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DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



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Altezza: h.; ad esempio: ad es.; bibliografia: bibl.; catalogo: cat.; centimetri: cm (senza punto); circa: ca.; citato: cit.; colonna/e: col./coll.; confronta: cfr.; *et alii*: *et al.*; diametro: diam.; fascicolo: fasc.; figura/e: fig./figg.; frammento/i: fr./fr.; grammi: gr.; inventario: inv.; larghezza: largh.; linea/e: l./ll.; lunghezza: lungh.; massimo/a: max.; metri: m (senza punto); millimetri: mm (senza punto); numero/i: n./nn.; pagina/e: p./pp.; professore/professoressa: prof./prof.ssa; ristampa: rist.; secolo: sec.; seguente/i: s./ss.; serie: S.; sotto voce/i: s.v./s.vv.; spessore: spess.; supplemento: suppl.; tavola/e: tav./tavv.; tomba: T.; traduzione italiana: trad. it.; vedi: v.

Non si abbreviano: *idem*, *eadem*, *ibidem*; in corso di stampa: *infra*; Nord, Sud, Est, Ovest (sempre in maiuscolo); nota/e; *non vidi*; *supra*.

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A NEW PROTOATTIC AMPHORA FROM MARATHON. THE REGIONAL POTTERY WORKSHOP AND THE SHORT-DISTANCE MOBILITY OF ARTISANS IN EARLY ATTICA*

Vicky Vlachou

The transition from the late 8th cent. BC to the early 7th is marked by significant alterations in society and the material culture produced and used. In Attica, the turn of the 7th cent. BC has attracted a number of recent studies addressing changes in mortuary practices, ritual expression and artistic style that have in turn fueled further analysis and discussions on Attic history and society. Despite the significant drop in the visible number of burials for most of the 7th cent. BC, the mortuary record has still provided so far the largest corpus of evidence. For most of the 7th cent. BC, significant shifts are manifested in burial rites and the display of the aristocratic *genoi* around Attica¹. Ostentatious rituals involving the primary cremation of the dead body, the use of offering trenches, the intentional destruction of the associated pottery, the presence of low earth tumuli that covered the burials and marked the different areas of the necropoleis, all were introduced during this transitional period and continued in practice through the late Archaic and into the ear-

ly Classical period². In addition to adult burials, children's graves represent notable departures from those of the Geometric period, namely in their spatial separation from the adult burials and also in the use of some of the most eminent products of the early Archaic period as the funerary containers for child *enchytrismoi* in Athens, Phaleron and Eleusis, among other places³.

Pottery serves as the largest and frequently the only class of material culture from the burial assemblages and thus is inextricably, although not exclusively, linked to the funerary ceremonies performed⁴. The Protoattic style of pottery represents an idiosyncratic mix of the progressively declining Geometric tradition (at least in the earlier manifestation of Protoattic) and the incoming Orientalizing style: it is fundamentally distinguishable from the contemporary Corinthian ware that dominate the overseas markets. According to E. Walter-Karydi, the Protoattic style introduced a new concept in ornamental decoration and in the proportions accorded to the human and animal figures⁵. At the same time new iconographic compositions emerged.

* I would like to express my gratitude to the Ephorate of Eastern Attica for providing all necessary permissions and especially to the archeologists P. Fotiadi, L. Siskou and E. Charitaki for the excellent collaboration during my study of the material at the archaeological museum at Marathon. My warmest thanks are to the conservator of the Ephorate of Eastern Attica Eirini Kapiri who mended and partly restored the amphora from Skaleza. Thanasis Kouros has prepared the drawing of the amphora K 3909 at the Marathon Museum, and has also prepared a number of drawings of the Geometric and Protoattic pottery from the Marathonian necropoleis for the forthcoming publication by the author. Don Evelyn has kindly edited the English text. Photos and digital drawings are by the author unless otherwise stated.

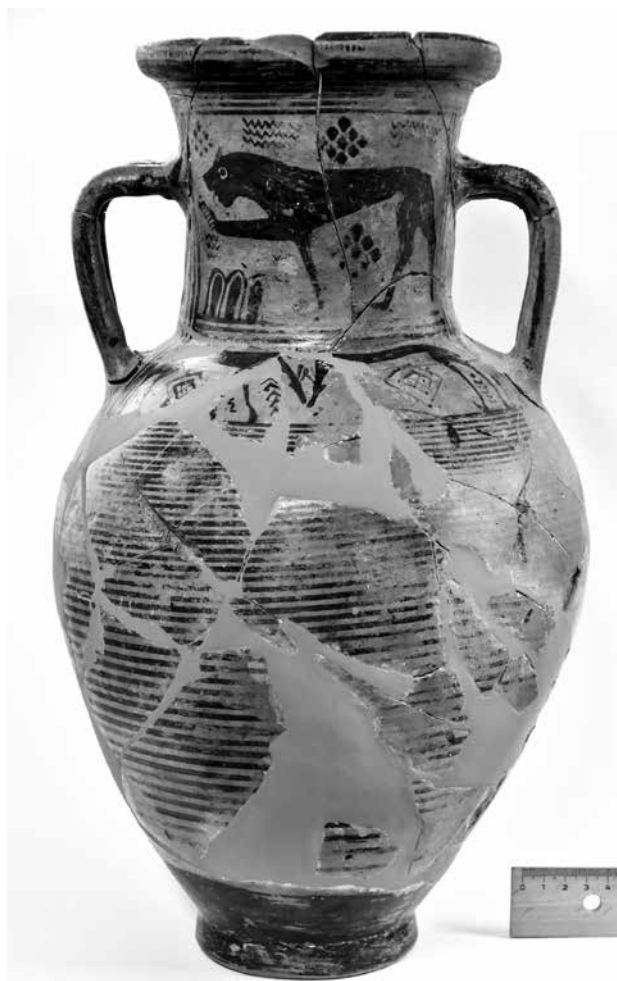
¹ D'Onofrio 1993; D'Onofrio 2017; Houby-Nielsen 1992; Houby-Nielsen 1995; Houby-Nielsen 1996; Morris 1987; Whitley 1994.

² Kübler 1959; Houby-Nielsen 1992; Houby-Nielsen 1996; Kistler 1998; Alexandridou 2015. For some 7th cent. BC markers from Kerameikos, cfr. Kübler 1959, p. 97; 1970, pls. 29 (mound Θ, IX), 60 (mound I, XI), 74 (mound N, XXI), 76 (building f, XXV), 80 (building k, XXXV), 89 (t. 58, LVIII), 88 (building x, LVI).

³ Morris 1987, pp. 61-69, 134; Böhlau 1887, pp. 43-44 and pl. 5 (Mt Hymettus); Young 1942, pp. 35-36 (Phaleron); Mylonas 1957 (Eleusis); Osborne 1988 (Eleusis); Whitley 1994, pp. 62-65. New and yet unpublished material was found during the most recent excavations at the Phaleron Delta.

⁴ Cook 1934-35; Whitley 1994; Rocco 2008, pp. 213-219; Coulié 2013, pp. 188-222.

⁵ Walter-Karydi 1997, p. 389.



Figs 1a-b - Early Protoattic amphora from Skaleza (Oinoe). Archaeological Museum of Marathon, inv. K 3909. Photos by the author.

The new amphora from Marathon (inv. K 3909, figs 1a-c and 2 - Colour plates at the end of the volume) belongs with a small number of Protoattic vessels from this area. The contexts of Protoattic pottery from Marathon are funerary, although no offering trenches or burials with primary cremations have been identified in the burial grounds during the 7th or 6th cent. BC. Protoattic vessels generally served as funerary containers for children's *enchytrismoι* and once as the funerary urn for the secondary deposition of the cremated remains⁶. In addition to the funerary contexts, some fragmentary Protoattic hydriae have been recently identi-

fied at an early cult place in the area of Plasi, close to the coast⁷. The 7th cent. material from Marathon, considered as a whole, is much less numerous, when compared with the large quantities of the preceding Late Geometric pottery in all investigated burial grounds. Yet, this is not so unusual, when the small numbers of Protoattic pots from Athens and the rest of Attica are taken into account⁸. Early Protoattic pottery from Marathon seems locally produced, though with obvious similarities to the work of concurrent potters, painters and workshops, such as the early works of the Analatos and the Mesogeia Painters.

The local production of large funerary vessels of the Geometric period demonstrates that potters and

⁶ For the burial ground at Oinoe, see Arapogianni 1985. For an Early Protoattic krater-pyxis from the burial ground along Marathonos Avenue, see Mazarakis Ainian 2011, 704 (cremation burial 16). Pottery from the above burial grounds is due to be published by the author.

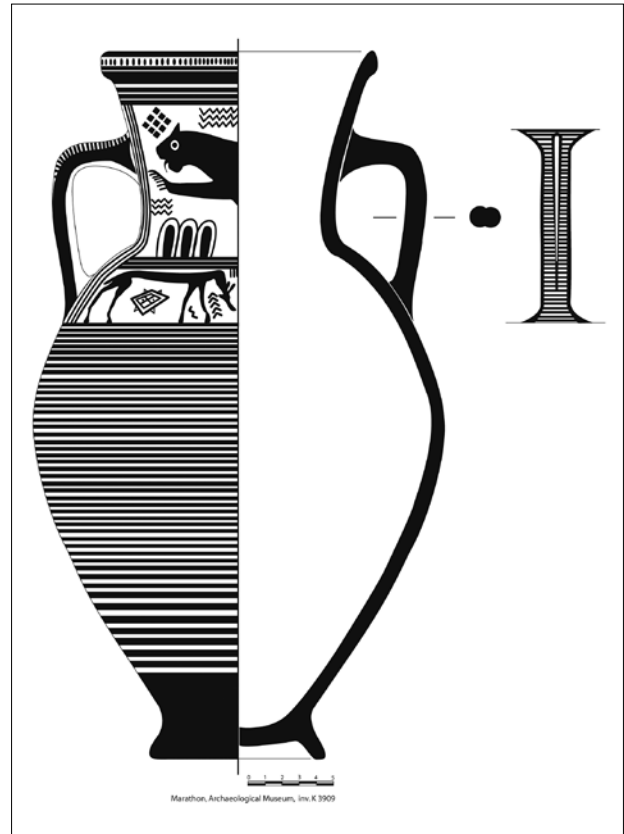
⁷ Vlachou 2020b.

⁸ Whitley 1994, pp. 68-70; Rocco 2008, pp. 214-220.



