

OLD CUPS DIE HARD: THE APPROPRIATION OF ATHENIAN POTTERY IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

DIANA RODRÍGUEZ PÉREZ

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

Catalogue of case-study objects

(a) Case study 1

Item: Cástulo cup. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, inv. no. 1979/70/GAL/T20/9¹ (fig. 3).

Date of manufacture: ca. 460–450 BC (on stylistic grounds).

Iconography/shape: none/black-gloss cup. Reserved panel between handle and reserved underside and outside face of foot. Heavily misfired. The handle of the cup, which was missing, was found during re-excavation of the tomb. The cup is presently on display in the museum, so I could not inspect it myself, but Sánchez does not refer to any signs of wear on it.²

Archaeological context: tomb 20, necropolis of Tútugi (Galera, Granada).

Date of context: late fifth-century BC.

Identify of deceased: the consensus among Spanish archaeologists is that tomb 20 belonged either to the founding couple of the lineage or to the female member of the couple only (according to this latter view, the man would be interred in tomb 11).³ Almagro-Gorbea opts for the identification of the deceased as a *basileus kai ieros* and understands the grave goods as ritual objects linked to the practice of the sacred anointing of kings and deities and the performance of libations attested in Syrio-Phoenician religion that would have survived into the Iberian period.⁴

*Other grave goods:*⁵ Athenian red-figure krater;⁶ various Iberian vessels, including polychrome pottery, urns, plates and bowl lids; three glass amphoriskoi from the East; a phiale mesomphalos; a metal rod; and the Lady of Galera;(libation device; fig. 4).⁷

Other heirlooms: The Lady of Galera: an alabaster statuette of the goddess Astarté sitting on a throne flanked by two sphinxes. She holds a bowl in her hands, her breasts are pierced and the top of her head is open. According to Almagro-Gorbea, it was manufactured in a north Syrian workshop in the eighth century BC and would have been part of the *sacra gentilicia* of the royal family of Galera.⁸ It was a curated object in its own right: it shows signs of wear over its body and an intentional alteration in the area of the handles.

¹ I thank Esperanza Manso for facilitating access to this cup and other Attic material from Iberian sites kept in the Archaeological Museum of Madrid.

² Domínguez and Sánchez (2001) 223–24.

³ Rodríguez and Pérez (2013) 444; Rodríguez (2014) 260–01. On tomb 20, see also Rodríguez et al. (2008).

⁴ Almagro-Gorbea (2009) 25–27.

⁵ Olmos (2004) 229–32; Rodríguez (2014) 74–75 (CD-ROM).

⁶ Fragments of red-figure pottery were found in tomb 20 during excavation in 2006 by Rodríguez Ariza and her team. The krater might have been destroyed when the tomb was looted: Rodríguez (2014) 256. The presence of the krater in the tomb invalidates theories that hypothesize a conscious attempt to avoid fully incorporating the new fashions from Greece into burial, similar to the situation encountered in tomb 155 at Baza, home to the Lady of Baza.

⁷ Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, inv. no. 33438; Olmos (2004); Almagro-Gorbea (2009).

⁸ Almagro-Gorbea (2009) 25.

Discussion of archaeological context: tomb 20 is the most important burial of the site;⁹ it structures the use of the space of the necropolis and had two phases of use. It was first a tomb that was periodically opened for the performance of various rituals and was later converted into an open-air sanctuary surrounded by a red-painted platform in the shape of an ox-hide, a symbol of Phoenician origin that harks back to older Orientalizing altars, the most famous of which is that at the Phoenician sanctuary at El Carambolo (Seville).¹⁰ The material assemblage likely belongs to the first phase of the structure.

(b) Case study 2

Item: Cástulo cup. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, inv. no. 1979/70/GAL/T11/3.

Date of manufacture: ca. 460–450 BC (on stylistic grounds).

Iconography/shape: none/black-gloss cup. Reserved panel between handle and reserved underside and outside face of foot.

Archaeological context: tomb 11, necropolis of Tútugi (Galera, Granada).

Date of context: late fifth to early fourth century BC.

