



**Location: FACULTY OF HISTORY (Column Hall, ground floor on the left)
UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, Krakowskie Przedmieście Street 26/28, Warsaw**

Programme

Tuesday, 22nd October 2024

- 9:30 – 9:45 *Introduction* (Horacio González Cesteros, Justin Leidwanger, Paulina Komar)
- 9:45 – 10:15 *Another Sea of Imitations: Medicine Bottles of the Hellenistic World* (John Lund)
- 10:15 – 10:45 *Tracking imitations, inspirations and visual identifiers in amphorae of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Dorota Dzierzbicka)
- 10:45 – 11:15 *Imitation as an Adaptive Strategy: Production and Use of Amphorae in Chhim and Porphyreon/Jiyeh in the Economic Context of Phoenicia* (Urszula Wicenciak-Núñez)
- 11:15 – 11:45 Coffee break**
- 11:45 – 12:15 *Cilician Imitations of Hellenistic Amphorae* (Nicholas K. Rauh)
- 12:15 – 12:45 *Imitations or regionalization? The controversial reality of pottery production in the Imperial and Late Antique province of Asia* (Horacio González Cesteros & Dimitra Voutyrea)
- 12:45 – 13:15 *The imitation of African amphorae in the Carthaginensis (Spain): reflecting on an unknown commercial phenomenon in the Late Antique Mediterranean* (Alejandro Quevedo)

13.15 – 14:30 Lunch

- 14:30 – 15:00 *Imitation as Innovation: The Diffusion of the Dressel 2-4 Amphora Type in Italy and Beyond* (Jennifer L. Muslin)
- 15:00 – 15.30 *The phenomenon of Dressel 8 similes amphorae in the Northern Adriatic territories: new perspectives on a trade in fish products in the 1st century AD* (Andrea Cipolato)
- 15:30 – 16:00 *From Lyon to the North: amphora imitation in Gaul, Germany and Britain* (Patrick Monsieur)

16:00 – 16:30 Coffee break

- 16:30 – 17:00 *Trend, opportunity or advantage? Considerations on the imitation of Greek and Carthaginian pottery by the Punic communities in the Iberian Peninsula during the Iron Age and Early Roman times* (Antonio M. Sáez Romero, Francisco J. Blanco & Álvaro Miranda)
- 17:00 – 17:30 *Working together or just copying? Dynamics of influence and imitations in the Roman Iberian Peninsula* (Horacio González Cesteros, Piero Berni Millet & Rui Roberto de Almeida)
- 17:30 – 18:00 *From packaging trade to product trade: the example of the Roman camps of León, Spain* (Ángel Morillo Cerdán & Rui Morais)

19:30 Dinner

Wednesday, 23rd October 2024

- 9:30 – 10:00 *A few words about Geto-Dacian imitations of Rhodian amphorae. Two finds from Tanais* (Marcin Matera)
- 10:00 – 10:30 *Propagation of Similar Amphorae Types on the Black Sea Littoral and Beyond* (Dominique Kassab Tezgör)

10:30 – 11:00 Coffee break

- 11:00 – 11:30 *Gaulish-ish wine in Mediterranean markets* (Justin Leidwanger)
- 11:30 – 12:00 *Containers and Contents: Exploring the Parallels between Imitations of Amphora Forms & Transported Products* (Paulina Komar)

12:00 – 12:30 *Structural modeling of Transport Amphorae – Understanding Function and Assessing Design* (Anno Hein)

12:30-13:00 *The Roman way: Pottery as a medium of Italian culture*
(Edyta Marzec & Małgorzata Kajzer)

13:00 – 14:00 Closing discussion

14:00 – 15:00 Lunch

15:00 – 16:30 Guided tour at the National Museum in Warsaw

Abstracts

The copying of objects and styles has enjoyed much attention in certain fields of ancient studies, particularly Roman sculpture and finewares, where it has been explored as a nuanced reflection of particular agency and appropriation. Imitation, however, extends beyond the high arts and fine pottery to the everyday bulk goods that touched nearly every consumer and connected the Mediterranean world. Yet such objects are often dismissed as cheap “knock off” products for undiscerning consumers, such that the deeper processes, meanings, and markets behind these behaviors are rarely interrogated. That imitations of containers and contents are more complex than mere “fakes” is clear from their circulation. What precisely, then, did this phenomenon of imitation accomplish, and what economic and social thinking does it reflect?

