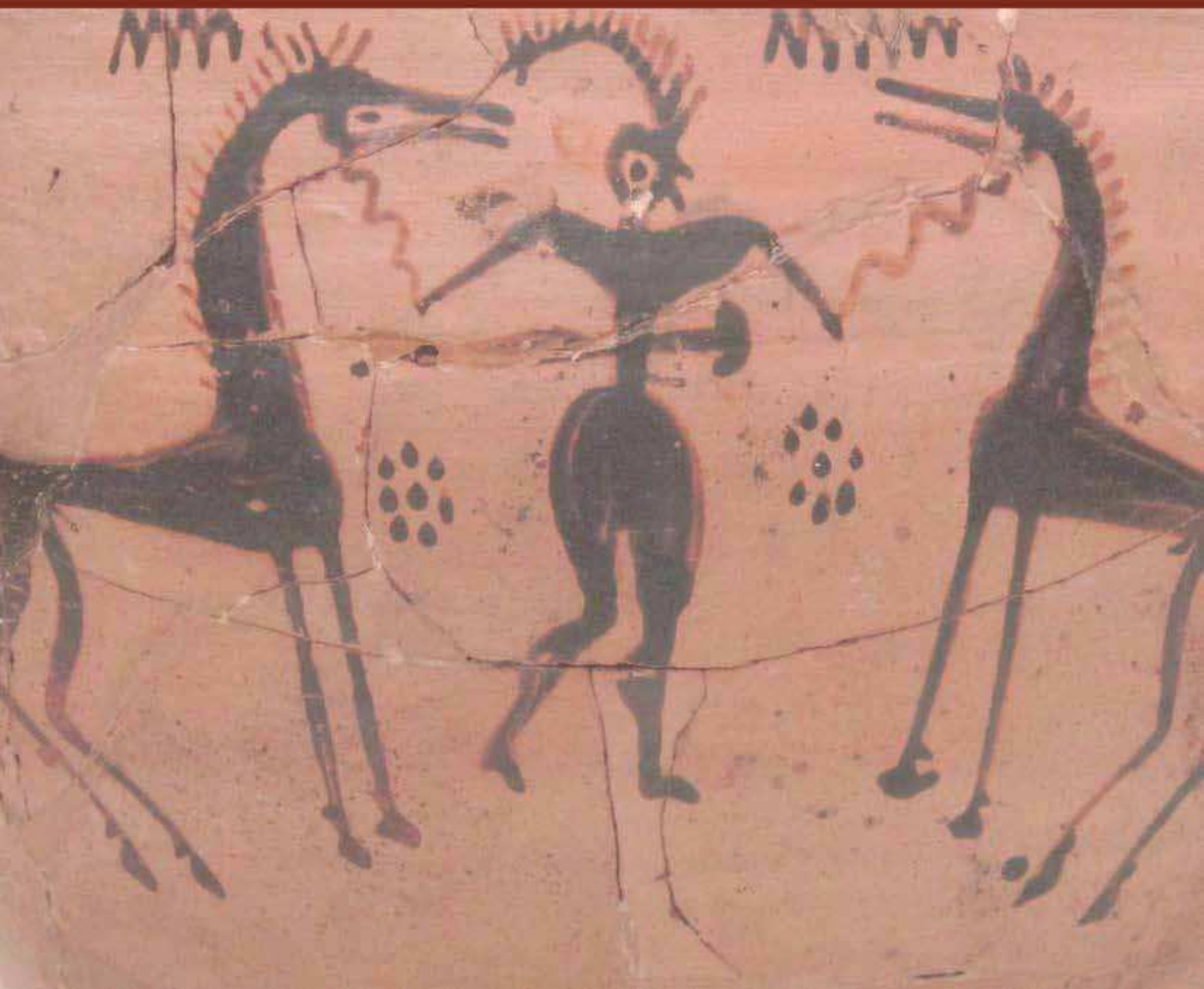


# POTS, WORKSHOPS AND EARLY IRON AGE SOCIETY:

FUNCTION AND ROLE OF CERAMICS IN EARLY GREECE

Edited by  
Vicky Vlachou

ÉTUDES D'ARCHÉOLOGIE 8



# **POTS, WORKSHOPS AND EARLY IRON AGE SOCIETY**

FUNCTION AND ROLE OF CERAMICS IN EARLY GREECE



*Pots, Workshops and EIA Society, ULB, 16/11/2013.*

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Kantharos from Kerameikos gr. 28 (inv. 268). Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens - Kerameikos Museum.

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Études d'archéologie 8

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Proceedings of the International Symposium  
held at the Université libre de Bruxelles  
14-16 November 2013

Edited by  
Vicky Vlachou

With the contribution of

Bruno d'Agostino, Alexandra Alexandridou, Anne Coulié, Anastasia Gadolou,  
Jean-Sébastien Gros, Nota Kourou, Susan Langdon, Maria Costanza Lentini,  
Manolis Mikrakis, Lydia Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa, John K. Papadopoulos,  
Stavros A. Paspalas, Evangelia Simantoni-Bournia, Samuel Verdan,  
Evangelos Vivliodetis, Vicky Vlachou, James Whitley, Dyfri Williams

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## FOREWORD

Athena TSINGARIDA

The Proceedings of the symposium *Pots, Workshops and Early Iron Age Society* is the eighth volume in the CReA-Patrimoine series and the fourth publication that concerns Ancient Greek pottery. These figures reflect the importance of this field in the research programs developed by the CReA-Patrimoine over the last years.

From the very beginning, with the first international research program undertaken at the Centre in 2004, study has focused on the social and economic aspects of pottery in ancient societies, covering a broad spectrum of products (fine, cooking and coarse wares) from wide-spread geographical areas (Egypt, the Near East, Greece, Roman) and over extensive chronological periods (from the Archaic to the Medieval period). The present volume maintains this interest in social and cultural issues: it puts emphasis on questions about craft organisation, trade and distribution networks, relations between producers and purchasers, uses and function of vases throughout the Ancient Mediterranean world. Its chronological span is focused on the Early Iron Age: it thus compliments the earlier publications by the CReA-Patrimoine on Ancient Greek pottery which concentrated on the Archaic and Classical periods<sup>1</sup>.

Greek Early Iron Age pottery became a subject of study in ULB only recently courtesy of the joint program of research developed (between ULB and the University of Oxford, in the person of Prof. Irene Lemos). Entitled “Beyond the polis. Ritual practices and the construction of social identity in Early Greece (12<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.)”<sup>2</sup>, this attracted several young scholars working on Early Iron Age

sites. Among them was Vicky Vlachou: she joined the CReA-Patrimoine on a postdoctoral project (ESF) undertaken in collaboration with the University of Athens. Vicky brought to the Centre her deep knowledge of Early Iron Age pottery and took a very active part in the on-going research topics. The symposium she organized in Brussels grew out of several questions she was facing in her own research on the Marathon region and beyond. She has successfully brought together the leading scholars in the field: the resulting volume will certainly become a standard reference book on the subject, completing the thorough study on Greek Geometric pottery recently published by Anne Coulié<sup>3</sup>.

The symposium and the long-term collaboration with Vicky would not have been possible without the support and the expertise of Nota Kourou, who acted as the co-promoter of the research project carried out in Brussels and Athens. It was a great pleasure to welcome Nota as a Visiting Professor to ULB at the International Chair Eleni Hatzivassiliou in Greek Art and Archaeology. Here, she delivered a series of lectures on Early Iron Age pottery and gave the keynote lecture that opened the symposium (now published in this Proceedings). I am very grateful to her for sharing generously with us her wide knowledge and kind friendship.

I would also like to use the opportunity of this preface to express my gratitude to Vicky for organizing the conference and for achieving the editing in such a short time. Many thanks are also due to the CReA-Patrimoine and its Director, Laurent Bavay, for providing unfailing assistance on all initiatives related to ancient Greek pottery. I am also very grateful to Jean Vanden Broeck-Parent, Ph.D. student and Assistant in Classical Archaeology at ULB, and to the students who offered their help on technical matters during the organization of the symposium. Last but not least, I would like to thank the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB) for its continuous support for the development of Greek Archaeology and pottery studies.

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1 A. TSINGARIDA (ed.), *Shapes and Uses of Greek Vases (7th- 4th centuries B.C.)*, Brussels, 2009 [*Études d'archéologie* 3]; S. SARTI, *The Campana Collection at the Royal Museum of Art and History (Brussels)*, Brussels, 2012 [*Études d'archéologie* 4]; A. TSINGARIDA and D. VIVIERS (eds), *Pottery Markets in the Ancient Greek World (8th -1st centuries B.C.)*, Brussels, 2013 [*Études d'archéologie* 5]; I. ALGRAIN, *L'alabastre attique: origine, forme et usages*, Brussels, 2014, [*Études d'archéologie* 7].

2 See <http://crea.ulb.ac.be/Polis.html>

3 COULIÉ 2013.

## ABBREVIATIONS

### BIBLIOGRAPHIC

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COULIÉ 2013 = A. COULIÉ, *La céramique grecque aux époques géométrique et orientalisante, (XI<sup>e</sup>-VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.)*, Paris, 2013.

CRIELAARD *et al.* 1999 = J.P. CRIELAARD, V. STISSI and G.J. VAN WIJNGAARDEN (eds), *The Complex Past of Pottery. Production, Circulation and Consumption of Mycenaean and Greek Pottery (Sixteenth to Early Fifth Centuries B.C.)*, *Proceedings of the ARCHON International Conference, Held in Amsterdam, 8-9 November 1996*, Amsterdam, 1999.

CVA = *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* [Union Académique Internationale].

IG = M. FRAENKEL, *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin, 1895–).

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LEFKANDI III = M.R. POPHAM, with I.S. LEMOS, *Lefkandi III. The Early Iron Age Cemetery at Toumba. The Excavations of 1981 to 1994, Plates*, Oxford, 1996 [*British School at Athens Suppl. 29*].

LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich, Munich and Düsseldorf, 1981-1999, 2009).

ThesCRA = *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2004-2006, 2011-2012).

### CHRONOLOGICAL

BA Bronze Age

DA Dark Age

EG Early Geometric

EIA Early Iron Age

EO Early Orientalising

EPC Early Protocorinthian

EPG Early Protogeometric

G Geometric

LBA Late Bronze Age

LG Late Geometric

LH Late Helladic

LO Late Orientalising

LPC Late Protocorinthian

LPG Late Protogeometric

MG Middle Geometric

MPC Middle Protocorinthian

MPG Middle Protogeometric

PC Protocorinthian

PG Protogeometric

PGB Protogeometric B

SG Sub Geometric

SM Sub Mycenaean

SPG Sub Protogeometric



# INTRODUCTION

## PRODUCTION AND FUNCTION OF CERAMICS IN EARLY GREECE

Nota KOUROU and Vicky VLACHOU

This volume brings together a number of papers that were presented at the international symposium on *Pots, Workshops and Early Iron Age Society* held at the Université libre de Bruxelles in November 2013. In the symposium's eight sessions nineteen papers by scholars from Europe and the United States were presented, of which fifteen are published here. Two more contributors, Stavros Paspalas, who was unable to attend the meeting, and Dyfri Williams, whose queries and comments during the conference stimulated long discussions and responses, were invited to participate in the present volume, broadening our approaches on pottery and early society.

The conception and the arrangement of the symposium emerged within a post-doctoral project (ESF) on issues of ancient Greek pottery carried out between the Université libre de Bruxelles, CReA-Patrimoine, and the University of Athens, Department of Archaeology. The project concentrated on pottery production and early society at Marathon in Attica<sup>1</sup>. In this context, the primary focus of the symposium was to discuss aspects of the production, function and role of ceramics in early Greek societies. Prominence was placed on pottery manufacture and society in Attica and in areas within its close social, cultural and economic proximity and contact, such as Euboea, Aigina, the Corinthian gulf, the Cyclades, as well as Crete and some other areas further overseas, which have recently produced important Greek Geometric pottery, namely Sicilian Naxos and the Tyrrhenian coast.

The role of CReA-Patrimoine, a really pottery oriented research centre was decisive in conceiving a project on EIA pottery and society, planning the conference in an inspiring atmosphere and accepting the publication of the proceedings in the series of *Études d'archéologie*.

The study of Greek pottery has been a prolific and productive discipline almost from its very beginnings back in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and remains dynamic today. Emphasis has been directed largely onto vase painting, mainly Attic black-figure and red-figured vase painting, their styles, workshops and iconography. This can be easily and promptly confirmed by a simple look at the *Bulletin Archéologique. Céramique* regularly published every two years in the *Revue des Études Grecques*. Another accurate and unbiased testimony for this can be found in a most up-to-date “state of the discipline” review published in 2009 (OAKLEY 2009). In this proper and accurate, albeit selective, review of pottery studies during the 15 years preceding the publication, the author considers the current situation of pottery research: by identifying “emerging practices and trends in the field” he tries to formulate “a synthesis of the developments in the field of Greek vase painting”. With only few exceptions, however, the studies considered in this article deal with Archaic and Classical pottery, again mostly Attic black- and red-figured vase painting. A large part of these pottery studies present and discuss workshops, potters or painters and less frequently dating problems or regional styles in general. Iconography and religious or mythological interpretations also remain constants in the field, forming the centre of interest for monographs, exhibitions or conferences. Some new trends – exploring vase fabric and technique<sup>2</sup>, historiography or trade, markets and economy<sup>3</sup> – are on the rise in the last years, but still they mostly handle pottery of the Archaic and Classical periods. Evidently the focal point for the study of Greek pottery still firmly remains Archaic and Classical vase painting.

1 VLACHOU forthcoming.

2 TSINGARIDA 2014.

3 TSINGARIDA and VIVIERS 2013.

The systematic study of Early Greek pottery has a much shorter history<sup>4</sup>, as it was properly shaped only after Coldstream's fundamental organization of his "ten local styles" in *Greek Geometric Pottery* in 1968 and Snodgrass's treatment of "the regional pottery-styles" of *The Dark Ages of Greece* in 1970. Later, the dynamics of pottery studies in approaching the society of the early first millennium were most forcefully confirmed in the collective volumes that followed the conferences organised in Amsterdam<sup>5</sup> and the University of Missouri, Columbia<sup>6</sup>. Since that time several studies organizing ceramic styles and workshops from various parts of the Greek world and different stages of the Early Iron Age have appeared. In pottery studies style is an indispensable tool for tracing regional features. Fabric is the other major decisive factor, although it is not always easily identifiable. As a result provenance studies, requiring a high accuracy in clay identification and the techniques used, frequently turn into complicated issues; consequently scientific techniques started gradually, albeit vigorously, to be introduced. Chemical, petrographic and other scientific methods, including the powerful Neutron Activation Analysis, were more and more frequently and systematically applied in provenance studies<sup>7</sup>. Methodological approaches such as the introduction of quantitative and qualitative measurements to ceramic analysis have lately received considerable attention by excavators and pottery specialists seeking precision in their attempts to tease out social matters from pottery fabrics<sup>8</sup>. Such developments in the study of Early Iron Age pottery have eventually led to its better understanding and have opened up the prospect of a more telling study of ancient society. The Early Iron Age is a transitional and largely experimental period: its study requires an appropriate combination of more than one method to properly tackle not only ceramic, but also social and other issues. Ongoing fieldwork and scholarly research have turned our attention to the dynamics of material culture and especially pottery in approaching and better understanding social change and evolution. Our Brussels conference contributed in this discussion by

tangling issues related to pottery and EIA society. More fresh ideas are always valuable and our symposium tried some new "lines of attack" to answer specific questions. The five sections in this volume present a selection of contributions on issues dealing with aspects of pottery and society in early Greece and some areas of influence in Sicily and Italy. The contributions handle issues of production and workshops, context and function, cult and rituals, mobility and interaction, iconography and early society. They offer a wide range of avenues to the study of pottery, aiming at a better understanding of Early Iron Age society. Overall they represent an attempt to reconcile new material with fresh approaches. Each section focuses on more than one concern in the study of ancient ceramics, presenting and discussing fresh interpretations and in some cases also some new material.

The **first section** includes four papers that tackle production and workshops by differing approaches and try to answer distinct questions. The organization of pottery production in a region or inside a specific workshop still remains a poorly known and little discussed topic, although recent archaeological research has thrown some new light on practical matters; for instance the location and layout of the working areas is now better known<sup>9</sup>. Ethnography and ethno-archaeology have proven powerful tools for approaching and understanding craft and production by drawing analogies and highlighting factors that have left little trace in the archaeological record<sup>10</sup>. As a result the variability of parallel modes of production depending, among other factors, on the size and social links of the community is now markedly evident. But the wide-ranging degrees of involvement of the varied population groups in the whole process of pottery production is still in need of further clarification and research, while the identification of artisans still remains a prolific and fruitful topic.

A discussion of the involvement of younger members of the community, and especially of children, in the production process, as presented in this volume by Susan Langdon, reflects a new line of input to the issue of pottery production. This atypical investigation looks afresh at ancient perceptions of childhood and by extension offers new explanations for the artistic, labour and social organization of ancient society.

4 Cf. a short history on the reception of the art of the Geometric period, SIEBERT 2010.

5 CRIELAARD *et al.* 1999.

6 LANGDON 1993; 1997.

7 Cf. recently KERSCHNER and LEMOS 2014.

8 E.g. HOREJS *et al.* 2010; VERDAN *et al.* 2011; and KOTSONAS 2014.

9 E.g. ESPOSITO and SANIDAS 2012; DENTI and VILLETTE 2014.

10 E.g. COSTIN 2000; HASAKI 2011.

Applying theories from other disciplines here, such as the cultural inheritance theory, eventually leads to a better understanding of apprenticeship methods and transmission of manufacturing techniques, as well as of the causes behind stylistic changes or cultural and social transformations.

Another approach to the issue of pottery production, presented in this volume by Anne Coulié, is the identification and discussion of artisans working inside a workshop. This inquiry allows, among other things, new perspectives for the approximate calculation of the size of workforce in a workshop to emerge. Following the Beazley method of pottery analysis, stylistic complexities inside the major Athenian workshop of the Dipylon Painter are investigated. Innovations in potting and painting are discussed in the light of new identifications of long-standing and fragmentary material, leading to a significant reconstruction and understanding of one of the most important Athenian painters of the Geometric period and his workshop.

A second major, albeit obscure, personality of the same period, the Hirschfeld Painter, and the artistic milieu of Athenian Kerameikos of the LG I period are newly scrutinized in this volume by Vicky Vlachou. Concentrating on recent finds and applying a detailed stylistic and iconographic analysis, complemented by shape discussion, the complexities of tracing this highly disputed stylistic persona inside the LG I period are largely resolved: a pottery workshop with a number of artists is outlined. Teamwork on the same vase proves to be a not uncommon practice at least in major Athenian workshops and provides an excellent case for discussing issues of a specialized pottery production. Stylistic analysis of painting and shape taken together with manufacturing techniques are proven to be reliable factors in identifying craftsmen working together and sharing space, resources and ideas. Consequently the research assists in tracing social transformations.