Fig 1c - Early Protoattic amphora from Skaleza (Oinoe).
Archaeological Museum of Marathon, inv. K 3909.
Photos by the author.

painters active at Marathon were in close contact with craftsmen and workshops at Athens and eastern Attica, while synergies among Athenian potters/painters and the local pottery workshop(s) can also be argued on the basis of the broad range of pottery produced. It would seem that a similar framework of pottery production involving close contact and interaction with concurrent workshops around Attica continued into the early years of the 7th cent. BC. The early Protoattic amphora found at Marathon demonstrates the dynamics of the regional Attic workshops and expresses physically the changes in ritual life and expression observed around and after 700 BC in Athens and other areas in the Attic countryside. Yet, evidence for activity of the local pottery workshop(s) remains scarce for most part of the 7th and the early 6th cent. BC.



Figs 2 - Early Protoattic amphora from Skaleza (inv. K 3909).
Drawing by Thanasis Kouros and the author.

The new Protoattic amphora from Marathon (inv. K 3039)

The small burial ground in the area of modern Skaleza was partly excavated in 1980 by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Eastern Attica⁹. Unfortunately, the long trench opened by the Community of Marathon for laying the water supply of the area destroyed a number of tombs, among which were those of the Late Geometric and early Archaic periods. The area continued to receive burials during the Classical period and as a result a large number of the excavated tombs date to the early 5th cent. BC, around the period of the famous battle of Marathon. Five child *enchytrismoi* in medium-sized pithoi, amphorae with incised decoration (and in one case part of a water pipe), two adult inhumation burials and two cremation burials were investigated in an area of approximately 180 m², although the extent of the burial ground seems to have been much larg-

⁹ Theodoraki 1980.

er. The burials were located along the road leading from Oinoe to the plain of Marathon. Indeed, several burials of the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods were investigated in some distance to the north-east of this road, close to the medieval tower of Oinoe¹⁰.

The burials of the Late Geometric and Protoattic periods were found at the west end of the excavated area. Two cist burials of the Late Geometric period were identified by the positioning of the vertical slabs forming the sidewalls of the tombs, while the pottery was found broken and out of its original context, as the result of the unsupervised operations in this area of the burial ground. At least 13 vases were mended from hundreds of sherds collected from this area, dating to the Late Geometric Ib/II and to the early Protoattic period. The almost entire Protoattic neck amphora represents the latest vessel in this assemblage. Shape and decoration point to a dating in the early years of the 7th cent. BC.

The amphora (inv. K 3039) was mended from several large and smaller fragments and partly restored in plaster (figs 1a-c- Colour plates at the end of the volume). It reaches 41 cm in height, the diameter of the lip measures 16 cm and that of the base 10.5 cm. The maximum diameter is on the shoulder under the attachment of the handles and reaches 24 cm. It is made in what we consider as a local fabric, with a large number of white and fewer reddish and dark brown inclusions, and small chips of silvery mica. The color of the clay varies from reddish-yellow (5YR 6/6-6/8) to light brown (7.5YR 6/4), the clay ground parts are covered in a thin light colored slip (7.5YR 7/4) and decoration is applied in dark paint, varying from black (7.5YR 2.5/1) to dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). The surface is worn in places and the glaze is partly peeled off, as the result of low firing conditions, a common feature among the local production at Marathon.

The neck is almost cylindrical and slightly flares towards the mouth, the body is almost ovoid with rounded shoulders, tapering to a low ring foot. Double round-sectioned handles run from the neck down to the shoulder. The type of the Marathon amphora belongs with a small group of amphorae assembled by A. Delivorrias and described as type B

neck-handled amphorae, distinguishing them from the commoner type A of the Late Geometric and Early Protoattic period¹¹. Neck amphorae of type B share the clearly defined junction between neck and body and the absence of plastic snakes around the lip, on the handles or around the shoulder; the proportions between the height of the neck and that of the entire vessel do not exceed 1:3. This group of amphorae presents close ties to the Geometric series, representing thus a parallel development to the more slender forms developed in the workshops of the 'classical tradition'¹².

The decoration of the surface shows a mixture of the Late Geometric tradition and the Orientalizing style. A large roaring lion in full stride and with one front paw extended takes up the entire neck panel on both sides of the amphora (figs 3a-b). The animal is shown facing to the spectator's left, and is covered in glaze, except for the large eye. The drawing of the animal has moved away from the Geometric conception. The convex curves for the jaws, the corpulent neck and upper body and the narrow waist recall the rampant lions on the Analatos hydria in Athens (NAM inv. 313, fig. 5b)¹³. On the other hand, the posture of the animal lacks the vigorous drawing of the Analatos Painter, looking heavier and stiffer with three legs firmly anchored to the ground. In addition, no outline is used for any of the beast's parts, while the rendition of the mouth is quite peculiar: it has no indication of the wide-open jaws and the rows of strong teeth characteristic of the beasts already from the Geometric period. The small tongue, hanging from a closed mouth, looks somewhat comical even. The use of filling motifs is moderate and points to the repertory of the early Protoattic. Multiple zig-zag lines and the diamond motif, common in the work of the Analatos and the Mesogeia Painters, are repeated more than once on each panel. A palmette with at least three of its petals in black glaze and in outline is discerned with

¹⁰ Arapogianni 1985.

¹¹ Delivorrias 1965, pp. 71-74. For the development of the 'simple amphora' from the Late Geometric Ib down to Protoattic, see Coldstream 1968, p. 85.

¹² Cook 1934-35, pp. 172-179; Coldstream 1968, pp. 63-64.

¹³ Athens (NAM inv. 313): Böhlau 1887, 34, pls. 3-4; Cook 1934-35, pp. 166-169, 174-176, pls. 38b, 39; Davison 1961, pp. 51-52, fig. 61; Denoyelle 1996, pp. 73, 75-76, cat. no. 11, pls. 14. 2-3, 15. 2-3; Boardman 1998, pp. 98-99, fig. 188. 1-3; Rocco 2008, pp. 13-30, cat. no. An 11, pl. 1.4 (with full bibliographical references).

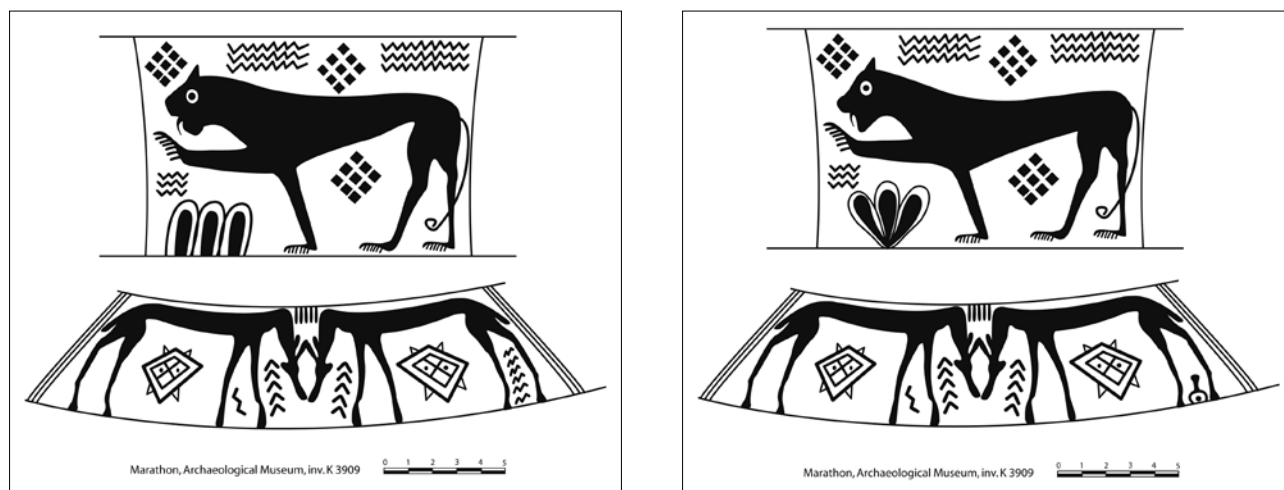


Fig. 3a-b - Early Protoattic amphora from Skaleza (inv. K 3909). Drawing of the neck panels with roaring lions. Drawing by Thanasis Kouros and the author.

difficulty under the raised paw of the lion, on the poorly preserved side of the neck. The inspiration again is drawn from the early Protoattic repertory, namely the work of the Analatos Painter¹⁴, although no exact parallel may be found. Equally original is the tongue pattern in black glaze and outline that is shown on the better preserved side of the neck¹⁵, and the small flower-like motif that is added between the hind legs of the deer lower on the shoulder. On each side of the neck above the handle, a double Saint Andrew's-cross is added.

On the shoulder, the long panel showing a couple of grazing deer (figs 3a-b) is directly derived from the Late Geometric repertory, although the choice here in showing the animals facing each other is quite unusual. This disposition is to be found once on an olpe from the Athenian Agora, assigned by N. J. Coldstream (following J. Davison) to the Stathatou Painter, who is considered as one of the leading craftsmen related to the later stages of the Workshop of Athens 894¹⁶. The drawing of the deer on the Marathon amphora owes much to the Statha-

tou Painter: it has a meagre profile and accentuated, tapering waist, though a somehow stiffer posture lacking the delicate bend to the fore and hind legs of the animals. The filling ornaments equally follow the lighter and strictly controlled manner of the Stathatou Painter, with a composite lozenge placed underneath the bellies of the animals, angles in vertical rows and single squiggles.

The amphora from Marathon (inv. K 3039) is a work of the Early Protoattic period, assigned here to the local pottery production. The shape represents a nice addition to neck-handled amphorae of type B that can be traced back in the Late Geometric and progressively drop out of the Attic repertory by the middle of the 7th cent. BC. Stylistically, the decoration on this vase has left the boundaries of the Geometric style behind and entered into the sphere of Protoattic vase painting: it thus represents a noteworthy transitional piece between the two styles. The figured style reveals an apparent influence from the early works of the Analatos Painter and echoes the tradition of the Stathatou Painter, so placing the potter/painter of the Marathon amphora within this broad artistic milieu of the late 8th and early 7th cent. BC. Certain individualities in style, including the drawing of the ferocious beast and the original Orientalizing floral motifs, might be the result of the activity of two different painters, a younger one experimenting with the new Protoattic style, while the other remains close to the Late Geometric tradition of the Workshop of Athens 894 and of the Stathatou Painter.

¹⁴ Rocco 2008, p. 25, fig. 2.33-39.