This conference aims to explore the phenomenon of imitation through the lens of the mass-produced containers and contents that traversed and connected the ancient Mediterranean: which goods and packages were imitated; where, when, and why did such imitations arise; what was the relationship between the imitation (a “copy”) and its model (“original”); how can we distinguish the many potential motivations behind imitating a form and product; what can this tell us about marketing and information exchange, about economic integration and fragmentation, about knowledge and production networks, and about taste and consumerism in antiquity? We take a long-term view of these imitations, embracing the period of greatest intensification and connectivity that marked the Hellenistic era through Late Antiquity. To whom did the imitation of a jar speak and what does this tell us about past transactions and distribution processes? To what extent did imitation advance or inhibit economic growth and development?

The containers cannot be disentangled from their contents or the social and economic behaviors surrounding them. We therefore encourage participants to engage simultaneously with the imitations of amphoras themselves (their shapes, production technologies, etc.) and their contents (styles of wine, qualities or fish products, etc.) along with the economic and consumptive behaviors potentially also imitated as part of these dynamics. To this end, we advocate for interdisciplinary approaches that combine pottery studies, archaeometry, literary and epigraphic evidence with recent developments in anthropological theory. Contributions will address specific case studies of types/forms or production/exchange/consumption contexts, or local, regional and/or Mediterranean-wide trajectories in imitation.

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The phenomenon of Dressel 8 *similes* amphorae in the Northern Adriatic territories: new perspectives on a trade in fish products in the 1st century A.D.

Andrea Cipolato (DSU, Ca' Foscari University Venice)

The contribution intends to investigate the commercial phenomenon represented by a group of amphorae 'of betic morphology, but with anomalous characteristics', which are found, although with modest quantitative indexes, in various contexts of the 1st century AD in north-eastern Italy (*Regio X Venetia* and *Regio VIII Aemilia*). Despite the fact that these containers appear similar to the betic models represented by Dressel 8 and Dressel 12, they differ from the latter in terms of their fabrics and the formulary proposed by the *tituli picti*. Their distribution limited to the territories gravitating around the Northern Adriatic has led scholars to the hypothesis that they are a local imitation of the better-known Betic containers, destined to carry sauces and fish preserves produced 'in the Hispanic manner' (as some of the *tituli* found on these amphorae indicate) along the fishy coasts of north-eastern Italy. However, the determination of their origin is still *sub iudice*, as archaeometric analyses conducted so far on the fabrics of some of the published specimens have not provided conclusive answers.

The recent study conducted by the author, which reconstructed the amphora landscape in the ports of the Northern Adriatic in the Roman period, led to the analysis of an important and still unpublished group of Dressel 8 *similes* from the suburb of Aquileia. It has thus been possible to re-examine the significance of this commercial presence not only in relation to a large emporium such as Aquileia, but also in the much broader framework of the Adriatic economy, an aspect that has so far been little explored in specialist literature. In fact, the use of statistical methods on the amphora data coming from some of the focal sites in the area has made it possible to trace the trends of this trade flow over time, comparing them with those of the Betic imports and some local productions (such as the so-called 'Adriatic fish amphorae'). Should the ongoing archaeometrical investigations on the Aquileia specimens of Dressel 8 *similes* confirm their Adriatic origin, this group of amphorae would represent a non-marginal commercial phenomenon, not to be understood as a mere counterfeit of Betic products, but rather as a relevant piece in the framework of the Adriatic fish economy in the 1st century AD.

