slip has a thin, dull, chalky appearance.¹⁵ Over time, the quality of the form and decoration can be seen to decline.

The two amphorae groups of Khi2 and Khi3 were examined based on all the examples of this era published by Sezgin.¹⁶ However, because there were no complete Phocaea specimens, amphorae with thin clay gloss bands were evaluated as the same group (Fig. 2, Nos. 4-8). There are a total of 49 amphorae from Phocaea belonging to this group and of these, Chian amphorae are the most numerous. The quality of Chios wine was established at that time and Chian amphorae became the best-known amphorae in the entire Mediterranean world. Early specimens of the group date from the last quarter of the 7th to

2 *Agora VIII*: no. 23, 25.

3 *Agora VIII*: 33, no. 24.

4 JOHNSTON AND JONES 1978: 117-127.

5 Catalogue numbers will now be indicated as “No.”

6 JOHNSTON 1978: 105-106, FIG. 2, NO. 2; *AGORA VIII*: 33, NO. 24; PRATT 2015: 210-245.

7 GRACE 1934: 296; LAMBRINO 1938: 105-107; ANDERSON 1954: 166-170; ZEEST 1960: 15-18; BOARDMAN 1967; DIMITRIU 1966: 45-46.

8 DUPONT 1982: 198; DUPONT 1983: 24-30; WHITBREAD 1995: 134-153.

9 For complete forms, see: DUPONT 1998: FIG. 23; SEZGIN 2012: NO. KHi1, KHi2, KHi3.

10 DUPONT 1998: 148.

11 BOARDMAN 1967: 140, PL. 45, NO. 551.

12 RIZZO 1990: TAV. IV, FIG. 43.

13 SEZGIN 2012: 92, 129.

14 For form and decoration, see: ANDERSON 1954: 169, NO. 17-21; DUPONT 1998: 148.

15 DUPONT 1998: 148.

16 SEZGIN 2012: 94-100.

the first quarter of the 6th century BC,¹⁷ and degenerate late samples from the second quarter to the last quarter of the 6th century BC.¹⁸ Sezgin stated with certainty that the lower limit of early examples was around 575 BC.¹⁹ This type of standard form and decoration system was found last quarter of the 7th century BC and its production was extended until the just before of the last third of the 6th century BC. Thus, it is not appropriate for us to give definite dates for the “process of evolution” and to group them as “different types”. Amphorae in Tell el-Qedua, Egypt, dating from 525 BC, represent the final period of the series.²⁰

White-slipped amphorae were produced until the last quarter of the 6th century BC. However, after the Persians invaded Western Anatolia,²¹ a new type of amphora with two different lengths began to be produced. The first type, called “funnel-necked amphorae”, has a narrow neck structure (Fig. 2, No. 9).²² The second type, called “swollen-necked amphorae”, consists of amphorae having a slightly bulging neck (Fig. 2-3, Nos. 10-12).

Funnel-necked amphorae have one or two clay gloss bands around the shoulder and sometimes they have a single band on the lower part of the body and a band on the rim extending slightly onto the upper part of the neck. A thin band extends from the rim, over the handles, towards the lower part of the body (Fig. 2, No.10). The “S” motif used on the white-slipped amphorae is not seen in the decoration of these amphorae. The cylindrical neck tapered to the shoulder (Fig. 2, No. 9), ovoid body and deeply hollowed cylindrical base (Fig. 2, No. 11) are general features.²³

The swollen-necked amphorae have a biconical profile with a more bulging neck as in Types A1-A2 of Lambrino.²⁴ Funnel-necked amphorae have been dated to the third quarter of the 6th century BC at Histria²⁵ and Olbia,²⁶ and to the beginning of the last quarter of the 6th century BC at Clazomenae.²⁷ Dupont claimed that production of these amphorae started in the third quarter of the 6th century BC and continued to around 510 BC.²⁸

The swollen-necked amphorae are most likely a transition group between the white-slipped amphorae and the bulbous-necked amphorae which were produced at the end of the 6th century BC. These amphorae have been dated to the third quarter of the 6th century at Dascyleion,²⁹ Histria³⁰ and Athens.³¹ Dupont³² and Sezgin³³ claimed that these amphorae were “a transition group” produced during the second half of the 6th century BC. In the Phocaea excavations, 27 funnel- and swollen-necked amphorae fragments were found.

Towards the end of the 6th century BC, production of a new amphora group began in Chios. This type, called “bulbous-necked amphorae”, is one of the most recognized types in the entire Mediterranean world. These amphorae were first determined to be of Chios production by V. Grace.³⁴ These amphorae with bulging necks were produced for about a hundred years and have been investigated by researchers as three variants.³⁵ These variants first began to be produced during the Archaic Period, in the last quarter of the 6th century BC.

These amphorae have a thick rim, bulbous neck and ovoid body. The foot curves in towards the

17 For early examples, see: LAMBRINO 1938: 101, Fig. 63-64; ATILA 2003: Cat. No. 1, JOHNSTON 1993: Cat. No. 108; LAWALL 2002: (Troia), no. 62-63; SEZGIN 2012: 93-98, Khi2.1-Khi2.39.

18 For late examples of the group, see: DUPONT 2005: no. 3; ÖZER 1998: 24, no. 32; SEZGIN 2012: 101, Khi3.

19 SEZGIN 2012: 100.

20 HAMZA 1997: Fig. 14.1-2 (Egypt had suffered Persian invasion at that time, and Tell El Qedua was abandoned in 525 BC.).

21 DOĞER 1988: 107.

22 ZEEST 1960: 139; DUPONT 1998: 148.

23 For complete examples, see: DUPONT 1998: Fig. 22.2.a,b,c; MONACHOV 1999a: Tab. 3; SEZGIN 2012: 132, Kh3, Khi4.

24 LAMBRINO 1938: 109-110.

25 ALEXANDRESCU 1966: 161, pl. 86.

26 MONACHOV 1999a: 37-40.

27 DOĞER 1988: Fig. 36, pl. 16; SEZGIN 2012: 104, Khi4.14.

28 DUPONT 1998: 148.

29 ATILA 2003: Cat. No. 4.

30 CONDURACHI 1954: Figs. 2-3.

31 ROEBUCK 1950: 249.

32 DUPONT 1998: 148-149.

33 SEZGIN 2012: 106.

34 GRACE 1934: 296.

35 DOĞER 1991: 84-86; LAWALL 1995: 88-115; ATILA 2003.

base which is an important defining feature (Fig. 3, Nos. 14-15). The decoration is similar to the earlier type; however, over time, the rim and shoulder bands disappeared completely. Bulbous-neck amphorae were one of the most widely produced amphorae in the Archaic Period. They have been found and dated in great quantities in the Black Sea cities.³⁶ This type dated from the end of the 6th to the beginning of the 5th century BC at Athens,³⁷ Chios,³⁸ Clazomenae,³⁹ Miletus⁴⁰ and Gordion.⁴¹ There were a total of 42 rims and bases belonging to this group found in Phocaea.