A different approach to pottery production is taken up by Jean-Sébastien Gros, who focuses on defining the notion of workshop from the surviving pottery on a regional scale. Concentrating on a group of plain, mostly handmade or moulded pottery from the site of Xobourgo on Tenos, the difficulties of distinguishing a local production in terms of technique and style are portrayed. Through comparison with other kinds of pottery from the same region, questions regarding local stylistic preferences and space issues of minor workshops surface are discussed.

The **second section** in this volume brings together four papers that discuss pottery in terms of context and function from various angles. Contextual approaches have already demonstrated the importance of the milieu in viewing archaeological assemblages as records of social behaviours, communal activities and consequently of cultural characteristics and regional identities. Pottery, as the largest corpus of material evidence in almost every context, serves as an important indicator of human activity<sup>11</sup>.

The contribution by Nota Kourou in this volume discusses aspects of Early Iron Age society in the Cyclades based on ceramic and contextual evidence. By focusing on some particular mortuary contexts, their cultural background and their evolution, the regional identities of two distinct islands are delineated. Ceramic contextual evidence, comparative discussion of local and imported pottery and its possible symbolism are used to trace regional divergence and social changes in each region.

Another path for discussing vase function on contextual evidence presented in this volume by James Whitley investigates the variability of the social role of a distinctive shape with a characteristic decorative scheme. The belly-handled amphora, which apparently had a particular social significance in Attica and was broadly exported and imitated, comes under scrutiny by employing two new concepts, agency and personhood, adopted from other disciplines. Anthropological modelling has been used with success in prehistory before: it seems to work well for the Geometric period. With the application of these new concepts to the study of vase function a fresh approach is adopted in analyzing and understanding the use of pottery in ancient societies. A different approach to a similar issue is taken by Samuel Verdán in his examination of the function of a particular shape known from burial and ritual contexts at Eretria. The matter of the relationship between a vase's form and its decoration, as well as its function in the context it was found in, have not received much attention so far: they are discussed in some detail here. This case study focuses on a particular class of Euboean amphorae of the Orientalizing period: iconographic analysis is also integrated to address aspects of the shape's role in ritual contexts.

11 E.g. HODDER 1996; HURCOMBE 2007.

In the **third section** of this volume contextual approaches are extended to ceramic studies dealing with cult and rituals in sanctuaries. Three contributions discussing pottery from sacred places offer a new look at sanctuaries and other sacred places of the Early Iron Age. Material evidence for feasting activities in early Greek sanctuaries and cultic areas soundly demonstrates that the shared consumption of food and drink had been the steady focus of ritual action through the Late Bronze Age down to the Early Iron Age<sup>12</sup>. Cult and rituals, as prescribed by tradition and religion in a community, are characterized by formalism and symbolism and involve specific classes and forms of ceramic utensils. They are irrevocably related to not only rites or rituals, but to every other use of the hallowed space.

To this end a reappraisal of the much debated significant Athenian site known as the Sacred House in the Academy is taken up by Alexandra Alexandridou on ceramic and contextual evidence. To evaluate the role of the Sacred House the pottery found inside the building, but in a context related also to a number of pyres found lower than it, is analyzed. Competing views for the role of the building are discussed against the implicit function of the pottery and the range of activities inferred as performed there. The ceramic material, including fine and domestic wares, is analyzed in detail so as to follow the chronological range of the space's employment and to reevaluate the use of the building.

A more daring approach, mostly based on ceramic material, by Lydia Palaiokrassa and Evangelos Vivliodetis brings together for comparison two little known Attic sanctuaries, the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia and Zeus Parnessios, whose cult is securely identified by inscribed sherds. Both sanctuaries were incompletely excavated in the past, but the surviving pottery is of extraordinary quantity and variety, characterized as unique among the sanctuaries of Attica. By analyzing the pottery from both sanctuaries the character of cult is approached and the deity and the worshippers in each sanctuary are identified. A detailed comparison of the type and origin of pottery of the two sanctuaries indicates that although they started with common features, they subsequently became differentiated under the impact of the emerging *polis*. Judging by the quality of pottery a distinction is made between the characters of the sanctuaries. Nonetheless the pottery analysis also indicates that both were related with rituals involving animal sacrifice; vases with pierced holes for libations

suggesting a fertility cult with a chthonic character.

Another way to identify rituals at sanctuaries developed by Evangelia Simantoni-Bournia concentrates on an evaluation of the pottery from the Hyria sanctuary at Naxos. In this site an old open-air shrine was gradually developed in the Geometric period into an important place of congregation and worship with three successive temple buildings. An investigation to identify the deity worshipped is conducted through a discussion of the Geometric and Sub Geometric pottery from the sanctuary. The focus is on the drinking vases from the sanctuary, basically skyphoi, cups, kantharoi, kotylai and kalathoi, mostly painted in current styles, but also black-glazed. In this novel ceramic approach to the sanctuary and by taking into consideration other factors, such as architectural remains, cooking pots and charred animal bones retrieved from the temple and suggesting meals, the deity is suggested as being most probably Dionysos.

In the **fourth section** of this volume four contributions on ceramic issues deal with aspects of mobility and interaction. The transportation of pottery and the resultant interaction between local and imported ceramics are issues that can provide a variety of readings concerning a society. In exploring trade connections and interaction, the integration of pottery is a fundamental approach, as stylistic analysis can lead to mapping established routes of communication and to identifying socio-cultural entanglements with one another. The past decades have seen the rise of interest in issues of cultural identity and social status or ethnicity<sup>13</sup>. But in ceramic studies the effect of imported pottery on local wares, alongside the transmission of ideas, are topics that have received few positive contributions. Less investigated issues include the search for factors underlining imports or exports other than maritime trade. The question was taken over in this volume by John Papadopoulos with a study focusing on Athens. By discussing import and export patterns of pottery at four distinct Early Iron Age sites in the Aegean, including Athens, an effective path for drawing conclusions for factors underlining these patterns is laid down. In presenting an articulated framework of pottery distribution the individual characteristics of the discussed sites are identified alongside the distribution system operating and the dynamics that shaped it.

12 Cf. DIETLER and HAYDEN 2001; WECOWSKI 2014.

13 E.g. HALL 1997; and 2007; LUCE 2007; RIZZA 2011.

Inter-Aegean networks are also looked at in this volume by a paper focusing on pottery from Zagora on Andros, where imported pottery abounds. By analyzing a small number of fine painted vases from the domestic contexts of the settlement, Stavros Paspalas discusses the nexus of connections and interaction between Euboean, Cycladic and Boeotian workshops. Shape, style and iconographic analysis are the main tools of this approach in identifying the dynamics of interaction inside a social and cultural network in which the main influential factor was the compelling Euboean styles circulating everywhere in the Mediterranean at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

Another new approach to interaction by Bruno d'Agostino investigates interplays between Greeks and natives in the West. By comparing a few graves containing Greek pottery with the rest which do not at the Villanovan cemetery of Pontecagnano, ideas are presented here for the possible function of the Greek pottery in Villanovan graves. After a careful examination and discussion of burial strategies adopted during the first fifty years of contact, the role of the first Greek imports at the site emerges gradually. This line offers an alternative view of their reception, as well as the meaning and function of imported wares in the funerary system of a certain area. It introduces new perspectives in interaction studies.

Extrapolating from pottery to society on the basis of new material is always appealing. The evidence from Sicilian Naxos, presented here by Maria Costanza Lentini, provides an overview of the networks operating and linking the Aegean with the Sicilian coast. Ceramic assemblages containing large quantities of Attic, Euboean and Corinthian pottery are associated with the earliest colonial remains. Material culture from Naxos provides an exceptional group of Protoattic vessels, a pottery class associated with the Athenian elite groups and rarely attested from areas beyond the close vicinity to Athens and Attica. The association of this class of pottery with the Athenian aristocrats reopens the question about who the first colonists were, their tastes and the way the local and overseas pottery markets were adjusted to the demand.

The **final section** of this volume brings together three studies that deal with iconography and early society. Iconographic studies form a vast field in archaeology: frequently dealing with mythological scenes, they result in conflicting views and interesting debates<sup>14</sup>. But in view of the limited repertoire in the

figured pottery of the Early Iron Age, iconographic analysis has been better used to discuss issues of continuity and discontinuity, aspects of everyday life, interconnections and interaction<sup>15</sup>. The main socio-political events of the period still remain hidden behind the images and have received only little scholarly attention.

An iconographic approach based on three Attic sherds from the sanctuary of Aphaia at Aigina, presented by Dyfri Williams in this volume, attempts to recreate the historical background of the island through a thorough analysis of the figurative scenes. By comparing their iconography with similar representations on contemporary Attic jewellery their particular significance is brought out. In keeping with the symbolic role of certain motifs, such as of the ship and horse, regarded as symbols of wealth and status, propositions for wealthy traders ordering their vases in Athens are put forward. The narrative context of the images portrayed is discussed against an Hesiodic fragment that names the Aiginetans as the first Greeks to build ships and offers the necessary setting for the interpretation.

Another iconographic analysis of some ceramic products with figured decoration from the sanctuary of Poseidon Heliconius in ancient Helike in Achaia by Anastasia Gadolou offers a spirited approach for the assumed rituals taking place at the site. The aim is to assess the iconographic narratives in the light of the historical and cultural environment of the sanctuary. The scenes are interpreted as representing rituals expressing cultural values of the dedicators. A male dance-scene on an oenochoe is connected with festivals and symbolism related to initiation ceremonies of boys coming of age. A procession of horses on another oenochoe is seen as holding particular significance for the deity and the worshipers because of the animal's particular symbolism for wealth or status. A detailed analysis of a composite and complicated scene, painted on the roof of a small temple model, is connected with rituals taking place at the sanctuary, such as chariot races, or related mythological scenes with the dedication of an abducted woman as a prize to the deity. The section closes with an innovative approach by Manolis Mikrakis, who focusing on a small Athenian pottery workshop of the late 8<sup>th</sup> century, the Rattle group, discusses images as having a formative impact on the emerging world of the *polis*. Detailed iconographic analysis placed against the historical setting of the Near East and late 8<sup>th</sup> century Athens,

14 E.g. BUXTON 1994; SNODGRASS 1998; GRECO 2008.

15 Cf. RYSTEDT and WELLS 2006; LANGDON 2008.

when the introduction of feasting practices with the performance of music can be pinned down, traces new social values and identifies a shift in Athenian aristocratic self-representation.

It has been repeatedly, albeit accurately, said that every book is a product of its time: this volume is no exception. The key theme running through the pluralistic approaches taken by every contributor in this volume is early society, whose re-creation is attempted insofar that the material evidence, and in particular pottery, allows. One of the main objectives has been to demonstrate the importance of pottery for the study of early society: every contributor has progressed in their own way in this direction. Indeed *Pots, Workshops and Early Iron Age Society* were all themes very much relished in this symposium: we hope that its *Proceedings* will be equally enjoyed.

We would like to thank all our participants for their enthusiasm, fruitful ideas and stimulating discussions during the symposium, as well as for their congenial co-operation during the publication of this volume. We very much enjoyed the vital input of knowledgeable and responsive colleagues participating in the exchange of ideas throughout. It has been a great pleasure working with Athena Tsingarida for the organisation of the conference: we are grateful to her both for the successful conduct of the conference and its culmination in the edition of the *Proceedings*. We are grateful to the Rector of the Université libre de Bruxelles, Prof. Didier Viviers and the director of the CReA-Patrimoine, Prof. Laurent Bavay, for their unfailing and positive response to any difficulties that arose throughout. Our thanks are most certainly due to Irene Lemos, who undertook the difficult task of pulling together some of the most important points discussed and debated during our conference in a most precise and comprehensive manner.

Many thanks are due to Anja Stoll, Isabelle Algrain, Jean Vanden Broeck-Parant, Marie de Wit, Maria Nouris, Héloïse Smets, Alexandre Fourbet and Sharon Greuse for their valuable assistance during the conference. Equally to Dr. Don Evely who edited the English of a number of papers in this volume. Last but not least our thanks are due to Nathalie Bloch, CReA-Patrimoine, for so nicely and efficiently producing this volume in a relatively short time.

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THE SANCTUARIES OF ARTEMIS MOUNICHIA AND ZEUS PARNESSIOS.  
THEIR RELATION TO THE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE ATHENIAN CITY-STATE  
UNTIL THE END OF THE 7<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY B.C.

Lydia PALAIOKRASSA-KOPITSA and Evangelos VIVLIODETIS

This article concerns two sanctuaries, those of Artemis Mounichia<sup>1</sup> and of Zeus Parnessios<sup>2</sup>, which are so far the earliest known in the Attica region (fig. 1), together with that of Zeus at Hymettos<sup>3</sup>.

The sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia was established in southern Attica, above one of the three ports of Piraeus. The sanctuary of Zeus Parnessios was set up in the area of a cave, on the summit of the highest of the three main mountains of Attica that embraces the basin of Athens to the north. The cult of the two deities at the specific sites is evidenced by inscribed sherds<sup>4</sup>, which bear their names. In the case of the Parnes sanctuary, further evidence is provided by an iron thunderbolt<sup>5</sup>, carrying a votive inscription to Zeus.

Unfortunately, despite the large amount and importance of the material found at these two locales,

their excavation was incomplete: as a result many questions are left open as to the sites themselves, the history of the sanctuaries and their cult. The Mounichia sanctuary was excavated in 1935 by Ioannis Threpsiadis<sup>6</sup> in great haste, because of the construction of the building of the Nautical Club of Greece there. The method of this excavation, by means of narrow trenches, resulted in an extensive loss of material and in the extremely fragmentary preservation of the finds. A supplementary rescue excavation was carried out in 1984 by L. Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa<sup>7</sup>, but without a substantial end result as the original stratigraphy had been seriously disturbed.

The excavation in the cave on Mount Parnes was carried out in 1959, by Euthymios Mastrokostas<sup>8</sup>, again hastily in the space of few days, when in the course of the construction of barracks within the Air Force camp, that still occupies the mountain peak, various vessels and metal objects were found. No excavation notebooks or drawings have been found, with the result that even the labels on the finds are inadequate for research purposes.

Unfortunately, the cave has now been covered by buildings, with only the upper end of its entrance visible at the top of the rock, above the modern underground structures<sup>9</sup>. It must be remembered that research on this material is still at an early stage<sup>10</sup> and only some first conclusions can be presented in this article.

1 TRAVLOS 1988, 340; PALAIOKRASSA 1989; PALAIOKRASSA 1991; D'ONOFRIO 1995, 85 no. 59; KALOGEROPOULOS, 2013, 479.

2 DAUX 1960; VANDERPOOL 1960, 269; LANGDON 1976, 100-101; MASTROKOSTAS 1983; WICKENS 1986, vol. I, 158-159, 165, vol. II, 243-245 no. 46; TRAVLOS 1988, 319-320; MERSCH 1996, 167-168 no. 53; PSALTI 1998, 294; BAUMER 2004, 14, 16, 17, 30, 93-94 Att 18 (with bibliography); PARKER 2004, 29ff; PLATONOS-GIOTA 2004, 350-351; BAUMER 2009, 179-180; VAN DEN EIJNDE 2010-2011; KALOGEROPOULOS 2013, 479-480, 486-487. See also DE POLIGNAC 1995, 95-96.

3 For the Hymettos sanctuary, see LANGDON 1976; TRAVLOS 1988, 191; MERSCH 1996, 131-132 no. 26.1; LANGDON 1997, 120-121; BAUMER 2004, 14, 16, 17, 20, 89-90 Att 11 (with bibliography); LEMOS 2002, 135, 222; VAN DEN EIJNDE 2010-2011, 118, 123; KALOGEROPOULOS 2013, 480, 486-487. In the sanctuary of Kronos in the Ilissos area (TRAVLOS, 1971, 335) sherds from Protogeometric vases were found, but the material is still unpublished.

4 PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 88, 179 EΠ 1-2, pl. 50; MASTROKOSTAS 1983, 341.

5 STEINHAEUER 2001, 91, fig. 116-126.

6 THREPSIADES 1935, 159-195.

7 See above n. 1.

8 MASTROKOSTAS 1983, 339-344.

9 Survey by L. Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa and E. Vivliodetis in 2010 after special permission from the Air-Force Headquarters.

10 The pottery and the few terracotta figurines are studied by L. Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa and E. Vivliodetis, the bronze objects by N. Palaiokrassa and the iron objects by Em. Petrakis and M. Roggenbucke, the inscribed sherds by Dr A. Matthaïou.





Fig. 1. Map of the Attica region.

The only available information for the excavation comes from the summary publication of a small part of the finds by Mastrokostas in 1983<sup>11</sup>. He mentions the discovery of an altar, without specifying its location, and a cave at the mountain peak towards the east. At a depth of 2.2 meters from the surface, the cave floor was laid with flagged stones, covered with a layer of sherds, of unglazed hand-made oenochoi and ashes. This layer was covered by a thin deposit of ash with animal bones and goat horns<sup>12</sup>.

The manner of the excavation and its incompleteness, in both cases, resulted in a loss of important data. However, from the study of the large volume of finds from both sanctuaries, one can ascertain the early stages of the cult, which starts in the Protogeometric period, its intensification during Geometric times and into the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C., as well as the systematized use of specific vessel-types throughout this period, which is different in each sanctuary. The cults continued on beyond this time: in the case of Mounichia until the Roman period, whereas in Parnes the material decreases substantially from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and almost disappears thereafter.

In the Mounichia sanctuary, the earliest finds that can be related to cult date back to the second half of

the 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>13</sup>. They consist of few sherds of skyphoi, usually with high conical bases<sup>14</sup> (**nos 1-2**). They were decorated with sets of concentric circles (**nos 3-4**) or semicircles<sup>15</sup> (**no. 5**), combined with a reserved cross<sup>16</sup>, or flanking a composite central triglyph panel with a cross-hatched metope<sup>17</sup>. There is also a fragment from an oinochoe or lekythos shoulder, decorated with a latticed triangle (**no. 6**). The fragmentary nature of the material does not allow more substantial observations on the decoration of the vessels and, beyond a point, on their date. For example, simple sherds with black glaze cannot be dated with certainty to the PG or the EG period. However, some one-handled cups, monochrome (**no. 7**) or decorated (**nos 8-10**), are datable to this period.