Tracking imitations, inspirations and visual identifiers in amphorae of Graeco-Roman Egypt

Dorota Dzierzbicka (Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw)

In Egypt, the impact of imported vessels on the local pottery industry is apparent as early as Pharaonic times, when the shape of Egyptian amphorae was reminiscent of Levantine production. In the Graeco-Roman period, this phenomenon became even more pronounced with a shift of focus to the Aegean world. This shift, combined with the influx of Hellenes and the popularity of Aegean wines in Mediterranean markets, led to a fundamental change in the concept of what an amphora should look like. Amphora-borne goods, mainly wine, were imported to meet the growing demand in Egypt. Egyptian amphorae were clearly inspired by these imported models, as evidenced by their distinctive morphological features, such as a ringed "knidian" toe or bifid "koan" handles. Papyri show the use of geographical vessel names, such as *khion*, *koon*, or *askalonion*, which refer to vessels of a particular capacity or shape. Importantly, they tend to post-date the occurrence of imports in the amphora evidence. A prime example is the *knidion*, which became the term for a wine jar *par excellence* from the 3rd century AD onwards, following the importance of Knidian wine and jars in the Hellenistic period.

Using evidence from ceramics and papyri, the paper presents examples of Egyptian amphorae inspired by imports and considers the reasons for creating such imitations. Textual sources show that they were not intended to deceive the consumers, but helped to identify the nature of the contents, provided a local alternative to imported goods and gave an indication of the vessel's capacity. They also reflected the fashions and trends of the day in Egypt's seaports – its windows to the world.

Imitations or regionalization? The controversial reality of pottery production in the Imperial and Late Antique province of Asia

Horacio González Cesteros (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Dimitra Voutyrea (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut/Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

The western Anatolian territories, the former Roman province of Asia together with the nearby islands in the eastern Aegean, was a privileged geographical area, where the production of commodities such as oil and wine took place in a massive way at least from the Classical period. From late Hellenistic/Republican times the area was integrated in the Roman Mediterranean, first in an economic, and later in a political way. The products of the region found new and broader markets not only in the Eastern but also in the Western Mediterranean, increasing their production and the richness of the cities of western Asia Minor. Thus, from this moment on, and especially once the Roman administration started to be effective after the dramatic episode of the Mithriadic Wars, we assist to the creation of a ceramic koine based on Hellenistic forerunners but already developed under Roman parameters.

In this presentation we would like to focus on the closed relations between the new organization/administration of the territories included within the Roman province, and the creation of some provincial amphora types, exploring if we can really talk about imitations when we present the amphora production of cities such as Ephesus, Miletus or Pergamon, or better of close productive relations framed within the Roman provincial system.

We do think that the dynamic of the Classical and early Hellenistic period, continued during the first moments of Roman occupation, was transformed once the provincial administration started to be operational from the mid-1st century BCE. This trend was maintained in Late Antiquity, even if the provincial territories shrank, and culminated in the production of just a couple of amphora types from the latest moments of the 6th and specially the 7th century.

We would like to search for an answer to such important questions such as the role of the State and Religious institutions in the pottery - especially amphora - production in Roman Asia; the most vital production hubs within the province and their role as diffusion centres of forms and types of amphora and other pottery classes; the archaeological state of research regarding the production in the eastern Aegean of the commodities packed in amphorae; and the information coming from epigraphic remains found on amphorae for the ownership of the workshops and amphora products.

Working together or just copying? Dynamics of influence and imitations in the Roman Iberian Peninsula

Horacio González Cesteros (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Piero Berni Millet (Instituto Catalán de Arqueología Clásica)

Rui Roberto de Almeida (Centro de Arqueologia da Universidade Lisboa)

Scholars tend to see the Iberian Peninsula as a privileged area for the study of ancient economy, with special regard to the production of metals and different agricultural commodities. This powerful economic role of ancient Hispania has been regarded from different perspectives, including the analysis of the transport containers object of export of the Hispanic agricultural commodities, or of other pottery types with a more limited diffusion scope. However, except for some works, mainly for the Republican/Hellenistic periods, one of the pending issues in the research about the Iberian Peninsula economy is the scarcity of specific overviews dealing with the impact that imports had during most periods of Antiquity, and how they contribute to the construction of the new provincial productive frameworks and its pottery repertoires. These “sub phenomena” of the massive imports

merit more attention since it can be extraordinary helpful for illustrating the economy and society of Roman Hispania.

