

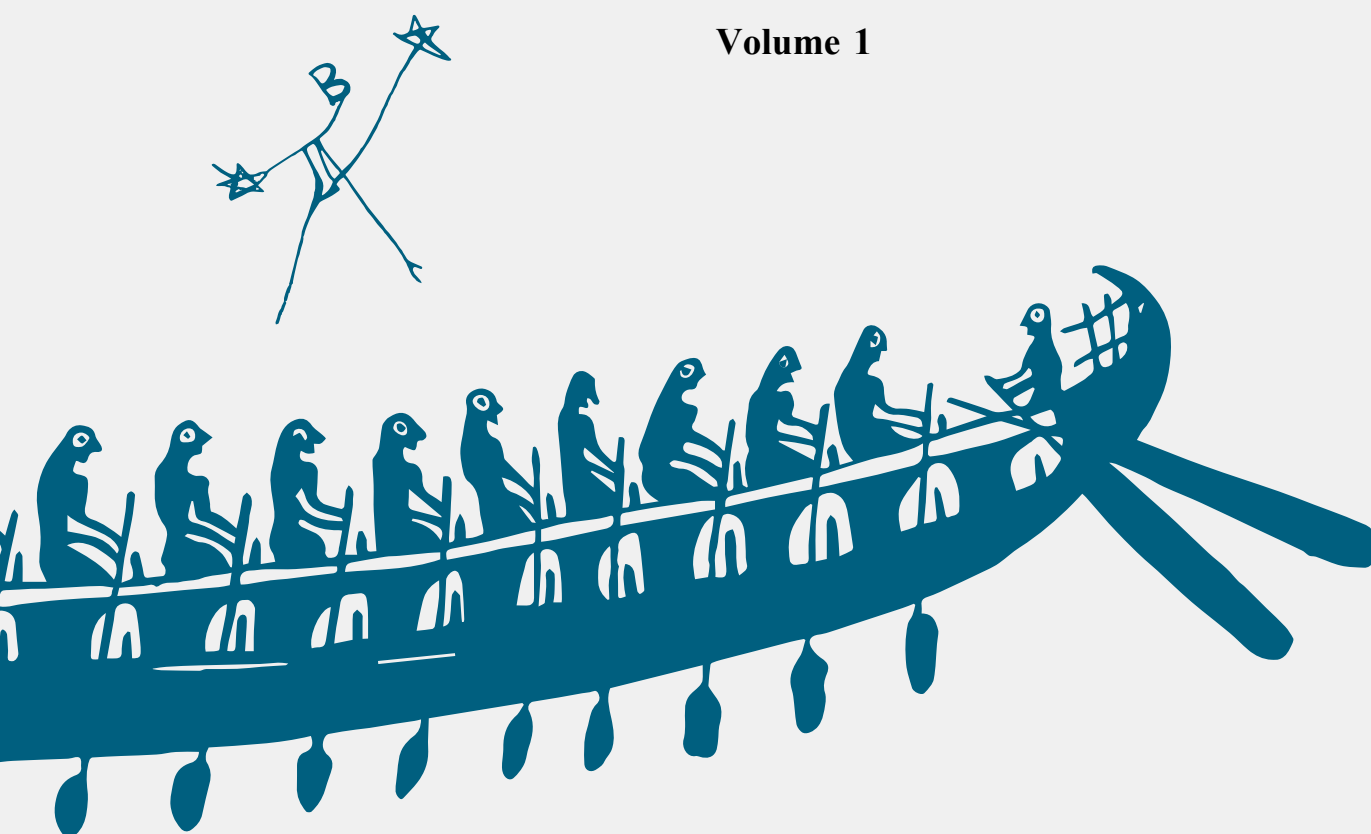
# EUBOICA II

## *Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West*

**Proceedings of the Conference  
Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples), 14-17 May 2018**

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro and Matteo D'Acunto (eds.)

**Volume 1**



**Napoli 2020**



UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI «L'ORIENTALE»  
DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



# AION

ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA  
E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie | 27



2020 | Napoli



ANNALI  
DI ARCHEOLOGIA  
E STORIA ANTICA

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*Progetto grafico e impaginazione*  
Massimo Cibelli - Pandemos Srl

ISSN 1127-7130

Abbreviazione della rivista: *AIONArchStAnt*

Quarta di copertina: Pithekoussai (Ischia), T. 634, sigillo del Lyre Player Group  
(rielaborazione grafica M. Cibelli)

Sovracopertina: nave dipinta sul cratere corinzio del LG nel Royal Ontario Museum di Toronto, Inv. C.199;  
e costellazione incisa su un cratere del LG di fabbrica pitecusana, trovato nell'area di S. Restituta a Pithekoussai, Ischia  
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Bruno d'Agostino, Patrizia Gastaldi, Fausto Longo, Carmine Pellegrino

## ABBREVIATIONS

Above sea-level: above s.l.; Anno Domini: AD; and so forth: etc.; Before Christ: BC; bibliography: bibl.; catalogue: cat.; centimeter/s: cm; century/ies: cent.; chap./chaps.: chapter/chapters; circa/approximately: ca.; column/s: col./cols.; compare: cf.; *et alii*/and other people: *et al.*; diameter: diam.; dimensions: dim.; Doctor: Dr; especially: esp.; exterior: ext.; fascicule: fasc.; figure/s: fig./figs.; following/s: f./ff.; fragment/s: fr./frs.; for example: e.g.; gram/s: gm; height: h.; in other words: i.e.; interior: int.; inventory: inv.; kilometer/s: km; length: ln.; line/s: l./ll.; maximum: max.; meter/s: m; millimeter/s: mm; minimum: min.; namely: viz.; new series/nuova serie etc.: n.s.; number/s: no./nos.; original edition: orig. ed.; plate/s: pl./pls.; preserved: pres.; Professor: Prof.; reprint: repr.; series/serie: s.; sub voce: s.v.; supplement: suppl.; thick: th.; tomb/s: T./TT.; English/Italian translation: Eng./It. tr.; volume/s: vol./vols.; weight: wt.; which means: scil.; width: wd.

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference are those recommended for use in the *American Journal of Archaeology* with supplements in the *Année Philologique*.

## CONTENTS

### Preface

|                                                                    |    |   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----|---|
| TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, MATTEO D'ACUNTO, <i>Euboica, Again</i> | p. | i |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----|---|

### Euboea and the Mediterranean

|                                                                    |   |   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|
| NOTA KOUROU, <i>Euboean Pottery in a Mediterranean Perspective</i> | » | 9 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|

### Euboea

|                                                                                                                                                                                                            |   |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|-----|
| IRENE S. LEMOS, <i>The Transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age in Euboea and the Euboean Gulf</i>                                                                                            | » | 37  |
| XENIA CHARALAMBIDOU, <i>Chalcidian Deposits and their Role in Reconstructing Production and Consumption Practices and the Function of Space in Early Iron Age and Archaic Chalcis: Some First Thoughts</i> | » | 55  |
| SAMUEL VERDAN, THIERRY THEURILLAT, TOBIAS KRAPF, DANIELA GREGER, KARL REBER, <i>The Early Phases in the Artemision at Amarynthos in Euboea, Greece</i>                                                     | » | 73  |
| JAN PAUL CRIELAARD, <i>Karystos-Plakari: A "Pre-Colonial" Foundation in Southern Euboia</i>                                                                                                                | » | 119 |
| ATHINA CHATZIDIMITRIOU, <i>Zarakes: A Cult Site in South Karystia, on the Island of Euboea</i>                                                                                                             | » | 135 |
| BRUNO D'AGOSTINO, <i>Forgotten Cities in Eastern Euboea</i>                                                                                                                                                | » | 159 |
| ALBIO CESARE CASSIO, <i>Κόμη, Κούμη, Cumae and the Euboeans in the Bay of Naples</i>                                                                                                                       | » | 181 |

### Boeotia

|                                                                                                                                                                                   |   |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|-----|
| LUISA BREGLIA, <i>Mythic Traditions of Euboea and Boeotia in the Archaic Age</i>                                                                                                  | » | 187 |
| ALEXANDROS MAZARAKIS AINIAN, <i>Thirty-Five Years of Excavations and Research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)</i>                                                                       | » | 211 |
| VICKY VLACHOU, <i>Pottery Production, Workshop Spaces and the Consumption of Euboean-Type Pottery beyond Euboea. A View from Oropos (Attica) in the 8<sup>th</sup> Century BC</i> | » | 231 |

## North Aegean

- ALEXANDRA ALEXANDRIDOU, *One more Node to the Thessalo-Euboean Small World: The Evidence from the Site of Kephala on the Island of Skiathos* » 263
- SAMUEL VERDAN, ELON D. HEYMANS, *Men and Metals on the Move: The Case of Euboean Gold* » 279
- ANTONIS KOTSONAS, *Euboeans & Co. in the North Aegean: Ancient Tradition and Modern Historiography of Greek Colonization* » 301

## Sardinia and Spain

- PAOLO BERNARDINI, MARCO RENDELI, *Sant'Imbenia/Pontecagnano Sulci/Pithekoussai: Four Tales of an Interconnected Mediterranean* » 325
- MASSIMO BOTTO, *Phoenicians and Greeks in the Iberian Peninsula between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC* » 347

- Abstracts* » 385

## PREFACE

### *EUBOICA*, AGAIN

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto

A little more than twenty years since the international conference *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente* (Naples, 13-16 November 1996) – whose proceedings, edited by Bruno d'Agostino and Michel Bats, were published in 1998 – the great amount of new data that had enriched our knowledge of southern Italy, the western Mediterranean and Greece over the last few years called for a return to the theme of Euboean colonization. A direct thread, in motivations and content, ran from the 1996 conference to the one held in Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples) from 14 to 17 May 2018, which was entitled *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente*. The intent was, again, to discuss the themes of colonization, how colonial realities became rooted in different areas of the Mediterranean, the specific traits of Euboean colonization, and forms of contact and relationship between the Greek element and local communities.

These Proceedings are divided in two volumes, arranged geographically, as per the conference program. They feature a dialogue between historians and archaeologists, with an emphasis on the new important contributions made over the last twenty years by field archaeology in Euboea and in colonial and Mediterranean contexts. This new archaeological evidence contributes to, and modifies our interpretations of, the historical phenomena in which Euboea played a prominent role in the Early Iron Age (tenth-eighth century BC), both in the motherland and in the several geographical districts touched by Euboean trade and colonization. These are the phenomena that led to the colonization of southern Italy and northern Greece, and thus from

the eighth century BC onward put an indelible mark on the history of the West.

The individual contributions are introduced by an important essay by Nota Kourou, a reflection on the theme of Mediterranean connectivity seen from the Euboean perspective and analyzed (over a time range spanning from the tenth to the eighth century BC) through the distribution of Euboean pottery in the Aegean, the Levant and the West.

The first volume begins with Irene Lemos' important assessment of Euboea at its transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The contributions in the first part of the volume provide an up-to-date overview of the new archaeological and interpretive results of investigations at Lefkandi, Chalcis, the sanctuary of Artemis at Amarynthos, Karystos, and Kyme, and in eastern Euboea. The subsequent contributions regard the sector of Boeotia facing Euboea and falling within its orbit of influence, as borne out by mythical traditions and by the crucially important excavations of Oropos led by Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian. We are then led on into the northern Aegean and northern Greece, which were also destinations for Euboean trade and colonial migration. The book is concluded with a look at the western Mediterranean, and specifically at Sardinia and Spain. Here, the Phoenician and Euboean elements interacted with the local communities, forging relations based on mobility and reciprocity.

The second volume gathers contributions on Euboean presence in the Tyrrhenian (Pithekoussai, Cumae, Neapolis), the canal of Sicily (Zankle and Naxos) and areas that the Euboeans had an early interest in (Francavilla Marittima in Calabria).

These contributions, focusing on archaeological and interpretive novelties from each site, are preceded by two important reflections, by Maurizio Giangiulio and Luca Cerchiai, respectively. The former deals with the “social memory” of Greek colonization, the latter with new interpretive models for the dynamics guiding relations between the Greeks and local communities, based on a comparison between different milieus and on new evidence. Alongside the presentation of archaeological novelties from Pithekoussai and Cumae in several contributions in this volume, there are two reflections by Marek Wecowski and Alfonso Mele, respectively on social behavior in connection with the appearance of the symposium, starting from the famous inscription on Nestor's Cup, and on the mythical-historical tradition of Cumae from the story of the Sybil onward.

The conference was accompanied by an exhibition entitled *Pithekoussai... work in progress*, displaying a sample of grave goods from the still unpublished part of the necropolis of Pithekoussai, i.e., from the 1965-1967 excavations. In this exhibition, Giorgio Buchner was honored with a display of his letters and documents bearing witness to his dense correspondence with some of the foremost archaeologists of his time, and to his international standing as a scholar.

The conference provided an opportunity to strengthen the ties between the Soprintendenza and the university, compare different study traditions, and keep open the dialogue on the theme of intercultural connectivity and relations. This theme, far from being outdated, today stands as the true benchmark by which the progress of the peoples of the shores of the Mediterranean is and will be measured.

---

The conference was promoted by the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L'Orientale” and the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'area metropolitana di Napoli (Ministero della Cultura), with the crucial support of the town administration of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia. Heartfelt thanks go to the mayor, Giacomo Pascale, and the councilor for culture at the time, Cecilia Prota, who

enthusiastically agreed to and supported this venture, in the awareness that knowledge and research must provide the foundation for promotion of cultural heritage.

We thank all who brought their greetings to the conference and took part in it: Prof. Elda Morlicchio, Rector of the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L'Orientale”, and Prof. Michele Bernardini, Director of Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo; Dr. Caterina Bon Valsassina, Director General of Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio of the Italian Ministry of Culture; Prof. Emanuele Papi, Director of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens; Prof. Claude Pouzadoux, director of the Centre J. Bérard; Prof. Oswyn Murray; Prof. Emanuele Greco, former director of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens; and Dr. Paolo Giulierini, director of the Naples National Archaeological Museum.

Especially heartfelt thanks go to all the speakers at the conference and authors of the essays in these two volumes. Through their valuable contributions, together they have achieved the collective endeavor of *Euboica II*, between the motherland, the East and the West. We are especially grateful to Bruno d'Agostino, who, from the height of his scholarly authority, accepted the onerous task of introducing the conference and authored a fundamental essay in the first volume. Our thanks also go to Carmine Ampolo and Catherine Morgan for exemplarily drawing the conclusions of the conference and of these two volumes. We are also keen to thank the session chairs who managed the dense days of the conference: Michel Bats, Anna Maria D'Onofrio, Maurizio Giangiulio, Irene Lemos, Oswyn Murray, Fabrizio Pesando, Karl Reber, Claude Pouzadoux, and Fausto Zevi.

