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STYLISTIC INNOVATION IN WESTERN GREEK CERAMICS:

WESTERN ARCHAIC POLYCHROME POTTERY IN CONTEXT

Proceedings of the International Workshop *Archaic 'Elian Style' Pottery in Western Greece*, Norwegian Institute at Athens, November 18, 2022

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Norwegian Institute at Athens

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Table of Contents

Editors' Preface 7

The Contributors 9

Preface. Reflections on Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery 11
Birgitta Eder

Introduction 17
Signe Barfoed and Catherine Morgan

Archaic Pottery in Western Achaia 31
Vasiliki Tsaknaki

Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery (WAPP) from the Sanctuary of Artemis Laphria at Kalydon, Aitolia 85
Signe Barfoed

Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery (WAPP) from the Fortification Fill on the Lower Acropolis of Kalydon 121
Søren Handberg and Olympia Vikatou

WAPP Pottery and Textile Tools in Archaic Chalkis in Aitolia: Expressing Local and Regional Identities 149
Sanne Houby-Nielsen

Ancient Makyneia in Aitolia During the Later Part of the Iron Age and the Archaic Period 191
Foteini Saranti

Elian, Achaian, or Western Greek Pottery? Kinship of Ceramics from the Ionian Islands and Aitolia 225
Agathi Karadima

Tracking Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery and Other Western Peloponnesian Ceramics through the Central Ionian Islands 263
Catherine Morgan

The Plaghia Peninsula and Its Archaic Material Culture 297
Anne Sieverling-Pantelidis and Franziska Lang

PLATES 367

Editors' preface

THIS BOOK is the product of a workshop entitled *Archaic 'Elian Style' Pottery in Western Greece,* held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens (NIA) on 18 November 2022. Jointly funded by the Research Council of Norway and the Department of Archaeology, Conservation and History at the University of Oslo, the event benefitted greatly from the invaluable support of the Institute's staff, particularly Paschalis Zafeiriadis, whose efforts in organisation helped create a warm and convivial atmosphere. The volume has been significantly enriched by the generosity and insights of the workshop discussants, Florentia Fragkopoulou, Anastasia Gadolou, Birgitta Eder, and Stella Katsarou, as well as by valuable feedback from peer reviewers. We are pleased to present these proceedings in the series *Papers and Monographs from the Norwegian Institute in Athens* and deeply grateful to NIA for its financial support in bringing this publication to fruition. Last but not least, we express particular thanks to Søren Handberg for his support throughout this project and his expert work on the illustrations in this book, as well as to Joos Melander for the regional map included below.

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PREFACE
Reflections on Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery

Birgitta Eder

THE RAPID and intensive increase in ceramic materials in recent years provides a better basis than ever before for assessing interactions on the western Greek mainland during the Archaic period. This includes not only the present book on the Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery (WAPP), but also the volume edited by Michael Kerschner on the Geometric and Archaic pottery from sanctuaries in the northern Peloponnese. In particular, the rich finds from Drakaina Cave on Kephallonia, Mastro Cave in Aitolia, and the settlements of Olenos and Dyme in Achaia, presented by Agathi Karadima and Vasiliki Tsaknaki respectively, have significantly changed the picture.[1]

In their introduction, Signe Barfoed and Catherine Morgan argue for replacing the term *Elian Style Pottery* with *WAPP*, emphasizing its broader applicability. It is not possible to identify distinctive regional styles particular to Achaia, Elis, or Aitolia, either in contexts in the northwestern Peloponnese or across the Corinthian Gulf. Instead, WAPP reveals intensive connections spanning the region from west of the Panachaikon mountain to the Alpheios River in the south, as well as Aitolia and parts of the Ionian Islands. In other words, the pottery reflects social and cultural interactions across areas that never formed a single political entity.

The connections that are visible in the material culture go back a long way and have already been addressed in the past under the keyword *koine*.[2] In my analysis of Early Iron Age pottery from the Pelopion excavations at Olympia,

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1 Kerschner, ed., 2024; Karadima and Tsaknaki, Chapters 7 and 2, this volume (with further references).

2 See the discussion by Barfoed and Morgan, Chapter 1, this volume; Handberg and Gadolou, eds., 2017.

I examined the Bronze Age background and distribution of the kantharos—the cup with the two vertical triangular handles—within a network connecting Aitolia, the Ionian Islands, western Achaia, and Elis. A similar distribution pattern applies to the much rarer Early Iron Age kylix. Parallels for Olympia's Early Iron Age pottery, primarily drinking vessels associated with the sanctuary's early cult activity, appear in the Polis Cave on Ithaka and in tomb assemblages from Aitolia, Achaia, and Elis.[3] The kantharos remained popular into the Archaic period and became a key component of the WAPP repertoire. While the complexities of the term *koine* remain beyond the scope of this discussion, the cultural background and motivations for these supra-regional similarities warrant further investigation.

During the Archaic period, many of the later political communities of western Greece were still in formation, and identity-building processes continued well into later centuries.[4] Elis stands out as an exception in this part of the mainland, with evidence for an emerging Elian identity and expanding political influence from the Peneios Valley as early as the 7th century BCE.[5] Understanding Archaic pottery production in Elis would be crucial for analysing the distribution and concentration of WAPP. However, our knowledge of these periods in the urban area of Elis remains limited. A few finds, such as Geometric kraters and kantharoi, Archaic roof terracottas, bronze objects, and an inscribed bronze sheet, suggest activity at the later Agora between the 8th and 6th centuries BCE.[6] Yet, the Archaic history of the city remains largely unknown, a stark contrast to the political significance of the Elians in this period. Systematic archaeological exploration of this key site is therefore a pressing desideratum.

The Panhellenic sanctuary of Olympia has yielded a rich corpus of Archaic pottery, including WAPP as part of its local and regional production.[7] The term *Schwarzbunt* describes the characteristic polychrome pottery identified at multiple locations within the sanctuary, particularly in its southeastern sector. The local/regional Archaic pottery has been published primarily in relation to well deposits near the stadium, which served visitors.[8] However, a dedicated study

[3] Eder 2006. For more on the Polis Cave, see Morgan and Hayward 2021.

[4] Morgan 2003.

[5] Gehrke 2005; Gehrke and Eder forthcoming.

[6] Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 10–14, figs. 4–6; Eder 2001, 111–113, pl. 14b.

[7] Kunze-Götte et al. 2000.

[8] Gauer 1975; Schilbach 1999a; 1999b.

is needed to examine its development, its distribution within the sanctuary, and its implications for site use over time.

The most distinctive shape in Olympia's ceramic repertoire is the (sometimes banded) monochrome kantharos with two vertical strap handles, whose origins can be traced back to the latest phase of the Bronze Age (LH IIIC). At Olympia, it first appears in Submycenaean and Protogeometric contexts from the Pelopion excavations. Early variants feature ring and conical feet, paralleling examples from the Polis Cave on Ithaka and from Aitolia. The flat-based kantharos likely emerged in the 9th–8th centuries BCE, while Archaic fine-walled, hard-fired versions reintroduced the ring foot, which evolved into the pronounced conical foot of the 6th century BCE. This entire sequence is well-documented at Olympia, with earlier forms from the Pelopion and later developments from well deposits.[9] Similar Late Geometric and Archaic kantharos types appear in the sanctuary deposit at the Drakaina Cave on Kephallonia,[10] as well as at other sites across the northwestern Peloponnese, Aitolia, and the Ionian Islands.[11] This raises the question of whether sanctuaries, both large and small, facilitated the circulation and spread of specific ceramic forms and decorative styles. As centres of communication and interaction, they attracted visitors from near and far who engaged in communal rituals, including the shared consumption of food and drink. The WAPP repertoire, comprising kantharoi, kraters, bowls, plates, jugs, and oinochoai, can be understood as tableware designed for communal dining practices.[12]

The increasing body of material evidence suggests that our understanding of WAPP's production and distribution is still in its early stages. Finds from Olenos and Dyme in Achaia, Kalydon and Mastos in Aitolia, and Kephallonia, alongside indications of local production, demonstrate that Elis was not the sole production centre, contrary to early interpretations by John E. Coleman and Katherine Abramovitz based on evidence from Elian Pylos.[13] A comprehensive and systematic study of Archaic pottery from western Greece is essential to

[9] Eder 2006, 154–172.

[10] Karadima 2024; and Chapter 7, this volume (with further references).

[11] Papadopoulos 2001, who gives an overview on what he calls the 'Achaian' kantharos, but which is typical of the Archaic pottery production of western Greece; see also Barfoed and Morgan, Chapter 1, this volume.

[12] Plates do not figure in the published Archaic pottery from Olympia.

[13] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986.

evaluate regional similarities and differences in production and use, as well as to identify distinct workshop traditions. The present volume represents an initial step in this direction.

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Introduction

Signe Barfoed and Catherine Morgan

ARCHAEOLOGICAL research over the past two decades has transformed our understanding of western Greece in the Late Geometric and Archaic periods. The western half of what is conventionally termed the Corinthian Gulf (i.e., the combined Gulfs of Patras and Corinth) can now be appreciated as a zone of complex interaction on a local level (across the heartlands of Achaia, Elis, Aitoloakarnania, and the central Ionian Islands) that extends more broadly into the Adriatic and west and south from the central Peloponnese to Sicily and north Africa (Fig. 1; Pl. 1). Key to this transformation is exploration of early contexts via new research-led excavations at long known sites (such as Kalydon and Chalkis in Aitolia) and rescue work in urban centres and for major public infrastructure projects (notably the Ionian motorway).[1] Systematic study or reappraisal of Archaic evidence from older excavations further enriches the picture.

An important consequence of this research is the discovery of well-contextualized Archaic pottery assemblages in previously poorly documented areas. As a result, we are no longer reliant on a few fixed points, most notably deposits from Elian Pylos and Olympia, to understand the ceramic repertoire of the larger region. Instead, we are beginning to acquire the spatial data necessary to address patterns of manufacture, distribution, and consumption of the region's most distinctive pottery styles, while also achieving better (if still imperfect) control over their chronology.

This book reviews the new ceramic evidence with three main aims. First, to present the well-illustrated accounts of key assemblages necessary to familiarize readers with a lesser-known area of Greece and to facilitate the work of

[1] For a synthesis of Archaic evidence from Aitoloakarnania, Epirus, and the islands, see Morgan forthcoming. Achaia: Gadolou 2008 sets out the EIA background; for new 8th-century BCE and Archaic evidence see papers in Greco and Rizakis, eds., 2019; Kerschner, ed., 2024. For an overview of public works in the two largest ephorates, see: Koumousi 2022; Vikatou 2022.

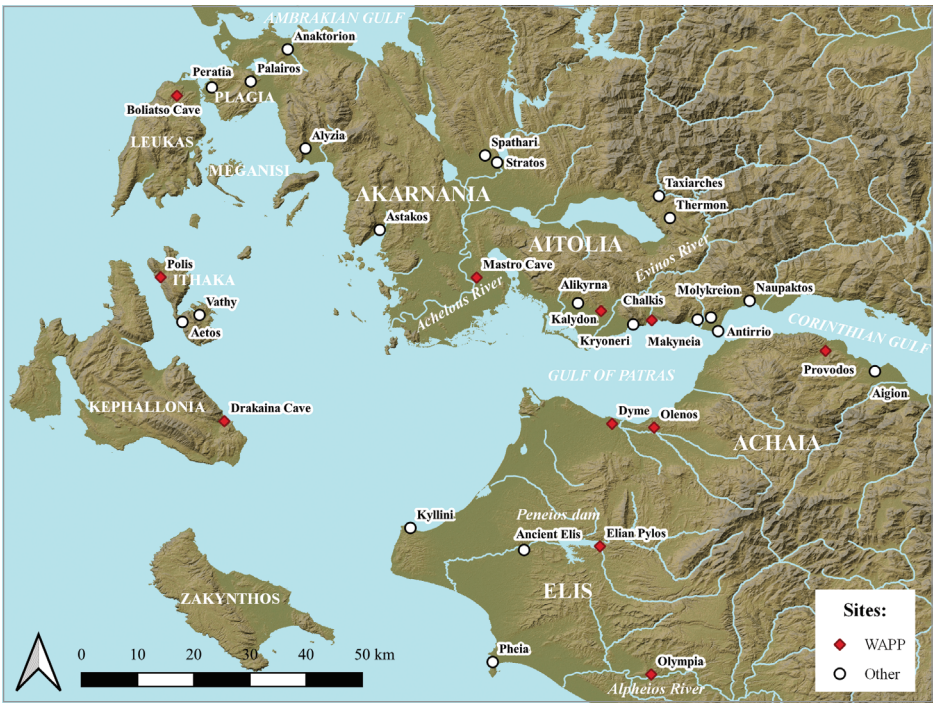


Fig. 1; Pl. 1. Map of northwestern Greece with sites mentioned throughout the volume. (© Joos Melander. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License).

colleagues seeking comparanda for their own material. Handbooks on regional pottery styles and production have long been a feature in other periods (the Hellenistic period in particular),[2] and a similar approach has more recently been taken to Archaic regional styles, notably in the northern Aegean and Thessaly.[3] Our book follows this trend, and we are grateful to the Norwegian Institute for the opportunity to publish simultaneous print and digital editions, in the hope that the latter will be particularly useful in the field and storerooms.

The second aim is to develop comparative discussion of the development and use of the most distinctive western decorative style (polychrome in *light-on-dark* and *dark-on-light* versions, discussed further below) in different parts of the region, documenting local preferences in vessel shape and decoration

[2] For western Greece, see Kypraiou 2005; Theophilopoulou 2009.

[3] Tiverios et al., eds., 2012; Katakouta and Palaiothodoros, eds., 2019.

according to context, and considering fabrics and potential places of production. This requires attention to the place of these styles within local assemblages, assessing quantities (even impressionistically), and considering absences as well as presences. The geographical focus of the book is west-central Greece and the Ionian islands. Imports and stylistic exchanges with southern Italy are sometimes visible, as Agathi Karadima notes in her discussion of assemblages from the Drakaina and Mastro Cave sites (Chapter 7). This is predictable, given the proximity of major maritime trade routes. But there is still much to be done to understand the role of local patterns of interchange in the development of ceramic styles in both western Greece and southern Italy, so it is premature to assign a formative influence on long distance contacts, let alone to Achaian colonial history.[4]

In broad terms, the geographical reach of polychrome pottery within western Greece is as follows. Differences in the material culture of eastern and western Achaia, while long indicated, are now abundantly clear (as Vasiliki Tsaknaki demonstrates in Chapter 2), with polychrome favoured in the west. They are mirrored north of the Gulf by distinctions between the Aitolian coastal cities (here discussed by Sanne Houby-Nielsen, Signe Barfoed, and Søren Handberg and Olympia Vikatou, in Chapters 3–5) and their counterparts from Makyneia eastwards (noting the discussion of Makyneia presented by Foteini Saranti in Chapter 6). Here too, polychrome is a western phenomenon. It is not yet possible to establish how far polychrome styles penetrated the Aitolian interior because Archaic assemblages from the major excavated sites, Thermon and Taxiarches, remain to be studied. Artistic connections between coast and interior certainly existed. Consider, for example, stylistic and technological similarities in architectural terracottas from temples at Kalydon, Thermon, and Taxiarches, which may be products of one or more workshops (location unknown) operating in the same tradition, and perhaps involving itinerant craftsmen.[5] But it is also true that Archaic pottery from excavation and survey in the Stratiké, further west in inland Akarnania, appears quite different.[6]

In the islands, imports and locally produced Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery and other western, Lakonian(izing), styles are particularly well repre-

[4] Luberto 2017, 198–203; Luberto 2020, 326–327.

[5] The evidence is summarized and reviewed in Morgan forthcoming, sections 4.1.1, 4.1.2, 11.3, 12.1.

[6] Sieverling 2018.

sented at the Drakaina Cave sanctuary on Kephallonia studied by Agathi Karadima. In this volume, Karadima focuses on finds from the Mastro Cave shrine in Aitolia, drawing parallels with Drakaina (Chapter 7). As Catherine Morgan shows, there is also a low-level distribution on Ithaka and Leukas, suggesting a particular local circuit of connections (Chapter 8). The limits of this distribution are more or less clear: Anne Sieverling-Pantelidis and Franziska Lang's account of finds from the Plaghia peninsula (opposite Leukas) suggests a different local tradition showing greater similarities with the Stratiké (Chapter 9). Perhaps the most significant gap in the record concerns Zakynthos, where one might expect to find links with the Elian coast opposite. At present, the indistinct southern edge of the core distribution falls near the ancient border of Elis and Messenia. The few published Archaic deposits from Messenia, notably from the settlement at Kopanaki and the sanctuaries at Akovitika and Agios Floros, appear more directly connected with Lakonia.[7]

The third aim of this book is to establish clear standards for description and terminology, both for the main pottery styles and for characterizing the broader network of connections across this geographical area. Terminology was a key topic of discussion at the 2022 workshop, and we therefore dedicate much of the remainder of this introduction to outlining the challenges and our conclusions, as they shape the approaches taken in the chapters that follow.

From Elian Style to Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery

Central to this volume is a polychrome decorative style long considered to be Elian. To understand how this identification was made and the questions which arise from it, we begin by considering the circumstances of its initial documentation. In 1986, John E. Coleman and Katherine Abramovitz published the results of a rescue excavation at Elian Pylos (modern Armatova Hill near Agrapidochori) conducted prior to the construction of the Peneios Dam.[8] The site, which was severely eroded, occupies a strategically important location on the mountain road from Elis to Olympia. Post-prehistoric, pre-Classical evidence comes from two wells—one partially preserved at the northwestern edge of the hill contained late 8th-century BCE pottery,[9] and another large and well-pre-

[7] Kaltsas 1983; Kalogeroudi and Möller 2010; Valmin 1938, 454–463.
[8] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986.
[9] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 18–33.

served structure (ca. 1.65 m wide and 8 m deep) in a field northeast of the hill, held a substantial body of mid-7th- and 6th-century BCE material.[10] In both cases, the pottery is locally made and domestic in character. Both fills were one-time depositions, with no obvious indication of the origin of the material: survey revealed occasional Archaic sherds in the area of the well, and the deposit contained fragments of Lakonian roof tile, but no evidence of contemporary architecture was found.

At the time of this discovery, there were few Elian parallels for the pottery in these fills. Coleman and Abramovitz's discussion of the Geometric material established the fact of a local production dated and characterized with reference to what was then understood as a western *koine* tradition, while recognizing that certain pieces were stylistically idiosyncratic.[11] Aspects of that Geometric tradition (both shapes and decoration) could be seen within the Archaic assemblage, with decoration sometimes now featuring added red and white bands. The assemblage also contained a quantity of Elian black-glazed vessels, plus one example of black-figure decoration (something also attested at Olympia).[12] But by far the largest and most distinctive part of the Archaic fineware consisted of vessels with rich polychrome decoration, *dark-on-light* and *light-on-dark*. Werner Gauer's study of well deposits from Olympia was a key reference point for the shapes involved (kraters, bowls, kantharoi, oinochoai, plates, and pyxides), even though, with rare exceptions, the Olympia vessels were more utilitarian and plainly decorated.[13] Based largely on these parallels, Coleman and Abramovitz concluded that the Archaic well was filled around 550 BCE and that most of the pottery probably dated to the late 7th or the first quarter of the 6th century BCE (noting that the fill was a single deposit). They acknowledged that the relative scarcity of 7th-century BCE pottery from Olympia made the upper limit hard to determine but concluded that nothing in the Archaic well necessarily pre-dated the mid-7th century BCE.[14]

Many questions about the evidence from Elian Pylos remain. More recent work on 8th- and 7th-century BCE contexts at Olympia gives cause to revisit

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[10] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 34–61.

[11] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 32–33; among distinctive pieces, see e.g. the krater with a depiction of a ship, no. B1, 20, ill. 2, pl. 21.

[12] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, no. C184, 61, pl. 35.

[13] Gauer 1975.

[14] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 64–65.

the early end of the Archaic deposit and reconsider its relationship to the material in the Geometric well.[15] Coleman and Abramovitz themselves suggested that certain jug forms might eventually prove to be earlier and to close the gap with the Elian Geometric sequence, and at Olympia, *dark-on-light* decoration can now be seen in well deposits of the first quarter of the 7th century BCE.[16] However, the prominence of polychrome pottery within the Archaic assemblage at Elian Pylos remains striking, and we have no means of knowing whether this reflects a local preference or whether this material was favoured for a particular kind of activity (e.g., domestic or religious). Equally problematic is reliance on the filling of a particular well to date the end of style as a whole.

Much greater challenges to our understanding of this class of material now emerge from outside Elis. As outlined above, over the last decade, as more Archaic pottery has been studied and published from the Ionian islands, Achaia, Akarnania, and Aitolia, essentially the same polychrome style has been found across a broad geographical area. It now clear that this is a matter of local production as well as export. For example, Archaic polychrome from the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria in Kalydon includes imports and vessels with near identical decoration made by local potters using local clays (as confirmed via a preliminary programme of pXRF analysis; further work in the future will hopefully confirm this tentative result). And the overview of Lakonian exports and influences published by Fabienne Coudin includes WAPP forms with polychrome decoration (notably Group V or E kantharoi) widely manufactured outside Lakonia.[17] Local manufacture occurred in locations with similar Geometric traditions to that of Elis (as Olenos and Dyme in western Achaia) but also in those that varied (such as Kalydon), implying that the style itself was appealing for a variety of reasons.

Clearly, Archaic polychrome pottery was produced and used in Elis. But to refer to it as ‘Elian’ or ‘Elian style’, applying the name of one region to the style as a whole, is a retrograde step. It perpetuates an approach long called into question, for example in relation to Corinth, where pottery similar in appearance tended to be called Corinthian without due consideration of its place of man-

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[15] Eder 2006, chronological discussion at 197–199; Kyrieleis 2003, 72–75, 89, 108; Schilbach 1999a, 33–36, pl. 1; Schilbach 1999b.

[16] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 65. Olympia well 98 SO: Schilbach 1999b, 288, 306, pl. 62.1 K1344; well 101 SO: Schilbach 1999b, 290, 306. pls. 1.12, 62.3.

[17] Coudin 2009. Group V or E kantharoi: Stibbe 1994, 39–40, figs. 40–46.

ufacture or the factors involved in its circulation and use.[18] Even adapting the model of 'Corinthianizing', as applied to material in a more or less Corinthian style known or suspected to be made elsewhere, prioritizes foreign prototypes and raises the question of the intent behind self-conscious emulation. Terming our pottery 'Elianizing' would add the further assumption that the style actually originated in Elis, rather than being first discovered there, when this is still an open question. The uncertainty around the lower date of the Pylos well deposit and the presence of *light-on-dark* polychrome at Olympia during the first quarter of the 7th century BCE suggests that polychrome decoration began in Elis rather earlier than Coleman and Abramovitz suggest. However, the impressive body of evidence from Olenos and Dyme presented by Vasiliki Tsaknaki could also support a case for a western Achaian origin (Chapter 2). Participants in the workshop in November 2022 rapidly agreed that 'Elian style' should be replaced by 'Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery' (abbreviated to WAPP), with no preconceptions about its origins and places of production. WAPP is therefore used throughout this volume.

A further confusion created by regional/ethnic terminology concerns one of the most common open vessel shapes in assemblages featuring WAPP: the tall, slender kantharos with a flat base or low foot, an upright or slightly outturned rim, and angular handles, termed 'Achaian' or 'Achaian-style' by John Papadopoulos.[19] Although Papadopoulos acknowledged the troubled history of ethnic/regional names ('Corinthian' and 'Corinthianizing' included) and accepted that these kantharoi were widely used and manufactured far beyond Achaia and the Achaian colonies, he settled on the name because of the popularity of the shape in mainland Achaia and because he saw Achaian colonization as key to its dispersal in the west (Francavilla Marittima included). This view has been rejected by Italian colleagues, who find the ethnic/colonial frame unduly constraining when trying to understand interactions and the formation of styles on a local level, and prefer to think more broadly about the impact of wider Peloponnesian connections.[20] Papadopoulos' catalogue includes many pieces made in other centres, which he labels as 'Achaian' (or speculatively so), leaving some confusion between style and origin, with Achaian products often seen

[18] This problem was raised thirty years ago, with respect both to the west and to understanding Corinth itself; see Morgan 1995; Morgan 1999, 220–245.

[19] Papadopoulos 2001.

[20] Tomay 2002 (rebuttal of Papadopoulos at 350); Luberto 2020, 326–327.

as prototypes. In the same spirit as the replacement of 'Elian style' with WAPP, we therefore refer to such kantharoi in our study area as stylistically Western Greek rather than Achaian.

Western Ceramic Koinai

Our preference for neutral terminology avoids preconceived notions about the origin and source of polychrome pottery, as well as the shapes on which it was used, and instead treats these questions as open to investigation. However, it also turns the spotlight on the problem of why some styles became widely popular across a broad region, and how we should describe such situations. The notion of a *koine* as shorthand for the space in which certain vase shapes and forms of decoration were replicated, if not in exactly identical fashion at least showing greater affinity than to any other style, lies behind Nicolas Coldstream's highly influential notion of a western *koine* to which several contributors to this book refer.[21] In view of the wide currency of this term, and the potential risks in extending it to cover WAPP material, it is worth briefly examining its origins and implications as they pertain to the study of western Greece.[22]

In his ground-breaking 1968 *Greek Geometric Pottery,* Coldstream defined ten 'local schools' of fineware production in terms of shape, decoration, and place of manufacture, and explored their diachronic development. He did not consider pottery production *per se*: given his focus on establishing a robust chronological framework, he omitted coarse and handmade wares, for example.[23] For the most part, these local styles centred on the territory of an emergent *polis* (as Athens or Corinth), a cluster of *poleis* in close proximity (as Argos and its neighbours around the Argive plain), or a geographical area otherwise closely connected (as the East Greek world of the Dodecanese and Ionia). West Greek Geometric stands out as a 'school' defined by default rather than geographical connections or detailed analysis of local productions. Lakonian is considered as a separate style, leaving as 'West Greek' what was then a relatively small and unequally distributed body of material from Messenia, Elis, Achaia, Aitolia, Akarnania, and the Ionian Islands.[24] Coldstream argued that these areas showed

[21] Coldstream 1968, 220.
[22] For a wider review of the *koine* concept, see Dietler 2017, 18–22.
[23] Coldstream 1968, 3.
[24] Coldstream 1968, 220–232.

the least influence from Athens, but rather produced stylistically Late Geometric pottery in succession to local Protogeometric, with features unique to each district but unknown to the rest of Greece. The broad historical conclusions drawn in the final chapter largely by-pass the west, at least until the spread of Corinthian imports through the 8th century BCE could be seen as drawing the area into larger trade networks.

Koine was thus used in *Greek Geometric Pottery* as a term of convenience to describe a situation where Athenian and other eastern traits were minimal and similarities between local productions greater than dissimilarities. Coldstream displayed no obvious intent to draw social conclusions from it, and indeed, it does not appear in the three more overtly historicizing English language accounts of the Greek Early Iron Age published soon after *Greek Geometric Pottery*—Anthony Snodgrass' 1971 *The Dark Age of Greece*,[25] Vincent Desborough's 1972 *The Greek Dark Ages*,[26] and Coldstream's own 1977 *Geometric Greece*.[27] In the supplement to the second edition of *Greek Geometric Pottery*,[28] Coldstream restated the shared characteristics identified in 1968 (without using the word *koine*), while acknowledging that the quantity of material available now demands that each region receive separate treatment. More information continues to be revealed—consider, for example, the extensive Protogeometric cemetery at Stamna, Protogeometric graves at Kalydon, and the Geometric pottery recently published from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary at Kalydon—but the term *koine* lingers as a trope in discussions of the Early Iron Age northwest.[29]

Our concern here is not the development of Geometric pottery in western Greece, but rather the fact that Coldstream's use of the term *koine,* whatever one's interpretation of it, differs from its potential application to WAPP. The production and use of a distinctive, ostensibly uniform decorative style as a feature of local assemblages across multiple regions in some ways recalls Penelope Mountjoy's use of *koine* in her 1999 *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*. Mountjoy defines a regional style as 'the overwhelming preference in

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[25] Snodgrass 1971.

[26] Desborough 1972, 254–257, noting (at 240) that the 'districts … I deal with can hardly be said to constitute any sort of unity, but there is some evidence that they had dealings with one another, and this may justify the treatment of the whole area as a very loose whole'.

[27] Coldstream 1977.

[28] Coldstream 2008, 471–474.

[29] Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011; Barfoed 2025, 1–32, 324–325, 373–375 (part II).

an area for particular shapes and particular decorative elements', noting that 'isolated local preferences, as instanced by the ubiquity of a single particular shape, by a variant on a normal Mycenaean shape or by an idiosyncratic use of a motif, do not make up a style in themselves.'[30] She describes how stylistically coherent Mycenaean fineware spread out from the Peloponnese from LH I onwards until by LH IIIA1 a *koine* was established. After the collapse of the palatial system, a new wave of regional styles peaked in LH IIIC Middle–Late. During this period, according to Mountjoy, a west mainland *koine* stretched all the way from Messenia across the Corinthian Gulf to Aitoloakarnania, with much regional variation within it.[31] This descriptive usage does not, of course, explain the rationale behind the adoption of a style or the meanings attributed to it. Working from its original linguistic sense, the notion of a *koine* as something shared is both simple and deceptively complex. There is a clear risk of slippage between documenting a style in space and time and assuming shared meaning, social values, or even common identity. In short, the term *koine* may create a misplaced sense of concreteness.[32]

Where contributors to this volume use the term *koine*, it refers solely to the primary documentation of the distribution of WAPP, its origins, and its patterns of adoption. Addressing questions of function and intent will require a further step, one that depends on the availability of more evidence. For this, two kinds of information are essential. The first concerns *habitus*, including patterns of consumption, craft production, artisan mobility, and markets.[33] In Aitoloakarnania, Epirus, and the Ionian islands, the *Oxford History of the Archaic Greek World* represents some progress in this direction;[34] Achaia and Elis await comparable attention. The second focuses directly on WAPP, its percentage representation in different kinds of assemblage in each community as well as preferences for, and variation in, shapes and motifs, evidence for its practical use (i.e., details of wear and cut marks), and its place of production. To what extent was it spread through visiting potters or circulating models? Did local communities produce WAPP for a widely shared purpose (as has been argued in the case of Thapsos-Class pottery), or did they 'download' particular ideas for

[30] Mountjoy 1999, 15.
[31] Mountjoy 1999, 15, 54–55.
[32] Handberg and Gadolou 2017; Dietler 2017, 17.
[33] Dietler 2017, 24–35.
[34] Morgan forthcoming.

their own purposes?[35] Can we trace routes of transmission by land or sea, and is there a significant distinction between assemblages in coastal and in inland communities? Why did communities such as Makyneia not favour it? By framing these questions, we lay the groundwork for a more nuanced understanding of WAPP's role within regional networks, inviting further exploration of the social, economic, and cultural dynamics that shaped its production and distribution. As the first step in this process, this volume establishes a foundation for future research and a broader reassessment of WAPP's significance.

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[35] Gadolou 2017.

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Archaic Pottery in Western Achaia

Vasiliki Tsaknaki

Abstract

This chapter examines the evidence for Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery (WAPP) in western Achaia, and specifically in the area of Olenos where rescue excavations have revealed an organized settlement. A deposit of Late Geometric and Archaic pottery and a secondary deposit in a Corinthian amphora are of particular importance. The discovery of contemporary building remains on the nearby coast confirms the existence of a settlement and probably of local pottery production to meet its needs. An imposing Archaic public building brought to light in the hinterland presupposes the existence of strong authority and increased resources; it is associated with equipment used for social events of a festive and ritual character. The study of (mostly very fragmentary) vessels from Olenos (kantharoi, kraters, oinochoai, plates, etc.) belonging to the categories of grey burnished, painted and, in a very few instances, figured pottery, as well as utilitarian plainwares (amphorai, basins [lekanai], cooking vessels, etc.), allows us to correlate shape, decoration, and function. A further small town on the plateau later occupied by the *asty* of Dyme has also produced deposits of Archaic pottery, including WAPP. Homogeneous morphological and technical features, as well as the presence of imports alongside local imitations, indicate the circulation of ceramics and confirm domestic production of WAPP. Evidently, the artisans who participated in ceramic production and followed established technological processes and similar technological traditions belonged to the same cultural milieu.

Introduction *

This study examines Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery (WAPP) found in western Achaia, and specifically in the area later occupied by the cities of Olenos

* The editors of this volume, Signe Barfoed and Catherine Morgan, deserve sincere thanks for their cooperation. I am particularly grateful to Catherine Morgan for her English translation of the text. Thank you also to my colleague Anastasia Gadolou for inspiring me to study Archaic pottery, and to Adamantia Vasilogamvrou, Honorary Curator of Antiquities, for granting me permission to study excavated material from **Sites O4** and **D1–D2, D7.** My colleagues Stella

and Dyme. The quantity of material retrieved from new sites allows for a fresh approach to this class of pottery, the workshops in which it was produced, and its distribution. These data are compared with vessels mainly from Elian Pylos, immediately adjacent to the south, but also from other sites on the western Greek mainland and in the Ionian islands (Chapter 1, Fig. 1; Pl. 1). Consideration of vases as goods that could be traded highlights artistic interactions between pottery workshops of the period and the role of WAPP imports in shaping local workshop styles. The realisation that WAPP was not the product of a single workshop, but rather circulated and was copied at various sites, redefines the identity of this category as a pottery style. Via stylistic analysis of shapes and decoration, we investigate changes in the elements that characterize these vessels and thus their place within the WAPP style that prevailed in the wider region. The new material and a comparative approach, considering the ways in which these elements entered the broader regional style, contribute to a more complete understanding of the formation and development of that style. The inclusion of some Late Geometric sherds in the catalogue serves to illustrate the uninterrupted transition from the Late Geometric to the Archaic style.

The present study refers to the 1986 publication by John E. Coleman and Katherine Abramovitz, in which the researchers distinguish a new style of pottery dated to the late 7th and 6th century BCE through systematic study of material from Elian Pylos (modern Armatova). That publication laid the foundation for further study of WAPP in the area considered in this chapter (see also Chapter 1 in this volume). Where possible, comparison is made with typologically similar pottery from Elian Pylos and other areas.

Find Spots of Archaic Pottery in Western Achaia

The architectural remains from Archaic sanctuaries and the rich ceramic deposits revealed in eastern Achaia attest to flourishing communities. Rescue excava-

Nestoridou and Artemis Maniaki made significant contributions to the discussion of Archaic pottery, and Maria Theodoropoulou provided critical comments during the final editing process. Aristotle Kounavis, a student in the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Patras, created the excellent drawings of the finds and other illustrations, for which I am eternally grateful. I also thank the conservators Maria Tsafolia, Vasilis Kyrkos, and Dimitris Pilali for their work on the pottery. Concerning the section of a pig jaw from **Site O1**, I thank the dental surgeon Christos Kalantzis for the radiological examination, the osteoarchaeologist Christina Koureta for identifying the bones, and the zooarchaeologist Dimitris Filioglou for further analysis.

tions conducted by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Achaia have revealed Archaic remains in western Achaia too, an area with a cultural tradition dating back to Mycenaean times. These findings start to fill the gap, dispelling any notion of backwardness in comparison with the east. Study of the pottery reveals a clear differentiation in the cultural environment of the two regions, largely due to difficulties in communication created by the mountainous massif that runs through them.[1] As a result, pottery from western Achaia is oriented towards Elian Pylos and Olympia and evolves autonomously.[2] Parallels show that both Late Geometric and Archaic pottery are closely related to that found in excavations on Ithaka, Achaia, and Messenia.[3] Interactions between these areas result in a unity across western Greece that continued in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Regardless of the place of production, the existence of various categories of pottery from several settlements offers a secure basis for research into the distribution of Archaic vessels across this region. The influence of imports on local production in terms of technique, shape, and decoration can also be considered.

The Archaic pottery examined in this chapter is from western Achaia, specifically from settlement remains in the Olenos area and on the plateau later occupied by Dyme after the *synoikism* during the second half of the 5th century BCE. Reading this pottery, whether as individual items or assemblages, allows us to draw conclusions about chronology, cultural connections, and commercial exchanges.

A. The Area of Olenos

Located between Patras and Dyme, Olenos was wrapped in a rich mythological tradition.[4] Strabo (7.7.4 [C386], 8.7.5) cites Hesiod (at 8.3.11 = C342) as saying that the city was located on the banks of the river Peiros (noting the ruins of a temple of Asklepios), 40 *stades* (7.4 km) from Dyme and 80 from Patras (14.8

[1] Moggi 2002, 117–132; Petropoulos 2012; Papapostolou 2014, 243.

[2] For Elian Pylos, see Coleman and Abramovitz 1986; for the well deposits in Olympia, see Gauer 1975.

[3] For Ithaka, see Robertson 1948; Anderson and Benton 1953; for Achaia, see Area of Pharees: Zapheiropoulos 1955; Gadolou 2008, 301–302; Papapostolou 2014, 242. For the rural shrine in the area of Thea, Patras, see Nestoridou forthcoming; Nestoridou and Rathossi 2024.

[4] Aratus, *Phaen*., 165, 679; Apollod., *Bibl.,* 2.5.5; Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* I. 176–178, 199–206. Mendoni 1991, 69; Triantaphyllou 1995, cols. 2281–2284.

km).[5] Olenos is named in an inscription of the second half of the 4th century BCE, and remained independent until the late 4th century BCE when it joined the Achaian League.[6] Due to the geomorphology of the area, the city's economy was probably based on cultivation and animal husbandry, while the large and mostly smooth part of the coast in the north facilitated the development of shipping and maritime trade. Pausanias (7.18.1; 7.22.1) reports that the city declined and was later abandoned due to an epidemic. According to Strabo (8.7.4), its territory was assigned to Dyme, the neighbouring *polis* to the west. Modern scholars place the abandonment of Olenos either in the time of Alexander or at the end of the 4th century BCE (or the beginning of the 3rd).[7] Although ancient literary sources do not provide precise information about the city's location, archaeological data identify it and underline its importance during the Archaic period.

The location of the ancient city is shown on the general map of this volume (Chapter 1, Fig. 1; Pl. 1) at the point of discovery of the Archaic building (**Site O2**, Fig. 1; Pl. 2.1).

The following catalogue includes locations of Archaic remains from the hinterland and the coast of Olenos (Fig. 1; Pl. 2.1), plus the relevant available bibliography. In detail:

Site O1: Tsoukalaiika, site Lagadia, provincial road to Industrial Area (Kondili-Sakka property).[8]

Site O2: Theriano, provincial road to Industrial Area.[9]

Site O3: Theriano, provincial road to Industrial Area.[10]

Site O4: Tsoukalaiika, Old National Road Patras-Pyrgos (Trompouki property).[11]

Site O5: Tsoukalaiika, Windmill site (Sotiropoulou property).[12]

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[5] Rizakis, ed., 1995, 304–306, no. 530; Osanna 1996, 59. For a complete bibliography on Olenos, see Rizakis 2008, 304–306.

[6] Triantaphyllou 1995, col. 2282; Rizakis 2008, 304–305.

[7] Bingen 1954, 402–407, no. 18; *SEG* XIV, 375.

[8] *ADelt* 64 (2009), B1, 426–427 [Vasiliki Tsaknaki].

[9] Tsaknaki 2019.

[10] Maniaki 2021.

[11] *ADelt* 63 (2008), B1, 492–494 [Adamantia Vasilogamvrou et al.].

[12] *ADelt* 61 (2006), B1, 441–444 [Vasiliki Tsaknaki].

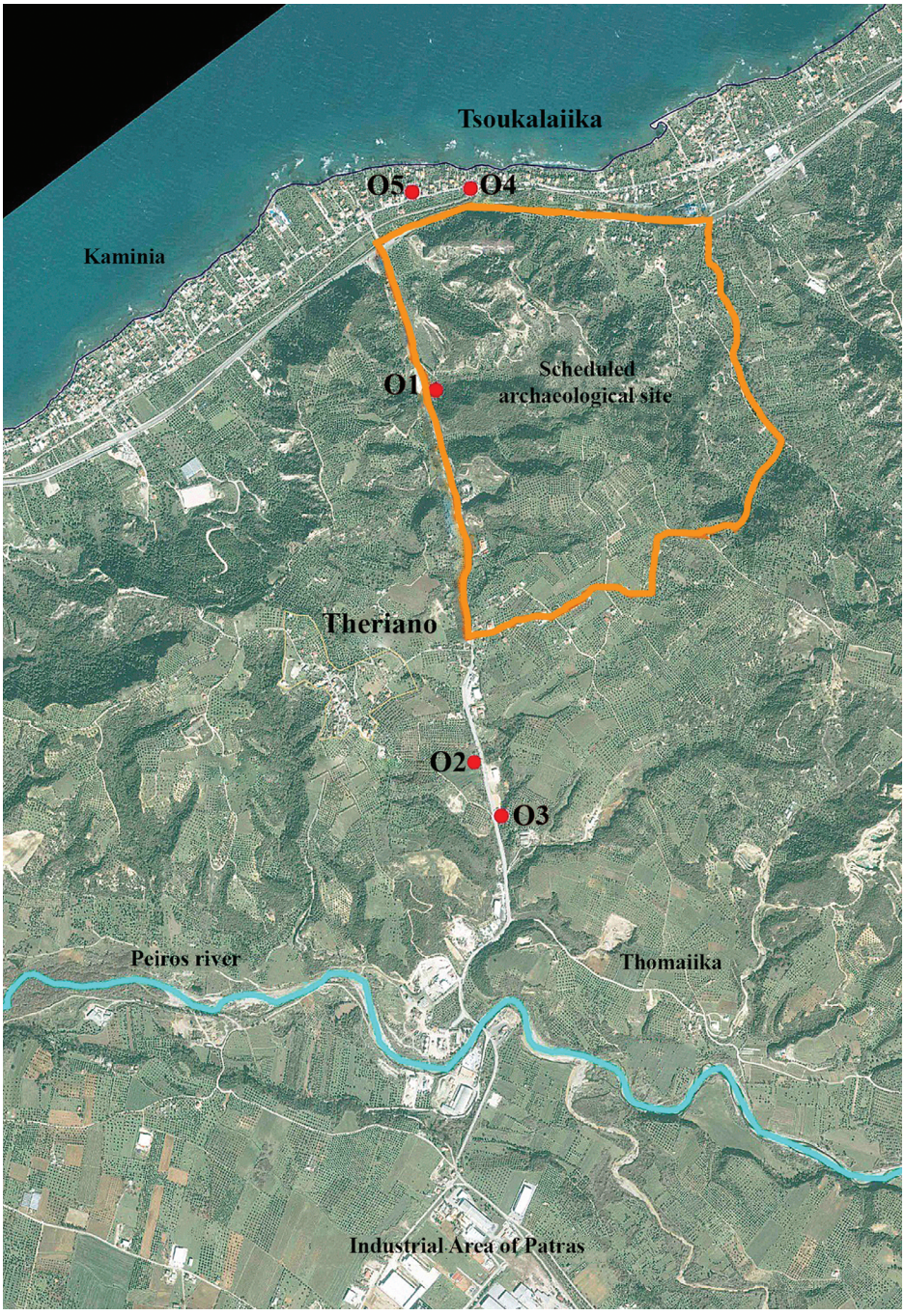


Fig. 1; Pl. 2.1. Aerial photomap of the area of Olenos. ***Sites O1–O5*** *with Archaic remains. (Map © Ioulia Lampadari).*

Site O1: Archaic Deposit

At **Site O1** a pit deposit contained rich, good quality Late Geometric and (chiefly) Archaic pottery, plus an Adriatic/Corinthian transport amphora (Fig. 2c; Pl. 2.3).[13] The deposit was found during the levelling of an open plot 12 km west of Patras and 800 m from the sea. It lies just inside the boundary of the scheduled archaeological site in the area, which is why trial trenches were opened before a building permit was granted.[14] The pit, irregularly conical in shape (maximum width 2.7 m, reaching a depth of 1.6 m below the modern surface), was found on the edge of a low hill outside the area marked for construction, cut into a layer of pure yellowish clay which covered the entire plot. At the level of the top of the deposit, rubble and cobbles formed Γ-shaped walls, extending into the interior in a loose structure (Fig. 2a–b; Pl. 2.2). The walls belonged to the filling phase of the pit, as many Archaic sherds were found in the rubble. Their preservation confirms that this was a closed excavation context.

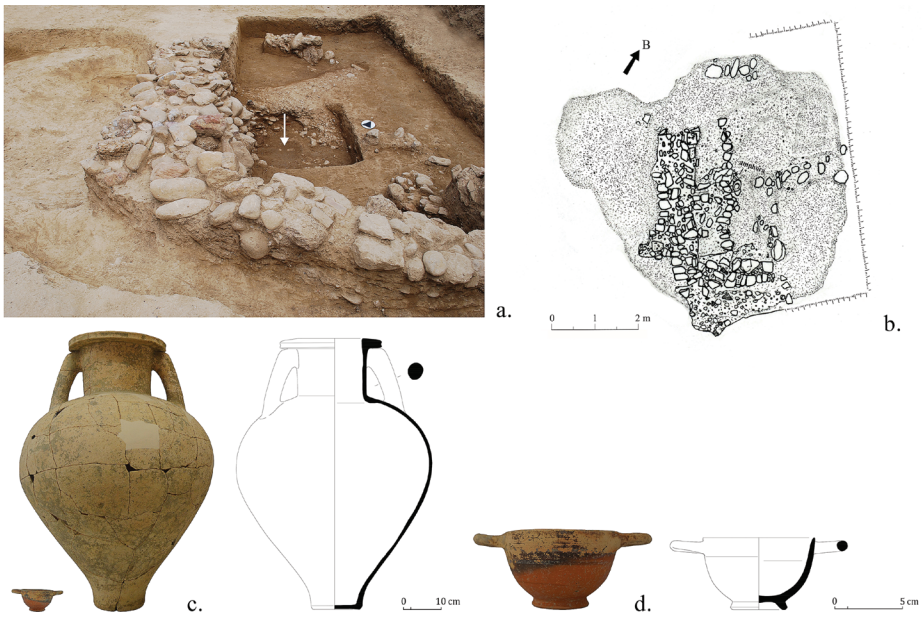


Fig. 2; Pl. 2.2–4. ***Site O1****: Archaic deposit. Adriatic/Corinthian amphora and a kotyle. Plan: Adamantia Gurdoupis.*

[13] *ADelt* 64 (2009), B1, 426-427 [Vasiliki Tsaknaki].

[14] The scheduled area includes the sites of Skagia, Achlada, and Galaria in Tsoukalaiika, Achaia (Government Gazette 796/ B/30–8–1996); https://www.arxaiologikoktimatologio.gov.gr/).

Adriatic/Corinthian A Amphora

The Adriatic/Corinthian A amphora of the last quarter of the 6th century BCE was located below the level of the wall foundation, with its mouth facing north-east, slightly higher than the body (Fig. 2c; Pl. 2.3).[15] Restored from many sherds, it is almost complete. It contained the remains of a lower jawbone of a pig, as confirmed by radiological examination and study of the jaw section.[16] The amphora probably contained the remains of a meal or a sacrifice. It also held a Corinthian kotyle with a disc base, deep spherical body, and horizontal roll handles set just below the rim (Fig. 2d; Pl. 2.4). The glaze is fired black on the upper body and handles and red on the lower body and the interior and is especially worn on the upper body and interior.

The pit was not filled gradually, as evidenced by sherds from the same vessels appearing at different depths. The fill contained a few intact vessels alongside numerous sherds of domestic and ritual forms, which were rarely restorable into whole pots. The assemblage primarily consists of vessels for serving and consuming food and drink, with smaller quantities of cooking pots and containers for food preparation, storage, and transport. Notably, a terracotta perirrhanterion with painted decoration was among the ritual vessels. Household items, including loom weights and spools, were also recovered, as well as part of a pyxis, suggesting a female presence. Additionally, the deposit contained a small number of lamp fragments and building materials, such as tiles, cobbles, and stones. The fill was predominantly brown (light brown in some areas), soft, and occasionally sandy.

Terracotta Perirrhanterion

The terracotta perirrhanterion found in the deposit is a ritual vessel used in worship or the symposium (Fig. 3, shown during restoration). It was used for hand washing during meals and public events. Parts of the basin, stand, and

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[15] Blegen et al. 1964, 52–53, pl. 12 (Middle Protocorinthian, 700–650 BCE).

[16] Radiological examination using CBCT (Cone Beam Computed Tomography) was conducted by the dental surgeon Christos Kalantzis. The jaw was identified by the osteoarchaeologist Christina Koureta, with further analysis undertaken by the zooarchaeologist Dimitris Filioglou. Details are provided in the appendix to this chapter. The osteological ensemble from the amphora will be the subject of a future study by D. Filioglou.

base made of the same coarse fabric were found scattered. The basin (diameter 0.5 m) is decorated inside with a beautiful composition of spirals and bands in fugitive brown-black paint. On the outside, the rim is surrounded by a row of sigmas, on the body is the root of a small horizontal handle.[17]



Fig. 3. ***Site O1****: Terracotta perirrhanterion with painted decoration.*

The basin is supported by an integrated, cylindrical stand with fenestration (orthogonal cut-out sections oriented vertically).[18] The upper part on either side preserves two pairs of rectangular holes (maximum preserved height, 10 cm; a width of 2 cm is indicated by a similar opening in the lower part of the stand). On the upper part, between the fenestrations, checkerboard decoration consists of two rows of alternating black, white, and reserved squares of equal width. On the lower is a partially preserved flame-shaped pattern, solidly painted. The composition is framed by three alternating black and white lines. The base originally formed one piece with the stand, but the lower part of the stand is broken and the two cannot now be joined. The base is wide, and ring shaped, with a concave upper surface. Around its edge, solidly painted triangles are placed symmetrically (three of a possible seven or eight survive), each framed by a line that twists at the top to create opposed spirals. A similar motif with solid triangles and a double framing line appears on a Cycladic oinochoe from Aegina

[17] Gadolou 2008, 299, fig. 174 (a common pattern of the Late Geometric period in Achaia).

[18] See Gadolou 2008, 123, no. 99, fig. 95, for a similar fenestration on the high foot of a shallow krater from Chalandritsa.

(dated ca. 680–670 BCE), now in the British Museum.[19] Moreover, a probably Attic amphora dated ca. 710 BCE, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, has, between friezes with processions of two-horse chariots, a row of narrow hatched triangles flanked by lines joining above the apex in opposed two-line spirals, with a miniature of the pattern among them. The decoration of the perirrhanterion features the use of alternating light and dark colours and lingering Geometric motifs rendered in a new composition.

Sherds with Figured Decoration

The deposit also contained sherds with figured decoration, three of which come from an imported black-figure krater with fugitive black glaze on the interior (Fig. 4a). This richly decorated symposium vessel bears linear motifs, rosettes, and on the body a lively scene of a male flautist holding his double flute aloft as he plays, with what may be a case hanging from his left shoulder. Behind him, a second, bearded man is depicted dancing, his face in profile and his body frontal, right hand raised high, fingers splayed. The upper part of both figures is preserved; between them, part of an inscription, ΚΑΛ…, painted pre-firing, is likely *ΚΑΛΟΣ* as attested in Attic vase painting of the second and third quarters of the 6th century BCE in praise of young men's beauty. A composition below the human-figured scene is probably an animal procession (parts of two lion's legs can be seen above a group of horizontal bands). This Orientalizing theme derives from encounters between Greeks and eastern peoples e.g., at colonies and trading posts.

Fragments of a terracotta plaque or altar with figured decoration preserve part of the hind legs of an animal, possibly a horse or a deer (Fig. 4b). There are parallels on a miniature altar of the third quarter of the 6th century BCE from Perachora in the Corinthia, where the depiction of a deer belongs to the common pictorial type of a lion chasing a deer.[20] A sherd from an open vessel preserves the head of a male figure, facing right, in the black-figure technique (Fig. 4c). A further black-figure sherd, probably from a plate, preserves the legs and part of

[19] The vessel, the upper part of which is in the form of a griffin, belongs to the second Linear Island style or the Leiden Group; see Tiverios 1996, 245–246, fig. 14.

[20] Figured vessels (temporarily) cease to be produced in Corinth around the middle of the 6th century BCE, although plaques and other terracotta items, such as altars, continue to be decorated with narrative scenes; Boardman 1998, 184–185.

the body of a siren on the vessel floor (the underside of the base has concentric bands, see Fig. 4d). The fine brown fabric is macroscopically similar to that of the krater discussed above (Fig. 4a).



Fig. 4. ***Site O1****: Sherds with figured decoration.*

Motifs

When compared with similar published material, the pottery from the deposit indicates that a unique, common style developed across western Greece in the Late Geometric and Archaic periods.[21] This pottery includes Elian imports (WAPP) as well as local products showing strong Elian influence on their shape and decoration. Broad areas of the vessels are solidly painted or decorated, with the most elaborate decoration usually confined to the area around the rim or a band on the shoulder. Motifs are simple in form and adapted to local preferences (Fig. 5).

The motifs are set out in Fig. 5, where the number of the motif is followed by the number of the figure in which it is depicted. Bands and lines in various formations are not included.

The basin of the perirrhanterion is decorated with bands and spirals (Fig. 3; Fig. 5, no. 1) inside and around the rim, with vertical broken lines (Fig. 3; Fig. 5, no. 2). The associated base has on the upper part a checkerboard of black, white, and reserved blocks (Fig. 3; Fig. 5, no. 3) and on the lower a flame motif (Fig. 3; Fig. 5, no. 4), while the concave surface of the base has solidly painted

[21] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 18–33, pls. 21–24 (Geometric), 34–65, pls. 25–36 (Archaic).

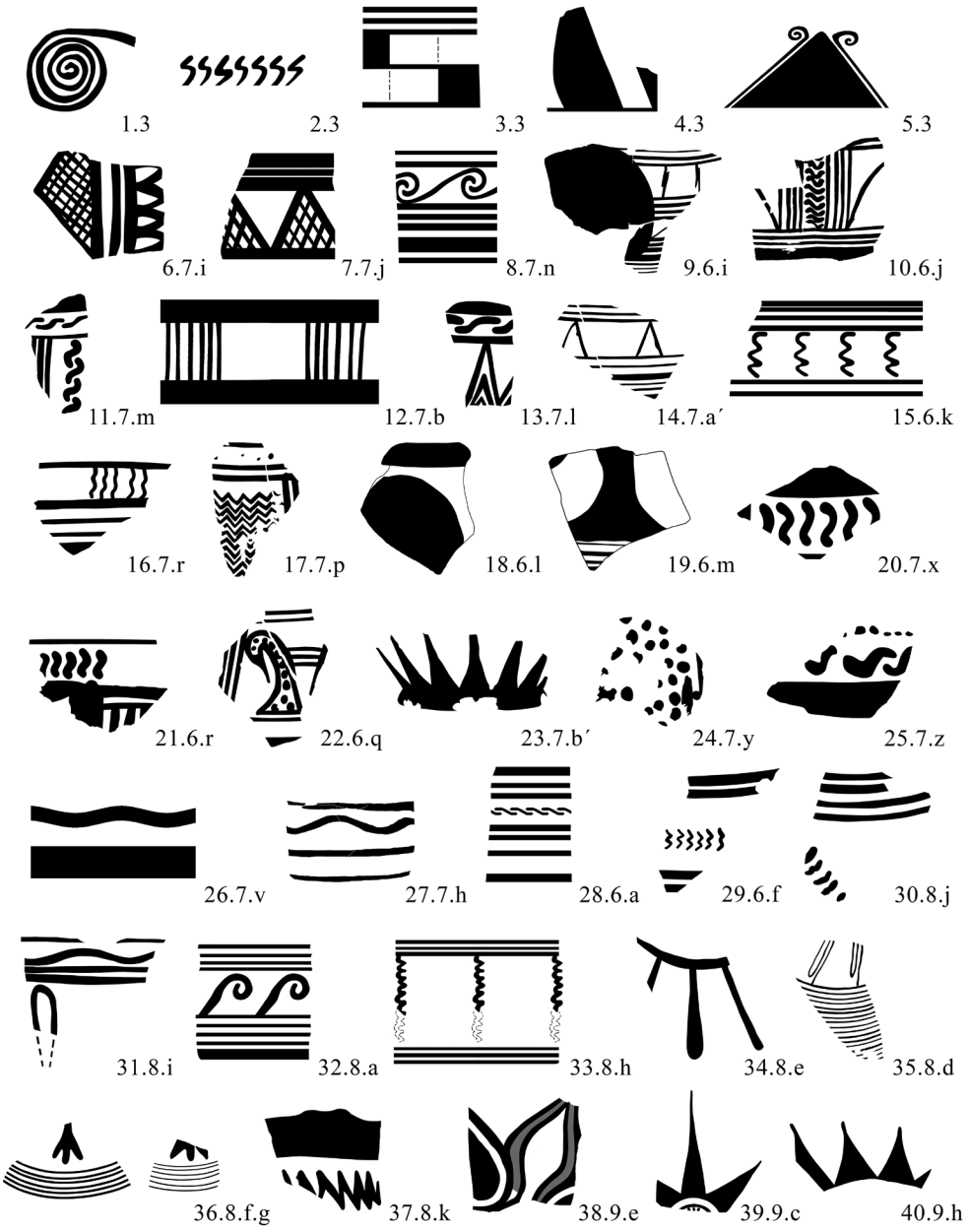


Fig. 5. ***Site O1****: Motifs on fine decorated Geometric and Archaic vessels from the dump deposit. Nos.* ***1–5****: Motifs on a perirrhanterion; nos.* ***6–27****: Motifs on open vessels; nos.* ***28–37****: Motifs on closed vessels; nos.* ***38–40****: Motifs on plates. Numbers correspond to the illustrated vessels.*

triangles bordered by a line terminating in opposing spirals (Fig. 3; Fig. 5, no. 5). One motif found in the Achaian repertoire in Late Mycenaean times and on the transition from Protogeometric to Early Geometric[22] is the vertical chain of cross-hatched triangles (Fig. 7i; Fig. 5, no. 6).[23] A variation on this motif consists of horizontal cross-hatched triangles,[24] which appear in black in a continuous zone below the rim of an open vessel (Fig. 7j-k; Fig. 5, no. 7) and in red on the neck of a closed vessel (Fig. 8l).

A sherd from a large krater bears *dark-on-light* WAPP decoration[25] in the form of a solidly painted curved motif between linear decoration and a band of widely spaced broken lines (Fig. 6i; Fig. 5, no. 9).[26] A sherd from a small krater bears a similar curved motif (Fig. 6l; Fig. 5, no. 18). A typical example with *light-on-dark* decoration is a krater sherd with a reserved curved motif on a dark ground (Fig. 6m; Fig. 5, no. 19).

A chain of horizontal rounded Ss (a discontinuous garland) is arranged either horizontally between bands (Fig. 7m; Fig. 5, no. 11; Fig. 6a; Fig. 5, no. 28) or vertically defined by vertical lines as metopes (Fig. 7b; Fig. 5, no. 12) or in combination with lines and a semi-circular, unglazed linear motif (Fig. 6j; Fig. 5, no. 10).[27] Groups of vertical rounded sigmas (Fig. 7x; Fig. 5, no. 20; Fig. 6r; Fig. 5, no. 21) are arranged horizontally, bordered by lines and bands. Another pattern found on sherds from the dump is the angular sigma arranged

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[22] Papadopoulos 1979, 82 (e), 83 (h), 92 (h); Gadolou 2008, 160, 274, 286, figs. 46, 54.

[23] Gadolou 2008, 103–104, no. 32.

[24] Robertson 1948, no. 413, pl. 27; Zapheiropoulos 1955, fig. 24; Zapheiropoulos 1961, pl. 90b; Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 24–25, no. B21, ill. 3. The motif of cross-hatched triangles in a defined zone exists in Achaia from the Protogeometric period. Geometric pottery with this decoration is found in Drepanon; see Maniaki and Moutafi 2019, 317 (with references).

[25] Gadolou 2008, 103–104, no. 32. For *dark-on-light* solidly painted semi-circles or metopes with curved sides, see Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 22, no. B2, pl. 21. The combination with vertical and horizontal lines recalls Thapsos-Class ware; see Coldstream 1968, 102–104; Gadolou 2008, 118–119, nos. 89–90. From Trechlo near Kalavryta, see Anderson and Benton 1953, 287, no. 708, pl. 47.

[26] Gadolou 2008, 103–104, no. 32. For broken line decoration, see Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 23, no. B12, pl. 21; Zapheiropoulos 1955, no. B45, figs. 18, 27; Zapheiropoulos 1961, pl. 94β; Dunbabin, ed., 1962, no. 353 (probably Protocorinthian).

[27] Gadolou 2008, 103–104, no. 32. For horizontal S decoration, see Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 23, no. B14, pl. 21 (see also Zapheiropoulos 1961, pl. 94α, 1–2); Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 39, no. C9, pl. 26 (multiple sigmas on the neck); Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, nos. C39–C40, C157, pls. 28, 35a; Anderson and Benton 1953, 292, 334, nos. 761–762, 764, 1062, pls. 47, 62.

either horizontally (Fig. 6f; Fig. 5, no. 29) or diagonally (Fig. 8j; Fig. 5, no. 30) in combination with bands around the body.

A pattern found in western Achaia during the Late Geometric period is groups of small vertical wavy lines (Fig. 7r; Fig. 5, no. 16); [28] this too is paralleled at Elian Pylos.[29] Groups of small vertical lines form metopes below the rim (Fig. 6r; Fig. 5, no. 21) or in a zone above the base (Fig. 7b; Fig. 5, no. 12). A further sherd in the excavated assemblage bears horizontal running spirals, a motif in widespread use during the Late Geometric (Fig. 7n; Fig. 5, no. 8) and Archaic (Fig. 7f) periods.[30] Superimposed linear triangles (Fig. 7l; Fig. 5, no. 13) appear on one sherd from the deposit,[31] another (Archaic) has widely spaced linear triangles between horizontal bands (Fig. 7a´; Fig. 5, no. 14), while a further example has superimposed small horizontal zigzag lines, densely packed (Fig. 7p; Fig. 5, no. 17) a motif found in Achaia.[32] A larger horizontal zigzag line is rendered in red paint below the rim of Archaic vessel, between lines or bands (Fig. 8k; Fig. 5, no. 37). The horizontal zigzag is a widespread motif on Protogeometric and Early Geometric vessels in many parts of Greece. A fine zigzag line appears inside and on the base of a plate (Fig. 9f). Widely separated vertical wavy lines decorate the shoulder of a krater (Fig. 6k; Fig. 5, no. 15) and the outer edge of a plate (Fig. 9a).[33] More widely spaced waves are seen around the mouth of a large, closed vessel (Fig. 8h; Fig. 5, no. 33). Sherds from the neck of a closed vessel are decorated with a line folded into a loop formation (Fig. 8i; Fig. 5, no. 31). An original motif of widely spaced 'walking sticks' between horizontal bands decorates the neck of a hydria (Fig. 8a; Fig. 5, no. 32).

A sherd from the neck of a closed vessel bears a teardrop motif (Fig. 8e; Fig. 5, no. 34) suspended from a band.[34] Aryballoi are decorated on the shoulder with regularly spaced small plant motifs (Figs. 8f-g; Fig. 5, no. 36) and on the

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[28] Gadolou 2008, 103–104, no. 32. For Ano Soudenaiika, see Gadolou 2008, 139–140, no. 135.

[29] Gadolou 2008, 103–104, no. 32. Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 60, no. C177, pl. 35a.

[30] Gadolou 2008, 103–104, no. 32. Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 23, no. B12, pl. 21 (see also Zapheiropoulos 1955, fig. 27); Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 42, 60, nos. C29, C178, pls. 27, 35a; see also Gadolou 2008, 142–143, no. 146.

[31] Gadolou 2008, 103–104, no. 32. Gadolou 2008, 115–116, no. 82; Morgan 1999, 100, pl. 36, no. 273; Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 23, no. B12, pl. 21.

[32] Gadolou 2008, 103–104, no. 32. Gadolou 2008, 108–109, no. 52γ (Late Protogeometric).

[33] Gadolou 2008, 103–104, no. 32. Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 60, no. C160, pl. 35a; Morgan 1999, 132, pl. 54, no. 410.

[34] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 50–52, no. C84, ill. 10, pl. 34.

body with groups of fine encircling bands.[35] Another sherd has a line looped back like a paperclip (Fig. 8d; Fig. 5, no. 35) and fine bands around the body.

A zone with solidly painted triangular rays is found on the lower part of the body of a closed (Fig. 8s) and an open vessel (Fig. 7b′; Fig. 5, no. 23) in black and red paint respectively. Black rays are also preserved on the interior of plates (Figs. 9c, 9h; Fig. 5, nos. 39–40). A dotted hooked ray close to the rim of a krater is part of a complex, probably symmetrical, ornament (Fig. 6q; Fig. 5, no. 22).

Sherds also bear dotted decoration (Fig. 7y; Fig. 5, no. 24). One plate sherd has a dotted line on the interior (Fig. 9a), and another has a row of dots around the rim, defining a band of thick, horizontal, interlocking Ss (Fig. 7z; Fig. 5, no. 25). Open vessels have a horizontal wavy line around the body (Fig. 7h; Fig. 5, no. 27) and in most cases below the rim (Fig. 7v; Fig. 5, no. 26).

Many polychrome kylikes have black and red band decoration and sometimes one or more red bands framed with white (Fig. 7s-t; Pl. 4). Most decorated Archaic sherds from the deposit have around the body horizontal parallel bands and lines in black, red, and brownish red paint in a range of schemes (Figs. 7e′-f′, 8n-r). Sometimes the bands are framed with thin white lines; there may be reserved zones at mid-body, with black lines around the edge, and simple horizontal bands, black or reserved, crosswise on the handle.

Quantification of Finds from the Deposit

An initial count of the diagnostic sherds (rims, bases, and handles) in the deposit was deemed necessary in order to establish both the approximate quantity of the material and the indicative frequency of the different categories and shapes of vessels, mainly related to the consumption of food and drink.[36] Here the results of quantification of the material are combined with a presentation of representative sherds.

The assemblage mainly consists of fragments and a very few intact kantharoi.[37] The vessels are grouped into three categories based on shape and a fourth based on function; these categories are presented in figures (Figs. 6–12) and, where necessary, in graphs (Graphs 1–4).

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[35] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 61, no. C182, pl. 35a.

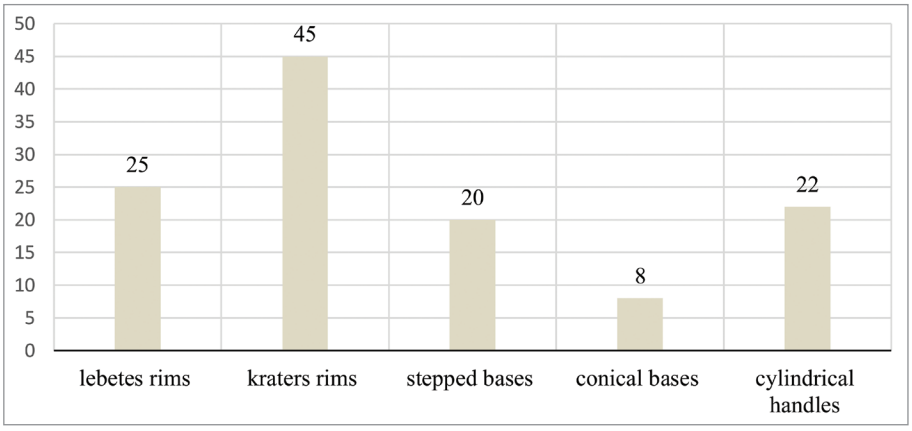
[36] It must be emphasized that the material is still undergoing conservation. The numbers shown in the graphs do not yet correspond to an absolute number of vessels because the final stage of vase repair has not yet occurred.

[37] Associated sherds are counted as one item.

Lebetes and Kraters

Lebetes and kraters are associated with the consumption of wine at symposia (Fig. 6). The discovery of many such vessels leads us to assume that the community at Olenos also adopted this kind of common practice as a necessity of public life, to facilitate socialization and the cultivation of aristocratic values. Most sherds, including lebetes and kraters (plus several bases of different types and sizes), bear extensive decoration such as bands and lines round the body, vertical broken and wavy lines, horizontal sigmas, vertical spirals, and metopes. Representative examples are illustrated in Fig. 6.

Part of a lebes (Fig. 6a) with a round body and horizontal flattened rim is decorated in brownish-red paint. Between the handles is a horizontal row of interlocking slanted Ss, and there are horizontal bands on the remainder of the body and the surviving handle. The profile recalls the idiosyncratic lebes or krater-shaped vessels with feet and vertical handles. A further lebes is similar in size, shape, and decoration (applied in brown paint, Fig. 6b). Rims of small lebetes may be decorated with bands around the surface and a further pair of bands below (Fig. 6c), or have the surface reserved with a pair of black bands below (Fig. 6d) or have fine red lines around the rim and the body (Fig. 6e). One rim sherd from a lebes is decorated with a pair of bands flanking a row of small, angular vertical sigmas (Fig. 6f). Sherds from various large Late Geometric kraters with vertical roll handles (Fig. 6g), from the rim (Fig. 6h) and body, are decorated with solidly painted, probably semi-circular motifs and sparse ver-



Graph 1. ***Site O1****: Numbers of diagnostic sherds of lebetes and kraters.*

tical broken lines on a reserved ground, framed above and below by groups of horizontal bands (Fig. 6i). A sherd from the body of a krater (Fig. 6j) is decorated with a semi-circular linear motif framed by four vertical lines and a vertical stack of sigmas, bordered below by three converging lines and a band of glaze.

A large krater preserved in joining sherds has horizontal bands below the rim and widely separated vertical wavy lines in the zone between the handles (Fig. 6k). A rim sherd of a krater has short lines across the top surface and *dark-on-light* decoration, featuring a solidly painted semi-circle, on the body (Fig. 6l), while another sherd, probably from a krater, has *light-on-dark* semicircles (Fig. 6m).

Joining rim sherds from an imported krater in a fine fabric preserve in the zone between the handles groups of vertical lines forming metopes, beside a solidly glazed area (Fig. 6n). One krater sherd has on the exterior two widely spaced bands and a trace of a motif (Fig. 6o), while another has a horizontal white band below the rim and a partially preserved metope (Fig. 6p).

A small rim sherd of a large, imported krater with red painted decoration preserves a trace of a rounded S motif and a horizontal band close to the junction with the shoulder (Fig. 6q).[38] On the shoulder itself is a large wave-like motif; oriented to the left, it contains dots and a smear of glaze, and at the base is connected with a similar pattern to the right with three horizontal lines between them. These motifs are framed by pairs of horizontal bands above, below, and to the left.

A krater rim preserves a zone containing vertical rounded sigmas and part of a metope in red paint (Fig. 6r). Fig. 6s illustrates the vertical rim of a plain-ware krater, which turns up and slightly outwards, forming a continuous curve with the shoulder.[39] A similar krater with a vertical rim has band decoration (Fig. 6t). A solidly painted small base may belong to a lebes (Fig. 6u). Krater bases include one with band decoration (Fig. 6v) and monochrome (Fig. 6w). Most sherds, including kraters, lebetes, and bases of various types, bear rich decoration, such as circling bands, wavy lines, horizontal zigzags, upright spirals, and a handle zone defined by bands and decorated with clusters of vertical lines forming metopes.[40]

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[38] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 23, no. B14, pl. 21.

[39] As Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 20–22, nos. B1–B8, ill. 2.

[40] For comparison with kraters and dinoi from Eretria, see Andreiomenou 1982, 169–185, figs. 7–16, pls. 25–32.



Fig. 6. ***Site O1****: Lebetes and kraters.*

Graph 1 shows the number of diagnostic sherds of lebetes and kraters, most of which have linear decoration. More specifically, it includes 25 lebes rims, 45 krater rims, 20 stepped krater bases of different sizes, 8 low conical bases, and 22 round vertical handles, probably from kraters.

Open Shapes

Two Thapsos-Class skyphoi are among the earliest sherds in the deposit (Fig. 7a).[41] One sherd preserved part of the vertical rim decorated with horizontal bands to the level of the solidly glazed horizontal roll handle. The other body sherd has a reserved zone containing three fine horizontal bands; the body below this is solidly glazed as preserved. All reserved areas are slipped. It is characteristic of the Thapsos-Class that many of its decorative schemes resemble those found on Late Geometric Achaian vessels.[42] We may also note the lower part of a large skyphos with a deep body and ring base; within a reserved zone, groups of six vertical lines define 'metopes', bounded at top and bottom by black bands (Fig. 7b). A further band runs round the outer edge of the base: there are wide horizontal bands on the interior. Kantharoi, the most characteristic shape in the wider region, feature examples of the Late Geometric types typical of Achaia; these develop in the normal way into the Early Archaic period.[43] Some were intact. Indicative examples include a black-glazed kanthariskos with a flat base, almost spherical body, high neck, plain rim, and banded handles angular in profile (Fig. 7c). An intact miniature kantharos has a ring base, an irregular body profile, a curved lip, and banded handles unevenly placed on the vessel (Fig. 7d). Further examples include a kantharos solidly black-glazed inside and out (apart from invisible areas of the base) with unevenly set ribbon handles from lip to mid body (Fig. 7e); another; also black-glazed inside and out (apart from the resting surface), with a flat base, globular body, out-curving rim, and a banded handle extending from rim to mid-body (Fig. 7f); and a miniature kantharos with a spherical body and near vertical rim, painted red inside and out (now faded) with a black band at the base (Fig. 7g). A 5 cm high kantharos has a flat base, biconical body, tall cylindrical neck, out-curving plain rim, and vertical

[41] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, no. B31 (see also Zapheiropoulos 1955, fig. 10). On the Thapsos-Class, see Gadolou 2011, 1–4 (with bibliography).

[42] Gadolou 2011, figs. 9–10.

[43] Gadolou 2008, 90–155; Nestoridou and Rathossi 2024, 118, fig. 5.

banded handles (Fig. 7h). On the lower part of the body are four horizontal red bands with a further two on the rim; between them, on the upper part of the body, is a wavy line. Red bands run down the edges of the handles, and there are five inside the vessel (including one on the inside of the rim and one on the bottom around the central nipple)—an Ionianizing scheme of decoration. The deposit also contained conical bases.[44]

In addition to complete or nearly complete kantharoi, there are many sherds of kantharoi and kanthariskoi made in a fine fabric and painted black, brown, and red. Some preserve parts of vertical ribbon handles from the rim to the body.[45] One type is black glazed with a reserved zone at handle level filled with horizontal bands. Another group of sherds comprises vertical or out-turned rims of skyphoi or kantharoi, with patches of worn black glaze. These rims are either glazed inside and out or reserved with horizontal bands around them; some have vertical lines on the upper flat surface of the rim.

Sherds with painted decoration include one with a chain of vertical cross-hatched triangles (Fig. 7i). Others have series of horizontal triangles (Fig. 7j-k), nested triangles (Fig. 7l), vertical and horizontal S motifs (Fig. 7m), or spirals (Fig. 7n-o), successive, closely spaced rows of horizontal zigzag lines (Fig. 7p), oblique lines (Fig. 7q), and groups of small vertical wavy lines (Fig. 7r).

Out-turned kylix rims (from so-called Ionian kylikes) are decorated only with simple black or reserved horizontal bands (Fig. 7s-t; Pl. 4). This is a widespread type, apparently imitated in many workshops.

Many sherds are decorated with a horizontal wavy line in the zone beneath the rim (Fig. 7u-w), with horizontal rounded Ss (Fig. 7x), with dots (Fig. 7y), a row of dots and horizontal S motifs (Fig. 7z), widely spaced linear triangles between horizontal lines (Fig. 7a′), and with rays around the base (Fig. 7b′).[46]

There is also a large quantity of undecorated sherds of small open vessels and of large, thick-walled vessels with black-brown glaze (mostly very worn). A group of plainware bases of open vessels includes some that are flat, fewer that are ring form with a black band around the otherwise reserved exterior face, and a few low conical forms (Fig. 7c′-d′).

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[44] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 56–57, nos. C110–C128, ill. 12, pls. 32–33 (third type kantharoi).

[45] Compare in Achaia, Gadolou 2008, 141, no. 141.

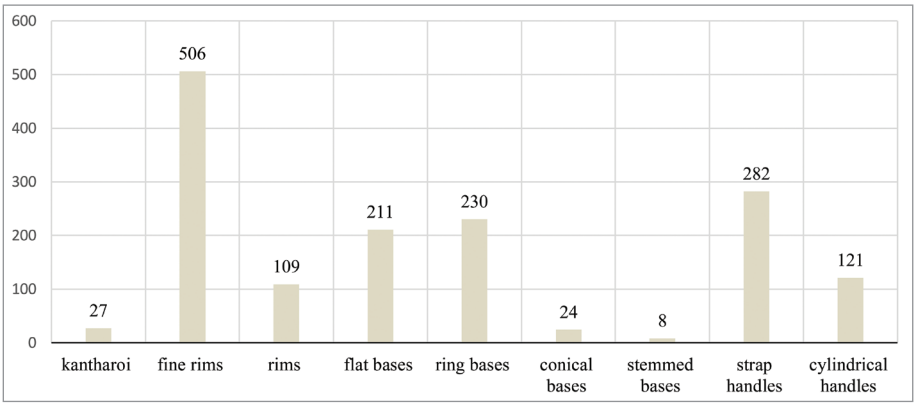
[46] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 39, no. C16, pl. 26.



Fig. 7. ***Site O1****: Open shapes (whole vessels and sherds).*

Most handles are of ribbon form, black-glazed and sometimes with a reserved band and a pair of horizontal lines, a cross, or an incomplete cross (Fig. 7e´). There is a smaller group of horizontal roll handles, glazed and plain. A group of body sherds of fine, black-glazed open vessels has clusters of three to

four thin horizontal bands (or parallel reserved bands) within a reserved zone (Fig. 7f´). A further group of sherds is decorated with horizontal black or brown bands set in various combinations on a reserved ground. The fabric and decoration of a large number of closed vessels are similar.



Graph 2. ***Site O1:*** *Quantification of diagnostic sherds of open vessels.*

Graph 2 shows the number of diagnostic sherds (rims, bases, and handles) of open vessels, which bear a variety of decoration.[47] Specifically, there are 27 kantharoi, solidly painted or with linear decoration, with a flat or slightly concave base and vertical banded handles;[48] 506 rims of thin-walled vessels;[49] 109 rims of various profiles (horizontal, vertical, or rounded) belonging to me-

[47] In addition to the diagnostic sherds, the deposit from **Site O1** also contained several thousand body fragments which were not included in this quantification exercise as they cannot reliably be used to calculate the Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV). However, they are listed here as a reference point for future studies. They comprise: a) 387 body sherds with linear decoration from small and larger fine vessels; b) 2176 solidly painted body sherds from open vessels (on 155 of them, the paint is intense on the interior but worn on the exterior; 230 have red or red-brown paint, sometimes with occasional white lines; and 706, from small and large vessels, have vestigial paint); and c) 605 grey wares, from small and large vessels in a variety of shapes and forms of decoration, corresponding to the assemblage as a whole. It is imperative that further careful research be conducted on the category of grey wares in particular. It is currently impossible to distinguish between firing and surface burning because conservation is not yet completed.

[48] Six of these were whole vessels.

[49] These rims are vertical or slightly out turned, and either decorated with lines or bands on a reserved ground or solidly painted with black or red paint that is sometimes very worn.

dium-sized vessels; 211 flat or slightly concave bases, mostly unpainted;[50] 230 ring bases of various diameters;[51] 24 conical bases;[52] 8 bases of stemmed kylikes;[53] 282 ribbon handles from fine vessels;[54] and 121 round handles of small and medium size.[55]

Closed Shapes

Other common domestic vessels found in the deposit and associated with food consumption include a neck sherd from a trefoil-mouthed oinochoe (Fig. 8a) with a rare painted motif: a row of diagonal hooks with four horizontal bands above and below.[56] Another trefoil-mouthed oinochoe has a wide cylindrical neck and a pronounced joint on the transition to the shoulder (Fig. 8b).[57] The mouth of a hydria with horizontal bands below the rim preserves the attachment of a strap handle (Fig. 8c).[58]

Round aryballoi decorated with a dense array of fine red or black bands have on the shoulder uniform painted patterns, linear (Fig. 8d), teardrops (Fig. 8e),[59] and floral (Fig. 8f-g).[60] The mouth of a large, closed vessel has widely spaced vertical wavy lines (Fig. 8h). The deposit also contained many grey wares (the colour is a result of the presence of iron oxide and other chemical substances during dipping, or of firing). These include sherds from the neck of a closed vessel with a linear loop decoration (Fig. 8i),[61] and a sherd decorated with a diagonal array of angular sigmas combined with bands around the body (Fig. 8j). There are a few sherds from narrow conical necks. One has a horizontal zigzag line (Fig. 8k) and another a horizontal row of cross-hatched triangles

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[50] Of these, 200 are 3–5 cm in diameter and only 11 are larger (7–11 cm).

[51] Most of these bases (200+) are 3–7.2 cm in diameter, while 12 are around 10.5 cm.

[52] 14 are solidly painted or bear traces of lines, while eight small bases are unpainted and two are grey.

[53] Seven of these are unpainted and one has a vertical sigma-like motif.

[54] The majority of these handles are fully painted. A few have a horizontal or oblique line, and sometimes an X motif painted on the upper surface.

[55] There are a few intact examples from skyphoi and kylikes.

[56] Anderson and Benton 1953, 323, no. 1014, pl. 57 (variation of the motif).

[57] For the form, see Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 49, no. C74, pl. 31.

[58] For the decoration, see Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 48, no. C66, ill. 8, pl. 30.

[59] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 50–51, no. C84, pl. 34.

[60] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 29, no. B49, pl. 24.

[61] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 52, no. C97, pl. 34 (part of a similar motif preserved).



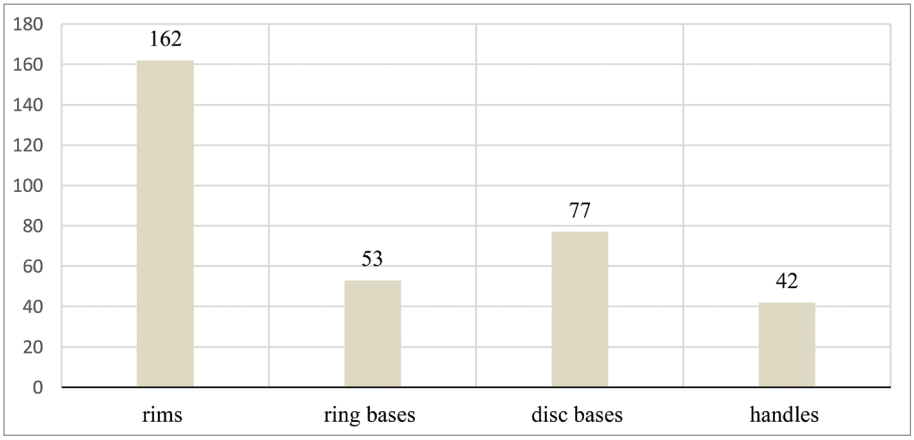
Fig. 8. ***Site O1****: Closed vessels.*

(Fig. 8l). Sherds of wider conical necks with wide everted lip are also few, some bearing painted decoration (Fig. 8m).[62] They probably belong to small pouring vessels with parallels from Elian Pylos.[63] Body sherds of closed vessels have reserved zones containing horizontal lines applied directly onto the vase surface or onto a slip (Fig. 8n-p). A number of sherds from the deposit have an

[62] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 52, no. C90, ill. 10, pl. 34; Anderson and Benton 1953, 311, 323, nos. 902, 1015, fig. 28, pls. 56, 59.

[63] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 52, nos. C85–C89, pl. 34 (fragments of pouring vessels of unspecific type).

orange-red slip and white bands around the body (Fig. 8q-r). Typical ornament consists of solidly glazed triangles around the lower body of large vessels (Fig. 8s). Regarding shape and decoration, and in the case of the grey sherds, there are no differences between open and closed vessels.



Graph 3. ***Site O1****: Quantification of diagnostic sherds of closed vessels.*

Graph 3 shows the number of diagnostic sherds of closed vessels.[64] These comprise: 145 rims mostly from hydriai and oinochoai; 7 rims of trefoil-mouthed oinochoai; 10 lips of small, slow-pouring vessels;[65] 53 ring bases (3.8–11 cm in diameter); 77 flat, disc-like bases;[66] and 42 handles, ribbon or rounded.[67]

Plates

Characteristic of the deposit are sherds of WAPP and other cognate-style plates with *light-on-dark* decoration featuring floral motifs and framing bands around

[64] In addition to the diagnostic sherds, the deposit contained: a) 1049 body sherds solidly painted, mostly in black but some in red or red-brown (in 637 cases the paint is very worn); b) 430 body sherds with band and lines in black or red paint (four of which belong to aryballoi); and c) 125 grey sherds, solidly painted or with linear decoration (of which 56 have worn paint, and one comes from the body of a fine vessel with strong signs of vitrification).