In this paper we would like to present for Hispania's territory the range and variety of the pottery forms that, in search for a better name, we still call "imitations", both transport containers and other pottery types belonging to the ceramic set of any excavation. The imitation phenomenon in the Iberian Peninsula was multifaceted and took place in different periods, virtually attaining any region of the Hispanic geography. Grosso modo, it can be divided in three layers that can succeed in time, or being developed coetaneous: 1) Imitations of vessels originally produced in extra Hispanic regions (such as Italy, Africa or the Aegean); 2) Intra Hispanic imitations, that is to say, imitations of vessels originally produced in one specific region of the Iberian Peninsula, and later in other area of the Hispanic geography; 3) A last step in this process would be the modifications/reinterpretations by future generations of those previous imitations that were especially successful.

In our opinion, even if these steps can be somehow connected, they correspond to different economic dynamics, linked to different trade and cultural relations. Our presentation will be focused in the whole Antiquity, but specially in the Republican/Hellenistic and Imperial periods, since for earlier and later moments there are other presentations that will focus on their specific issues.

Structural modeling of Transport Amphorae – Understanding Function and Assessing Design

Anno Hein (Institute of Nanoscience and Nanotechnology, N.C.S.R. "Demokritos")

The intrinsic material properties of particular ceramic fabrics concerning their mechanical performance can be investigated in the laboratory through material testing of specimens with standardized geometries. These can be either cut from authentic ceramic fragments or be prepared as replicates emulating the observed fabrics. The material tests allow for assessing manufacturing parameters, such as raw material selection, clay paste preparation and firing conditions. The assessment of the vessel shape and its effect on performance, such as in the case of the large variety of amphora types, is more complex and difficult. Destructive material testing of entire vessels is impossible as far as it concerns intact archaeological amphorae. The production and testing of exact replicates, on the other hand, involves considerable uncertainties. In an alternative approach digital 3D models of ceramic amphorae can be virtually tested for their performance under simulated loads using the finite element method (FEM). The digital 3D models can be generated for example from two dimensional profiles, which are digitalized and rotated around the symmetry axis in a CAD program. More realistic digital amphora models can be directly generated either by using a 3D scanner or by using computer tomography. For the FEM model the solid 3D models of amphorae are linked with the intrinsic material properties, which were determined in the laboratory or simulated based on the microstructure. Furthermore, virtual loads and constraints are defined. In this way particular shape parameters can be investigated and different amphora types can be assessed in view of mechanical performance. The FEM simulation provides not only information about the function and use of transport amphorae but it allows also for interpreting observed damages caused by potentially critical loads.

Propagation of Similar Amphorae Types on the Black Sea Littoral and Beyond

Dominique Kassab Tezgör (Bilkent University)

The understanding that the production of each center could be recognizable by the shapes of its amphorae is denied by the existence of similar shapes made somewhere else. This paper will focus on the Roman period and more specifically on some types produced in more than one center on the Black Sea littoral but also for some of them in other geographical spheres, including the Eastern Mediterranean.

It will question the possible reasons for this phenomenon: do the centers producing a similar shape of amphorae belong to the same commercial network, or do we witness a morphological standardization in some Roman colonies? Should we look for some other reasons related to the content or the usability of the vessels? The first conclusions that we hope to reach may help to determine if in most of the case you are dealing with imitations or, more probably, a deliberated similitude of shape to serve a specific purpose.