¹⁵ For a similar but hanging tongue pattern, see the somewhat later neck amphora of the New York Nessos Painter (675-650 BC). CVA USA 37, Metropolitan Museum of Art 5, pp. 70-76, pls. 42-44. A comparable motif, although inversed, may also be seen in the Cycladic repertory, and especially on the so-called Melian pottery of around the same period, see Zaphiropoulou 2003, pp. 52, 76, fig. XIV-9.

¹⁶ Olpe, P23654. Brann 1961, p. 72 cat. no. 360, pl. 21.360. For the Stathatou Hand, see Davison 1961, pp. 79-82 and fig. 117; Coldstream 1968, pp. 62-63, pl. 11e. For the iconography of grazing deer in the Late Geometric period, see Rombos 1988, pp. 53-64.

*The amphora from Marathon (inv. K 3039)
and its early Protoattic context*

The shape of the Marathon amphora is an alternative to the more slender forms, usually with attached snakes, that become quite popular during the late 8th and early 7th cent. BC. Amphorae of this type usually have a rounded body and a wide neck, at least for the earlier specimens of the Late Geometric period, which creates a sharp angle with the shoulder. These amphorae were placed by J. M. Cook outside the 'classical tradition' of the Early Protoattic, separate from the slim form with soft angles as championed by the Analatos Painter and his workshop¹⁷. A. Delivorrias grouped together twenty-two amphorae that demonstrate the continuity of his type B for almost a century, from the middle of the 8th (or the Late Geometric Ib) to around the middle of the 7th cent. BC¹⁸. Among the earliest amphorae of Delivorrias' type B, there is a certain number of Late Geometric amphorae described more recently by N. Kourou as of type III or 'balloon' type, with a short cylindrical neck and globular body¹⁹. The decoration of the surface follows the firm articulation between neck and body. A single panel is shown on each side of the neck that involves a single horse, a horse-rider or a horse-leader and only rarely other figures such as water birds. On the body, there are only one or two narrow zones that interrupt the otherwise banded surface, showing geometric motifs or stylized birds²⁰.

From the early years of the 7th cent. BC come two amphorae that share the characteristics of the Late Geometric amphorae in shape and decoration, while lacking the plastic snakes that otherwise ap-

pear quite frequently on Protoattic hydriae and amphorae. The amphora now in Boston (inv. MFA 03.782) that has been already discussed by Delivorrias and the amphora from Trachones now in Piraeus (inv. Tr 74). Both amphorae have been assigned to painters that, according to Giulia Rocco, could have formed a single workshop active in the years at the turn to the 7th cent. BC: this is conventionally named the Würzburg Group²¹. Despite similarities in shape, the decoration of the surfaces differs considerably. The Trachones amphora follows in the general lines the decoration of the Late Geometric amphora and introduces a winged creature, a sphinx or a vulture, while the Boston amphora largely follows the decoration of the concurrent type A amphorae with a more complex decoration. A secondary figured zone is introduced on the neck above the central panel and again there are two large continuous zones on the shoulder and body. If we accept the idea of a single workshop, then the variability of the figured styles must reflect the choices and individual style of artists, even if working in proximity to each other, following the main lines of the organization of the Late Geometric pottery workshops.

Type B amphorae that cover the first quarter of the 7th cent. BC share common features in the decoration of the surface, with a central figured panel occupying each side of the neck, and linear and floral motifs of the Protoattic repertory placed on the shoulder, while the rest of body is commonly covered in thin bands. The amphora of the Roussopoulos collection in Athens²², the amphora today in Frankfurt²³ (fig. 4), an amphora in a private collection²⁴, the amphora formerly in the von Schön col-

¹⁷ Cook 1934-35, pp. 180-181.

¹⁸ Delivorrias 1965, pp. 71-74. For the amphora from Thera today in Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. F3901, see now CVA Deutschland 85, Berlin 10, pp. 105-107, pl. 54. According to Ch. Dehl-von Kaenel the fabric and form of the amphora point to a Cycladic workshop, while the decoration indicates a Painter close to the Workshop of Athens 894. Add also, the neck-amphora (KAS 10): CVA Deutschland 26, Stuttgart 1, p. 115, pls. 6.1, 7.4, 10.4 (neck-panel showing a grazing horse).

¹⁹ The amphora in the National Museum of Athens inv. 223 has been assigned by Coldstream (1968, p. 55 no. 7) to the Sub-Dipylon Group (Late Geometric IIA). See also, Wide 1899, p. 193, fig. 54 and cat. no. 7; Rombos 1988, cat. no. 134; Kourou 2004, pp. 40-41, pls. 34-35.

²⁰ Kübler 1954, pl. 37, inv. 656 and inv. 850; Wide 1899, p. 191, fig. 50 cat. no. 3.

²¹ For the amphora now in Boston (MFA 03.782), see Cook 1934-35, pp. 183-184; Davison 1961, pp. 49-51 B2 and fig. 58 (the Oxford Workshop); Rocco 2008, p. 62 (the Painter of the Boston amphora, MFA 03.782), who includes this Painter along with the Vulture Painter, the N Painter and the younger Passas Painter in a single workshop conventionally named the Würzburg Group (47-82). For the Würzburg Group, see Cook 1934-35, pp. 179-180. For the amphora from Trachones (Tr 74), see Geroulanos 1973, pp. 22, 30 and pls. 19.2, 52.2; Rocco 2008, pp. 47-60 cat. no. Av1 (the Vulture Painter).

²² Delivorrias 1965; Rocco 2008, p. 107 cat. no. KB 2, pl. 15.6 (Group of the Krateriskos of Buffalo).

²³ Frankfurt Archäologisches Museum inv. VF β231a. CVA Deutschland 25, Frankfurt am Main 1 pl. 10.5-6; Rocco 2008, p. 107 cat. no. KB 1, pl. 15.5 (Group of the Krateriskos of Buffalo).

²⁴ Rocco 2008, p. 106 cat. no. A5 (Group of the Athens Amphora, NAM 19332).

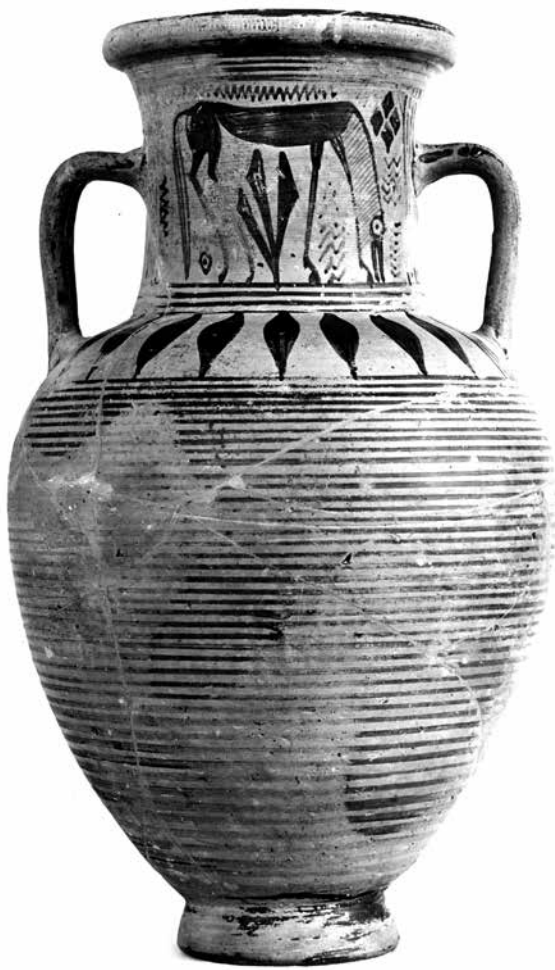


Fig. 4 - Early Protoattic amphora. Frankfurt, Archäologisches Museum inv. VF β 231a. Source: Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt.

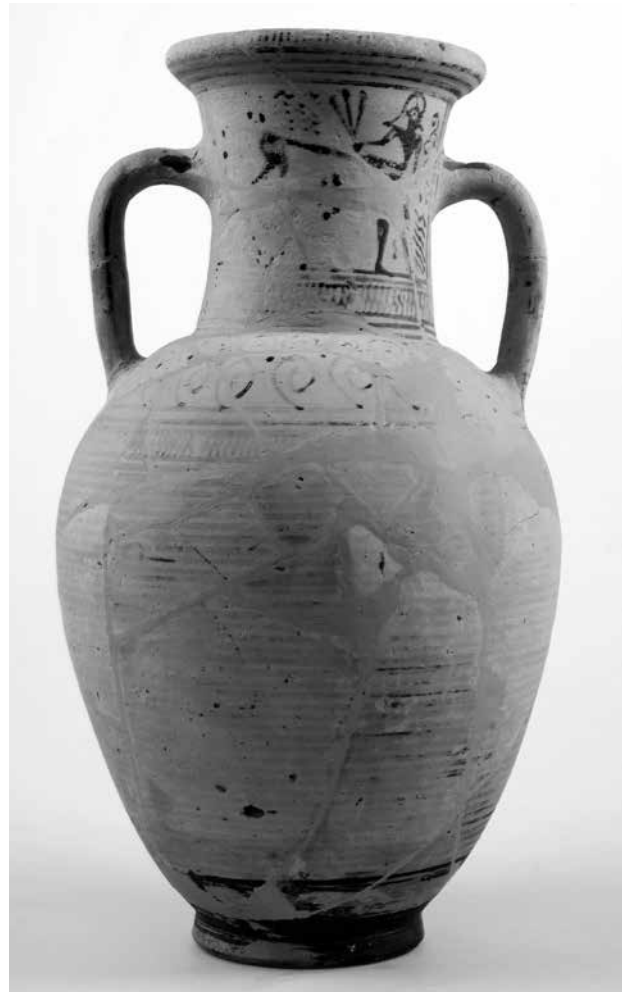


Fig. 5 - Early Protoattic amphora from Aigaleo (Athens). Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 19332. Source: Archaeological Museum, Athens (photo by E. Galanopoulos). © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

lection and now in Munich²⁵ and the amphora from Aigaleo now in Athens²⁶ (fig. 5), all illustrate the development of the type, quite distinct from the more attenuated forms of the Early Protoattic. The individual features of the decoration of the surface and especially the figured style of the central panel reveal the activity of more than one painter. Rocco has assigned the five amphorae, along with some smaller vessels, to the Group of the Krateriskos of Buffalo and the Group of the Athens Amphora

²⁵ Munich, Antikensammlungen (inv. KM 7168). Lullies 1955, p. 17 no. 30, pls. 10-11; Brann 1960, p. 71 (Analatos Painter); Rocco 2008, p. 106 cat. no. A 5 (Group of the Athens Amphora, NAM 19332).