From the MG period onwards, both the size and number of vessels increases and, among them, pedestaled kraters (**nos 11-13**) predominate. From this category, an entire series of pedestals of various sizes survives, horizontally ribbed (**no. 14**) or bearing a decoration of encircling sets of reserved bands

13 PALAIOKRASSA 1989, 13.

14 The finds from the Mounichia sanctuary are in the Archaeological Museum of Peiraeus.

15 All the fragments come from skyphoi-krateriskoi except of **no. 5**.

16 PALAIOKRASSA 1989, 28 no. 68a (Inv. no. 13225η). See also PALAIOKRASSA 1989, 28 no. 66c (Inv. no. 13225θ).

17 PALAIOKRASSA 1989, 28 no. 66a (Inv. no. 13225ι).

11 See MASTROKOSTAS 1983, 339-340.

12 This evidence comes from the excavation labels on the finds. The bones will be studied by Dr K. Trantalidou.

(no. 15), bands with various geometric ornaments (nos 16-18), or circle metopes (no. 19). On a small sherd<sup>18</sup> a horse leader is preserved. Amphorae, oinochoai, skyphoi<sup>19</sup> (no. 20) and one-handed cups are encountered in much smaller numbers.

In the Late Geometric period, the form of the pedestaled krater becomes set (nos 21-27), with a high flaring or upright rim (nos 28-37) and double-arched rolled handles (nos 38-41). One-handed cups, skyphoi, plates, basins and amphorae are also found. Many of the surviving finds allow us to ascribe them to painters of the Athenian Kerameikos, for example to the tradition of the Dipylon workshop<sup>20</sup>, to the Hirschfeld painter and his workshop<sup>21</sup>, the Lambros Group<sup>22</sup>, to the Birdseed painter<sup>23</sup>, the Hooked Swastikas workshop<sup>24</sup>, the Philadelphia painter<sup>25</sup>, amongst others. Ornaments and subjects are the usual ones for the period. In the surviving representations female figures dancing in a circle or in procession, led by a male musician<sup>26</sup> (nos 42-43), are depicted<sup>27</sup> (no. 44), as well as chariots<sup>28</sup>, ships<sup>29</sup> (no. 45) and animals, such as horses, deer or ibexes (no. 46), but mainly marsh birds (nos 47-53).

During the 7<sup>th</sup> century the predominant form of vase is still the standed krater<sup>30</sup> (fig. 2-3a): however, in comparison with that of the Geometric period, it has lost its monumental character. Handles are horizontal, single or double, and the stands conical.

18 PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 131 Kα 12. For the subject, see *CVA USA 37*, New York MMA 5, 25-26, pl. 21.8-9.

19 As well as skyphoi-kraters.

20 PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 130-131 Kα 11. See no. 42 and possibly no. 44.

21 PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 129-130 Kα 6, 7, 9, 10. Also no. 40.

22 See no. 23, 24 and 25.

23 See no. 41 and 51-52.

24 See no. 26 and 35.

25 PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 131 Kα 13.

26 For music in Artemis cult, see ZSCHÄTZSCH, 2002, 67ff.

27 For dance representations, see KLEINE, 2005, 11ff; LANGDON 2008, 144, 166-174. See also PALAIOKRASSA 1991 130 Kα 8.

28 PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 131 Kα 13.

29 For ships, see MOORE 2000 (with bibliography). See also PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 131 Kα 14.

30 See PALAIOKRASSA 1989, 17 fig. 5 -here fig. 3a; PALAIOKRASSA forthcoming (no. 45 -here fig. 2). There are two types: skyphos-kraters and mostly chalice-shaped high-rimmed kraters.

This form of vase had a ritual significance at least up to the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>31</sup> (fig. 3b). There are two types of decoration: the first consists of vessels bearing sub-geometric patterns (fig. 2, 3a). In the second type, decoration closely follows the precepts of Proto attic pottery: some vessels are decorated by recognised 7<sup>th</sup> century Attic painters<sup>32</sup>. The subjects are the usual ones and cannot be related to the cult.

From the remaining vase shapes, just a few skyphoi, one-handed cups, plates, basins, SOS-type amphorae and few miniature vases are encountered. The extremely limited number of fragments of Corinthian vases is worth noting.

In conclusion, the use of drinking vases or vessels accessory to the cult is already observed in the Protogeometric period, while the use of pedestaled kraters appears consistently in worship. The size of vessels, particularly in the MG and LG periods, is remarkably large, in some cases almost monumental. Apart from the Geometric kraters and cups, the performance of ritual banquets and the consumption of sacrificial meat by the worshippers, at least in the Classical period, is evidenced by the mention of spits and meat-hooks in a catalogue of the sanctuary utensils<sup>33</sup>, dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

The picture conveyed by the pottery from the sanctuary of Zeus on Parnes, during the period under consideration, is almost the same as that of the sanctuary of Mounichia, except during the 7<sup>th</sup> century, when – as we shall see – the origin and the huge number of vases is different and perhaps unique among the sanctuaries of Attica. We shall refer to the material from this sanctuary, in greater detail, since it is presented in this article for the first time.

In this case too, the earlier vases date back to the LPG period, or even a little earlier<sup>34</sup>. The predominant

31 PALAIOKRASSA 1989, 17 fig. 6 (here fig. 3b). See *ThesCRA V*, Kultinstrumente, 2b, IV, 256-258 nos 665-673 (2005, I. Krauskopf). KAHIL 1965; KAHIL 1983; PALAIOKRASSA 1989, 16-17, 31 nos 88-90 and 38-39, 145-148; PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 74-82, 185-186; EKROTH 2003a, 65-66; NEILS 2008, 245; SABETAI 2008, 291.

32 See PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 131-132 Kα 15, Kα 16; PALAIOKRASSA forthcoming (Analatos painter, Cat. nos 1-7; Mesogheia painter Cat. nos 8-21; Pernice painter Cat. no. 46; Kerameikos Mug Group, Cat. nos 36-39). For the krater fragments attributed to the Passas painter (see PALAIOKRASSA 2014).

33 PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 181 EΠ 6.

34 In some cases the dating of the vases is difficult, because of their fragmentary condition. This is obvious

shapes are the oinochoai<sup>35</sup> (nos 56-59 and 61-62), mostly of the trefoil type with band handle, and the one-handled cup (nos 54-55), usually with a high foot. Decoration is typical for this age with latticed triangles (no. 56) or sets of compass-drawn concentric circles or semicircles (nos 57-59), in some cases flanking a triglyph panel with a cross-hatched metope (no. 60). Encircling zigzag bands decorate the body of some vases (nos 61-62).

During the EG period trefoil oinochoai (nos 63-64) and cups (nos 65-66) still predominate, but without a high base or foot, following the norm for this period. Decoration is also typical of the era, with sets of reserved encircling bands<sup>36</sup>, zigzag bands<sup>37</sup> or ladder patterns on handles of cups. A dating problem is presented by some rare tall and cylindrical stems with horizontal ribbing, probably from kantharoi (nos 67-68), which could be ascribed also to the following period<sup>38</sup>.

During the MG period, the proportion of kantharoi (no. 69) among the sanctuary's vessels increases, with the shape becoming popular in the LG period. However, the presence of oinochoai (nos 70-73) and cups still prevails. From the same period exists an example of an exceptional vessel with a tall cylindrical stem, probably a kantharos, decorated with a dog-tooth pattern (nos 67-68, 74). As far as decorative ornaments are concerned, meanders (no. 75), lines of dots, triangles, sets of zigzags, and tangential blobs predominate, while there is an increase of encircling bands on the vases' bodies.

Lekythoi with a squat body (nos 76-77) and oinochoai with a broad (nos 78-79) or a narrow cylindrical neck (nos 80-82) appear in the LG period. Apart from one-handled cups (nos 83-85) and

kantharoi (no. 86), plates (no. 87), skyphoi (no. 88) and high-standed krateriskoi (nos 89-90) appear too. The kantharoi or plates (nos 91-92) with the tall ribbed stem, which ascribes a ceremonial character to these vessels, are of special interest. Decoration follows the mode of this period, covering almost the entire surface of the vessels, while in the category of pictorial representations, only marsh birds (no. 93), a horse (no. 94) and dogs (nos 95-96) survive. Few sherds belong to vessels from Euboean workshops (nos 97-99), as inferred by the clay, the whitish slip and the type of decoration. The remaining vases belong to Attic workshops, with two or three to Boeotian ones (no. 100).

A large quantity of mostly hand-made and occasionally wheel-made trefoil oinochoai (nos 101-102) and cooking pots were found in an ash layer. Some bear incised geometric decoration<sup>39</sup> (nos 103-107) or pierced holes through their bottom. Their exact dating is almost impossible to tell, as all associated archaeological data are missing. They were mostly utensils, but their quantity, uniformity, the holes and their discovery in the ash layer all suggest an association with ritual practice. There is a number of miniature vases, also problematic as regards their exact dating<sup>40</sup>.

A great change in the pottery from the sanctuary occurs at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The only vessels that continue to be present are oinochoai (nos 108-109) and one-handled cups (no. 110). Specifically, we refer to a few cups (no. 111), lekythoi (no. 112) and oinochoai with a conical body and tall neck (no. 113), with Subgeometric or Proto attic decoration, as well as to monochrome cups, more rarely given a linear geometric decoration.

The impressive feature, however, is the dominance of PC pottery, which is maintained through the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The main finds are aryballois and alabasters<sup>41</sup>.

During the EPC period the globular aryballois

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in the case of the handmade pottery. The material from Parnes is in the Archaeological Collection of Acharnai.

35 For the shape, see LEMOS 2002, 69ff.

36 See no. 63.

37 See no. 64.

38 There are six similar examples of this type of kantharos, at least published until now, dated from the EG I up to late MG II (a. Agora Inv. P19241, COLDSTREAM, 1968, pl. 1c. EG I. b. Kerameikos Inv. 930, *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 84. EG II. c. *LEFKANDI* III, pl. 89.6, 109. EG II-MG I. d. Athens, Academy, MAZARAKIS AINIEN and LIVIERATOU 2010, 91. EG II-MG I. e. Athens, National Museum Inv. no. 10967 (Isis tomb). K. PAPAGELLIS in STAMPOLIDIS and GIANNOPOULOU 2012, 113 no. 2. MG II. f. Berlin. *CVA* Germany 85, Berlin 10, pl. 10.1-3. MG II-Transitional to LG. See nos 91-92 and KYRIELEIS 2006, 157 pl. 53.18-20, 176-177 pl. 66.277, pl. 72.

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39 For LPG handmade incised ware, see LEMOS, 2002, 96, pl. 57.5-9, 62.1, 2, 99-101. For the handmade incised ware from Attica, see REBER 1991, 168 ff; LAUTER 1985, 95 ff., 106-108; POLOGIORGI 2003-2009, 194-195 no. 1 fig. 70-71, 197 no. 7 fig. 77, 201 no. 8 fig. 87.

40 For miniature vessels, see also LANGDON 1976, 70 no. 319; LAUTER 1985, 69, 86-89, pl 11.

41 MASTROKOSTAS, 1983, 340. On PC pottery, see generally NEEFT 1987; COULIÉ 2013, 105-121. For the frequency of finds of PC and Corinthian pottery in Attica, see CALLIPOLITIS-FEYTMANS 1986, 168-177.

(no. 114), with or without base, predominates. Decoration consists usually of tongues, triangles, encircling bands, all combined with friezes of chequer pattern<sup>42</sup>.

Globular aryballoi, bearing animals on the shoulder, among spiral hooks and rosettes, as well as chequer patterned friezes on the body are dated from the end of the Early and the beginnings of the MPC period. The form of some aryballoi tends to be conical and their decoration consists of tendrils (no. 115) or solid and latticed triangles (no. 116) on the shoulder.

A large number of aryballoi with an ovoid body and flat shoulder belong to the Middle Protocorinthian period. Most examples of this type usually bear a frieze depicting galloping dogs<sup>43</sup>. Among the most interesting examples are three aryballoi: two of them depict on their shoulders animals and are perhaps manufactured in Boeotian workshops (nos 117-118). A male figure behind a lion is represented on the third aryballos (no. 119).

Towards the end of the MPC period the animal friezes cover the vase's shoulder (nos 120-122) as well as the body, in conjunction with chequer pattern, rosettes or linear patterns<sup>44</sup>. Towards the end of the LPC and during the Transitional period we have ovoid aryballoi but mainly they are pointed. They are decorated with single and double bands of chequer patterns, encircling lines, friezes of galloping animals<sup>45</sup> (no. 123) or engraved compass-drawn scales (no. 124).

The most numerous vase group after the aryballoi are alabasters. Most examples can be dated from the LPC until the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>46</sup> (nos 125-126). The decoration follows that of the aryballoi, with a monotonous repetition of the leaf rosette at the bottom and of the sets of encircling bands or lines and bands of chequer pattern on the

body. Many vases bear scales or friezes of grazing animals (nos 127-128) and belong to the LPC and to the Transitional periods.

Vessels bearing incised, mostly retrograde, inscriptions, dating from the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and chiefly during the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, are of exceptional interest<sup>47</sup>. In some examples the Boeotian (no. 129) rather than the Attic alphabet is used. Most of them bear the name of the deity or that of the donor with the verb *ἀνέθεκεν*. The names are those of males and once a female. The phrase "I am sacred to Zeus" is also encountered. The god is mentioned with the epithets of *Παρνέσιος*<sup>48</sup> (no. 130) and *Ἰκέσιος*<sup>49</sup> (no. 131). The former epithet refers to the location, whereas the latter defines Zeus' relationship to the worshippers, who beseeched him for good weather for their cultivation and broadly for the welfare of all agricultural fertility and generally of the *oikos*.

It is worth noting that the pottery from the sanctuary decreases substantially from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and almost disappears thereafter<sup>50</sup>.

From this brief presentation of the material from the two sanctuaries of Mounichia and Parnes, one may draw the following conclusions:

In both of them, the worship starts in the latter half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Pottery deposition increases gradually, attaining its greatest volume in the Late Geometric period. An equally large quantity of vessels is observed in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, however with differences, as mentioned above. From the beginnings of both sanctuaries, specific shapes of drinking vessels, of ritual significance, appear. In the case of the Mounichia sanctuary, the prevalent shape is the pedestaled krater, which, as evidenced also by the finds from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron<sup>51</sup>, was used for libations or for burning incense, maintaining this function at least up to the

42 Cf. CALLIPOLITIS-FEYTMANS 1963, 419 fig. 10; NEEFT 1987, 34-50, 271-272.

43 For other decoration patterns cf. NEEFT 1987, 114-115.

44 There are examples attributed to the Pithekoussai 1187 group (Cf. NEEFT 1987, 109-112, fig. 36 and 314; SKARLATIDOU 2010, 83 fig. 78), to the Kanellopoulos Painter (NEEFT 1987, 170 fig. 82-83) or to the Banditaccia type (NEEFT 1987, 232-233 fig. 137).

45 For aryballoi of similar type and decoration cf. STAMPOLIDIS and KARETSOU 1998, 187 nos 199-201.

46 For alabasters that appear in Corinth as a distinct type, after the LPC period, but more widely dispersed in the Transitional and LPC period, see PAYNE 1931, 31-32, 269, 274; AMYX 1988, 437-439.

47 See MASTROKOSTAS 1983, 340-342; SEG 33, 244. For the graffiti from the Hymettos sanctuary, see LANGDON 1976, 9ff; DE POLIGNAC 1995, 95-96.

48 Inscription: *ἡιὰρὰ Παρνησιῶν/[---]ΟΚΕΔΕΣ Α[---]*. See MASTROKOSTAS, 1983, 341. Also SEG 33, 244c; KALOGEROPOULOS 2013, 486-487.

49 Inscription: *Καλ(λ)ιτέλες Διὶ ἡικεσίῳ ἀνέθεκεν*. SEG 33, 244d, also 244e. For Zeus *Hikesios*, see CASSELA D'AMORE 2005; LALONDE 2006, 78; LUPU 2009, 35.

50 Examination of the material ascertained the existence of a very few sherds from vases of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (*lekythoi*) and a limited number of Roman lamps.

51 See n. 31 and KAHIL 1963, 25-26 no. 56, pl. 14.3; KAHIL 1977, 88.

5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. In the case of the Parnes sanctuary the dominant role is played by oinochoai, kantharoi and cups<sup>52</sup>. The special use of these as well as of the Protocorinthian vases in ritual offerings of goods of chthonian character, to promote earth fertility, is confirmed by the fact that they were discovered in a layer of ash<sup>53</sup>, covering a platform of stones<sup>54</sup>, frequently with pronounced traces of fire. Some are pierced at their bottoms<sup>55</sup> (nos 131-134).

Vessels from the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia are superior in quality to those of Zeus Parnessios. During the MG and especially in the LG period, the excellence of the vessels from Mounichia is outstanding. This peak is observed to go on into the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Vases from the Parnes sanctuary are mostly small and of mediocre quality, perhaps with the exception of the Protogeometric period. In the 7<sup>th</sup> century this picture is reversed, with the use of tiny Corinthian alabasters and mainly aryballoi. These were votive vessels, but their use in worship is revealed by the holes in their bases. Traces of fire on many lead to the hypothesis that they were cast together with their content, oil or perfumes<sup>56</sup>, into the fire<sup>57</sup> (nos 135-136). The case of a globular aryballos with a flat base and a large hole at the bottom is characteristic and can stand for many; it bears the inscription: *Καλ(λ) ιτέλες Διὶ ἠικεσίω ἀνέθεκεν* (no. 131).

As confirmed by other finds, cult at both sanctuaries included animal sacrifice. The sacrifice of goats to Artemis Mounichia is known from written sources<sup>58</sup>, while the use of spits for the cooking of meat and its subsequent consumption by the worshippers has already been mentioned. In the case of the

sanctuary on Parnes, the sacrifice and consumption of meat is evidenced by the large number of animal bones (mainly of goats or sheep), by the assemblage of cups and kantharoi, by the prolific number of knives<sup>59</sup> (about four thousand) and by about seventy iron spits<sup>60</sup>: all were found in the excavation. Most probably they had been devoted to the god after their use for ceremonial acts of the killing, cooking and serving the meats<sup>61</sup>. Fragments of tripod cauldrons<sup>62</sup> are also to be associated with ritual dining.

Artemis Mounichia was worshipped as a fertility goddess, protector of the preservation of both genders and of safe childbirth, of infants, children – in particular girls, and of women. The goddess protected females, especially when passing from childhood to adolescence, and on into motherhood, thus preserving the continuity of the oikos and consequently the Athenian society<sup>63</sup>.

Zeus Parnessios, whose cult was also witnessed by Pausanias<sup>64</sup>, was worshipped as a god of the weather, directly linked to the welfare of agricultural crops and thus indirectly to the welfare of the oikos. In his broader role he acted as the protector of society, of the *polis*, the vouchsafer of justice but also he had a role in the celestial world. Whatever the case, he was worshipped in rustic sanctuaries on other mountain peaks too, as on Mount Hymettos, as god of rain and of weather omens<sup>65</sup>. Pausanias also mentions

52 *ThesCRA* V, Kultinstrumente, 2b, III, 145ff. (I. Krauskopf), IX, 326ff., 350, I, 354f. (S. Schipporeit). See also LANGDON 1997, 121; CHRISTIANSEN 2000, 82.