We thank Drs. Costanza Gialanella and Maria-luisa Tardugno, the Soprintendenza officials who succeeded one another in the task of safeguarding the archaeological heritage of Ischia, for organizing the exhibition, as well as Mss. Teresa Calise and Teresa Iacono (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Napoli). We would also like to thank Dr. Federico Poole (Museo Egizio di Torino) for his consultation on the scarabs; Dr. Luigia Melillo and Ms. Marina Vecchi of the Restoration Laboratory of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples for their restoration of the materials; and the

firm Corsale & Amitrano Restauro e Architettura. For the exhibition imagery, we thank the Òrkestra. Media & Web Agency; for the welcome service, the Platypus Tour Agency and especially Emanuele Mattera; and for operative support, Mr. Giulio Lauro of the Marina di Sant'Anna.

Finally, our heartfelt thanks go to a group of PhD and MA graduates in archaeology and archaeology students of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" for contributing decisively to the organization and management of the conference: Mariangela Barbato, Martina D'Onofrio, Chiara

Improta, Cristiana Merluzzo, Sara Napolitano, Francesco Nitti, Francesca Somma, and Marco Tartari.

With some emotion, we leave it to some photographs of the first and second conference of *Euboica* to conclude this brief introduction. A common research thread ran through these two conferences, which were held in a similar climate of dialogue, sharing and friendship among today's "Euboeans", along the sea routes of yesterday's Euboeans from the East to the West.



Participants in the conference *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, Naples, 13-16 November 1996: from left to right, David Ridgway, Nicholas Coldstream, Michel Bats, Patrizia Gastaldi, Angeliki Andreiomenou, Bruno d'Agostino, Sandrine Huber, Irene Lemos, and Béatrice Blandin

# Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente

Lacco Ameno, Ischia (NA)  
14-17 maggio 2018



14 maggio

## SALUTI

- 15.30 **Giacomo Pascale** (Sindaco del Comune di Lacco Ameno)  
**Caterina Bon Valsassina** (Direttore Generale Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio - Mibact)  
**Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro** (Soprintendente ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli)  
**Elda Morlicchio** (rettrice dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")  
**Michele Bernardini** (Direttore del DAAM, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")  
**Emanuele Pappi** (Direttore della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene)  
**Corrado Matera** (Assessore con delega al Turismo, Regione Campania)  
**Rosanna Romano** (Direttore Generale per le Politiche culturali e il Turismo, Regione Campania)  
**Prospettive di valorizzazione del patrimonio archeologico**  
 Interverranno  
**Cecilia Protà** (Assessore alla Cultura del Comune di Lacco Ameno)  
**Paolo Giulierini** (Direttore del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli)  
**Nadia Murolo** (Dirigente per la valorizzazione e promozione dei Beni Culturali, Regione Campania)

## CONFERENZA INAUGURALE

- 16.30 **Nota Kourou** (University of Athens)  
**Euboian pottery in a Mediterranean perspective**

## INTRODUZIONE AL CONVEGNO

- 17.10 **Bruno d'Agostino** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")  
**Le problematiche archeologiche**  
 17.30 **Alfonso Mele** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")  
**Le problematiche storiche**  
**VISITA AL MUSEO**

15 maggio

## SEZIONE A. L'Eubea tra madrepatria e colonie: aspetti storici e modelli interpretativi

- 10.00 **Maurizio Giangliullo** (Università degli Studi di Trento)  
**Memorie coloniali euboiche: appunti sulle tradizioni letterarie della mobilità mediterranea di VIII - VII secolo**  
 10.20 **Luisa Breglia** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")  
**Relazioni tra Eubea e Beozia in età arcaica**  
 10.40 **Luca Cerchiai** (Università degli Studi di Salerno)  
**Modelli interpretativi sulla colonizzazione euboica e impatti sul mondo indigeno**

## SEZIONE B. Pithekoussai

- 11.00 **Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro** (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli)  
**Pithekoussai: rappresentazione funeraria e dinamiche interculturali nella necropoli di San Montano (scavi 1965-67)**  
**Pausa caffè**  
 11.40 **Melania Gigante** (Università degli Studi di Bologna), **Wolfgang Müller** (Goethe University Frankfurt), **Alessandra Sperduti**, **Luca Bondioli** (Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini", Roma)  
**Euboici, orientali, indigeni: paleodemografia e mobilità dal campione odonto-scheletrico umano delle sepolture dell'antica Pithekoussai (VIII - VI sec.)**  
 12.00 **Costanza Gialanella** (Soprintendenza ABAP per l'Area Metropolitana di Napoli), **Pietro Giovanni Guzzo** (Accademia dei Lincei)  
**Il quartiere metallurgico di Mazzola a Pithecusa: ritrovamenti e produzioni**  
 12.30 **Mariassunta Cuzzo** (Università degli Studi del Molise)  
**Produzioni ceramiche dall'area di Mazzola**  
 12.50 **Nadin Burkhardt** (Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt), **Stephan Faust** (University College of Cork)  
**I primi risultati dello scavo nell'area di villa Arbusto/Pithecusa**  
**DISCUSSIONE**  
**Pausa pranzo**  
 15.00 **Valentino Nizzo** (Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Roma)  
**Paesaggi, forme e codici del rito nella necropoli di Pithekoussai**  
 15.20 **Marek Wecowski** (University of Warsaw)  
**The "Cup of Nestor" in context: the rise of the Greek aristocratic culture**

## SEZIONE C. Cuma e Parthenope

- 15.40 **Matteo D'Acunto** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")  
**Le prime fasi di Cuma alla luce delle ricerche recenti**  
 16.00 **Giovanna Greco** (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II")  
**Strutture e materiali dalla Cuma arcaica: le ricerche della "Federico II" nell'area del Foro**  
**Pausa caffè**  
 16.40 **Michel Bats**, **Priscilla Munzi** (Centre Jean Bérard, Napoli)  
**Vaisselle et ustensiles de cuisine à Cumes à l'époque archaïque: analyse et confrontations**  
 17.00 **Daniela Giampaola** (Soprintendenza ABAP per il Comune di Napoli)  
**Napoli antica dall'Età del Bronzo Finale a Parthenope: i dati delle nuove indagini**  
**DISCUSSIONE**

16 maggio

## SEZIONE D. La Sicilia e il Mediterraneo occidentale

- 10.00 **Giovanna Maria Bacci** (Soprintendenza BB.C.C.A.A. di Messina)  
**Zancle: aggiornamenti sull'insediamento urbano e sui luoghi di culto**  
 10.20 **Maria Costanza Lentini** (Polo Regionale dei Siti Culturali di Catania)  
**Naxos di Sicilia tra l'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.: rapporti e connessioni esterne**  
 10.40 **Jean-Christophe Sourisseau** (Aix-Marseille Université), **Timmy Gambin** (University of Malta)  
**Premiers éléments sur la cargaison de l'épave de Xlendi (Gozo, Malte)**  
 11.00 **Massimo Botto** (CNR, Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico)  
**Fenici e Greci nella Penisola Iberica tra IX e VII sec. a.C.**  
**Pausa caffè**  
 11.40 **Marco Rendell**, **Paolo Bernardini** (Università degli Studi di Sassari)  
**La Sardegna**



Centro Congressi  
Auditorium "Leonardo Carriero"  
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Piazza Santa Restituta, 80076 Lacco Ameno - Ischia (NA)

## SEZIONE E. L'Eubea: la madrepatria

- 12.00 **Irene Lemos** (University of Oxford)  
**Why Euboea? From the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age**  
 12.20 **Xenia Charalambidou** (University of Warsaw)  
**Rethinking Early Iron Age and Protoarchaic Chalkis: towards an appraisal of the archaeological evidence**  
 12.40 **Sandrine Huber** (Université de Lorraine)  
**The Athenaeon on the acropolis of Eretria**  
**DISCUSSIONE**  
**Pausa pranzo**  
 15.00 **Jan Paul Crielaard** (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)  
**Recent research at Karystos-Plakari: cult, connectivity and networks in the 10th to 7th centuries BC**  
 15.20 **Karl Reber**, **Thierry Theurillat** (Université de Lausanne - École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce)  
**Finding Artemis: the Artemision at Amarnthos (Euboea)**  
 15.40 **Athena Chatzidimitriou** (Historical Archive of Antiquities, Ministry of Culture and Sports)  
**Zarakas: a cult site in south Karystia, on the island of Euboea**  
 16.00 **Alexandros Mazarakis Ainián** (University of Thessaly, Volos)  
**Thirty years of excavations and research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)**  
 16.20 **Antonis Kotsonas** (University of Cincinnati)  
**Containers, commodities and Euboean colonization in the Theraic Gulf**  
**DISCUSSIONE**

17 Maggio

## SEZIONE F. Le produzioni

- 10.00 **Samuel Verdan** (Université de Lausanne - École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce)  
**Men and metals on the move: the case of "Euboean" gold**  
 10.20 **Vicky Vlachou** (Université Libre de Bruxelles)  
**Patterns of production and consumption of Euboean-type pottery outside Euboea: a view from Oropos and Pithekoussai in the 8th century BC**  
 10.40 **Alexandra Alexandridou** (Open University of Cyprus)  
**One more node to the Thessalo-Euboean small world: the evidence from Kephala of Skiathos**  
**Pausa caffè**  
 11.20 **Gloria Olcese** ("La Sapienza" Università di Roma)  
**Il kerameikos sotto la Chiesa di Santa Restituta di Lacco Ameno: nuovi dati e prospettive della ricerca archeologica e archeometrica a Ischia**  
 11.40 **Franca Merlati** (Parco Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei)  
**Ceramica euboica e di tipo euboico tra Pithekoussai e Kyme: status questionis e nuovi spunti di riflessione**  
**DISCUSSIONE**

## CONCLUSIONI

- 12.30 **Carmine Ampolo** (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa)  
**Catherine Morgan** (All Souls College, Oxford)



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**Cecilia Protà** (Comune di Lacco Ameno, Ischia)



The participants in the *Euboica II* conference



The greetings to the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Matteo D'Acunto, Paolo Giulierini (Director of the Naples National Archaeological Museum), Michele Bernardini (Director of the Dipartimento Asia Africa e Mediterraneo of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"), Elda Morlicchio (Rector of the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"), Giacomo Pascale (Mayor of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia), Teresa Cinquantaquattro, Cecilia Prota (Councilor for culture of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia)



The organizers of the *Euboica II* conference, Teresa Cinquantaquattro and M. D'Acunto, with the Mayor of Lacco Ameno d'Ischia, Giacomo Pascale (right), and the Councilor for culture, Cecilia Prota (second, left)



The discussion after a session of the *Euboica II* conference



Discussion on pottery in the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae (Lacco Ameno d'Ischia) after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Maria Cecilia Parra, Bruno d'Agostino, Irene Lemos, Nota Kourou, Carmine Ampolo, Matteo D'Acunto, Teresa Cinquantaquattro, and Catherine Morgan



Discussion on pottery in the Archaeological Museum of Pithecusae (Lacco Ameno d'Ischia) after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Catherine Morgan, Ida Baldassarre, Michel Bats, Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian, and Bruno d'Agostino



From left to right, Irene Lemos, Teresa Cinquantaquattro, Bruno d'Agostino, Matteo D'Acunto, Nota Kourou, and Samuel Verdan



Trip to Cumae after the *Euboica II* conference: from left to right, Thierry Theurillat, Sandrine Huber, Matteo D'Acunto, Samuel Verdan, Karl Reber, and Francesco Nitti



# POTTERY PRODUCTION, WORKSHOP SPACES AND THE CONSUMPTION OF EUBOEAN-TYPE POTTERY BEYOND EUBOEAE. A VIEW FROM OROPOS (ATTICA) IN THE 8TH CENTURY BC\*

Vicky Vlachou

One distinguishing feature of the Geometric installation at Oropos is its prevailing industrial character. Workshop areas, kilns for both metallurgical and pottery production as well as spaces for craft activities were integrated into the domestic space and thus comprised a central part of almost all aspects in the daily events and life of the inhabitants: they had an impact on the ecology and living conditions, influencing the economic and social organization (Fig. 1)<sup>1</sup>. The proximity to the flourishing Euboean installations seems also to have had a large effect on the material culture and social organization of the settlement at Oropos. A number of shared features between the two areas on both sides of the south Euboean gulf have been highlighted: the choices of the inhabitants for specific architectural forms and space arrangements, the pottery produced and used, the presence of several infant and child burials within the living areas and the use of the Euboean alphabet, among others<sup>2</sup>. In this way, pre-classical Oropos has been largely discussed as part of a common Euboean cultural sphere, closely linked to Eretria and identified with the Homeric Graia (*Iliad*, 2.498)<sup>3</sup>.

The significant growth of the installation in the area of the modern Skala Oropou during the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC coincides with a period of intense mobility on the part of the Euboeans, mainly by sea, and their participation in the active networks linking the Aegean with the wider Mediterranean region<sup>4</sup>. The earliest presence of Euboeans at Pithekoussai – namely the industrial quarter investigated at the Mazzola area on the hill of Mezzavia – shares a number of elements with the installation at Oropos, namely the use of similar architectural forms and workshop organization<sup>5</sup>. Both sites seem to have been founded and flourished during the same period, broadly coinciding with the latter half of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. Euboean and Euboean-type pottery from both sites demonstrate the influence of Euboean workshops and craftspeople, who were presumably installed in both these areas.

At Methoni in the Northern Aegean, the presence of Euboean pottery and the local manufacture of Euboean-type pottery during the same period have been equally related to Euboean activity and mobility<sup>6</sup>. Pottery of the late 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC from the site demonstrates a number of similarities to the pottery from Oropos and Pithekoussai<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, despite this visible link to Euboean style,

\* My warmest thanks are to the organisers of *Euboica II* conference and their warm hospitality at Ischia. I would like to thank prof. Alexandros Mazarakis Ainián for entrusting to me the study of the Geometric pottery from Oropos for my PhD thesis (Athens 2010). Don Evely kindly edited the English text.

<sup>1</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIÁN 2002 (with further bibliography); MAZARAKIS AINIÁN 2012a, 126-132; VLACHOU 2011; VLACHOU 2015b.