[65] These vessels are solidly painted or with linear decoration, conical in shape or with a narrow neck and a wide everted rim (three of which bear painted decoration).

[66] These range in diameter from 4–14 cm. The figure includes three handmade bases.

[67] 40 come from hydriai, trefoil-mouthed oinochoai, etc., while two are double handles from trefoil-mouthed oinochoai.

the outer edge (Fig. 9; Pl. 5). Sherds of shallow plates with a ring base, sometimes a suspension hole, and a slightly flattened convex rim are also found. These are decorated either with rays or with thick or thin concentric bands, or thin concentric lines interspersed with groups of vertical or wavy lines in a variety of formations. This decoration is rendered in brown, black or red. The concealed exterior base is in most cases decorated with concentric bands or lines.[68] Several plate sherds bear traces of burning.

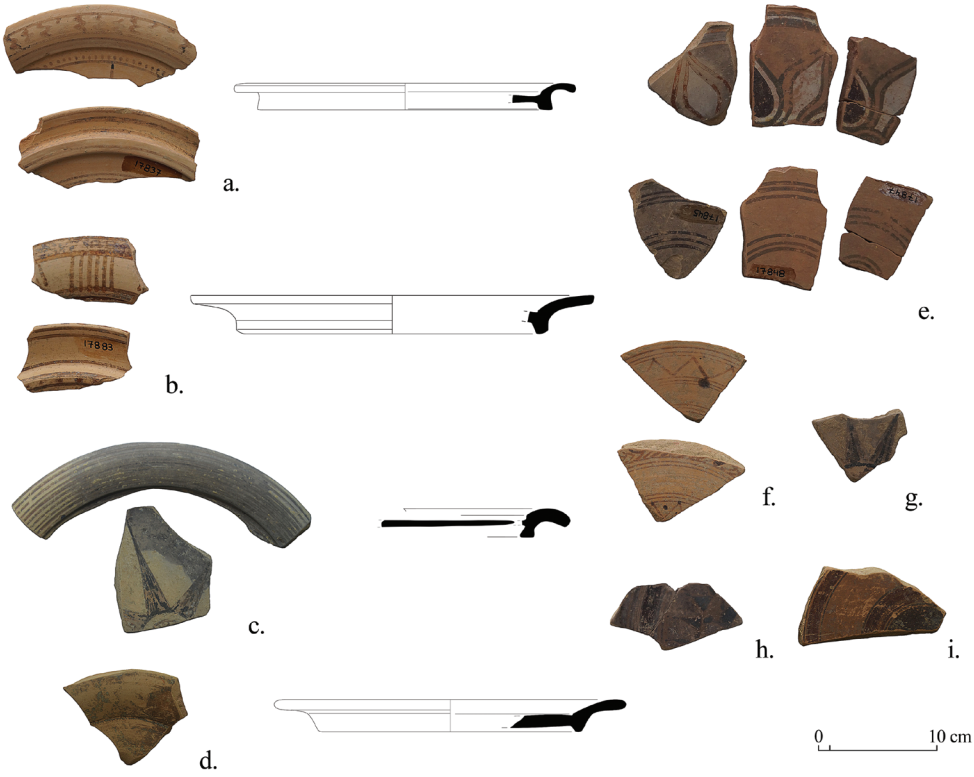


Fig. 9; Pl. 5. ***Site O1****: Plates with painted decoration.*

One plate fragment has small, well-spaced, vertical wavy lines between horizontal bands around the rim and, around the edge of the floor, a row of dots and the tip of a ray at the inner edge (Fig. 9a). On the underside are concentric

[68] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 47, no. C59, ill. 9, pl. 29 (plate with red bands framed with white).

bands. Decoration is in brown paint, now worn. Fig. 9b shows part of a plate with a panel containing metopal groups of six closely spaced bands. Two sherds from a plate with a dense array of horizontal bands around the rim and rays on the floor are grey with intense traces of burning (Fig. 9c). Fragments of a plate probably made in a local workshop bear much worn traces of band decoration on the interior and the base (Fig. 9d). Fragments of WAPP plates decorated with floral motifs and framing bands in thick white and black paint are typical finds (Fig. 9e; Pl. 5). Figure 9f illustrates what may be an imported plate in a pure fabric, decorated with fine concentric and zigzag bands inside and out. Some plates have rays (Fig. 9g) or rows of small rays (Fig. 9h) on the interior. One has alternating thick concentric bands in red and black (Fig. 9i; Pl. 5).

The deposit contained 88 diagnostic and body sherds from plates (36 of which are grey), almost all with painted decoration. The grey and other sherds are similar in their decoration, and it is possible that the grey colour is due to burning after breakage.

Basins and Bowls

A large quantity of technologically and morphologically homogeneous plainware sherds confirm the existence of a local production. Many belong to basins, a form used for domestic purposes (Fig. 10). Most are well-made, in a pale-yellow fabric, unglazed, and with a flattened, slightly out-turned rim. Fig. 10a illustrates a shallow, unglazed basin, handmade in a pure fabric, with horizontal roll handles below the rim and a crudely finished flat base. Part of a plain conical bowl has a small horizontal roll handle tilted slightly upwards and pierced through by what may be a suspension hole (Fig. 10b). Fragments from the base and rim of another basin have band decoration (Fig. 10c); this rim form is also paralleled on plainware basins (Fig. 10d-e), noting one example where the fabric differs in its composition and orange colour (Fig. 10f). One bowl rim decorated with fine lines preserves a horizontal reflex handle (Fig. 10g). The middling size of the bowls indicates a use in the preparation of food, probably for symposia; these can be interpreted as vessels for serving or carrying food, while the larger basins may have been used for handwashing after the meal.[69] Domestic plainwares also include 92 sherds from fine flat bases, 9–20 cm in

[69] On the link between bowls and basins, and their function, see Lüdorf 2000, 9–13.

diameter (Fig. 10h). A total of 26 diagnostic sherds come from basins. These comprise 1 sherd of a handmade basin, 21 rims of wheel made basins, and 96 flat, unpainted bases.

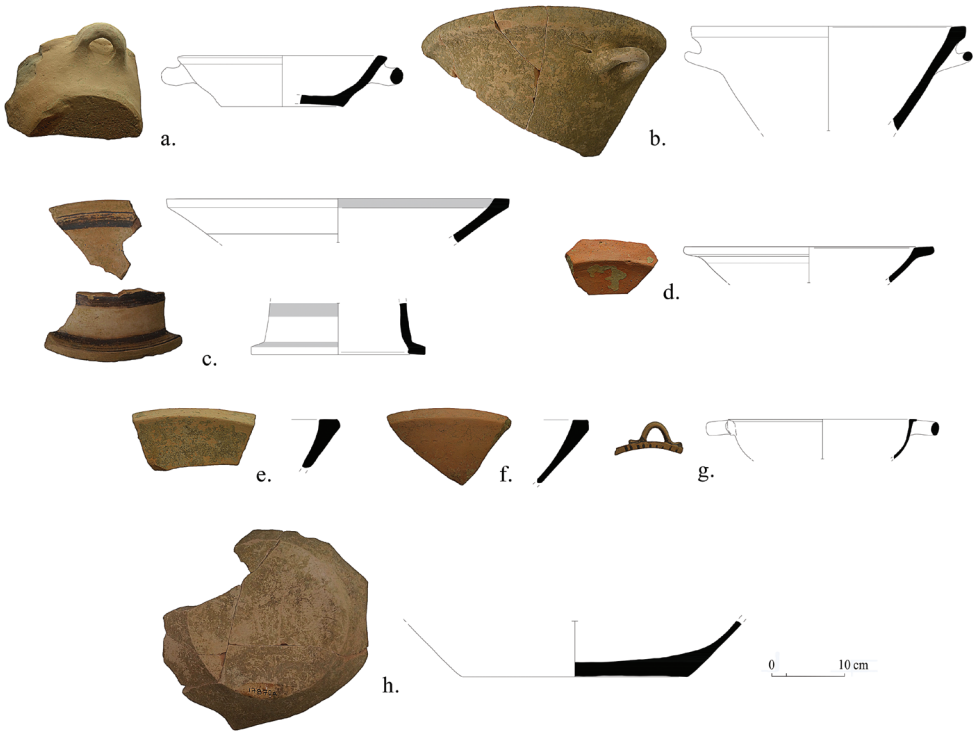


Fig. 10. ***Site O1****: Basins and bowls.*

Plainware Vessels for Transport, Storage, and Cooking

Domestic pottery from the deposit includes plainware sherds from cooking, transport, and storage vessels (Fig. 11). The mouths and handles of most plainware vessels bear marks made by the tools used to smooth the surface, as well as finger marks left by the potter at the point where they join the body. Examples of closed transport shapes include the mouth of a large vessel with a single strap handle (Fig. 11a); a handle and part of a rim (Fig. 11b); part of a vessel with a handle springing from the rim (Fig. 11c); a handle (Fig. 11d); part of an amphora neck and handle (Fig. 11e); an amphora rim in orange fabric (Fig. 11f) and another in yellow fabric (Fig. 11g). Handmade pottery includes a large horizon-

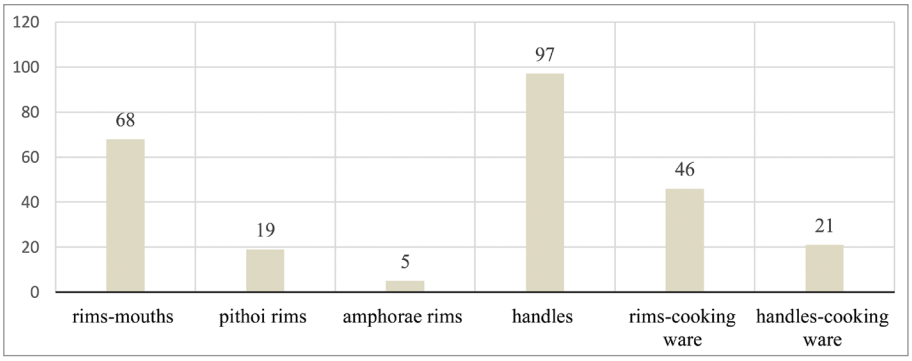
tal pithos handle and the handle of a plain domestic vessel with traces of black paint (Fig. 11h).[70] Figure 11i illustrates a horizontal handle from a pithos decorated with small dots incised before firing. Fragments of storage vessels also include rim surrounds, pithos rims with holes at regular intervals (Figs. 11j-k)[71] and other pithos rims of different sizes (Figs. 11l-n),[72] handles from pithoi or other large, closed shapes, and part of a pithos lid (Fig. 11o).



Fig. 11. ***Site O1****: Plainware vessels for transport, storage, and cooking.*

[70] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 30, no. B72, ill. 5, pl. 24.
[71] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 30, no. B68, ill. 5.
[72] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 30, no. B69, ill. 5.

Sherds of chytrai and related cookingware shapes, usually of local manufacture, are made in a coarse fabric with inclusions and show evidence of use wear (Figs. 11p-u). Their handles spring from the neck or the shoulder. Examples include the two rim and handle sherds of cookpots illustrated in Figs. 11p-q. A rare find in this area is a lasanon (λάσανον), a cylindrical ceramic support for a cooking pot, also made in a coarse reddish-brown fabric, with traces of burning (Fig. 11v). The surviving part is slightly curved, with a round opening in the middle, and the root of a handle on one side. This handle was raised high, making it easier to move the lasanon onto and off the hearth. The use of ceramic lasana (λάσανα) as supports for cooking pots allowed for better temperature control and heat distribution. The Ricci hydria depicts a lebes supported on lasana,[73] and lasana are also described in publications from the Athenian Agora (see Fig. 11 for a detailed image).[74]



*Graph 4. **Site O1**: Quantification of diagnostic sherds of transport and storage vessels and cooking pots.*

Graph 4 shows the number of diagnostic sherds of transport and storage vessels and cooking pots. The total figures are: 68 unpainted rims of closed vessels; 19 pithos rims; 5 unpainted amphora rims; 97 unpainted handles; 46 rims and 21 handles from cooking pots.[75]

[73] Villa Giulia, Rome, ca. 525–500 BCE; see Ricci 1946–1948; Morris 1985, pl. 104.

[74] Papadopoulos 1992, 204, pl. 47e.

[75] These are mainly everted rims with a flat upper surface. Some preserve part of a ribbon handle that springs from the neck of the vessel or a rounded section that springs from the rim.

Various Finds

Other finds from the deposit include the lid of a round Corinthian pyxis with a button knob that is decorated with a group of fine concentric lines surrounded by a wide black band around the outer edge and the base of the knob (Fig. 12a). Two pairs of holes allowed the lid to be tied to the body. The hollow interior is unpainted. The deposit contained six loom weights in a fine fabric; the three intact examples are shown in Fig. 12b. Shaped like truncated pyramids with a suspension hole through the top, these weights were used for weaving on an upright loom. The largest of the three intact examples is 4.5 cm tall, unpainted, and has a suspension hole just below its flat top, while the smallest preserves traces of red paint, and the third has black paint. Their size and weight relate to the thickness of the thread and the type of fabric produced. Obviously, loom weights are found in domestic settings, where women were occupied with weaving, but they are also found in public buildings, cemeteries, and sanctuaries as offerings.[76] The weaving tools also include seven solid spools (used to wind thread) of which five are almost intact (Fig. 12c): the largest is 4.8 cm high and the smallest 3.5 cm.[77] There are three lamp fragments: one (Fig. 12d) of the open type with a hollowed base (this is burnt), another with vertical walls (Fig. 12e), and a third (Fig. 12f) with in-sloping walls, signs of use on the nozzle, and worn traces of paint. A terracotta wing with traces of burning (Fig. 12g), with a parallel from Elis town, relates to winged demonic figures dating to the end of the 6th century BCE. A fragment of a bronze needle (Fig. 12h) and a bronze ring (Fig. 12i) were found in the slope fill and near the surface of the deposit. The ring is a closed band with a biconical profile on the exterior.[78] Finally, a few terracotta roof tiles of Lakonian type, mostly slipped on the concave or convex side, were scattered through the deposit. Several with the same fabric tint, density, and quality of slip may belong together.

In detail, the remaining finds from the deposit are in total: one fragment of a pyxis lid and two of pierced rims with painted decoration;[79] seven fragments of miniature vessels; one fragment from the body of a zoomorphic figurine; four

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[76] Simantoni-Bournia 2023.

[77] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 63, nos. C203–C204, ill. 19, pl. 39 (Type 2).

[78] Inv. no. 6702 (exterior diameter 2.2 m, weight 2 g.).

[79] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 58, no. C136, ill. 10, pl. 35; Morgan 1999, 132, pl. 53, nos. 407-408.

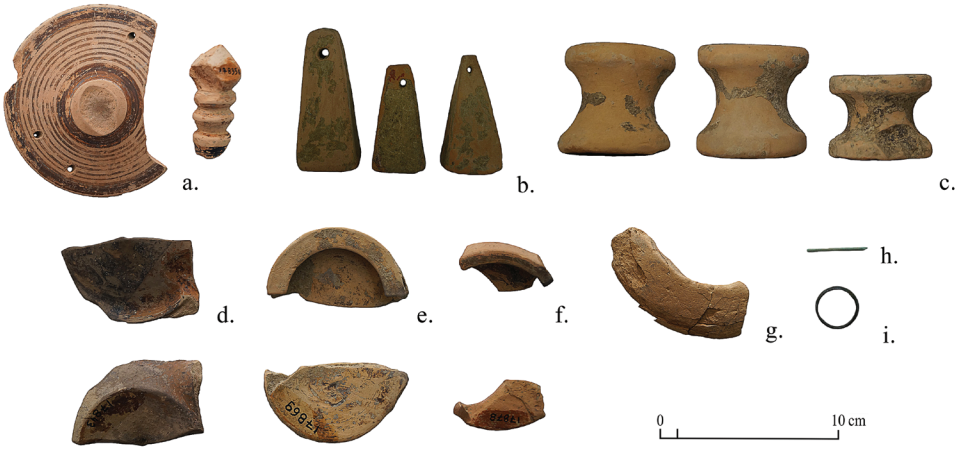


Fig. 12. ***Site O1****: Various finds from the Archaic deposit.*

lamp fragments; six pyramidal loom weights (including three intact examples weighing 77, 50, and 47 g); seven spools (six more massive examples plus one that is slimmer, ranging in height from 3.8 to 5 cm); one fragment of a terracotta bird; one bronze ring and one piece of a bronze needle.

In sum, this preliminary quantification of the sherd material confirms that the deposit is rich in vessels of many forms: shapes for drinking (kantharoi, cups, and skyphoi), mixing (kraters and lebetes), preparation and consumption (basins and plates), transport and service (hydriai, oinochoai, and amphorai). The most popular form of drinking vessel in the deposit remains the kantharos, thus confirming the continuation of a strong tradition in Achaian pottery production during early historical times.[80] A number of different versions of lebetes and krater have been noted, varying in capacity, shape, and decoration. The large quantity of sherds with painted decoration is an indicator of the quality of the vessels. Most basins display a similar form of rim, regardless of whether they bear painted decoration and were intended for special occasions or were unpainted and used for day-to-day purposes. Large plainware hydriai, made in a pure, pale-coloured fabric of consistent composition, stand out. There are very few amphorai. Most cooking pots bear traces of burning. Preliminary quantification indicates that there are more than twice as many open vessels as closed.

[80] Gadolou 2008, 264, 296.

WAPP elements can be recognized in both shape and decoration, confirming intense interaction between ceramic workshops in western Greece.

The large number of Achaian vessels found in the deposit, of identical types and with homogeneous technical, morphological, and technological characteristics, supports the conclusion that a local workshop produced these wares to meet the needs of the residents.

The source of the material deposited here has not been identified. Above the deposit, to the east and south, the slope is covered with vegetation. West of it, test trenches produced no evidence. Further south in the immediate vicinity, Archaic sherds were found in a shallow accumulation of stones.

Site O2: Archaic Building

At **Site O2** in inland Olenos, 1.4 km south of the deposit above, an Archaic public building was discovered (Fig. 13; Pl. 3.1).[81] Measuring 22.6 m long, with a preserved width of 10.2 m, and oriented north-south, it dates to the second half of the 6th century BCE. The location of Olenos is established on the basis of this building, which is the only surviving architectural remain in the area. The western exterior of the building is preserved almost intact; along it were three defined spaces (or rooms) of which the middle one (10 m wide and possibly 8.20 m long) is twice as large as those that surround it symmetrically. The 0.90 m high foundation is a polygonal structure in cobblestones, hard sandstone, and limestone with excellent jointing. The mudbrick superstructure is not preserved. Further sections of foundation, organically connected, attest to the existence of more rooms to the east. In a later phase, alterations to the interior and exterior of the building changed its layout. These alterations are clearly visible, as large cobbles were used in the foundation. The building continued in uninterrupted use until it was abandoned at the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century BCE. A dense destruction layer of Lakonian roof tiles on the surface of the gravel floor, with visible sporadic traces of fire, belongs to the last phase of its use.[82]

In the north-western part of the middle room, below the floor of the second phase, there was a structure cut into the natural embankment, with two heart-

[81] *ADelt* 68 (2013), B1, 347–348, fig. 19 [Vasiliki Tsaknaki]; Tsaknaki 2019.

[82] *ADelt* 63 (2008), B1, 404, fig. 37 [Vasiliki Tsaknaki]; Tsaknaki 2019, 446–447, fig. 2, 6. This collection of rooftiles weighed 3.250 kg.

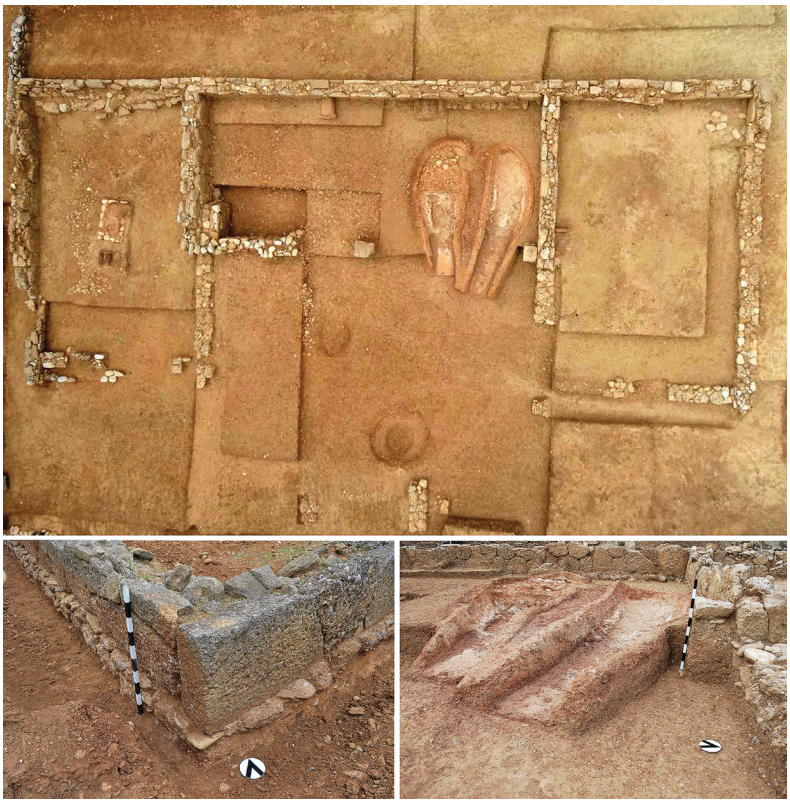


Fig. 13; Pl. 3.1. ***Site O2****: Aerial photograph of the Archaic building. Detail: the south-west corner from the outside; the double firing chamber with a common stokehole located in the northern part of the central room.*

shaped chambers flanking a central support/stem and a common opening to the east. Strong traces of heating on the walls and the existence of a mouth to introduce fuel indicate that this was a combustion chamber. A layer of clay hardened by fire covered the floor and walls; dentils cut into the walls probably supported a grate. The construction follows the natural slope of the building.

The chamber seems to have been incorporated within the Archaic building and used in parallel with it. This is because the highest surviving point of the chamber wall protrudes by 11 cm from the foundation of the western wall, and the wall separating it from the northern room bears traces of exposure to heat. The opening to the north was constructed during the building's second phase. Part of an amphora mouth paralleled at Elian Pylos (Fig. 14a) and the neck of a closed vessel with a plastic ring and traces of worn red paint were collected



Fig. 14; Pls. 4–5. ***Site O2****: Pottery from the Archaic building: (a-d) from the heating chamber, (e-i) from its interior areas and (j-k) from the surrounding area.*

inside the chamber (Fig. 14b).[83] Among the fire-affected materials, mixed with brown soil and cobbles, was a kantharos of Coleman's third type (missing its base), paralleled at Olympia, along with a few kantharos sherds, kylix rims, the base of a large open vessel (Fig. 14c), a sherd with ray decoration (Fig. 14d), and fragments of roof tile.[84] The large combustion chamber (9 m^2) indicates needs much greater than those of a simple household.

The room was probably used to prepare meals, and the chamber, eccen-

[83] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 49, no. C73, pl. 25.

[84] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 56, no. C117, pl. 32; Tsaknaki 2019, 458, fig. 10; Karadima 2024, 287–288, fig. 3.

trically placed within it, probably belonged to a facility for this purpose. The existence of meals is inferred from an Archaic deposit containing burnt animal bones, ash, and several plates. Among other finds, this contained a plate with painted decoration (Fig. 14e; Pl. 5).

Pottery from the site of the building includes a skyphos sherd with a monochrome body and a reserved band below the rim containing a wavy line (Fig. 14f); the ring base and lower body of a locally produced large skyphos (Fig. 14g), with a reserved zone containing groups of vertical lines and clusters of small vertical wavy lines; a miniature hydria with paired black lines and a red faded line at the transition with the shoulder (Fig. 14h); and a sherd with figured decoration in silhouette preserving the upper part of a male figure (Fig. 14i). From the surrounding area come two necks of lekythos-oinochoai, one (Fig. 14j) with floral and ray decoration, and the other with linear motifs and a plastic ring (Fig. 14k).[85]

Whether this was a public building or the prominent residence of a local ruler, the finds represent the remains of ritual meals and cult practices conducted by a few participants, among the diverse activities of rulers in early historical times.[86]

Sites O3–O5

At **Site O3** (Fig. 1; Pl. 2.1), burial pithoi mostly containing Geometric and Archaic finds are a feature of the area around the building, found only 180 m southeast of it.[87] The building and the cemetery indicate the existence of an ancient road which, based on the geomorphology of the site, can be placed on the line of its modern counterpart.

At **Site O4**, near the coast, a particularly dense array of domestic buildings has two main phases of construction.[88] In combination with other archaeological data, they attest to the existence of an organized settlement requiring local

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[85] Sherds j and k (drawn by A. Gourdoupi) come from the west bank of stream bed 2, which was uncovered further north of the building; see *ADelt* 63 (2008), B1, 494 [Vasiliki Tsaknaki].

[86] Evidence of ritual meals has been found at several early sanctuaries, including those of Poseidon Helikonios at Nikoleiika and Artemis Hemera at Lousoi in Arkadia; see Gadolou 2017, 55–58 (with bibliography).

[87] Maniaki 2021; pithoi are used for Geometric burials at other sites excavated in western Achaia; see Tsaknaki 2019, 450, no. 65.

[88] *ADelt* 63 (2008), B1, 492-494 [Adamantia Vasilogamvrou et al.]; Tsaknaki 2019, 445.

pottery production to cover its needs. Late Geometric and Archaic pottery from this site consists of small sherds of painted and unpainted vessels. The site was abandoned in the Early Hellenistic period.

At **Site O5**, 70 m from the sea, a cobblestone wall 1.30 m high was built in two phases.[89] In contact with it were two use levels, consisting of sherds, gravel, and compacted soil, from which a little Archaic pottery was collected. Settlement remains were located nearby.

Excavations in recent years have increasingly underscored the significance of Olenos in the Late Geometric and particularly the Archaic period.[85] The presence of ceramics associated with the ruling class reflects broader processes of social differentiation that can be traced back to the Mycenaean period in Achaia. Pottery from **Sites O1** and **O2** indicates a society capable of organizing communal feasts, which played a role in fostering social cohesion, reinforcing moral values, and legitimizing emerging aristocratic elites. The analysis of vessel shape, decoration, and fabric composition provides insights into their production, use, and distribution. The abundance of high-quality clay in the Olenos region facilitated the local manufacture of exceptionally thin-walled and finely crafted vases. In addition to coarse, plain, and utilitarian wares, the pottery assemblage includes vessels adorned with painted ornamentation and figural representations. These decorated vessels were not limited to religious and funerary contexts but were also part of elite domestic assemblages. The repertoire and development of shapes closely parallel those found at Elian Pylos.

B. The Plateau of Dyme

Dyme, the westernmost city of the Achaian Dodecapolis, is located at modern Kato Achaia.[90] According to Strabo (8.7.4), the Ionians in Achaia initially lived in villages before merging their settlements into districts that formed 12 cities. Evidence of *synoikism* at Aigion, Patras, and Dyme appears in the second half of the 5th century BCE. Hecataeus of Miletos (cited in Strabo 8.3.9) attributes Dyme variously to the Epeians of Elis or the Achaians,[91] while the *Homeric*

[89] *ADelt* 61 (2006), B1, 441–444, figs. 3-4 [Vasiliki Tsaknaki]; Tsaknaki 2019, 445.

[90] Strabo 8.3.37 (‘πασῶν δυσμικωτάτη, ἀφοῦ καί τό ὄνομα’); Lakakis and Rizakis 1992, 77-100; Tsaknaki 2023, 242–246 (with bibliography).

[91] Triantaphyllou 2000, 103-104; Lakaki-Marchetti 2012, 352.

Hymn to Apollo (lines 416–426) describes it as Epeian territory.[92] Early historical settlement is evident on Pachoumas Hill, a rich source of potter's clay.[93] Secure archaeological evidence predating the *synoikism* was found at **Sites D1–D7**, where Archaic pottery, primarily from dump deposits, was recovered (Fig. 15; Pl. 3.2).[94]

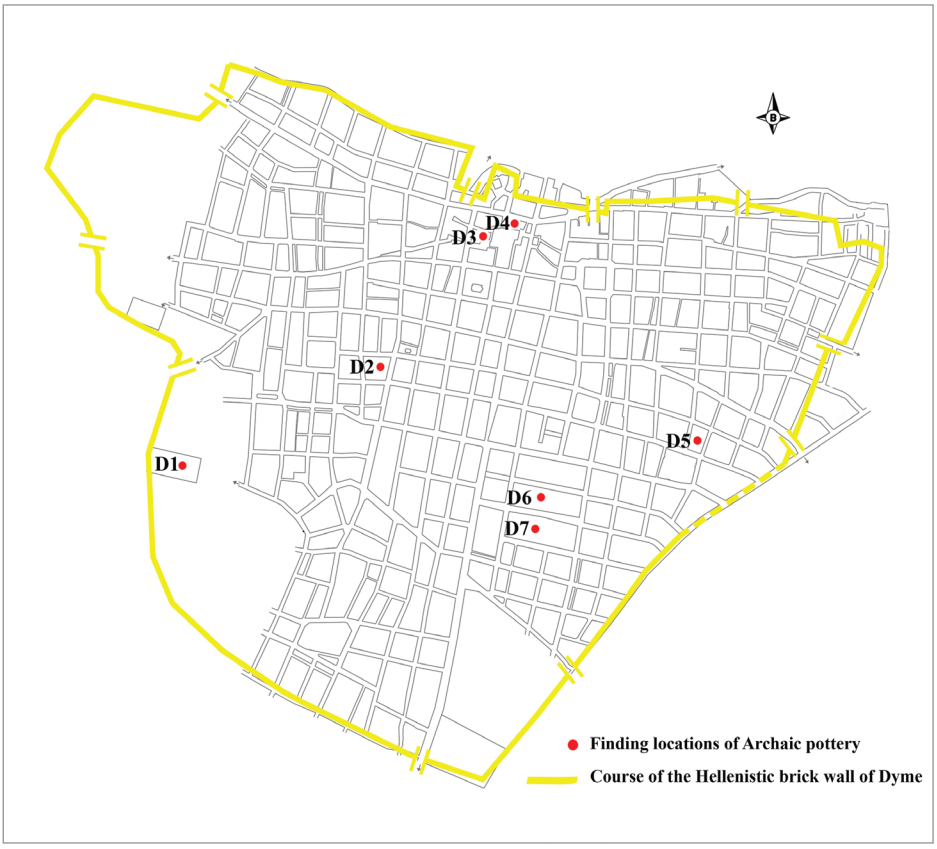


Fig. 15; Pl. 3.2. Plan of Kato Achaia showing the course of the Hellenistic brick wall of ancient Dyme and find spots of Archaic pottery. Plan: Marinos Marinopoulos.

[92] Mendoni 1991, 69.

[93] Today Pachoumas hill lies within the unified scheduled archaeological site of Dyme-Pachoumas (Government Gazette 43/A.A.Π./15-3-2018; https://www.arxaiologikoktimatologio.gov.gr/). For pottery of the early historical period from Pachoumas hill, see Gadolou 2008, 140–142, figs. 137–145α,189–190; for clay sources, see Gadolou 2008, 63–64, fig. 23.

[94] On the *komai* involved in the *synoikism* of Dyme, see Tsaknaki 2024, 536–537.

The following list includes find locations of Archaic pottery (**Sites D1–D7**) and relevant bibliography where available.

Site D1: ΤΕΛ property (City block Γ317).[95]
Site D2: Achaikis Sympoliteias and Phaistou Streets (City block 276, Tourtoura property).[96]
Site D3: Parodos Bakoulopoulou (City block 38B, Koka property).[97]
Site D4: Parodos Bakoulopoulou (City block 37A, Hasapakis property).[98]
Site D5: Pausaniou and Kolokotroni Streets (City block 113, Bousias property).[99]
Site D6: Christou Rasti Street (City block 108, Boukali property).[100]
Site D7: Christou Rasti Street (City block 109, Houna property).[101]

The existence of plentiful clay suitable for potting favoured the establishment of workshops at Dyme. This is confirmed by the large number of potter's kilns excavated within and near the western edge of the brick city wall.[102] The core of the workshop area covers approximately 3,000 m^2, with facilities for all stages of the production process found together. Wells were revealed, along with a vat for clay processing, a water supply tank, sections of ancient road, and the remains of auxiliary buildings, all testifying to multi-person workshops with a large production. Kilns were also scattered in residential areas of the city, proving that the inhabitants were engaged in, or familiar with, the production of ceramics.[103] Undoubtedly, Dyme was an important centre of pottery production in western Greece.

At **Site D1**, a dump deposit contained a large quantity of locally produced Archaic and Early Classical pottery that displays the influence of WAPP on its shapes and decoration (Fig. 16).[104] A local origin is confirmed by the texture and colour of the fabric, which at least macroscopically does not differ from that of

[95] *ADelt* 53 (1996), B1, 272–273 [Adamantia Vasilogamvrou].
[96] Vasilogamvrou 2005a.
[97] *ADelt* (2022), B1, forthcoming [Vasiliki Tsaknaki].
[98] Vasilogamvrou 2001.
[99] *ADelt* 63 (2008), B1, 499 [Vasiliki Tsaknaki].
[100] *ADelt* (2022), B1, forthcoming [Vasiliki Tsaknaki].
[101] Vasilogamvrou 2005b.
[102] For the kilns, see Tsaknaki 2021, 557–558; Tsaknaki 2023, 254.
[103] Tsaknaki 2021, 556, plan 1.
[104] *ADelt* 53 (2006), B1, 272-273 [Adamantia Vasilogamvrou].

local Hellenistic pottery. Samples of pottery from the deposit were subjected to petrographic, mineralogical, geochemical, and other archaeometric analyses.[105] Vessels with painted decoration feature rectilinear and curvilinear motifs, sometimes simplified, which are adapted to local preferences.



Fig. 16; Pls. 4–5. ***Site D1****: Pottery from a local workshop found in an Archaic dump deposit.*

[105] Rathossi 2005, 41, 45, 323, 547.

Plainware column kraters are typical of the basic shape of the period (Fig. 16a-b). A sherd from the rim and body of a krater is decorated with groups of vertical lines forming metopes between which are rows of short wavy lines (Fig. 16c; Pl. 4). Finds also include the base of a column krater (Fig. 16d); the upper part of a trefoil-mouthed oinochoe with a narrow mouth (Fig. 16e) plus another with a wide mouth (Fig. 16f);[106] and part of a krater overfired to a green-grey colour (Fig. 16g). A basin warped in firing, found among waste in the deposit, is tangible evidence of the operation of a local workshop (Fig. 16h).

Other vessels produced in the local workshop include a plate with red bands framed by black lines, a reticulate pattern on the rim and a suspension hole (Fig. 17a; Pl. 5). On the floor are red calyx leaves and fragmentary petals of a flower, probably a lotus, in the middle. On the underside there is similar decoration of red bands and lines around the rim (Fig. 17a1; Pl. 5). A further plate (Fig. 17b; Pl. 5) with a suspension hole has red bands bordered by black lines, a reticulated pattern on the rim, and a floral motif on the floor (Fig. 17b1; Pl. 5). A skyphos sherd has base rays topped with a horizontal red band (Fig. 17c; Pl. 4); the interior and exterior are otherwise black (the paint very worn), with a wavy line in a reserved band below the rim, and there are vertical bands across the rim surface.[107] Further examples include a skyphos sherd preserving one handle root, with similar wavy line decoration below the rim (Fig. 17d; Pl. 4); part of a kotyle preserving just the roots of one handle, decorated on the body below with a red band framed by pairs of black lines (Fig. 17e; Pl. 4) plus a similar example with a complete handle (Fig. 17f; Pl. 4); part of a kantharos with a conical foot (Fig. 17g); a rim sherd (Fig. 17h) with paint peeling due to sudden fluctuations in kiln temperature; and a misfired spool with a crack caused by over-firing (Fig. 17i).

Also found in the deposit was part of the ring base of a terracotta perirrhanterion (its concave upper surface is one piece with the columnar support), bearing incised decoration (Fig. 18a). It is similar in form to the perirrhanterion found at **Site O1**.

A further inscribed object (Fig. 18b) measures 28.5 cm wide and 12.2 cm high on the exterior, is hollow inside, 24 cm wide on the interior, and 1.5 cm thick. Its elongated shape recalls that of a trough(?) and is related to the form of

[106] Gadolou 2008, 115, no. 82.
[107] Brann 1962, 157, pl. 9 (650–625 BCE).

perirrhanteria and bathtubs (a bowl and base). In terms of function, it resembles a kneading-trough, i.e., a baker's bowl.[108] The form also recalls the front of a Lakonian-type cover tile.[109] Incised into the flat base is a short, single-line graffito consisting of three letters, KAP, cut freehand with a sharp tool after firing. Written retrograde and slightly sloping, the graffito is placed close to the perimeter, following the shape of the vessel. The horizontal stroke of the *alpha* inclines to the left, while the loop of the *rho* is triangular. Based on the retrograde inscription and the associated finds, the vessel is dated to the Archaic period.

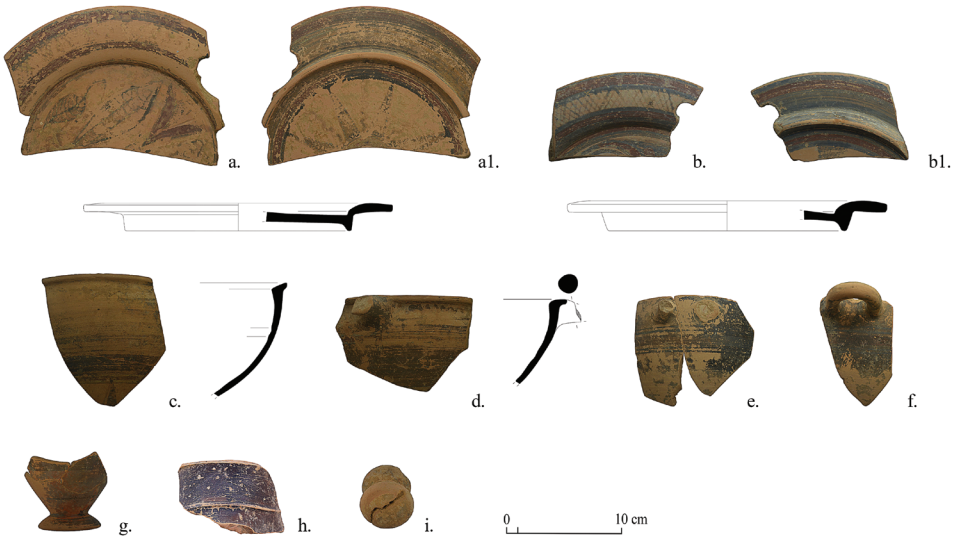


Fig. 17; Pls. 4–5. ***Site D1****: Products of a local pottery workshop.*

At **Site D2**, rich pottery deposits—mostly Classical with some Archaic—were discovered among building remains in a densely settled part of Hellenistic Dyme.[110] WAPP is also found here. A typical example is a sherd of an open vessel, probably a krater (Fig. 19a; Pl. 4), with a worn black ground and an added white wavy line between two white horizontal bands below the rim. In the shoulder zone is a large lotus flower with five petals, alternating white and red bordered in white, emanating from a black band with white vertical lines.

[108] Poupaki 2001, 300–304.
[109] Arapogianni and Spiropoulou 2022, 104, fig. 12.
[110] City block 276, Tourtoura property.

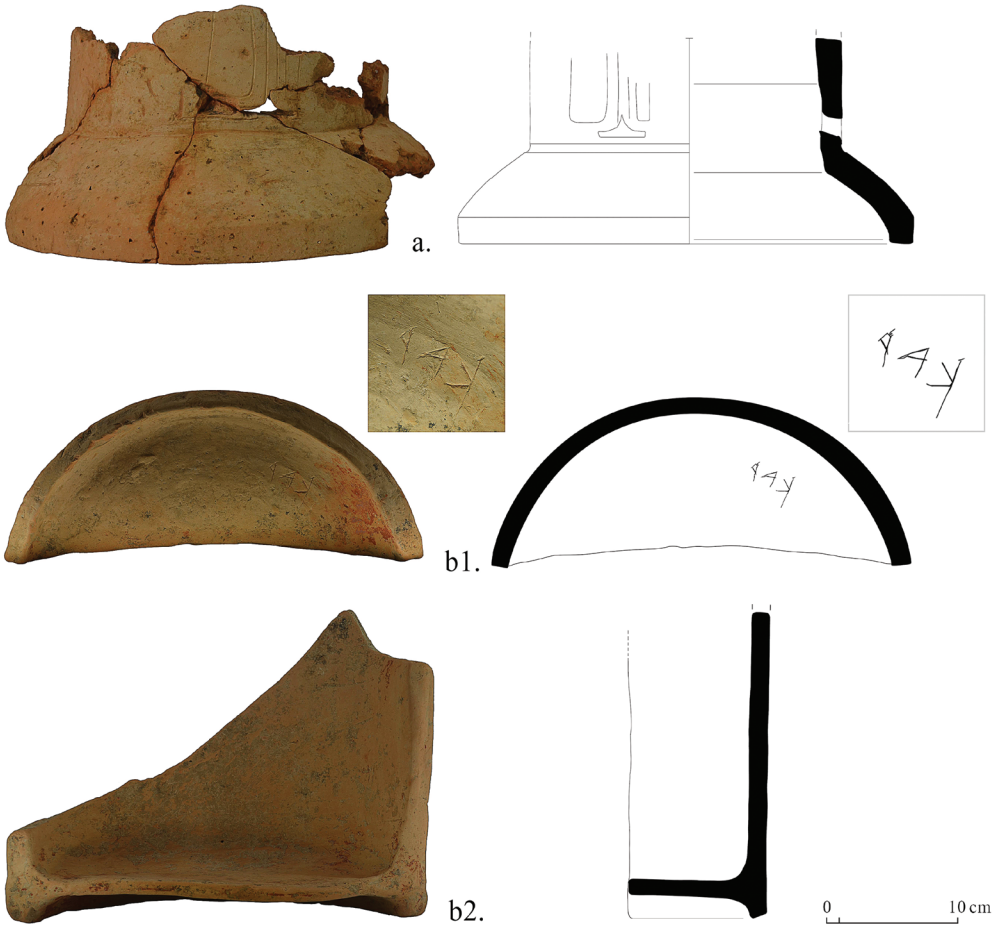


Fig. 18. ***Site D1****: a. Base of a terracotta perirrhanterion with incised decoration; b. Inscribed terracotta object.*

The partially preserved calyx leaves are red bordered in white. A krater from Elian Pylos has a similar lotus motif, and simpler versions with fewer petals appear on kraters from Olympia.[111] Part of a rim has an added white wavy line framed with white bands (Fig. 19b; Pl. 4). Another sherd has a red misfiring spot (Fig. 19c; Pl. 4).

[111] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, no. C2. Gauer 1975, pl. 24.1 (fig. 10.5 for the profile, fig. 5.2 for the lotus decoration). A similar lotus motif appears on kraters from Olympia; see Hampe and Jantzen 1937, fig. 15.

At **Site D3**, a deposit containing Archaic and Classical pottery was retrieved below a section of Hellenistic wall.[112] Its contents include a rim and handle sherd from a column krater (Fig. 19g) glazed on the handle exterior, the rim, and the body below handle level (apparently a survival of an Archaic shape made in local workshops during the Classical period); and a rim sherd from an open vessel with spiral decoration (Fig. 19f; Pl. 4).

Another large deposit containing Archaic pottery was found at **Site D4** on an adjacent plot.[113] This assemblage included a rim sherd with a reflex handle (Fig. 19e) and a sherd with red and black band decoration (Fig. 19d; Pl. 4).[114]

At **Site D5**, an extensive destruction layer with strong signs of burning was revealed beneath the remains of Hellenistic buildings.[115] This contained Archaic and Classical sherds, miniature vessels and figurines, fragments of roof tiles, and unworked stones.

At **Site D6***,* a large potter's kiln dates to the 2nd century BCE.[116] Beneath the stoking channel, a deposit related to previous activity in the area contained a very little pottery. Two Archaic plates copy WAPP products and reveal the adaptation of imported prototypes to suit local taste. These plates bear the typical decoration of red bands and lines, but their bases are thin and deformed during firing, confirming that they are products of a local workshop (Fig. 19h-i; Pl. 5).

An Archaic deposit rich in pottery was found at **Site D7.**[117] Sherds from it include a kotyle (Fig. 20a) with red painted decoration (a floral motif springing from the base and a broad band around the rim and handles); an open shape with a row of rays around the base (Fig. 20b); a krater with metopal decoration on the shoulder (Fig. 20c; Pl. 4); a skyphos with a horizontal wavy line below the rim (Fig. 20d; Pl. 4), probably from the same workshop as the skyphos (Fig. 14e) from the Archaic building at **Site O2**, which is closely similar in technique and decoration; an exaleiptron (Fig. 20e) with incised figures (individual or grouped); a plate (Fig. 20f; Pl. 5) with typical Archaic metopal decoration, and one with rays (Fig. 20g; Pl. 5); the shoulder of a closed vessel with a teardrop motif (Fig. 20h); and one monochrome skyphos sherd, with a black line on the

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[112] *ADelt* (2022), B1, forthcoming [Vasiliki Tsaknaki].

[113] Parodos Bakoulopoulou (City block 37A, Hasapakis property).

[114] Karadima 2024, 288–289, fig. 4a, with similar decoration on an Elian kantharos.

[115] *ADelt* 63 (2008), B1, 499 [Vasiliki Tsakanaki].

[116] *ADelt* (2022), B1, forthcoming [Vasiliki Tsaknaki].

[117] Christou Rasti Street (City block 109, Houna property).

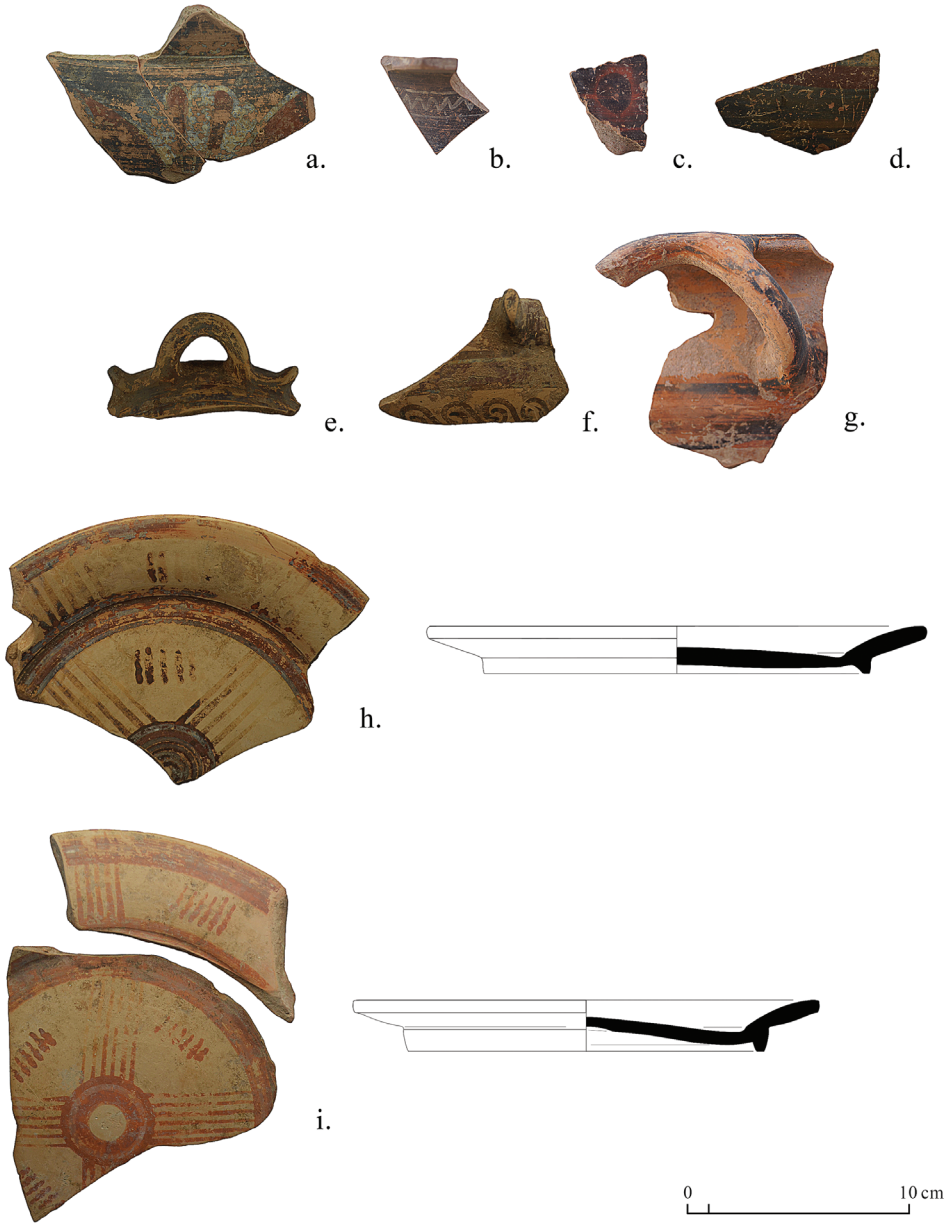


Fig. 19; Pls. 4–5. ***Sites D2–D6****: Archaic open vessels.*

surface of the rim (Fig. 20l). A horizontal wavy line below the rim is commonly found on sherds Fig. 20i, k, m, n, Pl. 4. A plate sherd has black lines and red bands around the rim and worn linear decoration on the base (Fig. 20j; Pl. 5).



Fig. 20; Pls. 4–5. ***Sites D6–D7****: Archaic pottery.*

Local craftsmen knew of the standard WAPP repertoire but copied it superficially, simplifying the formalized floral details while enriching the repertoire with new motifs. This imitation, confirmed archaeologically, should probably be attributed in large part to the potters themselves, who possessed technical knowledge and followed trends in the output of their counterparts in neighbouring areas, although commercial and social associations should also be considered. Most vessels found in Dyme are mediocre in quality, but there are also examples that display firing defects. There are red firing spots on black glaze, grey-green discoloration produced by over-firing, a greenish or yellowish coat-

ing due to the early onset of the reduction phase, and peeling paint caused by sudden changes in firing temperature.

In addition to the Archaic pottery from Kato Achaia, we note the discovery of architectural spolia: an Archaic acroterion[118] and part of a terracotta sima with painted decoration.[119] These architectural terracottas attest to the occupation of the site and offer important information about the architecture of the period. They have parallels from the area of Elis, Lousoi, Aigeira, and Corinth. Common elements in terms of style and motifs, as well as local peculiarities, reveal the exchange of artistic ideas and technologies in the design of monumental architecture.[120]

Conclusion

Common characteristics are usually found in styles that develop in parallel within a region, while deviations in technique, small or large, define each style and the particularity of each workshop. The Late Geometric and Archaic finds excavated are of particularly importance as they provide archaeological confirmation of organized settlement in western Achaia. The pottery assemblages examined come from rescue excavations and shed light on important aspects of life in Olenos and Dyme from the second half of the 7th to the beginning of the 5th century BCE. Archaeological evidence allows us to examine wider phenomena, such as economic and social development; it presents a picture of a flourishing society whose members could organize and participate in social events that on the one hand were fundamental expressions of collective identity and on the other intensified social differentiation. Vases, as tradeable goods, express local preferences, their import and production directed towards daily needs, domestic or ceremonial. The use of imported and local pottery reflects social changes as well as economic conditions, as the Archaic period was one of prosperity and creativity for settlements in this region. At the same time, pottery highlights existing cultural relations and the important role played by geography in facilitating cross-cultural contacts. Western Achaia was in direct contact with the neighbouring area around Elian Pylos to the south. Late Geometric and Archaic Elian imports and local imitations confirm that closely related pottery

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[118] *ADelt* 56-59 (2001–2004), B4, 518, pl. 133a [Adamantia Vasilogamvrou].
[119] *ADelt* 73 (2018), B1, forthcoming [Vasiliki Tsaknaki].
[120] Merker 2006, 149–154; Scahill 2023.

styles developed in western Achaia. The area was not isolated but maintained its own cultural character shaped by influences from other regional productions, the most important being that of Elis.

Turning to the classification of the material, we can now distinguish local production, and particularly the imitation of WAPP. Vessels are mostly wheel-made, and many have painted decoration, but domestic plain and coarsewares also contribute to understanding of the technological currents prevalent in the region. Study of, and comparison between, the various categories of pottery from Olenos and Dyme provides a secure basis for the classification of vessels, and interpretation of their use and of larger cross-regional interactions. Vessels differ in shape and quality according to context. In Olenos, pottery of good quality, design, decoration, and glazing prevails, along with an accumulation of vases produced in notable artistic centres, while in Dyme mediocre products of a provincial workshop predominate.

Alongside analysis of shape and decoration, study of fabrics, glazes and production technology is particularly important in distinguishing between workshops. Macroscopic examination indicates that grey, yellowish brown, and red clays of different quality were used for domestic pottery; these were generally pure in the area of Olenos, but at Dyme there are often imperfections in firing. The existence of a local workshop at Dyme is indicated by a malformed basin plus similarity in the colour and composition of fine and coarse fabrics used for Geometric, Archaic, and later vessels. In the long term, potters and consumers preferred WAPP, especially in kantharoid and cauldron shapes that continued to evolve. Polychrome decoration was characteristic of WAPP, with added fine bands in red or brown, sometimes surrounded by white fine lines, wavy bands, black and white checkered lines and floral motifs. Ceramic evidence thus highlights the cross-cultural influences and the development of common local pottery styles in western Achaia, while illustrating the evolution of WAPP in the wider region.

APPENDIX
Osteoarchaeological Report

Christina Koureta (PhD Candidate, Durham University, UK)
and Dimitris Filioglou (Post-doctoral Fellow,
Malcolm H. Wiener Laboratory for Archaeological Science,
American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Greece).

A bone fragment with two teeth, among other long bone fragments, was found inside an amphora during excavation at site O1 and scanned in a Cone Beam Computed Tomography (CBCT) by DDS, MSc Christos Kalantzis (Fig. 1). The identification of species, anatomical elements, side, age, and butchery marks was attempted based on this scan.

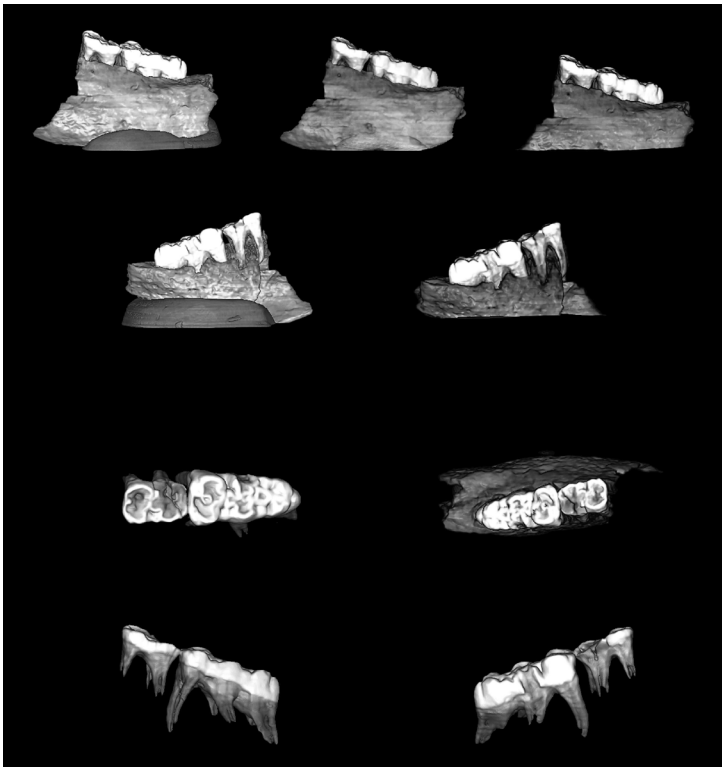


Fig. 1. Different views of the scanned mandibular fragment with teeth found in the amphora.

This specimen is identified as a left mandibular fragment of a pig (Family: *Suidae*, Genus: *Sus*) with the second and third permanent molars in alveolus, based on its morphology.[121] More specifically, the smallest tooth with four roots is the second permanent molar and posteriorly, in anatomical order, is the third permanent molar with five roots. Thanks to the good preservation of the occlusal surface, it is also possible to estimate the age-at-death of this individual based on tooth wear stage.[122] The individual died between 52–96 months of age (age class: 8–9) and most likely before reaching 72 months of age (age class 8). No butchery marks are identified on the surface of the mandibular bone, while both the mandibular bone and teeth seem to bear no pathological traces. It is not possible to tell whether this specimen belongs to a male or female individual since the canine, which is suitable for sex identification at **Site O1s**, is not preserved.[123] Ancient DNA (aDNA), metrical analysis, bone microstructure, and/or stable isotope analysis could provide information about the sex of the individual as well as the species [wild boar (*Sus scrofa*) or domesticated pig (*Sus domesticus*)].[124]

[121] Hillson 2005, 128–129.

[122] Lemoine et al. 2014.

[123] Schmid 1972, 80–81.

[124] Mainland et al. 2007; Rowley-Conwy and Dobney 2007; Rowley-Conwy et al. 2012; Owen et al. 2014; Balasse et al. 2018.

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Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery (WAPP) from the Artemis Laphria Sanctuary in Kalydon, Aitolia

Signe Barfoed

Abstract

The extra-mural sanctuary of Artemis Laphria in Kalydon was excavated between 1926 and 1935 by Frederik Poulsen, Konstantinos Rhomaios, and Ejnar Dyggve. The main publication in 1948 focused on the sanctuary's topography and architecture but omitted finds such as pottery and terracotta figurines. Since 2016, the assemblage has been under study, and the first volume on the pottery has recently been published. Among the material, a group of WAPP vessels has been identified and is discussed in detail here.

The WAPP assemblage includes plates, oinochoai, kraters, bowls, and two-handled drinking cups. Its decoration follows the polychrome *dark-on-light* style characteristic of ancient Pylos in Elis, as defined by John E. Coleman and Katherine Abramovitz. Based on parallels from Elian Pylos, the fragments from Artemis Laphria date to the late 7th–early 6th century BCE.

Some fragments suggest possible local imitation of imported WAPP pottery. Notably, a plate with a broad rim and banded *dark-on-light* decoration is made of a clay that may represent a regional fabric, though further analyses such as pXRF are needed for confirmation. Whether these vessels were produced by local craftsmen or itinerant potters from Elis remains an open question. Comparisons with WAPP pottery from an Archaic shrine assemblage on the Central Acropolis of Kalydon will also be explored.

Introduction

A Danish-Greek team led by Frederik Poulsen, Konstantinos Rhomaios, and Ejnar Dyggve, as well as many local workers, excavated the extra-mural sanctuary of Artemis Laphria at Kalydon in several campaigns between 1926 and 1935 (Fig. 1). The primary publication of these excavations in 1948 documented the sanctuary's topography and architecture (Fig. 2). However, the publication did not include terracotta figurines or pottery. The author of this chapter has been studying the assemblage since 2016.[1] While working with the pottery from these early excavations, a group of ceramics in the 'Elian' style, now referred to as

[1] Barfoed 2025.

WAPP, was discovered. Because of the large assemblage from Elian Pylos and parallels in Olympia (Chapter 1, Fig. 1; Pl. 1), the Archaic polychrome pottery's original ancient production site was thought to be in the Elis region. However, based on the chapters in this volume, particularly the evidence for Olenos and Dyme, it is possible that the original workshop was in Achaia, or even Kalydon (see Chapters 1–2, above).[2]

This chapter examines the WAPP pottery from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary excavations in greater detail. Following a brief introduction to the excavation and research history of the 1920–1930s work in the Artemis Laphria sanctuary, the shape repertoire of the WAPP fragments from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary will be presented, along with descriptions of the decorative style associated with the various shapes. WAPP fragments discovered at Kalydon's Central Acropolis during the 2002–2004 excavations will be presented, and evidence for potential local production and kiln sites in Kalydon will be briefly discussed. As a result, this chapter provides the first overview of WAPP fragments from two distinct ritual contexts in Kalydon.

The WAPP fragments from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary come from 37 boxes of finds from the 1926–1935 excavations, now stored at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (NAM). These boxes also contain terracotta figurines, coins, metal objects, marble sculpture fragments, and terracotta protomes, which will be published separately. The 1948 publication indicates little interest in pottery, and only a portion of it was sent to the NAM, where Poulsen intended to study it further. However, due to his commitments as the director of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen and WWII, he never returned. A telegram from Rhomaios, along with newspapers and notes in the find boxes, confirms that excavation finds were shipped to the NAM in 1928, likely including material from 1926, as suggested by Poulsen's handwritten excavation notebooks.[3]

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[2] WAPP has also been found at the Demeter sanctuary at Thea near Patras; see Nestoridou forthcoming.

[3] Unfortunately, no notes or other paperwork document the transfer to the NAM in Athens, but from Poulsen's excavation notebook from 1932 (Poulsen 1932) and the author's examination of the finds, pottery found in 1932 is certainly among the find assemblage now kept at the NAM. In 1935 Dyggve and Rhomaios did some excavation in the sanctuary, but no written evidence has survived to attest to these excavations and the finds; Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, 6.

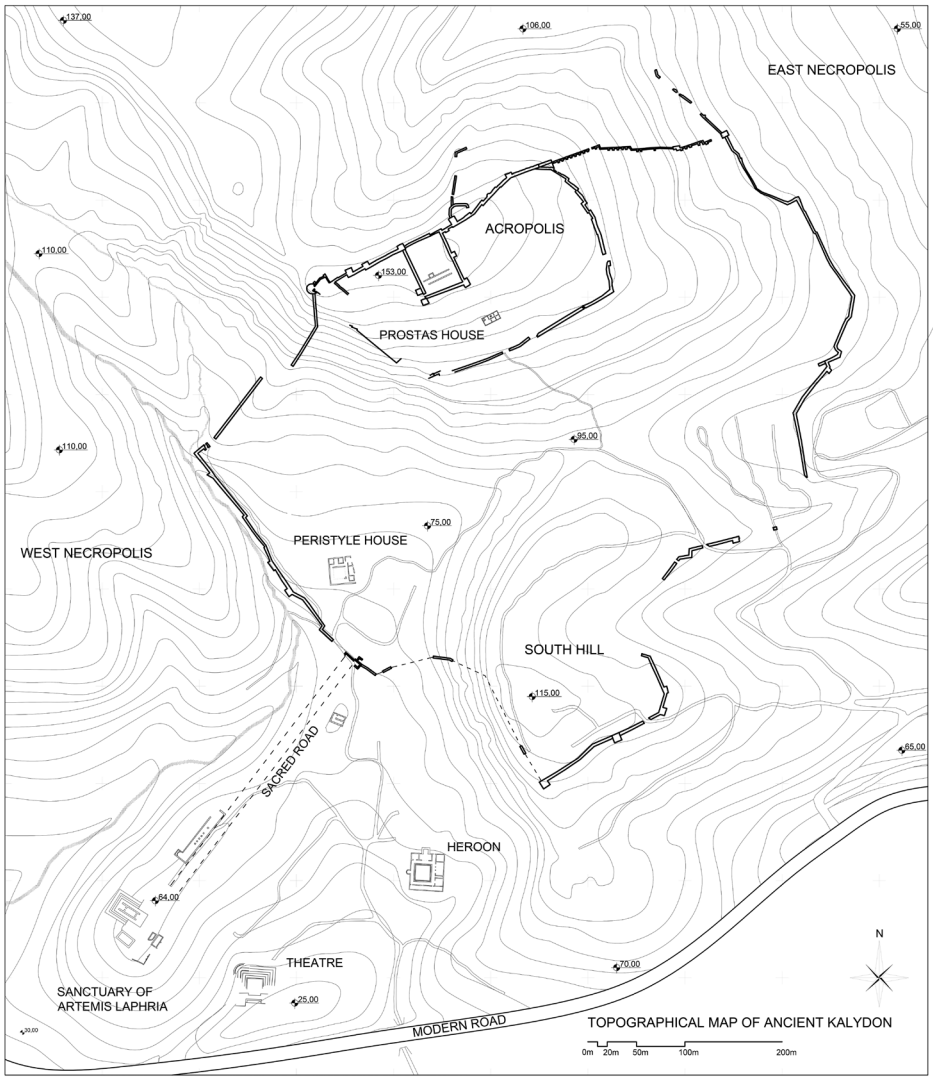


Fig. 1. Topographical map of the archaeological site of ancient Kalydon.
(© Søren Handberg, Neoptolemos Michaelides and Silke Müth-Frederiksen).

Only a fraction of the original assemblage is available for study due to excavation biases and selective transport of finds to the NAM. Moreover, the team did not systematically record the material's stratigraphic context, a common limitation at that time. However, Poulsen and Rhomaios did observe layers with Archaic and Hellenistic pottery and terracotta figurines near the terrace wall of

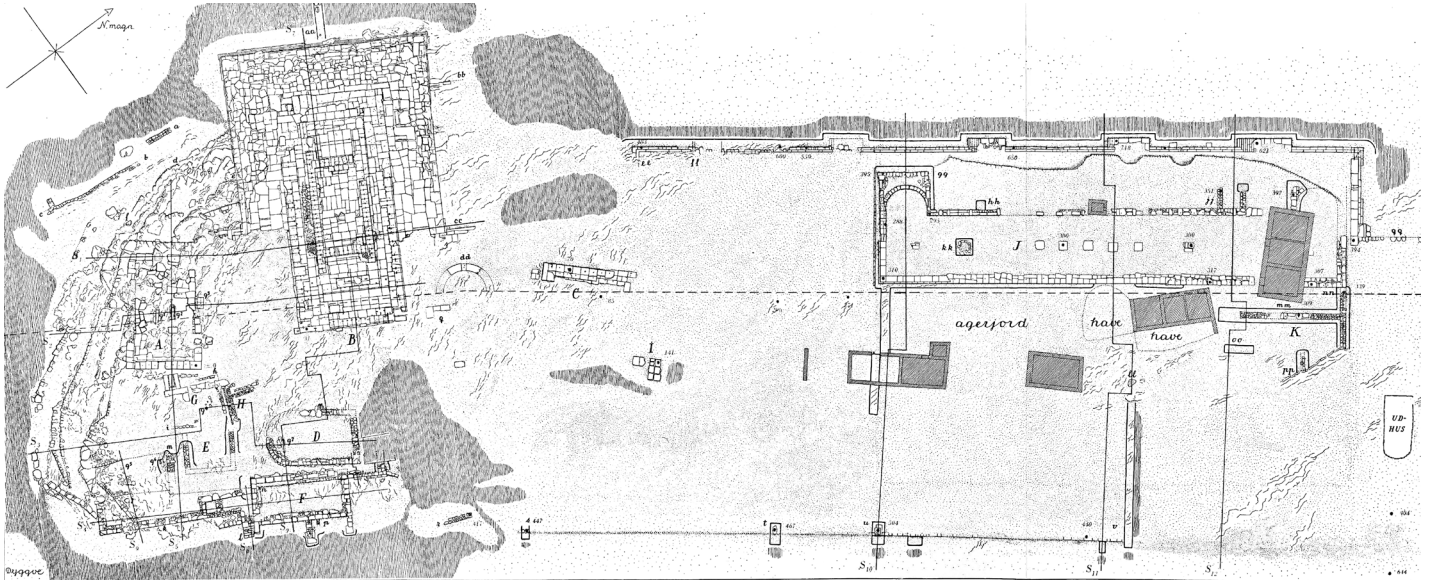


Fig. 2. Plan of the Artemis Laphria sanctuary in 1935. (After Dyggve and Poulsen 1948, pl. 1 © Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters).

the Laphrion plateau, as noted in their excavation reports. Unfortunately, they provided no detailed descriptions.[4] Poulsen dismissed the excavated pottery as unremarkable, prioritizing inscriptions and architectural remains. Poulsen stated, 'While the vase finds at the temple are of no great interest, we found at least one beautiful and well-preserved inscription embedded in a late terrace wall on the southern slope as a filler…'[5] His notebooks mentioned only select pottery pieces, such as a phallus-shaped rhyton and a Hellenistic West Slope fragment, while omitting any reference to WAPP fragments.[6] This lack of contextual data complicates the dating of the WAPP assemblage from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary.[7]

Poulsen's notes do record find locations from the 1926, 1928, and 1932 campaigns (see Fig. 3), including two votive deposits he discussed in a 1929 article.[8] While these deposits likely contained pottery, Poulsen focused on figurines and small finds. Given the absence of excavation records, the precise findspots of most pottery remain unknown. The ongoing project 'Reinvestigating

YEAR	1926	1928	1932	1935
Area 1. South-west corner below the terrace wall (Südwest ecke)				?
Area 2. The west plateau and slope (Westplateau, Westabhang)				?
Area 3. The south side (Südseite)				?
Area 4. The east side (Ostseite)				?
Area 5. The north side (Nordseite)				?
Areas excavated other than the main sanctuary plateau				?
Heroon				

Fig. 3. Table showing the locations of excavated areas. (After Barfoed 2025, fig. 12).

[4] Poulsen and Rhomaios 1927, 11.

[5] This specific inscription concerns a decree of *isopoliteia* between Aitolians and Trikkaians see Poulsen and Rhomaios 1927, 43–44.

[6] Poulsen and Rhomaios 1927, 43. In a footnote (fn. 1), Poulsen there mentioned the most 'important' fragments: 1) the rim fragment of a Corinthian *pinax* with a lion and two bulls; 2) an Attic vase in the shape of a woman's head, 14 cm high; 3) base fragment of a Terra Sigillata vase with inscription. The pinax refers to the plate in Fig. 18a; these fragments have recently been published by the author, Barfoed 2025, nos. LR242, AT74, RO2.

[7] In the publication of the pottery from these excavations, I have included a list of the fragments that Poulsen mentioned in his excavation notebook, which are now in the NAM's find boxes; Barfoed 2025, fig. 27.

[8] Poulsen 1926a; 1926b; 1926c; 1928; 1932; Poulsen 1929, 83–84; Poulsen and Rhomaios 1927, 37–42.

Kalydon's Laphrion Hill' seeks to address this bias by excavating a large dump north of the Artemis temple, which may yield additional WAPP fragments.[9]

Imports to Kalydon during the Archaic Period

The pottery assemblage from the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria comprises more than 1,300 catalogued entries. Among these, the imported Attic, Corinthian, and Elian pottery (including WAPP) accounts for 327 entries. Attic pottery constitutes 177 entries, Corinthian 89, and Elian 61.[10] Focusing on the Archaic period, which is the primary concern of this study, the imported pottery from this period amounts to 173 catalogued entries. Attic pottery represents the largest share (47%; 81 entries), followed by Corinthian (35%; 60 entries), and Elian (18%; 32 entries, of which 30 are WAPP).[11] In total, imported Archaic pottery comprises 52.9% of the imported assemblage (173 out of 327 entries).[12]

However, when examining the period associated with WAPP pottery, approximately 625–575 BCE as defined by Coleman and Abramovitz, a different pattern emerges.[13] The earliest Attic imports are limited to three fragmented cups dating to ca. 560–550 BCE, with no earlier Attic pottery documented. By contrast, most of the Corinthian pottery (38 out of 60 entries, or 63%) dates to ca. 625–575 BCE, overlapping with the period of imported Elian (WAPP) pottery. Fourteen Corinthian entries predate the introduction of Elian imports: of these, six date to ca. 700–650 BCE, and eight to ca. 650–625 BCE. These finds indicate that while Corinthian pottery was the earliest imported ware, its presence continued alongside Elian/WAPP imports and remained popular throughout the mid-Archaic period. These observations, however, are contingent upon the accuracy of the proposed chronology for Elian pottery.

In 2011, Søren Dietz published the results of his 2001–2005 excavations at Kalydon in a comprehensive volume.[14] The pottery was presented in three

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[9] Vikatou et al. 2025.

[10] Barfoed 2025. The count of 59 Elian entries also includes Classical and Hellenistic imported pottery.

[11] The remaining four Elian entries are two Archaic silhouette style fragments, probably oinochoai, and two fragments of open Archaic vessels, one of them probably a cup with everted rim; see Barfoed 2025.

[12] Based on Barfoed 2025.

[13] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 34–35.

[14] Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi, eds., 2011.

sections corresponding to different excavation areas: the Central Acropolis, the Lower Town, and a kiln excavated in the Lower Town.[15] My previous assessment of the published Archaic-period pottery from the Central Acropolis and Lower Town indicates a relatively low proportion of imported ceramics: of the 461 published fragments and vessels, only eight were Corinthian, eleven Attic, and two Elian (see Fig. 4).[16]

POTTERY FROM KALYDON BY PROVENANCE	AMOUNT	PERCENTAGE
Local/Regional	399	87
Corinthian	8	2
Attic	11	2
Elian	2	0
Unknown	41	9
Total	**461**	**100**

Fig. 4. Pottery from Kalydon excavated in 2001–2005 and published in 2011. (Based on Barfoed 2016; Bollen 2011c; Bollen and Eiring 2011).

The 2011 publication, on which this table is based, does not include the entirety of the excavated pottery but rather a selected portion of the diagnostic material.[17] Not all Elian imports were identified, meaning that the recorded figure of only two fragments (as shown in Fig. 4) is likely an underestimation (see also the section on WAPP from the Central Acropolis below). This limitation complicates direct comparison with the pottery from the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria, and any conclusions drawn from incomplete assemblages should be treated with caution. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that imported Elian pottery appears more prominent within the sanctuary assemblage of Archaic imports than in the finds from the Central Acropolis.

Shape Repertoire

The shape repertoire of the WAPP fragments is relatively limited. It consists primarily of plates, oinochoai, kraters, bowls, and two-handled drinking cups

[15] See respectively, Bollen 2011c; Bollen and Eiring 2011; Bollen 2011a.

[16] Barfoed 2016, 132–133, table 4.

[17] In the sense that it was a distinguishable rim, base, handle, or body fragment, or exceptionally decorated fragments, it was diagnostic. Refitting from bag to bag does not seem to have been done extensively based on preliminary sampling of pottery bags from these excavations, so the numbers should be interpreted cautiously.

(including cups with everted rims/skyphoi, kantharoi, and a single kotyle; Fig. 5). The assemblage comprises 30 fragments (including two plate fragments used as test-pieces), of which 23 (75%) are open vessels, while 5 (18%) are closed (Fig. 6).

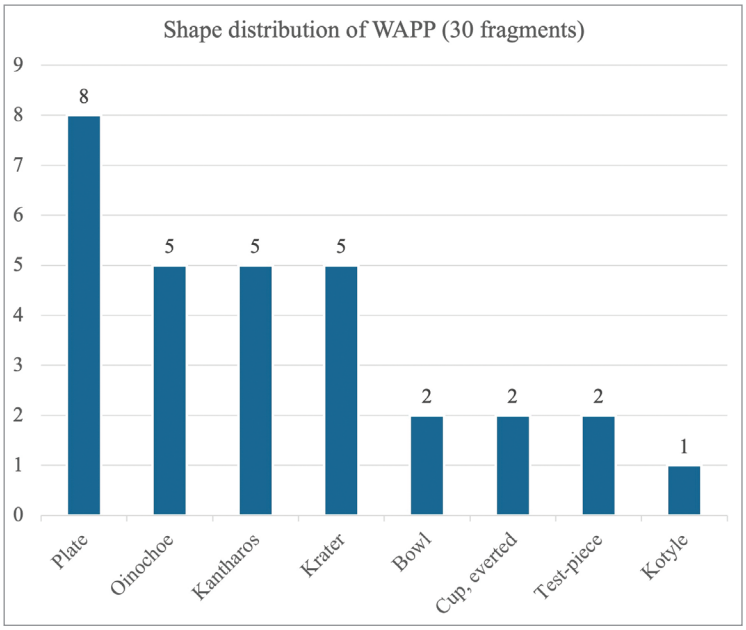


Fig. 5. Shape distribution of WAPP from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary (30 fragments).

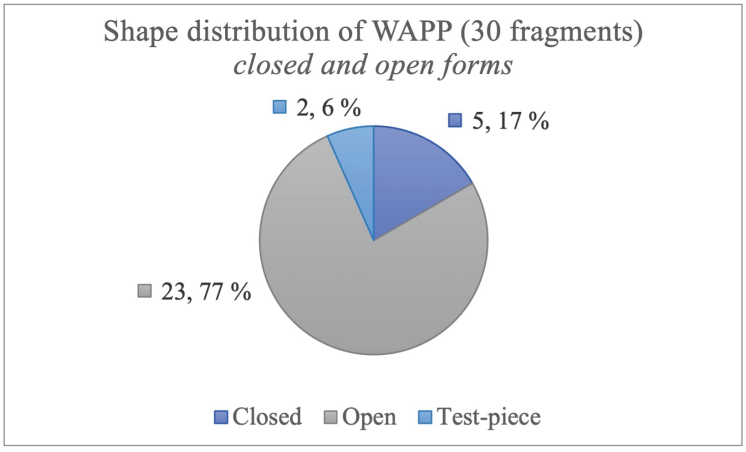


Fig. 6. Shape distribution of WAPP from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary. Closed and open forms (30 fragments).

Coleman and Abramovitz identified a polychrome pottery style from ancient Pylos in Elis, which they termed *dark-on-light* and dated to ca. 625–575 BCE. They argued that this was locally produced. This decorative scheme predominates among the WAPP fragments from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary.[18] The WAPP material from the sanctuary is presented below according to shape, beginning with the most frequent category, plates, followed by closed vessels (various oinochoai), and finally open vessels (kraters, bowls, and two-handled drinking cups).

Plates

Plates represent the most common shape within the WAPP assemblage, with eight examples. All have a low ring foot and a broad, relatively square rim. A subset (Fig. 7a–d; Pl. 6) features a groove at the junction between the rim and the floor. The predominant decorative motif, which appears on all but two examples, consists of red bands framed by white lines (hereafter referred to as *white-red-white bands*). Four plate fragments additionally display a combination of metope and wavy line on the exterior rim (Figs. 7b–c, e–f; Pl. 6). A lekane from Olympia, dated to the late 7th or early 6th century BCE and currently on display in the Archaeological Museum of Olympia, exhibits a similar scheme.[19] A comparable motif is also found on a fragment (published in 2011 as an open vessel) from the Central Acropolis of Kalydon.[20]

One fragment (Fig. 7a; Pl. 6) stands out due to its unique decoration: the rim exterior is reserved with black wavy lines, while a white-red-white band is preserved on the rim interior. The wavy lines are carelessly executed, and a white band marks the transition between the rim and the floor. In contrast, a nearly intact plate (Fig. 7g; Pl. 6) is decorated with a white-red-white band on a black-glazed surface, resulting in a notably darker overall appearance compared to the other plates. Decoration and fabric combine to suggest that these two plates represent local imitations of WAPP (see further discussion below).

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[18] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 34–35, 46–47, 64–65. The overall date of the Archaic Elian Pylos pottery has a slightly broader range; Coleman and Abramovitz suggested a date of the mid-7th to the mid-6th century BCE (ca. 650– ca. 550 BCE). See also the overview in Chapter 1 above.

[19] The lekane was found in Well h/i beneath the House of Nero's mosaic hall; see Kunze 1961, 122–128, fig. 65.

[20] Bollen mentioned parallels to the decoration seen on a pyxis and kantharoi from Elian Pylos and dated this fragment to the first half of the 6th century BCE.

Two additional plate fragments (Figs. 7d, h) from separate vessels are fully glazed in brown. Their overall shape aligns closely with the other plates, apart from a slightly more rounded rim.

Although the limited number of plate fragments makes it difficult to establish a precise chronology based on morphology alone, further publications may reveal chronological distinctions based on rim shape (rounded vs. square) or the presence of a groove at the rim-floor junction. A tentative date of ca. 620–570 BCE is proposed for the WAPP plates, based on parallels in shape (see also Handberg, Chapter 4, this volume). However, it remains challenging to distinguish between imported plates from Elis or Achaia and local imitations in the absence of petrographic or XRF analyses. Such analyses will be conducted on WAPP fragments from Kalydon in the future.

Closed Shapes

As noted above, closed vessels constitute 18% of the WAPP assemblage. Oinochoai are represented by two nearly complete tall-necked juglets and three additional fragments, two of which may derive from the same vessel, likely also a tall-necked juglet. The oinochoe group therefore comprises either four or five examples.

The tall-necked juglet is characterized by a long neck, rounded body, and flaring raised base; this shape is also known as the *Giraffenhalskännchen*, which finds parallels in Pylos, Olympia, and Spathari in Akarnania.[21] The best-preserved juglet (Fig. 8a; Pl. 7.1) is black-glazed, with two thin white bands on the lower body, a single white band on the exterior base, and a white-red-white band on the shoulder. This decorative scheme corresponds to the *light-on-dark* style identified in Elian Pylos.

Comparison with published examples from Pylos and Olympia suggests a date for this vessel between the mid-7th and mid-6th centuries BCE.[22] A second oinochoe (Fig. 8b; Pl. 7.2), nearly as well preserved apart from missing portions of the lip and base, appears to have had a similar decoration, though its surface

[21] Pylos: Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, no. C84, 51–52, ill. 10, pl. 34 (tall-necked juglet); Olympia: Gauer 1975, 110–112, pl. 13.1-7; Spathari: Sieverling 2018, no. 455, 444, pl. 31 (second half of 7th century BCE, with ME inscription).

[22] Gauer 1975, 110–112; Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 50. Coleman and Abramovitz suggest that the juglets with shorter necks are later in the sequence, which, if correct, could indicate a date in the early 6th century BCE for the oinochoe in Figs. 8.1–2.

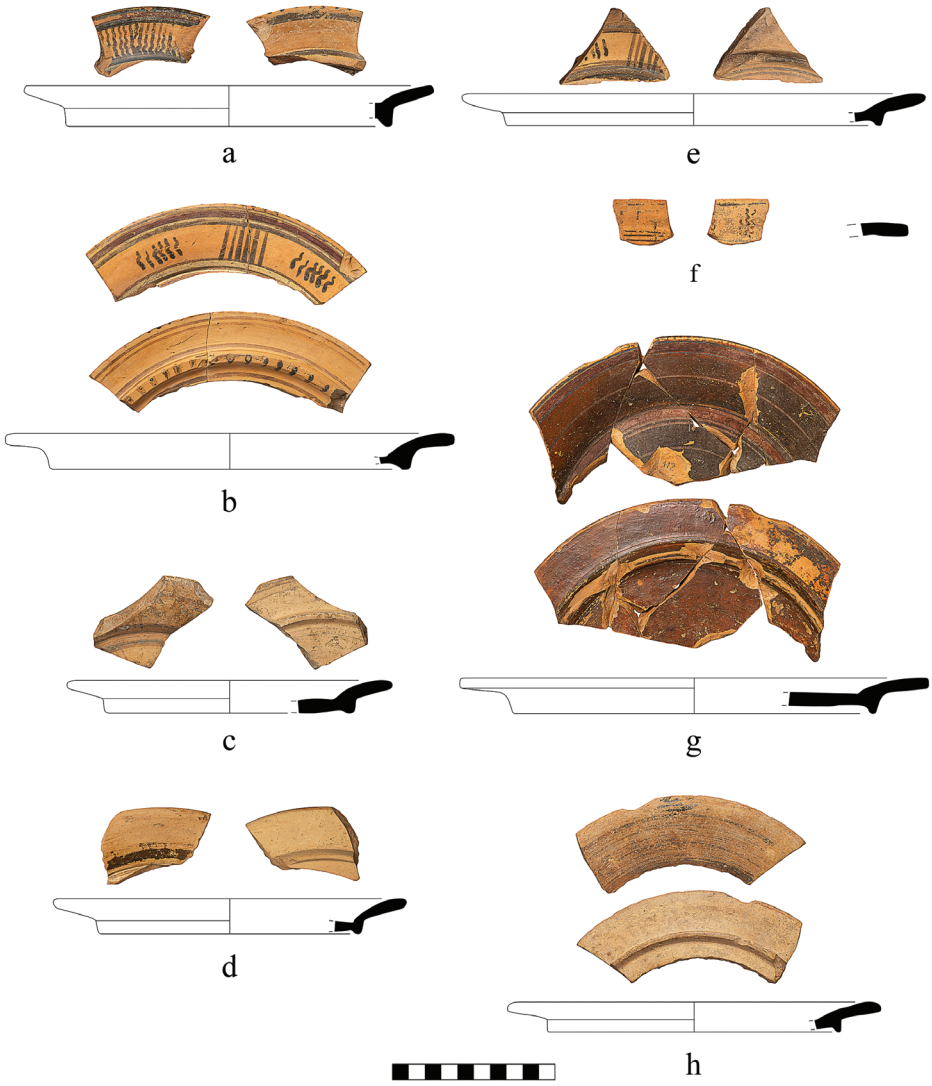


Fig. 7; Pl. 6.1–4. Broad-rimmed plates (a–h: nos. EW25–EW32, after Barfoed 2025). Drawings: Søren Handberg, Katja E. Vinther; Inking: Katja E. Vinther, Signe Barfoed; Photos: Jeff Vanderpool.

is mottled, possibly due to secondary burning. In terms of shape, this second oinochoe is slightly squatter, with a shorter neck and a more bulbous body.