Identity of deceased: a prominent member of the lineage of Tútugi, either the male founder or a close relative.¹¹

*Other grave goods:*¹² upper tumulus: Athenian red-figure krater by the Group of Polygnotos (ca. 440 BC) with libation scene¹³ (side A: youth on horseback and Nike performing a libation with an oinochoe (wine jug) and phiale (libation bowl); side B: three draped youths); various Iberian vessels, including urns with out-turned rims, plates and an amphora; metal items, including a niello belt buckle, a spearhead and end cap, three(?) horse-bits and a ring fibula.

Lower tumulus: an Iberian plate or cup; a bowl; a fragment of an iron fibula; fragments of a bronze jar.

Other heirlooms: Athenian red-figure krater by the Group of Polygnotos (ca. 440 BC).

Discussion of archaeological context: like tomb 20, tomb 11 had two phases. First, it was a burial mound with ritual activity in its surroundings.¹⁴ It collapsed shortly after its construction and a second structure was built on top: a funerary chamber surrounded by an ox-hide shaped platform.¹⁵ The first tumulus was found only during work in the 2000s and it contained a few fragmentary objects. This material poses a problem because it is chronologically later (early fourth century) than that of the upper chamber, which has been dated to the second half of the fifth century based on the red-figure krater attributed by Beazley to the Group of Polygnotos (ca. 440 BC). The architectural characteristics of the chamber and some of the grave goods point to a date in the late fifth century. To sort out the

⁹ Tomb 20 and tomb 11 (case study 2) are in sectors I and II of the necropolis. According to their excavators, these areas were ‘preferred by the better off families of Tútugi’: Cabré and Motos (1920) 19.

¹⁰ On the sanctuary of El Carambolo, see, for example, Fernández and Rodríguez (2005); Escacena et al. (2007); and Escacena and Amores (2011). On ox-hide altars and their symbolism in the Iberian peninsula, see Almagro-Gorbea et al. (2011–2012).

¹¹ In 2004 it was suggested that the remains might belong to a woman (Pereira et al. (2004) 84), but this identification has not been confirmed and the deceased seems more likely to have been male according to Rodríguez (2014) 261. In any case, the gender question is tangential to the argument here.

¹² Rodríguez (2014) 62 (CD-ROM).

¹³ Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, inv. no. 1979/70/GAL/T11/2, BAPD 213687. As in the previous case, the presence of a krater in this context should come as little surprise. The occurrence of a krater and cup in an Iberian tomb does not necessarily allude to the actual practice of the symposium and cannot be taken as a sign of Hellenization, rather, these shapes are usually invested with different meanings and uses in the Iberian context. The recent findings of the team from the Instituto Universitario de Investigación en Arqueología Ibérica of the University of Jaén at the sanctuary of Puente Tablas (Jaén) are relevant in this regard. Residue analysis has revealed remains of native sulphur in both a bell-krater and one of the Attic cups from the sanctuary, which is indicative of their function as containers of purified water during religious libation ceremonies (see Parras et al. (2015) 511, 517). The iconography of the krater is very suggestive, too, and fits nicely in a ritual context. It is very fragmentary, but it is possible to reconstruct a scene of sacrifice on an altar, with meat on spits, before a herm of either Dionysos or Hermes, iconography popularized by the Splanchnopt Painter in the early Classical period. I thank Carmen Rueda for information about these findings and their publication, and her warm hospitality. She also kindly let me examine the fragmentary krater at the Institute in Jaén in 2017.

¹⁴ Rodríguez (2014) 54.

¹⁵ Rodríguez (2014) 52–56.

chronological riddle, the excavators propose that the assemblage from the upper chamber was originally placed in the first tomb and was transferred to the chamber when the tumulus collapsed.¹⁶ This scenario is plausible, but it is worth noting that the date of the second half of the fifth century derives exclusively from Polygnotos' krater and the conventional dating of the old Cástulo cups. The remaining material of both the upper chamber (for example, an Iberian ash-urn associated with the Athenian pottery)¹⁷ and the earlier tumulus can more comfortably be dated to the late fifth to early fourth century. If it were not for the krater and the cup, both phases would be dated to the end of the fifth or early fourth century, in line with tombs 20 and 34. Therefore, the evidence suggests that both the krater and the cup are curated objects.

(c) Case study 3

Item: red-figure stemless cup. Jaén, Museo Provincial de Jaén, inv. no. 11145/36.¹⁸

Date of manufacture: ca. 420 BC (on stylistic grounds).

Iconography: Interior: youth draped in a *himation* looking to the right, next to the *terma* of the *palaestra*. Exterior: undecorated.