<sup>2</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIÁN 2007b; MAZARAKIS AINIÁN 2008; MAZARAKIS AINIÁN 2010b; MAZARAKIS AINIÁN – MATTHAIÓU 1999; VLACHOU 2007.

<sup>3</sup> SAKELLARIOU 1978, 26; MAZARAKIS AINIÁN 2006-2007; KNOEPFLER 2010, 81-90; MAZARAKIS AINIÁN – LEMOS – VLACHOU 2020, 95-99.

<sup>4</sup> CRIELAARD 1996; D'AGOSTINO 2006; D'AGOSTINO 2008; KOUROU 2010. For an analysis of the active networks in the area of Campania and Greek mobility in the Bay of Naples, see recently MORRIS 2016; DONNELLAN 2016; DONNELLAN 2017.

<sup>5</sup> BUCHNER 1970-1971; KLEIN 1972; MAZARAKIS AINIÁN 2010b, 80-82.

<sup>6</sup> For the site and finds, see BESSIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012. For a synthesis of the evidence for Euboean mobility to the North Aegean, see MAZARAKIS AINIÁN 2010b, 85-89; MAZARAKIS AINIÁN 2012b.

<sup>7</sup> KOTSONAS 2012, 125-126, 128-138.

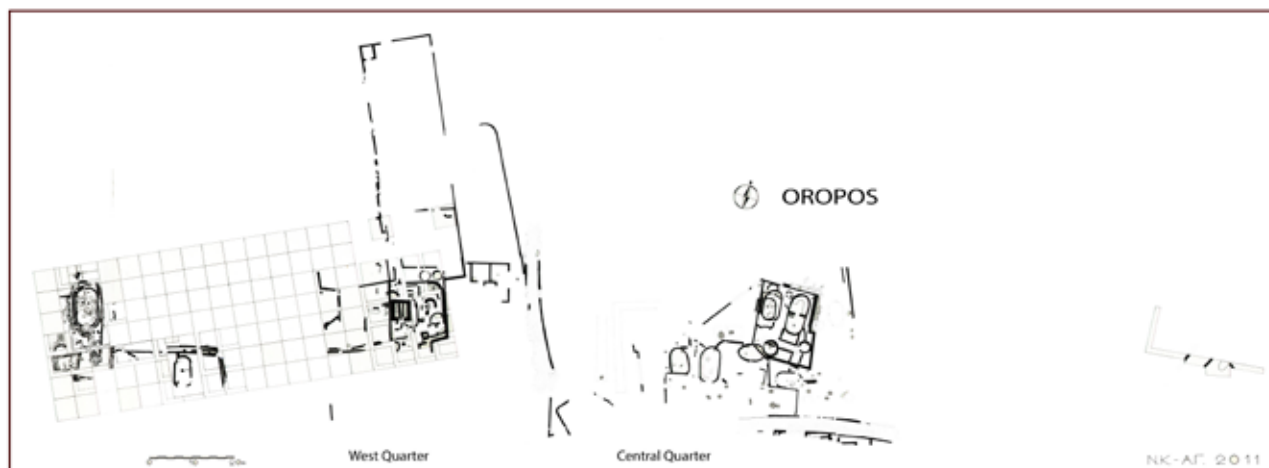


Fig. 1. Plan of the excavated areas at Skala Oropou (© Oropos archive)

locally produced pots at each of the above sites demonstrate the existence of individual technical features and stylistic preferences that manifest no single pattern linking production and consumption of Euboean-type pottery beyond Euboea. Different variables seem to have determined the production and consumption at each site, ones that seem related to the preferences of local clients, the existence of a local pottery tradition at each site, the degree of interaction of the Euboean style with local pottery production and concurrent pottery styles, among others. Even if we accept a presence of potters and painters from Euboea at each of the above sites, and despite the strong Euboean influence exerted, yet the technological and stylistic variants of the pottery produced, as well as the manner of production and consumption at each site, are well rooted in the diacritical features of a local pottery tradition<sup>8</sup>.

The site of Oropos too displays these very points set out above. What is considered as local pottery is largely influenced by concurrent Euboean pottery styles, although influences from other areas can also be discerned too. Pottery production at the site is documented by the remains of working spaces and mainly the presence of pottery kilns in all areas of the installation. Oropos has yielded so far the largest corpus of evidence to help us understand the work of craftspeople and the social circumstances in which they operated, as well as that of the con-

sumers that used this type of pottery during most of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. In this way, the site constitutes a key component to the study of craft production and consumption of Euboean-type pottery beyond Euboea.

#### POTTERY PRODUCTION AND WORKSHOP SPACES AT OROPOS

Pottery production can be traced from the earliest phase of the settlement at Skala Oropou until the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, when most of the buildings were progressively abandoned (Fig. 2). Pottery kilns, test-pieces, wasters and deposits that seem related to potters' debris have been investigated in the conventionally identified Central and West Quarters of the excavated area. This distribution proves that pottery production was embedded in the activities of the inhabitants already from the very beginning. The proximity to the shore and the presence of streams and even small rivers within the settlement seems to have facilitated the work of craftspeople at the site, despite the difficulties caused by the seasonal overflows and the presence of stagnant water<sup>9</sup>.

There are at least three small pottery kilns surviving from the Geometric phases of the settlement. Kiln γ was placed immediately to the south of the

<sup>8</sup> Fine decorated pottery from Zagora seems to proceed along these general lines: PASPALAS 2015, 224-225.

<sup>9</sup> COSMOPOULOS 2001, 7; JAMES – KOUSOULAKOU – ARJONA PÉREZ 2007, 61; VLACHOU 2010, 103.

enclosure wall T106 and thus in proximity to buildings K, IH and KΣΤ (Figs. 3 and 6)<sup>10</sup>. Although the area was partly disturbed by later activity, the kiln seems to have had a circular shape. Only the lower part of the kiln survives, with what seems like a perforated floor made out of clay and mud-bricks that has been partly destroyed and fallen into the lower chamber. No interior support(s) in the lower chamber can be discerned. The exterior lower surface was dressed with stones and pebbles. The small size of the kiln, with a diameter that does not exceed 1.00 m, demonstrates the small quantity of the pottery fired here. From the interior of kiln γ only few fragments of coarse-ware, ashes and burnt olive pipes were collected. The simple circular form of the kiln matches best with type If in the proposed typology by Eleni Hasaki<sup>11</sup>. This is actually the simplest form of pottery kiln: it dates back to the Bronze Age and continues on into the Iron Age.

The circular structure IE that was investigated further to the east, in the area of the Central Quarter seems to have served as a firing space (Figs. 4 and 7)<sup>12</sup>. Although IE was not securely identified as a kiln during its excavation, the ashes, burnt mud-bricks and burnt olive pipes that were found inside and around its stone foundation may well relate to its function as a pottery kiln. The use of medium-sized stones for the foundation resembles the construction of kiln γ in the West Quarter. It is possible then that this area served for firing pottery until its final abandonment in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. IE seems to have been used during the fourth (orange) phase of the site's occupation, and was thus contemporary to the monumental rectangular *peribolos* wall in this area and the buildings enclosed inside it. Structure H that was built directly over the remains of IE has also been identified as a pottery kiln, in use during the larger part of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC<sup>13</sup>. Structure H had a circular form and consisted of a stone foundation, inside which traces of a perforated floor were found, along with burnt mud-

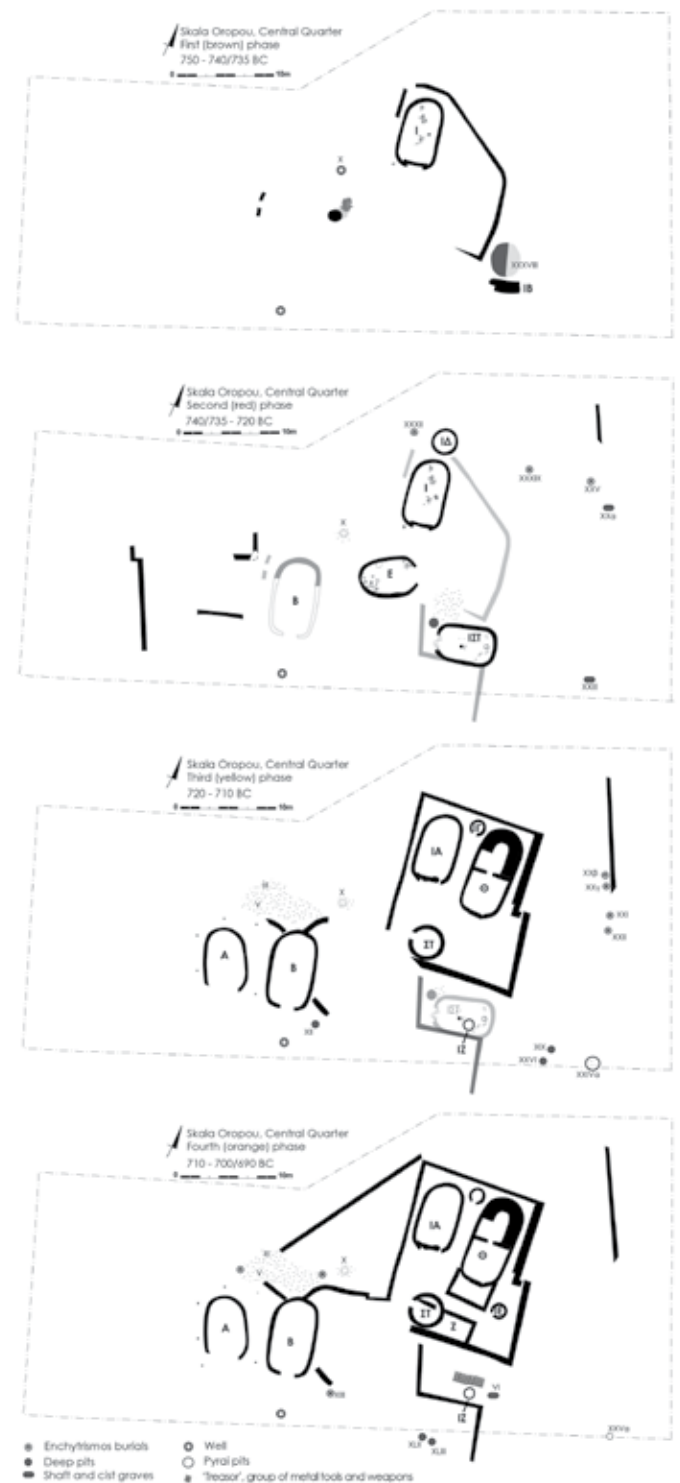


Fig. 2. Skala Oropou. Successive occupation phases in the Central Quarter based on A. Mazarakis Ainian and re-adjusted after the comparative study of the finds and the stratigraphy. After VLACHOU 2010

<sup>10</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2000, 58, pl. 31α.

<sup>11</sup> HASAKI 2002, 149-151, 158.

<sup>12</sup> Diam. (exterior): 1.80 m with an opening towards the south-west. In the excavation report (MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2003, 14-16) IE is described as presumably a storage structure for cereals, although no relevant findings were identified.

<sup>13</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, 72-73, pl. 20α; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, 62-65, pls. 24β-25α.

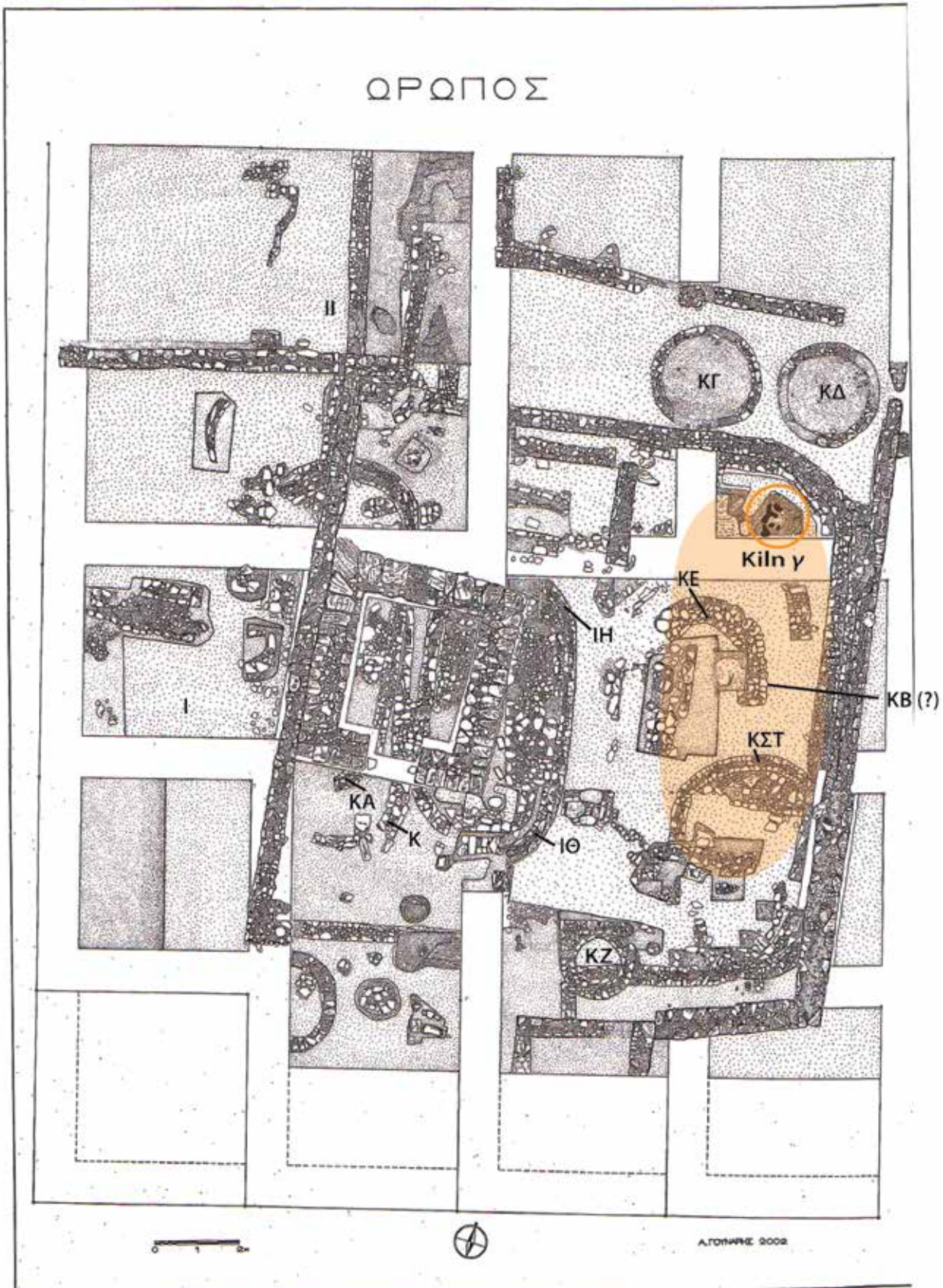


Fig. 3. Skala Oropou. West Quarter, after MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002, 170, fig. 10 (plan by A. Gounaris). Marked are the areas related to pottery production (kiln γ and KB)