Containers and Contents: Exploring the Parallels between Imitations of Amphora Forms and Transported Products

Paulina Komar (University of Warsaw)

Scholars and archaeologists have long studied the physical attributes of amphora imitations, focusing on the similarities and differences between the form of a prototype and its copy. It has often been assumed, without much reflection, that imitating a form was linked to its function, thus implying the imitation of the product it transported.

In this presentation, I aim to explore this subject by examining a few case studies. These include the relationship between imitations of Dressel 2-4 amphoras and the practice of making wines with seawater, the distribution of the so-called Pseudo-Rhodian amphoras and the production of raisin wines, as well as the rationale behind creating copies of Gallic and Baetican amphoras on the German limes.

Drawing upon interdisciplinary methodologies, including historical and archaeological research integrated with archaeometric analyses, I will attempt to determine whether amphora imitations simply replicate the material aspects of the original vessels or if they also imply the imitation of content. By placing these findings in the context of ancient trade, I seek to ascertain whether the imitation of content was a deliberate attempt to deceive or a creative reinterpretation of tradition.

Gaulish-ish wine in Mediterranean markets

Justin Leidwanger (Stanford University)

The wines of Roman Gaul achieved some commercial success from the 1st century CE not only regionally but far beyond, carried to Mediterranean markets largely in their distinctive amphoras typologized as Gauloise 4. The containers provide vital evidence for their contents, and this success generated imitations of the jars—and presumably also their Gaulish wine—quite rapidly. Imitations appear perhaps first in eastern Spain, but eventually extend to farther-flung lands, including the Dressel 30 type associated with 3rd-century North Africa, especially Mauretania. An amphora with similar distinctively imitative features was even among the broad repertoire produced in Cilicia. Several cargos provide key evidence for the dynamics of their trade, including a shipwreck off southeast Cyprus that was carrying Gauloise 4 jars alongside Cilician imitations.

How can we understand this phenomenon of widespread imitation of Gaulish containers and contents in the context of Mediterranean commercial markets? The various types were clearly in dialog, but to what extent were these cheap knock-off products (e.g., sparkling wine misleadingly labeled as champagne) or simply alternatives (e.g., prosecco)? Drawing on concepts of commodity branding, I examine the varied chronologies and relative distributions—focusing especially on the eastern Mediterranean—as well as the affordances and transport costs and contexts of “Gaulish-style” jars. This approach brings the relationship between “imitation” and its “authentic” referent into focus, shedding light on the motivations and mechanisms behind imitative behavior and in turn on how consumer taste and knowledge were shared and structured in the Roman world. The broad visual similarity and easy distinction among the forms suggest that the imitation was no “import substitute”

or “fake.” Rather, the two were discernable competitors in a shared and mutually beneficial market that made space for both Gaulish and Gaulish-*ish* wines.

Another Sea of Imitations: Medicine Bottles of the Hellenistic World

John Lund (National Museum of Denmark)

The paper is a case study of the Hellenistic ceramic stamped medicine bottles, an artefact class with many properties in common with the transport amphorae: they were often stamped, in this case by medicine providers (presumably doctors or drug dealers), and they were widely exported due to their contents, albeit at a far smaller scale than the amphorae. The paper will attempt an overview of the production and trade in such medicine bottles with special attention given to the evidence for fake-products. The wider aim of the contribution is to provide a sidelight on the imitation of mass-produced transport amphorae and their contents, in order to investigate what – if anything – the medicine bottles can contribute to our understanding of the theoretical questions posed by the organizers of the conference.