Two nearly identical shoulder fragments, possibly from the same jug, feature a reserved zone with a black panel and wavy line decoration, framed above

and below by thin white bands (Fig. 8c–d; Pl. 7.3–4). Another oinochoe fragment, a handle fragment (Fig. 8e; Pl. 7.5), has particularly refined polychrome decoration. The exterior features white-red-white bands on black, with a central reserved zone decorated with alternating black dots, wavy lines, and small triangles, while the interior is black glazed with a reserved section containing two rows of black dots. At ca. 4 cm thick, this handle is significantly more robust than those of the nearly complete tall-necked juglets (ca. 2 cm thick), suggesting that it belonged either to a larger jug or an entirely different vessel type. These oinochoe fragments likely date to the late 7th century BCE.



Fig. 8; Pl. 7.1–5. Oinochoai (a–e: nos. EW2–EW6, after Barfoed 2025). Drawings: Signe Barfoed, Katja E. Vinther; Inking: Katja E. Vinther; Photos: Jeff Vanderpool.

Open Shapes

As illustrated in Fig. 6, open vessels account for 77% of the WAPP group. Krater fragments are discussed first, followed by bowls and two-handled drinking cups (including cups with everted rims/skyphoi, kantharoi, and a single kotyle fragment).

Kraters

Based on close parallels from Elian Pylos, five fragments are tentatively identified as belonging to kraters. Their estimated rim diameters align with those of Pylos kraters (ca. 30–34 cm).[23] Although extremely similar, the Pylos parallels are not identical. One example (Fig. 9a; Pl. 7.6), probably dating around 625–575 BCE, preserves a portion of a floral design consisting of three curved leaves or tendrils outlined in red, white, and black. A similar but slightly different motif appears on a krater fragment from Pylos, where a neatly rendered lotus flower features white and red leaves outlined in white.[24] These subtle differences suggest variation within the same decorative tradition.

Two additional fragments, also dating to ca. 625–575 BCE, likely belonged to small kraters. These rim fragments (Fig. 9b–c; Pls. 7.7, 8.1) feature a combination of black horizontal zigzags and banded decoration in a well-preserved polychrome style.

The remaining two krater fragments, dating to the first half of the 6th century BCE, derive from the lower body. One (Fig. 9d; Pl. 8.2) preserves a thin horizontal white line above a red-brown glazed surface, while the other (Fig. 9e; Pl. 8.3) has a white-red-white band with faded brown glaze above. Both fragments feature reserved areas towards the base. On the second example, which retains traces of a light slip, faint vertical lines represent the top of pencil rays, likely originally brown. Similar thin vertical lines are attested on various vessel shapes from the Lower Acropolis at Kalydon (see Handberg and Vikatou, this volume, Chapter 4).

Bowls

Two types of bowls with everted rims and distinct decorative schemes are present in the WAPP group from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary (Fig. 10a–b; Pl.

[23] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 38, nos. C2–C6, ill. 6, pl. 25.
[24] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 38, no. C2, ill. 6, pl. 25.



Fig. 9; Pls. 7.4–5, 8.1–3. Krater fragments (a–e: nos. EW18–EW22, after Barfoed 2025). Photos: Jeff Vanderpool.

8.4–5). While both feature horizontal zigzag patterns in the handle zone, they are otherwise very different. The first example (Fig. 10a; Pl. 8.4) preserves a white-red-white horizontal band on black, while just below the rim, two thin white horizontal lines frame a white zigzag. The second bowl (Fig. 10b; Pl. 8.5) has a reserved handle zone containing a brown zigzag beneath a broad black band featuring four thin white horizontal lines. Its lower body is also reserved, adorned with black crescents accented by white dots.

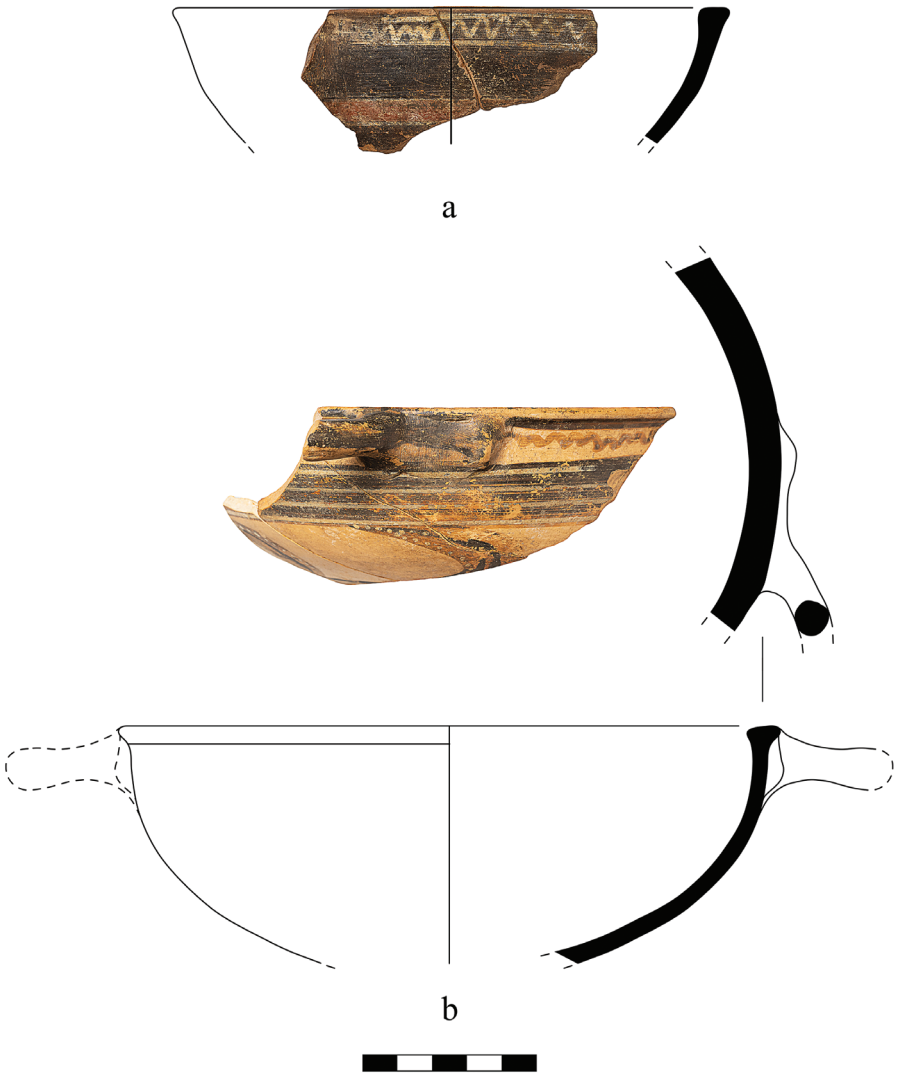


Fig. 10; Pl. 8.4–5. Bowls (a–b: nos. EW7–EW8, after Barfoed 2025). Drawings: Signe Barfoed; Katja E. Vinther; Photos: Jeff Vanderpool.

Both bowls have bands on the top of the rim, the first in white (Fig. 10a; Pl. 8.4) and the second in faded black (Fig. 10b; Pl. 8.5), creating subtle yet distinct variations in their decorative schemes. The decoration of the first bowl is closely similar to a krater found in a grave excavated in 1958 in Provodos, west

of Kamares, Achaia (unpublished, Aigion Museum; Fig. 11; Pl. 9.1)[25] while the second has an almost exact counterpart from Elian Pylos, including the details of the reflex handle.[26] Although no handle survives on the first bowl, thickening of the wall near the break suggests the presence of a now-missing reflex handle. Given these similarities, can we infer production within the same workshop?



Fig. 11; Pl. 9.1. WAPP krater from a grave in Provodos, Achaia (Aigion Museum inv. ΑΠ 1213; © Ephorate of Antiquities of Achaia). Photo: Signe Barfoed.

Two-handled Drinking Cups

The Artemis Laphria assemblage includes eight fragments belonging to three distinct types of WAPP two-handled drinking cups: kantharoi (4), two-handled cups with everted rims/skyphoi (3), and a single kotyle fragment.

The kantharos fragments (Fig. 12a–d; Pl. 9.2–4) exhibit banded decoration in red and white on a dark background, with distinctive handle ornament. One fragment (Fig. 12a; Pl. 9.2) has a reserved upper section featuring a thin brown horizontal band and a single thin white band on black but lacks red glaze. With

[25] I am very grateful to Stella Nestoridou and Andreas G. Vordos from the Ephorate of Antiquities of Achaia for providing information on the unpublished krater and granting me permission to reproduce a photograph of it.

[26] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 40–42, no. C26, ill. 7, pl. 27.

a general date of ca. 650–525 BCE for kantharoi, this fragment may be among the earliest, likely dating to ca. 700–650 BCE based on close parallels.[27]



Fig. 12; Pl. 9.2–4. Kantharos fragments (a–d: nos. EW13–EW16, after Barfoed 2025). Drawing: Søren Handberg; Inking: Katja E. Vinther; Photos: Jeff Vanderpool.

[27] A bowl from Elian Pylos has similar decoration, but no added white, Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, no. C52, 43, ill. 8, pl. 28. The kantharoi from Olympia suggest a date in the first half of the 7th century BCE; Gauer 1975, pl. 33:3 and 4.

Cups with everted rims/skyphoi display varied decoration. The first example (Fig. 13a; Pl. 9.5) is a body fragment broken at the junction of body and

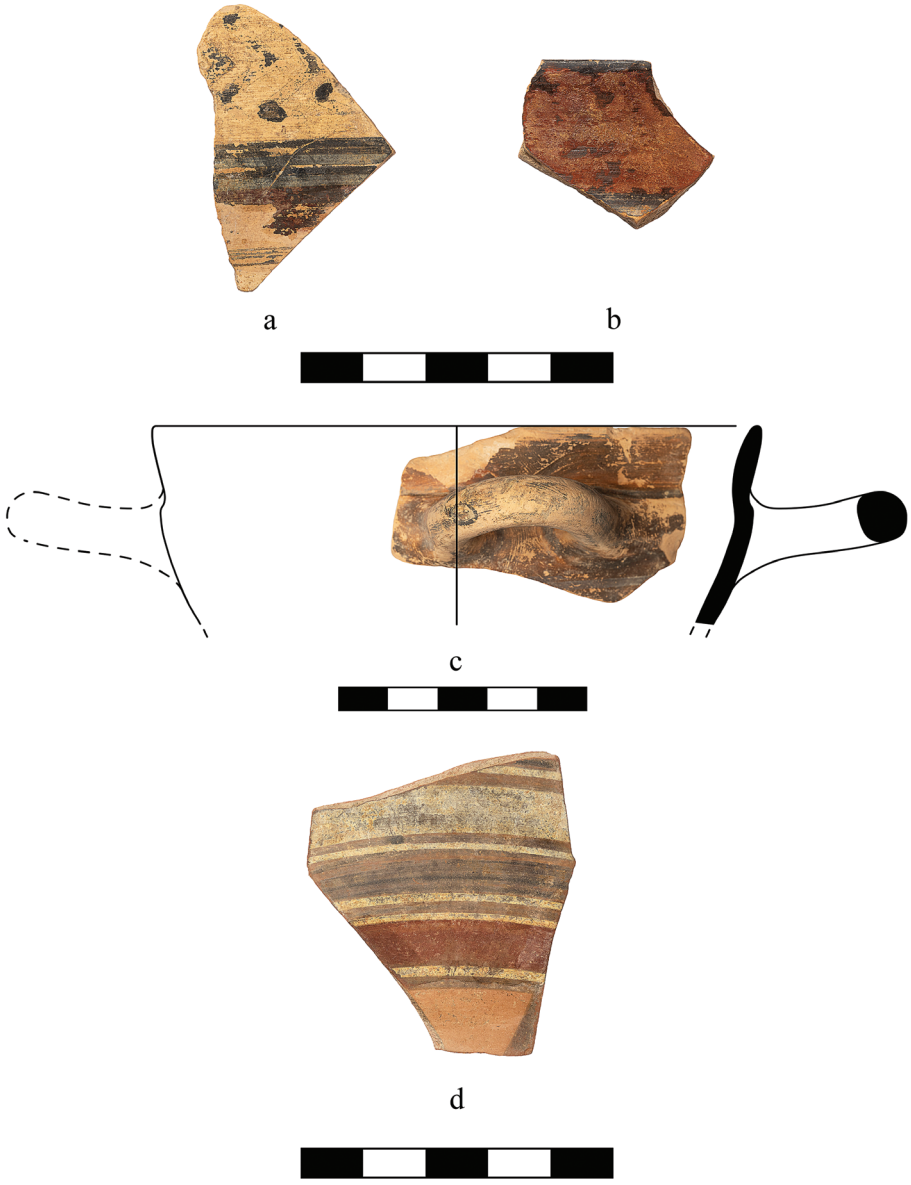


Fig. 13; Pl. 9.5–8. Cups with everted rims/skyphoi (a–c: nos. EW9–EW11) and kotyle (d: no. EW17). After Barfoed 2025. Drawing: Signe Barfoed; Inking: Katja E. Vinther; Photos: Jeff Vanderpool.

rim. It features a black sigma motif on a reserved band, framed below by two thin white horizontal lines. While sigmas appear on Elian pottery, their combination with white lines is unusual.[28] This fragment likely dates to the latter half of the 7th century BCE. The second (Fig. 13b; Pl. 9.6) is a black-glazed rim fragment with a worn red band on the exterior. Any white decoration that may have been present is now entirely lost. The third skyphos fragment (Fig. 13c; Pl. 9.7) consists of a rim and handle with brown glaze and a white-red-white band. These two fragments likely date around 575–550 BCE, placing them later than the first example.

The final fragment (Fig. 13d; Pl. 9.8) is the lower body of a kotyle with strikingly well-preserved colours: three broad bands of white, black, and red are separated by thin white lines. A small part of a black ray is visible on the reserved lower body. The vessel's exceptionally thin walls resemble the kotyle fragments published by Handberg and Vikatou (Chapter 4, this volume, Fig. 10; Pl. 12.1–2). For want of a precise parallel, it is tentatively dated to the early 6th century BCE.

The following section presents a selection of WAPP fragments from the Central Acropolis excavations, comparing them with those from the Sanctuary of Artemis Laphria.

The Central Acropolis of Kalydon

From 2001 to 2005, Søren Dietz, founder of the Danish Institute at Athens, conducted surveys and excavations at Kalydon.[29] Between 2002 and 2004, he excavated four areas (X–XIII) on the Central Acropolis, revealing evidence of an Archaic–Classical shrine which is particularly relevant to this study.[30] Among the published finds, a small number of WAPP fragments were found in various trenches in Areas X and XI (Fig. 14).

While not all pottery bags from the Central Acropolis have been examined, a reassessment in 2022 of material published in 2011 led to the rediscovery and

[28] Sigmas are seen on a krater fragment, cat. no. C9, and a fragment of a tall-necked juglet, no. C85, from Pylos in Elis; see Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 39, 52, ill. 6, p1s. 26, 34. Coleman and Abramovitz suggest a date in the middle of the 7th to the middle of the 6th century BCE for the jug fragment, no. C85, but do not suggest a specific date for the krater fragment, no. C9.

[29] Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi, eds., 2011.

[30] Dietz 2011a.

re-examination of a few WAPP fragments, now presented for the first time with colour photographs.

A complete profile of a broad-rimmed plate was found in trench H6/2 (Fig. 15a; Pl. 10.1).[31] Though the decoration is faded, it features black glaze with a white-red-white band on both the exterior and interior of the rim. Before firing, a hole was pierced in the base, likely for suspension.

Another fragment from the same trench and stratum (H6/2) was originally published as "a fineware body fragment" and dated to the first half of the 6th century BCE on the basis of a parallel from Elian Pylos.[32] The parallel is a polychrome (WAPP) pyxis fragment and from the 2011 catalogue it appears clear that the authors considered the parallel exact and the chronology secure. A close examination by the author in 2025, however, suggests that this assessment warrants reconsideration. The fragment has a combined wiggly-line and panel decoration in black (Fig. 15b; Pl. 10.2), and both the brown fabric and the decoration indicate that it is an imported piece, perhaps from Ithaka, where kraters, pyxides, cups, oinochoai, and even plates have similar decorative schemes.[33] These Ithakan parallels push the date of this fragment back to the (Late?) Geometric period suggesting that contact with Ithaka may already have been established in this earlier phase.[34]

Approximately 6–7 meters north, in trench H14 (stratum 4), another WAPP plate fragment was recovered, preserved in full profile.[35] The rim features a broad black-brown band, while a white-red-white band is preserved on the interior floor near the rim junction (Fig. 15c; Pl. 10.3). A large hole is partially preserved on the rim.

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[31] Bollen 2011c, 458, no. 220, pl. 44.

[32] Bollen 2011c, 460, no. 227, fig. 256, pl. 44 (citing Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 58, C136 [pyxis), ill. 10, pl. 35; Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 56, C111 (kantharos), ill. 12, pl. 32).

[33] For kantharoi, see Benton 1953, 291, nos. 744, 747, pl. 46; for MG kraters, see Benton 1953, 262, 294, 296–297, nos. 787–791, fig. 6, pl. 48; for an Orientalizing hydria, see Benton 1953, 304, no. 868, pls. 44, 51, 53; for various oinochoai, see Benton 1953, 306, 312–314, nos. 910, 923, 925, 927, 944, 947, 948, figs. 19, 25, 27, pls. 44, 55, 57; for an Orientalizing plate, see Benton 1953, 334, no. 1059, fig. 13. See also the similarity to Corinthian MG–LG kraters, Pfaff 1988, nos. 19–26, fig. 8; Pfaff 1999, p. 84, no. 41, fig. 13.

[34] For a comprehensive discussion of Ithaka kraters and the evolution of their shape and ornamentation, see Symeonoglou 2002, 83–94.

[35] Bollen 2011c, 484, no. 339, pl. 47.

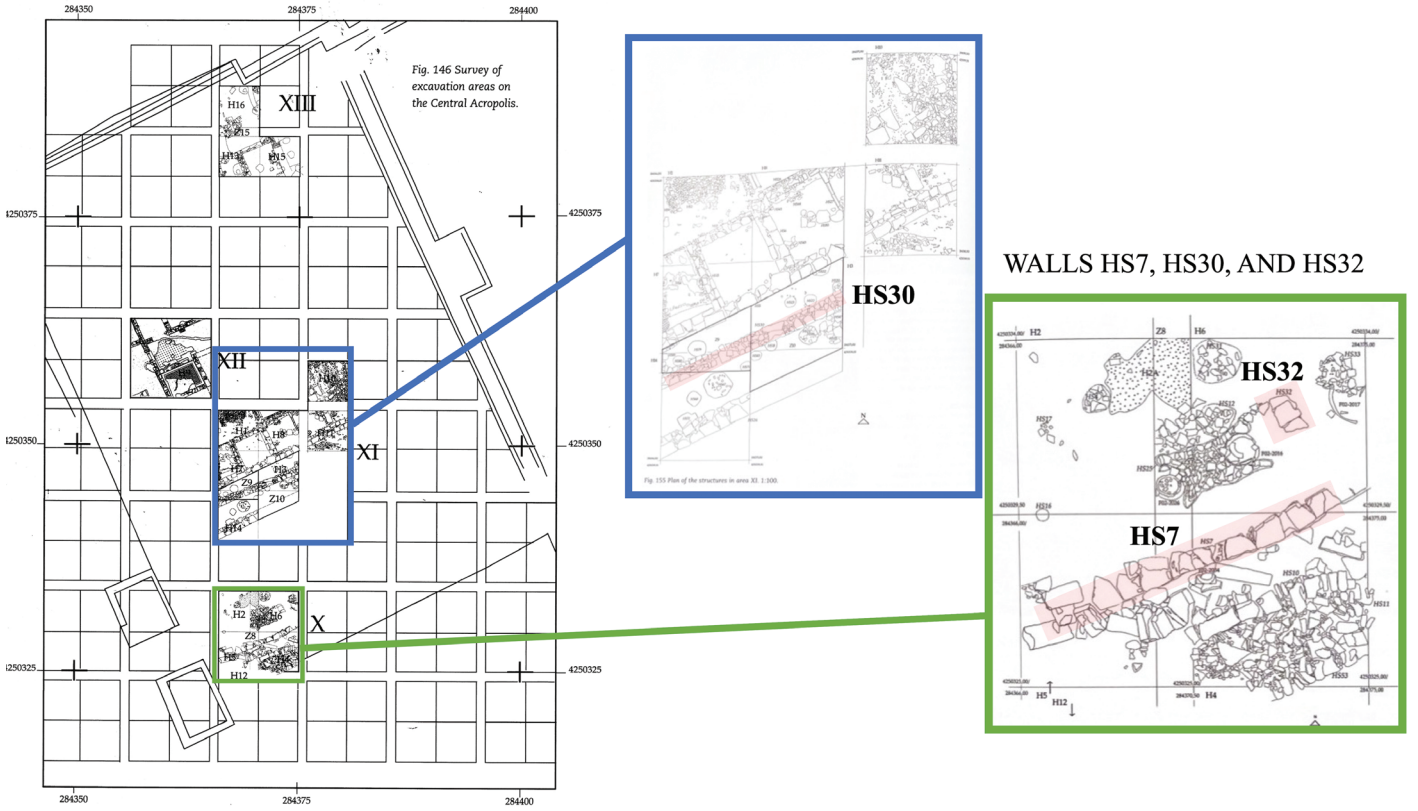


Fig. 14. Central Acropolis excavations. Three walls in Areas X and XI, referred to as HS7, HS30, and HS32. (After Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, fig. 146).

Further north, in trench H3 (structure HS5/2), about 4–5 meters from trench H14, two additional WAPP fragments were found: a kantharos rim and a plate fragment.[36] The kantharos is fully brown-black glazed, with a thin white line between the rim and shoulder (Fig. 15d; Pl. 10.4). The plate, similar to the previous example, is dark brown-black glazed with a white-red-white band on the interior floor (Fig. 15e; Pl. 10.5). Their different base diameters (17 cm and 14 cm, respectively) indicate they belong to separate vessels.

Multiple walls were uncovered in Areas X and XI of the Central Acropolis, most of which Dietz attributed to a (so-called) Hellenistic palace.[37] Three, however, (HS7, HS30, and HS32) date to the late 6th century BCE.[38] It is not clear from their orientation (Fig. 14) whether they were originally connected: two run east-west (HS7 and HS30) and one (the fragmentary HS32) north-south. Some walls may have belonged to a temple or shrine, though HS7 could be a terrace wall.

Excavations in most parts of Areas X and XI did not reach bedrock. However, two architectural terracotta fragments, dated around 500 BCE and possibly from a temple, were found in trenches H14 (stratum 4) and H6 (stratum 2). These are a ridge tile and a raking sima with palmettes.[39] Other finds in trench H6/2 include a boar's tusk and a bronze arrowhead.[40] Additionally, 53 terracotta figurines, depicting females, children, and animals, were recovered from Area XI. Among them, the well-known 'standing kore' type appears in both imported Corinthian and local Kalydonian fabrics and dates to the early 5th century BCE.[41]

Based on the 2011 publication, the presence of architectural terracottas, miniature pottery, and terracotta figurines suggests that the excavations reached a levelling fill likely originating from a votive deposit. Miniature pottery discovered in almost all trenches in Areas XII and XIII totalled 249 examples, including 35 published in 2011.[42] These finds attest to cult activity on the Central

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[36] Kantharos: Bollen 2011c, 470, no. 250, pl. 45; plate: Bollen 2011c, 471, no. 260, pl. 45.

[37] Dietz 2011c; Dietz and Tang 2011.

[38] Dietz 2011a; Dietz 2011b, 217.

[39] The two architectural terracottas, F02–2027 (H6/2) and F03–1035 (H14/4), are published in Dietz et al. 2007, 58, fig. 27 C–D, with further references. That report's authors propose this date.

[40] Dietz 2011b, 216–217.

[41] Barfoed 2016, 133; Mayerhofer Hemmi and Dietz 2011, 531-543; Merker 2002, 23–37, 326.

[42] For analyses of the miniature pottery from Kalydon, see Barfoed 2016, 129–135; Barfoed 2017.



Fig. 15; Pl. 10.1–5. a–e: Various WAPP fragments from the Central Acropolis. (After Bollen 2011c, pls. 44–45, 47, fig. 256) Photos: © Signe Barfoed and Søren Handberg.

Acropolis during the Late Archaic period and suggest that the walls may belong to a number of ritual structures, though the nature and continuity of this activity remain unclear.

The following section discusses evidence for the local production of WAPP and presents a summary of known kiln sites in Kalydon.

Local Imitations of WAPP Pottery in the Artemis Laphria Assemblage

The Artemis Laphria assemblage exhibits certain peculiarities that suggest that pottery typical of Elis and western Achaia was imitated locally. This section presents the typical clays of WAPP alongside evidence for local imitations, followed by discussion of local production.[43] Two plausible scenarios emerge: these vessels were produced either by skilled local artisans or by an itinerant potter from Elis or Achaia.

The Munsell readings of WAPP fragments fall within a spectrum from light reddish-brown (2.5YR 6/3 or 6/4–5YR 6/4) to reddish yellow (5YR 6/6–5YR 6/8) and pink (5YR 7/4–7.5YR 7/4). These readings appear across all the vessel shapes discussed above, spanning the entire date range of WAPP pottery. The fabric is well-levigated, relatively hard fired, and homogenous, either pure or containing minimal tiny inclusions (white, dark grey, red, or yellowish).

In contrast, local imitations of WAPP have cores within the light brown (7.5YR 6/4), reddish-brown (2.5YR 5/4), or light reddish-brown (5YR 6/4) range. Their surfaces are reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6) or light red (2.5YR 6/6). Compared to the WAPP fragments, these local imitations contain more frequent inclusions (white, dark grey, red, or yellowish) and voids, though these remain tiny.

Evidence for Local Production

Two WAPP plate fragments from the Artemis Laphria assemblage strongly indicate the existence of a local workshop imitating WAPP (Fig. 16; Pl. 10). The first is a rim fragment with a hole made pre-firing, black glaze, white-red-white band decoration on one side, and a reserved triangle on black on the reverse (Fig. 16a; Pl. 10.6). Its surface exhibits secondary burning, suggesting that it

[43] Handberg recently thoroughly treated both fineware fabric and cookingware fabric from Kalydon in the publication of the pottery from Kalydon's theatre; see Handberg 2023a; 2023b.

was used as a test-piece.[44] Similarly, a floor fragment of a WAPP plate (Fig. 16b; Pl. 10.7) is heavily burnt from repeated firing, again making it likely that it was a test-piece.[45] Both fragments are probably contemporary with WAPP plates, as indicated by their white-red-white banded decoration.



Fig. 16; Pl. 10.6–7. a–b: WAPP plates used as test-pieces (nos. LR345–LR346, after Barfoed 2025). Drawing: Signe Barfoed; Inking: Katja E. Vinther; Photos: Jeff Vanderpool.

Additional vessel types may also have been produced locally. A tall-necked juglet (Fig. 8b; Pl. 7.2) has a grey, mottled surface, an indentation at mid-body, and a crack running through it - clear indications of a kiln failure. Its shape closely resembles that of an elegant tall-necked juglet found in the same assemblage (Fig. 8a; Pl. 7.1), which has direct parallels at Olympia.[46] No other

[44] Barfoed 2025, no. LR345.
[45] Barfoed 2025, no. LR346.
[46] So-called *Giraffenhalskännchen*; see e.g., Gauer 1975, no. K 326, pl. 13.5.

tall-necked juglets have been found at Kalydon. However, a nearly complete conical oinochoe (with a narrow neck, bell-shaped body, and an upward-curving flat base with linear decoration), discovered in the 2003 Central Acropolis excavations, is made in an intensely orange clay closely similar to the distinctive Kalydonian fabric.[47] Based on its fabric and differences from Corinthian parallels, Bollen attributed this vessel to a local workshop.[48] This raises the possibility that a workshop in Kalydon produced both these jugs and local imitations of WAPP pottery.

Another indication of local production is a nearly complete broad-rimmed plate with banded decoration (Fig. 7g; Pl. 6.4) and a surface treatment consistent with that of locally produced wares made from orange clay. Another plate fragment (Fig. 7a; Pl. 6.1) features wavy-line rim decoration executed in a sloppy manner. However, the fabric of this plate is homogenous and light brown, unlike the aforementioned plate. Another broad-rimmed plate fragment has been categorized as local due to its rough, cookingware-like fabric with large yellow inclusions. Its surface treatment is consistent with that of locally produced wares made from orange clay. Undecorated and crudely shaped, this plate (Fig. 17) is likely a local product rather than a WAPP import.



Fig. 17. Local plainware plate (no. LR249, after Barfoed 2025). Drawing: Signe Barfoed; Inking: Katja E. Vinther; Photo: Jeff Vanderpool.

[47] Bollen 2011b, 315–316, no. 299, fig. 257, pl. 46.

[48] Bollen 2011c, 465–466.

Further evidence of local production comes from two unusual, fragmented plates, which indicate distinctive regional styles. One features an Atticizing black-figure depiction of Herakles fighting Triton or the local river god Achelous, albeit in an unusual pose (Fig. 18a), while the other is a Corinthianizing plate with animal friezes on the rim (Fig. 18b).[49] Both are made in a fabric close to that of WAPP, but their decorative styles suggest Atticizing and Corinthianizing influences. This raises questions about the presence of itinerant potters and painters or traveling apprentices. Additionally, it prompts speculation about whether the pink/brown WAPP fabric originated in Kalydon itself. If so, two separate clay beds may have been exploited during the Archaic period, resulting in the distinct fabric groups discussed above.



Fig. 18. a: Atticizing black-figure plate; b): Corinthianizing black-figure plate (nos. LR243 and LR242, after Barfoed 2025). Drawings: Søren Handberg, Katja E. Vinther; Inking: Katja E. Vinther; Photos: Jeff Vanderpool.

[49] Barfoed 2025, nos. LR242–LR243.

Another type of pottery, seemingly inspired by Elian styles, likely originates from a local Archaic workshop in Kalydon. This small group consists of thin-walled, hard-fired vessels, including bowls, cups, and juglets (Fig. 19a–b). These feature brownish glaze with white bands, either a single horizontal white line or a combination of a broad horizontal band with a thin white line.[50] Some juglet fragments preserve visible wheel marks, potting errors, and tool marks. In contrast, Elian examples have reserved bands and lines rather than added white, and jugs from Elian Pylos typically display a white-red-white band on the lower shoulder beneath the vertical handle. These jugs, dated to the late 7th or the early 6th century BCE, suggest a corresponding timeframe for their Kalydonian imitations.

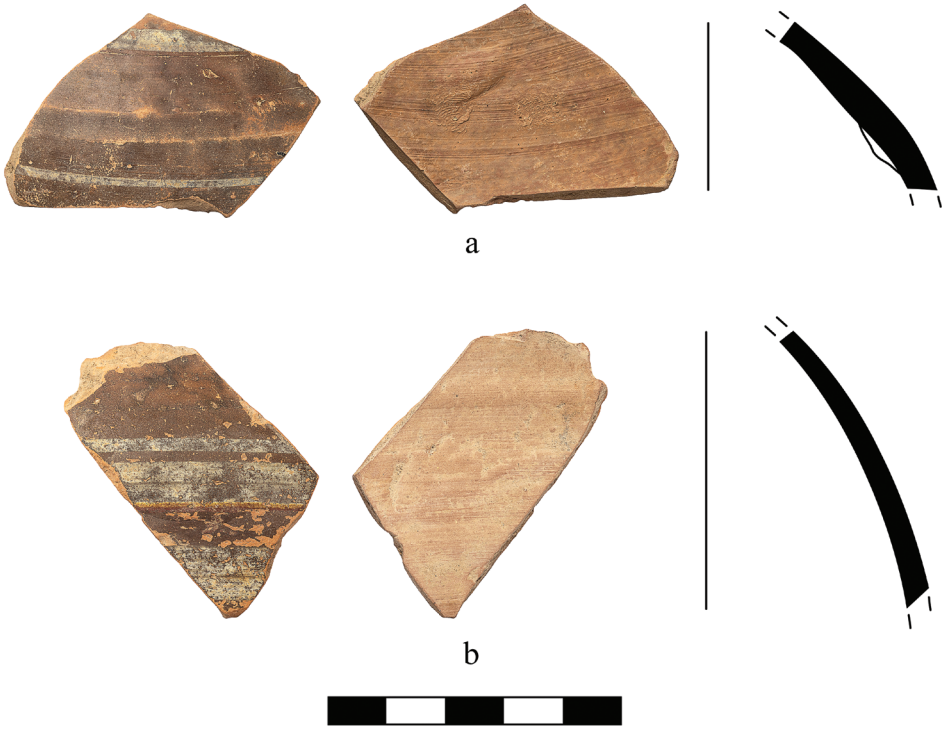


Fig. 19. Local imitation juglets (a–b: nos. LR167–LR168, after Barfoed 2025). Drawings: Signe Barfoed; Inking: Katja E. Vinther; Photos: Jeff Vanderpool.

[50] A total of seven fragments, Barfoed 2025, nos. LR264 (bowl), LR269, LR267, LR268 (bowl/krater), LR167, LR168 (juglets); LR68 (kantharos/cup).

Kiln Sites in Kalydon

Despite extensive research, little is known about pottery production sites in Kalydon. The current evidence may be summarized as follows.

The Excavated Kiln in the Lower Town

Geomagnetic surveys conducted as part of Dietz's campaigns identified up to six kilns in the Lower Town,[51] one of which was excavated during the 2003–2004 season (Fig. 20). This was a circular kiln used for pottery and tile production, with up to 60 small, handcrafted kiln props discovered and published.[52]

The kiln and its assemblage were published by Emma Ljung and Elizabeth Bollen respectively. Ljung concluded that the use phase of the kiln spanned the



Fig. 20. Kiln in the Lower Town of Kalydon (after Ljung 2011, fig. 130).

[51] Ljung 2011; Smekalova 2011, 53.

[52] Ljung divided the stacking pieces into four different types based on shape; see Ljung 2011, 191–197.

3rd to 2nd century BCE. Based on stratigraphic analysis and associated pottery, she proposed that the kiln was abandoned during the Roman era, specifically in the 1st century CE.[53] Bollen, however, dated its use to the first quarter of the 3rd century BCE and its abandonment to 200/190 BCE or slightly later. Three earlier ceramic fragments, one LH IIIC and two Geometric, were interpreted by Bollen as fill material from the kiln forecourt.[54] The kiln is located approximately 400 meters from Temple B on the Laphrion plateau. Its relationship to the sanctuary in the 3rd–2nd century BCE remains unclear, and no definitive evidence suggests that it was operational during the Archaic period.

Pottery Waste at the Heroon Complex

At the same time that the Danish-Greek team excavated the Artemis Laphria Sanctuary, it also investigated a palaestra complex, the so-called Heroon (Fig. 1). Here a Macedonian-type subterranean tomb and associated inscriptions was interpreted as the burial of the local hero 'Leon'.[55] When Poulsen, Rhomaios, and Dyggve analysed the construction of the Heroon, they noted that waste from a pottery workshop had been used as fill. This fill layer was described as reddish and containing a high concentration of pottery fragments, including misfired pieces.[56] Unfortunately, the pottery from these excavations has yet to be traced. Published fragments suggest a date similar to that of the Lower Town kiln, spanning the Classical to Hellenistic periods.[57] While these Classical-Hellenistic kilns provide important insights into later production, they shed no light on Archaic pottery manufacturing in Kalydon.

Concluding Observations

This overview of Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery (WAPP) from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary and the Archaic shrine on the Central Acropolis in Kalydon demonstrates its presence in two distinct ritual contexts. Since no Archaic domestic structures have been identified at Kalydon, a comparison between

[53] Ljung 2011.

[54] Ljung 2011, 208; Bollen 2011a, 200; I have not re-examined the pottery myself and rely on Ljung and Bollen's analyses.

[55] Dyggve et al. 1934; Birk et al. 2025; for more on public and private buildings in Kalydon and an excellent reassessment of the Heroon, see Vikatou and Handberg 2023.

[56] Dyggve et al. 1934, 22–25.

[57] Dyggve et al. 1934, 127–139; Birk et al. 2025.

religious and domestic assemblages remains impossible. However, despite the limited number of WAPP finds, certain patterns emerge. The recurring presence of plates, drinking cups, and jugs in both sanctuaries suggests that specific vessel types were selected for ritual use.

Several scenarios could explain the function of these vessels. WAPP vessels may have been employed in special ritual events, such as communal dining, though no cut marks have been found on the plates. They may also have held offerings, with jugs containing liquids poured into cups, or plates serving as trays for food, flowers, or wool. Another possibility is that this visually striking pottery was displayed when not in active use. The pierced holes found on a plate from the Central Acropolis, as well as on the Atticizing black-figure plate from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary, suggest that some vessels may have been suspended on shrine walls, a practice attested in the display of votive plaques, as demonstrated by Gina Salapata.[58]

At present, we know few details about Archaic pottery production in Kalydon. It remains unclear whether local imitations of WAPP were made by a skilled Kalydonian potter familiar with broader ceramic trends or by an itinerant potter from Achaia or Elis, who worked with local clay and possibly trained a local artisan. These questions are difficult to answer with the evidence available, but future research may provide greater clarity. Further studies on local and regional clay sources, alongside pXRF and other compositional analyses, will be essential to advance our understanding of WAPP production and distribution.

[58] Salapata 2002, 26–31. A plaque from Locri Epizephyrii shows a woman placing a garment in a chest, and on the wall a lekythos and a kantharos are hanging, along with a mirror and a fourth object; see Kopestonsky 2018, fig. 15. Furthermore, a red-figure bell krater from the British Museum (E494) shows small terracotta or wooden plagues hanging on a tree; see Kopestonsky 2018, 258 fn. 78. Pausanias described small offerings, …ἐνταῦθα ἀγάλματά ἐστιν οὐ μεγάλα ἀπηρτημένα τοῦ ὀρόφου…, hanging from the ceiling of the Asklepios temple in Sikyon (Paus. 2.10.3).

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Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery (WAPP) from the Fortification Fill on the Lower Acropolis of Kalydon

Søren Handberg and Olympia Vikatou

Abstract

The Danish Institute in Athens and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada carried out a small-scale excavation at the fortification wall that surrounds the Lower Acropolis plateau in 2014 as part of a collaborative investigation of the so-called Lower Acropolis of Kalydon. A small section of the wall was excavated to determine the construction date of the fortifications. The chronology of the pottery from the clearly defined compartment fill of the wall gives a *terminus post quem* in the Late Archaic period, but the fill included pottery dating at least from the Late Geometric to the Late Archaic periods. The fill of the wall and a possible levelling fill behind the fortification wall included a small number of distinctive sherds with clear parallels to Archaic 'Elian' pottery, here termed Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery (WAPP). This assemblage of polychrome pottery is largely composed of plates and drinking cups, but the context held a wider range of ceramic vessels and other material including, for instance, slag from metal production. Given the varied composition of the fills, it is difficult to determine the assemblage's original use-context, which could have been an Archaic sanctuary or shrine on the Lower Acropolis or Archaic houses situated on the Lower Acropolis plateau.

Introduction

Ancient Kalydon is located in the foothills of the Arakynthos mountain range on the western side of the estuary of the Evinos River (Chapter 1, Fig. 1; Pl. 1). The ancient city is located around the two imposing hills called the North and South Hills respectively, with the acropolis located on the North Hill. A larger fortification circuit with a circumference of around 1.7 km was constructed most likely in the first half of the 4th century BCE.

The Acropolis is divided into two separate parts: an upper flat plateau with additional strong fortification walls known as the Central Acropolis and the area below it, called the Lower Acropolis. The latter is below the upper plateau

forming the Central Acropolis, where the terrain slopes gently downwards until it reaches a point in the southwestern part where it drops more steeply. The northeastern part the north hill slopes more gradually towards the area referred to as the Central city (Figs. 1–2).

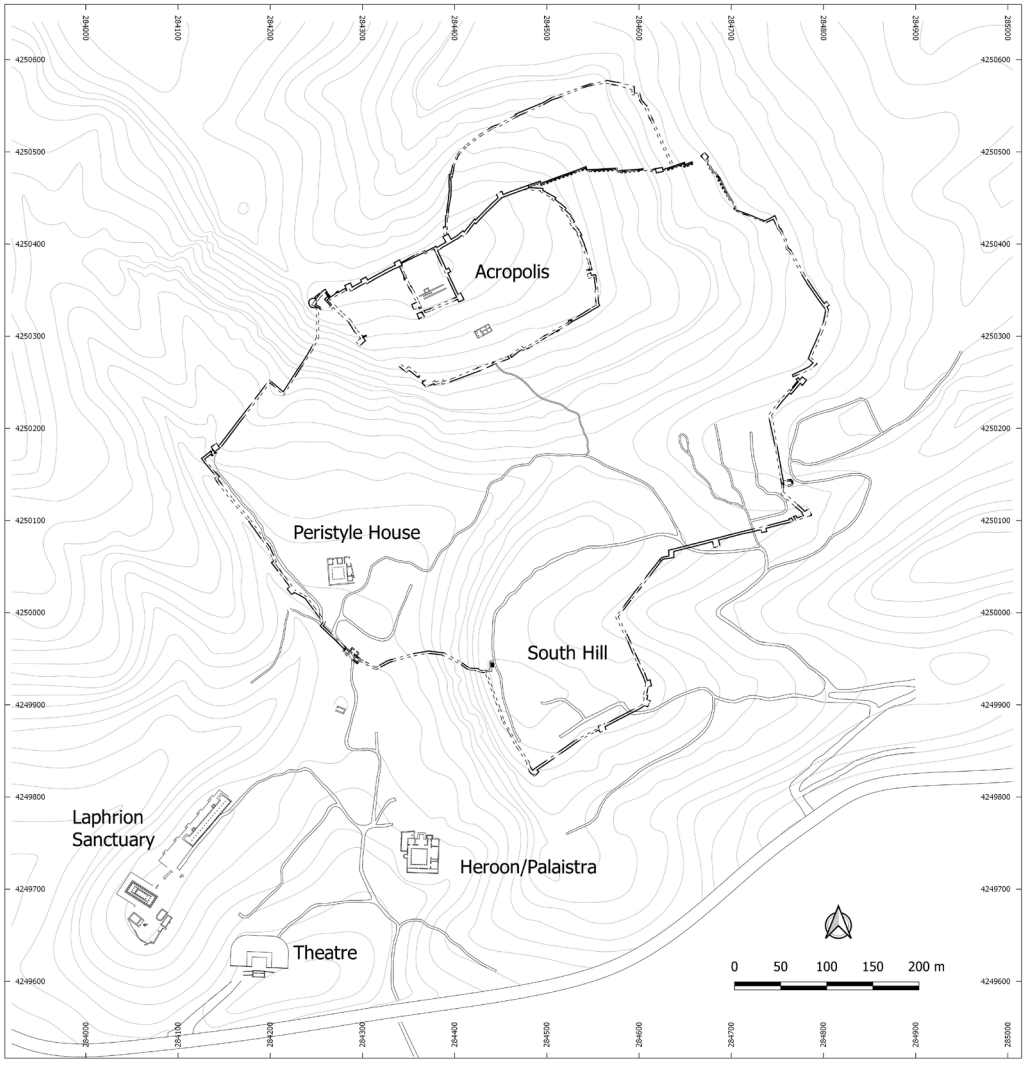


Fig. 1. Topographical map of the archaeological site of ancient Kalydon.
(© Søren Handberg, Neoptolemos Michaelides and Silke Müth-Frederiksen).

An additional fortification wall surrounds the Lower Acropolis, encompassing an area of roughly 3 hectares. The Lower Acropolis fortification was thought to date to an earlier period (despite never having been thoroughly investigated) because it appears to have been interrupted by the longer 4th-century BCE fortification circuit, which is particularly evident in the northwestern part where the two fortifications intersect. In the years 2013-2016, the Danish Institute at Athens and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada carried out a collaborative program of excavations on the Lower Acropolis plateau with the aim of finding traces of the pre-Hellenistic city on the North Hill. As it happened, a major part of the work was focused on the excavation of a Hellenistic house of the *prostas* type located on one of the Lower Acropolis' numerous terraces. Work also included the excavation of a small section of the fortification wall to achieve a better idea of the date of construction.[1]

As will be discussed below, the excavations at the fortification wall produced a large amount of pottery dating from the Late Geometric through the Archaic period. Among the ceramic finds was a small group of distinctive polychrome pottery with close parallels to WAPP from the Elis region. The NIA

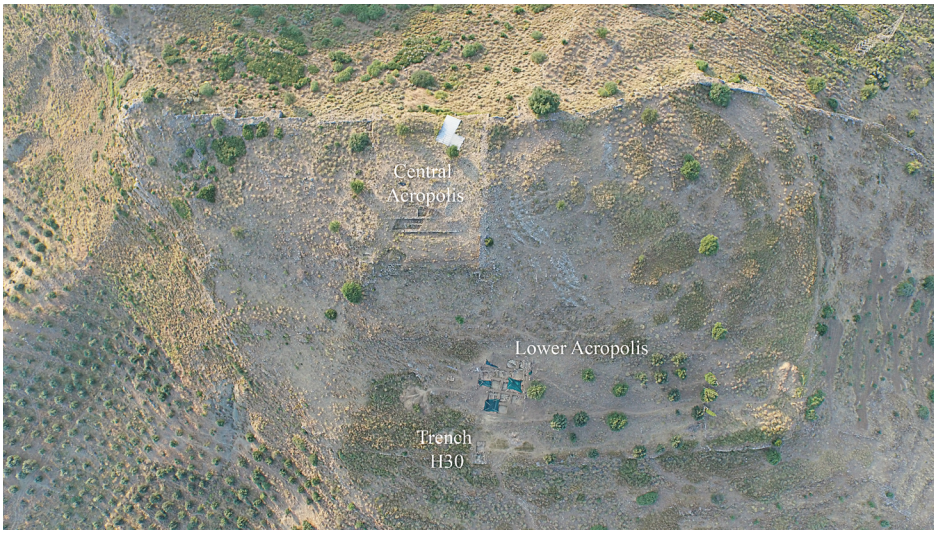


Fig. 2. Aerial photograph of the Central and Lower Acropolis in the North Hill in Kalydon. The photograph was taken during excavation in 2015. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada). Photo: Silke Müth-Frederiksen.

[1] For preliminary publications of the results of the work, see Vikatou and Handberg 2017; 2018; Vikatou et al. 2019.

workshop revealed that parallels to this material can be found throughout western Greece. Since it is known that pottery of the WAPP class has also been found at the extramural sanctuary on the Laphrion Hill and in the Central Acropolis of Kalydon, it now forms a notable, albeit small, Archaic pottery group.

The potential presence of imported WAPP in Kalydon and Aitolia holds particular historical significance, as by the Late Classical period, the Aitolians actively promoted a foundation narrative emphasizing their deep historical kinship with Elis. Archaeological evidence of close connections between these regions in earlier periods is therefore essential for evaluating the historical credibility of such claims.[2]

The Excavation at the Lower Acropolis Fortification Wall

In 2014 a single excavation trench (Trench H30) measuring five by five meters was set across a particularly well-preserved section of the Lower Acropolis fortification wall in order to study its construction technique and, specifically, to gain a better understanding of its chronology (Figs. 2–3). In the following year, the excavated area was extended by another 5 by 5-meter trench towards the northwest (Trench H36). Excavations in this trench were, however, halted at a much higher level due to the discovery of portion of a road and substantial stone debris.

In this area, the Lower Acropolis fortification wall is located directly on the edge of a plateau with a steep drop in the landscape. The evidence revealed by the excavation makes it unclear whether the fortification wall is double-faced or if it was originally only a stone wall on the outside. Five courses of the exterior wall have been preserved to a height of approximately 2.2 metres. There was no excavation on the exterior side of the wall, so more courses may be preserved underground. The wall is constructed with the local sandstone in the isodomic style with quadrilateral ashlar blocks (Fig. 4). The upper blocks, where measurable, are approximately 50–60 cm thick. The local sandstone, highly susceptible to weathering, has deteriorated significantly, with most larger blocks fragmenting into smaller pieces. A large, flat stone at the upper level of the wall, slightly to the north, may have served as a foundation block for a mudbrick superstructure, though no further evidence for this was found during excavation.

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[2] On this aspect, see e.g. Antonetti 2012 (with further references).

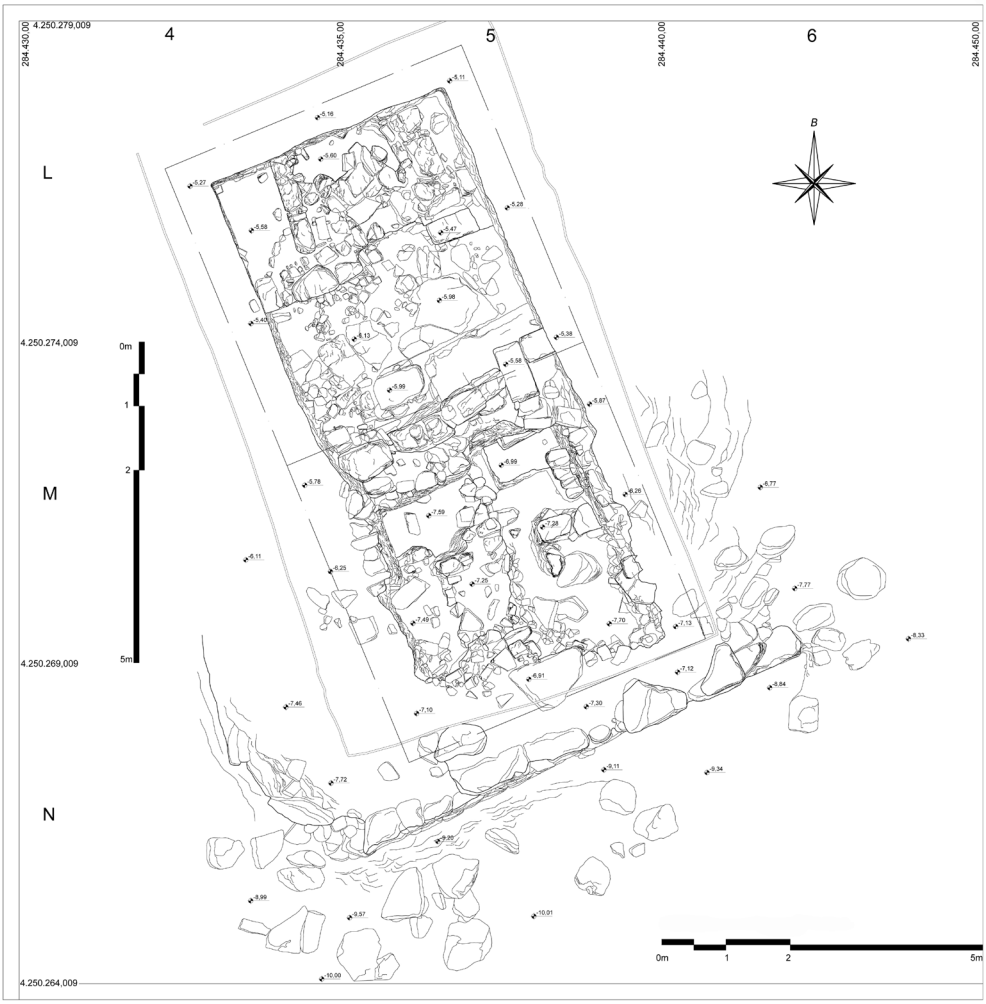


Fig. 3. Topographical plan of excavation trenches H30 and H36.
(© Kalydon Archaeological Project). Drawing: Neoptolemos Michaelides.

The northeastern profile of the trench clearly shows the contextual situation on the interior northwestern side of the wall, which is made up of two main contexts. The rubble fill immediately behind the outer wall extends about 3.6 meters northwest from the wall's outer face. Another deeper context, northwest of the rubble wall fill, is made up of yellowish soil. The vertical division between these two adjacent sediments is easily discernible because they are so distinct. The rubble wall fill, which is very dark brown and relatively loose, is densely



Fig. 4. Photograph of the exterior face of the Lower Acropolis fortification wall. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada). Photo: Søren Handberg.

packed with small stones of various sizes and shapes. In contrast, the yellowish soil in the other context is very compact and, at least in its lower portion, free of stone inclusions. In a small area in the southeastern corner of the trench, the rubble fill was completely excavated, revealing the yellowish sediment beneath (Figs. 5–6).



Fig. 5. Elevation drawing of the northeastern section of Trench H30. (© Kalydon Archaeological Project). Drawing: Neoptolemos Michaelides and Electra Pangalou.

There is little evidence of an inner stone wall. The two larger ashlar blocks 'sticking out' from the northeastern profile at the division between the rubble fill and the yellowish fill behind could potentially be interpreted as the scant remains of an interior wall (marked 'I' on Fig. 6; Pl. 11.1). However, two circumstances contradict this interpretation. First, the evidence is very slight, and a clear continuation of the wall could not be traced in the rest of the trench. Second, no evidence to suggest that blocks of an inner wall had been rubbed out at a later stage was noted during the excavation. As a result, based on the evidence available, the best interpretation appears to be that a foundation trench was cut into the yellowish fill and then filled with stone rubble. If there was no inner wall, the fortifications should be classified as an agger type, where the wall functioned both as a retaining (or terrace) and fortification wall, which was not unusual in acropolis fortifications during the Archaic period.[3] Nonetheless, it is entirely possible that other parts of the fortification wall, especially in the northeastern part of the Lower Acropolis, could have been constructed as a double-faced wall.



Fig. 6; Pl. 11.1. Photograph of the northeastern section of Trench H30. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/ Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada). Photo: Søren Handberg.

[3] For this type of fortification, see e.g., Frederiksen 2011, 51; Pope 2016, 255–257.

Work on the material from the fills is still in progress, but the excavation units that can clearly be identified as belonging to the two fills have so far produced 581 fragments of diagnostic vessels spanning the period from at least the Late Geometric period to the Late Archaic/Early Classical period (Figs. 7–8). A couple of body sherds from the deposit might stem from Late Helladic vessels but this remains uncertain, and, in any case, they should be considered chronological outliers. The earliest securely identified fragment is a rim sherd from an Achaian Thapsos-class skyphos of the plain or panel type, most likely dating to the period ca. 750–725 BCE (Fig. 7; Pl. 11.2).[4] The latest datable fragment is a rim sherd from an Attic black-glazed cup-skyphos with concave rim dating to the early 5th century BCE (Fig. 8).[5] This establishes a *terminus post quem* in the Late Archaic period for the construction of the Lower Acropolis fortification wall. No stratigraphic layers or distinct contexts were identified within the two fill deposits, nor does the spatial distribution of pottery exhibit clear chronological patterns. The fragmented state of the pottery further supports the interpretation of these contexts as fill levels. The yellowish layer may represent a levelling fill deposited to extend the Lower Acropolis' lower plateau, into which a trench was later cut to accommodate the rubble fill behind the wall.



Fig. 7; Pl. 11.2. Rim sherd of an Achaian Thapsos-Class skyphos (no. 23220.4, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada; Kalydon Archaeological Project).

[4] For the types, see Gadolou 2011, 9–12. The decoration on our cup is, for instance, close to a cup from Nikoleika (Gadolou 2011, 72, no. 87) and one from Aigion (Gadolou 2011, 80, no. 110).

[5] For a parallel, see Sparkes and Talcott 1970, no. 578, fig. 6.



Fig. 8. Rim sherd of an Attic black-glazed cup-skyphos (no. 23051.5, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture/ Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada; Kalydon Archaeological Project).

WAPP from the Fortification Fill

Trench H30 contains 19 fragmented vessels classified as WAPP. The primary criterion distinguishing WAPP from otherwise similar pottery in terms of shape and fabric is the presence of red and/or white decoration. In most cases, particularly with kantharoi and skyphoi, the assemblage also includes numerous sherds of the same type and fabric but lacking any traces of red or white decoration. The shape repertoire of the WAPP class from the fortification excavations consists of plates, kantharoi, skyphoi, bowls/lekanai, a kotyle, jugs, and a possible kothon. The range of types is, therefore, quite similar to the range of WAPP shapes observed elsewhere in Kalydon.[6] The clay fabric is very fine, usually without macroscopically visible inclusions, and relatively hard fired, but the colour of clay is not entirely uniform across the different fragments. In almost all cases the colour is reddish-brown or pink (the predominant Munsell reading is around 7.5YR 7/4, pink and 5YR 7/4, pink), but some sherds are more reddish while others lean more towards brown. The sections below present and discuss all the WAPP class pottery identified from Trench H30 according to the different shapes.

[6] See Barfoed, Chapter 3, this volume.

Plates

Eight sherds most likely belonging to eight individual plates can be ascribed to the WAPP class (Fig. 9; Pl. 11). Following John E. Coleman and Katherine Abramovitz's classification of the pottery from Elian Pylos, four plates can be identified as plates with *dark-on-light* decoration and four can be identified as their *black-glazed* variant.[7] Despite their fragmentary condition, these plates closely follow the form of Elian plates, characterized by a low ring foot and a broad rim. Coleman and Abramovitz have compared Elian plates to Early and Middle Corinthian plates, noting that the primary distinction lies in the more horizontal orientation of the rims, a feature also observed in the plates presented here. Another defining trait is the squared lip, as likewise noted by Barfoed (see Chapter 3, this volume).

The plate seen in Fig. 9a; Pl. 11.3 (no. 23481.1) has a rim diameter of ca. 27 cm and a base diameter estimated to around 20 cm. On the interior, it appears to have had a reserved tondo possibly with some kind of floral decoration surrounded by a dark brown band with a broad band in added red flanked by two added white lines. On the rim are four concentric bands each consisting of a broad red band flanked by white lines on a dark background. Near the rim is a reserved band with cross-hatched decoration. A similar decorative scheme covers the exterior of the plate, but with broad 'metopal' friezes in the reserved area on the rim. Part of a floral decoration, possibly a tendril, is preserved in the tondo area, which appears to be of the same type that is found on a bowl from Pylos.[8] This plate is distinguished from the other plates from Trench H30 by having a much more angular transition from base to rim on the interior. A similarly sharp transition can be found on a completely glazed plate from Pylos.[9]

Only two joining sherds of the floor are preserved of the plate seen in Fig. 9b; Pl. 11.4 (no. 23298.24). The apparent interior features a dark area containing a reserved tondo with a motif resembling a pendant spiral hook. The exterior also bears a reserved tondo with floral decoration, though its exact form is difficult to discern. Notably, there is a silhouette petal and a long leaf, rendered in added white with black outlines, terminating in a scroll with a central dot.

[7] For the Archaic plates from Elian Pylos, see Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 43–47.

[8] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 42, no. C27.

[9] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 47, no. C59.

Four pendant strokes mark the border of the tondo. This decorative scheme is reminiscent of the floral motifs found on a krater from Pylos and the possible krater sherd from the sanctuary on Laphrion Hill (Chapter 3, this volume, Fig. 13d; Pl. 9.6).[10]

The sherd in Fig. 9c; Pl. 11.5 (no. 23298.25) represents a third plate of the *dark-on-light* style. The interior is glazed with a larger reserved tondo. Three smaller pendant leaves and what is likely part of a floral decoration can be discerned. A portion of the ring foot is preserved on the exterior, which is also glazed and features a central tondo. In this case, however, an added red band is present near the ring foot. Within the tondo, there is an outlined hatched field alongside a floral motif consisting of a simple tendril-scroll.

The plate seen in Fig. 9d; Pl. 11.6 (no. 23129.7) is small with a rim diameter of less than 15 cm. The decoration is very worn, but on the interior, it seems to have had red bands flanked by white lines at the rim and at the junction between rim and floor. It also has a broader reserved band on the rim.

The remaining four plates (Figs. 9e–g; Pl. 11.7–10) (nos. 23358.5+23129.5, 23666.5, 22888.30 and 22898.102) belong to Coleman and Abramovitz's 'black glazed' plates. Two non-joining sherds with a base diameter of approximately 17 cm (23358.5+23129.5) are seen in Fig. 9e; Pl. 11.7; The vessel is fully glazed, including the remaining surfaces, and features an added red band on the interior floor and rim, flanked by one and two white lines. A similar decorative scheme, though with single white lines flanking the red band, appears on the exterior floor. The same red band with white lines is also present on the two rim sherds in Figures 9f–g and Plate 11.8–9 (23666.5, 22888.30). Additionally, the body sherd in Pl. 11.10 (22898.102) preserves three concentric white lines and part of a red band.

The chronology of the plates rests on comparison with other datable material. Coleman and Abramovitz's comparison with Early and Middle Corinth plates would place the WAPP plates within this period (ca. 620–570 BCE).[11] In Corinth applied white on a dark background was already used in the Late Geometric period.[12] However, polychrome decoration using both added red and white appeared late in the Middle Protocorinthian period, just before the middle

[10] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 38, no. C2. Barfoed, Chapter 3, this volume, fig. 9a.

[11] Following Amyx's dating, see Amyx 1988, 428.

[12] For early use of applied white, see e.g., Williams 1981.

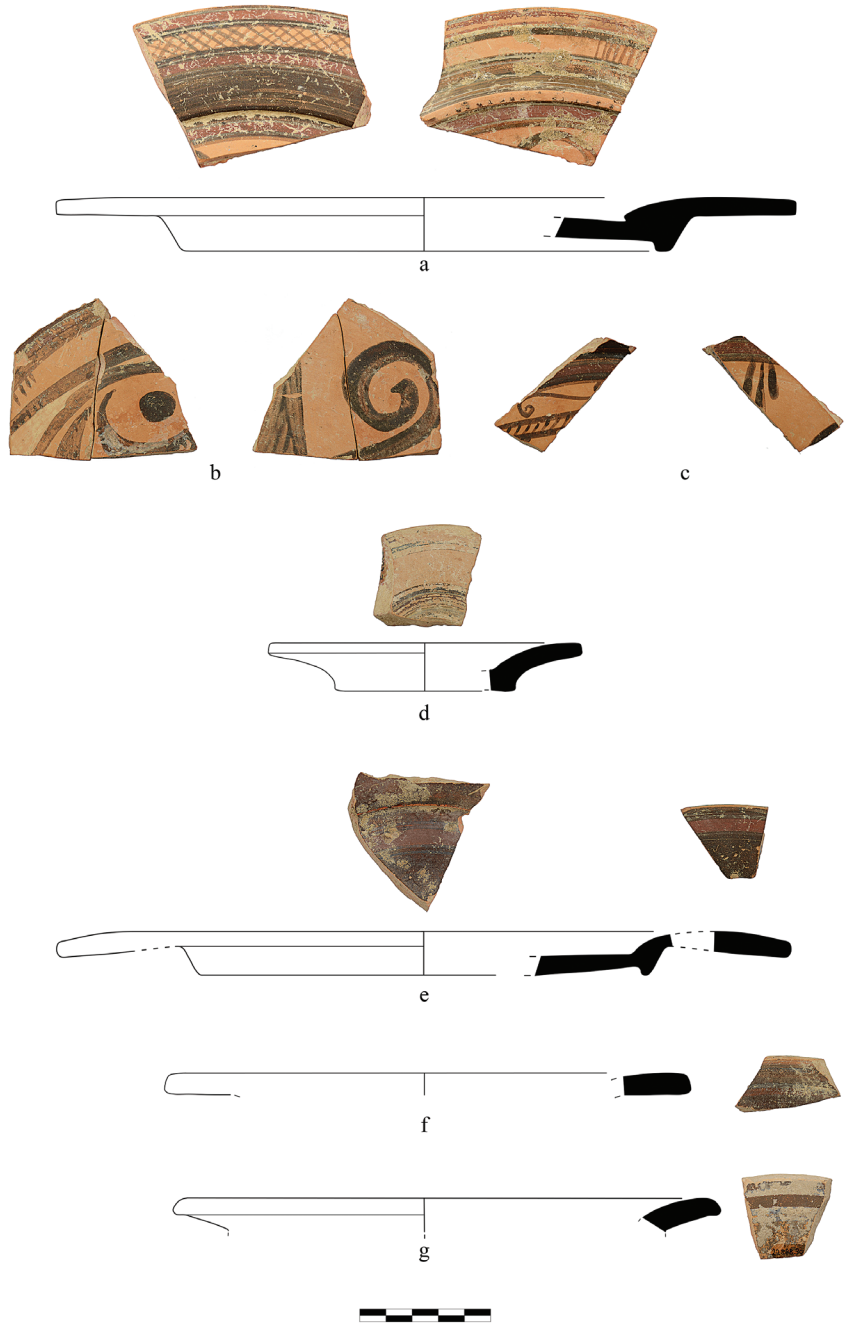


Fig. 9; Pl. 11.3–10. WAPP plates (a–g: nos. 23481.1, 23298.24, 23298.25, 23129.7, 3358.5+23129.5, 23666.5, 22888.30, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada; Kalydon Archaeological Project).

of the 7th century BCE, and became even more popular in the Late Protocorinthian period (ca. 650–630 BCE).[13]

An Archaic deposit was found immediately north of the Hellenistic stoa in the sanctuary on the Laphrion Hill during excavations in 2022. The deposit included a large amount of pottery, primarily from drinking cups, and seems to be a secondary deposit of refuse from ritual dining. The majority of the pottery from the deposit dates to the second half of the 6th century BCE based on the most readily datable pottery in the deposit, which is primarily Attic black glaze and black-figure. However, there is also an earlier Corinthian or Corinthianizing kotyle of the Middle Corinthian period (ca. 590–570 BCE). Attic black-glazed Type C cups represent the latest pottery from the deposit.[14] This deposit is relevant for the question of the chronology of the WAPP pottery since it overlaps chronologically with the later period of the Acropolis fortification fills but did not include any WAPP pottery, only a few fragments of black-glazed plates without added red or white decoration, some Achaian-style kantharoi and quite a few sherds of cups with everted rim. Therefore, it might be tentatively proposed the WAPP plates should be dated within the period ca. 650–575 BCE and that the black-glazed plates are later than the *dark-on-light*.

Kantharoi

Sherds of at least 12 kantharoi of the so-called 'Western Greek' (formerly 'Achaian') type have been identified among the pottery of the rubble wall fill and the levelling fill in Trench H30 (Fig. 10).[15] Among these are three, possibly four, body sherds, most likely stemming from three different vessels, that can be ascribed to the WAPP class (Figs. 10a–b; Pl. 12).[16]

The larger body sherd is fully glazed and has a broad red band flanked by white lines above and a single white line lower down on the body (no. 23051.15, Fig. 10a; Pl. 12.1). This particular decoration finds an exact parallel in the latest, and most common, kantharos type in Pylos, which is tall and has a low conical foot.[17] As argued by Coleman and Abramovitz, the kantharoi from Pylos are

[13] For the early use of red and white on Corinthian pottery, see Amyx 1988, 368–371.

[14] For a preliminary presentation of the deposit, see Vikatou et al. 2025.

[15] For previous discussion of the kantharoi from the Lower Acropolis fortification fills, see Vikatou and Handberg 2018, 348; Handberg 2023, 64–65. For the kantharoi in general, see Gauer 1975; Papadopoulos 2001.

[16] Nos. 23051.15, 23298.26, 22898.103 and 22898.101.

[17] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 53, 56–57, nos. C110–C127, esp. nos. C110 and C113.

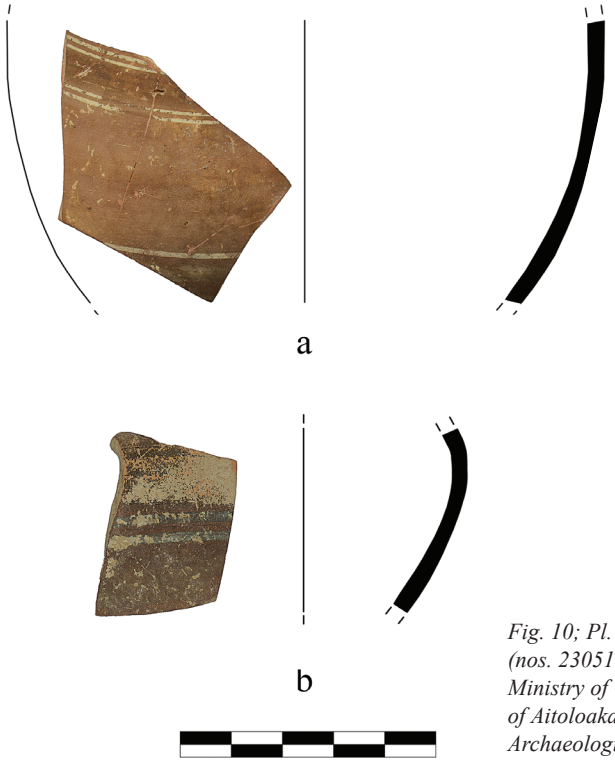


Fig. 10; Pl. 12.1–2. WAPP kantharoi (nos. 23051.15, 22898.101, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada; Kalydon Archaeological Project).

close to the later series from well deposits in Olympia and can thus be dated to the first half of the 6th century BCE.[18] The three other body sherds only preserve three horizontal white lines on the exterior. The fragment seen in Fig. 10b; Pl. 12.2 (no. 22898.101) cannot securely be identified as stemming from a kantharos. Although it is highly likely that part of the shoulder of the kantharos is preserved on this sherd, the angle appears to be unusually sharp for this type of vessel. All the kantharos sherds are very hard fired (and appear to have been overfired), and it cannot be excluded that these were produced locally.[19]

[18] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 56. For the kantharoi from Olympia, see Gauer 1975, 164–172. For a discussion of these kantharoi and differences between the kantharoi in Elian Pylos, Olympia, and Achaia, see Papadopoulos 2001, esp. 401–405.

[19] See Barfoed (Chapter 3, this volume) for a discussion of a possible local production of WAPP pottery in Kalydon.

Skyphoi and Cups with Everted Rims

The fill deposits contained a substantial number of skyphoi and cups with everted rims (Fig. 11; Pl. 12). Two sherds of this type are included here as examples of the WAPP class because they are decorated with horizontal lines in applied white on the rims (Figs. 11a–b; Pl. 12.3–4, nos. 23484.4 and 23151.5). The sherd seen in Fig. 11a; Pl. 12.3 has a tall almost straight rim and a convex shoulder. The rim diameter is around 20 cm. It has a rather thin dark greyish glaze and a reserved band in the handle zone with metopal decoration with four vertical strokes preserved. Traces of two white lines are visible, one at the junction between the rim and shoulder and another at the lip. The glaze on the rim is worn, but some horizontal lines are better preserved and consequently appear darker, suggesting an intentional effect. The sherd in Fig. 11b; Pl. 12.4 has the same basic shape but with a lower and slightly everted rim and preserves a small part of a horizontal handle. It appears to have been fully glazed but also carries white lines at the junction between rim and shoulder and at the lip. The use of metopal decoration and general similarities with the plate Fig. 9a; Pl. 11.3 (no. 23481.1) suggest that they are contemporary and perhaps produced in the same workshop.

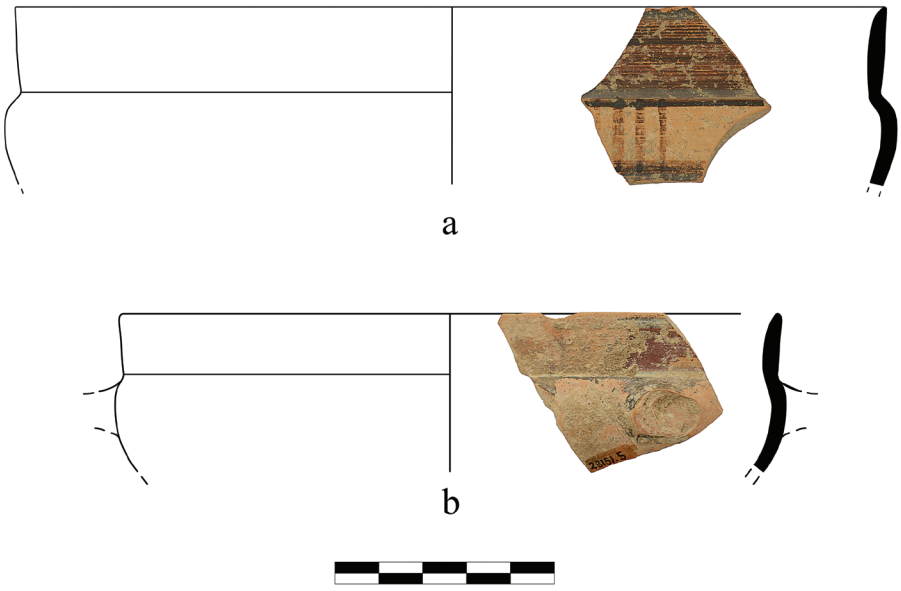


Fig. 11; Pl. 12.3–4. WAPP skyphoi (nos. 23484.4, 23151.5, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada; Kalydon Archaeological Project).

The two fragments of skyphoi (or 'cups with everted rims') presented here are part of a larger group of Archaic and Early Classical drinking vessels that have recently been identified at Kalydon. Apart from Trench H30 they are known from excavations on the Central Acropolis, the levelling fill below the Theatre, the 1920–30s excavations in the Laphrion sanctuary, and in the Archaic deposit north of the Hellenistic stoa also in the sanctuary.[20] Their provenance(s) and morphological development are not yet entirely clear. The height and orientation of the rim vary, and it appears to exist in a variant with a low ring foot as well as a flat base. In terms of both shape and decoration, they bear close resemblance to skyphoi from Olympia (the so-called *Trinkschälen*) in form and decoration.[21] Examples with the use of applied white are also known from the sanctuary of Demeter at ancient Antheia (modern Thea) near Patras and from the Drakaina cave on Kephallonia, where Agathi Karadima has argued for a local production of the type.[22]

Kotyle

A single larger rim sherd of kotyle shape with a rim diameter of around 14 cm was found in the wall fill (Fig. 12; Pl. 12.5, no. 23139.5). The fabric is of a more orange colour with a few whitish inclusions (Munsell reading: 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow). It appears to have a very thin slip that has fired to a lighter brown colour and appears similar to the clay colour of a bowl/lekane (Fig. 13; Pl. 12.6, no. 23484.43). The vessel is fully glazed on the exterior except for a broad reserved band with 'metopal' decoration below the rim. Three, maybe four, vertical lines are preserved at the edge of the reserved band. The glaze seems to have been applied to various thicknesses creating horizontal bands of darker and lighter shades of brown. There is a dark band with an added white line below the rim, then comes the reserved band. Below the reserved band is a lighter brown band framed above and below by white lines, then a broader darker brown band. The glaze on the lower part of the sherd is light with a white

[20] For the Central Acropolis, see Bollen 2011, 455–456, 458, no. 218, pl. 44. For the theatre, see Handberg 2023, 60–61. For similar skyphoi from the 1920–30s excavations in the Laphrion sanctuary, see Barfoed, Chapter 3, this volume. For the Archaic deposit north of the stoa, see Vikatou et al. 2025.

[21] Gauer 1975, 181–191. For the type, see also Schilbach 1999, 34, 43, pls 1.7, 2.2–3.

[22] For the sanctuary at Thea, see Nestoridou forthcoming; Nestoridou and Rathossi 2024. For Drakaina, see Karadima 2020, 101 (vol. I), esp. nos. 158–159 (vol. II); Karadima, Chapter 7, this volume.

line. On the interior there is a dark brown band below the rim, then a reserved line and a broader added red band. Below that is an added white line, the upper part of which has fired to a yellowish colour. The rest of the interior is fully glazed but much faded.

No obvious parallel for this vessel has been found, but in terms of shape it bears some resemblance to Corinthian kotylai of the Early and Middle Corinthian periods.[23] The decorative scheme might have been inspired by the kantharoi with red and white decoration in the interior.[24]

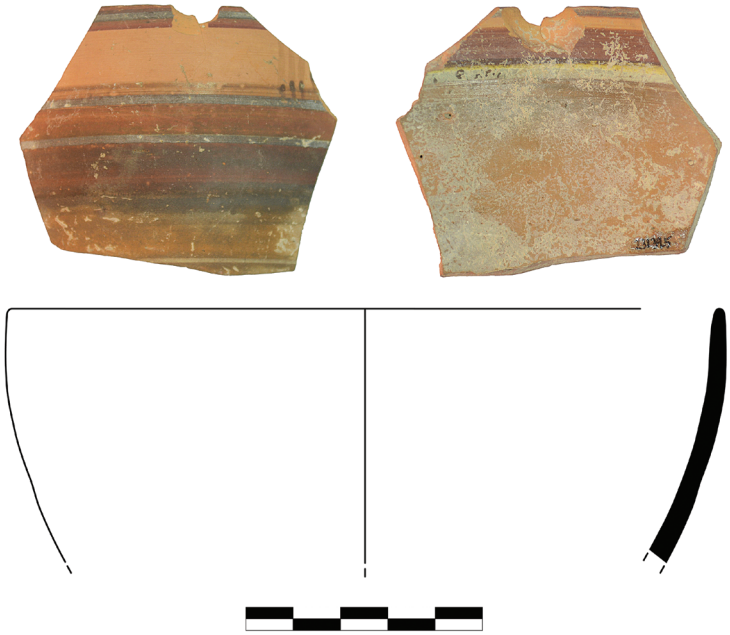


Fig. 12; Pl. 12.5. WAPP kotyle (no. 23139.5, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada; Kalydon Archaeological Project).

Bowls

Two joining body-sherds from a larger open vessel possibly stem from a bowl or lekane (Fig. 13; Pl. 12.6, no. 23484.43). The clay fabric and colour are somewhat different from the other WAPP pottery presented here; it contains some

[23] See e.g., Weinberg 1943, 67, no. 277.

[24] Most of the kantharoi of Coleman and Abramovitz's tall class have polychrome banded decoration on the interior of the rim; see Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 53, 56–57, nos. C110–C127.

small white and dark angular inclusions and has fired to a light brown colour (Munsell reading: 7.5YR 6/4, light brown). On the exterior is a reserved metopal frieze with five vertical lines preserved. The lower part is glazed with added white decoration in the form of a thin horizontal line, a wavy/zigzag line and then three broader horizontal lines. The interior is fully glazed. The same horizontal zigzag line exists on a very small body sherd of a large open vessel (no. 22898.107), which judging by the colour of the glaze, might belong to another bowl.



Fig. 13; Pl. 12.6. WAPP bowl or lekane (no. 23484.43, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada; Kalydon Archaeological Project).

The general decorative scheme is close to a lekane from Olympia that combines the use of a reserved field with a metopal scheme, added white lines and a wavy line (although not in added white).[25] Wavy lines in added white are found on bowls from Pylos, but added red bands are often seen on bowls there and none have metopal decoration.[26] The execution of the wavy line is also different from the added white wavy line on the bowl from the old excavations in the Laphrion sanctuary that is indeed likely to be an import from the Pylos area.[27] The wavy line on our bowl is, in fact, closer to the added white wavy line on

[25] Kunze 1961, 123, 125–126, fig. 65.

[26] For the added white on bowls, see Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 43, nos. C48–C49, pl. 28.

[27] See Barfoed, Chapter 3, this volume, fig. 10a–b.

a krater from a grave in Provodos, Achaia.[28] These differences in decorative schemes suggest that our example is not imported from Pylos.

Kothon

A single larger body sherd might be from a kothon (also known as an exaleiptron; Fig. 14; Pl. 12.7, no. 23484.42). Its identification as a kothon is based on the inward and downturned rim, which is characteristic of the shape.[29] The flat handle is also suggestive of the characteristic reflex handles. Even so, because so little of the overall shape is preserved, its identification can be questioned; indeed, it is possible that it is a pyxis or bowl of some kind. It is fully glazed except for a reserved handle zone with metopal decoration in the form of six vertical strokes. Two vertical strokes are also present on the handle. There is a horizontal added white band on the shoulder and three preserved on the lower body. To the extent that it can be compared to other productions, it resembles Corinthian examples from the Early and Middle Corinthian periods.



Fig. 14; Pl. 12.7. WAPP kothon (no. 23484.42, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada; Kalydon Archaeological Project).

[28] See Barfoed, Chapter 3, this volume, fig. 11.

[29] Scheibler 1964.

Jug

A single body fragment can be identified as part of the neck of a jug with everted rim (Fig. 15; Pl. 12.8, no. 23462.1). The interior is undecorated, while the exterior is heavily worn but fully glazed with decoration in added white. Below the rim, a horizontal line is visible, followed by a small, preserved section of a wavy line. Beneath this, two additional horizontal lines are present. A series of round-mouthed jugs with everted rims from Pylos exhibit similar forms; however, these feature reserved bands rather than added white decoration.[30] In this respect, the jug discussed here appears more closely related to the jug sherds from the earlier excavations in the sanctuary on Laphrion Hill.[31]



Fig. 15; Pl. 12.8. WAPP jug (no. 23462.1, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture/ Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada; Kalydon Archaeological Project).

[30] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 47–48, nos. C64–C71, ill. 8, pl. 30.

[31] See Barfoed, Chapter 3, this volume.

Interpreting the Fills

The archaeological contexts from which the WAPP originates must be carefully considered. As discussed above, the contexts behind the Lower Acropolis wall are best interpreted as fill deposits, but what depositional processes were involved in these filling operations? The area appears to have been first levelled with a deep fill extending to the edge of the Lower Acropolis plateau, after which a trench was cut for the fortification wall. The wall was then constructed, and the foundation trench subsequently filled with rubble debris. A key question concerns the origin of the soil used for these fills. The primary challenge in addressing this issue is the fact that not all of the finds have been systematically studied. Nevertheless, the composition of the assemblages may offer insights into the sources of these deposits. Does the material derive from a demolished sanctuary, or does it originate from Archaic houses on the Lower Acropolis plateau?

To explore this question, we may first examine the provenance of the pottery. Out of a total of 581 diagnostic vessels from the two fills, the 19 vessels identified as belonging to the WAPP class constitute approximately 3.3% of the ceramic assemblage. In contrast, Attic and Corinthian imports account for 9% and 8%, respectively. One of the primary challenges in analysing the pottery from these fills is the difficulty of defining meaningful fabric groups for the remaining material. The presumed local fabric of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, characterized by a distinctive orange colour, appears absent in the fill deposits, while the local Archaic fabric of Kalydon has yet to be identified.[32] A relatively homogeneous group of fineware fabrics, ranging in colour from light red to light brown, comprises approximately 60% of the assemblage. Further research is needed to differentiate between provenance groups within this broader category, but it is evident that a significant portion of this group is produced in a fabric closely resembling that of the WAPP fragments presented here.

Using a representative sample of the more carefully studied pottery we can compare the range of shapes that are present in the fills (Fig. 16).[33] Over-

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[32] See above and the discussion in Barfoed, Chapter 3, this volume.

[33] For this comparison, the following excavation lots were incorporated: bag. nos. 22898, 22902, 23051, 23144, 23139, 2346. For the levelling fill, the following excavation lots were used: 22786, 23151, 23484, 23462, 23220, 23298. These excavation lots contain approximately half of the pottery from both assemblages.