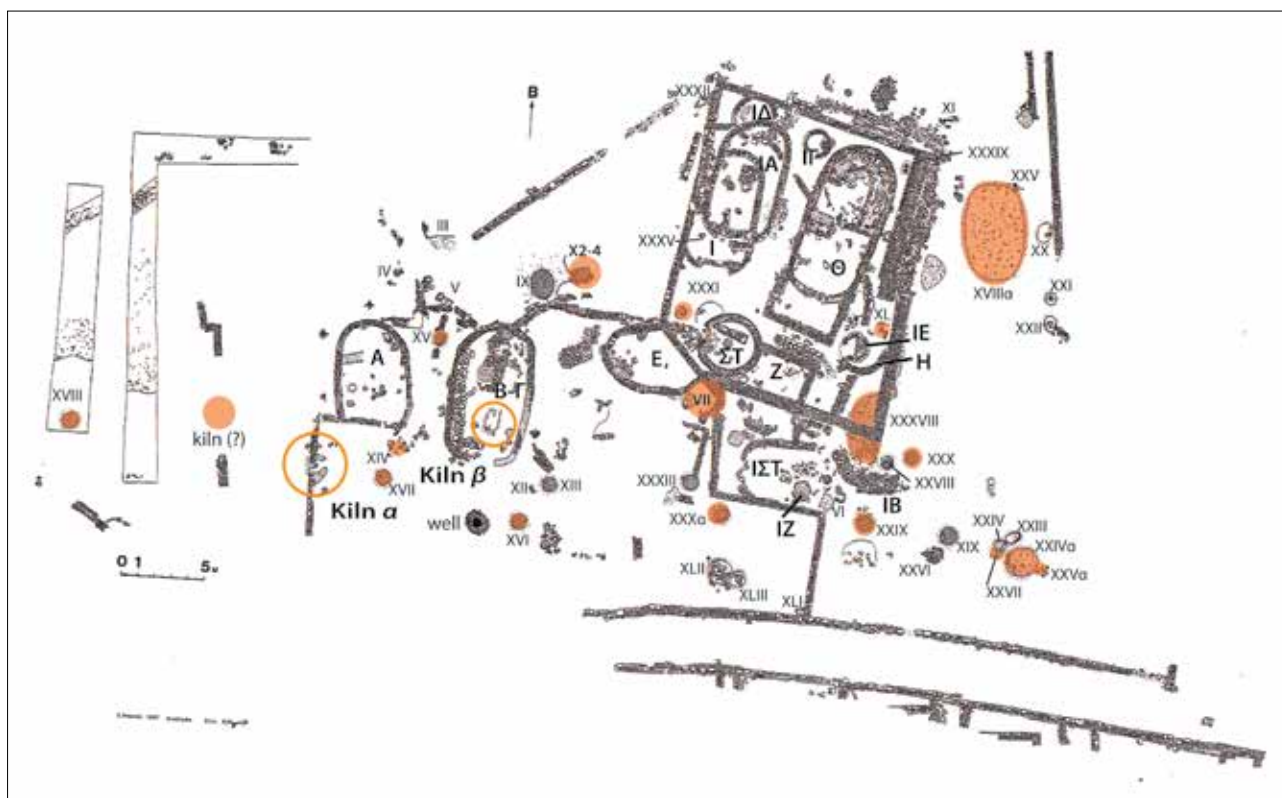


Fig. 4. Skala Oropou. Central Quarter, after MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002, 153, fig. 2 (plan by N. Kalliotzis and A. Gounaris). Marked are the areas related to pottery production (kilns, pyrai pits and pits containing clay and workshop debris)

bricks, burnt olive pipes, ashes and a small Phaleron cup.

One more pottery kiln was unearthed in the western limit of the West Quarter. Kiln δ is the best preserved pottery kiln of the Geometric installation at Oropos: it may be dated to the early 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, according to the stratigraphy in this area to the fourth (orange) phase (Figs. 5 and 8)<sup>14</sup>. Only the clay foundation of the firing chamber survived: it is of a horseshoe shape, and was placed directly over the remains of the earlier building ΛΘ, and seems contemporary to the earliest occupation of building ΛΔ. The kiln seems to belong to type If as devised by E. Hasaki, just like the rest of the Geometric kilns from Oropos.

The construction of pottery kilns in the first quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC over the remains of the Geometric buildings extends in all areas of the installation at Skala Oropou. In the Central Quarter, the kilns α and β were placed over the remains of

buildings A and B (Figs. 4 and 9a-b)<sup>15</sup>. This area of the settlement saw metallurgical and domestic activities from the very beginning of the installation. Even after the abandonment of both buildings, workshop activities continued in the same area. Kiln α was placed directly over the earlier wall T14, to the southwest of building A. Its diameter does not exceed 1.00 m and so conforms well to the generally small-sized kilns of the Geometric settlement. Kiln β was placed directly over the remains of building B and close to its entrance. Although kiln β is only partly preserved (contrary to kiln α), they both seem to belong to the same circular type (type Ib of Hasaki's typology), with a central supporting wall that divides the firing chamber in two smaller parts. Kiln H further to the east was placed over the earlier kiln IE (see above) and seems to have been abandoned late in the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, 91-92, pl. 15β; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1999, 49, 54, pls. 35β, 36α.

<sup>16</sup> Part of a relief pithos that was found in the filling of the kiln dates to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, 64-65 and pl. 25β (lower row, first fragment from the left).

<sup>14</sup> The lower chamber has a diameter of about 1.30 m and an opening towards the west. For the excavation report, see MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2011, 21-22.

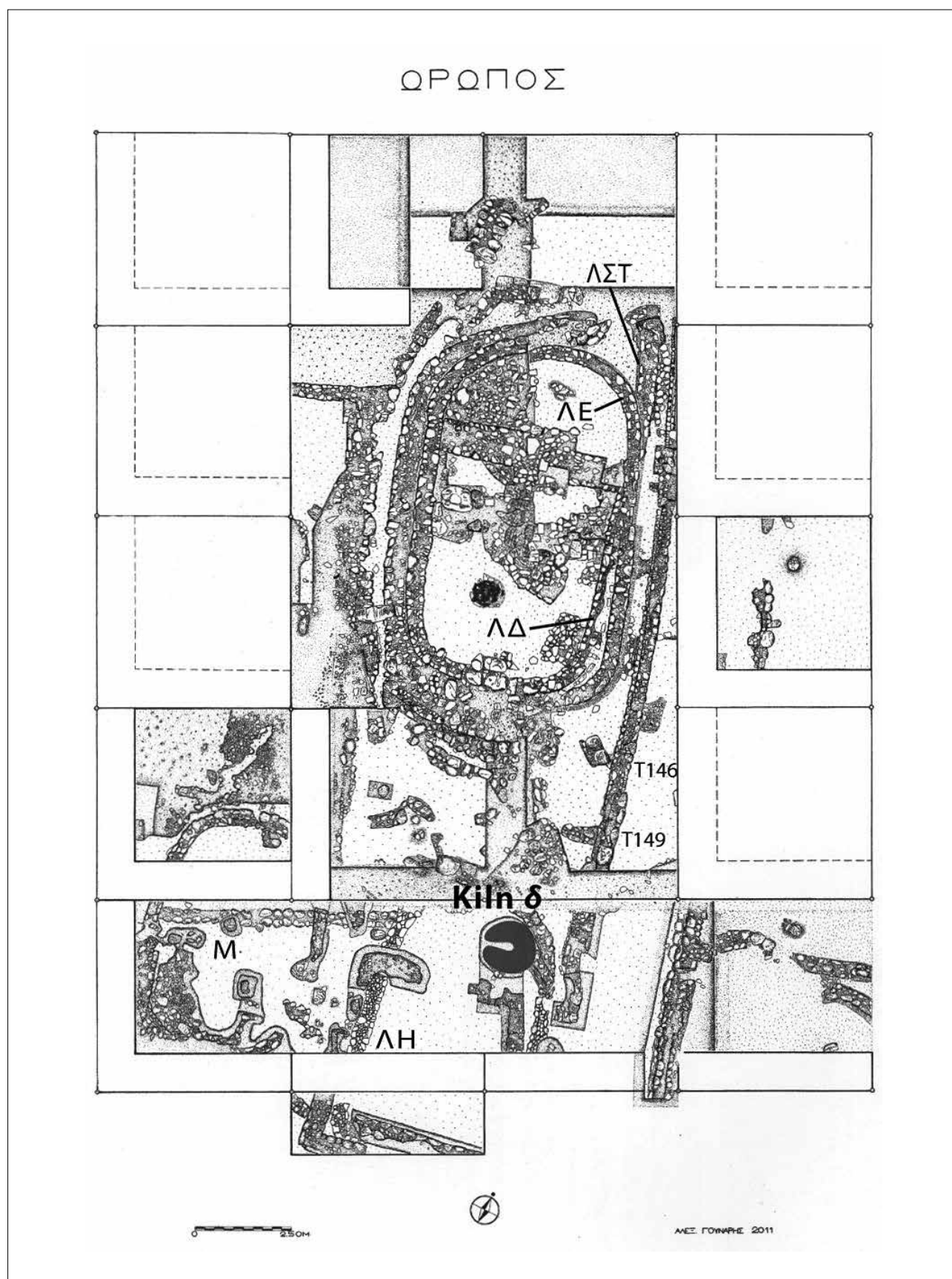


Fig. 5. Skala Oropou. West Quarter, after MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2011, 19, fig. 2 (plan by A. Gounaris).  
Marked are the areas related to pottery production (kiln δ)

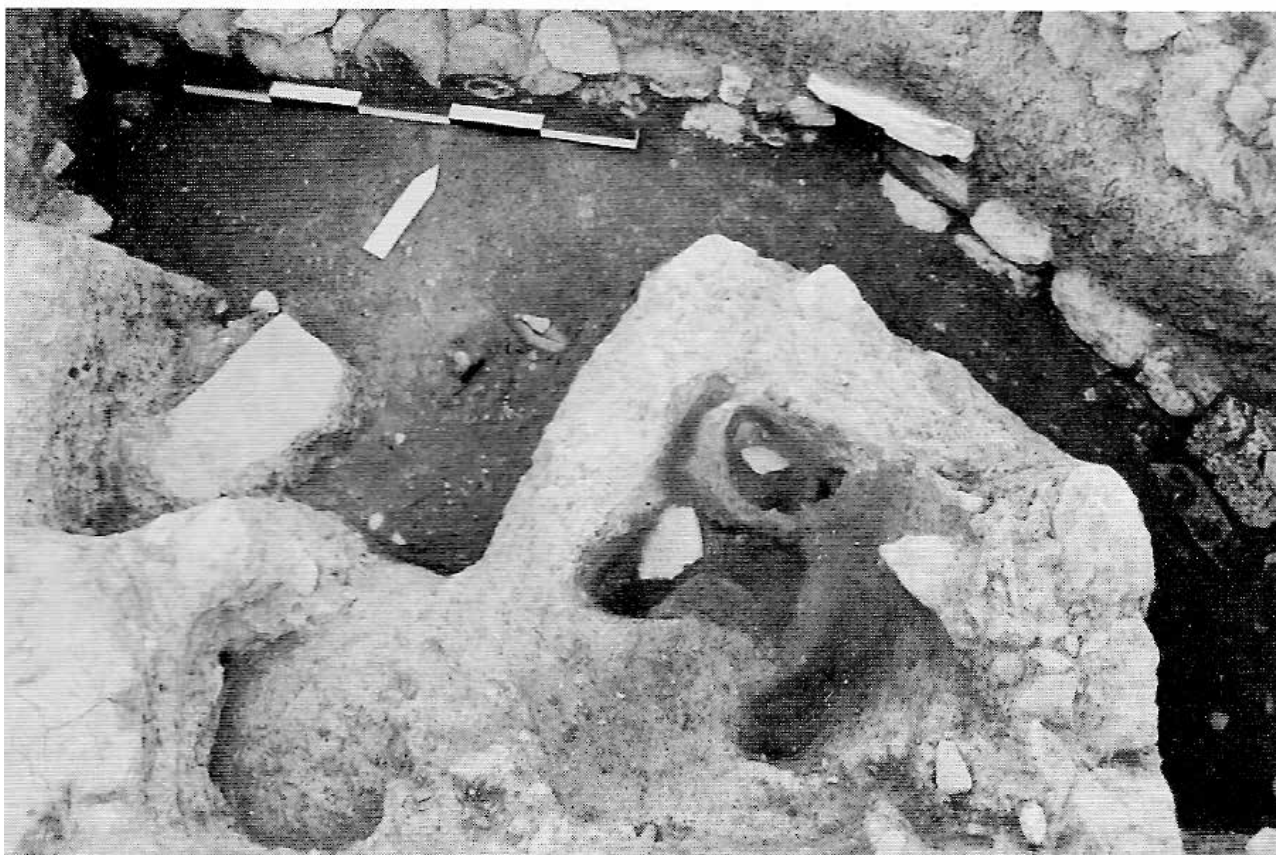


Fig. 6. Skala Oropou. West Quarter, detail of kiln  $\gamma$  during excavation (photo by A. Mazarakis Ainian). After MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2000, pl. 31

A common feature of the Geometric pottery kilns is their placement close to the contemporary building-units that in all cases were entirely or partly limited by enclosure walls. All three apsidal buildings (K, IH and KΣT) seem contemporary with the use of kiln  $\gamma$  in the West Quarter; all were partly enclosed by a rectangular wall, in such a way that they formed a well-defined unit. Kiln IE was placed inside the area enclosed by the monumental rectangular *peribolos* wall in the Central Quarter, near the buildings dated to the fourth (orange) phase of the installation. Kiln  $\delta$  at the western limit of the excavated area seems equally integrated in an area limited by enclosure wall T149 in proximity to building  $\Lambda\Delta$ . The excavator, A. Mazarakis Ainian, has discussed this type of architectural arrangements at Oropos, with *peribolos* walls that enclosed specific areas with more than one building and secondary structures within<sup>17</sup>. It would seem thus that

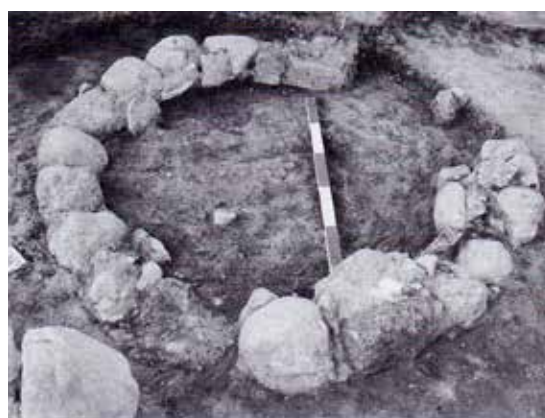


Fig. 7a-b. Skala Oropou. Central Quarter, area of IE, view from the north (photo A. Mazarakis Ainian). After MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2003, pl. 14a

<sup>17</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2004; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007b.