²⁶ Athens National Museum (inv. 19332). Brann 1960 (Analatos Painter); Rocco 2008, p. 106 cat. no. A 2 (Group of the Athens Amphora, NAM 19332).

NAM 19332, both relating to the *Wild Style* of the Protoattic pottery²⁷. Grazing horses, birds, centaurs and lions occupy the entire surface of the almost square neck panels that however only rarely show the same theme on both sides. On the amphora now in Munich (KM7168), a large lion is shown on one side with a front paw raised and the head turned backwards, combined with a centaur placed on the other side. The amphora of the Roussopoulos collection in Athens shows a large ferocious lion very close to the Late Geometric tradition on one side and a composite flower motif with stylized grazing birds on the other. Simplified Orientalizing motifs appear on the shoulder zone of the amphorae, with

²⁷ Rocco 2008, pp. 95-108.

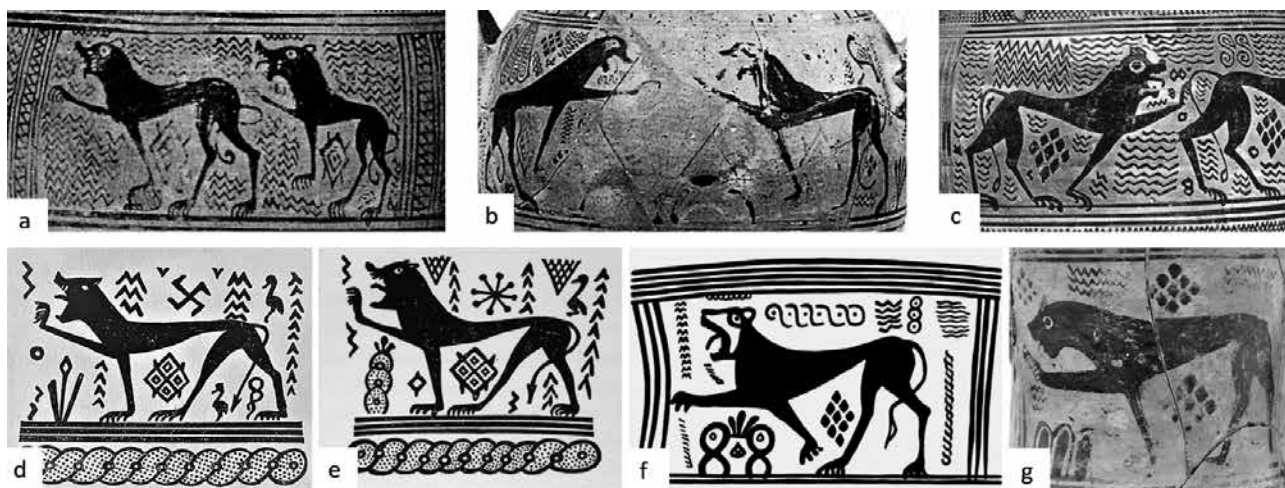


Fig. 6 - Early Protoattic lions: a. Hydria by the Analatos Painter after Denoyelle 1996, pl. 13.3 (Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria inv. D 23/1982), b. Hydria by the Analatos Painter after Denoyelle 1996, pl. 14.3 (Archaeological Museum, Athens inv. 313), c. Hydria from Athens by the Mesogeia Painter after CVA Deutschland 2, Berlin 1, pl. 42.2 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung inv. 31312), d-e. Amphora in Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum inv. H 4988, after CVA Deutschland 39, Würzburg 1, p. 24 figs 1-2, f. Amphora in the Roussopoulos collection (Athens), after Delivorrias 1965, p. 66 drawing 1, and g. Amphora from Skaleza, Archaeological Museum, Marathon inv. K 3909.

the exception of the amphora in the Roussopoulos collection that shows stylized grazing birds in a row.

Further, there are a few amphorae of type B related to the *Wild Style* that demonstrate an interesting fusion of elements that remain largely rare for the amphorae of this type. On the large amphora from Pikrodaphni now in Athens, there is a wide zone placed on the upper body of the amphora showing boars, while the amphora now in Berlin (inv. 31006) is completely covered by Protoattic motifs and figured panels²⁸. These amphorae seem manifesting the way potters and painters worked in proximity, borrowing ideas from each other and introducing fresh concepts and unusual forms. By the second quarter of the 7th cent. BC, the latest amphorae of type B are hardly recognizable as products of the Middle Protoattic style. On the two fragmentary amphorae from Aigina today in Berlin, the architectonic control is loosened, decoration on the neck is placed freely without panel frames, and wide zones

of the body are fully covered with Protoattic motifs²⁹.

Images of lions that enter the repertory of the early Protoattic period follow the iconographic features of the Geometric tradition, largely shaped by the Workshop of Athens 894³⁰. Potters and painters of the Early Protoattic style, such as the Analatos Painter and the Mesogeia Painter, are considered to have received their formative experiences within this workshop, one that introduced fantastic creatures (centaurs, sphinxes, winged horses and goats) and new themes of Orientalizing inspiration, largely under the influence of the Stathatou Painter³¹.

²⁹ Both amphorae from Aigina are now in Berlin (Antikensammlung A7 and A8). CVA Deutschland 2, Berlin 1, pls. 3-5 (Painter of the Wild Amphorae); Rocco 2008, p. 116 cat. no. WA 1 and 2. Add also a fragmentary neck-amphora today in New York (MMA inv. 49.101.17 a-I, k-q): CVA USA 37, Metropolitan Museum of Art 5, pp. 69-70, pl. 41.5; Morris 1987, pp. 37-51, 121-122 (the Polyphemos Painter, around 675 BC). On the neck panel: birds of prey.

³⁰ Tölle 1963, pp. 216-217 (Middle Geometric II); Sackett 1976, pp. 117-129 (Knossos krater); Coulié 2013, pp. 42-45. For a badly preserved hydria today in Cambridge (MCA 345) assigned to the Workshop of Athens 894 and showing lions ready to attack, see Rombos 1988, pp. 458-459 cat. no. 196; Sheedy 1992. For the image of the lion hunt and combating lions in oriental art and epic poetry, see Sheedy 1992, pp. 23-24. Also, Langdon 2008, pp. 46-47, 197, 251-252. Representations of lions are much more varied on the catch-plates of the large Boeotian fibulae, Hampe 1936, pls. 1-16.

³¹ Coldstream 1968, pp. 58-64; Rombos 1988, pp. 232-258.

²⁸ Athens National Museum (inv. 222). For the amphora in Athens (NAM inv. 222, from Pikrodaphni), see CVA Grèce 2, Athènes, Musée National 2, pl. 5; Boardman 1998, p. 102 figs. 199.1-2; Rocco 2008, p. 101 cat. no. W 1 (Group of the Wilde Style). For the amphora now in Berlin (inv. 31006), see CVA Deutschland 2, Berlin 1, pls. 41.1-2, 42.3-4; Brann 1960, p. 71 (close to the Analatos Painter); Boardman 1998, p. 102 fig. 197; Rocco 2008, 106 cat. no. A 1 (Group of the Athens Amphora, NAM 19332).

Among the various themes that may involve single or pairs of lions in an antithetical composition fighting each other or a male figure, attacking other animals or even devouring a male figure, the Early Protoattic imagery demonstrates a preference for passant lions or roaring lions with a front paw raised and ready to attack³² (fig. 6). They all share the characteristic features of the Late Geometric lions - the open jaw, the dangling tongue and the teeth - emphasizing their wild and ferocious nature.

Protoattic lions are commonly shown moving in pairs, facing each other or one following the other, keeping all four paws on the ground or with a raised or simply extended front paw, frequently occupying the long panels placed on the surface of hydriae and neck-handled amphorae³³. Yet, lions on these early works remain isolated and do not interact with the rest of the images and creatures that are occasionally shown on the same vases, such as choral dances, chariot races, sphinxes and even a *prothesis* scene³⁴. Middle Protoattic images favored more dramatic and animated scenes, showing lions attacking other animals³⁵. The image of a single lion, just like this



Fig. 7 - Fragment of a pedestalled cauldron, Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 810 (photo by the author). © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

³² For a discussion of lions in the repertory of the Late Geometric iconography, see Fittschen 1969, pp. 76-78; Ahlberg-Cornell 1987; Rombos 1988, pp. 185-208, 300-315; Sheedy 1992, pp. 21-25. For a list of the most important works of the Early Protoattic, see Rombos 1988, pp. 191-192, table 29. Unique is the antithetical pair of lions on the New York amphora (MMA 10.210.8) with their heads turned backwards. Cook 1934-35, pp. 179-180, pl. 47 (the Würzburg Group); Rocco 2008, p. 61 cat. Wü 3 pl. 7.3; CVA USA 37, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 5, pp. 56-60, pls. 31-33. Lions represent a favorite theme on 'Melian' pottery, namely amphorae of the early 7th cent. BC. Postures and drawing are comparable to Protoattic lions. For a discussion, see Zaphiropoulou 2003, pp. 2-23.

³³ Cook 1934-35, pp. 169-179; Rocco 2008, pp. 13-40; Coulié 2013, pp. 199-204. For the Analatos Painter, see Denoyelle 1996. For a Protoattic bowl (C 87) from the Athenian Agora showing lions in a row, see Young 1939, pp. 166-167, figs. 117-118. For a similar arrangement on Late Geometric amphorae, see a) amphora in Louvre (CA 3468). CVA France 25, Louvre 16, pl. 41 and b) amphora in Essen (inv. K 969). Tölle 1963; Rombos 1988, pp. 446-447 cat. no. 169, pl. 26b. Both amphorae have been assigned to the Workshop of Athens 894. Coldstream 1968, pp. 58-59, cat. nos. 13 and 21.

³⁴ A slightly different approach to the wild beasts, in a hunting scene in the wild, is shown on the surface of the louterion from Thebes, today in Athens (NAM inv. 238). Rocco 2008, pp. 117-119, cat. LT 9, pl. 17.6, 18.1-2 (Group of the louterion from Thebes).