The Roman way: Pottery as a medium of Italian culture

Edyta Marzec (Fitch Laboratory, British School at Athens, Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland)

Malgorzata Kajzer (Jagiellonian University in Krakow)

The beginning of the Roman expansion into the Eastern Mediterranean in the 2nd c. BCE was accompanied by the movement of people and various goods from Italy. The latter includes thin-walled ware and cooking ware pottery, whose distribution seems to be associated with the presence of the Roman population rather than systematic trade. These vessels, included forms foreign to the traditions of Eastern ceramic production (e.g. cooking pan), were possibly needed to drink and to cook in the style to which the Roman people were accustomed. However, the popularity of Italian pottery among the inhabitants of the Eastern Mediterranean increased in Augustan-Tiberian times (27 BCE – 37 CE). Its importance is reflected not only in the higher frequency of Italian imports but also in the regional production and consumption of forms imitating them. In this paper, we will discuss the influence of Roman drinking and culinary traditions on the culture of the Eastern provinces.

A few words about Geto-Dacian imitations of Rhodian amphorae. Two finds from Tanais

Marcin Matera (University of Warsaw)

During excavations at Tanais, two artefacts, constituting examples of imitations of Rhodian amphorae were discovered. One of them is an intact amphora discovered in 2012 in grave no. 584. The second example is an anepigraphic stamp discovered in 2017 in Trench XXV. Both artefacts belong to the amphora type previously unknown in the city and its necropolis. Most likely, this type of imitations of Rhodian amphorae were produced by the Geto-Dacian tribes. The locally produced wine transported in them was mainly used to meet the needs of the regional market and the local population. This is confirmed by the fact that the finds from Tanais constitute the second case when imitations of Rhodian amphorae have been discovered in the area of the ancient city.

From Lyon to the North: amphora imitation in Gaul, Germany and Britain

Patrick Monsieur (Ghent University)

After its creation in 43 BC *Lugdunum*, present-day Lyon, grew out as the political, cultural and economic centre of Gaul. Its position on the confluence of the rivers Rhône and Saône turned out to be vital in the connection of the Mediterranean and the Alpine passes with the river system of Gaul and the Rhenish territories. In the beginning and during the course of the 1st century AD Lyon was also an important amphora production centre imitating a wide variety of Mediterranean types. Especially the Spanish amphora types for fish-based products became most popular and were destined to the markets in the North. In southern Gaul olive amphorae coined as the August 21 type were inspired by the Haltern 70 types. A rare Dressel 2-4 amphora production had a short existence in Britain. But the flat-bottomed wine amphorae from workshops of *Baetica*, *Tarraconensis* and *Narbonensis* were the most inspiring types that stimulated regional productions in Gaul and Rhineland. This success of flat-bottomed amphorae remained unabated during the 2nd and 3rd centuries as is clear from numerous examples found in *Gallia Belgica* and *Germania Inferior*. This is not only due to the introduction of wine growing in this regions, but also by local imitations of Mediterranean products such as fish- and oil-based foods stuffs stimulating interregional exchange. Finally there is also the technological explanation since flat-bottomed amphorae being most convenient for transportation by river barges and wagons. To the end of the 2nd and in the 3rd centuries one sees the coming of large containers imitating the Baetican Dressel 20 which were produced in Rhineland and Northern Gaul, especially the Gauloise 13 type. Otherwise the reuse of Mediterranean amphorae and its regional imitations as water and food containers reflect another side within the local economic chains of exchange. In the North amphorae and their contents, whether they were genuine imports or imitations, definitely figure among the most peculiar examples of Romanisation in material culture and consumer behavior.

From packaging trade to product trade: the example of the Roman camps of León (Spain)

Ángel Morillo Cerdán (University Complutense of Madrid)

Rui Morais (University of Porto)