Fig. 8. Skala Oropou. West Quarter, detail of kiln δ during excavation (photo by A. Mazarakis Ainian)



Fig. 9a. Skala Oropou. Central Quarter, area of buildings A and B with kiln α (photo by A. Dragona; © Oropos archive)

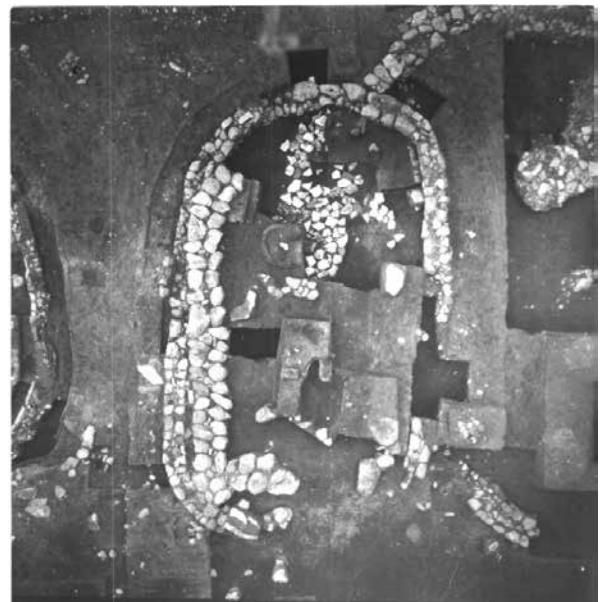


Fig. 9b. Skala Oropou. Central Quarter, building B and kiln β (photo by A. Dragona; © Oropos archive)

domestic and workshop activities were housed in distinct units analogous to the *erkos* as described in the Homeric epics. The repeated presence of the pottery kilns attest activities related to pottery pro-

duction, as is also so for metallurgical activities occurring in closed and open spaces within the settlement that served to house various activities. Pottery kilns of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC were installed over the areas



Fig. 10. Fragmentary skyphos (inv. ΩΚ/Πγ 1790). Waster misformed, distorted and partly vitrified due to excessive heat. From the area to the west of pit XXXa (photo V. Vlachou)

of earlier activity, demonstrating how craft production was among the principal activities within the installation. Although most of the Geometric *oikoi* seem to have been abandoned by that time, the remaining few, namely buildings Θ and ΛΔ, hosted some kind of ritual activities<sup>18</sup>.

In addition to the presence of pottery kilns, there is ample evidence for workshop activities within the wider area of the Central Quarter associated with both metalworking and pottery production during the successive occupation phases of the settlement, dating from the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> to the early 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Shallow pits filled with greenish clay, pits with traces of fire, burnt clay and mud-

bricks, as well as deposit areas containing among other finds pottery wasters and parts of kilns have so far been identified (Figs. 4 and 10)<sup>19</sup>. Although it remains difficult to establish in each case a direct relation to the consecutive stages of the *chaîne opératoire*, the archaeological traces of metallurgical activities and pottery production show that open-air areas and pits located within the habitation zones served as working and firing spaces<sup>20</sup>. The area of pyra VII to the south of building E is argua-

<sup>18</sup> For building Θ and the area of the monumental *peribolos* wall in the Central Quarter, see MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007b, 158-164. For the recently investigated building ΛΔ, see MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2009, 35-36; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2010a, 11-12; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2017, 176-177.

<sup>19</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, 91; GROS – ZURBACH 2012, 118-121. For the presence of pits filled with purified clay in connection to pottery workshops in the Archaic and Classical period, see SANIDAS 2013. For the Geometric period, the evidence is extremely meager. Finds comparable to those from Oropos, and namely the presence of pits in relation to pottery workshops have been identified at Minoa (Amorgos). See MARANGOU 1996, 191-194; MARANGOU 2002, 195-198.

<sup>20</sup> For comparable pits filled with the debris of workshop activities and comparable structures associated with crafting spaces, see DENTI 2012, 239-250.

bly the remains of a working space related, one believes, to pottery production. Ashes, charcoal, burnt olive pips, burnt mud-bricks, pieces of burnt clay and some fragmentary pottery were collected from the interior of a shallow pit that was covered by a low stone cairn. A second shallow pit, in contact with the first one, contained small quantities of greenish clay, the same type of clay that was found inside certain deep pits in the area of the Central Quarter<sup>21</sup>.

A large concentration of greenish clay was identified in the area of the West Quarter immediately to the south of pottery kiln  $\gamma$  and to the east of building IH/I $\Theta$ . Four thick layers of greenish and orange clay covered a surface of around 27 m<sup>2</sup>: the excavator tentatively identified this as indicative of a dismantled building KB (Fig. 3)<sup>22</sup>. Two pits were investigated in the same area that contained carbon, ashes, animal bones and burnt seeds, while other finds were rare. The northern part was partly paved with small pebbles, while the southern part seems divided into smaller spaces by mudbricks. Although the exact form of this large clay construction remains rather enigmatic, its function should be related to the activities that took place here. An alternative suggestion would view it as a facility alongside a potter's workshop, and it is probably not mere coincidence that kiln  $\gamma$  was installed in this same area<sup>23</sup>. In addition, the nearby rectangular structure containing only some pottery fragments, could have equally well served as a workshop installation, presumably for drying, forming or even storing pottery<sup>24</sup>. A comparable rectangular structure, investigated further west with kiln  $\delta$ , has been considered as related to pottery production<sup>25</sup>. A third almost rectangular structure was found in the Central

Quarter, together with the buildings and structures inside the monumental rectangular *peribolos*<sup>26</sup>.

Despite the disturbances caused by the continuous occupation and re-arrangement of the spaces during the Late Geometric period, the area to the north of building I $\Sigma$ T and underneath the later structure Z in the Central Quarter seems to have served as a working space possibly for both pottery production and metallurgical activities (Fig. 4)<sup>27</sup>. The area was partly paved with pebbles and in addition to burnt mud-bricks and pieces of clay, among other finds, related to workshop activities, some terracotta stands used for the arrangement of the pots in the firing chambers of kilns were collected. Comparable finds were identified in the area of walls T45/46 at the western limit of the Central Quarter and it is possible that activity here related is to be associated with the nearby kilns  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ <sup>28</sup>.

Material indicators for pottery production at Skala Oropou, as discussed above, go with all areas of the settlement, unlike metallurgical activities that seem constrained to the Central Quarter of the excavation. Pottery kilns were located near the domestic spaces, proving that not only metallurgical activities but also pottery production was central to the activities of the inhabitants, being located in spaces and open areas that seem to have served multiple functions<sup>29</sup>. Pottery production seems organized and controlled by the *oikoi* that occupied the area along the coast at Skala Oropou. If so, pottery production involved artisans from the broader settlement and not just where metallurgical activities were located. Considering the amount of the debris produced as analogous to the density of production, it becomes evident that the small-scale facilities at

<sup>21</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, 103; GROS – ZURBACH 2012, 116–117, fig. 4. Other pits with no finds from their interior except the greenish clay fill or earth mixed with clay and ashes are: XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXX, XXXa, XXXIII, XXVII.

<sup>22</sup> The dimensions of the supposed building KB are comparable to those of building K, 9 x 3 m, covering a surface of approximately 27 m<sup>2</sup>. MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2000, 54–55; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012a, 132 note 33.

<sup>23</sup> VLACHOU 2010, 73–74.

<sup>24</sup> Rectangular working spaces in proximity to kilns within potters' quarters are not unusual, although all examples are of later date than Oropos. See DEMESTICHA – KOURKOUDELIS 1997, 554–555.

<sup>25</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2011, 22–23 (rectangular construction/building AH).

<sup>26</sup> Structure Z seems to have been connected to the circular structure  $\Sigma$ T, which possibly served ritual activities. The finds from the interior of structure Z suggest multiple functions, including workshop activities. The presence of a large lekane with perforated bottom that contained a quantity of seashells, and a shallow pit filled with greenish clay seem better fitted to a workshop installation. For building Z, see MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, 79–80; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1997, 60–61; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2003, 11–14. For a connection of building  $\Sigma$ T to ritual activities, see MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, 71–72.

<sup>27</sup> VLACHOU 2010, 35 (a synthesis of the data from A. Dragona's excavation journals).

<sup>28</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, 50; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2002, 11–12; VLACHOU 2010, 54–55.

<sup>29</sup> For the use of the same buildings and spaces for multiple activities, see MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012a.

Oropos and the few kilns of small capacity excavated both point to the presence of some small production units<sup>30</sup>. The small size of the kilns and their placement within the domestic space further support a household industry. It is possible that pottery production was a seasonal occupation for the inhabitants and complementary to other activities important for the survival of the *oikoi*. The local character of the pottery produced for consumption and the absence, so far, of this type of pottery beyond Oropos, could be taken as an additional evidence for a seasonal occupation<sup>31</sup>.

That material considered as the output of local workshops at Oropos is marked by a unity of conception and technical execution, which further strengthens the argument for a small group of craftspeople active at the site. A limited number of specialized craftspeople, who produced and provided goods to a larger group of consumers. The term “specialization” is used here to describe individual forms and finely decorated pottery that goes beyond the basic needs of single households. According to Costin, craft specialization represents a way to create social networks beyond the immediate family, the *oikos*, by shaping patterns of inclusion and exclusion based on social hierarchy and gender.<sup>32</sup> Craftspeople and their products assumed key roles in the social, economic and ritual life across households and beyond them, and materialized shifting patterns and the conscious choices of both producers and consumers. Such observations are particularly important when applied to craft production at Oropos, where the context of production and consumption has been taken to reflect strong ties with Eretria and to reinforce a Euboean origin for the inhabitants of Oropos.

On the other hand, despite a distinctive Euboean style, the local pottery equally reveals the influence of Attica, Boeotia and the Cyclades. Potters and painters at Oropos look to have received influences

from all the most important production centers of the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Although they never achieved at Oropos an individual pottery style with specific characteristics, the pottery produced is locally distinguishable by the fabrication techniques and firing of the pots, generally of much lower quality compared to the Euboean specimens. The fired clay is consistently lighter in color, in a range of softer fabrics. This differentiation of the locally made pots is partly the result of firing at a lower temperature<sup>33</sup>. It is highly possible that other components, such as the use of different clay recipes, would have resulted in a local “micro-style” confined, so far, to Oropos. Chemical analysis (Neutron Activation Analysis) conducted on a small number of PG and Sub-PG pieces from the material recovered at the OTE plot, some 700 m west of Skala Oropou, showed that the Euboean-type pottery from Oropos was comparable to that from Lefkandi not only in shapes and decoration, but also in the chemical composition of the pots<sup>34</sup>. The small differences observed could have been associated with clay recipes and the raw materials used at Oropos. The range of options available regarding clay selection evolves in part the proximity of clay sources to the workshop area.<sup>35</sup> In addition to the clay bed at Phylla near Lefkandi that was used by workshops in Euboea and apparently at Oropos, rich clay beds have been equally identified in proximity to Skala. Yet, their exploitation by the EIA craftsmen at Oropos is not yet fully explored<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> SCHILLING 2003. Observations regarding the clay body, slip, painted decoration and firing process were made during a non-destructive XRF analysis on 28 fragments from Oropos in comparison with a total of

90 Euboean, Naxian, and Attic slipped wares in the framework of the INCOII EU research project CERAMED. For a preliminary publication, see ALOUPI – KOUROU 2007, 292. The definition of the Oropian group was made on basis of samples collected from the interior of kiln α. See also, VLACHOU 2010, 104-105; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – VLACHOU 2011, 96-97.

<sup>34</sup> The analysis included mainly PSC skyphoi from the excavations at the OTE plot and only few other types. No samples of the LG period from Skala Oropou were included for the analysis. The sample fragments were assigned to the provenance group EuA connected with the clay bed at Phylla near Lefkandi. MAZARAKIS AINIAN – VLACHOU 2011; MAZARAKIS AINIAN – LEMOS – VLACHOU 2020, 64-66.

<sup>35</sup> ROUX 2016, 101-107.

<sup>36</sup> Adequate clay beds exist on the foothills of Lagovouni, ca. 3 km to the south of the EIA settlement and also in the surrounding area, in the plain between Oropos and Vlastos to the south. COSMOPOULOS 2001, 9; JAMES – KOUSOULAKOU – ARJONA PÉREZ 2007, 62. See also, COSTIN 2001, 286-287; WHITBREAD 2011, 59-69.

<sup>30</sup> The criteria for a specialized production as described by C. Costin (2001, 279-285) are: intensity, compensation and skill.

<sup>31</sup> For pottery making as a part-time occupation in Archaic and Classical Greece, see ARAFAT – MORGAN 1989, 326. The warmer months for April to October seem to have been the best according to the evidence from the traditional potters at Margarites (Crete): GOUIN – VOGT 2002, 5.

<sup>32</sup> COSTIN 2001, 275-278; COSTIN 2015, 1. See also, FLAD – HRUBY 2007.

