

Ithacans Bearing Pots

Pottery and Social Dynamics in Late Archaic and Classical Polis Valley, Ithaca Island



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Cover illustration: Incised doodle of a warship on an Ithacan Late Archaic jug
(41) (photo: author)

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Στον πατέρα μου, στην μητέρα μου και στον αδελφό μου.

Είναι παιδιά πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων τα λόγια μας.

(Our arguments are the offspring of many people)

Giorgos Seferis

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**Ithacans Bearing Pots
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Archaic and Classical Polis Valley,
Ithaca Island**

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Preface and acknowledgements

This thesis was born in the dirt of a rescue excavation. I consider myself primarily a field archaeologist, though one who tries to understand the archaeological record and provide a meaningful interpretation, not just gather a few dozen more bucket loads of raw data and stockpile them into a damp storeroom. This thesis originates in the desire to present and interpret six Late Archaic and Classical (500-323 BC) fine ware pottery assemblages recovered during a rescue excavation at Polis valley, northern Ithaca. What spurred me to undertake this study was what appeared to be a series of glaring gaps in the evidence, both in a particularistic sense within the assemblages and in the wider picture of the total Late Archaic and Classical archaeological record of Ithaca.

The most conspicuous gap that became evident during excavation was that whilst quite a few Attic pots were being recovered, none of them was bearing figured decoration. The puzzlement increased when some of these were complete and preferred shapes for figured decoration, such as the type C cup and the lekythos. All were invariably plain black-glazed, not in only one assemblage or in one brief period of time but in all six assemblages and throughout the Late Archaic and Classical period. It is true that most of the Attic pottery presented here comes in small sherds, but it is equally true that a figured vessel can be distinguished by only a small sherd, not necessarily bearing part of the figure(s) but also part of the complementary decorative elements.

The other gap emerged by the realization that the Late Archaic and Classical contexts brought to light were rich in small finds indicating a fairly prosperous community. This comes in sharp contrast to the complete lack of any kind of monumental public architecture on Ithaca, cultural elements common in the rest of the Greek world in this time-span. Moreover, the character of the contexts uncovered defied all attempts to interpretation “at the trowel’s edge” (Hodder 1999, 80-104). In fact, every attempt to interpretation of the contexts made during the excavation proved untenable at a later stage. Thus, it became evident that a more in-depth analysis was necessary.

This thesis is the result of this more thorough analysis. It is by no means a definitive study. It is the first step of a work in progress; it is the vehicle by which

I put forward some initial ideas about the Ithacan Late Archaic and Classical fine ware pottery, its relationship with imported pottery, and its wider social significance in the local Ithacan context. Some books played a major role in shaping my approach. Kathleen M. Lynch's book: *The symposium in context: pottery from a Late Archaic house near the Athenian Agora*, was particularly inspiring with regard to the full contextual analysis of a pottery assemblage (Lynch 2011b). For the contextual analysis in general, Whitley's book on Greek archaeology proved essential (Whitley 2001). For the pottery analysis, as well as for his theoretical insights, I profited greatly from Erickson's study of Late Archaic and Classical pottery from Crete (Erickson 2010b). For Chapter 5, Schiffer's book dealing with the formation processes of the archaeological record was an eye-opener (Schiffer 1987). For the social significance of pottery, the edited volume *The complex past of pottery* proved invaluable and showed me the way forward when my mind was stuck (Crielaard *et al.* 1999). For Chapter 7, Broodbank's and Horden and Purcell's books offered the most essential insights into the whole gamut of issues treated in this thesis, from the importance of classification to the wider historical themes pertinent to the archaeology of an island (Broodbank 2000; Horden and Purcell 2000).

Despite the rigorously archaeological literature employed, like every archaeologist I do not live in an ivory tower detached from the reality of everyday life. The interpretations produced are always influenced by the political present, and this thesis is not an exception (Johnson 2010, 110-111, 205-206). I have been influenced by the way in which I personally perceive the current political situation in my country, Greece. There, in a state of acute economic crisis the politico-economic elite employs a wide array of strategies to deny the necessary structural reforms that would bring Greece closer to the European countries. These strategies are employed with the aim of maintaining the privileges enjoyed by the oligarchic politico-economic elite and their long-lasting, rent-seeking, clienteles and interest groups at the expense of the poor wage-labourers (Mitsopoulos and Pelagidis 2011).

For the accomplishment of this work I owe thanks to many colleagues and friends. I am indebted to Prof. R. Halbertsma for supervising my work and reading this admittedly lengthy thesis. I am also indebted to Prof. M.J. Versluys who introduced me to the complexities of archaeological theory, especially that of

materiality, as well as for bearing my sometimes difficult character during the thesis tutorials. I am also indebted to the staff of Leiden University Library who responded always promptly to my requests. My gratitude also goes to Professors C. Morgan, B. D'Agostino, S.I. Rotroff, E. Pemberton, and I. McPhee for answering my queries on black-glazed pottery.

This thesis would not have been realized if not for the ex-director of the 35th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Mr. Andreas Sotiriou, who recruited me back in 2005 and gave me the opportunity to work on my home island. Mrs. Eleni Papafloratos and the staff of the 35th Ephorate supported my work by dealing with all bureaucratic minutiae of obtaining permits and facilitating my internship and continuous work in the museum storerooms. All of them know better my difficult and stubborn character. I also thank Mrs. C. Fitzgerald and Mr. P. Steven for their cooperation and funding of my excavations in their property. Without their patience and perseverance there would be no archaeological record to study. My colleague on Ithaca, A. Sakkatos, helped me during the excavation and shared with me the excitement of discovery.

My lasting debt of gratitude goes to my parents and to my brother who have always supported me and suffered my stay in the Netherlands; to them this thesis is dedicated.

1 – Introduction

“Atheno-centrism is a condition that infects Classical scholarship in many areas, and especially pottery” (Pemberton 2003, 167)

1.1 The Object of study

Ithaca is an island not as much rich in history as in mythology. Ithaca’s Odyssean legacy proved tempting enough to attract researchers already from the beginning of the 19th century. The archaeology of Ithaca formally begins in the year 1807, when Sir William Gell’s monograph *The Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca* was published (Gell 1807). Although this early opening may at first suggest that Ithaca boasts a long research history, almost as long as that of Athens, this is a false impression. The prevailing research agenda has unvaryingly been that of the search for Odysseus’ palace and the Homeric city (Livitsanis 2013, 96-97). Failure to locate them regularly led to frustration and abandonment of any further investigation. As a result, research activity on Ithaca has been sporadic, and the extremely biased research objectives have created conspicuous gaps of knowledge.

One of the still dark periods of Ithaca’s archaeology is the Late Archaic and Classical (500 – 323 BC). Not least because an additional obstacle to the study of Ithaca’s Classical past, as traditionally professed, has been the virtually total absence of historical sources. For example, in his entry under the lemma *Ithaca* in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Murray remarks: “Curiously, Ithaca played no major role in the events of Classical Greece” (Murray 1996, 775). In his overview of the geopolitical role of the Ionian Islands in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, Sébastien Thiry cannot hide his frustration: “Pour Ithaque, les données disponibles sont si pauvres qu’il n’est pas possible de retenir cette île pour la présente étude” (Thiry 2001, 131, note 1). Consequently, the impression created for Classical Ithaca is that of a period of total silence and isolation. However, past archaeological activity has produced Classical evidence, but it has been neglected since research has traditionally focused on earlier periods, and there has never been any research program targeted to the Classical period.

The goal of this thesis is to make a first step into filling this glaring gap. It presents the results of a rescue excavation that revealed evidence for Ithaca's Classical past. The focus is on a set of Late Archaic (500 – 480 BC) and Classical (480 – 323 BC) fine pottery assemblages unearthed at Polis valley, north-western Ithaca. There are 143 pieces of fine ware pottery in total. Neither too many nor too few, enough as a representative sample which permits meaningful analysis. And as ancient Greece stood firm on two *skele*, Athens and Sparta (Plut. Cimon 16, 10), so this thesis is based on two *skele*; one is fieldwork and the other is literature. The first *skelos* focuses on the first attempt ever undertaken to establish, as far as the material permits, a working typo-chronology for the Ithacan fine pottery *ca.* 500-325 BC. Imported pottery found together with local is fundamental for establishing absolute chronologies and it is therefore included in this study. The focus on fine wares does not stem from an art-historical interest, far from it. Both local and imported pottery is unfit for an exercise in connoisseurship; it is black-glazed, semi-glazed, pattern-decorated, or plain. It has been chosen because it is considered valuable as a historical source.

In the second *skelos*, the material is scrutinized in an attempt to understand local practices and socio-cultural dynamics. In terms of a theoretical framework, this thesis moves on three axes. Classical Ithaca in general, and its ceramics in particular, can be ascribed to the wider debate concerning the so-called “third Greece”; that is, those regions and material expressions of Classical Greece upon which written sources do not throw light (Snodgrass 2002, 183). Secondly, this study seeks to contribute to the developing interest in the regional Greek Classical pottery (Osborne 2004, 90). In the last two decades, some thorough studies dealing with regional Classical pottery have appeared, opening new paths beyond the well-known Attic and Corinthian sequences. Finally, the third axis lays on the fact that Ithaca is an island. Island archaeology is a burgeoning sub-field of the discipline, one addressing issues often defined in opposition, such as connectivity and isolation, innovation and conservatism, sense of place and local identity (Horden and Purcell 2000; Broodbank 2000; Rainbird 2007; Knapp 2008).

Altogether the three axes furnish the fundamental question, and principal research query, of this thesis: can fragmentary and non-figured pottery cast light upon the nature of northern Ithacan society and history in the 5th and 4th centuries BC? An additional and interrelated research question, which opens a window to

future discoveries as well, is whether the archaeological record can confirm or correct the impression of an isolated and historically insignificant island community created by the paucity of textual evidence.

Why pottery is once again considered important for yet another thesis? Susan Sherratt offers a persuasive answer to that question which, however tediously repetitive may appear, it is worth quoting once more: “Thanks to its relentless lack of bio-degradability, pottery is a dominating fact of life in Mediterranean archaeology. It consumes endless resources and work hours in recovery, storage, recording, conservation, classification, analysis and interpretation, and it has its own specialist languages and exclusive mystiques. It is the primary building block of chronological frameworks, and it dominates our reading of the archaeological record of inter-regional relationships in general” (Sherratt 1999, 163).

Who would possibly benefit from this thesis? Besides a field archaeologist, I consider myself a historically minded archaeologist. The purpose of this research, as reflected in the research questions is, therefore, in a broad sense historical. Therefore, I have three possible categories of readers in mind. The first could be those scholars pursuing topics such as connectivity, trade, cultural exchange, identity, and the relationship between pottery and society in a small island context. Secondly, an important implication of such a study is that it will, hopefully, serve as a tool to assist the integration of future discoveries from the island of Ithaca itself or from the surrounding islands and mainland. If similar in date and style material is found in the surrounding regions, it could provide a starting point for an understanding of the regional pottery sequences, and perhaps re-examine potentially existing material so far ignored. The third audience is that interested in Ithaca itself. Those who have an interest in the archaeology and history of Ithaca, the general archaeological readership, and those colleagues who undertake or wish to undertake research on Ithaca, beyond a quest for Odysseus, and are struggling to envisage what may lay hidden.

1.2 Methodology and Structure

The principal methodological line in this study is the employment of full contextual analysis. The pottery under study originates from a well documented excavation, as well documented a rescue excavation can be, and it is therefore well suited for such a task. For the meaning of full contextual analysis, Lynch's definition is followed: "Contextual studies of artifacts aim to situate the artifacts in their temporal, spatial, and/or cultural environment in order to understand better their association with other artifacts and cultural activities" (Lynch 2011b, 1-3). James Whitley provides an equally lucid definition: "Contextual archaeology stresses that artefacts are always used and produced *for* some purpose, a purpose which we can sometimes infer from an analysis of their ultimate context of deposition." (emphasis in original) (Whitley 1994, 52). As Lynch further remarks, there can be a multi-dimensional approach to an artefact's, or to an assemblage of artefacts, context. Here, such a multi-dimensional contextual study is employed; a step-by-step procedure by subjecting the pottery to a multifaceted investigation and its various contextual dimensions are broken down and evaluated one at a time.

In the first part, or *skelos* (Chapters 2, 3, and 4), the fieldwork and its results are exposed. Chapter 2 sets the background of the excavation. It considers the *context of discovery*; that is, the previous fieldwork and intellectual framework in which this research matured. This context is fundamental in the sense that it inevitably influences the research agenda and from that background new research questions and approaches are formulated. It presents the circumstances in which the discovery was made; the uncertainties and biases that influenced early attempts to interpretation. It outlines the prevailing, until very recently, agendas in the archaeology of Ithaca in an attempt to underscore the gaps of knowledge which this study aims to, partially, fill. It is believed that such a discussion is essential in order to appreciate the potential of the pottery under study as a historical source for ancient Ithaca.

Chapter 3 is a presentation and evaluation of the *context of recovery*. The excavation process is described and the pottery is placed in its depositional setting. Each excavation area is described separately starting from the one in which the stratification was better preserved. Throughout the text, direct

references to individual pieces of pottery are made by using a number in boldface corresponding to the catalogue entry in Appendix I. The choice to present the catalogue as an Appendix was made in order not to overload the text with extensive and detailed descriptions. The same system of reference to individual pieces is used in all subsequent chapters. For each deposit-context an absolute chronology is indicated. Imported pottery, such as Attic and Corinthian, are well studied and serve as the chronological baseline. The essential tools for their chronology are the published studies on Attic, Corinthian, Laconian, and Elean ceramics, as it is discussed below (2.4). The principal function of Chapter 2 is to make readers realize why this excavation provides the necessary conditions for further contextual analysis.

Chapter 4 focuses on the pottery itself. That is, the *artefact-specific context*. It is divided in two parts. The first part deals with the methodology used for the visual examination of the fine ware pottery piece by piece. It discusses the criteria by which Ithacan pottery is distinguished and identified as such. Then the discussion shifts to the imported pottery. The focus is on what and when was imported; the patterns of distribution from the overseas production centres, their popularity with regard to provenance, and the decorative patterns preferred in the Ithacan context.

The second part deals with what appears to be Ithacan pottery. It is the study of the pottery's formal characteristics and the establishment of a typo-chronological sequence. The criteria with which local pieces are distinguished are discussed. A rationalization of the typological method adopted follows. The goal is to become familiar with an unfamiliar regional pottery style by describing its idiosyncrasies and eventual external influences. The association of local with imported pottery allows an initial assessment of the choices made; choices on what to import and use together with local material in those particular assemblages. This enables the discussion to tie in with the issues of interpretation in the subsequent chapters.

The second part, or *skelos* (Chapters 5, 6, and 7), is obviously the most intricate. It deals with the challenge of interpretation. Chapter 5 addresses the issue of the *context of use*. It focuses on the nature of the activities taking place by examining when, who, and for what reason used these particular pottery assemblages. An initial aim is to understand the cultural use of the pottery as it

can be inferred by its depositional context. The methodology followed is informed by an approach combining the study of site formation processes, object life-histories, assemblage analysis, and a hermeneutic procedure in identifying activities and socially significant behaviours.

The objective of Chapter 6 is to examine to what extent the nature of the inferred activities affected the choices for utilization of those particular sets of local and imported pottery (Whitley 1994, 52; Lynch 2011b, 1-3). Social activities practiced by members of the local society have an impact on material culture used in any given circumstances. These concerns have been recently introduced in Classical archaeology by scholars like Morgan and Whitelaw (1991), J. Whitley (1994), Crielaard *et al.* (1999), followed by the works of A. Kotsonas (2008), B. Erickson (2010b), K. Lynch (2011b), and now Bintliff and Caroscio (eds) (2013). In broad terms, the attempt is to understand what kind of society and behaviour creates particular deposits with particular assemblages of pottery. Cyprian Broodbank has highlighted the need to: "...bring the pot styles and other material texture of the island past back in, not just as markers of periods or archaeological culture groups, but as signifiers of island social practices...", and this is the ultimate goal of Chapter 6 (Broodbank 2000, 34).

The purpose of Chapter 7 is to address a series of questions of a broad historical character. It is an attempt to assess the potential of pottery as a historical source, its *historical context*. It focuses on key themes arising from the theoretical agenda of "island archaeology", as exemplified in influential publications such as Broodbank's (2000), Rainbird's (2007), and Knapp's (2008). For Broodbank: "...island history from the mid-eighteenth century AD back into the Pleistocene must be island archaeology, or essentially nothing at all." (Broodbank 2000, 15). Of particular importance is Horden and Purcell's book on the Mediterranean history, which highlights two fundamental long-term themes, the Mediterranean microregion and connectivity (Horden and Purcell 2000). These are two key elements in the investigation of how a Mediterranean society worked and offer valuable historical insights.

The discussion brings forward some additional but important and interlinked research questions that require critical scrutiny. Does the evidence of fine ware pottery production, circulation, and consumption reveal anything about the degree of active Ithacan involvement in the exchange networks? Who had

access to imported pottery and how its consumption was perhaps regulated in relation to local pottery production? Why were those choices made? Was the circulation of imported pottery regulated or even perhaps monopolized? Did local individuals or groups command and controlled commerce with the powerful city-states? What were the reasons behind the eventual patterns of fine ware pottery occurrences? Were those Ithacans living in a cultural backwater and isolated or were they actively participating in the developments taking place around them? Were they passive receivers of external cultural influences or were they actively manipulating it in order to fit into their social context? In sum, the information provided by the contextual analysis of the pottery will be critically scrutinized in an attempt to cast light on issues such as: insularity, acculturation, identity, and connectivity (Knapp 2008, 18-30).

1.3 Theoretical framework

This thesis is theoretically informed by two major schools of thought, one for each part. The first part (Chapters 2, 3, and 4) focuses on description, classification, and chronology. It is a traditional culture-historical approach, although one which excludes the most outdated aspects of this paradigm, ethnicity and population movements. In fact, as it will become clear older interpretations of the Ithacan archaeological record based on conjectural population movements will be effectively dismissed. However, a culture-historical core remains and forms the basis for distinguishing similarities and differences between Polis valley and other regions. Consequently, the first part offers a highly localized perspective of the fine ware pottery under study and functions as a background against which other approaches, more globally focused, will be tested. The second part (Chapters 5, 6, and 7) is informed by the theories of globalization and post-colonialism in a wider sense, and the post-processual approach. The post-processual tenet of this study will become evident in the employment of the concept of materiality, the human-thing entanglement which sees humans and things as equally active and bearing their own distinct agency. This approach brings together two schools of thought developed on opposite sides of the Atlantic, behavioural and post-processual archaeology (Hodder 2012, 15-17).

The globalization and post-colonial perspectives of this thesis become evident when one realizes that the focus is on people without history, in this case an island community without history. It follows the recent trend in Classical archaeology in shifting attention to been called “new Classical archaeology” by Ian Morris, or “contextual Classical archaeology” by Martin Millet, or more generally “Snodgrass School” (Whitley 2001, 55-57; Snodgrass 2002; Morris 2004, 262-263; Trigger 2006, 500-502; Millett 2012, 39-40). The efforts of the Classical archaeologists today are not solely directed to the well-known sites with monumental architecture and a profusion of *objets d’art* with the aid of abundant textual sources, but on historically less prominent regions (the so-called “Third Greece”) so far neglected by the archaeological scholarship, and the more mundane aspects of material culture such as regional pottery traditions (Versluys 2014, 2). A key post-colonial aspect of this study is that it does not adopt an outside perspective, what the Athenian or other historians or geographers said about Ithaca is irrelevant here; this is a research from the inside, from a local perspective. Consequently, by focusing on a very much localized phenomenon, we touch upon more global issues such as the above mentioned insularity, acculturation, identity, and connectivity.

2 – Background and contemporary research

“...until we know when, discussions of where, why, and how are inaccurate, largely irrelevant, and abstract scholarly exercises.” (Sanders 2003, 385)

2.1 Geographical setting

Ithaca is a small rocky island lying off the western coast of mainland Greece, in the Ionian Sea (fig 1). It is articulated in two roughly equal landmasses connected by a straight isthmus (fig 2). Ithaca is one of the seven Ionian Islands, collectively called Seven Islands or *Eptanisa*; the others are, from North to South, Kerkyra, Paxoi, Leukas, Kefalonia, and Kythira, although the last one is oriented towards the Aegean Sea between Laconia and the island of Crete. Ancient geographers treat Ithaca as a one-*polis* island and the best candidate for the urban centre is located on the isthmus, today called Aetos (Gehrke and Wirbelauer 2004, 360-361).

The most hospitable area for habitation in the northern part of the island is the area of Stavros village. It is a hilly landscape between the mountains of Anogi to the south, Exogi to the northwest and Marmakas to northeast. It is the most fertile terrain in northern Ithaca, with adequate water supply running from the surrounding mountains and numerous wells. The area is dominated by the Stavros-Pilikata ridge, 1km long and 200m wide, oriented north-south. From the ridge, one enjoys a view towards three major sea-lanes: to the south the strait between Ithaca and Kefalonia, to the north the sea between Ithaca and Leukas and to the east a more restricted view towards Akarnania. Polis valley and Polis bay is the natural getaway and harbour of Stavros area towards the south.



Figure 1: Map of Greece showing the position of Ithaca in relation to some major ancient city-states and regions (after Google Images)

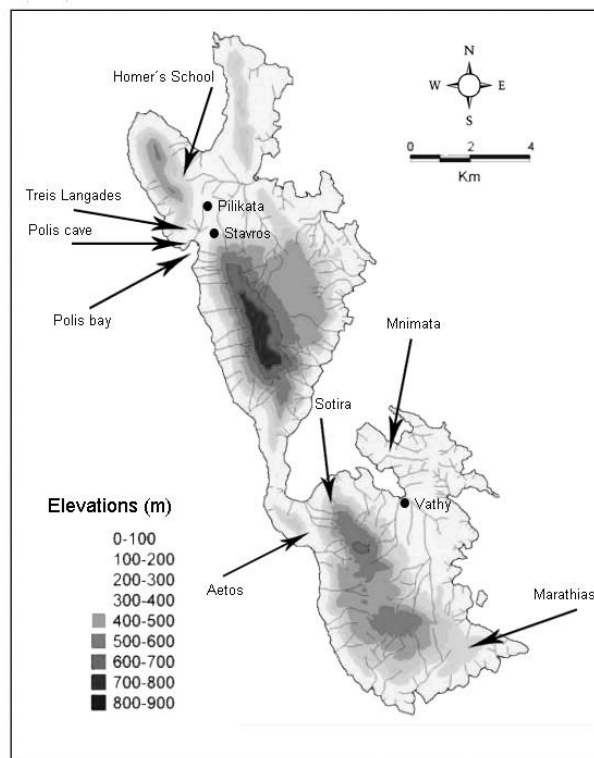


Figure 2: Map of Ithaca with some of the sites mentioned in the text (map: author)

The rescue excavation, which will be presented in detail in the following Chapter 3, took place at the property owned by Katerina Fitzgerald and Patrick Steven. The plot lies close to the north-eastern shore of Polis bay. Major sites of archaeological interest in the surrounding area are: the sea-shore Polis Cave, just across the bay; the Hellenistic fortress at Roussano ridge, above Polis Cave; the Mycenaean settlement at Treis Langades; and the ridge of Stavros-Pilikata (fig 3) (Waterhouse 1996; Morgan 2007). From the immediate surroundings of Fitzgerald-Steven plot, no major archaeological findings had ever been published. The natural soil is a white chalk-like earth, locally called “kimilia” (=chalky soil). When it is dry it is very hard and difficult to excavate. The white dust it produced in Summer time was especially annoying during excavation. Moreover, it tended to stuck hard a thick layer on the finds, especially on pottery, and often proved difficult to make reliable on-site stylistic and chronological interpretations.



Figure 3: Aerial photograph of Polis bay and valley, showing ancient sites mentioned in the text, view from the south-west (after ©Stavros “Delas” Dellaportas)

2.2 Assumptions and biases during excavation

The excavations lasted from 2007 to 2009, with long intermissions due to lack of adequate funding and available staff. Conditions in a rescue project make

excavation a challenge. There was not any predetermined excavation plan to follow. Trenches were opened in different places within the plot following the contractor's construction plan. Consequently, there was no complete picture of the archaeological situation until the very end. However, attempts to make sense of the archaeological remains were being made every day, even if there was the awareness that they could turn out to be completely misleading.

Since the first features to appear were Roman tile-graves, the earliest assumption was that the area was a cemetery. The excavation and the post-excavation analysis, however, have revealed that the site was used from the Mycenaean to the Late Roman period. The occupational history of the site will be exposed in detail in the following Chapter 3. There are in fact travellers' reports from the 19th century observing that the eastern slope of Polis valley was an ancient cemetery (Leake 1835, 45). When the Late Archaic and Classical deposits came to light in a disconnected and incomplete manner, they were initially interpreted as dwelling remains predating the Roman cemetery. At a later stage, when two graves, T. NKIII and T. BKIII, were believed to be associated with Late Archaic and Late Classical pottery respectively, there was the impression that the use of the cemetery could be pushed back in Late Archaic times. With this idea in mind, the pyres were interpreted as the remains of funerary meals in honour of the dead (Livitsanis 2013, 118). However, post-excavation analysis revealed that grave T. NKIII is in fact Mycenaean, and the tile-grave T. BKIII is most probably Roman. Therefore, the association of the pyres with funerary meals related to the initially presumed contemporary graves had to be discarded. Their true character remained elusive and one of the objectives of this thesis is the attempt to provide a plausible and reliable interpretation.

Finally, the choice itself of the object of study is biased. A study of the entire range of finds from each deposit would provide all possible information. However, cleaning and processing archaeological finds is a notoriously slow and difficult activity. Therefore, I had to make a choice and concentrate in one group of finds; those considered as having the greatest potential for providing sufficient and reliable information in a short period of time. That is why this research focuses only on fine pottery. The fine pottery consists of vessels made of clean clay and careful treatment of the surface. A careful surface treatment includes both decoration, either black-glaze or pattern decoration, and fine polishing. All

fine pottery is considered to have been used as table pottery, for eating and drinking. As it was mentioned above (1.1), there is no art-historical interest in the material under study. However, fine pottery is more likely to change in appearance over time and it is therefore crucial for making the first step, which is to establish a chronology (Erickson 2010b, 24). Moreover, it is far easier to detect imported pieces by examining fine pottery, and since pottery is the most abundant category of finds in any excavation, it is a reliable indicator of external contacts.

2.3 A brief outline of the archaeological record of Ithaca: a biased record

Ithaca figures as the home island of one of Homer's most prominent heroes, Odysseus. As a consequence, it attracted scholars and archaeologists with the aim of locating the Homeric town of Ithaca and the palace of Odysseus from the beginning of the 19th century (Steinhart and Wirbelauer 2002). The quest continued up until the end of the 20th century and for some archaeologists this is still today their only research goal (Livitsanis 2013, 95-97). As a result of this prevailing agenda, findings that could not somehow be associated with Ithaca's Homeric past have been regularly neglected. This approach was typical of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. This is no surprise, since traditional Classical archaeology with its strong links to the ancient textual evidence had created a whole branch of archaeology based on the Homeric Epics, and called "Homeric archaeology" (Snodgrass 2002, 181). And since Ithaca lacks later historical sources, the quest for Odysseus through the interpretation of the Homeric texts on the ground became the only acceptable research. The most systematic archaeological research on the island so far, and the best published, that of the British School in the 1930s, recovered a vast amount of evidence from all periods of antiquity. Nevertheless, the studied and published record stops abruptly in the early Archaic period, whilst all evidence from later periods has been neglected (Heurtley 1940, 5-13; Waterhouse 1996).

The inspiration of the British mission was once again purely Homeric (Waterhouse 1996, 301). However, the interpretation of the evidence, especially pottery, obeyed the then dominant culture-historical paradigm. Thus, Heurtley

interprets the appearance of Early Helladic and Middle Helladic pottery on Ithaca as two episodes of population movements (Heurtley 1934-35, 40-43). Furthermore, the culture-historical interpretation of pottery change by migration of peoples was extended to the Geometric and Archaic periods as well. The Corinthian pottery present in large numbers at Aetos was attributed to actual physical presence of Corinthians, and Aetos a Corinthian settlement, an explanation that still today is being advocated (Heurtley and Robertson 1948, 123-124; Coldstream 2003, 187; Waterhouse 1996, 313; D'Agostino 2012, 285). Northern Ithaca did not escape interpretations based on presumed population movements. Benton explicitly interprets the popularity of Corinthian pottery at Polis Cave as evidence for "...a Corinthian colonization of North Ithaca." (Benton 1938-39, 22). Waterhouse attempts to substantiate Benton's interpretation of a Corinthian colonization of northern Ithaca by emphasizing the presence of abundant Corinthian pottery at Stavros ridge during the Classical period (Waterhouse 1952, 242).

However, closer examination of the Late Geometric and Early Archaic ceramic record revealed that a large part of what was first considered Corinthian is in fact of local manufacture with strong Corinthian influences, even faithful copies. This local pottery was exported both in Greece and in Italy (Symeonoglou 1989; Morgan 2001; 2011, 114-115; D'Agostino and Gastaldi 2002, 160). As Morgan stresses: "Eighth-century Aetos was not dominated by Corinth, nor was it a Corinthian settlement", and continues: "Aetos was no mere trading post, but an extensive settlement dominated by a well-connected elite" (Morgan 2011, 115). Despite the fact that explanations based on the most traditional and obsolete aspect of the culture-historical paradigm, that is population movements, their more recent endorsement, by scholars such as Coldstream, is not without serious consequences. In his magnificent study of the non-Attic vase inscriptions, Rudolf Wachter accepts the alleged Corinthian colonization of Ithaca, based on the popularity of Corinthian pottery, as a matter of fact, and uses this highly unlikely reading as a basis for drawing conclusions about the development of the alphabet and writing systems of Corinth, Ithaca, and other western Greek areas (Wachter 2001, 229, 243). Regrettably, those conclusions are based on very weak premises.

Attempts to interpret the archaeological record of Ithaca in an extra-Homeric context focused on two main aspects, both from an outsider perspective.

The first approach seeks to find a place for Ithaca inside the East-West maritime routes, especially during the period of colonization (Waterhouse 1996, 309-315; Malkin 1998, 64-74, 94-119; D'Agostino 2012). Secondly, the rich sanctuary deposit of Polis Cave has been examined in relation to two scholarly debates: the continuity of cult from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age, and the hero or ancestors' cult (Antonaccio 1995, 152-154; Malkin 1998, 64-74, 94-119). The renewed interest on Ithacan archaeology reflects the recent trend in Classical archaeology in focusing on social and economic questions (Morris 2004, 262). Of major interest in this new Classical archaeology is the Early Iron Age, a period for which there is little or no textual evidence. That is why Catherine Morgan has launched in the last decade a research program combining a survey of Polis valley and the re-examination and full publication of the evidence produced by the British excavations in the 1930s; all this with a strong focus on the Early Iron Age and on local socio-cultural dynamics (Morgan 2001; 2006; 2007; 2011).

The sanctuary of Polis Cave has understandably received most of the attention. That is thanks to the finding of at least thirteen massive Protogeometric and Geometric cast bronze tripod-cauldrons (Benton 1934-35). Although the site provides evidence of use from at least the Mycenaean to the Augustan era, it is the tripod-cauldrons that have attracted most of the attention. As Malkin states: "It is one thing to find costly tripod dedications at great pan-Hellenic centers such as Olympia and (later) Delphi or Delos or even in great city sanctuaries such as the temples of Hera at Samos and Argos. [...] It is something completely different – in fact, unique – for more than twice as many such dedications to be found in a cave shrine on a tiny island in north-western Greece" (Malkin 1998, 94). Another important finding was a fragment of a mask bearing the inscription *IG IX I² IV 1615: εὐχὴν Ὀδυσσεῖ* (a dedication to Odysseus), dated in the 2nd century BC (Benton 1934-35, 54-55).

Given the Homeric focus of the research on Ithaca, discussions on Polis Cave revolved around the issue whether this is the cave where Odysseus placed the tripods received as gifts from the Phaiakians (*Odyssey* 13, 217-218 with *Odyssey* 13, 13). Arguments have been launched on whether the *Odyssey* text was influenced from a real sea-shore cave-sanctuary with tripod-cauldrons, or the other way around. Arguments on whether this was a sanctuary to Odysseus or

whether a hero-cult, with Odysseus as the recipient, were instigated. As for the origin of the tripod-cauldrons, Malkin suggests that they were dedicated by Euboian and Corinthian traders returning from a successful voyage in the western Mediterranean (Malkin 1998, 114-116). On the contrary, Morgan argues that the tripods originated in Ithaca, and the sanctuary was established by the elite rulers of Aetos in an attempt to mark their authority in the north (Morgan 2007, 77-78; 2011, 113), echoing De Polignac's theory of the "bipolar" city-state (Whitley 2001, 148-150).

2.4 Regional historical and archaeological context

It becomes evident that much of the Ithacan archaeological record has often been linked in one way or another with the Corinthian activities in the Ionian Sea. This is hardly surprising. In the second half of the 8th century, Corinth founded two major colonies on the shores of the Ionian Sea, Kerkyra and Syracuse. From the second half of the 7th until probably as late as the 5th century, Corinth founded, or dominated, a series of colonies on the coast of the Ionian Sea connecting the metropolis with the West: Leukas, Anaktorion, Ambrakia, Apollonia, Elea, Alyzeia, Sollion, Chalkis and Molykreion (fig 4) (Piccirilli 1995; Legon 2004, 468). By the beginning of the 5th century, the Athenians started showing a growing interest in the West, a policy probably inaugurated by Themistocles and further pursued by Pericles (De Ste. Croix 1972, 378-379; Burn 1984, 294; Piccirilli 1995, 207; Green 1996, 24-26).

The Athenian interest persisted throughout the 5th century and culminated in the foundation of Thurii (443 BC), and the catastrophic Sicilian expedition (415-413 BC). In the course of the 4th century, the role of Athens and Corinth was largely secondary due to the rise of new regional powers: the Western Greek federal states of Achaia, Aitolia, Akarnania with Leukas, and Epirus. A renewed Corinthian interest in the West, although indirect, emerged due to Timoleon's expedition in Sicily in 344 BC, which largely influenced the western Greek city-states throughout the second half of the 4th century BC (Talbert 1974). The positive effects of Timoleon's expedition resonate in the prolific Corinthian silver coinage dated in that half century. Moreover, fifteen of the Corinthian

dependencies on the coast of the Ionian Sea issued silver coins identical to the Corinthian save for the city initials and individual supplementary symbols (Talbert 1974, 168-172).

Significantly, neither Ithaca nor the poleis of Kefalonia and Zakynthos ever issued such coins. This could be taken as a further evidence for Ithaca's independence from Corinth. The most plausible explanation for those prolific issues of silver coinage is the commercial opportunities created by the revived, after Timoleon's successful expedition, production and commerce of Sicilian grain to Greece (Talbert 1974, 165-166, 169-170). The Corinthian dependencies issued coins identical to those of Corinth in order to benefit from their wide acceptance in Sicily and make profit from the participation in the grain commerce. And although Ithaca never issued such coins, there is evidence that Ithacan merchants participated actively in the commercial network of Ionian Sea and Sicily. A small hoard of 28 silver coins of the above mentioned issues was retrieved from the site of Aetos (Symeonoglou 1985, 205-208). Of them, 18 are Corinthian, seven from Leukas, and three from Anaktorion. It is obvious that even though Ithaca had not issued such coins, Ithacan merchant had easy access to them. Such an easy access indicates that Ithacans were somehow involved in the commercial network connecting Sicily with Greece.



Figure 4: Map of Greece showing the Corinthian settlements on the Ionian Sea coast (after Google Images)

Drawing a picture of the ancient history of the Ionian Islands in the Classical period is not an easy task. Thus, Sébastien Thiry starts his review as follows: “L’histoire antique des îles ioniennes souffre de nombreuses et longues zones d’ombre, dues à la peuvreté des sources littéraires, et au manque de données épigraphiques exploitables pour la recherché historique. Comparée à celle d’autres îles grecques, comme les Cyclades, ou les quatre grandes îles de l’Egée orientale, l’évolution historique des îles ioniennes dans l’Antiquité peut apparaître à première vue, bien terne et sans relief” (Thiry 2001, 131). Despite Thiry’s pessimistic tone, the lack of textual evidence should not be considered a problem, but a potential. The potential the archaeological record may have as a social historical source. More than a century ago the Dutch archaeologist Wilhelm

Vollgraff remarked that any finding on Ithaca is a valuable historical source, since ancient textual sources are almost inexistent (Vollgraff 1905, 163). To put it another way, the Classical archaeology of Ithaca is essentially a prehistoric archaeology. The only available source is the archaeological record. In our case, pottery is the source, and the contextual analysis of pottery has proven to provide convincing results (Whitley 1994; 2001, 56, 248-252).

With regard to material culture, Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Ithaca was the northwesternmost boundary of the Aegean world. In fact, there are no Mycenaean or Protogeometric finds of any importance on the islands of Leukas and Kerkyra (Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999). Morris included Ithaca in his “western Greek” cultural region, sharing expressions of material culture together with most of the Peloponnese, western-central Greece and the islands of the southern Ionian Sea (Morris 1998a). Although his observations are enlightening, Ithaca in Archaic and Classical times stood in the middle of a deeply fragmented cultural and political milieu. Whilst federal states, the *ethne*, prevailed, there were also the colonial *poleis*, such as Leukas, Ambrakia, Kerkyra, with a fully developed urban character since their foundation; and the non-colonial *poleis*, such as Ithaca itself, the four *poleis* of Kefalonia island and Zakynthos. Consequently, Ithacan society could potentially have been subjected to a variety of cultural or political influences.

Polis and Aetos are two sites strategically positioned to survey the East – West maritime routes (fig 4). Therefore, it is no surprise that Aetos in particular demonstrates a wealth of imported objects from a wide range of sources throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. The elite residing at Aetos marked their status through their connections with foreigners, probably peer elites. Ithacans were active participants in this East – West trading networks (Morgan 2009, 16-17; 2011). The island itself seems to have been an important hub and port of call as it controls the coast wise sailing along the western Greek coast, the exit of the Corinthian gulf, and the route northwards for those sailing around the Peloponnese. It is in this context that we should appreciate the importance of the local inscription, in hexameters, citing the institutions of *xenia* and *philia*, their earliest attestations in Greece, c. 700 BC (*IG IX I² IV 1679*: ξένΦος τε φίλος καὶ πιστὸς ἑταίρος; “guest-friend, dear-friend, and trusted comrade”) (Heurtley and

Robertson 1948, 81-82; Jeffery 1961, 230, 409). Notably, the local alphabet is not Corinthian but closer to the Achaian.

Northern Ithaca in the Early Iron Age seems almost uninhabited. Polis Cave apart, early and more recent excavations have not revealed any unambiguous evidence for habitation (Morgan 2007, 79-80). Recent rescue excavations have not altered this picture, although one should be aware that archaeological research in Ithaca has covered only a very small part of the area (Livitsanis 2013). It is well known that absence of evidence does not imply evidence of absence. If rescue excavations could reveal a hitherto unknown Roman city, then an eventual location of an Early Iron Age settlement in northern Ithaca should not be excluded. The available evidence suggests that habitation in northern Ithaca becomes significant in the late 7th century (Morgan 2007, 79-78). Significantly, it coincides with the foundation of the Corinthian colonies of Leukas, Anaktorion, and Ambrakia, thus creating a new axis of communication and interaction. Morgan observes that Late Archaic and Classical pottery from northern Ithaca draws closer to northwestern-Greek and Corinthian productions, whereas Attic imports and wider Peloponnesian influences are more prominent in the south. Moreover, she draws an overall picture of the island in the later Archaic and Classical periods as a backwater in the material expression of local identity, especially with regard to public buildings, and concludes that: "Ithaca was not an active partner in this, but merely responded to changes in local context" (Morgan 2007, 80-81).

In sum, Ithaca stood in the middle of a region with intense maritime and political activities. The Ionian Sea was an extremely active sea route connecting East and West, the powerful Greek city-states of the Aegean with the equally powerful colonies and indigenous peoples of the central and western Mediterranean. Ithaca figures as a prominent port of call, more than the much larger neighbouring island of Kefalonia, in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax (Scyl. 34: νῆσός ἐστιν Ἰθάκη, καὶ πόλις καὶ λιμὴν' μετὰ ταῦτα νῆσος Κεφαληνία.) dated in the third quarter of the 4th century BC (Shipley 2012). The crucial question is whether Ithacans were indeed passive receivers of all the developments happening around them, or whether they were active members. Was Ithacan society closed and introverted despite its well-integrated Geometric and Early Archaic past?

What can the study of the pottery assemblages from northern Ithaca reveal? If pottery has a potential for understanding social dynamics in a given context, then we should consider briefly how Classical Greek pottery has been so far approached.

2.5 Greek Late Archaic and Classical pottery

It is conventional wisdom that Classical Greek pottery has been so painstakingly studied that there is little more to know about it. Is that true? Studies regarding Late Archaic and Classical pottery traditionally focus on Attic figured pots, both black- and red-figured. In fact, Classical pottery as a term is often taken as synonymous with Attic figured pottery. Attic figured pottery is treated as art, a second best source for the now lost ancient monumental painting. As Vladimir Stissi has remarked: “many categories of pots have been ignored a priori, because they play no role in Beazleyan scholarship: plain and Black Glaze Attic pots, most of the simpler and coarser figured ones, as well as all non-Attic wares” (Stissi 1999, 93). This attitude created an “Athenocentric” view of Classical pottery in general, since the most abundant and better crafted figured pottery was Attic. Since most scholars concentrated on Athens and its archaeological record, the publication of Attic non-figured Classical pottery was until recently the only available tool to study the pottery from other regions (Sparkes and Talcott, 1970).

In the last two decades, some new publications throw light on Classical pottery other than Attic. Corinthian pottery had already received particular attention thanks to its exquisite Geometric, Orientalizing, and Archaic pottery. However, the Classical pottery, far less figure-decorated than the Attic, received systematic publication only as late as 2001 (Risser 2001), with some notable exceptions like the Vrysoula Classical deposit (Pemberton 1970). Another important deposit of Late Classical pottery was published last year, forty years after its excavation (McPhee *et al.* 2012). Laconian black-glazed pottery has recently received thorough study (Stibbe and Nafissi 1989; Stibbe 1994; 2000). The long-lasting German excavations at Olympia have produced a monograph on local Elean Classical black-glazed open shapes (Schilbach 1995). It is a very welcome addition to the earlier publications of pottery from the wells beneath the

stadion (Gauer 1975), and the nearby settlement of Babes (Lang 1992). A peculiar class of Elean lekythoi has been thoroughly treated by Ulrich Sinn (1981). Elean Classical black-glazed pottery looks very much like Attic, both in glaze quality and in fabric. Important closed-groups of Elean Classical pottery from graves, well-dated from imports, have also been published (Arapogianni 1999; Georgiadou 2005). Pottery of the 6th and 5th centuries from the island of Crete has been systematically studied and published only recently (Erickson 2010b). That is because, as in the case of Ithaca, prevailing research agendas focused on its Minoan past.

Moving closer to Ithaca, the only publication of a small group of Classical pottery from Achaia has appeared in an article just two years ago (Maniaki 2011). Classical pottery from the immediate surrounding of Ithaca, like the islands of Kefalonia and Leukas, and the coasts of Akarnania and Aitolia, is virtually unknown. The only class of pottery from this area to receive any notice is a group of lekythoi bearing a distinctive regional red-figure style (McPhee 1979); and thus, it is considered of some art-historical importance. This scholarly state of affairs makes evident the fact that Greek Classical pottery is far less well-known than any other aspect of Classical Greek material culture. Greek Classical culture is supposed to be one of the most intensively and well understood archaeological records in the world. But when one turns to pottery, this is hardly the case. As has been already observed, in most cases where Archaic and Classical material is published, undecorated fines are excluded (Erickson 2010b, 24 note 5, 325 note 70). In fact, our understanding of Greek Classical non-figured finewares is very limited when compared to that of other periods, nor is there a synthetic work on regional Classical pottery styles such as those for Mycenaean and Geometric (Coldstream 1968; Mountjoy 1999). For a comparison, it can be mentioned the Hellenistic pottery which becomes increasingly well understood both for Greece and for the rest of the Mediterranean thanks to the specifically for this reason organized international conferences and the published proceedings.

2.6 Previous research on Ithacan pottery

One of the questions that seek an answer is whether there actually was an Ithacan pottery production in Late Archaic and Classical times. Previous scholarship identifies a rich local Protogeometric, Late Geometric and Early Archaic ceramic tradition. The Ithacan Protogeometric pottery style followed the Western Greek tradition with characteristic shapes and decoration (Heurtley and Lorimer 1932-33; Benton 1938-39, 13-17; Benton 1953, 267-270; Coulson 1991; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 109-116; Deoudi 2008). Ithacan Protogeometric has already undergone sequencing and dating, although there are slight variations between the chronological phases proposed by Coulson, Souyoudzoglou-Haywood, and Deoudi. The problem is that any attempt to put this material in a chronological sequence is based only on stylistic analysis, since it comes from mixed, unstratified deposits. Therefore, despite its overall reliability, it cannot be anchored chronologically with precision (Dickinson 2006, 18).

In the Late Geometric and Early Archaic, the Corinthian influence was increasingly felt and Ithacan pottery strongly resembles Corinthian prototypes, and as was mentioned above (2.3), in some cases Ithacan potters imitated successfully their Corinthian counterparts. A group of Corinthian-looking vases bear large and distinctive marks in added red on the underside. This group was attributed by Symeonoglou to a local workshop, the Kandyliotis workshop (Symeonoglou 1989). However, the marks in added colour cannot be securely identified as potter's marks. They could be owner's or trader's marks. It is remarkable that neither Robertson nor Benton had considered them as potter's marks. Therefore, this group of pots does not provide secure evidence for a local faithful imitation of Corinthian fabric and decoration. Besides the Ithacan Corinthianizing style, Ithacan potters created their own idiosyncratic figurative style, but seemingly only for a brief period (Morgan 2001; 2006; 2011, 114-115).

The Ithacan pottery fabric was first described by Martin Robertson (Heurtley and Robertson 1948, 103-113). He identified a brownish-buff fabric together with a paler variety. Subsequently, Sylvia Benton distinguishes two different Ithacan fabrics: one she calls "Ithacan Red Technique" with reddish clay, and the other "Ithacan White Technique" with whitish clay (Benton 1953, 265-266, 320). Benton's observations seem to confirm the distinction made earlier by

Robertson. Firing can be uneven and sections with different tinges are often encountered. It is often fired medium-hard and it contains small inclusions of various colour, and often micaceous. Frequently, mica and red, white, and grey inclusions are visible on the surface when a piece is not fully coated (Morgan 2001, 197). Examining the local Protogeometric pottery from Polis cave, Coulson also distinguished two different fabrics, a pale (5Y 8/4 to 5Y 7/6) and a reddish (5YR 7/6-7/8) (Coulson 1991, 60). Souyoudzoglou-Haywood as well noticed two different fabrics, pale yellowish and a pinkish (Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 109). In sum, Ithacan fabric seems to appear in two different colours, pale or reddish, it is at times micaceous with visible small inclusions and sometimes bearing a white slip.

However, after the Early Achaic times, there is no published evidence of a continuing local pottery production. Pottery of the Late Archaic and Classical periods has been found at Stavros village and at Polis Cave (Benton 1938-39, 20-51). The pottery from Polis Cave has been recently revisited by Deoudi who focused on the more complete vessels, whilst the bulk of the sherd material still awaits full publication (Deoudi 2008). The pottery from Stavros village was summarily presented several decades ago and in not too accurate terms (Waterhouse 1952). The only, somewhat derisive, allusion to a possible local production is made by Waterhouse while describing a fragment of a black-glazed krater decorated with an idiosyncratic “West-Slope” style (Waterhouse 1952, 235, No. 10: “Perhaps it was the bright idea of some Ithacan potter?”). Only Sylvia Benton seems to have entertained the idea of an Ithacan Classical pottery production (Waterhouse 1952, 235, and note 46).

Both assemblages are currently under study by C. Morgan and some general information is available (Morgan 2007, 80). In presenting the pottery assemblage from Polis Cave, Deoudi seems unable to identify any local ceramics after the Protogeometric. It should be mentioned that, curiously enough, Ithacan Late Geometric and Early Archaic pottery so abundant at Aetos is completely absent from Polis Cave. However, Late Archaic and Classical pottery is plentiful. Yet, Deoudi identifies none of these as Ithacan. Should we then consider that Ithacan potters ceased their activity during the Archaic times? Is it an issue of research and publication bias? Have we been unable so far to identify Late Archaic and Classical Ithacan pottery? Or is there a combination of all the above

combined with a potential radical change of the local pottery style that renders it less likely to have attracted attention?

2.7 Discussion

In the Early Iron Age and the Orientalizing period, Ithacan pottery follows the wider trends in western Greek pottery production. On the other hand, it incorporated new elements, mainly under Corinthian influence with which seems to have had the closest contacts. The published material is silent about most of the Archaic and Classical periods. There is not enough published evidence to show if those trends continued beyond the first quarter of the 7th century BC. However, enough material seems to have been unearthed, both in southern and northern Ithaca during the British excavations. It simply seems that this material has not been adequately scrutinized with the aim of examining whether there was, or not, continuity in Ithacan pottery production.

The re-examination of the unpublished material undertaken by Catherine Morgan will certainly produce interesting results; there is, however, a basic weakness. The available pottery comes from unstratified and mixed deposits. Even the correct identification of local pieces will tell us little if there is no possibility to cross-date them with imports excavated in closed find-groups. In that case, the only available methodology would be the stylistic analysis, which inevitably produces floating sequences not easily fixed chronologically. What is necessary is the recovery of closed find-groups, closed contexts containing both local and well-dated imported pottery. Such contexts have the potential to fill the gaps in the Archaic and Classical Ithacan archaeology, establish a correct chronological frame and apply it to other aspects of the local material culture in order to begin interpreting and drawing conclusions about the Archaic and Classical Ithacan society and history.

It is believed that the excavation presented in the next chapter fulfils all the necessary conditions for such a task. Distinct, closed contexts containing both local and well-dated imports were excavated. They cover a time frame of two centuries, the 5th and the 4th; they are, therefore, ideal for a first attempt to date, describe, and interpret late Archaic and Classical Ithacan pottery as an aspect of

the local material culture and its social implications. If Morgan's observation regarding the lack of Classical public buildings is correct, something supported by the so far available evidence, it could be interesting to examine what pottery can tell us about it. The interpretative value of pottery rests, ultimately, on its capacity to help explain other contemporary phenomena.

bulldozer exposing a section of the stratification (fig 6). When I inspected the exposed profile I located the remains of a tile-grave and concentrations of pottery and tile fragments stretching for roughly 20m. The Director of the 35th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities was immediately informed and the order was issued to suspend any further earthmoving works and to commence a rescue excavation.



Figure 6: The bulldozer cut adjacent to the road, view from the northwest (photo: author)

The evaluation of the circumstances for a rescue excavation revealed some serious limitations. The workmen were untrained for archaeological excavations, the equipment was inadequate, and there was no predetermined timetable to finish the task. For these reasons the excavation method had to be appropriate, realistic, and versatile. The most appropriate method to provide the most information in as less time as possible was that of test-pits. The exposed section was the base line. Each test-pit would expose three vertical sections and would be open to the west, facing the road. The excavation was carried out in horizontal sweeps of about 10cm. That was considered the most appropriate procedure for untrained workmen. If a particular feature, like a pit or a large accumulation, was revealed, then it would be excavated by Stratigraphic Unit. If an area proved to be rich in finds, then the trench would be expanded. The baulk sections would provide a vertical view of the strata and facilitate their recording.

Another important issue was the safety of the exposed antiquities. The excavation was fully visible and easily accessible to onlookers passing by the

road, to and from Polis beach. Obviously, no find accumulations could stay exposed for long time. They had to be recorded and removed as soon as possible. For that reason, contexts were not exposed in their full extent, especially find accumulations. Instead, they were excavated and removed in small parts. That is why there is no photographic record documenting the entire extent of a context or pottery accumulation. A better adapted to the situation cumulative record was the plan-drawing. Every context, feature, and significant find would be recorded on the plan as it appeared. The excavation in restricted areas also enabled an excellent control over the retrieval of artefacts. In fact, every single sherd was retrieved, irrespective of quality or size. Nothing has been discarded.

3.1.1 Definitions

Rarely two field archaeologists use the same terms to describe what they observe during excavation; and often they use the same term to describe different things. Therefore, it is essential to clarify the terminology employed in the following pages. Every archaeological deposit consists of observable results of past actions, or events. Digging a trench, the fill of that trench, or a burial deposition, are such actions. These archaeologically observable results of past actions are here termed *stratigraphic units*. The finds from each stratigraphic unit is a *lot*. When groups of stratigraphic units, or just one stratigraphic unit, are considered spatiotemporally related so as to represent one distinct depositional event, then that group is considered a *context*. The finds within a context constitute the *assemblage*. The assemblage can be divided in separate find-groups with common characteristics. In this study we focus on the assemblages of fineware pottery. When a context was found in its original location, that is *in situ*, and unmixed, then it is called *use-related primary context* (Sharer and Ashmore 1987, 82). When the context was moved from its original location but preserved its original function, and subsequently remained unmixed, it is called *transposed primary context* (Sharer and Ashmore 1987, 83). In both cases, the contexts can also be called *closed contexts*; the assemblages of those contexts are called *closed find-groups*, and the artefacts therein are considered to have been used, and deposited, at the same time.

3.2 Area TT

By far the most important proved to be Area TT, facing the road (figs 5, 7-8). The total area excavated reached 100m², divided into six trenches. It was decided to start by cleaning the remains of tile-grave to the south, and then proceed to the north. Trench TT1 was set up exactly above the tile-grave. Of the tile-grave, only one small part was preserved, the right leg, the rest was destroyed by the bulldozer. There were no grave goods for an accurate chronology. However, finger-print patterns on the tile's interior surface indicate that it was Roman. Trench TT2 covered an area of 4m². Nothing was found at the western half. At the eastern half, however, an ash deposit was revealed, an accumulation of black greasy soil 20cm thick. This ash deposit was labelled as Pyre 1 (fig 9). It contained numerous tile fragment and pottery sherds, all undecorated and undiagnostic. There were no base, rim, or handle fragments to give any immediate chronological indication. The ash deposit laid directly on the natural, white, *kimilia* soil.

Between trench TT2 and that to the north, TT3, a baulk 2.2m wide was left in order not to disturb an olive tree. Trench TT3 covered an area of 7.5m². At the eastern part, another ash deposit was revealed. At that stage it was considered the continuation of Pyre 1 to the north. It contained tile fragments and the first diagnostic sherds, **107** and **128**. Here too the ash deposit was found laying directly on the natural, white, *kimilia* soil. At the central and western part of the trench, the natural *kimilia* dropped abruptly from east to west and from north to south. At the western edge of the trench was revealed a stretch of a rubble wall built with small and medium size rough stones. Only the inner face was preserved at a height of 0.35m, the outer face was destroyed by the bulldozer. Adjacent to the inner face of the wall was found jug **146** (fig 7).



Figure 9: Area TT, Trench TT2. The partially uncovered Pyre 1 (photo: author)

The ash layers in trenches TT2 and TT3 were found at a depth of 0.70m and 1.00m respectively. They were undisturbed, indicating that in Area TT there were undisturbed ancient layers with small finds, buried under a thick layer of soil. This fact led to the decision to open a new large trench, north of trench TT3, leaving a baulk between them just 0.70m wide. Trench TT4 covered an area of 25m² and extended further to the east, upslope, by 1.50m more than trench TT3. There, the effect of the steep slope was felt, since moving eastwards, upslope, meant that more soil had to be removed in order to reach the ancient strata. Nonetheless, deeper accumulations of soil promised better preserved deposits. Indeed, after 0.50m of sterile soil the ancient deposits were met. At the south-eastern part of the trench, an ash deposit was revealed. The amount of pottery found therein was surprising and appeared to be a primary context. It was labelled Pyre 3. It was the same context with that identified in Trench TT3 (fig 7).