53 See n. 11.

54 For ritual platforms, associated to chthonian rituals (honouring the dead or the ancestors), see LAMBRINOUDAKIS 1988, 235, 238-239; LEMOS 2002, 180. Also KOUROU in this volume.

55 See also no. 134. LAUTER 1985, 78 no. 117, 130; KOKKOU-VYRIDIS 1999, 182.

56 For their precious contents which were used in very small quantities, see MASSAR and VERBANCK-PIÉRARD 2013, 280, 289 fig. 4, 296 (table of capacities of PC vases). See also CHRISTIANSEN 2000, 84-86. For the use of perfumes in cult, see MEHL 2008.

57 See also the pottery from Hymettos showing signs of burning (LANGDON 1976, 76-78).

58 PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 39-41.

59 STEINHAEUER 2001, fig. 116-126, 127-145. For knives as ritual instruments, *ThesCRA* V, Kultinstrumente, 2b, VIII, 308-312 (J. Metz).

60 STEINHAEUER 2001, fig. 127-145. For spits-obeloi from sanctuaries, see HAARER 2000, 67ff; *ThesCRA* V, Kultinstrumente, 2b, IX, 330 ff. (S. Schipporeit).

61 For the aspects of Greek sacrifice and sacrificial animals, see VAN STRATEN 1995, 3-12, 104-109 and for the festive banquet, see 144-153. For the use of knives and spits in sacrificial scenes on Attic vases and reliefs, see VAN STRATEN 1995, fig. 109-112, 121-158; LANGDON 1976, 78 and 1997, 120, supports the opinion that ritual dining did not take place at the Zeus sanctuary on Hymettos.

62 STEINHAEUER 2001, 93 fig. 146.

63 For the *arkteia*, see SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1988; PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 92-94; MARINATOS 2002; PERUSINO 2002; *ThesCRA* II, Initiation 119-121 (W. BURKERT 2004); FARAONE 2003, 43-68; PARKER 2005, 232-248.

64 Paus. 1. 32. 2. At Parnes, the cult of Zeus Ἐπάκριος is attested as well (Etym. *Magnum* s.v. Ἐπάκριος Ζεύς). For Zeus Ἐπάκριος, see LALONDE 2006, 42 n. 10.

65 See LANGDON 1976, 79-80, 84-85; LANGDON, 1997, 119ff. The evolution of the Hymettos sanctuary is almost identical to that of the sanctuary on Mount Parnes

two altars on Mount Parnes: one of Zeus *Σημαλέος* (who signals rain) and another of *Ἀπήμιος* (protector from adverse weather) and *Ἵμβριος* (rainmaker)<sup>66</sup>. To Zeus, as a weather god, is assigned a large number of epithets, such as: *ἄκραϊος*, *ἀποτρόπαιος*, *ἀστραπαῖος*, *ἀνάντηρ*, *καταιβάτης* (stuck by lightning), *κεραύνιος*, *ἄμβριος*, *κτήσιος*<sup>67</sup>, *ὔετιος*, *σήμιος*, *μαιμάκτης*<sup>68</sup>, *μειλίχιος* and *γεωργός*<sup>69</sup>. Hesiod also mentions<sup>70</sup> that before sowing farmers prayed to Zeus *χθόνιος*<sup>71</sup> and Demeter, ascribing to the god a chthonian character as protector of soil fertility through the elements of weather<sup>72</sup>. To Zeus *γεωργός*<sup>73</sup> worshippers offered bloodless and wineless sacrifices, which were usually burned. At the same time the sacrifice of oxen, but also of goats, sheep and pigs<sup>74</sup>, is handed down, everybody participating in the festive meal that followed.

Who were these worshippers? The nature of Artemis Mounichia and the location of her sanctuary favour the interpretation of a direct relationship with the

social and political structures. The development of her cult at the end of the Geometric period through the 7<sup>th</sup> century suggests an evolution parallel to the development of the city-state, assigning an urban character to the sanctuary<sup>75</sup>. The large, precious vases of the Geometric years are surely to be associated with the rich nobility of the time<sup>76</sup>, while the offering of the same type of vessel, but of a different and lower quality and value, during the 7<sup>th</sup> century bears witness to the access to the sanctuary of individuals of a different income and social status.

The picture at the sanctuary of Zeus Parnessios is different. The small size of the vases, including those of utilitarian character, throughout the whole period of its functioning, is due probably to ritual practices and to the humble economic and social status of the worshippers, who donated but cheap offerings. Perhaps the sanctuary's inaccessibility played some role too<sup>77</sup>. Its remote location on the border of Attica was certainly important for the people of that period. However, it appears that the cult's impact went beyond the borders and the control of the local Attic communities or even of Athenian society: it looks to have attracted the faithful from neighbouring Boeotia, due to the god's broad-based appeal<sup>78</sup> and to the frontier location of the sanctuary<sup>79</sup>. Most of the worshippers of the god were surely farmers or even animal breeders<sup>80</sup>. The existence of such a large number of Protocorinthian vessels may not necessarily be associated with some change in the cult or in the economic status of the worshippers, but rather was to do with the draw it exerted on

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(LANGDON 1976, 74 ff.), but the pottery and the other finds are poorer. Also PARKER 2004, 29-33.

66 See n. 64. A bronze statue of Zeus *Parnethios* is also mentioned. For Zeus *Ἵμβριος*, see KOKKOU-VYRIDIS, 1999, 176-177; LALONDE 2006, 44.

67 Cult at household level, see PARKER, 2005, 15-16; VERSNEL, 2011, 517-518. For Zeus *Ktesios* and Demeter *Aneisidora*, LALONDE 2006, 81.

68 DEUBNER 1966, 176. LALONDE 2006, 45, 86.

69 In general for the worship of Zeus on mountains and the epithets that go with it during the 8-7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., see PSALTI 1998, 305-306; LUPU 2009, 117-118, 130-131; PARKER 2011, 3, 77. Also *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1358* (*Ὀριος*, *Ἵπατος*, *Αἰθαλεύς*), 2606 (*ἀνάντηρ*). For Zeus *Meilichios*, see EKROTH 2002, 225, 226; PARKER 2005, 424-425; LALONDE 2006, 45 ff. and in relation to Ge, 69-70, 81; PARKER 2011, 67-69.

70 *Op.* 465 ff.

71 See also LANGDON 1976, 80, 97; EKROTH 2002, 316 n. 29, 322 (reference to sacrifices to Zeus *Chthonios* and Ge *Chthonia ὑπὲρ καρπῶν*); LUPU, 2009, 165.

72 See also PAUSANIAS 1.31.4; LANGDON 1976, 79; LAUTER 1985, 133; LANGDON 1997, 119-121; KOKKOU-VYRIDIS 1999, 176-177; LALONDE 2006, 112; LUPU 2009, 130-131; PARKER 2011, 70, 81.

73 *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1367*; THUCYDIDES 1, 126, 6. Similar were the offerings to Zeus *Meilichios* (see also EKROTH 2002, 156; LALONDE 2006, 45, 60, 75, 85, 92, 108-109).

74 Evidence refers to holocausts of pigs (XENOPHON *Anab.* 7, 8, 4; Cf. LALONDE 2006, 61, 75-76, 92) but also to ritual banquets during the *Diasia* (ARISTOPHANES *Nub.* 408 f.), the feast of Zeus *Meilichios* on Ilissos (see also

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KOKKOU-VYRIDIS 1999, 181 n. 235; PARKER 2005, 42, 466; LALONDE 2006, 60-61, 72ff., 92, 107ff.); LUPU 2009, 141-142. The *Diipolia*, the festival in honour of Zeus *Polieus*, had a similar programme. For the sacrificed animals to Zeus, see LALONDE 2006, 76-77, 114-120; LUPU 2009, 117-118, 141-142, 360-361, 381 (*SEG* 33, 147; 43, 630; *LSCG* 18 A37, 43).

75 PALAIOKRASSA forthcoming.

76 CRIELAARD 1999, 57f., 64.

77 See also KRISTENSEN 2001, 63, 66.

78 Parnes also functioned as a weather signal, as witnessed by Theophrastos 3.43, who reports that a mass of clouds on the peaks of Parnes was a sure sign of rain. As regards Parnes and Hymettos as weather signals, see LANGDON 1976, 85.

79 On the significance of the sanctuary area, see MUNN 1989, 240-242 and on the borders of Attica, FACHARD 2013, 83-84.

80 D'ONOFRIO 1995, 77-81; BAUMER 2004, 17, 83.

visitors from Boeotia<sup>81</sup>. We know that the quantity of Corinthian pottery in other places of worship in Attica of the 7<sup>th</sup> century was rather limited<sup>82</sup>.

Whereas it is equally well-known that Corinthian vessels were widely spread in Boeotia<sup>83</sup>. Inscriptions in the Boeotian alphabet on some of the vases<sup>84</sup> confirm the Boeotian identity of part of the worshippers, in the same way that vases from Euboea<sup>85</sup> or possibly Oropos signal the arrival of some visitors from those coastal areas. The nature of Zeus Parnessios would surely have had a strong influence on the Boeotian rural nobility, as well as the simple farmers<sup>86</sup>.

The degree of literacy of the donators is remarkable. The existence of the inscribed vases denotes a differentiation in the relationship between god and mortals, through the expression of their own personal identity and the individual's attempt at a direct communication with the deity. The donator dedicated mediocre votive offerings, obviously not for display and for his social image, since these were not visible, but for the god himself<sup>87</sup>.

The above features clearly portray the difference between the two sanctuaries, which, although starting with a number of common features revealing collective practices and communal worship, became subsequently differentiated under the impact of the emergence of the city-state. Evidence shows that the Mounichia sanctuary was incorporated into the State cults. On the contrary, that of Parnes despite its location on the frontier appears to have lost its significance for the city, in common with other peak sanctuaries in Attica<sup>88</sup>.

It appears that in the emerging Athenian city-state the perpetuation of the *oikos* and by extension of the Athenian state, connected – as it was – with the

worship of Artemis, was of greater importance than the worship, connected with the earth's fertility, at the remote sanctuary of Mount Parnes. Some such role was most probably taken up by other more central sanctuaries, such as that of Eleusis or the Eleusinion established in the centre of Athens, or indeed by other sanctuaries of the god<sup>89</sup>. A further explanation or contributing factor for the decline of the Parnes sanctuary may be linked to the reorganisation of the city and State cults by Solon<sup>90</sup>.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AMP = Archaeological Museum of Peiraeus  
ACA = Archaeological Collection of Acharnai

*CORINTH XIII* = C. BLEGEN - H. PALMER - R. YOUNG, *The North Cemetery*, Princeton, 1964 [*Corinth XIII*].

*CORINTH XV.III* = A. NEWHALL STILLWELL and J.L. BENSON, *The Potter's Quarter. The Pottery*, Princeton, 1984 [*Corinth XV. III*].

*KERAMEIKOS I* = W. KRAIKER and K. KÜBLER, *Die Nekropolen des 12. bis 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1939 [*Kerameikos I*].

*LSCG* = F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris, 1969, -.

*SEG* = *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*.

81 See nos 117-118 and n. 84.

82 See LANGDON 1976, 17 no. 13, 70 nos 314-316 (Hymettos); LAUTER 1985, 132 (Tourkovouni); CALLIPOLITIS-FEYTMANS 1986, 168-177; KOKKOU-VYRIDIS 1999, 55-56 (Eleusis); CHRISTIANSEN 2000, 54 pl. 7-8 (Kiapha Thiti); GOETTE 2000, 32-33 (Sounion); BAUMER 2004, 84 Att1 (Menidi), 102-103 Att36 (Thorikos). For PC pottery found in Greek sanctuaries, see KRISTENSEN 2001.

83 For the preference of Boeotians for PC and Corinthian vases, due to their alliance, see ANDREIOMENOU, 1981-1982, 282-286.

84 See no. 129.

85 See nos 97-99.

86 See also LANGDON 1976, 90-91.

87 See also EKROTH 2003b, 36.

88 See also DE POLIGNAC 1995, 97.

89 Cf. DE POLIGNAC 1995, 97; LALONDE 2006.

90 The continuation of the worship of the god with the epithet of Parnessios, at least in Athens up to the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., is testified by a boundary stone ([Δι]ός Παρ-[v]ησίο), found in the Academy area (*JG I<sup>3</sup> 1057bis*; KALOGEROPOULOU 1984, 111-118; *SEG* 34, 39). This single evidence attests to the secondary significance of this cult.

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Fig. 2

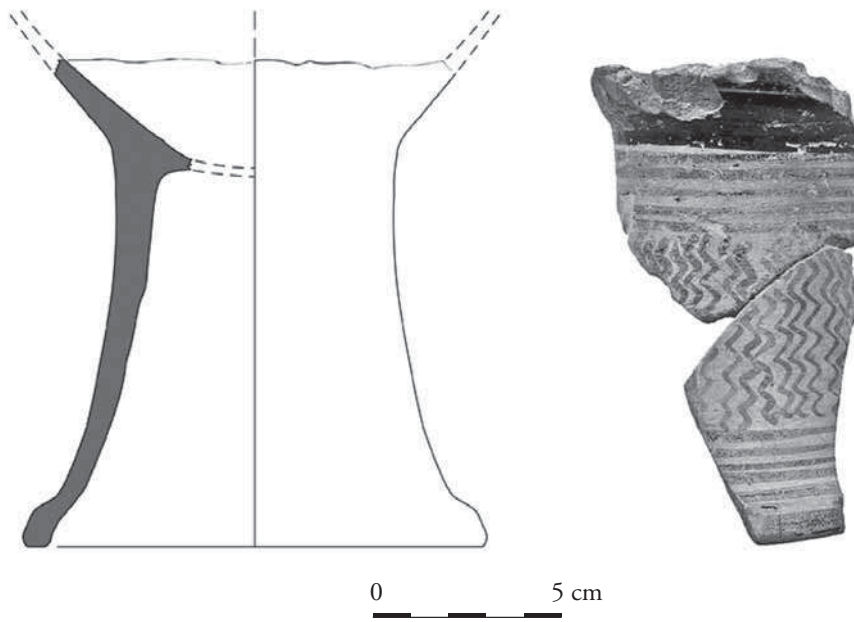


Fig. 3a-b

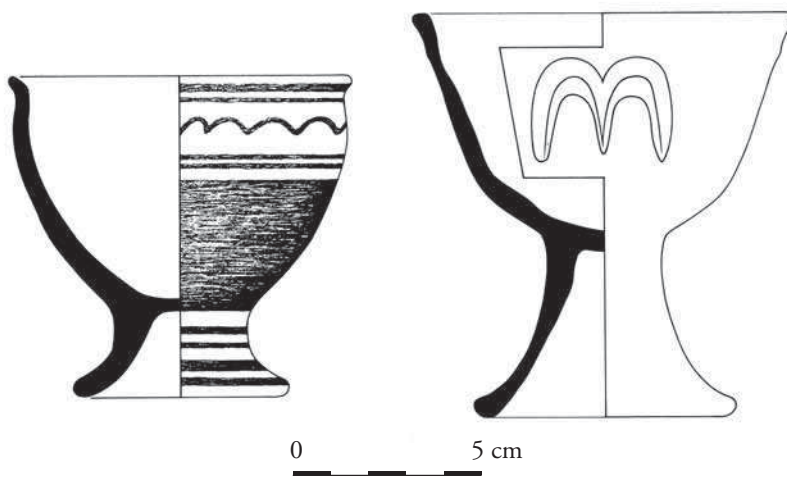
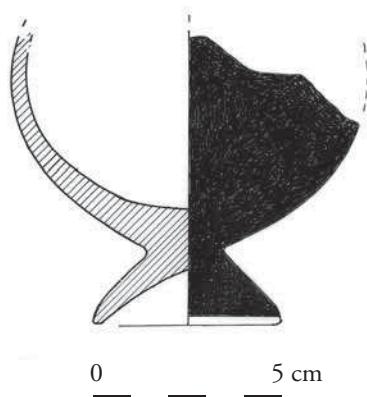
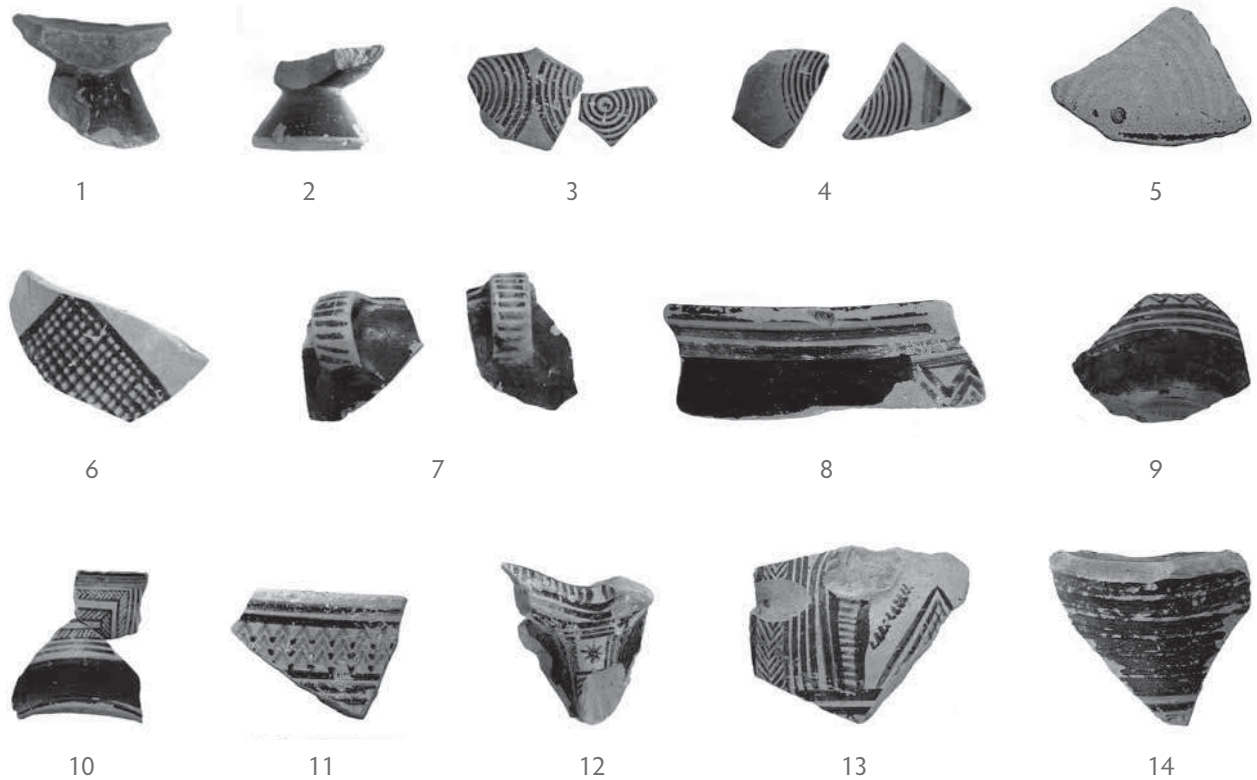