3. Clazomenian Amphorae (Fig. 3-4, Nos. 16-21)

It is known that the ancient city of Clazomenae was an important wine producing center.⁴² In addition, three olive oil workshops were found in the excavations made in the city, thus showing that the city produced olive oil.⁴³ Therefore, in order to export wine and olive oil, it was necessary to produce amphorae here. As a result of the research of Doğer,⁴⁴ Sezgin⁴⁵ and Dupont⁴⁶, amphorae production in Clazomenae was confirmed and categorized chronologically and typologically. Sezgin, by reassessing the research conducted up to the last period, divided the Clazomenian Archaic Period amphorae into seven subgroups. In the classification of Sezgin, the types are determined according to the body forms of the amphorae and the system of decoration.⁴⁷ However, Dupont stated that the Clazomenian amphorae had developed continuously in succession throughout the Archaic Period.⁴⁸ It is not appropriate for us to constantly classify the Clazomenae amphorae according to the minor differences seen in the

rim and the decoration and to separate the types. Evaluating the “evolution of a form” is a more accurate form of assessment.

The earliest Clazomenian amphorae have a thick rim, bulbous body and large ring-shaped base. For decoration in the Clazomenian amphorae, on the rim, neck, shoulder and the under part of the body there are broad clay gloss belts and a horizontal “S” motif on the shoulder. Forms separated by Sezgin as Clazomenae Groups 1-3 are early specimens of evolved types. These types are generally dated to the second half of the 7th century BC.⁴⁹ The Phocaea excavations have not found any early Clazomenae amphorae.

In the last quarter of the 7th century BC, as the Clazomenian amphorae became popular, amphora types and decoration became more standardized. These amphorae have a thick, drooping, stubby mouth, a neck that tapers towards the shoulder and a shallow-grooved base. There are two clay gloss bands on the shoulder, one on the rim, one on the body and one on the underside of the body, as well as clay gloss bands starting from the rim, passing over the handles and extending under the body. Numerous specimens of this group from Clazomenae have been dated to 630-590 BC.⁵⁰ Ten specimens from Dascylium were dated from 630 to 580 BC.⁵¹ Examples from Tocra have been dated to 620-590 BC.⁵² In the Phocaea excavations there were 17 fragments belonging to this group (Fig. 3, Nos. 16-17).

Form features in the first half of the 6th century BC resemble those of the previous period; however, the overall structure of the amphorae had become slimmer and the rim had evolved into a bracelet-like form. Sezgin investigated these amphorae as a new type, indicating that they had similarities with the previous type in terms of form and appearance.⁵³ In our opinion, the amphorae produced during these years were evolved versions of the amphorae of the previous period. There is no need to examine them as a new type. Chian amphorae have distinctly different types like “white-slipped”, “funnel-necked” and

36 For places around the Black Sea, see: SEZGIN 2012: 112-113.

37 LAWALL 1995: 96.

38 ANDERSON 1954: Fig. 8.

39 SEZGIN 2012: 111.

40 NEIMEIER 1999: No. 17.

41 LAWALL 2010: 161, pl. 93, no. 12-15.

42 For ancient sources on Clazomenae wine, see: SEZGIN 2012: 24-25.

43 KOPARAL and İplikçi 2004: 221-234.

44 DOĞER 1986: 465; DOĞER 1988: 77-78.

45 SEZGIN 2004; SEZGIN 2012: 21-82.

46 DUPONT 1982: 200; DUPONT 1998: 151-156.

47 SEZGIN 2012: 25-82.

48 DUPONT 1998: 152.

49 SEZGIN 2012: 31-38.

50 DOĞER 1988: 49; SEZGIN 2012: 41; ERSOY 1993: 397-398.

51 ATILA 2005: 109.

52 BOARDMAN and HAYES 1973: no. 2268.

53 See: SEZGIN 2012: 43, Kl4-Kla5.

“bulbous-necked”. However, the Archaic Period Clazomenian amphorae have a single form that evolved with minor differences.

Amphorae with rims in the form of a bracelet have been dated to the first half of the 6th century BC.⁵⁴ Amphorae found in Tocra,⁵⁵ Histria⁵⁶ and the Papuç Burnu wreck have also been dated to the first half of the 6th century BC. The Clazomenae amphorae produced during these dates⁵⁷ constitute the most numerous group found in Phocaea (83 pieces) (Fig. 3-4, Nos. 18-19).

In 546 BC, with the occupation of western Anatolia by the Persians, the people of Clazomenae withdrew to Karantina (“Quarantine”) Island and came back to the mainland in 530 BC. Therefore, amphorae dated to the third quarter of the 6th century BC were not found in Clazomenae. However, amphorae dating from 550-525 BC have been identified in centers other than Clazomenae.⁵⁸ We cannot evaluate these amphorae since no complete amphora has been found in Phocaea that we can date to the third quarter of the 6th century BC.

The migration of the Clazomenae people back to the mainland in about 530 BC led to an increase in the production of amphorae. It is known that the city of Clazomenae was abandoned after the Ionian Revolt.⁵⁹ The amphorae produced from 530 BC to the early 5th century BC resemble the previous group in terms of the form and decoration technique. However, in these years, the clay gloss (“firnis”) rings located at the junction of the handles and the body disappeared.⁶⁰ In Phocaea, two amphorae from this period were found preserved together with their handles (Fig. 4, Nos. 20-21).