In recent years, we have seen significant advances in studies of Roman ceramics, particularly transport containers, refining chrono-typology, their use and significance in the context of the economy and trade, and mineralogical and chemical analyses, allowing for the characterisation and provenance of productions and the identification of transported and stored contents. However, one of the aspects that still merits analysis and problematisation is the identification of containers, basically flat-bottomed, used to complement and sometimes even replace traditional transport amphorae, used as an internal redistribution mechanism of military rations. As we have already had the opportunity to emphasise previously, this is about reaching new research paradigms. This paradigm shift has made it difficult to contemplate the transport of liquid and semi-liquid substances purely in terms of "canonical" amphorae. It is becoming increasingly evident that the Roman world used other types of containers as well, both ceramic (flat-bottomed amphorae) and perishable (wineskins and barrels), to cover all segments of the marketing process, from packaging at source to redistribution in the area of consumption centers. In this brief study, we intend to return to this theme by highlighting the Roman legionary fortress of Leon (Spain), which, due to the problems they pose, have proved to be a paradigmatic case for study on a peninsular level and on the scale of the Empire. As we'll emphasise, the use of flat-bottomed containers and other types of small, commonly used containers were used in the supply and diet of the soldiers of the *castra* of León.

As we will see, this phenomenon is not only associated with the demands and dynamics that determined the life of the armies, but also involved a network of relations with the civilian world, as an undeniable pole of attraction for a population established in the annexed military *vici* of León and Puente Castro-Ad Legionem.

Another phenomenon under study is associated with production activities within the military supply, witnessing the existence of production workshops, *fabrica legionis* and *figlinae*, the latter responsible for the manufacture of different ceramics, including, among others, local *terra sigillata* of Italic tradition, common ceramics and storage and transport containers, the later basics for the trade in packaging and products.

Imitation as Innovation: The Diffusion of the Dressel 2-4 Amphora Type in Italy and Beyond

Jennifer L. Muslin (Loyola University Chicago)

From the second half of the first century BCE through the second century CE, the Dressel 2-4 amphora was one of the most widely produced and copied containers in the Roman world. Unlike geographically specific amphora types whose production was confined to particular regions, the Dressel 2-4 was made in many different places contemporaneously, a quality that distinguishes it from other forms. Its influence and reproduction extended not only to various Dressel 2-4 workshops in the Bay of Naples, the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic coasts of Italy, Egypt, North Africa, Iberia, and Southern France but also in the adoption of some of its key design elements such as bifid handles, cylindrical necks, and beaded rims in other amphora productions.

While the origins of the Dressel 2-4 form are debated, its influence and diffusion are well documented. Using my analysis of an assemblage of more than 1,500 Dressel 2-4 amphorae from the first century CE packaging center of Oplontis Villa B near Pompeii, this paper addresses the versatility, durability, and recognizability of the form, exploring elements of design, technology, and variation that made this type one of the most imitated vessels in classical antiquity.

The imitation of African amphorae in the Carthagenensis (Spain): reflecting on an unknown commercial phenomenon in the Late Antique Mediterranean

Alejandro Quevedo (Institute of History, Spanish National Research Council)

During the 4th-5th centuries AD, the coast of Carthago Nova (Cartagena, Southeastern Spain) was an active amphora production centre, mainly for salsamenta and fish sauces. Among the different types manufactured, one particular phenomenon stands out: the imitation of African amphorae. Although in recent decades these amphorae have become better known in the archaeological record, their impact outside the local markets has not yet been analysed in depth. This presentation provides some archaeometric and typological clues on the identification of these transport containers. The distribution of the amphorae produced in the coastal cities of the Carthagenensis is studied for the first time. Through the analysis of recent finds including unpublished data from shipwrecks and quantified contexts, this lecture offers a new vision of Late Roman Trade in the West.

Cilician Imitations of Hellenistic Amphoras

Nicholas K. Rauh (Purdue University)

Third century BC Egyptian papyri demonstrate the importation of “aged” wine from Korakesion and elsewhere in Rough Cilicia (P. Mich. Zen. I.1; P. Cairo Zen. IV, 59680). The amphoras used to convey this wine remain unknown. Kiln sites identified in western Rough Cilicia all appear to have commenced production during the Early Roman era and do not present themselves as likely candidates for Hellenistic amphora production. Amphora fragments stamped *NAG(idos)* provide one possible solution. K. Şenol and E. Aşkın (2007) have demonstrated that the settlement at Nagidos (about 15 km. east of Anamur) generated a sequence of Late Classical - Early Hellenistic amphoras that imitated popular Aegean forms -- including an imitation Samian form and an imitation North Aegean form. Numerous examples of similar forms are found in Cyprus and more recently in the Anamur Archaeological Museum. Although no kiln sites have emerged to situate the production of these forms,

the likelihood that they originated in Rough Cilicia and Cyprus seems great. Why amphora producers in this region wanted to imitate North Aegean forms remains another question.