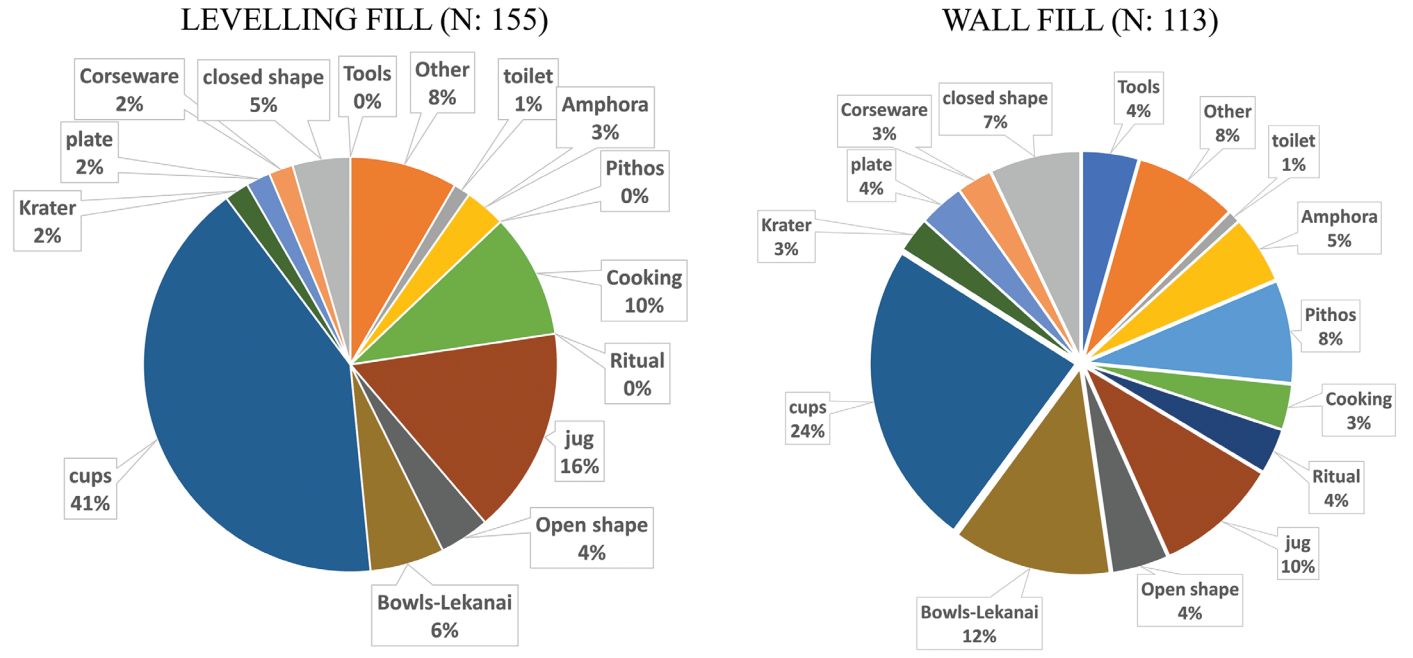


Fig. 16. Charts showing the relative distribution of shapes in the two deposits at the Lower Acropolis fortification. The levelling fill includes 155 vessels; the rubble wall fill includes 113 vessels. (© Søren Handberg).

all, drinking vessels make up the majority of the pottery in both assemblages: 24% in the wall fill and 41% of the levelling fill. There are a few noteworthy differences in the compositions of the two assemblages. The first difference to notice is that pithoi (and other larger storage vessels) make up 8% of the vessels from the wall fill, whereas they are entirely absent from the levelling fill. Additionally, the wall fill has twice as many bowls/lekanai as the levelling fill. The proportions of cookingware shapes in the assemblages also differ. A noteworthy observation is that the wall fill contains 4% ritual vessels, which represents fragments of perirrhanteria, including a fragment of a Corinthian import and a single sherd of a miniature cup. More work needs to be done on defining more precisely the chronological boundaries and 'peaks' in the material in both fills. The presence of ritual paraphernalia in the deposits clearly signals that the primary deposition of at least some of the finds is likely to have been a ritual context such as a small shrine or a sanctuary. Nevertheless, the complete lack of any figurines or other votives in the two assemblages contradicts this assumption. The assemblages also contained numerous pieces of metal slag and fragments apparently from smaller smelting crucibles or smelting furnaces, especially in the lower levels (Figs. 17–18; Pl. 13.1–2).



Fig. 17; Pl. 13.1. Fragments probably belonging to smaller smelting crucibles from the levelling fill. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada; Kalydon Archaeological Project).

Overall, determining the original use contexts (or systemic contexts) of the pottery before its deposition in the fills near the edge of the Lower Acropolis plateau remains challenging. The high breakage rate and low retention rate, typically with only a single sherd preserved per vessel, suggest that the pottery was transported over a considerable distance or relocated multiple times before its final deposition. Additionally, the chronological span of the finds in the fills extends over more than two centuries, making it difficult to distinguish individual use contexts with certainty.

A worthwhile direction for future research would be a more systematic comparison with the levels in the Central Acropolis, where levelling fills containing Archaic-period material have been identified, including clear evidence of a sanctuary.[34] At present, the most plausible conclusion is that the assemblages represent a mixture of contexts that existed on the Acropolis over time, encompassing both sacred and secular environments.

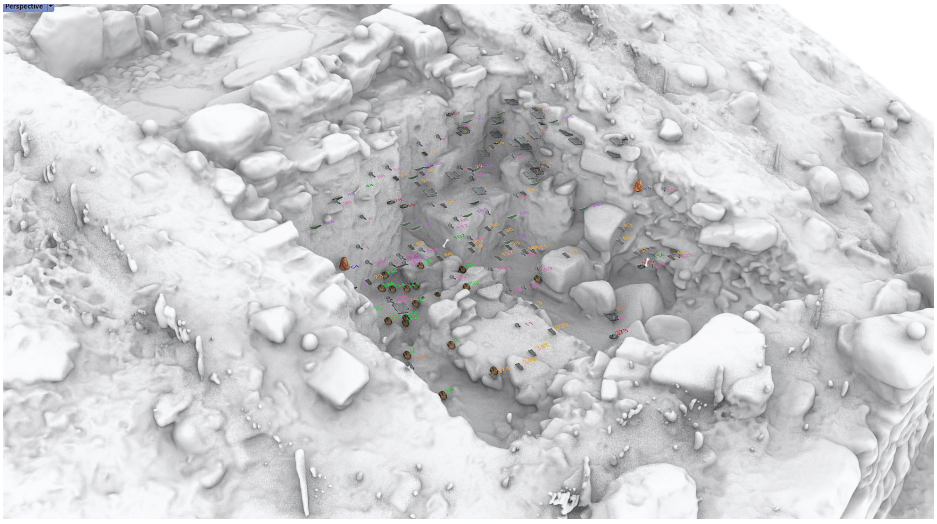


Fig. 18; Pl. 13.2. Grey-scale 3D model of Trench H30 showing the distribution of smelting crucibles and/or smelting furnaces at the bottom of the trench. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada; Kalydon Archaeological Project). Model: Neoptolemos Michaelides.

[34] See Barfoed, Chapter 3, this volume, for discussion of the possible levelling fills on the Central Acropolis.

Conclusion

The uncertain sampling biases in the 1920–30s excavations of the Laphria sanctuary prevent a reliable estimation of how prevalent WAPP class pottery was in Archaic Kalydon. However, the representative sample from the fills on the Lower Acropolis provides a clearer perspective. While not a dominant category, pottery of this class is consistently present in the major Archaic contexts identified in the city thus far. It is also important to note that the fills contain additional pottery with similar fabric, shape, and decorative schemes but lacking polychrome decoration. This raises the possibility that WAPP represents a distinct sub-group within a broader, standardized production.

The provenance of WAPP class pottery remains a complex issue. As demonstrated by other contributions in this volume, it appears at multiple sites, with local productions proposed for Elian Pylos and Kephallonia. A local production in Kalydon cannot be ruled out, particularly given the presence of overfired pottery and possible test-pieces found in the city.[35] If such production existed, it suggests a fundamental difference in the fabrics used in Archaic Kalydon compared to the brighter orange fabric characteristic of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. This is further supported by the apparent absence of orange-fabric pottery in the fills, despite the expectation that locally produced ceramics would be represented. Future research would benefit from prioritizing the characterization of clay fabrics not only in Kalydon but across northwestern Greece as a whole.

[35] Barfoed Chapter 3, this volume, fig. 16.

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WAPP Pottery and Textile Tools in Archaic Chalkis in Aitolia: Expressing Local and Regional Identities

Sanne Houby-Nielsen

Abstract

Stratified pottery dates the foundation of the small promontory site in the Gulf of Patras, identified as Homeric Chalkis, to the early 7th century BCE, with its final Archaic phase in the early 5th century BCE. The assemblage includes a significant quantity of fineware in two broad colour groups: warm red and pale brown with a Corinthianizing appearance. Cookingware is consistently red or orange, while coarseware and ceramic textile tools share both red and pale brown shades. Although most pottery and textile implements were locally produced, they reflect broader stylistic and technological trends in western Greece (including the Ionian Islands, southern Italy, and eastern Sicily), as well as coastal Aitolian traditions and local preferences in Chalkis. Many of these trends align with Corinthian pottery, suggesting a strong Corinthian influence. However, neither WAPP nor specifically 'Elian style dyeing and weaving' techniques can be securely identified in Chalkis, and only a few potential imports from Elis were noted. Instead, pottery and weaving traditions in Chalkis incorporated long-standing features characteristic of a broader area in western Greece, which includes the region of Elis. These traditional elements were significant to local identities, with weavers in particular maintaining strong ties to western Greek techniques rather than to those of the eastern part of the corridor connecting the Corinthia with the Ionian islands and Magna Graecia. Likewise, small pyramidal loom weights with a single piercing align with traditions from Argos, Crete, and the western Gulf area, contrasting with Corinth's preference for conical weights. Spools, another distinctive textile implement with close parallels to examples from Elian Pylos, were primarily found in the House at the Harbour. This chapter examines this evidence, highlighting regional interactions, local production patterns, and cultural affiliations in Archaic Chalkis, which may represent the easternmost extent of WAPP's popularity.

Introduction

At the beginning of the 7th century BCE, after more than five hundred years of oblivion, a small number of households chose to settle on the Aitolian coast

on the promontory hill of Agia Triada. The promontory is located close to the passage to and from the Gulf of Patras, enjoying a full view across the Gulf to the Achaian coast and to mountain passes leading to Elis and other parts of the northwestern Peloponnese (Chapter 1, Fig. 1; Pl. 1).[1] Twin mountains, Varasova and Klokova, framed the hill site and its harbour and formed an important landmark for maritime traffic moving along the corridor that connected the Corinthia with the Ionian islands and Magna Graecia (henceforth 'the Corridor', Fig. 1; Pl. 14.1). A fertile valley connected the promontory with the interior of Aitolia and neighbouring regions.



Fig. 1; Pl. 14.1. Mountains Varasova (to the left) and Klokova (to the right), seen from the acropolis of Patras. Detail of a panorama by E. Dodwell (drawing) and S. Pomardi (watercolour) from 1805 (PHI 82). (© Packard Humanities Institute).

In choosing this site, the settlers were exposed to the multitude of people from local, regional, and more distant backgrounds who moved along the Gulf or through the valleys connecting the coast with its hinterland. Recent archaeological investigations (conducted in 1995–2001 and 2014) produced evidence for three short-lived Archaic settlements separated by about three–four genera-

[1] The hill of Agia Triada lies to the east of the modern fishing village of Kato Vasiliki. For detailed maps of settlements, harbours, and hinterlands of the Gulf of Patras and the Gulf of Corinth, see Bonnier 2010, and the introduction to Aitolia by Morgan forthcoming.

tions: the founding settlement in the early 7th century BCE, a second settlement beginning in the early 6th century BCE, and a third in the early 5th century BCE. The main remains from all three settlement periods consisted of courtyard houses with rich evidence for two main activities: communal eating/wine drinking and weaving. Probably the name Chalkis did not become formalized until the 6th century BCE, when the settlement was also fortified.[2]

This chapter examines pottery and textile production from the best-preserved courtyard houses of the first and second settlements. The objective is to analyse these productions within the framework of local and regional trends and traditions, providing a contextual foundation for understanding Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery (WAPP). References to finds in this study follow the catalogue numbering system used in the author's publication, *Chalkis II*, which documents the Archaic material from the excavations at Chalkis in Aitolia.[3] In some cases, new drawings of pottery have been produced in colour for an improved understanding of their wares (see footnote 3).

Pottery Wares

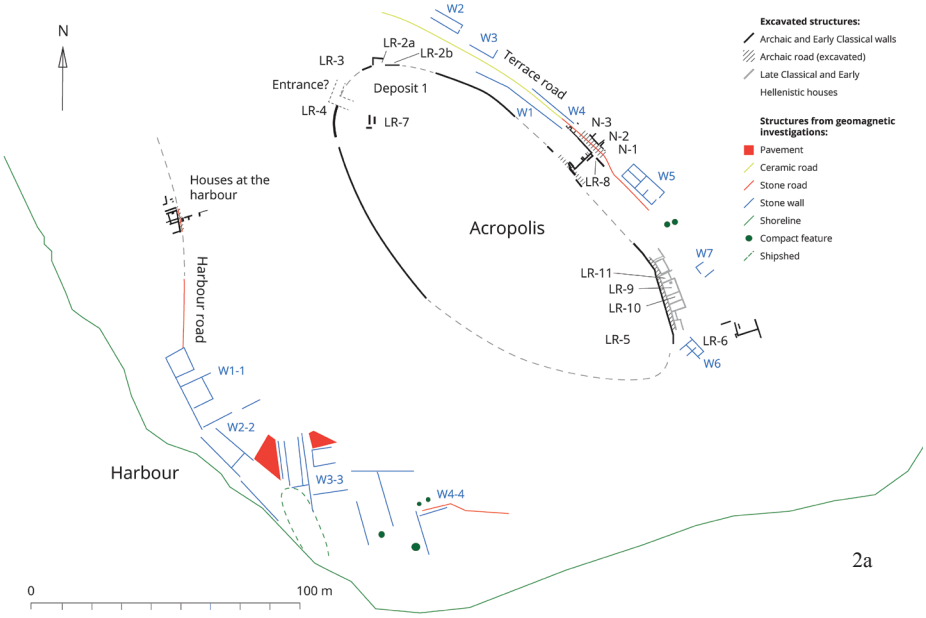
Abundant pottery came from stratified contexts in the two best-preserved houses of the founders, both of which were of the courtyard type: the House at the Harbour and House N-1 on the rear side of the hill facing the valley (Fig. 2a–b; Pl. 14.2). According to these finds, potters began to produce a range of wares that followed trends along the Corridor and in large areas of western Greece, defined as the northwestern Peloponnese, Ithaka, and Epirus. The fineware fabrics divide naturally into two colour categories: warm red shades or pale brown shades. Plainwares were abundant, the fabric of which came in the same colour shades as the solid-painted or decorated wares.[4] Even coarseware fabrics mainly fell

[2] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 45, on Hom. *Il*. 2.638–640; Houby-Nielsen forthcoming, discusses the Homeric references to Chalkis and the date of the name 'Chalkis'.

[3] Houby-Nielsen 2020.

[4] Several finds published in the author's publication, *Chalkis II*, have been provided with new colour drawings in this study: nos. 13, 65, 557 and 581, 559, 647, 728, 782; the drawing of no. 651 is also new and shows part of preserved wavy band. On 'reddish-orange' and 'pinkish-beige' fabrics as characteristic for Elis, Achaia, Ithaka, and Epirus, see Livitsanis 2018, 792 (with references); Houby-Nielsen 2020, 52–60, tables 1a, b–5a, b describes the wares and list their frequencies; for workshops working in a colonial pottery tradition in the West, see Luberto 2017; for Thapsos-Class pottery as characteristic for the societies along what is here referred to as the Corridor, see Gadolou 2017.

into the red or pale brown categories, the latter being used for Corinthianizing shapes such as wash basins, while cookingware fabrics were solely red in colour.



2a



2b

Fig. 2a; Pl. 14.2. Map of the hill of Agia Triada showing the excavated Archaic structures in relation to features revealed in 2014 by geomagnetic investigations: The Houses at the Harbour, the Houses at the Terrace Road and house remains at various locations. (After Houby-Nielsen 2020, 49, fig. 8).

Fig. 2b. The view from the acropolis of Agia Triada towards the west and the modern fishing village of Kato Vasiliki. The Houses at the Harbour were excavated around the tin-roof visible to the right. Photo: Kristian Göransson.

Red Fineware Fabrics

In the earliest settlement, from the early 7th century BCE, there was a notable trend towards brittle, delicate, and thin-walled (0.2 cm) red fineware with pink or reddish-yellow fabric. The glaze on these wares was mostly a thinly applied, non-flaking paint or wash fired in shades of red or dark brown, sometimes on the same vessel. They were sometimes decorated with horizontal lines, exceptionally wavy bands, in brighter colours (yellow, pink), which gave a *light-on-dark* impression (Figs. 3–4). This decorative feature was characteristic for western Greece,[5] and 'western Greek kantharoi' (also known as Achaian kantharoi) were produced in this ware.[6] A couple of thin-walled kantharoi (Fig. 3, nos. 65, 551), were decorated with a wavy, thin band between painted lines in a lighter, whitish colour contrasting with the much darker painted surface. Such wavy bands in added white were typical for kantharoi in Elis and have been noted in the Greek foundations in South Italy.[7]

A related, distinct ware observed both in Kalydon and in Chalkis may be characteristic of the Aitolian coastland.[8] It was hard fired and thin walled, with carefully drawn linear decoration in red paint alternating with thin white bands on a darker red-painted background, again giving the characteristic *light-on-dark* impression.[9] Kantharoi, small, saggy, flat-bottomed jugs, and concave or straight-sided pyxides were made of this notably thin-walled and delicate ware (Fig. 3, nos. 230, Pl. 14.4; Fig. 3, nos. 557+581, 559, 664, Fig. 4, nos. 13, 647, 728). A fragment of a jug has close parallels in Elian Pylos. It was made of a hard-fired fabric and decorated with broad and thin bands in thick white paint on a dark ground offering a distinct *light-on-dark* impression (Fig. 5, Pl. 15.1, no. 284).[10] A fully glazed krater (Fig. 5, no. 655) had fired dark brown and was decorated with broad and narrow reserved bands that gave the desired *light-on-dark* impression. Isolated finds of a one-handled cup (Fig. 3, no. 672), a possible

[5] The ware is described in Houby-Nielsen 2020, 56–57 (Painted IVa, Decorated Id).

[6] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 71 no. 13, pl. 1, and 145 fig. 64 (wrongly stated in the figure text as depicting no. 248a–b).

[7] Papadopoulos 2001, 389, fig. 5; Houby-Nielsen 2020, 96, fig. 33b.

[8] Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi, eds., 2011, 477, oinochoe no. 299. I was able to compare this vessel with the saggy jug from Chalkis, and their fabrics are strikingly similar.

[9] The ware is described in Houby-Nielsen 2020, 54, 56–57 (Decorated I or IV).

[10] The decoration of jug no. 284 recalled that of the globular jugs from 6th-century BCE Elian Pylos; see Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, nos. C64, C66–C67, C84.

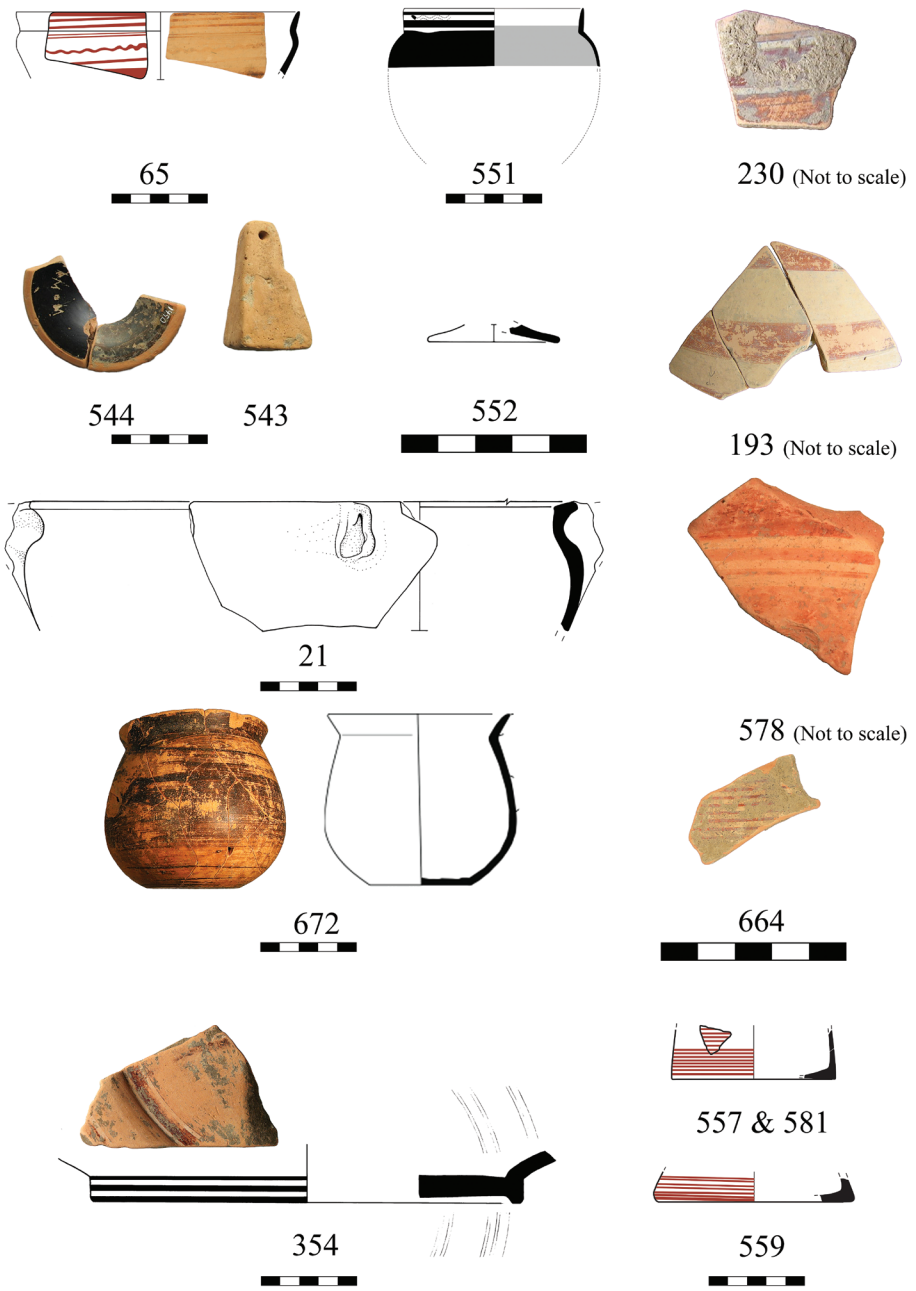


Fig. 3; Pl. 14.3–5. Red fineware. Pottery with red-fired, dark brown or even black surface paint. Linear decoration in added white paint or in red-fired paint on a reserved clay surface. Open and closed shapes and a stemmed cup with a graffito inscription (no. 544) found together with a small pyramidal loom weight (no. 543). Numbers refer to Houby-Nielsen 2020.

aryballos, small, round-mouthed jugs (too small to have served as table jugs), and a concave pyxis were of fine and brittle red ware.

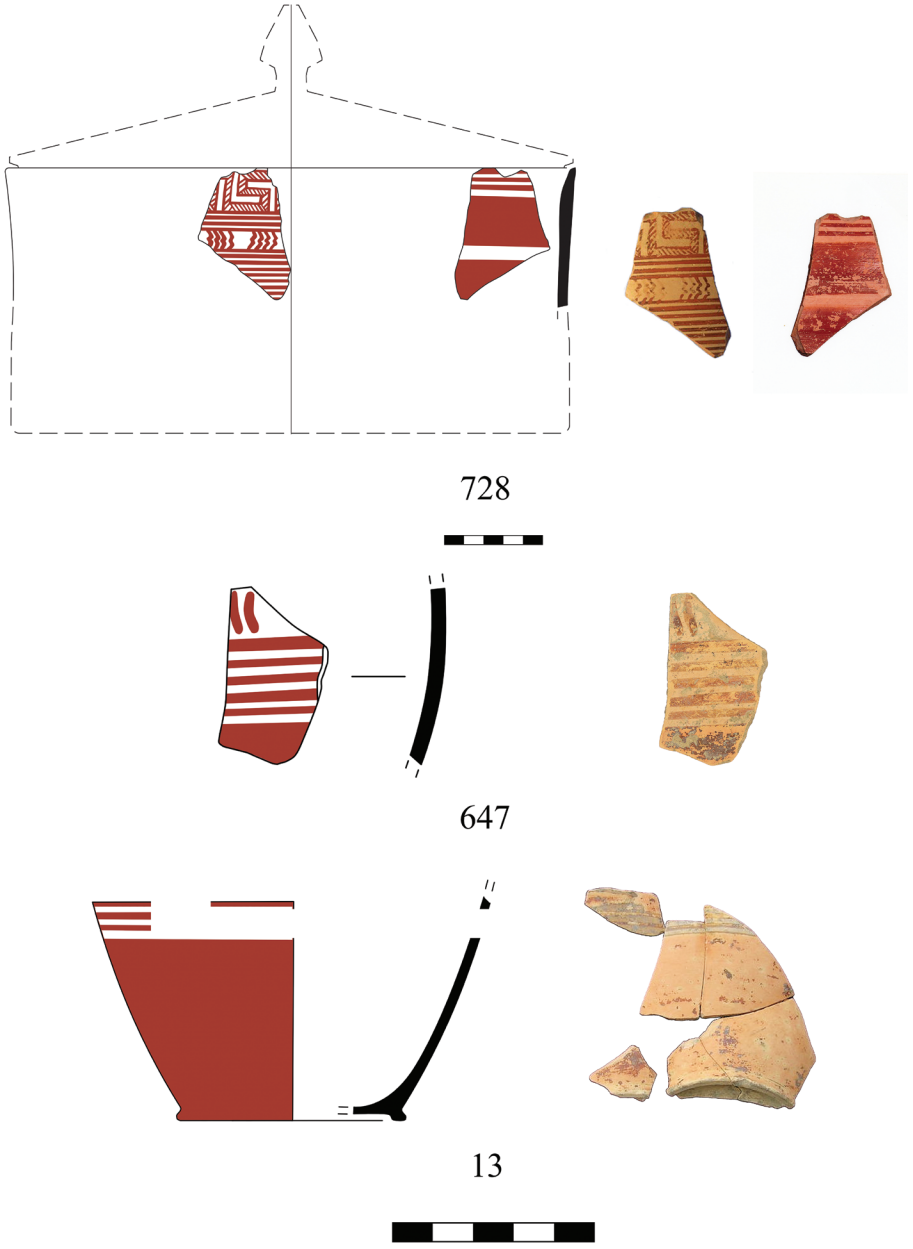


Fig. 4. Red fineware. Pottery with red fired covering paint and linear decoration in added white paint. Kotylai (nos. 13, 647) and pyxis (no. 728). Numbers refer to Houby-Nielsen 2020.

During the second settlement, potters widened considerably the range of red fineware fabrics, red-ware fabrics became much more frequent than pale brown fabrics, and the frequency of plainware fabrics increased. Generally, different red-ware fabrics from this phase in various ways continued earlier techniques to obtain *light-on-dark* decoration by means of reserved bands in the light colour of the clay-surface (Fig. 3, Pl. 14.5, no. 578) or by adding linear decoration in distinctly lighter colours (yellow, pink, or white) than the cover-paint of the vessel, sometimes achieving a polychrome impression. A good example is a plate with banded decoration in dusky red and added white, which resembles that of plates from Elis (Fig. 3, Pl. 14.3, no. 354).[11] Plainware sherds of fine red ware with a few red-painted bands also appeared. One example is a jug with close parallels from Corinth and the Drakaina Cave (Fig. 3, no. 193).[12] A stemmed cup and a loom weight are in red ware (Fig. 3, nos. 543–544) and red-ware column kraters with figured decoration are local imitations of imported Corinthian kraters. One locally made krater carried a red-painted typically Middle Corinthian cable pattern (Fig. 10, no. 535), while local imitations of stamnoi were decorated with floral patterns reminiscent of Elis and western Greece. A large krater of a distinct *light-on-dark* ware recalled Elian pottery. Its surface paint had fired black, and its panel decoration and wavy line were in added yellow-white paint (Fig. 5, Pl. 15.3, no. 755.[13] A plate of similar ware had polychrome banded decoration in white and purple colours (Fig. 5, Pl. 15.2, no. 782).[14]

Cookingware fabrics in all Archaic phases ranged in thickness from 0.2 to 0.6 cm and were hard fired. The exterior was often smoothed, leaving diagonal lines, occasionally burnished or polished, and the colour shades of the surface wash ranged from orange-brown to grey-brown to light red. The fabric is generally gritty with small white inclusions.[15]

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[11] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 55–60, for a detailed description of the wares, see especially Decorated Id, Decorated Ib, and Painted IVa, b; 172, no. 354, fig. 85.

[12] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 137, no. 193, fig 60, pl. 13; for vessels with painted red bands, see Karadima 2020, 140, no. 219 (430).

[13] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 279, no. 755, fig. 155.

[14] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 285–286, no. 782, fig. 158.

[15] The cookingware fabrics are described in Houby-Nielsen 2020, 59 (Cooking I–IV).

Pale Brown Fineware Fabrics

Pale brown fineware fabrics contrasted strongly with the red fineware fabrics already during the first Archaic settlement. Thapsos-Class skyphoi, cups, a conical oinochoe, a skyphos-pyxis, and loom weights are found in a distinctive and very pale brown ware (Fig. 9, nos. 121–122, 127, 650 and 651, 673; Fig. 13, no. 62a).[16] Kotylai and ray-kotylai were often of another distinctive fabric with

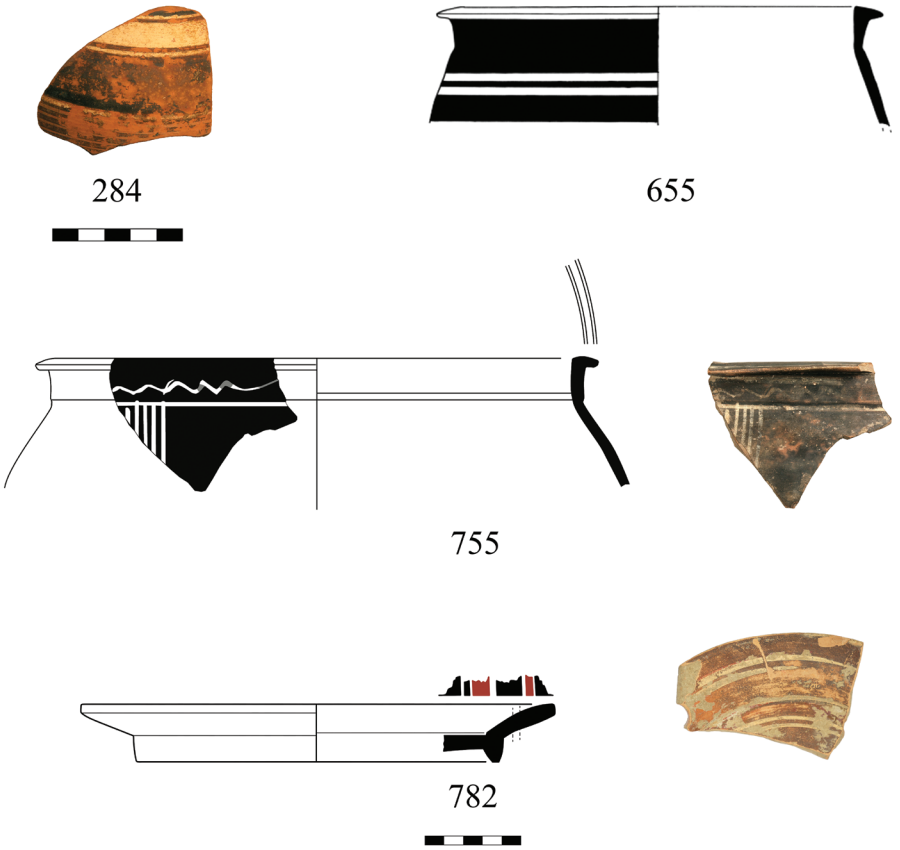


Fig. 5; Pl. 15.1–3. Red fineware. Pottery with red fired covering paint and linear decoration in added white paint. Jug (no. 284), Kraters (nos. 655, 755), Plate (no. 782). Numbers refer to Houby-Nielsen 2020.

[16] The ware is described in Houby-Nielsen 2020, 58: Decorated Ia, Thapsos-Class, and 435 for the skyphos-pyxis; compare also the description of Thapsos-Class in Achaia by Gadolou 2008; Gadolou 2011, 4–6; Gadolou 2017; Barfoed 2019 from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary in Kalydon.

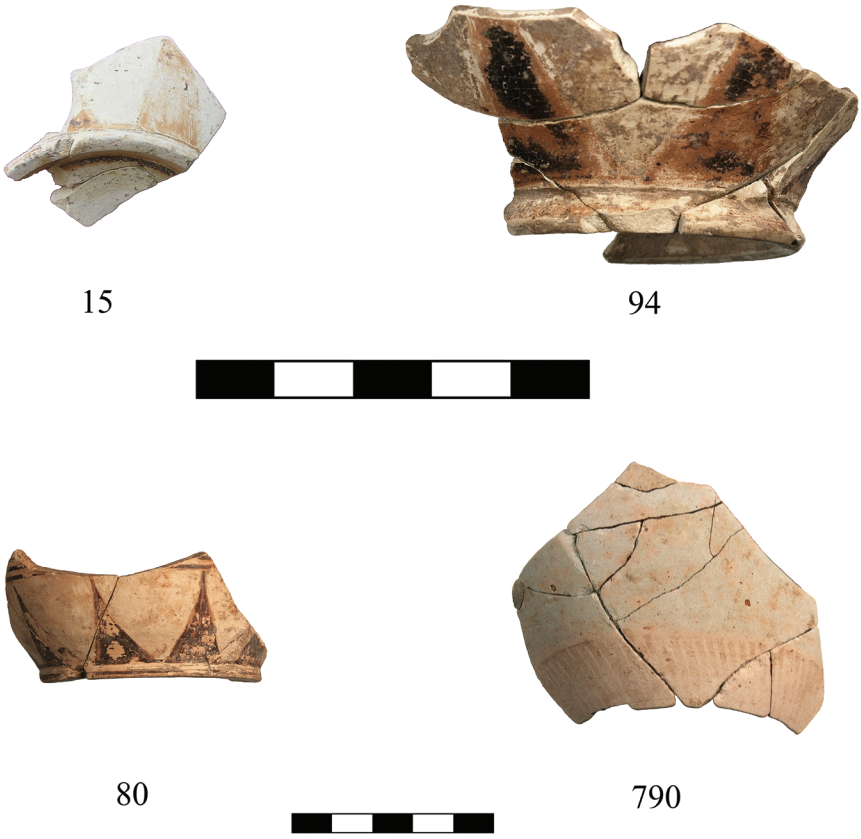


Fig. 6. Kotylai. Pale brown ware with characteristic 'green' appearance (nos. 15 and 94) and red ware (no. 80). Bar-ray kotyle (no. 790) imported from Leukas or Ithaka. Numbers refer to Houby-Nielsen 2020.

a characteristic 'green' appearance, which has been associated with Corinth (Fig. 6, no. 15), and some ray-kotylai were probably imported from Corinth (Fig. 6, nos. 80, 94).[17] These pale-brown-ware examples had linear decoration in darker shades on a pale surface. Isolated cases of conical oinochoai, a possible aryballos, and a concave pyxis were made in this ware and may have been Protocorinthian imports.[18]

[17] The fabric is described in Houby-Nielsen 2020, 58 (Decorated II).

[18] Houby-Nielsen 2020, oinochoai nos. 656, 673, a possible aryballos no. 646, and a concave pyxis no. 652.

During the second settlement, pale brown ware vessels with decoration in darker colours than the vessel's surface, such as a kothon (Fig. 9, no. 181), were proportionally less common.[19] Middle Corinthian vessels with figured decoration and details in added purple were restricted to kraters and jugs and were probably imported.[20] A few bar-ray kotylai of pale brown fabrics were imports from Ithaka or Leukas (Fig. 6, no. 790).[21] Lastly, a distinctive pale brown coarseware was used for Corinthianizing shapes such as washbasins, mortars, and in some cases loom weights.[22]

Summary

Pottery traditions were characterized by a blend of traditional potting traditions in western Greece and new trends along the Corridor. Traditional features typically consisted of wares with linear *light-on-dark* decoration and non-Corinthian, floral designs characteristic of western Greece, including Elis. New pottery trends pursued ideals of thin-walled and delicate pottery that had much in common with Protocorinthian pottery. Cookingware vessels followed Mediterranean-wide practices and were similar to Corinthian cookingware vessels, as were coarsewares. This blend of traditional and new pottery ideals seems to be an important characteristic of the pottery production of 7th- and early 6th-century BCE Chalkis.

Pottery Shapes (Fig. 8)

The favourite drinking vessel was the western Greek kantharos with triangular handles and linear decoration on the rim and lower body (Fig. 7, nos. 48a-b, 123). [23] This was the case both in the House at the Harbour and in House N-1 on the rear side of the hill. The shape of the rim varied (e.g., from everted to upstanding) (Fig. 7, nos. 42, 48a-b, 123, 341); kantharoi were typically thin-walled (0.2 cm) and had a broad body shape with high-set oval shoulder and small delicate ring feet (Fig. 7, nos. 48a-b, 63, 123, 341). Only one kantharos

[19] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 58 (Decorated Ia, Decorated II).

[20] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 31, 144, 164, nos. 148, 246, 328.

[21] Houby-Nielsen 2020, nos. 157, 789–790.

[22] The coarseware fabrics are described in Houby-Nielsen 2020, 59–60 (Coarse I and Coarse II).

[23] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 53–54, 364–366 for a discussion of the western Greek kantharoi and other drinking vessels from Chalkis.

from Chalkis (Fig. 3, no. 551) probably had a conical foot (Fig. 3, no. 552), which recalls kantharoi in Elis. Small variations among the kantharoi in terms of profile, paint, and decoration possibly indicated that potters were experimenting to obtain an ideal kantharos shape. Western Greek kantharoi were still produced in 6th-century BCE Chalkis. They now tended to be monochrome and have a deep rather than broad body.[24] This continued interest in the kantharos shape was noteworthy. Western Greek kantharoi were prominent finds in burials in Achaia, had a long history in western Greece, and were occasionally exported and imitated in cities in South Italy and eastern Sicily. They were also subject to miniaturization in cave rituals in Kephallonia. The adoption of the western Greek kantharos by potters in Chalkis already in the early 7th century BCE and its continued importance there during the 6th century BCE may therefore have been a response to a local consumer wish to follow traditional drinking habits. Middle Corinthian imagery of female festivities on a plate found in the Corinthia shows the kantharos with triangular handle in the hands of a seated banqueter during domestic festivities with wine consumption in which women, children, and padded dancers participated (Fig. 16a). A Middle Corinthian pyxis in Paris has a similar motif and again shows a male banqueter with a kantharos with triangular handle (Fig. 16b); and as mentioned, kantharoi formed part of the equipment used in women's rituals in Drakaina Cave in Kephallonia.[25] The continued importance of the western Greek kantharos in 6th-century BCE Chalkis may therefore reflect new domestic ritual festivities, which developed along the Corridor including the Corinthia and which inhabitants in Chalkis were keen to follow.

The second most common drinking/eating vessel was the thin-walled (0.2 cm) kotyle and ray-kotyle with small and finely tooled resting surfaces. As mentioned, a few of these kotylai were imported from Corinth (Fig. 6, nos. 80, 94) where the kotyle was the most important drinking/eating vessel. Thapsos-Class skyphoi were represented by several rim fragments from skyphoi of different sizes and by a unique Thapsos-Class pyxis (Fig. 9, nos. 121–122, 127, 650 and

[24] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 305, 307–308, figs. 172d, 178c, 179 no. 4332–2.

[25] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 365, fig. 187; for the interpretation of this iconography, known in German studies as *Frauenfeste*, see Pemberton 2000; for the female character of the cult in the Drakaina Cave in Kephallonia and its occasional interaction with male participants using kantharoi, see Karadima 2020, 289–292; also Karadima 2021 for further discussion of the cult.

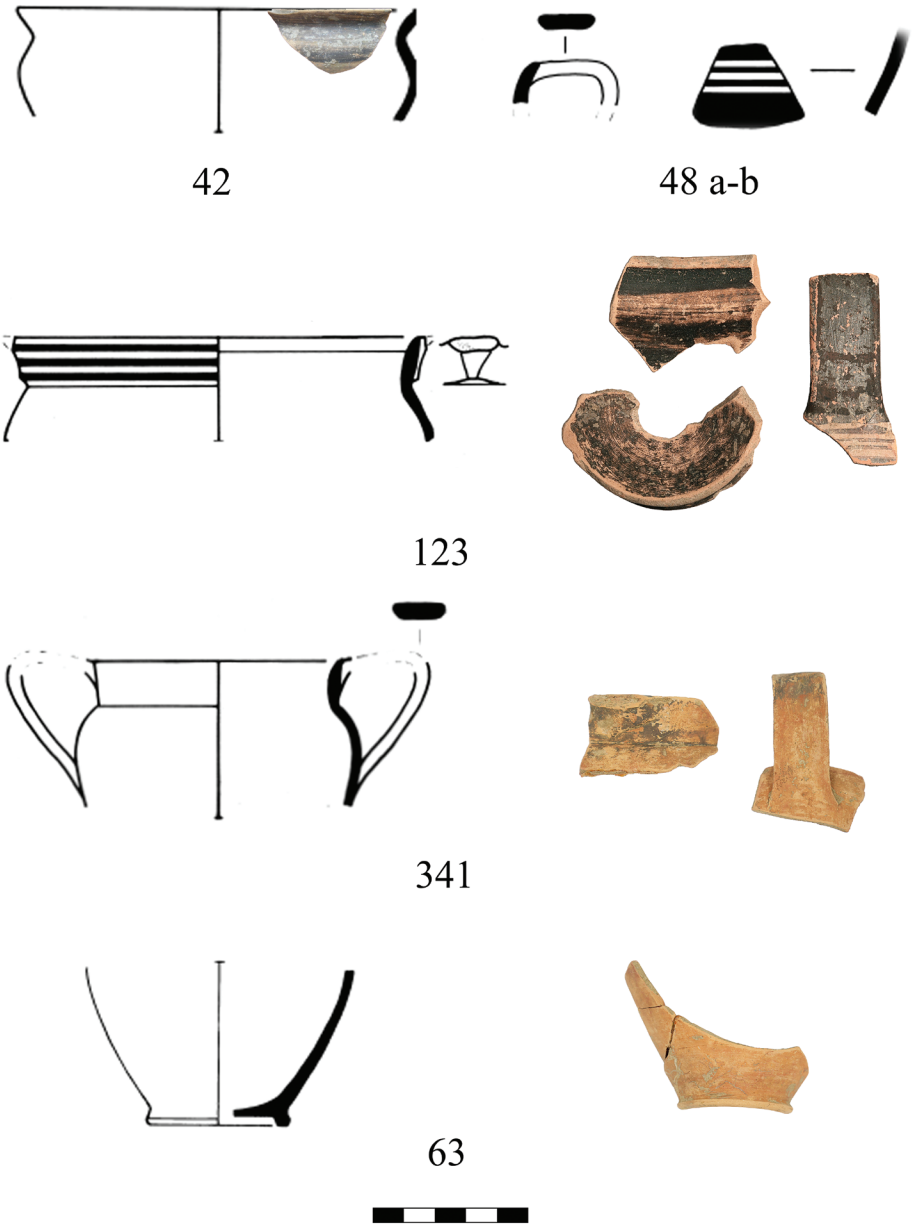


Fig. 7. Kantharoi (nos. 42, 48, 63, 123, 341). Red ware with covering paint fired into various shades of brown. Linear decoration in dark brown paint on reserved surface. Numbers refer to Houby-Nielsen 2020.

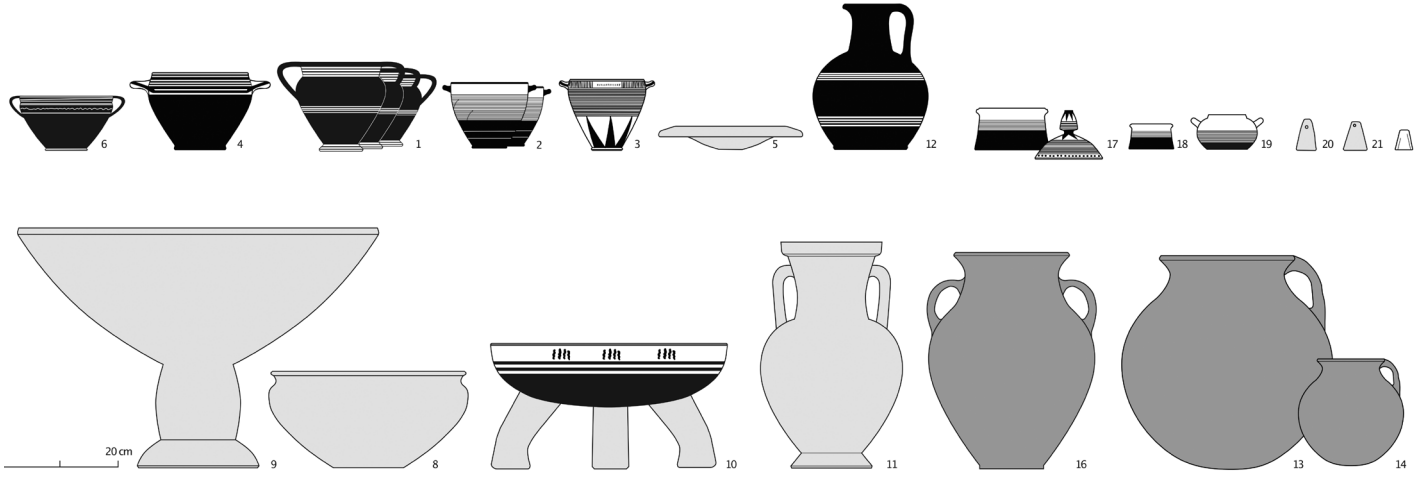


Fig. 8. A reconstruction of the finds from the foundation strata of the House at the Harbour: feasting pottery and small loom weights. (© Sanne Houby-Nielsen). Drawing by R. Toth.

651).[26] Kotylai and Thapsos-Class skyphoi continued to be produced in the 6th century BCE. The kotylai were now much larger (17–25 cm in diameter) and the Thapsos-Class skyphoi became more thin-walled. The bar-ray kotylai from Ithaka or Leukas were also large (max. diameter 20 cm).[27]

Only one one-handled cup was identified. It dates to the early 7th century BCE and was probably used as a cup-pyxis together with a lid of a cookingware vessel (Fig. 3, no. 672).[28] This lack of interest in the one-handled cup may follow local trends in the Bay of Patras, since one-handled cups were uncommon in Achaia but very common in places such as Corinth (the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore) and Stratos.[29]

Stemmed cups and skyphoi were only represented by a handful of sherds from different vessels and most of those came from 6th-century BCE strata. One of these few stemmed cups had a graffito inscription of a male name in Corinthian script and was found together with a pyramidal loom weight.[30] The low number of stemmed drinking vessels contrasted with preferences in many other places along the Corridor and in western Greece, including Elis, where stemmed cups were frequent finds. So-called 'Ionian Cups' were especially widely distributed in the Mediterranean and Black Sea. They turned up in many places in the Corinthian gulf and the Ionian islands and were immensely popular in South Italy and eastern Sicily in the late 7th and early 6th century BCE, where they appear to have been particularly intimately connected with the male symposium.[31]

Vessels for wine were large, prestige vessels, some of which were produced locally and others imported. A locally made dinos (Fig. 3, no. 21a–b) of red ware, covered with dusky-red paint, from the House at the Harbour followed closely Corinthian prototypes and may have been spouted. It may even have had figured decoration, as suggested by close parallels from South Italy and Sicily (Naxos, Kaulonia, Sybaris, and Kroton). Krater no. 655 (max. diameter

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[26] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 53.

[27] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 53, nos. 157, 789–790.

[28] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 246, 248, nos. 672, 678.

[29] Bookidis et al. 1999, 14 (with references); Sieverling 2018, 91 n. 504 (for discussion and references).

[30] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 210–211, nos. 543–544, fig. 111.

[31] Small 2004, 268; Houby-Nielsen 2020, 171, 211, 260, 366, nos. 351 (stemmed cup), 543 (loom weight), 544 (stemmed cup), no. 3902:1 (kylix-foot), fig. 111; for 'Ionian Cups' and other stemmed cups in the Drakaina Cave and for references, see Karadima 2020, 91–109.

22 cm) from House N-1 had the standard heavy rim profile characteristic for Chalkis (Fig. 5).[32]

During the second settlement, the occupants of the House at the Harbour were the only household on the promontory hill to invest in a series of column kraters (between five and nine), several stamnoi, and a bell krater for wine consumption. At least one of these column kraters was a Corinthian import and would have had figured decoration (Fig. 10, no. 246). Others were locally made imitations of Middle Corinthian column kraters (Fig. 10, no. 412 a-b, no. 535).[33]

One krater with a polished surface and figured decoration may have been imported from Corcyra.[34] It was noteworthy that column kraters came in different large sizes, some with a rim diameter around or above 30 cm and some with a rim diameter around or above 50 cm, and exceeded the size of Middle Corinthian kraters from domestic contexts in Greece and from Etruscan tombs.[35] One example was the imported Middle Corinthian krater with a lotus-palmette decoration on its rim. It had a much larger rim diameter (37 cm) than similar decorated kraters from Corinth or Etruria, exemplified by the krater in the Louvre attributed to the Athana painter (26 cm, Fig. 11) no. 246, Louvre krater). This presence of both small and large column kraters again recalled the Middle Corinthian plate in Fig. 16a with imagery of female festivities, since both small and large column kraters are depicted. Padded dancers and women surround a large column krater while the banqueter holding the Western Greek kantharos is seated in front of a small column krater.[36] A similar mixed-gender festivity may be envisaged in the House at the Harbour, since the presence of loom weights in the same strata as the column kraters indicate female presence, while the low number of sympotic drinking vases (stemmed cups and 'Ionian Cups') speak against male symposia. Rather, the finds point to gatherings with wine and food consumption in the House at the Harbour in which female members of the household were present alongside male members.[37] Communal feasting involving consumption of wine and of stews in cooking pots took place in the

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[32] Compare Alexandridou 2018 for spouted kraters and loom weights from Iron Age houses in Attica; Houby-Nielsen in preparation.

[33] Houby-Nielsen 2020, column kraters nos. 412a–b, 420–421, 486, 504, 535.

[34] Houby-Nielsen 2020, no. 328.

[35] The kraters are discussed in Houby-Nielsen 2020, 126–129, 372–373, fig. 188.

[36] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 365, 370–371, fig. 187.

[37] For a discussion of the column kraters from the House at the Harbour, see Houby-Nielsen 2020, 126–129, 370–373.

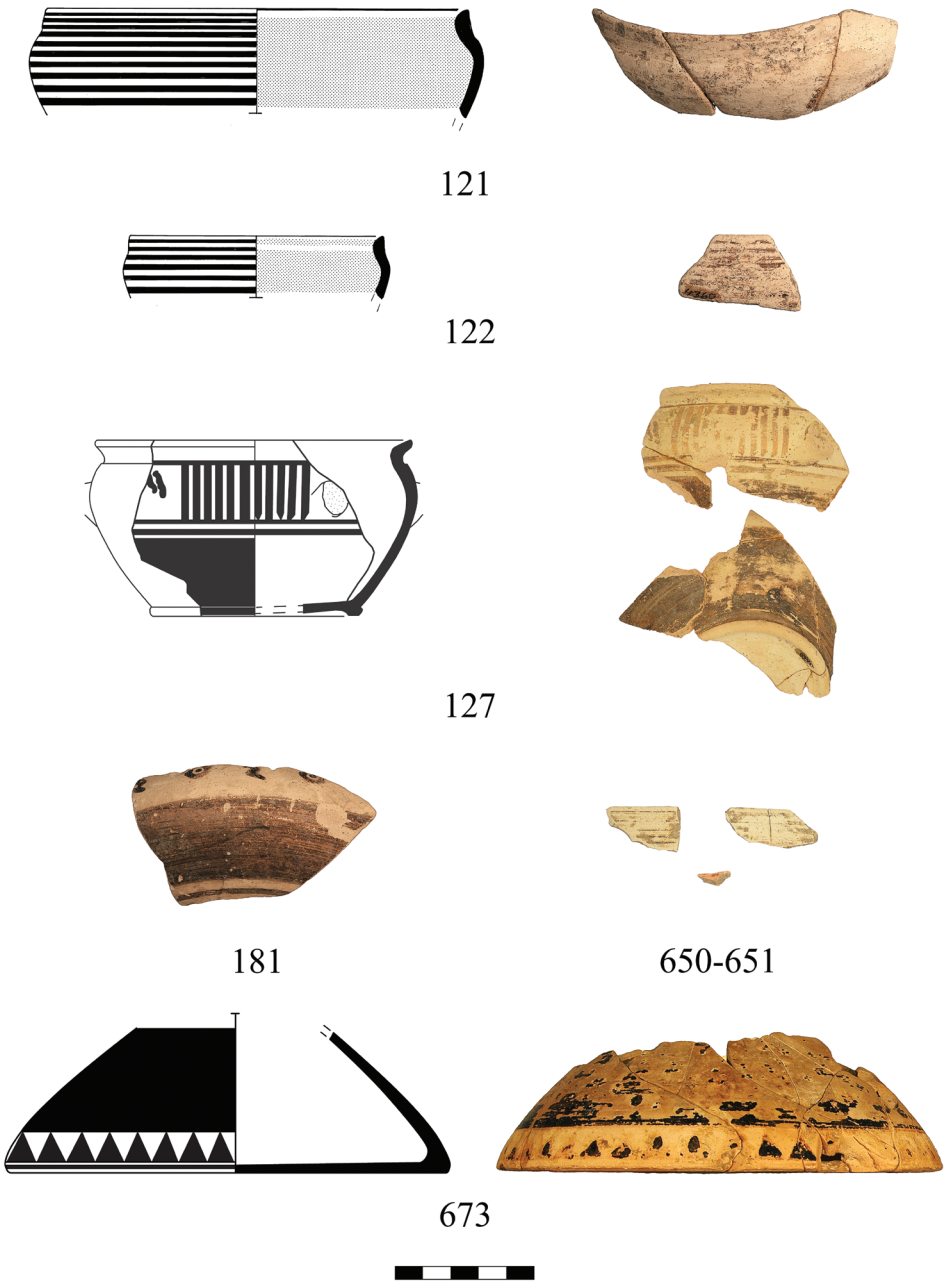


Fig. 9. Pale brown ware called 'Thapsos-Class ware' with a distinct very pale brown or light yellowish-brown appearance, small open and closed shapes (nos. 121, 122, 127, 181, 650 and 651, 673). Numbers refer to Houby-Nielsen 2020.

Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth, and such feasting in caves along with ring dances, with strong female agents, have been reported lately from several parts of the Ionian islands. In Magna Graecia and Etruria, female and male household members are known to have taken part in wine-consuming festivities on equal terms.[38]

The stamnoi were locally or regionally produced interpretations of the stamnos shape. One of these carries a spiral motif, which should perhaps be understood as part of antithetically arranged, inverted palmettes (Fig. 10, nos. 442+495). This motif recalls the elaborate lotus flower that springs from leaves on the shoulder of Archaic kraters from Elis and Olympia; stamnoi with inverted palmettes were particularly popular in the Achaian colonies in South Italy (Sybaris, Croton, Caulonia) where stamnoi were popular wine kraters. The bell krater (max. diameter 36 cm) is of a local exceptional.[39]

Washbasins, on stands and not, constitute a distinct class of prestige vessel, some of which were imported but others locally made.[40] The most complete example came from early 7th-century BCE strata in the House at the Harbour. It is a large, shallow basin on a high stand made of Corinthianizing coarseware (max. rim diameter: 50 cm, Fig. 10, no. 56a–b). It had probably been imported from the Corinthia, since it has close parallels from Corinth (the Anaploga well, southwest Forum) and Perachora.

Other close parallels come from South Italy (Timpone della Motta, Metaponto) and eastern Sicily (Syracuse). Rims from four other basins of similar ware, dimensions, and profile were found in different domestic contexts in other parts of Agia Triada, indicating that each of these other houses had possessed a washbasin on a stand.[41] One stand, possibly imported from the Corinthia, was decorated with a wavy plastic band, with parallels in Perachora Fig. 12, no.

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[38] Compare Ferrer 2016 for women´s participation in communal celebrations in Western Sicily; Pemberton 2000, 100, for drinking wine; for miniature kraters from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, see Pemberton 2020; Karadima 2020, 289–292, noted a pyramidal loom weight. Morgan et al. forthcoming, discuss the preparation and serving of food and drink as key activities in the Boliatso Cave, Leukas, with reference also to the Polis Cave; the ritual context of these activities was confirmed by offerings of figurines, small oil or perfume containers, and miniature vessels (including a krater), which made up the remaining 17% of the identifiable shapes.

[39] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 143, no. 243.

[40] The washbasins are discussed in Houby-Nielsen 2020, 373–376.

[41] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 271, 276–278, nos. 724, 743, 747.

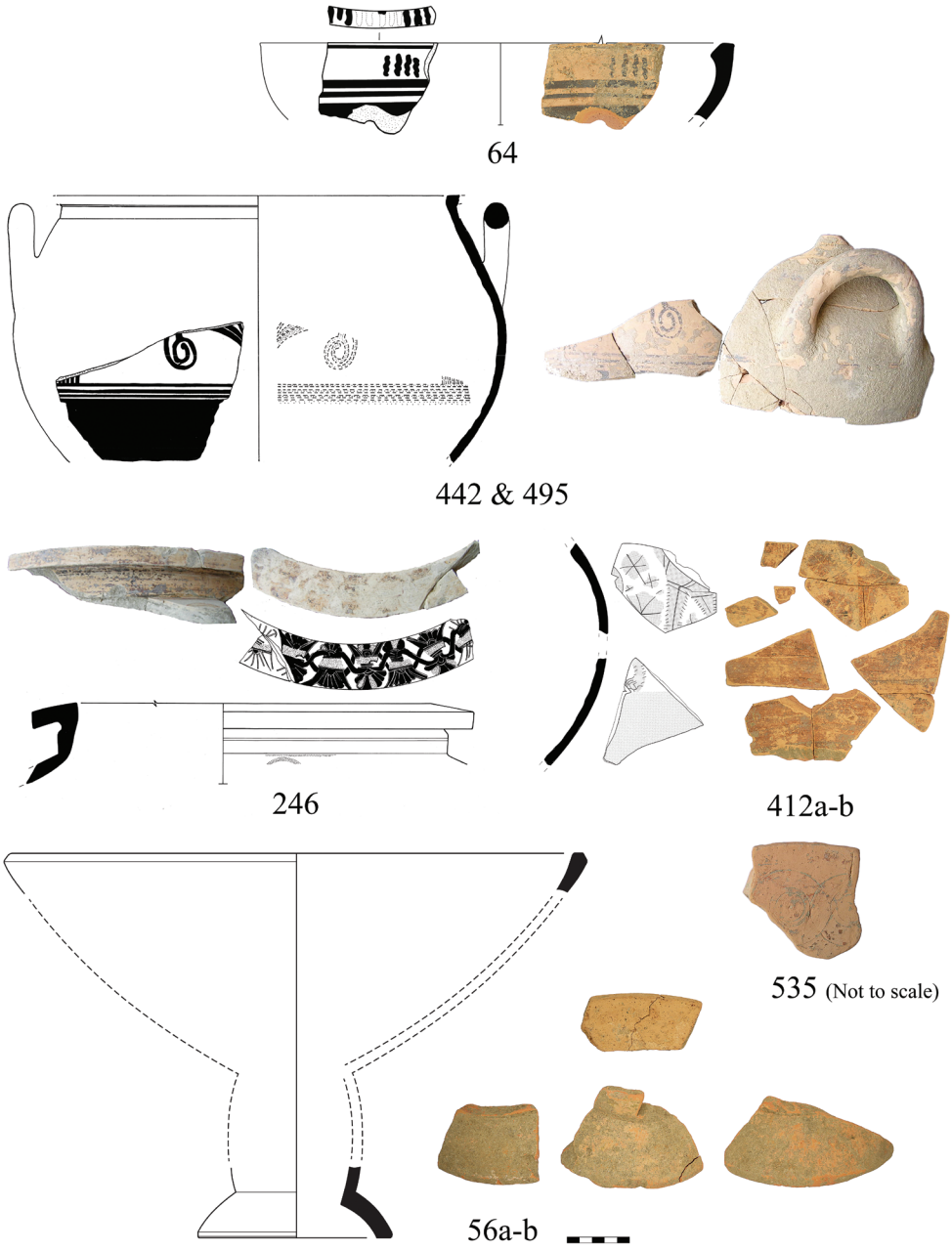


Fig. 10. Large open shapes of pale brown coarseware (no. 56a-b) and pale brown fineware (no. 246). Large open shapes of red fine and medium finewares (nos. 64, 412a-b, 442+495, 535). Numbers refer to Houby-Nielsen 2020.



a b

Fig. 11. Middle Corinthian column krater attributed to the Athana Painter. a: Rim with lotus-palmette chain (diam. 26 cm); handle plates with winged Perseus and Medusa; b: Reclining banquet with men and women interacting on purple-coloured mantles/bedcovers. A plate, armour, tortoise lyres and a handloom hang on the wall, animal frieze (Louvre E629; © Courtesy Musée du Louvre).

780).[42] A very large (max. diameter: 38 cm) and shallow (est. height: 9.8 cm) fineware basin from the southern courtyard of the House at the Harbour was decorated with dark bands and groups of vertical squiggles, recalling a basin in the sanctuary of Herakles and Apollo Ismenios in Thebes (Fig. 10, no. 64).[43] The basin may originally have been spouted and if it was not on a stand, it would have been easy to move and if necessary, could have been set on movable supports. Fragments of two such portable supports were found at different levels in the northern courtyard (Fig. 12, nos. 81, 514). These supports were of similar shape, and both were made of the same Corinthianizing coarseware as the Corinthian washbasins. Their similarity and their find circumstances suggested they had been used during the foundation period and that one of them (Fig. 12, no. 514) had been reused in the same courtyard during the second settlement. Portable coarseware supports known as lasana (λάσανα) were used for cooking vases in Geometric Athens and in Magna Graecia.[44] Those from Agia Triada,

[42] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 286, no. 780.

[43] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 82, 371, no. 64.

[44] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 91–92, 202, 388–389, nos. 81, 514, figs. 28–29b, pls. 6, 33. Lasana can be traced back to Late Geometric Athens and became increasingly popular in Magna Graecia with the spread of Greek cuisine; for identification of lasana, see Morris 1985; for their history

although very similar to the lasana, did not have traces of secondary burning and therefore had not supported cooking pots. Perhaps they were used as supports for shallow basins such as the one found in the southern courtyard (no. 64). In Fig. 10, basin no. 64 is reconstructed as resting on movable supports of a kind found in the northern courtyard. The use of shallow basins resting on movable legs for the washing of feet in scenes of domestic festivities is documented in 6th-century BCE Corinthian vase painting (Fig. 16b). In the Odyssey, Odys-

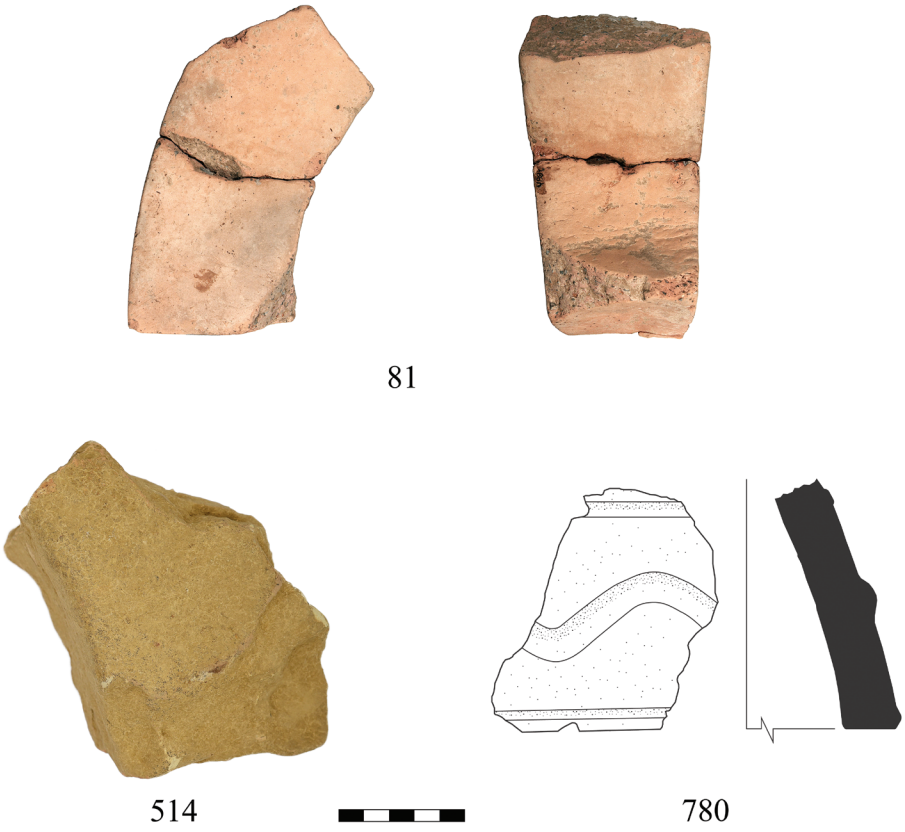


Fig. 12. Supports for wash basin of pale brown coarseware (nos. 81, 514) and a fragment of a high stand from a basin of coarse red ware (no. 780). Numbers refer to Houby-Nielsen 2020.

see also Barretta 2018 (discussing the rich evidence from the Artemis sanctuary at Pantanello in the *chora* of Metaponto).

seus' old nurse uses a portable basin (lebes) for washing the hero's feet as an established token of guest-friendship.[45]

Shallow lekanai (max. diameter: 25.5 cm) with banded, red-fired decoration and horizontal ribbon handles, and a plate for serving food were used in the house at the harbour; a plate with banded decoration was also used in the house on the rear side of the hill.[46] All shapes were made in red-ware fabric. By the time of the second settlement, plates were used in most rooms and courtyards in Chalkis and were of similar size (max. diameter: 20–24 cm).[47] Only one plate stood out as exceptionally large (max. diameter: above 30 cm, Fig. 3; Pl. 14.3, no. 354). Banded decoration in different colours on the exterior of these plates, plus piercings, shows that they were intended to hang on the walls when not in use, as was the Middle Corinthian plate in Fig. 16a depicting female festivities and wine drinking.[48] Middle Corinthian vase depictions of reclining feasts often show plates hanging on the walls above the reclining banqueters (Fig. 11, krater in the Louvre).[49]

Table pouring vessels largely consisted of table amphorae, round-mouthed jugs, and in the 6th century even a few trefoil-mouthed jugs.[50] Pouring vases for controlled pouring were extremely few and aryballoi were, with one possible exception, lacking. Only two conical oinochoai and three small round-mouthed jugs were found. These came from House N-1 and were too small to have served as table jugs. Since they were found almost intact standing close to clusters of small loom weights, they may have been used for anointing warps during weaving.[51]

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[45] The foot washing scene in the Odyssey: Hom. *Od.*19, 393–398. Houby-Nielsen 2020, 82 no. 64, 123 figs. 54a–d, 388–389 discussed Middle Corinthian imagery of family feasts and suggests that basin no. 64 was used for foot washing, drawing on parallels to a Middle Corinthian pyxis in Paris depicting a family feast, in which a woman is engaged in washing the feet of a seated male banqueter using a basin like no. 64 that rests on three probably separate supports similar to supports nos. 81 and 514.

[46] Houby-Nielsen 2020, lekane no. 115, plate no. 74, plate no. 680.

[47] For a discussion of plates, see Houby-Nielsen 2020, 367–368, table 24.

[48] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 368 n. 324; Middle Corinthian plates from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth have preserved sets of suspension holes: Pemberton 1989, nos. 238–239a, 242, pl. 25.

[49] For the Middle Corinthian plate attributed to the Athana Painter (the Louvre E629), see Houby-Nielsen 2020, 369, fig. 188.

[50] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 368–370.

[51] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 430–431, nos. 656, 673 (oinochoai), nos. 631–632, 660 (round-mouthed jugs).

Small fineware containers were rare and typically consisted of concave pyxides and in one case the unique Thapsos-Class pyxis no. 127 (Fig. 9). These too seemed, from their proximity to clusters of loom weights, to have served as containers for weaving kits.[52]

Mortars appeared in the second settlement but only in the House at the Harbour. One was in coarseware fabric while two were made of medium fineware, which may be a local preference. They appeared at the same time that mortars became more frequent in Corinth and they may be linked to new cuisine and spicy sauces for fish.[53]

Cooking pots belonged to a widespread type in the Greek world with unflanged rim, globular wheelmade upper body, and handmade, rounded lower body. Examples are known from, among many other places, Corinth.[54] The rim diameters of those from Chalkis ranged from 11–23 cm and most had a diameter of 15–23 cm. Only one was exceptionally small (max. diameter: 8 cm). These pot-sizes exceeded the average cooking pot-size (max. diameter: 8–10 cm) from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth dating to the Classical and Hellenistic period, and they were larger than the many unflanged cooking pots from the Boliatso Cave on Leukas (11–17 cm).[55] The small Corinthian pots have been interpreted as for individual servings, while the regular- and large-sized pots from the Boliatso Cave possibly suited the long transport from the villages up to the cave perhaps with pre-cooked stews. The rather large pots from Chalkis seem to have been used for multiple servings during communal meals.[56] In addition to these pots, a range of different small cookingware vessels appeared in the House at the Harbour with unflanged rims: small jar, mug, jugs, and storage jars.

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[52] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 433–435.

[53] Villing and Pemberton 2010, 602–623, 624–625; Houby-Nielsen 2020, 376–377, nos. 244, 423, 524.

[54] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 378–380; Pemberton 1989, 68–75, nos. 648–656; Bookidis et al. 1999, 15, noted that a variety of small and large cooking pots were used in the dining rooms of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and that the cooking pot with horizontal rim may be a Corinthian invention suitable for both boiling and pouring; a few cooking pots from Chalkis had a strongly everted rim, which may indicate the same double function; see Houby-Nielsen 2020, nos. 562, 282, 708.

[55] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 378–380.

[56] Morgan et al. forthcoming discuss evidence for feasting from the Boliatso Cave, notably predominantly smaller unflanged cooking pots for stews, plus diverse ring-dance figurines that suggest female participation.

Summary

Both the founders of the House at the Harbour and of House N-1 invested in feasting pottery which blended old and new pottery shapes. They stayed loyal to the old and traditional drinking vessel, the Western Greek style of kantharos. Even the Thapsos-Class skyphoi may be seen as traditional vessels in the region, while the decorated plate for serving and for display on the wall and the unflanged cooking pot belonged to a new set of pottery widely used in the Greek world. Characteristic for Chalkis was the use of large cooking vessels, designed to hold multiple servings of boiled food (stews), and sometime the use of unusually large plates. In addition to these shapes, assemblages from the House at the Harbour, both in the 7th and again in the 6th century BCE, document the introduction of a series of new shapes, well-known from Corinthian pottery workshops. This repertoire of pottery had very specialized functions during a communal meal which included wine consumption and ritualized cleansing. In the 6th century BCE, the same household also introduced mortars for new spicy sauces.[57] Most of this pottery was locally produced, but conscious choices of vessel shapes, such as column kraters and washbasins, were imported from Corinth, and (more rarely) stemmed cups, perhaps plates, and kraters from Elis, to serve as inspiration for local potters and perhaps to impress guests. Small containers and small jugs for controlled pouring of liquid, such as conical oinochoai, were rare and seem to have been imported from Corinth for a specialized use during weaving. The feasting assemblage from the House at the Harbour was by far more elaborate compared to that from House N-1 (Table 1, Fig. 2a). Conversely, the occupants of House N-1 made use of one-handled cup-pyxides, small jugs, and containers for specialized needs, which were not employed in the House at the Harbour (Table 1).

Pottery and textile tools	**House at the harbour**	**Houses N-1 and N-2**
Drinking/eating		
Cup/kantharos	X	X
Kantharos	X	X
W-G kantharos	X	X
Kantharos high-swung handle	X	
Kotyle	X	X

[57] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 376–377.

Pottery and textile tools	House at the harbour	Houses N-1 and N-2
Ray kotyle	X	X
Skyphos	X	
Thapsos-class skyphos	X	X
One-handled cup		X (2)
Bowl > 20 cm	X	X
Bowl < 20 cm	X	
Lekane	X	
Plate	X	X
6th century BCE		
Kylix (3)	X	
Pouring, table		
Jug/table jug	X	X
Round-mouthed jug	X	X (N-2)
Table amphora	X	X (N-2)
6th century BCE		
Trefoil necked jug	X	
Wine/water mixing		
Dinos-like krater	X	
Krater	X	X
6th century BCE		
Column-krater	X	
Stamnos	X	
Bell-krater	X	
Wash-basin		
Basin on high stand	X	
Shallow basin, movable legs	X	
Cooking/food preparation		
Cook-pots, individual	X	X
Cook-pot, multiple	X	
Collar-necked jar	X	
6th century BCE		
Cook-ware mug	X	
Mortar	X	
Small FW containers		

Pottery and textile tools	House at the harbour	Houses N-1 and N-2
Small FW container	X	
Concave pyxis	X	X
Globular pyxis	X	X
Skyphos-pyxis, Thapsos-class	X	
6th century BCE		
Tripod-pyxis	X	
Powder-pyxis	X	
Tall pyxis	X	
Kothon	X	
Small pouring vases		
Aryballos?		X
Conical oinochoe		X
Small round-mouthed jug		X

Table 1. Pottery and textile tools from the House at the Harbour and Houses N-1. and N-2.

The differences between the lavish set of feasting pottery from the House at the Harbour and the much more basic pottery from House N-1 is striking and likely due to different social and economic statuses. Another and related explanation may be that the pottery consumption of the two households reflected different regional identities of the household members before arriving at Agia Triada. The household at the harbour may have had stronger ties to the coastal region of the Corridor, while the household of House N-1 had stronger ties to western Greece.

Textile Production

Ceramic weaving tools were found in all houses of the Archaic period and mostly in the same space, the courtyard, as evidence for festivities with wine-consumption. The tools were surprisingly homogenous looking as they were of the same low weight class and small size They were often made with care and precision, and they were made of the same red and pale brown fabrics as the pottery (Fig. 13). In contrast to evidence for weaving, evidence for spinning was very limited in all houses. The main characteristics are summarized in Table 2.

Textile production in the 7th–6th century BCE **Main characteristics**	**All houses**
Homogenous-looking loom weights	X
Light and small loom weights	X
Small clusters of loom weights along walls	X
Limited or no evidence for spinning	X

Table 2. Textile production in the 7th- and 6th-century BCE, all houses.

Pyramidal and Truncated Loom Weights

The small pyramidal loom weight (50–95 g) was the norm in all Archaic phases (95%). The House at the Harbour also experimented with very small pyramidal loom weights (27–45 g), which were later picked up by other households on the hill (Fig. 13). The earliest loom weights were of a squat-pyramidal shape while those from the 6th century tended to be slender-pyramidal.[58] The loom weights were clearly locally made as they came in the same wares as the pottery, and they may have been mould-made to ensure homogeneity of size, proportions, and weight. In choosing the small pyramidal loom weight as their prime weaving tool, the households in Chalkis followed newly established weaving traditions in western Greece. Small and light pyramidal-shaped loom weights entered the Greek world around 700 BCE simultaneously with the appearance of the courtyard house, replacing the heavy, truncated and often crudely made loom weights of the Bronze and Iron Ages. The use of small pyramidal loom weights soon spread to all parts of western Greece, including the Bay of Patras, Elis, the Ionian Islands, South Italy, and Sicily, while a conical shape of loom weight was preferred in Corinth.[59]

Loom Weight Variants

The House at the Harbour experimented with loom weight variants that were truncated and had an indentation on top, possibly for the insertion of a stick. The earliest ones, from the 7th century BCE were delicately made, near-conical weights of red ware (Fig. 13). The stick allowed multiple functions besides a use as a warp weight.[60] Those other functions could be storage of surplus yarn

[58] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 396.
[59] Lawall 2014; Foxhall 2018.
[60] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 107–109, 416–418, fig. 44.

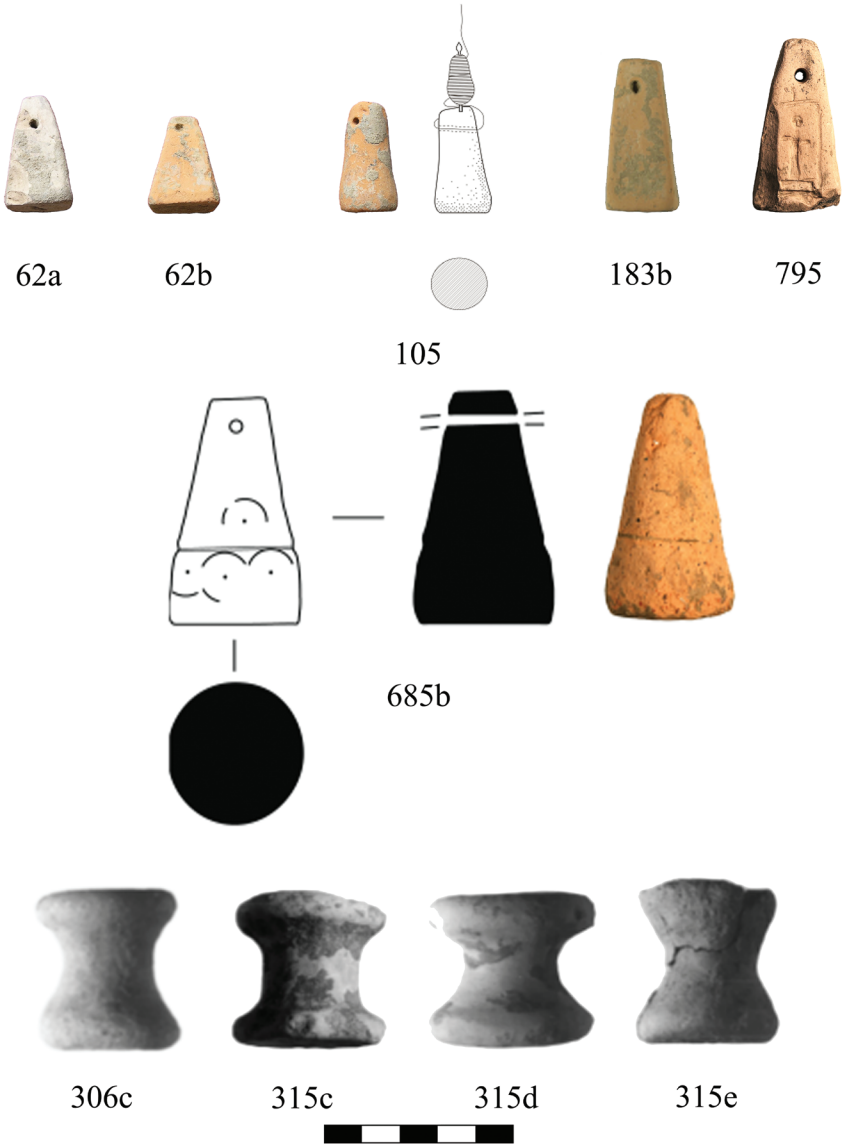


Fig. 13. Small loom weights and spools of orange-red kitchen ware and pale brown fineware (nos. 62a-b, 105, 183b, 306c, 315b-e, 685d, 795). The shape of spools number 306c, 315b-e had a close parallel in Pylos in Elis. Numbers refer to Houby-Nielsen 2020.

during band weaving on narrow looms hanging from roofs or walls, known from Archaic Greek and Central Italian funerary art. The weights could also be shelved standing on their broad resting surfaces with the inserted sticks loaded

with yarn for long term storage, as seems to be depicted in Archaic vase painting from Corinth and other regions of Greece. In the 6th century BCE, the House at the Harbour took their invention further and introduced pyramidal loom weights with an indentation on top for a stick.

Spools

In the 6th century BCE, the House at the Harbour introduced the use of non-perforated spools, as evidenced by the discovery of twelve spools scattered in the southern courtyard and in the room facing this courtyard (Fig. 13). Three more such spools were found on the rear side of the hill. One spool came from the courtyard of House N-2, a second from House L-6 and a third spool of miniature size was in the courtyard of the House with an Altar, found close to a house altar. In contrast to the loom weights which were found along the walls, the spools were concentrated in the centre of the courtyards, and they were heavier (78–111 g) than the loom weights. Following this scatter pattern, the spools were likely to have been used for space demanding activities such as warping on a freestanding frame and plying of threads of different colours/qualities which indicates patterning.[61] The spools consisted of three types of shapes, all three of which were used in the House at the Harbour, while only one or two types were attested on the rear side of the hill and those types also find close parallels in Elian Pylos.[62] Judging from Corinthian vase painting, spools of this kind were indeed used for warping in Corinth. A 6th-century BCE krater from a house in the Forum area at Corinth carried a warping-scene on one side and an erotic scene on the other side (Fig. 13). The warping-scene shows two women engaged in warping. As they stand on either side of the warping frame, the frame must be freestanding rather than leaning against a wall as would a warp-weighted loom, implying that the frame stands in the centre of a courtyard. The warp-threads are weighted down by twelve–thirteen circular objects (three–four of which are hidden behind one of the women), which cannot be loom weights as the warp threads continue down below them. Instead, the round objects should be understood as the end-discs of spools; the warp threads have been wound round the

[61] Houby-Nielsen (2017a–b) argues for a connection between the appearance of spools and a new golden-coloured thread made from the byssus of pinna mussels and possibly depicted in Middle Corinthian iconography.

[62] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 418–421; Chalkis Shape 1 and 3 parallels Elian Pylos Type 1A, 1B and 2A: Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 101, fig. 19.

narrow body of the spool, and then hang loose.[63] Since the warping scene makes use of the same number of spools as were found in the House at the Harbour, the spool-scatter from this house may be considered 'intact'.

Conical Loom Weights

In Chalkis the use of conical loom weights began in the 6th century BCE but was sporadic. Only six conical loom weights were found in Archaic houses, which corresponded to 5% of all loom weights (127). Conical loom weights were only used in houses on the rear side of the hill, while the House at the Harbour never adopted this type of loom weight. If the pyramidal loom weight was a hallmark of western Greece, the conical shape became a hallmark of Corinth.[64] The appearance on a limited scale of conical loom weights in Chalkis occurred at the same time that they appeared in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth, but those from Chalkis appear to have been smaller and lighter (50–95 g) than their Corinthian counterparts. One squat-conical loom weight has a close parallel from Corinth and may have been an import.[65]

Spindle Whorls

Only eight–ten ceramic spindle whorls were found, and all came from 6th-century BCE strata. They are non-homogenous and seem to have been personal objects. The scarcity of evidence for spinning implies that ready-made threads must have been imported.[66]

Textiles

No textiles were preserved, but the low weight, small size, and homogeneity of ceramic weaving tools and the indirect evidence for use of ready-made yarn, suggest a specialized production of delicate textiles. Using internationally accepted calculations of thread-tensions, the small loom weights had served to make textiles with ca. six warp threads and 14.8 weft threads per centimetre. The small clusters of loom weights also indicated band-weaving, most likely intended as status symbols for mantles. The degree to which borders were markers of status is well-known from finds of elaborate tools for border making (often tablet

63 Houby-Nielsen 2020, 419–420, 450, figs. 196a–b.
64 Lawall 2014; Dimova and Gleba 2018 (for further references).
65 Houby-Nielsen 2020, 261, 397–398, no. 723f.
66 Houby-Nielsen 2020, 428.