4. Samian Amphorae (Fig. 4-5, Nos. 22-25)

In the mid-20th century, the Samian amphorae were classified typologically and chronologically

via research conducted by Zeest,⁶¹ Brashinskii,⁶² Grace⁶³ and Mattingly⁶⁴ along with the clay analyses of Whitbread⁶⁵ and Dupont.⁶⁶ Samos amphorae were investigated by Sezgin as four groups according to their body shape.⁶⁷ While these groups show different mouth structures within themselves, Dupont classified them according to body form.⁶⁸ We cannot divide Samos amphorae into different types because there were no complete specimens found in Phocaea. However, according to the structure of the mouth and neck, it is possible to examine them as two groups: early and late.

The early Samian amphorae are thick-rimmed with the neck narrowing towards the shoulder, a bulging body and a low, tapering conical base (Fig. 4-5, Nos. 22-24). The widest point of these amphorae is the shoulder region.⁶⁹ Early amphorae have been dated from 630 to the early 6th century BC in centers like Miletus,⁷⁰ Abdera⁷¹ and Melie.⁷² Number 24 was found in Phocaea in an Orientalizing Period dump, along with a bird-bowl dated to the end of the 7th century BC.

Dupont stated that early examples of globular or pear-shaped early specimens were produced from the end of the 7th to the middle of the 6th century BC and that the ovoid-bodied specimens were produced in the late 6th and early 5th century BC.⁷³ In late specimens, the neck became elongated, the rim changed to a high, flat form, and the bow-shaped handles took the high-arched form of a cane (Fig. 5, No. 25). In Phocaea, 17 Samian amphorae belonging to the early period and 36 belonging to the late period were found.

54 SEZGIN 2012: 44.

55 BOARDMAN AND HAYES 1966: FIG. 67.

56 DIMITRIU 1966: 486.

57 SEZGIN 2012: 44.

58 SEZGIN 2012: 46-48, KLA6.

59 Herodotus, 5.123; SEZGIN 2012: 52.

60 SEZGIN 2012: 51.

61 ZEEST 1960: 70, PL. 1-3.

62 BRASHINSKII 1968: 45-60.

63 GRACE 1971: 68-71.

64 MATTINGLY 1981: 81-85.

65 WHITBREAD 1995: 126-129.

66 DUPONT 1998: 165.

67 SEZGIN 2012: 175-199.

68 DUPONT 1998: 164-165.

69 For examples, see: GRACE 1971: FIG. 2; MONACHOV 1999B: FIG. 16.2; SEZGIN 2012: 196, SAM1.20.

70 SEIFERT 2004: NO. 184-185.

71 SKARLATIDOU 2000: 55, PL. 53.

72 KLEINER ET AL. 1967: 82B.

73 DUPONT 1998: 164.

5. Milesian Amphorae (Fig. 5, Nos. 26-29)

Miletus in the Archaic Period was one of the largest, richest cities of the ancient world and the one that established the most colonies. According to a report in the Zenon Archive, Samos and Miletus exported 25,000 liters of olive oil annually to Alenxandreia.⁷⁴ Therefore, Miletus must have been an important amphorae production center.

Recent research conducted in Miletus⁷⁵ and Didyma⁷⁶ has shown that amphorae were produced in Miletus from the beginning of the 7th century BC. These early amphorae do not have a standard type and are only seen around Miletus.

From the mid-7th century BC, amphora production in Miletus increased and a more distinctive form was produced. The high, cushion-shaped rim of these amphorae flares outward, with the neck tapering straight to the shoulder, a bulbous body and a large, ring-shaped base. Below the rim there are one to four plastic bands (Fig. 5, Nos. 26-27).⁷⁷

These amphorae have been dated from the middle of the 7th to the beginning of the 6th century BC in Miletus,⁷⁸ Clazomenae,⁷⁹ Tocra⁸⁰ and Histria.⁸¹ There were eight amphorae fragments dated to this period found in Phocaea.

The Milesian amphorae produced during the Archaic Period exhibit a period of indeterminate development. Sezgin examined Milesian amphorae as five separate groups (Miletus 1-5). In most of the amphorae evaluated in Miletus 2-5, the structures of the mouth, body and base exhibit common features, while sometimes there are different mouth structures within the same group.⁸² In particular, it is almost impossible to classify amphorae produced until the middle of the 6th century BC by looking at the structure of the mouth, body or base.

74 SEZGIN 2012: 143.

75 NASO 2005: 74.

76 SCHATTLNER 2007: ABB. 35.

77 For complete specimens, see: SEZGIN 2012: 170, MİL.2.1; DOMANEANTU 2006: 89, PL.1.

78 BIRZESCU 2009: 127, NO. 1-3.

79 SEZGIN 2012: 170, MİL.2.1.

80 BOARDMAN AND HAYES 1966: FIG. 67, NO.1419.

81 DOMANEANTU 2006: 89, PL. 1.

82 For a survey of drawings and form properties of the group, see: SEZGIN 2012: 146-173.

In the second half of the 6th century BC, the mouth was almond-shaped and markedly flared outward. In addition, the handles were attached near the rim (Fig. 5, Nos. 28-29).⁸³ This difference does not indicate the emergence of a new type, but shows the evolution of the existing form. It is therefore difficult to distinguish and to date Miletus amphorae precisely. It is more accurate to date these amphorae according to their own contexts. There were 17 amphorae with almond-shaped mouth rims found in Phocaea.

6. Lesbian Amphorae (Fig. 5-6, Nos. 30-35)

Antique sources often refer to the quality of Lesbian wine. A center that produces such high quality wines must also have produced amphorae. The research of Anderson,⁸⁴ Zeest,⁸⁵ Clinkenbeard⁸⁶ and Dupont⁸⁷ indicated that gray and red amphorae were produced in Lesbos.

A slender, bracelet-like rim, a relief called "rat-tail" on the handle where it is joined to the body and a plastic band under the mouth are common features of the gray and red amphorae.

Early amphorae which do not have a standard rim have a rough-looking spherical body and a low, wide ring-shaped base. These amphorae have been dated to the second half of the 7th century BC in centers such as Athens,⁸⁸ Kommos⁸⁹ and Abdera.⁹⁰

In the classification of Dupont, elongation is observed from the second half of the 7th century BC to the beginning of the 5th century BC.⁹¹ The gray Lesbos amphorae recovered from the Mesad Hashavyahu and Tel el Qadi excavations have been dated and put this group to about a hundred years earlier, from the end of 8th to the

83 For Milesian amphorae with almond-shaped mouths produced between 550 and 480 BC, see: NIEMEIER 1999: NO. 19; SEZGIN 2012: 158, 173; NAUMANN AND TUCHELT 1963-1964: ABB. 16A; DUPONT 1998: 175, FIG. 23, 8D.