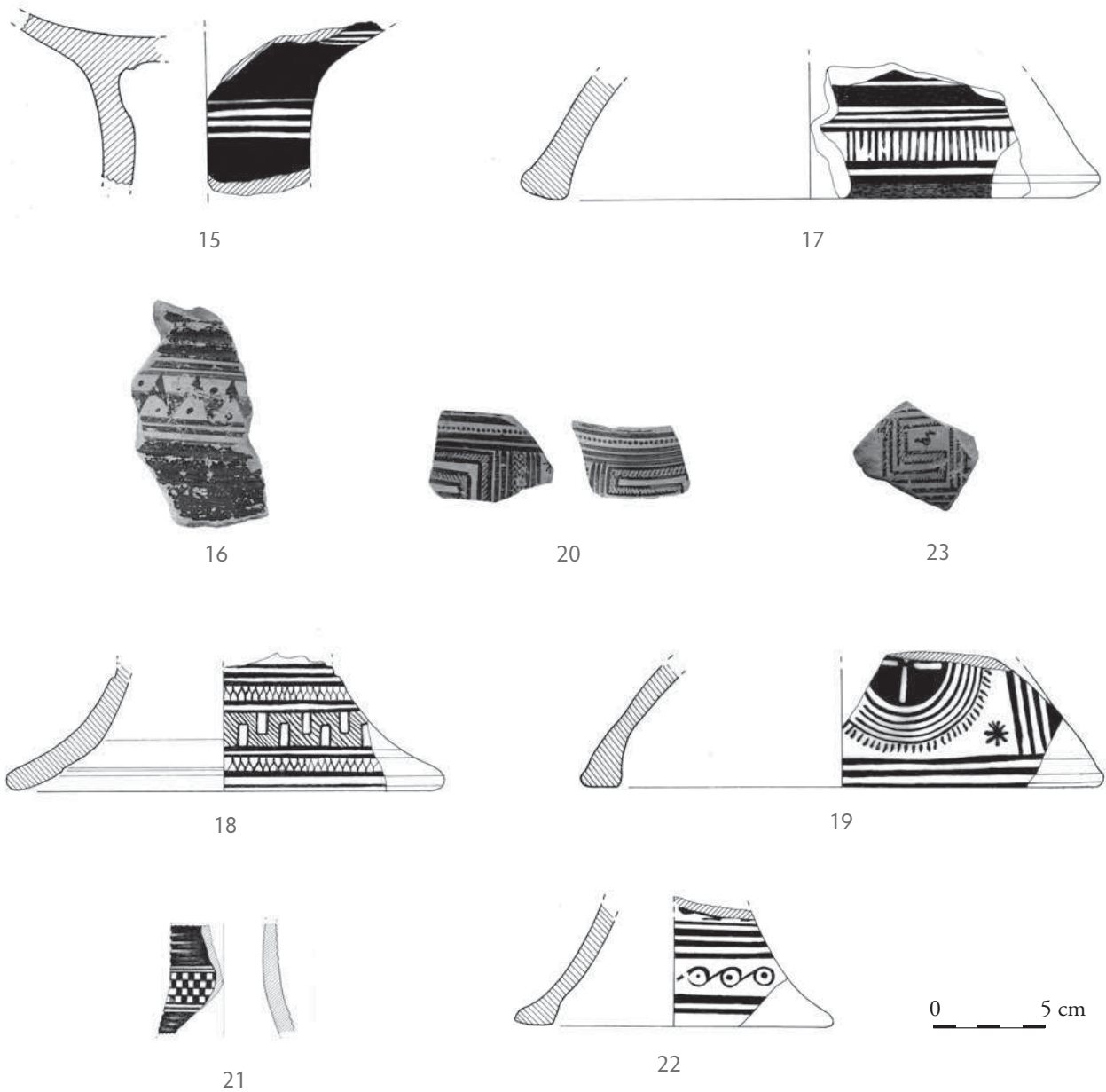
Fig. 4



CATALOGUE



1. Inv. no. 13225: height 0.052 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions. Cf. LEMOS 2002, pl. 32.4 (Kerameikos PG 38). PAPADOPOULOS 2003, 63 fig. 2.20 no. 42.
2. Inv. no. 13225α: height 0.0385 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions. Cf. LEMOS 2002, pl. 36.4-5 (Kerameikos PG 48). PAPADOPOULOS 2003, 63 fig. 2.20 no. 44, 91 fig. 2.35 no. 72, 92 fig. 2.36 no. 73.
3. Inv. no. 13225β: length 0.038 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, quite pure. Cf. LEMOS, 2002, pl. 36.4, and Inv. no. 13225γ: length 0.0275 m. from the same vase.
4. Inv. no. 13225δ: height 0.038 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with few inclusions and bubbles. Inv. no. 13225ε: length 0.054 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with white inclusions, quite pure. Cf. LEMOS 2002, pl. 32.4.
5. Inv. no. 13225σ (from lekythos or oinochoe): length 0.0575 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, with few inclusions. Cf. LEMOS 2002, pl. 35.3-4, 7. See also PALAIOKRASSA 1989, 28 no. 66b (Inv. no. 13225ζ).
6. Inv. no. 13225ια: length 0.064 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. SMITHSON 1961, 159, pl. 25.15; LEMOS 2002, pl. 35.8 (Kerameikos PG 48).
7. Inv. no. 13226α: height 0.058 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, quite pure and inv. no. 13226β: height 0.064 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, quite pure. Cf. COLDSTREAM 1968, pl. 1n.
8. Inv. no. 13226γ: length 0.059 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, quite pure. Cf. *CVA* Great Britain 25, London BM 11, pl. 45.76.
9. Inv. no. 13226δ: length 0.053 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, quite pure, with few bubbles. For the decoration cf. COLDSTREAM 1968, pl. 2b.
10. Inv. no. 13226ε: height 0.062 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, quite pure. *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 105. See also PALAIOKRASSA 1989, 28 no. 67 (Inv. no. 13226σ; for a dating in EG II, COLDSTREAM 1968, pl. 2e).
11. Inv. no. 13226ζ: length 0.056 m. Clay 2.5YR 6/6, quite pure. MG II. Cf. *CVA* France 27, Paris, Musée du Louvre 18, pl. 5.1-2.
12. Inv. no. 13226η: length 0.062 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles. MG II. For the star, see *CVA* Greece 8, Athens NM 5, pl. 13. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 75, 92.
13. Inv. no. 13226θ: height 0.073 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles. Transitional MG II-LG Ia. For the decoration cf. *CVA* Greece 8, Athens NM 5, pl. 106.3-4 and also *CVA* USA 37, New York MMA 5, pl. 12.3. For the shape see *CVA* France 27, Paris, Musée du Louvre 18, pl. 5; MOORE 2000, 13, 32 n. 8.
14. Inv. no. 13226ι: length 0.072 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions and few bubbles. MG II. Cf. *CVA* France 27, Paris, Musée du Louvre 18, pl. 6, 7.1; *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 19 Inv. 871.



15. Inv. no. 13226 $\alpha$ : length 0.085 m. Clay 2.5YR 6/6 (inside), 5YR 7/4 (outside), with inclusions and bubbles. MG II-LGI. Cf. *CVA USA* 37, New York MMA 5, pl. 1. *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 34 Inv. 346.

16. Inv. no. 13226 $\beta$ : height 0.0995 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 18 Inv. 1149, pl. 27 Inv. 2136, pl. 28 Inv. 2140.

17. Inv. no. 13226 $\gamma$ : length 0.0925 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, with inclusions and bubbles. The gear pattern is common through the MG period.

18. Inv. no. 13227 $\alpha$ : height 0.068 m. Clay 2.5YR 6/6, quite pure. MG II-Transitional to LG. Cf. MOORE 2000, fig. 18-19.

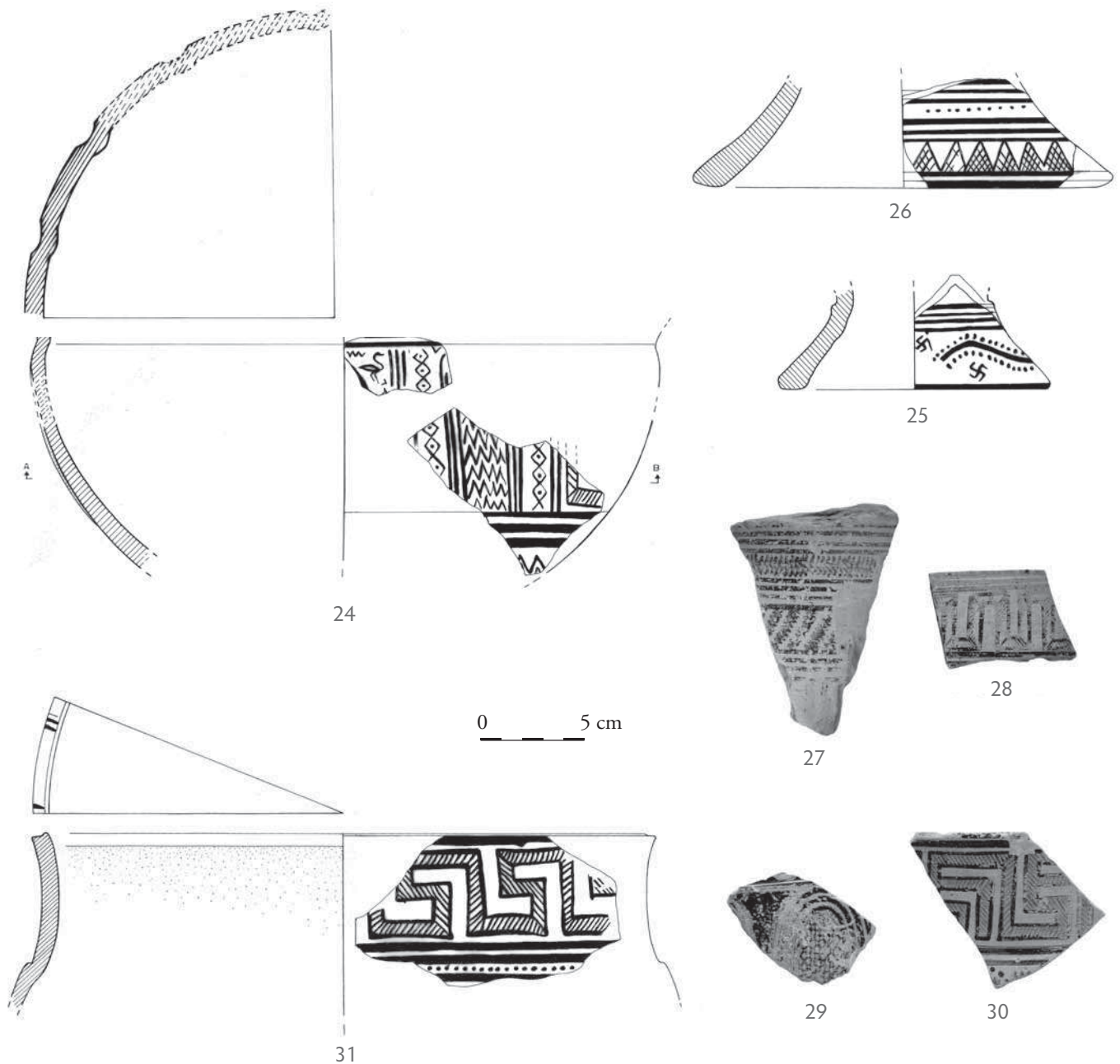
19. Inv. no. 13226 $\delta$ : length 0.098 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, with inclusions, bubbles and a little mica. MG I. Cf. *CVA Greece* 8, Athens NM 5, pl. 96, 99; *CVA France* 27, Paris, Musée du Louvre 18, pl. 13.3, 14.3.

20. Inv. no. 13226 $\epsilon$ : height 0.0405 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, pure, and inv. no. 13226 $\sigma$ : height 0.032 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, pure. Cf. *CVA Great Britain* 25, London BM 11, pl. 46.80; *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 85 Inv. 258 (decoration).

21. Inv. no. 13227: height 0.098 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions. Cf. COULIÉ 2013, 73-74 fig. 44, 78 fig. 48; 2014, 36 fig. 2.

22. Inv. no. 13227 $\beta$ : height 0.058 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, with few inclusions. Cf. *CVA Greece* 8, Athens NM 5, pl. 84.

23. Inv. no. 13227 $\gamma$ : length 0.057 m. Clay 5YR 8/4, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *CVA France* 27, Paris, Musée du Louvre 18, pl. 8.1.



24. Inv. no. 13227δ: i. length 0.099 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, quite pure. From the same vase, ii. length 0.054 m. Cf. BRIESE and DOCTER 1994, 2-3 fig. 1-4, 6 fig. 7.

25. Inv. no. 13227ε: height 0.061 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. FRONING 1982, 55-58 no. 13; BRIESE and DOCTER 1994, 7-9 figs. 12-14.

26. Inv. no. 13227στ: length 0.065 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, with inclusions and some specks of mica visible on the surface. Cf. STAMPOLIDIS and GIANNOPOULOU 2012, 149 fig. 3, 154 no. 3 (the Hooked swastikas workshop).

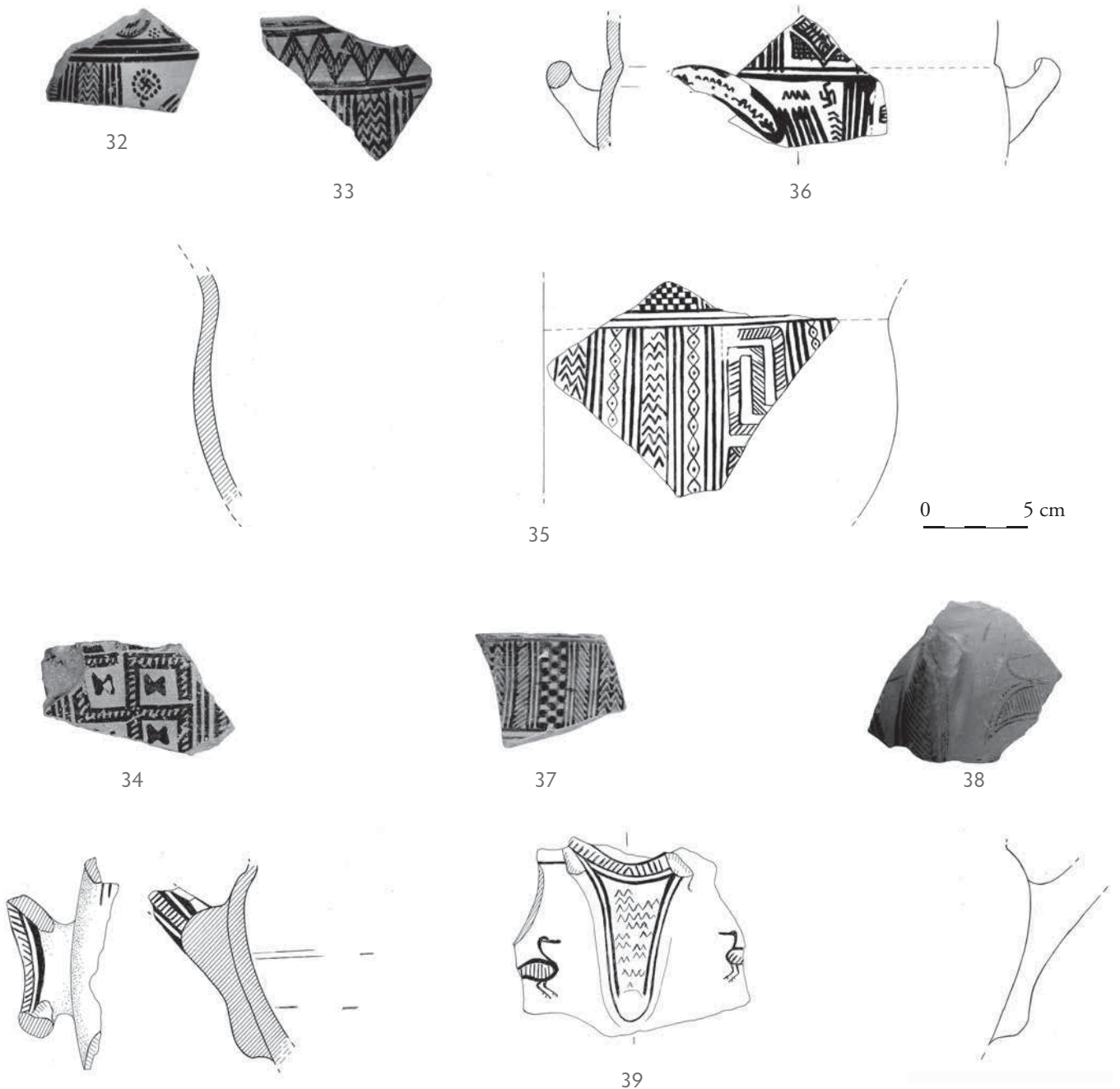
27. Inv. no. 13227ζ: length 0.081 m. Clay 5YR 7/4 (inside), 7.5YR 7/4 (outside), with inclusions and bubbles. For the oblique scribble pattern, cf. *CVA Greece* 8, Athens NM 5, pl. 46-48; *CVA Germany* 13, Mannheim, Reiss - Museum 1, pl. 3.2.

28. Inv. no. 13228: length 0.064 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with inclusions. Transitional MG II-L GI. Cf. *CVA France* 27, Paris, Musée du Louvre 18, pl. 14.2, 15.1.

29. Inv. no. 13228η: height 0.056 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles. Transitional MG II-LGI. Cf. *CVA Germany* 85, Berlin 10, Beil. 21.3. *AGORA VIII*, 68 no. 325.

30. Inv. no. 13228α: height 0.077 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with few inclusions. Cf. *AGORA VIII*, no. 275.

31. Inv. no. 13228ιδ: length 0.124 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, with inclusions and bubbles.



32. Inv. no. 13228β: height 0.056 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions and few mica. For the hatched serpent pattern see *CVA Greece 8*, Athens NM 5, 73; *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 49 Inv. 1214.

33. Inv. no. 13228γ: length 0.0945 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with few inclusions. Cf. *CVA Greece 8*, Athens NM 5, pl. 106.2-4.

34. Inv. no. 13228δ: length 0.0755 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions and few bubbles. Cf. COULIÉ 2013, 83.

35. Inv. no. 13228ε: length 0.1525 m. Clay 2.5YR 6/6, with inclusions and few bubbles. Cf. STAMPOLIDIS and GIANNOPOULOU 2012, 149 fig. 3 (The Hooked swastikas workshop).