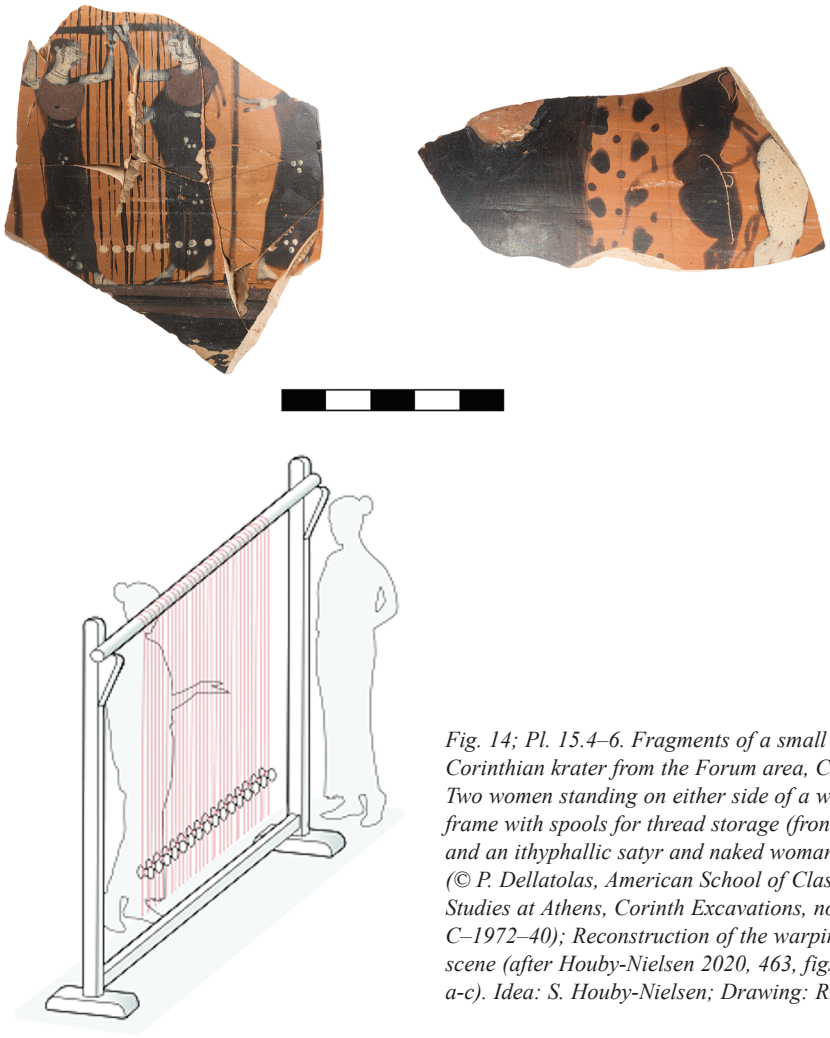


Fig. 14; Pl. 15.4–6. Fragments of a small Late Corinthian krater from the Forum area, Corinth: Two women standing on either side of a warping frame with spools for thread storage (front) and an ithyphallic satyr and naked woman (rear) (© P. Dellatolas, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations, no. C–1972–40); Reconstruction of the warping scene (after Houby-Nielsen 2020, 463, figs. 196 a-c). Idea: S. Houby-Nielsen; Drawing: R. Toth.

weaving), from actual finds of border-decorated mantles in burials in Central and South Italy and from depictions in art dating to the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. In the same way that potters blended traditional trends in western Greece and new trends along the Corridor, the weavers in Chalkis are likely to have blended traditional weaving techniques from western Greece with new techniques and appearances arising along the Corridor (Table 3, Fig. 14a–b, Pl. 15.5–8).

Examples of such a blend come from Ripacandida in Apulia where weavers contemporary with Archaic Chalkis combined old-fashioned central Italian



Fig. 15; Pl. 15.7–8. Two textile samples, woollen warp and weft yarns, woven on a traditional hand loom. Made by artist Maria Grigoriou for the exhibition "Tales of Tools", Benaki Museum, Athens, 2023 (© Maria Grigoriou and Flavia Nessi Yazitzoglou). Pottery from Archaic Chalkis in Aitolia; Numbers refer to Houby-Nielsen 2020.

a. Textile sample in dark brown colour shades. Blue-brown yarn, dyed with logwood on a brown natural wool colour, and dark blue yarn dyed with logwood on off white natural colour of the wool and yarn in natural wool colours. Compared to pottery fragments of light-on-dark ware (nos. 64, 755) (compare Fig. 5, no. 755, and Fig. 10, no. 64).

b. Textile sample in red colour shades. Weft faced piece, woven on a white wool yarn warp (not visible, as covered by the weft). The red colour is dyed with madder root and the darker reddish crimson is dyed with kermes (coccus ilicis). Compared to two pottery fragments of red fineware with linear decoration in added white paint or in the light colour of the clay surface (nos. 354, 578) (compare Fig. 3, nos. 354, 578).

tablet-weaving techniques with 'Greek' tabby-techniques.[67] The popularity of *light-on-dark* decoration on pottery, often using added white on a red-painted surface, may have had a parallel in textile making. White and red were the

[67] Ripacandida: Gleba et al. 2018, 35; compare also Longhitano 2019 for evidence from Sicily in a long-term perspective.

most frequently noted colours in ancient written sources on textiles, and white denoted purity and was seen as suitable for textile votives for goddesses and for burials.[68] Actual finds of textiles from 7th-century BCE burials at Corcyra further attest to a new taste for purple-dyed wool, which may correspond to the contemporary and increasing use of purple for decorative details on Corinthianizing pottery.[69]

We do not know the patterns, colour shades, or texture of the textiles produced in Chalkis, but a fair assumption is that dyes and technologies largely followed those known from preserved textiles from other parts of Archaic Greece and Italy. We may also assume that weavers and potters in Chalkis



Fig. 16.
a: A Middle Corinthian plate with a scene of domestic festivities in which 'Western Greek' kantharoi, small and large kraters are used, attributed to the Skating Painter, ca. 550 BCE;
b: A Middle Corinthian pyxis with a scene of female festivities. Two male banqueters holding kantharoi, one seated and one reclining. The seated banqueter is having his feet washed by a woman using a shallow washbasin supported by three legs.

[68] Spantidaki 2016, 86–87.
[69] Spantidaki and Moulherat 2012, 195.

followed the same regional tastes, causing pottery and weaves to have similar patterns and colour shades and to pursue the same ideas of texture. In this case, we may imagine red textiles with linear decoration in lighter colours and pale brown textiles with dark, linear decoration. Contemporary artists experimenting with dyes and weaving techniques following pre-industrial traditions in Greece offer a strikingly illustrative example of traditional weaves in the same colour shades as the red and pale brown wares in Chalkis (Fig. 15, Pl. 15.7–8). Possibly floral designs, such as the palmette-border on the rim of Corinthian column krater no. 246 (Fig. 11), had parallels in woven borders. Mantles with Middle Corinthian style lotus-palmette borders are known from figurative Greek-style art in Etruria.[70] The ceramic weaving tools in Chalkis attest to ongoing and steady experiments to increase efficiency and achieve a delicate woven texture. In other words, weavers pursued the same ideals as potters – or vice versa – namely ideals of thinness, delicacy and fragility. At the same time, the different preferences in types of ceramic weaving tools between the House at the Harbour and Houses N-1 and N-2 may reflect different local and regional identities of the weavers of these households (Table 3).

Weaving tools **7th–6th century BCE**	**The House at the Harbour**	**Houses on the rear side of the hill**
Small pyramidal, truncated loom weight (50-95 g)	X	X
Tiny pyramidal, truncated loom weight (27-45 g)	X	
Near-conical loom weights w indentation (60-67 g)	X	
Pyramidal-shaped loom weights w indentation (54-89 g)	X	
Spools, non-perforated (77-111 g), extended use	X	
Spools, non-perforated (77-111 g), limited use		X
Miniature spool at house altar (33 g), one example		X
Conical loom weight (58-100g)		X
Other tools: bone pin beaters, small jugs for controlled pouring (conical oinochoai), saddle quern for textile smoothing (?)		X

Table 3. Weaving tools of the 7th and 6th centuries BCE from the House at the Harbour and the Houses on the rear side of the hill.

[70] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 127–129, 144, 446–449, fig. 202a–c, discusses the Corinthian column krater no. 246 and parallels for its lotus-palmette rim-decoration with the lotus-palmette decoration on the hem of the mantle on the 'Polledara' statuette.

The Courtyard House as a Frame for Expressing Identities

The settlers at Agia Triada chose the courtyard house as their favoured house type. The courtyard house, characterized by a north-south orientation with one or two rooms in the north facing a small courtyard in the south, was a novel type of house in the Greek world (Fig. 2). It was instrumental in the rectilinear layout of new foundations in Magna Graecia and gradually came to replace apsidal buildings or smaller houses in agglomerated communities during the 8th and 7th centuries BCE in most parts of Greece. Besides Agia Triada, courtyard houses started to appear around 700 BCE around the Gulf of Patras at Dyme in Achaia, opposite Agia Triada, and to the east, at the neighbouring harbour of Makyneia, as seen from contributions in this volume (Chapters 2 and 6).[71] One of the winning concepts of the courtyard house was its layout, which offered flexibility for domestic activities. Activities could now take place outdoors in a protected walled-in yard making full use of sun and moon light, at the same time having easy access to roofed rooms. Simultaneously with the appearance of the courtyard house in the Greek world, new kinds of feasting and cooking ceramics appeared and the small pyramidal loom weight for making delicate textiles made its entry. This suggests that the courtyard house was a frame for a new lifestyle, in which feasting and the weaving of prestige textiles were important ingredients. This link was very visible in Chalkis. Remains of feasting pottery were consistently found together with loom weights in all houses of all three Archaic settlement phases. The pottery could sometimes be seen to be concentrated to the centre of the courtyards while small clusters of small loom weights lay along the walls or near door-openings facing the courtyards.[72] These find circumstances indicate that feasting/wine drinking took place in the centre, perhaps using rolled-out mattresses, while weaving took place close to the walls (alternatively, unfinished weaves, still on their looms, may have been displayed along the walls). As seen above, both the feasting pottery and the weaves were important identity markers.

[71] Lang 2007; Westgate 2015 (with references to earlier discussions); for Dyme, see Tsaknaki, Chapter 2, this volume.

[72] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 452–457; Houby-Nielsen, in preparation; Houby-Nielsen forthcoming.

Pottery for communal eating/wine consumption	Traditional features	New features
7th century BCE		
	Medium-thick finewares	Thin and delicate wares
	Red wares	Pale brown wares
	Western Greek-class kantharoi	Corinthianizing shapes
	Linear *light-on-dark* decoration	Linear *dark-on-light* decoration
6th century BCE		
	Western Greek-class kantharoi	Corinthianizing shapes
	Red wares	Pale brown wares
	Linear *light-on-dark* decoration	Linear *dark-on-light* decoration
		Added details in purple and yellow paint
	Floral decoration	Figure-decoration

Table 4a. Pottery for communal eating/wine consumption, 7th and 6th century BCE. Traditional and new features.

Weaves Hypothetical features and development	Traditional features	New features
7th century BCE		
	Coarse-medium fine weaves	Thin and delicate weaves
	Weft-faced tabbies	
	Band-weaving (tablet-, other techniques)	
	Linear *light-on-dark* decoration	Linear *dark-on-light* decoration
6th century BCE		
		Increase of purple-dyed textiles
		Use of golden coloured yarn (sea-silk?)
	Linear *light-on-dark* decoration	Linear *dark-on-light* decoration

Weaves **Hypothetical features and development**	**Traditional features**	**New features**
	Monochrome/linear decorated borders, old-fashioned floral decoration	Lotus-palmette borders
		Figure-decoration

Table 4b. Weaves. Hypothetical features and development, 7th and 6th century BCE. Traditional and new features.

Conclusions

A closer look at the pottery and the loom weights shows that both feasting pottery and woven fabrics produced using small, homogenous-looking loom weights seem to have followed a mutual ideal. This ideal included a mixture of traditional values and new ideas (Tables 4a–b). Potters continued to produce certain traditional shapes and wares that had a long history in western Greece, such as the kantharos with triangular handles and pottery with *light-on-dark* linear designs. At the same time potters also started to produce a series of new shapes, such as wine kraters with *dark-on-light* patterns, washbasins, and cooking pots, which were associated with a new kind of ideal feasting along the Corridor (and in other areas in the Greek world), and they pursued ideals of delicate, thin-walled drinking/eating vessels. Weavers continued the traditional practise of making weft-faced tabbies on the warp-weighted loom leaning against the wall, and the long tradition in western Greece and central Italy of band weaving, in both cases using small pyramidal (more rarely near-conical) loom weights to produce thin textiles. At the same time, they introduced new tools, such as the spools, used along the Corridor, in Elis and in other parts of western Greece, possibly to facilitate the use of different coloured yarn for decorative details in different colours, possibly pursuing *light-on-dark* and *dark-on-light* decorative schemes.

The common ideal for both potters and weavers seems to have been guided by notions of fragility achieved through ‘lightness’, ‘thinness’, and regional tastes for a certain kind of decorative scheme. The feast was an occasion to display both lavish pottery and lavish textiles. Pottery used for feasting and the weaves displayed along the walls not only exhibited social and economic status but were also markers of local and regional identities. The origin of the house-

hold members would be clearly visible and understandable for guests through the choice of feasting pottery and the patterns, colour shades, and techniques of the textiles. In a newly founded community, households may have had widely different origins and to have been foreigners to one another and to visitors. Feasting and the display of textiles became important means to express identities, origins, and status, and the courtyard house was the perfect architectural frame for these displays.

Neither WAPP nor 'Elian style dyeing and weaving' techniques could be singled out in Chalkis and only a few possible imports from the region of Elis were noted. Rather, pottery and weaving techniques incorporated traditional features in western Greece that were also present in Elis. These traditional features appeared important for the people in Chalkis, forming part of their identities, and weavers seemed particularly bound to weaving techniques in western Greece (including Elis) rather than to techniques in the eastern part of the Corridor.

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Ancient Makyneia in Aitolia during the Later Part of the Iron Age and the Archaic Period

Foteini Saranti

Abstract

This paper presents excavation data from the settlement of ancient Makyneia, located just northwest of Antirrio in western Greece.* The site was uncovered during an extensive rescue excavation conducted as part of the Ionian Highway construction project between 2009 and 2013. The settlement is particularly significant as it features building remains dating from the Late Geometric to Early Archaic periods, with continuous occupation until the end of the Hellenistic era, although there were intermittent periods of abandonment. The architectural evidence from the Archaic phase, along with the pottery and other movable finds, provides valuable comparative material for understanding settlements in the southern Aitolia region and broader western Greece. Notably, the absence of WAPP in this area suggests that its eastern distribution boundary may have been located near Naupaktos.

Introduction

Makyneia was until recently a relatively unknown ancient settlement located in southern Aitolia, in western mainland Greece (Chapter 1, Fig. 1; Pl. 1).[1] It was assumed to belong mainly to the Late Classical and Hellenistic period, with nothing known about its origins.[2] That was due to the lack of archaeological data and the limited references to this small town in ancient literature. The only

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1 For different versions of the city's name, see Freitag et al. 2004, 384; Saranti 2018, 164.

2 Bazin 1864, 364; Freitag et al. 2004, 384.

source that considers an early history for the settlement is Hellanikos, whose testimony is preserved by Strabo (10.2.6).

After excavation of a large part of the settlement between 2009 and 2013, which brought to light abundant new evidence, this chapter is an attempt to re-introduce Makyneia and to place it within its broader geographical and chronological context, in relation to the nearest ancient centres of the same region. I will briefly present excavation data and pottery from the earliest phases of the settlement, namely the Late Geometric–Early Archaic and the Late Archaic–Early Classical periods.



Fig. 1. Archival aerial photograph of the small acropolis identified with ancient Makyneia before the excavation of the theatre. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

Makyneia originally belonged to the region of western Lokris and was located near its western boundary, which is known to be Mount Taphiassos. Towards the middle of the 4th century BCE, it was incorporated into Aitolia and

remained Aitolian until the Roman conquest.[3] The city is placed by most scholars in the small acropolis of 'Paleokastro' or 'Mamakou' (Fig. 1), located about 4 km northwest of Antirrio, an identification that is not fully accepted, given the few references in ancient literary sources and the lack of epigraphic evidence.[4]



Fig. 2. Map of the area on Google Earth.

The site is located about 10 km east of Aitolian Chalkis, from which it is separated by the massifs of the Taphiassos and Mavrovouni mountains, which reach down to the sea (Fig. 2). It occupies the flat top of a low hill (at an altitude of 187 m), which lies about 1 km from the coast and is surrounded by lowland soil and arable land. The hilltop offers an excellent view of almost the entire plain and the sea, as well as the opposite coast of the Gulfs of Patras and Corinth. In the 1990s, the small and peculiar theatre of the city (Fig. 3), which had a *koilon* of non-canonical design, was uncovered in the eastern foothills of the acropolis, outside the city walls; it was further explored between 2011–2014.[5]

[3] Saranti 2018, 165 n. 25.

[4] Pouqueville 1820, 210–212; Leake 1835, 111; Woodhouse 1897, 330–331; Oldfather 1928; Lerat 1952, 189–191; Philippson 1958, 2, 610; Kolonas 1992–1993; Saranti 2018; Saranti et al. 2023.

[5] Kolonas 1992–1993; Bommeljé et al. 1987, 95; Stiros et al. 2005; Frederiksen 2000, 141, 167, 173; 2015, 82, 86–87; Saranti 2018, 166–167.



Fig. 3. The theatre of Makyneia. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

The site is located very close to the cape of Antirrio, which is only about 2 km away from the opposite coast of Achaia, so that the point is the shortest sea passage from the western mainland Greece to the Peloponnese (Fig. 4). According to literary tradition, this particular passage was used by the Dorians at the end of the Mycenaean period to cross over to the opposite coast. The hill of Paleokastro, although lying about 4 km northwest of Antirrio, in fact offers an unobstructed view of this important sea passage.

The part of the settlement of Makyneia that was excavated on the occasion of the construction of the 'Ionian Road' motorway was one of the most extensive salvage excavations carried out in Aitoloakarnania in recent years.[6] It brought to light some 32 domestic buildings of various periods and huge quantities of pottery, as well as thousands of other portable finds, representing the entire chronological range of the settlement's occupation. The data presented in this paper are mostly based on preliminary processing and examination of the material, since systematic study is still in progress owing to the large amount of material.

[6] Saranti 2016; 2017; Saranti and Georma 2018a; 2018b.



Fig. 4. The sea passage of Rion – Antirrion, viewed from the theatre of Makyneia.
(© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

Regarding the choice of the particular location, it should be noted that, apart from the nearby flat-topped hill that was apparently initially chosen as a natural outpost and afterwards fortified artificially, the site is located between two streams, which would ensure a continuous water supply and therefore the sustainability of the settlement.[7] Direct communication between the acropolis and the lower town was provided by a narrow path running along the left bank of the western stream, now called 'Nyforema'. The site was therefore chosen because of the abundance of water and the advantages of effective surveillance of both inland and sea passages. Moreover, it stood very close to the coast, where there was probably an ancient harbour.[8] The settlement was located upon or very close to the main land road that led from Antirrio to the north, passing around Mount Taphiassos. Makyneia must have been an important stopping point along this axis, as indicated by the exchange of products with other re-

[7] A nearby water mill was in use until recent years.

[8] Most evidence suggests as the most likely location a site called Keramidaki or Keramidakia, immediately south of the settlement.

gions attested by many finds and the intense craft activity mainly in the last phase of its life.[9]

The size of the settlement and the variety of finds testify to the key importance of this place, which played a significant role in the history of the wider region for centuries and had a parallel development with other cities of southern Aitolia. The excavation data indicate certain hiatuses in the sequence of occupation, although it is not yet certain that these gaps reflect accurately the actual history of the settlement. They could be due to the incomplete picture we have of it, since the data derive from a rescue excavation in which it was not possible to exhaustively investigate all strata or to extend exploration beyond the set boundaries of the construction project.

History of the Site

The excavated area was part of an open, unfortified settlement inhabited for at least six to seven centuries in total. In the central part of the excavation, multiple and successive phases of building remains were uncovered, which provided some of the most important evidence regarding its life phases, as well as the management and overall layout of the place (Fig. 5; Pl. 16.1).

The site was first inhabited in prehistoric times, but the main lifespan of the settlement extends from the late 8th to the 1st century BCE, with intermittent interruptions. The earliest finds date from the late 3rd to the first half of the 2nd millennium to the end of the EH period. The only remains of these early phases were pottery and stone tools. The evidence came mainly from fills, and no building remains of this phase were traced. After a long hiatus, which includes the Mycenaean period, the so-called 'Dark Ages' and the Early Iron Age, the second phase of occupation is placed in the late 8th to the early 7th century BCE and is represented by fragmentary building remains, pottery and few other finds.

After this period, there is no indication of occupation during most of the Archaic period and there seems to have been another hiatus in habitation or at least in the archaeological record; it should not be ruled out, however, that evidence may have not been found or should be sought elsewhere. The third phase of occupation is dated to the Late Archaic–Early Classical period (530–450 BCE). During these times the settlement comprised house complexes and developed its basic characteristics of communal urban and architectural organization. In

[9] Saranti 2018.

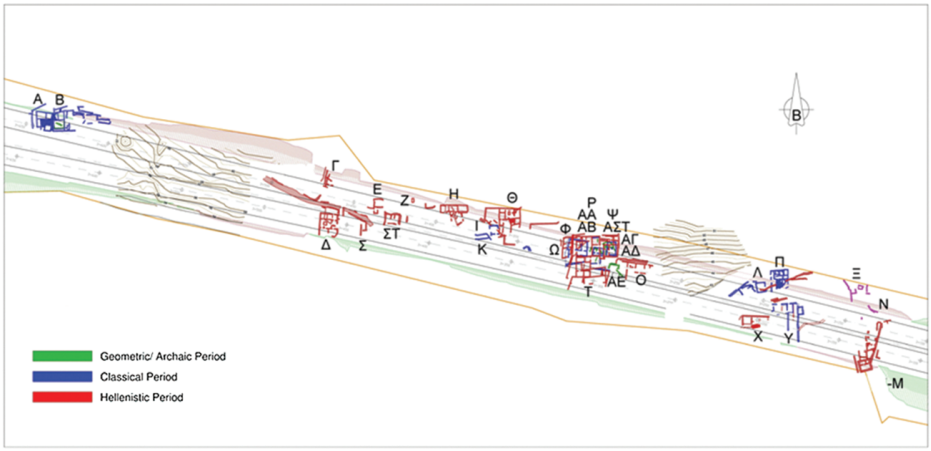


Fig. 5; Pl. 16.1. Site plan of the excavated area with levels marked in different colours (Archaic–Hellenistic period). (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

some cases, it was evident that earlier remains were artificially levelled and backfilled to make space for new constructions. This phase was apparently ended by a violent destruction and followed by the temporary abandonment of the houses and the settlement site.

Finally, the Hellenistic phase of occupation of the settlement, dating from the late 4th until the 1st century BCE, was its main period of prosperity and expansion, represented by numerous and sizeable houses and other domestic buildings, including a tower complex. This phase could be connected with the annexation to Aitolia, which probably took place around the middle of the 4th century BCE. Makyneia was apparently deserted in the 1st century, most likely due to the relocation of the population to Nikopolis, as indeed happened to most urban centres in the region. After that, the settlement site was not inhabited again, although a number of later farmhouses were traced and excavated on its fringes.

The Late Geometric–Early Archaic Settlement

The settlement of this phase is represented by fragmentary remains of rectangular and curvilinear buildings mainly uncovered in the central sector of the excavated part of the settlement, namely Buildings AB, AE and AΣT (Fig. 6; Pl. 16.2). Wall remains, pottery, and other finds were also traced to the east of this

particular building complex and in fills under other buildings, like Building A (Room 1) and Building B (Room 1), with pottery also found in deposits under Buildings Ω, O (Room 4), and Π. In most cases it was clear that the subsequent settlement of the Late Archaic–Early Classical period was built directly upon these earlier remains, which must have been partly visible at the site and were then integrated into new structures.

As far as we can judge from the preserved state of the buildings of this period, these were small, dispersed and independent, and mostly consisted of a single room. They were probably humble huts, small in size. Judging by other excavated Geometric settlements, they usually consisted of small family units often under the authority of a chief.[10] However, since they were overlaid by later buildings, we only have an incomplete picture of the overall layout of the settlement.

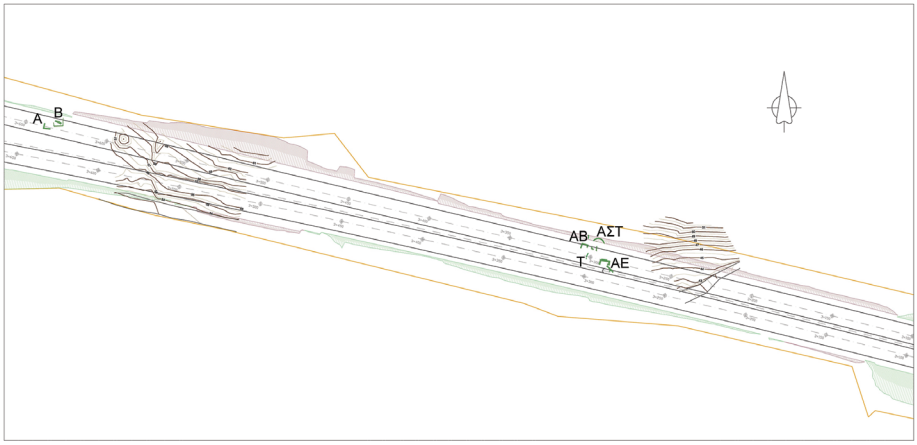


Fig. 6; Pl. 16.2. Site plan of the Late Geometric–Early Archaic phase. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

Most material of this phase represents the end of the Late Geometric and the Early Archaic period. It fits well into the 'typical' western Greek pottery ('Western Greek Geometric'), as defined by Nicolas Coldstream, a common style attributed to close communication between these areas by land or sea.[11] Fineware pottery of this period from Makyneia is made mostly of reddish-or-

[10] For a summary, see, Mazarakis Ainian 2001, 145–146.
[11] Coldstream 1968, 220–232; Gadolou 2008, 287–288.

ange clay (7.5YR 8/4, pink to 7.5YR 5/6, yellowish-red), although there are also several sherds in pale brown (10YR 8/4, very pale yellow to 10YR 7/4, or 8/2, very pale brown) among the material.[12]

Most of the decoration of the painted pottery is poorly preserved and consists of fully glazed parts and fine bands of black or brown-black colour, alternating with reserved ones, while the use of red colour is quite rare. The decoration generally follows the so-called 'Western Greek Geometric' trends, indicating particular affinities with 'Achaian' pottery. Open shapes, like kantharoi, mugs, skyphoi, or kraters, predominate among the shapes, while strap handles of drinking cups are often decorated on their outer faces with diagonal stripes (vertical X painted patterns). From deposits traced under Building Ω (Room 1) came a small-sized monochrome kantharos (IA 5564), almost identical with finds from eastern Achaia (Fig. 7; Pl. 16.3).[13]



Fig. 7; Pl. 16.3. Monochrome kantharos (IA 5564) from the deposits under Building Ω. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/ Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

Most of the pottery is essentially Geometric in shape and decoration, although we should note the presence of Archaic Corinthian or Corinthianizing pottery in very small quantities in contexts under Building B (Room 1). The most characteristic are a few, very small fragments of aryballoi (IA 1999–2000),

[12] For clay sources, see Houby-Nielsen 2020, 52, who notes the common characteristics of the clay deposits of Aitolia, Achaia, and Corinth.

[13] Gadolou 2008, 146, nos. 153–154, fig. 128.

as well as other body sherds from alabastra with incised decoration and a miniature kotyle (IA 1113).[14] Figured or Orientalizing decoration is apparently completely lacking.

Thapsos-Class pottery is also found among the material and includes the panel type, decorated with a window panel between vertical bars, as well as the plain type, with the lower part of the vessel is solidly painted and thin horizontal bands alternating with reserved ones on the upper part.[15] This is of course to be expected, since the site is so close to Achaia, where one of the most prominent production centres was probably located and where this style was quite popular.[16] Thapsos-Class pottery has also been found in nearby coastal sites, i.e., Naupaktos[17] and Chalkis,[18] in both instances probably produced locally, or somewhere close by, imitating the original style.[19] It is rather significant that it comes from domestic contexts, although as a result it is fragmentary and poorly preserved, and the representation of motifs is extremely limited. Among this material we note a sherd from the rim and upper body of a krater (IA 5056) from a test trench under Building O, Room 4, which is decorated with a lozenge chain between groups of thin bands and a band of continuous meander (Fig. 8a; Pl. 16.4).

The handmade and plainware pottery is rather non-diagnostic, and no complete shapes can yet be restored. But we should note a handle fragment of a handmade household amphora or hydria from deposits under Building Π, Room A (IA 2544, Fig. 8b; Pl. 16.5), ornately decorated with a plastic cable design, with two rolls of clay set side by side, incised to resemble cords; it is of a type considered typically Corinthian of the Geometric and Early Archaic period.[20] And last, among the scant non-ceramic small finds, we note a number of small bronze cylindrical beads (IA 2696) that were recovered to the east of the Building Complex A and B.

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[14] Two more miniature kotylai were found under Building A: Room 1 (IA 1112 and 1147). See Bollen 2011b, 473, 486, nos. 273–274, 344–345, figs. 256, 258; Barfoed 2017, fig. 7, for miniature kotylai from Kalydon.

[15] Neeft 1981.

[16] Gadolou 2011; 2017.

[17] Saranti 2022, 147–149.

[18] Houby-Nielsen 2020, 53.

[19] For pottery of this style in Kalydon, see Bollen 2011a, 317; Barfoed 2019, 191.

[20] Weinberg 1943, 41, no. 134, pl. 18 (Protocorinthian); Stillwell and Benson 1984, 345, no. 2134, pl. 75 (8th or 7th century BCE); see also Amyx and Lawrence 1975, 94, 159, no. An 317, pl. 82 (Middle Protocorinthian).



Fig. 8; Pl. 16.4–5. a): Rim and body fragment (IA 5056) found in deposits under Building O, Room 4; b): Handle fragment (IA 2544) found under Building Π. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

The most interesting structure dating to this phase was the curvilinear Building ΑΣΤ, which was partly uncovered under the later Buildings Ψ, ΑΓ, and ΑΔ in the central sector.[21] It was investigated in late 2013, shortly before the unavoidable end of the excavation for the needs of the construction project, and it was excavated in sections between the walls of the overlying buildings. Only the northern apsidal part of a wall with a maximum external diameter of 6.1 m was uncovered. Therefore, it remains uncertain whether the building was originally oval or apsidal, nor could its overall dimensions be established since the rest had been covered or destroyed by the subsequent constructions.

The first evidence of the building was a semi-circular border consisting of burnt reddish clay, about 5–8 cm thick (Fig. 9). This was uncovered at a depth of about 2.55–2.57 m; as was later established, it was created by the burning of *pisé* walls and was preserved to a maximum height of 25 cm. In the area defined by this 'wall' to the south, a distinct floor level was traced, while underneath the clay deposit of the 'wall', the surviving part of the stone foundation of the building was uncovered, following exactly the same course (Fig. 10).

[21] Building ΑΔ dates to the late Archaic–early Classical period, while Ψ and ΑΓ date to the Hellenistic.



Fig. 9. Building ΑΣΤ, eastern part. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).



Fig. 10. Building ΑΣΤ, western part of the foundation wall. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

The floor level was distinguished by a heavily burnt layer consisting of charcoal, small lumps of clay, and small stones. It had a maximum thickness of 20 cm and indicates that the building's destruction was caused by fire. Below the floor level in the western part of the interior of the building at a short distance from the foundation wall, a circular burnt outline, 40 cm in diameter, must have been a post hole.

The foundation wall was 45 cm wide, preserved to a maximum height of 21 cm, and was founded directly on the natural sandstone bedrock. It was built with sandstone and limestone blocks arranged in two rows, with smaller stones wedged in between. No clear evidence of a roof was found, but it must have been thatched or flat and made of organic perishable materials such as reeds or thatch.[22]

The excavation of Building AΣT brought to light a large quantity of decorated pottery, among which a large part of a krater stands out (IA 5704, Fig. 11a; Pl. 16.6). The lower part of its body is black-glazed, while the upper part is decorated with groups of three thin black bands alternating with reserved ones and bands of vertical wavy lines (Ss arranged in groups). Two black painted 'loops' around the handles form what is otherwise known as a 'sausage motif', a pattern quite typical of western Greece, as is the whole decorative style.[23] The krater from Makyneia is almost identical to a krater from Antikyra in Phokis[24] and another from Gela in Sicily which have been compared by John K. Papadopoulos[25] as possible products of the same workshop (which he terms 'Achaian', while acknowledging that it may not necessarily be placed in Achaia, but perhaps on the opposite coast of the Corinthian Gulf, on Ithaka or in the Elis region).[26] The krater from Makyneia should be attributed to the same workshop or itinerant potter.

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[22] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 258.

[23] Coldstream 1968, 227; Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 22 for references to examples from Ithaka and Elis; Papadopoulos 2001, 395 n. 110; for a kantharos from Kalydon dating to the Protogeometric period with this motif and further references, see Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 284, 289, 293–294, nos. 3, 18; Anderson and Benton 1953, 290, nos. 708–709, 728–729, fig. 9, pl. 47.

[24] Themelis 1983, 221–222, fig. 8, pl. 1a. It came from a salvage excavation of a tomb and was considered a local product.

[25] Papadopoulos 2001, 395, fig. 15.

[26] On difficulties with the term 'Achaian', especially when linked to Achaian western colonization, see the introduction to this volume, Chapter 1.

Additional evidence was traced south of the curvilinear wall of Building AΣT underneath Building AΔ at a depth of 3.00–3.32 m, where Building AΣT must originally have extended. A sherd from a vase (IA 5595), very similarly decorated to the krater no IA 5704, was found here, as well as a number of loom weights.



Fig. 11; Pl. 16.6–7: a) Krater (IA 5704) from Building AΣT; b): Figurine fragment (IA5719). (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

Most of the pottery from the burnt layer of Building AΣT consists of open shapes, such as kraters, kantharoi, and skyphoi decorated with black and reserved bands. Other finds from inside the structure above the burnt layer included many fragments of pithoi, two animal bones, a biconical spindle whorl (IA 4469), three loom weights of pyramidal form (IA 4468, 4477, 4483), and a stone grinder.

From the area of the building and its eastern side came a small fragment of the neck and torso of a handmade female terracotta figurine with outstretched arms (IA 5719, Fig. 11b; Pl. 16.7). This was found at a higher level, before the clay wall appeared, at a depth of 2 m. Based on the closest parallels from sanctuary sites, it also dates to the late 8th–early 7th century BCE.[27] Unfortunately, the sample is too small to draw any conclusions concerning its possible religious or ritual meaning or to indicate a possible cult use of Building AΣT. This must remain an open question, since the evidence is inconclusive; the building was not fully excavated, and terracotta figurines from purely domestic contexts are very rare. A sherd of a ray-based kotyle, which is rather rare if not unique, should also be mentioned (IA 5701). It was also found before the appearance of the clay wall, at the level of the overlying Building AΔ, which was dated to the Late Archaic–Early Classical period.

According to literary evidence, towards the end of the 7th century BCE Corinth developed an interest in the area, since it is reported that it founded a colony at Molykreion and conquered Chalkis.[28] However, this information has not been confirmed by excavations to date, although pottery imitating Corinthian has been found in Chalkis.[29] What has so far been attested by the briefly presented data available is that a new settlement was established in Makyneia during this period, simultaneously with those of Naupaktos, Chalkis, Kalydon, and probably Alikyrna.[30] The establishment of these new settlements is inter-

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[27] Stillwell 1952, 32, no. 1, pl. 1 (Corinth); Averett 2007, 186, 259, no. S4, fig. 7 (Heraion on Samos).

[28] Thuc. 3.102.

[29] See Freitag 2005, 58–67, esp. 62–64. For the excavations in search of Molykreion, see Moustaka and Kaltsas 2016; Kaltsas and Moustaka 2018. In Chalkis in particular there is also a break in habitation during the 'Dark Ages', followed by the foundation of a new large settlement at the end of the 8th-beginning of the 7th century BCE directly on the ruins of the older prehistoric one; see Houby-Nielsen 2020.

[30] Naupaktos: Saranti 2022, 124–155; Chalkis: Houby-Nielsen 2020; Kalydon: for finds of this period from Kryoneri, where the harbour of Kalydon was probably located, see Benton 1931–

preted in the light of increasing mobility around the Corinthian Gulf and of the development of contacts with the west from this period onwards.[31] For the rest of the Archaic period the site of Makyneia seems to have been deserted. The reasons for its abandonment are not clear.

The Settlement of the Late Archaic–Early Classical Period (530–480 BCE)

After the beginning of the 7th century BCE, there seems to have been another hiatus in habitation during most of the Archaic period. Makyneia apparently did not keep pace with Chalkis and Kalydon until the next phase of habitation, in the late 6th–early 5th century BCE. In fact, some of the buildings were erected directly on ruins dating to the Late Geometric-Early Archaic phase, which were apparently still visible when the site was resettled and rebuilt.

In this new period of occupation, when Chalkis and Kalydon were fortified for the first time,[32] it remains uncertain whether there was any kind of fortification at Makyneia, since the acropolis wall has not been securely dated, and its construction is generally placed between the 5th and 3rd centuries BCE.[33] It is significant though that, according to the oral testimony of Lazaros Kolonas, Archaic pottery was traced sporadically during his earlier investigation of the acropolis, which is an indication that it had been inhabited since Archaic times, alongside the 'Lower Town'.

During this period, the settlement acquired its basic layout and organization that were retained basically unaltered until the Hellenistic period, when it is attested as a *polis*.[34] It was settled in scattered building complexes of two or three rooms, while the basic elements of the site plan appear to have been set in place, i.e., built terraces supported by retaining walls, stepped paths following the contours of the hillside, and alleys between houses, thus resembling a Greek village of today.

1932, 239; *ArchDelt* 60 (2005) B1, 473–474 [Maria Stavropoulou-Gatsi]. Alikyrna: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972) B2, 439 [Iphigenia Dekoulakou].

[31] Morgan 1988; Houby-Nielsen 2020.

[32] Vikatou and Handberg 2017, 203–204; Vikatou and Handberg 2018, 347–348.

[33] Scranton 1941, 171, 185; Portelanos 1998, 304–311.

[34] The fact that it turned into a *polis* is attested by a proxeny decree of the 4th century BCE from Delphi. Freitag et al. 2004, 384; Saranti 2018, 165.

The Late Archaic–Early Classical phase of the site is very interesting, because it apparently ended with the simultaneous destruction of the buildings, which is evident in most cases. Consequently, numerous vessels and other household items were found *in situ* or fallen from shelves, following the temporary abandonment of the houses and the settlement. This fact offers us a large amount of pottery of this period, which is otherwise poorly represented in the archaeological record of western Greece from domestic contexts. The reasons for this destructive event cannot currently be determined with certainty on the basis of historical or excavation data; it may have been caused by an earthquake, a raid, or a military conflict. Moreover, it cannot be precisely dated, at least at this stage of study, although it can tentatively be set around the middle of the 5th century BCE.

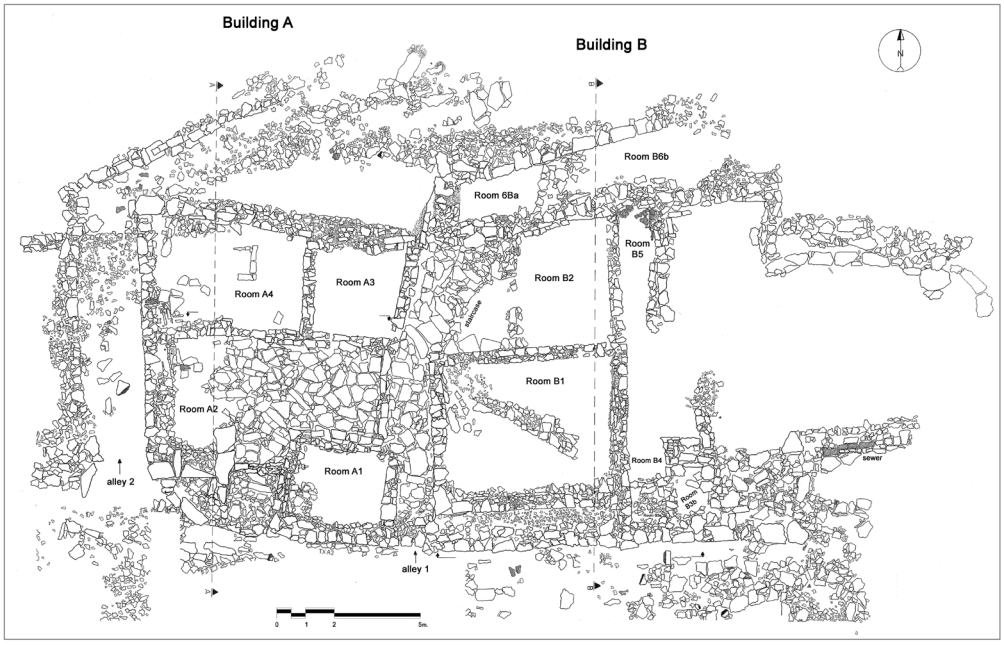


Fig. 12. Plan of Building Complex A and B. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

Starting with Buildings A and B (Fig. 12), at the westernmost end of the excavated sector, this building complex was the best preserved and most characteristic unit dating to this phase. It was located closer to the acropolis and built on successive terraces supported by retaining walls, due to the steep slope of the ground. The complex consisted of two buildings of irregular plan, owing

to the morphology of the terrain and the successive structural alterations they had undergone. The two buildings were separated by a narrow and steep uphill cobbled path ending in a staircase, while another alleyway ran to the west of Building A.

Although the architectural evidence yielded by the excavation of this building complex is of particular interest, we shall not go into the details of the floor plan and construction since they have been presented elsewhere.[35] We will focus primarily on Building B, which consisted of four rooms or spaces and appears to have been destroyed by fire at some point during the Early Classical period, most probably around the middle of the 5th century BCE.[36]



Fig. 13; Pl. 17.1. Destruction level in Room B2 in Building B. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/ Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

The small Room 2 was entered from the alley to the west, suggesting that it was probably a shop. A thick destruction layer of burnt wood and unbaked bricks had sealed an extremely interesting collection of finds (Fig. 13; Pl. 17.1)

[35] Saranti 2016, 622; Saranti and Filis 2018; Saranti et al. 2023.

[36] Saranti and Filis 2018.

located along the northern wall and near the northeastern corner. These included 37 vessels of various forms, lids, and stone tools. Among the pottery were two hydriai, a transport amphora, a table amphora, a black-glazed olpe, a household storage vessel, and four lids. On top of these were many other vessels and objects that had probably fallen from a higher level: a red-figured lekythos, a plain oinochoe, a small, red-glazed amphora, a one-handler, two Corinthian-type skyphoi (kotylai), and a miniature jug or olpe. The latter contained a rare hoard of 17 Aiginetan semi-obols dating to 550–480 BCE, which offers an irrefutable indication of commercial relations with this island in the Saronic Gulf. There were also sherds of many other vessels, including a black-glazed Attic Type C kylix.

It seems that the smaller vessels had been placed on wooden shelves along the northern and eastern walls and fell during the destruction of the building, while the larger vessels had been placed on the ground. The group of finds also contained a spindle whorl and a total of 59 loom weights of various shapes, most of which had incised or stamped marks.[37] Some of these were probably



Fig. 14. Transport amphora (IA 1946) from Room B2 in Building B. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

[37] Saranti and Nikolovieni 2018a. For the relationship between amphorai and loom weights, see Lawall 2014.

intended for sale, while others appear to have been used on a loom located on the southern side of the room.

The transport amphora (IA 1946, Fig. 14)[38] among the finds belongs to the so-called Corinthian/Adriatic B Type, a type that began to be produced around the last quarter of the 6th century BCE and had a wide distribution, particularly in the western Mediterranean.[39] The vessel retains traces of a red dipinto on the lower surface of the base and graffiti on most of the shoulder, neck and rim, a combination of alphabetic and numerical graffiti and commercial symbols. This type of amphora was produced not only in Corinth, but in other places as well. The closest parallels for the example from Makyneia are found in southern Italy, which is rather significant in relation to the commercial contacts and exchanges that developed along the Ionian and Adriatic routes and the settlement's position within this context. Based on the finds, the building complex is dated between the last quarter of the 6th and the mid-5th century BCE, when it was apparently destroyed by fire and abandoned for good.

Another interesting building complex of this phase consisted of Buildings Ω, AA, and AΔ in the centre of the excavation area. Here too, cobbled paths ran between the buildings. Building Ω was the best preserved, while the other two, each containing two rooms, were quite fragmentary (Fig. 15). An outer enclosure ran along all sides, at a short distance from the walls. The building was almost rectangular in plan and consisted of four rooms; three of them (Rooms 1–3) were in the northern part of the building, while a larger rectangular room (Room 4) occupied the entire southern part and could be a later addition. In the eastern part of Room 1, an interesting set of vases included fragments of the necks of three jars and two pithoi, which were found upside down and must have fallen from a shelf, as was the case in Building B. The same layer also contained a group of 56 small pyramidal loom weights, all sealed with the same impressed mark of the head of a double pin, a type consisting of two parallel shafts of wire that first appears in the Archaic period.[40] It seems that

[38] Saranti and Filis 2018, 195–197.

[39] For an example of this type of amphora from Chalkis, see also Houby-Nielsen 2020, 54, 230, no. 594, pl. 38; Bollen 2011b, 462, no 237, pl. 44; several other commercial amphorai from the same building complex belong mainly to the Corinthian/Adriatic A Type and date to the end of the 6th century BCE, as for example no IA 1101 from Building A.

[40] Their weight range is 63–70 g, their average height 6.2 cm, and their average width 3.3 cm. For double pin types, see Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 286–288 (*Glasinac Type* appearing from the late 7th century BCE), pl. 113 (*Trebenište Type*).

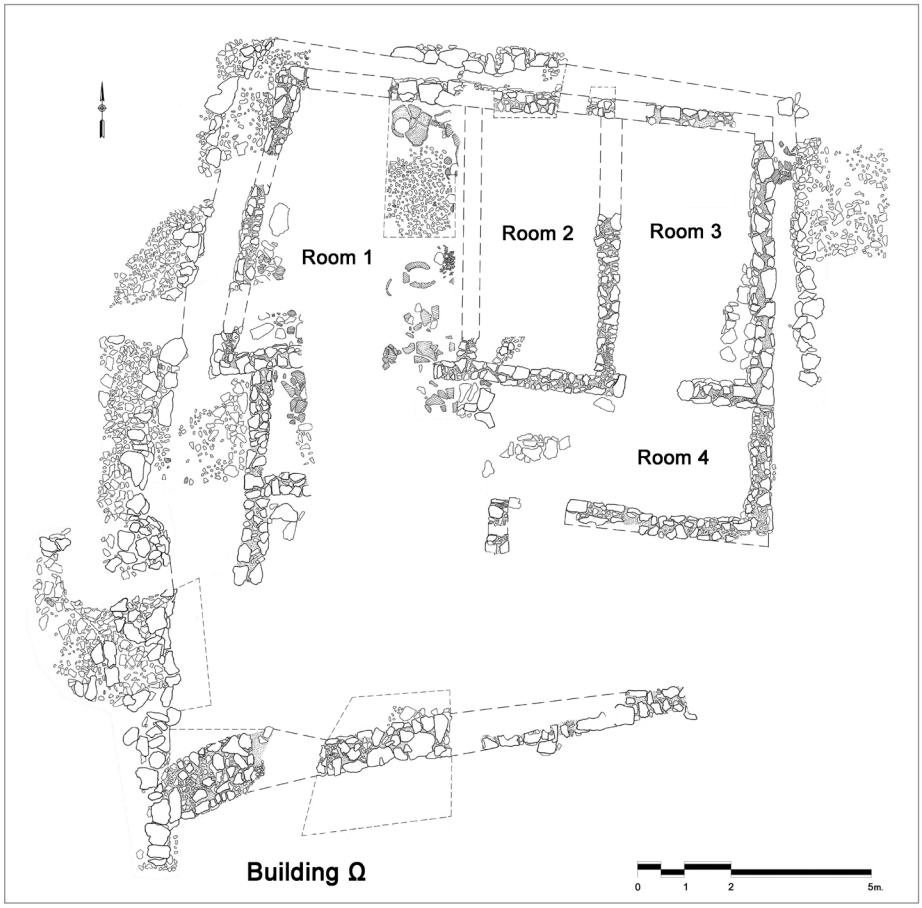


Fig. 15. Plan of Building Ω. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

they were probably kept, possibly for temporary storage, in a large clay lekane (IA 4830) that was also found overturned nearby (Fig. 16; Pl. 17.2). Apart from the remarkable context of their discovery and the rare case of finding a set of loom weights with matching designs, the loom weights are of particular interest because of the pin symbol, which refers to the female owner of the objects who was probably involved in the production of the loom weights themselves.[41] This

[41] Of great interest are comparable examples from the island of Motya, west of Sicily, where two groups of loom weights dating to the beginning of the 5th century BCE were found *in situ*, inside two amphorai. Landenius Enegren 2015, 144–147.

is an example of an interesting trend that appears from the end of the 6th century BCE onwards, i.e., to seal the clay loom weights with images of toiletry items, such as gemstone rings, fibulai,[42] earrings or tweezers, as a way of signalling the great personal value of these textile tools.[43] However, the pin symbol is unique as far as I know, and it is also quite interesting that loom weights bearing the same impression of a similar type of pin ending in an omega loop were also found in other parts of the settlement.[44]



Fig. 16; Pl. 17.2. Lekane (IA 4830) and the group of loom weights. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

[42] For impressions of fibulae on loom weights from Cavallino in Apulia, see Landenius Enegren 2015, 131–132, fig. 11.

[43] Sofroniew 2011, 201–202; Quercia and Foxhall 2014a; Quercia and Foxhall 2014b; Longhitano 2019. For gem and ring impressions, see Davidson 1952, 153.

[44] Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 287, pl. 114 (*Type Trebenište* dating to the 6th century BCE).

From the same room came a krater (IA 5593) in light yellow fabric, originally black-glazed (Fig. 17; Pl. 17.3). Its shape is very similar to a column krater from the Athenian Agora[45] and two kraters from Corinth dating to the early and late Early Corinthian (EC) period.[46] The building continued to be used until the 4th century BCE, as is evident from pottery found in Rooms 1, 2, and 4.



Fig. 17; Pl. 17.3. Krater (IA 5593) from Room 1 in Building Ω. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/ Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

Finally, Building Π (Fig. 18) was part of another building complex. It consisted of five rooms and appears to have been a partly two-story structure. An extensive destruction layer of Corinthian tiles and an underlying layer of burnt material and of orange-red clay soil was uncovered in all the rooms. The overall layout of the house, with the northern row of rooms, the *pastas*, and the paved courtyard to their south, resembles houses in Olynthos (e.g., A vii 4), or the Dema House in Attica.[47] The building produced a large number of finds that date it to 520–480 BCE. The numerous textile tools, including loom weights and spindle whorls, from almost every room, as in the other two buildings men-

[45] See Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 54, 240, no. 58, pl. 3, dated to 500–480 BCE.
[46] Amyx and Lawrence 1975, 141, 143, nos. An 217, An 225, pl. 70.
[47] Cahill 2002, 103–108; Jones et al. 1962, 108–114.

tioned above, document intense weaving and spinning activity. These activities may largely have been carried out on the upper floor, from which the textile tools probably fell when the building was destroyed.



Fig. 18. Plan of Building Π. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

In summary, the Late Archaic–Early Classical phase is represented by an abundance of pottery, both fine tableware and domestic, plain- and cooking-ware. Coins, transport amphorai, and other imported vessels attest to flourishing trade and external contacts during this phase. Attic imports stand out among the fineware pottery. Household material includes numerous stone and clay lids for pithoi or other storage vessels, many of which have a central hole and were probably used for storing wine.[48]

[48] The best-preserved example from Makyneia has an exterior diameter of 38 cm, while the diameter of the central hole is 13.5 cm. For examples from the Athenian Agora with a proposed date in the Classical period, see Rotroff 2006, nos. 175–177, fig. 29, pl. 23. The central hole

Particularly characteristic of this phase in Makyneia is a type of handmade lamp of rectangular and horseshoe shape (Figs. 19–20). The type is represented by many examples from various buildings of this phase—A (IA 1546), AΔ (IA 5718), Y (IA 4569), Ω (IA 4829), and Λ (IA 4676)—which suggests local production. A handful of examples of this type have been found in Corinth.[49] They were classified under Type I and partly interpreted as 'experiments'. One of them was dated to the first half of the 6th century BCE, a date that cannot be supported in Makyneia, since all our examples come from Late Archaic–Early Classical contexts.



Fig. 19. Terracotta lamps (IA 4676, IA 1546, IA 4829, IA 5718). (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/ Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

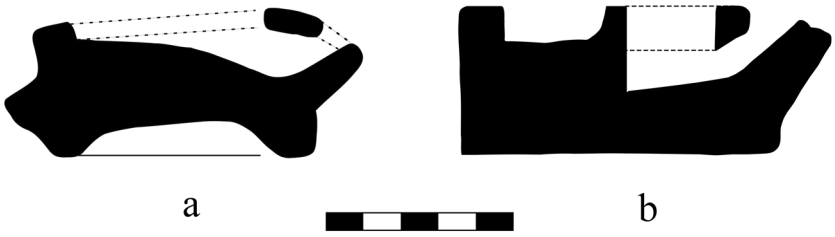


Fig. 20. Terracotta lamps (IA 4676 and IA 4829). (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada).

would have been useful for lifting the lid or drawing liquid with a ladle or other utensil, for tasting or use. In Corinth, similar lids are considered to belong to wellheads. Merker 2006, 56–57, fig. 36.

[49] Broneer 1930, 31–35, no. 43, figs. 17, 132. Two more examples from the Potters' Quarter have been interpreted as 'experiments'. Stillwell 1952, 244, 253, nos. 2, 3, pl. 55.

Weaving Activity within the Settlement

Weaving was apparently one of the most important domestic craft activities and clearly played a key role in the economic and commercial life of the settlement since the Late Archaic–Early Classical phase. A total of some 2,450 textile tools were found, including loom weights, spindle whorls, and spools, which prompted a separate preliminary study.[50] This became an investigation in the context of growing interest in the field of study of ancient textile craft and technology and the connection between textile production and trade, especially along the Ionian coast and in western Greece.[51]

The textile tools span a very wide variety of sizes, weights, fabrics, and types. Loom weights took a variety of forms from truncated pyramidal to truncated conical, triangular with three perforations, almost cylindrical, trapezoidal, discoid with two perforations, and lentoid shaped with one or two perforations. A small number of heavy, bell-shaped loom weights was also found.[52] Textile tools also span the entire chronological sequence of the settlement, also including a few prehistoric examples. The great bulk dates from the Hellenistic period. It has not yet been possible to establish a typological and chronological classification, even though the majority of the material comes from stratified contexts, since secure dating, as well as spatial and functional analyses, are also necessary.

Many of the loom weights formed separate sets, indicating the location of the looms, and most of them–about 70% of the total–have incised or stamped marks.[53] Two pyramidal loom weights from the area of Buildings Ω (IA 4260) and T (IA 4424) bore incised Archaic inscriptions, which is quite rare and usually found in the Greek colonies.[54] Graffiti of this kind are interpreted in various

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[50] Saranti 2017, 19; Saranti and Nikolovieni 2018a; 2018b.

[51] For a full recent overview of the connection between textile production and trade, see Dimova and Gleba 2020–2021. See also Kolonas et al. 2017; Houby-Nielsen 2017; 2020.

[52] On loom weight typology and the evolution of shapes through time, see Lawall 2014, 162–166 (with references in relevant studies). Their weight ranged between 242 and 286 gr., and they must have been used for the production of heavier fabrics.

[53] For stamps in general, see Merker 2006, 60; Sofroniew 2011, 199–201.

[54] For graffiti on loom weights, see Davidson and Thompson 1943, 75–76; Stillwell 1952, 270–271; Sofroniew 2011, 200. For permanent markings on loom weights and their interpretation, see Lawall 2014, 168–170. For examples of inscribed loom weights from Crete, see Chaniotis 2005, 95–96; Baldwin Bowsky and Gavrilaki 2010, 188–194.

ways: as indicating the name of their owner (usually female), the maker of a certain cloth, the weight of the loom weight, or its quality, or referring to the order in which the threads should be woven in various textile patterns. In cases from southern Italy that were used as votives, the inscription recorded the name of the deity worshipped.[55]

Considering the great number of textile tools found in the settlement, attesting to textile production within households, the finished products–for example woollen fabrics–must have been created by skilled craftswomen and intended for trade. It is even possible that the loom weights themselves were manufactured at the site and sold. It is of particular interest that the development of specialized weaving activity at Chalkis in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE has also been established, as well as the commercial production of textiles in the Hellenistic period.[56] In any case, in recent years there has been a growing interest in the relationship between textile production, trade, and exchange networks along the Ionian and Adriatic routes, to which Makyneia offers significant new contributions.

Conclusion

This brief presentation serves to introduce Makyneia as a new important location on the archaeological map of the area, and to shed light on a relatively unknown period in the region northwest of the Corinthian Gulf, i.e., the later part of Iron Age and the Archaic period. The importance of Makyneia's location lies mainly in its position near the strait of Antirrio and along the main land route leading to the north, which involved crossing Mount Taphiassos since no other land access was possible.

According to recent finds from the site, which are still under study, Makyneia was one of the earliest and longest-lived settlements in this part of the western Greek mainland, although there appear to be significant breaks in its history that

[55] On inscriptions on loom weights, see also, Tzouvara-Souli 1983, 17–18 n. 1.

[56] For Chalkis, see Houby-Nielsen 2017; Dietz and Kolonas, eds., 2016, 50–51, 136–139. More than 400 loom weights are registered from the site; Athanasios Paliouras mentions that in a storage area of the 10th-century Middle Byzantine church in Ag. Triada, more than 200 loom weights of various shapes were found in a corner, dating to the Hellenistic period, but still in use in the 10th century CE. Many of them bore stamps, and some bore the figure of Herakles; Paliouras 1994, 561.

are not yet easily explicable on a historical or archaeological basis. During the period under consideration, Makyneia was probably still part of western Lokris, since it seems that it was annexed to Aitolia only around the middle of the 4th century BCE.[57]

A short overview of the site's situation during the later part of the Iron Age and Archaic periods showed that in most respects it was consistent with other important settlements in the area regarding popular pottery styles, circulation of products, and interactions and exchange networks along the Corinthian Gulf and the Adriatic-Ionian routes.[58] Corinthian influences or products are traced among the Late Geometric–Early Archaic material, but in a relatively small proportion in relation to local or West Greek wares. Evidence of direct Corinthian contacts is very slight.[59] On the other hand, having participated in a workshop focused on 'Elian pottery' (i.e., WAPP), I should note that this distinct category of polychrome Archaic pottery does not seem to be represented in the material excavated at Makyneia.[60] Comparisons with other sites must take into account certain challenges, particularly the fact that the Makyneia material originates from domestic contexts, with no burial assemblages at present.

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[57] Saranti 2018, 165 n. 25.

[58] See Morgan 1988, 329–330, who notes that the Corinthian Gulf served Corinth as a channel, probably for the search for metals, perhaps iron, but more probably copper from Macedonia, Albania, and central Europe, although areas on its coast such as Achaia were not of interest to it until much later.

[59] In Kalydon both Corinthian and Corinthianizing pottery has been found, and strong Corinthian influences are noted in the pottery of the 7th–6th century BCE. Bollen 2011a, 314; Barfoed 2017, 137–138; Barfoed 2019, 191.

[60] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986.

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Elian, Achaian, or Western Greek Pottery? Kinship of Ceramics from the Ionian Islands and Aitolia

Agathi Karadima

Abstract

This chapter examines Late Geometric and Early Archaic assemblages of Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery (WAPP) from the cave shrines at Drakaina on Kephallonia and Mastro near the Achelous River in Aitolia. It investigates how shape and decoration preferences in WAPP reflect the role of local and long-distance trade in shaping regional ceramic styles. A key question is whether WAPP represents a distinct style originating in Elis or reflects broader trends in 7th- and 6th-century BCE ceramic production across western Greece.

At Drakaina, pottery shows significant influences from the northwestern Peloponnese, especially Elis, while the Mastro material connects to Mediterranean networks including Italy. These patterns reveal the interconnectedness of sanctuaries as cultural nodes in a broader Mediterranean exchange system. The chapter concludes by proposing that WAPP, though part of a shared cultural phenomenon, was locally adapted to reflect regional practices and identities. Continued research into ceramic production and regional networks will provide deeper insights into how local communities navigated their participation in larger cultural contexts and shaped their unique material cultures.

Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss two pottery assemblages dating mainly to the 7th century BCE: one from the cave of Mastro, east of the Achelous River in Akarnania,[1] and the other from systematic excavation of the Drakaina Cave in Kephallonia (Chapter 1, Fig. 1; Pl. 1).[2] The range of vessel shapes (drinking

[1] The site is introduced and briefly discussed in Nagel 2021, with emphasis on coroplastic production.

[2] For an extensive overview, see Karadima 2020, with bibliography. On western Greek pottery from the Drakaina Cave, see Karadima 2021, 97-98; Karadima 2024.

cups, plates, and water carriers) is similar at both sites, but their representation within the two assemblages differs, indicating differences in votive and cultic use (in the latter case alongside figurative terracottas).[3] While large groups of these types of pottery are attested at a few sites (such as Kalydon; see Chapters 3–4, this volume), pointing to local production, various singular dedications offer insights into export and import patterns and verify connections with trade routes.

The material in both cases was recovered from caves close to sea routes that connected many nodes over a very wide geographical area. The various groups of people involved in land and sea trade were active on different scales, from local to long-distance. Both cave shrines were probably controlled and maintained by local communities and *poleis*: Pronnoi in the case of Drakaina Cave and Paianion, the closest known *polis* to the cave of Mastro (see below).[4] The material from these caves thus illustrates a local dimension of connections in the western Peloponnese, Aitoloakarnania, and the Islands, which are the focus of this book. But it is also possible that cave sanctuaries on busy commercial routes may have been considered neutral territory, serving as safe meeting points and way-stations for travellers. This would suggest an open disposition towards travellers and their culture among those who encountered them. Non-Greek objects are present, raising the question of who carried them. Trade was not unidirectional among Greeks only, or Greeks, Greek colonists, and non-Greeks of various backgrounds (Etruscan, Villanovan, Campanian, and other local people), but could also follow an eastward course from the central Mediterranean to Greek communities.[5] This broad perspective allows one to identify individual agency within local populations and accept the fluidity of cross-cultural interaction in the formation and distribution of western Greek pottery styles, Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery (WAPP) included.[6]

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[3] For the figurative terracottas from Drakaina Cave see: Karadima 2020, 1:145–239; 2:240–352. Dancing groups from Mastro Cave are under study by Theodora Kopestonsky and the remaining corpus (protomai, figurines, and plaques) by Alexander Nagel. For an overview of the cult in Drakaina Cave, see Karadima 2021.

[4] On the community that maintained the cult in Drakaina Cave, see Karadima 2020, 1:16–17, 181–186.

[5] On the exchange systems of Italic populations, see Maudet 2018, 167–169.

[6] On postcolonial archaeologies, see van Dommelen 2011 (with bibliography).

The Mastro Cave

The Mastro Cave is located on a hill in the middle of the modern village of the same name, in the alluvial plains of the Achelous estuary, close to Mesolonghi. The cave was formed by dissolution of the local limestone, which created an underground lagoon. The cave thus provides a continuous, significant water supply, fed not from springs but through a fault that penetrates its floor and functions as a water-bearing well directly linked to an aquifer connected to the Achelous River some 700 m to the west. It remained in continuous use until the end of the 1980s as a source of water for the modern community and a place of safe storage for supplies.

The most important ancient city in the region was *Paianion*, located by Oberhummer at Paleokastro, 500 m to the north of Mastro, where the remains of a fortification probably date to the period following Philip of Macedon's siege of the city.[7] Mastro lies west of the Achelous River in the Paracheloitis area.[8] Constant flooding of the delta by the Achelous often changed the borders between Akarnania and Aitolia. A system of towers across the Achelous and on higher ground across Aitolia was used to keep watch over the area; remains recovered close to Mastro suggest that the site formed part of this system.[9] Diachronically, as the geomorphology of the area suggests, Mastro must have been an important location, given its access to water and position on elevated terrain. The Mastro hill was one of the limestone ridges surrounded by the floodplain of the Achelous, a low, swampy, but also rich and productive area of farmland.[10] Naturally protected in winter by the flooded plains and with access to the sea by boat through the Achelous passage, the community of Mastro was in an advantageous position. The Geometric and Archaic ceramic assemblage contains imports and imitations that indicate that the activities of major *poleis* engaged in westward trade touched this area.[11]

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[7] Oberhummer 1887, 33–34. Polyb. 4.65.3–9. Previous exploration has revealed no evidence of Archaic activity at the site. In later periods the site must have been essentially Aitolian, if we consider that the natural border for the two areas was the river. For a survey of the area, see Bommeljé et al. 1987, 20, 96.

[8] For a recent overview on the history and archaeology of the Paracheloitis see Nagel 2021, 116–119.

[9] Bommeljé et al. 1987, 24, 96.

[10] On the evolution of the delta shoreline and the lower Paracheloitis area, see Murray 1982, 15–28.

[11] On the political and military history of the area, see Murray 1982, 284–288, 291–299.

The Mastro Cave was investigated in 2016 by Stella Katsarou for the Ephorate of Paleoanthropology and Speleology, following reports of illegal excavation. A surface survey was made and archaeological remains collected, and a 4 x 3 m trench was dug to a depth of almost one metre until the natural rocky subsoil was reached. The deposit has suffered from disturbance, as is often the case within caves, where intense and continuous geological changes, humidity, and human presence in a confined space constantly disturb anthropogenic and non-anthropogenic deposits. The quantity and variety of finds is impressive given the small scale of the research. The Geometric and Archaic data I present in this chapter consist of pottery but finds of this period also include an abundance of figurative terracottas (figurines, busts, and dancing groups).

The cave was visited regularly as a source of drinking water, as indicated by finds of durable handmade ceramics suitable for the water transport. Activities represented in the cave assemblage included the storage, preparation, and consumption of food.[12] Storage of supplies is attested by large containers probably used to hold grain, other solids, or liquids. Food preparation is represented by cooking pots and table storage vessels, as well as animal bones and the remains of fires. Votive terracotta dancing groups may well refer to actual dances performed probably on the plateau outside the cave by the community or communities that worshipped there.[13]

Drakaina Cave

Kephallonia is the largest of the Ionian islands, located between Zakynthos, Ithaka, and Leukas. In antiquity, it contained four major city-states—Pale, Krane, Same, and Pronnoi—with the last situated in the mountainous region. Near the modern town of Poros, which served as the port of Pronnoi, lies the important archaeological site of Drakaina Cave.

Systematic excavations conducted between 1992 and 2002 by Evangelia Miranda Hatziotis revealed that the cave served ritual purposes involving sacrifices and communal feasting.[14] Altars, offering pits, and ritual by-products were

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[12] For preliminary remarks on the engagement of local communities, see Nagel 2021, 131–134.

[13] For preliminary discussion of the coroplastic corpus, see Nagel 2021, 121–123.

[14] *ADelt* 49 (1994) B2, 846-848 [E. M. Hatziotis]; *ADelt* 50 (1995) B2, 836-837 [E. M. Hatziotis]; *ADelt* 51 (1996) B2, 714-715 [E. M. Hatziotis]; Hatziotis et al. 1989; Hatziotis and Stratouli 2000; Hatziotis 2007.

found inside it, indicating its religious and social significance to the ancient community. The assemblage consisted exclusively of pottery (votive and functional, fineware and coarseware) and figurative terracottas, objects which shed light on human activity in the 1st millennium BCE and on economic and cultural connections between Kephallonia and the central Mediterranean. Pottery and votive offerings display both local craftsmanship and external influences, for example from Athens, Corinth, and other regions of the Peloponnese. Finds suggest that Kephallonia served as a trading hub along maritime routes linking Greece to southern Italy. Local industries, particularly shipbuilding that used timber from the fir forests of Mt Ainos, contributed to this economy. The imitation of imported ceramics also indicates active cultural exchange and possibly direct interaction between local inhabitants and the foreign sailors or traders who frequented the port.

The Pottery from the Two Caves

Fine pottery and votives argue for uninterrupted cult activity at Mastro Cave from the Geometric period until the end of the first millennium BCE. The material is very fragmentary and, in most cases, extremely weathered, making it difficult to identify and categorize. Of the approximately 1200 vessels recorded, 800 are open shapes and the remainder are closed. Those dated to the Archaic and Geometric periods comprise a little less than half of this corpus (approximately 500 catalogue entries). All Geometric and Archaic fragments recognized as significant for their type, size, or decoration are included in the following discussion (numbers in bold refer to the master catalogue of the Mastro material).

Study of the material from Drakaina Cave revealed a wide range of shapes ranging in date from Geometric to Roman. The Geometric and Archaic remains comprise half of the total recorded material. WAPP is discussed in detail below.

WAPP at Mastro and Drakaina

WAPP is found at both sites in the *light-on-dark* and *dark-on-light* versions. *Light-on-dark* decoration consists of alternating added white and red or purple bands, reserved bands or lines, or/and reserved bands with floral or abstract motifs on a matte dark surface (black, grey, or dark brown). This decoration is found on a variety of shapes, mainly table sets such as drinking vessels, plates, table oinochoai, and kraters. While the cave at Mastro revealed only a few spec-

imens in this category, at Drakaina it is found on all the most popular shapes.

LIGHT-ON-DARK DECORATION	
Drakaina Cave	
Kantharoi	45
Other Cups	10
Kylikes	12
Mastro Cave	
Kantharoi	6
Other Cups	4
Aryballoi	2
Oinochoai	5

Table 1. Quantified data on light-on-dark decoration from the Drakaina and Mastro Caves.[15]

Dark-on-light decoration is painted onto the reserved surface of the vessel and may combine geometric linear and figured decoration on the same vessel. It is mainly seen on plates and large containers (kraters, stamnoi, dinoi, and oinochoai).[16] Mastro Cave contained many specimens of this style, while Drakaina has only a very limited selection.

DARK-ON-LIGHT DECORATION	
Drakaina Cave	
Large containers	8
Oinochoai	2
Plates	1
Mastro Cave	
Kraters, Dinoi	18
Oinochoai	20
Plates	15

Table 2. Quantified data on dark-on-light decoration from the Drakaina and Mastro Caves.

[15] These are best estimates of vessel numbers, allowing a margin of error as they include sherds of the types discussed, and the Mastro excavation material is not yet fully studied.

[16] The term *dark-on-light* as applied in the western Peloponnese (Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 35–36) equates to the class of 'Ceramics with Geometric, Linear and Figured Decoration' particularly popular at Archaic Croton: Luberto 2017, 198–203.

Munsell readings of Late Geometric–Archaic pottery from Mastro range from 7.5YR 8/4 to 7/4, exhibiting a coherence in the production of pottery. The fabrics from the Drakaina Cave are less consistent, which may reflect the fact that this is a larger assemblage and likely more representative of the full range of vessels used.

Both categories of decoration date back to the end of the Geometric period. Neither shows a simple linear evolution widely applicable across a broad geographical area. Instead, local developments may be traced at sites such as the Drakaina Cave, Elian Pylos, and Olympia, where one or more local workshops manufactured these vases over a long period.[17] To fully compare and discuss these styles requires significant bodies of material from systematically excavated and published sites. A small excavation such as that at Mastro can offer only a glimpse of what the local assemblage might look like. Nevertheless, I will attempt to compare it with the known body of ceramics from the region.

Shapes and Decoration

1) *Kantharoi*

The earliest, Geometric, type of kantharos, common across western Greece, has a deep conical body on a flat base, with an upright or out-turned rim and banded rectangular handles. In the Drakaina Cave, some 10 examples (Fig. 1; Pl. 18.1) make up almost half of the Geometric record.[18] In Mastro Cave, many fragmentary sherds (Fig. 1; Pl. 18.2) come from flat-based kantharoi (Fig. 1**,** no. **1**), and the characteristic handles (Fig. 1, nos. **2**, **3**) probably belong to this type as well. Fragments (Fig. 1, as no. **4**) probably from the lower half of fully glazed kantharoi with horizontal reserved bands could date to the 8th century BCE.[19] This is the common Geometric type.[20]

A second type is a development of, or variation on, the Geometric form, but with a higher centre of gravity, a low conical foot, and banded rectangular handles. The *light-on-dark* decoration consists of an added red band flanked by

[17] On the date of kantharoi from Olympia, see Gauer 1975, 165–172, pls. 33–34. Elian Pylos: Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 64.

[18] Karadima 2020, 1:75–76; 2:19–20.

[19] E.g., from Achaia; Maniaki 2019, 245, 257, fig. 10.

[20] For a review of the type and its distribution, see Gadolou 2008, 138–139, nos. 133, 152, figs. 114, 127.



Fig. 1; Pl. 18.1–2. Kantharoi. Fragments nos. ***1****–****7*** *are from Mastro Cave. From Drakaina Cave, two group photographs illustrate selections of 8th- and 7th-century BCE kantharoi. (Photos: © Agathi Karadima).*

added white lines set below the handle attachment, plus white lines low on the body. This is the most popular form in the Drakaina assemblage in the late 7th and early 6th century BCE,[21] with 45 intact vessels and countless sherds (Fig. 1; Pl. 18.1).[22] The combination of form and decoration may suggest influence from Elis, as a large series was discovered in the wells of Olympia and Elian Pylos, in both cases beginning in the mid-7th century BCE, earlier than the Drakaina series.[23] However, the series from Kephallonia is locally produced; three macroscopically distinct fabrics probably indicate different workshops or different fabric recipes over the two generations or so of their manufacture.[24] Furthermore, aspects of the decoration, such as the added red band and the thinner white lines, also occur on vessels with *dark-on-light* decoration discussed below.

The small number of sherds from Mastro that likely belong to this form of kantharos (Fig. 1; Pl. 18.2, nos. **5, 6**) may be even earlier, as few bear added white decoration. Their fabric is distinctly different from the Kephallonian products, so they must be either locally produced or imports (from Elis or another unknown location). If the few sherds found accurately reflect the type's representation in the assemblage, these kantharoi were not a popular choice. And if worshipping communities across western Greece had a shared understanding of the significance and role of specific types of vessels, then this choice might reflect a different set of concerns. Fragments of two potential kantharoi at Mastro are a little earlier. The fragment **7** (Fig. 1) comes from the mid-lower part of the body of a kantharos. It depicts the so-called 'sausage motif' on a reserved band, below which lie a wide brown band of dilute paint, a reserved thin line, and a solidly glazed lower body. Comparanda from Achaia suggest an 8th-century BCE date.[25]

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[21] Karadima 2020, 1:77–80; 2:21–37.

[22] Sherds of this type that do not belong to any of the catalogued examples together weigh some 2.5 kg. The count of bases and handles indicates at least 50 more examples: see Karadima 2020, 1:81.

[23] On material from Olympia, see Gauer 1975, 165–172, pls. 33–34. On Elian Pylos, see Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 53–57, nos. C110–C111, fig. 12.

[24] See Karadima 2020, 1:77, for discussion of the chronology and fabrics of the Kephallonian kantharoi.

[25] Maniaki 2019, 245, 257, fig. 8.

2) *Skyphoi and Kylikes*

The cups or kantharoi **9** and **10** (Fig. 2; Pl. 18.4) have a reserved band on the rim, while the body is coated with reddish-brown paint. Close parallels from Kalydon place them in the 8th century BCE.[26] Several skyphoi found in the Drakaina Cave and similar sherds from Mastro (Fig. 2; Pl. 18.3, no. **8**) belong to a type with a modest but consistent circulation in the region.[27] They have straighter walls and commonly a greater capacity than earlier kotylai and skyphoi. The closest parallels, especially for the skyphoi from Drakaina Cave, come from Olympia as well as Euboea.[28] A further example from Mastro (Fig. 2; Pl. 18.3, no. **8**) may also be included in this group as it is similar in shape, aside from the low disc foot and the thickened lip with a flat, slightly inturned upper surface.[29] The surface of the lip has parallel strokes on a reserved ground; the interior is coated with shiny black glaze. The external decoration comprises alternating bands and lines: a reserved band around the outside of the rim contains a zig-zag framed by two thick brown lines; around the middle of the body a red band is framed by white lines, a motif repeated lower down; and there is a deep reserved band around the lowest part of the body. Fragment **8** could be contemporary with the Drakaina series or a little earlier, at the beginning of the 7th century BCE, since the system of parallel lines is still in use. Two bowls from Elian Pylos have the same zig-zag line on the rim but are much wider and date to the first half of the 6th century BCE.[30]

Shapes with Dark-on-Light Decoration

This group of pottery often goes unnoticed or is misdated to the Geometric period, especially if the specimen is fragmentary or from an unstratified context. As noted at Elian Pylos, the most common forms are large vases such as kraters, stamnoi, dinoi, oinochoai, and plates.[31]

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[26] Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi, eds., 2011, 290, 294, figs. 220–222.

[27] For discussion of skyphoi of this type from the Drakaina Cave, see Karadima 2024, 291–292; Karadima 2020, 1:75–80; 2:19–37, 214–221.

[28] Livitsanis 2014, 73–74; Stibbe 1994, 30–31; Mallwitz and Kunze 1981, 384–385, figs. 123b, 124d; Gauer 1975, 211; Charalambidou 2017, 125–126, fig. 14.2 a, fig. 14.3 a–b.

[29] Karadima 2020, 1:96–98; 2:94–95.

[30] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 40–42, nos. C26, C28, fig. 7.

[31] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 34–36.

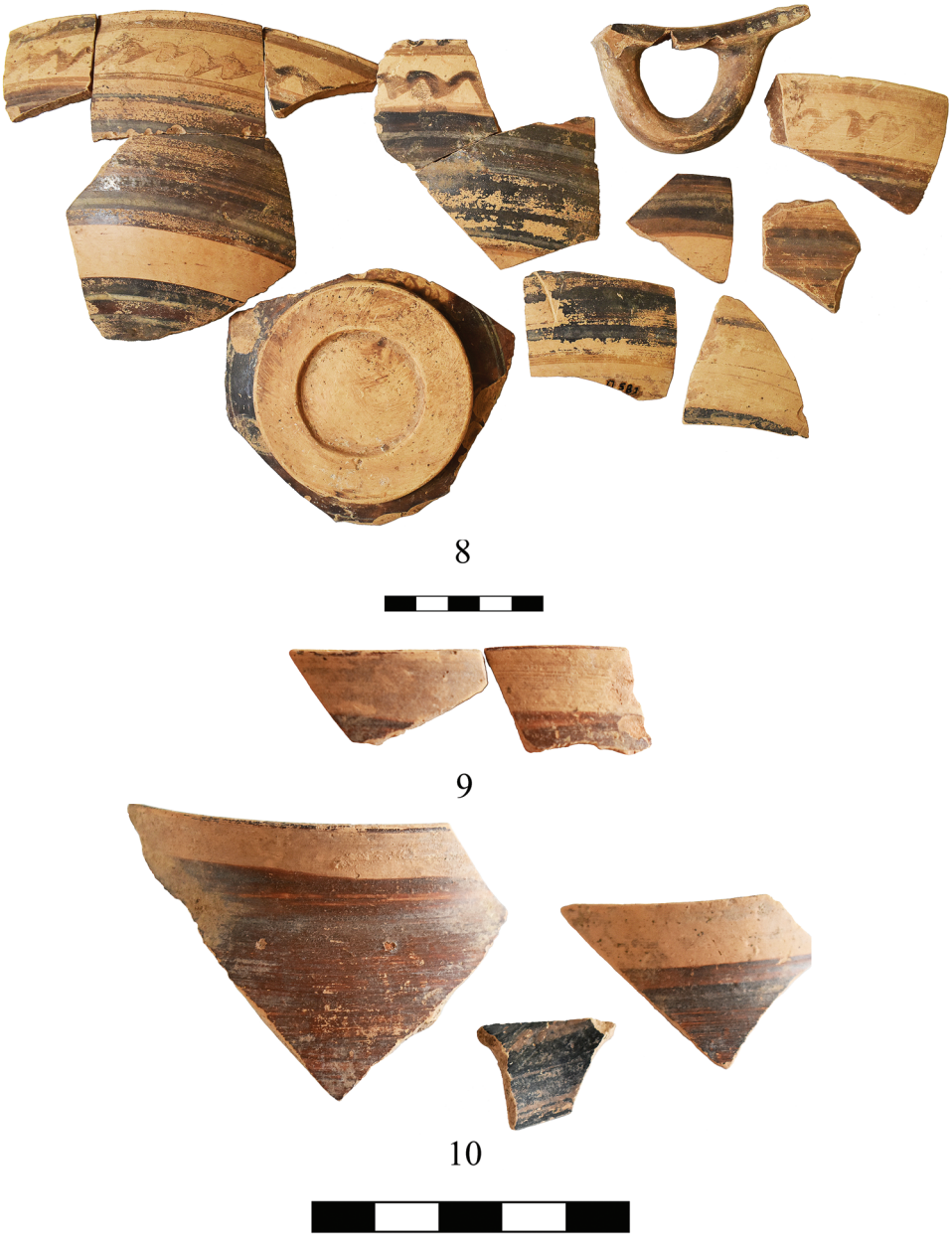


Fig. 2; Pl. 18.3–4. Skyphoi. The almost intact vessel no. ***8*** *and sherds nos.* ***9*** *and* ***10****, all from Mastro Cave. (Photos: © Agathi Karadima).*

3) *Kraters*

Kraters are attested in many variants among the excavated assemblages. However, their fragmentary state does not allow a detailed classification. They seem to belong to at least two separate traditions. For most of the kraters (as for the majority of the excavated vases), Munsell readings of fabric colour span 7.5YR 8/4 to 7/4 although the fabrics display differences in clarity and the proportion of inclusions.

Fragments **11**, **12**, **13**, **14**, **15**, and **16** (Fig. 3; Pl. 18.5–6) belong to the same type. No complete profile is preserved, so vessels cannot be assigned to specific subtypes, but all exhibit a continuous profile. The rim would continue upward or turn outwards. The decoration includes broad glazed zones (Fig. 3, no. **11**) alternating with areas of horizontal bands, vertical lines, running spirals. All vessels are solidly glazed on the interior.

The krater **11** (Fig. 3) has a close parallel from Kroton.[32] The Mastro fragments belong to the body of the krater, which exhibits a continuous profile. The rim is not preserved but was probably concave and slightly outturned with a flat projecting lip. On the lower body a black-glazed area was followed by six or seven parallel lines. On the upper body, vertical bands are interspersed with sets of vertical sigmas. The krater from Kroton dates to the second half of the 7th century BCE; this is a possible date for **11** which may even be a little earlier.

The krater **12** (Fig. 3) preserves a large part of the body (restored from 22 sherds), minus the rim and base. The exterior is reserved and decorated with alternating zones of parallel lines, running spirals, parallel lines, black triangles, further banding below the rim, and then a row of sigmas. The interior is glazed. A close parallel from Elian Pylos with similar decoration is dated to the last quarter of the 8th century BCE.[33] However, this date is based on Nicolas Coldstream's chronology and not on stratigraphic context; it assumes that the geometric ornament inevitably ties the vessel to an earlier tradition. Yet a later date may be more accurate, especially since Mastro **12** incorporates bold ornaments such as rows of black triangles that are common on plates and cups from Elian Pylos.

Two large body fragments from a krater (Fig. 4, no. **17**) have five thin, closely spaced parallel lines on a reserved surface followed by a wide plain

[32] Luberto 2017, 198–199, fig. 6.2.

[33] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 19, 23, 32, no. B12, pl. 21.