84 ANDERSON 1954: 139.

85 ZEEST 1960: 72-74.

86 CLINKENBEARD 1982: 248-267.

87 DUPONT 1998: 156.

88 BRANN 1962: PL. 13.

89 JOHNSTON 2000: 223, NO.135.

90 SCARLATIDOU 2000: PL.4.

91 DUPONT 1998: 156, FIG. 23.4.

7th century BC,⁹² but no specimens from this early a date were found in Phocaea. However, there were 19 early period amphorae (650-600 BC) found in Phocaea (Fig. 5, No. 30). After the first examples, the gray amphorae took on a more slender appearance with tapering bases (Fig. 5, No. 31). This type has been dated in Athens,⁹³ the Papuç Burnu wreck⁹⁴ and Clazomenae⁹⁵ in the first half of the 6th century BC. Production of the red Lesbian amphorae, which resembled the gray amphorae in form, began at this time (Fig. 5, No. 32). There were 24 amphorae dating to the first half of the 6th century BC found in Phocaea.

In the second half of the 6th century BC three different amphora types were produced in Lesbos. The first of these amphorae were a continuation of early specimens. Sezgin reported that there was almost no difference between them and the gray amphorae produced in the first half of the 6th century BC.⁹⁶ According to the study of Dupont, from the 7th to the end of the 6th century BC, small differences can be seen in the elongation of the form.⁹⁷ Amphorae produced in the second half of the 6th century BC are distinguished by smaller size and narrower base construction (Fig. 5, No. 33). The second group consists of red amphorae. The red amphorae produced in the third quarter of the 6th century BC resemble the gray amphorae produced in the same period⁹⁸ (Fig. 6, No. 34). However, the red amphorae produced in the last quarter of the 6th century BC are distinguished by the high necks and spherical bodies which taper sharply down to the narrow base. The red Lesbian amphorae produced at this time are more numerous than the gray ones. The third group consists of gray amphorae called “Phi type” because they resemble the letter “φ”⁹⁹ (Fig. 6, No. 35). There were 88 gray- and red-colored

amphorae dated to the second half of 6th century BC found in Phocaea.

7. Etruscan Amphorae (Fig. 6, Nos. 36-37)

The first comprehensive investigations of Etruscan amphorae were conducted by François and Michel Py in 1974.¹⁰⁰ In that study, Etruscan amphorae were chronologically divided into five groups.¹⁰¹ In 1985, Etruscan amphorae were divided into three main types by Gras.¹⁰²

The Etruscan amphorae found in Phocaea have been previously examined in detail by E. Okan.¹⁰³ The 10 Etruscan amphorae found in Phocaea are of two different types.

The first type (Py Type 1,2; Gras Type EMA) has a thick bracelet-like encircling the rim, a very short neck, a conical body and flat bottom.¹⁰⁴ The amphorae forming this group in Marseilles¹⁰⁵, Vulci¹⁰⁶ and the Giglio I wreck¹⁰⁷ were dated between the first quarter of the 7th and the 6th century BC. In Phocaea, this type dated between end of the 7th century and first quarter of the 6th century BC with the help of an Attic black figured vase piece which found in the Athena sanctuary (Fig. 6, No. 36).¹⁰⁸ Four amphora fragments of this group were found in Phocaea.

The second type (Py Type 3A/A; Gras Type EMC) has a thin groove along the rim. The neck is longer, the body is ovoid and the base is pointed.¹⁰⁹ The amphorae belonging to this group were found in the same strata as those in the first group in La Liguere in France and were dated from the first quarter to the end of the 7th century BC.¹¹⁰ The Vulci necropolis¹¹¹ and the Écueil de Miet 3 wreck in Marseilles¹¹² have

92 FANTALKIN AND TAL 2010: 7, FIG. 8; OKAN 2011: 94.

93 *Agora XII*: no.1500.

94 GREEN ET AL 2008a: FIG. 12.

95 DOĞER 1988: NO. 109.

96 SEZGIN 2012: 216.

97 DUPONT 1998: 157, FIG. 23,4.

98 SEZGIN 2012: 222-224.

99 For amphorae produced in 550-480 BC, see: Grey Lesbian: DUPONT 2005: 64, no. 26; MONACHOV 2003a: tab. 27-25; SEZGIN 2012: 216; Red Lesbian: Johnston 1990: fig. 2-3, no.39; ATILA 2005a: 77, pl. 2; SEZGIN 2012: 222-224; Phi type Lesbian: SEZGIN 2012: 215; DUPONT 1997: 23,4.h.

100 PY AND PY 1974: 141-254.

101 MARCHAND 1982: 145-158.

102 GRAS 1985.

103 OKAN 2014.

104 For complete examples, see: PY 1993: ETRÜSK ½.

105 DIETLER 1997: 283-284.

106 RIZZO 1990: 369-371.

107 BOUND 1991: 22.

108 OKAN 2014: 32-33.

109 For complete examples, see: PY 1993: ETR 3/A; OKAN 2014: FIG. 6.

110 DEDET AND PY, 2006: FIGS. 7-9.

111 RIZZO 1990: no. XXV.

112 HESNARD 2002: 34-35.

been dated to the first quarter of the 6th century BC. In Phocaea, from the context of the materials, the Etruscan amphorae found in the southern Necropolis area, in the Athena temple area and in the Orientalizing Period dump were clearly dated from the beginning of the 7th to the beginning of the 6th century BC.¹¹³ Six amphorae belonging to this group were found in Phocaea (No. 37). The two different types found in Phocaea are of the same period.

Conclusion and Evaluation

“The Phocaeans were the first to make long sea voyages,” said Herodotus, the father of history.¹¹⁴ The most important reason for this was that Phocaea did not have adequate agricultural land and had to obtain its livelihood through seafood and maritime trade. Therefore, in the Archaic Period from 630 BC, Phocaea began commercial relations with cities famous for wine and olive oil such as Chios, Clazomenae and Lesbos.