³⁵ For the scene on ovoid kraters of the Middle Protoattic, see Rocco 2008, pl. 16.3-5 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, inv. 31573, A22, assigned to the Checkerboard Painter), p. 128 cat. NY 10, pl. 19.4 (Berlin A 26, assigned to the New York Nessos Painter). For the amphora by the New York Nessos Painter, see CVA USA 37, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 5, pp. 70-

one illustrated on the neck panel of the Marathon amphora K 3909, is mainly confined to the Early Protoattic and is rarely found on earlier or later vessels³⁶. The posture of the beast varies according to the impulse of the individual painter: a regarant lion, lion with prey or one ready to attack. A Late Geometric pedigree may be visible in a small fragment from the tall fenestrated pedestal of a *lebes* from Athens, showing the lower part of a rampant lion that is almost standing on its rear foot³⁷ (fig. 7). The size is much larger than any other known representation of the animal in the closing years of the 8th cent. BC. The fragment is related to the pedes-

76, pls. 42-44; Coulié 2013, 208-209, fig. 203. Alternatively, an antithetical pair of lions with raised front paws is shown on the Burgon krater, today in London (British Museum, inv. 1842.7-28.827). Rocco 2008, p. 160 (with complete bibliography of the attribution) and pl. 24.5-6.

³⁶ Middle Protoattic single lion with front paw raised: fragmentary dinos from Aigina now in Berlin (inv. A 43). Rocco 2008, p. 129 cat. Ar 4, pl. 22.4. Hydria in Berlin (inv. A 3). Rocco 2008, p. 89 E.2, pl. 12.1 (close to Painter AD).

³⁷ The number of fragments inventoried as NAM 810 seem to belong to more than one pedestaled lebetes of similar size and style. In addition to the standing lion, a standing female with a nicely decorated dress is depicted in a panel. For the pedestaled cauldron inv. NAM 810, see Cook 1947, pp. 148-149; Hampe 1960, figs. 33-38; Davison 1961, fig. 38; Cook 1934-35, p. 167; Tölle 1964, p. 18 no. 30; Brokaw 1963, p. 68 pl. 4.5; Coldstream 1968, p. 60 no. 39; Rombos 1988, pp. 464-466 cat. 215, pl. 40.

talled *lebes* of the National Museum at Athens (inv. 810), although it is not clear whether it belongs to the missing part of the pedestal now restored in plaster or if it represents part of a second vessel, almost identical in shape, size and decoration. The image of the lion enjoys a much more varied imagery that develops on the surface of the *lebes* (NAM inv. 810) and involves chariot processions, male choral dances, lions, tripod prizes and 'homer-ic'-type duels between warriors, all relating to the construction of the male *ethos* shaped by the late 8th cent. BC. Whether a similar meaning was carried by the more concisely expressed images of early Protoattic single lions is difficult to establish.

Besides the visible similarities between the Marathon amphora and the amphorae of type B, and especially to those by the Group of the Krateriskos of Buffalo and the Group of the Athens amphora NAM 19332 dated to the first quarter of the 7th cent. BC, comparable features may be traced to individual potters and workshops familiar with the more forceful trends of the Protoattic style. The amphora today in Würzburg (inv. H 4988), dated around 700 BC and assigned by Rocco to the close associates of the Mesogeia Painter, offers a close parallel to the Marathon amphora³⁸ (figs 6 d-e). On both sides of the neck, a roaring lion is shown facing to the left (of the spectator) with one paw extended. The posture of the beast is comparable to that on the Marathon amphora, although the drawing is still Geometric in conception. The use of the filling motifs is much more varied and dense compared to that on the amphora from Marathon, including linear and floral motifs, stylized birds and the newly introduced spiral motifs of the Orientalizing style. A second decorative zone is added on the belly showing a single horse at full stride following a group of grazing horses. Grazing horses or deer placed in secondary zones and panels are among the decorative themes that continue from the Late Geometric into the Protoattic³⁹. Although commonly shown on amphorae

and hydriae assigned to the 'Classical Tradition'⁴⁰, they remain largely uncommon for the decoration of type B amphorae. In this way, the amphora from Marathon presents a rare example. Furthermore, the grazing deer on the shoulder are reminiscent of the arrangement and style of the Stathatou Painter, while comparable scenes, with grazing horses or deer, that survive on the early works of the Protoattic illustrate the passage from the Late Geometric tradition to the new Protoattic style⁴¹.

Potters and painters at Marathon at the turn to the 7th cent. BC

During the latter half of the 8th cent. BC, large funerary vessels that are made out locally echo the figured style of the contemporary Attic workshops, while also introducing individual features and new imaginative figured scenes⁴². Such affinities in pottery style have been frequently taken as evidence for determining the artistic tutelage of a craftsman: they could represent one more way of unravelling the connections between craftsmen at Marathon and the rest of Attica. The huge funerary amphora (inv. K 2207) from the burial ground along Marathonos Avenue represents such a case, where the shape of the amphora and the standardized funerary iconography follow the Athenian series, although manifesting individual features consistent with the work of the local workshop⁴³ (fig. 8). Two belly-handled amphorae of the Circle Style that were found at Marathon manifest the close ties between Attic pottery workshops as early as the middle of the 9th cent. BC (or the Middle Geometric I period). Although this characteristic type of amphora is quite rare from the Attic country sites, two large am-

³⁸ Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum inv. H 4988. CVA Deutschland 39, Würzburg 1, pp. 23-25, pls. 16-18, 19.1; Rocco 2008, p. 40 cat. BMe 1.

³⁹ For the Late Geometric and Early Protoattic, see Rombos 1988, pp. 53-64 (deer) and 214-221 (grazing horses). Grazing deer continue into the Middle Protoattic, see the fragmentary kotyle-krater from Kerameikos (inv. 1361). Rocco 2008, pp. 161-165, pl. 25.3.

⁴⁰ Both grazing horses (on the shoulder) and deer (on the neck) are shown on the loutrophoros-amphora by the Analatos Painter today in San Antonio, Texas. Shapiro-Picón-Scott 1995, pp. 50-52 no. 10. Grazing deer on the shoulder of amphorae: Oxford 1936.599 (Mesogeia Painter), Cook 1934-35, pl. 38a; Hydria in the Vlasto Collection, Cook 1934-35, pl. 45.

⁴¹ E.g. amphora in San Antonio (San Antonio Museum of Art inv. 86.133.23); neck amphora from Keratea (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. 1935.19): CVA Great Britain 24, Oxford 4, 6 pls. 12.1, 13.1, 14.1-2, 15.2; hydria in Athens formerly in the Vlasto Collection (inv. VS 179: Cook 1934-35, pls. 45, 56a-b; Rocco 2008, pl. 4.3).

⁴² Vlachou 2011; Vlachou 2016; Vlachou forthcoming.

⁴³ Vlachou 2011.

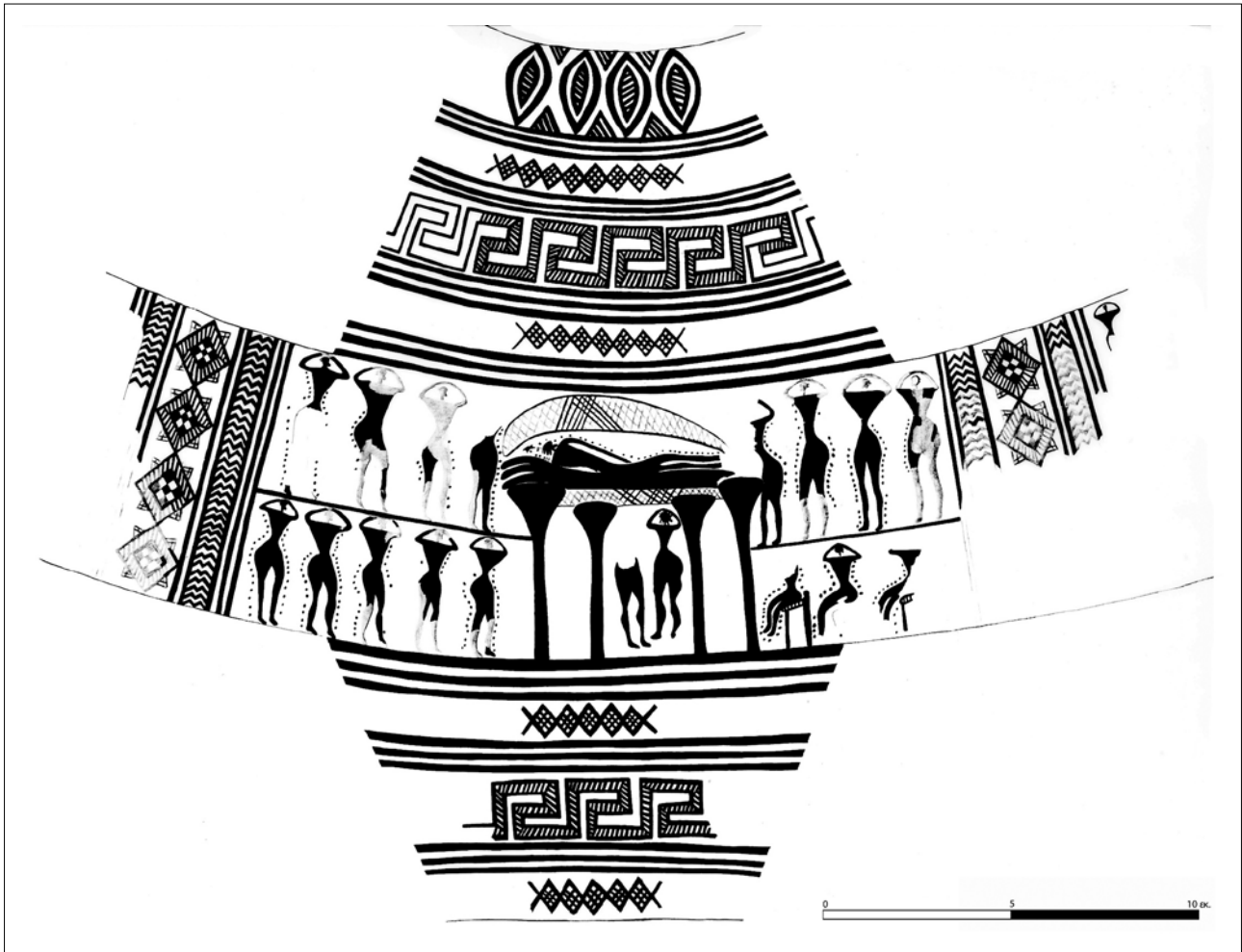


Fig. 8 - Giant funerary amphora from the burial ground along Marathonos Avenue (deposit pit 1). Marathon, Archaeological Museum inv. K 2207. Drawing by the author.

phorae have been found at Marathon, while both vessels demonstrate close affinities with the work of the Athens 216 Painter, identified by N. Kourou⁴⁴.