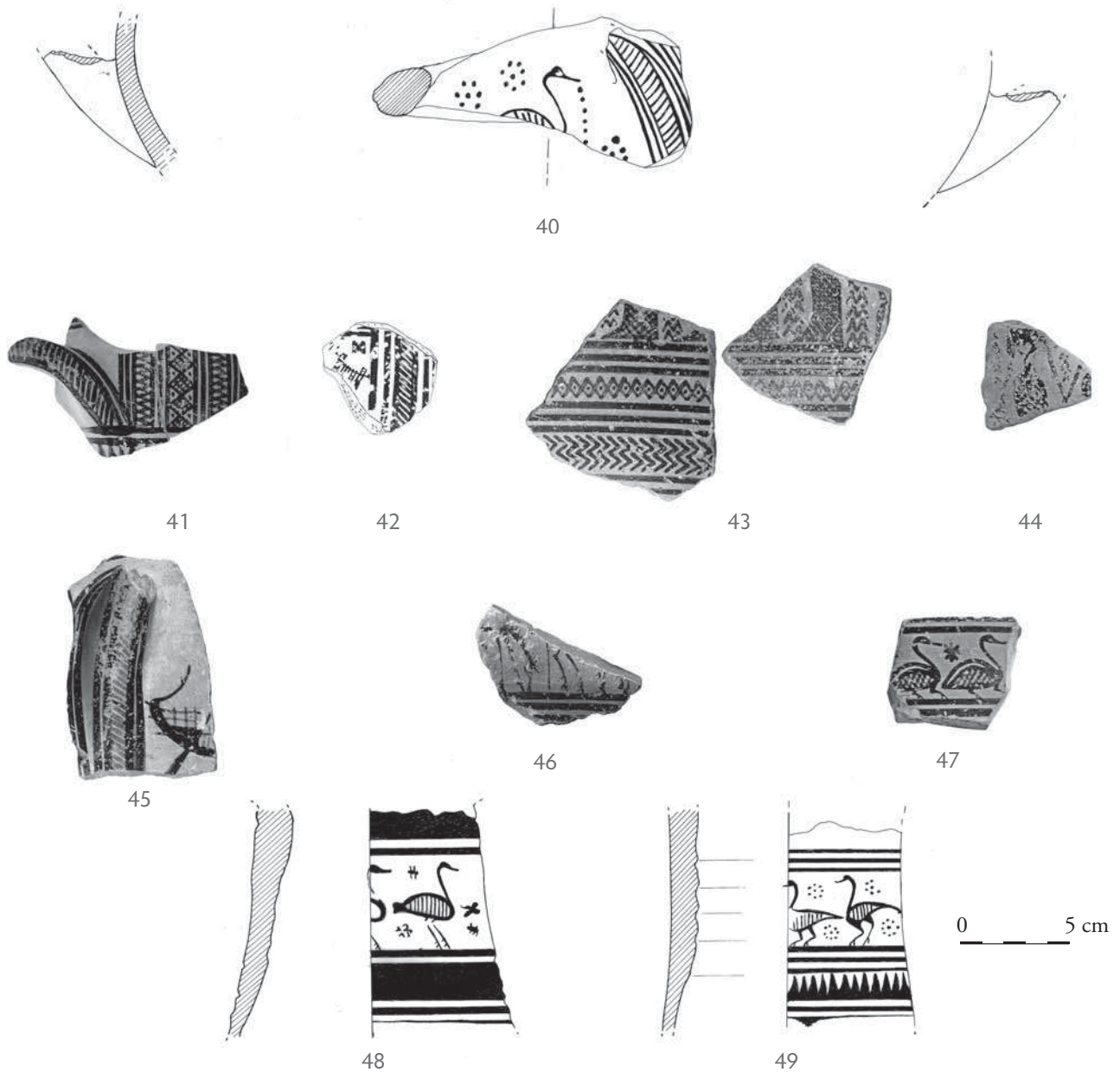
36. Inv. no. 13228σ: height 0.063 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with few inclusions and bubbles. Cf. STAMPOLIDIS and GIANNOPOULOU 2012, 155 no. 5.

37. Inv. no. 13228ζ: height 0.0595 m. Clay 5YR 8/4, with inclusions and mica. Cf. *CVA Great Britain 25*, London BM 11, pl. 53.104; STAMPOLIDIS and GIANNOPOULOU 2012, 155 nos 5-6. See also PALAIOKRASSA 1989, 29 no. 72, 73, pl. 4.3.

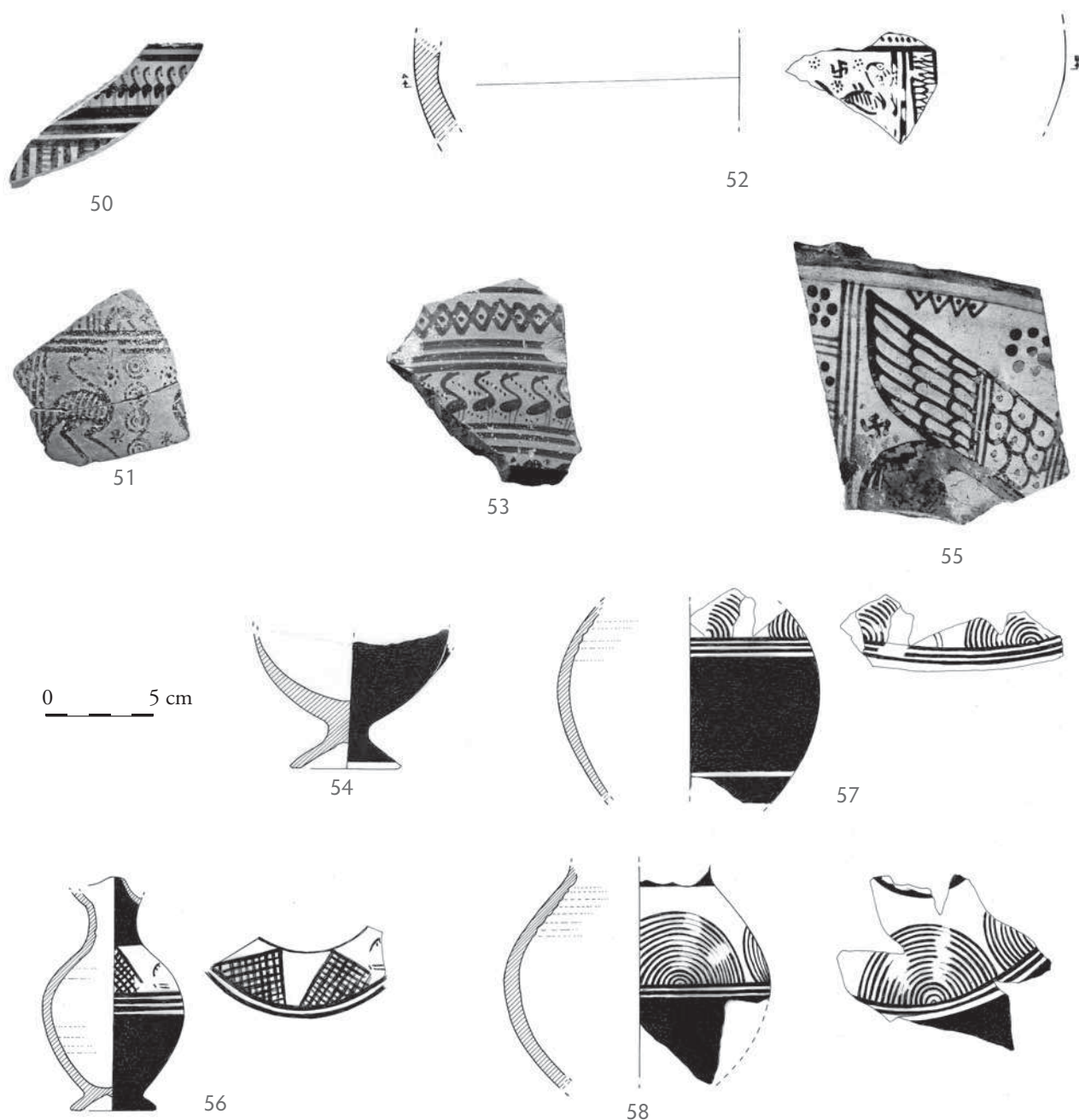
38. Inv. no. 13228ι: length 0.11 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *CVA Greece 8*, Athens NM 5, pl. 100-101 (transitional MG II-LG I).

39. Inv. no. 13228α: length 0.108 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, with few inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *CVA Greece 8*, Athens NM 5, pl. 26 (transitional MG II-LG I); *CVA France 27*, Paris, Musée du Louvre 18, pl 8.3.





40. Inv. no. 13228 $\beta$ : length 0.142 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, with few inclusions and bubbles. Cf. COLDSTREAM 2008, pl. 8c-d; *CVA USA* 37, New York MMA 5, pl. 12.3 and *CVA Greece* 8, Athens NM 5, pl. 31. Late work of the Hirschfeld painter.
41. Inv. no. 13228 $\gamma$ : length 0.1056 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, with few inclusions and bubbles. Cf. for the decoration *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 117 Inv. 812; *CVA Germany* 44, Tübingen 2, pl. 20.4-5; *CVA Greece* 8, Athens NM 5, pl. 52-53 (by the Birdseed painter).
42. Inv. no. 13229: length 0.053 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. COLDSTREAM 1977, 110, 113.
43. Inv. no. 13229 $\alpha$ : i. length 0.0845 m. ii. length 0.069 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles.
44. Inv. no. 13229 $\beta$ : length 0.047 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with inclusions.
45. Inv. no. 13229 $\gamma$ : height 0.106 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *CVA USA* 37, New York MMA 5, pl. 7; COULIÉ 2013, 17 pl. I, 45 fig. 11.
46. Inv. no. 13229 $\delta$ : length 0.058 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles. Traces of fire. Cf. COLDSTREAM 1977, 111 fig. 33c. See also PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 129-130 K $\alpha$  6, 7, 10, 11, 132 K $\alpha$  17 (from a krater pedestal not from an amphora neck).
47. Inv. no. 13229 $\epsilon$ : length 0.052 m. Clay 5YR 7/3, quite pure. LG Ia early. Cf. *CVA Greece* 8, Athens NM 5, pl. 24; BRIESE and DOCTER 1994, 18-19 fig. 35.
48. Inv. no. 13229 $\sigma\tau$ : height i. 0.101 m, ii. 0.071m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions. Cf. *CVA USA* 37, New York MMA 5, pl. 12.3-5.
49. Inv. no. 13229 $\zeta$  (four fragments added to PALAIOKRASSA 1991, 130 K $\alpha$  9: from a krater pedestal not from an amphora neck): diameter 0.105 (upper), 0.111m (lower). Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions. Cf. BRIESE and DOCTER 1994, 19-20 fig. 36.



50. Inv. no. 13229η; largest dimension preserved 0.10 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with few inclusions. Cf. *CVA* Germany 9, Munich 3, pl. 114.1-2; *CVA* Germany 85, Berlin 10, pl. 36.5.

51. Inv. no. 13229θ (two joining fragments): length 0.0755 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *CVA* USA 37, New York MMA 5, pl. 19 (the Birdseed painter?).

52. Inv. no. 13229ι: length 0.074 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with inclusions. Cf. *CVA* USA 37, New York MMA 5, pl. 19 (the Birdseed painter); FRONING 1982, 55-58 no. 13; *CVA* Germany 41, Hamburg 1, pl. 7.

53. Inv. no. 13229ια: length 0.065 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with inclusions. Cf. *CVA* Germany 41, Hamburg 1, pl. 7.

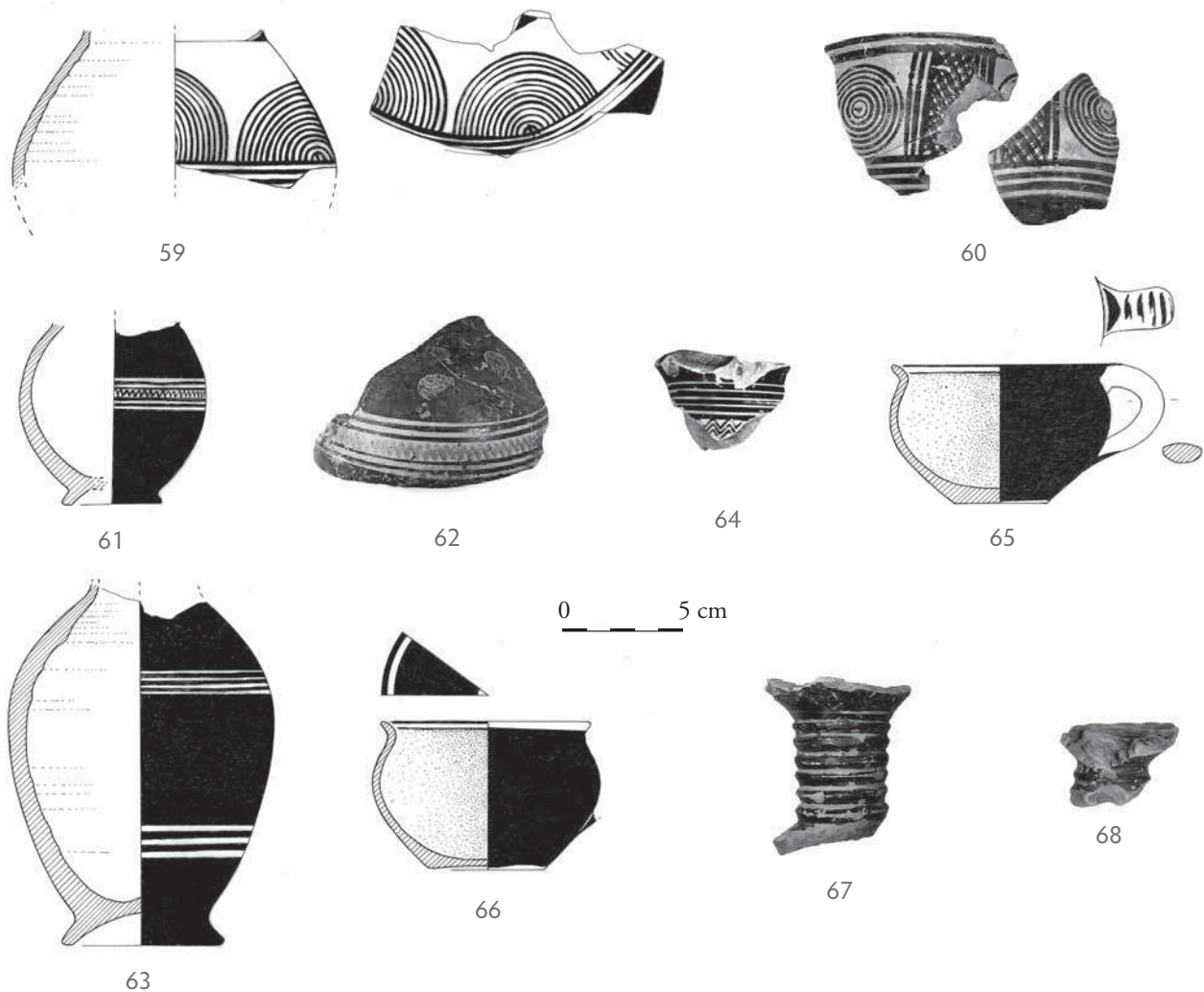
54. Inv. no. 2443: height 0.057 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, with inclusions and few bubbles. See **cat. 2**. Cf. LEMOS 2002, pl. 33.4 (Kerameikos PG 45).

55. Inv. no. 2443α: diameter 0.091 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, quite pure, with few inclusions. Cf. PAPAPOPOULOS 2003, 79 fig. 2.29 nos 62, 63. For the shape, see LEMOS 2002, 29ff.

56. Inv. no. 2444: height 0.1095 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with inclusions. See also MASTROKOSTAS 1983, 340. Cf. SMITHSON 1974, pl. 80b; LANGDON 1976, pl. 17 no. 191.

57. Inv. no. 2445: height 0.087 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, quite pure, with few inclusions.

58. Inv. no. 2445β: height 0.0931 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, quite pure, with few inclusions.



59. Inv. no. 2445δ: diameter 0.11 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, with few inclusions, bubbles and mica. Cf. *CVA USA 37*, New York MMA 5, pl. 24.1-4; *LEMOS 2002*, pl. 35.3-4, 7 (Kerameikos PG 48). See also *MASTROKOSTAS 1983*, 340.

60. a. Inv. no. 2446: width 0.0825 m. Clay 7.5YR 6/4, with few inclusions and bubbles, and b. Inv. no. 2446α: width 0.057 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, with few inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS I*, pl. 49 T 24; *LEMOS 2002*, pl. 32.4 (Kerameikos PG 38).

61. Inv. no. 2447: height 0.075 m, diameter (body) 0.075 m. Clay 5YR 7/3, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS IV*, pl. 15 (1099).

62. Inv. no. 2447α: height 0.069 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, quite pure, with mica. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS V.1*, pl. 70 Inv. 928, 2134. *LEMOS 2002*, pl. 33.6 (Kerameikos PG 45), pl. 35.1-2 (Kerameikos PG 48), pl. 93.1 (Kerameikos PG 28); *SMITHSON 1974*, 383-384, pl. 80a.

63. Inv. no. 2448: height 0.15 m. Clay 5YR 6/4-7.5YR 7/4, with inclusions, mica and bubbles. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS V.1*, pl. 70 Inv. 2137. *KERAMEIKOS I*, pl. 73.