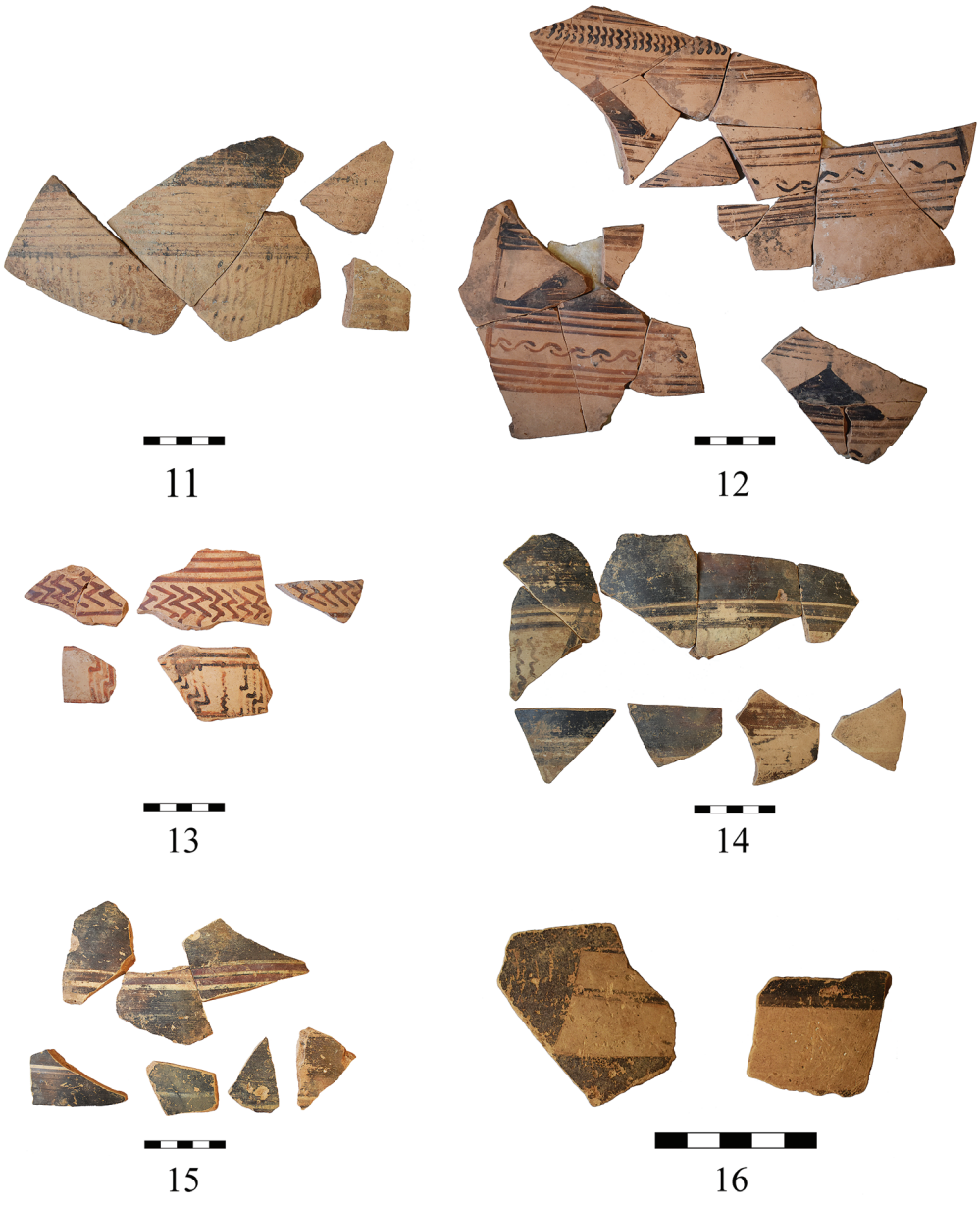


Fig. 3; Pl. 18.5–6. Kraters. Incomplete vessels nos. ***11–16*** *from Mastro Cave. (Photos: © Agathi Karadima).*

band and part of an ovoid painted area ('sausage motif'). The second fragment also preserves part of a similar ovoid shaped ornament and one of the parallel lines. Two close parallels from Elian Pylos were found in the same deposit: on one, a warship is represented in the main zone.[34] The Geometric pottery from Elian Pylos belongs to the LG II phase. Like **12**, Mastro **17** could date to the late 8th or early 7th century BCE.[35]

Kraters **14** and **15** (Fig. 3) survive as body fragments. The surface of **14** is divided into two zones: a solidly glazed area and a reserved zone decorated with sets of vertical lines alternating with vertical wavy lines (Pl. 18.6). At the transition between these zones are two thin reserved lines and two wider dark bands. The surviving mid-body section of **15** has a solidly glazed black-grey surface decorated with two added red bands separated by three thin white lines. There may have been a reserved band lower or higher on the vessel. The presence of the polychrome banding on the dark surface is characteristic of western Greek pottery. Following the dating of similar kantharoi and kylikes from Drakaina Cave, this vessel, especially if solidly glazed with only the polychrome band as decoration, may belong at the end of the 7th or early in the 6th century BCE.[36] A separate rim **18** (Fig. 4) that could belong to this type is slightly everted and solidly glazed.[37]

Fragments from krater **13** (Fig. 3; Pl. 18.5) display rows of thinly spaced red lines followed by rows of sigmas. Another sherd has two clusters of N-shaped ornaments separated by a wavy line. All these motifs are present on Subgeometric cups and kraters from Aetos on Ithaka.[38] The Mastro material is likely similar in date, i.e., around the end of the 8th century BCE.

Two sherds from the same vessel (Fig. 4, no. **19**) show a continuous profile from shoulder to slightly out-turned rim (with a splaying lip): the wall is solidly glazed apart from a reserved zone beneath the lip. Horizontal roll handles were set on opposite sides of the vessel.

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[34] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 20–22, 32, nos. B1–B2, pl. 21.

[35] A similar fragment from Kalydon is dated to the Geometric period: Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi, eds., 2011, 256, 463, 461, no. 243, fig. 256.

[36] Karadima 2020, 1:77–80; Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 47–48, pls. 30–31.

[37] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 47–48, nos. C7, C132, pls. 25, 33.

[38] Heurtley and Robertson 1948, 14, 20, 63, nos. 24n, 304, figs. 3, 11, pl. 17.



Fig. 4; Pl. 18.7. Kraters. Incomplete vessels nos. ***17–21*** *from Mastro Cave. (Photos: © Agathi Karadima).*

Krater **20** (estimated interior rim diameter 38 cm, Fig. 4; Pl. 18.7) has a similar continuous profile. The interior and the upper surface of the splaying lip are solidly glazed. The exterior surface is reserved and decorated with parallel lines that form a metope around the main motif—two opposed spirals framing what looks like a stylized flower. A stamnos from Incoronata has a very similar central motif, but in his discussion of this material Davide Ciafaloni describes it simply as 'un motivo a lira' due to the superficial similarity with a lyre. The stamnoi from Metaponto come from an early colonial context with pottery of the 7th century BCE.[39] The same motif is also depicted on the floor of plate **42** (Fig. 8).[40] The krater is assigned to the 6th century BCE, but it has a distinct neck and flaring rim; the shape is also found at Olympia where it is derived from Corinthian and Lakonian.[41] Further fragments depict what could be the petals of a floral motif (Fig. 4).[42]

The krater **21** (Fig. 4) is similar in shape but with a narrower rim (estimated diameter 21 cm). It is glazed inside and on the upper surface of the splayed rim. Two narrow brown bands below the rim and lower on the body delimit the decorative field. The main motif is too fragmentary to read: it could be the body of a serpent or a tentacle-like motif. The thick lines in brown glaze preserve white paint on the outline. A possible parallel is found at Elian Pylos, where thick horizontal Ss alternate with solid crescents; on this basis **21** could date early in the 6th century BCE.[43]

4) *Oinochoai and Jugs*

It is not surprising to find a large group of oinochoai at Mastro considering the existence of the lake within the cave. Fragments come from trefoil- and round-mouthed oinochoai in various sizes: in the latter case, classification is based on the shape of the mouth. To judge by their small size, some were used only for serving. Some sherds from necks and shoulders may belong to either type. Both types are common in western Greece: some sherds preserve geometric decoration.[44]

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[39] Ciafaloni 1985, 43–44, figs. 1–2.

[40] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 36–38, no. C2, ill. 11, pl. 25.

[41] Gauer 1975, 134–137. For the lotus flower see also Hampe and Jantzen 1937, fig. 15.

[42] A Corinthian aryballos from Aetos has the same floral ornament; see Heurtley and Robertson 1948, 49, no. 235, pl. 13.

[43] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 40, 42, nos. C27, C55, pls. 27, 29.

[44] Coldstream 1968, 226, 230–231.

Fragment **22** (Fig. 5) comes from a small to medium-sized one-handled jug or oinochoe. The body is glazed, with reserved bands, fine linear decoration, and added lines. It appears to be early and could date to the 8th century BCE.[45] The handles **52**, **23**, and **24** (Fig. 5) probably belong to the same period (the last may come from a hydria).[46] Numerous body sherds from large, closed vessels (Fig. 5, nos. **25**, **26 a, b**, and **27**)—possibly oinochoai—have alternating reserved bands and parallel lines.[47] A unique vessel (Fig. 5, no. **28**), also dates to the end of the 8th century BCE. The surviving lower body has thin parallel lines on a reserved surface with a group of vertical wavy lines in the middle of the belly. A close parallel from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria indicates that this type precedes the appearance of the small oval oinochoai that have a wide distribution in Calabria.[48]

Fragment **29** (Fig. 6) comes from the shoulder of a small oinochoe, and **30** (Fig. 6) from a small amphoriskos or oinochoe. Fragment **30** preserves a row of cross-hatched triangles in the shoulder zone resting on a dark band. A similar, Protogeometric oinochoe was excavated within a cemetery in the area of ancient Kalydon.[49] Many sherds with reserved bands on a dark surface belong to large, closed vessels. Parallels also place them in the 8th century BCE.[50]

The group of round-mouthed oinochoai (Fig. 6, nos. **31**, **32**, **33**, **36**) are black-glazed. The neck of **32** is cylindrical with a rather wide opening; the glaze (here dark brown) extends inside the mouth, as is the case for some trefoil-mouthed fragments as well (Fig. 6, nos. **34**, **35**). Fragment **31** (Fig. 6) preserves part of the narrow neck and the handle; there is a rib at the junction of neck and shoulder with an added white line.[51] These examples date to the 7th century BCE.

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[45] A similar oinochoe or jug from Asine is dated to the Geometric period; see Wells 1983, 92–93, fig. 72.

[46] Wells 1983, 39–40, 76–77, 163–164, nos. 25, 28, figs. 106, 112, 167.

[47] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, nos. B21–B22, B24, pl. 22; Wells 1983, 103–104, no. 757, fig. 85; Williams 1970, 20, no. 18, pl. 9; Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi, eds., 2011, 286–287, figs. 209–212. A similar amphora from a tomb in Eretria, close to the Apollo Daphnephoros sanctuary, dates early in the 7th century BCE; see Blandin 2007, 25–26, no. T13.1, pl. 42.

[48] Mercuri 2004, 89–91, fig. 24.7.

[49] Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi, eds., 2011, 279, 286, no. 10, fig. 209.

[50] From Kalydon (with bibliography): Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi, eds., 2011, 286–291, figs. 213–214, 217, 223.

[51] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 23–24, nos. C47–C48, pl. 30.



Fig. 5. Oinochoai. Incomplete vessels nos. ***22–28, 52*** *from Mastro Cave. (Photos: © Agathi Karadima).*

Fragment **37** (Fig. 6; Pl. 19.1), from the trefoil mouth of an oinochoe, has close parallels from Elian Pylos. Traces of red and added white decoration are preserved, but it is difficult to determine what the motif represents. The series from Elian Pylos has eyes painted in white on the exterior of the spout.[52]

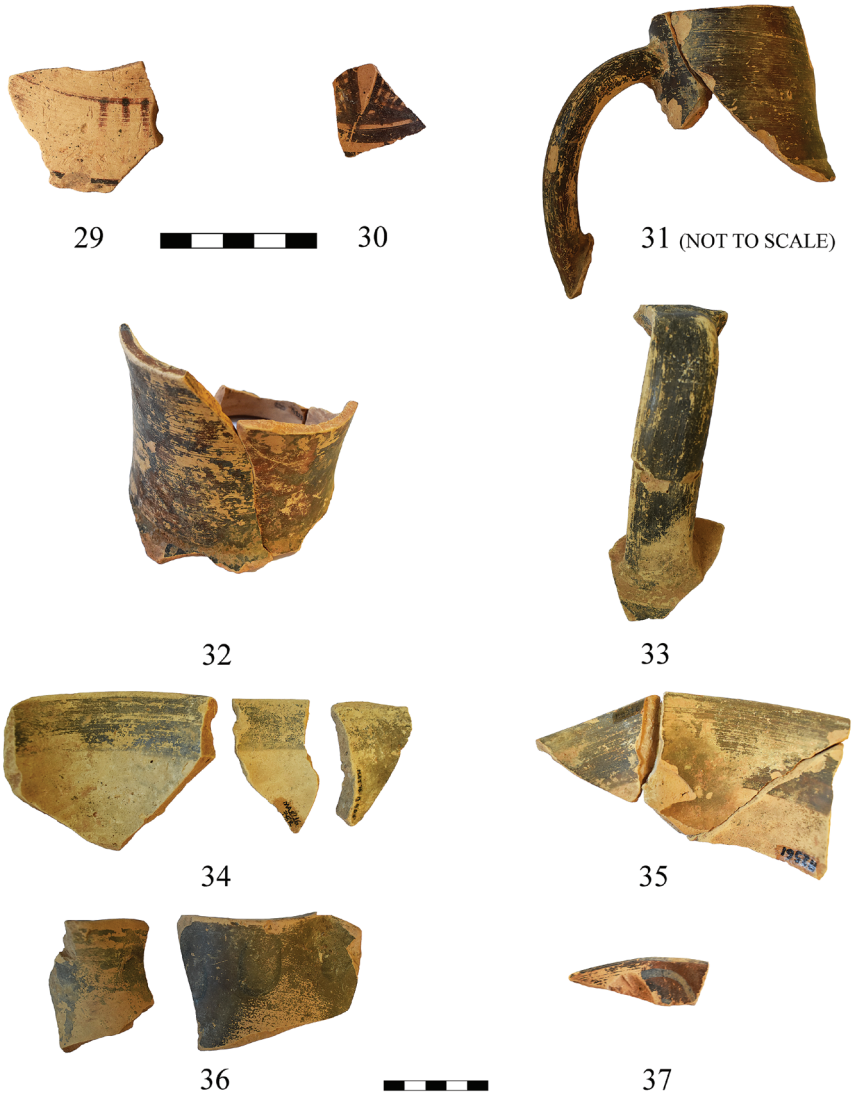


Fig. 6; Pl. 19.1. Oinochoai. Incomplete vessels nos. ***29–37****, from Mastro Cave. (Photos: © Agathi Karadima).*

[52] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 49–50, nos. C76–C79, pl. 31.

5) *Plates*

I begin with an important sub-category among plates. A unique plate (Drakaina no. **203**, Fig. 7; Pl. 19.4), excavated at Drakaina Cave in the early 1990s, was particularly difficult to date in the absence of stratigraphy or published parallels.[53] The closest matches were among Lakonian and Elian pottery.[54] The decoration, a red band flanked by white superimposed lines on the perimeter of the rim, recalls that of kantharoi, suggesting that **203** (**a** and **b**) may also date to the late 7th–early 6th century BCE.

Excavation at Mastro Cave revealed a considerable number of plates of the same type, albeit with significant diversity in size and decoration. All the plates display the same profile: shallow with a flat, thick floor, and a raised ring around the base on the underside. The rim is almost horizontal, ending in a rounded lip inset on the interior, and forming a sharp angle with the base. The shape is largely consistent, even if sizes range from large to small. By contrast, the decorative repertoire is vast, with elements such as geometric and floral motifs combined in many abstract ways, resulting in a colourful surface. The plate from Kephallonia is probably an import since it is a singleton; the fabric, however, is not entirely unfamiliar (Munsell 5YR 7/4) as it resembles that of many local western Greek types from the assemblage (e.g., skyphoi).

The series from Mastro exhibits remarkable diversity and may begin earlier than the Drakaina plate. Plate **38** from Mastro (Fig. 7; Pl. 19.2) has a close parallel in the Drakaina plate. The decoration has the same central dot, a triangular pattern flanked by rows of dots, and a set of six parallel strokes; there is a red band on the junction of the inner surface and rim. The Mastro plates have an estimated diameter ranging from 15 cm (Fig. 7; Pl. 19.3, no. **39**) to 30 cm (Fig. 7, nos. **40**, **41**). Local plates from Elian Pylos have a similar profile and a decorative system comprising geometric and abstract motifs on the floor.[55] Some of the motifs on **38**, such as lozenges and crescents, are used on other local vases from Mastro, indicating that they form part of a local repertoire. However, most

[53] Karadima 2020, 1:111–112; 2:130–131.

[54] Stibbe 1994, 23–24, 30–31. For the polychrome banded decoration, see Lane 1933, 106, 110–111, fig. B; Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 40–42, nos. C26, C28, ill. 7 (the profile is similar to the profiles of the plates on ill. 9).

[55] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 43–47, no. C54, ill. 9, pl. 29. For a plate with a similar profile discovered in Tocra, see Boardman and Hayes 1966, no. 1020.

of the motifs are not replicated on other vases; and since the Drakaina plate has similar decoration, it seems to be an import from Aitolia.

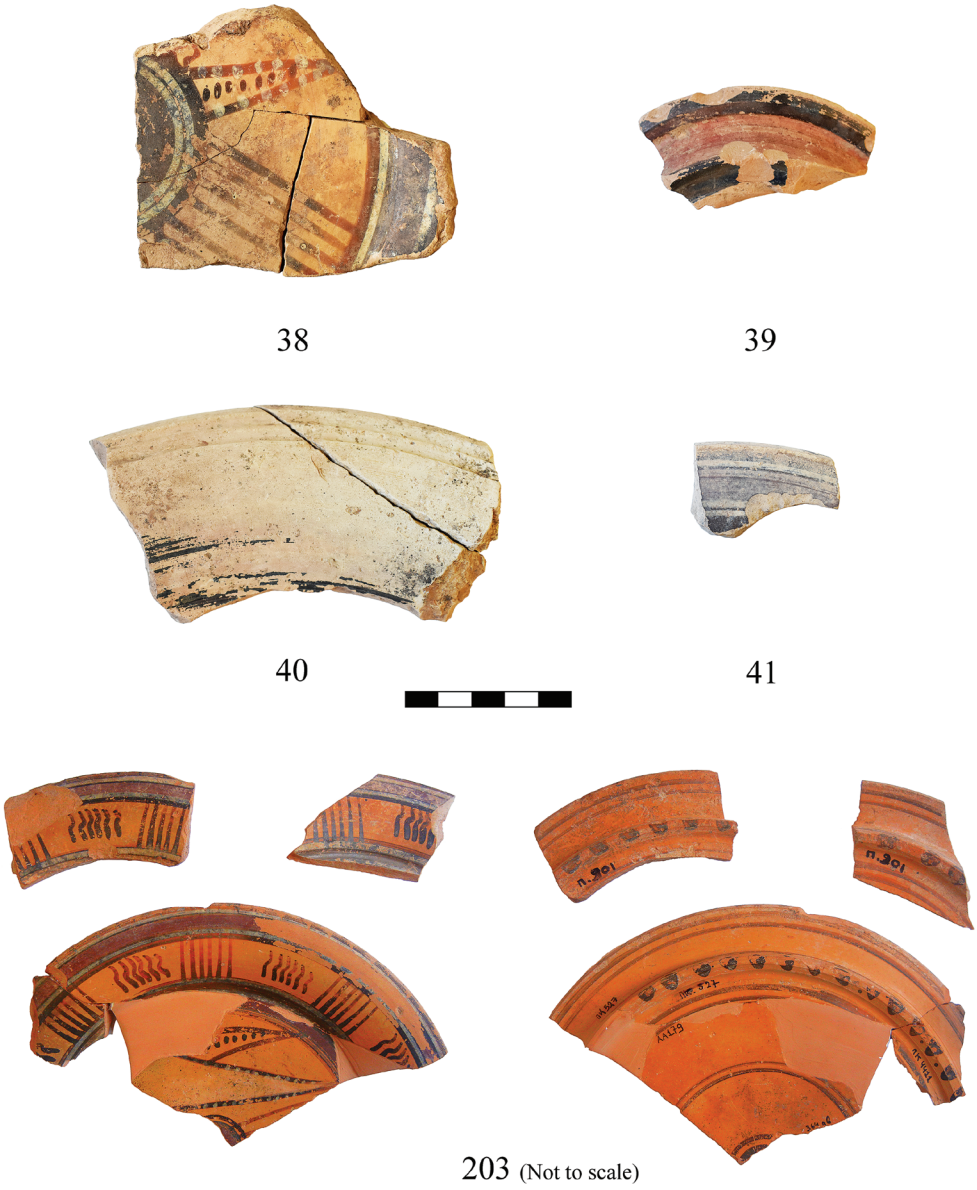


Fig. 7; Pl. 19.2–4. Plates. Incomplete vessels nos. ***38–41*** *from Mastro Cave. Plate* ***203 a*** *and* ***b*** *from Drakaina Cave. (Photos: © Agathi Karadima).*

Plate **42** (Fig. 8; Pl. 19) bears the same motif displayed on krater **20** (Fig. 4) slightly modified, as the central stem ends in one pointed ornament instead of the three on the krater. The rest of the plates are mainly fragments of horizontal rims (Fig. 8; Pl. 19.5–8, no. **42, 43, 44, 45**) decorated in a similar way, with six vertical strokes alternating with vertical wavy lines on a reserved surface. The upper and lower edges of the rim often have a red band flanked by white lines.[56] On plate **48** (Fig. 8; Pl. 19.11) the framing red bands are replaced in black. Plate **46** (Fig. 8; Pl. 19.9) preserves fragments from the perimeter; the surface is extremely weathered, but traces of red are still visible on the upper and lower part of the rim. Remains of a zigzag are visible on one sherd from **46** along with black glaze. Lastly, fragments from fully glazed plates **47** and **41** (Fig. 8; Pl. 19.10) preserve red bands and white lines.

This series of plates clearly demonstrates that the type was locally produced. Study of a comparable group from Kalydon will shed light on questions of production technology, the number of workshops, typology, and the evolution and duration of this sub-category (see Chapters 3–4, this volume). New finds in the wider region strengthen the assumptions that these plates belong to a distinct style that emerged in various areas late in the 7th century BCE, and that original local productions evolve in individual ways but with recognizable common characteristics. A plate from an Archaic building at Olenos in Achaia belongs to the same series (see also Chapter 2, this volume).[57] However, while Aitolian plates seem to replicate common motifs (sets of vertical lines, acute triangles, concentric lines on the underside) and the same profile, the central decorative synthesis is different. It is as if the vase painter selectively uses

[56] The closest parallel for the motif is on the rim of kantharoi from Elian Pylos, but on a dark surface, see Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, nos. C110–C115, C118–C125, pl. 32. Another parallel is a group of cups from Al Mina; see Boardman 1959, 166, nos. 20–22, pl. XXV for a discussion of motifs and decorative syntheses, along with interpretations of the 'Cypriote Bichrome Style' on what are interpreted as products of Greek or Cypriot potters at Al Mina. The use of red bands, added black, and added white for details, along with panel decoration, ornaments, and the technical qualities of the cups suggests a western Greek origin, with vessels probably brought to Syria by Euboeans. A re-examination of the group seems necessary. The discovery in Euboea of local vessels with *light-on-dark* decoration indicates that the style was adopted in native Euboean production as well, presumably following contacts with the western Greek communities. The type and extent of contacts, and how they correlate with Euboean pottery production, remain to be examined.

[57] Tsaknaki 2019, 447–448, 459, fig. 11.

motifs of the style while at the same time freely introduces new patterns on the surface. The fact that the Olenos plate was found in a destruction layer enables a precisely dated comparison with WAPP kantharoi, not least as the find context contains a kantharos of the banded type similar to the Drakaina series.[58]

In addition to *dark-on-light* and *light-on-dark* WAPP vessels, two further Archaic shapes should be considered.

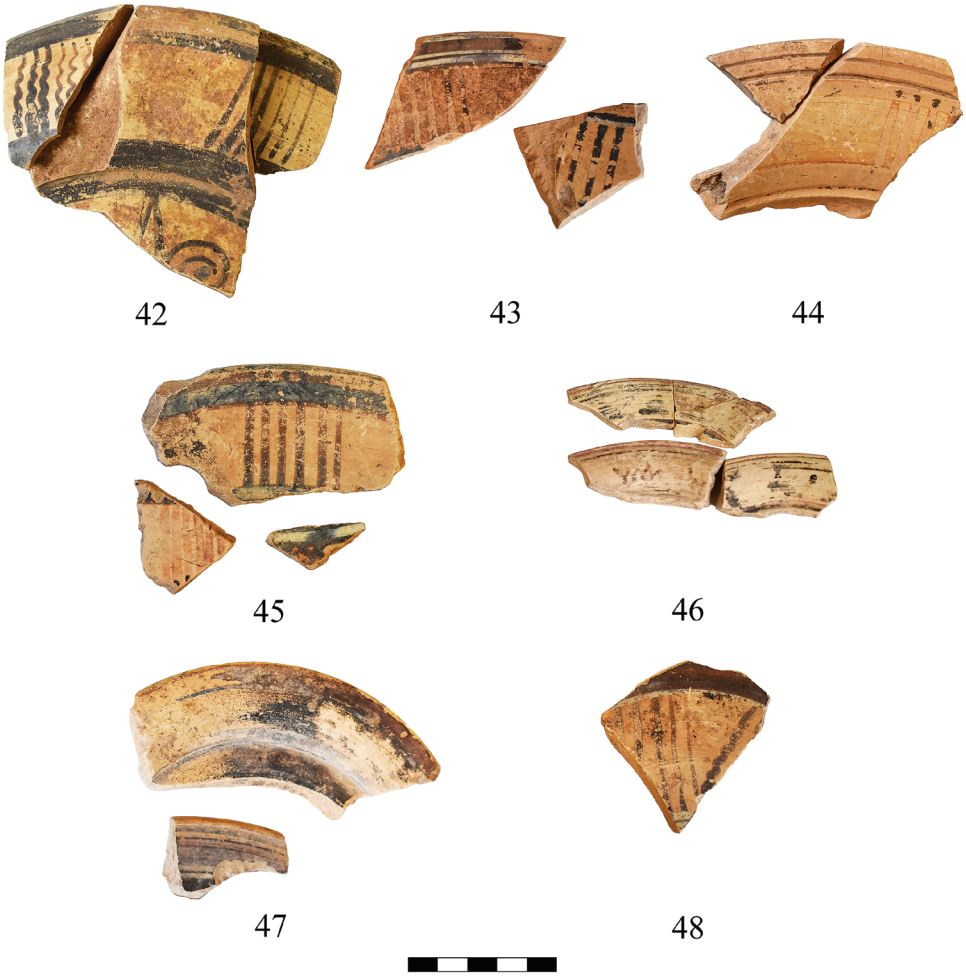


Fig. 8; Pl. 19.5–11. Plates. Incomplete vessels nos. ***42–48*** *from Mastro Cave. (Photos: © Agathi Karadima).*

[58] Tsaknaki 2019, 447–448, 459, fig. 10.

6) *Dinoi*

Three examples probably belong to this shape group: one used for the mixing of wine (and thus associated with feasting).

Dinos **49** (Fig. 9) comes from the vessel rim and shoulder. Typical geometric decoration with very faint parallel lines is evident on the exterior. The linear motif is interrupted on the shoulder by a reserved band with chevron clusters. On the top of the rim are groups of vertical strokes on a reserved ground. The lower part of the vase is lost, but the remaining decoration—parallel lines and chevrons—echoes Late Geometric decoration popular in Corinth and western Greece.[59]

Dinos **50** (Fig. 9) displays a rare decorative scheme. The upper and the inner rim surfaces are glazed, while the reserved surface of the vessel is covered with numerous, neatly aligned, compass-drawn concentric circles.[60] Concentric circles are popular in the Geometric period, but are usually displayed in a zone or metope.[61] Their use to cover the total surface is relatively rare, and may reflect a sense of freedom that allowed potters to surpass the restrictions of the previous period. Concentric circles with dots appear on Euboean skyphoi and kraters from Oropos.[62] On this basis, **50** may date to the end of the 7th century BCE, if not earlier. The lack of close parallels may indicate that it was made only for local consumption.

7) *Water Carriers*

Among numerous unpainted sherds from the cave is a distinct category of coil-made vessels: flat based, large, and extremely sturdily built, although the walls appear thin in relation to the vessel size (Fig. 9). The interior surface is uneven, with smoothing marks. These vessels were probably used to carry water from

[59] Coldstream 1968, 99–100, pl. 19b.

[60] Concentric circles are a popular motif in the Geometric period; see Bailo Modesti and Gastaldi, eds., 1999, 27–31, pls. 5.1, pl. 6.1, 2–3, fig. 17.

[61] Two concentric circles with dots are depicted on a Subgeometric tall pyxis from Aetos, Ithaka; see Symeonoglou 2002, 168, 307, no. 296, fig. 104c.

[62] For Euboean pottery decorated with concentric circles, see Vlachou 2020, 244–245, figs. 10, 12b, 14. In Achaia, examples from burials at Derveni and Aigion bear concentric circles but are mainly 8th century BCE in date. Anastasia Gadolou characterizes decoration with concentric circles freely placed on the surface as an influence from Messenia, while on pottery from Achaia itself the motif is limited to metopes; see Gadolou 2008, 151–158, fig. 136.

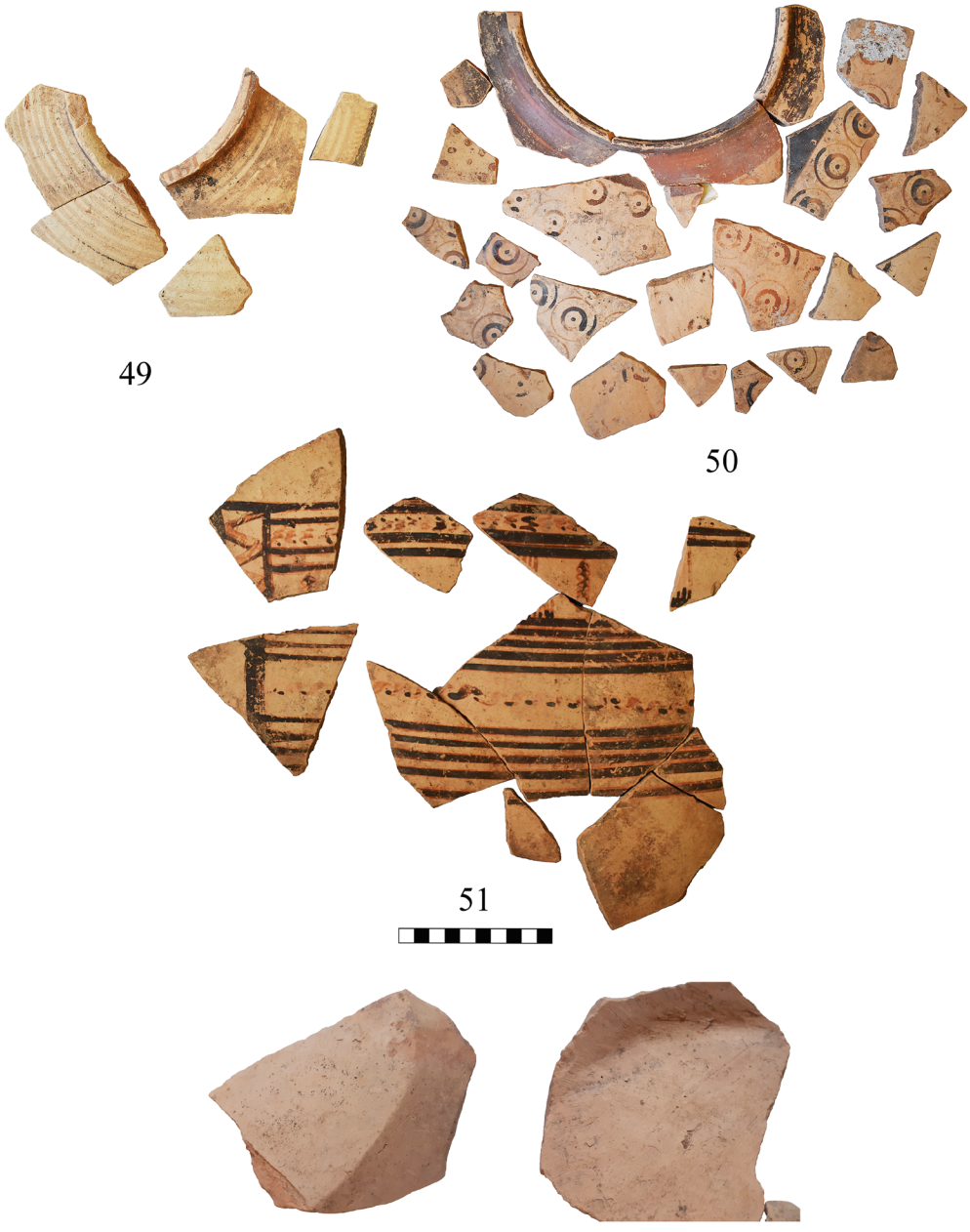


*Fig. 9. Dinoi and water carriers. Incomplete dinoi (nos. **49** and **50**) and the large water carrier (no. **51**), from Mastro Cave. (Photos: © Agathi Karadima).*

the cave lake, as their thin walls and solid manufacture made them both light and durable. In her discussion of handmade wares from Akarnania, Anne Sieverling emphasizes their longevity.[63]

Vessel **51** (Fig. 9) is a unique specimen restored from many body sherds (some joining). The vessel was manufactured using the coil technique. The matt-painted decoration develops on the vertical axis, an uncommon choice since horizontal zones are usual across Greece. Two sets of five parallel lines are divided by a reserved band containing a line of Ss, followed by a wide reserved band, and another set of four parallel lines divided by a band embellished with a row of vertical zigzags. The composition and abstract motifs recall matt-painted pottery from the Sybaritide.[64] The shape has close parallels among biconical pots found together with Oinotrian-Euboean type pottery on the summit of Timpone della Motta in Sybaris.[65] Even closer parallels are found among biconical Oinotrian vessels from Basilicata and particularly the local shapes of *olla* and *brocca*.[66] The orientation of the decoration on the vertical axis also recalls that on Iapygian pottery from Incoronata.[67] The manufacturing technique, shape, and decoration together recall local vessels from the area of Taranto, which range in date from the 10th to the end of the 7th century BCE. Vessel **51** likely belongs at the lower end of this date range.[68] The remaining undecorated handmade water carriers could range in date from the earliest use of the cave at least until the Archaic period.

Overall, this shape category is certainly local in character, with significance for the communities in the Paracheloitis. If **51** is a singleton, the use of decoration that recalls South Italian pottery demonstrates again that Italian wares were known to the potter concerned.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, both Drakaina and Mastro caves have produced evidence for cult activity, including ritual meals involving the storage, preparation, and consumption of food and drink.[69] It is likely that the cave lake at Mastro was also in regular use as a water source, with consequent

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[63] Sieverling 2018, 149–151.

[64] Jacobsen et al. 2015, fig. 6 a–b.

[65] Jacobsen et al. 2015, 154–157, fig. 6 a–b.

[66] Nava et al. 2009, 255–258, nos. A1a1.1, 5.1, B1a3.1, BVIIa4.1, CVIIb2.1, figs. 5, 7.

[67] Gastoldi 2009, 239–243, fig. 7.

[68] Nava et al. 2009, 253–254, fig. 4.

[69] On the subject of feasting and the preparation and consumption of food related to ritual, see Morgan et al., forthcoming.

impact on the shapes represented in the pottery assemblage. Since the figurine assemblages also give some indication of the interests and connections of visitors, I conclude with brief remarks about two cases that reflect different aspects of them.

Figurative Terracottas

Pottery aside, the communities that were in contact reproduced and shared two separate types of figurative terracottas. The first was a short-lived trend, a sub-category of the naked standing goddess that appeared in the Orientalizing period in various parts of mainland Greece, Crete, and South Italy. A distinctive characteristic of western Greek products is their burnished surface. Oliver Pilz suggests that Greek imitations of this type were inspired by the ivory handles of mirrors or fans dedicated at sanctuaries during the 8th and 7th centuries BCE.[70] The polish on these terracottas convincingly imitates the superficial warmth of the ivory.[71] He further suggests that a cream-coloured slip applied to the representation of a nude female on a terracotta plaque from Gortyn was an attempt to imitate the appearance of ivory. This trend obviously responded to a demand for cheaper substitutes for luxury votives, leading to innovative solutions in the production of terracottas.

An early 7th-century BCE plaque with a naked standing female (Fig. 10a–b; Pl. 20.1), a type of Near Eastern origin, was offered in Drakaina Cave probably sometime in the 7th century BCE.[72] Thereafter it was kept visible in a prominent place by the community that supported the cult.[73] The piece is distinctive for its burnished surface. More burnished terracottas found in the northwest (including a series of figurines and rhyta in the Archaic cemetery of Ambrakia) all show stylistic influences from the Near East. Similar terracottas have also been found in southern Italy, notably at Cosso Michelicchio and Francavilla Maritima.[74] As noted above, the reproduction of Orientalizing iconography on terracottas is often seen as related to ivory figurines and other luxurious artefacts that circulated

[70] Pilz 2009.

[71] On the significance of the imitation of ivory, see Pilz 2009, 103–104.

[72] For a detailed discussion of the figurine, including its archaeology, parallels, and suggested interpretation, see Karadima 2020, 1:199–207; 2:274–275.

[73] A figurine of the same iconographical type but locally produced was found in the cave of Ag. Nikolaos at Astakos; see Morgan, Chapter 8, no. 28, in this volume.

[74] On the trade in ivory during the Late Bronze Age in Greece and Italy, see Gill 1992.

as part of an elite trade during the 7th century BCE. I have argued elsewhere that the Drakaina figurine may have been dedicated following a sea journey, further underscoring the role of regional and long-distance maritime connections in sustaining personal and communal prosperity.[75] All finds of this type date no later than the early Archaic period, and so we may assume that this short-lived trend was followed by the mass production and dedication of the terracottas that flooded the sanctuaries thereafter.



Fig. 10; Pl. 20.1–3. Figurative terracottas from Drakaina Cave. a–b: nude female figurine; c–d: dancing groups. (Photos: © Agathi Karadima).

[75] Karadima 2020, 1:207.

Circular terracotta dancing groups are a second category of terracotta figurines that circulated alongside WAPP (but reached further), being popular at numerous sites in western Greece and (less often) southern Italy. These groups (Fig. 10c–d; Pl. 20.2–3) depict women holding hands and dancing in a circle around a musician, most often a flute player. The Drakaina Cave yielded over 20 different types of dance group, eight of which date to the 6th century BCE.[76]

This unique three-dimensional composition offers a rare glimpse into the world of female entertainment. It suggests that dances were performed in sanctuaries accompanied by singing and the playing of music. The main characteristic of the dancing figures is their individuality. Corinth and Leukas are the only two areas that seem to demonstrate stylistic homogeneity, where it is also possible to observe the evolution of figurines belonging to the same type.[77] At all other sites there is tremendous variety in size and type (handmade, mould-made, and composite). Corinth is generally seen as the originator of the dancing group type, but this conclusion probably reflects a lack of systematic excavation and publications from western Greece. Rather, it may have been Corinth that adopted a form of representation already widely popular in areas where the city had colonial and commercial interests. The fact that only one type circulated in Corinth indicates a different reception from the local community.

The groups discovered in the caves of western Greece highlight the willingness of coroplasts to experiment during the making of the votives. There is no standardization even for sites such as Drakaina, where the number of specimens alone would justify investment by a local workshop.[78] At least at Drakaina, the coroplast used frontal moulds, but in almost every case there are differences in the size of the group, the way the figurines are attached to the base, and the forming of the interconnected, extended arms of the dancers. Weathering suggests that the figurines were not fired in a kiln, but were fired briefly at a low temperature.[79] It is thus possible that the coroplast and the consumer were the same person, and that making this type of votive was part of the process of

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[76] Karadima 2020, 2:240–273.

[77] For Kokkinovrysi, Corinth: Kopestonsky 2009; for Leukas: Giza, in preparation.

[78] This is not a unique occurrence in western Greece. To my knowledge, a lack of standardization is evident at many other sites, e.g., the Kouretas Cave at Vonitsa where there is a sizeable (unpublished) assemblage of dancing groups.

[79] This process could have also taken place in a makeshift pit or even among the burning firewood of a hearth. Visitors to the cave would light fires to cook food, to provide light and warmth, and to fire the votives.

organizing a ritual gathering in the same way that women baked a specific type of bread and brought it as a gift to the shrine.[80] Some of the Drakaina groups are not single solid pieces; rather, separate small figurines were assembled on the base during each visit and perhaps then stored in the sanctuary after the gathering for use on a future occasion.[81]

In the caves of Pitsa in the Corinthia and Drakospelia on Kephallonia, moulds have been discovered that indicate that the manufacture of votives could involve their dedicators.[82] This opens a different perspective to the modern researcher, involving a less institutionalized approach to religion. While it does not imply a less active involvement of the *polis* in these cults, it does shed light on the practical aspects of ritual administration, especially in rural areas where a lack of structures and facilities encouraged the development of sophisticated solutions.

The appearance of this type of votive at many sites in western Greece indicates, if nothing else, a shared popular approach to worship via the offering of dancing groups. I would argue that if several communities dispersed over a wide region use the same type of votive, they may also share community-based ritual practices, songs, and dances.

Concluding Remarks: A Mediterranean Microhistory

The two assemblages considered in this chapter feature WAPP in both of the dominant decorative styles and in shapes that show close affinities with assemblages from the region Elis, western Achaia, and the Aitolian coast. In addition to identifying workshop(s) on Kephallonia and raising the question of the origin of the Mastro material, discussion has further contributed to a common theme through this book, namely differing local tastes and priorities. Some pieces show local idiosyncrasies entirely unconnected with WAPP. So how helpful is it to refer to a *koine* at this stage of enquiry? A *koine* in the social sense is a landscape formed via the participation of different partners who contribute to the shared cultural space while adopting enough common elements to justify their partnership. In this light, it may turn out, upon further study, that WAPP

[80] This may be the case at the Drakaina Cave, where handmade and composite figurines were found alongside moulds.

[81] Karadima 2020, 1:172–173; 2:249–252, types 8 and 9.

[82] Orlandos 1965; Samartzidou-Orkopoulou 2015, 465–471.

was the most notable manifestation of a western Greek *koine*. A community's initial engagement may have been due to a random factor such as proximity to a marketplace. But as contacts continued and expanded, we should not expect similar shapes and decorative motifs to appear and evolve in the same way at every site, as happened in Corinth or Athens where decisions about shape and decoration were comparatively centralized. In fact, we should expect that at some sites, elements from the WAPP repertoire would be selectively added to some very local shapes, while at others, shapes plus decoration would be replicated. As noted in the introduction, we need to assess networks, behaviours, and the choices made by individual communities in order to understand the formation of the cultural landscape. However, we are still in an initial phase of documentation, especially in the Mastro area.

Most importantly, trade facilitated contacts while the organization of cults and festivals institutionalized communication, sometimes among people otherwise unknown to each other. Achaians and other Peloponnesian groups who began voyaging to the west during the 8th century BCE developed a culture of communication and acceptance. The communities involved included, in addition to so-called 'colonial' Greeks, the indigenous peoples of southern Italy who coexisted with the settlers, and communities close to commercial routes on land or sea. To this last category belong the populations close to Drakaina Cave on Kephallonia and those who maintained the cult at Mastro. These disparate groups who came into contact occasionally and then routinely began to exchange products and ideas and to standardize ways of communication. The result was a hybrid culture with many manifestations in the material, social, and religious sphere, that took on a distinct and recognizable character during the 7th century BCE. Worship played a catalytic role in merging local and distant populations. Festivals that facilitated religious participation in cave sanctuaries may have been a means of communication across neighbouring and non-neighbouring communities. Cave shrines might have played a particular role as landmarks and critical contact nodes reinforcing religious sharing through their particular and dramatic spaces.[83]

At Drakaina, the most prominent influences come from the northwestern Peloponnese (and specifically Elis), extending south to Cyrenaica, including

[83] Kowalzig 2018, 108–110.

Tocra and Cyrene in the Early Archaic period.[84] As for Italy, a westward journey on the open sea from a Kephallonian port to Sicily would have lasted approximately two days. The impact of continuous interaction is seen in the use of similar cups, the making of similar dance groups, and the imitation of Corinthian pottery to create wares imported and distributed all over the region.[85] The Mastro material has a notable reach to Italian sites during the 7th century BCE, as demonstrated by the extended production and use of kraters and other large shapes (e.g., dinoi and oinochoai) that share decorative elements. A major trade route by land and sea followed the western shore and then turned west at the straits of Otranto. There Greek ships made landfall before sailing south down the Apulian coast to Sicily. Several stops *en route* were necessary to supplement supplies and pursue opportunities for trade.

To conclude, in this chapter I have considered the ways in which, in a context of interaction, influence was established among travelling groups, probably of Greeks and Italians, and local populations (settlers and indigenous communities) in Greece, Italy, and beyond (notably in North Africa). Important subjects for future research are the operation of the workshops and/or modes of production that served rural sanctuaries such as those at Drakaina and Mastro. It is essential to observe how small communities in the region engaged with larger cultural contexts and actively contributed to their formation. Discussion has introduced the important question of the reach of WAPP into Italy, noting the two-way flow of imports and influences. Here, too, this is a question of both incorporation of stylistic traits into local repertoires (i.e., of shared tastes) and of selective use of imported items for specific activities, to make points about status, agency, and identity. A clearer understanding of ceramic production and stylistic repertoires in Archaic western Greece opens new possibilities for more nuanced mapping of contemporary style flows to and from Italy.

Concordance

Vase numbers in the text (here in bold) correspond to the following numbers in the Ephorate's Mastro archive (in parentheses).

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[84] For a description of the route that included the port of Poros as a node in an extended maritime network, see Karadima 2020, 1:9–10.

[85] The study of Elian and other local imitations of Archaic Corinthian pottery and their distribution in western Greece is a separate subject worthy of scholarly attention.

1 (232), **2** (79), **3** (250), **4** (57), **5** (39), **6** (56), **7** (69), **8** (41), **9** (455), **10** (756), **11** (86), **12** (80), **13** (78), **14** (83), **15** (84), **16** (97), **17** (845), **18** (340), **19** (94), **20** (88), **21** (81), **22** (55), **23** (74), **24** (173), **25** (77), **26** (75), **27** (40), **28** (62), **29** (52), **30** (60), **31** (120), **32** (123), **33** (124), **34** (143), **35** (148), **36** (149), **37** (766), **38** (47), **39** (36), **40** (19), **41** (20), **42** (43), **43** (44), **44** (48), **45** (50), **46** (537), **47** (23), **48** (45), **49** (76), **50** (85), **51** (100), **52** (73).

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Tracking Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery and Other West Peloponnesian Ceramics through the Central Ionian Islands

Catherine Morgan

Abstract

The discovery in Drakaina Cave of a large body of Archaic pottery imported from, or influenced by, Lakonia and the western Peloponnese has re-opened the question of the nature and pattern of connections running through the central Ionian archipelago. In this chapter, I outline the broader island picture with reference to assemblages from comparatively well-known sites on Ithaka, and more recent studies on Leukas and at Astakos on the Akarnanian coast. I address the question of route(s) of transmission and the extent to which the material involved speaks to particular forms of connection. The relatively small role played by WAPP indicates that the islands were on the fringes of its core distribution, while pointing to a variety of local factors influencing preferences for this style.

Introduction

Agathi Karadima's discussion of Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery in assemblages from the cave sanctuaries at Drakaina in the territory of Pronnoi on Kephallonia, and Mastro in the wetlands near Oiniades, raises many questions about connections between the western part of the Corinthian Gulf and the central Ionian islands (Chapter 1, Fig. 1; Pl. 1).[1] These two sites have produced the most significant collections of imports and local productions of WAPP, Lakonian, and other west Peloponnesian-style vessels yet discovered in the northwest beyond the Aitolian coast. But sporadic finds and lesser distributions in and around the islands also merit attention, both to consider their place within (and influence upon) local assemblages, and to define the limits of intense import and local imitation, as distinct from the larger networks that reached southern Italy, Sicily, and North Africa.

[1] See also Karadima 2020; 2021; 2024; Nagel 2021.

The fact that the Drakaina assemblage is at present unique in the islands may be an artefact of exploration. One might expect Zakynthos in particular to show close connections with neighbouring Elis and the western Peloponnese, as a matter of proximity and because the southern sea routes from Pheia and Kyllini in Elis to Sicily, southern Italy, and the Adriatic ran via Zakynthos and southern and western Kephallonia.[2] But at present this is hard to verify as we have almost no Archaic evidence from any part of the island. Only a very few, probably Archaic sherds were collected in the survey conducted by the Zakynthos Archaeology Project. The most common fabric represented in the survey material is consistent with the western Peloponnese (finds include a Lakonian-type column krater) but, aside from rare Corinthian imports, few sherds are particularly diagnostic.[3] Southern and western Kephallonia at present seem equally uninformative. The large ceramic assemblage from the shrine at Drakospilia on the western coast of the Palike, currently under study by Stavroula Samartzidou-Orkopoulou, is of considerable interest not least because of the site's location in relation to the trade routes noted above. This study is work in progress, but preliminary indications suggest that there is no significant representation of WAPP or cognate material, and certainly nothing to compare with Drakaina. In short, we can only note the problem and the need for further fieldwork.

In this chapter, I present the picture now emerging further north, around Ithaka, Leukas, and the Akarnanian coast, where imports and stylistic influences, while not on the scale of Drakaina, spread along the main sea routes. The material under discussion either predates the Corinthian colony at Leukas, founded together with Anaktorion and Ambrakia late in the 7th century BCE (Strabo 7.7.6, 10.2.8), or belongs to its early decades. Chronology is significant because, among major infrastructure works undertaken in and around the new port of Leukas, the opening of a navigable channel in the strait to the east created a shorter and safer north-south route. The Leukas channel cannot be dated independently, but since it made a major contribution to the growth and prosperity of the colonial city, it is likely to have been an early development. Previously, Leukas was separated from the Plaghia Peninsula by an extended

[2] Wirbelauer 1999.

[3] Van Wijngaarden et al. 2013, 143–144, fig. 27 shows the column krater (from Vasilikos-Kaloyeros). Pottery: Gert Jan van Wijngaarden and Vladimir Stissi pers. comm.; Benton 1931–1932, 213–218.

shallow lagoon closed off from the Ionian Sea to the north by a beach ridge system.[4] The main shipping routes at that time ran up the Ithaka channel and then either north around the western coast of Leukas or northeast towards Vlicho bay or Astakos (the port at the end of a main land route into the Akarnanian interior). These routes continued to be significant even after the channel was opened, both for traffic originating elsewhere in the islands and as alternatives when the channel silted up and became impassible.

With these considerations in mind, I turn to the evidence for imports and/or influences, area by area.

Ithaka

On Ithaka, two major excavations conducted during the 1930s by the British School at Athens in the settlement at Aetos[5] and at a seaside shrine in Polis bay produced large if poorly contextualized assemblages of Early Iron Age and Archaic pottery.[6] More recently, a small but well-stratified series of Late Archaic–Classical deposits connected with feasting was revealed in a rescue excavation on the Fitzgerald and Steven property on the opposite side of Polis bay.[7] In the south of the island, limited Archaic evidence comes from rescue excavation on the Georgakopoulos plot in modern Vathy.[8]

As is commonly observed, imports and influences from the western Gulf area have a long history on Ithaka.[9] During the late 8th and early 7th centuries BCE, local imitations and often highly creative adaptations are significantly more common than actual imports. A distinctive example is the Late Geometric II straight-sided oinochoe **1** (Fig. 1a; Pl. 20.4), a local version of a shape found in Achaia, Aitolia, and Messenia, here given a distinctive twist by the addition of a plastic figure to the neck. The small body of imports of this period is represented by the Achaian vessels **2** and **3**, a Late or Subgeometric pithos and a Late Geometric II three-handled kantharos (Fig. 1b–c; Pl. 20.5–6). Somewhat more

[4] Brockmüller et al. 2012.

[5] Benton 1953; Heurtley and Robertson 1948.

[6] Benton 1938–1939; Morgan and Hayward 2021.

[7] Livitsanis 2014. The Stavros Valley Survey, directed by the author and Andreas Sotiriou, produced little securely datable Archaic pottery and no diagnostic imports.

[8] Livitsanis 2013, 103, figs. 10–11; Livitsanis 2014.

[9] Exemplified by Coldstream 2008, 220–232; Symeonoglou 2002, 106–110, 170–172, 209–212.

common at both Aetos and the Polis Bay shrine are tall dark-ground western Greek kantharoi of types common across the western Gulf area.[10] On Ithaka, they fit within a local tradition dating far back into the Early Iron Age: most examples are local products, although imports are attested (**4** is probably from Achaia, Fig. 1d; Pl. 20.7).[11] Some have reserved bands on the lip and/or linear decoration on the handles, but there is as yet no evidence for added white decoration on Ithakesian products.

Moving forward to the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, WAPP vessels are known on Ithaka but in low numbers and a limited range of shapes. To date these consist of four imported drinking vessels and two local closed vessels, to which we may add five black-glazed Lakonian or west Peloponnesian Lakonianizing vessels and three Lakonian aryballoi (of which **8** is the best preserved; Fig. 1h; Pl. 20.11).[12] From the Polis Bay shrine come three kantharoi (Fig. 1e–g; Pl. 20.8-10, no. **5**, **6** and **7**) with (lost) conical feet and added red and white band decoration on a dark ground (on the mid body and lip where preserved). This type is one of the most common open forms at Drakaina, Elian Pylos, and Olympia, and is widely distributed.[13] The fabric and glaze of **6** are consistent with a Lakonian origin, while those of **5** and **7** are identical but from a different source. Given the location and accessibility of the Polis Bay shrine, these kantharoi, plus at least three Lakonian aryballoi of similar date, could have been left by foreign travellers or Ithakesians.

Two Ithakesian closed vessels indicate that *light-on-dark* polychromy was adopted by local makers, if in a restrained fashion when compared to the west Peloponnesian and Aitolian repertoires. An oinochoe with added red and white bands was found on the Georgakopoulos plot[14] and another with added white bands comes from Pyre 2 on the Fitzgerald and Steven property.[15] Three further

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[10] See Barfoed and Morgan, Chapter 1, this volume for discussion of terminology.

[11] Conveniently listed by Papadopoulos 2001, 408–410, although his suggestion that all are imports is incorrect (it relies on assessments of fabric made by Sylvia Benton and Martin Robertson: the range of fabric recipes local to Ithaka is now better understood); see Gadolou 2008, 302–304.

[12] I include in this discussion stylistically Lakonian material (whether or not made in Lakonia) because it features elements of *light-on-dark* decoration akin to WAPP and there is evidence of local manufacture in the western Peloponnese outside Lakonia.

[13] Karadima 2020, 1:75–81; Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 53, 56–57; Gauer 1975, 169–172.

[14] Livitsanis 2013, 104, fig. 10.

[15] Livitsanis 2014, 83, 244, no. 42, fig. I.42, pl. II.25.

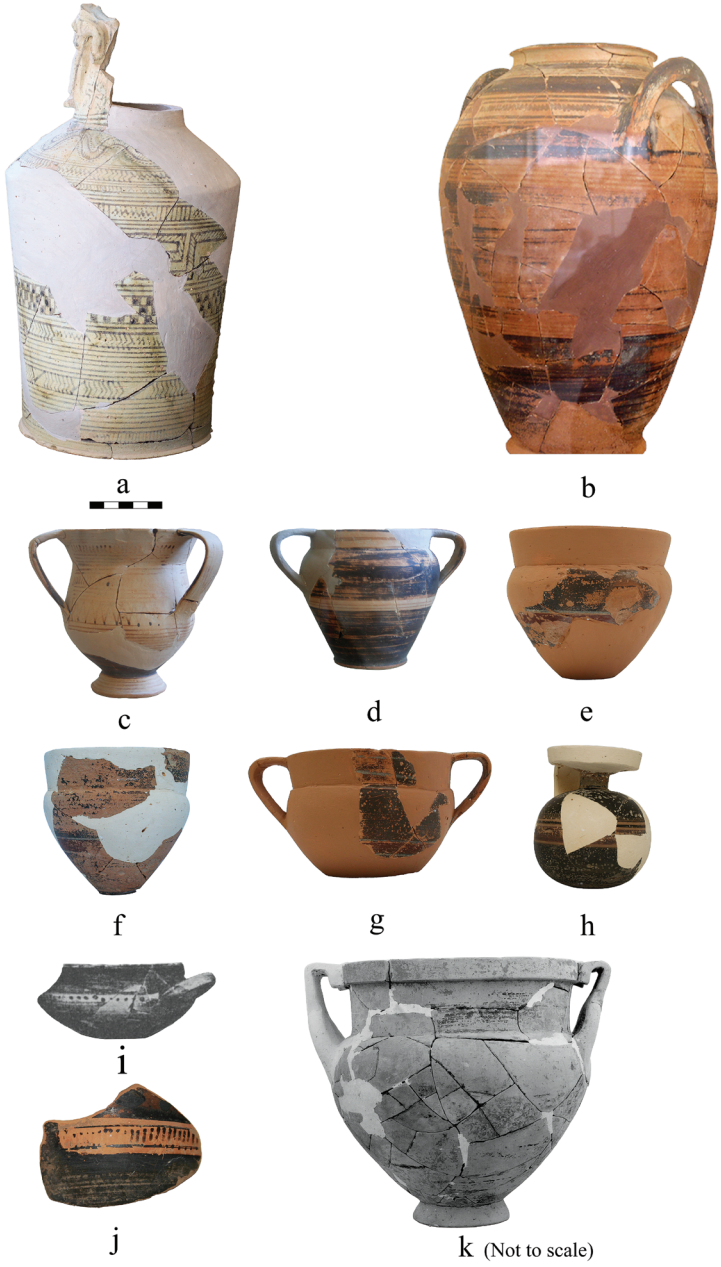


Fig. 1; Pl. 20.4–11. Late Geometric and Early Archaic Peloponnesian imports from Ithaka (a–d: Aetos; e–i: Polis Bay; j: Stavros; k: Platreithias). (Photos a–h, j: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Kephallonia and Ithaka/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development; Photos i and k: Reproduced by courtesy of the British School at Athens). Photos b–h: Catherine Morgan; a, j: Andrea Babbi.

imports from that pyre (a WAPP cup with a red band round the rim identical to examples from Drakaina Cave,[16] and a Lakonian black-glazed mug[17] and table amphora[18]) also point to the circulation of WAPP and related material in 6th-century BCE Ithakesian communities. Their find context, the final deposition of the remains of Pyre 2, is securely dated to ca. 480–475 BCE, significantly later than the vessels themselves, meaning that they must have been in circulation for some while.[19] A western Greek cup with a low base and added white bands, found in the adjacent and broadly contemporary mixed Deposit NKIII, is closer in date but plausibly still late 6th century BCE.[20] Finally, we note a Lakonian cup of the second half of the 6th century BCE (**9**, Fig. 1j) from the settlement at Aetos, a related type from Stavros (Fig. 1i), and a krater of similar date (Fig. 1k, no. **10**) from near Platreithias in northern Ithaka (photographed in the 1930s by the British School team). It is highly likely that future work on black glaze from Aetos in particular will reveal more Lakonian/west Peloponnesian material, but at present we lack diagnostic Archaic profiles.

Almost all of the WAPP and western Peloponnesian imports so far identified on Ithaka belong to widely popular types of fine tableware. The exception, **11** (Fig. 2; Pl. 20.12), from the Polis Bay shrine, is best paralleled by a group of four amphorai from wells 25 SO and 3 StN at Olympia. These are dated early in the 7th century BCE by their context and their linear, loosely Geometric, decoration.[21] Overall, however, the number of vessels is small, and their decoration limited to *light-on-dark*; much of the repertoire attested in Elis and at sites such as Kalydon or Mastro, including *dark-on-light* plates and bowls, is missing. This is not a question of publication. Informed by Karadima's work

[16] Livitsanis 2014, 235, no. 30, fig. I.30, pl. II.12. As Karadima 2020, 2:101, 105–106, nos. 158–159, noting Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, no. C132, pl. 33 and Gauer 1975, 181, pl. 37.2–3, in support of a date in the early 6th century BCE.

[17] Livitsanis 2014, 233, no. 27, fig. I.27, pl. II.9. Comparison with Stibbe 1994, 27, 29–31, 93–95, figs. 100 (C4) and 105 (D6) suggests a date in the second or third quarter of the 6th century BCE.

[18] Livitsanis 2014, 233–234, no. 28, fig. I.28, pl. II.10. As Stibbe 2000, 66–67, pl. 11, the lip form is consistent with Group B of the second quarter of the 6th century BCE.

[19] Livitsanis 2014, 50–55.

[20] Livitsanis 2014, 63–64 (context), 250, no. 52, fig. I.52, pl. II.31; as Stibbe 1994, 67, 175, no. E10, fig. 228, subgroup Eb, ca. 575 BCE (the type continues to the first quarter of the 5th century BCE).

[21] Gauer 1975, 84, 86, pl. 1.4–6.

on the Drakaina assemblage, I reviewed unpublished finds from the British School campaigns in the 1930s and found little new information to add to the more recent finds published by Gerasimos Livitsanis. Archaic Ithakesian assemblages appear to be dominated by local/regional Corinthianizing and other local Ithakesian traditions (including western Greek influences long embedded in the local repertoire), with WAPP and its cognates only a small presence. It is tempting to suggest that the richness of local *dark-on-light* floral and figured decoration (sometimes incorporating black-figure elements) as part of a highly inventive local Orientalizing repertoire, meant that WAPP in either version held less appeal. There is a real difference with Drakaina across the Ithaka channel; potential explanations for this can be found in geography (since Ithaka is some way to the north of Poros), pre-existing ceramic traditions, and larger patterns of external connection.



Fig. 2; Pl. 20.12. Early Archaic Elian import from Polis Bay, Ithaka. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/ Ephorate of Antiquities of Kephallonia and Ithaka/ Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development). Photo: Catherine Morgan.

Ithaka: Catalogue

1 Vathy Museum 183. Fig. 1a; Pl. 20.4

Straight sided oinochoe with plastic female figure attached to the neck.

Benton 1953, 327, no. 1026, pl. 56; Morgan 2006, 226–227; Symeonoglou 2002, 144, 274, no. 200, fig. 84d.

Pres. ht. 29.5 cm.; diam. base 13.6.

Fabric: very light brown 2.5Y 8/2, surface fired very hard, green (close to 5Y 7/2). Ithakesian.

Late Geometric II.
Aetos nucleus 12.

2 Vathy Museum 577. Fig. 1b; Pl. 20.5
Pithos: dark ground: outer edge of upstanding rim reserved and slipped; three groups of reserved bands down body, with a zigzag line at the base of the topmost group.
Heurtley and Robertson 1948, 72, no. 401, pl. 27; Benton 1953, 302, no. 859, pl. 52; Symeonoglou 2002, 301, no. 280.
Ht. 39.2 cm., diam. rim 14.5.
Fabric: reddish yellow 5YR 7/6. Achaian.
Papadopoulos 2001, 408–410 proposed this as an Achaian import, a view strengthened by the publication of a stamnoid krater from Katarraktis (Lopesi) with very similar decoration (and a similar but paler, fabric): Gadolou 2008, 145, no. 151, fig. 126. I therefore favour a Late or Subgeometric date over the MGI proposed by Symeonoglou 2002, 159–160, 301.
Aetos. Context unknown.

3 Vathy Museum 136. Fig. 1c; Pl. 20.6
Three-handled kantharos.
Heurtley and Robertson 1948, 67, 105, no. 358, fig. 40, pl. 23; Symeonoglou 2002, no. 120, fig. 68h.
Ht. 12.7 cm.; diam. rim 11.4.
Fabric: light pinkish brown 7.5YR 8/4 to 10YR 8/4. Imported: likely Achaian.
Body profile and decorative scheme (although not exact motifs) as Gadolou 2008, 128–129, no. 108, fig. 101, from Katarraktis (Lopesi) cist tomb A.
Late Geometric II.
Aetos Upper Deposit.

4 Vathy Museum 143. Fig. 1d; Pl. 20.7
Tall kantharos with bands around the lip and mid body; a vertical stripe down each handle.
Heurtley and Robertson 1948, 67, no. 354, fig. 14, pl. 22 (noting similarities with the locally produced nos. 352–353; cf. Benton 1953, 292, nos. 767–768, fig. 11); Symeonoglou 2002, 244, no. 112, fig. 67i.
Ht. 9.8 cm.; diam. rim 8.8.
Fabric: light pinkish brown as **3**. Imported: likely Achaian.
Profile and main body decoration as Gadolou 2008, 115, no. 81, fig. 86 from Asani-Kryoneri (Skoura property), Early Archaic; see Gauer 1975, 165, 167, K 943, pl. 33.4.
Late Geometric II/Early Archaic.
Aetos Upper Deposit.

5 Stavros Museum 58. Fig. 1e; Pl. 20.8
WAPP tall kantharos: missing foot; scars only of handle attachments. Added red and white band mid body; rim lost.
Benton 1938–1939, 20, no. 19
Fabric: light orange 7.5YR 7/4. Imported.
As Karadima 2020, 2:21–22, no. 12; Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 55–56, no. C117, ill.12; Gauer 1975, 169–172, pl. 34.
Archaic. Late 7th to first half of the 6th century BCE.
Polis Bay sanctuary.

6 Stavros Museum 57. Fig. 1f; Pl. 20.9
WAPP tall cup or kantharos with junction of a high conical foot; handle(s) lost. Added red and white bands on mid body and (trace only) rim.
Benton 1938–1939, 20, no. 20, fig. 7, pl. 10.
Rim diam. 8.8 cm.
Fabric: reddish brown 2.5YR 7/4. Imported: Lakonian?
As **5**.
Polis Bay sanctuary.

7 Stavros Museum 53. Fig. 1g; Pl. 20.10
WAPP cup or kantharos (restored as a kantharos). Added red and white band on mid body: rim lost. Imported.
Benton 1938–1939, 20, no. 21, pl. 10.
Fabric: light orange 7.5YR 7/4. Imported; as **5**.
Body profile as Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, no. C111, ill. 12.
Polis Bay sanctuary.

8 Stavros 94. Fig. 1h; Pl. 20.11
Globular aryballos with purple band between white lines.
Benton 1938–1939, 28, no. 13, pl. 13d; Deoudi 2008, 172, no. 492, pl. 30 (noting two further examples, nos. 490–491).
Ht. 7.4 cm.
Fabric: reddish brown (vessel restored; no section exposed). Lakonian import.
Stibbe 2000, 26, 97, Group A, as no. A5, fig. 3 (Subgroup Ab, found at graves at Taranto with Middle Corinthian pottery).
Third quarter 7th century to the third quarter of the 6th century BCE (likely ca. 620–570 BCE).
Polis Bay sanctuary.

9 Fig. 1j
Black-glazed cup with row of dots in handle zone and low base moulding.

Benton 1953, 279, fig. 7, no. 664 (noting three similar rims).
Ht. 6 cm.; max. diam. 12.
Fabric: brown. Lakonian?
As Stibbe 1994, 68–69, cup Subgroup Ec, no. E18, fig. 237 (Olympia Well 19 SO). For the type in Elis, noting also parallels in North Africa: Lang 1992, 48–50, fig. 3.2. The type is well represented at Drakaina Cave: Karadima 2020, 2:102–103, nos. 151–153.
A further Lakonian(izing) cup sherd, unpublished, from settlement-related fills excavated by the BSA at Stavros (Fig. 1i), resembles the related cup Group Ed, Stibbe 1994, 69–70, no. E38, fig. 255 (from Sparta).
6th century BCE, second half.
Aetos. VN

10 Stavros Museum, uncatalogued. Fig. 1k
Black-glazed krater, Lakonian type.
Unpublished (now lost).
See Stibbe 1989, 37-40, foot and body proportions as fig. 46, F8.
6th century BCE, second quarter onwards.
Photograph annotated 'From near Platreithias in N. Ithaka': unpublished grave (chance find, now lost)
Photo: BSA Archive uninventoried.
Stavros.

11 Stavros Museum, uncatalogued. Fig. 2; Pl. 20.12
Neck sherd of closed vessel with linear matt painted decoration over a pale slip.
Unpublished.
As Gauer 1975, 46, 84–85, pl. 1.5 from Olympia Well 25 SO (noting a further shoulder sherd from a similar vessel in the same deposit).
7th century BCE.
Polis Bay sanctuary.

Leukas

On Leukas, 7th- and 6th-century BCE ceramic evidence comes from two main sites (Fig. 3); the acropolis of the colonial *asty* (Koulmos hill) and Boliatso Cave.

On the northern hill of Koulmos, evidence for pre- and early colonial activity was found in a small excavation conducted on behalf of Wilhelm Dörpfeld by Emil Krüger in 1901. The selection of pottery retained (41 sherds from at least 31 vessels, now in the archaeological collection of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens) ranges in date from the Late Bronze Age to the

Middle Byzantine period. It includes 11 sherds of the 8th to 7th century and four of the 7th to 6th century BCE.[22] Krüger's excavation notebook records mixed fill with no details of stratigraphy or datable contexts, and no indication

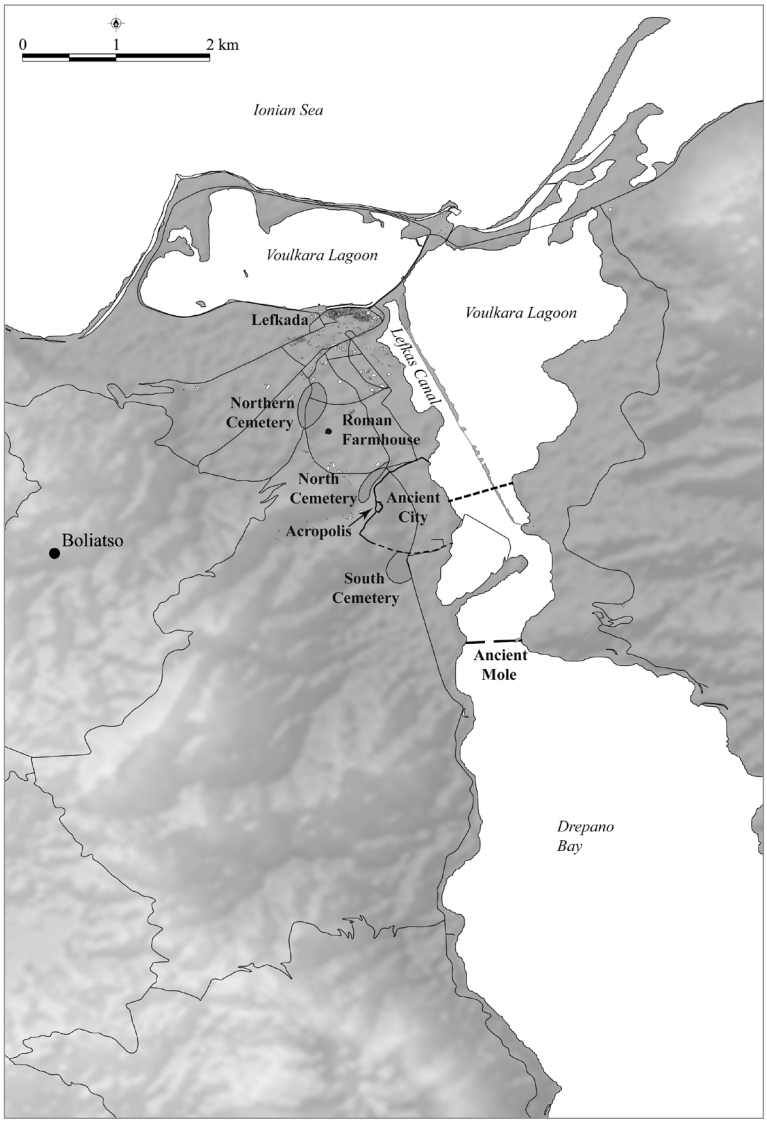


Fig. 3. Boliatso Cave and the area of the city of Leukas. Map created by Jaap Fokkema.

[22] Morgan 2023, nos. 2–12, 13–16 respectively.

of the rationale behind the selection of sherds for retention. In the absence of this information or details of the retrieved assemblage, we can only note the date and characteristics of the surviving sherds. Archaic pottery from the area of the colonial settlement is slight but comes from more recent, systematic excavations. It consists of House AII.1 and Archaic strata in plots AII, AIIII, BI and BII of the urban grid.[23]

Boliatso Cave in the north-central highlands of Leukas was fully excavated by Miranda Hatziotis for the Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology between 1994 and 2004, and is the subject of an ongoing publication project.[24] When activity resumed here after a post-Bronze Age hiatus, probably late in the 8th century BCE, the cave served as a repository for votives (notably figurines and miniature vessels) and for pottery used to prepare and serve communal meals. This activity continued though the Classical and Hellenistic periods; pottery was evidently dumped inside the cave with no clear stratigraphy or other manmade features to help with dating. The variety of vessel forms present suggests that events were supplied from participant households rather than via centralized procurement. Equipment was likely brought to the site on each occasion, noting the relatively remote location of the cave and the lack of evidence for storage. The shrine assemblage is thus a subset of Archaic Leukadan domestic assemblages favouring highly portable and adaptable vessels.

Even though the 8th and 7th century BCE record on Leukas is less well documented than that on Ithaka, the picture now emerging indicates differences in the pottery found on the two islands. Earlier in the Iron Age, Leukas shows strong connections with the northwestern mainland from Epirus to Aitolia, with, in addition to a range of handmade coarse and semi-coarseware, imports such as orange-red ware and late matt-painted vessels. At present, this period is represented in southern Leukas (at the Karou Cave near Nidri)[25] and on neighbouring Meganisi (in the Cave of the Cyclops and at the sites of Tourlos and Myli explored by the Inner Ionian Archipelago Survey, Fig. 4).[26]

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[23] Fiedler 2013, 26–28.

[24] *ADelt* 49 (1999) B2, 842 [E.-M. Chatzioti]; *ADelt* 52 (2003) B3, 1176 [E. Chatziotou]; Morgan et al. forthcoming.

[25] Dörpfeld 1927, 170, 278; Leukas Museum D141/1, 9th to early 7th century BCE.

[26] *ADelt* 56–59 (2001–2004) 485–487, B6 [P. Triantafyllidou and D. Chatzilazarou] (material under study by the author); Galanidou et al. 2018, 454.

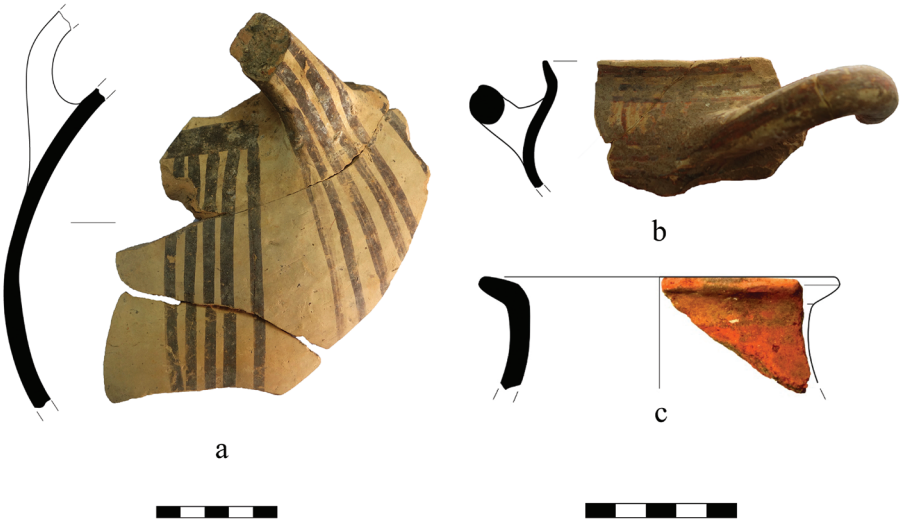


Fig. 4. Early Iron Age pottery from Leukas (a–b: matt-painted jar and Corinthianizing skyphos from Karou Cave; c: Early Iron Age red ware from the Cave of the Cyclops, Meganisi). (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada/Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development). Illustrations: Catherine Morgan and Denitsa Nenova.

Some of the less diagnostic plain and coarseware from Meganisi points in the same geographical direction but is hard to date, especially in surface assemblages. Thereafter, the largest collection of 8th- and early 7th-century BCE pottery comes from the Koulmos acropolis, with indicative examples shown in Fig. 5; Pl. 20. Apart from one Thessalian greyware vessel, this material comprises Ithakesian and Corinthian imports and local/regional wares in broadly Corinthian tradition.[27] To date, the earliest western Peloponnesian import is a black-glazed kantharos from the Archaic level k in plot AI in the urban centre.[28] This is an isolated find, closely comparable with late 8th- to early 7th-century BCE flat-based kantharoi from Olympia, and clearly residual in a level otherwise dated by pottery of the first half of the 6th century BCE.

[27] Morgan 2023, nos. 5 (Thessalian: DAI 26502), 6 (Ithakesian: DAI 26492 + 26493), 7 (local/regional Corinthianizing: DAI 26490), and 9 (Corinthian: DAI 26499 + 264500).

[28] Fiedler 2013, 174, 366, inv. L-A'2/M23-15/1, no. 2095, pl. 162 (proposing a later Archaic date based on an unglazed kitchenware vessel from a context of ca. 620–590 BCE at Tocra). The closest parallel is the early (late 8th to early 7th century BCE) form from Olympia: Eder 2006, 199, 224, no. 104, pls. 59, 79; Gauer 1975, 165–167, no. K 467, pl. 33.1.

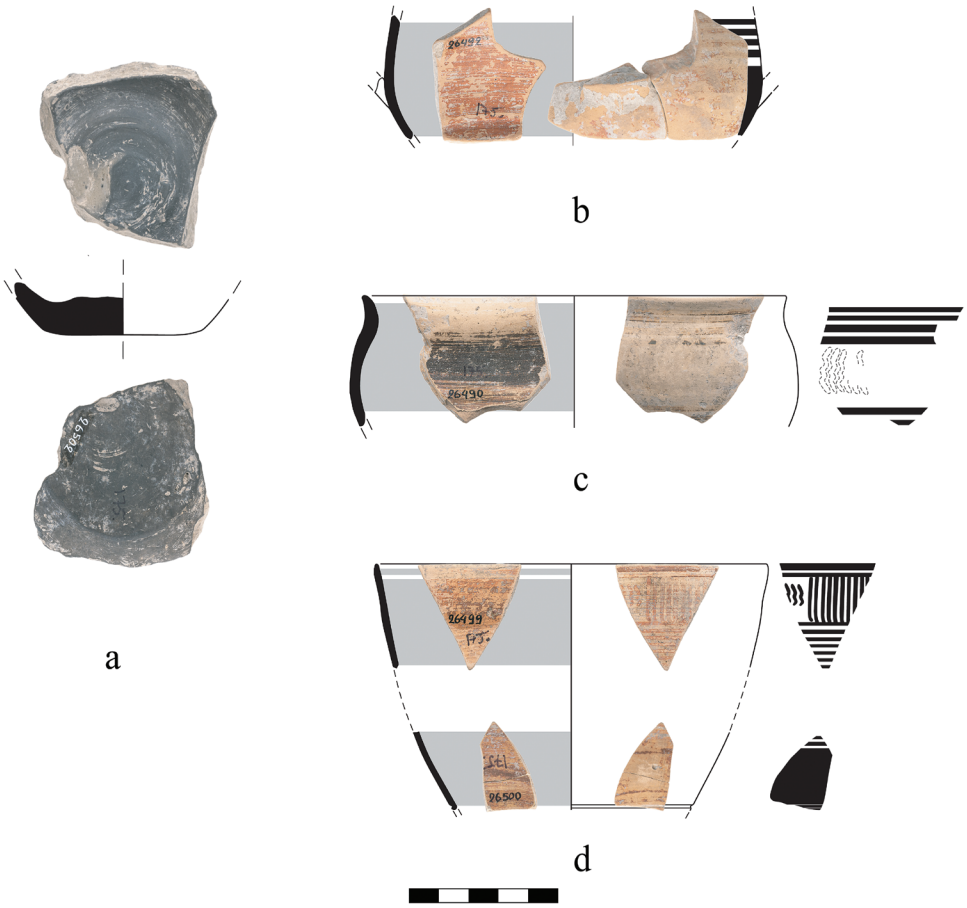


Fig. 5; Pl. 20.13. 8th- and early 7th-century BCE pottery from the Leukas Acropolis (a–d). (Reproduced by courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens). Drawings: Denitsa Nenova; Photographs: Eva Diana Breitfeld-von Eickstedt; Illustrations edited by Christina Kolb.

7th- and early 6th-century BCE pottery is currently better represented at Boliatso Cave, where we find clearer evidence of western Peloponnesian connections (Fig. 6). These are generally seen in the decoration of singleton vessels (more commonly local/regional products than mainland imports). Other examples of the same shape show looser, generic similarities to western mainland forms rather than Corinthian, Ithakesian, or Akarnanian (as represented on the neighbouring Plaghia Peninsula; see Anne Sieverling-Pantelidis and Franziska Lang's chapter (9) in this volume). Among open forms, only the kantharos **12**

(Fig. 6a; Pl. 21.1) preserves WAPP decoration, although the presence of sherds of this shape with little or no surviving paint (as **13**, Fig. 6b) suggests that this may be fortuitous. The form of the rim, an upstanding wedge slightly offset or scraped around the junction with the body, appears to be a local/island trait also found on kraters and cognate forms of all sizes (Figs. 6c–d, see **14** and **15**). **16** is a rare Archaic Lakonian import on the island (Fig. 6e).

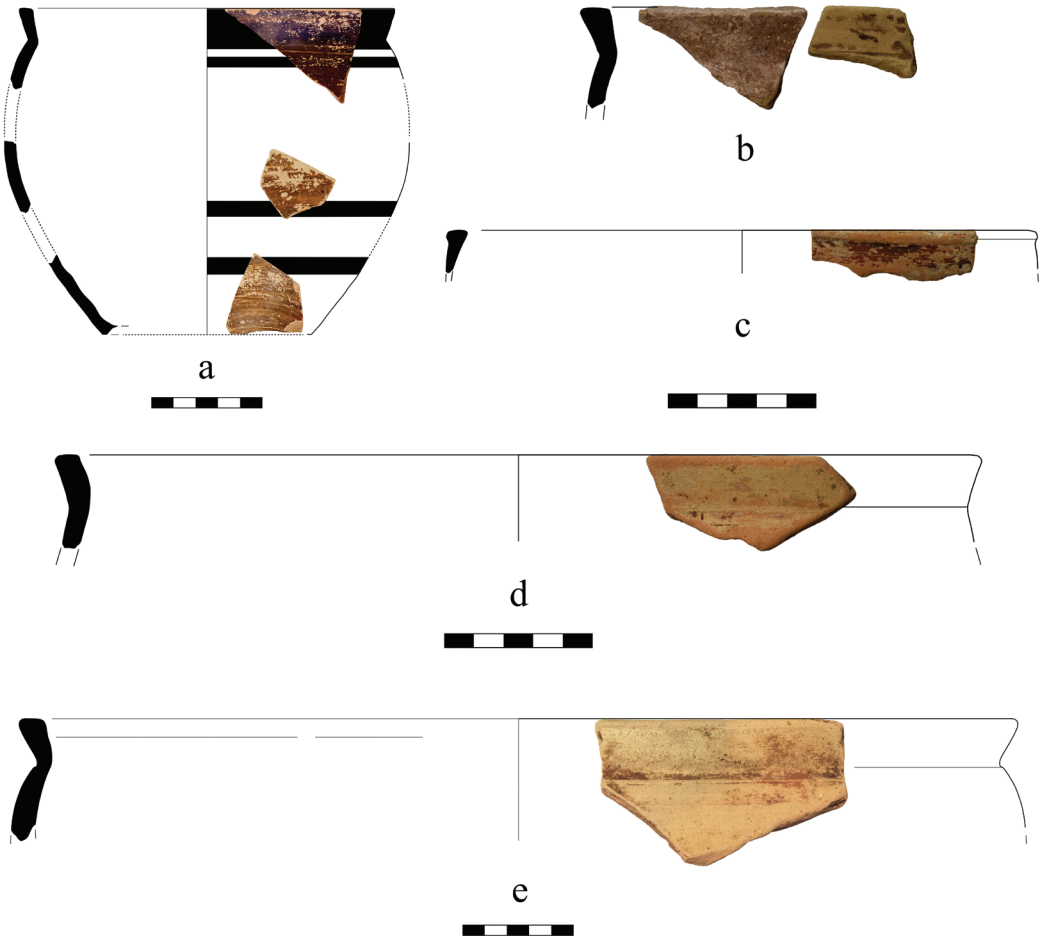


Fig. 6; Pl. 21.1. 7th-century BCE open vessels from Boliatso Cave, Leukas (a–e). (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development). Illustrations: Denitsa Nenova.