Pyre 3 laid directly on the natural, white, *kimilia* soil. Towards west, the natural soil drops abruptly, almost vertically, for 0.80m. Then follows a roughly level ground 1.50m wide, demarcated to the west by the continuation of the rubble wall first identified in trench TT3. The area between the wall and the vertical face of the natural soil was filled with another ash deposit containing Late Archaic pottery and other small finds. It was labeled Pyre 2, and since it was adjacent and in physical contact with the inner face of the wall, now labeled Wall 1, it also provided a *terminus ante quem* for its construction (fig 7). Near the north-eastern corner of the trench, a rounded pit (pit RP) was discovered. It has an upper

diameter of 0.70-0.80m, it is 0.40m deep with walls sloping inwards from top to bottom. On the top of the pit was found resting obliquely a broken but complete, coarse-ware hydria (fig 7). At the western edge of the pit, stood an upright stone, well fixed in place, evidence for another wall, Wall 2, which extended beyond the northern limit of Trench TT4 (fig 7).

The rich in features and small finds Trench TT4, dictated its expansion towards north and east, and the subsequent unification of the trenches in order to obtain a full view of the situation. That would result in an area excavation, an excavation area terraced into the slope. Trench TT5 was set up directly north of Trench TT4, without intervening baulk. It covered an area of 29m². The aim of Trench TT5 was to trace the eventual continuation of Pyre 2, and Walls 1 and 2. A small number of pots and sherds were found lying in the space between Walls 1 and 2. Wall 2 proved to be a short, but solid, stretch of rough masonry with only an outer face. What came as a surprise was that at its northern edge was found *in situ* a complete bronze cauldron; it was, however, crushed in its place. No pottery or any other find was found north of the cauldron. Wall 1 continued to the north and reached an overall length of 15m.

On the outer face of Wall 1, substantial remains of Roman or Late Antique occupation were found. A destruction layer with pottery, amphorae, tiles, vessel glass and other small objects suggest habitation activity (fig 10). Unfortunately, the bulldozer cut and the construction of the modern road in the previous century, had destroyed the largest part of this horizon, so it is difficult to assess the true nature of that activity. However, at a distance of 2.5m to the south of the northernmost end of Wall 1, the wall itself is badly damaged. Exactly in that spot there is a stretch of wall, Wall 3, built at right angles and anchored inside the destroyed part of Wall 1. Its orientation is east-west and on both its sides the Roman/Late Antique deposit was found. So it is plausible that Wall 3 was contemporary with the Roman/Late Antique occupation suggesting habitation activity, reusing Wall 1 as a convenient backing wall.



Figure 10: Roman – Late Antique destruction layer (photo: author)

After excavating Trench TT5, the baulk between trenches TT3 and TT4 was removed in order to unify the area. The next step was to expand trenches TT3 and TT4 to the east, in order to completely expose Pyre 3. The problem was that expanding upslope meant that the soil covering the ancient strata would be deeper and its removal time consuming. It was decided to excavate a 10m long and 2 to 3m wide trench, Trench TT6 covering 25m²; then reach behind trench TT2 and thereby reveal more of Pyre 1 as well. As it was expected, the soil covering the ancient strata reached a depth of 1.50m. Pyre 3 was uncovered almost completely. It proved that it was delimited to the east by yet another wall, Wall 4, surviving only as a short stretch of rubble masonry 1.8m long. More of Pyre 1 was uncovered. The ash layer contained more of the undiagnostic sherds. This time, however, a bronze fibula and a bronze spatula were found, suggesting a Hellenistic date. Moreover, it stood at a level 0.5m higher than that of Pyre 3, and consequently it is later.

3.2.1 Stratigraphy

During the excavation of Trench TT4, the northern face of the baulk between trenches TT3 and TT4 was used as the stratigraphic section A-A' (figs 11-12; Table 1). Section A-A' proved to be highly representative. It intersects the main features of Area TT, Pyre 2 and Pyre 3, and depicts with precision the various Stratigraphic Units (hence: SU). When Trench TT6 was excavated, the

stratigraphic section was expanded to the east to integrate the continuation of the layers.



Figure 11: The stratigraphic section A – A' in Trench TT4 prior to the excavation of Trench TT6 (photo: author)

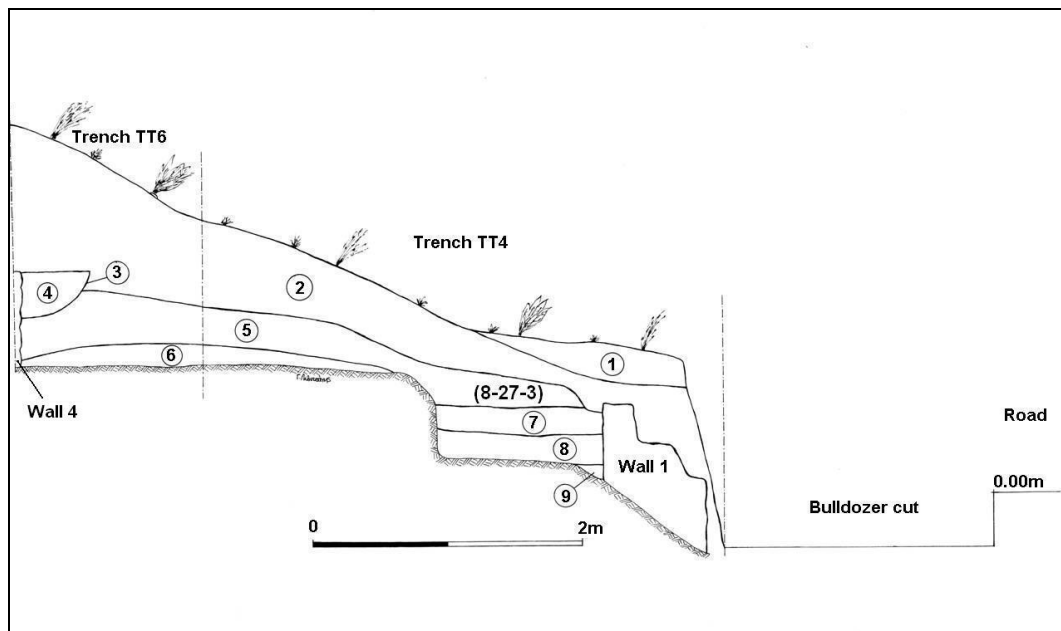


Figure 12: Stratigraphic profile section A – A' (drawing: author)

SU1 is the latest of all. It is a sandy layer mixed with small-grained gravel and plant-roots. No artefacts were found in it. Apparently, it is the finest material

that has run down slopes and settled on top of the more compact sediment. SU2 is compact sediment consisting of brown soil, small to medium sized stones, and some lumps of hard *kimilia*. It is devoid of any artefact. Apparently, it is the result of down slope erosive sedimentation. The importance of SU2 is that it buried and protected the ancient contexts. It also functioned as a thick cultivation layer, a “shield” which saved the antiquities from the plough. In fact, partially inside SU2, and SU5, and against Wall 4, were found SU3-4. It is a roughly semicircular pit, 0.80m in diameter and 0.40m deep. It was found filled with grayish soil but no artefacts. Thanks to existence of SU 2 and 5 it did not disturb Pyre 3 at all. SU2 extended above Wall 1 and covered the Roman/Late Antique destruction layer, west of Wall 1, as well.

The interface between SU2 and 5 is extremely clear-cut and readily distinguishable. SU5 is essentially a layer of the natural white *kimilia* soil mixed with some quantity of brown earth. It covered both Pyre 2 and Pyre 3 and therefore, accumulated after their abandonment. In the western part of SU5 started appearing pottery sherds. It seems that during its formation, it swept pottery sherds from both Pyres forming a find-group of mixed pottery. This find-group is labeled SU8-27-3 and Lot 8-27-3. SU5 did not extent in Trench TT5. To the south, it was observed that on top of it stood Pyre 1. It is not clear whether its formation was entirely due to natural or anthropogenic causes. The latter might imply that after the abandonment of the later Pyre 3, both pyres were intentionally covered with this layer in order to level the ground and prepare the area to receive more pyres, like Pyre 1.

SU6 is Pyre 3, and SU7, 8, and 9 constitute Pyre 2. They will be discussed in detail below in paragraphs 3.2.3 and 3.2.4. SU7 and 8 were assigned to superimposed layers of slightly different colour during excavation at the southwestern corner of Trench TT4. SU9 was thought to be the fill of the foundation trench of Wall 1. As the excavation progressed, it became evident that they are all parts of the Pyre 2 context.

Table 1: Stratigraphy of profile section A – A´

<i>Stratigraphic Unit</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Lot</i>
1	Loose, light grey, sandy soil with small-grained gravel and plant-roots	—
2	Hard-packed brown clayish soil, numerous small and medium sized stones and lumps of white <i>kimilia</i>	—
3	Pit cutting	—
4	Pitt filling	—
5	White <i>kimilia</i> soil. Some quantity of brown clayish soil. Pottery sherds	5
6	Black greasy soil. White <i>kimilia</i> soil. Pottery sherds. Complete and nearly complete pots	6, 30
8-27-3	White <i>kimilia</i> soil. Pottery sherds	8-27-3
7	Brown soil mixed with black greasy ash. Pottery sherds	10
8	Black greasy soil. Pottery sherds	10
9	Black greasy soil. Pottery sherds	11

3.2.2 Architecture

The only architectural remains in Area TT are the four walls. Only Walls 1, 2, and 4 are contemporary with the pyres.

Wall 1 is the most prominent. It is oriented north-south and preserved at a length of 15m (figs 7, 13-14). Its average width is 0.90m, with a maximum width of 1.30m. The maximum preserved height of the exterior face is 0.70m, and that of the interior 0.90m. It was built with roughly worked stones bound with clayey mud. The exterior, western, face is built with medium to large stones, whereas the interior, eastern face with smaller stones. Although unappealing to the eye, it is a solid construction and fit for purpose. No foundation trench was identified, so its date of construction can be deduced only in relative terms. The deposit of Pyre 2 was lying against its interior face and therefore, Wall 1 must antedate Pyre 2. So

Wall 1 must have been built towards the end of the 6th century BC, or during the first two decades of the 5th at the latest.



Figure 13: Area TT, Wall 1 (photo: author)



Figure 14: Area TT, Wall 1, interior face (photo: author)

Wall 2 is a short stretch of rough masonry, 1.70m long and 0.40m wide. Its maximum preserved height is 0.40m (figs 7, 15). Its orientation is northeast-

southwest. It was built directly against the natural soil without interior face. Small finds belonging to Pyre 2 around it, combined with the fact that at its northeastern extremity was placed the bronze cauldron, suggest that it was contemporary to Pyre 2. Its function is not clear, and instead of a true wall it might have been a roughly built bench for those hypothetically sitting near the bronze cauldron.



Figure 15: Area TT, Wall 2, view from the west (photo: author)

From Wall 4, only a short stretch seems to have survived, 1.80m long with a preserved height of 0.90m (figs 7, 16). It was found exactly on the eastern section of Trench TT6 and therefore, only the part facing west was uncovered. It runs parallel to Wall 1 and at a distance of 5m east of it. It was built with small to medium sized stones bound with clayey mud. There is no evidence for its date of construction. However, it was clearly the eastern limit of Pyre 3.



Figure 16: Area TT, Wall 4, view from the west; the darker stain on its face indicates the position of the pit represented by SU3-4 (photo: author)

These architectural remains strongly suggest that Wall 1 functioned as a strong retaining wall in order to level the ground behind as a terrace and render it suitable for human occupation. It is probable that Wall 4 had a similar role creating another level terrace further to the east and upslope. Future investigation might shed light on this possibility. What seems clear is that a long, level, 5m wide space was created between Walls 1 and 4, able to host the activities of a group, or groups, of people. It is significant to note that the lack of any additional architectural features connecting these parallel walls compellingly indicates that the level terraces were open spaces. Therefore, any kind of activity would have taken place in the open.

3.2.3 Pyre 2

Pyre 2 appeared as a dump of pottery and other finds in a matrix mostly consisting of black, greasy, ashy soil. Only a few small fragments of bone were found. The dump filled a trench 5.50m long, roughly 1.50m wide, with a maximum depth of 1m. The trench had been excavated alongside the interior face of Wall 1. The context was not homogeneous. The soil with a heavy black ash component was lying on the top 0.50m. Below, only pottery and other finds were found in the white *kimilia* soil. Two major concentrations of pottery were

recorded. Lot 15 was found inside the ashy soil matrix (figs 7, 17-18), and Lot 24 below the ashy soil at the maximum depth of the trench. Both lots contained several complete or nearly complete pots. None of the pots or sherds bears marks of burning. During excavation, when Lot 15 was cleaned, the white *kimilia* soil appeared. In the summer days the white soil was dry and hard, and it was believed that the deposit ended there. However, after a heavy rainfall in one of the following days, water was trapped in the trench, since Wall 1 obstructed its outpour. When the water dried out, the soil was soft and it was observed that the white *kimilia* was mixed with some brown and black soil. This led to the continuation of the excavation in depth, where 0.30m deeper the pottery and other finds of Lot 24 were met. Lot 24 contained two amphoras both broken in many fragments (figs 7, 19-20). One big and plain and a Laconian black-glazed table amphora (28).



Figure 17: Top of ashy soil of Pyre 2. To the right, the uppermost stones of Wall 1 emerge (photo: author)



Figure 18: Partial view of the pottery from Lot 15 (photo: author)

In Lot 24 were also found fragments of a Corinthian kotyle (1) and an Attic black-glazed stemmed dish (22). These fragments proved to join with other fragments found in Lot 15. These joins between discernible stratigraphic units and lots represent a recognizable situation in which objects were broken before deposition, and afterwards, during the dumping, were disposed in different “shovel loads” (Lynch 2011b, 10-11, 19-20). Moreover, all the other pots from both lots are exactly contemporary. These observations confirm that the context represents a single depositional event. In fact, everything suggests that it represents the cleanup and disposal of Pyre 2. It is consequently, a *transposed primary context* and that is why complete and nearly complete pots were found. The process of deposition can be envisaged with a fair amount of plausibility. The first “shovel load” disposed Lot 24 in the bottom of the trench, then white *kimilia* and other soil was thrown in, and finally Lot 15 with the larger amount of ashy soil filled the upper part of the trench.

Since this context is interpreted as the result of cleanup and disposal of Pyre 2, there are two questions that need to be answered. The first is where the actual place of Pyre 2 was, and the second, why the material was deposited in that trench?



Figure 19: Partial view of the pottery in Lot 24 (photo: author)



Figure 20: Partial view of the pottery and bronzes in Lot 24 (photo: author)

To the north of Lot 15 lies Wall 2, with the bronze cauldron at its north-eastern extremity (figs 7, 21). To the west of the bronze cauldron was found a nearly complete Laconian black-glazed mug (27). Around the cauldron and the mug there were some small sherds of other pots, that is Lot 18. Between Lot 18 and Lot 15, there was another scatter of some pottery sherds, a bronze coin and a bronze nail, that is Lot 19. Among the pottery of Lot 19 was found the base fragment of the local Corinthianizing kotyle 33. Both the Laconian mug and the Ithacan Corinthianizing kotyle are exactly contemporary with the pottery in lots

15 and 24. Below Lot 19, a shallow pit was identified. Measuring roughly 0.60x0.70m and just 0.05m deep, it was filled with red soil containing only four pottery sherds, that is Lot 20 (fig 22). Apparently, this stratigraphic unit represents another shovel-load of soil containing pottery from Pyre 2. All belong to a homogeneous pottery assemblage associated with Pyre 2 and the bronze cauldron. It is highly probable therefore, that the level area between the cauldron, Wall 2, and Wall 1 was the actual place of Pyre 2, with the activities focused on and around the bronze cauldron. Lots 18 and 19 may represent scatters of pottery and other small objects left behind during the cleanup.



Figure 21: The *in situ* crushed bronze cauldron, adjacent to the northernmost stone of Wall 2 (photo: author)



Figure 22: The shallow pit filled with red soil, containing Lot 20 (photo: author)

After cleanup, a suitable space had to be found in order to dump the material. Assuming that Wall 1 was built as a terrace wall to level the ground, there was hardly any pit or trench available for this purpose. However, where Lot 24 was found the interior face of Wall 1 stood at its maximum height, 0.90m. That means that at that place there was a natural concavity of the bedrock. Alternatively, the trench had already been dug once in order to build Wall 1. After the construction, it had to be backfilled in order to level the area. And when the necessity to dump the assemblage of Pyre 2 arose, the obvious disposal area would have been the backfilled trench. Apparently then, the trench was reopened, the soil removed, and then backfilled once more, discarding the assemblage of Pyre 2 with the soil. This is an interpretation by which the stratification of the dump by “shovel loads” can be plausibly elucidated.

Well-dated imported pottery provides solid evidence for the chronology of the context and the Assemblage TTP2. There are Attic imports like the nearly complete Type C cup (17), the nearly complete stemmed dish (22), and the complete lekythos of the Little-Lion Class (24). They are all firmly dated between 500-480 BC. Corinthian imports provide additional chronological evidence. The intact pyxis (13) belongs to the Conventionalizing Class and dated *ca.* 500BC. Therefore, the context can be dated around 480 BC. However, there are reasons that suggest a slightly later date. The Attic stemless cup foot fragment (19) was found in the baulk between TT3-TT4, at the continuation of SU8 therein. It dates in the decade 480-470 BC (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 101-102). The Corinthian large ray-based kotyle (1) has a close parallel from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth, and dated at the turn from the first to the second quarter of the 5th century BC (Pemberton *et al.* 1989, 86, no. 40). Consequently, a date *ca* 480-475 BC for the context seems the most probable.

3.2.4 Pyre 3

The ashy deposit of Pyre 3 is roughly oval in shape, 3m long and 2m wide. It appeared as a roughly conical heap. The top stood 0.40m in height, observed to the east of Trench TT3. Around the top, the deposit spread evenly to all directions without any sign of truncation. It consists of a heavily blackened and greasy soil matrix (figs 7, 23-24). No pottery, or any other small object, was found inside the ashy deposit. There were only few, small, and scattered fragments of tiles, very

few small animal bones, an olive pip, and a limpet shell. The only interesting find was a fragment of a tile-fabric terracotta bearing a sealing with the name TIMEΑΣ (134). It is made of the same coarse fabric used for the tiles. Workshop sealings on tiles are well-known and widespread. However, 134 has a curvilinear margin and appears fairly flat, so it cannot be a typical tile. Perhaps it was a circular object used specifically for the occasion. Its potential significance will be discussed below in paragraph 4.5.



Figure 23: The ashy layer of Pyre 3, view from the northeast (photo: author)



Figure 24: Section of the ashy layer of Pyre 3. In the background is visible Wall 4 (photo: author)

The pottery and other small finds were found skirting the northern and north-eastern edge of the ashy deposit, where the black soil was thin and mixed

with the white *kimilia*. None of the pots bears signs of vitrification from extreme heat. Only the sherds **109** and **117** bear traces of contact with as since the clay on the broken edge is blackened. But this is probably due to contact with the black greasy soil after deposition. The first pottery fragments to appear, at the lower part of SU5, were fragments of necks and handles of three transport amphoras (fig 25). Inside SU6, the pottery assemblage was found in two major *in situ* concentrations, Lot 6 and Lot 30. Many pottery sherds were scattered between and around them. Lot 6 was centred on a transport amphora (PE19) with its toe fixed in the ground (figs 7, 26). The amphora was crushed by a large fallen stone. Below and around the amphora lied a coarse-ware cooking pot, a *lopas* (PE17), a black-glazed kotyle (PE20, **99**), the lower part of a large skyphos (PE18, **104**) still standing on its base, and an Attic rolled rim plate (**97**).



Figure 25: Amphora fragments from the top of Lot 6 (photo: author)

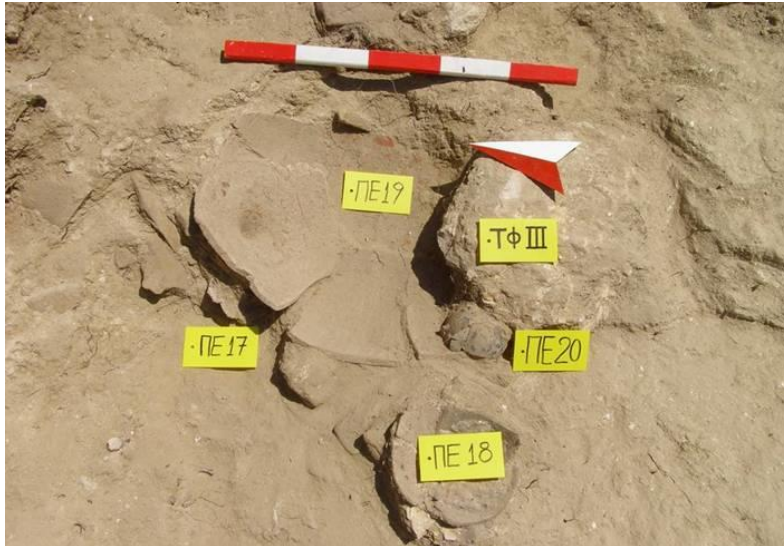


Figure 26: Pottery of Lot 6 (photo: author)

Lot 30 is a concentration of at least two transport amphora fragments, a semi-glazed jug (127), three strainer-top askoi (123), (124) and (125), fragments of a large kantharos with West Slope decoration (105), a guttus-type askos with West Slope decoration (122), and many other fragments of pots (figs 7, 27). Like Lot 6, Lot 30 pottery was found inside a soil matrix of white *kimilia*. Nevertheless, above Lot 30 there was a layer of black ashy soil, 0.05-0.1m thick connected to the ashy deposit. It is highly probable that after the abandonment of Pyre 3, part of the ashy deposit was blown by the wind to the northeast and covered the pottery of Lot 30. It is certain that there is still more pottery to the north and northeast, beyond the limits of the trench, but it was impossible to extend it due to the interruption of the excavation. Below the pottery was found a patch of pavement. It consists of a layer of small pebbles, most of them white, others coloured, mixed with the white *kimilia* soil (fig 28).



Figure 27: Pottery of Lot 30. On top right can be seen the strainer-top askos **125** upside-down and next to it the kantharos **105** handle (photo: author)



Figure 28: Patch of pavement made of small pebbles (photo: author)

Pyre 3 is a striking example of an undisturbed, *use-related primary context*; a rare case of an *in situ* closed context providing a fine-grained time signature. Some sherds belonging to it and found in Context 8-27-3 as well as in Trench TT3, can be interpreted as an expected down slope scatter during post-depositional processes. And although many of the pots are nearly complete, there are many others of which only one fragment survived. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that, as it seems, Pyre 3 was left as it lay, exposed for a considerable period of time until it was covered by SU5, as discussed above in paragraph 3.2.1.

Fundamental for the chronology of Pyre 3, and the Assemblage TTP3, is the Attic rolled rim plate (97), dated *ca.* 330-320 BC. With regard to West Slope decoration, three pots carry this style. Kantharos (105) is characterized by an incised ivy garland and scraped leaves. Instead, kantharos (107) and guttus-type askos (122) are characterized by incised ivy garland and leaves with added colour now lost, and perceived through the “ghost” left on the glaze. If we assume that at least the last two pieces are Attic, and their fabric looks little different than Attic, then we must date them around 275 BC, when incision in Attic West Slope pottery was introduced (Rotroff 1997, 43). In this case, the rolled rim plate (97) dated around 325 BC (Rotroff 1997, 142-145), must have been in circulation for nearly half a century before it was deposited. However, there is no need to connect the Pyre 3 vessels with the Attic West Slope production. West Slope decoration had appeared in Corinth already in the first half of the 4th century BC, and it might have influenced the contemporary Apulian Gnathia pottery (McPhee 1997; Rotroff 1997, 41; Pemberton 2003, 174). Moreover, there is growing evidence that West Slope decoration with incision was employed in Western Greek pottery production, as in Ambrakia, already in the 4th century (Andreou 2004, 567-568; 2009, 140, 142). There are also good reasons to believe that the Pyre 3 West Slope pieces were locally made, as it will be discussed in the next chapter, and therefore the whole assemblage of Pyre 3 still relies for its chronology on the Attic rolled rim plate, that is around 325 BC.

3.2.5 Pit RP

As was discussed above in paragraph 3.2, pit RP is roughly circular and truncated-funnel shaped in section. On rim level was found a complete coarse-ware hydria. An interesting find inside the pit was a small bronze tripod stand, the feet casted in shape of feline lower limbs (fig 29). The fact that this artefact was not reused, or recycled, but deposited in a refuse pit, may hint to a special ritual-linked use before deposition. There was no internal stratification and, therefore, the pit must have been filled in one single depositional episode. Most of the pottery recovered from the pit was plain. The Assemblage TTRP consists of early 5th and later 4th century BC sherds. Consequently, although the fill was undisturbed, it is a secondary refuse containing material from different periods. A

Corinthian skyphos sherd (79) and an Ithacan plate sherd (83) seem the latest and provide a plausible chronology for the deposition around 325 BC.



Figure 29: Bronze tripod stand (photo: author)

3.2.6 Lot 8-27-3

The pottery lot consists of both Late Archaic and Classical pieces. There are Corinthian (137), Attic (138-140), and Ithacan (141-146) sherds. The kantharos sherd 107 was also found in this lot. The fact, however, that it joined with another sherd found in Pyre 3, suggests that Lot 8-27-3 is a pottery scatter containing material both originally associated with Pyre 2, like 141 and 146, and with Pyre 3. Most probably, some material from both pyres was dispersed by natural processes and accumulated in that place after the abandonment of the site. The late Classical kantharos sherd 145, the fully glazed skyphos foot 142, and the fully glazed and nipped foot, 143, of an open shape, provide a *terminus post quem* for the deposition. There are however two very interesting sherds, the lekythos sherds 139 and 140. They perhaps belong to the same vessel, but what is important is that 139 is a highly diagnostic sherd of an Attic squat letkythos dated around 425 BC. Contexts dated in that period have not been found, so far, in Area TT. Therefore, Lot 8-27-3 is an accumulation of material from a wider area, beyond Area TT. Moreover, this is the only sherd found in this excavation dated in the fourth quarter of the 5th century BC, and suggests the continuity of use of the wider area throughout the Classical period.

3.3 Area BK

In February 2008 began the earthmoving works for the foundations of the first and northernmost building out of three planned for construction. The area, Area BK, was dominated by a tall rocky outcrop. On its top, four rock-cut steps were located and cleaned. There must have been more, probably as part of a road. Their chronology remains uncertain. Below the southern face of the outcrop there was a series of decayed agricultural terrace walls. When the uppermost was removed by the bulldozer, two Roman tile-graves appeared at a depth of 1m below the surface.

During the excavation, a quantity of scattered Classical pottery sherds was found around these two graves. A large fragment of a cup (**68**) was found exactly next to the tiles of one grave, giving an initial impression that the graves could have been Classical (fig 30). The graves proved to be Roman, but the Classical pottery scatter covered an area of ca 25m². There was no stratified deposit, nor any architectural remains. Obviously, the Roman burials had disturbed the earlier Classical deposit.

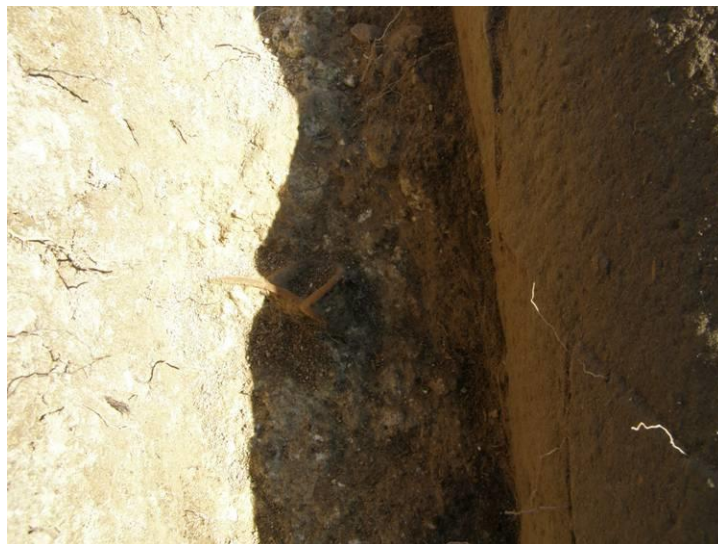


Figure 30: Area BK. The Classical cup-fragment **68** next to the tile of a Roman tile-grave (photo: author)

With regard to the Classical pottery Assemblage BK, it must be stressed that it demonstrates chronological homogeneity, and for that reason, it seems to represent a single episode of use. A foot fragment of an Attic “delicate class” cup

(60) and a rim fragment of a Corinthian peaked-rim mortarium (58), indicate a date for the assemblage in the mid-5th century BC.

3.4 Area BKIII

The Area BKIII lies at a distance of 15m to the south-west and Area BK, and at a lower level by nearly 3m. Bulldozing in front of the north building brought to light another tile grave, grave BKIII. Above and around the tiles there were numerous small black-glazed pottery sherds, Assemblage BKIII. Most of them belong to open shapes. The most diagnostic are the fragments of an Attic black-glazed skyphos with everted rim, (85), dated around the second or third quarter of the 4th century BC. Therefore, this is the most probable chronology for the Assemblage BKIII. Unfortunately, no complete profiles survived, and stylistic comparisons cannot be further refined.

3.5 Area NKIII

To the south of the north building, earthmoving works resumed for the construction of the central building. Not even one sherd was found. The slope there is free of obstacles and it is highly probable that erosion washed away everything without any natural or artificial barrier to hinder the process. The same situation was observed for the south building. However, as the earthmoving neared the south-eastern corner of the area to be built, it approached another tall rocky outcrop. The area to be prepared for building expanded slightly to the south and south-east in order to accommodate an external concrete staircase. Thus it further approached the rocky outcrop. Exactly below that rocky outcrop, Area NKIII, three Roman tile-graves appeared at a depth of 1m below the surface (fig 31). Below and around them started appearing sherds of black-glazed pottery and metal small finds.



Figure 31: Area NKIII. Roman tile-grave (photo: author)

Some of the black-glazed sherds, (47), (52) and (53), were found together with a concentration of bones. It was impossible to recover the bones because they were disintegrated completely and remained in the soil only as darker shadows in a white background. Together with the black-glazed sherds, there were five juglets, fragments of three other pots, and beads of steatite and soft rock. Initially they were all thought to be contemporary, and when the black-glazed pottery was recognized as Late Archaic/Early Classical, so were all the others. To my surprise, post-excavation analysis revealed that the juglets, the three fragmentary pots, and the beads, are actually Mycenaean. Therefore, there was a Mycenaean grave heavily disturbed by the Late Archaic/Early Classical occupation.

The Assemblage NKIII consists of several well-dated Attic and Corinthian fine imports. Post-excavation analysis revealed that most pieces are dated in the first decades of the 5th century BC, whilst two of them are later by nearly two centuries and dated in the beginning of the 3rd century BC. Thus, Assemblage NKIII is divided in two subgroups: Assemblage NKIIIa is the earliest one and dated in Late Archaic/Early Classical times, whereas Assemblage NKIIIb is Early Hellenistic. Assemblage NKIIIa is obviously the most conspicuous and it is contemporary with Assemblage TTP2 from Pyre 2. The critical piece for its chronology is a foot fragment of an Attic Vicup (48), dated around 475 BC. Assemblage NKIIIb can be dated by a plate fragment (136), which shows great affinity with Attic rolled rim plates, later than 97, and dated in the first quarter of the 3rd century BC.

It is evident that Area NKIII saw four distinct episodes of occupation. The earliest was Mycenaean, the second Late Archaic/Early Classical, the third Early Hellenistic, and the last Roman. Although these successive episodes of use and post-depositional factors had resulted in a highly mixed deposit, once the individual finds were cleaned and recognizable, all four phases resulted clearly discernible. What is of importance in this study, the Assemblage NKIIIa is highly discrete from the successive Assemblage NKIIIb. The typological differences between Late Archaic/Early Classical and Early Hellenistic periods are so evident, that it is not difficult to assign each individual piece to an assemblage. As a result, although unstratified and disturbed, Assemblage NKIIIa can be considered as representative of a single episode of use, and thus a fairly closed find-group.

3.6 Occupational history of the site

In the long term, the site reveals a mixed occupation. In the Late Bronze Age it was probably used as a cemetery. There is one Mycenaean grave in Area NKIII, and the soft *kimilia* soil is ideal both for pit graves and for the widespread chamber tombs. There are indications in the surrounding exposed rocky faces that there may be more Mycenaean tombs. After an apparently long break of occupation, in the Late Archaic times the site was used to host pyres, such as Pyre 2, Pyre 3, and the other related deposits. This occupation lasted for at least two centuries, the 5th and the 4th BC. In Roman, or Late Roman times, the area seems to have been used both as a settlement area and as a cemetery of tile-graves on the steeper slope.

All three distinct phases can be characterized as recurrent occupations. That is, the same area was used repeatedly for the same activities. The Late Archaic and Classical phase of occupation demonstrates the recurrent use of the area for pyres. What is of importance is the different time-scale. Whereas a pyre context with the associated activity lasted for a very short period of time, probably one day or a few hours, the area received numerous occupations of the same type over a period of time of at least two centuries. This has further implications with regard to site formation processes, and the attempt to understand the nature of activities that took place in that area. It will be further discussed below in chapter

5; here it will suffice to say that whereas each individual pyre entered rapidly in archaeological context, *sensu* Schiffer, the area still remained in *systemic* context (Schiffer 1987, 3-4).

3.7 Discussion

The preceding report of the excavations at Fitzgerald & Steven plot puts in evidence some notable aspects of the archaeological record. The Late Archaic and Classical deposits were preserved where they were least exposed, or somehow protected from, erosion. Thus, in Area TT, the retaining Wall 1 functioned as a barrier which effectively trapped the deposits and maintained them in their original place. Successive accumulations of soil, such as SU5, could therefore build up above the ancient strata and further protect them by sealing them off from later disturbance. The rocky outcrops, combined with the Roman tile-graves in Areas BK and NKIII, or just one tile-grave in Area BKIII, had a similar effect in protecting, to a certain degree, the remains of the Late Archaic and Classical depositions. It is possible that the whole area was arranged in level terraces formed by parallel terrace walls like Walls 1 and 4. Walls 1 and 4 follow the contours of the steep slope, and it is not unreasonable to envisage the entire slope landscaped in this manner. Perhaps the deposits BK, BKIII, and NKIII, originally were formed on such terraces, later carried away by erosion.

Another crucial aspect of the record is the well preserved stratigraphy in Area TT and the clear interstratification observed in the other areas. Pyres 2 and 3, and Pit RP are undisturbed contexts. Consequently, Assemblages TTP2, TTP3, and TTRP are closed find-groups. Assemblages BK, BKIII, NKIIIa, and NKIIIb are unstratified and disturbed. However, the disturbance occurred at a stage much later than the episodes of use they represent, enough for the pre-existing pottery groups to maintain their chronological homogeneity. There is no earlier or later, with chronological continuity, pottery to give any impression of a mixed deposit from various and successive periods. They are cases of *use-related secondary contexts*; cases in which the association of artefacts after the disturbance can be understood (Sharer and Ashmore 1987, 84). The case of deposit NKIII is a fine example of a mixed, but at the same time with clear internal distinctions, deposit.

Consequently, even the assemblages BK, BKIII, NKIIIa, and NKIIIb, can be considered fairly closed. For those more familiar with Schiffer’s terminology, all contexts can be characterised as *primary refuses* in the broader sense of the term (Schiffer 1987, 58). It means that all artefacts are found close to the activity area but not exactly on the actual spot, which, unlike the case of Pyre 2, cannot be indicated with any degree of plausibility.

Any attempt to fashion a well-founded typo-chronological pottery sequence requires fixed chronological points based on closed archaeological contexts, when other sources of information are not available. The excavations at Fitzgerald & Steven plot provide such closed contexts and the key element is that they are very well dated by imports. The aim of the following chapter is to employ this archaeological record in order to create, for the first time, a typo-chronology from the early 5th century to the late 4th century BC, of the fine pottery found in these closed contexts and considered of Ithacan manufacture. Assemblages TTP2 and TTP3 are the two chronological anchors of the sequence for three main reasons. They come from well stratified closed contexts; they are the most numerous, and represent, respectively, the lower and upper chronological limits of the sequence. The other assemblages provide interesting insights into the development of local pottery production in that time frame (Table 2).

Table 2: Contexts and assemblages

<i>Context</i>	<i>Assemblage</i>	<i>Lot</i>	<i>Date</i>
Pyre 2	TTP2	14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24, 28	<i>ca.</i> 475 BC
Pyre 3	TTP3	5, 6, 30	<i>ca.</i> 325 BC
Pit RP	TTRP	12	<i>ca.</i> 350 – 325 BC
BK	BK	BK	<i>ca.</i> 450 BC
BKIII	BKIII	BKIII	<i>ca.</i> 350 – 325 BC
NKIIIa	NKIIIa	NKIIIa	<i>ca.</i> 475 BC
NKIIIb	NKIIIb	NKIIIb	<i>ca.</i> 300 – 275 BC

4 – The artefact – specific context

“Yet, description and cataloguing go hand in hand with analysis and cannot be abandoned. Without the typological and chronological frameworks established [...] observations of patterns associated with use and meaning would be impossible.” (Lynch 2011b, 2, note 9)

This chapter focuses on pottery itself, both Ithacan and imported. The excavation provides assemblages coming from closed contexts, and therefore, it is an ideal opportunity to investigate as closely as possible Ithacan Late Archaic and Classical pottery and its relations with imports from the major Greek centres. Readers, however, should keep in mind that since this is the first time Ithacan Classical pottery is being studied, identifications and developments are susceptible to future refinements and corrections. Imported pottery can also offer important information on importation trends over time and relationships with the local ceramic production. These relationships between Ithacan and imported pottery in each individual context may reveal patterns and generate questions regarding issues of circulation and consumption.

For the analysis of Ithacan pottery, two principles are employed: one is the principle of *popularity* with regard to decoration and how it changes through time, and the other is the principle of *cross dating*. Well known and well dated imports are employed as “index fossils” for the chronology of the Ithacan types, which in their turn, become “index fossils” for future discoveries on Ithaca and the surrounding region. The fact that the contexts discussed in the previous chapter represent very short periods of time, combined with the temporal discontinuity of the assemblages, do not allow the identification of types susceptible to seriation by following the development of a shape throughout this time frame.

4.1 Identifying Imported and Ithacan pottery

During the examination of the assemblages, one of the principal tasks is the identification of the local pottery. The problem is that Ithacan Late Archaic and Classical pottery is virtually unknown, and therefore, direct comparisons with existing material are unfeasible. Petrographic and chemical analyses of clay

composition are neither available, nor undertaken during this study. The simplest way to overcome this problem is to isolate and exclude the well-known imports.

Generally, and with regard to the identification of local pottery production, other than the well-known Attic, Corinthian, or Laconian, François Villard remarked (1992, 3):

“En fait, si on tente de faire l’historique du terme, on s’aperçoit que la céramique locale tire son origine d’un double système d’opposition :

- Opposition entre les céramiques importées, d’origines diverses, et les céramiques beaucoup plus nombreuses et homogènes qui forment l’essentiel des trouvailles sur un site, et auxquelles on suppose, par conséquent, une origine locale ;
- Opposition entre la qualité souvent supérieure de ces importations et la nature beaucoup plus médiocre des produits que l’on croit d’origine locale, et qui souvent s’inspirent des modèles importés”.

Such a procedure by exclusion is questionable as to the accuracy of the results. However, it is widely used. When the material is hitherto unknown and the attempt is the first ever undertaken to identify Ithacan Classical pottery, then it seems justified. Moreover, there are aspects which can reinforce the outcome of such an approach: well defined closed contexts, unique shapes, and idiosyncratic decorative schemes.

Such an approach requires first the choice of an appropriate unit of analysis, one that groups together pieces that share the same characteristics of fabric and surface treatments which can be associated with distinct workshops. The most appropriate is considered the *ware*. After an introduction to the *ware* concept, well-known imported wares will be listed, followed by those identified as Ithacan.

4.1.1 A note on quantification

It has become common practice in the study of pottery assemblages the employment of one method, from several available, of quantification (Verdan *et al.* 2011). When the number of pottery sherds is large and highly fragmentary, such a methodology seems indispensable. In order to understand the character and meaning of the assemblage, quantification is often necessary. A method often

employed in the *minimum number of individuals* (Erickson 2010b, 328, note 49; Eder 2011, 63). In this study, and despite the marked fragmentation of the assemblages, a quantitative study has not been undertaken; for two reasons. First the fine ware pottery represents only part of the whole assemblage of each context, and the total number is low enough to be controllable. Secondly, by handling the pottery in every stage: recovery, cleaning, mending, recording, drawing, and photographing; a confidence was built up in recognizing which sherds join, or belong to the same vessel. Consequently, each sherd representing one vessels and one catalogue entry can be confidently assigned to a different vessel. Moreover, sherds found in mixed contexts, such as Pit RP and Lot 8-27-3, are counted in the total amount present but are not included in the figures from each closed context, even if there are reasons to believe such an origin. Therefore, the numbers provided are *de facto minimum numbers of individuals*, even allowing for a plausible margin of error, equally present and admitted in any quantitative methodology.

4.1.2 The *ware* concept

The term *ware* is commonly used to define groups of pottery with shared characteristics of fabric and surface treatment (Sabloff and Smith 1969, 278). Characteristics of fabric are colour, hardness, texture, and inclusions. Surface treatment can be characterized by the technique of decoration and finish, or their absence. A fundamental positive aspect of employing the ware level of classification is that it is not limited in time (Sabloff and Smith 1969, 278). With regard to Ithacan wares, by distinguishing and associating them with those already known, we can trace their earlier history and follow their development in the period under study building in this way a stronger case (for Ithacan wares see above 2.5).

Corinthian and Attic wares are very well known after more than one century of intensive study. Laconian and Elean wares are increasingly well understood thanks to the recently published studies. They can be isolated from each assemblage. By excluding these well known wares, what is left can be examined and those which share characteristics of fabric and surface treatment can be grouped in distinct wares. The next step is to compare them to those already known, from earlier periods, Ithacan wares. If indeed wares, especially the

fabric, endure in time, it is reasonable to expect an amount of continuity of those known Ithacan wares down to the Classical period.

4.2 Imported pottery

4.2.1 Corinthian

Corinthian pottery is present in every assemblage. It is most frequent in the early 5th century BC (**1-15, 44-46, 77-78, 80, 137**). Nearly all Corinthian fabrics are represented: yellowish buff, pinkish buff, and greenish grey. It often shows small white inclusions and small lamellar voids. It is non-micaceous. The decoration shows the common Corinthian patterns with rays, buds, added red, and undersides with circles. Glazed surfaces are invariably worn and flaking. Corinthian ceramics are almost always well potted and demonstrate an unparalleled elegance. Another characteristic of Corinthian pottery is the fact that the broken edges are easily cleaned and provide a clear view of the section.

In the 4th century, the only piece that can be identified with the well-known yellowish buff fabric is the ovoid kotyle **84**, with a simple incurving rim. Another group of sherds sharing the same characteristics of fabric and surface treatments stood out from the outset. They all come from open vessels, and they all seem to be skyphoi (**79, 94-96**). The clay is pale, pinkish or yellowish, fired very hard, with difficult to clean broken edges. The glaze is lustrous black, often fired brown or red, and the final effect is glossy. When the underside is not fully glazed, it is decorated with black bands and the reserved areas covered with a red wash. Initially it was thought they are Attic. However, it has recently been established that this particular ware is actually Corinthian (McPhee *et al.* 2012, 172-174).

The ratio of Corinthian pottery in the total amount of fine wares in all assemblages is 20.3%. In the 5th century BC it is the 17.4%, and in the 4th it falls to the 3.5%. Of the Corinthian imports in the 5th century BC, 73.9% are open shapes. In the 4th century the ratio rises to the 100%.

4.2.2 Attic

The Attic fabric is easily distinguishable by its fine orange clay. Sometimes the tone is redder or more pinkish. It is usually fired hard but it has been observed that disk foots are sometimes fired softer (17, 22, 59). In some cases it is highly micaceous with abundant tiny sparkling inclusions (18, 22, and 25). The black glaze is thickly applied and lustrous, although it is flaking badly in several examples.

The cumulative ratio of Attic pottery in all assemblages happens to be identical to that of the Corinthian, 20.3% overall, 17.4% in the 5th century BC, and just 3.5% in the 4th. Of the Attic imports in the 5th century BC, 85.7% are open shapes. In the 4th century, the ratio rises to the 100%. It is evident that the tendency of shape selection for Corinthian and Attic imports is comparable (fig 32).

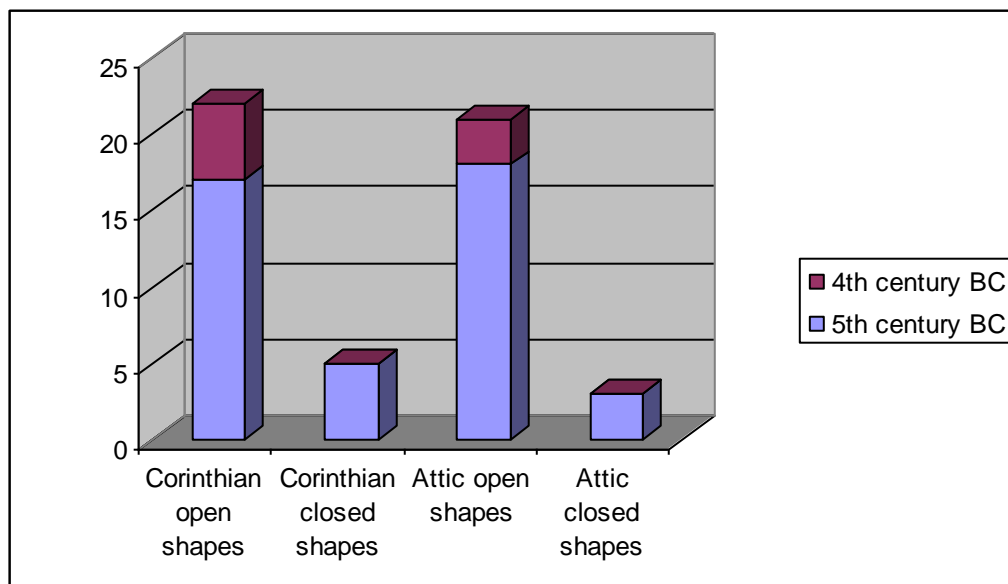


Figure 32: Occurrences of Corinthian and Attic open and closed shapes in the 5th and 4th centuries BC

4.2.3 Laconian

Laconian pottery has become accessible for comparisons only recently, thanks to the studies of C.M. Stibbe (1989; 1994; 2000). Only three Laconian pots can be identified with certainty, all dated in the first decades of the 5th century BC; the one-handed mug 27, the black-glazed table-amphora 28, and the cup sherd 67. The latter shows the characteristic rust-brown Laconian fabric and the

distinctive reserved disk at centre-floor (cf. Stibbe 1994, 67). Stibbe suggests that the type of cup **67** (subgroup Ea) ceased to be produced around 500 BC. However, the date of Assemblage BK in *ca.* 450 BC, may imply that the type continued to be produced in the first half of the 5th century BC. The results of the old British excavations confirm that Laconian pottery arrived in Ithaca in the Archaic period, but in small numbers (Benton 1953, 279, no. 664: “Not Corinthian”, fig 2; Deoudi 2008, 170-173).

4.2.4 “Argive monochrome”

The so-called “Argive Monochrome” ware is a very peculiar category of handmade pottery, produced in several centres and probably originating in the north-eastern Peloponnese in the 8th century BC (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 206-207; Kourou 1988). Finer fabrics of this ware are considered to have been manufactured in Argos and Corinth, and the fabric of these two centres looks very much alike. Juglet **16** shows a fine fabric, the therefore, must have its origin somewhere in north-eastern Peloponnese. Vessels of this ware have also been found at the site of Aetos, Ithaca, and probably are dated in an earlier period (Heurtley and Robertson 1948, 53). What emerges is that Ithacans imported vessels of this ware for a long time.

4.2.5 “Western Greek”

Under the heading “Western Greek” are grouped wares that cannot be attributed with certainty to any production centre. They may originate on Ithaca, or any other centre of Western Greece or Laconia. They are all drinking vessels.

4.2.5.1 Pale fabric, fully glazed ware

Kotyle **29** shows a fine, pale, non-micaceous fabric very similar to Corinthian. However, the fact that its underside is convex, the foot heavy with rounded resting surface and interior face, and it is fully glazed with a thinly applied brownish glaze, distinguishes it from the Corinthian tradition. A closer parallel is a very similar, fully glazed by means of dipping, kotyle from Olympia (Gauer 1975, 175, fig 22:8, pl 35:8). The profile is the same with **29**, and on the photograph (but not in evidence in the drawing) a fillet is clearly visible at the juncture of foot and body, exactly as the fillet of **29**. It has been sustained that it is

difficult to distinguish true Corinthian fabric from the Elean imitations, so kotyle **29** could be an Elean imitation of Corinthian, or an imitation originating in another Western Greek centre (Gauer 1975, 211; Kunze-Götte *et al.* 2000, 171). Gauer himself mentions the possibility that at least some “Elean” Corinthianizing wares may originate from a production centre located in the Ionian Islands (Gauer 1975, 211).

4.2.5.2 Purple ware

A group of four pieces (**30**, **52**, **53**, and **69**) shares the characteristics of a hard purplish fabric in various shades, the employment of added white, and a brown glaze. They appear to be from the same workshop. All four are cups with convex body and offset rims. Despite the fact that they are distributed among three different contexts, they are all dated in the first half of the 5th century BC. Gauer notes that decoration with added white dominates Elean pottery at the end of the 7th and the first half of the 6th centuries BC (Gauer 1975, 209). He also observes that cups with purple fabric and purple-brown glaze are to be recognized as Laconian (Gauer 1975, 209). Added white is known to have been used in the local production of the *Red Ithacan Technique* ware, like the spherical jug **42**.

Cups **52** and **69** with a concave and thickened rim are related, with regard to shape only, to the Elean Late Archaic “Variante 2” cups (Lang 1992, 50-51). Cup **30** with a short straight rim and deep body, and the height of rim less than one-third of the preserved height, demonstrates the opposite trend with respect to the gradual increase in height of rims observed in Elean cups (Lang 1992, 52). This peculiarity, combined with the decoration of the rim with added purple and white, suggests that **30** could be considered non-Elean. Such “black-polychrome” decoration with a purple band between white lines has been recognized as Laconian by Stibbe, and applied on 7th century BC kantharoi and narrow-necked jugs (Stibbe 1994, 39; 2000, 54). Yet, kantharoi of the same type bearing the same decoration were popular in Elis and it is difficult to decide whether they were Laconian, Elean, or from another Western Greek production centre (Papadopoulos 2001, 403-404). In this respect, it is not insignificant to note that the employment of added purple band between white lines is now known to have been used on a *Red Technique* Ithacan Archaic oinochoe from Vathy (Livitsanis 2013, 103 and fig 10).

Cup **53** shows an unparalleled in profile pedestal foot, not encountered in the published Laconian and Elean forms, or any other. However, the purple fabric and the thinly applied black to brown glaze suggest a Western Greek origin.

4.2.5.3 *Uncertain wares*

Kotyle **31** is very well potted with well-adhering, lustrous black glaze applied by means of both dipping and brush. The fabric could be Corinthian, but the reserved outer face of foot with concave inner face, and the overall surface treatment suggest a different workshop, perhaps inspired by Corinthian kotylai. The conical feet **32** and **54** are puzzling. Their pinkish to reddish fabric could be Ithacan, but the shapes are unparalleled. Both have reserved resting surfaces and undersides, and they are carelessly potted. Foot **54** preserves part of a black-glazed floor which suggests an open shape.

4.3 Ithacan pottery

4.3.1 Ithacan white technique

The *White Ithacan Technique* ware is characterised by a fine, hard, very pale, almost white fabric. The tone may vary from pale brown to pale yellow, not unlike the paler Corinthian fabric. In the early 5th century BC, it is encountered in three Corinthianizing kotylai, **33**, **34**, and **141**. Kotylai **33** and **34** were found in Assemblage TTP2 and **141** in the Lot 8-27-3 and therefore out of context. Corinthianizing fabrics are encountered in Elis (see above 4.2.5.1), and Morgan advises caution in taking for Corinthian those actually Ithacan and Kerkyrean Corinthianizing wares (Morgan 1995). Another Archaic Corinthianizing ware has been recently identified on the coast of Macedonia (Tsiafakis *et al.* 2010, 145-147). This white fabric is very similar to the Kerkyrean Corinthianizing (Morgan, pers. com.). A fundamental difference is that the Corinthian fabric is non-micaceous, whilst Kerkyrean contains abundant mica, which consists of tiny sparkling inclusions.

The three kotylai show tiny sparkling inclusions but they appear in clusters of two to three, widely spaced between them. Therefore, by visual examination

alone they can be neither Corinthian nor Kerkyrean. Moreover, some stylistic details of the kotylai **33** and **34** seem to exclude a Corinthian origin. They both have a thick floor, unlike anything known from Corinth. The closely spaced, red, vertical bars on the lower body of **33** are unparalleled. The foot of **34** is very low, with a flat and fairly broad resting surface, again unparalleled in Corinthian shapes. In addition, the thick rays are a motif encountered in Early Corinthian pottery (*ca.* 600 BC), but not in the beginning of the 5th century. In sum, these three kotylai show a remarkable peculiarity in decorative style and shape which, combined with the fabric, allow the identification as Ithacan.

The other assemblage in which *White Ithacan Technique* can be identified is TTP3. It is possible that this ware was not produced in large quantities, and therefore it appears only in the most numerous and better preserved assemblages (fig 33). The spherical kotyle **99**, and probably the sherd of another, **100**, are characterized by a hard, pale fabric which sets them apart from the rest and can be ascribed to a Late Classical *White Technique*. Another possible example is the thin-walled skyphos sherd **102**, the fabric being hard and pale. The tone, however, is more brownish and different from **99** and **100**.

4.3.2 Ithacan red technique

The *Red Ithacan Technique* is the most widely encountered Ithacan ware. Pottery in this fabric make up the 81,8% of Ithacan fine ware pottery in Assemblage TTP2, 92% in Assemblage TTP3, and 100% in Assemblages NKIIIa, BK, BKIII, and TTRP. From my observations, it is normally characterised by a “sandwich” fabric, with a reddish core and pinkish-beige surfaces. The shades may vary in that spectrum and in many cases it shows a homogeneous colour. It is usually fired medium hard, the texture is often powdery, and inclusions are encountered in the form of tiny white, brown, and black particles. It is often micaceous with abundant tiny sparkling inclusions. Generally it is a fairly easily recognizable fabric. D’Agostino and Gastaldi do not hesitate to ascribe three sherds found on the nearby island of Kefalonia as imports from Ithaca of the *Red Ithacan Technique* (D’Agostino and Gastaldi 2002, 160 and fig 64-66).

From the assemblage TTP2, to this ware can be ascribed the Corinthianizing kotyle sherd **35**, and the rest of the nearly complete vases **36-43**. In the rest of the assemblages, the pottery designated as Ithacan show the *Red*

Technique ware. This is by far the most widely produced Ithacan fabric. It makes up to 92% of the total pottery identified as Ithacan (fig 33). By the third quarter of the 4th century BC, the craftsmanship of the *Red Technique* had achieved such high standards that it is often difficult to distinguish it from Attic by fabric alone. In these cases other characteristics such as shape, decoration, and the resulting chronologies are decisive. For example, Assemblage TTP3 is dated by the Attic plate **97** in ca. 325 BC. That means that all vessels decorated with the “West-Slope” technique cannot be Attic, even if the reddish fabric looks Attic. The same is valid for the strainer-top askos **125**, which shows a double-dipping streak. Even if the fabric looks pretty much Attic (although McPhee and Pemberton by looking at photographs excluded immediately the Attic and Corinthian fabric, pers. com.), double-dipping was never practiced in Attica before the Late Hellenistic period. These issues will be brought forward in the following paragraphs.