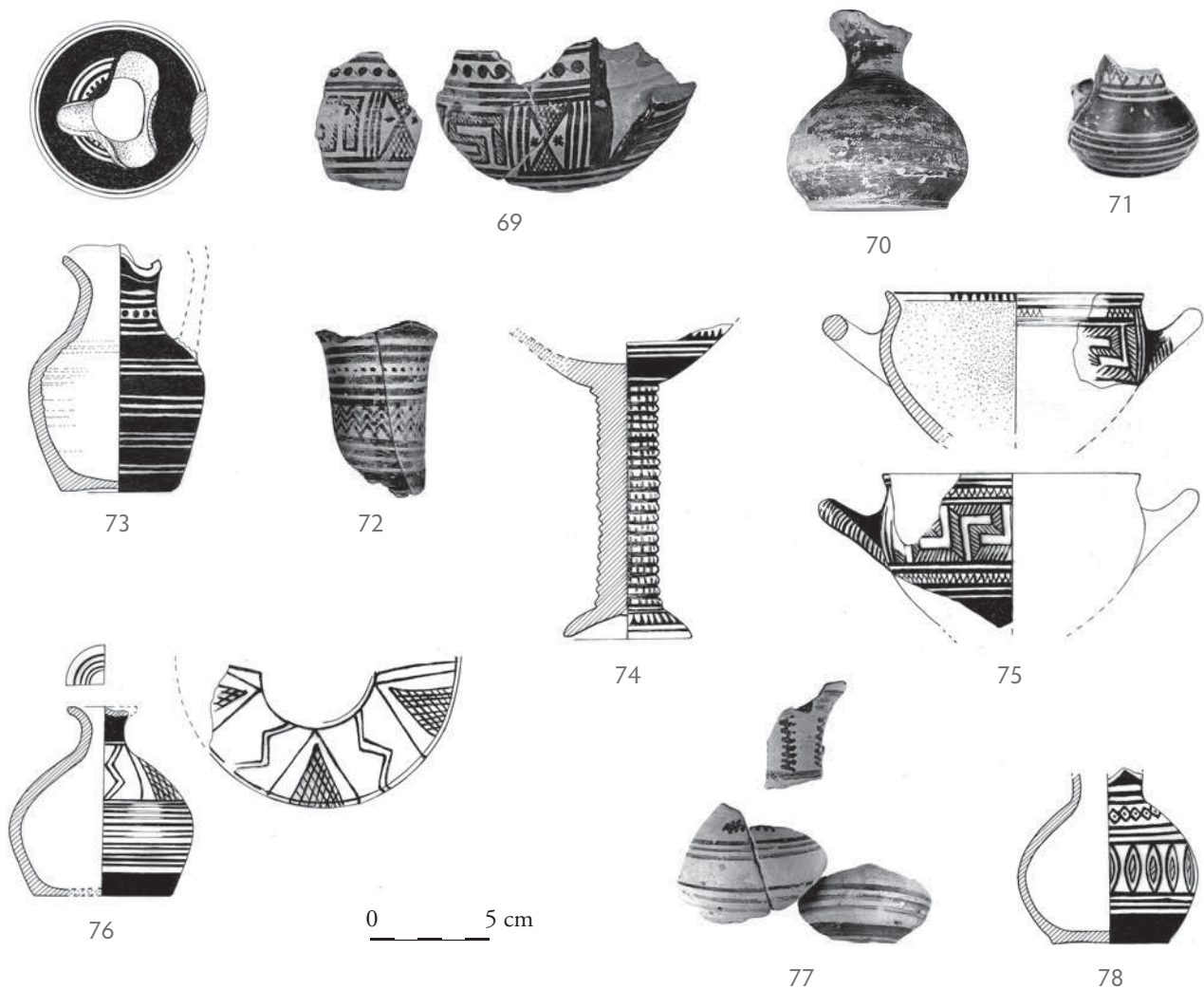
64. Inv. no. 2449: diameter 0.0745 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, with few inclusions and mica. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS V.1*, pl. 70 Inv. 2137; *LANGDON 1976*, pl. 18 no. 198, but also *COLDSTREAM 1968*, pl. 3m.

65. Inv. no. 2450: height 0.06 m, diameter 0.087 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with few inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *LANGDON 1976*, pl. 18 no. 201.

66. Inv. no. 2450α: height 0.061m, diameter (base) 0.045 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS V.1*, pl. 105 Inv. 250; *MAZARAKIS AINIAN and LIVIERATOU 2010*, pl. 21.1b, d, f.

67. Inv. no. 2451: height 0.065m, diameter (stem) 0.037 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, slightly micaceous, with bubbles. Traces of fire. EG II. See n. 38b.

68. Inv. no. 2451α: height 0.033m, diameter (stem) 0.0325 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/6, with few inclusions and bubbles. Probably EG I. See n. 38a. See also *MASTROKOSTAS 1983*, 340. For the ribbed stem, cf. the knobs of the pyxis lids, *MUSKALLA 2002*, nos 22, 28, 49, 50, 52, 64, 69, 130.



69. Inv. no. 2452: height i. 0.063 m. ii. 0.0615 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, slightly micaceous, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 85 Inv. 258; LANGDON 1976, pl. 19 no. 216.

70. Inv. no. 2453: height 0.075m, diameter (base) 0.052 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, with inclusions. For the shape cf. POPHAM and LEMOS 1996, pl. 122f Pyre 14, 13; XAGORARI-GLEISSNER 2005, 80 no. 205.

71. Inv. no. 2454: height 0.042 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, slightly micaceous, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. SMITHSON 1974, 363, pl. 78a.2, 80d; *CVÄ* USA 37, New York MMA 5, pl. 25. 1, 3.

72. Inv. no. 2449a: height 0.071 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, slightly micaceous, with inclusions. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 72 Inv. 870; COLDSTREAM 1968, pl. 3c.

73. Inv. no. 2455: height 0.11m, diameter (base) 0.051 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, quite pure. Decoration finds parallel in MG II and in transitional to LG I (*CVÄ* Germany 9, Munich 3, pl. 117.1; LANGDON 1976, pl. 19 nos 219, 224), but the shape apparently belongs to a later period (*CVÄ* USA 37, New York MMA 5, pl. 25.14; XAGORARI-GLEISSNER 2005, 73, no. 177).

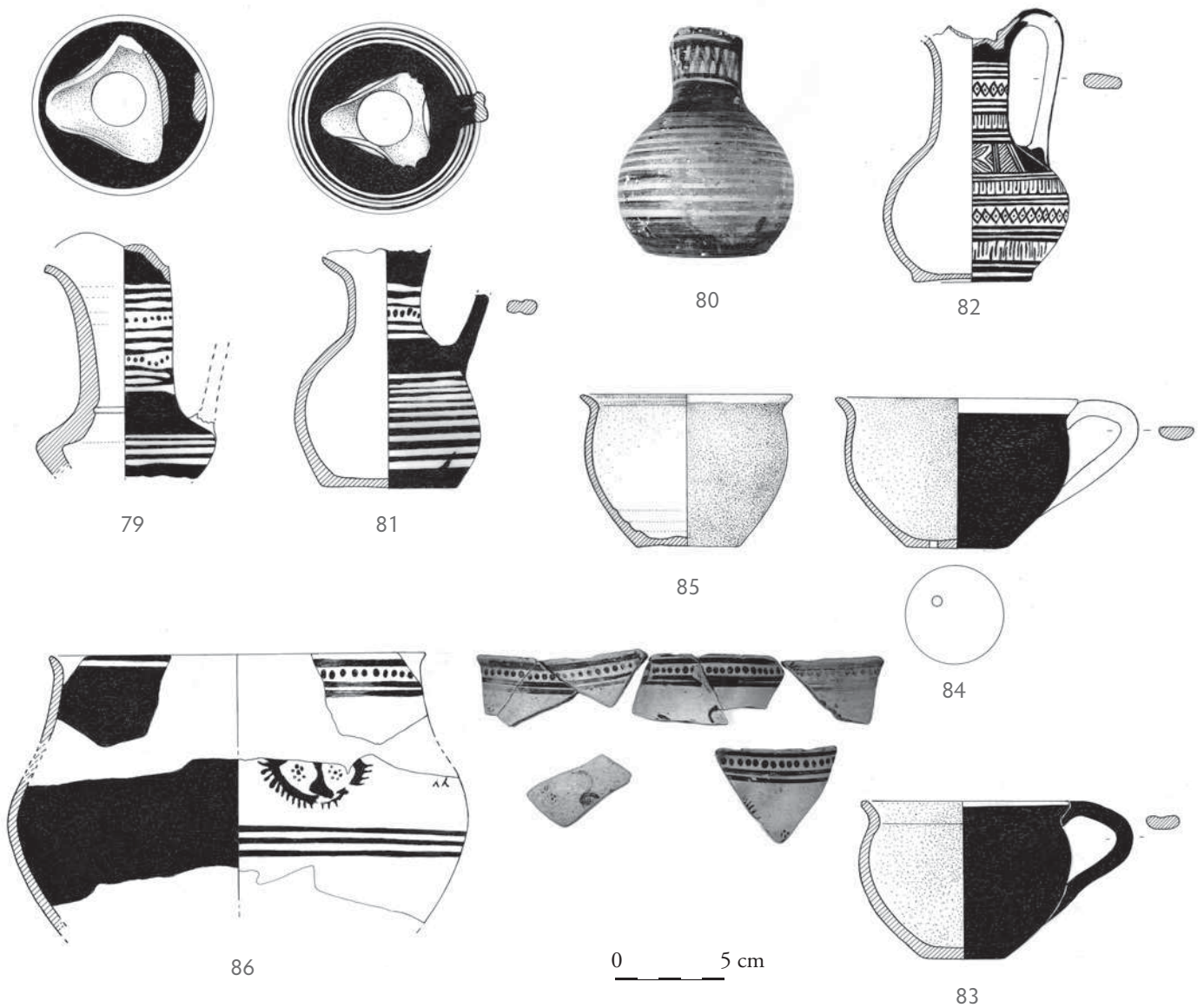
74. Inv. no. 2451β: height 0.126m, diameter (base) 0.054 m. Clay 5YR 6/4, with few inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *CVÄ* Germany 85, Berlin 10, pl. 10.1-3; MUSKALLA 2002, 129 no. 80. See also MASTROKOSTAS 1983, 340.

75. Inv. no. 2456 (two fragments): height 0.065 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, slightly micaceous, with few bubbles. For the decoration cf. *CVÄ* Greece 8, Athens NM 5, pl. 77 (shoulder panel); *CVÄ* Great Britain 25, London BM 11, pl. 13.22.

76. Inv. no. 2457: height 0.077m, diameter (base) 0.045 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with few inclusions. Cf. *CVÄ* Germany 85, Berlin 10, pl. 36.4; LANGDON 1976, pl. 22.264 (decoration); XAGORARI-GLEISSNER 2005, 87 fig. 10 no. 238.

77. Inv. no. 2458 (four fragments): height 0.0535m (body), 0.041m (neck). Clay 7.5YR 7/6, with few inclusions and bubbles. Cf. XAGORARI-GLEISSNER 2005, fig. 10a-b, nos 204, 238 (shape); *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 78 Inv. 841, pl. 131 Inv. 857; *CVÄ* USA 37, New York MMA 5, pl. 25.10-11 (decoration).

78. Inv. no. 2459: height 0.072m, diameter (base) 0.048 m. Clay 5YR 6/6, with mica and few inclusions. Cf. LANGDON 1976, pl. 22 no. 258; FREYTAG 1974, 14 no. 17 (shape); XAGORARI-GLEISSNER 2005, 87, fig. 10b, no. 238.



79. Inv. no. 2459a: height 0.112 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *CVA* Greece 1, Athens NM 1, pl. 3.9; *CVA* USA 37, New York MMA 5, pl. 25.7; LANGDON 1976, pl. 19.231, 22.232; XAGORARI-GLEISSNER 2005, 10, pl. 9c no. 113 (shape); *CVA* Germany 9, Munich 3, pl. 117. 4, 5-6 (decoration).

80. Inv. no. 2460: height 0.09m, diameter (base) 0.051 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, with inclusions. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 72 Inv. 870.

81. Inv. no. 2461: height 0.108m, diameter (base) 0.063 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/6, slightly micaceous, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *CVA* Denmark 2, Copenhagen 2, pl. 70.10; *CVA* Germany 9, Munich 3, pl. 117.1, 4, 5-6; LANGDON, 1976, pl. 19.228 (decoration); XAGORARI-GLEISSNER 2005, fig. 8 e, f, nos 82, 84, 174.

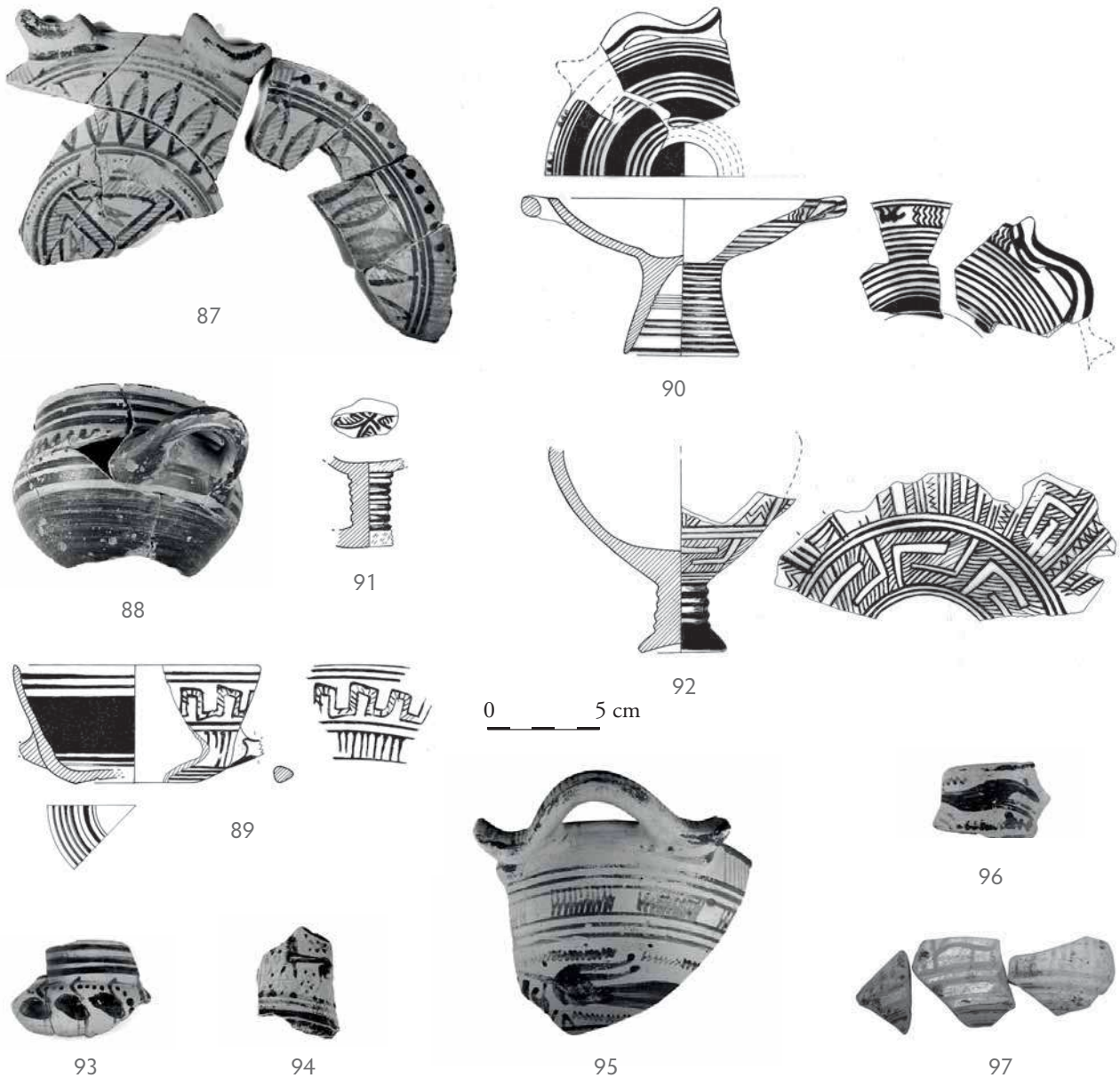
82. Inv. no. 2462: diameter (base) 0.056 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with mica and few inclusions. Cf. XAGORARI-GLEISSNER 2005, 57 no. 98 (decoration), no. 184 (shape).

83. Inv. no. 2463: height 0.072m, diameter (base) 0.039 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, slightly micaceous, with inclusions. Cf. *AGORA* VIII, 53 no. 178.

84. Inv. no. 2464: height 0.068m, diameter (base) 0.043 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, quite pure, slightly micaceous, with inclusions and bubbles. Cf. PAPADOPOULOS 2003, 153 fig. 2.86 no. 127, for the draw-holes (?) 210-214.

85. Inv. no. 2465: height 0.067m, diameter (base) 0.049 m. Clay 5YR 6/4, with mica, few inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *AGORA* VIII, 53 no. 180.

86. Inv. no. 2466 (seventeen fragments): i. (3 frgs) length 0.1015m, ii. (2 frgs) length 0.087m, iii. length 0.063m, iv. Length 0.072m, v. (9 frgs): diameter 15.5m, vi. Length 0.058 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, quite pure, with bubbles and some specks of mica on the surface. Cf. *CVA* Great Britain 25, London BM 11, pl. 42.71; *CVA* Great Britain 24, Oxford 4, pl. 39.3-4, 50.6-7; *CVA* Germany 44, Tübingen 2, pl. 21.3; *AGORA* VIII, 64 no. 293 (decoration) 23; GEROULANOS 1973, 39, Tr219, pl. 29.6, Tr286, pl. 29.8; LANGDON 1976, pl. 20-21 nos 242, 243.



87. Inv. no. 2467: diameter (base) 0.088 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, slightly micaceous, with bubbles. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 102 Inv. 878; BRANN 1960, 412 pl. 92 (N21.2).

88. Inv. no. 2468: height 0.069 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, slightly micaceous, with few inclusions and bubbles. Cf. MAZARAKIS AINIAN and LIVIERATOU 2010, 95, pl. 24.2.

89. Inv. no. 2469: height 0.053 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with mica and few inclusions and bubbles. Traces of fire. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 127 Inv. 660; *CVA* Germany 44, Tübingen 2, pl. 21.3; XAGORARI-GLEISSNER 2005, 40 no. 8, 84-85 no. 226.

90. Inv. no. 2470: height (foot) 0.045m, length (fragment with handle) 0.054 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, quite pure. Traces of fire. Cf. *CVA* Germany 44, Tübingen 2, pl. 21.3; POLOGIORGI 2003-2009, 204 no. 2, 205 fig. 93. MAZARAKIS AINIAN and LIVIERATOU 2010, 95, pl. 24.3.

91. Inv. no. 2471: height 0.041m, diameter (base) 0.0185 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with mica and few inclusions.

92. Inv. no. 2471α: height 0.09 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with bubbles. MASTROKOSTAS 1983, 340. See also n. 39.