Archaeological context: tomb 11/145, necropolis of Castellones de Ceal (Jaén).¹⁹

Date of context: carbon-14 analysis of the wood from the structure gives a date of 370 + 60 BC.²⁰ The Iberian pottery from the context has a similar chronology.

Identify of deceased: a male, 30–50 years old.

Other grave goods: lower chamber: Iberian funerary urn with the remains of the deceased and some personal objects such as gold earrings, a silver ring, bronze tweezers, a bead and a button; three Iberian urns with red painting on plaster; a local bowl; chicken eggshells; burnt and unburnt animal bones; remains of a seashell.²¹ The Athenian cup and the local bowl were closely associated with the faunal remains, possibly a sheep deposited as part of a ritual.

Upper chamber: four bowls; an inkpot with some fragments of eggshells inside; further burnt bones and eggshells.

Other heirlooms: none identifiable in this tomb. The necropolis of Castellones de Ceal offers few opportunities for the identification of chronologically displaced artefacts because only three of its burials include more than one Attic vase. Unfortunately, the chronology for local Iberian material relies heavily on the dates provided by Athenian pottery.

Discussion of archaeological context: tomb 11/145 was a well-executed funerary structure with two chambers: a lower one with grave goods pertaining to the deceased and an upper chamber with offerings left after the funeral. The upper chamber was separated from the lower by a wooden floor.²²

(4) Case study 4

Item: Two red-figure type B cups by the Painter of London E106. Alicante, Museo Arqueológico de Alicante, inv. nos L-127A-01 (CS 3639)²³ and L-127A-02 (CS 6063)²⁴ (fig. 5).

Date of manufacture: ca. 440 BC (on stylistic grounds).

Iconography/shape. Cup L-127A-01 (CS 3639): interior: crowned naked youth (athlete) with necklace or wreath at a post next to a woman; exterior: two athletic scenes with youths, some naked, and aryballoi suspended.

Cup L-127A-02 (CS 6063): interior: the departure (or return) of a warrior, with a youth with spears, sandals, *chlamys* and *petasos* sitting at a pillar next to a woman with a phiale in her right hand; exterior: a libation scene on each side, one next to a column, with a woman holding a phiale and oinochoe between a youth in walking attire and a bearded man draped in a *himation* leaning on a staff.

¹⁶ Rodríguez (2014) 62.

¹⁷ Pereira et al. (2004) 84.

¹⁸ BAPD 9036436.

¹⁹ On this necropolis, see Chapa et al. (1998). On the tomb, see Chapa et al. (1991).

²⁰ Chapa et al. (1990); (1991); (1998) 105–09. Sample reference: CSIC-859.

²¹ Chapa et al. (1991) 337–38.

²² Chapa et al. (1991).

²³ BAPD 9023186.

²⁴ BAPD 250080.

The Painter of London E106 has a rather western distribution, and his work is concentrated in Ensèrune (France).²⁵ He was part of the sub-Meidian group and is also attested in Ullastret and Ampurias,²⁶ the likely origin of the cups from La Albufereta. These are the only examples of the work of this painter attested to the south of the colony.

Archaeological context: deposit L127A, necropolis de La Albufereta (Alicante).

Date of context: late third century BC.

Other items in context: this deposit yielded a large amount of material, including ceramic censers in the shape of female heads,²⁷ unguentaria, terracotta female figurines, glass beads, loomweights, Campanian pottery, iron weaponry, the remains of a chariot, gold earrings, fibulae, a decorated pithos, a double vase, eggshells, knucklebones, ivory appliques, a bronze medallion with an embedded glass relief of a bearded face and an Athenian red-figure lekane lid attributed to the Group of the Vienna lekane.²⁸

Other heirlooms: an Athenian red-figure lekane lid attributed to the Group of the Vienna lekane (fourth century BC). Besides this deposit, Athenian pottery had a remarkably long life at Albufereta. García has recently revised the findings and related literature, and argued that half of the fifth- and fourth-century Athenian vases from datable funerary contexts were deposited in the second half of the third century (the other half comes from assemblages with undiagnostic material).²⁹

Discussion of archaeological context: previously interpreted as a tomb, deposit L127A was, according to the latest research,³⁰ the result of a ritual act involving fire and an impressive quantity of expensive exotic items performed by local elites at the end of the third century BC in the context of the turmoil generated by the Carthaginian presence in the area.