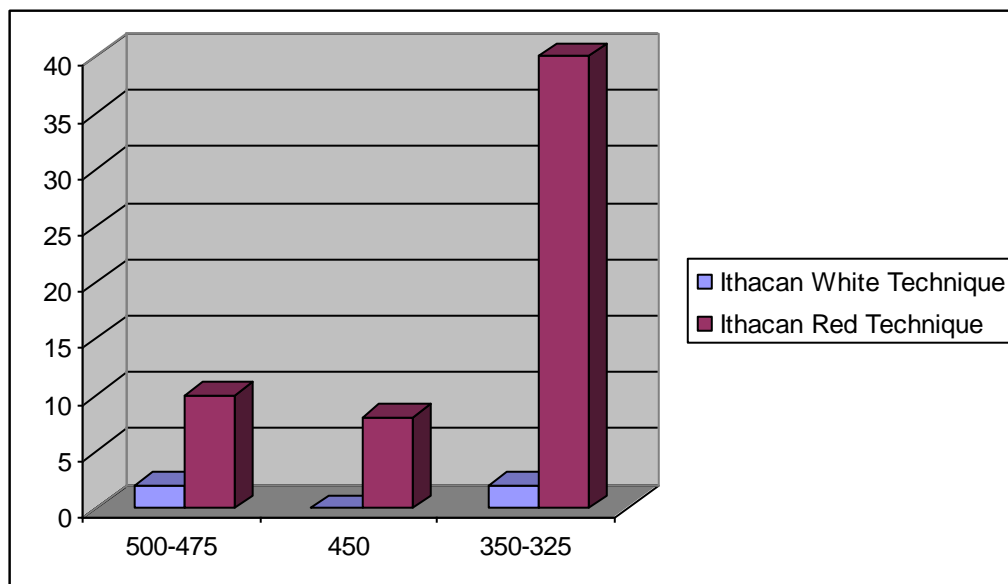


Figure 33: Popularity of *Ithacan White Technique* and *Ithacan Red technique* in Late Archaic and Classical periods

4.3.3 Decoration

4.3.3.1 Glazed by means of dipping

Glazing by means of dipping is a technique employed by Corinthian potters already towards the end of the 6th century BC (McPhee *et al.* 2012, 30-31). In Attica it did not appear until the late 3rd century BC (Rotroff 1997, 11, 106,

145, 149, 159). In Ithacan pottery, dipping has been employed both for the semi-glazed and for the fully-glazed vases. In the early 5th century, in Assemblage TTP2, this technique is the most popular. It is evident in the one-handlers **36-37**, and jugs **38, 41, and 43**. In the later 5th century and the first half of the 4th there is no available evidence due to lack of dated assemblages, the small quantity, and the fragmented character of Ithacan pottery in Assemblages NKIIIa and BK.

In Assemblage BKIII dated in the third quarter of the 4th century BC, there are two cups, **90** and **91**, of the *Red Ithacan Technique*, fully-glazed by means of dipping as it is clearly evident from the dribblings. In Assemblage TTP3, dated around 325 BC, there is one case of apparently a fully glazed by dipping vessel, the probably open shape **103**; and there is also a case of semi-glazing by dipping on the large jug **127**. The spherical kotyle **99** shows both dribbling glaze by dipping and brush marks.

It is evident that dipping was popular in the early 5th century BC since the ratio of dipped vases among the Ithacan pottery is 54.5%. This ratio falls dramatically in the third quarter of the 4th century BC, at 11.6% (fig 34).

4.3.3.2 *Black-glazed by brush*

Glazing using a brush does not seem to have been very popular in the early 5th century BC. In Assemblage TTP2, only the jugs **40** and **42** had been glazed with a brush, and possibly kotyle **35**, that is 27.3%. However, in the mid-5th century seems to have gain popularity as it comprises the 87.5% in Assemblage BK. It keeps the predominance until the third quarter of the 4th century BC. In the Assemblages BKIII, TTRP, and TTP3, it comprises the 86% (fig 34), although in the cases of the kotyle **99** it combines the use of brush with dipping.

4.3.3.3 *Banded decoration*

Banded decoration seems not to have been popular at anytime. In the early 5th century BC, it is encountered on the jug **43** together with semi-glazing by dipping, and on the jug sherd **55**, that is 16.6% of the total. In the mid-5th century BC (Assemblage BK), it is encountered on two sherds, **71** and **75**, 25% of total. In the third quarter of the 4th century BC it is encountered only in Assemblage TTP3, on the large jug, or hydria, **127**, and on the three lids, **130, 131, and 132**, that is 9.3% (fig 34).

4.3.3.4 *West-Slope*

Describing an Ithacan kotyle glazed by means of dipping and carrying West-Slope decoration, Morgan dates it to the late 3rd century BC (Morgan 2007, 83, fig 58-59). This demonstrates how dependent we are on Attic pottery sequences to describe and date black-glazed pottery from the rest of Greece. Pemberton warns against the often unfounded assumption that every innovation in pottery production occurred in Athens (Pemberton 2003, 167-168). Such a case is the “West-Slope” technique. The technique combines incision with added colour. We often tend to think that it was first developed in Athens and then exported to the rest of Greece.

Rotroff establishes the introduction of this technique in Athens in the early 3rd century BC (Rotroff 1997, 41-43). Yet, in Corinth it can be identified already in the first half of the 4th (Pemberton 2003, 174). In Achaia and Elis, the so-called “Elean lekythoi” bear West-Slope decoration and are dated in the third quarter of the 4th century BC (Kyriakou 1994, 189). In Epirus too, in the ancient city of Ambrakia (modern Arta), West-Slope decoration is well attested in the 4th century BC (Andreou 2004, 567-568; 2009, 140, 142). Andreou remarks that “West-Slope” is actually a misnomer and “West-Greek” would be more appropriate (Andreou 2004, 568).

In Assemblage TTP3, dated in *ca.* 325 BC by the Attic rolled-rim plate **97**, there are two kantharoi (**105** and **107**) and the guttus-type askos **122**, bearing West-Slope decoration. The context date in 325 BC places them in accordance with the use of West-Slope decoration in Western Greece during the 4th century BC. All three vases are of the *Red Ithacan Technique*. Kantharos **105** has on the handle zone a panel of West-Slope ivy garland, and on the rim a unique wave pattern of the same technique.

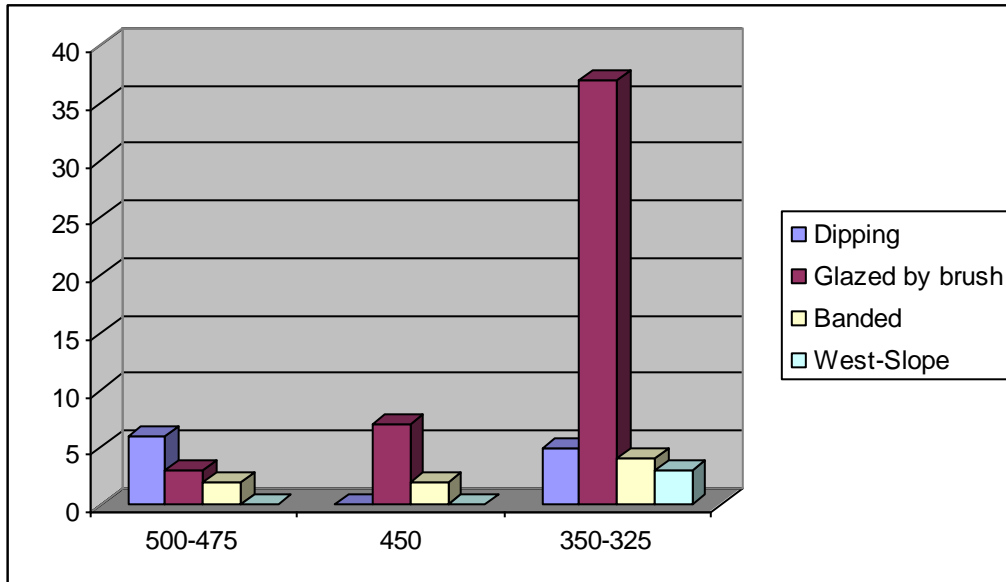


Figure 34: Popularity trends of decorative techniques on Ithacan Late Archaic and Classical pottery

4.4 Classification and typology

A typology of Ithacan pottery of the Classical period, like any other, must serve a purpose and reflect the needs of the archaeologist who builds it (Adams and Adams 1991, 157-168). There are two major purposes here: chronological and stylistic. The aim is to recognize what kind of fine ware pottery was used and in what time interval by the Ithacans frequenting Polis valley in the Late Archaic and Classical periods. The chronological enquiry will allow defining “index fossils”, historical types representing short chunks of time reflected by their contexts, which in turn will allow in the future the dating of other sites and associated material. The stylistic characteristics of similarity and idiosyncrasy, when compared to imported pottery, may prove to be a starting point in elucidating Ithacan social dynamics.

Unlike the *ware*, a *type* is indicative of “a specific time interval within a specific region” (Sabloff and Smith 1969, 278). Clive Orton has summarized the criteria for defining types in general (Orton 1980, 33):

1. “Objects belonging to the same type should be alike in some way (the way will be specified: it might be shape, chemical composition or some other characteristic)

2. Objects belonging to different types should as a rule be less alike
3. The types should be properly defined, that is, if the work is repeated, the results obtained should be much the same
4. It should be possible to decide which type a new object belongs to, with relative ease”

With regard to pottery, a three-level scheme can be adopted, usually called the “type-variety system” (Sabloff and Smith 1969). Pottery is divided according to morphological characteristics in *classes*, *types*, and *varieties*. Since in the assemblages under study there are abundant nearly complete vases, a classification according to *shape* seems the most effective. A *class* is a “cup”, a “jug”, an “askos” etc; a *type* is a subdivision of a class which groups together objects similar in shape; a *variety* represents different characteristics of the same form, like fabric or decoration technique, presumably due to variations within a workshop or between workshops producing the same shapes (Reynolds 2008, 82).

Since the *type* is the basic analytical unit, effort was made to provide drawings, in the Catalogue – Appendix I, of all the relevant shapes to be used as the basic tool of analysis. Late Archaic/Early Classical classes are discussed first, followed by the Late Classical.

4.4.1 One-handlers

One-handlers are a common shape in Late Archaic Attic pottery production (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 124-127; Lynch 2011b, 255-256). They usually bear banded decoration. In Corinth it appears in the second half of the 5th century BC, and it is usually semi-glazed by dipping (Pemberton *et al.* 1989, 36-38). Both Attic and Corinthian one-handlers show a ring foot and a rounded in section horizontal handle, and they remained popular until the end of the Classical period.

Late Archaic one-handlers have also been found in Elis, at Olympia and at the settlement of Babes (Gauer 1975, 198-203; Lang 1992, 60-62). At Olympia, appear both one-handlers with ring foot and rounded in section horizontal handle, as well as those with simple, slightly concave base and horizontal strap handle. At Babes, where the assemblage is very fragmentary, appears only the variety with the horizontal strap handle. Lang’s formal analysis underlines the fact that Olympia’s one-handlers show a fluent profile, whilst those of Babes show an

impalpable “bending” on the upper part, resulting in a slightly incurving rim. She also recognizes a variety with low, flat disk foot, which she dates, by stylistic means alone, in the mid-5th century BC (Lang 1992, 60-62, fig 9, no 9).

With regard to shape, Ithacan one-handlers **36** and **37** show remarkable similarity with those from Babes. Both have a horizontal strap handle and that “bending” on the upper part resulting in a slightly incurving rim. **36** has a simple slightly concave base and a projecting above rim level strap-handle. **37** has the low, flat disk foot and a slightly canted handle, without projection above rim level. Since **36** and **37** are contemporary, they suggest that those from Babes may be contemporary as well, dating in the first quarter of the 5th century BC. With regard to decoration, Ithacan one-handlers seem instead to be influenced by the Corinthian practice of semi-glazing by dipping. However, the Ithacan one-handlers are earlier and not symmetrically glazed like those in Corinth; instead they were dipped held by the handle area, thus glazing only the distal from the handle part.

Both Elean and Ithacan one-handlers do not seem to have been produced after the first quarter of the 5th century BC.

Consequently, we can recognize one type of Ithacan one handlers with two varieties:

Type I: Late Archaic one-handled cups (*ca.* 500 – 475 BC).

Variety A: One-handler **36**, with simple, slightly concave base and projecting above rim level strap-handle.

Variety B: One-handler **37**, with low, flat disk foot and slightly canted handle.

4.4.2 Jugs

Two types of Late Archaic jugs can be recognised in Assemblage TTP2. Type I consists of small bottle-shaped jugs with a maximum body diameter a little more than half the height (**38**, **39**, and **40**). Another probable jug of this type was found in Lot 8-27-3, jug **146**, and seems to be a distinct variety. Type II consists of jugs with a large capacity, the shape ranging from globular to cylindrical, funnel-shaped mouth, narrow neck, and a maximum body diameter a little less

than the height (**41**, **42**, and **43**). Both types have a vertical strap handle. In Type I from the shoulder to the rim, and in Type II from the shoulder to the neck.

Late Archaic small bottle shaped jugs were popular in Athens, called *olpai* (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 78-79; Lynch 2011b, 250-252). They are either fully black-glazed, or banded with large reserved areas. They do not appear in the Corinthian repertoire. However, small bottle shaped jugs corresponding to Type I, were popular in Elis (Gauer 1975, 108-114; Lang 1992, 91-92). Ithacan Type I jugs combine both Attic and Elean elements. The elongated necks are similar to the Elean, as is the outwards bevelled rim of **39**. The bevel at the junction of body and shoulder of **39** recalls, however, Attic jugs (Lynch 2011b, 250, no 116). Semi-glazing by dipping on **38** and **39** are typically Ithacan.

Type II narrow-necked jugs are highly idiosyncratic. **41** and **43** are semi-glazed by dipping, and **42** has added white, in typical Ithacan style. **43** is the most idiosyncratic of all, in fact unique; it has a cylindrical body reminding Corinthian oinochoai, and a basket handle with a sideways placed funnel-shaped mouth like an askos. Despite all these features, the visual impression is that of a large aryballos. However, the comparable size with those of **41** and **42**, classify it as a jug. These narrow-necked jugs show interesting stylistic affinities with the Archaic (6th century BC) Laconian jugs (Stibbe 2000, 52-55). Stibbe aptly remarks that this shape is related to the aryballos, constituting “a family of vase-forms” (Stibbe 2000, 52). Similar shapes and contemporary to the Ithacan jugs, are two pieces from Elis, one from Olympia and one from Babes (Gauer 1975, 108, pl 12.7; Lang 1992, 91, fig 20.4).

Varieties are defined by shape and decorative elements.

Type I: Late Archaic small, bottle-shaped jugs (*ca.* 500 – 475 BC).

Variety A: Jug **38**, with bulbous lower body and semi-glazed by dipping.

Variety B: Jug **39**, with cylindrical body, bevel at junction of body and neck, and semi-glazed by dipping.

Variety C: Jug **40**, fully black-glazed except for the resting surface.

Variety D: Jug **146**, with narrow disk foot and semi-glazed by dipping.

In a fifth variety may be ascribed the sherd **55**, from the contemporary Assemblage NKIIIa, if it actually belongs to a jug. It bears a horizontal black band like the Attic *olpai*.

Type II: Late Archaic narrow-necked jugs (*ca.* 500 – 475 BC).

Variety A: Globular jug **41**, semi-glazed by dipping.

Variety B: Spherical jug **42**, fully black-glazed with added white.

Variety C: Cylindrical jug **43**, partly semi-glazed by dipping and partly banded.

After the first quarter of the 5th century BC, jugs cannot be securely identified. In Assemblage BK, dated *ca.* 450 BC, two sherds may come from jugs, **74** and **75**. Unfortunately, no feet or handles survive, so identifications are highly tentative. If **74** comes indeed from a jug, then it is a new type with cylindrical neck. In the third quarter of the 4th century BC, in Assemblage TTP3, three parts of closed vessels (**126**, **127**, and **128**), could possibly be ascribed to jugs. **126** could be a juglet. **127** could be a large jug/pitcher; however, it could easily be a hydria. **128** may be similar to **127**, if it does not join with it. It is evident that these identifications are highly dubious and cannot be further examined.

4.4.3 Kotylai

The *kotyle* was a popular Corinthian drinking vessel, characterized by a spreading ring foot, concave walls with plain undifferentiated rim, and two horizontal handles just below the lip. The typical Archaic Corinthian *kotyle* is the ray-based. In the Classical period, and after the third quarter of the 5th century BC, the ray-based *kotyle* was replaced with one having a plain lower part. In the second half of the 4th century BC, the *kotyle* evolved an ovoid body with the upper part turning inwards, and a narrow disk foot. Attic workshops copied the shape. In the publications of the *Athenian Agora* the shape is defined as “Corinthian type skyphos”, whilst in those of *Corinth* the shape retains the term *kotyle* (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 83; McPhee et al. 2012, 169-171). Here, the term *kotyle* is used.

Ithacan *kotylai* appear in Assemblage TTP2 as imitations of their Corinthian counterparts (Type I). They reappear in Assemblage TTP3 in two types. Type II has a tall ring foot and spherical deep body. Type III seems to be inspired by the late Classical Corinthian ovoid *kotylai*.

Type I: Late Archaic Corinthianizing kotylai (*ca.* 500 – 475 BC).

In this type belong parts of three kotylai in white technique (**33**, **34**, and **141**), and a single sherd of the red technique (**35**). Each of them can be ascribed to a different variety:

Variety A: Kotyle **33**, with short, closely spaced red bands and most of the underside red.

Variety B: Kotyle **34**, with thick floor, very low ring foot and thick rays of the Early Corinthian tradition.

Variety C: Kotyle **141**, with rounded ring foot, recessed upper exterior and interior foot faces, and well-spaced, thin, black rays.

Variety D: Kotyle **35**, probably fully glazed with horizontal ring handle, rather than loop handle.

Type II: Late Classical Spherical kotylai (*ca.* 350 – 325 BC).

Only the nearly complete kotyle **99** defines this type. The kotyle fragment **100** apparently belongs to the same type, but only a very small part survives. Interestingly enough, a spherical kotyle had been discovered in a grave at Stavros village, bearing a “West-Slope” decorative pattern of incised ivy branch and leaves with added colour, now worn (Heurtley 1940, p. 2, fig. 1; Morgan 2007, p. 83, figs. 58-59). The dribbling glaze suggests dipping (fig 34). We now know that “West-Slope” decoration was used by Ithacan potters already in the 4th century BC. So, it is highly likely that this kotyle too can be dated in the third quarter of the 4th century BC. Compared to **99**, the Stavros kotyle also shows a lower ring foot, a reserved band at the juncture of foot and body, and an upright rim. It also appears to be made with the red technique. The only parallel outside Ithaca is a kotyle from Oiniades, Akarnania, exactly opposite Ithaca (Sermpeti *et al.* 2009, 261, fig. 7). It is heavily worn, but it could be an Ithacan import.

Consequently, we can distinguish two varieties of the Type II kotyle:

Variety A: Kotyle **99**.

Variety B: The Stavros kotyle.



Figure 35: A spherical kotyle of Type IIB from Stavros village, displayed at Stavros Museum (photo: author)

Type III: Late Classical stemmed “tulip” kotyle

The “tulip” kotyle **101** shows affinities with the Corinthian late Classical ovoid kotyle. However, it shows a true stem instead of just an acute contraction, a feature not encountered in any of the known workshops, and enough to set it apart as a distinct type. No other specimen is known from Ithaca. Curiously enough, three of them have been found in the cemetery of the ancient Leukas city, on Leukas Island (Andreou 1994, pl 146a, 150b). Unfortunately the published photographs are not very helpful and profiles are not provided. Due to their reddish fabric, Andreou suggests an Attic origin. However, no Attic kotyle of this type has ever been discovered. It would not be unreasonable to suggest an Ithacan origin for those as well.

4.4.4 Cups

In the first half of the 5th century BC, and in Assemblages TTP2, NKIIIa, and BK, imported Attic, Laconian, and “Western Greek”, cups are well represented. Unless those of the “Western Greek” purple-ware turn out to be Ithacan, cups, stemmed or stemless, seem to have never been popular in the Ithacan repertoire. The earliest Ithacan cup seems to be **68**, an interesting attempt to imitate probably Attic prototypes, but poorly executed. The other is the wide torus foot **87** in Assemblage BKIII, dated in the third quarter of the 4th century BC. Fragments **88**, **89**, and **90**, are very interesting open shapes, but the absence

of more diagnostic characteristics make it difficult to classify them with any degree of certainty.

Consequently, building a typology for the Ithacan cups at this state of knowledge is considered futile.

4.4.5 Kantharoi

The shape occurs only in Assemblage TTP3. The sherd **92** from Assemblage BKIII could be a mug and not a kantharos. In the 4th century BC, the shape is popular in Attica, with a moulded conical foot, a convex body, and a tall, offset, concave rim (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 122; Rotroff 1997, 83-85). The body is often ribbed. The shape was also popular in Elis and Achaia (Kyriakou 1994; Schilbach 1995, 60-65). In Elis and Achaia the convex-concave profile appears together with another with hemispherical lower body and cylindrical upper part.

The Ithacan kantharoi, except for **105**, survive in one small sherd only. Therefore, the following typological observations are tentative. They appear in two types: Type I kantharoi are small with convex lower body and inwards offset concave rim. One variety, kantharoi **106** and **107**, have a ribbed lower body and rim decorated with “West-Slope” ivy pattern. The other, kantharos **145**, does not show ribbing and the surviving rim part is too small to trace any possible decoration. The kantharos feet **108** and **109** cannot be ascribed to any type because they were common to all. However, they bear a formal characteristic which distinguishes them as Ithacan.

We have already notice above (4.3.3.4) that Ithacan and Elean pottery in the 4th century BC share the “West-Slope” decorative technique with incised ivy garlands and leaves with added colour. Moreover, the feet **108** and **109** with a moulding on the exterior face have direct parallels in the Elean kantharoi. The difference, fabric apart, is a minor detail. Some Elean feet show a thin, sharp moulding just below the juncture of foot and body. The profile is concave both below and above that moulding. The Ithacan counterparts share this moulding, but it is placed slightly higher, exactly at the juncture of foot and body, the concavity being observable only below the moulding.

The large kantharos **105** characterizes Type II. It has a hemispherical lower body, and cylindrical upper part with an outwards offset, tall rim. With

regard to size and profile, with at least 12cm in height, is comparable to the Elean large kantharoi that reach a height of 13cm (Georgiadou 2005, 55, 122, no. 45.1, 123, no. 47.2, pl 37). With regard to the decoration, with a ribbed body and “West-Slope” handle panel, it finds close parallels to a kantharos from Elis, and from Patra, Achaia (Georgiadou 2005, 54, fig 7:132.5; Kolia and Stauropoulou-Gatsi 2005, 48, fig 3). However, the last two kantharoi are small in size. The Ithacan kantharos **105** with the additional wave pattern on the rim remains unique. Ithacan and Elean kantharoi of this type show similarities with the Corinthian “cyma” kantharoi (Edwards 1975, 76). However, new evidence from Drain 1971-1 suggests that Corinthian “cyma” kantharoi were probably not produced before 300 BC (McPhee *et al.* 2012, 177).

Consequently, the Ithacan late Classical kantharoi can be divided into two types, Type I with two varieties:

Type I: Small kantharoi, **106**, **107**, and **145** (*ca.* 325 BC).

Variety A: Ribbed body and rim with “West-Slope” decoration.

Variety B: Plain body.

Type II: Large kantharos, **105** (*ca.* 325 BC).

4.4.6 Skyphoi

Only four sherds and parts can be identified as Ithacan skyphoi, all dated in the third quarter of the 4th century BC (**91**, **102**, **104**, and **142**). They all belong to the late Classical type with narrow torus foot, concave lower body, bulgy upper body, and outturned rim. It was probably the most popular drinking vessel both in Athens (Type A) and in Corinth (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 84-85; MCPhee *et al.* 2012, 172-176). Both Attic (**47** and **85**) and Corinthian (**79**, **94**, **95**, and **96**) skyphoi have been retrieved in this excavation. MCPhee *et al.* notice that some Corinthian skyphoi were taller than 10cm, and some could reach above 13cm (McPhee *et al.* 2012, 174).

The Ithacan skyphos sherd **91** shows the characteristic outturned rim. Fragment **102** shows the bulgy upper body with a diameter exceeding that of the rim, the outturned rim, and the attachment of a canted horizontal handle. Sherd **142** shows the typical narrow torus foot. The fragment **104** of a large vessel is

intriguing. It was certainly an open vessel since the interior is fully glazed. Its formal characteristics, namely the thick heavy spreading foot, the reserved band at the junction of foot and body, the marked concavity of the lower body, suggest a skyphos. With a preserved height of 9.5cm, this would be indeed a considerably large skyphos, probably exceeding the height of the Corinthian large skyphoi.

Consequently, two types of Ithacan skyphoi can be distinguished:

Type I: Skyphoi **94**, **102**, and **142**, of normal size.

Type II: Large skyphos **104**.

It seems, however, that the skyphos never became the dominant drinking vessel on Ithaca.

4.4.7 Echinus bowls

The Echinus bowl was a very popular shape in Attic pottery produced both in Classical and in the Hellenistic period (Rotroff 1997, 161-164). In Corinth it began to be produced in the third quarter of the 4th century BC, but not in large numbers (McPhee *et al.* 2012, 105-107).

Only in Assemblage TTP3 there are four fragments of echinus bowls, **113**, **114**, **115**, and **116**. Only one complete profile is preserved. The lack of complete profiles means that any division by types is only tentative. They are all fully glazed. Therefore, they will be divided in four types.

Type I: Echinus bowl **113**, with thick, well articulated foot, broader than the vessel's height.

Type II: Echinus bowl **114**, with a deep bowl and an apparently narrow foot.

Type III: Echinus bowl **115**, deep.

Type IV: Echinus bowl **116**, with a broad and relatively shallow bowl.

The markedly deep bowl of **115**, when compared to Attic shapes, could be dated in the Hellenistic period (Rotroff 1997, 162-163), something that would confound the chronology of Assemblage TTP3. However, **115** is not Attic, and

there are Corinthian deep echinus bowls dated in the third quarter of the 4th century BC (McPhee *et al.* 2012, 105-106).

4.4.8 Plates

Two fragments of plates have been discovered, **83** and **118**, both made with the red technique and dating *ca.* 350 – 325 BC. Unfortunately, the rims do not survive, so we lack the defining characteristic for a type distinction. In the 4th century BC, plates were popular both in Attica and in Elis (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 147; Rotroff 1997, 142-145; Schilbach 1995, 30-41). The difference is that in Attica was popular the rolled rim type, whilst in Elis the rilled rim. The Attic plate **97** might suggest an Attic influence, but this is only a speculation.

None of the Ithacan plates bears stamped decoration or rouletting. Only **83** bears five shallow concentric grooves. Plates **83** and **118** show marked differences at the foot and profile. Plate **83** has a simple, tall, thick foot and a straight profile, whilst **118** has a low, thin, well articulated foot and a “cyma” profile.

Consequently, they can be grouped in one type with two varieties:

Type I: Late Classical plate.

Variety A: Plate **118**, cyma profile.

Variety B: Plate **83**, straight profile.

4.4.9 Askoi

Two types of the askos have been discovered, both in Assemblage TTP3. One is the guttus type (**122**), and the strainer-top type (**123**, **124**, and **125**). Both types occur in the assemblages of Athens, Corinth, and Campania. McPhee *et al.* suggest that both types were not produced in Corinth, but imported from Athens (McPhee *et al.* 2012, 199).

The guttus type askos **122**, has the broad, heavy foot and reserved underside of the Classical type (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 160; Rotroff 1997, 172-173). The Ithacan askos has ribbing only on the upper part of the body, the profile is rounded, and the shoulder is decorated with “West-Slope” ivy pattern with incised garland and leaves with added colour, now lost. The Attic and Campanian counterparts have instead a bulbous body, ribbing reaching down almost to the foot, and concave shoulder (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 160; Morel

1994, 364-365, pl 171; Rotroff 1997, 172-173; McPhee *et al.* 2012, 199-200, pl 34, no. VII-15).

The decorative syntax of the Ithacan guttus type askos, seems to be influenced by the so-called “Elean lekythoi” found in Achaia and Akarnania. Although smaller shapes, these lekythoi show the same pattern of ribbing on the upper part of the body and the “West-Slope” ivy pattern on the shoulder (Kyriakou 1994, 189, pl 132). It is interesting to note that two shoulder fragments found at Polis Cave have the same shape and bear the same “West-Slope” decoration with askos **122** (Benton 1938-1939, 32, pl 15, nos. 15-15a). Benton identifies them as hydriai, but it is highly probable that they are guttus type askoi like **122**.

The profile of the strainer-top askoi **123**, **124**, and **125**, do not have exact parallels from Athens and Corinth (Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 159, pl 39, nos 1187-1189; McPhee *et al.* 2012, 199, pl 34, no VII-14). The Ithacan askoi have neither the symmetrically rounded, nor the carinated profile of the Attic shape. Instead, the Ithacan profile is ovoid, with the maximum diameter on the upper part of the body. Moreover, the foot of the Ithacan askoi is not a ring, but a low disk foot with concave underside. Significantly, the closest shape to the Ithacan is an askos found on Kefalonia Island, at Koulourata (Sotiriou 2009, 220-221, fig 12). However, the Kefalonian askos lacks the ribbing, and the strainer has seven small, irregularly placed holes, instead of the five, large, symmetrically placed holes on the Ithacan askos **125**. The Campanian askoi show some general similarities, especially the disk foot in some cases, but there are not good parallels to the Ithacan (Morel 1994, 423-424, pl 210).

4.5 Discussion

What emerges from this chapter is a clear pattern in the relationship of imported and Ithacan pottery present in the assemblages. In the beginning of the 5th century BC, imported ceramics constituted a conspicuous part of the assemblages. In fact, imports are more numerous than Ithacan. This pattern tends to be reversed during the Classical period, and at the end of the third quarter of the 4th century BC imports appear to be almost totally replaced by Ithacan ceramics

(fig 36). A comparable trend was observed by Waterhouse in an assemblage of Late Archaic and Classical pottery from Stavros village, which is in urgent need of re-examination. She observed “...the predominance, curious at this period, of non-Attic vases...” (Waterhouse 1952, 242). However, she hesitates to characterize them Ithacan, suggesting instead an Italian origin.

With regard to Corinthian pottery, she observes that they continued to be imported throughout the Classical period. The continuous presence of Corinthian pottery in the 5th and 4th centuries BC should not be underestimated. In fact, Ithaca seems to be one of the few places in which Corinthian pottery continues to arrive throughout the Classical period. Contrary to the impression that the Corinthian pottery exports had effectively collapsed by the second half of the 6th century BC, although they declined decisively, Risser observes that the Corinthian Classical Conventionalizing pottery continued to be exported during the 5th century BC (Risser 2001, 175-177). On Ithaca, most of the Corinthian imported pottery dated in the 5th century BC falls into the Conventionalizing style.

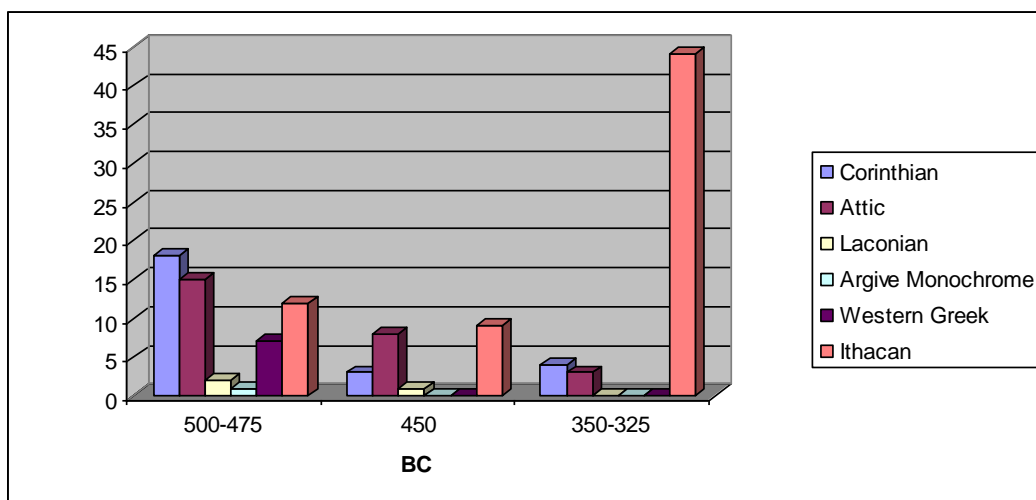


Figure 36: Occurrences of imported and Ithacan pottery during the Late Archaic and Classical period

Identifying a regional pottery style is a delicate issue. On a theoretical level, the existence of a thriving Ithacan pottery production should not be considered unexpected. As Pemberton remarked: “Just as independent cities had different coin types, letter-forms, building traditions, and so forth, so may it have been with the pottery” (Pemberton 2003, 177). Arafat and Morgan consider the

production of fine wares in any part of Greece almost certain: "...no region in Greece (or indeed the Mediterranean) lacked the resources or technology to produce its own finewares; there is no evidence for the regular movement of clay in the Greek world and many factors militate against it" (Arafat and Morgan 1994, 109). However, such an assumption, irrespective of its commonsensical appeal, is not a proof. In this regard, Villard proposed a series of criteria by which a local workshop can be identified (Villard 1992, 9):

- a) The need to retrieve (and publish) assemblages from significant sites, preferably settlement areas.
- b) Local pottery should be easily distinguishable from imports.
- c) Evidence of influences by the imported pottery to the local, influences evident on the decorative techniques and provoked by the reaction of local potters.
- d) Locate a kiln installation which production corresponds exactly to the local style, or rely on indisputable scientific analyses.

The pottery identified in this chapter as Ithacan, appears to meet all the above criteria. The site offered well-dated closed contexts from which an adequate amount of fine ware pottery was recovered. Ithacan pottery is distinguishable from imports without major difficulties, both from its fabrics, shapes, and decorative schemes. The influences of the imported pottery on Ithacan are also well attested. In the beginning of the 5th century BC semi-glazing by dipping is the dominant decorative choice, evidently influenced by Corinthian practices, while Corinthian imports dominate the assemblages. Shapes are related to those from Elis and Laconia. However, Ithacan potters produced idiosyncratic shapes. As the 5th century progressed, Ithacan potters became less influenced by the Corinthian style and became more susceptible to Attic and, again, Elean. Full-glazing by brush became the dominant method. In the 4th century BC, shapes were influenced by Attic and Corinthian prototypes; however, decorative choices like the "West-Slope" technique and the employment of dipping, renders Ithacan production distinguishable.

It is evident that Ithacan pottery appears as a bricolage of traits from different areas, a combination of elements taken from different traditions capable of producing a discernible local style. The overarching affiliation, however, is to

be found within the wider Western Greek pottery style. And although shapes and decoration preferences change through time, Ithacan pottery develops along Western Greek lines. This strong Western Greek tradition does not conceal local differences. They become evident through a systematic examination of similarities and differences, as it is hoped to have been demonstrated in this chapter.

Only one pottery kiln has been so far discovered on Ithaca, just a few metres northwest of this site (Morgan 2007, 85). It was excavated by the British School at Athens in the 1930s and still remains unpublished. Apparently, it is dated in the Roman period. Obviously, this lack of evidence does not imply evidence of lack. It is probably due to research bias. After all, the excavated Archaic and Classical kiln throughout Greece are not numerous, and most of them are known from Attica alone (Erickson 2010a, 38, note 65). However, there is indirect evidence for pottery production on Ithaca, and it is found in Pyre 3. The evidence is the clay stamp seal **133**, and the stamped terracotta **134**. The stamp seal bears a motive of ivy branch and leaves, a preferred motive of the “West-Slope” technique. The size of the seal, 7.1cm long and 3.4cm wide, suggests it was used on large surfaces, perhaps amphoras or even cakes. The stamped terracotta bears the name TIMEΑΣ, generally a rare name, but not on Ithaca. We find the same name in a now lost inscription, a funerary epigram on a stele (*IG IX I² IV 1720*). The text suggests that the man was a prominent Ithacan and his activity had something to do with warfare. He had a son named Timeas. The inscription can be dated in the early *ca.* 200 BC. Consequently, these two objects can be fairly confidently considered Ithacan, and reinforce the recognition of a local pottery production.

When everything is considered, the close examination of the assemblages shows that an Ithacan Late Archaic and Classical pottery production did exist. Ithacan potters were capable of producing a wide range of shapes and of high quality. Towards the end of the Classical period, and after incorporating several innovations, Ithacan products competed in quality to those of the major Greek pottery production centres.

The typology proposed relies on a still restricted number of artefacts. Therefore, it should not be considered as definitive. On the contrary, the aim was to create a *provisional* typological scheme based on the fortunate recovery of well dated closed contexts. Effort was made to apply the principle of “split first, then

lumb” (Adams and Adams 1991, 102). The pottery was divided in as many types and varieties as possible. Thus, it is hoped that the scheme proposed remains open to incorporate future finds, incite refinements and, if necessary, eliminate types that will prove irrelevant. Another important goal is to stimulate similar initiatives to re-evaluate older material, both on Ithaca and in the surrounding islands and regions, and put them in a new perspective. The discontinuity in time, as represented by the chronologies of the contexts and assemblages, renders any attempt of seriation of types premature. In fact, we are not yet in position to assess how long for example the Type I jugs were in use before and after they occurred in assemblage TTP2. That is why no attempt for seriation has been undertaken. What has, hopefully, been achieved, is the identification of historical types assignable to a short period of time though their contexts which can be used in the future as index fossils for cross dating other contexts and sequences.

What have been examined so far are distinct groups of artefacts found together and apparently functioned in complement, recovered from well defined excavation contexts. It is now time to proceed beyond description and classification by recognizing that the deposition of these particular pottery assemblages in that particular place served a purpose. That purpose can emerge by analyzing the *context of use*, or *context of behaviour*. The notion of *context of use* reflects the cultural uses and behavioural patterns in which the artefacts were deployed, such as votive offerings in sanctuaries, burial gifts in graves, or eating and drinking in a feast.

5 – The context of use

“A group of artifacts found together, some of which functioned in complement, is an assemblage, and the types of objects within the archaeological assemblage also reflect the artifact use at the location” (Lynch 2011b, 2)

After the close examination of the objects themselves, the next step is to determine their behavioural significance; determine the purpose for which they have been used, and consequently, the cultural activities that took place in that setting. Activities occur in a more or less defined space, and involve the interaction of people and objects. Such an inquiry is relatively easy when the depositional setting is straightforward, such as household debris or burial offerings in the well defined context of a tomb. In the case at hand, both the depositional setting and the activities are in need of elucidation.

Since the beginnings of modern archaeological fieldwork, making inferences about past human activities and behaviours through the material record has been a major concern, especially amongst prehistorians. The approaches to the archaeological record have undergone successive improvements. Before the advent of “New Archaeology” in the 1960s, the prevailing assumption was that the archaeological record was a more or less direct reflection of past activities. Thus, as late as 1956 Childe was suggesting that: “The archaeological record is constituted of the *fossilized* results of human behaviour” (Childe 1956, 1; italics mine). Even vigorous “New Archaeologists” like Binford would argue in their early years that the archaeological remains offer a “fossil record” of past activities (Binford 1964, 425). Childe’s approach partly reflects the notion that artefacts speak for themselves, the belief that the mere amassing of raw data leads to a better understanding of the past (Johnson 2010, 12-17). If an excavation did not yield sufficient data to advance an interpretation, then it was hoped that one of the next would provide them.

This belief in an uncomplicated association between the archaeological record and past activities was first challenged by the American archaeologist M.B. Schiffer in 1972: “Archaeologists have gone from the one extreme of viewing a site as spatially and behaviourally undifferentiated rubbish to the other extreme of

viewing remains as mostly reflecting their locations of use in past activities. At this point, it appears that neither extreme is often the actual case.” (Schiffer 1972, 163). Instead, he remarked that: “The archaeological record at a site is a static, three-dimensional structure of materials existing in the present. The remains in this site have undergone successive transformations from the time they once participated in a behavioural system to the time they are observed by the archaeologist” (Schiffer 1975, 838). The time the artefacts participated in a behavioural system he labelled “systemic context”, and the time they are observed by the archaeologist through excavation “archaeological context”. Systemic context is a state in which artefacts participate in any kind of human activities, and archaeological context the state in which artefacts “interact only with the natural environment” (Schiffer 1972; 1987, 3-4). Eventually, Schiffer further elaborated his approach with particular attention to site formation processes, object life histories, and the relationship between people, places and things, in what is known as *behavioural archaeology* (Schiffer 1976; Schiffer 1987; Skibo and Schiffer 2008; LaMotta 2012).

Classical archaeology has until recently been object-oriented, “...a discipline devoted to the archaeology of objects, one which is traditionally governed and organized, not by competing objectives or theories, approaches or models, but by classes of material.” (Snodgrass 2012, 17). Description and classification has been the primary objective, not interpretation. Such a state of scholarly affairs left little room for attention to the context of recovery and its interpretation (Whitley 2001, 5-10, 34). The close academic connection of Classical archaeology to the Classical studies has also resulted in viewing it as a source of illustrations for the ancient texts (Snodgrass 2012, 16). And the influence has been mutual. In order to interpret the archaeological record, Classical archaeologists have paid little attention to context, and more often than not they relied on the written sources, or by making direct historical analogies with historically better documented places.

Snodgrass offers an example of how a number of rooms in a Roman villa in Britain were initially interpreted as a large *fullonica*, partly based on the available historical sources and partly by analogy to the better known *fullonicae* at Pompei (Snodgrass 2006, 6-7). Two generations later, the re-examination of the stratigraphy revealed that the interpretation was largely erroneous, the actual

fullonica was much smaller and the adjacent rooms were instead bathing installations. Snodgrass has additionally warned against what he termed “positivist fallacy”, the assumption that what is historically significant can be archaeologically detectable, and vice-versa (Snodgrass 1987, 36-66; 2006, 10, 45-62).

Schiffer’s work has had little impact in Europe, and none in Classical archaeology. Only Ian Morris seems to have been aware of the “behavioural” agenda by citing Rathje’s “garbage project”. It has been argued that after the 1970s and 1980s the employment of Schiffer’s approach declined (Lucas 2012, 96). However, the year 2007 would mark a re-emergence of Schiffer’s methodologies and its introduction in Europe, both in prehistoric and Classical archaeology. Chapman and Gaydarska focused on site formation processes and object life histories while examining the issue of deliberate fragmentation of objects and the social implications of this behaviour (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). Peña’s monograph on Roman pottery is more object-oriented (Peña 2007). It focuses on object biographies in the form of pottery life histories following their use, and re-use, trajectory from the stage of production to that of final discard. Peña’s monograph was soon followed up by a collection of papers specifically intended to address the issues raised by Peña (Lawall and Lund 2011). All the papers focus on classes of pottery and their biographies in a more or less empirical fashion. Only Lynch’s paper tackles the issue of depositional patterns in relation to behaviour and social meaning (Lynch 2011a). Lynch’s approach was exposed in detail in her monograph (Lynch 2011b). All these recent publications explicitly acknowledge the influence of Schiffer’s approach, although the Classical pottery case-studies remain largely object-oriented.

Schiffer’s behavioural archaeology agenda has been chosen for the present study as well. That because it is considered the most appropriate tool for an in-depth analysis of the activities represented by the excavated contexts, one which puts in evidence the relationship between the contexts as depositional units and the pottery assemblages. The fundamental question that seeks an answer in the following pages is how we can deduce the systemic context, the activities at the site when occupied, from the archaeological context, the archaeological observation made during excavation. Key observations regarding the context of recovery and the dynamics of site formation have already been discussed in

Chapter 3. However, there the principal aim was stratigraphic analysis and the *chronology* of the contexts, and through these the chronologies of each phase in the occupational history of the site.

In order to make consistent inferences on the context of use, two further steps must be taken, one dealing with the space and one dealing with the objects. In Lynch's quotation in the beginning of this Chapter, the key themes are location and artefact use. In this study, the location is understood as an archaeological site which has undergone transformations. Therefore, the first step is the understanding of the *use of space*, the space not as landscape but as a locality in which activities took place. The second is the *assemblage analysis* of the fine ware pottery.

The question of the use of space will be approached by an examination of the site formation processes, with the aim of throwing light on how this particular depositional setting was created. The assemblage analysis aims in revealing the function of the fine ware pottery. Although treated separately, the use of space and assemblage analysis are two components in continuous dialogue with each other, each of them helping to elucidate the other. The explanation of these phenomena should help to answer the question of what kind of activities does these assemblages and contexts represent.

5.1 Site and assemblage formation processes

Schiffer distinguishes two kinds of site formation processes, *cultural* resulting by human actions, and *non-cultural*, or *environmental*, consequential of natural phenomena (Schiffer 1987, 7). Cultural processes can be the discard of a group of objects in a pit, or the ritual deposition of another group in a grave or a shrine. Non-cultural process can be the sediment accumulation by a mudslide. Schiffer puts forward a comprehensive treatment of those site formation processes that can be traced by observing artefact properties and "the traces that are *mapped onto* artefacts", and how these can be interpreted in order to understand their systemic context (Schiffer 1987, 14, 265-303).

For Schiffer, the most appropriate unit of analysis is the deposit. Consequently, the unit of analysis for this study is the individual pyre context.

The discussion will focus mainly on Area TT because the contexts of Pyre 2 and Pyre 3 are better preserved, the fine ware assemblages are more numerous and more promising to provide reliable insights on the activities and behaviours. From the exposition of the excavation in Chapter 3, it emerged that Area TT ceased to be in systemic context and became archaeological context when Pyre 2, Pyre 3, and Pit RP were buried under SU5, apparently a non-cultural process caused by a mudslide from upslopes. The aim of this section is to examine the site formation processes before it entered the archaeological context, that is, when activities of any kind were still taking place in Area TT. To this end, artefact properties and the observable traces “mapped onto” them by those formation processes will be examined.

5.1.1 Vertical and horizontal distribution

With regard to Pyre 2, it has already been described how the pottery was retrieved from different stratigraphic units, representing distinct “shovel-loads” of material resulting from cleanup and discard. Inside each stratigraphic unit, the pottery was found at roughly the same level, or in dense concentrations. The pottery concentration of Lot 24 was to be found on the same level. The mouth of the Laconian amphora **28** was found upside-down at a distance of 0.7m to the south from its base, which was found lying to the north-east of the one-handlers **36** and **37** (fig 7, 19-20). The pottery of Lot 15 was found as a single dense concentration in a restricted space (fig 7). When Lots 18, 19, 20, 10, 11, and 28 are considered, there is a discernible pattern of distribution from north to south, from the spot where the bronze cauldron lies towards the baulk TT3-TT4 (fig 7), thus creating a “waste stream” roughly 8m long. This horizontal and vertical distribution strongly suggests that discarding occurred from north to south, from the cauldron area towards the deep trench adjacent to the interior face of Wall 1. Therefore, the formation of Assemblage TTP2 resulted by the cultural process of cleanup and discard of the material of Pyre 2.

With regard to Pyre 3, the excavation revealed that the pottery was lying *in situ* skirting the northern limit of the ashy deposit. They were all found lying at the same level in two main concentrations, Lot 6 and Lot 30. The fact that the pottery of Pyre 3 was found *in situ* and some pots were found standing on their

bases suggests that they were intentionally and with care left on the surface. Such a clear spatial configuration is indicative of a deliberate cultural process.

5.1.2 Pottery refits

Artefact refitting is widely used in Palaeolithic archaeology on lithic artefacts in order to reveal spatial patterns of behaviour and understand technological aspects, such as the *chaîne opératoire*. With regard to pottery, refits are usually carried out in order to reconstruct a vessel, not to examine the spatial distribution of the sherds in order to assess depositional processes (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, 81). Such an attitude is far more widespread in the object-oriented Classical archaeology, where the objective is more often than not the restoration of a vessel rather than what potential information the examination of the depositional processes may offer (with the notable recent exception of Lynch 2011b, 5-28).

The method can be employed on pottery by examining “refits”, joining sherds recovered from different stratigraphic units within the same context, or from different contexts. Chapman and Gaydarska aptly warn against the often made assumption that joining sherds recovered from different contexts imply contemporaneity of the contexts themselves (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, 83-85). The opposite, that is joining sherds recovered from contexts of different chronology, is also a possibility that should be accounted for. For this reason, in this study pottery refits are considered only from within distinct contexts. After all, no joining sherds from different contexts have been encountered. Refits have been ascertained in Pyre 2, with sherds of the Corinthian kotyle **1** and the Attic stemmed dish **22** found in Lots 15 and 24. That means that the material of Pyre 2 was dumped in a single depositional episode. The refits suggest once more that the deposition of Assemblage TTP2 resulted from a cultural formation process.

The only join found amongst the pottery of Pyre 3 is the one between two sherds of kantharos **107**. One was found in Lot 30, north of the ashy deposit, and the other in Lot 3 (Trench TT3), to the west of the ashy deposit. Apparently, the distance of *ca* 3m represents the dispersal of the sherds after deposition to the west and downhill. Contrary to the case of Assemblage TTP2, this dispersal of the kantharos sherds suggests a non-cultural formation process resulting from post-

depositional natural disturbance, since there is no evidence for activities related to cleanup and discard.

5.1.3 Orientation and dip

Common or random orientation and dip are often difficult to attribute to cultural or non-cultural formation processes (Schiffer 1987, 270-271). Erickson suggests that the common dip of disposed of pottery sherds at a site on the island of Crete might have resulted from throwing them to the ground from the same direction “ in a quasi-ceremonial fashion” (Erickson 2010a, 330). However, it is hard to envisage how a simple throwing of pottery sherds would result in a common orientation, unless they were deliberately and carefully placed with the same inclination. It seems that the most appropriate approach is a context-specific examination and the combination between properties.

The pottery of Assemblage TTP2 demonstrates random orientation and dip (fig 18-19). Only the two amphora necks, both found upside-down in Lot 24 (fig 7, 20), show a common orientation, but not a common dip. However, considering the property of horizontal and vertical distribution, this can be interpreted as the result of the discard act of tossing them into the trench from north to south with the necks facing south. Thus the upper parts of the amphoras ended in the deepest part of the trench in an almost vertical dip, and upside-down.

Assemblage TTP3 is totally different. All pots lie on the same level. Those of Lot 6 lie on their flat axis, and some of them still stood on their bases. The amphora toes of Lot 30 show a common orientation with the toes to the north; the amphora neck and the neck of **127** are oriented east-west (fig 7, 27). The rest of the pottery shows a random orientation and dip. However, the observations on Lots 6 and 30 suggest that those pots were deposited one at a time in a well defined pattern.

With regard to Assemblage TTP2, the properties of orientation and dip, when combined with the properties of horizontal and vertical orientation, are in accordance with a cultural formation process of cleanup and dumping. The orientation and dip of the total pottery of Assemblage TTP3 indicates two distinct formation processes. At a first stage the pottery was apparently carefully placed in determined positions, a cultural process. Afterwards, they seem to have been left

for some time as they laid, and subsequently a different process caused the random orientation and dip of most of the pottery.

5.1.4 Damage

Damage on both complete pots and sherds can be attributed to various cultural and non-cultural causes. The better known damage patterns on ceramics are striations, abrasions, salt-erosion, edge chipping, edge rounding, and sandblasting (Schiffer 1987, 276). Discoloration and flaking of glaze or other decorations are not considered as damages indicative of formation processes, since they can result from sloppy craftsmanship or post-depositional change. Striations, abrasions, and salt-erosion have not been observed. Edges are generally angular, both on broken but complete pots and on sherds. Some rounding observed is probably due to the softer fabric of some wares, like the Red Ithacan.

A damage effect that seems common to all the ceramic material from all assemblages is the extensive edge chipping. It is observable both on single sherds and on complete pots. Extensive chipping is indicative of trampling (Schiffer 1987, 266). According to Schiffer, trampling is a process occurring when artefacts are exposed on the surface or near it, in what he calls “surficial disturbance” (Schiffer 1987, 126-129). It occurs when artefacts are exposed in areas where there is frequent activity of people or animals. The more frequent the activities, the heavier the trampling. Breakage of pots and sherds is also caused by trampling. The extensive chipping observable on most of the pottery from all assemblages seems indicative of surface exposure and heavy trampling. Extensive chipping on very hard fabrics, such as the Corinthian skyphos sherds **94** (pl II.51) and **95** (fig I.95), also suggests heavy trampling.

On some pots and sherds, extensive pitting is observable. In Assemblage TTP2, the Corinthian kotyle sherd **2** (fig I.2), the Attic lekythos **24** (fig I.24), and the Ithacan spherical jug **42** (pl. II.25), bear clear marks of pitting. In Assemblage TTP3, heavy pitting is observable on the Attic plate **97** (pl II.52-53), on the Attic small bowl sherd **98** (pl II.54), and rather less heavy on the Ithacan guttus type askos **122** (pl II.78); very heavy pitting on the Ithacan large skyphos **104** (pl II.60), on the undetermined shape **120** (pl. II.76), and on the upper part of the strainer-top askos **123** (pl II.79). Pitting is usually caused by sandblasting and occurs on the surface. Therefore, all these pots and sherds must have been

subjected to hits by wind-blown particles while exposed on the surface. It is interesting to note that the Attic plate **97** and the Ithacan large skyphos **104** were found standing on their bases. However, **97** shows pitting on the underside as well, which implies that both surfaces have been somehow exposed, probably not at the same time. Some salt residues on the underside of **97** (pl. II.53), the only case of salt residues observed in all assemblages, further suggests that both surfaces had been exposed in the air.

The observed damages on the pottery of all assemblages indicate that the pottery was left exposed on the surface for a considerable period of time. Such an interpretation is less certain for Assemblages BK, BKIII, NKIIIa, and NKIIIb because they have been disturbed by later occupation. The Assemblages TTP2 and TTP3, however, have not been disturbed. Therefore, the evidence implies that Assemblage TTP2 was left exposed on the surface for a period of time before being discarded into the trench. Assemblage TTP3 was also left exposed before being buried by SU5.

5.1.5 Use-life

This property examines whether artefacts were still usable at the time of their deposition (Schiffer 1987, 271). The degree of completeness of an artefact determines if it was still usable at the time of deposition. The Assemblage TTP2 contains numerous nearly complete and intact pots. And although the context is transposed primary, the complete pots again indicate that the formation process was cultural. The Assemblage TTP3 also contains some nearly complete pots, like the Attic plate **97**, the Ithacan kotyle **99**, and the Ithacan strainer-top askos **125**. These cases suggest that at the time of deposition probably all the pots were intact. Moreover, since Pyre 3 has not been fully excavated, the probability remains that more joining fragments from other pots could still lie buried.

Another interesting use-life characteristic is that their deposition, and consequently their removal from circulation, implies an ease in acquisition and replacement, even for the imported pieces. Moreover, the vast majority of the pots and sherds of all assemblages, not only those of Area TT, bear no sign of repair. In fact, only one sherd, the Ithacan open shape **112** from Assemblage TTP3, bears a repair mark of a lead pin patching a hole at the base. This suggests that the pots in these contexts were new or occasionally used before the activities and the

deposition. Lack of repairs is also observable on coarse and cooking wares, as far as they have been examined.

5.1.6 Fragmentation

An interesting observable fact is that although in Area TT were recovered the best preserved deposits, a mere skimming of the pottery catalogue (Appendix 1) reveals a remarkable fragmentation of the two better preserved assemblages, TTP2 and TTP3. Although in both assemblages there are several nearly complete vases and considering the fact that a small part of TTP3 remains unexcavated, those vases represented by only one sherd are plentiful. In assemblage TTP2, 58.1% of the vases are represented by a single sherd or small part. In assemblage TTP3 the ratio is higher, 74.3%. These single sherds constitute what Schiffer calls “orphan sherds” (Schiffer 1987, 298-302). There seems to be no preference for the fragmentation of particular pots, either by provenience or by shape. In Pyre 2, most pots represented by one sherd are Corinthian, Attic, “Western-Greek”, and the Ithacan Corinthianizing kotylai. There are, however, intact and almost complete pots of all these categories, and the Laconian pots are almost complete. The same is valid for Pyre 3; pots of all proveniences and shapes are fragmented.