The amphorae found in Phocaea are worthy of studying in terms of periods of important historical and social events: 650-600 BC, 600-550 BC, 550-500 BC and 500-480 BC.

The first experimental amphorae were produced in 650-600 BC in important wine and olive oil producing cities, but at this time they were not active in foreign trade. In addition, during this period, Phocaea began to associate with overseas cities, but not to a great extent. The SOS, Clazomenae, Chios and Lesbos amphorae belonging to this period were found in the ratio of about 1% of the total of all commercial amphorae found in Phocaea (Table 1).

The cities producing wine and olive oil from the end of the 7th to the beginning of the 6th century BC created standard amphora types and began the amphorae trade over a wide area in the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions. This is also the period when Phocaea established colonies like Marseilles and Ampurias and when the city reached its peak in wealth. Therefore, the number and variety of amphorae dating from 600-550 BC increased. The amphorae belonging to these dates account for approximately 45% of all the amphorae found in Phocaea (Table 1).

113 For dating and contextual materials of this group in Phocaea, see: OKAN 2014: 35.

114 Herodotus 1. 163.

In 546 BC, the Persians seized all of western Anatolia and the islands close to Anatolia. After this date, the amphorae from both Clazomenae and in Chios were greatly reduced in forms and in numbers. However, unlike in these two cities, after the Persian invasion, the rate of Lesbos amphorae increased significantly. Presumably, during the invasion, Phocaea must have traded in wine and olive oil with Lesbos, which is closer. In 550-500 BC, Phocaea's amphora trade was 36.8% of the total (Table 1).

The Ionian Revolt which started in 499 BC and its bloody repression in 494 BC deeply affected commercial and political relations in western Anatolia. After the Ionian Revolt (500-480 BC), Phocaea's amphora imports declined to 9.7% (Table 1).

When we look at the cities one by one, it can be seen that commercial relations with Lesbos started in 630 BC and continued to increase until 500 BC, and that this increase was not hindered by the Persian invasion. The ratio of the Lesbos amphorae group is the highest and makes up 31% of all the amphorae found in Phocaea (Table 1).

The trade with Chios and Clazomenae began in 630 BC, showed a regular rise until the Persian invasion, and then declined. Chios was the city which had the second most active commercial relationship with Phocaea, with a rate of 27%, and Clazomenae ranked third with 22%.

Relations with Miletus and Samos began in 600 BC and seem to have ended after the Persian invasion. Although Samos and Miletus were known as cities producing wine and olive oil during the Archaic Period, their commercial relations with Phocaea were weak (Table 1). Presumably, Phocaea preferred to trade with nearby Clazomenae, Chios and Lesbos, which produced better quality wines during the same period.

The Phocaeans founded the city of Marseilles in 600 BC and immediately after, the city of Ampurias (Emporion) in the west. Phocaea had an important place in maritime trade and with the establishment of these two cities dominated the western Mediterranean.¹¹⁵ The Phocaeans artifacts found in the Agde necropolis show that Phocaea had commercial relations with the

115 OKAN 2014: 35.

western Mediterranean in 630 BC.¹¹⁶ This is the period of the robust Etruscan wine and amphora trade in southern France. Therefore, the Phocaeans must have been acquainted with and imported Etruscan wine during this period.¹¹⁷ In 565 BC, the Phocaeans founded the city of Alalia on the eastern shore of the island of Corsica, and through acts of piracy they came to a dominant position in the western Mediterranean. After that, they entered into a commercial dispute with the Etruscans, who were an important force in the Mediterranean, and then they had a falling out. Accordingly, the latest date of Etruscan amphorae in Phocaea should be around 560 BC.¹¹⁸ As a result of this dispute, the Etruscans and the Carthaginians united and conducted naval warfare from the open waters of Alalia in 540 BC (the Alalia Sea War). Phocaea lost this war to the Etruscans, along with its supremacy in the maritime trade in the western Mediterranean.

Not much can be intimated about commercial and political relations from the sole example of the SOS amphorae found. But the fact that it dates to about 600 BC indicates that Phocaea has tasted many kinds of wine during its Golden Age.

CATALOGUE

Cat. No. 1: SOS Amphora base fragment

(Fig. 2)

Trench: Survey. Base diameter (Bd). 15,1 cm. h. 5,1 cm. Clay: Medium hard, sand, micaceous, lime, yellowish red. Surface: Dark brown painted. Date: Last quarter of the 7th century BC.

Cat. No. 2: China white-slipped body fragment (Fig. 2)

Trench: 1249.3 parcel, E3. h. 5,5 cm. Clay: soft, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, brown. Surface: creamy-white slipped and dark painted decoration. Date: 630-600 BC.

Cat. No. 3: Chian white-slipped base fragment (Fig. 2)

Trench: Necropolis area. Bd. 10,2 cm. h. 2,5 cm. Clay: soft, soft, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, brown. Surface: creamy-white slipped and dark painted decoration. Date: 630-600 BC.

Cat. No. 4: Chian white-slipped rim and neck

fragment (Fig. 2)

Trench: Sewage rescue excavation, M9-M10, Rim diameter (Rd). approximately 12 cm. h. 5 cm. Clay: medium hard, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, yellowish red. Surface: creamy-white slipped and red painted decoration. Date: End of the 7th-beginning of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 5: Chian white-slipped body fragments (Fig. 2)

Trench: Phocaea 95, Halise Erensoylu H7. Clay: Medium hard, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, yellowish red. Surface: creamy-white slipped and red painted decoration. Date: First half of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 6: Chian white-slipped rim and neck fragment (Fig. 2)

Trench: Sewage rescue excavation, survey. Rd. 14,1 cm. h. 4,1 cm. Clay: Medium hard, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, yellowish red. Surface: creamy-white slipped and red painted decoration. Date: First half of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 7: Chian white-slipped shoulder fragment (Fig. 2)

Trench: Phocaea 96, Halise Erensoylu H8, h. 7,1 cm. Clay: Medium hard, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, yellowish red. Surface: creamy-white slipped and brown painted "S" decoration. Date: From beginning of the 6th century to last quarter of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 8: Chian white-slipped base fragment (Fig. 2)

Trench: Necropolis area, Building No.1, Bd. 6,2 cm. h. 5,4 cm. Clay: Soft, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, yellowish red. Surface: creamy-white slipped, most of poured. Date: Probably third quarter of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 9: Chian funnel-necked rim and neck fragment (Fig. 2)

Trench: 1249.3 parcel. Rd. 10,1 cm. h. 3,5 cm. Clay: Medium hard, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, yellowish red. Surface: Yellowish red, brown band on the rim. Date: Second half of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 10: Chian funnel-necked body fragments (Fig. 2)

Trench: Phocaea 96, Halise Erensoylu H8. Clay: Medium hard, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, pale brown. Surface: Yellowish red, light brown vertical and horizontal bands. Date: Second half of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 11: Chian base fragment (Fig. 2)

Trench: Phocaea 2008, Athena Temple, Bd. 4,1 cm. h. 7,2 cm. Clay: Hard, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, pale Brown. Surface: Yellowish red. Date: Second half of the 6th century BC.