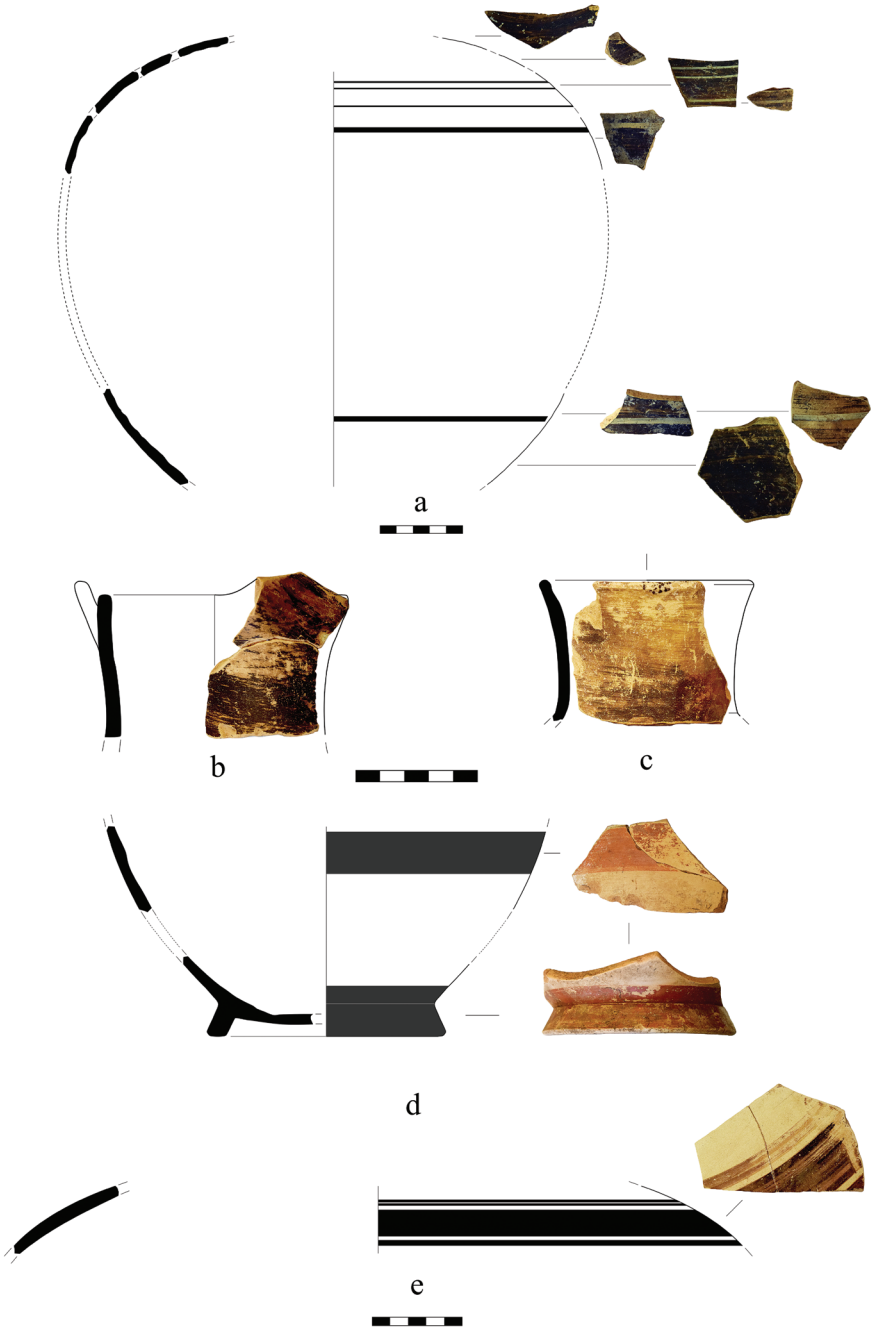


Fig. 7. Archaic closed vessels from Boliatso Cave, Leukas (a–e). (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/ Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development). Illustrations: Denitsa Nenova.

Closed table vessels (Fig. 7) include at least one *light-on-dark* import (**17**, probably an oinochoe, Fig. 7a), plus a local trefoil-mouthed oinochoe **18** with added white ornament in the fold of the trefoil. Decoration in this position is popular in the western Peloponnese and (to a lesser extent) Corinth, although the framed six-point star on **18** is distinctive (Fig. 7b). The more common local jug forms, exemplified by **19**, have short, flaring necks, and either round mouths or slight trefoil shaping as **19** (Fig. 7c). They may be solidly glazed or decorated with broad bands on light ground. Larger closed vessels also have broad bands (commonly fired orange, as **20**, Fig. 7d), a style found in Corinth, along the Gulf (e.g., at Chalkis), on Kephallonia, and at Olympia, as noted below. Popular configurations of band decoration are illustrated by **21** and **22**. The lower body of **21** is lost, but we note that this combination of broad glaze band(s) flanked by fine bands can be carried down the entire body or confined to the zone beneath the shoulder (Fig. 7e).

The same configuration is expressed in *light-on-dark* WAPP on a closed vessel from Chalkis cited under **21**. Fig. 8 illustrates the scheme of large groups of fine reserved bands (their thinness recalling added white lines), often beneath a reserved shoulder zone, found at a number of western sites. **22** may be an Aitolian import (Fig. 8a); it has a particularly close parallel in a sherd collected by Sylvia Benton from Kryoneri (Fig. 8b), the probable site of the port of ancient Kalydon (some 10 km east of the city beyond the Evinos River).[29] A similar scheme is also found on a much smaller local Akarnanian vessel from Astakos; here the curved edge of glaze around a handle attachment intrudes onto the shoulder zone (Fig. 8c).

Large open or semi-open forms (kraters and stamnoid shapes), locally produced at Leukas, show greater creativity and a variety of influences and connections (Fig. 9). The floral/spiral motif on the krater **23** fits a fashion for spiral motifs found around the Corinthian Gulf from the early 7th century BCE on, albeit slightly differently expressed in each local tradition (Fig. 9a). As noted in the catalogue below, **23** resembles a krater found together with WAPP vessels at Mastro (and dated by Karadima accordingly), although its more clearly Geometric decorative traits suggest an earlier date. The floral motif on the stamnos-like vessel **24** is more plausibly later, and the closest parallel for the shape is 6th century BCE (Fig. 9b). If **24** does copy the Lakonian stamnos as

[29] Benton 1931–1932, 239, fig. 20.4; British School at Athens, MUS XF 005.01.

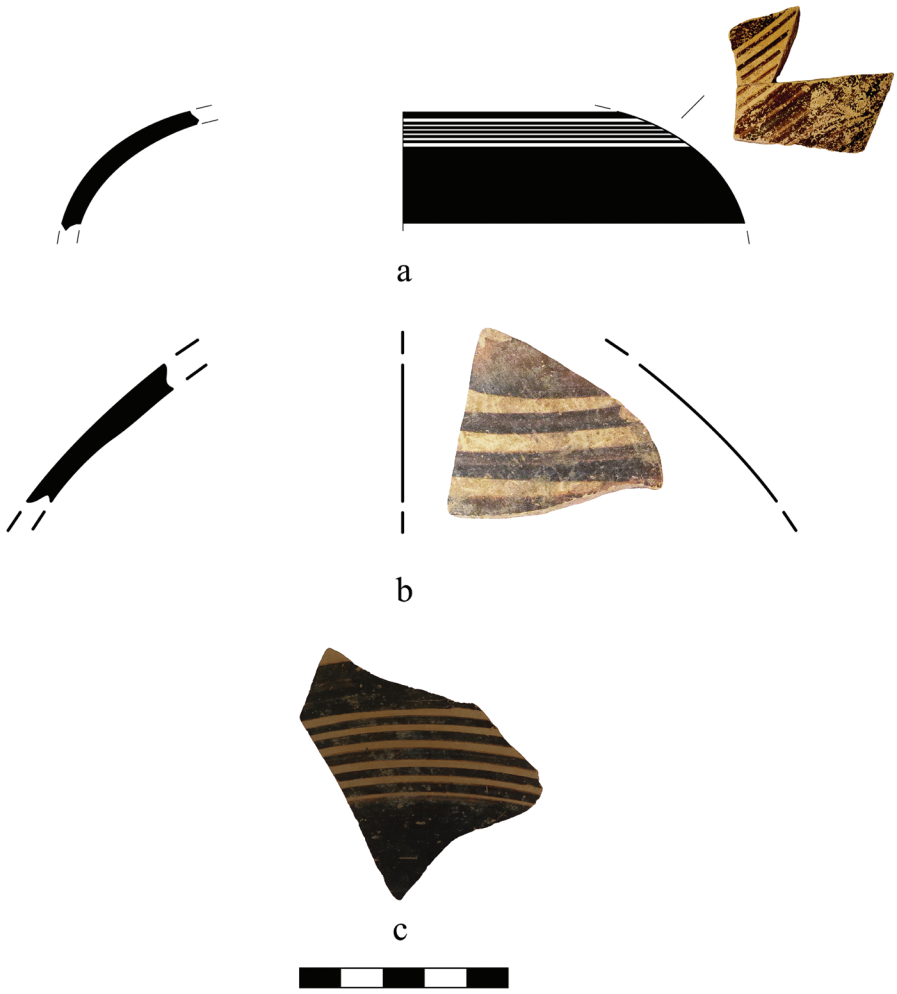


Fig. 8. Archaic closed vessel (a: Boliatso Cave, Leukas); with comparanda from Ag. Nikolaos, Astakos, Akarnania (b) and Kryoneri in Aitolia (c). (a: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development; b: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development; c: reproduced by courtesy of the British School at Athens). a: Illustration: Denitsa Nenova; b: Illustration: Denitsa Nenova and Christina Kolb; c: Photograph: Catherine Morgan.

proposed below, this would make it a local rendition of a shape developed primarily for export to the west. Similar western links may also be seen in **25**, which combines the form of Type A stamnoi from Sybaris with a local choice of

monochrome decoration (Fig. 9c). It should, however, be noted that vessels with a more or less rounded profile and upstanding rim of varying height—whether called kraters, stamnoid kraters, stamnoi, or dinoi (practice is inconsistent and sometimes confusing)—appear across Thessaly and the northwest in a variety of local versions (see below). **24** and **25** thus fit within a larger regional pattern of experiment.

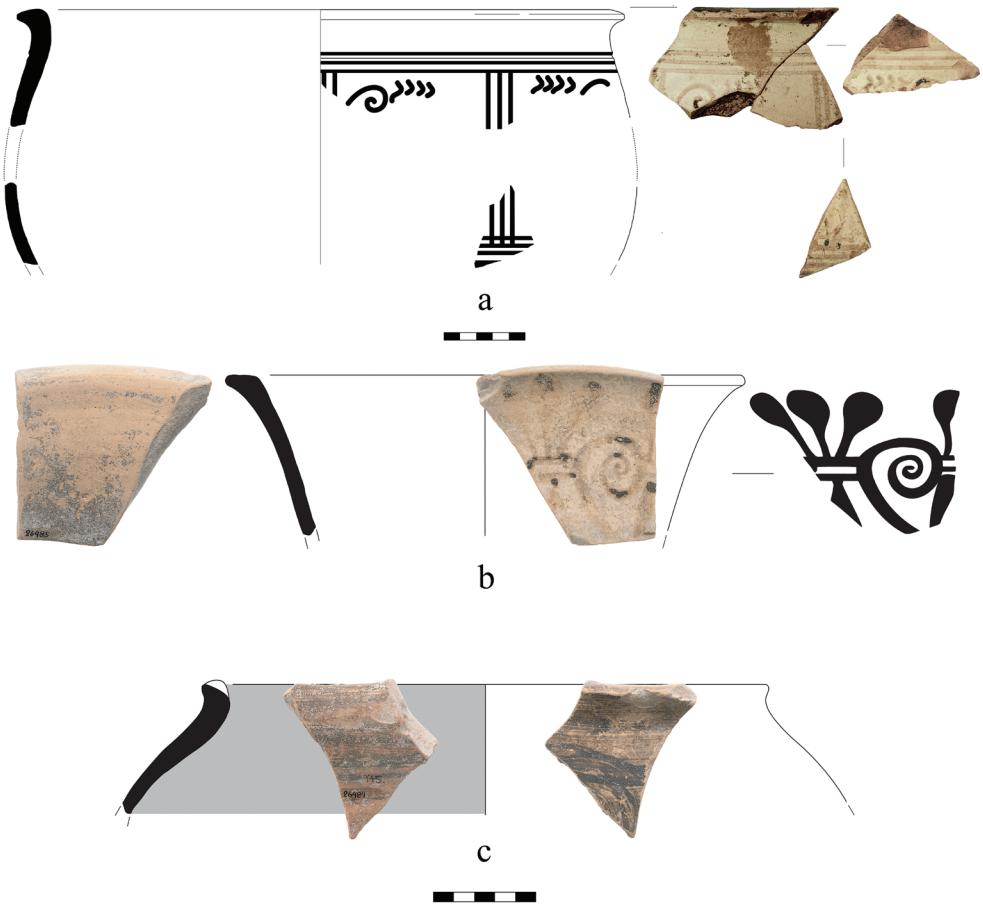


Fig. 9. Kraters/stamnoid vessels from Boliatso Cave (a) and the Koulmos acropolis, Leukas (b–c). (a: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development; b–c: reproduced by courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens). a: Illustration: Denitsa Nenova; b–c: Drawings: Denitsa Nenova; b–c: Drawings: Denitsa Nenova; Photographs: Eva Diana Breitfeld-von Eickstedt; Illustrations edited by Christina Kolb:

Research into pre- and early colonial Leukas is still in its early stages and the quantity of available material small. Nonetheless, it is already clear that island communities were well connected with the western mainland and neighbouring islands, and that stylistic choices were informed by access to western trade. The picture is thus richer and more complex than the Corinthian-inspired colonial production of the Late Archaic and Classical periods might lead one to expect. Despite strong western Greek connections, WAPP imports are at present few. This picture may change as more early evidence emerges, but it is interesting to note that WAPP is rare at the much better-known early trading settlement at Ambrakia (colonized at around the same time as Leukas).[30]

Leukas Catalogue

12 Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology. Fig. 6a; Pl. 21.1
Large kantharos (?) with flat base (missing handles). *Light-on-dark* decoration with traces of added red and white bands on and below the rim and on the lower body (largely worn away).
Unpublished.
Est. ht. 14.8 cm.; est. diam. rim 16.
Fabric: reddish orange 7.5YR 8/4.
12 is similar in profile to early 7th-century BCE kantharoi from Olympia (as Gauer 1975, 167–168, fig. 20, no.1), but around one third larger. Wedge-shaped rim, slightly everted and pinched in at junction with body.
Early Archaic.
Boliatso Cave.

13 Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology. Fig. 6b
Rim section of large kantharos (?). Upstanding wedge-shaped rim with flat top and small jog/scraped junction onto body. Traces of black-glazed ground preserved.
Unpublished.
Ht. 2.5, est. diam. rim 15.
Fabric: fine light brown 10YR 8/3. Local/regional.
Form as **12**.
Early Archaic.
Boliatso Cave.

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[30] I thank Agathi Karadima for drawing to my attention an unpublished, reportedly local, WAPP bowl with exterior decoration similar to examples from Mastro and Elian Pylos (Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, no. C29, pl. 27, see also no. C28, ill. 7 for the profile). This is on display in Ambrakia Museum; see Riginos 2008, 83, left display case, lower shelf.

14 Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology. Fig. 6c
Krater. Upstanding rim with rounded but probably slim shoulder. Thick cream slip on exterior (other surfaces lost) with traces of paint on junction of rim and body.
Unpublished.
Pres. ht. 3.2 cm., est. diam. rim 23.5.
Fabric: light brown 7.5YR 8/4.
Rim profile as d'Agostino and Gastaldi 2002, 162 no. KR13, pl. 10.9 from Pale, Kephallonia (in an end 8th or early 7th century BCE context).
Early Archaic.
Boliatso Cave.

15 Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology. Fig. 6d
Krater. Upstanding, wedge-shaped rim scraped at junction with rounded shoulder. Interior surface lost: solid red-brown paint over rim exterior extends onto shoulder. But lower part of shoulder surface on exterior also worn away. Most likely solidly glazed but cannot be sure.
Pres. ht. 5.6 cm., est. diam. rim 44.
Fabric: light brown 7.5YR 8/4 with occasional blue-grey section
Not too far off profile of Early Archaic fine krater from Sami (Sotiriou and Tzanetatou 2018, 769, fig. 1)
Archaic.
Boliatso Cave.

16 Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology. Fig. 6e
Rim sherd of large bowl or krater: black-glazed.
Unpublished.
Est. diam. rim 20 m.
Fabric: light pinkish brown 7.5YR 7/4. Lakonian or a related western production.
A cauldron-like shape with a small, rounded lip, akin to Stibbe 1994, 54, 155, no. F3, fig. 160 (small bell krater, diam. rim 16.4, clearly influenced by contemporary bronzework). The canonical Group B bowl (Stibbe 1994, 91, fig. 346, pl. 19.1, diam. rim 25.2) has a more pronounced rim and incurving body. **16** may also be compared with the Lakonian bowl discussed by Catling 1996, 51, no. 9, fig. 14.6 (est. diam. rim 15 cm.).
Late Archaic (second half of the 6th century BCE?)
Boliatso Cave.

17 Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology. Fig. 7a
Oinochoe, decorated with added white bands on a dark ground. Profile reconstructed from eight non-joining sherds from one or more vessels (the number and combination of bands is therefore conjectural).
Unpublished

Max. pres. ht. 28 cm.; max diam. body 33.
Fabric: light brown 7.5YR 8/3. Probably Corinthian.
This decoration at Corinth is exemplified by Williams 1981, 146, 150, nos. 42–44 (oinochoai), 59 (stand). Compare: Karadima 2020, 2:16–17, no. 6 from Drakaina, which she assigns to a western Greek group. At Elian Pylos, a similar effect is created by reserved bands: Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, nos. C64–C65, C68–C69.
Archaic. Early 7th century BCE.
Boliatso Cave.

18 Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology. Fig. 7b
Trefoil-mouthed oinochoe. Exterior glazed; interior reserved; in the fold of the trefoil on each side, a six-point star between two vertical lines in added white.
Unpublished.
Pres. ht. 8.2 cm.; est. diam. neck 9.2.
Fabric: light brown 10YR 8/3–7.5YR 8/3. Local/regional.
Ornament in this position occurs in both *light-on-dark* and *dark-on-light* schemes. The most popular motif in the west was an eye: Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 49, nos. C75–C78; Gauer 1975, 86, and for a *dark-on-light* example, no. 3, pl. 13. At Corinth, motifs used in *light-on-dark* decoration on Early Protocorinthian oinochoai include eyes and sigmas: Williams 1981, 146, nos. 42, 44, fig. 4.
Archaic. Early 7th century BCE?
Boliatso Cave.

19 Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology. Fig. 7c
Trefoil-mouthed oinochoe neck: rim lightly hollowed on the interior. Washy grey-brown glaze on exterior, partially extending to interior.
Unpublished.
Pres. ht. 5.8 cm.; est. diam. rim 8.2.
Fabric: light brown to brown 7.5YR 8/3. Local.
As Lang 1992, 94, pl. 19.2 from Babes (first half 6th century BCE?)
Archaic.
Boliatso Cave.

20 Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology. Fig. 7d
Closed table vessel with rounded body and stilt foot. Wide, widely spaced orange bands on reserved ground.
Pres. ht. 1.2; est. diam. base 13.
Fabric: light brown 7.5YR 7/6, with redder core in base section (5YR 7/6). Yellower slip on exterior 10YR 8/3. Paint red orange, adheres well, thick and generally evenly applied.
Chalkis: Houby-Nielsen 2020, 137, no. 193, fig. 60, pl. 13, jug (6th-century BCE con-

text); Amyx and Lawrence 1975, An 236, pl. 72 (hydria).
Archaic.
Boliatso Cave.

21 Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology. Fig. 7e
Large, closed table vessel: shoulder. Shoulder zone reserved; beneath, thin band, wide band containing a fine reserved line above lower break.
Unpublished.
Pres. ht. 4 cm., est. diam. 41.
Fabric: light brown, between 10YR 8/3 and 7.5YR 8/3. Local?
Compare a hydria from Pale on Kephallonia: d'Agostino and Gastaldi 2002, 155, 158, 168, no. Hy1, fig. 59, pl. 9.1. A similar effect is created in a *light-on-dark* WAPP closed vessel from Chalkis: Houby-Nielsen 2020, 153–155, 157, no. 284, fig. 74.
Early Archaic.
Boliatso Cave.

22 Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology. Fig. 8a
Medium-sized closed vessel: shoulder. Dark ground; group of six narrow reserved bands: edge of reserved shoulder at upper break on shoulder.
Fabric: light brown 7.5YR 8/3. Local/regional; perhaps an Aitolian import.
Pres. ht. 2.3; th. wall 0.5; est. diam. body 17.
Compare Benton 1931–1932, 239, fig. 20.4 from Kryoneri (now British School at Athens Museum XF005.01); Agios Nikolaos Cave, Astakos (unpublished study by the author) (Fig. 8c).
Archaic. 7th century BCE.
Boliatso Cave.

23 Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology. Fig. 9a
Krater: rim and upper body. Rim exterior reserved: field on upper body contains a spiral around central lines (probably a stylized floral motif) with a group of four sigmas floating in the field next to it. A non-joining sherd (which may come from either side of the vessel – here depicted at the right) confirms that the scheme is symmetrical. Interior and top of rim glazed. The field is framed with groups of three parallel lines, with the edge of a larger glazed area preserved at the lowest surviving point.
Pres. ht. 16 cm.; est. diam. rim 35.
Fabric: light brown 7.5YR 7/3 to 5YR 7/3; thick pale slip on exterior 7.5YR 8/3. Local/regional.
The profile of **23** is in Late Geometric Corinthian tradition (as Morgan 1999, 120, no. 355, fig. I.48), and also recalls kraters in late 8th- or early 7th-century BCE deposits at Pale in Kephallonia, although without the distinctive ring between the rim and upper body (d'Agostino and Gastaldi 2002, 151–154, figs. 47–49, 53–54). A krater from the

Mastro Cave shrine (Karadima, Chapter 7, this volume, no. 88) has a similar if more angular rim and a spiral-floral motif: the fabric is notably different from that of **23**. Karadima dates this krater to the late 7th or 6th century BCE, comparing the decoration with that on a group of WAPP plates from Mastro. The simpler floral on **23**, combined with floating sigmas and framing bands in Geometric tradition, suggest an earlier date. During the first half of the 7th century BCE, generically similar palmette/floral motifs appear in a number of local productions around the Corinthian Gulf. See, for example, an Early Protocorinthian plate from Perachora: Dunbabin, ed., 1962, 82, no. 734, pl. 34; and a krater in the Middle Protocorinthian–Transitional lower fill of well DS 36 at Kalydon: Bollen and Eiring 2011, 423, no. 129, fig. 254. Local interpretations of the scheme vary. At Chalkis, a stamnos or stamnoid krater with a similarly simple spiral and framing bands as on **23** comes from a Middle–Late Corinthian deposit in courtyard K-III/1 to K-V/1 in the Middle Corinthian house: Houby-Nielsen 2020, 195, no. 442 + 495, figs. 55, 101, pl. 29 (see also Houby-Nielsen, Chapter 7, this volume, ill. 5).
The proposed date of **23** reflects the Geometric aspects of profile and decoration, but the examples cited above suggest the possibility of a later Archaic date.
Late 8th or early 7th century BCE.
Boliatso Cave.

24 German Archaeological Institute, Athens, Archaeological Collection 26485. Fig. 9b
Stamnos or stamnoid krater rim. *Dark-on-light* decoration consisting of a large palmette with extended spiral 'leaves' on each side: a band around the outer edge of the rim.
Morgan 2023, no. 13.
Pres. ht. 8.2, est. diam. rim 26. Local; probably Leukadan.
Fabric: pink 7.5YR 8/3; cream slip on exterior and top face of the rim.
The outflaring profile and the diameter and form of the rim (with a flattened top but no seating for a lid) recall the Lakonian black-glazed stamnoi widely exported to Sicily, Lipari, South and Central Italy, and North Africa: Pelagatti 1992; Stibbe 1984; Stibbe 2000, 80–81. These stamnoi largely date to the first half of the 6th century BCE (mostly ca. 575–550 BCE) and may have been developed for export in response to the popularity of similar local shapes especially in Sicily. Other local repertoires, especially in Thessaly, include a wide range of semi-closed shapes with high rims (see e.g., Katakouta 2019, 69, figs. 6, 8 from Krannon), but none provide as close a parallel for **24**.
The palmette on **24** resembles that on the krater from Mastro discussed under **23** (Karadima, Chapter 7, this volume, no. 88): Karadima's proposed late 7th- or 6th-century BCE date for that krater is consistent with the Lakonian parallel for the shape of **25**.
Archaic: late 7th or first half of the 6th century BCE.
Leukas. Koulmos acropolis.

25 German Archaeological Institute, Athens, Archaeological Collection 26484. Fig. 9c
Stamnos or stamnoid krater: rim and upper body. Glazed inside and out. The curved glaze line and thickening wall suggest the attachment of a round handle beyond the left break.
Morgan 2023, no. 14.
Pres. ht. 8 cm; est. diam. rim 28.
Fabric: pink 7.5YR 8/3 with a wide red core 5YR 7/4 (red). Local, probably Leukadan.
The shape recalls Type A stamnoi from Sybaris, as Luberto 2020, 152–152, 412–413, nos. X18, X19, pls. 14–15, although these usually have (curvi-)linear decoration on the upper body and banding on the lower.
The upstanding rim is smaller than those of most stamnoi or krateroid amphorai from western and central Greece (noting the wide range from Thessalian sites illustrated in Katakouta and Palaiothodoros, eds., 2019), although not unparalleled: Katakouta 2019, 68–69, figs. 4 right, 5 right (Type I krateroid amphorai of the first half of the 7th century BCE from Krannon). A krater rim is a better fit, especially for the width of **25**: see Heurtley and Robertson 1948, 69, no. 382, fig. 42, pl. 25 from Aetos; Tsaknaki, Chapter 2, this volume, fig. 6k from Olenos. The rounded body also recalls a dinos, but dinos rims are usually folded back in the style of metal prototypes. See the 7th-century BCE examples from Aetos: Benton 1953, 297, nos. 804, 808, fig. 12, pl. 49; Heurtley and Robertson 1948, 69–71, nos. 382–383, fig. 42, pls. 24–25; and 6th-century BCE examples from Lakonia: Catling 1996, 41–42, Type 7, nos. 10–11, fig. 14.3. Pyxis rims are typically more constricted and designed to house a lid: the closest to **25** is Heurtley and Robertson 1948, 25–27, no. 70, fig. 16. These comparanda provide a broad context: **25** may be 7th-century BCE, but evidence is as yet insufficient to confirm this.
Archaic.
Leukas. Koulmos acropolis.

Astakos

We conclude at Astakos on the Akarnanian coast, where in 1932 Sylvia Benton conducted a brief series of excavations in three locations: i) by the city acropolis, ii) at Grabes Cave to the north of the river that flowed through the coastal plain, and iii) at a coastal shrine in Agios Nikolaos Cave, in the cliff above the northern approach to the city's harbour.[31] Located at the end of a major land route between the coast and the Akarnanian interior, Astakos is the southernmost of the Akarnanian coastal poleis. Compared with Leukas, Palairos, and the Plagia Peninsula, assemblages from Benton's excavations show closer links

[31] Benton 1931–1932, 243–244. On the ancient landscape: Vött et al. 2006.

with Elis, the western Peloponnese, and southeastern Kephallonia.[32] The following observations are preliminary, based on work in progress.[33]

The fact that WAPP vessels have not yet been identified at Astakos may reflect a local preference for other western imports or influences, or simply a chance of exploration. Context is important. To date, finds from the settlement are mostly Classical and Hellenistic, while Archaic (largely 6th-century BCE) material is concentrated in the Agios Nikolaos Cave. Agios Nikolaos is one of a network of coastal shrines established or expanded following the colonization of Leukas and the ensuing reorientation of maritime traffic.[34] At some of these shrines, tableware and cooking pots attest to gatherings, while at others the focus was more on smaller dedications, sometimes taking forms distinctive to particular sites or routes. Agios Nikolas belongs in the latter category, with finds largely consisting of miniature vessels, containers for offerings, lamps, terracotta bells, and figurines. It may therefore be that WAPP—which is essentially tableware—had no place here.

Further research is required to locate and characterize Archaic settlement deposits at Astakos. In the meantime, three items from the Agios Nikolaos Cave shrine illustrate strong local connections with WAPP-producing areas in the western Peloponnese (Fig. 10). The 6th-century BCE pyxis **26** (Fig. 10a; Pl. 21.2), probably an Elian import, is among the earliest post-Bronze Age vessels from Agios Nikolaos; the type was also imitated locally.

Bell **27** (Fig. 10b; Pl. 21.4 belongs to an unusually large and varied collection of terracotta bells (a minimum of 32, potentially more, although it can be difficult to distinguish cups from bells in sherd). These constitute around one third of the post Early Iron Age, pre-Roman ceramic assemblage. Bells in terracotta and bronze are widely distributed in graves and sanctuaries across the Greek world (Lakonia, the Messenian coast, and the Elis region included),[35]

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[32] Steph. Byz. (137.14) alone describes Astakos as a colony of Kephallonia: while implausible (and late), the tradition finds echoes in old connections in this part of the archipelago.

[33] Only Benton's Neolithic and Early Bronze Age finds have received any significant publication, see Benton 1947. A new study programme covering material of all periods is in progress directed by the author and Stella Katsarou.

[34] Morgan forthcoming.

[35] Examples include Elis city cemetery, tomb 14: Georgiadou 2005, 116, no. 3, pl. 50, second quarter-mid 4th century BCE; for a rural shrine at the *perioikic* polis of Aigies, see Bonias 1988, 154–155, nos. 205–207, pl. 30.

but mostly in very small numbers.[36] Sparta has long been recognized as an exceptional case: the largest concentration of bells yet discovered comes from the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos (34 bronze and 102 terracotta), with further examples notably from the Menelaion.[37]Against this background, the Agios Nikolaos collection is notable; while smaller than that from Athena Chalkioikos, it forms a larger proportion of the overall assemblage. Bells are generally difficult to date. The earliest example at the Menelaion belongs in the first half of the 6th century BCE,[38] while at Sparta they continue into the late 5th or 4th cen-

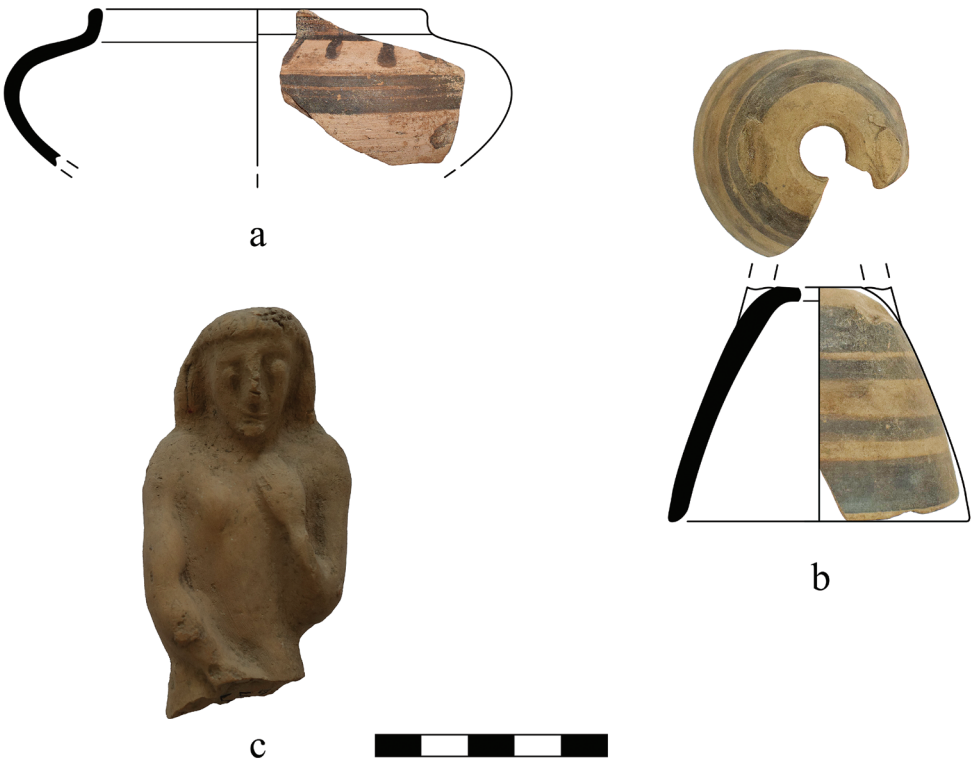


Fig. 10; Pl. 21.2–4. Pyxis (a), bell (b) and terracotta figurine (c) from Ag. Nikolaos Cave, Astakos. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development). a–b: Illustration: Denitsa Nenova and Christina Kolb. c: Photo: Catherine Morgan.

[36] For an overview of known finds of all periods, see Grigoropoulos 2024, 178–185.
[37] Villing 2002, 250–254.
[38] Villing 2002, 251 fn. 49.

tury BCE (confirmed by the script of inscriptions on bronze bells from Athena Chalkioikos). The Astakos bells include Spartan/west Peloponnesian imports and local imitations (as **27**), but also local products with a wider range of linear and floral motifs. There is a clear connection with local drinking vessels; similar decoration and body profiles are found on both forms. Full discussion of the typology, chronology, and meaning of the Astakos bells will appear in the site publication. Here I merely emphasize the connection with Lakonia and the western Peloponnese, and the need to re-examine sanctuary deposits across the islands to determine how many such bells may have passed unrecognized in sherd deposits. At Drakaina Cave, for example, at least two 'lids' may be reassigned.[39]

Terracotta figurines are the largest category in the Agios Nikolaos assemblage, dating from the Early Archaic to Hellenistic period. Among the earliest is the naked goddess **28** (Fig. 10c; Pl. 21.3). An identical piece (probably from the same mould) found in the Drakaina Cave further illustrates the connection between these two major port communities.[40] Both figurines are singletons in the respective assemblages, not part of series as those found at Paestum or Gortyn, for example. Karadima suggests that the Drakaina figurine might have been an amulet or talisman dedicated after a difficult sea trip, an explanation which could equally apply at Agios Nikolaos.

These three finds illustrate an emerging picture of a maritime circuit linking the Akarnanian coast, southeastern Kephallonia, and the western Peloponnese. The presence of WAPP within it is at present confined to Drakaina, although this may well change as research proceeds.

Astakos Catalogue

26 Agrinion Museum: BSA Astakos excavations, uncatalogued. Fig. 10a; Pl. 21.2
Pyxis: squat, tightly curving. Sherd preserving profile from small upstanding rim to lower body. Rim glazed; pendant lines on shoulder; wide band at mid body; single large dot preserved on lower body.
Unpublished.
Pres. ht. 3.3 cm., est. diam. rim 7.

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[39] Karadima 2020, 2:225, nos. 219, 221, both catalogued as lids.

[40] Karadima, Chapter 7, this volume; Karadima 2020, 2:274–275. The Astakos figurines are studied by Stelios Ieremias, whom I thank for information about **28**.

Fabric: light pinkish brown 7.5YR 8/4. Imported: Elian or west Peloponnesian.
26 resembles 6th-century BCE pyxides from a number of sites in Elis, notably a pithos burial at Makrysia: *ADelt* 25 (1970) B1, 192, pl. 172a top left [G. A. Papathanasopoulos]; domestic contexts at Babes: Lang 1992, 72–76, fig. 15.3–4, pl. 17.5; and the sanctuary at Olympia: Kyrieleis 2003, 88–89, no. K3983, fig. 31 (with further bibliography).
6th century BCE.
Astakos. Ag. Nikolaos Cave.

27 Agrinion Museum: BSA Astakos excavations, uncatalogued. Fig. 10b; Pl. 21.4
Bell. Conical profile, preserving scars of attachment of an arched basket handle at the top. Wide bands at top and bottom, with two narrow in between. Interior reserved.
Pres. ht. 5 cm.; est. diam. base 7; diam. top 2.
Fabric: light brown to brown 10YR 5/4.
The shape and band decoration (if not this exact arrangement) are common among terracotta bells from the sanctuary of Athena Chalkiokos at Sparta: Villing 2002, fig. 8 (with discussion at 245–246).
Archaic–Classical?
Astakos. Agios Nikolaos Cave.

28 Xenokrateion Museum, Missolonghi (formerly Agrinion Museum 555). Fig. 10c; Pl. 21.3
Moulded figurine (solid, back flat): naked standing goddess, left hand on left breast, right hand over pudenda.
Pres. ht. 8.1 cm.; w. 4.5; max. th. 2.1.
Fabric: light brown 7.5YR 8/3.
28 is identical to a figurine from Drakaina Cave: Karadima, Chapter 7, this volume (Fig. 10); Kardima 2020, 1:199–208, 2:274–275, no. 2/2001 (with discussion of the iconography and its Mediterranean distribution). While the type is ultimately of Near Eastern origin, both figurines deviate in exactly the same way from Near Eastern prototypes in their three-dimensional quality, slight twist to the body, and Egyptianizing facial features. The figurine from Drakaina is highly burnished, perhaps to imitate ivory (a technique also attested on late 7th- and early 6th-century BCE figurines and perfume containers in graves at Ambrakia: Papadopoulou 2017, nos. 107, 110, 118, noted as of Ionian workmanship). **28** does not preserve such burnish, although its surface is badly eroded.
Archaic: early 7th century BCE.
Astakos. Agios Nikolaos Cave.

Conclusion

The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that while routes around the islands—north from the Corinthian Gulf via the Ithaka channel and the western coast of Leukas, and between the western Peloponnese, ports on the Akarnanian coast, and southeastern Kephallonia—can be traced in the material record, WAPP plays only a small role in this. At present WAPP appears to be concentrated at Mastro and Drakaina Caves, with relatively few imports and imitations found on Ithaka and Leukas. It may be that we see here the limits of its core distribution, with only selective local uptake. However, study of key sites is only just beginning and settlement contexts (or large dining assemblages from sanctuaries) are still relatively few. Much work remains to be done, and the picture could change rapidly, but we are now starting to appreciate what to look for and where.



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The Plaghia Peninsula and its Archaic Material Culture

Anne Sieverling-Pantelidis and Franziska Lang

Abstract

This chapter explores the previously undocumented material culture of the Plaghia Peninsula in northwestern Akarnania, with a focus on Archaic period pottery from Palairos and its surrounding areas. The absence of polychrome pottery on the peninsula is examined in relation to comparative finds from the Stratiké and the Olympia region. Additionally, an overview of Archaic period sites on the Plaghia Peninsula is provided, alongside preliminary consideration of their significance.

Our research suggests that during the Archaic period, settlements were primarily located on fertile plains rather than in coastal areas and were likely farmsteads essential for subsistence. Evidence of external influence appears minimal, with only a modest presence of Corinthian imports and no discernible Elian or Achaian imports or stylistic influences. Current analysis indicates that pottery was predominantly produced locally, a pattern that may extend to other aspects of daily life, including food, clothing, votive offerings, and building materials. This hypothesis is supported by the discovery of an ancient quarry on the peninsula. Future research will examine how the local material culture of the Plaghia Peninsula's coastal regions was shaped by its geographical relationship to the hinterland.

*Introduction**

Akarnania, the westernmost region between the Ambrakian Gulf and the Corinthian Gulf, was part of the western Greek *koine* in the Geometric period.[1]

* We thank Signe Barfoed for organizing a very informative workshop in Athens and for her kind invitation to participate. We furthermore thank Signe Barfoed and Catherine Morgan for the opportunity to contribute to this publication. We thank the Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada for permission to work on and publish the material. Special thanks go to Lazaros Kolonas for the permission to work on the material and for his comprehensive support. We would also like to thank Georg A. Th. Pantelidis for revising the polychrome pottery from the Olympia Area Survey.

[1] As noted in the introduction to this volume (Barfoed and Morgan, Chapter 1) the Western Greek Geometric style was originally defined in Coldstream 1968 and only slightly revised in

The people of this area shared, among other cultural similarities, similar pottery styles with neighbouring Aitolia, the nearby Ionian Islands, and Achaia, Elis and Messenia on the other side of the Corinthian Gulf (Chapter 1, Fig. 1; Pl. 1). For more than two centuries, the decorations and forms of tableware in these regions were striking similar.[2] The similarities indicate close cultural and economic links within this *koine*, which was separated by several mountain barriers, the Ionian Sea, and the Corinthian Gulf. In the 8th century BCE, when the first *poleis* began to appear, economic trade routes were extended by the colonization of fertile distant areas, and new pottery production facilities were established.[3] This led to a change in the style of tableware in more or less all northwestern Greek regions, which also seemed to be linked to a change or development in eating habits.[4]

In the northwest of Akarnania lies the Plaghia Peninsula, which covers an area of about 100 square kilometres opposite the island of Leukas (Fig. 1; Pl. 21.5). While this was intensively explored in a survey project, finds from the Early Iron Age (EIA) are little known or not yet published.[5] In general, EIA remains are scarce because in this period buildings were mostly made of perishable materials. Moreover, tombs were no longer built in the conspicuous tumulus style with many burial chambers; instead, individual tombs (*enchytrismoi*, pyres, etc.) became common.[6] These types of remains are very difficult to

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the second edition of the book (Coldstream 2008, 220–232), as its main features were still valid according to the current state of research.

[2] Akarnania: Sieverling 2018a, 19–23 (and about the western Greek *koine* in general); Lang and Sieverling 2017, 409–416; Aitolia: Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1980; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011; Vokotopoulou 1969; Ithaka: Deoudi 2008a; Deoudi 2008b; Achaia: Gadolou 2007; Gadolou 2008; Elis: Eder 2001a and 2001b; Eder 2006; Coleman and Abramovitz 1986; Messenia: Coulson 1986. On social identity theory and ceramic decoration as a marker of social diversity see Gronenborn et al. 2020, fig. 3.

[3] Snodgrass 1980; Stein-Hölkeskamp 2015, 96–158; Rönnberg 2021, 81–82 on institutionalization processes in early Athens.

[4] Sieverling 2018a.

[5] Lang et al. 2007, 169–171 fig. 89 a–b. The EIA pottery found during the Plaghia Peninsula Survey shows only undecorated and/or unspecific finds. A necropolis or burials, which could expand the contemporary inventory of pottery of the region, are still unidentified.

[6] On the changing burial customs from the Late Mycenaean period onwards and the ephemeral construction of dwellings in the area around Olympia, see Gehrke 2020, 265–266; Eder 2001b, 236; Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1025–1092; Papadopoulos and Smithson 2017, 575–632; Rönnberg 2021, 214–216: The monumentalization of some tombs reappears at the end of the Geometric period, at least in Attica.

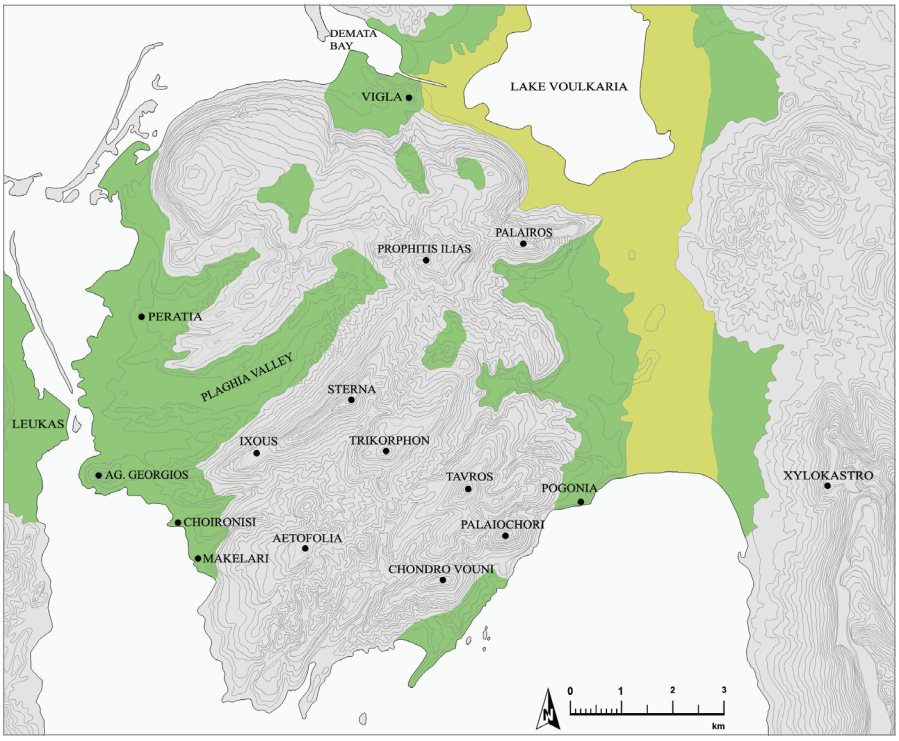


Fig. 1; Pl. 21.5. Map of the Plaghia Peninsula, dark grey plains, light grey marshes. (© Franziska Lang, revised by Adrian Rafaël Kling, and Anne Sieverling-Pantelidis).

identify using the surface survey methods employed in the area to date, which explains the almost complete absence of an EIA material record on the Plaghia Peninsula.[7] It might be assumed that the western Greek *koine* pottery style was followed on the Plaghia Peninsula and in neighbouring Leukas.[8] However, this can only be clarified by future excavation. The increased volume of archaeo-

[7] The distribution of the pottery is similar to that of the Olympia Area Survey, where Geometric pottery is also very rare. In contrast to the Plaghia, it is mostly associated with Mycenaean and Archaic finds, so that one can speak of settlement continuities around Olympia: Gehrke 2020, 266. On the Olympia Area Survey, see Eder et al. 2019.

[8] Morgan 2011, 114; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 34–35 published only a few fragments from Leukas, although see now Morgan, Chapter 8, this volume; excavations on the road from Agios Nikolaos (in the north of the Plaghia Peninsula) to Leukas brought to light Geometric pottery similar to the vessels from Stratos and Aitolia. It would be very interesting to know what the EIA pottery of Alyzia and Astakos looks like, which is unknown or unpublished. For Alyzia in general, see Moschos and Portelanos 2011.

logical finds dating to the 8th century BCE on the Plaghia Peninsula reflects more or less the typical transitions of the Archaic period. This paper will further explore these transitions through the presentation and interpretation of material from the late 8th to the early 5th century BCE.[9]

History of Research on the Plaghia Peninsula

Modern exploration of the Plaghia Peninsula began with Leon Heuzey's travelogue in which he published the first city map of Palairos.[10] A little later, Habbo G. Lolling also travelled to Akarnania and described the Plaghia Peninsula and the very interesting ruins of ancient Palairos.[11] In 1887, Eugen Oberhummer published a monograph on the history and topography of Akarnania, a seminal reference that remains invaluable to this day and includes the historical-topographical observations of Heuzey and Lolling.[12] The subsequent travels of the archaeologist and building surveyor Friedrich Noack between 1894 and 1906 resulted in reports and in a new town plan of Palairos.[13] Noack's research was continued by Ernst Kirsten, who published his finding in a travel report and an article on Palairos in the Pauly's *Real Encyclopaedia*.[14] Wilhelm Dörpfeld's investigations on the island of Leukas and his attempt to identify the island as Ithaka also led to mythologically based site identifications on the Plaghia Peninsula.[15]

After that, the region faded into the background until the further explorations of William Murray, who studied the archaeological and topographical conditions of the coastal sites of Akarnania and, more importantly, the Plaghia Peninsula.[16] Christian Wacker's regional studies of the Plaghia Peninsula ex-

[9] On the general problem of the chronology of the Archaic period, see Kellner 2022.

[10] Heuzey 1860, esp. 391–399, pl. 9.

[11] Lolling et al. 1989.

[12] Oberhummer 1887.

[13] Noack 1897, 1916; see Lang 2017 on Noack's life's work in general. See also the website "Ferdinand Noack in Akarnanien um 1900", https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/19ab14daa0204ec89f3ad09a12c665f5. Technische Universität Darmstadt. (Accessed October 29, 2025).

[14] Kirsten 1939; Kirsten 1941.

[15] Dörpfeld 1911; Dörpfeld 1927, 132–134, 269–271, fig. 30, fig. 10. 50. He proposed the theory that the predecessor of Palairos was the Old Nerikos mentioned in the Odyssey (Hom. *Od*. 24, 377) and that Agios Georgios should be identified as New Nerikos (see also below). He also published terracottas and a bronze axe from Palairos (then called Kechropoula), figs. 78b, 79b.

[16] Murray 1982, esp. 134–223.

tended this work inland.[17] Judith Ley's dissertation on the fortifications of Akarnania, based on Noack's investigations, shed new light on their chronology. In addition to her reflections on the fortification systems, she also presented the construction history of the city walls of Palairos.[18] Thanks to the research of Lazaros Kolonas and Goetz Faisst, important contributions were made to the study of the altar on the so-called Temple Plateau, east of the Profitis Ilias hill to the west of Palairos, and the acropolis at Vigla, near the modern village of Agios Nikolaos.[19] In 2013, *Akarnanien-Forschungen* was launched as a series of publications presenting the latest research results from the region. The first volume presented *inter alia* the architectural terracottas from the so-called Temple Plateau at Palairos and the amphora stamps of the Plaghia Peninsula, while the latest volumes focus on the change in material culture from the Hellenistic to the Roman imperial period and architectural terracottas of the 7th and 6th century BCE.[20] Another recent publication on the finds from the Plaghia Peninsula focuses on the chronology, typology, and decoration of the loom weights as well as a burial site discovered in the Kalami plain south of Palaiochori.[21]

The finds from the Plaghia Peninsula originate from the previously mentioned multi-period intensive surface survey, conducted between 2000 and 2006 by an interdisciplinary team of Greek and German scholars and institutions.[22] This was the first time that almost the entire Plaghia Peninsula had been systematically and intensively explored, and all sites documented and finds collected. The results of the geomorphological, epigraphical, and palynological investigations have been published in full,[23] and research on the archaeological finds is still in progress.[24]

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17 Wacker 1999.

18 Ley 2009, esp. 110–142, figs. 290–410, maps 13a–c.

19 Kolonas and Faisst 1992; Faisst and Kolonas 1990.

20 Köster 2013; Hinsberger 2013; Kreiser forthcoming; Pantelidis forthcoming.

21 Sieverling et al. 2023; Sieverling-Pantelidis and Weber forthcoming.

22 Project directed by Peter Funke (University of Münster), Lazaros Kolonas (Director General of Antiquities of Greece), Franziska Lang (Humboldt University Berlin) and Ernst-Ludwig Schwander (German Archaeological Institute), funded by the Gerda Henkel Foundation.

23 Vött et al. 2007; Funke et al. 2019; Antonetti and Funke, eds., 2018; Antonetti et al., eds., 2022; Jahns 2007.

24 Lang et al. 2007. About the current find-processing in Palairos and the annual students programme, see "Archäologische Fundbearbeitung in Griechenland", https://www.klassische-archaeologie.unimainz.de/archaeologische-fundbearbeitung-in-griechenland/. Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz (Accessed October 29, 2025).

Artefacts dating to the Archaic period come from various sites on the Plaghia Peninsula (Fig. 1). The largest quantity of Archaic pottery was found in the ancient city of Palairos in the northeastern part of the peninsula above Lake Myrtountion (now Lake Voulkaria).[25] Some pottery was found in the central Plaghia valley and on the western shore at the isthmus of Leukas. The finds are fragmented, and the surfaces of the sherds have been largely eroded due to taphonomic processes and exposure on the earth's surface. These conditions, and the lack of stratigraphy, make it impossible to establish a more precise chronology of the finds and to identify their decorative patterns in detail. Nevertheless, the pottery can shed light on food culture and practices, the processing and storage of goods, burial rites, cult practices, economic and cultural exchange, and pottery production processes.

Palairos

The pottery from Palairos was found mainly in the northwestern residential area, which was later built over in a planned manner with rectangular streets and many regular residential buildings (Fig. 2).[26] Some Archaic sherds were also found on the acropolis. Only a few were found in the area between the so-called Kastro and the acropolis and the later agora. Others came from the northern necropolis, directly at the northern gate of the city, and the southern necropolis, located on the ancient road to Palairos in the plain south of the city. The pottery of the Palairos area consists of tableware, mainly drinking and pouring vessels, amphorae—both table and transport—and just a few food preparation and cooking vessels. Although numbers of pithoi have been recovered in the walled asty and acropolis of Palairos,[27] only a single Archaic pithos has been identified from the surface survey to date (**55**).[28] This was a medium-sized storage vessel with a rim diameter of almost 35 cm. The earliest finds in the assemblage are a shoulder of an unguent vessel with horizontal stripes (**68**) and a big-walled

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[25] The name of the lake is known from Strabo (10.2.21) who called it a 'λιμνοθάλαττά' (*limnothalassa*), reflecting its brackish nature.

[26] Further excavations are needed to clarify whether the street grid, as in Leukas and Ambrakia, is a throwback to Archaic urban planning; Pliakou 1999; 2000; 2001; 2009; Fiedler 2013, 27.

[27] On the fortification of Palairos, whose first construction phase dates to the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, see Ley 2009, 110–142, 220–299, map 13.

[28] For the numbers in bold throughout the text, please consult the catalogue (with figure and plate references) below.

base of a closed vessel of typical EIA fabric and morphology (**73**).[29] They likely date to the Geometric or Early Archaic period and may be the earliest hints of settlement activity in Palairos after a hiatus of several centuries.[30]

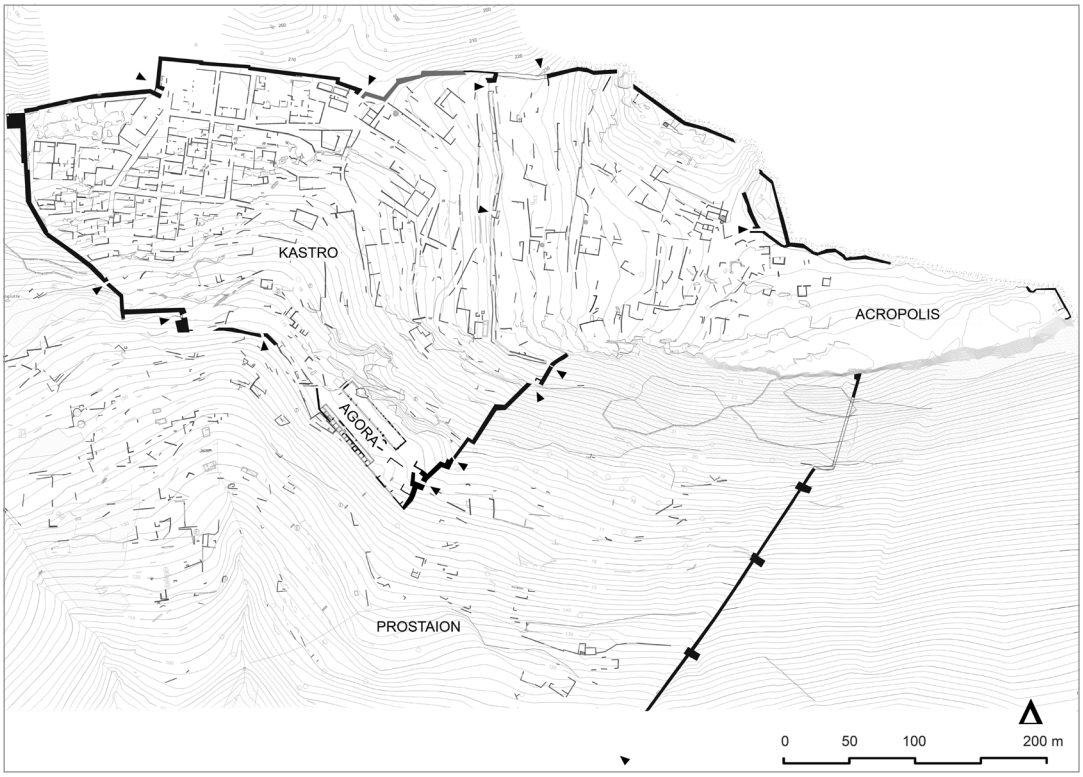


Fig. 2. Map of Palairos. (© Franziska Lang).

An amphora rim found at Palairos exhibits similarities with Koehler's Type A.1a Corinthian amphorae, which were produced from the 8th century BCE onwards and represent the earliest form of Adriatic/Corinthian amphora (**47**).[31] The resemblance between the Corinthian and Palairos amphorae is unusual for

[29] Sieverling 2018a, 140–144, pl. 47 (fw1 and fw2).

[30] Lang et al. 2007, 167. If dated to the EIA, the aryballos or lekythos with irregular horizontal stripes (**68**) is so far the only indication that the Plaghia Peninsula followed the western Greek *koine*. See also Sieverling 2018b, 6, 8, figs. 5, 8.

[31] Koehler 1992, 266–269, pl. 1; Whitbread 1995, 255–346.

the region and suggests that the Palairos amphora may indeed be Corinthian. However, this assumption is based on macroscopic observations and will have to be verified by archaeometric analysis in the future. The rim was almost as large as that of the pithos and gives an idea of a bulky vessel that contained olive oil or wine.[32] Other Corinthian amphorae of Koehler's Type A.1b (**50–51**) or A.2a (**52–54**) were produced from the 5th century BCE[33] and may show the influence of Corinthian trade networks from Archaic to Classical times.[34] Other amphorae are only sporadically represented in the form and fabric of a transport vessel (**43**) and table amphorae (**42, 44**).

The group of drinking vessels consists of skyphoi, kantharoi, and perhaps also kotylai. Some show traces of black glaze that may once have had more elaborate (perhaps polychrome) decoration, such as the skyphos (?) from the area of the northern necropolis with horizontal bands (**1**). This drinking vessel from a burial context is similar to others that show different decoration zones, e.g., examples found in the later agora of Stratos, which was a residential area in Archaic times, as well as in the sanctuary on the Spathari hill in the Stratiké.[35] Wider open vessels, which were also glazed, are small bowls representing different varieties of tableware. Archaic plates have not so far been found in the assemblages of the Palairos and Plaghia Peninsulas, which seems to correspond to Stratos but not to the wider region.[36] Only one very small kothon of grey clay with a black glaze (**77**) comes from the path west of Palairos to the so-called Temple Plateau. This could be a miniature vessel like those offered as votives in sanctuaries and tombs in Akarnania and elsewhere.[37] Most of the drinking

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[32] Morgan 2024, 17, 19.

[33] Koehler 1992, 269–271, pl. 2.

[34] Adriatic/Corinthian Type B amphorai also survive in greater numbers in Palairos and the Plaghia Peninsula in general, see Beck 2023. They were produced in many locations, including the former Corinthian colony of Kerkyra and, as the investigations of Filis and Staikou (2022, 266–269, 273–274, fig. 3, pl. 2) have recently shown, probably in Leukas in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. Some of the Type B amphorai found at Palairos bear stamps with ΣΩ (?), A and Θ (Köster 2013, 118-119), which also occur at Leukas.

[35] Sieverling 2018a, 319, pl. 1, 1.2; on the Stratiké Survey and the distribution of the pottery in general, see Lang 2001. On the excavations in Stratos and the sanctuary on the Spathari hill, see Schwandner 2001–2002.

[36] Plates are known from Chalkis and Kalydon in Aitolia (Houby-Nielsen 2020) and from the pottery production site at the Riakos brook in the Stratiké; see Staikou and Leontariti 2012, 775–776, 781, fig. 5.

[37] Fuchs 2020, nos. 744–758, pl. 56. The miniature vessels from the sanctuary of the Spathari

and eating vessels could only be roughly dated to the Archaic period: some show typical features of Late Archaic vessels (**12**, **14**–**15**), and some could also date from the transition to the Classical period or from the 5th century BCE in general (**4**, **17**, **23**). Several forms seem to follow typical Corinthian designs (**20**, **22**). Imports are very rare in the eating and drinking assemblages and show the typical characteristics of Corinthian pottery (**11**). They were found on the eastern edge of Palairos, next to the agora and the southern necropolis.[38] The assemblages at Ambrakia show many more Corinthian and later also Attic imports in the Archaic period,[39] whereas settlements such as Stratos show only a few imports from other places.[40]

Larger open tablewares such as kraters or lekanai of Archaic date are quite rare, especially in comparison to Stratos and Stratiké, where this group appears frequently.[41] One such example comes from the necropolis of Palairos (**33**), which suggests that they were part of Archaic period burial assemblages in the area, as in the earlier centuries.[42] Kraters and lekanai are glazed (**34**, **37**–**38**) and may also be good candidates for more elaborate decoration like that known from Aitolian Chalkis.[43]

In contrast to the larger open vessels, jugs are more common in the area of ancient Palairos (**57**–**61**, **64**). They were slipped and plain and show the typical

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hill are unpublished; this kothon gives only a small insight without showing the whole range of miniature vessel shapes. The miniature vessels from Kalydon are mostly skyphoi or kraters, and the only wide-open vessel form is the phiale; see Barfoed 2017; Bollen 2011a, 355–357, pl. 23. Miniature vessels associated with an altar are also known from Chalkis; see Houby-Nielsen 2020, 294–307, fig. 171.

38 The body sherd from the southern necropolis reported by Georg Pantelidis could no longer be found during the processing of finds. The Archaic pottery from the Plaghia Peninsula has been examined by P-ED-XRF, but geochemical analysis is still in progress. The results of the investigation may reveal other imports that were not macroscopically detectable. For the preliminary results of other P-ED-XRF examinations of the region in general, see Lang et al. 2014.

39 Pliakou 1999.

40 Sieverling 2018a, 19–23, 106.

41 Sieverling 2018a, 102–105, 125–127, fig. 14.

42 Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1169–1171.

43 Houby-Nielsen 2020, 124–125, 204, 278–279, figs. 55, 105, 155. For a later example, see the krater at Palairos with Red Figure decoration of a warrior, see Lang et al. 2007, 142, fig. 29. The same assumption has been made for the Archaic kraters and lekanai at Stratos and the Stratiké, where more elaborate decoration is probably also lacking due to the state of preservation, see Sieverling 2018a, 170–173.

range of medium-sized pouring vessels. Smaller fineware jugs such as aryballoi or lekythoi (**68**–**71**), probably used for ointments, show striped or linear decoration or the slipped surfaces already mentioned. Some ointment vessels from the Plaghia Peninsula come from the necropoleis and were used as grave goods, see e. g., the vessel from the necropolis of Agios Georgios (**72**), and others over time.[44] The other smaller jugs were found in the settlement area and were used in Archaic and Early Classical households at Palairos.

In general, preparation vessels are very rare among the Archaic finds, as there are only two fragments of thin-walled chytrai (**65**–**66**) and two basins of coarse fabric with impressed lancet-decoration (or stamped outlined tongues) on their rims (**40**–**41**). One was found in the northern necropolis, while the other came to light in the settlement area and was probably used for food preparation.[45]

The Plaghia Peninsula

Apart from the settlement and necropolis areas of Palairos, the Archaic period pottery appears to be generally very sparse and may have come from farmsteads rather than settlements, given that there are no major concentrations of other finds or architecture associated with the pottery. With a possible exception at Palaiochori (see below), no burials of the Archaic period are known in the area, and the only place where an Archaic phase is currently documented is in the sanctuary to the west of Palairos, on the so-called Temple Plateau.[46] Since the study of the finds from the Plaghia Peninsula is still in progress, this picture may change.

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[44] Ointment vessels are known from graves on the Plaghia Peninsula in the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods; see Lang et al. 2007, 165–166, fig. 86; Angermeier 2020; Weber 2023; at Classical and Hellenistic Stratos; see Makradima 2018; as well as from the large EIA necropolis of Stamna; see Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009; and other Archaic period *necropoleis* such as that at Halieis; see Schlehofer 2018, 41–42, 77.

[45] Mortaria of the Classic and Hellenistic periods are common in Palairos, as are the so-called Olynthus mills (*Trichtermühlen*) made of basalt, which were imported to Palairos; see Lang et al. 2007, 144, 168, fig. 38 a–b; Dietz 2016, 254. The volcanic stone of the mills in Kalydon may come from Nisyros; the imported mills are also known from Leukas, see Fiedler 2013, 296–298, pl. 118.

[46] The altar on top of the plateau is dated to the 4th century BCE; see Faisst and Kolonas 1990, 392–393; but one or more buildings of the 6th century BCE existed as well; see Hinsberger 2013, 74–75.

Drinking vessels are known from Lileia (Makelari) in the southwest of the Plaghia Peninsula (**26**)[47] as well as from the central Plaghia Valley (**5**, **27**), where a skyphos is attested. Some drinking vessels next to the ancient settlement of Agios Georgios on the western coast of the Plaghia Peninsula may also be of Archaic date (**2**, **29**). A lekane from a site at the entrance to the central Plaghia Valley (**32**) was decorated with a red glaze. It was associated with a black-glazed amphora or hydria (**46**). Other closed vessels for pouring and storage have been found at scattered sites in the Plaghia Valley, at Agios Georgios, and on the southern slope of Profitis Ilias (**45**, **62**, **73**, **75**). One of the vessels, a jug, has a shiny black slip on the neck (**62**). This glazing is not common among Archaic finds and may indicate that **62** dates from the end of the Archaic period or the transition to the Classical. The only chytra known so far comes from a site in the central Plaghia Valley (**67**).

Other larger vessels have not yet been discovered, which seems unusual in the countryside where they would have been needed to store and process agricultural products.[48] Adriatic/ Corinthian Type A.1 amphorai came from a site northwest of Nea Plaghia near Agios Georgios (**48**) and the western slope of Profitis Ilias (**49**). Their fabric may indicate their Corinthian origin, as surmised for the amphora rim from Palairos (see above). While the amphora near Agios Georgios could date from the 8th century BCE onwards, the handle could be dated more precisely to the Classical period, as it is stamped with a palmette.[49] Imports more precisely datable to the Archaic period are not yet known.

[47] At the site Lileia, in the area of Makelari, some amphorai with stamps showing letters (O with Π and A) are known: Köster 2013, 122, 124, 126, nos. 2, 11, 16.

[48] Jahns 2007, 183, 185–186; palynological analysis of Lake Voulkaria shows an intensification of agricultural activities in the Archaic period.

[49] Köster 2013, 122, no. 1 (the figure is erroneously illustrated at no. 8 on page 124); palmette stamps on Leukadian amphorai are dated mostly in the 3rd century BCE; see Filis and Staikou 2022, 268–269, pl. 2. Choironisi at the southwestern shore of the Plaghia Peninsula is the most prolific find spot for Adriatic/Corinthian amphorai but of Type B; the site was mainly in use (likely as a hub) in the 4th and 3rd century BCE. The earliest two Type A amphorai from Choironisi date to the Classical period; see Beck 2023.

Western Archaic Polychrome Pottery (WAPP) on the Plaghia Peninsula and Beyond

Even if these preliminary results give an initial insight into the pottery consumption of the Plaghia Peninsula and especially of Palairos in the Archaic period, decoration is difficult to determine, if at all. The original surface has been abraded in deposition or is hidden under a layer of sinter that cannot be removed. Most of the tableware preserves traces of a black or brown slip; in some cases, more elaborate decoration such as striping is visible. Polychrome decoration on this slip, or *dark-on-light* decoration, has not yet been identified.

The Archaic pottery assemblages from Stratos and the hinterland called Stratiké also give no indication of the polychrome decoration style (Fig. 3).[50] The finds from Stratos and the Stratiké are in more or less the same state of preservation as those from Palairos and Plaghia: a persistent sinter covers the surfaces, or they are worn off. In the Stratiké, however, surface finds can be supplemented by excavated material, allowing us to speculate on their original decorative patterns.

At one of the survey sites, between the later town of Stratos and the sanctuary on the Spathari hill, well-preserved Late Geometric to Late Archaic pottery was discovered at a probable pottery production site excavated near the Riakos brook.[51] This shows Corinthian features with horizontal lines, rays, wavy lines, cross lines, dots, and concentric triangles.[52] Due to the similarity of the pottery from the sanctuary on Spathari hill and the excavated site, this site could be the production site (or part of the production site) for the sanctuary pottery; it gives an insight into the former production status of the vessels in the Stratiké, which were once of high quality. With this in mind, the production of elaborately decorated and maybe also polychrome pottery in this region is conceivable but will have to be verified once the pottery from the Riakos brook is fully published.[53] Possible representatives of the polychrome type could be the kantharoi found at

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[50] For the Stratiké Survey, see Sieverling 2018a, 12–14, fig. 5.

[51] For the survey site and the pottery, see Sieverling 2018a, 13–14, fig. 6.

[52] Staikou and Leontariti 2012, 775–776, 781, fig. 5.

[53] There is maybe one part of a lekythos with white and red bands and rays that shows polychrome decoration. I thank the Ephorate of Antiquities of Aitoloakarnania and Lefkada for giving me permission to examine a part of the Riakos pottery from the Ozeros project, and Lina Makradima for her kind support.

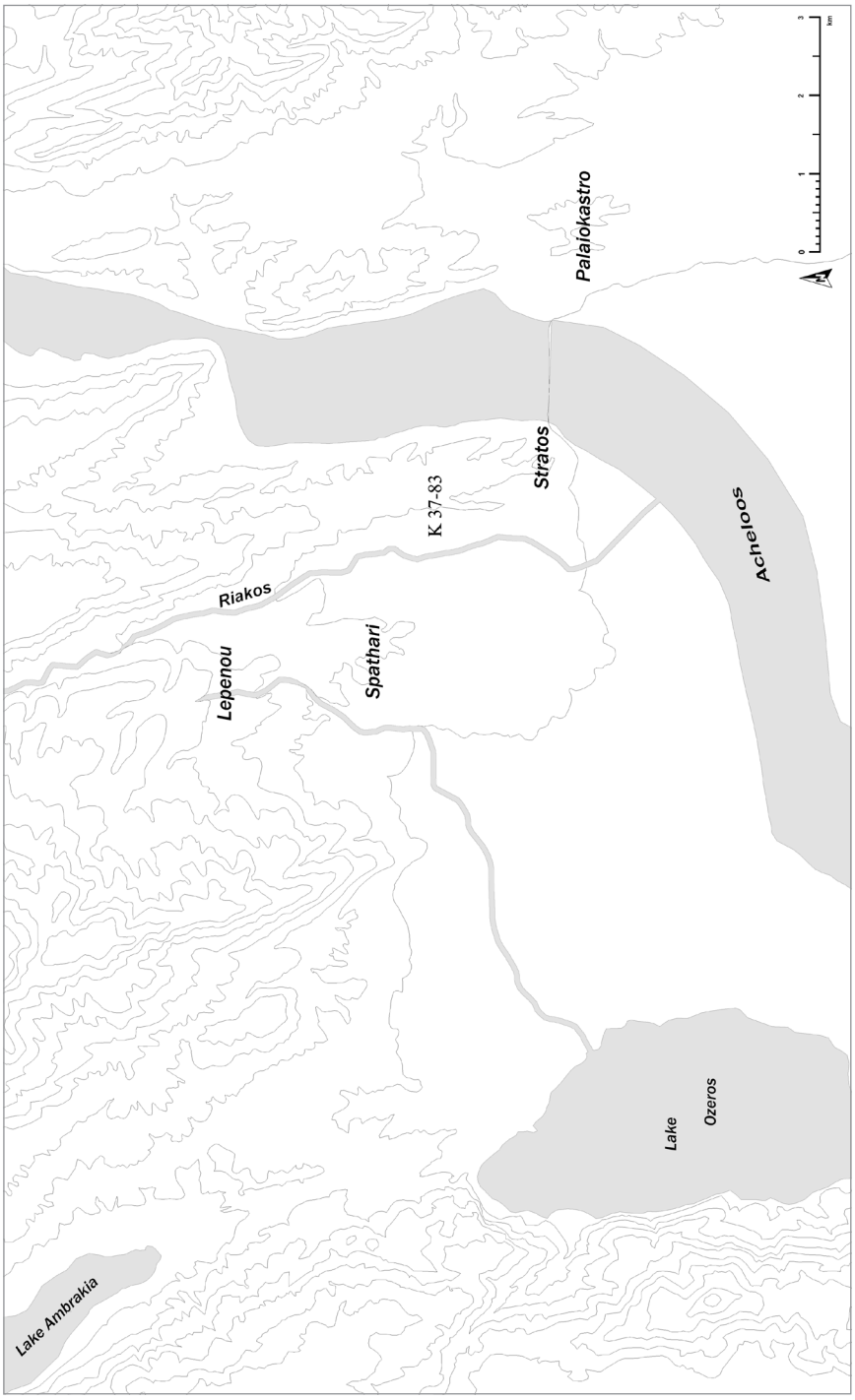


Fig. 3. Map of the Stratiké with site K37–83 on the Riakos River. (© Franziska Lang, revised by Adrian Rafaël Kling).

the sanctuary on the Spathari hill, which occur in large numbers and must have played a central role in cult practices and/or cultic feasts.[54] They are similar to the polychrome kantharoi of western Greek type (i.e., Papadopoulos' 'Achaian' kantharoi) known from Elis, Olympia, etc.[55] Since there is no evidence of polychrome painting on the surfaces of the kantharoi at Spathari, this must remain an unproven explanation.

Thus, the typical WAPP style, as published by John E. Coleman and Katherine Abramovitz, is so far unknown in this area.[56] But does this mean that we have reached the limit of production and/or distribution of this type in Akarnania? Polychrome pottery decoration is known from neighbouring Leukas and also from sites in Aitolia,[57] which indicates that it was imported and imitated in the wider region. We believe that it was probably also distributed in the area of Stratos and the Plaghia Peninsula, although this is not visible due to the poor state of preservation of the pottery examined. This can also be seen in the pottery of the Olympia Area Survey conducted in the region around the panhellenic sanctuary.[58] Although the *schwarz-bunt bemalte Keramik* is well known in the sanctuary, it is almost invisible within the surface pottery from the Olympia area.[59] Just two fragments of a lekane and a plate show traces of this style of decoration (**Olympia 1–2**). It is likely that polychrome pottery was distributed in the Olympia region in a higher concentration, but that survey conditions make the detection of this style very difficult if not impossible. We therefore need to wait for future excavations and publications to show whether the limits of polychrome pottery distribution on the Plaghia Peninsula have been reached, or whether they are still hidden under sinter and soil.

Although these questions about the polychrome pottery cannot be answered by the finds presented here, they do provide clues to the settlement history and material culture of the Archaic period.

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[54] Sieverling 2018a, 99–100, 181, pls. 12–13. Monochrome painting is still visible on most of them, and very few have band decoration. As the surfaces of the pottery on the Spathari hill have been severely damaged, the original design can no longer be traced.

[55] Papadopoulos 2001, 383–407; Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 53–57, ill. 11–12.

[56] Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 34–61, 64–65.

[57] See Chapters 3–5 and 8 in this volume.

[58] Eder et al. 2019; for the first results of archaeometric research on the EIA and Archaic pottery, see Rathossi and Lang 2024.

[59] Gauer 1975, 103–114, 161–163, fig. 5; Schilbach 1995, 31.

The Plaghia Peninsula in the Archaic Period

The comparative increase in the number of recovered finds of Archaic pottery provides a good indication of that occupation of Palairos became denser during this period. After traces of Early and Middle Helladic occupation, the site seems to have been deserted until the transition from the Geometric to the Archaic period. The development of Palairos into a town in the 6th century BCE is supported by architectural discoveries and the first construction phase of the city wall.[60] Palynological studies of the neighbouring Lake Voulkaria indicate an intensification of agriculture in the area and, probably, an increase in the population at this time.[61] During this period, the first graves were laid out and there is evidence of places of worship in and around the town (**78**).[62] In the sanctuary on the so-called Temple Plateau above Palairos, architectural terracottas attest to the existence of Archaic and Classical cult buildings.[63]

The discovery of early types of Adriatic/Corinthian amphora at Palairos not only shows the widespread distribution of these vessels in the region but also suggests the dissemination of their contents to settlements inland. This pattern may reflect links with traders/subtraders involved in the economic network of Corinth, which covered the western part of Akarnania via Anaktorion, Alyzia, and Leukas and, if Sollion is indeed somewhere on the peninsula, directly included Plaghia (Thuc. 2.30.1; 3.95.1).[64]

In the early modern village of Palaiochori, in the southeast of the peninsula, most finds date from the latest settlement phase in the 18th and 19th centuries CE. However, it is here that the earliest loom weights on the Plaghia Peninsula

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[60] Lang et al. 2007, 138–143, 167, figs. 28, 31; Ley 2009, 141.

[61] Jahns 2007, 183–187. In LV 5 (3500–600 BCE) and LV 6 (600–500 BCE) there is an increase in cultivated plants, the appearance of *Juglans* and a decrease in deciduous trees, indicating strong human influences and an intensification of agriculture which reached its peak in the Classical-Hellenistic period (LV 7).

[62] This is also confirmed by two grave inscriptions from the southern necropolis from the 6th century BCE; see *IG* IX 1^2 570.

[63] The sanctuary of Artemis on the path from Palairos to the Temple Plateau seems to have been established later, as no Archaic terracottas were found there: Dörpfeld 1927, 325–326, fig. 78 b.

[64] Kolonas and Faisst 1992, 571. On the foundation of the Corinthian colonies and the end of Corinthian control in the Peloponnesian War: Strabo 7.7.6; 10.2.8; Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90, 57, 7–8; Pseudo-Skylax 34. On the location of Sollion, see: Berktold and Faisst 1993.

have been found, dating from the end of the Archaic period. Other examples of these very small and light pyramidal loom weights, which imply the production of relatively fine fabrics, have been found only sporadically in and around Palairos and also at Peratia, in the west of the Plaghia Peninsula.[65] Archaic pottery has not yet been identified at Palaiochori, but a probably Late Geometric horse terracotta (**80**) and a Late Archaic terracotta female head (**79**), together with the loom weights, attest to an early settlement and/or burials at the site.[66]

Agios Georgios, located at the southern entrance to the isthmus of Leukas, is one of the most important strategic locations on the Plaghia Peninsula. The eastern part of the so-called Corinthian mole adjoins the site, supporting the impression that the Leukadians controlled the mainland at this point and along the fertile plain to the north (Thuc. 3.94.2).[67] Agios Georgios was explored by Dörpfeld, who identified it as New Nerikos, known from historical sources.[68] During the survey on the Plaghia Peninsula, new remains of houses were found within the city area and a necropolis was discovered north of the city wall, although these date from the Classical–Hellenistic period.[69] Archaic finds have been very sporadic. Of note is the discovery northeast of Agios Georgios of the rim of an amphora of the earliest Adriatic/Corinthian type (also found in Palairos and its environs), which testifies to the circulation of these vessels and their goods on the known trade route across the isthmus to the Plaghia Peninsula. Two kilometres northeast of Agios Georgios, at Lachidia, some 6th- and 5th-century BCE female terracottas probably indicate a place of worship.[70]

Further finds might be expected from the possibly Archaic wall on the hill of Vigla, south of the modern village of Agios Nikolaos on the north coast of the peninsula. It was built at a strategic crossroads next to the presumed junction of assumed ancient roads from Anaktorion to Leukas and the interior, e.g. Profitis Ilias/Palairos. It is also near the natural harbour of the Demata Bay and

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[65] Sieverling et al. 2023, 186–188, 196, pls. 13.2, 14.1, 32 (Type 4), 34.

[66] Lang et al. 2007, 150–152, figs. 49–50. The finds from the Palaiochori area and its surroundings were fully documented in 2019, although no Archaic material could be identified (by the author Anne Sieverling).

[67] Murray 1982, 186–187, 225–243, figs. 34–36; Fiedler 2013, 22, pl. 3b.

[68] Dörpfeld 1927, 269–271, fig. 30.

[69] Lang et al. 2007, 146–148, figs. 41–45.

[70] Dörpfeld 1927, 325, fig. 78a. Some of the terracottas from Lachidia resemble the terracotta from Palairos (**1245**). It is unclear whether these remains represent a sanctuary, tombs, or perhaps a depot for building sacrifices, as Dörpfeld does not describe the context.

the fertile plains on either side of a channel that was built in antiquity from the sea to Lake Voulkaria.[71] Fragments of possibly Archaic Corinthian tiles on the Xylokastro mountain massif, northeast of the modern town of Palairos, suggest the use of the rock promontory on the east of the Plaghia Peninsula, overlooking (protecting?) the fertile plain to the east of the marshes, as early as Archaic times.[72] The other Archaic period finds are mostly isolated and scattered in the central valley of the Plaghia Peninsula and, if anything, indicate individual farmsteads rather than more enclosed settlement areas.

In short, our research to date suggests that during the Archaic period, settlements were predominantly located on fertile plains rather than in coastal areas, and that they were probably farmsteads essential for subsistence.[73] Evidence of external influences is minimal, with only a modest presence of Corinthian imports and no discernible evidence of Elian or Achaian imports or influences. Based on our current analysis, it is reasonable to infer that the pottery was mainly produced locally.[74] This inclination towards local production likely extends to food, clothing, and votive offerings, as well as to building materials; the latter is supported by the discovery of an ancient quarry on the peninsula.[75] Future research will focus on how the local material culture, as observed in the coastal regions of the Plaghia Peninsula, was shaped by its geographical situation relative to the hinterland regions.

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[71] Berktold and Faisst 1993, 1, 7, 11, map 3; Kolonas and Faisst 1992, 563, 571–572; Vött et al. 2007, 199, 205. The age of the channel could be assumed to be between the 5th century BCE and the turn of the millennium. Finds from the area have yet to be analysed in their entirety. The finds from the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods confirm the importance of the site: Pantelidis forthcoming.

[72] Lang et al. 2007, 161–162, figs. 72–75. The system of fortifications on the hilltops of the Plaghia Peninsula, namely Trikorphon, Chrondro Vouni, Tavros, Aetofolia, Lithies, Sterna, and Ixous, was established in the Classical and Hellenistic periods: Lang 2016, 744–751, fig. 6; Murray 1982, 206–218; Lang et al. 2007, 160–165, 169. At Sterna the fortification may date to the Archaic period: Ley 2009, 255 fn. 200.

[73] Lang et al. 2007, 169–171, figs. 89 a–b.

[74] Sieverling et al. 2023. This implies that in Palairos and the surrounding area forms of contact with other more distant regions and groups can only be proven relatively late and sparsely in comparison to the southeastern regions around the Corinthian Gulf, which also makes it difficult to establish connections with the Archaic period polychrome pottery *koine.* See also Gehrke 2020, 270.

[75] Vött et al. 2007, 206–207.

Catalogue

Catalogue no.: **1**
Figure no: 4
Plate no: 23
Inventory no. 1010080382250,01
Findspot: Palairos, northern necropolis
Object name: skyphos?
Part of shape: rim until lower body
Diameter: 13.6 cm
Preservation: 12 %
Wall thickness: 0.2–0.5 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 7.5YR 7/4, pink
Outside decoration: remains of black glaze, band decoration
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Houby-Nielsen 2020, 204–205, 348, no. 523, pl. 33 (cup, MC–LC)

Catalogue no.: **2**
Figure no: 4
Inventory no. 020509007,04
Findspot: Agios Georgios, south, outside the later city wall
Object name: drinking vessel
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 10.2 cm
Preservation: 2 %
Wall thickness: 0.2–0.3 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 7.5YR 7/3, pink, light red, no inclusions, few pores
Outside decoration: black glaze
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): Fiedler 2013, 367, no. 2108, pl. 163 (small bowl, Archaic layer); Houby-Nielsen 2020, 94–95, 322, no. 96, pl. 7 (kantharos? MPC)

Catalogue no.: **3**
Figure no: 4
Inventory no. 231615,022
Findspot: Palairos

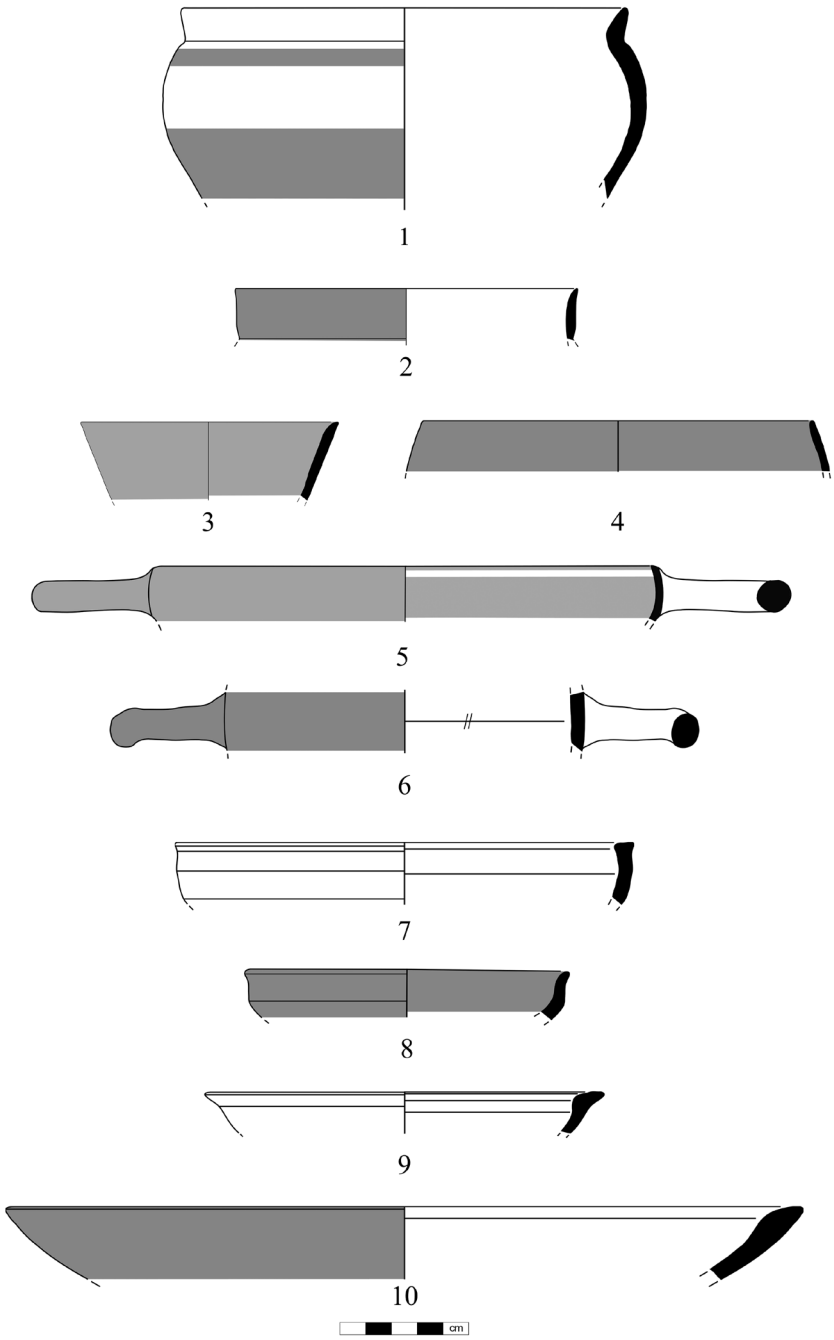


Fig. 4. Drinking vessels from Palairos and the Plaghia Peninsula.