In another case, a large funerary krater (inv. K 1278, K 1281, K 1284), found out of its original context in the burial ground at Oinoe, demonstrates the figured style of the Dipylon Painter and his Workshop (fig. 9). The krater that was made out of what we consider as local clay seems to have been the outcome of the interaction between a close associate of the Dipylon Painter with local artisans⁴⁵.

This is a rare instance where the short-distance mobility of potters and painters may be discerned: this would have happened to enable the production of a specific class of vessels that required specialized technical knowledge and skills during the successive stages of its construction, firing and decoration. The making and use of such vessels cannot occur simply as the result of imitating contemporary trends from elsewhere in Attica, but requires both specialized potters/painters and the co-operation of local artisans, who would have provided the necessary materials and the appropriate workshop space⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ For the fragmentary amphora from the burial ground along Marathonos Avenue, see Vlachou 2011. For the second almost entire amphora in display in the Archaeological Museum at Marathon (inv. K 775), see Vlachou 2020b, pp. 24-25 and fig. 9. For the Athens 216 Painter, see Kourou 1997; 2004, pp. 81-83.

⁴⁵ Vlachou forthcoming.

⁴⁶ Costin 1991; 2000. A comparable case of mobile artisans has been discussed in relation to the oversized pithoi from Boeotia, the Cyclades, Euboea and Attica that demonstrate close affinities, but seem in all cases locally made. On this issue, see Simantoni-Bournia 2011, pp. 216-217.

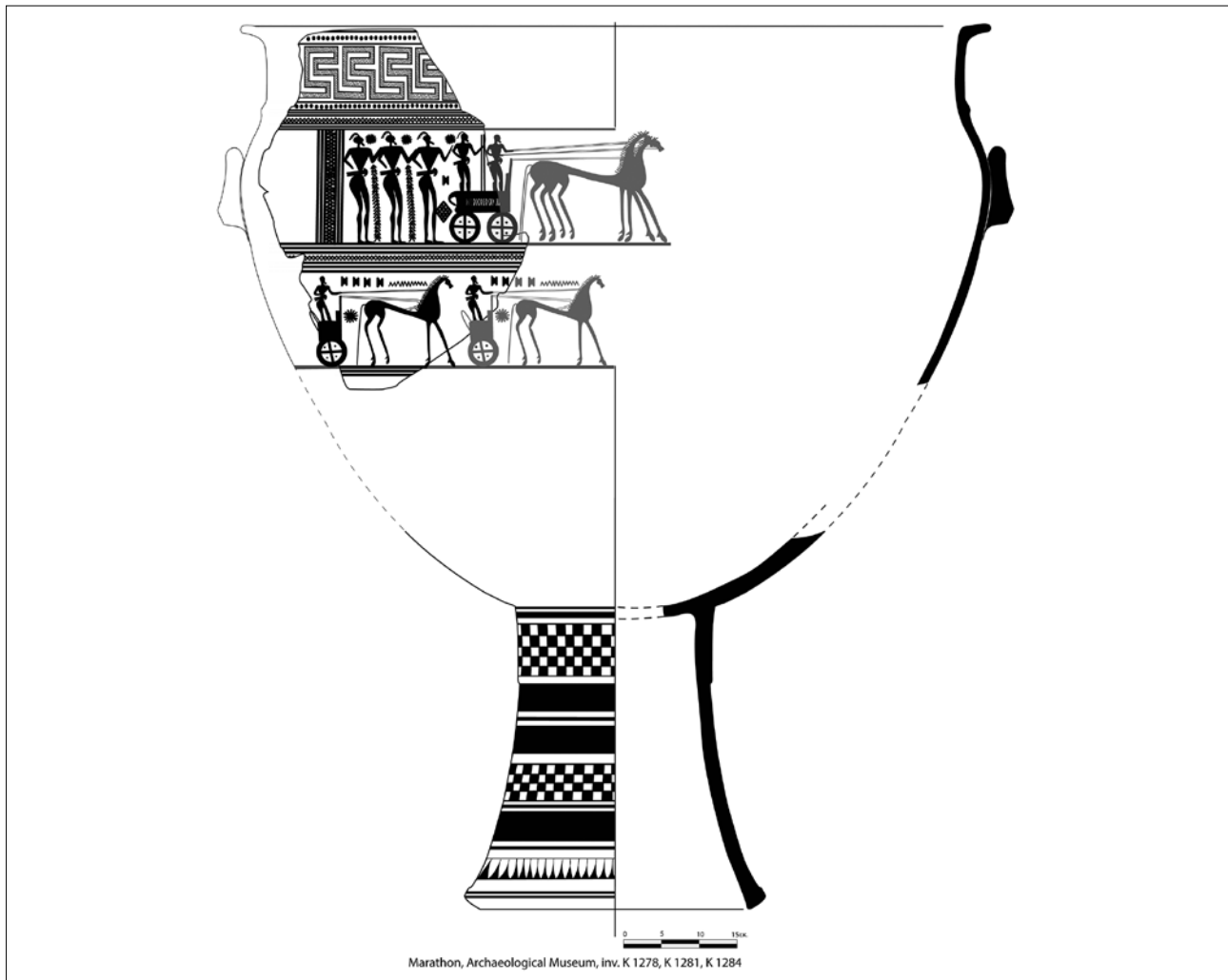


Fig. 9 - Giant pedestalled krater from the burial ground at Oinoe, Marathon. Marathon, Archaeological Museum inv. K 1278, K 1281, K 1284. Drawing and tentative reconstruction of all joining pieces by Thanasis Kouros and the author.

During the last decades of the 8th cent. BC, pottery production at Marathon is strongly influenced by the painters and workshops of the ‘Classical Tradition’ and in particular in the manner of the Workshop of Athens 894. A giant pitcher (inv. K 2209) from the burial ground along Marathonos Avenue is representative of the forces at work on local potters and painters, who seem to have received their training within the Workshop of Athens 894⁴⁷ (fig. 10 - Colour plates at the end of the volume). The shape and the size of the pitcher implies a potter familiar with the conspicuous production of the Attic series, while the figured style is very close to that of contemporary amphorae and hydriae assigned to arti-

sans of the Workshop of Athens 894. The pitcher stands on the threshold of the Protoattic and introduces a more varied and adventurous imagery. Mythical creatures such as the centaur and the winged horse witness the strong link to the works by the Stathatou Painter, who favors the introduction of mythical creatures in his works, and also they demonstrate the interest of the local painter experimenting with new themes, ones that will become ever more popular in the course of the 7th cent. BC⁴⁸. Dancers with linked hands resemble the repeated chorus dancers of the Hydria Hand, a potter/painter within the Athens 894 workshop, although the number of the figures shown on this vessel remain un-

⁴⁷ For a first discussion of the pitcher (Marathon Museum K 2209), see Vlachou 2016.

⁴⁸ Davison 1961, pp. 79-82; Coldstream 1968, pp. 62-63; Rombos 1988, pp. 232-244.



Fig. 10a - Giant pitcher from the burial ground along Marathonos Avenue (inhumation burial 15). Marathon, Archaeological Museum inv. K 2209. Photo by the author.

paralleled among the Late Geometric and Archaic images of dances⁴⁹. The large mixed chorus of youths and maidens seem to be anticipating similar representations by the Analatos Painter⁵⁰. The image of the 'Tree of Life' more than once on the surface of the pitcher is made up out of the new spiral designs, similar to that on the early vessels by the Analatos Painter⁵¹. Likewise, the new lozenge-and-spiral design that runs in two continuous friezes around the neck of the pitcher is introduced by the Workshop of Athens 894, and is further developed in the Early Protoattic by the Analatos and Mesogeia Painters⁵². The figure of the feline that is shown with one paw raised should be counted among the visual innovations of this skillful and imaginative painter.

This long ceramic practice that linked the area of Marathon with Athens and the rest of Attica can help identify connections between contemporaneous artisans and workshops around Attica, that permitted and possibly even encouraged the short-distance mobility of artisans and possibly also of materials, in addition to technical knowledge and ideas. The distribution of oversized funerary vessels in Attica is indicative of the movements and synergies operating among craftsmen of the Late Geometric

⁴⁹ Davison 1961, pp. 82-83; Tölle 1964; Bronson 1964; Rombos 1988, pp. 330-351; Langdon 2008, pp. 143-182; Haug 2012, pp. 119-163. Add a recent find from Kifissia (tomb 126), Schilardi 2011, p. 700, fig. 15 and p. 701, fig. 20.

⁵⁰ For comparable arrangement of the male and female participants, see the amphora in Copenhagen (Late Geometric IIb), Johansen 1945, p. 16, figs. 5-6. For the loutrophoros-hydria by the Analatos Painter in Athens, NM 313 (ca. 700 BC), see Denoyelle 1996, pls. 14.2-3 and 15.2-3; Rocco 2008, p. 28 cat. no. An 11; Coulié 2013, pp. 195-197, fig. 189.

⁵¹ Amphora in San Antonio (San Antonio Museum of Art inv. 86.133.23); Shapiro-Picón-Scott III 1995, pp. 50-51 cat. no. 10 (Analatos Painter); Rocco 2008, p. 38 cat. no. Me 5 pl. 3.5 (Mesogeia Painter). Fragmentary bowl (Eleusis inv. 1078): Cook 1934-35, pl. 40; Denoyelle 1996, 86 cat. no. 15 pl. 13.1; Rocco 2008, p. 29 cat. no. An 33 (with bibliography). Stylized single trees in narrow panels, see CVA Germany 44, Tübingen 2, pp. 33-34, pls. 21.3-5, 22. For a similar branch with spirals held by a centaur, see the neck panel of the amphora in Athens (NM 19332).

⁵² By the Workshop of Athens 894: amphora (Agora P4990). Davison 1961, p. 43, fig. 36; Brann 1962, pl. 19.336; Coldstream 1968, p. 58 cat. no. 11, 63; Rombos 1988, pp. 444-445 cat. no. 167. By the Analatos Painter: hydria (Athens NAM inv. 313). Böhlau 1887, p. 34 pls. 3-4; Cook 1934-35, pls. 38b, 39; Davison 1961, 51, 149, fig. 61; Rombos 1988, pl. 28a; Denoyelle 1996, pls. 14.2-3, 15.2-3; Boardman 1998, pp. 98-99, fig. 188.1-3; Rocco 2008, pp. 13-30, cat. An 11 (with previous bibliography). By the Mesogeia Painter: fragmentary amphora (ex-Vlastos Collection, Athens VS 718). King 1976, pl. 15 (especially 15.f); Rocco 2008, pp. 31-40, cat. no. Me 2, pl. 3.3 (with past bibliography).