116 MOREL 1995: 19.

117 OKAN 2014: 36.

118 OKAN 2014: 37.

Cat. No. 12: Chian swollen-necked rim and handle fragment (Fig. 3)

Trench: Phocaea 96, Halise Erensoylu, H3. h. 18,3 cm. Clay: Medium hard, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, yellowish red. Surface: Yellowish red, light, thin, brown band on the handle. Date: Second half of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 13: Chian bulbous-necked amphora (Fig. 3)

Trench: Survey. Rd. 11,1 cm. Bd. 4,2 cm. h. 75,9 cm. Clay: Medium hard, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, yellowish red. Surface: Yellowish red, Date: End of the 6th century-beginning of the 5th century BC.

Cat. No. 14: Chian bulbous-neck rim and neck fragment (Fig. 3)

Trench: Phocaea 96, Halise Erensoylu, H6. Rd. 16,6 cm. h. 8,3 cm. Clay: Medium hard, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, yellowish red. Surface: Yellowish red. Date: End of the 6th century-beginning of the 5th century BC.

Cat. No. 15: Chian bulbous-neck toe fragment (Fig. 3)

Trench: Phocaea 96, Halise Erensoylu H8. Bd. 2,1 cm. h. 4,7 cm. Clay: Medium hard, plenty of sand, micaceous and lime, yellowish red. Surface: Light brown. Date: End of the 6th century-beginning of the 5th century BC.

Cat. No. 16: Clazomenian amphora rim fragment (Fig. 3)

Trench: Malteme Tumulus 6th trench. Rd. 10,6 cm. h. 5,5 cm. Medium hard, thin sand, little micaceous, lime, pale brown. Surface: pale brown. Date: End of the 7th century-beginning of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 17: Clazomenian amphora rim fragment (Fig. 3)

Trench: Malteme Tumulus, 6th trench. Rd. 13,4 cm. h. 5,3 cm. Clay: Medium hard, sand, little micaceous, lime, pale brown. Surface: Pale brown. Date: End of the 7th century-beginning of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 18: Clazomenian amphora rim fragment (Fig. 3)

Trench: Phocaea 96, Halise Erensoylu H6. Rd. 12,1 cm. h. 6,1 cm. Clay: Soft, thin sand, little micaceous, lime, pale brown. Surface: Pale brown, black band on the rim. Date: End of the 7th century-beginning of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 19: Clazomenian amphora body and base fragment (Fig. 4)

Trench: Halise Erensoylu. Bd. 5,4 cm. h. 51,2 cm. Clay: Medium hard, sand, lime and micaceous, pale brown. Surface: Pale brown, vertical and horizontal band decoration. Date: First half of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 20: Clazomenian amphora rim fragment (Fig. 4)

Trench: Halise Erensoylu H6. Rd. 14,4 cm. h. 7,5 cm. Clay: Medium hard, sand, lime and micaceous, pale brown. Surface: Pale brown, vertical and horizontal band decoration. Date: First half of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 21: Clazomenian amphora rim fragment (Fig. 4)

Trench: Halise Erensoylu H6. Rd. 15,2 cm. h. 8,5 cm. Clay: Medium hard, sand, lime and micaceous, pale brown. Surface: Pale brown, horizontal band on the rim. Date: First half of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 22: Samian amphora rim fragment (Fig. 4)

Trench: Necropolis area, M18. Rd. 12,8 cm. h. 3,8 cm. Clay: Medium hard, sand, lime and large amount of thin micaceous, reddish yellow. Surface: Reddish yellow. Date: End of the 7th century-beginning of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 23: Samian amphora rim fragment (Fig. 4)

Trench: Phocaea 2002 Orientalizing workshop dump, Trench IV. Rd. 13,6 cm. h. 3,2 cm. Clay: Hard, little amount of sand, lime and micaceous, pinkish yellow. Surface: pale Brown firnis. Date: 620-600 BC.

Cat. No. 24: Samian amphora body and base (Fig. 4)

Trench: Phocaea 1995, Halise Erensoylu area. Bd. 6,6 cm. h. 40,9 cm. Clay: Hard, little amount of sand, golden micaceous, reddish yellow. Surface: Yellowish red. Date: 630 BC-second quarter of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 25: Samian amphora rim and neck fragment (Fig. 5)

Trench: Phocaea 1995, Halise Erensoylu area H7. Rd. 13,4 cm. h. 8,1 cm. Clay: Hard, little amount of sand, lime, micaceous, reddish yellow. Surface: Yellowish-cream slip. Date: Second half of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 26: Milesian amphora rim fragment (Fig. 5)

Trench: 1249.3 parcel. Rd. 12,4 cm. h. 3,7 cm. Clay: Hard, sand, lime, micaceous, yellowish red. Surface: Yellowish red. Date: End of the 7th century-middle of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 27: Milesian amphora rim fragment (Fig. 5)

Trench: 1249.3 parcel. Rd. 13,4 cm. h. 4,1 cm. Clay: Hard, sand, lime, micaceous, yellowish red. Surface: Yellowish red. Date: End of the 7th century-middle of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 28: Milesian amphora rim fragment (Fig. 5)

Trench: 1249.3 parcel. Rd. 15,6 cm. h. 5,2 cm. Clay: Hard, sand, lime, micaceous, yellowish red. Surface: Yellowish red. Date: Second half of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 29: Milesian amphora rim fragment (Fig. 5)

Trench: 1249.3 parcel Rd. 13,4 cm. h. 4,1 cm. Clay: Hard, sand, lime, micaceous, yellowish red. Surface: Creamy slip. Date: Second half of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 30: Grey Lesbian amphora rim fragment (Fig. 5)

Trench: Phocaea 1996, Halise Erensoylu, H7. Rd. 12,4 cm. h. 4,2 cm. Clay: Soft, sand, lime, micaceous, porous, grey. Surface: Grey. Date: 650-600 BC.