(e) Case study 5

Items: six red-figure kraters. Jaén, Museo Arqueológico Provincial, inv. nos DA07083,³¹ DA07084,³² DA07085,³³ DA07086³⁴, DA07088³⁵ and DA07089³⁶ (fig. 6).

Date of manufacture: ca. 370 BC (on stylistic grounds).

Identify of deceased: Iberian prince Iltirtiitir and, possibly, his wife.

*Iconography/shape:*³⁷ Krater DA07083 (naiskos krater): this is the most exceptional of the six kraters. It is a large vase, 40cm in height, of good craftsmanship and is distinctive in having an egg frieze along the rim. It shows complex scenes on both sides, revolving around a seated figure in the centre. On side A, Herakles, inside a naiskos, is surrounded by Nike (performing a libation), Apollo, Palemon, Eros and satyrs. On side B, Dionysos is being crowned by a flying Nike. The vase has been attributed to the Painter of London F64 by Sánchez.³⁸

Krater DA07084 ('the wedding of Herakles'): on side A, Herakles rides a centaur playing a lyre, accompanied by a maenad holding a *tumpanon* and led by Hera, who illuminates the way with torches. Zeus sits on the right. The scene depicted is Herakles *en route* to his wedding with Hebe, a theme that

²⁵ See distribution maps in BAPD.

²⁶ Miró (2006) 208–11.

²⁷ On these, see Moratalla and Verdú (2007); Sala-Sellés and Verdú (2014).

²⁸ Verdú (2014) 1868–80. Lekane lid: BAPD 9035813, decorated with an animal frieze with dogs, panther, lion and griffin.

²⁹ García (2017) 219. The revision and full publication of the material from the necropolis is the subject of Verdú's PhD: Verdú (2014). A revised version of the thesis was published in 2015, but I have not been able to access this publication.

³⁰ García (forthcoming).

³¹ BAPD 9030004.

³² BAPD 9030005.

³³ BAPD 9030007.

³⁴ BAPD 9030008.

³⁵ BAPD 9030006.

³⁶ BAPD 9030009.

³⁷ For the iconography of the kraters, see the competing interpretations of Rueda and Olmos (2015) and Sánchez (2017b). Sánchez is working on the iconography of this and other kraters from the Iberian Peninsula in the framework of her research project Visual Narration in Athenian Vase Painting: Red-Figure Kraters from Iberian Contexts (PGC2018-095530-B-I00).

³⁸ Sánchez (2017b).

is seldom represented in vase painting, with only one iconographic parallel: a later krater by the Filottrano Painter.³⁹ Attributed to the Painter of London F64 by Sánchez.⁴⁰

Krater DA07086 ('the marriage'): this is an unusual scene of 'marriage' between a male and female figure who are difficult to identify. Paris and Helen have been suggested,⁴¹ but, in my view, the ubiquitousness of the laurel wreaths seems to point to Apollo instead. Attributed to the Oinomaos Painter by Sánchez and myself (unpublished opinion).

Krater DA07085 (the 'bath' krater): in this scene, Eros pours water on a naked crouching female. To the sides are three women, one naked and holding a mirror, and the other two holding boxes, one of them seated. A satyr gesticulates as he leaves the scene to the right.

The remaining two kraters are fragmentary, but the scenes can be reconstructed: Krater DA07088 shows a *komos* and Krater DA07089 a banquet scene.⁴²

Archaeological context. Funerary chamber of the Iberian prince Iltirtiitir, Piquía (Arjona, Jaén).⁴³

Date of context: first half of the first century BC.

*Other items in context:*⁴⁴ fourth-century BC material: an Athenian red-figure column-krater (or, judging by the thickness of the fragment, perhaps a pelike) and a small fragment of a red-figure cup, two Iberian antenna-hilted daggers and a bronze Iberian spearhead.

Iberian material: a sandstone urn, the foot of a stone vessel(?), a processional chariot, an inscribed lead plaque in southeastern Iberian script recording the name of the deceased⁴⁵ and 11 items of Iberian pottery.

Material in the Roman tradition: mainly weaponry, including spear fragments, daggers or swords, a *scutum*, fragments of a *lorica hamata*, a bronze spur, glass vessels(?).