Trend, opportunity or advantage? Considerations on the imitation of Greek and Carthaginian pottery by the Punic communities in the Iberian Peninsula during the Iron Age and Early Roman times.

Antonio M. Sáez Romero (Universidad de Sevilla)

Francisco J. Blanco (Universidad de Sevilla)

Álvaro Miranda (Universidad de Sevilla)

The ceramic imitations in Antiquity are a long-known topic in the archaeology of the Iberian Peninsula. The regular contact of the western Phoenician-Punic communities with people and goods from the Greek world throughout the 1st millennium BC (and also from other thriving cultural and economic spheres, such as the Etruscan, the Carthaginian, the Egyptian-Levantine area, etc.), as a result of the expanding maritime trade, gave rise to multiple economic, technological and cultural developments that in turn led to the creation of products adapted to the changing technical needs and consumer habits. Western Phoenician ceramic production workshops were very dynamic, versatile in imitating foreign designs and adapting these prototypes to local consumption patterns, generating both successful replicas and hybrid types. In the last decades there has been an exponential increase in the knowledge of the main Punic pottery production hubs identified along the Iberian coasts and, therefore, of their manufactures, among which the amphoras and tablewares have been the most researched groups both from a typological and archaeometric point of view and in terms of their social and economic significance. In this contribution we provide an overview of the evolution of the imitative trends in the Punic workshops of Iberia from the early Iron Age to the first phases of the Roman period. Such trends responded to commercial stimuli (local and regional demands), to the consumption fashions of the most influential spheres at each period, and also to the adoption/adaptation of technical advances aimed at optimizing the operational sequences of production and transport (a particularly notable feature in the case of amphorae). A rough overview reveals that from the beginning of the colonial phase the imitation of Greek wares and amphorae was the main target, and that the Greek world continued to be the main reference for the creation of imitations and adaptations until the Hellenistic phase. The influence of Carthaginian repertoires became more pronounced between the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., and only after the Second Punic War and during the expansion in Hispania the imitation of Roman amphorae and finewares would substantially transform the ceramic repertoires of the former western Punic cities.

Imitation as an Adaptive Strategy: Production and Use of Amphorae in Chhim and Porphyreon/Jiyeh in the Economic Context of Phoenicia.

Urszula Wicenciak-Núñez (Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw)

In the era of intense trade and cultural exchanges across the Mediterranean, the imitation of ceramic forms, particularly amphorae, represented evidence of intercultural contacts and an adaptive strategy serving local economic and social needs. This study focuses on Phoenicia's production and imitation practices, with particular emphasis on centers such as Chhim and Porphyreon/Jiyeh, which reflect regional responses to Hellenistic and Roman influences and their integration into the economic structures of these periods.

The main objective of the presentation is to analyze how local workshops adapted and transformed adopted production patterns – from techniques to the shape and function of amphorae – to meet Phoenicia's commercial and cultural demands. Special attention is given to the diversity of amphora forms and their impact on local production practices and communities, as well as their significance for broader trade dynamics in the region.

The analysis of imitation cases of amphorae from Chhim and Porphyreon serves as a case study of adaptation to the needs of the olive oil and wine market and the influence of these processes on trade and social patterns. The presentation also serves as a basis for discussing how imitation in ancient ceramic production can reflect complex economic and cultural integration processes.

Emphasis will be placed on the importance of studying imitation in the archaeological and economic context, to expand the understanding of the impact of such practices on the formation of exchange networks in the ancient Mediterranean world.