Cat. No. 31: Grey Lesbian amphora (Fig. 5)

Trench: Phocaea 2002, from sea. Rd. 12,7 cm. Bd. 7,3 cm. h. 63,3 cm. Clay: Soft, sand, lime, micaceous, porous, grey-olive green. Surface: Dark grey. Date: End of the 7th century-beginning of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 32: Red Lesbian amphora base fragment (Fig. 5)

Trench: Necropolis area M20. Bd. 3,4 cm. h. 6,1 cm. Clay: Medium hard, sand, lime, micaceous, porous, yellowish red. Surface: Yellowish red. Date: First half of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 33: Grey Lesbian amphora base fragment (Fig. 5)

Trench: Phocaea 1993, Kybele sanctuary. Bd. 1,6 cm. h. 11,1 cm. Clay: Medium hard, sand, lime, micaceous, porous, grey. Surface: Reddish grey. Date: Second half of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 34: Red Lesbian amphora (Fig. 6)

Trench: Phocaea 2002, from sea. Rd. 11,2 cm. Bd. 3,2 cm. h. 67,1 cm. Clay: Medium hard, sand, lime, micaceous, porous, light red. Surface: Light red. Date: Third quarter of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 35: Phi Type Lesbian amphora (Fig. 6)

Trench: Phocaea 2002, from sea. Rd. 9,5 cm. Bd. 7,2 cm. h. 51,2 cm. Clay: Medium hard, sand, lime, micaceous, porous, Dark grey. Surface: Grey. Date: Third quarter of the 6th century BC.

Cat. No. 36: Etruscan amphora rim fragment (Fig. 6)

Trench: Athena sanctuary. Rd. Approximately 13 cm. h. 5,1 cm. Clay: Hard, large amount of sand, lime, micaceous, porous, thin ceramic pieces, thin stones, reddish brown. Surface: Reddish brown. Date: 600-560 BC.

Cat. No. 37: Etruscan amphora rim fragment (Fig. 6)

Trench: Orientalizing ceramic workshop VI. Trench. Rd. Approximately 13,1 cm. h. 4,2 cm. Clay: Hard, large amount of sand, lime, micaceous, porous, thin ceramic pieces, thin stones, reddish brown. Surface: Reddish brown. Date: 600-560 BC.

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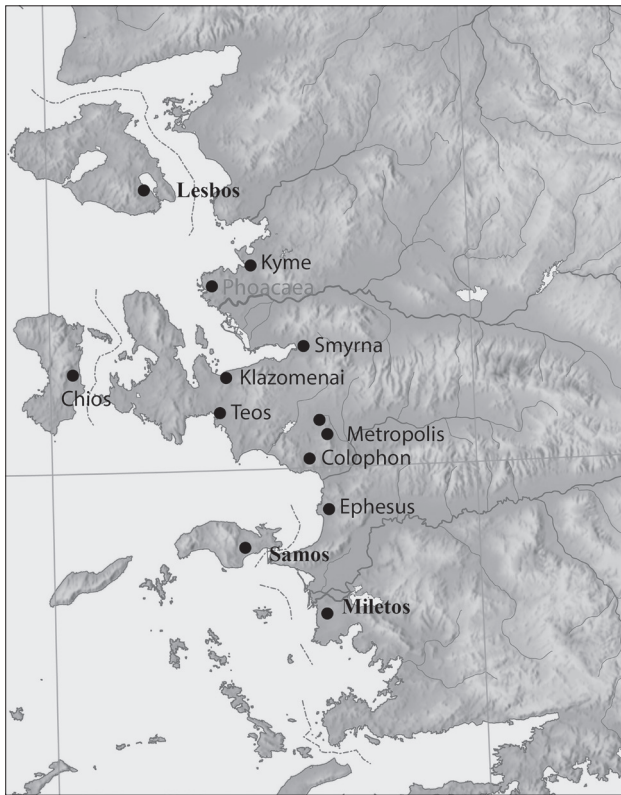


Fig. 1:
Phocaea and other Ionian cities

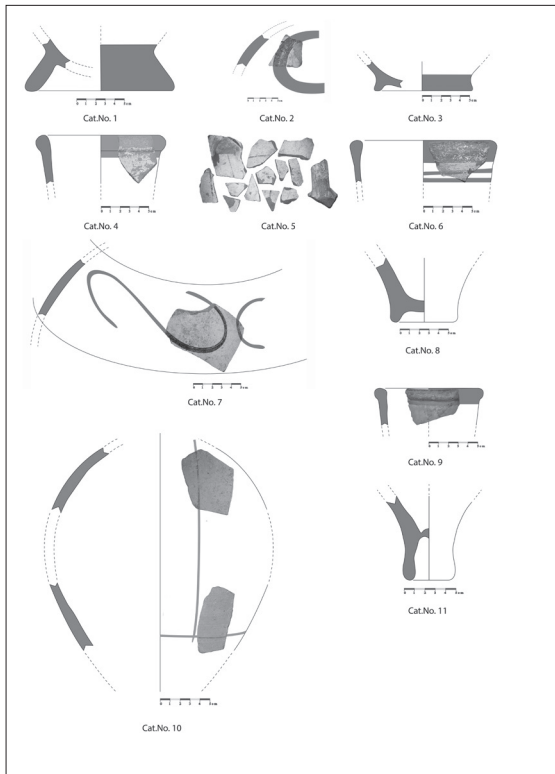


Fig. 2, SOS amphora (no. 1) , Chian amphorae (no. 2-10)