Other heirlooms: Athenian red-figure krater and cup, Iberian antenna-hilted daggers and a bronze spearhead (fourth century BC).

*Discussion of archaeological context.*⁴⁶ the funerary chamber of the Iberian prince Iltirtiitir, and possibly his wife, who died in the first half of the first century BC. The tomb was desecrated shortly after the burial.⁴⁷ The remaining material was subsequently reunited and a *suovetaurilia* was performed to counteract the sacrilege.

(f) Case study 6

Item: red-figure type B cup by the Penthesilea Painter. Castellón, Museo de Bellas Artes, inv. no. 1762⁴⁸ (figs 7 and 8).

Date of manufacture: ca. 460 BC (on stylistic grounds).

Iconography/shape: interior: draped youths, one with a staff; post, aryballos, sponge and strigil suspended; exterior: draped youths, some with staffs; lyre, bag, writing tablets, sandal suspended. The cup is relatively complete, with some 60% of the fragments present, some showing traces of burning. It can be classified within the category of Parade Cups, the defining feature of which is a diameter larger than 35cm.⁴⁹ Among the 658 cups or fragments of Attic cups recorded in Ampurias and published in Miró's monograph of the red-figure pottery from the site, none is close to the diameter of this example.⁵⁰ According to Tsingarida, Parade Cups are a rare but characteristic production of the late Archaic period (525–480 BC), with 28 examples recorded in her 2009 publication.⁵¹ Robertson suggests that the oversized phialae were intended for the use of heroes and gods, a dedicatory purpose that Tsingarida

³⁹ BAPD 218250.

⁴⁰ Sánchez (2017b).

⁴¹ Rueda and Olmos (2015).

⁴² BAPD 9030009.

⁴³ Olmos et al. (2012); Rueda and Olmos (2015); Ruiz et al. (2015).

⁴⁴ Ruiz et al. (2015) 359–69.

⁴⁵ Ruiz et al. (2015) 361–68.

⁴⁶ For a full discussion of the tomb, see Ruiz et al. (2015).

⁴⁷ Inside the tomb, fragments of various grave goods were also documented 4m from the chamber: Ruiz et al. (2015) 359.

⁴⁸ BAPD 6346; Sanmartí-Gregó and Gusi (1976). I thank Arturo Oliver Foix for photographs of this cup.

⁴⁹ Tsingarida (2009) 195–97.

⁵⁰ Miró (2006).

⁵¹ Tsingarida (2009) 186.

argues must also apply to the Parade Cups, linking both with the religious practice of the Theoxenia.⁵² A different function is sought for them in the export market; many come from Etruria where they would have helped in ‘asserting the status of the Etruscan owner’.⁵³ In the Classical period, Parade Cups are even rarer, with only five known examples, among which a cup from Spina stands out.⁵⁴ Remarkably, this is also a work of the Penthesilea Painter, but it differs from the cup of El Puig in style and quality. While the Italian example aligns well with the late Archaic Parade Cups in the elaboration of the decoration, detail work and iconographical complexity (Theseian cycle), this cup from Benicarló only ticks the box, as it were, of size. Indeed, as Sanmartí and Gusi rightly noted when they published the cup, it is closer to two other works by the painter in Paris and Munich.⁵⁵ Although it is not particularly elaborated in terms of style and iconography, the Spanish example stands out for the singularity of its shape and technique among the bulk of the Attic pottery from the site, mainly black-gloss pottery and the occasional decorated fragment.

Archaeological context: deepest level of street B, a context of the second half of the fifth century BC, in the Iberian settlement of El Puig de la Nao (Bernicarló, Castellón).⁵⁶

Date of context: late fifth century BC.

Other items in context: fragments of Cástulo cups (type unspecified) and Iberian pottery.⁵⁷

Other heirlooms: none certain.

Discussion of archaeological context: the cup appeared scattered in fragments in the deepest level of street B, a context of the second half of the fifth century BC (phase V of the settlement). It was buried in pieces along the main street of the site when the population left. The material culture of the site is unremarkable, typical of a loosely hierarchical society. The excavators contrast the apparent ‘material poverty’ of the inhabitants with the developed defensive building programme of the city and argue for a communal economy geared towards the common interest and probably administered by a collective leadership through a council or peer assembly.⁵⁸ The economy of El Puig was based on cereal, which was presumably exchanged for salted fish, wine and perhaps the occasional luxurious Greek pot. El Puig de la Nau flourished in the second half of the fifth century but, like other settlements in the País Valencià, it was abandoned peacefully around 400 BC, probably as a result of the depletion of natural resources or the political restructuring of the area.⁵⁹

(g) Case study 7

Item: Cástulo cup. Burriana (Castellón), Museo Arqueológico, no inv. no. (figs 9 and 10).