Nonetheless, even if PG and Sub-PG pottery was locally produced at Oropos and not imported entirely from Lefkandi, the shapes and decorative motifs leave no doubt as to the strong influence of Lefkandi. Such similarities in the material culture clearly show that Oropos was part of the Euboean *koine* by this time and thus part of a larger network organized around Lefkandi that allowed the movement of objects, ideas and possibly also people between the areas of the *koine*<sup>37</sup>. Unlike Eretria, where the first evidence of occupation lies in the second quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Sub-PG II 875-850 BC)<sup>38</sup>, Oropos seems to have been occupied much earlier. The convenient location of the site, right on the route connecting Lefkandi and Athens, may have motivated the earliest inhabitants in this area. Oropos seems to follow the general lines of the rest of the Attic regions, that show signs of re-occupation around this period, the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century BC. Even so, Oropos remained more closely attached to Euboea, Lefkandi and Eretria, while the ties with Athens were never that consistent.

#### THE EVIDENCE FROM OTHER AREAS OF EUBOEAN INFLUENCE

Beyond Oropos, our knowledge of potters' installations of around the same period is extremely limited, and that includes Euboea<sup>39</sup>. In Eretria is a pottery kiln from the area of the later *Maison aux Mosaïques*, dated to the Geometric or Archaic periods<sup>40</sup>. The paucity of material remains of potters' installations at Eretria has led F. de Polignac to suggest that Euboean craftspeople and workshop installations were moved to the opposite coast at Oropos, as planned improvements to the city in the late

8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC<sup>41</sup>. Although some restricted relocation of people and artisans could be considered on an archaeological basis, it is difficult to believe the whole installation at Skala Oropou was manned by people from the opposite coast. As Mazarakis Ainian has pointed out, the occupation at Oropos is anyway older than that at Eretria. Further the individual technical features of the pottery produced at Oropos is in a local idiom, and not directly comparable to what was produced in Eretria. Elsewhere in Euboea, the earliest evidence for potters' kilns comes from Lefkandi, dated by the associated pottery to MPG period<sup>42</sup>. Unfortunately, all such finds were found moved from their original context: no craft spaces or fixed installations survived *in situ*. Two rectangular kilns have been identified, with some reservations, at the site of Kymi-Viglatouri, dated by the excavator in the Geometric period<sup>43</sup>.

Evidence for the production and circulation of Euboean-type pottery beyond Euboea has been provided more recently from the site of Methoni in the northern Aegean. The site was founded by Eretrians in 733 or 709 BC and is thus to some extent contemporary to the installation at Oropos<sup>44</sup>. The presence of kilns at the site manifests the existence of workshops there, although they all date to the Archaic period and it is uncertain that they were all related to the firing of pottery. Nonetheless, pottery wasters of Euboean-type production found at the site point to the activity of pottery workshop(s) in this general area<sup>45</sup>. Furthermore, locally produced pottery that is generally defined as "of the Thermaic gulf" betrays the characteristics of the concurrent Euboean types. What is noteworthy at Methoni is the large number of pots that bear inscriptions, relating them to the banquets that apparently took place there.

Among the areas considered as part of the Euboean sphere of influence and movement, the installation at Mazzola at Pithekoussai manifests close similarities to Euboea and Oropos as to the

<sup>37</sup> LEMOS 1998; GIMATZIDIS 2011, 958; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2010b; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012b.

<sup>38</sup> The earliest finds consist of a warrior burial dated in the Sub-PG II or the EG II period investigated in the area of the later sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros: BLANDIN 2000; BLANDIN 2007, 89-92, pls. 162-166; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2010b, 79-80.

<sup>39</sup> For pottery kilns of the EIA, cf. PAPADOPOULOS 1989, 9-44; HASAKI 2002, 220-225; MAZARAKOS *et al.* 2008, 155, 164 photo 15; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012a, 132-140; GROS – ZURBACH 2012, 118-120.

<sup>40</sup> KRAUSE 1981 (P. DUCREY); DUCREY – METZGER – REBER 1993, 21-22, figs. 13-14. The kiln is of type Ia according to Hasaki (2002, 325). Also, MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012a, 137.

<sup>41</sup> DE POLIGNAC 2005, 65-66.

<sup>42</sup> CATLING – LEMOS 1990, 74-76 and pls. 35-36; HASAKI 2002, 326-328.

<sup>43</sup> SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1998; Hasaki 2002, 326.

<sup>44</sup> PLUT., *Aet. Graec.* XX (= *Mor.* 293 a-b). For the site and the finds, see BESSIOS – TZIFOPOULOS – KOTSONAS 2012; KOTSONAS 2015.

<sup>45</sup> KOTSONAS 2012, 126 (citing an oral presentation (2010) by M. Bessios).



Fig. 11a-b. Fragmentary krater from structure II at Mazzola, Pithekoussai. After BUCHNER 1970-1971, 67, fig. 8

arrangement of the structures and buildings related to workshop activities<sup>46</sup>. Although no traces of pottery workshops have been found so far at the Mazzola area, it is possible that pottery was also produced at the site in addition to the principal metal-working activities, as it has been possible to establish for the case of Oropos. The fragmentary krater with the earliest known potter's signature could point to this direction (Fig. 11a-b). The piece was found under the foundation stones of structure II and presents us with the name of a potter, unfortunately only partly preserved. The name is followed by *epoiesen* in a retrograde line. The dipinto reads [...]*INOΣΜΕΠΟΙΕΣ*[E...], nicely worked as a decorative element in the narrow zone below the lip<sup>47</sup>. This is actually the earliest attempt by a potter to sign his work, most probably a foreign or even Euboean resident at Pithekoussai, who is familiar with the pottery style and alphabet of his motherland. The form of the vessel, a krater, and the quite original depiction of a mythical creature, a sphinx or even the Gorgon Medusa would have provided an excellent focal-point for the drinking and storytelling at the banquet<sup>48</sup>, and an equally welcome

opportunity for the potter/painter to advertise his art and skills.

Much of the pottery from the large dump on the east slope of the acropolis Monte di Vico, at the extensive necropolis at Lacco Ameno and in the Mazzola area has been considered as the output of locally settled craftspeople, who owed much to the contemporary Euboean ceramic style, in addition to other Geometric styles and imported wares found at Pithekoussai<sup>49</sup>. Long distance mobility of craftspeople, potters and painters travelling with their clientele so as to provide all the necessities of life at a new site finds in this case a solid archaeological confirmation. Nonetheless, an individual pottery style was gradually shaped through interaction between craftspeople and involving individuals of different cultural backgrounds: its appearance stimulated a greater freedom of movement for both potters and ideas in the regional markets, and their participation in the intra and interregional networks<sup>50</sup>. The installation on the opposite coast at Cumae seems to have played a critical part in this activity<sup>51</sup>. It may be possible to link early potters' signatures in the West with a competitive contemporary market overseas. It is probably not by chance that potters and painters would seek self-recognition not only by writing their names on their products, but also by producing display vases with in-

<sup>46</sup> BUCHNER 1970-1971; KLEIN 1972; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012a, 137-140.

<sup>47</sup> BUCHNER 1970-1971, 67; KLEIN 1972, 37-39; WACHTER 2001, 171 (EUC 1). For early potter signatures, see VILLARD 2002; OSBORNE – PAPPAS 2007, 131-139; HURWIT 2015, 71-74; MORGAN 2017.

<sup>48</sup> For the central role of the krater in ritual feasts of early Greece, see more recently HUBER 2013, 79-83, 89-91; VERDAN 2013, 200-201, 208-211; WECOWSKI 2014, esp. 249-301.

<sup>49</sup> KLEIN 1972, 38; COLDSTREAM 1981b.

<sup>50</sup> D'AGOSTINO 1990; D'AGOSTINO 2015; MALKIN 2002; DONNELLAN 2016; MORRIS 2016.

<sup>51</sup> D'ACUNTO 2017 and in this volume; MERMATI 2013.

triguing decorative approaches, making reference to myths. All designed to meet elite consumption<sup>52</sup>.

In a different context, the installation of an Euboean pottery workshop has been identified at Francavilla Marittima in the Sibaritide<sup>53</sup>. The production of a specific class of Greek-inspired pottery described as Oinotrian-Euboean already by the early 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, the introduction and use of a novel technological know-how to the indigenous communities in this area and the presence of kilns leave no doubt for the setting up and practice of Greek potters at the site<sup>54</sup>. The huts excavated in proximity to the kilns are surely those that belonged to the potters installed in this area. From the interior of the huts, and in particular hut A, come a quantity of mis-fired pottery of the Oinotrian-Euboean type, objects that have been interpreted as potters' tools and residues of finely cleaned raw clay. Such finds must indicate that the huts served partly as workshop areas, whilst housing some domestic activities too, a well-known pattern of organization in the areas of Euboean activity and influence.

In all of the above cases, and especially at Oropos where the evidence for crafting spaces and pottery production is larger, the production of specialized forms that met the consumers' needs and preferences seems to denote specialized potters residing at each site. Following Peacock's model for the pottery industry, it may be possible to say that in these areas we witness a step away from household production to household industry<sup>55</sup>. The small size of the excavated kilns look to indicate the low level of production, primarily destined for a local consumption. In all the above areas, pottery production is related to areas and structures that seem to have housed more than one activity<sup>56</sup>. Conversely, the potters' quarter excavated at Lacco Ameno, in the

area of Santa Restituta, demonstrate that variability in the location and organization of contemporary pottery workshops may be related to practical and social factors.

#### CONSUMPTION OF EUBOEAN AND EUBOEAN-TYPE POTTERY: THE EVIDENCE FROM OROPOS

A common feature in pottery production of the Late Geometric period is the impact of the style of the Cesnola Painter on local workshops<sup>57</sup>. At Mazzola, fragments of a large krater with a high pedestal in this style were found in the destruction on the floor of Structure I, while comparable pieces were identified from the San Montano burial ground<sup>58</sup>. This highly recognisable figured style is among the earliest Euboean influences at Pithekoussai: they seem to have provided the new settlers with a point of reference to the homeland, whilst displaying wealth and power. The image of the horse was a principal iconographic theme used by the Painter and has been seen as a strong link to the «land-owning and horse-rearing aristocracy like the *hippobotai* of Chalkis and the *hippeis* of Eretria»<sup>59</sup>. This style rapidly circulated beyond the limits of Pithekoussai and Campania and thus became something of a «trademark» of elite consumption, as well as of Greek potters and their descendants in Italy<sup>60</sup>. At Oropos, pottery of the Cesnola style can be associated with the earliest occupation phase of the settlement<sup>61</sup>. Most pieces seem locally produced and lack the quality of true Euboean output (Fig. 12a). A single piece from a large krater probably made it to Oropos from Euboea, judging from the good quali-

<sup>52</sup> VLACHOU in press.

<sup>53</sup> JACOBSEN – HANDBERG – MITTICA 2009; JACOBSEN *et al.* 2015.

<sup>54</sup> Indigenous pottery production in this area precedes the production of the Oinotrian-Euboean pottery. The same has been suggested for the *kerameikos* unearthed under the church of Santa Restituta at Ischia. Indigenous workshop activities at the site seem to predate the activity of kiln A, dated according to the pottery collected from its interior to the LG period and contemporary to the earliest phases of the Greek installation in this area (OLCESE 2017, 57).

<sup>55</sup> PEACOCK 1982, 8-9.

<sup>56</sup> For the location of urban and non-urban or rural workshops of the Archaic period, see STISSI 2002, 38-43.

<sup>57</sup> COLDSTREAM 1971; KOUROU 1998. For a complete bibliography on the painter and his workshop, see MOORE 2004. More recently, see Eretria: VERDAN 2013, 92, 99-102, 209. Lefkandi: LEMOS 2014.

<sup>58</sup> BUCHNER 1970-1971, 65-66 and fig. 6; KLEIN 1972, 38 no. 3. Pieces of the same krater were said to have been found scattered in the wider area of the excavation. Also, COLDSTREAM 1998, 308-309. Building I has been seen as either the residence of a high ranked individual overseeing the metallurgical activities of the installation (COLDSTREAM 1998, 309), or even a cult building (HILLER 1996, 46).

<sup>59</sup> COLDSTREAM 1998, 308-309. See also SIMON – VERDAN 2014.

<sup>60</sup> JACOBSEN – HANDBERG – MITTICA 2009, 92; JACOBSEN – MITTICA – HANDBERG 2009, 203-207. Also VLACHOU in press (with further bibliography).

<sup>61</sup> VLACHOU 2015b, 139-142 (with further bibliography).



Fig. 12a. Skala Oropou. Small hydria (inv. ΩΚ/Πγ 791) decorated with standing waterbirds on each side of a stylized Tree of Life motif. Central Quarter, from the area of walls T50/54, probably from a child burial (photo V. Vlachou)



Fig. 12b. Skala Oropou. Fragment of a Euboean krater (inv. ΩΚ/Πγ 923) of the Cesnola style. Central Quarter, pit XVI (photo V. Vlachou)

ty of the firing, the excellent light-coloured slip applied on the surface and the overall work of the painter (Fig. 12b)<sup>62</sup>.

After the few material assemblages associated with the earliest phase (brown) of the installation at Skala Oropou, the transition to the second (red) phase was marked by an expansion of the inhabited area and the construction of new buildings. Among the best preserved assemblages from the Main Quarter is that from building ΙΣΤ, that seems to have served a variety of activities as well as being a workshop area<sup>63</sup>. Pottery found on the floor destruction deposit of the building is mainly related to consumption, involving skyphoi and kotylai now larger in size and thus in capacity compared to those of the earlier phase (Fig. 13). The most popular type of skyphos follows the characteristic Euboean type with paneled decoration on the body and groups of concentric circles on the high lip (Fig. 14a-c)<sup>64</sup>. The so-called bichrome skyphoi and the white-on-dark ware also appear during the second (red) phase at Oropos<sup>65</sup>. Most of the pieces seem to have been locally produced, lacking the good slip and accurate

finishing of the Euboean specimens; only very few are singled out by their technical features, and thus seem imported from the opposite coast (Fig. 15a-b). It would seem that for every imported type from Euboea, a number of locally produced pots exist that reproduced basic shape and decoration, although in a looser manner. Another shape that appears during the same period under Euboean influence is the hemispherical kotyle with its low offset rim, and kotylai of the standard type (Fig. 16)<sup>66</sup>. Parallel developments in pottery production between Oropos and Euboea, viz. Lefkandi and Eretria, declare a shared cultural context for the craftspeople and equally for the circulation and consumption of pottery locally. Thus it may be possible to argue for a presence of Euboean potters at Oropos, within a context of short-distance exchanges between communities on both sides of the south Euboean gulf.