Protoattic pots and potters' mobility in Attica and beyond

Following comparable trends in Corinthian art, the introduction of the new Orientalizing style into the Attic workshops at the turn to the 7th cent. BC resulted in the appearance of a distinctive pottery style, confined for its larger part within Attica⁵⁹. According to Whitley, Protoattic style “sensitively registered the tensions of seventh century Attica - a conservative society proud of its autochthony and suspicious of the exotic, but nonetheless attracted by and caught up in the wider ‘Orientalizing’ world”⁶⁰. New discoveries and recent studies have added to the corpus of Protoattic pottery, e.g. the material from the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia at Piraeus⁶¹ and the Protoattic burials from the burial grounds at Kephisia and Phaleron, among others⁶². Our view though regarding the use and function of Protoattic pots has not considerably changed; they remain mainly linked to an elite display in ritual and liminal contexts.

Unlike the wide distribution achieved by Corinthian pots for most part of the 7th cent. BC, Protoattic pottery is but occasionally found beyond the confines of Attica. The only exception is the Protoattic pottery from the island of Aigina, as attested by the material recovered at the sanctuary of Apollo at the site of Kolona and at the burial grounds on the confines of the ancient city nearby⁶³. The provenance of these pots has been strongly debated in the past scholarship, as either Attic or of local manufacture by Athenian potters and painters installed on Aigina⁶⁴. Although the latter suggestion is no longer maintained, it remains an interesting hypothesis of potters' mobility beyond the confines of Attica. Boeotian sanctuaries seem to have attracted works

of Protoattic pottery, and the new discoveries from the sanctuary of Herakles at Thebes demonstrate the continuity of the style during the Early and Middle Protoattic periods⁶⁵. Protoattic pottery reached - occasionally and in small quantities - the Cycladic islands of Delos, Paros (Delion), Kythnos and Thera⁶⁶. Pottery of the Middle Protoattic period has been identified at Megara, Perachora and the Heraion at Argos, but it is not until the last quarter of the 7th cent. BC that Protoattic pottery made its way overseas to Etruria, Naukratis and Ionia⁶⁷.

Despite the limited circulation of Protoattic pots, the dynamics of the Protoattic style are better manifested by the influence that Attic potters and painters of the 7th cent. BC exercised on regional pottery styles beyond the confines of Attica and even overseas. New finds from the installation of Oropos, demonstrate the influence the Protoattic style had on local pottery production near to Attica. The fragmentary krater (or louterion), that should be considered as the work of a local potter/painter, nicely puts together water birds of the Euboean type with long tails and open wings, along with Protoattic chariots and floral motifs⁶⁸. The krater belongs with a quite small group of pottery dated to the 7th cent. BC from contexts relating to some kind of ritual activity that seems to have intensified after the progressive abandonment of the Late Geometric *oikoi*. Likewise, a large *perrirhanterion* on a high fenestrated pedestal that was found at Xobourgo on Tenos is decorated with early Protoattic floral motifs quite close to the manner of the Analatos Painter, although these were incised on the surface of the high pedestal following the local idiom. The vessel seems to have served in ritual activity at the site, presumably connected to a chthonic cult⁶⁹. The dy-

⁵⁹ Cook 1934-35, p. 201; Cook 1947; Benson 1986; Coulié 2013, pp. 111-112, 193. For the find spots of Protoattic pottery in Athens and Attica, see Whitley 1994, pp. 68-70; Rocco 2008, pp. 214-215; Coulié 2013, pp. 191-193. For the distribution of Protoattic pottery in Attic sanctuaries, see Palaokrassa 2017, p. 249.

⁶⁰ Whitley 1994, p. 65.

⁶¹ Palaokrassa 2014; 2017.

⁶² Schilardi 2009; 2011.

⁶³ Morris 1984; Walter-Karydi 1997; Rocco 2008, pp. 215-219; Coulié 2013, p. 191.

⁶⁴ Morris 1984. Contra Walter-Karydi 1997. The main argument against a local production on Aigina of the large quantity of Protoattic pots found on the island is the paucity of local production of figured pottery outside the Protoattic.

⁶⁵ Morris 2014, pp. 99-101; Aravantinos 2017.

⁶⁶ Thera: Brann 1961, p. 311, pl. 67. Delos: Dugas 1935, pp. 79-80, 85, pls. 53, 59. Kythnos: Koutsoumpou 2017a, pp. 138-139; 2017b, p. 165 (an Attic or Cycladic provenance for the amphora is not specified). Paros: Rocco 2008, p. 215 (and discussion). See also, Coulié 2013, p. 193.

⁶⁷ Cook 1934-35, p. 204; Walter-Karydi 1997, pp. 386-391; Rocco 2008, p. 215; Coulié 2013, p. 193.

⁶⁸ Charalambidou 2007, pp. 279-280; Vlachou 2015a, pp. 143-145.

⁶⁹ Kourou forthcoming. For the Attic-Cycladic tradition, see Kübler 1970, pp. 48-49, nos. 88-89; Sheedy 1985; Rocco 2008, pp. 83-103, 218-220; Coulié 2013, pp. 221-222, 247-250. For the large ovoid kraters by the Checkerboard Painter and their link to the work of the Parian Ad Painter and his Workshop, see Giuliano

namics developed through the cooperation of craftsmen working from a variety of sources of inspiration has more recently demonstrated by a fragmentary *louterion* from the Sicilian Naxos⁷⁰. Both the form of the krater with its spout and the drawing of the two confronted lions either side of a helmeted male head apparently emerging from the ground have been allocated to a local workshop, where craftsmen of presumably different origins came together and worked in the new Orientalizing style for local consumption.

Mobility of potters and painters, although difficult to establish on a solid archaeological basis, seems to have been a common enough phenomenon, at least from around the middle of the 8th cent. BC onwards. Evidence is frequently limited to stylistic observations of the final products (that is the vessels *per se*) on what is defined in each case as a local production⁷¹. Mobility of artisans seems to have played an essential role in enabling a larger variety of concurrent pottery styles to emerge and be freely adopted⁷². An amphora from the burial ground at Oinoe, Marathon has been discussed within this context of mobility and exchange⁷³. The amphora that served as the container for a child *enchytrismos* is decorated with a large leaf-shaped rosette that finds close parallels on the so-called 'Melian' amphorae, considered today as of Parian origin. The amphora seems to belong to the local pottery production, on the basis of the fabric; thus arguments have been produced for identifying in it the work of an artisan from the Cyclades at Marathon. The drawing of leaf-shaped rosette on the Marathon amphora seems like a simplified version of what we may find in the Cycladic repertory of the

early 7th cent. BC. Thus, despite the quite rare connections that Marathon seems to have maintained with the Cyclades, the amphora looks more likely to be the work of a mobile potter/painter working locally at Marathon.

Beyond the confines of Attica, potters and painters seem to have participated in the overseas movements into Campania, Etruria, south Italy and Sicily, a diaspora occurring alongside that of other Greek craftsmen from Euboea, Corinth, the Cyclades and East Greece⁷⁴. Despite the absence of imported Attic pottery for most part of the 7th cent. BC in these areas, the presence and active participation of Attic potters and painters has been argued through the introduction of the new Protoattic style in the local styles and repertories⁷⁵. A point of reference has been the impressive *lebes* on its high pedestal from the site of Incoronata *Greca*, decorated with one of the earliest images of the myth of the winged horse Pegasus, with Bellerophon on his back, fighting together against Chimaera⁷⁶. A dinos has been allotted a number of potential pedigrees: as a late work by the Analatos Painter, or a work of the Checkerboard Painter, from the image of lions attacking a deer shown on the reverse of the vessel, or even by the Painter of the *louterion* from Thebes, who largely follows the manner of both Painters, or even a Parian potter/painter working in the Attic-Cycladic tradition⁷⁷. In Etruria, the Middle Protoattic style and that of the Checkerboard Painter

2005, pp. 65-67; Rocco 2008, p. 110; Coulié 2013, p. 208.

⁷⁰ Lentini 2015; Lentini 2017.

⁷¹ For Athenians in the Cyclades and vice versa, see Sheedy 1985; Morris 2014, pp. 95-97. For the installation of a Corinthian workshop in the area of the tholos in the Athenian Agora, see Dunbabin 1950; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 223-224; Papadopoulos 2009. For foreign potters/painters in Cretan workshops, see Kotsinas 2011.

⁷² Cook 1934-35, pp. 202-204; Walter-Karydi 1997, p. 391; Morris 2014.

⁷³ For the amphora, see Arapogianni 1985, p. 214, pl. 87γ. Rocco (2008, p. 93 cat. M1, pl. 13.6) assigned the amphora to her Group of 'protoMelian' and 'Melian' inspiration. For a comparable leaf-shaped rosette, see Zaphiropoulou 1985, p. 74, fig. 10, 10. For the connection of the so-called 'Melian' pottery to Paros, see Coulié 2005; Coulié 2013, pp. 231-232, 245-250.

⁷⁴ Campania: Mermati 2013; d'Agostino 2015. Etruria and South Italy: Williams 1986; Martelli 1987; 2008; Giuliano 2005; Paoletti 2009; Denti 2012; Handberg - Jacobsen 2011; Jacobsen 2013. Sicily: Denoyelle - Iozzo 2009; Lentini 2015. For a discussion of the remains of the working spaces, see Denoyelle - Iozzo 2009, 33; Jacobsen - Handberg - Mittica 2009; Denti 2012; Denti - Villette 2013.

⁷⁵ An oinochoe in the style of the Late Geometric Concentric Circle Group, found in tomb LXXII/1922 from the necropolis of Cava Pozzolana, today in Rome (Villa Giulia). After that, the earliest Attic vessel imported to Cerveteri is a fragment depicting the Gorgon Medusa by the Nettos Painter of the Late Protoattic period. Today in Leipzig, Kunstgewerbemuseum inv. 300027. Beazley 1986, pl. 11.1. On Protoattic, see Giuliano 2005; Ambrosini 2013, p. 947.

⁷⁶ Metaponto, National Archaeological Museum inv. no. 297978-79. Orlandini 1988; Denoyelle 1996, pp. 82-85; Denoyelle - Iozzo 2009, pp. 50-52; Morris 2014, pp. 99-100.