On this issue, Schiffer proposes a methodology with which fragmentation ratios can provide information on the character of the contexts (Schiffer 1987, 282-284). These are measurements of the “completeness index” and the “fragmentation index”. These measurements have not been undertaken in this study. However, theoretically at least, the fact that a large number of vessels are represented by only one sherd indicates intense fragmentation and consequently low completeness. This state can be related, according to Schiffer, to extensively reworked deposits. This last observation seems to contradict the interpretation of Pyre 2 and Pyre 3 as primary contexts. A possible explanation could be one of deliberate fragmentation.

It has been argued, and convincingly in some cases, that deliberate fragmentation of both artefacts and human remains reflects complex social behaviour (Chapman 2000; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). Interestingly enough, deliberate fragmentation of human remains may have occurred in northern Ithaca. During excavation of an early Hellenistic cemetery at Stavros village, one of the skeletons was found lacking the skull (Grave XII), whilst another one (Grave XV)

contained an extra skull (Waterhouse 1952, 231-232). Further confirmation was recently obtained by the recovery of another extra skull in a contemporary grave cluster in exactly the same area (Livitsanis 2013, 115). The conventional interpretation is that they belonged to secondary burials or resulted in that place by post-depositional disturbances. However, the deliberate fragmentation is a probability that must be accounted for.

The fact that Pyre 2 is a *transposed primary context* implies that the pots were broken before deposition. The fundamental question is whether they were broken intentionally or not. In the present situation an intentional fragmentation is not supported by the evidence. The presence of several complete and nearly complete pots and the randomness of fragmented pots, argue against any intentionality. Moreover, the fact that Pyre 3, as a *primary use-related context*, demonstrates an even higher ratio of fragmentation reinforces the idea of an unintentional breakage. The actual reason seems to be trampling while the pottery was exposed abandoned on the surface. Moreover, the robustness and the compactness of each vessel may influence the degree of fragmentation. Kotylai and cups, both imported and Ithacan, have thinner walls and therefore are more easily broken and dispersed.

5.1.7 Data synthesis

As revealed by the excavation, the context of Pyre 2 and Assemblage TTP2 entered in the state of “archaeological context” through discarding, a cultural process. However, as Schiffer notes, deposits are formed by a mixed bag of processes (Schiffer 1987, 266). Thus, both before and after discarding, other processes might have occurred forming eventually the observable through excavation deposit. The discussion of the artefact properties, combined with the stratigraphy, suggests that Assemblage TTP2 remained exposed on the surface before it was cleaned up and discarded. During the abandonment process, it seems that the assemblage was intensely trampled, and the pottery became intensely chipped, fragmented, and dispersed. Although deliberate fragmentation is not supported by the evidence, other reclamation processes, such as scavenging and child’s play cannot be excluded, and these could further increase fragmentation (Schiffer 1987, 75, 99-120). After discard, the deposit was left in place for nearly two centuries, since it was covered by the same soil layer which covered Pyre 3,

SU5. It is possible that during this period further reclamation processes may have occurred, which once again might have increased fragmentation. The presence of the bronze cauldron in what appears to be its location of use, subsequently crushed and buried by SU5, further suggests that Assemblage TTP2 was abandoned exposed on the surface.

The context of Pyre 3, and Assemblage TTP3, reflects a process of abandonment. There is no evidence that the pottery of Assemblage TTP3 was subjected to a process of discard. Schiffer calls this process “de facto refuse”: “Elements which reach archaeological context without the performance of discard activities will be termed de facto refuse” (Schiffer 1972, 160; 1987, 89-90). The entire context was abandoned and was transformed into archaeological context as such. The process of transformation was a non-cultural one, it was the mudslide represented by SU5. However, the context was left abandoned and exposed on the surface for what appears to be a considerable time, long enough for the pottery to show traces of damage, fragmentation, and dispersal, without excluding reclamation processes such as those that may have occurred with regard to Pyre 2.

A factor that may speak against reclamation processes is Lot 8-27-3. It consists of pottery of diverse periods and was formed by sedimentation through the mudslide represented by SU5. It provides evidence that dispersal of pottery sherds occurred naturally through soil movements on the steep slope, and natural dispersal is probably the main cause of the marked fragmentation observed in assemblages TTP2 and TTP3. Another element that reinforces the idea that Assemblage TTP3 was a de facto refuse abandoned in the open, is the ashy layer that covered Lot 30, which is an extension of the main ashy deposit of Pyre 3 (see above 3.2.4, and fig 27). This extension occurred from south to north and it is highly probable that it was wind-blown, since the area is exposed to the southern winds from Polis bay.

Another activity connected to that of discard is the cleanup of an area. As was discussed in paragraph 3.6, recurrent activities related to pyres occurred in the wider area and more specifically in Area TT. Therefore, the material remains of those activities had to be periodically removed. This process of cleanup and disposal of the leftovers is termed by Schiffer “maintenance” (Schiffer 1987, 59). The process of maintenance is observable by the discard of Assemblage TTP2, and by Pit RP. Pit RP must have been the result of maintenance process related to

an activity in Area TT, a process which took place later than Pyre 2 and earlier than Pyre 3. Artefacts not removed during maintenance are called by Schiffer “residual primary refuse” (Schiffer 1987, 62). Possible residual primary refuse related to Pyre 2 might have been Lot 18 with the Laconian mug **27** and Lot 19, both forming the northern part of the waste-stream related to the Pyre 2 discard process.

When everything is considered, two distinct and successive in time cultural activities in Area TT can be identified. The earlier one is an activity of abandonment, or de facto refuse, as observed in Pyre 3 and inferred for Pyre 2. The activity of abandonment was followed by the activity of discard, representing the process of maintenance of the area. Discard is observable in Pyre 2 and Pit RP. Theoretically, a process of discard would have also followed the abandonment of Pyre3, had it not been for the natural deposition of the soil layer represented by SU5.

These activities can be characterized as secondary. They do not represent the reason why the pottery was brought into that area in the first place. The reason why it was brought in, that is the prime use of the pottery, is left to be examined in the next section. And this will be achieved by assemblage analysis.

5.2 Assemblage analysis

Before embarking on the analysis, it would be useful to have a closer look at the notion of “assemblage”. The standard meaning of the word is a collection of objects. In paragraph 3.1.1, the term has been employed to denote the finds within a context. That echoes Gamble’s definition (quoting David Clarke) of the term as: “...an associated set of contemporary artefact types” (Gamble 2001, 56). This definition refers to all associated finds irrespective of material. Thus, all artefacts found in an undisturbed grave constitute the grave assemblage, irrespective of shape, use, or material. So far in this study, the term has been used extensively with respect to only one category of objects, which is the fine ware pottery. Thus the discussion revolved around the “Assemblage TTP2”, “Assemblage TTP3”, and so on. In fact, Gavin Lucas observes that the term is very loose but usually has two meanings: “...a collection of objects associated on the basis of their

depositional or spatial find-context (e.g. midden assemblage) and a collection of one type of object found within a site or area (e.g. pottery assemblage)...” (Lucas 2012, 193-194). Thus, he makes the distinction between depositional and typological assemblage (Lucas 2012, 194). He remarks that the two meanings are undeniably complementary and the difference arises when greater prominence is given to one of the two elements (Lucas 2012, 194-195). In the previous Chapter, an analysis was made of only the typological assemblage of fine ware pottery.

The close correlation of the two meanings lies primarily on those spatiotemporal parameters of *provenience*, *association*, and *context* (Sharer and Ashmore 1987, 77-80; Lyman 2012). Provenience is the three-dimensional location of the artefacts and was discussed in Chapter 3. Association is an inferential statement related to what has been described in Chapter 3 as “closed find group”, or “closed context”. It means that the artefacts were deposited together, and before deposition they were used together. In Area TT, Pyre 2 and Pyre 3 were interpreted as primary contexts and their assemblages closed find groups. That means that their assemblages were deposited together in a single depositional episode and before deposition they were used together. Moreover, the fine ware pottery assemblages of each pyre were studied in Chapter 3, and became evident that all vessels and sherds from each assemblage are contemporary. These observations underline the association of the artefacts. Instead, the artefacts from Pit RP were deposited together but they are associated only by means of the act of deposition, not their use. That is because in Assemblage TTRP there are artefacts of different chronologies. With regard to context, besides the observations made in Chapter 3, it has been argued in the previous section that the fine ware pottery assemblages are closely associated both in their archaeological and systemic context.

Having established the spatiotemporal affinities of the assemblages of Pyre 2 and Pyre 3, in the next paragraphs a combined examination of both the typological and depositional assemblages will be undertaken. The depositional assemblage includes all the other classes of materials found in each context and associated with the respective typological assemblage. Needless to say, any additional information provided by the depositional assemblages is crucial to the understanding of the activities that took place in that spatial setting.

5.2.1 Fine ware pottery

A major advantage of Classical pottery is that much is already known about its function. Decades of painstaking description, cataloguing, and iconographic studies has thrown light on the function of almost every individual Classical pottery shape (Sparkes and Talcott 1970; Rotroff 1997; Lynch 2011b; McPhee *et al.* 2012). And despite uncertainties, many of them are even known by their ancient names (Sparkes and Talcott 1970; 3-9). Assemblages TTP2 and TTP3 consist of roughly the same number of fine ware vessels, TTP2 of 43 vessels, and TTP3 of 39. Considering that the context of Pyre 3 has not been fully excavated, it is reasonable to assume that in terms of numbers the two assemblages are closely comparable.

In Assemblage TTP2, 39 vessels and sherds can be attributed with certainty or a fair amount of certainty to a known shape. Of them, 24 (55.8%) are vessels for consuming liquids: kotylai, cups, the Laconian mug, and the Ithacan one-handlers. Vessels for serving and pouring liquids, like jugs and the Laconian table amphora, are eight (18.6%). Vessels clearly for serving and consuming food appear to be only the two Attic stemmed dishes (4.6%). Interestingly enough, in what Lynch interprets as a sympotic assemblage of Late Archaic pottery from the Athenian Agora, she notices that the only food-consumption shapes were stemmed dishes (Lynch 2011b, 17). The vessels for oil and perfumed oil, like the Attic lekythos and the Corinthian small pyxides and oinochoai, are five (11.6%).

In Assemblage TTP3, 33 out of 39 vessels and sherds can be attributed with certainty, or a fair amount of it, to a known shape. The vessels for consuming liquids, like skyphoi, kantharoi, and kotylai, are 14 (33.3%). The vessels for serving and pouring liquids are four (10.2%). The vessels for serving and consuming food like plates and echinus bowls are eleven in total (28.2%). Vessels for oil can be characterised the askoi and the small closed vessel **126** (12.8%).

At first sight these functional attributions display an inconsistency between the two assemblages (fig 37). Assemblage TTP2 displays predominance in drinking vessels with very few vessels for consuming food; whilst in Assemblage TTP3 the ratio is more balanced between these two categories. Only the ratios of the vessels for oil are comparable. Such a discrepancy may occur because the vessel function is not always so clear-cut. The one-handlers of

Assemblage TTP2 are sometimes considered vessels for consuming liquids (McPhee *et al.* 2012, 180), and sometimes for serving food (Rotroff 1997, 155). The large kotylai, like the Corinthian kotyle **1**, and the “Western Greek” kotyle (**29**) and cup (**30**), are too large. Risser has suggested that these Corinthian large kotylai may have been used as bowls and not for drinking (Risser 2001, 67).

There are uncertainties with regard to Assemblage TTP3 as well. The lids (**130**, **131**, and **132**) have been included in the drinking vessels although the lekanai they ought to have covered have not been found. The large jug fragments **127** and **128** have been counted as distinct, although they might belong to the same vessel. The sherd **103** is not clear what type of vessel represents. It has been tentatively identified as skyphos in the Catalogue (Appendix I), although it might be a jug with cylindrical neck. The large skyphos **104** appears too large to be a simple drinking vessel. From the extant dimensions it seems to have had a large capacity for liquid and it might have been used as a pouring vessel or mixing bowl instead. And the same could be said of the skyphos fragments **96**. The vessel looks too large to be a simple skyphos, and it might have also been a pouring or mixing bowl.

This discrepancy between the two assemblages, however, disappears when the unit of function analysis changes, and instead of representing single function it expands to include all vessels involved in the activities of serving and consuming food and drink (fig 38). Assemblage TTP2 displays a ratio of 79% and TTP3 71.7%. So when the activity performed is characterized in more general terms, namely as serving and consuming food and drink, presumably at the same time, the two assemblages are almost identical to each other.

In Assemblage TTP2, vessels for oil comprise the Attic lekythos **24**, the “Argive Monochrome” juglet **16**, and the Corinthian Conventionalizing oinochoai and pyxides (**13-16**). The Attic lekythoi are usually considered vases for burial rituals and burial votives. However, Lynch argues that they were common in domestic contexts and probably functioned as containers of oil in occasions of dining; both private and communal (Lynch 2011b, 139-140). The Corinthian oinochoai and pyxides, together with the “Argive Monochrome” juglet, are small, low capacity vessels. As Kourou and Risser remark, they are too small for any practical purpose and may have functioned instead as containers of oil, or perfumed oils (Kourou 1988, 320-322; Risser 2001, 173-175). In Assemblage

TTP3, vessels for oil are the askoi (122-125) and probably the small closed vessel 126 (Rotroff 1997, 169-178; McPhee *et al.* 2012, 195-208).

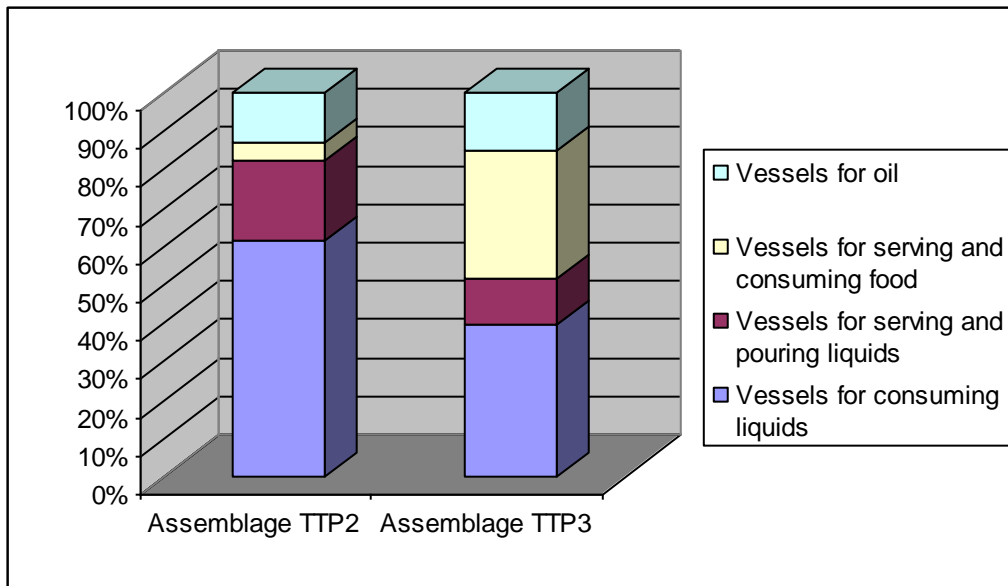


Figure 37: Occurrences of fine ware vessels by function as % in total assemblages

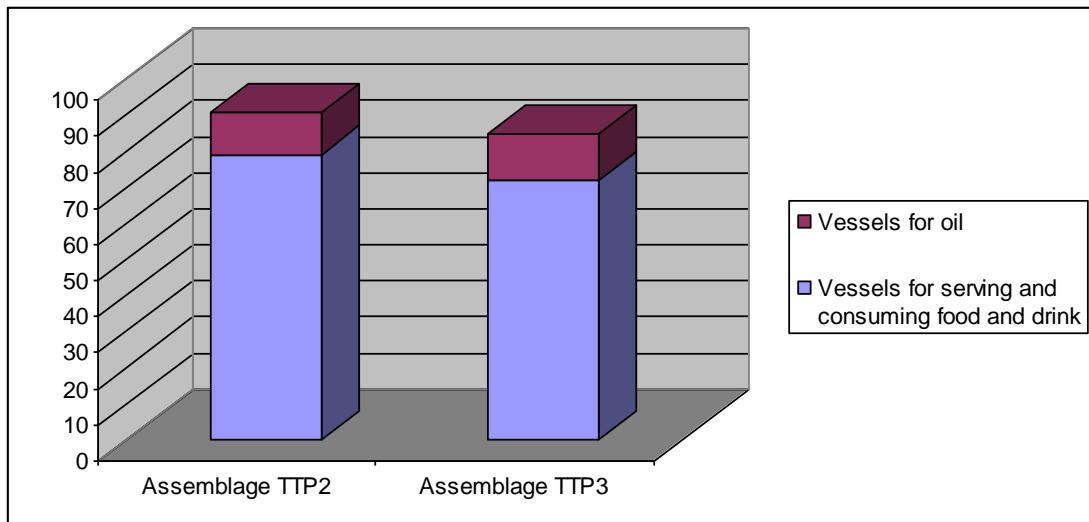


Figure 38: Occurrences of fine ware vessels for serving and consuming food and drink, and vessels for oil, as % in total assemblages

5.2.2 Coarse and cooking ware pottery

From both pyre deposits a large amount of coarse and cooking ware has been retrieved. However, none of them has been cleaned or mended, and due to their highly fragmentary state it was impossible to discern their exact number.

Consequently, the numbers provided rely on observations made during excavation and represent by default minimum numbers of vessels. In Pyre 2, two coarse ware amphoras have been found, one in Lot 15 which seems to be complete, and one large part of another in Lot 24 together with the Laconian black amphora **28** (figs 7, 20). Numerous were the fragments of smaller vessels which presumably were for cooking and serving food.

In Pyre 3 the situation was better understood since several vessels were found lying *in situ*. Of amphoras, four necks with handles have been counted and three distinct toes (figs 7, 25-27). Probably all four are transport amphoras. Common were also the cooking vessels since the shape with flanged rim, the *lopadion*, is easily recognizable even from small sherds. Moreover, the *lopadia* carried a domed lid with a knob handle, again easily recognizable and countable. At least six knob handles of lids were retrieved, which means that at least six *lopadia* were present. A large fragment of a *lopadion* was found beneath the lower part of a transport amphora in Lot 6 (fig 26; vessel numbered ΠΕ17 to the northeast of the large skyphos **104** (ΠΕ18)). Its lid was probably the one found upside-down next to the Attic rolled rim plate **97** (figs 7, 39). It is evident that the coarse and cooking wares in Pyre 3 represent vessels for cooking, transporting, and storing food and drink.



Figure 39: Pyre 3, Lot 6, the Attic rolled rim plate **97** as it was found; next to it lies a *lopadion* lid fragment (photo: author)

5.2.3 Terracottas

Eight Loomweights have been retrieved from Pyre 3. Six of them are of the pyramidal form (fig 40), and two discoid (fig 41). They were found scattered without any particular concentration. Only the two discoid were found together among the pottery of Lot 30. It has been estimated that a complete set of loomweights would comprise 20-30 pieces (Merker 2006, 57). Therefore, the small number present in Pyre 3 does not indicate the existence of a weaving installation or any kind of weaving activity.

Two other objects can be included in the category of terracottas, the stamp seal **133**, and the stamped terracotta **134**. They are both related to pottery production. Moreover, the name TIMEΑΣ seems to link Pyre 3 with one of the most prominent Ithacan families known from later Hellenistic sources, as has been discussed in paragraph 4.5.



Figure 40: Stamped pyramidal loomweight from Pyre 3 (photo: author)



Figure 41: Pair of discoid loomweights from Pyre 3 (photo: author)

5.2.4 Lamps

Lamps are very common objects in domestic contexts (Lynch 2011b, 145-146). Yet, only one nearly complete lamp has been retrieved from Pyre 2, **26** (fig I.26). It is remarkable that no other lamp sherd has been identified in any assemblage, even though they are fairly easily recognizable regardless of size. Lamp **26** has been grouped with the Attic pottery due to the colour of the fabric, although Late Archaic Attic lamps are usually black-glazed and not plain. The nozzle and the tube are blackened which means that it was used repeatedly. However, only one lamp would be insufficient to lighten a room, and since there is no evidence of a house structure the effect of only one lamp in the open would be negligible. The noticeable lack of lamps in the assemblages suggests, therefore, that activities took place during daylight and what is more, in open space.

5.2.5 Tiles

In an excavation of a domestic context the first layer of debris an excavator encounters is usually a thick layer of tiles. This was not encountered in Area TT. No tile fragments were recovered from Pyre 2. Above it, in Lot 8-27-3, there were some scattered tile fragments (fig 42). It is possible that these fragments were dispersed from Pyre 3. In Pyre 3 there were tile fragments of small size, scattered among the pottery and other finds, but not as a distinct layer, and no complete tile could be restored (figs 43-44). The largest fragments are less than a quarter of a complete tile. In fact, the upper layer of Pyre which yielded pottery comprised only fragments of amphoras (fig 25). The size and number of the tile fragments is by no means enough to roof the area covered by the ashy deposit and the pottery of Pyre 3, an area at least 20m². A reclamation process for reuse could be considered. However, there is no good reason to believe that someone reclaimed a fragmented tile by taking away the larger pieces and leaving behind the smaller ones. Therefore, the function of the tile fragments remains puzzling.



Figure 42: Tile fragments in Lot 8-27-3; blackened soil of Pyre 2 starts to emerge to the left of the North arrow (photo: author)



Figure 43: Tile fragments in Pyre 3; on the left is visible the stamp seal **133** (photo: author)



Figure 44: Scattered tile fragments in Pyre 3 mixed with transport amphora fragments (photo: author)

5.2.6 Coins

Two small bronze coins were found in Pyre 2. However, they are much corroded and cannot be identified. Pyre 3 instead, yielded nine bronze and two silver coins (fig 45). Another corroded bronze coin was found in Lot 8-27-3. Five of the bronze coins were found in a small concentration at the foot of Wall 4. The others were found scattered between the pottery and other finds in Lots 5, 6, and 30. Of the better preserved bronze coins, one bears the typical Sicyonian type of the dove. Another bears the types of the trident and Pegasus, which could be either Corinthian or from a Corinthian colony such as Leukas. A third bears the forepart of a ship and a kantharos, probably an issue of Kerkyra. The two silver coins are small denominations, probably *trihemiobols*, of the well known issues of Opountian Lokris, which lies to the northwest of Boeotia, opposite the shores of northern Euboea and southern Magnesia. Another Opountian *obol* bearing the same types of the star and the amphora was found in one of the graves at Stavros excavated in 1813 (Steinhart and Wirbelauer 2002, 242). According to Kraay, the Opountian coinage was a short-lived phenomenon, probably lasting from 380 to 340 BC, and perhaps related to financing the Opountian participation in the 3rd Sacred War (355-346 BC) (Kraay 1976, 122-123).



Figure 45: Silver and bronze coins from Pyre 3 (photo: author)

5.2.7 Metal finds

In Pyre 3 were found some much corroded iron nails, a bronze fish-hook, a badly preserved lead lamina, two crooked lead objects which probably, but not certainly, functioned as fishing weights, and several bronze lamina-shaped objects. Most of the metal finds elude, so far, identification. It is difficult to establish a relation of these objects with any kind of activity. However, none of them is so unusual to consider them of central importance. For now, they do not seem to provide any substantial information with regard to the activities or the participants. However, metal finds from the other contexts are more interesting. The bronze tripod-stand found in Pit RP, although small, it is an excellent piece of craftsmanship, and it must have been an important material component in the activity it once participated with the object that presumably stood on it.

It is in Pyre 2 that bronze objects seem to have had an important and indeed central role. Besides a well preserved thin bronze nail, an intriguing bronze and iron object was retrieved from the bottom of Lot 24 (figs 7, 20). It is a roughly rectangular bronze lamina 0.45m long and 0.16m wide. An iron rod was firmly attached at one short edge, much corroded and broken in many pieces. However, it is at least 0.5m long. Given its find spot, and considering the formation processes discussed in the previous section, it is not unreasonable to suggest that it was the first object of Pyre 2 to have been discarded into the trench. Amongst the pottery of Lot 15 was found in a very good state of preservation a heavy bronze object in the shape of a heavy horizontal handle. It forms a roughly rectangular loop with the upper part formed as a rectangular panel with two nail-

like extensions from both sides and pointed ends. Its function is enigmatic, but it may have been related to the bronze cauldron.

The bronze cauldron is certainly the most noteworthy metal find. Although crushed in its place, it has a diameter of *ca* 0.5m and it seems to have been carefully placed in the spot where it was found. There are no handles or any sort of lid. It was made from one sheet of bronze. The bad state of preservation does not allow, so far, detailed typological observations. However, the rim seems to have been formed by simply twisting the edge of the bronze sheet, unlike the more usual flat and broad *lebes* rim. It is possible that the bronze handle-shaped object found in Lot 15 was indeed one of the handles of this cauldron, but this possibility still remains unconfirmed. If so, then the cauldron of Pyre 2 has no clear typological parallel to other contemporary bronze cauldron from the rest of the Greek world (Marchiandi 2010).

Throughout the Greek world, the archaeological evidence suggests that bronze cauldrons were extensively used in the first half of the 5th century BC, particularly in Attica where 65 specimens are known (Marchiandi 2010). Ten more are known from the rest of Greece, one more from the island of Leukas, and an undetermined number from the Greek cities of Italy (Douzougli 2001, 65; Zachos and Douzougli 2003, 90; Marchiandi 2010, 231, note 50). In all these cases the cauldrons were used for burial purposes, as cinerary urns for the elite members of the society. The inscriptions on some of them explicitly mention that they have been *athla* from games. As Marchiandi remarks, these cauldrons were fundamental in the negotiation of an elite aristocratic ideology linked to the funerary practices of the Homeric heroes as described in the Epics. The demonstrated through the inscriptions in some cases objects' biography further strengthens the argument for a common aristocratic ideology throughout the Greek world in the first half of the 5th century BC. Those local elites may have maintained ties through the circulation of ἄθλα or ξένια, and the bronze cauldrons seem to have been such cases (Marchiandi 2010, 232-233).

The aspect that renders the cauldron from Area TT unique is that it is not recovered from a funerary context, nor it participated in any funerary activity or any other related to a sacred place. Its presence in Pyre 2 bears witness to its centrality in this context and may suggest that the local Ithacan elites participated

in those activities and probably were also the driving force behind them. However, the cauldron *per se* is not sufficient evidence for inferring its social significance; it must be considered in association with other artefacts in that particular context and more broadly in the long-term use of monumental bronzes on the island of Ithaca.

5.3 Interpretation of primary activity

5.3.1 A critique of the Processual approach

The frequent references to Lynch's research on the Late Archaic pottery from the Athenian Agora reveal how influential it has been, both in shaping the overall approach to this study and in illuminating several aspects of the material and of practices. However, her interpretation with regard to the context of use is not entirely convincing. That is why a digression on her study and the reasoning behind it is presented here, in order to assess how a process of interpretation can produce convincing or unconvincing results. The pottery assemblage she studied was recovered from a deliberately filled well, associated with the Persian destruction of the city (480-479 BC). From the very beginning she accepts that the pottery represents a household assemblage, with the fine wares forming a distinct sympotic assemblage. The well and the presumed sympotic assemblage are said to be associated with the remains of a house destroyed by the Persians and renovated after their departure, this time with the blocked well out of use (Lynch 2011b, 1). This hypothesis is not new; it was first advanced by the excavator in his preliminary report (Shear 1996, 242-246; 1997, 512-514). There are, however, some objections to this apparently straightforward interpretation that can be informative on the difficulties encountered in trying to interpret a context of use and in identifying activities.

First of all, the scanty architectural remains cannot be interpreted with certainty as a house. The building was facing a street, and right across that street a Classical commercial building has been excavated (Camp II 1999, 274-281). Lynch rejects all alternative interpretations and accepts that of a house (Lynch 2011b, 41-44). She correctly observes that complete or nearly complete fine wares

retrieved from the well were tossed into it intact (Lynch 2011b, 16, 27-28). She goes on sustaining that the closing of the well with intact and reusable objects, particularly fine wares that she associates with sympotic activities, represents a “cleanup mentality” of the Athenians and “a desire to create a clean slate for a new beginning” (Lynch 2011a, 74; 2011b, 26-28, 39, 168). However, one wonders how those vessels survived the Persian destruction intact, and moreover, why the Athenians took so much care in discarding perfectly usable vessels into the well and at the same time leaving the Persian destruction debris in its place, which as Lynch describes, was “a thick layer of broken pottery” (Lynch 2011b, 34). That debris would have been a very convenient filling material. Her reference to Schiffer in order to describe the fine ware assemblage from the well as a “type of de facto refuse” is ill-conceived, since Schiffer’s notion of the de facto refuse implies a process of *abandonment without discard* (Schiffer 1972, 160; 1987, 89-90; Lynch 2011b, 16, note 23). Furthermore, with regard to the very low number of roof tiles retrieved from the well, she sustains that they were probably reused in the subsequent renovation (Lynch 2011b, 39), whereas Shear clearly states that broken roof tiles were present in the Persian destruction layer (Shear 1997, 513). But even if we accept Lynch’s statement, it is difficult to see why the Athenian post-war “cleanup mentality” applied for the still usable “sympotic” fine wares and not for the still usable roof tiles.

The real problem with Lynch’s interpretation is that it relies on a typically Processual reasoning, namely the hypothesis testing. She assumes from the beginning that the fine ware sets were sympotic in function. Then she analyses the archaeological data with regard to the household setting by carefully discarding alternative identifications, and in the end she presents her conclusions through a markedly circular argumentation. What is more, her initial hypothesis is text-driven, and she tends to present her conclusions as an illustration of the literary and iconographic sources: “...serves as a check for our *assumptions* developed from literary and iconographic depictions of the symposium” (Lynch 2011b, 169; italics mine). Her approach is concluded by a tendency to generalize; on the supposed “democratization of the symposium”, on the iconographic preferences of the “newly enfranchised” Athenians participating in the symposia, and in a wider sense on the kind of fine ware pottery used in the Athenian domestic contexts in the Late Archaic period (Lynch 2011b, 172-175). When everything is

considered, Lynch’s award-winning study is admirable in many respects, but it fails to provide a convincing interpretation with regard to the context of use and leaves something to be desired.

5.3.2 A hermeneutic procedure

The approach employed for the activity interpretation in this study is totally different. The attention given in this Chapter to the detailed examination of the site formation processes and assemblage analysis was necessary because earlier interpretations, both during and after excavation, proved untenable. I have already mentioned (2.2) that, as Hodder has already masterfully described, during fieldwork the act of collecting and recording data occurs simultaneously with attempts to interpret them, data are always “theory-laden” (Hodder 1999, 80-84). Hodder further underlines the fact that every archaeologist opens an excavation with a set of background pre-understandings in mind. Subsequently, as data accumulate and contradictions emerge there are shifts in interpretation. Hodder calls this the “hermeneutic procedure” (fig 46) (Hodder 1999, 31-44). He demonstrates how the hermeneutic procedure works in order to show how archaeologists reason and eventually work out an interpretation (Hodder 1999, 30-65). He describes nine characteristics of reasoning, three of which have been employed both during fieldwork and in the present study; those are *pre-understandings*, *whole-part relationships*, and *data-led* interpretations.

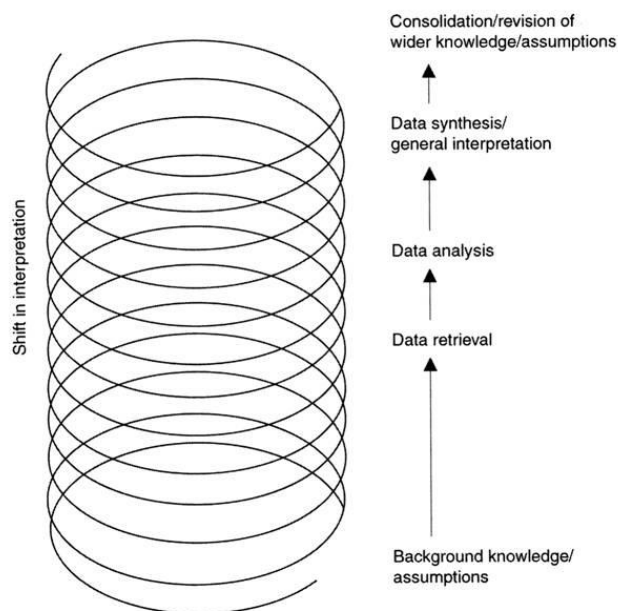


Figure 46: Hodder’s hermeneutic spiral (Lucas 2012, 225, fig 17)

Under these conditions, the present thesis is the last stage of a hermeneutic procedure. I started the excavation having already in mind a set of pre-understandings on what may have laid buried there. The desk-based assessment had convinced me that the area was a cemetery extending from the modern village of Stavros down to Polis bay, including the area to be excavated (Livitsanis 2013, 116-117). When the first feature to appear was a Roman tile-grave, my pre-understandings seemed to have been confirmed. When new features and pottery appeared, I continued to interpret them as burials. The black ashy soil was thought to be remains of cremations, and the Lot 6 with the transport amphora and pottery around it was initially interpreted as a destroyed amphora-burial, perhaps a secondary cremation. That is why in Figure 26 a tag bears the letters ΤΦΙΙΙ, ΤΦ in Greek goes for grave. At an early stage the bronze cauldron was also approached as a cinerary urn; an interpretation influenced by the use of bronze cauldrons as cinerary urns elsewhere, especially in Attica of the early 5th century BC.

However, the fact that the bronze cauldron was found empty, combined with the fact that the pyre contexts were primary with no evidence for human remains, started to cast doubts on this interpretation. The data did not fit well into a whole-part relationship representing graves in a cemetery, as initially assumed. Afterwards, the household interpretation took hold for a while, since artefacts such as coins, cooking pots, loomweights, and tile fragments appeared. This interpretation was soon abandoned since there was no evidence for an enclosed space such as a house structure. The tile fragments were too few and too scattered to be identified as a collapsed roof. The fact that activity occurred in a relatively restricted locality without small finds in the wider excavated area, combined with the fact that the two pyre contexts were chronologically separated by nearly one and a half century, rendered the household debris interpretation untenable.

When the tile graves were excavated in the surrounding area, two of them were tentatively dated in the Late Archaic and Late Classical period, contemporary to the pyres. These tentative datings coincided with the growing awareness that the pyre contexts with their pottery assemblages represented some kind of feasting activities. Consequently, I concluded that the pyres represented the remains of funerary feasts connected to the graves, an institution very well known in Classical literature and widely encountered in cemetery excavations.

Once again the parts seemed to fit into a whole with no serious problems, and this interpretation was published in the preliminary report (Livitsanis 2013, 118-119). Post-excavation analysis revealed, however, that one of these graves is actually Mycenaean and the other most probably Roman. Consequently, contradictions emerged once more, and the interpretation became, yet again, untenable.

As a result, this hermeneutic procedure revealed that serious inconsistencies emerged during the assessment of the data and the attempt to fit them into a whole and advance an interpretation based on pre-understandings. That is why the most appropriate approach was to seek an interpretation within the data, a data-led interpretation that should be coherent, without contradictions between the different components of the argument.

5.3.3 Activity interpretation

The assemblage analysis allows the recognition of a clear intra-site pattern connecting the two pyre contexts. The bulk of the ceramic material consists of vessels, both fine wares and coarse wares. These vessels were used for storage, preparation, and consumption of food and drink. The lack of any sort of kitchen installation suggests that cooking was carried out on the pyres. Since there is no evidence for enclosed spaces, these activities took place in the open, on the level terraces formed by the retaining walls. In Assemblage TTP2 drinking vessels predominate, which perhaps indicate a pre-eminence in drinking activities (fig 37). In Assemblage TTP3 drinking and eating vessels are numerically comparable, something that might indicate equal prominence to the consumption of food and drink (fig 37). As a result, the available evidence strongly suggests that the kind of primary behaviour represented involved the activity of communal feasting carried out in the open. All stages of the feasts are represented, from the preparation to the consumption of food and drink. And here must be stressed the fact that these feasting activities were not related to mortuary customs as had been previously inferred. They were autonomous feasting events bearing their own cultural and social meanings and implications.

An excellent definition of the activity of feasting is provided by Hayden and Villeneuve: "...any sharing of special food (in quality, preparation, or quantity) by two or more people for a special (not everyday) event." (Hayden and Villeneuve 2011, 434). In order to throw light on the aspects of the Ithacan feasts,

it would prove fruitful to compare them to the far better known institution of the Athenian, and not only Athenian, drinking party, the symposium. A question that immediately arises is how many people participated in the Ithacan feasts. The archaeological evidence for the rooms commonly associated with the symposium, the *andrones*, suggest that seven was the most frequent number of participants, with exceptions ranging from three to fifteen (Whitley 2001, 360-361, 414). According to Lynch, an Athenian household had several sets of drinking vessels for various occasions and she distinguishes, among others, a set of six red-figured Type C cups, and another set of eight plain black-glazed cups of the same type. And although she does not explicitly mention it, she assumes that each of them was destined for one participant of the symposium (Lynch 2011b, 79-80, 169). This number seems to fit the architectural evidence for the *andrones*. However, such an association is not certain since it has been argued that participants may have used different vessels at different stages of the party (Erickson 2010a, 331).

If a similar line of reasoning is applied to the drinking vessels of assemblages TTP2 and TTP3, by assuming that each drinking vessel corresponded to one participant, then 24 people participated in the feast of Pyre 2, and 13 in the feast of Pyre 3. However, it has been argued that some of the large kotylai of TTP2 may actually have been used for food consumption, which probably reduces the number of drinking vessels by three (see above 5.2.1). Similar observations have been made with regard to Assemblage TTP3. The lids have been assigned to the drinking vessels because they presumably represent three lekanidai not found during excavation. The large kantharos **105** might have also been used as a serving vessel or mixing bowl. Therefore, the actual number of drinking vessels in Pyre 3 would be ten.

An observation from Lot 6 could be of interest here. This concentration of pottery consisted of the *in situ* presence of a cooking vessel, a kotyle (**99**), the large skyphos (**104**), and the Attic plate (**97**) around a fixed in the earth transport amphora (figs 7, 26). This might have been a set of vessels corresponding to one participant, consisting of all the necessary vessels for cooking and the consumption of food and drink, with the large skyphos presumably functioning as a serving vessel. Caution is however suggested, because that arrangement might reflect a diverse formation process and not the feasting activity itself. Therefore, the number of participants in the Pyre 3 feast may have been around ten to twelve.

If the participants of the Pyre 2 feast had two open vessels for different functions, one for drink and one for food consumption, then their numbers result once more around ten to twelve. Accordingly, unless the Pyre 2 feast was an event primarily committed to drinking activities which is highly probable, the number of participants was roughly equal, estimated to around a dozen.

It must be stressed here that the comparisons with the symposium are not used as a direct historical analogy. Instead, what emerges is that the Ithacan evidence reflects deeply different practices. The symposium was strictly a drinking party, not dining. It took place indoors and was a nocturnal activity (Lynch 2011b, 145-146). It was a communal drinking event in a private setting. On the contrary, the feasts represented by Pyre 2 and 3 were totally different affairs. They involved cooking, eating and drinking, not only drinking. They took place in the open, not in an enclosed space. They took place in daylight, not during the night, for which the lack of sufficient number of lamps is compelling evidence. The only lamp retrieved from Pyre 2 would be totally insufficient to brighten an open space during nocturnal activities of nearly a dozen people, or more. They were communal feasts as well, but public, not private.

As was emphasized above, the comparisons with the symposium are drawn as a means to elucidate individual aspects of the Ithacan evidence. And as the wider Greek drinking practices suggest, including the symposium, the essential item for communal drinking activities was the mixing bowl, the krater (Rotroff 1996; Whitley 2001, 205; Lynch 2011b, 77-78). This large vessel served for mixing wine with water and all participants were served from the same krater. In Athens, and probably elsewhere, the rich would employ a metallic krater together with metallic drinking and serving vessels, whilst the citizens of the other classes would use clay services; a social rank division that Rotroff aptly calls the “metal class” and the “clay class” (Rotroff 1996, 16).

In Pyre 2, where most of the pottery seems to belong to drinking vessels, and therefore the principal activity was the consumption of drink, such a vessel does exist and it is metallic, the bronze cauldron. It is highly probable that the bronze cauldron was used as a krater and it was the focal point of the drinking activity. Moreover, such a valuable vessel implies the participation, if not the patronage, of an Ithacan elite member who also provided the wine for the feast. Pyre 3 instead is different. There is no vessel that can be identified as a common

mixing bowl. On the other hand, as it was mentioned above (5.2.1), the large skyphoi **104** and **96** could have been used as small mixing bowls, and the same could be said of the large kantharos **105**. A possible explanation may come again from Rotroff's study of the krater. She demonstrates that from the Early Hellenistic period onwards, the krater becomes a very rare shape and the character of the symposium changes profoundly (Rotroff 1996, 10-29). She goes on to sustain that from then on each participant in a communal feast carried with him his own wine in pitchers and did not share it. Perhaps a similar case could be sustained for the feast of Pyre 3. However, jugs and pitchers in Assemblage TTP3 are only the **127** and perhaps the **128**. It is probable then, besides the combined activities of consuming food and drink, that for the feast of Pyre 3 the wine was poured into the cups directly from the transport amphoras. Such an explanation suggests once more that the wine may have been provided from a single individual.

With regard to the vessels for oil, they were probably used in the regular activities of feasting, particularly the food consumption. However, one cannot exclude their probable use as containers of perfumed oils related to some cultic activities such as the libations. Such ordinary rituals do not imply any well defined cult activity. There is no material evidence such as miniature vessels, phialai, or figurines that can be securely associated with cult. The small tripod stand from Pit RP may have had a ritual role, but the fact that it was found in secondary deposition does not allow a clear interpretation. The other metal objects, loomweights, coins, fishing implements, nails, the stamp seal, and the stamped terracotta, are more difficult to interpret. Nails and metallic laminas may have been parts of furniture, but this is just a speculation. The coins, fishing implements, and loomweights, may suggest a symbolic identification with gender-related activities, such as fishing, weaving, pottery manufacture, and overseas exchanges, and perhaps also indicate female attendance to those feasts.

5.4 Discussion

5.4.1 Activities and depositional history

The examination of the site formation processes and the assemblage analysis allow the identification of three distinct activities. In temporal sequence, these are: feasting, intentional abandonment on the surface of the material manifestations of the feast, and the final act of discard related to the process of maintenance, apparently to host subsequent feasts. Feasting and intentional abandonment are activities that enclose cultural, social, and ideological entailments, whereas the discard was a practical act.

The feasts were held in the open, most probably in daylight, and involved about a dozen people. Although they were held in the open, the space was carefully prepared with retaining walls forming level terraces. The patch of pebble pavement preserved in Pyre 3 suggests that care was also taken to create a tended venue. The feasts were public, communal, and secular. Their apparently secular character should not be considered as excluding any kind of ritual activity. Some of the vessels for oil, the lamp 26 in Pyre 2, and other artefacts may have had a “ritual” role. However, if such ritual acts did take place, they elude the usual frames of reference with regard to ritual behaviour. The feasts seem to have been sponsored by the elite members of the Ithacan society and it is probable that not only men, but women also participated. The bronze cauldron in Pyre 2 is undoubtedly an elite associated object, and the name TIMEAΣ links Pyre 3 with one of the prominent Ithacan families. In the feast of Pyre 2 drinking was probably the main activity; whilst in the feast of Pyre 3, drinking was accompanied by dining.

At the end of the feast, all the material manifestations of the feast, together with the ashes that resulted from cooking, were intentionally abandoned on the surface. The period of abandonment seems to have been considerable, perhaps until the arrangement of the next feast, although precise time measurements are difficult to estimate. This act of abandonment seems to have had a symbolic function. The material remains were left visible as evidence of the feast that had taken place therein. It can also be argued that the material leftovers were *not* deposited exactly at the spot where they were used during the feast, but were

somehow arranged. In this regard, what is significant is the scarcity of food remains in the pyre deposits, where one would expect considerable quantities of, for example, animal bones. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that the majority of the food remains were intentionally removed. Schiffer has remarked that organic waste is likely to be carefully removed from activity areas because it attracts vermin and becomes unhealthy for the people (Schiffer 1987, 64). A similar elaborate kind of deposition can also be inferred for Pyre 2 through the bronze cauldron, which location of recovery may not represent exactly its place of use but the spot of intentional abandonment.

The recognition of the feasting material remnants as an arranged deposition requires a revisit of the use of the notion of *in situ* employed with regard to Assemblage TTP3 and the bronze cauldron of Pyre 2. The notion of *in situ* is normally used to denote that an artefact was found in its original position. However, it is rarely clarified whether by “original position” is actually intended the location of use, the location of first deposition, or of last deposition (Schiffer 1987, 17). If it is the location of last deposition, then all primary assemblages are *in situ*. So far it has been employed exclusively with regard to the pottery of Assemblage TTP3 and the bronze cauldron of Pyre 2, thus referring to the location of use. However, the examination of the site formation processes revealed that Assemblage TTP3 was not found exactly on the location of use and therefore of first deposition, but on the location of abandonment, thus related to the last deposition, the arranged deposition. Consequently, the employment of the notion of *in situ* in this study denotes that an artefact or assemblage is spatiotemporally *closest* to the primary activity.

What is revealed by the examination of the site formation processes and the assemblage analysis is a series of linked activities. The pottery under study participated in all these different and interlinked activities before entering the archaeological record. The activities of feasting and arranged deposition retained the pottery in systemic context. The activity of discard placed Assemblage TTP2 in archaeological context, and the mudslide placed in archaeological context Assemblage TTP3. Thus, it is possible to sketch a life history model for both assemblages (figs 47-48).

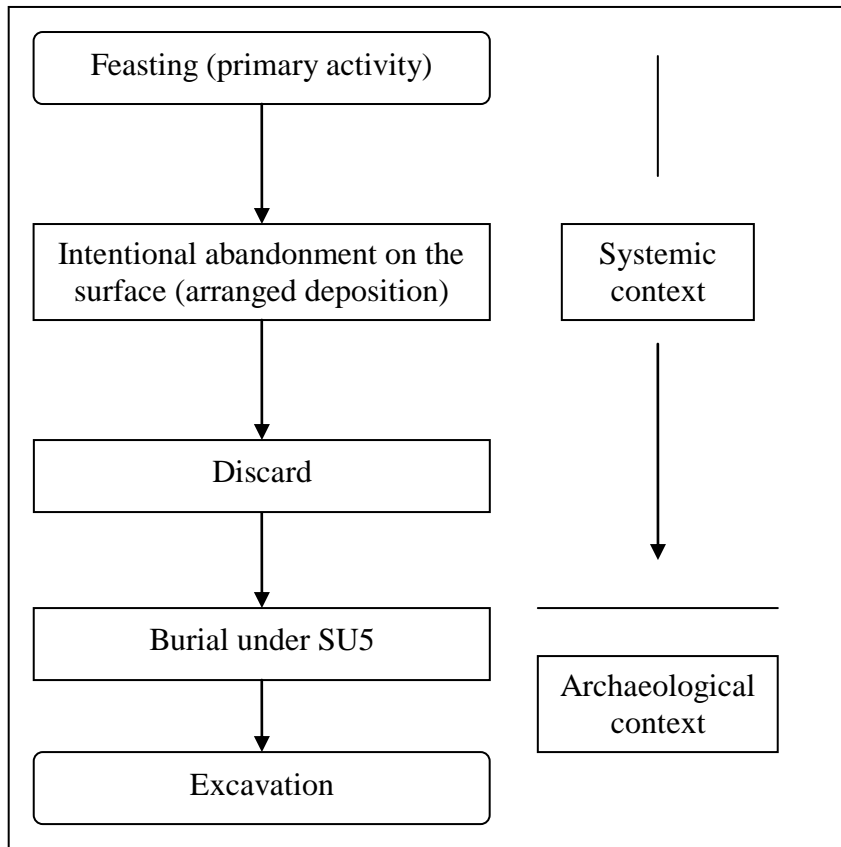


Figure 47: Life history model of the fine ware pottery Assemblage TTP2

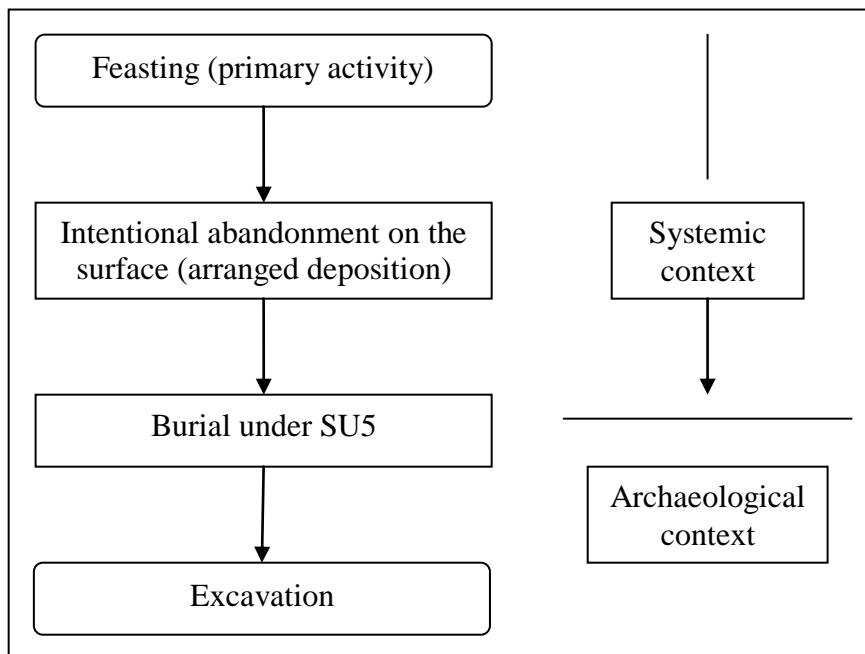


Figure 48: Life history model of the fine ware pottery Assemblage TTP3

5.4.2 Deposition and social meaning

The methodology employed for activity interpretation is highly influenced by advances in Prehistoric and Americanist archaeology. Although modern Classical archaeology has acknowledged the benefits of contextual analysis, some methodological problems with regard to activity interpretation seem to linger on. As it was mentioned in the opening section of this Chapter, activity interpretations in Classical archaeology used to rely heavily on the written sources. In a similar vein, Lynch's interpretation was connected to an activity already well known by the ancient literature, and alternative interpretations on which the ancient sources do not throw light were rejected. Snodgrass has already remarked that there is the need to study aspects of Classical antiquity on which the ancient sources do not throw light (Snodgrass 2002, 183). Yet, most Classical archaeologists seem to be reluctant to abandon the aid of texts. So it is no surprise that Ian Morris has suggested that the literary record can be employed in order "to constrain" the amount of possible interpretations (Morris 1998a, 6).

However, this approach may lead to the creation of a "shopping-list" of activities already known from the literary sources. Thus, instead of trying to interpret the archaeological record in itself, one could feel tempted to try to fit the evidence into one of several activity-representing "pigeon-holes" created through the examination of the appropriate written sources. As a result, other activities not documented in the texts would remain unexplored and the interpretation would result largely misleading. My analysis shows that some "odd" activities not documented in the written sources could indeed have taken place. Therefore, all analyses must be context-specific and take nothing for granted. Careful scrutiny of site formation processes and assemblage analysis demonstrate that activities, or other meaningful behavioural practices, not recorded in literary documents can indeed be detected.

Behavioural practices and activities that deviate markedly from the frame of reference fashioned by the ancient texts should not be considered of less cultural or social significance. Neither the temporal sequence should be seen as implying a more important activity carried out first and then followed by one of less importance. Each one must be seen as an equally significant social practice, and their combined capability in carrying a social message must be examined.

Moreover, the repeated feasting and abandonment activities in the whole area imply a well embedded socially-transmitted behavioural pattern.

The social meaning of artefact deposition is not a new concept. It has been developed in the mid-1980s in British archaeology with regard to the concept of “structured deposition” (Mills and Walker 2008, 11-12; Garrow 2012; Lucas 2012, 89-90). The notion of structured deposition has been employed in the interpretation of deliberate acts of concealment of artefacts and other objects inside pits. The aim has been that of explaining a deviant from average practice treatment of the depositional assemblage, one that could not be merely described as a trivial concentration of by-products of other more significant activities.

This is a powerful hermeneutic tool which can be employed in the interpretation of any ritually remodelled deposition of artefacts. The act of arranged abandonment of the assemblages of Pyre 2 and Pyre 3, and possibly of the others as well, reflects such a ritual structure of the deposits. Here the term ritual assumes a broad meaning and not strictly religious, it denotes in this case a socially and symbolically meaningful activity. The deliberate and arranged abandonment of the assemblages on the surface is a ritual act of exposure. So the difference between the traditional notion of structured deposition and the way it is employed here is that in this case there is no act of concealment; on the contrary, there is an observable deliberate act of exposure of artefacts on the surface.

If an analysis of the site formation processes had not been undertaken, such a nuanced picture of activities would be curtailed, and the activities would be described in a simplistic manner, feasting followed by the cleanup and disposal of the leftovers. Therefore, it is now time to examine closely those social aspects and implications of the activities by asking what kind of society would participate in such activities and create this kind of behaviour patterns and deposits.

6 – The social context

“...Greeks, like humans everywhere, used material culture to say things about themselves.” (Morris 1998a, 4)

This quote from Ian Morris echoes the recent development on viewing material culture and the archaeological deposits as being socially significant and sources for reconstructing past social dynamics. Classical archaeologists with their traditional focus on *objets d’art* considered social history a subject matter to be studied through the ancient texts by historians (Whitley 1994, 51). Still, pottery has a huge potential and amenability to the investigation of social dynamics of past societies; it is ubiquitous, virtually indestructible, and it is the richest archaeological source. Once beyond the traditional treatment of pottery as *objets d’art*, beyond classification and cataloguing, its true potential as a source for understanding important social issues becomes evident.

The spirit of the above quote is further sustained by the definition of social archaeology provided by Preucel and Meskell in their introduction of the *Companion to Social Archaeology*: “Social archaeology refers to the ways in which we express ourselves through the things that we make and use, collect and discard, value or take for granted, and seek to be remembered by” (Preucel and Meskell 2004, 3). Robin Osborne brings these common statements one step forward by emphasizing that in any society the use of objects is related to the negotiation of power and identity. With regard to feasting in particular, Osborne states: “We do not need anthropological and archaeological studies to tell us that the deployment and consumption of objects in drinking and eating express identity and manipulate power relations. At issue is not whether identity and power are negotiated, but whether we can tell in any given archaeological context by whom, for what reason and to what ends they are manipulated” (Osborne 2008, 282). I fully endorse Osborne’s point of view, and the objective of this chapter is to examine whether the contexts at hand, and inside them the fine ware pottery assemblages, can reveal anything about the negotiation of power in the community of northern Ithaca.

It was only in the 1970s when Classical pottery began to be examined for its social significance, under the influence of structuralism. These structuralist

studies examine the iconography of Attic figured pottery with the aim of investigating the “underlying rules” and mentalities of producers and consumers thought to be reflected by those images (Whitley 2001, 52-55; Osborne 2004, 94-95; Lynch 2011b, 2, note 7). This approach still retains the object-oriented attitude and considers ceramic vessels as *objets d’art*, isolated from other categories of material culture in their immediate context. The stronger focus is on the images on the pot, not on the archaeological context from which it was retrieved, or the activity in which it participated (Whitley 2001, 55). Lynch’s approach is also influenced by the structuralist iconographic studies, since the point of departure for her interpretation of iconography and how it relates to the context of use is anticipated by the assumption that the context of use was the symposium (Lynch 2011b, 2).

Another recent approach focused on the intrinsic value of Classical pottery. Vickers and Gill argued that Attic black-glazed and red-figure ceramics were imitations of tarnished silver vessels used by the elites (Vickers and Gill 1994, 105-153). The social process behind this large-scale imitation is considered to be the desire of a class of social aspirants to emulate the rich (Shanks 1996, 59-65, 129). Rotroff, as mentioned above (5.3.3), has been influenced by this approach and advanced the analogous suggestion for two social classes characterised as “metal class” and “clay class”. She acknowledges, however, that this is only a conjecture (Rotroff 1996, 16). This proposition has also been accepted, although with some reserve, by James Whitley (Whitley 2001, 360-361). A recent monograph dealing with the issue of pottery and society is based on the assumption that pottery was exclusively used by the non-elite people, whereas the elites would invariably use metal vessels (Roth 2007, 4-6).