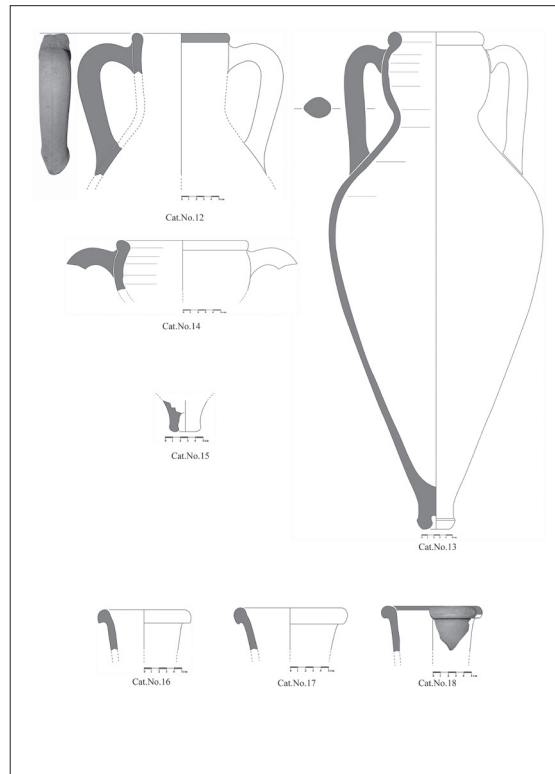


Fig. 3, Chian amphorae (no. 12-15), Clazomenae amphorae (no. 16-18)

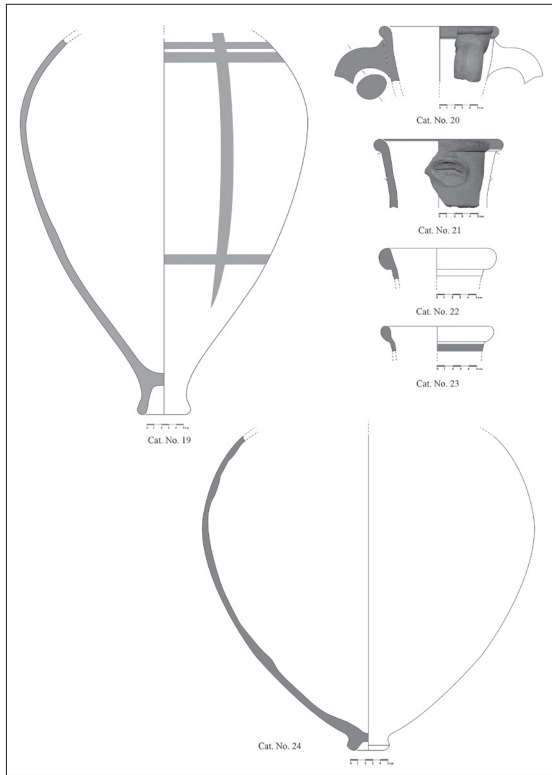


Fig. 4, Clazomenae amphorae (no. 19-21), Samian amphorae (no. 22-24)

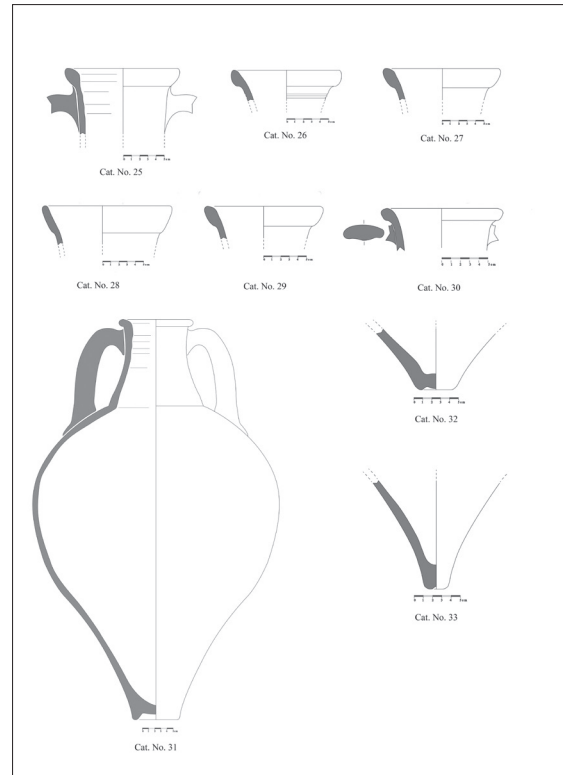


Fig. 5, Samian amphorae (no. 25), Milesian amphorae (no. 26-29), Lesbian amphorae (no. 30-33)

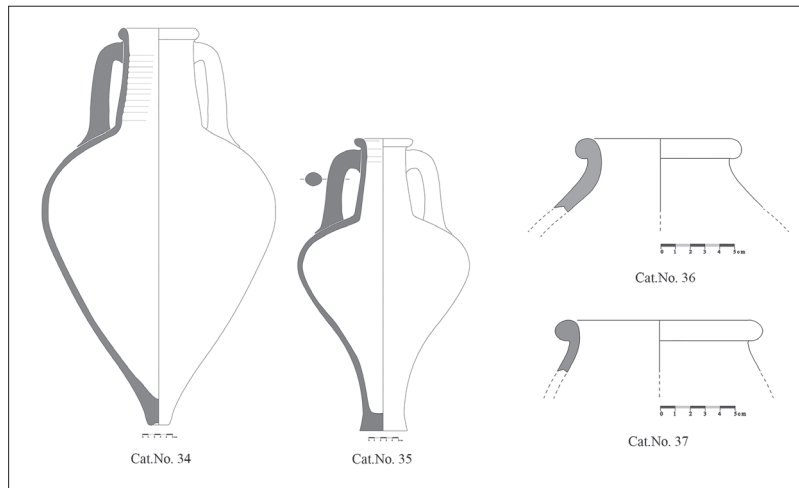


Fig. 6, Lesbian amphorae (no. 34-35), Etruscan amphorae (no. 36-37)

	SOS	CHIOS	CLAZOMENAE	SAMOS	MILETUS	LESBOS	ETRUSCAN	TOTAL	PERCENT
BC 650-600	1	5	17			19		42	9.21%
BC 600-550		49	83	17	8	35	10	202	44.30%
BC 550-500		27		36	17	88		168	36.84%
BC 500-480		42	2					44	9.65%
TOTAL	1	123	102	53	25	42	10	406	
PERCENT	0%	27%	22.37%	11.62%	5.48%	31.14%	2.19%		

Table 1. Numerical and percent distribution of commercial amphorae found in Phocaea