⁷⁷ Denoyelle 1996, p. 84; Denoyelle - Iozzo 2009, p. 51 (Analatos Painter); Giuliano 2005, pp. 67-70 (Checkerboard Painter); Rocco 2008, pp. 117-119 (Group of the *louterion* from Thebes). Also Morris 2014. For a Parian origin, see Denti 2018, pp. 52-53. For the myth and an analysis of its representation on early works, see Ziskowski 2014, pp. 83-87 (especially n. 27).

seem to have had a significant impact on the quite original and idiosyncratic Etruscan figured style⁷⁸. From around the same time, the pedestaled krater from a rich Etruscan tomb in the necropolis at Caere (Cerveteri), signed by Aristonothos (or Aristonophos) and decorated with the story of the blinding of the Cyclops Polyphemus, has been considered as the output of a Greek immigrant potter, from Attica among other suggestions⁷⁹. Such vessels demonstrate a mix of styles, probably the outcome of the varying artistic backgrounds of the artisans active in these areas. Nonetheless, style does not necessarily travel alone: the presence of Attic potters and painters among other Greeks should not be dismissed.

Concluding remarks

The potter/painter or painters of the amphora K 3909 from Skaleza can be added to the few other Attic potters and painters discerned as working in the Protoattic style at the turn to the early 7th cent. BC. The shape of the amphora illustrates the close ties with the Late Geometric tradition, while the decoration of the surface presents us with a nice mix of the new Orientalizing style and the figurative style of the late 8th cent. BC. The pottery used and deposited in the burial grounds at Marathon register the expressions of the local communities in such liminal occasions, while providing insights into the work of potters and painters and their clientele. The new Protoattic amphora from Skaleza (K 3909) can

be added to the series of the finely decorated vessels, assigned presumably to more than one artisan in close contact with the Late Geometric tradition and the new Protoattic style, as this was being shaped at the turn to the 7th cent. BC.

The importance of the local pottery workshop at Marathon lies in demonstrating the connections that seem to have progressively developed with other concurrent workshops around Attica: these in turn encouraged collaboration among artisans and their short-distance mobility. Early Protoattic pottery from Marathon manifests the style of potters and workshops, such as the Vulture painter, the Mesogeia Painter or the Würzburg Group, reproducing similar patterns of circulation of fine decorated pots in Attica during the early 7th cent. BC. Nonetheless, links and connections to concurrent pottery workshops beyond Attica are almost completely absent. Protoattic pottery is only represented by a few specimens from Marathon: this paucity seems related to a rapid decline of the activity of the local artisans by the early 7th cent. BC. Although the reasons for such a decline in the artistic production are not clear, a connection to changes in the needs of the local consumers seems a logical hypothesis. As all remains of habitation areas are as yet undiscovered, burial grounds serve as the main source of archaeological evidence to reconstruct the human landscape at Marathon. The paucity of material for most of the 7th cent. BC so far recovered from Marathon seems to be in keeping with comparable shifts in pottery production and funerary visibility observed elsewhere in Attica.

⁷⁸ For an Attic origin of the Narce Painter, see Martelli 2008, p. 11.

⁷⁹ For the first publication of the krater, see Förster 1869. For a detailed analysis, see Ducati 1911; Schweitzer 1955; Martelli 1984; 1987, no. 40; Dougherty 2003; Izzet 2004 (for the origin of the maker, see especially 193 no 6); Bagnasco Gianni 2007; Denoyelle - Iozzo 2009, pp. 56-58.

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ADRIANO LA REGINA, *Un aspetto del rituale funerario nel Lazio arcaico: la morte in guerra o lontano dalla patria*

Special ritual forms were provided among the laws of the Twelve Tables for the burial of those who died in war or in a foreign land. In these circumstances the mortal remains were brought back to the dead person's homeland after cremation, and a second funerary rite was allowed. Cremation burials in Rome and other Latin communities dated between the eighth and fifth centuries BC archaeologically confirm this custom. The same funerary ritual is found in Greece, where it had arrived from Hittite Anatolia in the late Bronze Age.

STEFANO GARBIN, *Alcuni esempi di ceramica proto-geometrica dall'acropoli di Koukounaries, Paros: considerazioni preliminari*

The site of Koukounaries lies on the SW side of the contemporary Naoussa, in the island of Paros (Greece). It was a fortified acropolis in the 12th cent. BC, lasting as settlement from PG to Early Archaic times.

This brief report is dealing with some examples of PG fine ware from the so called Upper Plateau, where a Protogeometric and then a Geometric settlement were built upon the previous Mycenaean complex.

The most significant amount of PG pottery was found in dumping pits from levels stretching below houses of Geometric times. The ceramics from 3 of these deposits (namely cups, skyphoi, craters and amphorae) suggests strong artistic and commercial relations with Attica, besides a noteworthy local production. Yet, an interesting connection with the euboean environment is suggested even earlier of the Sub-protogeometric phase.

The wealth of this fine pottery, namely of the drinking vessels, confirms the power of the strong families of the protogeometric community, involved in trade operations both with Euboea and Athens.

Keeping always in mind that we are dealing with a settlement, the evidence from Koukounaries will

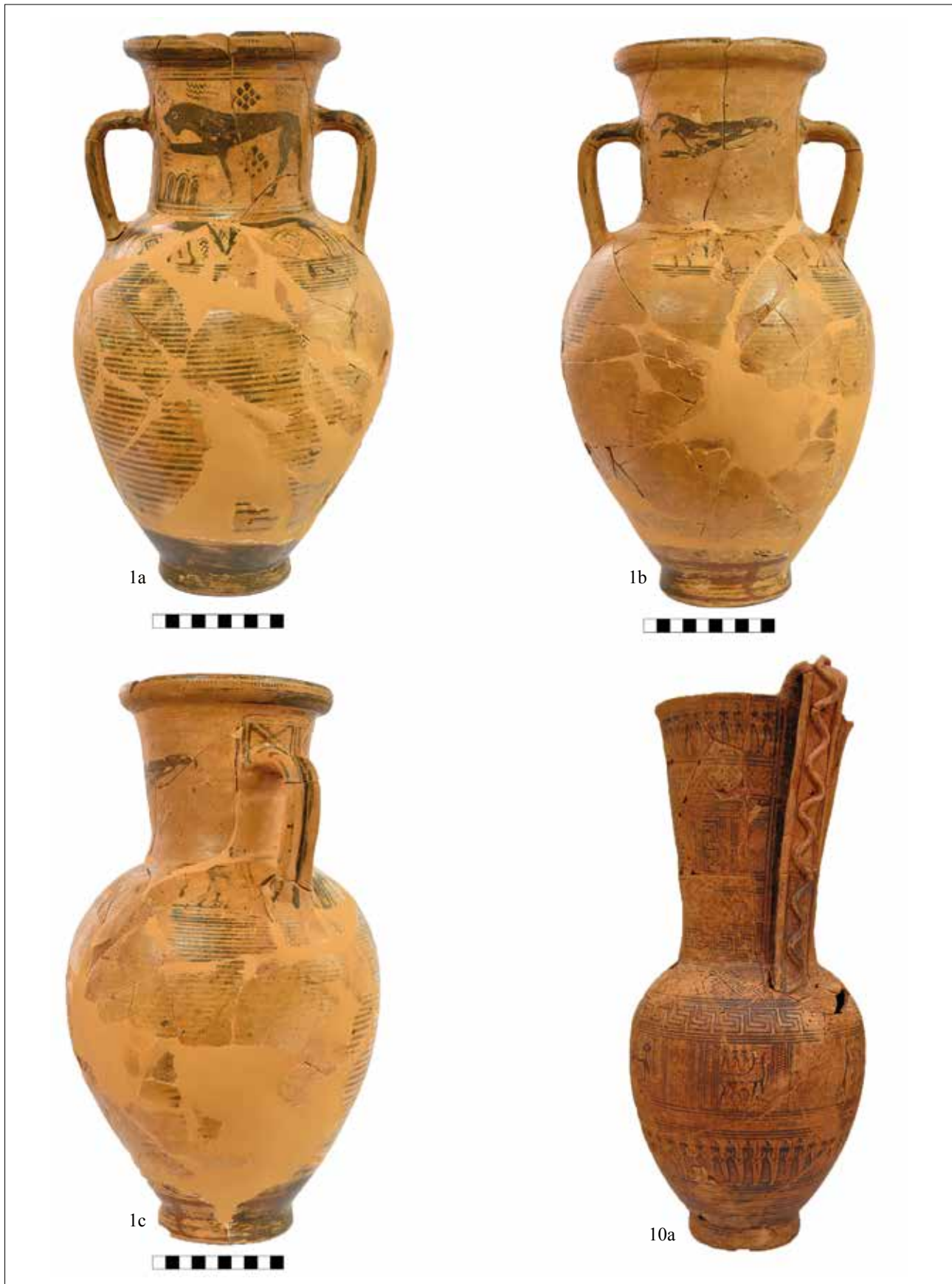
offer a new insight in the study of the Parian Protogeometric, and of the Aegaeon Protogeometric as well.

VICKY VLACHOU, *A new Protoattic amphora from Marathon. The regional pottery workshop and the short-distance mobility of artisans in early Attica*

The small burial ground excavated in the modern area of Skaleza at Marathon (Attica) has provided for the first time in this region evidence for the circulation and local production of early Protoattic pottery. The new Protoattic amphora gives a physical expression to the close interconnections emerging in the Athenian pottery production, heralding a longer tradition of mobility and interplay of craftsmen and workshops between Athens and the rest of Attica. The series of vessels used during the funerary rituals at Marathon clearly demonstrate the strong ties of this region to Athens. Most vessels seem to have been locally produced, although their form and decoration point to the activity of Athenian potters and painters. Synergies, interconnections and the mobility of potters and painters working during the late 8th and the early decades of the 7th cent. BC look to have been much more influential on regional pottery productions in Attica and beyond.

MARTINA D'ONOFRIO, *Un altro epos: una rilettura del cosiddetto cratere degli Argonauti del Museo Archeologico di Salonicco*

Despite its fragmentary state, the Argonauts' Krater in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki is one of the most impressive vases ever produced in a Corinthian workshop. Dated to ca. 560 B.C., the krater is decorated with the depiction of two episodes related to Argonauts' encounter with the blind king Phineus in Thrace: the pursuing of the Harpies by the Boreads and the very intriguing representation of Jason healing Phineus' eyes in the presence of the Dioskouroi. This latter episode is not attested in any literary source and we don't know any other representation of it on artefacts from the



Figs. 1a-c - Early Protoattic amphora from Skaleza (Oinoe). Archaeological Museum of Marathon, inv. K 3909. Photos by the author.

Fig. 10a - Giant pitcher from the burial ground along Marathonos Avenue (inhumation burial 15). Marathon, Archaeological Museum inv. K 2209. Photo by the author.

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