The weakness of this assumption has been eloquently exposed by Vladimir Stissi. He remarks that the intrinsic value of ceramics, especially the decorated, were not so cheap as to be accessible only by the poor. Moreover, the excavation data reveal a widespread use of pottery by all social classes, and the most popular metal vessels were actually bronze, not gold and silver (Stissi 1999, 90, 96). In fact, the use of pottery or metal vessels depends largely on the context of use and the socio-political context in which the users act. Ian Morris offers such a context-dependent association. In Classical Athens it was acceptable when a gold cup was used by state officials in a public occasion. But it would be unacceptable for a

private citizen, irrespective of his wealth, even to boast owning gold cups. With regard to funerary rituals, using gold cups as burial gifts would be an act of *hubris*. It is confirmed by the thousands of Classical graves excavated so far in Athens none of them containing any metal vessel (Morris 1998a, 8).

On the other hand, moving to another regional and social context, by considering the Macedonian burial practices of the Late Archaic and Classical periods, it becomes evident that the use of metal vessels as burial gifts was much more widespread. And this practice was well embedded, both before and after the Classical period, in the Macedonian society which considered appropriate to display considerable amounts of wealth in mortuary customs (Morris 1998b, 75-80; Whitley 2001, 252-255). Unlike Macedonia, the socio-political context of Classical Athens was one influenced by the democratic ideology of equality. Any expression of superior wealth or social status was considered tyrannical, the members of aristocracy as potentially dangerous “Persians” to be ostracized and, therefore, suppressed in order to promote a levelling ideology and a sense of material austerity (Whitley 2001, 366; Hall 2012, 356-362). Macedonia by contrast was a monarchy, governed by a ruling dynasty of warrior-kings surrounded by a wealthy aristocracy. In this socio-political context, the display of elite wealth superior to the common people was accepted as a strategy for promoting aristocratic and warrior social status (Whitley 2001, 406-409).

What is surprising is that Roth seems to understand the significance of contextual association in the ascription of social meaning to the pottery (Roth 2007, 1, 66). The problem arises by the fact that Roth takes as read an *a priori* association of pottery with only certain social classes and not others. Consequently, the intrinsic value of vases when examined as decontextualized artefacts (the pottery discussed by Roth is characterised as residual and, therefore, out of context is no firm basis for generalizations) (Roth 2007, 104-105, 154-155).

Parallel to the structuralist analysis of Classical iconography a new research agenda emerged, expressed by the advocates of the so-called “Snodgrass School”. Initially influenced by the quantitative methods of Processual archaeology, subsequently absorbing the Contextual approach, more and more Classical archaeologists scrutinize the true social and historical potential of pottery (Whitley 1994; 2001, 55-57). The contextual approach in pottery studies examines the relationships between the social context and the context of use. Such

an investigation must be context-specific; a pot manufactured in Attica and used on Ithaca in a local activity alongside locally made pottery cannot be uncomplicatedly ascribed with the same meaning and value with that originally intended by the Athenian manufacturer or the Athenian consumer.

The contextual school investigates the behaviours and activities that create the archaeological context of pottery deposits, and then tries to understand what kind of society is characterized by such depositional practices. It asks how pottery reflects its social use by participating in those activities and depositional practices, and how those social activities are defined by it. Several studies of such contextual approaches to Greek pottery have appeared in the last two decades, and they focus mainly on pottery from the Early Iron Age and the Archaic periods (Morgan and Whitelaw 1991; Whitley 1991; Whitley 1994; Shanks 1999; Crielaard *et al.*, 1999; Whitley 2001, 238-243, 248-252; Kotsonas 2008, 299-334; Erickson 2010b, 273-345). An important aspect of the social contextual approach is what Snodgrass calls “total material culture” (Snodgrass 1994, 198; Morris 1998a, 7-8). With this term he stresses the fact that pottery cannot be studied in isolation, but it must be integrated with the systematic analysis of the whole relevant evidence of its epoch.

Returning to Ithaca, the only research on the social significance of material culture so far undertaken is that of Catherine Morgan. She examines the material expressions of power exercised by the Early Iron Age and Orientalizing Ithacan elite of Aetos (Morgan 2007, 76-79; Morgan 2011). By comparing the material culture patterning between the votive offerings at the sanctuaries of Aetos and Polis Cave, Morgan identifies a complementarity. At Aetos she observes that the elite emphasized its social status by small personal metal ornaments, family participation in activities reflected in the high proportion of serving and pouring vessels, elaborate iconographic decoration, and unusual cult activity through odd ritual vessels. Polis Cave lacks all the above. Instead, it displays monumental bronze votives such as the tripod cauldrons and armour, including at least seven helmets, covering perhaps the whole Archaic period. These are accompanied by large numbers of drinking vessels tentatively associated with mass drinking. Morgan concludes that the elite of Aetos emphasized its social status by displaying considerable quantities of lavish metal objects like all western Greek

aristocrats, and this complementarity is interpreted as a strategy to project their authority to northern Ithaca.

In lack of substantial archaeological evidence for habitation in northern Ithaca in the Early Iron Age, Morgan's interpretation is indeed very aptly conceived. This interpretation owes much to the work of François de Polignac who argued that a political community marked its territory by establishing sanctuaries in the countryside, at the territorial limits of the state (De Polignac 1995; Whitley 2001, 148-150). Although attractive, once carefully scrutinized De Polignac's arguments present serious weaknesses. Major sanctuaries like Olympia and Delphi were not associated with any major city. Moreover, Jonathan Hall has convincingly contested De Polignac's "archetypal example" of the Argive Heraion, by showing that it was not exclusively Argive until the 6th, or even the 5th century BC (Hall 1995). De Polignac's theory is a model-building attempt apparently inspired by Processual archaeology. Moreover, as Hall observed, the model is structured around the evidence from the Classical period and then applied in earlier periods by retrojection (Hall 1995, 579).

Polis Cave is even more complicated. The published data do not provide any clear stratigraphy, and it is by no means certain that the cave was used as a sanctuary in the Early Iron Age. The evidence strongly suggests that it was a sanctuary from the Archaic period onwards, but to assume that so it was in the Early Iron Age is a somewhat risky retrojection. With regard to the monumental bronze tripod-cauldrons, their date of manufacture in the Early Iron Age does not necessarily coincide with the date of their introduction into the cave; it could have taken place much later. A more plausible explanation which also takes into account the new evidence presented here, would be that these metal votives were the result of a different votive behaviour displayed by the elite of the local northern Ithacan community which, as Morgan comments, becomes substantial in the 7th century BC (Morgan 2007, 79; 2011, 113-114).

Morgan suggested in 2007 that the imbalance in the density of occupation between southern and northern Ithaca lasted until the end of the 4th century BC (Morgan 2007, 79). That was true given the evidence available until then. Now, however, the excavation presented here demonstrates beyond any reasonable doubt that a northern Ithacan community was thriving in the Late Archaic period *at the latest*. As it became evident in the previous chapters, this northern Ithacan

community produced its own pottery, had well established external contacts, and its elite was wealthy enough to remove from circulation monumental bronzes such as a cauldron. With regard to the settlement organization of this community, the available evidence does not indicate the existence of an urban centre in the Late Archaic and Classical times. Consequently, Morgan draws a picture of a settlement pattern characterized by dispersed hamlets, or farmsteads (Morgan 2007, 79-80). Given the available data, this is a legitimate and plausible appraisal.

Even if there was some kind of autonomy of northern Ithaca, the communications between the two parts of the island must have unproblematic and frequent, especially by sea. Some of the local pottery may have been produced in southern Ithaca, and even some of the bronzes may have been transported from the south. Late Archaic and Classical pottery and other artefacts from southern Ithaca are virtually unknown and plausible comparisons cannot be drawn at the present state of knowledge. However, what emerges is that the elite of Aetos was not acting alone on the whole island, it had to deal with a peer elite in northern Ithaca, which had established, or taken control of, the sanctuary at Polis Cave and had a votive behaviour distinct from that observed at Aetos.

Another, worth mentioning at this point, aspect is the dedicatory inscription *IG IX I² IV 1614*, dated in the second half of the 6th century BC (Jeffery 1961, 231). It confirms the existence of the military institution of the *peripoloi* and the worship at Polis Cave of Athena Polias. The epithet *Polias* could indicate the existence of a *polis* in northern Ithaca, although this attestation alone without additional evidence is not undeniable proof (Cole 1995; Morgan 2007, 78). This is not the place to explore the issue of an independent *polis* in northern Ithaca since no definitive answer can be provided at the moment; it suffices to say that there are scholars who suggest that Ithaca was an one *polis* island from the Archaic period onwards like Morgan, and those who suggest that northern Ithaca was a distinct *polis*, like D'Agostino (Morgan 2007; D'Agostino 2012, 286).

The appearance of the votive inscription at Polis shrine and the bronze cauldron at Pyre 2 are two phenomena that require explanation. They suggest a change in votive behaviour, since by the Late Archaic period a monumental bronze cauldron could be deposited in places other than Polis Cave. A pertinent explanation which clarifies both depositional phenomena is that offered by Snodgrass with regard to the distinction between “raw” and “converted” votive

offerings (Snodgrass 2006, 258-268). A “raw” offering was an object which already had a biography unrelated to the place of final deposition, such as a piece of armour captured or exchanged. A “converted” offering was an object specifically made to be used as a dedication. The latter could range from a simple clay figurine to an inscribed stele or statue. The monumental bronzes found at Polis Cave are examples of “raw” votives, whereas the inscribed stele offered by the *peripoloi* is “converted”. Therefore, it is highly probable that by the second half of the 6th century BC there was a change in votive behaviour at Polis Cave, characterized by the dedication of “converted” votives. This is significant with regard to the appearance of the bronze cauldron in Pyre 2, an act which denotes that monumental bronzes moved from one sphere of activity to another, from the sanctuary to the feast, and ultimately to the intentional exposure on the surface. Implicit in this behaviour is a shift in spatial focus for elite display, from the sanctuary to the feast.

The relevance of these last observations lies on the fact that in this thesis the discussion will not revolve around the issue of the negotiation of power between the elites of Aetos and Polis. Rather, it aspires to throw light on the social dynamics within the community residing in the Stavros-Polis area. Although this “bipolar city” framework employed by Morgan may seem apt for the available Early Iron Age evidence, when we turn to the Archaic period we should do away with it. What is of relevance here is that Morgan’s research provides a long-term socio-political context in which the pottery, with the associated finds, and the sequence of activities can be subsumed. Moreover, Morgan provides a link between three main issues with which the pottery can be interrogated with a view to providing insights to the social dynamics of the Stavros-Polis community. These are: activities, material culture patterning, and landscape.

6.1 Materiality

The controversial work on Classical pottery espoused by Vickers and Gill soon prompted reactions which led to a more holistic approach to ancient pottery studies. Research focused on aspects of production, circulation, and consumption as socio-economic phenomena (Crielaard *et al.* 1999). This approach has been

further elaborated in subsequent years. The processes of production, circulation, and consumption, have been legitimately viewed as activities “informed and guided by social structures” (Knappett 2002, 168). In these activities pottery and people continuously interact and create meaning through repeated social recontextualizations. This line of thought, apparently, led to the examination of ancient pottery through aspects of life-histories informed by Schiffer’s Behavioural archaeology. Such a case is Peña’s monograph on Roman pottery (Chapter 5). As it will be shown below, this line of reasoning reflects the rapprochement of Behavioural and Postprocessual archaeology which led to the concept of *materiality*.

In his, admirable, summary of the recent work with regard to pottery and society, Whitley, and the scholars he cites, employ terms such as “correlated”, “express”, and “directly responsive to social demands” (Whitley 2001, 56). These approaches treat pottery only as a representation of various social patterns. The tendency to treat pottery styles and consumption patterns only as representative to overarching social realities has also been stressed by Shanks (Shanks 1996, 143-144). I am not unenthusiastic with these approaches. On the contrary, all have provided major breakthroughs to the study of Classical pottery and I will follow in part the same path. However, when the emphasis is placed only on the issue of representation, this approach seems inadequate to take into account the whole network of activities identified and in which the fine ware pottery of Pyre 2 and 3 was involved. I will argue that it is possible to extrapolate the social meaning of the fine ware pottery consumption in a feasting context. Yet, the “odd” behaviour of exposing the feasting materials on the surface cannot be interpreted solely by reference to representation. Once left visible on the surface, pottery (and other materials) became active themselves and carried a message to all viewers or users.

It becomes evident that what is needed is an assessment of the entire sequence of activities in which the fine ware pottery participated; an exercise that requires an approach to pottery and its social significance beyond mere representation (Walker and Schiffer 2006, 71; Knappett 2012, 197). Such an approach demands explicit attention to the interactions between pottery (and other objects) and people. These interactions are successfully analysed today under the banner of material culture studies or materiality. Influenced by the anthropological works of, among others, Appadurai, Kopytoff, and Latour,

materiality as a school of thought examines the social significance of artefacts, not only as representations of social structures but as active components in a constant interaction among people and things; things not only represent but have agency and *do* something (Tilley 2007; Hicks 2010; Johnson 2010, 224-226; Knappet 2012; Maran and Stockhammer 2012; Lucas 2012, 157-168).

This focus on the interactions of human and things and the active role of things has created an area of convergence between the Behavioural and the Postprocessual schools of thought. In fact, Behavioural and Postprocessual archaeologies share a, one could say, common origin. That is the dissatisfaction with the then dominant view of the archaeological record as a passive reflection of human behaviour (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, 71). To challenge this dominant view, Schiffer developed his Behavioural agenda and focused on the site formation processes (see above, Chapter 5). The Postprocessual, or Contextual school, with Hodder at its head developed in the 1980s the analogy of “reading” material culture as a text. The textual analogy employed structuralist theory in order to reveal the “underlying” meaning of material culture and what it represented (Hicks 2010, 55-58). And although Hodder had acknowledged early on the common point of departure for Contextual and Behavioural lines of thought, he has been critical to the Behavioural approach (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 2, 33-36).

The overall success of the Contextual archaeology employing the textual analogy has apparently contributed to the decline of Behavioural archaeology, although it seems that different academic traditions on each side of the Atlantic favoured the adoption of one of the two agendas. British archaeologists grouped Behavioural archaeology with the Processual school as another form of Middle-Range Theory and adopted the Contextual approach, even though Schiffer’s insights on site formation processes have been widely used (Johnson 2010, 65). American archaeologists on the other hand have been more eager to adopt the Behavioural line of thought. More recently, Hodder realized that the textual analogy failed to take account of the physicality of objects which enabled them to accomplish certain tasks, both in utilitarian and symbolic sense (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 166-170). Behavioural archaeology has also developed further its interest in the relationships between people and things, a basic premise in its initial conception (LaMotta 2012, 62-70). Lucas calls this renewed focus on

objects: "...a resurgence of Schiffer's behavioural archaeology." (Lucas 2012, 165).

This shift in focus on the active role of objects, their agency, and the realization that "objects do far more than represent", led to the rapprochement of Behavioural and Contextual archaeology (Thrift 2007, 239 in Hicks 2010, 74; Hodder 2012, 215-217). This rapprochement is emphasized in the line of thought called materiality (Mills and Walker 2008, 11; Knappet 2012, 197; Lucas 2012, 165). Parallel to these developments, there has been an increasing tendency among field archaeologists to interpret stratigraphy, artefact assemblages, and acts of deposition for their social significance. The Postprocessual ideas that material culture is meaningfully constituted, it has agency, and it is active; the site formation processes studies and life-history models from Behavioural archaeology; and the contingent social meanings objects gain by successive recontextualizations as explained by Appadurai, led to the recognition of particular socially meaningfully constituted archaeological contexts such as the "structured deposition" (Appadurai 1986 in Hicks 2012, 74, 82; Garrow 2012).

The idea of materiality is at the core of the attempt in this chapter to interpret the relation between fine ware pottery and the north Ithacan social dynamics. The entire sequence of activities in which the pottery interacted with people will be examined. As Hodder and Hutson remark: "...material culture and society mutually constitute each other within historically and culturally specific sets of ideas, beliefs and meanings." (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 3). To this we must add the activities in which material culture, in this case particularly the fine ware pottery, participated. That is because, as was noted above, material culture does not only represent society, but "It is produced to do something....it creates society..." (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 6).

Therefore, the production and circulation of fine ware pottery, depends on circumstances pertaining to what is considered appropriate in a social structure. The relation between feasting and society depends on the manipulation of power relations observed on attitudes to commensality. The relation between pottery and society depends on the deployment and consumption of particular pottery types during feasting. The relation between the deliberate act of exposing the pottery on the surface depends on the potential of that same pottery to "act back" on society

and transmit a message from an individual to a group or from a group to others groups (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 8; Joyce and Pollard 2010, 302).

6.2 Production

As has already been discussed in Chapter 4, the production of Ithacan pottery can be inferred only by means of exclusion. Nevertheless, the observations made in Chapter 4 allow a fair amount of confidence in recognizing Ithacan fine ware production and its development during the Classical period. The dispersed character of habitation suggests that there was no particular district within a larger settlement in which production would be located and concentrated. The clay sources seem to have been sufficient and of good quality for Ithacan potters to produce a fairly wide range of shapes and decorative schemes in the long term.

The availability of raw materials leads to the question of the number of people engaged in pottery production. In the largest Greek city, and at the same time the largest producer of pottery, that is Athens, it has been estimated that about 300 people were involved in pottery manufacture in the Archaic period and 500 in the Classical (Shanks 1996, 159; Whitley 2001, 177). It is now accepted that pottery production was a household part-time industry in addition to the main agricultural activities (Arafat and Morgan 1989, 314-329; 1994, 109; Stissi 1999, 84-89). On the small island of Ithaca, the number of households supplementing their income through pottery production must have been very small, perhaps three to four households, half of them probably located in the north. These figures are speculative, but given the size of Ithaca they must not be far from reality. The dispersed character of settlement and the low population density suggest that producers and consumers knew each other very well in a face-to-face society. In these face-to-face social interactions the local elite could have played a major role in shaping the choices of pottery styles produced and consumed, especially in communal activities such as feasting.

The close examination of fine ware pottery in Chapter 4, revealed that Ithacan potters were sufficiently skilled in order to take up foreign stylistic novelties and produce them with a high level of competency. It has also been observed that the local repertoire persistently followed the wider western Greek

trends. Ithacan potters could efficiently incorporate foreign high quality decorative styles and shapes in local clay, such as the West-Slope style and the elaborate shapes of askoi. Traditionally, the discussion on stylistic choices focused upon the constraints dictated by the quality of the raw materials available. However, in recent years it has been widely accepted that technological and stylistic choices of pottery production depended on social factors, as Knappett remarks: “Potters make their technological choices not only because of material considerations but also according to their position within collective structures and social institutions.” (Arafat and Morgan 1989, 313; van Wijngaarden 1999, 8; Knappett 2002, 169).

Crielaard has presented a pottery production model, related to the social position of the potters, in three levels: semi-specialists potters when not working the fields, full-time workshops with potting as a subsistence occupation, and “estate production”, that is elite patronage of pottery production (Crielaard 1999a, 52-58). The last option would mean, as Crielaard remarks: “...that potters making decorated fine wares were probably part of the household for which they were producing...” (Crielaard 1999a, 57). Such a relationship would not be anomalous on Ithaca. In a long-term perspective, the close relation between Ithacan potters and elite patronage has been emphasized by Catherine Morgan with regard to the Late Geometric and Orientalizing Aetos, in southern Ithaca. An idiosyncratic group of ritual vessels together with a small collection of human imagery, directly responded to the needs of the local elite involved in maritime activities and demonstrating a high degree of connectivity with foreign peer elites, to display its status (Morgan 2006, 227-228; 2007, 76-77; 2011, 116-118).

The evidence from Pyre 3 seems to provide evidence for such a close relationship between elite families and pottery production. The TIMEΑΣ terracotta **134**, and the stamp seal **133**, strongly suggest that a potter was involved in that feast. Moreover, the fact that the same name figures prominently in the (by one century later) prosopography of an elite Ithacan family, testifies to a very plausible close relation between potters and local elites. In such circumstances, the choices of the potters were not constrained by the nature of the available clay or technological inferiorities, but by the contemporary social circumstances.

6.3 Circulation

Living on a very small, and agriculturally very marginal, island, it is reasonable to suggest that Ithacans were extremely maritime-dependent, a fact observed in all islands of comparable natural resource availability in ancient and modern times. Moreover, the geographical location of Ithaca on the busy shipping-lanes between east and west suggests that foreign influences of all kinds must have been constant. With regard to pottery, there is no evidence so far that Late Archaic and Classical Ithacan products were exported. This is obviously a matter of research bias, since no contemporary assemblages have been studied and published, except for Elis. However, if one wishes to draw a comparison with earlier periods, there is evidence for Ithacan Late Geometric and Early Archaic pottery circulating in Corinthia, Epirus, Kefalonia, and maybe Italy, but in very small numbers (D'Agostino and Gastaldi 2002, 160; Morgan 2007, 76).

The assemblages under study display a wide range of imported fine wares, thus providing evidence that Ithacan traders had easy access to foreign pottery. In such a situation, what is socially significant is to compare the imported pottery against the background of available choices of what to import, but not used. Late Archaic and Classical Greek pottery is dominated by the large amount of high-quality figured pottery, mainly Attic and red-figured. Although the higher visibility of figured pottery in the archaeological scholarship is also a matter of prevailing research agendas focusing on *objets d'art* (Stissi 1999, 93), the popularity of figured pottery in the central Mediterranean, thus passing off the coasts of Ithaca, is clearly attested in its wide circulation (Arafat and Morgan 1994; Hannestad 1999; Osborne 2007).

In a recent review of the diffusion of the Attic red-figured pottery in the Mediterranean, Palaiothodoros emphasizes the fact that whereas red-figured pottery was exceptionally popular in Italy, in Greece proper, black-figure vases continued to be used until the mid-5th century BC whilst red-figure was extremely rare. Only after the mid-fifth century red-figure vessels replaced black-figured, and this date coincides with the emergence of regional red-figure imitations (Palaiothodoros 2007). The evidence from Polis Cave confirms this trend and sets Ithaca within the pattern observed in the Ionian Islands and western Greece in general, where Attic red-figured pottery was rarer than anywhere (Palaiothodoros

2007, 182). There are six securely identified Attic black-figured vessels, all dated in the Late Archaic period. Five of them are lekythoi, and one very small sherd which Deoudi tentatively identifies as a cup (Deoudi 2008, 178-183, 209-211, pls 32-34). There is also one white-ground Attic lekythos, and two more Attic small squat lekythoi dated in the 4th century BC and decorated with red-figure palmettes (Deoudi 2008, 184, 211, pl 34). None of these is drinking vessel, except for the possible cup, and therefore, cannot be securely associated with feasting activities.

Their number is extremely restricted when compared with the total assemblage of Late Archaic and Classical pottery from Polis Cave. However, one should consider the fact that Polis Cave was a sanctuary probably frequented by foreigners as well. Therefore, the uncertainty remains whether these figured vases were introduced by Ithacans or foreign traders in transit at Polis bay. The important issue here is that despite the intense circulation of figured pottery around Ithaca throughout the Late Archaic and Classical periods, no figured vessel was recovered from the assemblages under study. Moreover, it has been confirmed that many of the sailors-traders involved in the circulation of Attic figured pottery originated from other cities, such as Aegina and the cities of Ionia (Stissi 1999, 94; Palaiothodoros 2007, 170). In this respect, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the Ithacan merchant elite were also involved in some degree in the circulation of Attic pottery. The presence of Attic and other foreign pottery in the assemblages confirm it. However, what is of interest is once again the choices open to the Ithacan sailors, but not used. Thus, although the choice to import figured pottery was clearly open, they chose to import only plain black-glazed pots.

With regard to choices in pottery acquisition, Robin Osborne has convincingly argued that distinct places created demand for distinct shapes and decorations (Osborne 1996). And although Osborne focused on Archaic Attic pottery, such a phenomenon could be valid for a longer period of time and for pottery of diverse origin. The imported fine ware pottery in our case demonstrates such a demand targeted on open shapes, mainly for drinking, and small vessels for oil. The only exception is the Laconian black-glazed table amphora **28**. In addition, only plain black-glazed and other patterned decorated, exclusively non-figured, vessels were imported. And this is probably why the non-figured Corinthian pottery remained popular throughout the Classical period. The choice

behind importation behaviour is depends equally to social circumstances as is the choice of what to manufacture. The elite Ithacan tradesmen had many choices of what pottery to import, but the choice of figured pottery was not used. Equally, Ithacan potters had many choices, but the choice of figured pottery was not used. This is a wider western Greek trend. Western Greek red-figure appears only in the late 4th century BC, and probably influenced by Italy, not Athens (McPhee 1979). Under these social circumstances, imported pottery was selected to fit into an existing structure of socio-cultural relations which demanded non-figured pottery for display in social gatherings such as public feasting.

6.4 Public feasting as social consumption

In Classical archaeology, communal dining and drinking attracted attention early on since it appears prominently in the literary sources. The two most cited aspects of this practice are the *symposium* and the *syssition* (Steiner 2002). The symposium has received particular attention both through the literary and the archaeological record (Lissarrague 1990; Lynch 2011b). The syssition, state-sponsored meals, has received less attention although studies continue to appear (Rotroff and Oakley 1992; Steiner 2002).

Studies in Classical architecture have also focused on the venues of dining and drinking, especially the *hestiatoria*, dining rooms arranged in free standing buildings or stoas, usually found in sanctuaries and *agorai* (Bergquist 1990; Cooper and Morris 1990; Tomlinson 1990; Bookidis 1993; Whitley 2001, 296-300, 304, 307, 309-310, 322, 335, 361-362). The typical arrangement of a room destined for banquets was furnished with *klinai*, reclining couches. The layout was identical to that of the *andron* in private houses which fulfilled the same function of dining and drinking, although in a private setting the *andron* was also used for the symposium.

Other studies on public commensality focused on sacrificial or banquets, both in sanctuaries and in funerary contexts (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 99; Morgan 1994; Kaiser *et al.* 2011; Eder 2011). These studies link several periods of Greek Classical archaeology, from the Protogeometric period to the Hellenistic and beyond. Most of the archaeological studies focus on the evidence from the

Early Iron Age, whilst for later periods the literary evidence figures more prominently (eg. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 146). They all emphasize the interpretations of pottery for drinking and dining together with pyre deposits as remains of ritual meals.

On Ithaca, a probable case of public dining and drinking might be the so-called “cairns” of Protogeometric Aetos (Heurtley and Lorimer 1932-33). They are heaps of stones and pottery sherds together with black greasy earth. At least five were identified. Most of the pottery is Protogeometric, but their chronology cannot be considered certain, since the excavator retrieved both Geometric sherds and, significantly, tile fragments. They have been tentatively interpreted as house remains (Heurtley and Lorimer 1932-33, 27-36; Benton 1953, 255-257). A more recent re-evaluation of the contexts maintains the dwellings interpretation, but also gives emphasis to their probable association with dining activities (Morgan 2011, 114). As long as the dwelling interpretation remains speculative, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the “cairns” represent the remains of repeated open-air dining and drinking.

The term “feasting” is commonly used in anthropology to denote: “...any sharing of special food (in quality, preparation, or quantity) by two or more people for a special (not everyday) event.” (Hayden and Villeneuve 2011, 434). Obviously, this definition can be expanded to include “special drink” as well, and the symposium is such a case. In archaeology, the focus on material culture connects the practice of feasting to the practice of consumption. The notion of consumption as employed in archaeology goes beyond the utilitarian procurement of objects guided by the belief of “value for money”. Instead it emphasizes that consumption has implications in terms of social interests; that is the strategies by which people define themselves socially (Crielaard 1999b, 262-265). Feasting is one of the most conspicuous practices of social consumption, it is as Hamilakis and Sherratt define it: “ritualised social eating and drinking” (Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012, 187).

Feasting as a research topic has recently gained prominence by a stronger focus on the archaeological record, both in the Aegean prehistory and in Classical archaeology (Wright 2004; Halstead and Barrett 2004; Hitchcock et al. 2008; Erickson 2010a; 2010b). The most common approach to feasting as a social practice is one informed by the structural-functionalist school, which interprets

feasting only as a means used by elites to create and maintain social cohesion (Hayden and Villeneuve 2011, 436, 438-439). Although this approach remains at the core of the research topic, more recent studies draw a more nuanced picture of feasting as a social ritual of consumption by emphasizing aspects such as the appropriation of imported objects as symbolic capital, the creation of social memory, and phenomenological experiences (Vives-Ferrándiz 2008, 264-266; Hayden and Villeneuve 2011, 441-442). The common strand of these readings of feasting is that it served to promote and manipulate power relations.

On Ithaca, the feasts represented by the contexts and pottery assemblages discussed in this work, reflect the need of the local elite to promote and manipulate power relations in the local social system. As it was mentioned above, the limited agricultural resources, the proximity to other islands and the mainland, and the position of Ithaca on a well-established sea-lane, encouraged the emergence of a mercantile elite. The elite reinforced its status at home by the circulation and consumption of prestige goods and imported objects. Maritime activity entails long periods of absence, and therefore, once back on the island the mercantile elite needed a strategy to promote its power relation over a community dispersed in the territory.

Feasting represents an excellent occasion for periodic gatherings of dispersed households, and when sponsored by the elite they serve to promote and maintain their social power and wider consensus, and at the same time neutralize potential conflicts or loathing that may have arisen during their absence. The recurring feasts over a period of at least two centuries on the same locality, suggest that this was a successful strategy. The number of participants in each feast, estimated around ten to twelve, may suggest that each member represented one household. Thus, by recurring feasts the elite merchants when at home could meet at least once members of each local household and maintain the relations of power. Moreover, the fact that these feasts occurred outdoors and in daylight, imply that these activities were highly visible, creating an aspect of theatrical performance to the rest of the society that did not participate in that particular occasion.

In such a context of manipulation of power relations, it is essential to examine the material correlates of the feasts. In particular, the patterns of selection, acceptance, and incorporation of imported pottery into the local

assemblages and consequently, the local social system. Such an inquiry can provide evidence on the messages the elite was willing to send to the local, perhaps not only, population and what that message was about.

6.5 Patterns of pottery consumption

As with material culture in general, Ithacan and imported pots were not used or displayed in isolation, but as a group. Therefore, the importance of pottery's social significance lies in the group, the patterns of selection and juxtaposition of imported pottery to the local assemblage in the same context (van Wijngaarden 1999, 9-10; Crielaard 1999a; 62-68; 1999b; Stissi 1999, 95-102; Sherratt 1999, 184-195; Morgan 1999, 234-244). For this reason, the following discussion focuses on the association between imported and Ithacan vessels.

In Pyre 2, the total number of drinking vessels is 28. Twelve are Corinthian, seven Attic, one Laconian, three "Western Greek", and five are Ithacan. With regard to Corinthian kotylai, Ithacans could effectively copy both the shape and the decoration and add some peculiar characteristics. Also available were the "Western Greek" kotylai (**29, 31**), in case they are not Ithacan themselves. The predominant Attic drinking shape is the cup. Although there is no secure Ithacan counterpart, except for **68**, there are those "Western Greek" cups (**30, 52, 53**, and **69**) and the Laconian cup **67**, that could fulfil the same role. Therefore, Corinthian and Attic import did not fill a gap in the local repertoire that could not be filled with locally made vessels or from the familiar western Greek repertoire.

In Pyre 3 there are very few imports. Once again they do not complement the Ithacan assemblage. It seems that by the third quarter of the 4th century BC, Ithacan potters were already producing skilfully shapes inspired by Attic and Corinthian pottery. Analogous to the Corinthian skyphoi **79, 94, 95**, and **96**, are the Ithacan skyphoi **91, 102** and **142**. The Attic rolled-rim plate **97** has the local counterparts in plates **83** and **118**.

However, with regard to the vessels for oil things are somewhat different. In Pyre 2, the totality of the low-capacity vessels for oil are imported, Corinthian, Attic, and "Argive". Only the lamp may be Ithacan. The Corinthian small

oinochoai **46** and **80**, from Assemblage NKIIIa and Assemblage TTRP respectively, and the Attic lekythos **51** from Assemblage NKIIIa, affirm that they were widely imported in the first half of the 5th century BC. This seems to be a clear case in which imports were deliberately chosen to fill a gap in the local assemblages. To the contrary, in Pyre 3 the totality of the vessels for oil is Ithacan. As with the rest of the shapes, by the late 4th century BC Ithacans could produce high-quality vessels for oil and there was no need for imports.

These consumption patterns strongly indicate that the selection and use of imported vessels did not result from their shape and function, there were similar vessels locally produced. Neither provenance seems to be a satisfactory explanation for the emerging patterns, since there are vessels imported from a variety of sources. Moreover, the degree of complementarity is only partial, only in the first half of the 5th century BC seems to have been a specific desire for imported low-capacity vessels for oil, a choice related to their functional aspects. However, this had changed by the second half of the 4th century BC.

What seem to be the tangible patterns of pottery consumption are related to non-functional aspects of the assemblages as groups. One of these aspects was the need to use and display vessels that could easily be identified for their foreign provenance. The second is that the decorative schemes of the foreign vessels could easily fit into the local context. As it has already been noted, Ithacan potters were quick to adopt innovations, but they did so selectively. They were ready to adopt the black-glaze on the entire surface of the pot, and during the 4th century BC they adopted the “West-Slope” style. However, it becomes evident that they consistently denied the figured decoration and the innovation of the red-figure technique. This non-figured pottery decoration is the crucial aspect which dictated the choices of what to import. Non-figured, whether pattern decorated or black-glazed, was acceptable because it could fit into the existing context of cultural and social values.

6.6 Pots exposed in the landscape

The activity of feasting in the open can legitimately be perceived as a deliberate strategy to enhance visibility of the activity itself and of the

participants. In this respect, both feasting and participants were in process of becoming parts of a culturally structured landscape. Recent studies in landscape archaeology move beyond the approaches of the landscape as a set of natural resources to be exploited by people. Instead, influenced by phenomenological approaches they emphasize how landscapes are culturally and socially constructed by the actions and experiences of people by living and moving in it, and at the same people's behaviours are constructed and routinized by that same landscape (Hodder 1999, 132-134; Thomas 2001; 2012; Ashmore 2004).

The landscape of Polis valley and bay in the period of the pyres is dominated by the sanctuary of Polis Cave. At the beginning of the 5th century BC it already had a long history of use and the monumental bronze tripod cauldrons enhanced its status as a major focal point for anyone dwelling or moving around the valley. Moreover, the orientation of the cave, with its open front towards the valley and the Stavros ridge, further accentuated its role as a significant landmark in the cultural landscape of Polis valley. The space where the feasts took place was well organized with terrace walls and is located exactly opposite Polis Cave. Therefore, the participants in the feasts had a direct visual contact with Polis Cave. On the other hand, the visitors of Polis Cave had in turn a clear view of the place where the pyres were lit and the feasts were occurring. It is also highly probable that one of the routes leading towards Polis Cave passed through the area of the pyres.

The activities of feasting and the subsequent intentional abandonment of the pottery and other artefacts on the surface, introduces the issue of *performativity*. According to Matthew Johnson, performances occur in well-defined spaces, built or open, and are defined by the use of artefacts (Johnson 2010, 140-141). The feasts occurred in such a well-defined space within the landscape and involved the extensive use of artefacts. In the case of pottery it has been shown in the above paragraph that the pottery used was patterned in a significant way. Therefore, the visibility of the feasts occurring in daylight in a well-defined space was apparently perceived by their organizers as a social performance, destined to be viewed and transmit social messages both to the participants and to the community in general (Joyce and Pollard 2010, 300).

The pottery participated in two activities that rendered them visible both during and after the feasts, and these activities are characterised by different time-

scales. Each feast presumably lasted for a relatively short period of time, probably some hours of a day or the whole day. However, the exposure of pottery on the surface as a deliberate act seems to have lasted for much longer, perhaps years or even decades. What has to be emphasized here is that the pottery exposed on the surface was not mere rubbish. As it has been shown above in 5.4.1, it is highly probable that the material manifestations of the feasts were carefully deposited with a high level of arrangement, or structure. This deliberate act endows pottery and the other material remains with a social meaning for those coming across them. Even by simply lying on the surface, pottery and other artefacts are “doing” something, they are active and have agency, they acquire a “social life” (Hicks 2010, 83).

An analogous case with regard to Neolithic midden deposits in England has been considered by Joyce and Pollard. They interpret the deliberate and repeated deposition of rubbish in middens as markers of occupational longevity, group genealogy, and as definable landmarks resembling monumental manifestations. They conclude that the materials, practices, and temporalities that constitute middens “act back” and induce similar social actions in later instances (Joyce and Pollard 2010, 301-302). The same discourse applies to the pyre deposits under study. The repetition of feasting episodes followed by the deliberate exposure of the material remains cannot be ignored.

After the carefully arranged exposure of the materials on the surface, the same materials acted back on the community members by transmitting social messages and prompting appropriate social actions. In these interactions, humans, objects, and the landscape must be envisaged as active in determining a code of behaviour socially constituted. Any bystander could see the feasting remains on surface and these material remains inevitably would bring to mind several interlinked aspects of the social reality of northern Ithaca. The remains of several contemporary or slightly earlier feasts would prompt views related to the landscape as mainly a place for public feasting. Such “event-markers” structure the possibilities for future activities and generate a sense of routinized practice, a *habitus* (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 90-94). The place was arranged to host feasts and the material remains could transmit the message to the people that feasts were socially sanctioned practices and would continue to take place in the same area.

Artefacts like the bronze cauldron of Pyre 2 would indicate that the feast was sponsored by the local elite. An obvious connection would be done with the bronze tripod cauldrons of Polis Cave and any observer would associate monumental bronzes with elite sumptuary strategies. Transport amphoras prominent in Pyre 3 would bring in mind the foreign connections of the merchant elite, and their ability to transport and share foreign goods in public feasts. Other artefacts like the foreign coins and the loomweights could also transmit messages of foreign contacts and gender roles of the participants.

The fine ware pottery would play a crucial role in transmitting the messages desired by the elite. It is the most abundant artefact category in the pyres, it is durable and therefore, highly visible. The imported pottery displays the wide connections of the merchant elite and their ease to obtain and discard such foreign goods. The presence of local pottery would also indicate the elite patronage of pottery production and the pottery styles considered appropriate for use. The crucial aspect here is the selection of imported pieces was made to fit local styles. Anyone would become aware that the appropriate imported pottery for use in northern Ithaca was strictly non-figured, a style matching that of the local production. It is highly probable that the message the elite sent to the community was that only non-figured pottery should be used inside the community.

Therefore, the elite used the decorative correspondence of foreign and local pottery in order to make clear what kind of pottery was proper for use even during their absence. People looking at those pottery assemblages would immediately realize what kind of pottery was considered socially acceptable for use. Even when innovations in pottery styles occurred through the Classical period, the overall aspect remained strictly non-figured. This was a powerful message that signified and evoked a sense of shared social identity and a desire for a conservative and austere lifestyle. In such a conservative material culture context, monumental metal artefacts such as the bronze cauldron would dramatically stand out to indicate and bolster the established social hierarchy. The rare presence of figured vessels in Polis Cave would moreover indicate that in that sanctuary, probably frequented also by foreign sailors, they were appropriate, but only there and nowhere else.

The repetition in the long term of the activities of feasting, the structured exposure of the material remains on the surface, and particularly the display of strictly plain non-figured pottery, are social practices that create memories. Recent studies focus on how depositional practices and materiality interact in order to create memory which provides information on many aspects of past societies, such as identity, ritual, and political strategies (Mills and Walker 2008). The notion of materiality becomes once again important for the link between things, repeated activities, and memory. Repeated feasting and exposure of the pottery, and other artefacts, used create what Mills and Walker term “genealogies of practice” (Mills and Walker 2008, 12). Long term practices create memories and the materiality of the objects used and later exposed on the surface have agency and cause actions. Apparently, the aim was to create social memories through the agency of the pottery exposed and cause people to act accordingly. As Mills and Walker emphasize “...while objects do not have intentions, they can cause practices to happen.” (Mills and Walker 2008, 17). The first practice caused by the exposed pottery is the repeated feasting events in later times in the same place. Secondly, and with regard to fine ware pottery, it causes the selective acquisition and consumption of only certain pottery classes. Select only non-figured foreign pottery and produce only non-figured pottery in order to match the two into a stylistically homogeneous assemblage. This is a complex memory work which as a social strategy of power enables the preservation of the significance of social activities and the material culture by which they are defined.

6.7 Discussion

Probably the most intensely studied socio-political characteristic of the Archaic and Classical Greece is *polis* formation and development. In archaeological terms this is often assumed to be reflected in monumental public architecture. In fact, in the Archaic period the Ionian Sea colonial foundations of Kerkyra and Leukas present a well-defined urban plan and public buildings (Metallinou 2010; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2010, 87-90). The nearby island of Kefalonia by the Late Archaic period presents as well monumental temples associated with the *poleis* on the island (Sotiriou 2013). On the other hand, Ithaca,

northern Ithaca in particular, seems to lack any kind of monumental public architecture throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, although one should consider the fact that only a tiny part of northern Ithaca has been so far explored (Morgan 2007, 80-81). Morgan aptly suggests that this was a local response which must be understood in the local context.

As Morgan and Coulton have emphasized, public buildings are normally responses to social institutions. In other words, socio-political institutions like polis formation, or any other, could exist without any public building to serve them (Morgan and Coulton 1997, 103-104). In fact, the inscription *IG IX I² IV 1614* dated in the second half of the 6th century BC, found at Polis Cave attests the military institution of the *peripoloi*, and one could also risk the suggestion of the existence of an independent *polis* in northern Ithaca. Therefore, the lack of monumental public buildings must be seen as a conscious choice. Apparently there was no desire by the ruling elite to monumentalize social institutions through building activities.

In this respect, James Whitley remarks that monumental building activities are evidence of competition among city-states (Whitley 2001, 228). It is not unreasonable to suggest that Ithacans did not feel the need to get involved into state competition or peer-polity interaction in Late Archaic and Classical times. Ithaca, in fact, is not unique in lacking monumental public buildings. It has been convincingly argued that the wealthiest polis (out of six) on the island of Lesbos, in north-eastern Aegean Sea, in the Archaic period, that is Mytilene, completely lacks monumental public buildings (Spencer 2000). Whereas the ruling elites of the other poleis invested their wealth in building towers, enclosures, and monumental cult-places, the elite of Mytilene chose to invest its wealth in trade and overseas contacts, building and maintaining ships, and acquiring and displaying foreign exotica. Spencer remarks: "...by gaining rare foreign trinkets they would emphasize their superior position in society..." (Spencer 2000, 80). Eventually, the inability to restrict and control access to foreign goods and ideas among the local restricted oligarchy would lead to a long-term political instability and continual social change. With reference to the Archaic aristocrat poets of Mytilene, Spencer emphasizes that trade "...was irrational, something to be feared; it could subvert the usual order of society, making *agathoi* poor and *kakoi* rich;" (Spencer 2000, 80).

The evidence from Mytilene fits well with certain aspects observed in the archaeological evidence of the Late Archaic and Classical periods at Polis valley discussed here. The Ithacan merchant elite did not invest its wealth in monumentalizing the local socio-political institutions. Instead, it seems that invested in building and maintaining ships for maritime activities, acquiring prestigious metal goods apparently to employ for gift exchange with other peer elites and for display on Ithaca in order to give emphasis to their superior social status. Therefore, northern Ithaca seems to have been ruled by a restricted oligarchy dedicated to maritime activities which chose to invest an amount of disposable wealth on portable goods in order to enhance its social position in the community of northern Ithaca.

Contrary to the case of Mytilene, there is no evidence for social change in northern Ithaca in the 5th and the larger part of the 4th centuries BC. The Ithacan elite seem to have managed to keep maritime activities in the hands of the restricted oligarchy and avoid internal trouble. The archaeological evidence discussed suggests social stability. In this regard, it is reasonable to suggest that the Ithacan elite, unlike the elite of Mytilene, was personally involved in maritime activities, leaving no room for other members of the community to get involved in the activity and retain the closed oligarchic system. To achieve internal stability, strategies should have been developed which could retain social order both when they were present on the island and, more importantly, when sailing abroad. It has been argued above that feasting, the control of pottery production, and pottery display were such strategies. But in order to gain further insights on the apparent success of these strategies, it would be fruitful to review the pottery evidence from the island of Crete in Archaic and Classical times.

The island of Crete in the 7th century BC shows a remarkable material wealth with some of the earliest stone-built temples, written laws, and noteworthy figurative art. Yet in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, the island becomes what has been called an “archaeological desert” or “the period of silence” (Whitley 2001, 243-245; Erickson 2010b, 1-22). Until recently, archaeologists had failed to recognise Cretan pottery dated to the 6th and 5th centuries BC. On the other hand, there are contemporary monumental legal inscriptions which confirmed that Cretan communities were fully developed *poleis*. In fact, Cretan Archaic and Classical pottery is abundant, but it is monotonously plain or monochrome and

therefore, had fallen victim of the research bias favouring the recognition and study of elaborately decorated pottery (see above 2.4).

Whitley remarks that the production of plain and monochrome pottery was a deliberate choice of the Cretan oligarchies to turn away from visual culture and encourage the sense of a traditionalism and social stability (Whitley 2001, 248-252; 2009, 286-291). The same conclusion reaches Erickson by stressing the fact that almost all of the imported pottery was plain black-glazed as local products. It was selected carefully to fit into the local pottery style. Erickson, following Whitley, concludes that the deliberate choice of matching imported pottery with local to create an austere pottery style to employ in public feasting reinforced the perception of solidarity and social stability by emphasizing the sense of community rather than individuality (Erickson 2010b, 324-326). Thus, the circulation and consumption of exotic or highly decorated objects that could have been used for competitive display and factional competition were effectively suppressed. In this respect the Cretan oligarchies were successful where the oligarchy of Mytilene failed, and the Cretan oligarchic system lasted for centuries.

The proximity of Ithaca to the busy shipping-lanes would have made it difficult to control importation of figured or other undesirable for the elite pottery in their absence. If that happened, it could trigger an unstable environment for competitive display of exotica that could probably generate social change. Thus, they had to devise a strategy to control imports even when they were not physically present to impose it. Such a strategy has been described above and seems to have relied on the tight control of pottery production and the highly selective importation and use of only pattern-decorated and plain black-glazed pottery. The imported pottery fitted perfectly into the Ithacan style and could not acquire exotic connotations.

The Ithacan merchant oligarchy had to promote a similar sense of traditionalism and austerity in order to maintain social stability. On the other hand, the display of imported pottery would send a powerful message to the local community of its superior status. Therefore, there must have been the need of an effective appropriation strategy of foreign pottery on Ithaca. They could not suppress the arrival of foreign pottery, especially when absent. What they could do was to neutralize its potential exotic connotations by the careful selection and incorporation into the local conservative and austere style. Thus Corinthian

pottery seems to have been popular because it is non-figured, and Attic pottery was carefully selected and represented by only non-figured pieces.

At the same time, thanks to the imported pottery of various origins, the merchant oligarchs could show to the community their ability to maintain external contacts and acquire precious metal goods. Their public display in the feasts which were probably purposefully sponsored by them and their removal from circulation was a powerful message of their access to such prestigious objects and the ease with which they could replace them. The deliberate exposure of those carefully selected pottery assemblages had agency and forced people to realize what kind of pottery was appropriate to use even in the absence of the elite by a complex construct of memory work, as discussed above. So when the merchant elite was sailing abroad and a foreign merchant ship carrying pottery approached Ithaca, the local community was already trained to select what was appropriate for use on the island, that is non-figured pottery.

Susan Sherratt has used two very useful concepts to describe how foreign pottery could be manipulated to fit into an existing context (Sherratt 1999, 185). The first is the *sub-elite* concept. It entails that some types of foreign goods were “suitably exotic” but at the same time non-threatening for the social stability. In this respect, Ithacans could have acquired foreign pottery, thus participating in the wider trends of the Greek material culture, but not that pottery that could lead to competitive display strategies. Another aspect of this sub-elite strategy was the monopolization by the elites of the monumental bronze artefacts, while at the same time allowing the circulation of foreign pottery, but only the pottery considered appropriate.

The second concept is the *substitute-elite*. This entails the replacement of elite goods in elite contexts with other artefacts when there is no need, in those contexts, for conspicuous consumption to achieve the desirable political statement. Such a case could have been Pyre 3, where no monumental metal artefacts have been found, but the elite status of the context seems plausible. Apparently there was not anymore need to make socio-political statements through monumental metal artefacts and therefore, they were replaced with fine ware pottery. Perhaps it is no coincidence that roughly contemporary to Pyre 3 is the cemetery at Stavros with its rich tile-graves containing exclusively metal

artefacts (Livitsanis 2013, 115-118). It seems that by the late 4th century BC, the focus of elite display of metal goods switched from feasts to graves.

The complex strategies employed by the Ithacan oligarchy to maintain social stability, indicate a preoccupation to demonstrate a time-depth of the social order by stressing the long-term organization of feasts in the same area. The repeated use of the same space for the same activities and the exposure of the feasting remains in order to create a complex memory work, indicate an obsession with time. Moreover, the location of the feasts opposite the sanctuary of Polis Cave containing at that time unequivocal associations with the local hero and king Odysseus through the monumental bronze tripod-cauldrons, indicate that such an association was deliberately orchestrated. It is highly probable that the social status of the Ithacan oligarchy was inherited, or ascribed, within a kin group, and not achieved. This restricted merchant oligarchy employed its wealth in complex strategies in order to naturalize its power over the community and present it as rooted in the deep past, perhaps even in the times of the community's ancestral king and hero Odysseus. The traditionalism, conservatism, and austerity reflected in the activities in that part of Polis valley, and in the fine ware pottery assemblages, indicate that their strategy was successful in maintaining social stability without serious threat, at least until the late 4th century BC.

7 – An island without history? The historical context

“...island history from the mid-eighteenth century AD back into the Pleistocene must be island archaeology, or essentially nothing at all.” (Broodbank 2000, 15)

The social strategies involving the use of fine ware pottery discussed in the previous chapter, introduce the potential archaeology and pottery in particular have in generating island history. Thus, in this chapter the aim is to put the social practices observed above into historical perspective. First, however, the term “historical” needs qualification. It has already been noted that the available written sources for Ithaca are brief occasional references, totally inadequate for a traditional historical narrative as a sequence of political and military episodes. Nevertheless, it has been widely acknowledged in the last decades that the independence of the archaeological record as a source for the Classical world has a true historical potential (Snodgrass 2006, 6-7; Whitley 2001, xxiii). This depends on the questions being asked and the themes examined. The themes discussed here stem from the burgeoning sub-field of archaeology called “island archaeology” and its relation with island history.

For Cyprian Broodbank, a major advocate of island archaeology, island history is island archaeology or nothing; and that is because both ancient and more recent accounts of island history have been reported by external observers who reproduce insular stereotypes and false impressions (Broodbank 2000, 12-21). With regard to Ithaca, the independence of the archaeological record can be tested against Strabo’s statement that there was no cave sacred to the Nymphs (Str. 1, 3, 18). Such a statement might have been true for Strabo’s times, but as it has been shown Polis Cave was a sanctuary of the Nymphs until late in the 1st century BC (Benton 1938-39). Moreover, in the southern part of the island, another cave, Marmarospilia, was sacred to the Nymphs until the Late Hellenistic period (Morgan 2007, 79; *IG IX I² IV 1708-1719*).

Further confusion is created by Porphyrius’s (3rd century AD) citation of two contradictory sources for a cave of the Nymphs on Ithaca (Porph. *De antro*. 1). He cites two authors of the 2nd century BC, the philosopher Cronios and the geographer Artemidoros. For Cronios there was no cave of Nymphs on Ithaca.

Instead, for Artemidoros there was one at the bay of Forkys, twelve stadia east of the Kefalonian port of Panormos. Panormos has been securely identified with modern Fiskardo only recently and the distance to Polis bay on Ithaca is roughly twelve ancient stadia (Sotiriou 2013, 46-48). It is evident that the archaeological record is often contradictory to the written sources and the two must be used in close conjunction. A careful *Quellenforschung* and *Quellenkritik* combined with the archaeological evidence can prove decisive. The intention here is not to substitute the lack of textual sources with the archaeological record. The archaeological evidence is independent and deals with different sets of data. Therefore, whenever the scarce written sources are used, they will be tested as to their *contextual fit* against the picture provided by archaeology (Hall 2007, 20-21).

The themes that will be discussed below are defining themes of the burgeoning Island and Mediterranean sub-fields of archaeology, and their research agendas more often than not overlap within the Mediterranean region. Consequently, the themes discussed below are informed by common research questions and come under the headings of: insularity, acculturation, identity, and connectivity. All four themes are interrelated, they are components forming the same resultant and therefore, the discussion of one theme is relevant to that of the others in a continuous dialogue.

7.1 Insularity

Much of the discussion in the previous chapters revolved around the issue of whether the community of northern Ithaca in Late Archaic and Classical times was introverted or extroverted, closed or open, isolated or integrated to the wider world. The answer to this issue lies at what Broodbank calls insularity, the perception a community of islanders had of their island as an inhabited space and homeland combined with the whole set of attitudes to the sea (Broodbank 2000, 16-18; Knapp 2008, 14-19). This perception could change from time to time according to contingency and the choices made. Sometimes the community chooses to be traditionalist and closed to external contacts, and at others chooses to be cosmopolitan and receptive of new ideas. What is more, there are numerous

and often subtle variations within each choice. They could be receptive to some selected aspects or influences and at the same time closed to others, always according to the prevailing social demands. As Broodbank remarks: “it depends when, how, and for whom.” (Broodbank 2000, 19).

Broodbank explicitly states that related to insularity is the notion of “islandscape”, which Broodbank defines as: “...the diversity of ways in which islanders perceive land and sea, together with the physical diversity of islands themselves, ...” (Broodbank 2000, 22). The implications of the islandscape notion is that an island community does not necessarily correspond to the whole constituent population on an island, and the most appropriate unit of analysis is not the unitary island (Broodbank 2000, 10, 18, 33). Rugged interior, proximity with other islands and mainland coast, can dictate different responses from different communities living in distinct localities on the same island (Broodbank 2000, 22-23). The same notion can be applied to Ithaca. The island is physically articulated in two distinct parts, separated by harsh terrain, and both parts seem to have relied on roughly equal in quantity and quality natural resources. Thus, the community living in the Stavros-Polis district on Ithaca, could theoretically have interacted more frequently with the adjacent coasts of northern Kefalonia and southern Leukas, rather than with the far side of the island.

Although the available evidence is inadequate to prove or disprove this suggestion, it once again remind us that what is observed in the Late Archaic and Classical evidence from Polis valley does not necessarily apply to the whole island. What it does is to highlight that the appropriate unit of analysis is the region and one of the constituent communities on an island. In this case the evidence from Polis valley provides evidence only for the community living in the northern part of Ithaca. At this point it is interesting to note that by accepting the single island region, or islandscape, as a unit of analysis, several parallel research topics converge to the same point. One topic is the growing interest in regional studies in Classical archaeology, away from the illustrious and well documented sites of Athens, Rome, and other eminent sites (Whitley 2001, 231-265; Millett 2012, 41).

A second topic is what Horden and Purcell in their seminal work *The Corrupting Sea* call “microregion” (Horden and Purcell 2000). The microregion is a locality with microecological peculiarities unlike any other locality adjacent or

distant, in a highly fragmented Mediterranean world. These peculiarities require different responses in terms of social, political, and economic strategies in different periods. The third theme is the renewed interest in the archaeology of local communities (Gerritsen 2004). Local communities are small social formations affected for the constitution of group affiliation by the locality they dwell in. This notion of territoriality deviates from what Gerritsen calls “natural” community notion which often employs territorial marker models in order to define a community’s territory (Gerritsen 2004, 144-145). Such a territorial marker model is, as it was mentioned in Chapter 6, the “bipolar” city-state model applied by Morgan while discussing the role of Polis Cave. As a result, by combining Gerritsen’s local community notion, Broodbank’s island community notion, the effect of the landscape, or islandscape in the case of islands, as a defining characteristic, once again the ideal unit of analysis becomes the community of the Stavros-Polis area and not that of the whole island.