Over the next two phases, the rearrangement of the living space and the construction of large enclosure walls that defined the building units all over the settlement has been associated with a period of prosperity. This floruit can be also deduced from the ceramic assemblages that demonstrate a larger diversity in forms and decorative motifs, while being produced in much larger quantities. New shapes at Oropos are the deeper kotylai decorated with files

<sup>62</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, pl. 32a; VLACHOU 2015b, pl. 16.1.

<sup>63</sup> VLACHOU 2011; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012a.

<sup>64</sup> BOARDMAN – PRICE 1980, 63-64; VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 84.

<sup>65</sup> BOARDMAN – PRICE 1980, 65-66; VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 82-84.

<sup>66</sup> VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 87-89.





Fig. 15. Skala Oropou: a) fragmentary kantharos (inv. ΩΚ/Πγ 825/ 1035/1077) following the Bichrome style and b) fragmentary skyphos (inv. ΩΝ/Πγ 370) from Euboea of the Bichrome style from the area of structure XL in the Central Quarter (photo V. Vlachou)

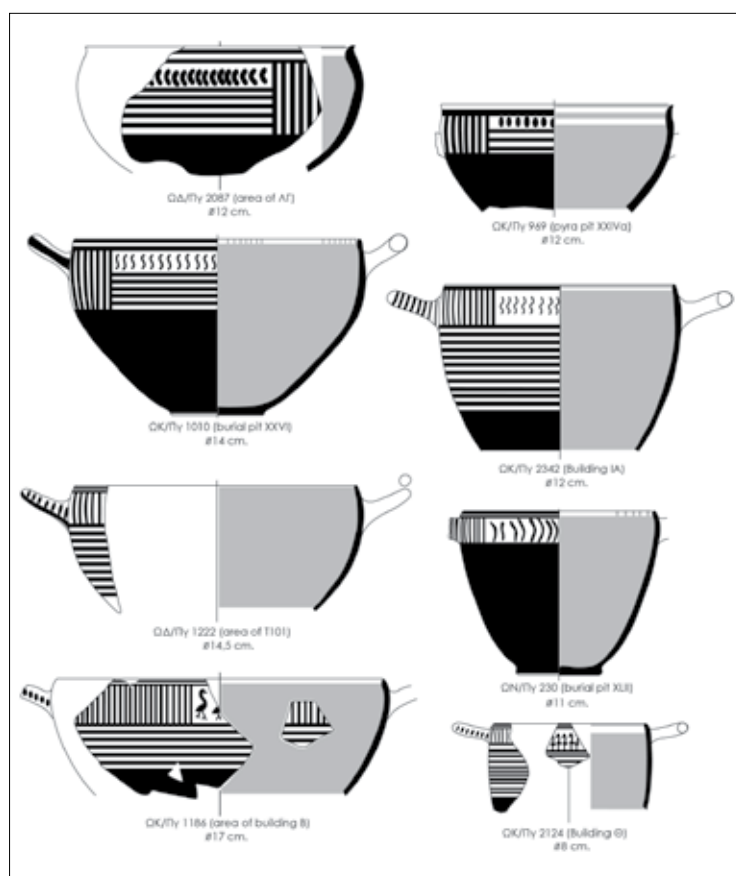


Fig. 16. Skala Oropou. Selection of the kotylai from the settlement (drawings V. Vlachou)

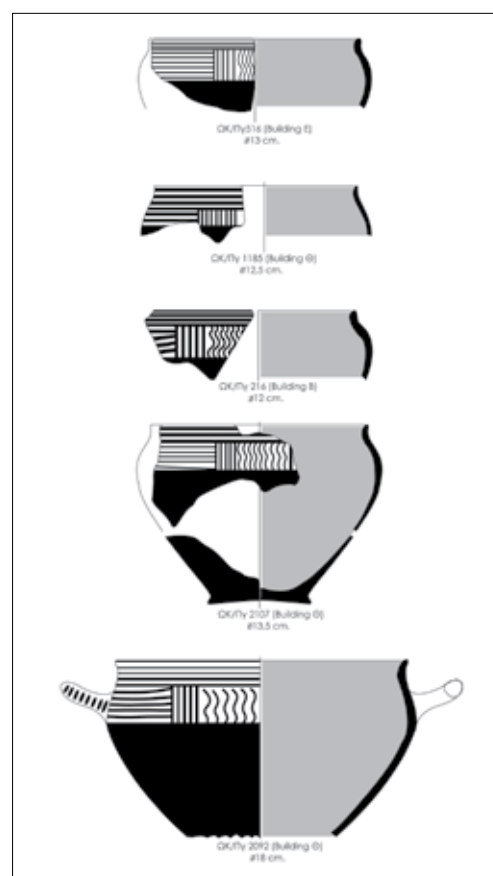


Fig. 17. Skala Oropou. Selection of the Thapsos-class skyphoi from the settlement (drawings V. Vlachou)

of birds<sup>67</sup>, the Thapsos-class skyphoi (Fig. 17)<sup>68</sup>, small jugs with cylindrical bodies like bottles<sup>69</sup>,

<sup>67</sup> VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 90-91.

<sup>68</sup> VLACHOU 2010, 243-248.

<sup>69</sup> VERDAN – KENZELMANN PFYFFER – LÉDERREY 2008, 90-97.

and a few small slow-pouring vessels – small globular aryballoi, ovoid lekythoi and conical lekythos-oinochoe (Fig. 18a-c). The last three shapes, originating in the Corinthian repertory, have been assigned in particular to the activity of Euboean potters and painters although they are rarely en-



Fig. 18. Skala Oropou: a) fragmentary lekythos-oinochoe from building LE (inv. ΩΔ/Πγ 2125); b) fragmentary lekythos-oinochoe from the area of building IA (inv. ΩΚ/Πγ 2349); c) fragmentary aryballoid lekythos from building LE (inv. ΩΔ/Πγ 2285) (photos V. Vlachou)

countered in Euboea<sup>70</sup>. They remain commoner in contexts in the West, namely Pithekoussai and Cumae<sup>71</sup>.

Skyphoi of the Thapsos class produced and circulated at Oropos reveal a taste in pottery shared by communities around the Corinthian Gulf (Achaia, Corinth, Phokis and Boeotia) and further to the West, right to the colonies of South Italy and Sicily<sup>72</sup>. The earliest skyphos in the Thapsos-class style was found in the foundation layer of Building IA, and dated according to the stratigraphical sequence in this area to the third (yellow) architectural phase, around 720 BC. Kotylai of the Aetos 666 class antedate the introduction of the Thapsos-class skyphoi in the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC<sup>73</sup>. Aryballoi by the Crab Painter, extremely rare outside Eretria, are also found at Oropos and reproduced at the site<sup>74</sup>. Pottery produced and used during this phase at Oropos follows the main line of development of the Euboean Late Geometric repertory, characterized by the prevalence of Corinthianizing elements, as those were progressively shaped through interac-

tions in areas of overseas encounters, such as Pithekoussai and Cumae<sup>75</sup>. In addition to pottery, a few imported small finds of various materials, mainly trinkets (seals and beads) that circulated within the Mediterranean networks, seem to arrive during this period at Oropos, showing a preference amongst certain Oropians for such objects and their ability to acquire them.

Such observations seem to confirm, up to a point, that changes in the organization and expression of communities are transferrable and may be embodied in their material culture, with the objects they produce and use. The ceramic evidence here cannot be claimed to be the sole indicator of such transformations, but it does provide us with particular patterns to follow. Thus, it seems that along with the strong Euboean influence in the material culture of the Geometric settlement at Skala Oropou, an individual local character was progressively shaped, presumably through interaction of the Oropians with people and areas beyond the limits of the south Euboean gulf. This change becomes archeologically visible in the material culture used and produced at the site in the beginning of the third (yellow) phase of the settlement, that is to say in the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. During this phase, the settlement achieves its largest expansion: pottery types such as the small pouring vessels and the Thapsos-class skyphoi produced locally at Oropos, Eretria and Pithekoussai, could argue for the active engagement of Oropos in the maritime networks between the Aegean and the West.

<sup>70</sup> For an attribution to Euboean potters, see BUCHNER 1970-1971, 67; COLDSTREAM 1968, 191, 195.

<sup>71</sup> Conical lekythoi-oinochoe: BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, pls. 53, 55.1, 58.3-4, 63.4, 74.12-14, 90.3, 8, 94.1, 129.4, 6, 130.3, 135.2, 140.2, 153.3, 175.4, 182.3; GABRICI 1913, pl. XL.8; BENTON 1953, 322-323, inv. no. 1012-1018. Aryballoi: BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, pl. 65.2 (165), pl. 132.2 (386), pl. 136.3 (455), pl. 175.6 (622); GABRICI 1913, pl. XL.2; COLDSTREAM 1968, pl. 41g.

<sup>72</sup> GADLOU 2011; GADLOU 2017. For the production of Thapsos-class at Pithekoussai, see also the fragments from the kilns A and B at Lacco Ameno (Ischia), under the church of Santa Restituta: OLCESE 2017, 104-120.

<sup>73</sup> BENTON 1953, pl. 42, no. 666; COLDSTREAM 1968, 101; RIDGWAY 1982.

<sup>74</sup> DESCŒUDRES 1972, 269-272; KAHIL 1968, 100 no. 2, pl. 27.2; BÉRARD 1970, C 2 (tombe 2); BLANDIN 2007, pl. 93.2-3.

<sup>75</sup> COLDSTREAM 1995.

CONTEXTUALISING POTTERY AT OROPOS:  
THE EVIDENCE FROM THE BUILDING-UNITS  
AND THE CHILD BURIALS

The excavated building units at Oropos and the study of the associated material provide a unique approach to aspects of the production and consumption of both locally made and imported pottery within the specific context of the Geometric *oikoi*. Starting from the distribution of the fine wheel-made pottery recovered from inside the buildings, structures, child burials and deposits, our focus has been in linking the stratigraphical data to the typological evolution of fine pottery. Consequently, a more accurate chronological description of each occupation phase has been possible. In addition, the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the material associated with the floors and destruction layers from the interior and the exterior of each building has produced some interesting results as to the use and manipulation of pottery in specific contexts.

Buildings I and IΣT from the area of the Central Quarter represent a quite representative pair of buildings that housed different although complementary activities during the earliest two phases (brown and red) of the installation. It seems that the wider area underneath and to the north of building IΣT was used as an open area for craft, based on the evidence of a large corpus of craft residues, and parts of ovens and/or kilns. The large quantity of pottery found on the destruction floor of building IΣT, the variety of the forms and their capacity, compared to the pottery from building I, has been related to the variety of activities that took place there, the number of the participants in the activities and possibly also the high status of the individuals<sup>76</sup>. Such an apparent variation in the material assemblages from other contemporary structures, like buildings A and B, or for building E when compared to IΣT, seem more pronounced regarding the Central Quarter of the excavations and less so for other units excavated further west.

The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the pottery associated with the buildings and structures of the West Quarter have revealed a rather homoge-

neous spatial distribution of the pottery<sup>77</sup>. Small open vessels predominate: one-handled cups and skyphoi represent the largest corpus of vessels in each assemblage, followed by a much lower number of kotylai, lekanides (bowls) and/or plates. Broadly speaking, the quantity of one-handled cups regularly is half that of the skyphoi, and that of kotylai is again half the quantity of the cups. Frequently a single plate or a lekanis (bowl) of small size is also present. These forms are never encountered in larger numbers within the building-units. Other finely decorated shapes, like the kantharos, are only occasionally found at Oropos. Their presence has been confirmed in few building units, such as ΛB, KA and Θ, and also in the single cist burial that has been unearthed at the site, burial VI<sup>78</sup>. Despite the rarity of the shape within the settlement, it has not proven possible so far to establish a specific pattern to its spatial distribution and so distinguish an individual function. On the other hand, the presence of fine decorated phialai with a central omphalos is only associated with specific assemblages related to the latest use of buildings Θ, in the Central Quarter and IΘ in the West Quarter during the fourth (orange) phase of the settlement. It seems that the introduction during this period of this particular shape should be related to specific ritual expressions that would have taken place in those buildings still standing in the settlement.

The number of kraters from the interior of the buildings generally numbers but a single specimen or two, and only rarely is their number higher. An adequate number of fragmentary but finely decorated kraters has been found in the deposits and the open areas surrounding the closed spaces and roofed structures, thus showing that medium-sized kraters and spouted kraters may remain quite distinct from the Attic *louteria*, being a common utensil in the daily life of the inhabitants (Figs. 19 and 21a-b)<sup>79</sup>. Nonetheless, the exceptionally large

<sup>77</sup> Observations made here are based on the analysis of the pottery from Skala Oropou for my PhD thesis (VLACHOU 2010). Also, VLACHOU in press.

<sup>78</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, pl. 29α-β.

<sup>79</sup> Spouted kraters remain the commonest medium-sized mixing vessel at Oropos. There is so far, no evidence to associate this type to the ritual use of water, following the use of the Attic *louterion*. More recently, a similar case has been argued for the presence of spouted kraters in the assemblages from the "Sacred House" at the Academy of Athens (ALEXANDRIDOU 2015, 144-

<sup>76</sup> VLACHOU 2011; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012a, 128-131.