Date of manufacture: ca. 460–450 BC (on stylistic grounds).

Identity of deceased: a young male probably named BODODAS.⁶⁰

Iconography/shape: none/black-gloss cup. Reserved panel between handle and reserved underside and outside face of foot.

Archaeological context: the tomb was found in point 2 of the necropolis of L’Orley in 1972.⁶¹

Date of context: late fourth century BC.

Other items in context: Athenian red-figure bell-krater by the Amazon Painter (fig. 12),⁶² Athenian black-gloss bowl with incurving rim (ca. 320–310 BC), three lead rolls inscribed in the Iberian language, cremated bones, scale plate, five weights,⁶³ 41 fragments of iron weaponry, remains of a

⁵² Sanmartí-Grego and Gusi (1976).

⁵³ Tsingarida (2009) 197.

⁵⁴ Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina, inv. no. 44885; BAPD 211599; Alfieri (1959).

⁵⁵ BAPD 211569, 211566.

⁵⁶ Sanmartí-Grego and Gusi (1976); Oliver and Gusi (1995) 175–76; Domínguez and Sánchez (2001) 54, fig. 48.1; Grau et al. (2005) 63–64; Oliver (2006) 188–90.

⁵⁷ Oliver (2006) 42.

⁵⁸ Oliver and Gusi (1995) 263.

⁵⁹ Oliver and Gusi (1995) 260–61.

⁶⁰ Identification supported by osteological data: Melchor et al. (2010) 46.

⁶¹ Mengod et al. (1981); Melchor et al. (2010); Rodríguez and Sánchez (2017); Sánchez (2017a) 188–90.

⁶² Rodríguez and Sánchez (2017) 309–10. The krater is dated to 320–300 BC, based on morphological and stylistic comparisons with the finds from the ceramic refuse deposit of the Amazon Painter’s workshop that was discovered to the north of the Kerameikos and for which a date of around 312–311 BC is suggested: Eschbach (2014).

⁶³ Mengod et al. (1981) 32–38.

falcate and a sword, five fragments of bronze weapons and plaster or mortar, as well as fragments of bronze fibulae.⁶⁴

Other heirlooms: none certain.

(h) Case study 8

Item: Cástulo cup. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico de Madrid, inv. no. 1979/70/GAL/T149/6 (fig. 11).

Date of manufacture: ca. 460–450 BC (on stylistic grounds).

Identity of deceased: double burial, male and female.

Iconography/shape: none/back-gloss cup. Reserved panel between handle and reserved underside and outside face of foot.

Archaeological context: tomb 149, necropolis of Tútugi (Galera, Granada).

Date of context: late fourth century BC.

Other items in context: two ash-urns with their lids, some five small Iberian vessels and a fibula of La Tène type, all dated to the mid-fourth century or later.⁶⁵

Other heirlooms: none.

Discussion of archaeological context: tomb 149 is a simple rectangular pit located in sector III of the necropolis, the area of the ‘ordinary people’.⁶⁶ This sector was in use in the third century BC⁶⁷ and has the highest occurrence of ‘antiques’ of the whole necropolis. Tomb 146, of the second half of the first century BC, included an Iberian funerary urn of the fourth to third century BC which preserves five lead clamps.⁶⁸ Likewise, the two urns from tomb 150 have been dated to the third century, while the rest of the assemblage ranges from the first century BC to the first century AD.⁶⁹

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BAPD = Beazley Archive Pottery Database. <https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/carc/pottery>

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⁶⁴ Melchor et al. (2010) 44–45.

⁶⁵ Pereira et al. (2004) 155–57.

⁶⁶ Cabré and Motos (1920) 51.

⁶⁷ Pereira et al. (2004) 133–63, fig. 88; Rodríguez (2014) 249.

⁶⁸ Pereira et al. (2004) 143.

⁶⁹ Pereira et al. (2004) 157–61.

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