Yet another pertinent topic to the same direction is the *Siedlungskammer* concept recently (re)advocated by John Bintliff (Bintliff 2012a, 24; 2012b, 56). This is a “settlement-chamber”, a topographically well-defined settlement district of small scale inside which human occupation could shift location by the possibilities provided inside the district. With regard to the Stavros-Polis district, it is evidently a topographically well-defined territory with a long-term human occupation and shifting locations of human occupation, from Pilikata in the Early Bronze Age to Treis Langades and Stavros in the Late Bronze Age, to Aghios Athanasios in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

All these converging topics allow thinking that the community living in the Stavros-Polis district, a district topographically distinct from the rest of the island with equal quality and quantity of natural resources served by natural harbours facing the major sea-lanes in close proximity to nearby island and mainland coasts, would have behaved differently, or even independently, from other constituent communities on Ithaca. It has been argued in the previous chapter that the Stavros-Polis community was dominated by a seafaring elite which invested heavily in strategies of deliberate traditionalism and curation of archaisms. At the same time, this seafaring elite had wide contacts overseas and benefitted greatly by monopolizing, or by regulating, the access to the benefits of trade.

Consequently, insularity for northern Ithacans was socially constructed and changed according to contingency. For the elites the role of the sea was highly positive acting like a highway allowing the maintenance of their status among peer elites abroad and over the local population in northern Ithaca. For the people of northern Ithaca not involved in long-distance seafaring activities the sea was more like a barrier, since the contact with exterior influences was regulated by the elites who were very well aware of what was going on elsewhere and tried to maintain social stability for their own benefit. That was achieved by developing strategies for the neutralization of potentially dangerous foreign influences and, at the same time, their incorporation in the established social and cultural context.

7.2 Acculturation

The traditionalism of the Ithacan pottery and the deliberate denial of importing foreign ceramics that would alter its overall conservative appearance, invites some reflexion on the issue of acculturation. The assumption behind the traditional approach to the issue of acculturation has been that a more complex material culture of one people would be highly desirable and readily adopted by less complex peoples (Hall 2004; Knapp 2008, 53-57). This assumption was heavily influenced by the diffusionist approach of the culture-historical paradigm combined with the evolutionary idea of progress. In Greek archaeology this line of reasoning has been expressed by the idea of Hellenism which assumes a cultural homogeneity in the Classical Greek world. It is assumed that regional differences were gradually becoming less pronounced by the influence of a higher culture resulting in a cultural homogeneity. With regard to Classical Greek pottery, it is often assumed that the period is characterized throughout Greece by the ready and unconditional adoption of the highly artful Attic red-figure pottery. Thus in the chronological chart presented in Whitley's book, the pottery style of the Classical period throughout Greece is shown to be invariably "red figure" (Whitley 2001, 62).

However, this assumption of a culturally unified Classical Greek world has been convincingly challenged by recent studies (Dougherty and Kurke 2003, 1-2; Antonaccio 2003. 57-58). Influenced by the post-colonial critique and the

stronger focus on regional studies, these new studies tell a different story of the Classical Greek world, a story of political, social, and cultural fragmentation. The example most often cited by historians for a Classical Greek cultural deviation is Sparta. Nevertheless, other societies and polities such as Crete, of no less wealth and complexity than that of Athens, deliberately resisted innovations and chose instead a cultural traditionalism. Culture and acculturation are now seen as two concepts always socio-politically negotiated and the material culture manipulated according to contingency. Local communities selectively or reject foreign cultural elements in order to fit the local needs and contexts. As Dietler remarks: “People use alien contacts for their own political agendas, and they give new meanings to borrowed cultural elements according to their own cosmologies. Foreign objects are of interest not for what they represent in the society of origin but for their culturally specific meaning and perceived utility in the context of consumption.” (Dietler 1998, 297-299 in Knapp 2008, 54).

Turning to the pottery evidence from the Ithacan assemblages, it is evident that the Ithacans did not adopt every foreign cultural element available. Instead, they made conscious choices of what to adopt in order to fit in the local context. Thus, just as Cretans persistently denied the adoption of figured pottery, so did Ithacans. Ithacan potters were ready to adopt full black-glazing and copy new shapes, but they did so in a highly consistent manner which created a sense of cultural traditionalism and difference. The contrast with the enthusiastic acceptance of Attic red-figure pottery in Etruria for example is striking. By accepting large quantities of Attic red-figure pottery, the Etruscans did not become more Greek or more cultured than Ithacans. They accepted them because they could fit well in those contexts of Etruscan consumption.

The combinations of local and foreign pottery in the Ithacan contexts of consumption show distinct local processes of interaction and acculturation. These particular and locally selected processes can be observed in the changing meaning of foreign pottery when consumed on Ithaca. Corinthian patterned and Attic plain black-glazed ceramics were objects of quotidian use of little symbolic value in their place of origin, but in the context of northern Ithacan feasts they assumed a totally different meaning. They were distinctive markers of elite contacts with foreign people and thus markers of elite prestige. They do not represent the “Atticization”, or “Corinthianization” of Ithaca. On the contrary, their stylistic

fitting with the local ceramic repertoire represent a deliberate effort in the direction of “Ithacization” of foreign pottery.

7.3 Identity

As Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Sam Lucy claim, identity can “...be understood as individuals’ identification with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant.” (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 1). Identity in social sciences is commonly understood as the self-conception and expression of one’s individuality or group affiliation. The assumption of homogeneity of Classical Greek culture had until recently thwarted the in-depth study of identity expressions in Classical Greek archaeology. As Dougherty and Kurke put it: “Classics as a discipline has long been the very paradigm for homogenized, unified models of culture. Indeed, this was precisely the traditional value and importance of “the Classics” (as it still is for modern conservative appropriations): the denial of difference, both within ancient cultures and in their inheritance by a modern elite” (Dougherty and Kurke 2003, 2). On the contrary, identity is a fluid and multi-tiered expression, something that an individual or group attempt to say about themselves and wish to be perceived by others accordingly. Thus identity must be traced in the archaeological record through the differences observed.

In order to trace the expression of identity it is necessary to have a background of normative material culture and behaviour. Against such a background it is possible to recognize the fleeting strategies of identity through particular objects and practices (Hall 2012, 351). The normative behaviour here is the repeated feasts and the arranged exposure on the surface of the feasting remains in the same area for nearly two centuries. The objects are the ceramics and the choices made for their employment in these particular contexts and in combination with other objects. Practices of construction of community identity can then be traced in discursive and non-discursive strategies (Gerritsen 2004, 146).

Feasting is a discursive practice. Class identity seems to be more prominent during feasting. For the seafaring elite, guest-friendship, gift exchange,

and the consumption of prized luxury bronze objects and the wealth invested in those feasts, sketch an identity affiliation by social class rather than island boundaries. The elite seem to have deliberately promoted its connections with foreign peer elites in order to enhance its social status on the island and its power over the rest of the local people. The imported pottery from various sources over a long period of time further strengthened the image of a well-connected elite.

Non-discursive practices that express community solidarity and promote social stability can be traced on the spatial dimension of the activities and the choices made behind the consumption of fine ware pottery. The repeated activities in the same wider area can be seen as a long-term normative behaviour that fosters a sense of community stability and regularity of practices. The careful selection of imported pottery and the manipulation of the fine ware pottery assemblages in order to create a sense of uniformity, stability and traditionalism, once again can be seen as strategies in creating community identity; a community of north Ithacans that shares common cultural elements irrespective of class differentiation. These non-discursive practices form the local north Ithacan *habitus*, patterns of behaviour and pottery consumption that appear regular without being the outcome of well-defined rules.

What seems emerges from such a picture of identity strategies is that inside the north Ithacan community the local elite promoted two distinct but complementary identities, both connected to the manipulation of insularity as a form of social identity. The widely connected local elite seem to have known very well how things were done elsewhere. The seafaring elite seem to have been always open to foreign influences and displayed its status through luxury goods. In this case class identity among peer elites seems to have been more prominent. Once on the island, the strategy of identity construction shifted in order to promote both their class and occupation identity and a common community identity of northern Ithaca based on conservatism, the curation of archaisms, and austerity, as it is reflected in the display of metal artefacts and the careful manipulation of imported and local fine ware pottery. This strategy of local community identity closed to most of foreign influences, but open to some carefully selected and neutralized foreign influences, seems to have been successful in maintaining social stability for the benefit of the elites over at least two centuries.

Christy Constantakopoulou explored on island identity in Classical and Hellenistic Aegean (Constantakopoulou 2005). By focusing on multi-polis islands she examined the multi-tiered island identities, polis identity and common island identity. She concluded that a common island identity was present besides single polis identity, and often it was stronger. Active expressions of common island identity were synoikisms, common coinage, and pan-island cults. On Ithaca, all these characteristics appear with certainty only at the end of the 4th century BC. Consequently, there is no evidence suggesting that there was a common island identity among Ithacans during the period represented by the pottery discussed here. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the community of the Stavros-Polis microregion had a distinct local identity. Contrary to what Morgan suggests, the use of the ethnic *Ithacesian* as a proof of common island identity in the 5th century BC extra-Ithacan literature cannot be considered a reliable indicator for the identity expression on the island (Morgan 2007, 74, note 17). It is, however, possible that individual members of the Stavros-Polis community identified themselves according to contingency, when at home with the local community identity and when abroad with the wider island identity.

7.4 Connectivity

If one tries to find an overarching concept for the interlinked cultural processes at work described above, then a focus on the issue of connectivity could prove fruitful. The concept of connectivity has been put forward by the very influential book of Horden and Purcell *The Corrupting Sea* (Horden and Purcell 2000). The fundamental argument of their thesis is that the highly fragmented Mediterranean microregions have always maintained the connectivity that unified the whole basin, irrespective of each microregion's size or political status (Horden and Purcell 2000, 123-172). Therefore, at this point it would be of interest to summarize some of the evidence discussed above in order to examine the degree of connectivity displayed by the north Ithacan society, and whether Ithacan seafarers were active or passive participants in those connectivity networks.

The evidence from all assemblages suggests that Ithaca received considerable quantities of imported pottery, with a clear preference for Corinthian

an Attic. However, the pottery *per se* does not inform us whether Ithacans were actively involved in their exchange or were passive receivers of foreign goods. That is why the context-specific approach with the aim of understanding the strategies of selection, accumulation, and deposition of the imported pottery resulted rewarding. The selection of plain black glazed or patterned decorated foreign pottery with a view to matching the appearance of local products is evident and recurring. Both Attic and Corinthian pieces are consistently not figured. And this pattern is strikingly observable on the preferred Attic shapes for figured decoration, the Type C cup and the lekythos. Apparently, there was a deliberate choice of what was most desirable in that local setting. Similar observations on the conscious selection of imported ceramics from larger cargoes have been made in the case of Bronze Age Cyclades and Archaic Crete (Broodbank 2000, 236; Erickson 2010b, 287, 324-325).

Attic pottery was widely traded in the Mediterranean from the late 6th century, displacing to a large extent the Corinthian ceramics. This tendency has been observed both in Italy and on the island of Crete (Hannestad 1999, 303; Erickson 2010b, 274-275). With regard to Laconian pottery, it was rarely exported in the first quarter of the 5th century and afterwards ceased entirely (Nafissi 1989; Erickson 2010b, 274-275). On Ithaca, it appears in the first quarter of the 5th century (**27** and **28**), and significantly, also around the mid-5th century BC (**67**). Neither can one suggest that it was imported indirectly from elsewhere. Contrary to the degeneration of Corinthian pottery exports already in the second half of the 6th century BC, they continued to arrive on Ithaca in significant quantities. That means that Ithacan had access to foreign pottery and accumulated it even when that was not desired by other consumers. Moreover, rarely exported pottery in particular times, such as Corinthian of the 4th century BC and Laconian of the first half of the 5th century BC, suggest that they were obtained directly from the source. The deposition dynamics of imported pottery can be examined through the issue of “the ease of obtaining replacements” (Morgan 1999, 216). We notice that in every assemblage, Corinthian and Attic pottery appear always, whilst the Laconian in the two earliest contexts. That means that Ithacans could easily replace the imports they put out of circulation without any apparent difficulty of provision.

All the above observations suggest that this particular Ithacan community was widely-connected and the steady provision of foreign pottery occurred through their own initiative, the Ithacans being the principal actors behind the maintenance of those connectivity networks. Nevertheless, despite the noticeable degree of connectivity, the local ceramic repertoire followed an overarching Western Greek tradition throughout the time-span under study. However, this overarching tradition should not discourage us from identifying peculiar local characteristics both in shapes and in decorative syntax. Not only were those Ithacans widely connected, they consciously regulated the ceramic imports in order to match the local style.

What emerges as highly plausible is that the connectivity of the Stavros-Polis microregion was always maintained during the Late Archaic and Classical periods. However, the attitudes towards connectivity and the benefits drawn by it seem to have been highly different. The elite seem to have maintained to a large degree the monopoly of seafaring activity and draw the lion's share of its benefits. On the other hand, the elite cultivated a sense of hostility towards the connectivity of the lower social classes which did not have enough wealth to compete. Consequently, the ability of the Stavros-Polis elite to control and restrict access to the connectivity networks prevented competition and potential socio-political unrest.

7.4.1 Cabotage

Even if the interpretation so far is correct and the elite did indeed succeeded in maintaining a seafaring monopoly, it does not mean that the rest of the population was excluded from *any* kind of maritime activity. Ithaca lies in the middle of larger islands, numerous small islets and nearby continental coasts, all of these clearly visible from the high points of the island. Such a wider islandscape containing numerous microregions facing the sea is ideal for *cabotage*. Cabotage is the small-scale maritime activities involving redistribution between neighbouring coastal microregions (Horden and Purcell 2000, 140, 365; Constantakopoulou 2007, 22).

Those *caboteurs* need not have been full-time seafarers. Cabotage had an opportunistic nature and there is no need to suppose that it was controlled by overarching state institutions. Braudel called *caboteurs* “proletarians of the sea”

(Braudel 1972a, 296 in Horden and Purcell 2000, 140). It would not be unreasonable to think that a large number of Ithacans were involved in this kind of opportunistic redistribution of low-value commodities between short-distance neighbouring coasts as “travelling vendors”, supplementing in this way their income in case of need (Horden and Purcell 2000, 359-360). Cabotage however, should be seen as exclusive to seafarers of the lower social classes. In times of adverse political or economic circumstances, even those involved in high-prestige trade could opportunistically get themselves involved in cabotage.

Another commodity for redistribution has always been people, passengers, pilgrims, slaves or hostages (Horden and Purcell 2000, 343, 377-391). The ferrying (*porthmeutike*) of people between islands or islands and coasts was considered in ancient Greece an important maritime activity which could be highly profitable (Horden and Purcell 2000, Constantakopoulou 2007, 222-226). Aristotle mentions that on the island of Tenedos, in the north-western Aegean and very close to Asia Minor mainland, there was a distinct class consisting of the numerous ferrymen (Constantakopoulou 2007, 223). If ferrying was such a profitable activity, it is reasonable to assume that in one way or another it would have been controlled by the elite. Even during their absence involved in long distance voyages they could have left behind ferrymen working for them.

However, ferrying could have also occurred in an opportunistic manner, in case when a non-specialised caboteur would have been asked to ferry someone from coast to coast. In the case of Ithaca there is indeed recorded an incident in which an Ithacan ferryman is mentioned in the written sources. Plutarch mentions an Ithacan ferryman (*porthmeus*) named Pyrrhias almost accidentally saved a hostage from a pirate ship (Plut. Quaest. Graec. 34). As a reward for his help, the hostage revealed to Pyrrhias where the pirates held hidden their rich booty, and Pyrrhias became a rich man. Plutarch’s source must have been the now lost Aristotelian “The constitution of the Ithacesians”, one of the many Aristotelian “constitutions” which Plutarch used as his source for the *Quaestiones Graecae* (Babbitt 1936, 174). All those “constitutions” are dated around the mid-4th century BC. Therefore, the affair with the Ithacan ferryman falls within the period covered in this study.

The narrative fits perfectly in the context of Ithacan connectivity as discussed so far, and it is a valuable historical source, the only one for the area

around Ithaca, for the existence of Ithacan ferrymen, and more generally caboteurs. It is more difficult to assess the social status of the Ithacan ferryman. The fact that in the narrative it is explicitly mentioned that Pyrrhias became suddenly a rich man, implies that a normal Ithacan ferryman would have been poor. There is no evidence, however, for assessing the standards by which an Ithacan ferryman would have been poor or middle class, and how much newly acquired wealth influenced social status.

7.4.2 Piracy

“Piracy is the continuation of cabotage by other means” (Horden and Purcell 2000, 158, 387). However cynical this statement may seem, it reflects a well-known reality throughout the history of Mediterranean navigation. One of the major corollaries of Horden and Purcell’s thesis is that in antiquity the distinction between state-sanctioned commerce and piracy was not so clear-cut. Piracy originated in the same opportunistic attitudes responsible for cabotage activities. The only difference is that the seafarer who commits an act of piracy is ready to threaten with physical violence in order to make a profit. The first factor which makes piracy possible is an advantageous topography, or islandscape, with numerous sheltered anchorages and interconnected microregions located on an intensively followed shipping lane with valuable cargoes passing through. Secondly, the ships used for piracy were not specially designed for the purpose and it was not necessary that these were warships. A normal merchant vessel could be sufficient for pirate actions. What mattered most were the intentions of the crew, not shipbuilding technology.

Islands were ideal pirate nests and there are numerous references to them in the ancient texts, especially those located on major shipping lanes (Crete, Kythira, Antikythira) or amongst dense island networks such as the Cyclades (Horden and Purcell 2000, 387-391; Constantakopoulou 2007, 116, 187, 196-197). Ithaca is an especially suitable area for piracy and indeed there is some textual evidence that Ithacans were actively involved in acts of piracy. In the same excerpt of Plutarch mentioned in the previous paragraph, a pirate ship was anchored off the coasts of Ithaca. On board there were only a captive old man and a considerable number of clay jars containing gold and silver artefacts mixed with pitch, evidently for concealment (Plut. Quaest. Graec. 34). The ferryman saved

the captive old man because the pirate crew had left the ship unguarded and went on shore. Such a story makes sense only by assuming that the pirates felt secure in the waters of Ithaca and moreover, they would be welcome on shore. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that those pirates were actually Ithacans, or at least foreign pirates having friendly relations with Ithacans, otherwise they would not have left their ship unguarded.

Another significant source is the funerary epigram *IG IX I² IV 1720* mentioned above (4.5). The epigram on the funerary stele was prepared for Euthydamos, father of Timeas. That Euthydamos must have been a prominent Ithacan since it is mentioned that he was the best on Ithaca in military exploits, and when he died he left behind his son, Timeas, his fortune (*ktesin*), and immortal glory (*kleos athanaton*). Similar funerary epigrams have been found in the continental coast east of Ithaca, Akarnania and Aitolia (Criveller 2010). The term used for “military exploits” is *Ares*, the name of the god of war, which in the case of these epigrams represents the personification of war (Criveller 2010, 442). The epigrams mentioning *Ares* as the personification of war are dated in the beginning of the 2nd century BC in Aitolia and Akarnania (Criveller 2010, 453-454). The mention of *Ares* and the lack of precise information on the battle fought indicate a violent death but not during a regular pitched battle. Those men from Aitolia and Akarnania seem to have been killed during actions of unconventional warfare, one during a night raid and the other in an ambush (Criveller 2010, 442, 446).

If indeed the mention of *Ares* alludes to unconventional warfare, and indeed *Ares* was the god of massacre and *Athena* the goddess of regular conventional warfare, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the military exploits of Euthydamos refer to actions of unconventional warfare such as piracy, or even to the possibility to have been a successful mercenary. That Euthydamos would boast to his fellow Ithacans about his piratic, or mercenary, excellence is not unusual. In some ancient Greek societies pirates enjoyed a certain, not insignificant, prestige (Horden and Purcell 2000, 387). This possibility becomes even more attractive if one considers that there is no evidence whatsoever that Ithaca participated as a state in any war around 200 BC. On the contrary, there is evidence that piracy was practiced in the waters around Ithaca in that period.

In 207/206 BC an embassy from the city of Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros, in Asia Minor arrived on Ithaca asking for *asylia*, immunity (*IG IX I² IV 1729*; Fossey 2001). The request for *asylia* was usually directed towards those who were more likely to attack the territory of the city or her maritime networks (de Souza 1999, 69). In this respect, it is no coincidence that the ambassadors requested *asylia* from the city of Sami on the island of Kefalonia and Ithaka, the two cities facing the channel between the two islands, a major sea-route for east-west seafaring. It is exactly this highly strategic channel that appears again as infested with pirates some years later, in 190 BC. Livy describes that the Romans and Rhodians sent four ships to guard the channel between Ithaka and Kefalonia against pirates consisting of “Cephalenian young men” and their leader, the Spartan Hybristas, presumably a mercenary warlord or a wandering soldier of fortune (de Souza 1999, 88). Although Livy’s narrative seems clear enough with regard to the origin of the pirates, the young men of Kefalonia, it is reasonable to suggest that the Ithacans would not stay out and watch these activities occurring around them, especially while having two harbours facing the channel, Polis and Aetos.

Moreover, Ithacans could have also been the victims of pirate activity, beyond their capacity to resist. In two other excerpts of Plutarch’s *Moralia*, it is mentioned that around 300 BC the Ithacans lamented to the tyrant of Syracuse Agathocles, then campaigning in the Ionian Sea, that his men had landed on Ithaca and seized some sheep (Plut. *De sera* 12; Plut. *Mor. Reg. et imp. ap. 3*; Intrieri 2011, 442-446). Although Agathocles scoffed the Ithacan lamentation, it is clear that the coasts of Ithaca could have easily been subjected to plundering, especially by a more powerful opponent, and it was not hard to be more powerful than the small city of Ithaca. There is also evidence for piracy in the Ionian Sea during the first decades of the 5th century BC. According to an anecdote with regard to Themistocles’s biography, it is mentioned that his first military campaign involved the defeat of Kerkyra and the clearing of the Ionian Sea from pirates (Burn, 293-294). Although this anecdote and its specific reference to the island of Kerkyra is often dismissed as fictitious, piracy in general as a possibility in the Ionian Sea connecting East and West must have been considered very likely.

Of course all the above observations are not hard facts and most of them refer to the Hellenistic period rather than the Classical, but they fit well in the context of long-term connectivity and seafaring of the Ithacans. In such a context, an elite Ithacan seafarer could shift opportunistically his maritime activities from regular commerce to piracy. Other activities implying connectivity and mobility such as Ithacans serving as mercenaries abroad should not be excluded. Once again islands were always considered homelands of mercenaries and specialized troops, like the well-known cases of Corsica, Sardinia, the Balearic slingers, and the Cretan archers (Horden and Purcell 2000, 387). Regular commerce and piracy are two maritime activities not mutually exclusive. An elite Ithacan seafarer could have been a regular trader for a time and then easily shift to become pirate for another period of time if opportunities arose, and as Horden and Purcell remark: “one season’s predator is next season’s entrepreneur” (Horden and Purcell 2000, 157).

7.5 Discussion

This chapter tried to emphasize that the Stavros-Polis microregion has always maintained maritime interactions in one way or another. Connectivity was maintained by continuous maritime activity of different scales and intensity probably involving the majority of the population. Such a specialization in seafaring may have contributed in making Ithaca a true “île des navigateurs” which maintained a kind of maritime monopoly at the expense of neighbouring islands and mainland coastal areas (Broodbank 2000, 18; Horden and Purcell 2000, 395, 399). Sébastien Thiry has suggested that during the Classical period, and most of the Hellenistic, the islands of Kefalonia and Zakynthos have never been islands of seafarers, but were islands of farmers and herders unrelated to maritime activities, they were “maritime islands of passive insularity” (Thiry 2001, 142-143). It must be underlined, however, that Thiry’s conclusions are based exclusively on the analysis of the written sources. Nevertheless, there is still not enough evidence from Kefalonia and Zakynthos of the Classical period capable of altering this picture.

It is not clear how this status might have been achieved. However, the agriculturally marginal island of Ithaca has always favoured maritime connectivity. In this respect, Horden and Purcell have emphasized how small islands with insufficient natural resources figure prominently throughout the history of the Mediterranean as central places in the processing and redistribution of valuable commodities, such as metals and textiles (Horden and Purcell 2000, 344-351). The Stavros-Polis microregion does indeed display a long-term visibility of prized metal artefacts, from the Early Iron Age monumental tripod cauldrons of Polis Cave, through the Late Archaic bronze cauldron of Pyre 3, to the Late Classical and Hellenistic metal vessels found in the Stavros graves.

The centrality of the Stavros-Polis microregion within the uninterrupted networks of connectivity offered a wide array of possibilities for acquiring wealth through maritime activities of any kind, long-range commerce of high-value commodities and opportunistic activities of cabotage and piracy. A widely connected central microregion such as the Stavros-Polis may also have attracted wandering specialists (Horden and Purcell 2000, 386). These could be artisans, sailors, and even warlords such as the Spartan Hybristas. It is possible then that some of the potters practicing in Polis valley might have been foreign wandering artisans at the service of the elite. Others could have been metallurgists responsible for the manufacturing of prestige metal artefacts.

The connectivity and the centrality in the redistribution networks of the Stavros-Polis microregion may also help to explain this marked visibility of metal artefacts. It has been noted that the Mediterranean islands played a crucial role in the redistribution of metals (Horden and Purcell 2000, 348-349). The demand for metal is always high, both as mineral and as finished objects which could be melted down for coinage. Horden and Purcell aptly remark that metals were always and everywhere in demand and, therefore, lend themselves to stockpiling (Horden and Purcell 2000, 349). Metal accumulation was an indicator of power and could be stockpiled in different ways: as dedications to sanctuaries, grave goods, or ceremonial paraphernalia that could include public feasting. So, to return briefly to the discussion of the material manifestations of the local elite power, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the north Ithacan elite invested its wealth in portable items, such as ships and metal goods, not in monumental public buildings.

The role fine ware pottery played in maintaining this elite ideology was crucial. The strategies of acquisition and consumption are revealing of the importance the elites invested on it. It reveals a carefully conceived strategy to safeguard their elite status within the local community of the Stavros-Polis microregion. The imported pottery declared their constant long-distance connectivity and an ideology of maritime prowess, as well as the conscious manipulation and social neutralization of its visual characteristics in order to promote a sense of austeristy, traditionalism, and social stability. In this regard, the complete absence of any kind of figurative decoration is striking. Ancient Greek authors were very well aware of the potential offered by external influences for social changes, like in the case of Mytilene. The north Ithacan elite must have also been aware of this danger and seem to have successfully managed to avoid it. The only case in which a figure appears on a pot is the incised doodle on the Ithacan globular jar **41** (fig I.41; pl II.24; cover illustration). It shows a ship and, significantly, the one who made it took the trouble to incise a pointed prow which must indicate a ram. The ram, together with the absence of mast and sail, qualifies the ship as a warship and perhaps is an indicator of the maritime ideology of northern Ithacans, particularly their prowess in maritime warfare.

The strategies of pottery production, acquisition, and consumption, reveal how the local elite perceived insularity and the role it played in the power relations within the community. The elite cultivated an ambiguous perception of insularity. For them insularity offered a major advantage in maintaining contacts with foreign customs and make themselves well aware of how things were done elsewhere. At the same time, the conscious denial of introducing innovations within the northern Ithacan community reveals how this perception of insularity was actively manipulated in order to foster social stability for the maintenance of the established power relations. In other words, they were open to those innovations that could enhance their social status and closed to those they feared could have undermined it.

The environmental characteristics of Ithaca must have been also an additional advantage in maintaining the established social relations. Ithaca could not have been physically isolated from foreign contacts. However, it is small and lacks those natural resources that could render it attractive to permanent foreign influence. Thus, it was difficult for Ithaca to become a satellite of a foreign power.

Broodbank remarks with regard to Neolithic Malta: "...it was far enough from other land, in Neolithic terms, to make itself isolated if its islanders (*or at least some decisive people on the island*) wished it to be so." (my emphasis) (Broodbank 2000, 20). A similar perception of insularity can be envisaged for Ithaca, if *some decisive people on the island* wished to isolate it, they had all the advantages to make it happen.

8 – Conclusions

8.1 Synthesis

As a conclusion to this thesis, it is legitimate to claim that the full contextual analysis has achieved a series of minor breakthroughs. The approach to the fine ware pottery assemblages from different perspectives has revealed the potential that such a pottery-oriented study has in throwing light on aspects pertaining to the pottery itself and to issues that can be characterized, in a wider sense, historical. The full contextual analysis was employed with the aim of relating the archaeological context to the social context, by examining the behaviours which produced the contexts and the fine ware pottery assemblages and by investigating what kind of society may have created them. In the course of this study, a gradual accumulation of new knowledge pertaining to the character and use of fine ware pottery provide the answers to the research questions posed in the introduction.

8.1.1 Fieldwork

Despite the hitherto low visibility of artefacts and contexts dating back to the Late Archaic and Classical periods, the rescue excavation at Fitzgerald and Steven plot has proved that they do exist and may be well preserved. The architectural remains of the terrace walls 1 and 4 suggest that the steep mountain slope was carefully ordered in parallel terraces capable of hosting activities on level ground. Six Late Archaic and Classical contexts were discovered, three of which (Pyre 2, Pyre 3, and Pit RP) are primary contexts. Their respective fine ware pottery assemblages are, therefore, closed find-groups. The other three contexts (BK, BKIII, and NKIIIa-b) are use-related secondary contexts and it has been argued that their respective fine ware pottery assemblages can be considered fairly closed find-groups. The best preserved and most numerous in artefacts assemblages are the earliest, Pyre 2 – Assemblage TTP, and the latest, Pyre 3 – Assemblage TTP3. The others are less numerous but enough to provide important evidence for the continuity and development through time of the Ithacan Late Archaic and Classical fine ware pottery. All assemblages contained both Ithacan and imported fine ware pottery. The co-occurrence of imported and local pieces in

the same closed find-groups is crucial for the chronology of the Ithacan pottery and offer reliable anchoring points for building an Ithacan sequence. Moreover, the comparison between local and imported pottery offers valuable insights into the preferences of the local potters and consumers.

8.1.2 Ithacan Classical fine ware pottery

The pottery analysis in Chapter 4 shows that despite Deoudi's inability to identify local pottery, and Waterhouse's reluctance to accept this possibility (2.6), there is indeed a thriving fine ware pottery production in northern Ithaca. As a consequence, we should do away with Benton's interpretation of a Corinthian colonisation of northern Ithaca. Northern Ithaca was not a Corinthian colony; it was a local community which had contacts with Corinth and imported Corinthian pottery. Attic and Laconian pottery was also imported in the Late Archaic period, and although Laconian imports disappear after the first half of the 5th century BC, Corinthian and Attic imports continue to appear in comparable quantities.

The local pottery can be identifiable primarily by its fabric. The most frequently encountered fabric is the *Red Ithacan*; the colour ranges from reddish to pinkish (5YR 7/6 to 7.5YR 7/6-7/8), often more reddish at the core and pinkish on the surfaces. It is fired medium hard and often contains abundant fine sparkling inclusions. The *Red Ithacan* fabric can be traced throughout the Classical period, and by *ca.* 325 BC (Pyre 3) had achieved a high quality standard. Rarer is the *White Ithacan* fabric. It occurs in Ithacan Corinthianizing Late Archaic kotylai (**33**, **34**, and **141**), and again in Late Classical spherical kotylai (**99** and **100**). It is fired medium hard to hard; the colour is pale brown to pale yellow. In the Late Archaic kotylai contains some fine sparkling inclusions in small clusters dispersed inside the fabric.

The most popular shapes seem to have been open vessels for eating and drinking. Plates do not appear in the 5th century BC. However, it seems that the shape became more popular in the 4th, perhaps under the influence of imported Attic rolled-rim plates. The Late Archaic shapes show some remarkable idiosyncratic features and although some of them are unique, the overall style finds elements in common with the contemporary pottery from Elis. Afterwards, and throughout the Classical period, Ithacan shapes continue to follow the wider

Western Greek trends without denying some local idiosyncrasies that render them distinguishable.

The most popular decorative elements in the Late Archaic pottery were bands, lines, semi-glazing by means of dipping, and the so-called “black-polychrome” scheme consisting of one red band between two lines of added white on a black-glazed background. After the first quarter of the 5th century BC, banded and linear decoration was largely replaced by a fully black-glazed surface, a change that persisted down to the Late Classical period. Throughout the Classical period, Ithacan pottery remains austere non-figural. This is not to say that all kinds of innovations were denied. Rather, it adopted only those innovations in shape and decorative elements that fitted into the local contexts. Thus, when a non-figural innovation became available in the course of the 4th century BC, the “West-Slope” technique, it seems to have been enthusiastically adopted by Ithacan potters.

In sum, throughout the period under study Ithacan pottery remained attached to the Western Greek pottery trends and followed these generic styles, as far as we know them from the still incomplete record of the Western Greek Classical pottery production. Moreover, the imported pottery was carefully selected to fit into these generic Western Greek trends and not to stand out as exotic objects among pattern decorated or plain black-glazed local vessels.

8.1.3 Activities

The investigation of the social significance of the fine ware pottery exposed in Chapter 5, focused on the effort to establish in what kind of behaviour and activities the pottery participated. To achieve this, the examination of site formation processes, object life-histories, and assemblage analysis proved crucial and rewarding. This line of research is being increasingly employed in pottery studies and seems to produce stimulating and convincing results (Blanco-González 2014). It has been shown that the primary activity in which the fine ware pottery participated was communal feasting in the open and in daylight. The predominance of open vessels for drinking and dining indicate clearly activities of organized public commensality. Cooking, dining, and drinking activities occurred at the same spot, thus resulting in a soil matrix rich in black, greasy earth.

The analysis of the site formation processes revealed that after each feast, the pottery together with the rest of the material remains were intentionally left exposed on the surface for a considerable period of time. Thus, the fine ware pottery assemblages were deposited on the surface in a clearly intentional and structured manner so as to be visible well after the conclusion of each feast. The final activity in which the pottery participated was the discard into a pit or a trench. Apparently, the pit or trench was dug out at the same spot, or at a very short distance, where the feasting leftovers were exposed on the surface. The activity of discard is related to the cleaning, or maintenance, of the site in order to host a subsequent feast.

The effectiveness of site formation processes as a methodology to provide a more nuanced picture of the activities the pottery participated in is revealed by the strong evidence that the pottery and other artefacts were intentionally exposed on the surface. Such a reading of the archaeological record could have been advanced with regard to Pyre 3 only, because there the pottery was found *in situ* with some of the vessels standing on their bases. The obvious interpretation would have been to assume that this situation occurred due to sudden natural processes, such as an unexpected landslide that would have forced the participants to abandon the spot precipitously. The analysis of site formation processes and the traces of these the pottery bears suggest, however, that the exposure was deliberate and constituted a well-conceived strategy.

8.1.4 Social dynamics

The investigation of the social dynamics by means of pottery studies has been attempted through two overarching perspectives. One is the continuous interaction between humans and things, both as individual agents and as a single framework, and secondly, the notion of connectivity in an island context. It has been argued that the activities revealed at Polis valley were sponsored by the local seafaring elite. These elite traders were widely connected entrepreneurs who declared their status by displaying prestigious metal objects. Unlike the societies of the nearby island of Kefalonia, the Stavros-Polis community does not seem to have invested in monumental architecture. Instead, it seems that the elite invested in ship-building and maintenance, and in the accumulation of metal commodities.

The geographic position of Ithaca at the centre of a busy shipping-lane offered numerous opportunities for profitable maritime activities. Therefore, the elite seafarers could shift to cabotage activities, involving ferrying or piracy, if opportunity arose. They may have also employed themselves as human commodities by becoming opportunistic mercenaries. Maritime activities, however, could not have easily remained a monopoly of the elite, especially when they were travelling abroad. Thus, people from the lower classes could have been opportunistically involved in cabotage activities between the neighbouring coastal microregions, the far side of the island included. Moreover, Ithaca in general, and the Stavros-Polis microregion with its three natural harbours in particular, could not have avoided contacts with foreign seafarers stopping over these harbours.

In such a situation of intense connectivity, the lower social classes might have gained wealth and threaten the established power relations. For that reason, the elite must have developed strategies by which social stability and the maintenance of the established social hierarchy could have been achieved. It has been argued that the fine ware pottery assemblages and the contexts they were deposited are examples of these strategies. The patterns of fine ware pottery production and importation show clearly that figured decoration, so popular in the Mediterranean during the Late Archaic and Classical periods, was not desirable in Polis valley. They also show a preference for imports with features that referred to local pottery shapes and decorative schemes. Pottery innovations were not denied altogether, but they were regulated and only those that could fit into the local context of non-figured pottery production and consumption were accepted.

The activities in which the fine ware pottery participated were also well-conceived strategies. These were persistent activities of feasting and intentionally arranged exposure on the surface of the leftovers, in the same area for nearly two centuries and without significant alteration in pottery style. Feasting was public and in the open. Feasting was an ideal occasion for the elite to gather members from the dispersed households of northern Ithaca, since there is no compelling evidence for a nucleated settlement in the district in the Late Archaic and Classical periods. During feasting, the elites could display their wealth, such as the prized metal artefacts that may have been acquired through bonds of guest-friendship with foreign peer-elites. From that area in the eastern slope of Polis valley, the sanctuary of Polis Cave is plainly visible and every participant could

have envisaged a relationship of the seafaring elites with the monumental bronze tripod-cauldrons exposed there and perhaps intentionally alluding to the story of the return of the local hero Odysseus. One could even suggest that the ships of these seafaring elite would be plainly visible at Polis bay, or drawn ashore at the beach, another performativity setting of wealth display.

The fine-ware pottery could have played an important role in these strategies for maintaining social stability. There is some evidence that local pottery production was controlled by the elite, and figured decoration on this local pottery was not accepted. The imported pottery was similar both in style and in function with the local. Consequently, the appreciation of the foreign imports was not related to its functional aspects but only to its provenance. Imported pottery was not functionally necessary in this local context, but it showed the ability of the elite to maintain overseas connectivity networks, to select and acquire foreign artefacts from larger cargoes, and to make a statement of what kind of local and imported pottery was acceptable for use on the island and what was not.

The unwillingness to adopt figured decoration and import figured pottery, suggests that fine ware pottery production and circulation was monopolized and regulated by the elite. What would have been more difficult was to avoid the acquisition of foreign exotic artefacts, pottery included, by the non-elite people who had access to imports through the dense connectivity networks around the island of Ithaca. This could be achieved by the strategy of exposing on the surface the pottery and other objects that were considered appropriate. Such a strategy created a complex memory work to the whole local population, perhaps even to foreign traders, and it would always remind to everyone what kind of pottery was considered appropriate and what not.

The local and imported fine ware pottery was, therefore, active partner in those social actions and strategies. It had its own agency, even by just lying on the surface. It caused people to think and to act. These social actions also provide evidence for a complex and ambivalent sense of insularity and identity. Insularity and identity are interlinked concepts in an island context. Insularity and identity are constructed according to contingency, and in this contingency the multi-tiered concept of identity can be seen at work. Fine ware pottery, and other artefacts in the pyre contexts, displays a negotiation of multiple identities. The elite displayed a class identity projecting beyond the island boundaries. At the same time the

pottery displays both a strong local identity by denying figured decoration and a regional identity by following the wider trends of Western Greek pottery. For the elite, insularity was not a barrier, it was a highway of opportunity to acquire wealth and reinforce its social status both locally and abroad.

For the non-elite people, fine ware pottery seems to display only the strong local and regional identity. For the non-elites, insularity was indeed a barrier. The contacts they had with foreign people and influences seem to have been strictly regulated by the oligarchic seafaring elite. The elite deliberately promoted ideas and practices of austerity and traditionalism in order to maintain long-term social stability and the established social hierarchy. Such a culture of austerity and traditionalism has been observed in the case of the island of Crete (Erickson 2010b, 309-345). In that case, Bryce Erickson suggests that the well-known Spartan austerity was influenced by the Cretan social order. Whatever the case, the austerity and traditionalism observed so far in the fine ware pottery record of Ithaca, suggests that despite the political and material culture innovations occurring in Athens and elsewhere during the Late Archaic and Classical periods, there were places such as Sparta, Crete, and now northern Ithaca, that deliberately chose not to follow these developments.

8.2 Suggested future directions

A thesis such as this, conceived from the beginning not as a definitive study but as a first step towards an understanding of the Ithacan Late Archaic and Classical pottery, hopes to offer some future directions that may prove rewarding. As is often the case, the presentation and first interpretation of hitherto unknown archaeological evidence creates more questions that need to be answered. In the next paragraphs some future research directions on multiple levels are suggested. Some that may provide more data to test the interpretations advocated here and enhance our understanding of a complex and historically obscure island society.

8.2.1 Fieldwork

The excavation in the Fitzgerald and Steven plot has not been concluded. Even Area TT has not been exhausted. Trench TT6 must be expanded towards

north and east, where more pottery and perhaps one more pottery deposit are expected. Moreover, the north-western part of the plot covering *ca.* 700m² remains unexplored and free of constructions (fig 5: north of Area TT and west of Area BKIII). A future excavation there can yield more evidence from all the periods attested so far in the plot: Mycenaean, Late Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman. Moreover, the similarities observed in the pottery from Fitzgerald and Steven plot and the contemporary pottery from Stavros, suggests that the whole area between these two sites may yield more evidence for pottery and contexts of the same character. Needless to say, the Late Archaic and Classical pottery from Stavros is in urgent need of reappraisal.

8.2.2 Late Archaic and Classical pottery

One of the strong biases that permeate this thesis is that only the fine ware pottery has been studied. There is still a considerable quantity of coarse ware pottery and other artefacts that needs to be taken into account. They may offer valuable insights into the significance of fine ware pottery assemblages and into the character of the contexts. Moreover, of crucial importance is the discovery and study of more Late Archaic and Classical contexts from other sites on the islands, such as household debris, graves, and others not related to pyre and feasting remains. Thus, a necessary background will be created for comparing contemporary fine ware pottery assemblages from different contexts of use.

Despite the fact that throughout this study Ithacan pottery is identified with a certain degree of confidence, it must be stressed that these identifications rely solely on visual examination. What is more, the lack of additional evidence for Late Archaic and Classical pottery from the surrounding islands and continental regions, create a sense of uncertainty. Theoretically speaking, what is here considered Ithacan could turn out to be from a still unknown workshop of Kefalonia, Leukas, or Akarnania. The only method that can produce reliable results as to the true provenance of these ceramics is clay analysis of its chemical composition. Analysis of selected samples from the pottery under study, and from the wider Western Greek area, should be a priority for the future since it can solve the provenience uncertainty and can provide crucial evidence for the importance of Ithacan and other Western Greek pottery workshops.

8.2.3 Culture-history reloaded

Despite the challenging task of understanding social dynamics from the fine ware pottery by means of site formation processes and a theoretically informed interpretation, a good part of this thesis is a traditional culture-historical study. It has been shown that one aspect of the traditional culture-historical approach, population movements, has been criticized with regard to the imaginary Corinthian colonization of northern Ithaca. Other fundamental elements of the culture-historical approach however, remain at the core of this study; these are the focus on description-classification and chronology of pottery.

Classification and chronology are necessary steps in creating a background of evidence against which variations in the context of use and regional differentiations can be recognized. It is necessary, therefore, that more Late Archaic and Classical pottery from all over Western Greece is excavated, studied, and published, in order to understand the significance of Ithacan fine ware pottery production and consumption in a wider regional context. A subsequent attempt to comprehend patterns of homogeneity and diversity among sites, localities, islands, or districts, is once more a culture-historical theme, but it is a necessary first step in the study of Western Greek Late Archaic and Classical pottery and its cultural and social significance.

8.2.4 Materiality and connectivity

The huge development in the last decades of new theories and methodologies has provided the archaeologists with an ever expanding toolbox of sophisticated approaches in interpreting archaeological data-sets. In this thesis, the approaches selected from the toolbox considered to be the most appropriate are site formation processes, object life-histories, and the theory of materiality which is related to the material culture studies. They seem to have been rewarding approaches capable of providing valuable insights into the archaeological evidence. They can be employed with profit in future research, not only on evidence from Ithaca but from the wider region.

The concept of connectivity in an island context and beyond can also provide answers and suggest lines of interpretation for any data set available in the archaeological record of Ithaca. As an island, Ithaca has always been

connected in one way or another with the surrounding islands and mainland. The issues discussed in the research agendas of island archaeology and the concept of connectivity can become key elements in writing island archaeology as island history. The ancient people of Ithaca, an island rich in mythology but poor in history, have not left us a written history, the only evidence we have is their material remains. The ancient people of Ithaca and their material culture deserve a history, and despite Thiry's pessimism (1.1) it is hoped that this thesis has shown that archaeologists can write it.

Abstract

Famous as the homeland of Odysseus, Ithaca has been a preferred research area for archaeologists. However, the archaeology of Ithaca has been severely biased by its Homeric focus. As a result, Late Archaic and Classical Ithaca remains poorly understood. This biased research agenda combined with the lack of visible remains of monumental public architecture have created the impression that Classical Ithaca was an isolated backwater. This thesis aims to partially redress the balance. At Polis valley, northern Ithaca, relatively rich deposits of Late Archaic and Classical occupation have come to light. Six assemblages of fine ware pottery, Ithacan and imported, provide important insights on the hitherto unknown local pottery production and development, its relations to the Western Greek pottery tradition as well as the influences from the well-known pottery production centres of Athens and Corinth. The contexts of behaviour in which the pottery participated likely represent activities of communal feasting in the open and during daylight, followed by an arranged exposure of the leftovers on the surface. The social significance of the pottery is then investigated and it is argued that the local elite largely regulated pottery production and imports of foreign ceramics as strategies for maintaining the established social hierarchy. Furthermore, the depositional practices of the pottery may reveal a complex negotiation of social behaviours and concepts, such as insularity, acculturation, identity and connectivity. The final conclusion is that the local widely-connected seafaring elite deliberately cultivated a culture of austerity and traditionalism in order to maintain its power over the community, and the manipulation of fine ware pottery played a major role in the success of this strategy.

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Appendix I

Pottery catalogue

The attempt to compile a pottery catalogue has to deal with the issue of format. Determining the most appropriate arrangement in order to create a practical, functional, and informative catalogue is not as straightforward as it may seem, it is not a mere list of objects. In Classical archaeology, the most influential arrangements seem to be those published from the Athenian Agora and Corinth excavations. There, pottery is usually organized by style (black-figure, red-figure etc.), shape (lekythoi, kraters, etc.), or ware (fine-ware, cooking-ware, etc.). In fact, nearly all pottery publications cited in this study follow this format and are followed by lengthy lists of concordances with excavation lots and contexts. This system proves very helpful when the primary objective is the typological analysis and chronological sequence of a considerably large number of artefacts. These publications are fundamental for dating purposes and form the chronological backbone of the present study as well. A serious drawback, however, is the fact that little attention is paid to context (Whitley 2001, 34).

A recent trend, as exposed by Susan Rotroff (1997, 5-7), is to organize pottery by function. It seems to be the most appropriate arrangement when the primary context of the pottery is largely unknown. The ideal situation is when the pottery comes from a single closed find-group, as is the case with Lynch's and McPhee *et al.*'s publications from the Athenian Agora and Corinth respectively (Lynch 2011b; McPhee *et al.* 2012). The weakness of these publications lies in the fact that the pottery presented comes from secondary depositions, and even exhaustive contextual analyses, like that of Lynch's, still maintain a degree of uncertainty. The positive aspect is that pottery can be arranged as each author considers most appropriate for chronological and interpretative reasons. Thus, Lynch arranges it by ware and McPhee *et al.* by function.

For the present study, a different format has been chosen. Since the pottery has been recovered from distinct closed find-groups, an arrangement by assemblage produced from each context seems the most appropriate. The pottery

is catalogued first by assemblage-context and within each, by provenience and shape. The contexts are arranged in chronological order, from the earliest to the latest. Well dated imports are listed first and the pieces considered Ithacan follow. It is believed that such a scheme provides immediate insights and information on chronological associations, pottery development, underline connections or divergences with other regions as they emerge through time, and throw light on some aspects of its context of use. The ultimate aspiration is not the mere presentation of the material. It is the idea that a catalogue can stand in itself as a valid and autonomous archaeological document, an analytical tool with which various contextual approaches can be attempted.

Entries give on the first line the Catalogue number in bold, excavation notebook inventory number (in parenthesis), shape, and reference to illustrations. On the second line, references are listed on the excavation trench, context, and pottery lot from which the artefacts were recovered. Below, object measurements in centimetres and in abbreviated form. It is followed by a detailed description. Effort was made to provide as detailed as possible entries, with the aim to facilitating comparisons with comparable material from other excavations. Many archaeologists, this author included, lack the necessary means to travel extensively and closely examine all relevant comparanda. And since I have profited immensely by detailed descriptions provided by other colleagues, a similar attitude towards the present corpus is considered a priority. The format is highly influenced by that of Lynch's (2011b, 177-293). Fabric colour is designated using the *Munsell Soil Colour Charts* (edition 2000). Detailed visual examination of fabrics was made by using a 10x magnifying lens. For the most diagnostic pieces, a record of comparanda is given, focusing on the most recent publications, where available. It is followed by the proposed absolute date of manufacture. Three coarse-ware pieces have been included, **58**, **133** and **134**, since they played a significant role on the chronological and interpretative discussion. Question marks indicate uncertainty of provenience or in shape identification. All drawings have been drafted by the author, except for some digitised by my ex-collaborator, Georgia Tallarou. Photographs were taken using a low-cost compact digital camera.

Abbreviations:

Diam. = diameter

est. = estimated

H. = height

L. = length

max. = maximum

p. = preserved

Th. = thickness

W. = width

Measurements in centimetres

Special bibliographic abbreviations:

Agora = *The Athenian Agora: results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Princeton.

IV = Howland, R.H., 1958. *Greek lamps and their survivals*, Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (=The Athenian Agora: results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 4).

XII = Sparkes, B.A. and L. Talcott, 1970. *Black and plain pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th centuries B.C.*, Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (=The Athenian Agora: results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 12).

XXIII = Moore, M.B. and M.Z.P. Philippides, 1986. *Attic black-figured pottery*, Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (=The Athenian Agora: results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 23).

XXIX = Rotroff, S.I., 1997. *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and imported wheelmade table ware and related material*, Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (=The Athenian Agora: results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 29).

Corinth = *Corinth: the results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens*. Princeton.

VII.5 = Risser, M.K., 2001. *Corinthian Conventionalizing Pottery*, Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (=Corinth: the results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens 7.5)

VII.6 = McPhee, I., E.G. Pemberton, O. Zervos and E. Whitton, 2012. *Late Classical Pottery from Ancient Corinth: Drain 1971-1 in the Forum Southwest*, Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (=Corinth: the results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens 7.6)

XVIII.1 = Pemberton, E.G., K.W. Slane and C.K. Williams II., 1989. *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Greek Pottery*, Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (=Corinth: the results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens 18.1)

Olympia = *Olympische Forschungen*.

VIII = Gauer, W., 1975. *Die Tongefässe aus den Brunnen unterm Stadion-Nordwall und im Südost-Gebiet*, Berlin: De Gruyter (=Olympische Forschungen 8).

XXIII = Schilbach, J., 1995. *Elische Keramik des 5 und 4 Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: De Gruyter (=Olympische Forschungen 23).

Assemblage TTP2 – Pyre 2

Corinthian

Open shapes

1 (PE62+72+84) Large kotyle

fig I.1; pl II.1

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lots 15+24

H. 11.7; Diam. rim 15.7, foot 9.4

Mended from many fragments. Nearly two-thirds complete. Fine, hard clay; exterior pinkish buff (10YR 8/4), interior greenish gray (GLEY 1 6/1). Small white inclusions and some small voids in the greenish grey interior.

Flaring ring foot with stepped profile. Slightly convex underside. Scraped groove at juncture of the underside and foot. Scraped groove at juncture of foot with body. Walls nearly straight rising to a thickened, slightly incurving, tapered rim. Horizontal loop handles.

Three black rings on underside. Black and added red on outer face of foot. Black line on bottom body, from which rise well-spaced, tall, thin, black rays covering the lower half of body. Then two black lines. Remainder black, flaking, with traces of two purple lines on handle zone. Interior black, flaking.

For shape, style, and date, cf. *Corinth* XVIII.1, 86, no. 40, fig. 6, pl. 6.

Ca. 475 BC

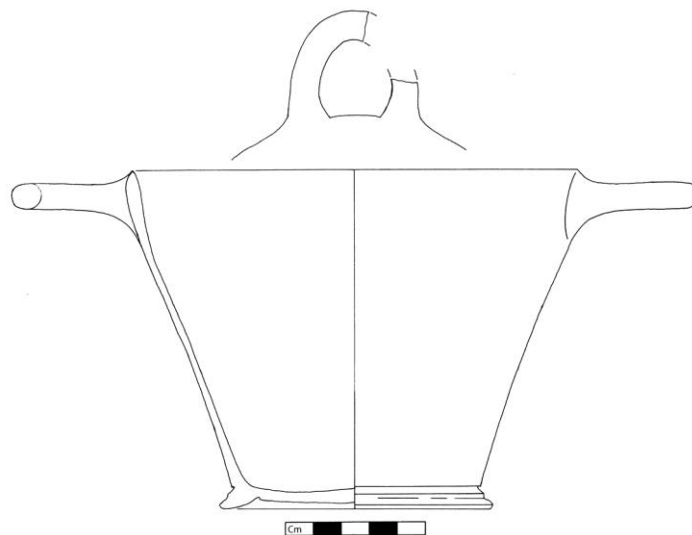


Figure I.1: Corinthian ray-based kotyle

2 (PE128) Kotyle

fig I.2

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

p.H. 3.3; W. 5.5

Fine, hard, pinkish buff clay (10YR 8/4)

Lower body sherd. Wall straight. Black line on bottom body, from which rise well-spaced, tall, thin, black rays. Interior black. Flaking throughout.



Figure I.2: Corinthian ray-based kotyle sherd

3 (PE129) Kotyle

fig I.3

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

p.H. 2.3; W. 4

Fine, hard, yellowish buff clay (2.5Y 8/4)

Fragment of rim and horizontal loop handle attachment. Slightly thickened rim. Glazed overall, flaking.



Figure I.3: Corinthian kotyle sherd

4 (PE170) Kotyle

fig I.4; pl II.2

Baulk TT3-TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 28

p.H. 2.2; est. Diam. foot 4.4; max. wall Th. 0.3

Foot and body sherd. Hard, fine, pale (10YR 8/2) clay. Black-glazed exterior, worn. Interior black, worn and flaking.

Flaring ring foot. Groove at juncture of foot and underside. Wall straight.

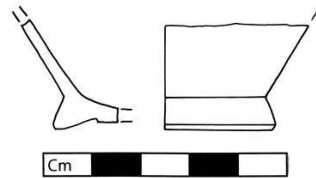


Figure I.4: Corinthian kotyle sherd

5 (PE171) Kotyle

fig I.5

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

p.H. 4.3; W. 3.6; max. wall Th. 0.4

Body sherd. Hard, fine, light grey (10YR 7/2) clay. Some tiny brown inclusions.

Thin red line at juncture of reserved lower body and glazed upper. Reserved surface pale buff (10YR 7/3). Interior black, flaking.



Figure I.5: Corinthian kotyle sherd

6 (PE172) Kotyle

fig I.6

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

p.H. 2.6; W. 1.9; max. wall Th. 0.3

Body sherd. Hard, fine, greenish grey (GLEY 1 8/1) clay.

Shadows of closely spaced rays on lower body. Interior black, flaking.



Figure I.6: Corinthian kotyle sherd

7 (PE173) Kotyle

fig I.7

Baulk TT3-TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 28

p.H. 3.9; W. 3.2; max. Th. 0.35

Rim sherd. Hard, fine clay; outer exterior yellowish buff (10YR 8/6); interior reddish (5YR 7/6). Tiny red inclusions.

Purple line below lip; two more below handle zone. Interior black, flaking.

Straight, thickened, tapered rim.



Figure I.7: Corinthian kotyle sherd

8 (PE174) Kotyle

fig I.8

Trench TT5; Pyre 2; Lot 20

p.H. 3.2; W. 3.6; max. Th. 0.2

Rim sherd. Hard, fine, pale (10YR 8/3) clay.

Purple line below lip; two more below handle zone. Interior black, flaking.

Slightly incurving rim.