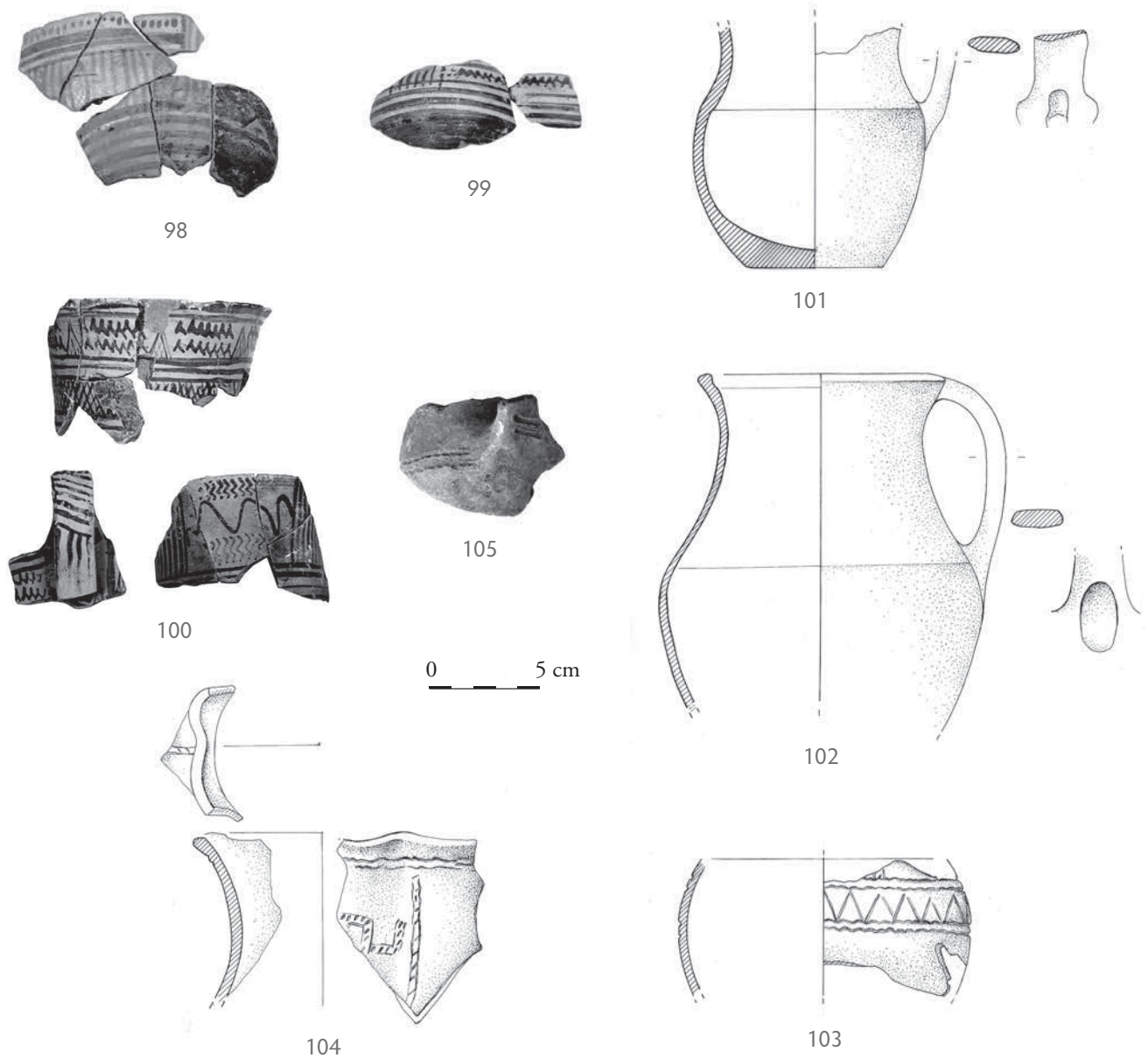
93. Inv. no. 2472: length 0.0655 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, quite pure, slightly micaceous. Cf. *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 129 Inv. 788.

94. Inv. no. 2473: height 0.0455 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, slightly micaceous, with bubbles. Cf. BRANN 1961, pl. 16 N11.

95. Inv. no. 2473α: length 0.1385 m. Clay 5YR 7/6, with inclusions.

96. Inv. no. 2473β: height 0.0485 m. Clay 7.5YR 6/4, with mica, bubbles and few inclusions. See also n. 38. By the painter of Athens 897 (cf. *CVA* Greece 8, Athens NM 5, pl. 62-63).

97. Inv. no. 2474 (five fragments): i+ii. length 0.08m, iii. height 0.041m, iv. height 0.0385m, v. length 0.0495 m. Clay 5YR 6/6, friable, with mica. Cf. STAMPOLIDIS 2003, 320 no. 351, 323 no. 357; VERDAN *et al.* 2008, pl. 100 no. 167, 104 no. 61 and 234.



98. Inv. no. 2474α (six fragments): height 0.077 m. Clay 5YR 6/6, friable, slightly micaceous, with bubbles and inclusions. Traces of fire. Cf. LANGDON 1976, pl. 22.267 (decoration); VERDAN *et al.* 2008, pl. 101 no. 116, 102 no. 181.

99. Inv. no. 2474β (two fragments): i. height 0.0705m, ii. height 0.0325 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with mica, bubbles and few inclusions. Cf. STAMPOLIDIS 2003, 324 no. 363; VERDAN *et al.* 2008, pl. 64.310. Euboean workshop (from Oropos?).

100. a. Inv. no. 2475: diameter 0.112 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4 (inside), 10YR 7/3 (outside), pure, b. Inv. no. 2475α: height 0.065 m. Clay 7.5YR 6/4, pure and c. Inv. no. 2475β: height 0.055 m. Clay 7.5YR 6/4, with inclusions and bubbles. Boeotian workshop. Cf. *CVA* Germany 44, Tübingen 2, pl. 25.7-8 (shape); *CVA* Germany 85, Berlin 10, pl. 47.9-10; LANGDON 1976, pl. 24. no. 265; RUCKERT 1976, 28.6-7.

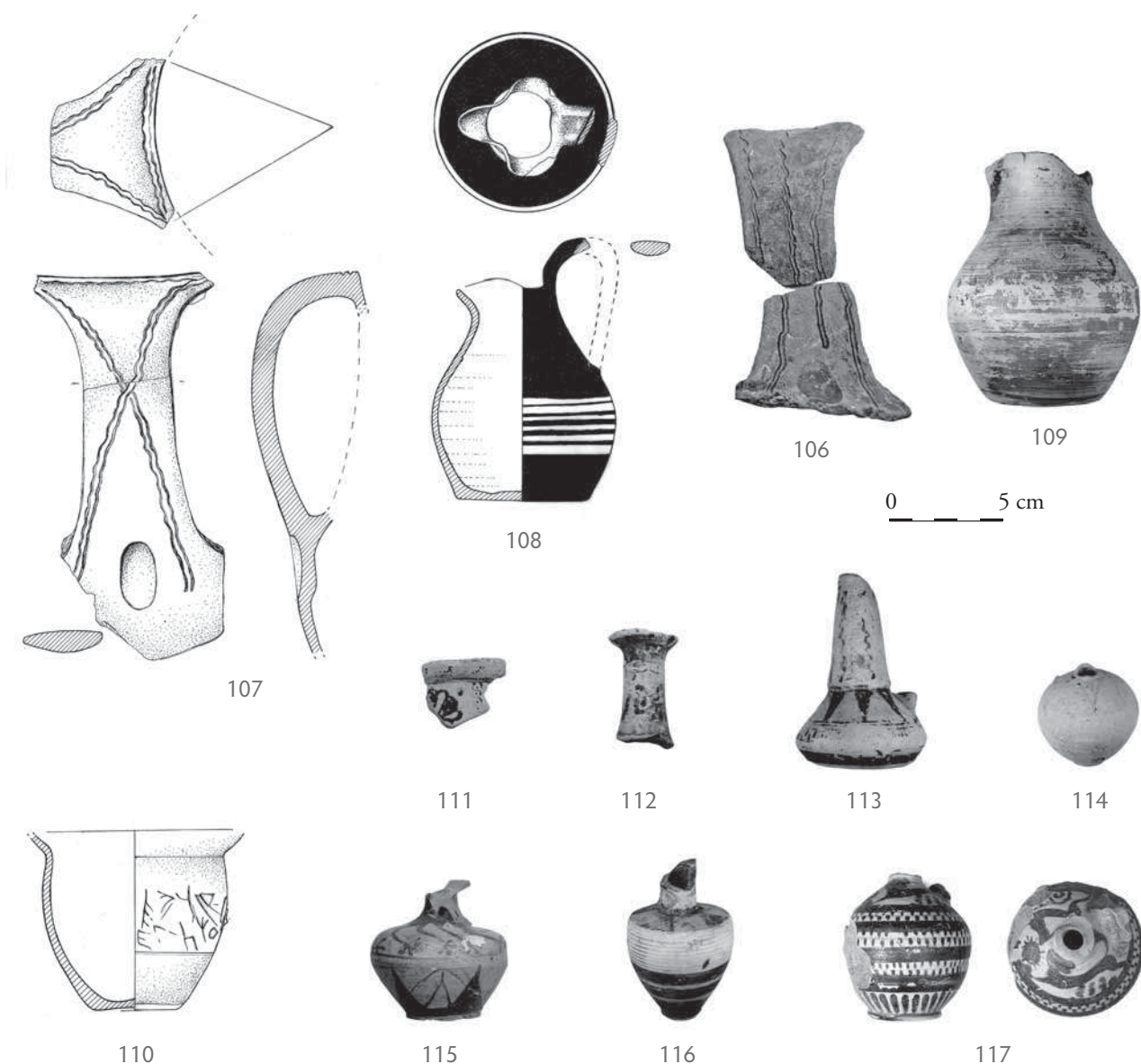
101. Inv. no. 2476: height 0.11m, diameter (base) 0.062 m. Clay 2.5YR 5/6, with inclusions and bubbles. Traces of fire. Cf. LEMOS 2002, pl. 33.8 (Kerameikos PG 45).

102. Inv. no. 2477: Clay 7.5YR 6/6, with mica and many inclusions. MASTROKOSTAS 1983, 340 (dates them, with some reservation, to the Early Helladic period). Cf. *KERAMEIKOS* V.1, pl. 154 Inv. 1330; BRANN 1961, pl. 22 R20; *AGORA* VIII, pl. 11 no. 204. See REBER, 1991, 63; LAUTER 1985, 91 ff., 132-133, pl. 7.

103. Inv. no. 2478 (four fragments): length 0.107 m. Clay 10YR 5/2, with mica, bubbles and inclusions. Cf. *AGORA* VIII, pl. 40 no. 615.

104. Inv. no. 2478α: height 0.0795 m. Clay 7.5YR 5/4, with mica, many inclusions and bubbles.

105. Inv. no. 2478β: height 0.0435 m. Clay 2.5YR 4/8, with mica and inclusions. Cf. LANGDON 1976, pl. 26.312.



106. Inv. no. 2479 (two fragments): length 0.121 m. Clay 5YR 5/6, with mica and few inclusions. Cf. *AGORA VIII*, pl. 40 no. 617; *POLOGIORGI 2003-2009*, 204 no. 1, 205 fig. 92.

107. Inv. no. 2479α (two fragments): length 0.13.3 m. Clay 2.5YR 5/6, with mica and many inclusions and bubbles. Cf. *YOUNG 1975*, 189 C157 fig. 139 (not illustrated).

108. Inv. no. 2480: height 0.1145m, diameter (base) 0.059 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles.

109. Inv. no. 2481: height 0.095m, diameter (base) 0.046 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, slightly micaceous, with inclusions and bubbles.

110. Inv. no. 2482: height 0.078 m. Clay 5YR 7/4, with inclusions and bubbles.

111. Inv. no. 2483: height 0.03 m. Clay 5YR 7/4. Protoattic.

112. Inv. no. 2483α: height 0.0485 m. Clay 10YR 8/3. Corinthian (?).

113. Inv. no. 2484: height 0.076 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/6, with inclusions, bubbles and some specks of mica on the surface. Cf. *AGORA VIII*, 39 no. 77; *LANGDON 1976*, pl. 22. no. 256.

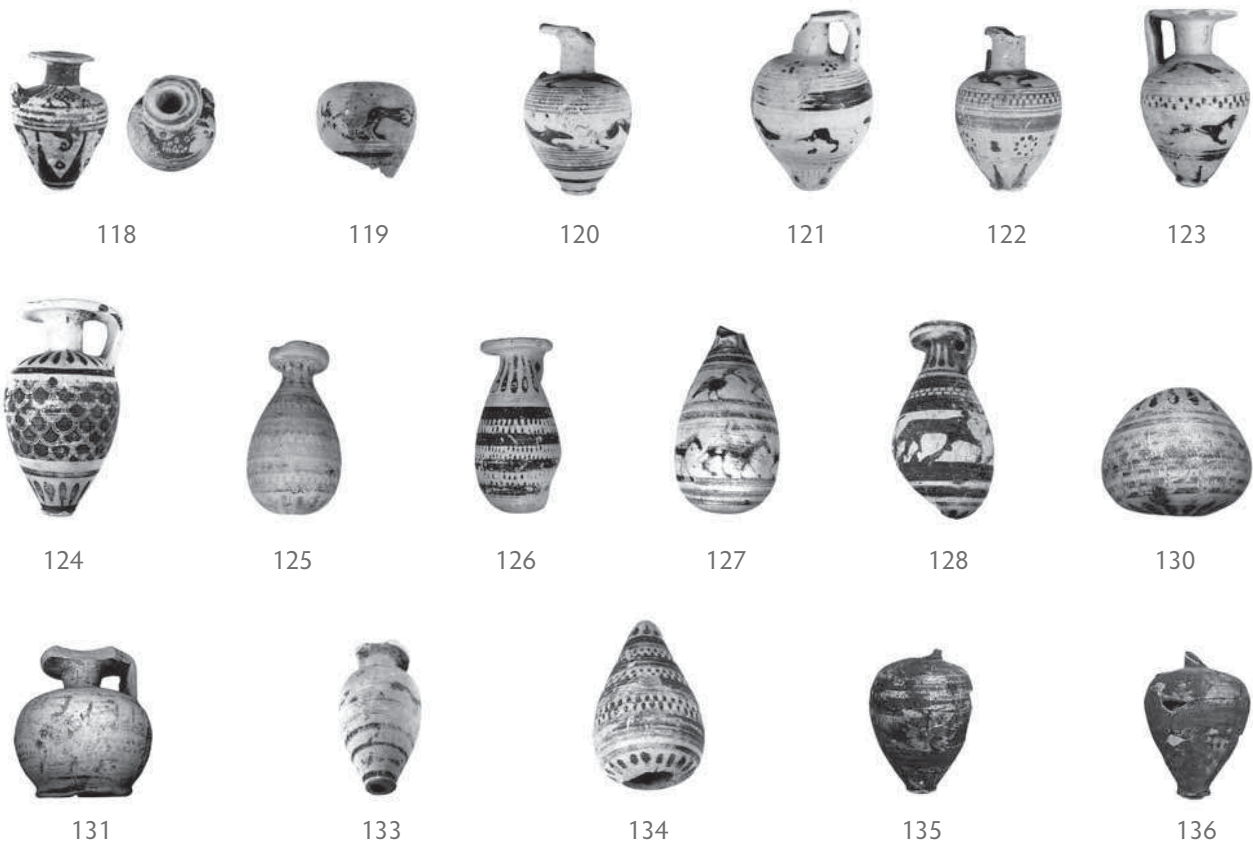
114. Inv. no. 2485: height 0.043 m. Clay 2.5Y 8/2. Cf. *GEROULANOS 1973*, 34-35 Tr. 309, pl. 31.2, 36.2; *NEEFT 1989*, 124-125 fig. 3.

115. Inv. no. 2486: height 0.057 m. Clay 7.5YR 6/4, quite pure. Tendril group, see *NEEFT 1987*, 79-80, fig. 22.

116. Inv. no. 2487: height 0.0615 m. Clay 10YR 8/4, quite pure. Traces of fire. Bird-Plant group, *DUNBABIN* pl. 2 no. 18. *YOUNG 1942*, 31, fig. 10.29.3; *NEEFT 1987*, 66-71. See also **no. 114**.

117. Inv. no. 2488: height 0.0535 m. Clay 10YR 7/3, with inclusions and bubbles. For the shape, see *NEEFT 1987*, 35 fig. 5b.





118. Inv. no. 2489: height 0.05 m. Clay 10YR 8/3. For Boeotian imitations of Corinthian pottery, see PAYNE 1931, 181; AMYX 1988, 678.

119. Inv. no. 2490: height 0.049 m. Traces of fire. Cf. the London aryballos, BM 1856.12-26.199, by the Nola-Falkenhausen Workshop, near the Hound Painter, BENSON 1989, 49-50, pl. 18.1a-b. See also LO PORTO 1959-1960, 22 no. 2, fig. 9.14-16.

120. Inv. no. 2491: height 0.063 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, with inclusions and bubbles.

121. Inv. no. 2492: height 0.066 m. Clay 10YR 8/2, with inclusions and bubbles. See Koukia type B, C (LO PORTO 1959-1960, 17 fig. 6; NEEFT 1987, 137-146 lists LXIII; MOSCHONISSIOTI 2012, 203-204 fig. 3γ-δ).

122. Inv. no. 2493: height 0.06 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4. Corvat type (see CORINTH XIII, pl. 12. 63, 2; NEEFT 1987, 253 fig. 152).

123. Inv. no. 2494: height 0.067 m. Clay 10YR 8/3, pure. For aryballoi of similar type and decoration, cf. STAMPOLIDIS and KARETSOU 1998, 187 nos 199-201.

124. Inv. no. 2495: height 0.075 m. Clay 10YR 8/3. Cf. NEEFT 1987, 275-289 fig. 161-165; CORINTH XV.III, 1984, pl. 17 nos 337-339; STAMPOLIDIS and KARETSOU 1998, 188 no. 202.

125. Inv. no. 2496: height 0.064 m. Clay 10YR 8/3.

126. Inv. no. 2497: height 0.067 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, with few inclusions and bubbles. Attic corinthianizing (?). MASTROKOSTAS 1983, 341-342. Cf. LO PORTO 1959-1960, 45 fig. 31c; DETORATOU 2003-2009, 51-52, fig. 51-57; SKARLATIDOU 2010, 113 fig. 141.

127. Inv. no. 2498: height 0.07 m. Clay 10YR 8/2.

128. Inv. no. 2499: height 0.073 m. Clay 2.5Y 8/2. Traces of fire. Cf. DUNBABIN 1962, pl. 59 no. 1545; KALTSAS 1998, pl. 166.ε.

129. Inv. no. 2500, aryballos: height 0.056 m. Clay 10YR 8/3. Inscription *ἡγαρά ἐμὶ Διὶ* (not illustrated). See also SEG 33, 244f.

130. Inv. no. 2501, alabaster: diameter 0.0555 m. Clay 10YR 8/4. Traces of fire.

131. Inv. no. 2502, aryballos: height 0.056 m. Clay 10YR 8/3. Traces of fire.

132. Inv. no. 2503: height 0.035 m. Clay 7.5YR 8/4, with few inclusions.

133. Inv. no. 2504: height 0.078 m. Clay 2.5Y 8/2.

134. Inv. no. 2505: height 0.075 m. Clay 10YR 7/2.

135. Inv. no. 2506: height 0.055 m. Clay 10YR 8/3.

136. Inv. no. 2507: height 0.059 m. Clay 7.5YR 7/4, pure.



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This volume brings together a number of papers that were presented at the international symposium on *Pots, Workshops and Early Iron Age Society. Function and Role of Ceramics in Early Greece* organised by the University of Athens (UoA) and the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), and held at the Université libre de Bruxelles in November 2013. The papers are divided in five parts, following the themes of the conference: production and workshops, context and function, pottery and rituals, mobility and interaction, iconography and early society. Emphasis is placed on ancient ceramics as valuable testimonies to human expressions, reflecting the needs, aspirations and ideas of the societies that produced and used them.



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