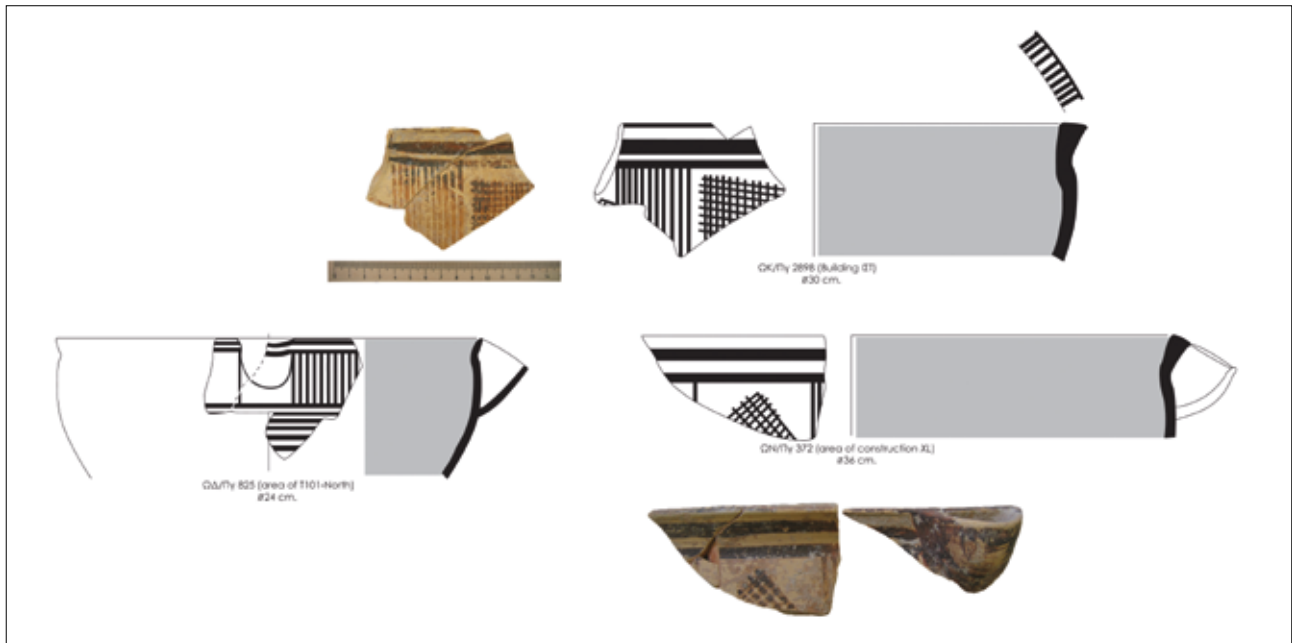


Fig. 19. Skala Oropou. Selection of spouted kraters from the settlement (drawings and photos V. Vlachou)

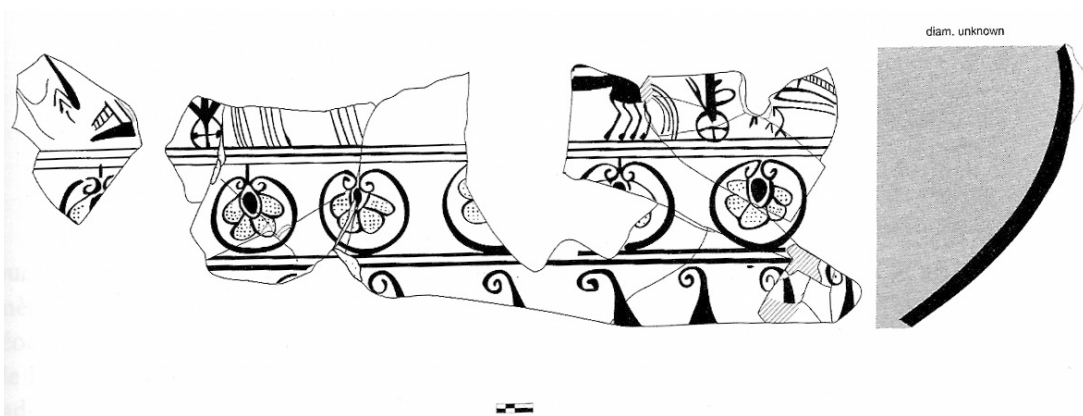


Fig. 20a-b. Krater (inv. QK/Πγ 1919). Skala Oropou – Central Quarter (photo V. Vlachou, drawing X. Chalalambidou)



Fig. 21a-b. Krater (inv. ΩΚ/Πγ 469) depicting a grazing horse and a waterbird. Skala Oropou – Central Quarter (photo and drawing V. Vlachou)

number of kraters recovered from the floor of building KA (at least 5) seem related to the number of people that used the unit, their role and status within the settlement and the frequency of the related activities. The large size of this building, that dominates the other buildings in this part of the settle-

ment, can only be compared to building Θ further to the east of the settlement and to ΛΔ, ΛΕ further to the west. These buildings, differentiated from all the others not only by their imposing dimensions but equally by the diversity and quantity of finds from their interior, have been associated by the excavator with putting on social occasions, such as communal banquets, at a level beyond the daily activities of an *oikos*<sup>80</sup>. Closed vessels, one or two am-

145). It may be argued that spouted kraters were only a practical alternative to medium-sized kraters, as they facilitated the pouring of the liquid directly into the cups. The paucity of pouring vessels from Oropos and the frequency of spouted kraters from the same assemblages seem to strengthen further this suggestion. For a discussion, see VLACHOU in press. For the Attic *louteria*, see CALLIPOLITIS-FEYTMANS 1965.

<sup>80</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2007b, 166; MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012a, 131.



Fig. 22. a) *Enchytrismos* XII, in the area to the south of building B. View from the northwest (photo A. Dragona). b) The burial amphora XII (inv. ΩΚ/Πγ 905) (photo V. Vlachou)

phorae and a few pouring vessels (small pitchers or oinochoe) are present in all assemblages, regularly achieving up to ten percent<sup>81</sup>.

Figured pottery from the settlement discloses the originality of local potters and painters during the third (yellow) phase. Two fragmentary kraters are decorated with boats, a theme that seems inspired by the escalation of seafaring and maritime activity in the latter half of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. It is introduced in the repertory of local workshops in Attica, Euboea, Boeotia, as well in the production of Greek pottery in the West, from Pithekoussai and Megara Hyblaea among others<sup>82</sup>. Images of horses

with a chariot, deer and birds follow Attic and Euboean prototypes, although the quality of the drawing is largely inferior and figures are roughly executed<sup>83</sup>. A fragmentary krater from the area of the rectangular monumental enclose in the Central Quarter combines the advent of the Protoattic style with the typical Euboean birds with open wings of the Late Geometric period (Fig. 20a-b). Despite the easily detectable influences from other concurrent Schools, the krater cannot but be assigned to a local potter/painter. The figured scene presents a locally inspired confrontation between what seem like chariots.

Although most specimens were found outside their original contexts, the fragmentary krater from Building B manifests a particular rendition of the horse in motion, familiar in the Euboean workshops and the Pithekoussaian production (Fig. 21a-b)<sup>84</sup>. Building B also provided a number of imported pots, namely fragments from Attic transport am-

<sup>81</sup> For a discussion of the coarse ware from Oropos, see GROS 2007.

<sup>82</sup> For the Oropos pieces and further discussion, see VLACHOU 2015b, 147-150. Also, TRÉZINY 1980; VERDAN 2006. For the exceptional depiction of a shipwreck on the krater from Pithekoussai, see BUCHNER 1953-1954, 40-47, fig. 1, pls. 14-16; BRUNNSÄKER 1962, fig. 7; BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, 196-197, 695, pl. 231 S1.1, 204-205 Sp1; AHLBERG-CORNELL 1992, 27-28; HURWIT 2011. For the Attic oinochoe in Munich (Staatliche Antikensammlungen inv. 8696) sharing the same theme, see DAVISON 1961, 61-62 (the Birdseed Painter); COLDSTREAM 1968, 76-77 (the Hunt Group); HURWIT 2011, 1-4; HAUG 2012, 300 fig. 239. Also, a fragmentary Attic oinochoe assigned to the Birdseed Painter at University of Tasmania Classics Museum (inv. 31): HOOD 1967; HAUG 2012, 301, fig. 240.

<sup>83</sup> VLACHOU 2015b.

<sup>84</sup> COLDSTREAM 1981a; BUCHNER – RIDGWAY 1993, pls. 175, 622: 6; HUBER 2003, 49 H77-H103, pls. 70-71; JACOBSEN – MITTICA – HANDBERG 2009, 212-213; VERDAN 2013, 80-81, pl. 77.162.

phorae and amphorae of the Euboean-Boeotian group with a high and almost cylindrical neck and high fenestrated pedestal. From the last decades of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, Attic amphorae seem to have arrived regularly at Oropos, and equally a few amphorae from the north Aegean region.

Once, a fine Attic amphora was used as the funerary container of a very young child (burial *XII*, Fig. 22a-b).<sup>85</sup> The burial was placed by building B, where more child burials and deposit pits have been investigated. The burial is assigned to the third (yellow) phase of the settlement: it reflects a shift in the funerary expression and the choices of the bereaved families, who until that point used exclusively coarse wares, frequently reusing pots for the interment of their younger members. This is a common practice in both Eretria and Pithekoussai, where painted fine wares were only exceptionally used for the *enchytrismos* burials in the place of coarse wares<sup>86</sup>. In addition to the burial containers, finely decorated and imported vessels were equally used as lids for the burial pots (Fig. 23). A few funerary gifts offered to the deceased, such as the ivory fibula that was deposited with the pithos burial *IV*, equally date from this period<sup>87</sup>.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

It has been argued that by following patterns of pottery production and consumption at a site we may unveil preferences and choices of local communities, aiming to better understand social relations and expressions. The Geometric installation at Skala Oropou has provided a large corpus of evidence on potters and painters, their work and working spaces within the limits of the habitation area. Local pottery shows the strong influence of the Euboean style, presumably partly as the result of the presence of craftspeople from this area at Oropos. Although much more scanty, in evidence from other areas where Euboean mobility and presence can be discerned, pottery production is integrated into the living space of the communities<sup>88</sup>, while the



Fig. 23. Calyx-skyphos (inv. ΩΔ/Πγ 2327) used as a lid to child *enchytrismos* IV. Skala Oropou – West Quarter (photo V. Vlachou)

pottery produced demonstrates the strong influence of Euboean ceramic style.

Summarizing, it would seem that for the Late Geometric period production units were small, possibly family based operations to judge from the evidence mainly from Oropos, and elsewhere. Kilns and working spaces at Oropos were included within larger building units and located close to the living space of the community. It is possible to recognize parts of the production process in open or half-open spaces in the vicinity, possibly of an ephemeral nature and multifunctional. Production was intended mainly for local consumption, as is demonstrated by the setup of the working spaces, their installations and their relatively scanty remains within the settlement. Common features in all areas discussed above are first the willingness to incorporate new elements and then the specialized craftspeople involved in the production processes. Despite the comparatively large scale of distribution of Euboean pottery, there is so far no equivalent workshop infrastructure recognized on the island. Yet, the mobility of Euboean potters and painters seems to have lain behind smaller production units outside of Euboea, each of them manifesting individual features and influences from pottery styles beyond Euboea.

At Oropos, it is important to acknowledge those individual characteristics, shaped through interac-

<sup>85</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, pl. 32β.

<sup>86</sup> BUCHNER 1970-1971, 66.

<sup>87</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 1996, pl. 28; VLACHOU 2007, 219.

<sup>88</sup> MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2012a; SANIDAS 2013, 235-237.

tion with the neighboring areas like Attica and Boeotia that resulted in a distinctive local ceramic “micro-style”. This can be observed from a range of variants within the prevailing styles and techniques. Among the areas chiefly influenced by Euboean presence and activity, such as Oropos, Zagora (Andros), Methoni (Pieria), Kephala (Skiathos) among others, only Pithekoussai and Cumae developed an observable pottery style, a fusion of Greek and local indigenous elements that rapidly reached areas be-

yond Campania through active interregional networks.

Production and consumption of Euboean-type pottery beyond Euboea serves as the distinguishing factor marking engagement in a shared cultural milieu and the lively maritime networks facilitating Euboean mobility and activity. Pottery style and workshop organization reveal through their physical existence a network of communities, craftspeople and practices all in close contact.

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Oropos, constituted a single unit that at some stage must have fragmented: thus was formed the area of the chora of Tanagra, with a now synoecised Tanagra adhering to Chalcis, with the rest coming under Athenian influence.

The second part of the work examines briefly the later explanations of the name Euboea; recurrent in these are mythical persons linked to the Euboean/Boeotian world (*Heracles, the Thespiadai, Glaucus, the Asopos*), that represent different moments of Euboean history. It repropose the mythic events that reflect the Archaic links.

ALEXANDROS MAZARAKIS AINIAN, *Thirty-Five Years of Excavations and Research at Homeric Graia (Oropos)*

The excavations of the Early Iron Age settlement at Skala Oropou in Attica were conducted between 1985-1987, originally as a rescue excavation of the Archaeological Service and, after a halt, continued from 1996 up to 2011 as a systematic excavation under the auspices of the Archaeological Society. The overall character of the site, occupied from the Late Protogeometric period onwards and achieving a floruit during the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, is Euboean rather than Attic or Boeotian. Pre-classical Oropos has been plausibly identified with Homeric Graia (*Iliad* B 498) and it has been argued that its inhabitants participated in the overseas travels and endeavors of the Eretrians, especially towards the West. The aim of this paper is to summarize the progress made both in field work and studies since the first *Euboica* conference in 1996 (published in 1998) and to highlight the main characteristics of the Early Iron Age community living in Oropos. Moreover, the progress of excavations on either side of the Euboean Gulf and the proliferation of related publications, have greatly enriched our knowledge about the history and character of the communities living in the area during the same period and allow the assessment of the data from Oropos within the wider geographical and cultural context.

VICKY VLACHOU, *Pottery Production, Workshop Spaces and the Consumption of Euboean-Type Pottery beyond Euboea. A View from Oropos (Attica) in the 8<sup>th</sup> Century BC*

The participation of Oropos in a shared material culture with the Euboean sites manifests a significant degree of cultural homogeneity on both sides of the Southern Euboean gulf. During a period of a strong Euboean presence in the overseas networks, from Northern Greece to the Western and Eastern Mediterranean, a particular interest has been placed in recent scholarship on population movement and the ways of interaction with the local and other foreign populations. Within this framework, the evidence from Oropos in comparison to its contemporary installation at Pithekoussai, in the Bay of Naples may serve as a basis for discussing short and long distance mobility of craftsmen and their clientele, issues of pottery production and consumption in areas that manifest strong Euboean influence although set up in distinct cultural environments. The local production of pottery and its functionality within the various contexts analysed from Oropos offer a helpful framework for turning typological and stylistic analysis into meaningful approaches of the social and cultural organization at the site.

### North Aegean

ALEXANDRA ALEXANDRIDOU, *One more Node to the Thessalo-Euboean Small World: The Evidence from the Site of Kephala on the Island of Skiathos*

Kephala, situated at the northeast side of the island of Skiathos remains the only known Early Iron Age site of the North Sporades thus far. In its inception, the survey and the subsequent systematic excavation anticipated a promising “stepping stone” of the Euboean mobility towards the North Aegean and the Thermaic Gulf. Nevertheless, the results of the exploration of both the fortified settlement and its necropolis revealed a small center of the wider Thessalian cultural region, vividly interacting with Euboea and the North Aegean too.

*Finito di stampare nel mese di luglio 2021  
presso l'Industria Grafica Letizia, Capaccio (SA)  
per conto della Casa Editrice Pandemos, Paestum*