Figure I.8: Corinthian kotyle sherd

9 (PE175) Kotyle

fig I.9

Trench TT5; Pyre 2; Lot 20

p.H. 2.6; W. 2.4; max. Th. rim 0.2

Rim sherd. Hard, fine, pale (10YR 7/3) clay. Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking.

Slightly incurving rim.



Figure I.9: Corinthian kotyle sherd

10 (PE176) Kotyle

fig I.10

Trench TT5; Pyre 2; Lot 20

p.H. 3.5; W. 3.5; max. Th. 2.5

Lower body sherd. Hard, fine, pinkish (7.5YR 7/4) clay.

Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking.



Figure I.10: Corinthian kotyle sherd

11 (PE177) Kotyle

fig I.11

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 24

p.H. 2.9; W. 5.1; max. Th. 0.3

Non-joining body sherds. Hard, fine clay; exterior pinkish buff (7.5YR 7/4); interior greenish grey (GLEY 1 7/1).

Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking.



Figure I.11: Corinthian kotyle sherds

12 (PE181) Kotyle

fig I.12

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 19

p.H. 3.8; W. 4.4; max. Th. 0.4

Wall sherd. Hard, fine, pinkish buff (7.5YR 7/4) clay. Tiny white inclusions.

Red bands on black background. Interior black. Worn and flaking.



Figure I.12 Corinthian kotyle sherd

Closed shapes

13 (PE100) Conventionalizing pyxis

fig I.13

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

H. to the rim 5.2, to the handles 5.7; Diam. rim 3.2, body 6, foot 4

Fine, hard, pinkish buff clay (10YR 8/4)

Flaring foot; underside flat; convex, nearly spherical, body; vertical rim; vertical loop handles. Well potted.

Underside reserved. Exterior of foot black. On body, two black lines merging at a point, wide reserved band, black line. At greatest diameter, four groups of ten thin teardrops. In handle zone black buds surmounted by black dots, inside black lines. Irregularly placed black dots on lower rim. Top exterior of rim and interior red. Handles black.

For shape and date, cf. *Corinth* VII.5, 43-48.

Ca. 500 BC



Figure I.13: Corinthian conventionalizing pyxis

14 (PE166) Conventionalizing cylindrical oinochoe

fig I.14

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 11

p. H. 1.3; P. W. 2.8; Th. 0.25

Single sherd of upper body and shoulder of a closed shape, probably a cylindrical oinochoe. Fine, hard, yellowish buff (2.5Y 8/3) clay. Well potted.

Line of black buds on upper body. Red and black lines on shoulder. Worn and flaking.

For shape and date, cf. *Corinth* VII.5, 102-108.

Ca. 500 BC



Figure I.14: Corinthian conventionalizing oinochoe sherd

15 (PE168) Pyxis (?)

fig I.15

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

p. W. 3; p. H. 2.1

Sherd of shoulder and rim attachment of a closed shape, probably a pyxis.

Fine, hard clay. Exterior yellowish buff (2.5Y 8/4), interior pinkish buff (7.5YR 8/6).



Figure I.15: Corinthian pyxis sherd

“Argive monochrome”

16 (PE102) Juglet

fig I.16; pl II.3

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

H. to mouth 8.5, to top of handle 9.2; Diam. mouth 2.7, body 7, bottom 5.8

Mended from many fragments. Missing chips from neck, rim, and handle. Fine, hard clay. Exterior surface buff (10YR 7/4). Interior greenish gray (GLE Y1 6/1-5/1). Small white inclusions. Rough surface finish. Slightly asymmetrically potted.

Slightly concave underside, no foot. Squat, convex body. Maximum diameter at lower wall. Slightly concave, tall neck. Funnel-shaped mouth. Strap handle, rising above mouth, attached at upper wall and exterior mouth. Plain.

Very similar to *Agora* XII, 353, no. 1671, pl. 77. For the type and date, cf. *Agora* XII, pp. 206-207; Heurtley and Robertson (1948, 53) for similar, probably earlier, imports at Aetos.

Ca. 500 BC

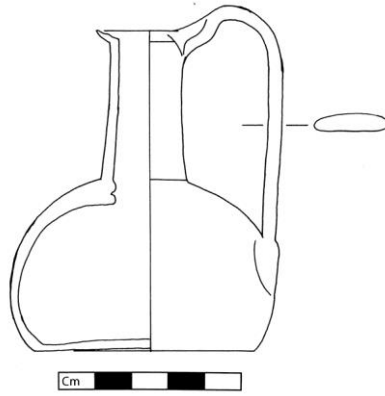


Figure I.16: “Argive monochrome” juglet

Attic

Open shapes

17 (PE65) Type C cup, concave lip

fig I.17; pl II.4

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

H. 8; Diam. Rim 16, foot 8.2

Fine, hard, orange clay (5YR 7/6), softer foot clay.

Mended from many fragments. Missing small fragments of upper body, rim, and two-thirds of foot.

Thick lustrous black glaze, fired reddish brown in places; flaking throughout. Well potted.

Torus disk foot, rising to flat cone with slight nipple on underside. Careful rounded fillet at juncture of foot and stem, between incised grooves. Rim sharply angled and deeply concave. Slightly canted horseshoe handles. Reserved: top of cone on underside with two black dots, resting surface, outer face of foot, interior of handles, and handle panels.

For shape and date, cf. Lynch 2011b, 256-257.

Ca. 500-480 BC

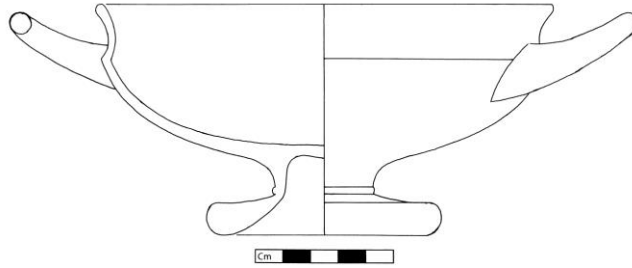


Figure I.17: Attic type C kylix, concave lip

18 (PE125) Komast shape kylix or Class of Athens 1104

fig I.18; pl II.5

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

p.H. 3.2; est. Diam. rim 17.3

Fragment of wall, rim, and handle attachment. Fine, hard, orange clay (5YR 7/6). Some larger than tiny sparkling inclusions visible on the surface. Banded decoration. Interior black. Reserved: handle zone, rim, and a line below the lip on interior. Shiny black glaze; worn in places; generally good adherence.

Deep bowl, incurving at the top. Sharply offset rim.

For shape and date *Agora XII*, 88-89.

Ca. 550 BC

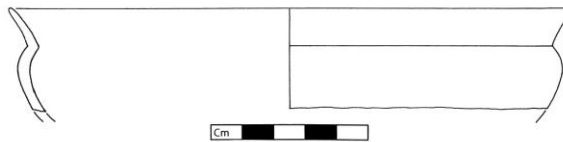


Figure I.18: Attic kylix sherd

19 (PE127) Stemless cup

fig I.19; pl II.6

Baulk TT3-TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 28

p.H. 1.4; est. Diam. Foot 8.5

Fine, hard, orange clay (5YR 7/6).

Fragment of foot. Thick, spreading ring foot, with concave groove at upper edge; top of foot flat; convex resting surface. Convex underside. Angular join of underside with foot. Black band on interior face of foot and on foot top. Wall and interior black glazed. Shiny black glaze, slightly worn. Reserved: Outer face of foot, resting surface, and underside with milts.

For shape and date *Agora XII*, 101-102, nos 469, 471.

Ca. 480-470 BC

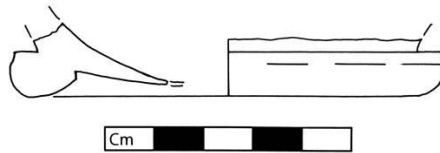


Figure I.19: Attic cup sherd

20 (PE186) Cup

fig I.20; pl II.7

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

p.H. 2.7; W. 1.9; max. Th. 0.35

Rim sherd. Hard, fine, reddish (5YR 6/8) clay. Shiny black glaze, flaking on outer lip.

Concave rim. Thickened, rounded lip. Probably from a Type C, concave lip, cup.

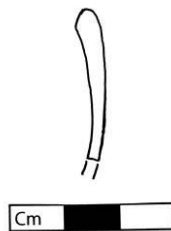


Figure I.20: Attic cup sherd

21 (PE188) Cup

fig I.21

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 24

p.H. 1.2; W. 4.2; max. Th. 0.3

Sherd from juncture of body and rim. Hard, fine, orange (5YR 7/8) clay. Some tiny sparkling inclusions. Lustrous black glaze.



Figure I.21: Attic cup sherd

22 (PE64+123) Stemmed dish

fig I.22; pl II.8

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15+24

H. 5; Diam. rim 8, foot 5.1

Mended from many fragments. Missing parts of the foot, stem, and body. Fine, hard (softer at foot), orange clay (5YR 7/6). Abundant tiny sparkling inclusions and tiny voids.

Lustrous black glaze, flaking throughout. Well potted.

Torus disk foot, rising to cone on underside with central nipple. Tall stem. Rounded bowl. Rounded, thickened lip. Reserved: resting surface, top of cone on underside, and outer face of foot.

For shape and date, cf. *Agora XII*, 140-141; Lynch 2011b, 262-264.

Ca. 500-480 BC

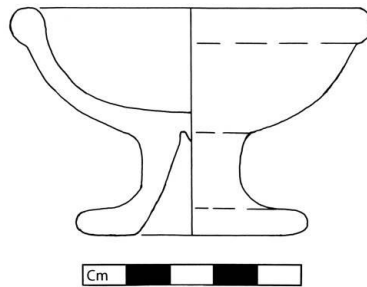


Figure I.22: Attic stemmed dish

23 (PE189) Stemmed dish

fig I.23

Baulk TT3-TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 28

p.H. 2.3; p.W. 2.1; Th. 0.7

Single body sherd. Medium hard, fine, pale brown (10YR 7/3) clay. Shiny black glaze; fired grey in places.



Figure I.23: Attic stemmed dish sherd

Closed shapes

24 (PE101) Black-bodied lekythos of Little-Lion Class

fig I.24

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

H. 11.5; Diam. rim 2.9, body 5.3, base 3.3

Body, upper part of foot, mouth, and handle black-glazed. Two red lines at the top of the wall and one below, indicating a panel. Black rays and tongues on the reserved shoulder. Lustrous black glaze, fire red in places. Worn and flaking in large parts. Reserved: edge of foot, underside, and neck.

Disk-shaped foot. Flat resting surface rising at the centre to a nipple. Body curves strongly towards the foot. Flat shoulder. Tall, thin neck. Spreading mouth. Strap-handle.

For shape and date, cf. *Agora XII*, 153.

Ca. 500 BC

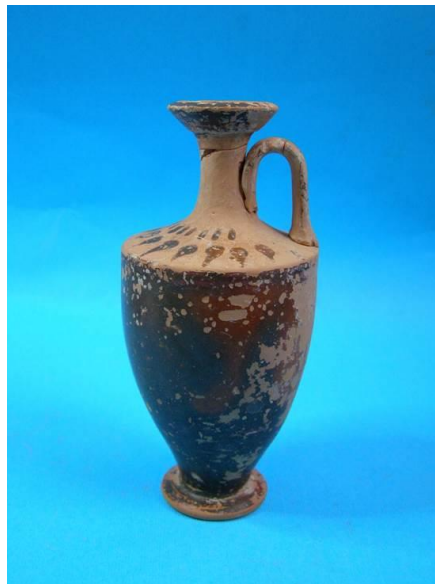


Figure I.24: Attic lekythos

25 (PE187) Closed shape

fig I.25

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

p.H. 2.5; W. 4.6; max. Th. 0.4

Hard, fine, reddish (5YR 6/8) clay. Abundant tiny sparkling inclusions.

Lustrous black glaze, worn and flaking in parts.



Figure I.25: Sherd of Attic closed shape

26 (PE73) Lamp

fig I.26

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

H. 4.5; Diam. 9.5

Mended from several sherds. Missing parts of rim, nozzle, and tube. Fine, hard, pinkish-orange clay (5YR 7/6). Plain. Traces of intense burning on nozzle and tube. Wheelmade. Heavy, thick fabric.

Slightly concave underside. Continuous curve from underside to low sloping wall. Flat rim overhanging the exterior and interior, with two grooves. Thick, heavy tube.

No exact parallel has been identified, but it shows affinities with Howland's Type 16B, cf. *Agora IV*, 31-33.

Ca. 500-480 BC



Figure I.26: Lamp

Laconian

Open shapes

27 (PE80) One-handed mug

fig I.27; pl II.9

Trench TT5; Pyre 2; Lot 18

H. 7.1; Diam. rim 8.2, body 9, foot 7

Mended from many fragments. Missing parts of body, rim, and the handle. Fine, hard clay, from orange (5YR 7/6) to buff (10YR 6/4). Tiny and large white, black, and brown inclusions, tiny voids. Black glaze on exterior and interior, worn and flaking. Underside reserved.

Squat, baggy body. Maximum diameter just above the bottom. Flat underside. Tall, thin, flaring rim. Vertical strap handle from mid-body to lip.

For shape and date, cf. Williams II 1979, 141, fig 7: KP94; Stibbe 1994, 43-47.

Ca. 500 BC

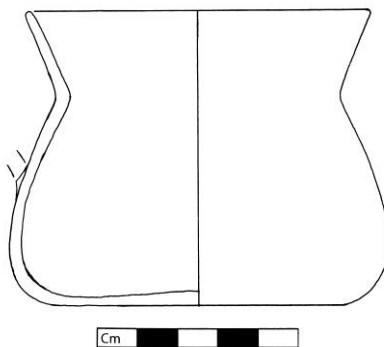


Figure I.27: Laconian mug

Closed shapes

28 (PE88) Table amphora

fig I.28; pl II.10

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 24

H. 22.2; Diam. rim 11.1, body 18.4, foot 8.8

Mended from many fragments. Fine, hard, chocolate brown clay (10YR 5/3). Black inclusions of various sizes, mostly spherical. Tiny voids. Shiny black glaze, worn in parts. Glazed on interior neck. Dipped.

Disk foot, flat underside. Ovoid body. Thick, concave neck with rolled rim. Two scraped grooves on mid-neck. Vertical, round in section, handles attached from shoulder to neck. Reserved: underside.

Four incised vertical notches on rim. Graffito on neck.

For shape and date, cf. Boardman and Hayes 1966, 88, 90, nos. 951-954, pl 65; Stibbe 2000, 65-70.

Ca. 500 BC

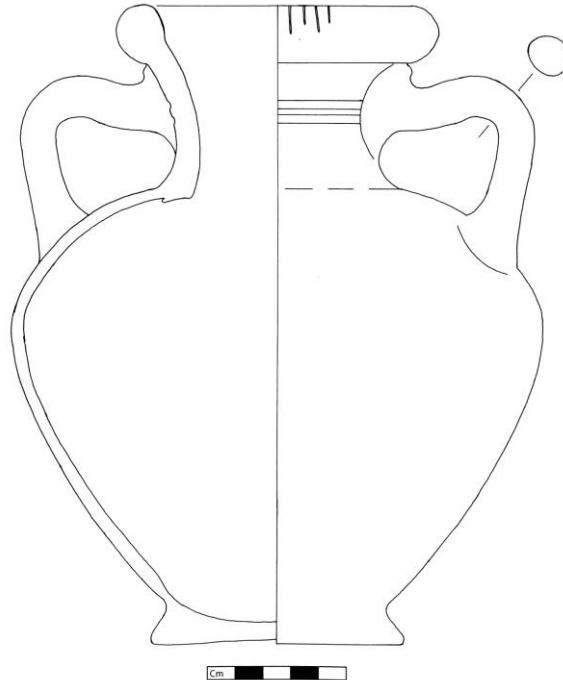


Figure I.28: Laconian table amphora

Western Greek

Open shapes

29 (PE66) Kotyle

fig I.29; pl II.11

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

H. 9.3; Diam. rim 12.1, foot 7.2

Mended from many fragments. Nearly two-thirds preserved. Missing parts of body, lip, and one handle. Hard, fine clay, exterior greenish grey (GLE Y1 7/1), interior yellowish buff (2.5Y 7/4). Glazed overall with dull black glaze. Flaking throughout. Well potted.

Heavy ring foot with tapered outer face and rounded resting surface. Convex underside. Fillet at juncture of foot with body. Walls slightly convex, rising to a thickened, slightly incurving rim. Horizontal loop handles. Floor sunk at centre.

For shape and date, cf. *Olympia VIII*, 175, fig 22, no. 8, and pl 35:8.

Ca. 500-480 BC

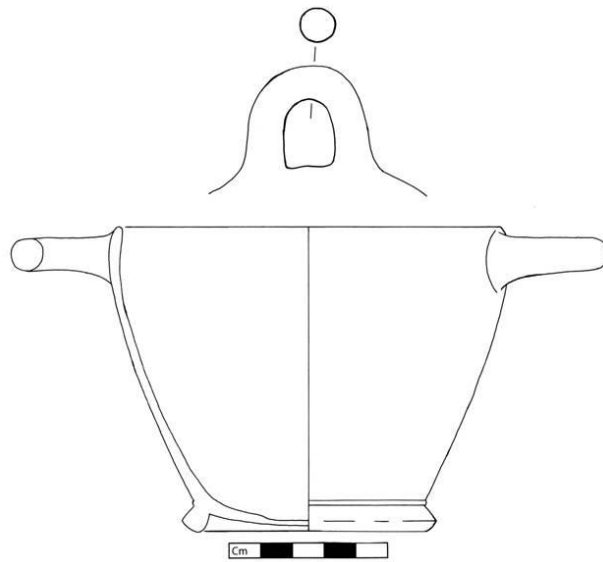


Figure I.29: Kotyle

30 (PE103) Cup

fig I.30; pl II.12

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

p.H. 6.9; Diam. rim 18.5, body 18.6

Fragment of body, rim, and horizontal handle attachment. Hard clay. Exterior orange (5YR 7/6), interior purple (5YR 6/3). Many voids parallel to the interior surface. Sparse tiny brown and white inclusions. Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking. Exterior rim with added purple band, worn. Lines of added white at base of rim and lip, worn.

Deep bowl, incurving at the top. Offset rim.



Figure I.30: Cup sherd

31 (PE124+126) Kotyle

fig I.31; pl II.13

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

p.H. foot fragment 3.2; est. Diam. foot 8.2

One third of the base preserved with part of the lower wall. The rim fragment may belong to the same pot because the surface treatment is the same. However, the colour of the fabric looks different. Here we consider them together as non-joining fragments of the same kotyle.

Hard, fine clay. Colour of clay ranges from reddish (2.5YR 5/6) at the foot, to greenish grey (GLEY 2 6/1) and reddish brown (2.5YR 5/3) on the wall. The fabric of the rim fragment is brownish grey (10YR 6/2).

Shiny, unevenly applied black glaze. Streaky in places. The foot fragment shows evidence for brush. The rim fragment shows clear evidence of both dipping and brush. Reserved: Outer face of foot, except a narrow line on top; resting surface; interior face of foot; undersurface. Reserved surface pale brown (10YR 7/4).

Torus ring foot. Interior face of foot slightly concave. Sharp angular juncture of foot with undersurface. Undersurface convex. Convex walls. Thickened rim with rounded lip. Overall very well potted and the glaze offers a nice effect.

For shape and date, cf. *Olympia VIII*, 175, fig 22, no. 13, and fig 23, no. 1.

Ca. 500-480 BC

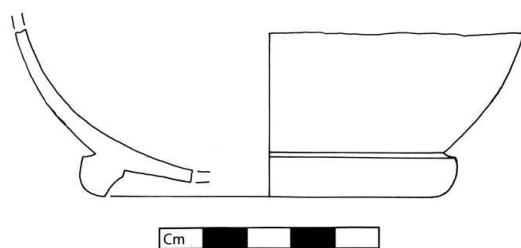


Figure I.31: Kotyle sherd

32 (PE167) Conical foot or knob handle

fig I.32; pl II.14

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

H. 2.7; Diam. 5.4

Hard, fine pinkish (5YR 7/4) clay.

Brown glaze, worn. Reserved: resting surface and underside. Badly potted.
(It could be the knob of a reversible lid)

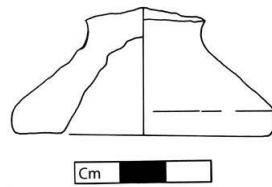


Figure I.32: Conical foot or knob-handle

Ithacan

Open shapes

33 (PE121) Corinthianizing kotyle

fig I.33; pl II.15

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 19

p.H. 2.6; p. Diam. body 7.5, base 5.6

Fragment of foot and lower body. Fine, soft, pale clay (5Y 8/2). Some tiny sparkling inclusions, in clusters of two-three, visible in sunlight. Surface finish with a sandy feeling.

Flaring ring foot. Thick bottom. Slightly convex underside. Scraped groove at juncture of foot with body. Slightly convex walls. Inner face of foot and outer underside red; then a reserved ring; then red with colour brushed twice; then a reserved centre with two thin concentric red rings. Closely spaced red bars, 0.85 tall, on lower part of body, worn. Interior black, worn.

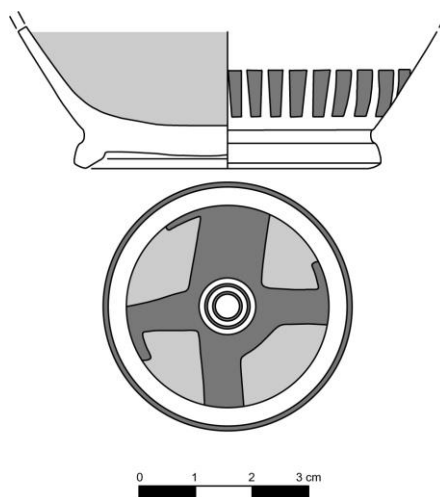


Figure I.33: Corinthianizing kotyle

34 (PE41) Corinthianizing kotyle

fig I.34; pl II.16

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 10

p.H. 5.2; p. Diam. body 9.5, foot 4.4

Fragment of foot and body. Hard, pale clay (10YR 8/2). Some small voids and some tiny sparkling inclusions, in clusters of two-three, visible in sunlight. Flaking slip.

Low, broad foot; flat resting surface; flat underside. Thick bottom and lower part of body. Slightly convex walls. Four black irregular “dots” on underside. Black line on bottom wall. Well-spaced, thick, black rays; then black line; then fully glazed. Glaze flaking. Interior black, flaking.

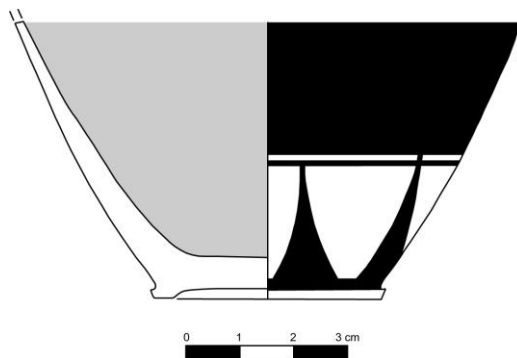


Figure I.34: Corinthianizing kotyle

35 (PE42) Kotyle

fig I.35; pl II.17

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 11

p.H. 2; p.W. 5.6; Th. 4.5

Fine, hard clay. Exterior and interior surface pinkish-beige (7.5YR 8/4); core light red (5YR 7/6). Ithacan red technique. Glazed overall, worn and flaking.

Straight rim. Fairly circular loop-handle.

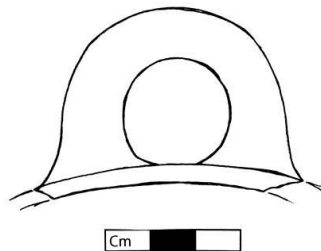


Figure I.35: Corinthianizing kotyle

36 (PE85a) One-handler

fig I.36; pl II.18

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 24

H. 4.6; Diam. rim 10, bottom 4.2

Mended from many fragments. Missing parts of body and rim. Medium hard, orange clay (7.5YR 7/6-7/8), exterior pinkish-beige (7.5YR 8/4). Small red, black, and white inclusions.

Semi-glazed by dipping; worn, and flaking glaze. Dipping with regular, neat edge. Cup held from the handle area and the distal area was dipped.

Slightly concave underside, no foot. Walls slightly convex, rising to a slightly incurving rim. Canted horizontal strap handle, rising above the rim.

For shape and date, cf. *Olympia* VIII, 198-200, fig 30, nos. 1-6, pl 41:5-6; Lang 1992, 60-62, fig 9, nos. 8-11, pl 17:3.

Ca. 500-480 BC

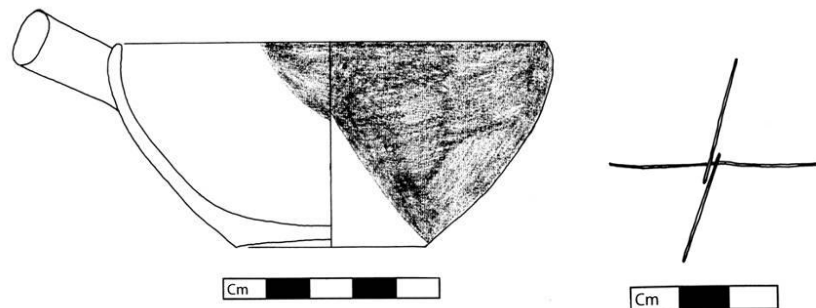


Figure I.36: (a) One-handed cup, and (b) incised “cross” on underside

37 (PE85b) One-handler

fig I.37; pl II.19

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 24

H. 4.3; Diam. rim 11, foot 5.3

Mended from many fragments. More than half preserved. Missing parts of base, body, and rim. Profile complete. Medium hard, pinkish-beige clay (7.5YR 8/4). At the junction of body and base, where it is thicker, the interior is greenish gray (GLE Y1 6/1). Small red, black, and white inclusions.

Semi-glazed by dipping; worn, and flaking glaze. Dipping with regular, neat edge. Cup held from the handle area and the distal area was dipped.

Disk foot with flat underside. Convex body rising to a vertical rim with flat lip. Slightly canted, horizontal strap handle.

For shape and date, cf. *Olympia* VIII, 198-200, fig 30, nos. 1-6, pl 41:5-6; Lang 1992, 60-62, fig 9, nos. 8-11, pl 17:3.

Ca. 500-480 BC

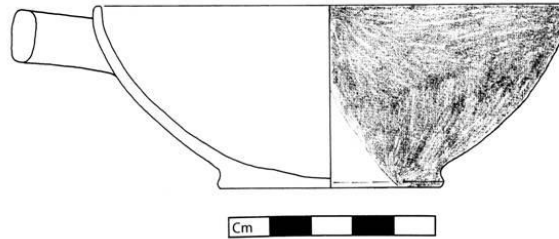


Figure I.37: One-handed cup

Closed shapes

38 (PE69) Bottle-shaped jug

fig I.38; pl 20

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

H. 13.8; Diam. rim 4, body 7.6, bottom 4.5

Mended from nine fragments. Missing handle, part of neck, and rim with handle attachment. Fine, hard, bright orange clay (5YR 7/8) with abundant sparkling inclusions, also visible on the surface. Large voids. Pink surface, levigated, soapy finish. Slightly asymmetrically potted.

Semi-glazed, unevenly applied, black and red, worn and flaking, on neck and rim. Glaze extends inside neck on interior and drips onto shoulder on exterior. Dipped with regular, neat edge.

Slightly concave underside, no foot. Thickening at juncture of bottom with body. Bulbous lower body, rising with a continuous curve to a concave, elongated, narrow neck. No articulated shoulder. Outturned rim, flat on top. Vertical strap handle originally attached from rim to lower shoulder.

For shape and date, cf. *Agora* XII, fig 13, nos. 260, 264, 276, pl 12-13: 255-271; *Olympia* VIII, 108-114, pl 14; Lang 1992, 91-92, fig 20, nos. 5-8, pl 19:1; Lynch 2011b, 250-252, nos. 116-119.

Ca. 500-480 BC

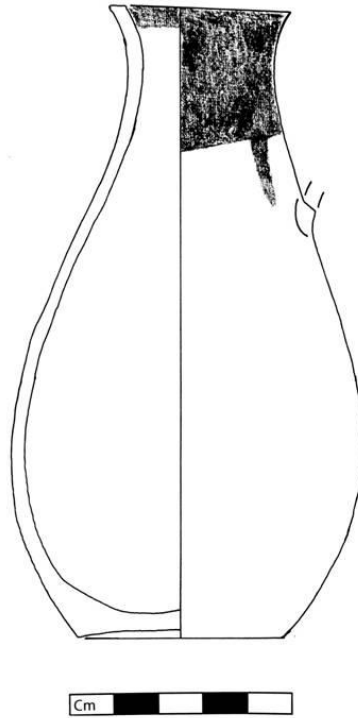


Figure I.38: Bottle-shaped jug

39 (PE71) Bottle-shaped jug

fig I.39; pl II. 21

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

H. 12; Diam. rim 3.6, body 6.8, bottom 4.3

Mended from many fragments. Missing parts of body, shoulder, neck, rim, and handle. Complete profile. Soft, pinkish clay (5YR 7/6), with abundant tiny sparkling inclusions, tiny voids and tiny white inclusions.

Worn black glaze on interior rim. Traces of glaze on shoulder and body on exterior. Probably dipped.

Slightly concave underside, no foot. Thickening at juncture of bottom with body. Slightly convex, almost cylindrical, body. Bevel at junction with tall, concave shoulder and neck. Outwards bevelled lip. No articulated shoulder. Vertical strap handle attachment at the junction of body with shoulder.

For shape and date, cf. Lynch 2011b, 250, no. 116.

Ca. 500-480 BC

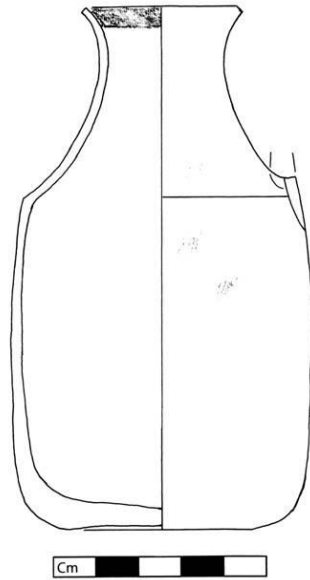


Figure I.39: Bottle-shaped jug

40 (PE86) Bottle-shaped jug

fig I.40; pl II.22

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 24

est. H. to rim 12, to handle 12.5; est. Diam. rim 4.8, body 6.8, base 4.6

Medium hard to soft, pinkish (5YR 7/4 to 7/6). Small grey and brown inclusions. Some elongated voids at juncture of base and body. Black-glazed overall and interior rim, worn and flaking badly. Reserved underside

Flat underside. Ovoid body with continuous curve to a concave neck. Flaring rim with rounded lip. Vertical strap-handle attached to the rim and upper body; raising above the rim.

For shape and date, cf. *Agora* XII, fig 13, nos. 260, 264, 276, pl 12-13: 255-271; *Olympia* VIII, 108-114, pl 14; Lang 1992, 91-92, fig 20, nos. 5-8, pl 19:1; Lynch 2011b, 250-252, nos. 116-119.

Ca. 500-480 BC

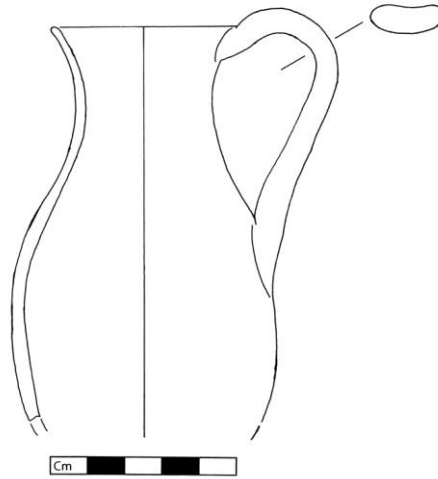


Figure I.40: Bottle-shaped jug

41 (PE82) Globular jug

fig I.41; pl II.23-24

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

p.H. 13; Diam. neck 3.2, body 13, base 9

Mended from many fragments. Missing chips from the base, fragments of body, shoulder, neck, and handle. Soft clay, exterior yellowish buff (2.5Y 8/4), interior pinkish-beige (7.5YR 8/4). Abundant tiny sparkling inclusions. Small dark brown and white inclusions. Large voids parallel to the surface.

Semi-glazed. Worn red glaze on upper part of body, shoulder and neck. Dipped with slightly irregular but neat edge.

Disk foot with flat underside. Globular body rising to a convex shoulder and narrow neck. Vertical strap handle attachment at the juncture of body with shoulder. Incised doodle on shoulder, probably a warship, executed before firing.

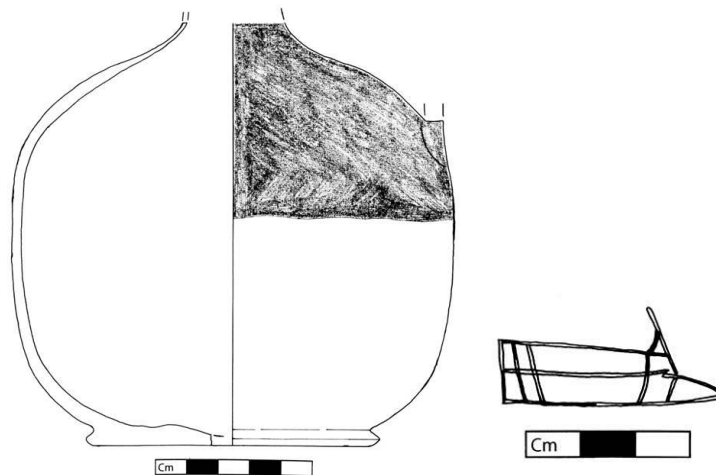


Figure I.41: (a) Globular jug, and (b) graffito of a warship on the shoulder

42 (PE68) Spherical jug

fig I.42; pl II.25

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

p.H. to the handle 17.5, Diam. body 13.7; foot 7.1

Missing parts of the body and rim. Profile complete except of rim. Medium hard, fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6 to 6/7) clay. Abundant tiny sparkling inclusions visible on the levigated undersurface. Some small black and white inclusions. Large elongated voids at juncture of foot with body. Black glazed overall, worn and flaking badly. Two pairs of thin lines with added white just above the maximum diameter and below the lower handle attachment. Neck with added white. Reserved: lower foot face and underside.

Disk foot. Concave underside. Spherical body. Moulded ring at juncture of body and rim. Flaring rim, probably a funnel-shaped mouth. Vertical strap handle, irregularly formed oval in section, attached from shoulder to neck.

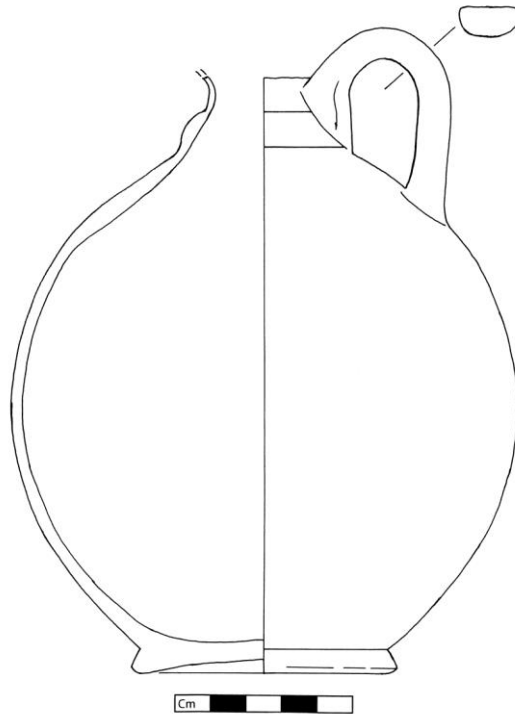


Figure I.42: Spherical jug

43 (PE81) Lekythos-shaped jug

fig I.43; pl 26

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 15

H. 14.4; Diam. rim 4.9, body 11, foot 11.2

Mended from many fragments. Missing chips from the base, small fragments of body, neck, and rim. Fine, medium hard clay, exterior light brown (10YR 8/4), interior pinkish (5YR 7/4). Some small red inclusions and abundant tiny sparkling inclusions.

Black glazed handle, neck, mouth, and interior rim. Dipped, glaze worn and flaking. Brushed broad band at juncture of foot and body. Another just below middle-body, and two thin lines at the top of body.

Heavy foot with stepped profile. Underside flat. Cylindrical body. Covered top, basket handle, and spout placed at the edge of top. Spout with narrow neck and funnel-shaped mouth. Moulded ring at juncture of neck and mouth.

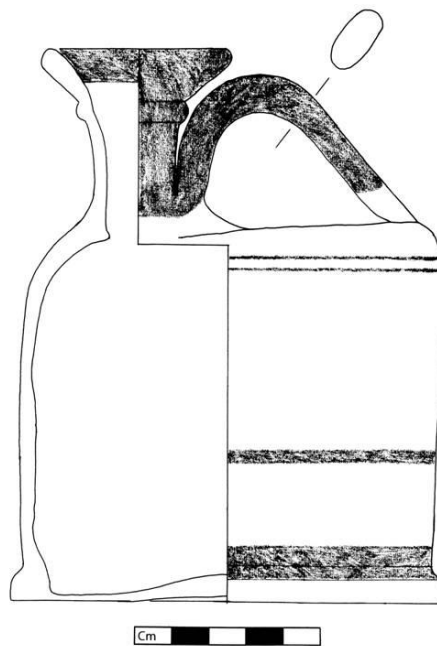


Figure I.43: Lekythos-shaped jug

Assemblage NKIIIa

Corinthian

Open shapes

44 (PE138) Kotyle

fig I.44; pl II.27

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

p.H. 0.8; Diam. foot 5.2

Two fragments. Fine, hard, yellowish buff clay (10YR 8/4-8/6). Interior black-glazed, flaking.

Low, flaring ring foot. Slightly bevelled resting surface. Groove at juncture of foot with underside.

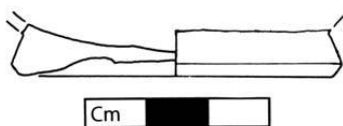


Figure I.44: Kotyle sherd

45 (PE137) Kotyle

fig I.45

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

p.H. 3.7; W. 3.5; max. Th. 0.3

Rim fragment. Fine, soft, pinkish buff clay (7.5YR 7/4-7/6), with sparse tiny white and brown inclusions. Traces of purple on exterior and interior surfaces.

Slightly incurving rim.



Figure I.45: Kotyle sherd

Closed shapes

46 (PE99) Conventionalizing cylindrical oinochoe

fig I.46

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

p.H. 5.1; Diam. base 5.9

Missing neck, mouth, and handle. Fine, hard, yellowish buff clay (10YR 8/4-8/6). Tiny black and white inclusions. Tiny voids. Badly potted.

Outer face of base black. Then red line; then black line with irregularly placed black dots. Central panel with black buds. Alternating black and red lines at juncture of body with shoulder. Black buds on shoulder. Red band at base of neck.

Flat base. Culindrical, slightly concave body. Gently sloping shoulder.

For shape and date, cf. *Corinth* VII.5, 102-108.

Ca. 500 BC



Figure I.46: Conventionalizing cylindrical oinochoe

Attic

Open shapes

47 (PE132) Skyphos

fig I.47; pl II.28

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

p.H. 2.5; est. Diam. foot 8.5

Fragment of foot and wall. Fine, hard, pinkish-orange clay (5YR 7/6). Shiny black glaze, fired brown in places. Inner face of foot glazed. Interior glazed. Reserved: resting surface, underside with traces of a thin red ring.

Torus ring foot. Flat resting surface. Groove at juncture of inner face of foot with underside. Wall nearly straight.

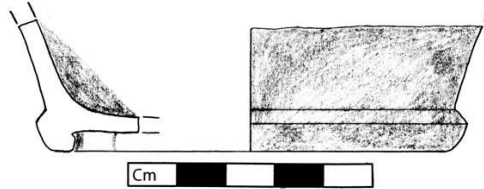


Figure I.47: Skyphos sherd

48 (PE98) Vicup

fig I.48; pl II.29

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

p.H. 3.7; Diam. foot 6.2

Fine, hard, orange clay (5YR 7/6).

Fragment of foot, stem, and floor. Lustrous black glaze, carelessly applied, flaking. Top of foot roughly potted. Miltos on outer face of foot.

Disk foot with vertical face, rising to a concave cone on underside. Reserved: resting surface, top of cone on underside.

For shape and date, cf. Lynch 2011b, 261, no. 140.

Ca. 475 BC

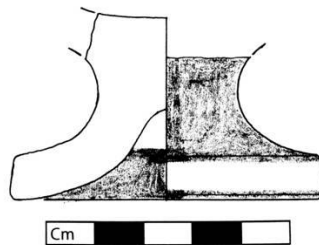


Figure I.48: Vicup foot

49 (PE136) Two fragments of cup

fig I.49

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

Fine, hard orange clay (2.5YR 6/8). Lustrous black glaze, fired brown in places.



Figure I.49: Cup sherds

50 (PE139) Fragment of open shape

fig I.50

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

Fine, hard, light red clay (2.5YR 6/8). Lustrous black glaze, fired brown in places.



Figure I.50: Open shape sherd

Closed shapes

51 (PE133) Lekythos, Class of Athens 581

fig I.51; pl II.30

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

p.H. 3; Diam. rim 4

Fragment of mouth. Fine, hard, orange clay (5YR 7/8). Rare tiny sparkling inclusions.

Lustrous black glaze. Reserved: top of mouth.

For shape and date, cf. *Agora XXIII*, 46-47, pl 80-85.

Ca. 500-490 BC

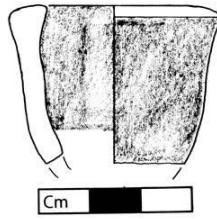


Figure I.51: Lekythos mouth sherd

Western Greek

Open shapes

52 (PE130) Cup

fig I.52; pl II.31

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

H. 7.1; Diam. rim 12.6, body 13, foot 5.5

Mended from many fragments. Nearly half preserved. Profile complete. Fine, hard, light red clay (5YR 6/6). Tiny voids of lamellar shape parallel to the surface. Black-glazed. Glaze worn and flaking. Interior glazed. Two lines of added white, one just below handles, another at base of rim, worn. Reserved: Bottom half of outer face of foot, underside.

Disk foot. Underside slightly concave. Convex body. Offset, thick, slightly concave rim; tapered lip. Canted loop handles.

For shape, cf. Lang 1992, 48-56.

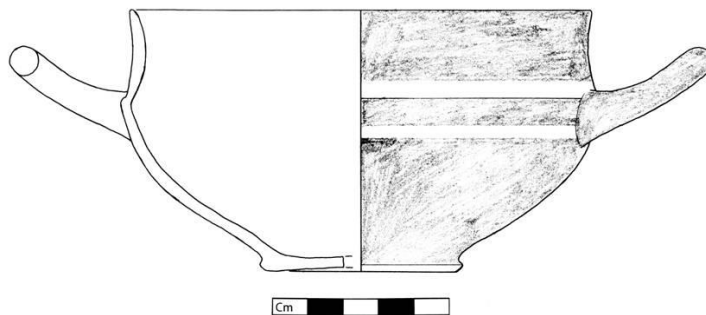


Figure I.52: Cup

53 (PE131) Cup

fig I.53; pl II.32

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

H. 7.9; Diam. rim 14.8, foot 5.9

Mended from many fragments. One-third preserved. Handles missing. Profile complete. Fine, hard, light brown-buff clay (7.5YR 6/4). Some tiny spherical voids. Black-glazed. Glaze thinly applied, worn and flaking. Glazed probably by dipping; evident drop of glaze from lower body to foot edge. Reserved: resting surface and underside.

Tall conical foot. Squared bottom part, concave upper part with central, thin, sharp ridge. Flat resting surface. Convex body. Offset, concave rim.

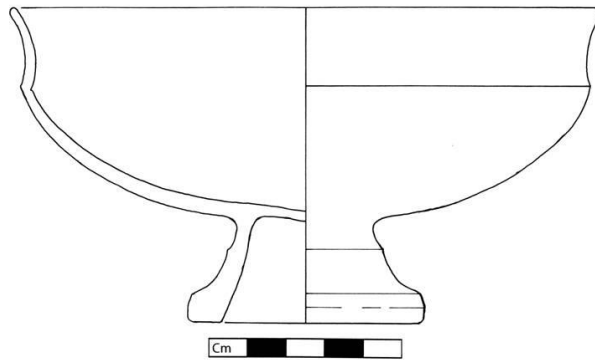


Figure I.53: Cup

54 (PE135) Conical foot

fig I.54; pl II.33

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

p.H. 1.8; Diam. foot 4.8

Hard, reddish-brown clay (5YR 6/4), with abundant small black and brown inclusions. Black glaze worn and flaking. Interior glazed. Reserved: resting surface and underside. Roughly potted.

Low conical foot. Thin, sharp ridge at juncture of foot with body.

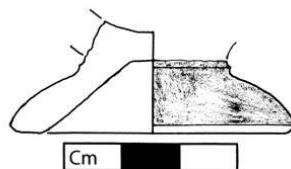


Figure I.54: Conical foot of open shape

Ithacan

55 (PE157) Bottle-shaped jug

fig I.55; pl II.34

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

p.H. 6; max. W. 5.5; Th. top 0.35, bottom 0.7

Lower body fragment. Medium hard, fine, pinkish clay (7.5YR 7/4). Sparse small black inclusions. Black glazed horizontal stripe 0.4 wide, flaking. Lower edge thickened.

For shape and date, cf. Lynch 2011b, 251-252, nos. 118-119.

Ca. 500-480 BC

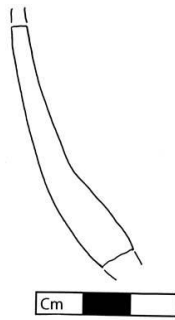


Figure I.55: Jug sherd

Assemblage BK

Corinthian

Open shapes

56 (PE58) Plate

fig I.56; pl II.35

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 1.6; p. W. 3

Single fragment of rim. Hard, fine, yellowish buff clay (10YR 8/4). Tiny voids. Two suspension holes of diam. 0.3. Glaze fired red, brown, black; worn and flaking.

Concave underside. Thickened rim. Sharp ridge at juncture of rim and floor.

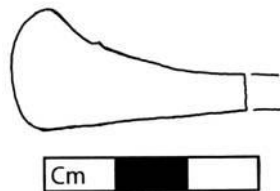


Figure I.56: Plate sherd

57 (PE142) Fragment of cup with loop handle

fig I.57

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 4.5

Fragment of upper body, rim, and loop handle. Fine, hard, yellowish buff clay (10YR 8/4). Black-glazed overall; glaze on interior fired reddish brown; glaze worn and flaking.

Convex body. Slightly concave rim. Handle slightly canted.



Figure I.57: Cup sherd

Coarse ware

58 (PE56) Peaked-rim mortarium

fig I.58

Trench BK; Lot BK

Th. of rim 3.2; max. p. Th. of bowl 2.2

Very hard, coarse, tile fabric; surface pale yellow (2.5Y 8/5), core pale brown (10YR 8/3). Abundant large inclusions.

Rim with rounded outer face, rising to a peak. Spool handle with two preserved round beads.

For shape and date, cf. Villing and Pemberton 2010, 582-589.

Ca. 450 BC



Figure I.58: Mortarium sherd

Attic

Open shapes

59 (PE141) Type C cup, or stemmed dish

fig I.59; pl II.36

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 1.6; Diam. foot 6.6

Foot fragment. Medium hard, fine, orange clay 5YR 7/6. Shiny black glaze, worn and flaking. Inner face of foot glazed. Reserved: resting surface and exterior face of foot. Miltos on face of foot.

Disk foot. Resting surface flat; top of foot slightly convex. Fillet at juncture of foot and stem, between two scrapped grooves.

Ca. 480 BC

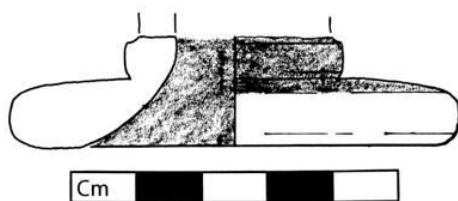


Figure I.59: Foot of Type C cup or stemmed dish

60 (PE140) Cup, “delicate class”

fig I.60; pl II.37

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 1.7; Diam. foot 9.8

Single fragment. Fine, hard, orange clay (5YR 7/6). Shiny black glaze, worn and flaking. Black-glazed outer and inner faces of foot, and body. Interior glazed. Reserved: resting surface, miltos on underside and on external junction of foot with body.

Heavy, projecting ring foot. Lower part of outer face of foot divided in two by a groove; upper part concave. Slightly bevelled resting surface. Square stepping at juncture of foot with body.

On floor, two concentric scrapped grooves surmounted by linked, nine-petalled palmettes.

For shape and date, cf. *Agora XII*, 102-103, 269, nos. 483-487, fig 5.

Ca. 450 BC

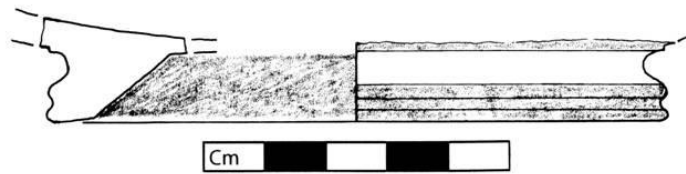


Figure I.60: Foot of “delicate class” cup

61 (PE143) Cup, Type C concave lip?

fig I.61

Trench BK; Lot BK

Single fragment of handle and upper body. Hard, fine, orange clay (5YR 7/6). Lustrous black glaze, flaking. Reserved interior handle.



Figure I.61: Handle sherd of Type C cup

62 (PE150) Stemmed dish

fig I.62; pl II.38

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 1.7

Single fragment of rim and upper body. Hard, fine, orange clay (5YR 7/6). Rare tiny sparkling inclusions. Lustrous black glaze, flaking.

Convex body. Thickened rim, flat on top. Square stepping at juncture of body and rim.

For shape and date, cf. Lynch 2011b, 264, no. 145

Ca. 480 BC

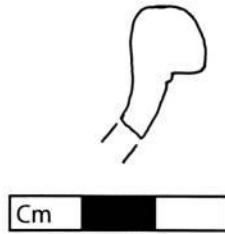


Figure I.62: Rim sherd of stemmed dish

63 (PE152) Cup

fig I.63

Trench BK; Lot BK

Single fragment from lower body. Hard, fine, orange clay (5YR 7/6). Lustrous black glaze. Worn and flaking badly on exterior.



Figure I.63: Cup sherd

64 (PE146) Open shapes

fig I.64

Trench BK; Lot BK

Two fragments of different pots. Hard, fine, orange clay (5YR 7/6). Shiny black glaze. Tiny voids. One fragment partly reserved.



Figure I.64: Sherds of open shapes

65 (PE149) Disk or Stand

fig I.65; pl II.39

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 2

Single fragment. Hard, fine, orange clay (5YR 7/6). Outer and inner faces glazed, worn and flaking

Downturned, flange rim. Scraped groove at edge above, reserved with milts.

For a comparable shape, cf. *Agora* XII, 178-180, fig 13, nos. 1313-1326; and Lynch 2011b, 273-274, no. 169.

Ca. 500 BC

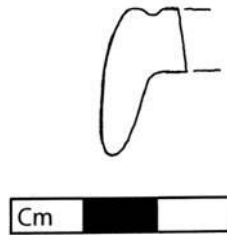


Figure I.65: Stand(?) sherd

Closed shapes

66 (PE48) Trefoil oinochoe

fig I.66

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 4

Single fragment of neck and rim. Medium hard, fine, orange clay (5YR 7/8). Tiny black and brown inclusions. Dull black glaze overall.

For shape and date, cf. Lynch 2011b, 247-248, nos. 112-113.

Ca. 500 BC



Figure I.66: Rim sherd of trefoil oinochoe

Laconian

67 (PE145) Cup base fragment

fig I.67; pl II.40

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 1.9; est. Diam. foot 6.6

Fragment of foot and lower body. Fine, hard, rust-brown clay (5YR 6/4). Sparse tiny brown inclusions. Tiny voids. Dull black glaze on exterior and interior, worn in places. Reserved: underside and circle on centre floor.

Disk foot. Slightly concave underside. Convex body.

For shape, style and date, cf. Stibbe 1994, 67; nos. E7, E8; figs 227-228.

Ca. 500-450 BC

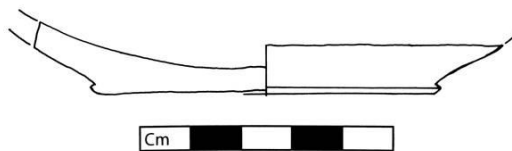


Figure I.67: Cup sherd

Ithacan

Open shapes

68 (PE47) Stemless cup?

fig I.68; pl II.41

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 4.1; Diam. rim 16.8

Two non-joining fragments. One-fourth preserved. Fine, hard clay. Exterior and interior orange (5YR 6/6-6/8), core light greenish gray (GLE Y1 7/1). Sparse black inclusions. Black-glazed overall. Glaze worn and flaking.

Convex body. Slightly concave rim. Rounded lip. Canted loop handles, oval in section, clumsily coiled.

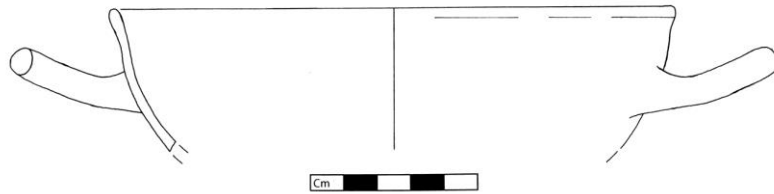


Figure I.68: Cup

69 (PE144) Cup

fig I.69 ; pl II.42

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 2.7

Small fragment of upper body and rim. Fine, hard, reddish brown-purple clay (5YR 6/4-6/6). Tiny voids. Glazed overall. Glaze fired greenish gray. Creamy white slip.

Convex body, incurving on top. Reinforced, concave rim.

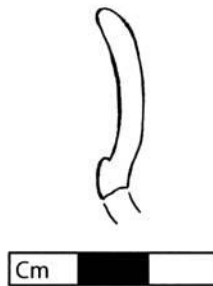


Figure I.69: Rim sherd of cup

70 (PE148) Lid?

fig I.70; pl II.43

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 2.8; est. Diam rim 14.8

Fragment of rim and body. Fine, hard, reddish brown clay (5YR 6/4). Tiny black inclusions. Shiny black glaze overall; worn and flaking.

Slightly convex. Rounded angle between top and downturned flange.

(It could be a reversible lid)

For shape and date, cf. *Agora XII*, 167; no. 1220; fig 11.

Ca. 450-425

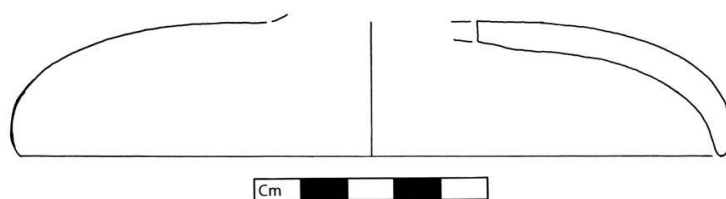


Figure I.70: Lid(?) sherd

71 (PE151) Krater?

fig I.71; pl II.44

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 4.7

Fragment of foot and lower body. Fine, hard, yellowish buff clay (10YR 8/4), pinkish-brown at core (7.5YR 8/6). Sparse tiny black inclusions. Tiny voids. Black-glazed exterior face of foot and bottom body; above alternating black and reserved bands. Interior glazed. Glaze worn and flaking. Reserved: resting surface and underside.

Thick, broad, ring foot. Slightly convex lower body.

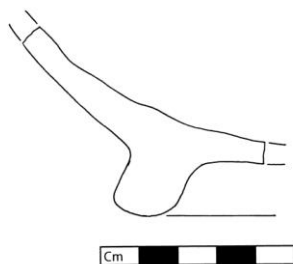


Figure I.71: Foot sherd of krater(?)

72 (PE154) Black glazed sherd

fig I.72

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 5; W. 4.9; Th. 0.6

Fine, hard, pinkish clay (7.5YR 7/6), darker at core (7.5YR 7/4). Ithacan red technique. Sparse brown inclusions. Black-glazed overall, fired brown in places.



Figure I.72: Black-glazed sherd

73(PE156) Black glazed sherd

fig I.73

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 3; W. 4.2; max. Th. 0.6

Fine, hard, orange clay (5YR 7/6), pinkish at core (7.5YR 7/2). Ithacan red technique. Sparse black and brown inclusions. Dull black glaze on exterior. Interior black, worn and flaking.



Figure I.73: Black-glazed sherd

Closed shapes

74 (PE147) Jug

fig I.74; pl II.45

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 5.8; est. Diam. rim 10.8

Fragment of neck and rim. Very hard, fine, pinkish clay (7.5YR 8/4). Ithacan red technique. Tiny black and brown inclusions. Diluted glaze fired brown. Evident brush marks on exterior.

Slightly concave neck. Thickened, outturned rim.

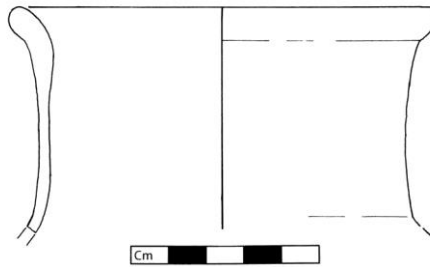


Figure I.74: Jug sherd

75 (PE153) Banded sherd (jug?)

fig I.75

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 5.8; W. 6.7; max. Th. 0.7

Fine, hard, yellowish buff clay (10YR 8/4), pinkish at core. Sparse tiny white inclusions. Tiny voids. Broad band of dull black glaze, worn and flaking.



Figure I.75: Wall sherd of jug(?)

76 (PE155) Black glazed sherd

fig I.76

Trench BK; Lot BK

p.H. 4; W. 4; max. Th. 0.6

Fine, hard, pale clay (2.5Y 7/3). Ithacan white technique. Sparse brown inclusions. Exterior black-glazed, flaking. Traces of burning on interior surface.



Figure I.76: Black-glazed sherd

Assemblage TTRP – Pit RP

Corinthian

Open shapes

77 (PE178) Kotyle

fig I.77

Trench TT4; Pit RP; Lot 12

p.H. 2.5; W. 2.8; max. Th. 0.35

Hard, fine, light greenish grey (GLEY 1 6/1) clay.

Slightly incurving rim.



Figure I.77: Kotyle rim-herd

78 (PE184) Kotyle

fig I.78

Trench TT4; Pit RP; Lot 12

p.H. 1.9; W. 2.1; max. Th. 2.5

Hard, fine, pinkish buff (7.5YR 8/4) clay. Black-glazed, two red bands.

Interior glazed. Glaze worn and flaking.



Figure I.78: Kotyle sherd

79 (PE185) Skyphos

fig I.79

Trench TT4; Pit RP; Lot 12

P.H. 3.5; W. 3; max. Th. 0.3

Single sherd of body and handle attachment. Hard, fine, pale (10YR 6/3) clay. Black-glazed overall. Good retention of glaze. In places fired brown and red. Glossy surface finish.

For the style, cf. *Corinth* VII.6, 172-174.

Ca. 325 BC



Figure I.79: Skyphos sherd

Closed shapes

80 (PE180) Cylindrical oinochoe

fig I.80

Trench TT4; Pit RP; Lot 12

Three non-joining fragments of oinochoe shoulder. Hard, fine, pale (10YR 8/3) clay. Well potted.



Figure I.80: Cylindrical oinochoe sherds

Attic

81 (PE182) Open shape

fig I.81

p.H. 3.5; W. 2.2; max. Th. 0.25

Hard, fine, reddish (5YR 6/4) clay. Black-glazed overall. Lustrous black glaze.



Figure I.81: Open shape sherd

82 (PE183) Open shape

fig I.82; pl II.46

Trench TT4; Pit RP; Lot 12

p.H. 1.7; W. 3.2

Medium hard, fine, orange (7.5YR 7/6) clay. Black-glazed overall. Glaze worn and flaking.

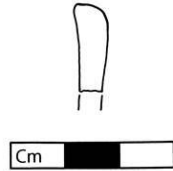


Figure I.82: Sherd of open shape

Ithacan

83 (PE62) Plate

fig I.83; pl II.47

Trench TT4; Pit RP; Lot 12

p.H. 1.8; Diam. foot 14

Nearly one third preserved. Profile complete except for rim. Hard, fine clay with some tiny black and white inclusions. Ithacan red technique: light red core (5YR 7/6), exterior pinkish (7.5YR 7/4). Black-glazed overall. Glaze worn and flaking badly.

Ring foot with flat resting surface. Continuous curve from inner face of foot to underside. Three concentric grooves around the centre of floor. Two more exactly above the ring foot.

For shape and date, cf. plate 97.

Ca. 325 BC



Figure I.83: Sherd of plate

Assemblage BKIII

Corinthian

84 (PE161) Ovoid Kotyle

fig I.84

Trench BKIII; Lot BKIII

Three non-joining fragments of body and handle. Fine, hard, yellowish buff clay (10YR 8/4). Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking.

Convex body. Incurving rim. Horizontal handles.

For shape and date, cf. PePhee *et al.* 2012, 169-171.

Second half of 4th century BC



Figure I.84: Kotyle sherds

Attic

85 (PE61) Skyphos

fig I.85; pl II.48

Trench BKIII; Lot BKIII

p.H. 5.5; Diam. foot 5.6

Fragments of foot, lower body, and handle. Fine, medium-hard, pinkish-orange clay (7.5YR 7/6). Lustrous black glaze unevenly applied, fired brown in places. Reserved: resting surface, underside with black ring and central dot. Resting surface and underside covered with red wash.

Torus ring foot. Convex underside. Concave walls. Outturned rim.
Horizontal handles.

For shape and date, cf. *Corinth* VII.6, 188-189, nos. VI-39 – VI-42, fig 37.

Ca. 350-325 BC

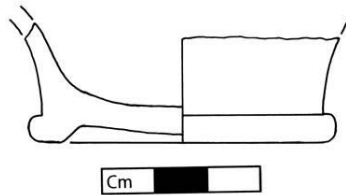


Figure I.85: Skyphos foot sherd

Ithacan

86 (PE60) Open shape

fig I.86

Trench BKIII; Lot BKIII

p.H. 1.5

Fragment of foot and lower body. Fine, hard, pinkish clay (7.5YR 7/6).
Sparse tiny white inclusions. Tiny voids. Black glaze worn and flaking, interior
glazed. Reserved: bottom of body and underside.

Disk foot. Slightly concave underside.

Graffito on the underside Π (H. 1).



Figure I.86: Open shape sherd with graffito

87 (PE158) Cup

fig I.87; pl II.49

Trench BKIII; Lot BKIII

p.H. 1.8; Diam. foot 8.1

Foot incomplete, and part of bottom body. Fine, hard, orange clay (5YR 7/8). Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking; better preserved on interior.

Torus ring foot. Flat resting surface. Convex underside.

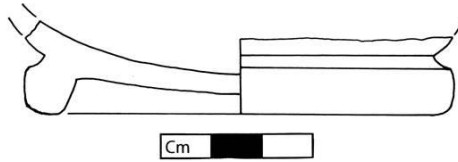


Figure I.87: Cup foot

88 (PE159) Cup

fig I.88; pl II.50

Trench BKIII; Lot BKIII

p.H. 2.2; est. Diam. foot 7

Fragment of foot and lower body. Fine, hard, pinkish clay (5YR 7/4). Tiny voids. Black-glazed. On exterior only faint traces remain. On interior shiny black glaze, worn and flaking.

Torus ring foot. Flat underside. Straight rising walls.

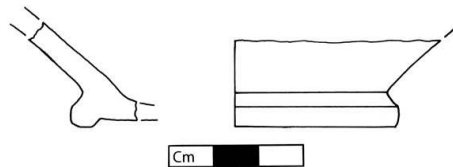


Figure I.88: Sherd of ring foot

89 (PE160) Cup

fig I.89

Trench BKIII; Lot BKIII

p.H. 5.6

Three non-joining fragments of body and rim. Fine, hard, pinkish clay (7.5YR 7/4). Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking.

Convex body. Outturned rim.



Figure I.89: Cup sherds

90 (PE162) Cup

fig I.90

Trench BKIII; Lot BKIII

p.H. 6

Many small fragments of body and rim. Fine, hard, light red clay (5YR 6/6). Some tiny white inclusions. Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking. Dipped. Glaze dribbling down from interior rim, evidence for dipping.

Convex lower body, cylindrical upper part. Slightly outturned rim.



Figure I.90: (a) Cup sherds, exterior view, and (b) interior view

91 (PE165) Skyphos

fig I.91

Trench BKIII; Lot BKIII

p.H. 3.2

Fragment of upper body and rim. Fine, hard, light red clay (5YR 7/6). Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking. Dipped. Glaze dribbling down from exterior and interior rim, evidence for dipping.

Convex body. Outturned rim.

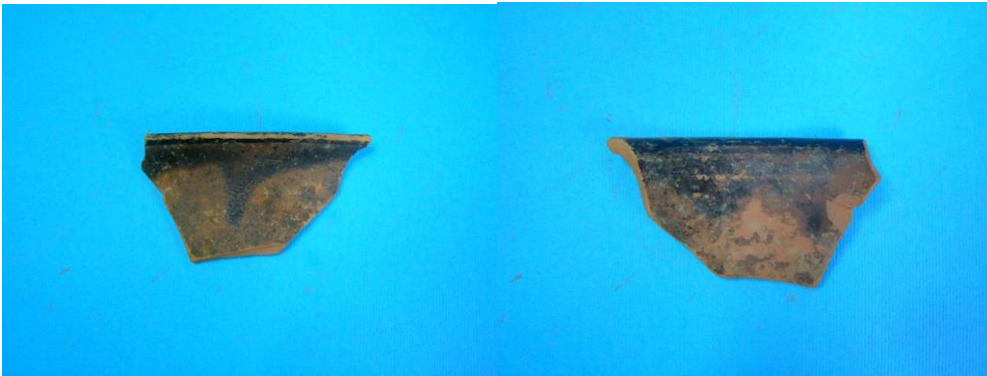


Figure I.91: (a) Skyphos sherd, exterior view, and (b) interior view

92 (PE163) Kantharos?

fig I.92

Trench BKIII; Lot BKIII

p.H. 5.5

Fragment of upper body with handle attachment. Fine, hard, pinkish clay (7.5YR 7/6). Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking.

Upper body convex. Outturned rim. Vertical strap handle.



Figure I.92: Kantharos sherd

93 (PE164) Cup?

fig I.93

Trench BKIII; Lot BKIII

p.H. 2

Fragment of rim. Fine, hard, pinkish clay (7.5YR 7/4). Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking.

Scraped groove at juncture of body with rim. Thickened rim.

Undetermined shape.



Figure I.93: Rim sherd

Six sherds of different pots. Five open shapes and one closed.

Assemblage TTP3 – Pyre 3

Corinthian

94 (PE15) Skyphos

fig I.94; pl II.51

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

p.H. 2.4; Diam. foot 4.9

Fragment of foot and lower body. Fine, very hard, pale pinkish (7.5YR 8/4 to 10YR 8/4) clay. Glazed overall. Good retention of glaze. In places fired brown and red. Glossy surface finish.

Flaring ring foot. Slightly bevelled resting surface. Convex underside, nipped. Upper part of outer face of foot slightly recessed. Thick bottom and walls. Walls rising almost vertically.

For the style, cf. *Corinth* VII.6, 172-174.

Ca. 325 BC

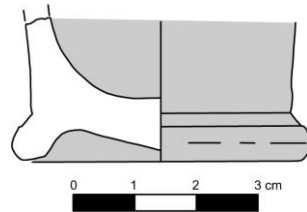


Figure I.94: Skyphos foot

95 (PE23a) Skyphos

fig I.95

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

p.H. 2.6

Fragment of foot and lower body. Fine, very hard, light orange (5YR 7/6 to 7/8) clay. Lustrous black glaze, fired red and brown in places. Fine retention of glaze. Reserved: resting surface and underside. Black bands on underside. Reserved areas covered with a red wash. Interior glazed. Glossy surface finish.

Ring foot, totally chipped. Underside slightly convex. Walls rising slightly concave. Well potted.

For the style, cf. *Corinth* VII.6, 172-174.

Ca. 325 BC



Figure I.95: Skyphos foot sherd

96 (PE27) Skyphos?

fig I.96

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

max. p. H. 9; max. p. W. 10; max. Th. 0.6

Very hard, fine, from light orange (5YR 7/6) to pale pinkish (7.5YR 8/4) clay. Lustrous black glaze, fired red and brown in places. Fine retention of glaze. Interior glazed. Glossy surface finish.

Non-joining fragments of a large open vessel, probably a big skyphos.

For the style, cf. *Corinth* VII.6, 172-174.

Ca. 325 BC



Figure I.96: (a) Open shape exterior view, and (b) interior view

Attic

Open shapes

97 (PE21) Plate, rolled rim

fig I.97; pl II.52-53

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

H. 2.5; Diam. rim 16, foot 10

Missing one-third of rim. Black-glazed overall. Glaze unevenly applied and fired brown at places. Fine, hard, orange clay (5YR 7/6).

Ring base with flat resting surface. Slightly nipped underside. Continuous curve from inner face of foot to underside. Cyma profile, convex below and concave above. Square moulding defining the outside of the rim area. Rolled rim. Inner edge of rim sharp in places. Continuous curve from inner face of rim to floor.

On floor four free nine-petalled palmettes within three rings of rouletting. Rouletting consists of closely spaced, short, fine lines. Carelessly executed.

Graffito on underside: API (H. 0.7)

For shape and date, cf. *Agora XXIX*, 142-145, fig 46, nos. 634-639.

Ca. 325 BC

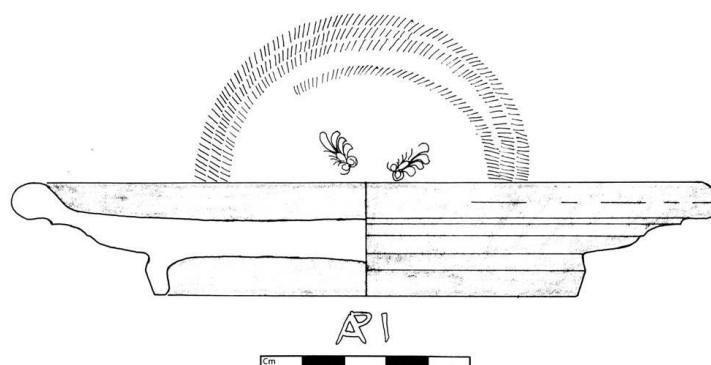


Figure I.97: Attic plate

98 (PE24a) Small bowl

fig I.98; pl II.54

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

p.H. 3.1; est. Diam. rim 9.2

Hard, fine, reddish (5YR 7/6) clay. Black-glazed overall. Lustrous black glaze, worn in places. Where not worn, is well retained.

Slight carination on exterior, perhaps not intentional. Upright, thickened rim with rounded lip.

For shape and date, cf. *Agora XII*, 135, fig 9, pl 33.

Ca. 350 BC

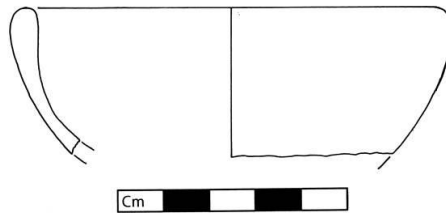


Figure I.98: Small bowl

Ithacan

Open shapes

99 (PE20) Spherical kotyle

fig I.99; pl II.55

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

H. 6.6; Diam. Rim 6.3, body 7, foot 4

Mended from 21 sherds. Missing the two horizontal handles, chip from the base, and small fragments from lower body. Fine, hard, pale clay (2.5Y 7/3-7/4). Tiny voids.

Ring base, flat resting surface. Convex underside. Continuous curve from inner face of foot to underside. Convex walls with incurving rim. Horizontal handles. Black-glazed overall, worn in places. Dipped.

For shape and date, cf. Heurtley 1940, 2, fig 1; Morgan 2007, 83, figs 58-59; Sermpeti *et al.* 2009, 261, no. II1283, fig 7.

Ca. 325 BC

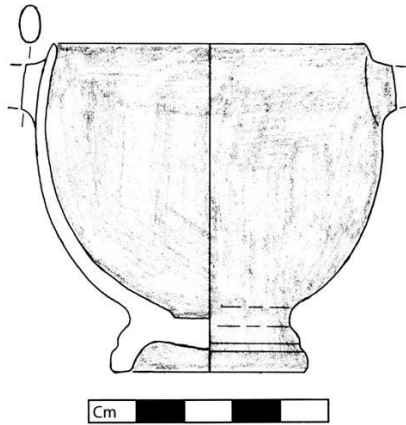


Figure I.99: Spherical kotyle

100 (PE119) Kotyle

fig I.100; pl II.56

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

p.H. 4.6; W. 3.5; max. Th. 0.4

Hard, fine, pale brown (10YR 7/3) clay. Black-glazed overall, worn in places.

Convex upper body.

For shape and date, cf. kotyle **99**.

Ca. 325 BC

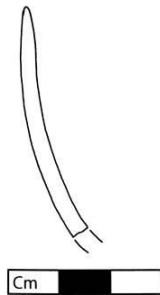


Figure I.100: Sherd of spherical(?) kotyle

101 (PE29+30) Stemmed kotyle

fig I.101; pl II.57

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

p.H. 8.1; Diam. rim 5.9, body 6.9, p. Diam. stem 1.8

Mended from many fragments. Missing foot, parts of body, rim, and handles. Fine, hard (soft where thin), pinkish clay (7.5YR 7/4). Ithacan red technique. Tiny voids.

Thick stem. Convex, thin walls with incurving rim. Tulip-shaped. Horizontal handles. Black-glazed body, worn and flaking. Thin black line at juncture of stem with body. Reserved parts covered with red wash. Interior black.

For probable parallels from Leukas, cf. Andreou 1994, 202, pl 146a, 156a.

Ca. 325 BC

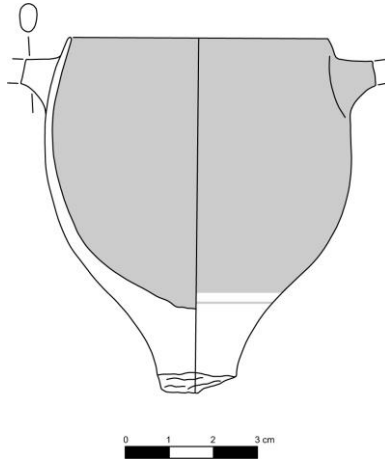


Figure I.101: Stemmed kotyle

102 (PE113) Skyphos

fig I.102; pl II.58

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

p.H. 4; est. Diam. rim 7.7, body 8.8

Fragment of upper body, rim, handle attachment. Fine, hard, light brown clay (10YR 8/4). Thin walls. Shiny metallic black glaze. Flaking in places. Interior glazed.

Maximum diameter of wall higher than the diameter of rim. Convex walls with pronounced bulging. Thickened, outturned rim. Canted horizontal handles.

For shape and date, cf. *Agora* XII, 260, no.352, fig 4; *Agora* XXIX, 257, no. 151, fig 12; *Corinth* VII.6, 188-189, nos. VI-39 – VI-42, fig 37.

Ca. 325 BC



Figure I.102: Skyphos sherd

103 (PE191) Skyphos?

fig I.103; pl II.59

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

p. H. 2.5; est. Diam. rim 8.8

Medium hard, fine, reddish (5YR 7/6) clay. Tiny grey and white inclusions. Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking. Evidence for dipping on interior rim.

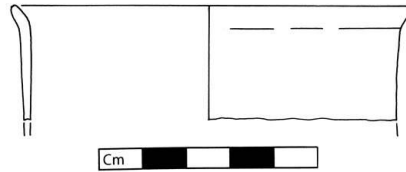


Figure I.103: Skyphos (?) sherd

104 (PE18) Very large skyphos?

fig I.104; pl II.60

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

p.H. 9.5; p. Diam. body 16, foot 9.2

Fragment of foot and lower body. Mended from four pieces. Many chips missing on exterior and interior. Fine, hard, reddish clay (5YR 7/6-6/6). Shiny black glaze, worn in places, fired gray and green in places; attractive effect if intentional. Glazed inside, worn. Reserved: resting surface, underside and broad band at juncture of foot and body.

Thick, flaring ring foot. Underside convex. Thick and heavy bottom. Sharply concave walls.

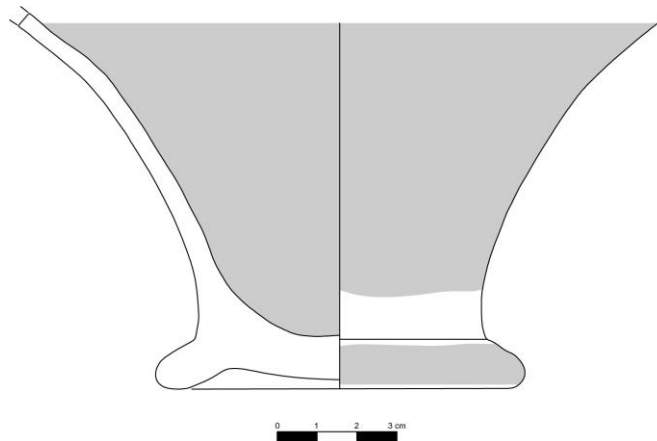


Figure I.104: Large skyphos foot and lower body

105 (PE33) Large kantharos

fig I.105; pl II.61

Trenches TT4+TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 6+30

p.H. 12

Nearly one-third preserved. The preserved bits of the rim do not allow diameter estimation. Base missing. Fine, soft (hard where thicker), orange clay (7.5YR 8/4). Some tiny black inclusions. Shiny black glaze, worn and flaking in places. Interior black.

Hemispherical lower body. Cylindrical upper body. Offset, outturned rim. Thick, heavy, vertical strap handles with handle plates.

Two horizontal grooves at bottom body. On body shallow, slightly wavy, vertical incisions for fake ribbing. Ivy garland on handle panel, between two thin grooves. Garland branches incised, ivy leaves scraped. Scraped wavy pattern on rim. Panel with incised, wavy X motif below handle.

For shape and date, cf. *Olympia XXIII*, 60-64, 119-123, pl 5, 54-56 (Variante A); Georgiadou 2005, 55, 122-123, nos. 45.1, 47.2, pl 37.

Ca. 335 BC



Figure I.105: (a) Sherds of West-Slope kantharos, and (b) view of handle panel

106 (PE114) Kantharos

fig. I.106; pl II.62

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

p.H. 4

Fine, hard, light red clay (10R6/6). Glazed overall. Shiny black glaze, flaking in places.

Convex lower body with shallow, vertical incisions for fake ribbing.

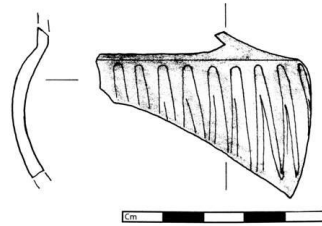


Figure I.106: Sherd of kantharos

107 (PE6) Kantharos

fig I.107; pl II.63

Trench TT3; Pyre 3; Lot 3

p.H. 2.7

Fine, hard, reddish clay (5YR 6/4). Non-joining sherd of same found in TT4, Lot 5. Black glaze fired brown in places, worn and flaking. Interior glazed.

Convex lower body with well executed vertical grooves. Upper body with ivy garland. Ivy branches incised; leaves with added colour, now lost.

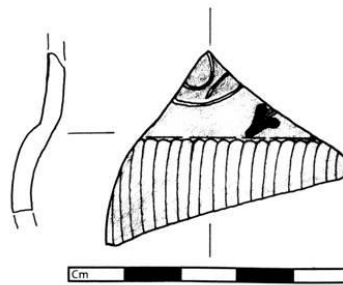


Figure I.107: Sherd of West-Slope kantharos

108 (PE11) Kantharos

fig I.108; p.64

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

p.H. 2.3; Diam. foot 3.9

Hard, fine, pinkish (5YR 7/4) clay. Reserved surface pale (10YR 8/4). Dull black glaze, mottled to brown in places. Flaking in places. Dipped. Reserved: upper foot and small part of upper underside.

Moulded conical foot. Slightly bevelled resting surface. Concave underside. Outer face of foot with groove and rounded moulding above. Low, concave stem. Thin, sharp moulding at juncture of stem with body.

For shape and date, cf. *Olympia XXIII*, 60-64, 119-123, pl 5, 54-56 (Variante A); Georgiadou 2005, 54-55.

Ca. 335 BC

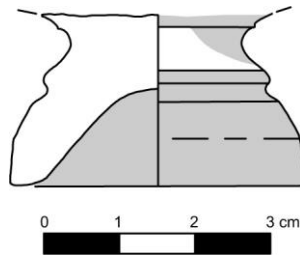


Figure I.108: Kantharos foot

109 (PE115) Kantharos

fig I.109; pl II.65

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 6

p.H. 2.8; Diam. foot 3.9

Hard, fine clay. Foot pinkish grey (7.5YR 6/2); body reddish brown (5YR 6/4). Reserved: upper part of underside.

Moulded conical foot. Slightly bevelled resting surface. Concave underside. Outer face of foot with double rounded moulding. No stem. Thin, sharp moulding at juncture of foot with body. Traces of burning.

For shape and date, cf. *Olympia XXIII*, 60-64, 119-123, pl 5, 54-56 (Variante A); Georgiadou 2005, 54-55.

Ca. 335 BC

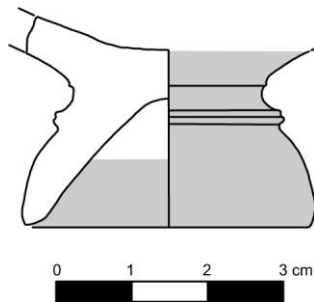


Figure I.109: Kantharos foot

110 (PE197) Kantharos

fig I.110; pl II.66

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

p. H. 1.4

Very small conical foot sherd. Hard, fine, light orange (7.5YR 7/6) clay. Black-glazed outer and inner face. Glaze fired brown and red in places, worn and flaking. Reserved: resting surface.

Relatively broad resting surface.

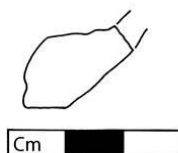


Figure I.110: Foot sherd of kantharos

111 (PE23b) Open shape

fig I.111; pl II.67

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

p.H. 1.8; Diam. foot 4.6

Foot of open shape. Hard, fine, reddish (5YR 6/6) clay. Ring foot. Outer face ridged. Slightly bevelled resting surface. Underside nipped. Continuous curve from inner face of foot to underside. Thin walls. Black-glazed overall, flaking. Dull black glaze.

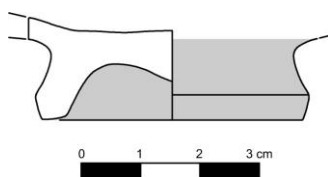


Figure I.111: Open shape foot

112 (PE116) Cup?

fig I.112; pl II.68

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

p.H. 2.1; Diam. foot 6

Very hard, fine, reddish brown (2.5YR 6/3) clay. Black glaze on lower exterior foot, body, inner face of foot. Reserved: resting surface, top of cone on underside, upper exterior foot.

Thick, broad foot. Resting surface flat. Concave underside. Lower part of exterior face of foot grooved. Upper part recessed. Thick bottom, thick walls.

Bottom perforated and later tapped with lead.

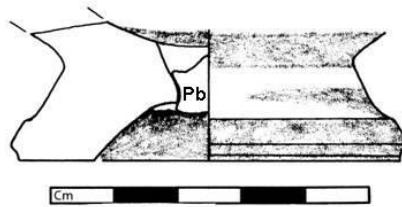


Figure I.112: Cup(?) foot

113 (PE9) Echinus bowl

fig I.113; pl II.69

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 5

H. 4.6; est. Diam. rim 14.6, foot 7.6

Less than one fourth preserved. Medium hard, fine, pale pinkish (7.5YR 8/3) clay. Black-glazed overall. Glaze almost totally worn.

Thick ring foot with slightly bevelled resting surface; broader than the vessel's height; carefully articulated on both faces. Sharp angle at juncture of foot with underside. Upper part of outer face of foot slightly grooved. Slightly convex walls. Incurving rim with rounded lip.

For shape and date, cf. *Corinth* VII.6, 105-106.

Ca. 325 BC

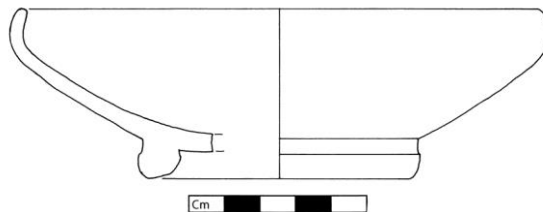


Figure I.113: Echinus bowl

114 (PE117) Echinus bowl

fig I.114; pl II.70

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

p.H. 3.4; est. Diam. rim 8.1

Single fragment. Black-glazed overall. Shiny black glaze, flaking. Convex walls. Deep bowl. Incurving rim.

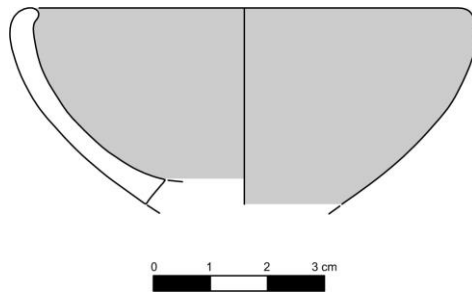


Figure I.114: Echinus bowl

115 (PE169) Deep echinus bowl

fig I.115; pl II.71

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

p.H. 6; est. Diam. rim 19.6

Part of rim and upper body. Medium hard, fine, pale pinkish (7.5YR 8/3) clay. Glazed overall. Dull, light brown glaze, worn and flaking.

Slightly convex, almost straight, walls. Sharply incurving rim with rounded lip.

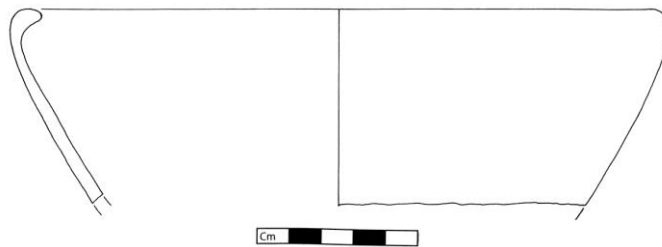


Figure I.115: Deep echinus bowl

116 (PE190) Echinus bowl

fig I.116; pl II.72

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

p.H. 3.4; est. Diam. rim 12.6

Medium hard, fine, partly pinkish (5YR 7/4), and partly yellowish buff (10YR 7/4) clay. Black glazed overall; worn and peeling; fired red in places. Tiny black and white inclusions.

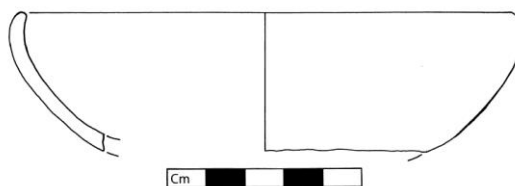


Figure I.116: Echinus bowl

117 (PE16) Saltcellar

fig I.117; pl II.73

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

p.H. 2.9; est. Diam. rim 7.6

Single fragment. Hard, fine pinkish (7.5YR 7/4) clay. Convex walls. Thickened, bevelled rim. Black-glazed overall. Shiny black glaze, fired brown in places, worn and flaking in places. Traces of burning.

Thick, convex walls; thickened, incurving rim; rounded lip.

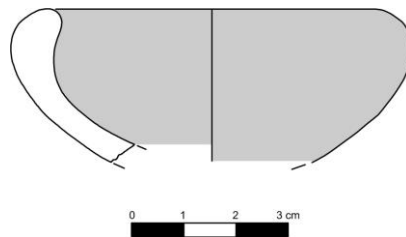


Figure I.117: Saltcellar

118 (PE120) Plate

fig I.118; pl II.74

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 5

p.H. 1.6; max. est. p. Diam. 18; est. Diam. foot 15.7

Hard, fine, reddish brown (2.5YR 6/4) clay. Glazed overall, worn.

Single fragment. Low ring foot. Resting surface worn. Continuous curve from inner face of foot to underside. Cyma profile, convex below and concave above.

For shape and date, cf. plate **97**.

Ca. 325 BC

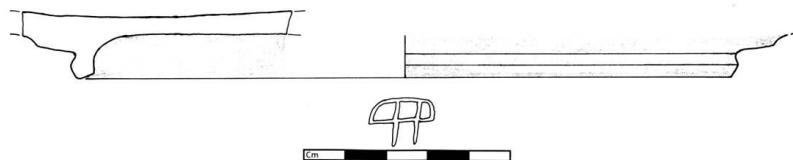


Figure I.118: Plate sherd with graffito on the underside

119 (PE24b) Open shape

fig I.119; pl II.75

Trench TT4, Pyre 3; Lot 6

p.H. 2.8; W. 2.3; max. Th. 0.25

Hard, fine, grey (10YR 6/1) clay.

Small rim sherd. Black-glazed overall; worn especially on outer surface.
Well retained on inside lip.

Straight wall. Rounded lip. Slightly convex at broken edge.

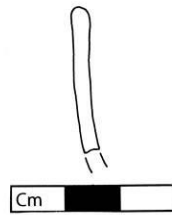


Figure I.119: Rim sherd of open shape

120 (PE192) Open shape

fig I.120; pl II.76

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

p.H. 2.3; p. Diam. 10

Hard, fine, pinkish (5YR 7/4) clay. Sparse tiny black, white, and brown inclusions. Black-glazed overall; worn and flaking.

Thick, heavy, broad bowl of undetermined shape. Circular attachment of stem-like part at centre of convexity.

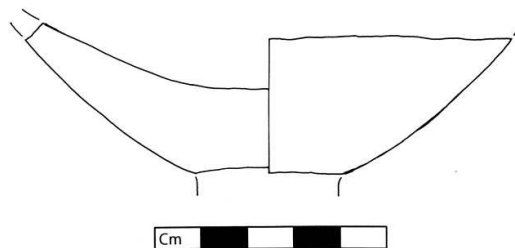


Figure I.120: Sherd of heavy open shape

121 (PE193) Undetermined shape

fig I.121; pl II.77

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

p.H. 1.2; p.W. 3; Th. 0.4

Rim sherd. Hard, fine, pinkish (5YR 7/4) clay. Some tiny white inclusions. Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking in places.

Short slightly incurving rim.

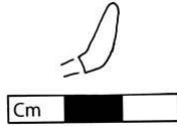


Figure I.121: Rim sherd of undetermined shape

Closed shapes

122 (PE26) Guttus type askos

fig I.122; pl II.78

Trenches TT4-TT6; Pyre 3; Lots 6, 30

p.H. 7.7; Diam. rim 4.1, body 10.5, foot 7.5

Nearly half preserved. Mended from many fragments. Almost complete profile except part of the neck. Handle missing. Fine, hard, orange clay (7.5YR 8/4). Tiny black inclusions. Lustrous black glaze, worn in places. Interior mostly black by dribbling glaze. Resting surface and underside reserved. Ivy garland running on shoulder; branches incised, leaves with added colour, now lost.

Low, broad foot. Convex underside. Continuous curve from inner face of foot to underside. Squat, vertically ribbed body with a continuous curve to shoulder. Tall thin neck with flaring rim. Two scraped grooves separating body from shoulder. Slight ridge at top of shoulder offsetting body from narrow neck.

For shape and date, cf. *Agora* XII, 319, no. 1194, pl 39; Morel 1994, 364-365, pl 171; *Agora* XXIX, 352, no. 1140, fig 71, pl 83; *Corinth* VII.6, 199-200, 205-206, no. VII-15, fig 42, pl 34, 51.

Ca. 325 BC

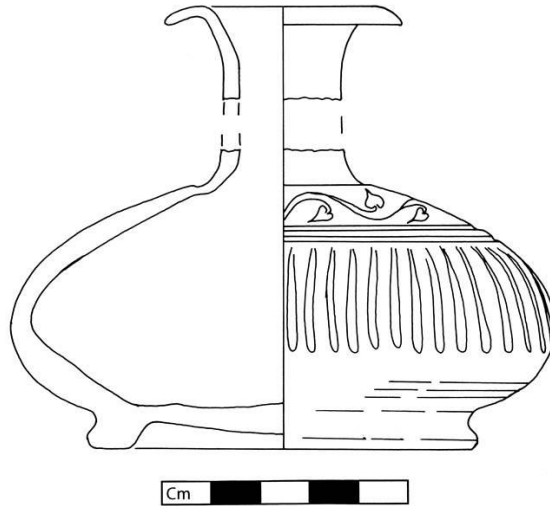


Figure I.122: Guttus type askos

123 (PE111) Strainer-top askos

fig I.123; pl II.79

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

H. 5; Diam. strainer rim 2.7, body 8.9, foot 5.6

Mended from many fragments. Missing spout, parts of the body, chips of the rim, strainer, strap handle. Fine, hard, orange clay (7.5YR 7/4). Rare tiny voids. Lustrous black glaze. Fired brown in places. Worn and flaking in part. Reserved: Underside, with glaze dribbling from the walls, and groove around rim covered with miltos.

Low disk foot. Underside concave. Globular body with maximum diameter on upper half. Vertically ribbed only upper half of wall. Vertical rim of strainer mouth.

For shape and date, cf. *Agora XII*, 159-160, 319, nos. 1187-1189, pl 39; Morel 1994, 423-424, pl 210; Sotiriou 2009, 220-221, fig 12; *Corinth VII.6*, 199, 205, no. VII-14, fig 42, pl 34.

Ca. 325 BC

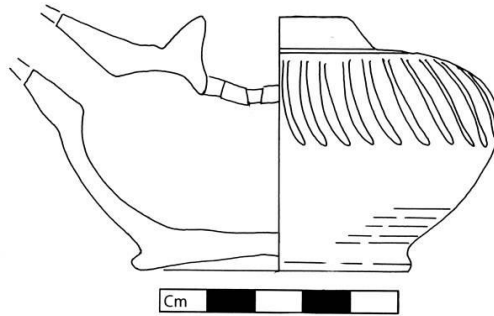


Figure I.123: Strainer-top askos (the drawing combines elements of **123** and **125**)

124 (PE32) Strainer-top askos

fig I.124; pl II.80

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

p.H. 2.7

Fine, soft, pinkish clay (5YR 7/4 to 7.5YR 7/4). Shiny black glaze, flaking badly.

Spout attachments and parts of upper wall of a strainer-top askos. On the internal surface are visible the marks of the exterior ribbing, unlike the other two askoi (**123** and **125**).



Figure I.124: Strainer-top askos sherds

125 (PE105) Strainer-top askos

fig I.125; pl II.81

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

H. 5; Diam. strainer rim 3, body 9.5, foot 6

Intact. Missing spout and strap handle. Fine, hard, orange clay (5YR 7/6). Lustrous black glaze. Fired brown in places. Worn in small parts. Reserved: Underside, with glaze dribbling from the walls, and two concentric rings with milts around groove surrounding the rim.

Low disk foot. Underside concave. Globular body with maximum diameter on upper half. Vertically ribbed only upper half of wall. Two concentric grooves around rim. In some instances the fluting overlaps the outer groove, suggesting that it was scraped later. Vertical rim of strainer mouth. Sunk strainer. Four wide, arranged in a cross-pattern holes, punched before firing. The central one slightly offset of the strainer's centre.

For shape and date, cf. Agora XII, 159-160, 319, nos. 1187-1189, pl 39; Morel 1994, 423-424, pl 210; Sotiriou 2009, 220-221, fig 12; *Corinth* VII.6, 199, 205, no. VII-14, fig 42, pl 34.

Ca. 325 BC



Figure I.125: Strainer-top askos

126 (PE107) Closed shape

fig I.126; pl II.82

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

p.H. 3.2; Diam. body 7, base 4.2

Fine, soft, reddish clay (5YR 7/6). Some tiny sparkling inclusions visible in sunlight, and some tiny voids. Black glazed, flaking. Underside reserved.

Tall disk foot. Underside slightly concave. Squat body.

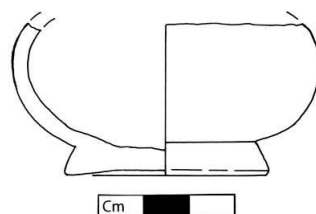


Figure I.126: Closed shape

127 (PE118) Large Jug or Hydria

fig I.127; pl II.83

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

p. H. to rim 10.8, to handle 14.3; Diam. rim 11.5; p. Diam. body 23

Preserved: upper part of body, neck, rim, handle, and non-joining fragment of low, flat, disk foot. Fine, hard, pinkish (7.5YR 7/4) clay. Semi-glazed from the lower handle attachment upwards. Interior rim glazed. Worn black glaze.

Convex walls. Cylindrical neck. Out turned rim. High-swung, thick strap handle, attached from shoulder to rim. Grooved on exterior.

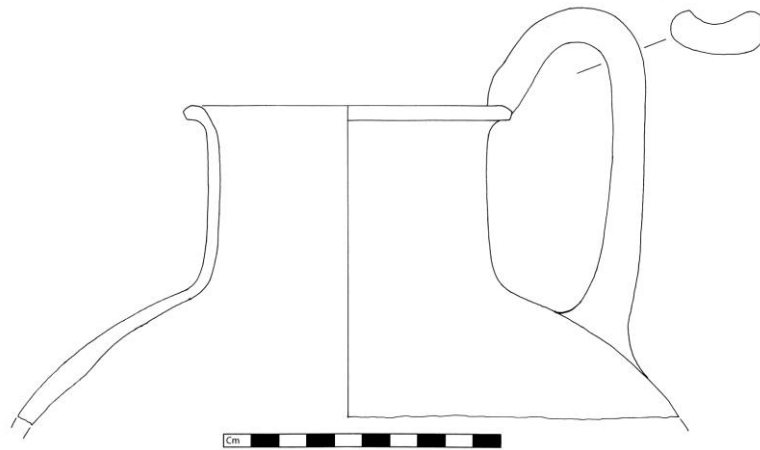


Figure I.127: Jug or Hydria

128 (PE 5) Wall fragment of a large closed shape

fig I.128

Trench TT3; Pyre 3; Lot 3

p. H. 7.5; p. W. 18

Hard, fine clay. Occasional medium white inclusions. Exterior pale (10YR 8/4), interior light reddish (2.5YR 7/4). Glazed band and line.

Wall fragments of a large open shape. They probably belong to **127**, or to another similar.



Figure I.128: Sherds of closed shape

129 (PE25) Vertical swung strap-handle

fig I.129

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 6

H. 5.2; W. 1.3; Th. 0.6

Hard, fine, reddish (2.5YR 7/6) clay. Black-glazed, worn and flaking.



Figure I.129: Highly swung strap-handle

130 (PE195) Lid

fig I.130

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

max. p. radius 7.

Hard, fine, orange (5YR 7/6) clay. Three concentric red bands, worn and flaking.

Sloping top, vertical rim.



Figure I.130: Lid sherd

131 (PE108) Lid

fig I.131

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

max. p. radius 5.5

Hard, fine, orange (5YR 7/6) clay. Some voids. At least two black bands.

Sloping top, vertical rim.



Figure I.131: Lid sherds

132 (PE194) Lid

fig I.132; pl II.84

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

est. Diam.

Hard, fine, orange (5YR 7/6) clay. Outer surface black-glazed. Worn for the most part.

Sloping top, vertical rim.

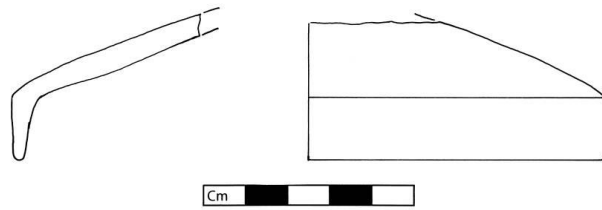


Figure I.132: Lid sherd

Coarse ware

133 (PE13) Stamp seal

fig I.133; pl II.85

Trench TT4; Pyre 3; Lot 5

L. 7.1; max. W. 3.4

Soft, reddish clay (5YR 6/8)

Perforated lug-handle. Stamp seal made on a handle attachment sherd. On the roughly elliptical surface, a motif of ivy branch and leaves has been deeply carved.

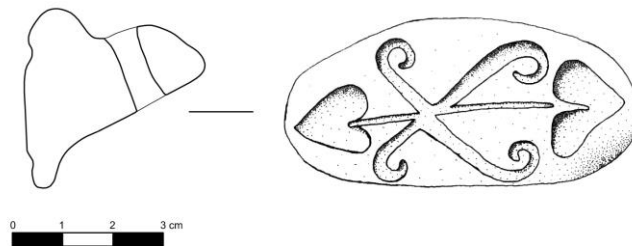


Figure I.133: Stamp-seal

134 (PE110) Stamped terracotta

fig I.134; pl II.86-87

Trench TT6; Pyre 3; Lot 30

Preserved dimensions 23x24cm. Th. 2.

Coarse, tile fabric. Surface pale yellow (2.5Y8/2); core pale pinkish 7.5YR 7/3).

Fairly flat object. Rectangular stamp measuring 12x3.5. H. of letters 1.3.

The name TIMEAΣ is stamped from right to left.



Figure I.134: Stamped terracotta

Assemblage NKIIIb

Ithacan

135 (PE134) Kantharos

fig I.135; pl II.88

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

p.H. 2.8; Diam. foot 6.5

Fine, hard, orange clay (5YR 7/6). Shiny black glaze, fired brown in places. Interior black. Reserved: resting surface, top of cone on underside with black dot, juncture of foot with body.

Fairly high and thick ring foot. Resting surface slightly bevelled. Nippled underside. Wide groove at juncture of foot with body. Thin, sharp ridge at mid-groove.

For shape and date, cf. *Olympia XXIII*, 62-63, 121, no. FB13, pl 54,3.

Ca. 330 BC

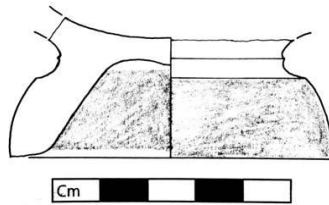


Figure I.135:Kantharos foot

136 (PE97) Plate

fig I.136; pl II.89

Trench NKIII; Lot NKIII

H. 2.2; est. Diam. rim 18, foot 13.9

Fine, hard, pinkish clay (7.5YR 7/4). Ithacan red technique. Some small brown inclusions. Black-glazed overall, flaking.

Ring foot with flat resting surface. Square moulding at junction of base with body. Angular transition from underside to inner face of foot. Convex profile. Groove defining the outside of the rim area. Raised, slightly incurving rim. Inner edge of rim sharp.

For shape and date, cf. *Agora XXIX*, 142-145, figs 46-47, nos. 650-656.

Ca. 300-275 BC

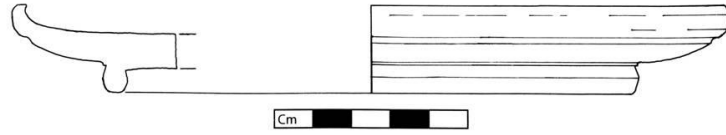


Figure I.136: Plate sherd

Assemblage 8+27+3

Corinthian

137 (PE179) Kotyle

fig I.137

Trench TT4; Lot 8

p.H. 4.3; W. 4.5; max. Th. 0.3

Lower body sherds. Hard, fine, greenish grey (GLEY 1 6/1) clay. Some small brown inclusions. Well-spaced, black, thin rays. Interior black. Worn and flaking throughout.

Wall rising straight.



Figure I.137: Kotyle sherd

Attic

Open shapes

138 (PE36) Small bowl

fig I.138; pl II.90

Trench TT6; Lot 8

p.H. 2.3; est. Diam. rim 9.2

Hard, fine, orange (5YR 6/6) clay. Lustrous black glaze, worn in places. Where not worn, is well retained.

Thickened rim with rounded lip.

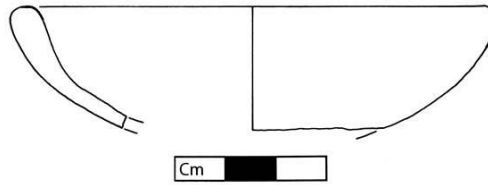


Figure I.138: Small bowl sherd

Closed shapes

139 (PE40) Patterned squat lekythos

fig I.139

Trench TT4; Lot 8

p.H. 2.8; p.W. 2.2; Th. 0.4

Wall sherd. Hard, fine, pinkish (5YR 7/4) clay. Reserved band containing two horizontal lines of glaze between which, a row of Z (“running dog”).

For shape and date, cf. *Agora XII*, 154, no. 1124, pl 38.

Ca. 425 BC



Figure I.139: Lekythos sherd

140 (PE35) Lekythos

fig I.140

Trench TT4; Lot 8

p.H. 3.6; p. Diam. mouth 3.2, neck 1.7

Hard, fine, pinkish (5YR 7/4) clay. Probably belongs to the **139** squat lekythos.



Figure I.140: Lekythos sherd

Ithacan

Open shapes

141 (PE39) Large Corinthianizing kotyle

fig I.141; pl II.91

Trench TT4; Pyre 2; Lot 8

p.H. 9.4; p. Diam. body 14.9, foot 8.4

Fragment of foot and body. Mended from many pieces. Medium hard pale clay (10YR 8/2 to 2.5Y 8/3). Tiny black and brown inclusions. Some small irregular voids. Some tiny sparkling inclusions. Body sherds with angular breaks. Smooth surface finish.

Flaring foot. Rounded lower part and resting surface. Recessed upper face on exterior and interior. Flat underside with central recess. Slightly convex walls. Black ring on underside, worn. Interior face of foot red, worn. Resting surface, lower part of exterior face of foot, and lower part of exterior recess of foot black, flaking. Upper part of exterior recess of foot red. On bottom of body two black lines, flaking. Well-spaced, thin, tall, black rays, worn and flaking. Upper part of body black, flaking.

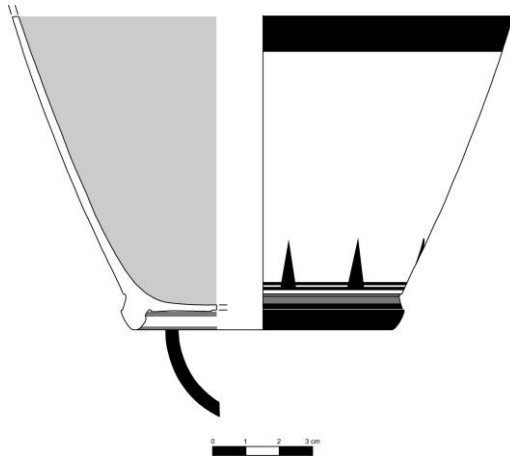


Figure I.141: Corinthianizing kotyle

142 (PE38) Skyphos

fig I.142; pl II.92

Trench TT4; Lot 8

p.H. 1.5; est. Diam. foot 5.2

Foot sherd. Hard, fine, reddish (5YR 6/6) to reddish grey (5YR 5/2) clay.

Tiny black inclusions. Black-glazed overall. Fired brown in places and worn in parts.

Torus ring foot; well articulated; sharp fillet at juncture of outer face of foot with body, perhaps unintentional. Underside flat.

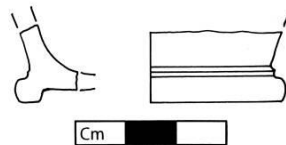


Figure I.142: Skyphos foot sherd

143 (PE122) Open shape

fig I.143; pl II.93

Trench TT4; Baulk TT3-TT4; Lot 27

p.H. 2.3; max. p. Diam. 6.2, foot 4.3

Fragment of foot and lower body. Fine, hard, pale pinkish (7.5YR 8/3) clay. Black-glazed overall, worn and flaking. Dull black glaze, fired brown in places.

Ring foot. Slightly beveled resting surface. Underside nipped. Continuous curve from inner face of foot to underside. Convex walls.

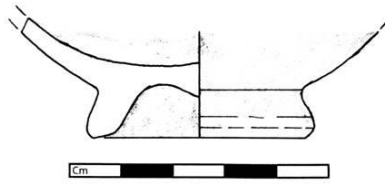


Figure I.143: Open shape foot

144 (PE34) Large horseshoe handle

fig I.144

Trench TT4; Lot 8

W. 5.7; Depth 4.3; Diam. 1 – 1.1

Hard, fine, reddish (5YR 7/6) clay. Black-glazed, worn and flaking.

Complete horizontal horseshoe-shaped handle.



Figure I.144: Large horse-shoe handle

145 (PE196) Kantharos

fig I.145

Trench TT6; Lot 8

p.H. 1.9; p. W. 2.5; Th. 0.25 – 0.35

Hard, fine, pale pinkish (7.5YR 7/3) clay. Black-glazed overall. Dull glaze, worn on outer face, good retention on interior.

Sherd of juncture of convex body with concave rim.



Figure I.145: Kantharos sherd

Closed shapes

146 (PE7) Bottle-shaped jug?

fig I.146; pl II.94

Trench TT3, Lot 3

p.H. 6.9; max. Diam. body 6.6; foot 3.2

Fine, hard, pinkish (7.5YR 7/4) clay. Semi-glazed, flaking. Dipped with neat edge.

Disk foot. Slightly concave underside. Convex lower body; cylindrical upper part.

For shape and date, cf. jugs **38-40**.

Ca. 480 BC

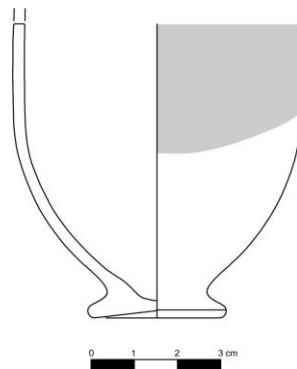


Figure I.146: Bottle-shaped jug

Appendix II

PLATES



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Plate II.16: Ithacan Corinthianizing kotyle **34**



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Plate II.22: Ithacan jug **40**



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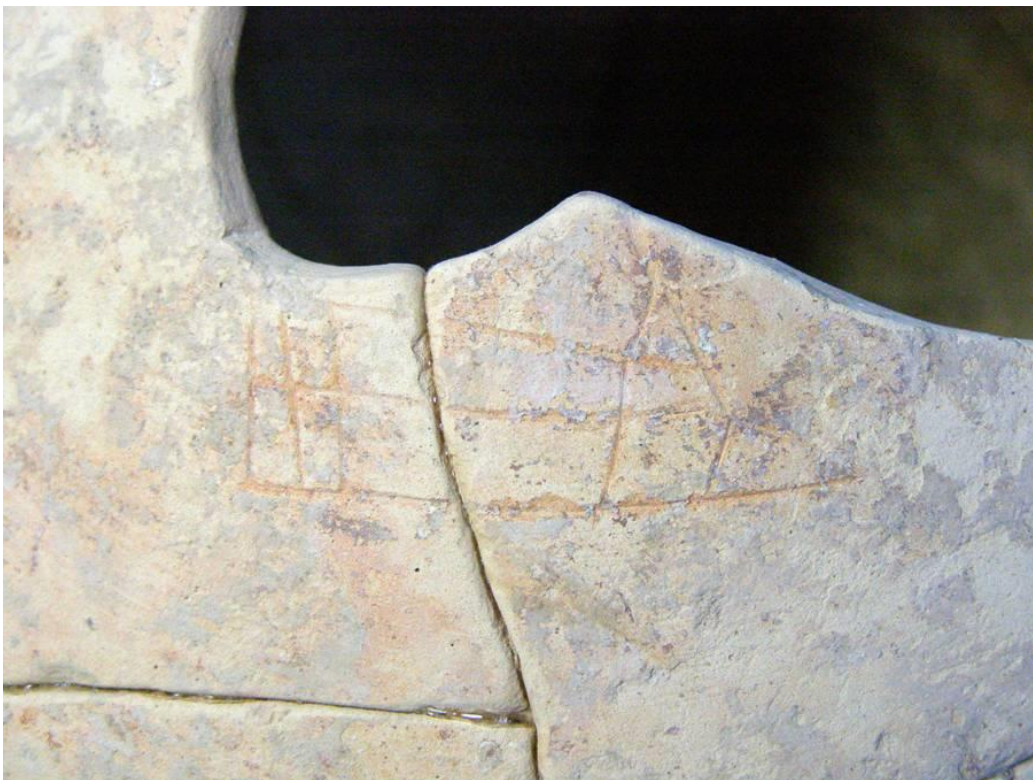


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