Object name: skyphos?
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 7.6 cm
Preservation: 10 %
Wall thickness: 0.3 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige, chalky
Outside decoration: brown glaze
Inside decoration: brown glaze
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Dietz et al. 1998, 290–291, no. 1, fig. 26 (skyphos, Archaic), 310, no. 2, fig. 35 (cup, Early Archaic)

Catalogue no.: **4**
Figure no: 4
Inventory no. 223715,005
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: thin-walled drinking bowl
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 11.6 cm
Preservation: 5 %
Wall thickness: 0.2 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige
Outside decoration: black glaze
Inside decoration: black glaze
Date: Archaic?
Comparison(s): Braun 1996, 259, no. 173, pl. 56 (kotyle, MC); Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 257–258, nos. 318 or 322, fig. 4 (skyphos, Corinthian type, 450–400 BCE), 259, no, 335, fig. 4 (skyphos, Attic type, ca. 525 BCE)

Catalogue no.: **5**
Figure no: 4
Plate no: 23
Inventory no. 07080635313,03
Findspot: Plaghia
Object name: skyphos
Part of shape: rim with horizontal handle
Diameter: 14.0–16.0 cm
Handle dimensions: 0.7 x 0.7 cm

Wall thickness: 0.2 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 7.5YR 8/3, pink
Outside decoration: brown glaze
Inside decoration: brown glaze with light coloured band beneath rim
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Houby-Nielsen 2020, 324, no. 116, pl. 9 (kotyle, MPC)

Catalogue no.: **6**
Figure no: 4
Inventory no. 263104,002
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: skyphos
Part of shape: horizontal handle
Handle dimensions: 0.8 x 0.9 cm
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige-orange, chalky
Outside decoration: black glaze
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 261, no. 366, fig. 4 (skyphos, 575–550 BCE); Heiden 2000, 191, no. 77, pls. 59, 66 (kotyle, LC)

Catalogue no.: **7**
Figure no: 4
Inventory no. 262807,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: small bowl?
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 13.6 cm
Preservation: 7 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Date: Late Archaic?
Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 288, no. 726, fig. 8 (one-handler, 520–500 BCE)

Catalogue no.: **8**
Figure no: 4
Plate no: 23
Inventory no. 11100680900

Findspot: Palairos, southern necropolis
Object name: small bowl
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 9.6 cm
Preservation: 7 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 7.5YR 8/2, pinkish white
Outside decoration: dark glaze
Inside decoration: dark glaze
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Fiedler 2013, 366, no. 2094, pl. 162 (small bowl, Archaic layer)

Catalogue no.: **9**
Figure no: 4
Inventory no. 241905,002
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: small bowl?
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 11.6 cm
Preservation: 2 %
Wall thickness: 0.3 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: red, sandy
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): Lauter 1985, 78–79, no. 121, fig. 4 (small bowl, 8th /7th century BCE, smaller than **9**)

Catalogue no.: **10**
Figure no: 4
Inventory no. 201613,003
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: drinking bowl
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 23.4 cm
Preservation: 4 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: pale orange
Outside decoration: black glaze
Date: Archaic

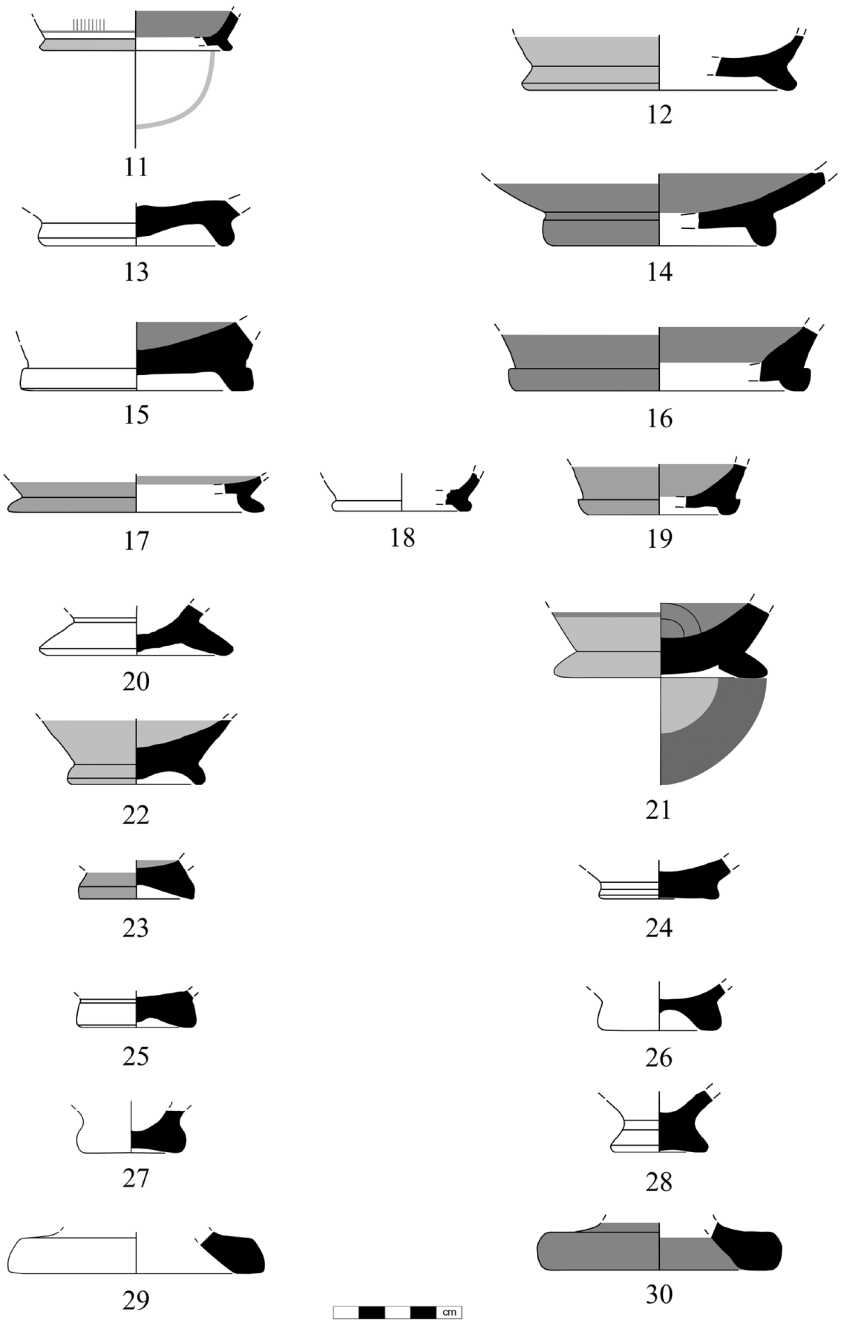


Fig. 5. Drinking vessels from Palairos and the Plaghia Peninsula.

Catalogue no.: **11**
Figure no: 5
Plate no: 23
Inventory no. 143016,002
Findspot: Palairos, eastern outskirts of the settlement
Object name: drinking vessel
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 6.0 cm
Preservation: 10 %
Wall thickness: 0.35 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: reddish brown on the outside, grey discolouration on the inside, few white inclusions, few larger pores
Outside decoration: black vertical rays over the ring base; on the ring base red glaze
Inside decoration: black glaze
Bottom/top decor.: red band? Very worn
Date: Archaic

Catalogue no.: **12**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 253708,001
Findspot: Palairos, acropolis
Object name: skyphos
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 8.0 cm
Preservation: 15 %
Wall thickness: 0.2 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige, chalky
Outside decoration: red glaze
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 260, no. 355, fig. 4 (skyphos, 575–550); Dietz et al. 1998, 308, 310, no. 3, fig. 35 (skyphos/kotyle, 7th century BCE); Braun 1996, 260–261, no. 182, pl. 56 (kotyle, MC)

Catalogue no.: **13**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 251605,002
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: drinking vessel?

Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 5.8 cm
Preservation: 45 %
Wall thickness: 0.5 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: small stone inclusions
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Braun 1996, 260–269, no. 182, pl. 56 (kotyle, MC); Kiderlen and Themelis, eds., 2010, 116, 238, no. K114, fig. 120 (skyphos, Archaic); Dietz et al. 1998, 264–265, no. 8. fig. 10 (cup, Archaic)

Catalogue no.: **14**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 163006,002
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: drinking vessel
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 7.8 cm
Preservation: 12 %
Wall thickness: 0.5 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: blue-orange mottled, very fine, medium-hard fired, slightly chalky
Outside decoration: black glaze
Inside decoration: striped, spotted
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 288, no. 726, fig. 8 (one-handler, 520–500 BCE)

Catalogue no.: **15**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 201712,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: small bowl?
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 6.8 cm
Preservation: 30 %
Wall thickness: 0.8 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige, chalky

Inside decoration: black glaze
Date: Archaic?
Comparison(s): Dietz et al. 1998, 302–303, no. 15, fig. 31 (cup, Archaic but slightly bigger than **15**)

Catalogue no.: **16**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 223910,002
Findspot: Palairos, acropolis
Object name: skyphos
Part of shape: base, foot
Diameter: 8.8 cm
Preservation: 25 %
Wall thickness: 0.5 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: brown-orange, chalky
Outside decoration: black glaze
Inside decoration: black glaze
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Dietz et al. 1998, 302–303, no. 15, fig. 31 (Archaic skyphos, with differences in exterior decoration and profile from **16**)

Catalogue no.: **17**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 231405,002
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: small bowl
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 7.4 cm
Preservation: 15 %
Wall thickness: 0.2 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige, chalky
Outside decoration: brown glaze
Inside decoration: brown glaze
Date: Classical
Comparison(s): Dietz et al. 1998, 305–306, no. 22, fig. 32 (plate, 4th century BCE); Stillwell and Benson 1984, no. 1041, pl. 117 (kotyle, LC III)

Catalogue no.: **18**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 172107,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: drinking vessel
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 4.0 cm
Preservation: 14 %
Wall thickness: 0.3 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: yellowish, very fine
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Dietz et al. 1998, 290, 292, no. 20, fig. 26 (small bowl, Archaic–Classical, slightly bigger than the one from Palairos); Bollen 2011b, 315, pl. 12; Bollen 2011c, 488, no. 359, pl. 48 (kotyle, Archaic, slightly bigger than **18**)

Catalogue no.: **19**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 192111,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: skyphos?
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 4.8 cm
Preservation: 20 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: reddish brown, very fine, with small grog particles
Outside decoration: brown glaze
Inside decoration: brown glaze
Date: Archaic?
Comparison(s): Lauter 1985, 78, no. 112, fig. 4 (kotyle, 8th /7th century BCE); Stillwell and Benson 1984, no. 1007, pl. 117 (kotyle, LC III)

Catalogue no.: **20**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 263410,003
Findspot: Palairos, acropolis
Object name: kotyle?
Part of shape: flaring ring base
Diameter: 5.6 cm

Preservation:	20 %
Wall thickness:	0.5 cm
Fabric name:	fineware
Date:	Late Corinthian?
Comparison(s):	Houby-Nielsen 2020, 141, 330, no. 222, pl. 15 (bowl, MC); Polczyk 2005, 170, no. 97, fig. 12 (kotyle, 1st half of the 5th century BCE)

Catalogue no.:	**21**
Figure no:	5
Plate no:	23
Inventory no.	11100118915/11
Findspot:	Palairos, southern necropolis
Object name:	skyphos?
Part of shape:	ring base
Diameter:	6.2 cm
Preservation:	ca. 35 %
Wall thickness:	Base: 0.7 cm; bowl: 0.9 cm
Fabric name:	fineware
Fabric description:	10YR 8/2, very pale brown
Outside decoration:	red glaze, change to black decoration at the break, linear/band decoration
Inside decoration:	black, two decorative grooves in the centre of the vessel
Bottom/top decor.:	black glaze on ring base; centre red glaze
Date:	Archaic
Comparison(s):	Sieverling 2018a, 362, no. 180, pl. 9 (cup, Archaic)

Catalogue no.:	**22**
Figure no:	5
Inventory no.	231615,007
Findspot:	Palairos
Object name:	kotyle?
Part of shape:	ring base
Diameter:	4.0 cm
Preservation:	100 %
Wall thickness:	0.3 cm
Fabric name:	fineware
Outside decoration:	red glaze
Inside decoration:	red glaze
Date:	Archaic

Comparison(s): Lauter 1985, 78, no. 118, fig. 4 (kotyle, 8th- or 7th-century BCE)

Catalogue no.: **23**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 231703,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: skyphos?
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 3.4 cm
Preservation: 100 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige, chalky, dense
Outside decoration: brown glaze
Inside decoration: brown glaze
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): Polczyk 2005, 167, no. 39, fig. 9 (kantharos, beginning 5th century BCE), 169, no. 73, fig. 11 (cup, Archaic)

Catalogue no.: **24**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 242815,002
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: drinking vessel?
Part of shape: base with false ring
Diameter: 3.6 cm
Preservation: 100 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: small stone inclusions
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Houby-Nielsen 2020, 351, no. 565, pl. 36 (cup, MPC); Polczyk 2005, 169, no. 76, fig. 11 (cup, 7th/6th century BCE); Papadopoulos 2001, 419, fig. 35a (kantharos, 7th century BCE)

Catalogue no.: **25**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 241604,002
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: ?

Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 3.4 cm
Preservation: 45 %
Wall thickness: 0.3 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Date: ?

Catalogue no.: **26**
Figure no: 5
Plate no: 23
Inventory no. 04040585000,01
Findspot: Lileia
Object name: cup
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 3.8 cm
Preservation: 64 %
Wall thickness: 0.3 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 5YR 8/2, pinkish white
Date: Archaic–Classical

Catalogue no.: **27**
Figure no: 5
Plate no: 23
Inventory no. 07080635313,05
Findspot: Plaghia
Object name: drinking vessel
Part of shape: base
Diameter: ca. 3.2 cm
Preservation: 100 %
Wall thickness: 0.6 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 5YR 7/4, pink
Date: Archaic

Catalogue no.: **28**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 241506,002
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: drinking vessel
Part of shape: solid conical base

Diameter: 2.8 cm
Preservation: 99 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): Kiderlen and Themelis, eds., 2010, 238, no. K119, fig. 120 (krateriskos, 7th–5th century BCE); Stillwell and Benson 1984, no. 1145, pl. 118 (goblet, LC III)

Catalogue no.: **29**
Figure no: 5
Inventory no. 030509001,02
Findspot: Agios Georgios, southwest of the later city wall
Object name: kylix
Part of shape: foot
Diameter: 7.8 cm
Preservation: 17 %
Wall thickness: 0.7 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 2.5YR 6/6, light red, chalky, small lime inclusions, a few small black stones
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): Roberts 1986, 8, fig. 5 (kylix, Archaic)

Catalogue no.: **30**
Figure no: 5
Plate no: 23
Inventory no. 10100783100,01
Findspot: Palairos, northern necropolis
Object name: kylix
Part of shape: foot
Diameter: 7.4 cm
Preservation: 17.5 %
Wall thickness: not preserved
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 5YR 8/3, pink
Outside decoration: remains of black glaze
Bottom/top decor.: remains of black glaze
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Roberts 1986, 8, fig. 5 (kylix, Archaic)

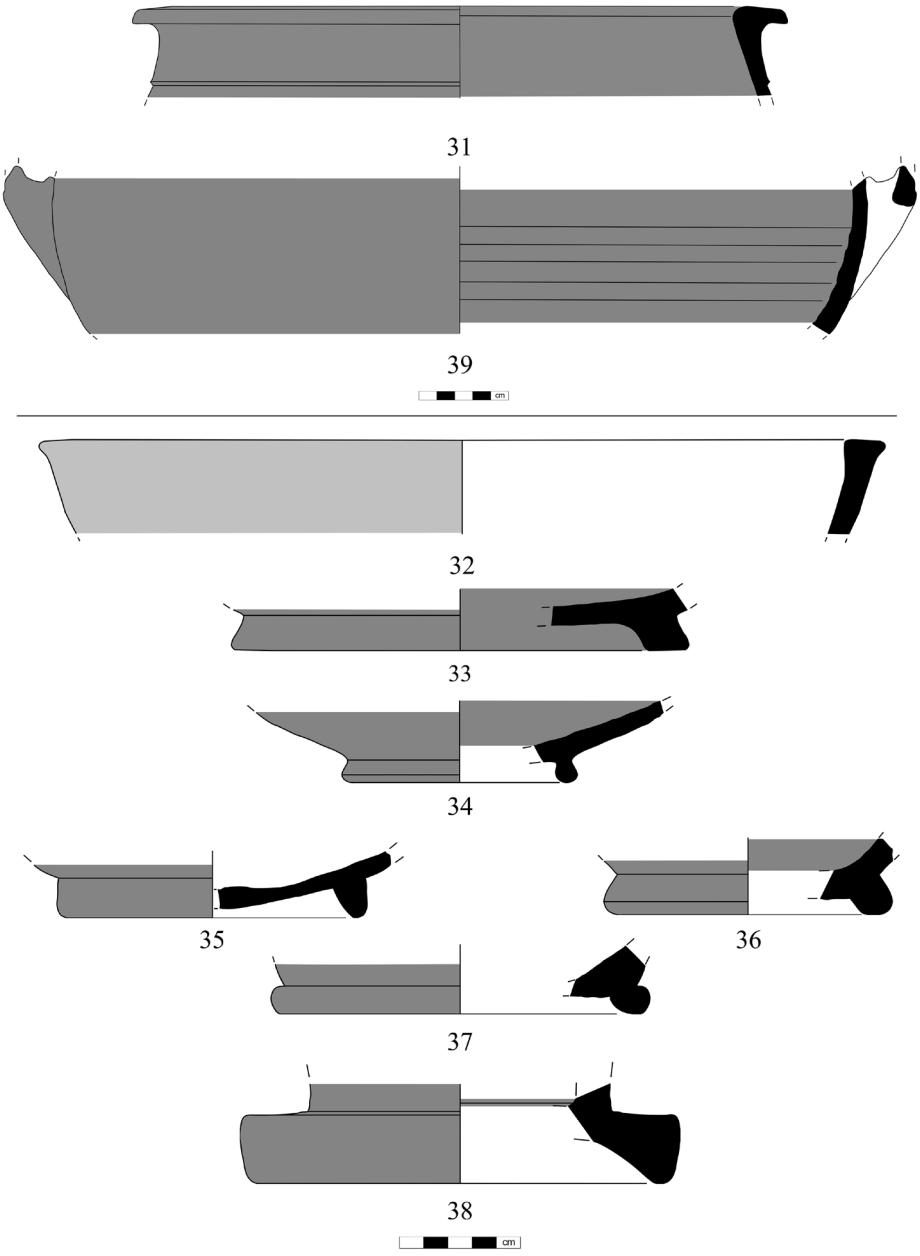


Fig. 6. Lekanai or kraters from Palairos and the Plaghia Peninsula.

Catalogue no.: **31**
Figure no: 6
Plate no: 23
Inventory no. 11100148918,01
Findspot: Palairos, southern necropolis
Object name: lekane
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 26.0 cm
Preservation: 7 %
Wall thickness: 0.8 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 10YR 8/2, very pale brown, inclusions of small, inorganic particles (black)
Outside decoration: black glaze
Inside decoration: red glaze (perhaps originally black)
Bottom/top decor.: red glaze; remains of black glaze
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Bollen 2011b, 315; Bollen and Eiring 2011, 423, no. 127, pl. 38 (krater, Archaic); Braun 1996, 268, nos. 248– 249, pl. 58 (lekane, EC)

Catalogue no.: **32**
Figure no: 6
Plate no: 23
Inventory no. 04070470800,04
Findspot: lower Plaghia valley
Object name: lekane
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 28.0 cm
Preservation: 3 %
Wall thickness: 0.8 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 5YR 8/2, pinkish white
Outside decoration: remains of red colour
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): Braun 1996, 268, no. 248, pl. 58 (lekane, EC); Fiedler 2013, 367, no. 2099, pl. 162 (small bowl, Archaic layer)

Catalogue no.: **33**
Figure no: 6
Inventory no. 1010080382250,03

Findspot: Palairos, northern necropolis
Object name: krater/lekane
Part of shape: base
Diameter: 14.8 cm
Preservation: 20 %
Wall thickness: 0.9 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 5Y 8/2, pinkish white
Outside decoration: remains of dark glaze
Inside decoration: remains of dark glaze
Bottom/top decor.: remains of dark glaze
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Houby-Nielsen 2020, 179, 340, no. 396, pl. 25 (bowl, MC but smaller than **33**)

Catalogue no.: **34**
Figure no: 6
Inventory no. 263409,006
Findspot: Palairos, acropolis
Object name: lekane?
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 7.4 cm
Preservation: 15/32 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Outside decoration: black glaze
Inside decoration: black glaze
Date: Archaic?

Catalogue no.: **35**
Figure no: 6
Inventory no. 163105,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: small bowl?
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 9.8 cm
Preservation: 15 %
Wall thickness: 0.5 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige-orange, without recognizable inclusions
Outside decoration: black glaze

Inside decoration: black glaze
Bottom/top decor.: yellowish slip
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 292, no. 785, fig. 8 (one-handler, ca. 420 BCE)

Catalogue no.: **36**
Figure no: 6
Inventory no. 171604,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: small bowl?
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 9.0 cm
Preservation: 20 %
Wall thickness: 0.8 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: ochre brown and reddish, very fine
Outside decoration: black glaze, banded
Inside decoration: black glaze, banded
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): Houby-Nielsen 2020, 222, 350, no. 549, pl. 35 (bowl, MPC but bigger than **36**)

Catalogue no.: **37**
Figure no: 6
Inventory no. 192102,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: krater?
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 11.8 cm
Preservation: 18 %
Wall thickness: 0.8 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: orange, chalky, without recognizable inclusions
Outside decoration: black glaze
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): Dietz et al. 1998, 308–309, no. 20, fig. 34 (bowl, Archaic–Classical)

Catalogue no.: **38**
Figure no: 6

Inventory no. 232302,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: krater?
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 13.6 cm
Preservation: 15 %
Wall thickness: 1.0 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: many small white inclusions, few bigger pores
Outside decoration: black glaze
Inside decoration: black glaze
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 240, no. 49, fig. 2 (bell-krater, 470–460 BCE)

Catalogue no.: **39**
Figure no: 6
Plate no: 23
Inventory no. 11040920000,01
Findspot: Palaiochori
Object name: lekane
Part of shape: body with attachment of horizontal handle
Diameter: 37.0–38.0 cm
Preservation: > 5 %
Wall thickness: 0.7 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 5YR 7/4, pink
Outside decoration: dark glaze at the right side of the handle
Inside decoration: four large wheel ridges on the inside, dark glaze in the grooves
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Houby-Nielsen 2020, 233, 354, no. 611, pl. 39 (kylix/skyphos, Late Archaic, **39** is bigger)

Catalogue no.: **40**
Figure no: 7
Inventory no. 212816,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: basin
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 56.0 cm
Preservation: 8 %

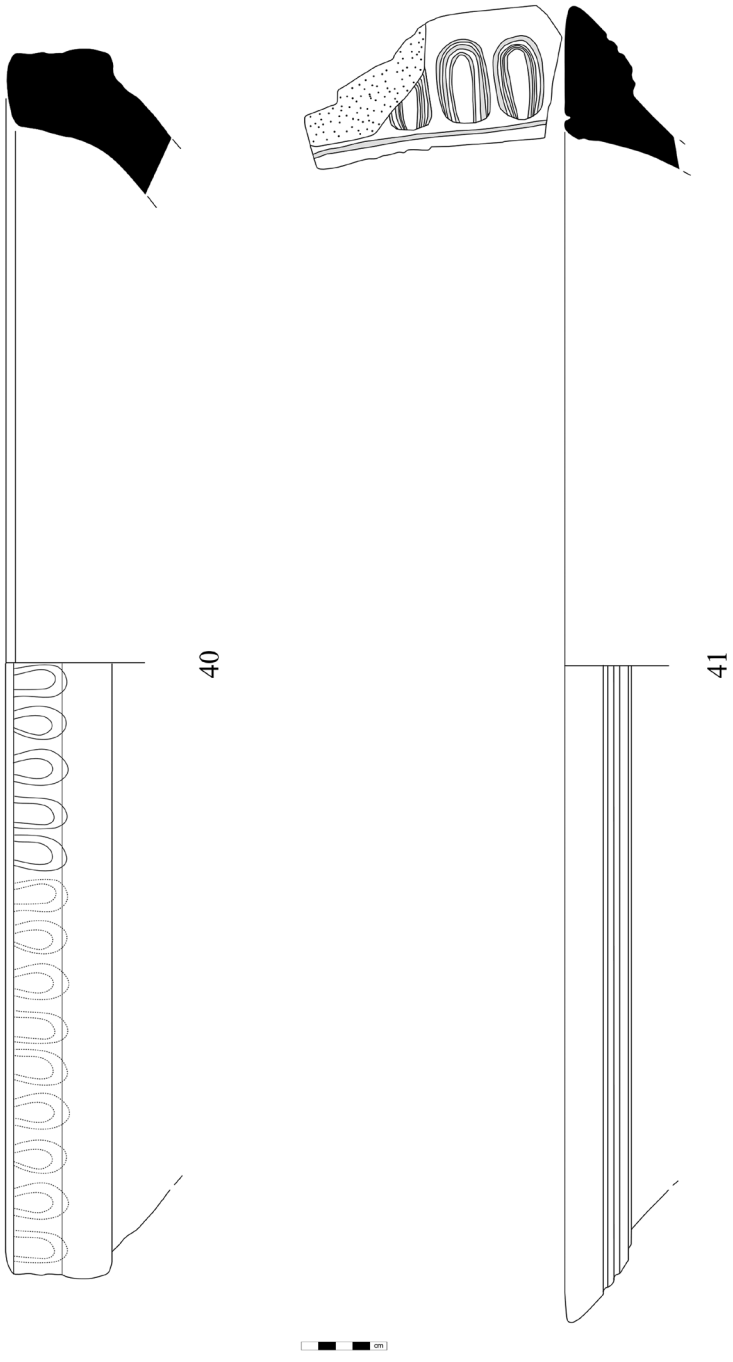


Fig. 7. Basins from Palairos.

Wall thickness: 2.3 cm
Fabric name: rough ware
Fabric description: light orange, with many rounded stone inclusions
Outside decoration: stamped tongues
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Johnston 2005, 350–351, no. 147, fig. 19 (perirrhanterion, 7th century BCE, double volute design stamped on the outside of the lip), 380, no. 268, fig. 37 (large jar, Classical, stamped outlined tongue on ring foot); Houby-Nielsen 2020, 276–277, no. 742, fig. 154 (basin on high stand, 600–575 BCE)

Catalogue no.: **41**
Figure no: 7
Plate no: 24
Inventory no. 10100803500
Findspot: Palairos, northern necropolis
Object name: basin
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 60.0 cm
Preservation: 18 %
Wall thickness: 0.5? cm
Fabric name: rough ware
Fabric description: 5YR 8/3 pink, grog and stone inclusions
Outside decoration: stamped tongues
Date: Classical?
Comparison(s): Johnston 2005, 380, no. 268, fig. 37 (large jar, Classical, stamped outlined tongue on ring foot); Fiedler 2013, 220–221, pl. 73 (louterion with plastic lotus-palmette decoration), no. 206, 77 (louterion with plastic centauromachy and *potnia theron*, Archaic); for decoration, see Fiedler 2013, 221, no. 210, pl. 74 (louterion with plastic tongue decoration)

Catalogue no.: **42**
Figure no: 8
Inventory no. 201613,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: amphora
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 12.6 cm
Preservation: 5 %
Wall thickness: 0.7 cm

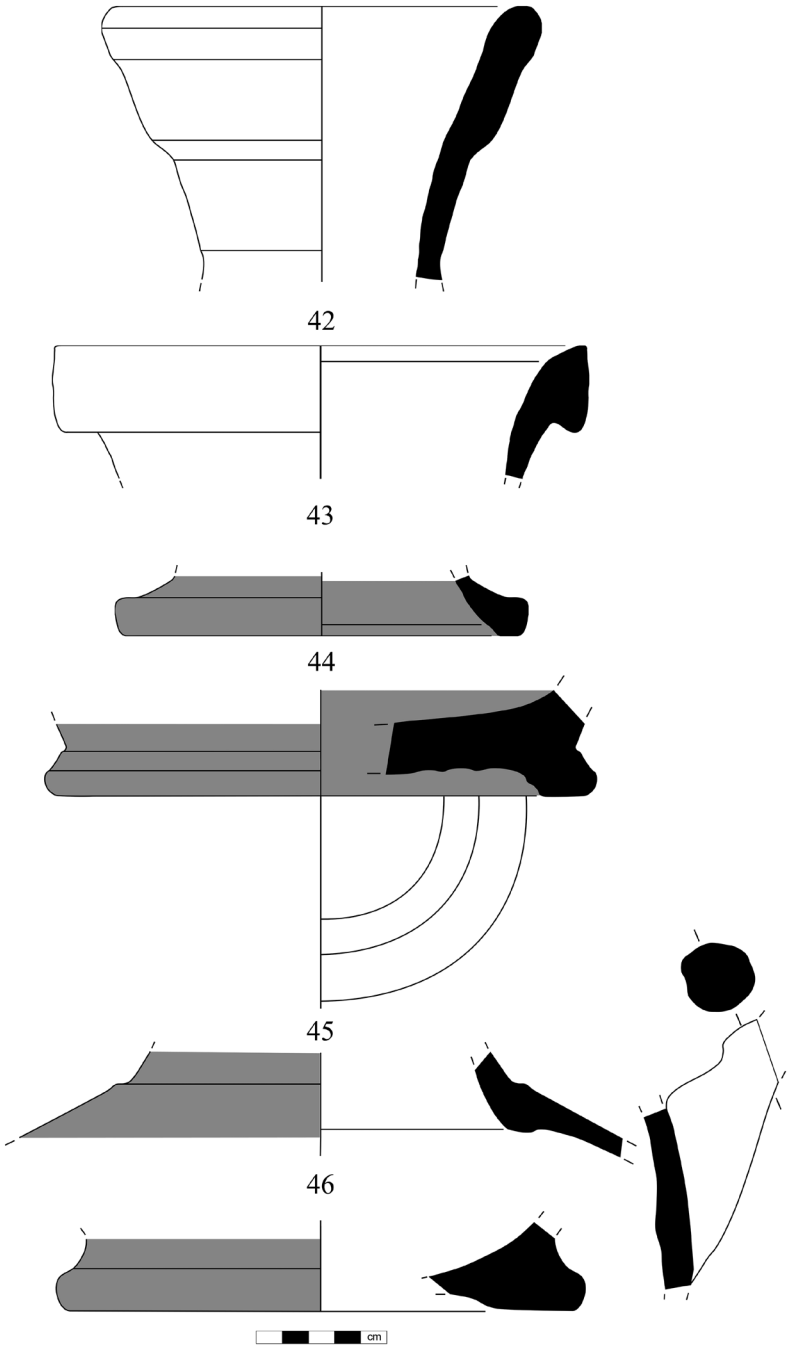


Fig. 8. Amphorai from Palairos and the Plaghia Peninsula.

Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige, chalky, grog, fine pores
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): Dietz et al. 1998, 306, 309, no. 1, fig. 34 (amphora, Early Archaic?, but thinner than **42**)

Catalogue no.: **43**
Figure no: 8
Inventory no. 201906,004
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: amphora
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 15.6 cm
Preservation: 10 %
Wall thickness: 0.5 cm
Fabric name: semi-fineware
Fabric description: orange, many small inclusions
Date: LPC?
Comparison(s): Johnston 2005, 367–368, no. 213, fig. 29 (Milesian transport amphora, 7th century BCE)

Catalogue no.: **44**
Figure no: 8
Inventory no. 232402,003
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: pelike?
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 11.8 cm
Preservation: 10 %
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: red-orange, very fine, dense, with mica, slightly chalky
Outside decoration: black glaze
Inside decoration: black glaze
Date: Late Archaic?
Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 236, no. 2, fig. 2 (neck-amphora, late 6th century BCE, bigger than **44**)

Catalogue no.: **45**
Figure no: 8
Inventory no. 09090336519,01
Findspot: Plaghia

Object name: amphora?
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 16.4 cm
Preservation: 22 %
Wall thickness: 1.5 cm
Fabric name: semi-fineware
Fabric description: 5YR 6/4, light reddish brown
Outside decoration: black glaze
Inside decoration: black glaze
Bottom/top decor.: black glaze, groove decoration
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 337, no. 1445, fig. 12 (amphora, 500–480 BCE); Houby-Nielsen 2020, 183, no. 413, pl. 26 (krater?, MC–LC)

Catalogue no.: **46**
Figure no: 8
Plate no: 23
Inventory no. 04070470800,01-03
Findspot: lower Plaghia valley
Object name: amphora with handle on the belly or hydria
Part of shape: shoulder/neck + base + attachment of horizontal handle
Belly Diameter: 10.4–18.4 cm (min–max)
Handle dimensions: ? x 2.1 cm
Base Diameter: 15.6 cm
Preservation: 15 %/30%
Wall thickness: 0.6-1.2 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 5YR 8/3–4 pink, a little porous
Outside decoration: black glaze
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Johnston 2005, 337–338, no. 98, fig. 3 (hydria, 7th century BCE)

Catalogue no.: **47**
Figure no: 9
Inventory no. 231615,011
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: amphora, Adriatic/Corinthian Type A.1a
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 23.8 cm

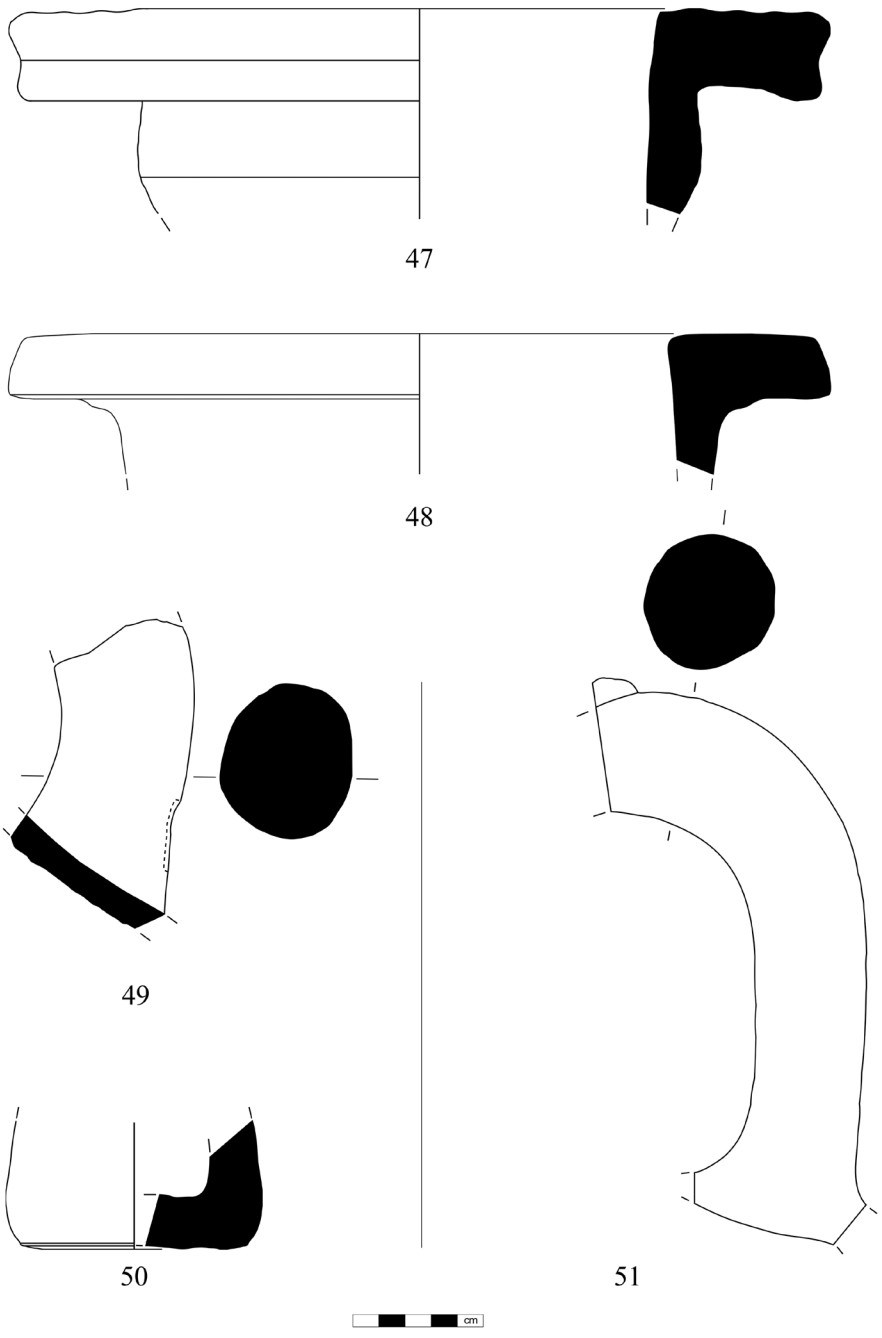


Fig. 9. Corinthian Amphorai Type A1 from Palairos and the Plaghia Peninsula.

Preservation: 15 %
Wall thickness: 1.0 cm
Fabric name: sandy ware
Fabric description: brown-orange outside, grey-blue core, coarse
Date: 8th century BCE onwards
Comparison(s): Koehler 1992, Type A.1a, pl. 1; Pfaff 1988, 63, fig. 22 (coarse-ware amphora, from the Early Corinthian fill)

Catalogue no.: **48**
Figure no: 9
Inventory no. 03060995912,02
Findspot: northeast of Nea Plaghia near Agios Georgios
Object name: amphora, Adriatic/Corinthian Type A.1a
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 24.0 cm
Preservation: 8 %
Wall thickness: 1.2 cm
Fabric name: rough ware
Fabric description: 5YR 8/2, pinkish white, with many large pieces of grog, chalky
Date: 8th century BCE onwards
Comparison(s): Koehler 1992, Type A.1a, pl. 1; Pfaff 1988, 63, fig. 22 (coarse-ware amphora, from the Early Corinthian fill)

Catalogue no.: **49**
Figure no: 9
Plate no: 24
Inventory no. 0910021 (3829)
Findspot: Prophitis Ilias, western slope
Object name: amphora, Adriatic/Corinthian Type A.1a
Part of shape: vertical handle
Handle dimensions: 1.8 x 2.5 cm
Preservation: %
Fabric name: rough ware
Fabric description: 5YR 7/6, reddish, yellow surface, 5Y 7/1 light grey core, grey, white and orange-red inclusions
Date: Classical
Published: Köster 2013, 122, no. 1, incorrectly displayed at 124, no. 8.
Comparison: Koehler 1992, Type A.1a, pl. 1

Catalogue no.: **50**
Figure no: 9

Inventory no. 204500,001
Findspot: Palairos, acropolis
Object name: amphora, Adriatic/Corinthian Type A.1b
Part of shape: cylindrical toe
Diameter: 7.4 cm
Preservation: ? %
Wall thickness: 1.4 cm
Fabric name: rough ware
Fabric description: pink to blue-pink, with yellow grog
Date: 5th century BCE onwards
Comparison(s): Koehler 1992, Type A.1b, pl. 1

Catalogue no.: **51**
Figure no: 9
Inventory no. 213813,001
Findspot: Palairos, acropolis
Object name: amphora, Adriatic/Corinthian Type A.1b
Part of shape: vertical handle with edge of the rim
Handle dimensions: 3.8 x 4.0 cm
Preservation: 98 %
Wall thickness: 0.8 cm
Fabric name: rough ware
Date: 5th century BCE onwards
Comparison(s): Koehler 1992, Type A.1b, pl. 1

Catalogue no.: **52**
Figure no: 10
Inventory no. 202002,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: amphora, Adriatic/Corinthian Type A.2a
Part of shape: rim with handle attachment
Diameter: 21.0 cm
Handle dimensions: 5.1 x 3.6 cm
Preservation: 10 %
Wall thickness: 0.6 cm
Fabric name: semi-fineware
Fabric description: pink-red with grey core, blue-grey burnt chert gravel, very hard
Date: 5th century BCE onwards
Comparison(s): Koehler 1992, Type A.2a, pl. 2

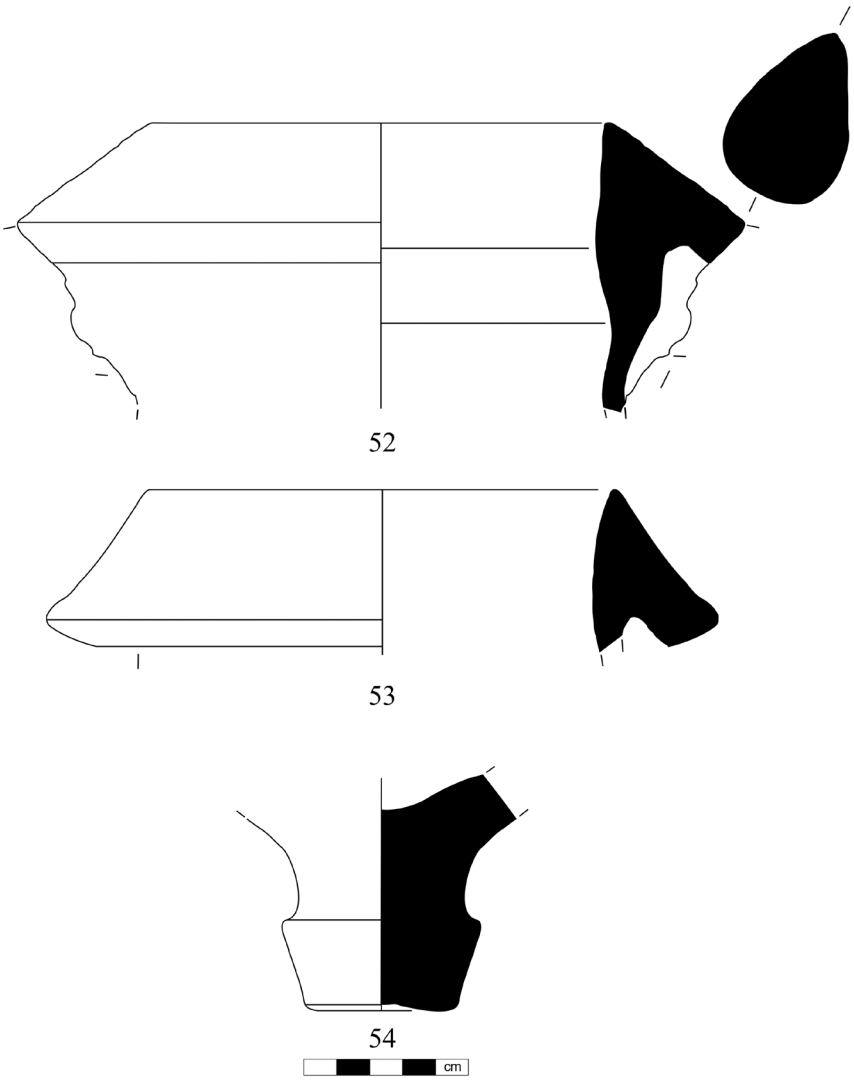


Fig. 10. Corinthian Amphorai Type A2a from Palairos and the Plaghia Peninsula.

Catalogue no.: **53**
Figure no: 10
Inventory no. 202607,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: amphora, Adriatic/Corinthian Type A.2a
Diameter: 19.4 cm
Preservation: 21 %
Wall thickness: 0.7 cm
Fabric name: rough ware
Fabric description: pink-orange, with pieces of red grog, grey-blue burnt chert sprinkles
Date: 5th century BCE onwards
Comparison(s): Koehler 1992, Type A.2a, pl. 2
Remark: another example of similar shape and fabric is known from Palairos (182805,1)

Catalogue no.: **54**
Figure no: 10
Inventory no. 202507,002
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: amphora, Adriatic/Corinthian Type A.2a
Part of shape: peg toe
Diameter: 4.4 cm
Preservation: 100 %
Wall thickness: 1.6 cm
Fabric name: rough ware
Date: 5th century BCE onwards
Comparison(s): Koehler 1992, Type A.2a, pl. 2

Catalogue no.: **55**
Figure no: 10
Inventory no. 171711,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: pithos
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 34.4 cm
Preservation: 15 %
Wall thickness: 2.4 cm
Fabric name: rough ware
Fabric description: with lots of coarse stone inclusions and grog
Date: Archaic

Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 343, no. 1520, fig. 19 (pithos, 525–500 BCE)

Catalogue no.: **56**
Figure no: 11
Inventory no. 203803,001
Findspot: Palairos, acropolis
Object name: small thin-walled vessel, closed/open?
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 6.0 cm
Preservation: 10 %
Wall thickness: 0.3 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige, without recognizable inclusions
Outside decoration: black glaze
Inside decoration: black glaze
Date: Archaic–Classical

Catalogue no.: **57**
Figure no: 11
Inventory no. 211406,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: jug
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 9.6 cm
Preservation: 12 %
Wall thickness: 0.3 cm
Fabric name: rough ware
Fabric description: sandy, greenish dark grey, heavily overfired, with white inclusions
Date: Archaic?
Comparison(s): Houby-Nielsen 2020, 93, 321, no. 89, pl. 6 (bowl, MPC); McPhee 2005, 48, C-1939–114, fig. 6 (oinochoe, 2nd quarter of the 5th century BCE)

Catalogue no.: **58**
Figure no: 11
Inventory no. 172611,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: jug (*Bügelkanne*)
Part of shape: rim with handle attachment on the top edge

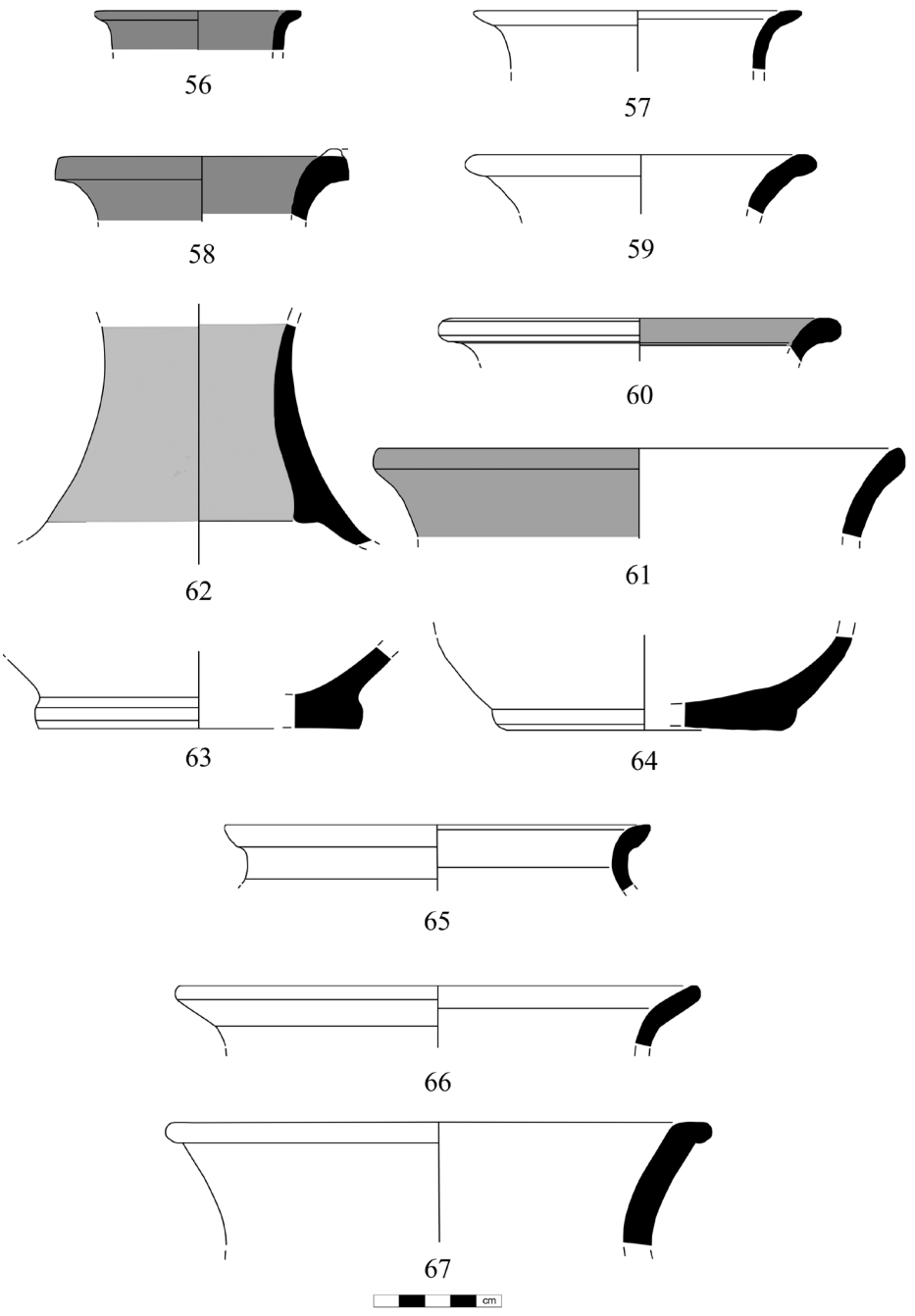


Fig. 11. Jugs and chytrai from Palairos and the Plaghia Peninsula.

Diameter: 8.8 cm
Preservation: 21 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: orange-brown, very dense, with relatively large pieces of lime (shell grit?)
Outside decoration: black glaze
Inside decoration: black glaze
Date: Late Archaic(?)–Classical
Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 249, no. 187, fig. 3 (jug, 425–400 BCE)

Catalogue no.: **59**
Figure no: 11
Inventory no. 231611,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: jug
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 10.2 cm
Preservation: 13 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Date: Early Classical
Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, no. 145, fig. 3 (jug, 525–500 BCE); *CVA* Mainz Universität 2 (Deutschland 63), pl. 1.2 (Inv. 114) (pelike, 440–430 BCE)

Catalogue no.: **60**
Figure no: 11
Inventory no. 241910,021
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: jug?
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 11.8 cm
Preservation: 12 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige, chalky
Inside decoration: brown glaze
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Sieverling 2018a, 432, no. 446, pl. 28 (jug, 8th–5th century BCE); Gauer 1975, 97, 100, fig. 4.4 (mid-5th century BCE)

Catalogue no.: **61**
Figure no: 11
Inventory no. 253708,002
Findspot: Palairos, acropolis
Object name: jug
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 15.6 cm
Wall thickness: 0.5 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: yellowish, chalky
Outside decoration: brown glaze
Date: Late Archaic?
Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 337, no. 1455, fig. 12 (amphora, 520–480 BCE)

Catalogue no.: **62**
Figure no: 11
Plate no: 24
Inventory no. 09090815020
Findspot: Prophitis Ilias, southern slope
Object name: Jug?
Part of shape: lower part of neck with attachment to shoulder
Diameter: 5.8 inside cm
Preservation: ca. 55 %
Wall thickness: 0.65 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 5YR 7/4, pink
Outside decoration: black glaze, transition without colour
Inside decoration: black glaze, transition without colour
Date: Archaic–Classical

Catalogue no.: **63**
Figure no: 11
Inventory no. 252401,003
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: Jug?
Part of shape: raised base
Diameter: 9.6 cm
Preservation: 19 %
Wall thickness: 0.5 cm
Fabric name: fineware

Fabric description: beige, chalky
Date: Beginning of the 5th century BCE?
Comparison(s): Coleman and Abramovitz 1986, 48, C64, fig. 8, pl. 30 (jug, Archaic)

Catalogue no.: **64**
Figure no: 11
Inventory no. 253708,004
Findspot: Palairos, acropolis
Object name: jug?
Part of shape: flat base
Diameter: 9.0 cm
Preservation: 25 %
Wall thickness: 0.5 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige, chalky
Date: Late Archaic?
Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 246, no. 145, fig. 3 (jug, 525–500 BCE); McPhee 2005, 46, C-1937–2469, fig. 4 (oinochoe, end 6th /beginning 5th century BCE)

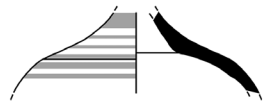
Catalogue no.: **65**
Figure no: 11
Inventory no. 203803,005
Findspot: Palairos, acropolis
Object name: chytra?
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 13.0 cm
Preservation: 7 %
Wall thickness: 0.7 cm
Fabric name: semi-fineware
Fabric description: dark brown, relatively fine cookingware, with finest, light-coloured chert chips
Outside decoration: white to beige slip
Inside decoration: white to beige slip
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Sieverling 2018a, 450, no. 514, pl. 33 (chytra, Archaic, similar to **65**, but not identical)

Catalogue no.: **66**
Figure no: 11

Inventory no. 232402,002
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: chytra
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 15.4 cm
Preservation: 11 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: sandy ware
Fabric description: brown, sandy, with little mica and few, small, white inclusions
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Amyx and Lawrence 1975, An291, pl. 111 (chytra, EC); Houby-Nielsen 2020, 71, no. 316, fig. 15, pl. 1.14 (cooking pot, EC–MC); Sieverling 2018a, 450, no. 516, pl. 33 (chytra, Archaic?)

Catalogue no.: **67**
Figure no: 11
Plate no: 24
Inventory no. 04070510100
Findspot: lower Plaghia valley
Object name: chytra
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 16.6 cm
Preservation: 8 %
Wall thickness: 0.9 cm
Fabric name: cookingware
Fabric description: 5YR 6/6, reddish yellow, inorganic inclusions, mica
Date: Geometric–Archaic

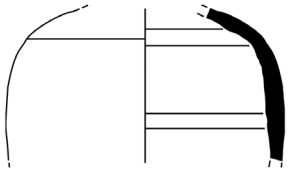
Catalogue no.: **68**
Figure no: 12
Plate no: 24
Inventory no. 600000,007
Findspot: Palairos, agora
Object name: small, closed vessel, aryballos?
Part of shape: shoulder
Diameter: 1.2–6.4 cm
Wall thickness: 0.3 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow, dense, very fine, very few dark brown stone inclusions
Outside decoration: horizontal matt brown bands



68



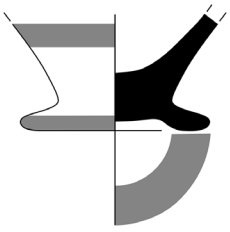
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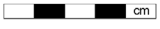


Fig. 12. Small jugs/ointment vessels from Palairos and the Plaghia Peninsula.

Date: Geometric–Archaic
Comparison(s): Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 313, no. 1099, fig. 11 (lekythos, 575–500 BCE); Houby-Nielsen 2020, 93, no. 87, fig. 30, pl. 6 (pyxis lid, MPC); Polczyk 2005, 174, no. 126, pl. 16 (aryballos, EC–MC)

Catalogue no.: **69**
Figure no: 12
Inventory no. 241910,015
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: small, closed vessel
Part of shape: rim
Diameter: 4.6 cm
Preservation: 13 %
Wall thickness: 0.2 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige, chalky
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Fiedler 2013, 362, no. 2062, pl. 154 (convex pyxis, another type but maybe a similar shape, Archaic)

Catalogue no.: **70**
Figure no: 12
Inventory no. 263104,004
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: lekythos?
Part of shape: shoulder
Diameter: 3.2–6.8 cm
Preservation: 25 %
Wall thickness: 0.3–0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige-orange, chalky, porous
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): *CVA* Mainz Universität 2 (Deutschland 63), pl. 12, 1 (Inv. 130) (alabastron, ca. 470 BCE, but smaller than **70**)

Catalogue no.: **71**
Figure no: 12
Inventory no. 251809,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: small, closed vessel

Part of shape: flat base
Diameter: 1.0 cm
Preservation: 80 %
Wall thickness: 0.3–0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: orange
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Braun 1996, 237, no. 5, pl. 53 (aryballos, LPC)

Catalogue no.: **72**
Figure no: 12
Plate no: 24
Inventory no. 02060405002,01
Findspot: Agios Georgios, north of the later city walls, from the area of the northern necropolis
Object name: lekythos?
Part of shape: foot and lower body
Diameter: 5.0 cm
Preservation: 50 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: many small white inclusions, some pores
Outside decoration: black glaze, perhaps with white slip on reserved area, band decoration
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): Panti 2008, 373–374, figs. 1–2 α-ε (amphoriskoi, mid-6th–first quarter of the 5th century BCE, similar but not identical)

Catalogue no.: **73**
Figure no: 13
Inventory no. 201409,001
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: closed?
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 14.6 cm
Preservation: 15 %
Wall thickness: 0.6 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: yellowish-green, chalky
Outside decoration: beige slip

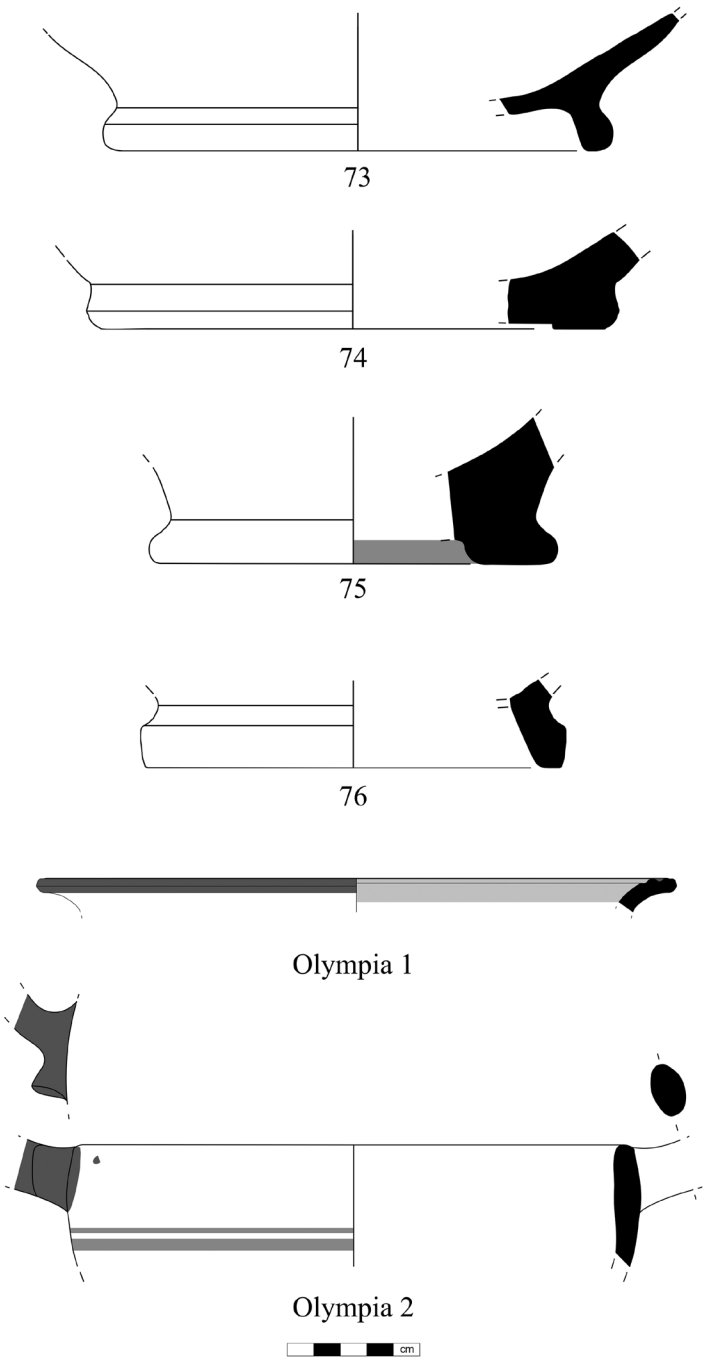


Fig. 13. Closed and uncertain vessels from Palairos and the Plaghia Peninsula.

Inside decoration: red slip
Date: Geometric–Archaic
Comparison(s): Sieverling 2018a, 457, no. 551, pl. 35 (big, closed vessel, Geometric?)

Catalogue no.: **74**
Figure no: 13
Inventory no. 201501,003
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: closed
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 15.0 cm
Wall thickness: 1.1 cm
Fabric name: unknown
Date: ca. 650 BCE
Comparison(s): Dietz et al. 1998, 292, no. 21, fig. 26 (jar/bowl, Archaic–Classical)

Catalogue no.: **75**
Figure no: 13
Plate no: 24
Inventory no. 05080010100
Object name: closed
Part of shape: base
Diameter: 12.0 cm
Preservation: 32 %
Wall thickness: 1.6 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 10YR 8/2, very pale brown, white inclusions
Bottom/top decor.: remains of black paint
Date: Geometric–Archaic
Comparison(s): Sieverling 2018a, 428–429, nos. 426, 428, pl. 27 (amphorai, Geometric, **80** is smaller)

Catalogue no.: **76**
Figure no: 13
Inventory no. 202608,002
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: ?
Part of shape: ring base
Diameter: 12.0 cm

Preservation: 16 %
Wall thickness: 0.7 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: beige, chalky
Date: ?

Catalogue no.: **77**
Figure no: 14
Plate nos: 22, 24
Inventory no. 10100408823,01
Findspot: Palairos, southern necropolis?
Object name: miniature kothon
Part of shape: rim and flat base
Diameter: 5.4 cm
Preservation: base: 100 %, edge: 17 %
Wall thickness: 0.4 cm
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: 2.5Y 7–8/1 white/light grey
Outside decoration: black glaze
Inside decoration: black glaze
Bottom/top decor.: black glaze
Date: Archaic–Classical
Comparison(s): Barfoed 2025, 233-234 nos. MI 1041-MI 1045, pl. 215; Stillwell and Benson 1984, pl.73, 2040 (miniature kothon, ca. 475-425)

Catalogue no.: **78**
Figure no: 14
Plate no: 22
Inventory no. 171913 (1245)
Findspot: Palairos
Object name: terracotta
Part of shape: protome
Fabric name: fineware
Outside decoration: white slip; necklace and garment borders in red colour
Date: Archaic
Comparison(s): Fiedler 2013, 239–240, 251, no. 665, pl. 94 (female terracotta, white slip, traces of wine-red colour in the neck and shoulder area, dated according to contexts in Corinth from the end of the 6th to the 4th century BCE); Dörpfeld 1927, no. 5, pl. 74 c (terracotta from Sotiros on Leukas)

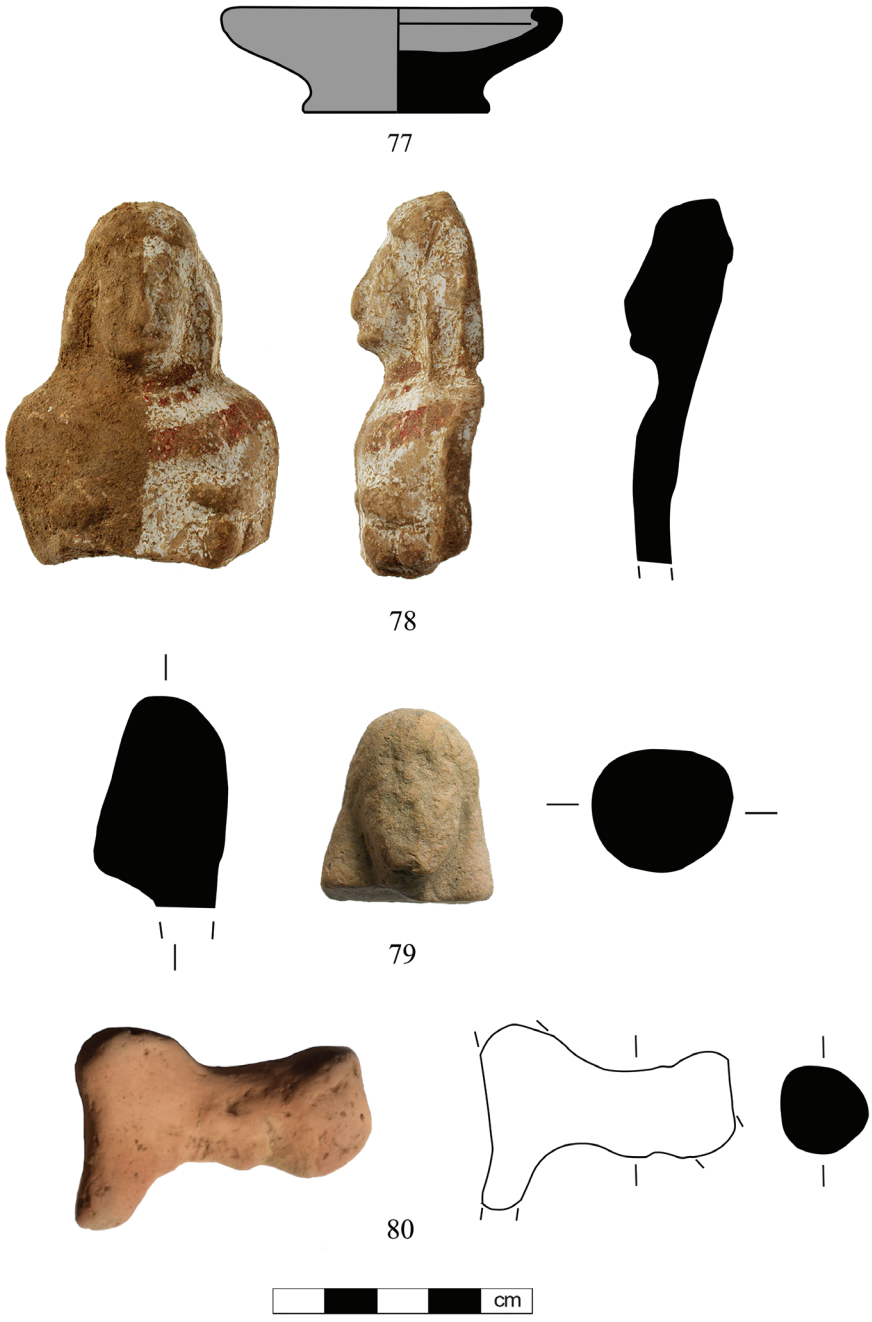


Fig. 14; Pl. 22. Miniature kothon and terracottas from Palairos and the Plaghia Peninsula.

Catalogue no.: **79**
Figure no: 14
Plate no: 22
Inventory no. 100500721 (3575)
Findspot: Palaiochori
Object name: female terracotta
Part of shape: head
Fabric name: fineware
Date: Late Archaic
Comparison(s): Fiedler 2013, 239–240, no. 594, pl. 89 (female terracotta, dated according to contexts in Corinth from the end of the 6th to the 4th century BCE)

Catalogue no.: **80**
Figure no: 14
Plate no: 22
Inventory no. 100500940 (3538)
Findspot: Palaiochori
Object name: horse (with rider?) terracotta
Part of shape: body
Fabric name: fineware
Fabric description: light beige, without recognizable inclusions
Date: Late Geometric
Comparison(s): Kyrieleis, ed., 2006, 89, 109–110, nos. 66, 70, pls. 22–23 (horse terracottas, late 9th–mid 8th century BCE); Fiedler 2013, 267–268, nos. 769–770, pl. 101 (four-legged animal terracotta); Davidson 1952, 11, nos. 23. 26, pl. 2 (horse with rider, 6th century)

Polychrome Pottery from Olympia Area Survey

Catalogue no.:	**Olympia 1**
Figure no:	13
Plate no:	24
Inventory no.	022208504,1
Findspot:	Olympia – Frankonisi
Object name:	plate
Part of shape:	rim
Diameter:	23.8 cm
Preservation:	13 %
Wall thickness:	0.7 cm
Fabric name:	fineware
Fabric description:	hard fine reddish/grey fabric, first considered as Lakonian, but maybe from Elis
Outside decoration:	black glaze on the upper part, the rest is plain or not preserved
Inside decoration:	red-brownish glaze
Top decoration:	white band decoration, black glaze, double-grooved rim
Date:	1st half of the 6th century BCE
Comparison(s):	Schilbach 1995, 31 (plate Type I, late 6th century BCE): the shape is not shown in the Olympia volumes, but according to Schilbach (*pers. comm.* 2023) it matches Type 1; Gauer 1975, 161–163.

Catalogue no.:	**Olympia 2**
Figure no:	13
Plate no:	24
Inventory no.	0109093502811,1
Findspot:	Epitalion - Dartiza
Object name:	lekane
Part of shape:	rim with horizontal π-shaped handle
Diameter:	21.3 cm
Preservation:	10 %
Wall thickness:	0.7 cm
Fabric name:	fineware
Fabric description:	very fine light grey-yellow clay, not common in the Olympia region, very few pores and white (quartz? lime?) inclusions, maybe from Elis or other parts of the Peloponnese
Outside decoration:	dark painting on dull yellowish slip on the handle, white and brown band decoration

Inside decoration: not preserved?
Date: Last quarter 7th–first quarter of the 6th century BCE
Comparison(s): Braun 1996, 268, no. 248, pl. 58 (lekane, but not the same rim shape, EC)

❧

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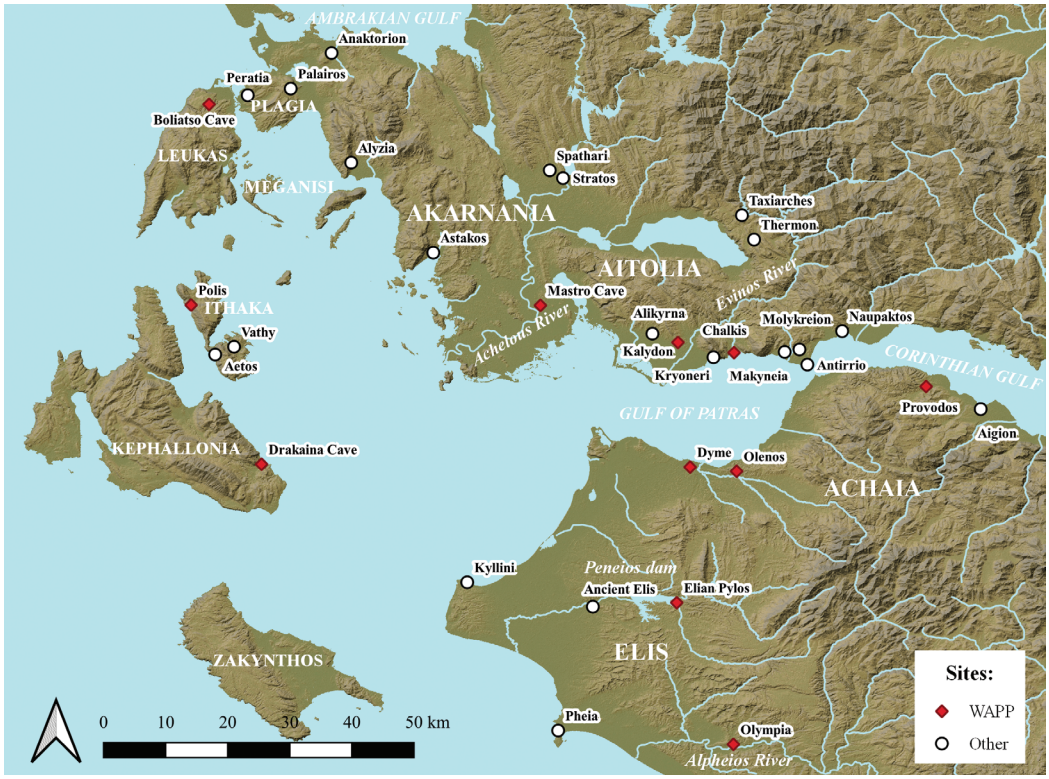
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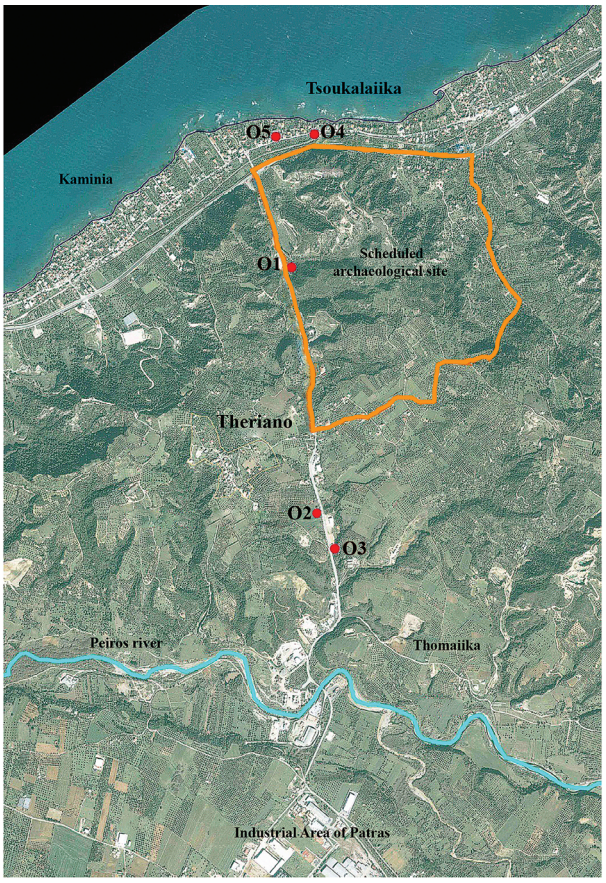
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PLATES


AMBRAKIAN GULF
Anaktorion
Peratia
Palairos
PLAGIA
Boliatso Cave
LEUKAS
Alyzia
MEGANISI
AKARNANIA
Spathari
Stratos
Taxiarches
Thermon
Astakos
AITOLIA
Evinos River
Mastro Cave
Polis
ITHAKA
Vathy
Aetos
Acheloos River
Alikyrna
Chalkis
Molykreion
Naupaktos
Kalydon
Kryoneri
Makyneia
Antirrio
CORINTHIAN GULF
GULF OF PATRAS
Provodos
Aigion
KEPHALLONIA
Drakaina Cave
Dyme
Olenos
ACHAIA
Kyllini
Peneios dam
Ancient Elis
Elian Pylos
ELIS
ZAKYNTHOS
Pheia
Olympia
Alpheios River
0
10
20
30
40
50 km
Sites:
WAPP
Other

Pl. 2


Tsoukalaiika
O5
O4
Kaminia
O1
Scheduled
archaeological site
Theriano
O2
O3
Peiros river
Thomaiika
Industrial Area of Patras

1



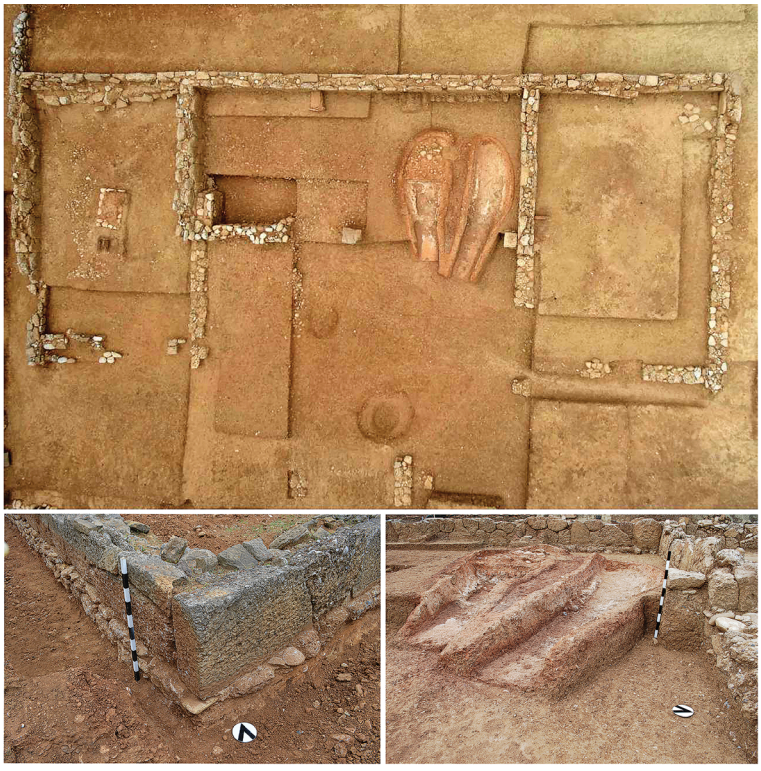
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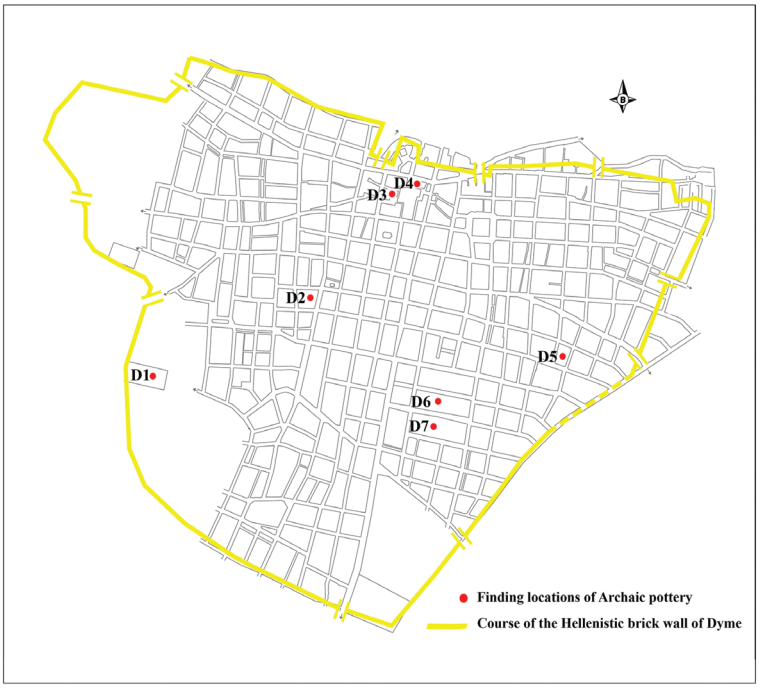
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4

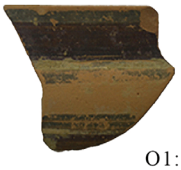


1


D1
D2
D3
D4
D5
D6
D7
Finding locations of Archaic pottery
Course of the Hellenistic brick wall of Dyme

2

Pl. 4



O1:7s



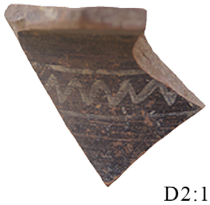
O1:7t



D7:20k



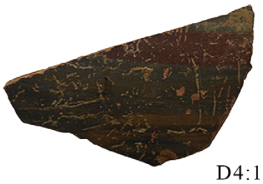
D2:19a



D2:19b



D2:19c



D4:19d



D4:19f



D7:20d



D1:17c



D1:17d



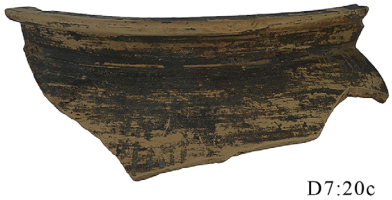
D1:17e



D1:17f



D1:16c



D7:20c





O1:9i



O1:9e



O2:14e



D1:17a



D1:17b D1:17b1



D1:17a1



D6:19h



D6:19i



D7:20f



D7:20g



D7:20j

Pl. 6





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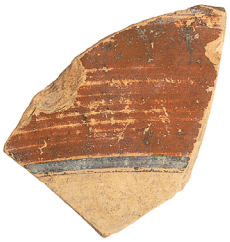


7

Pl. 8



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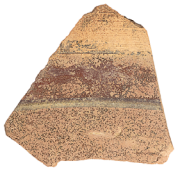
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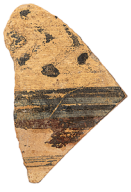


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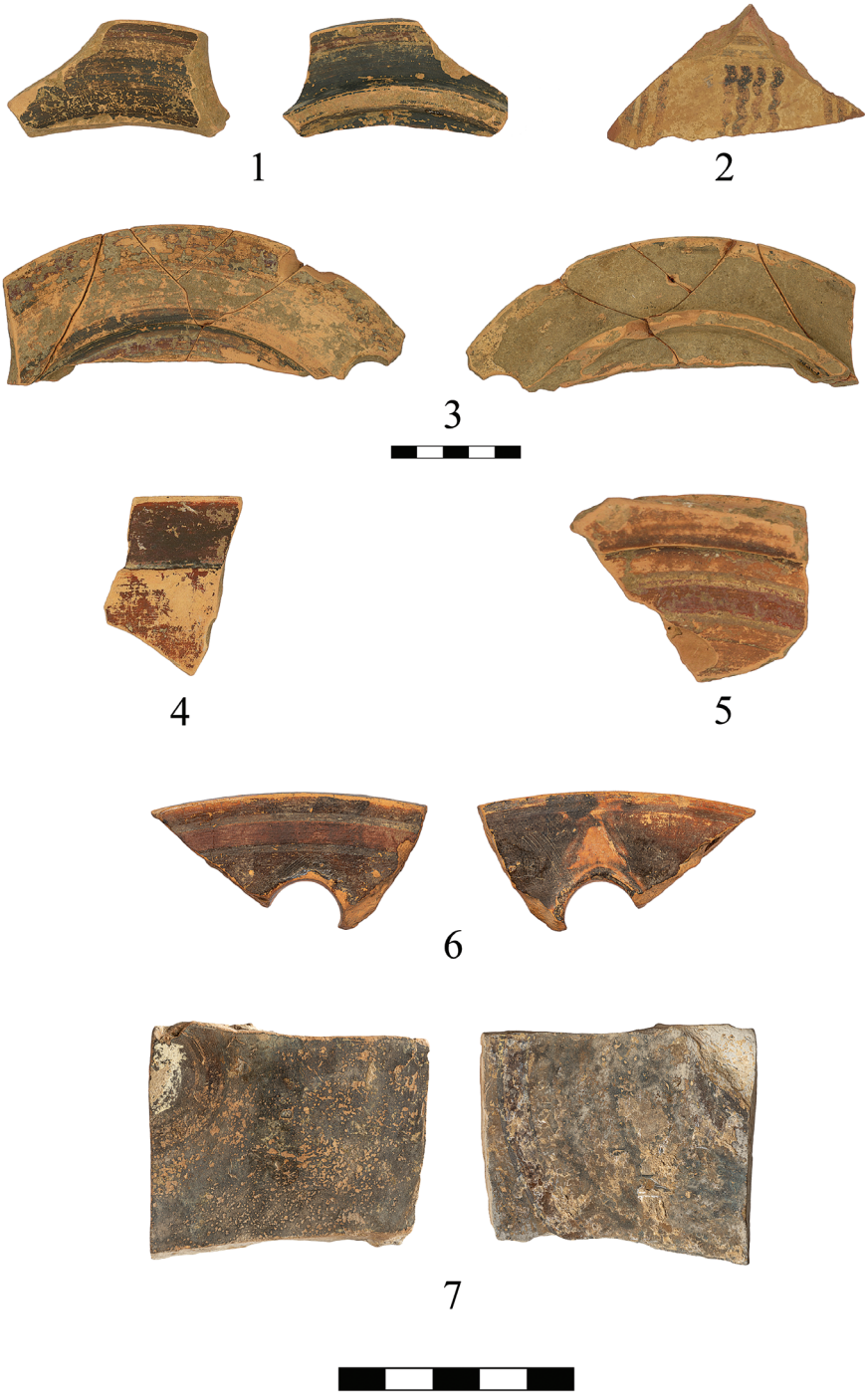


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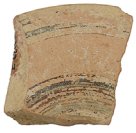


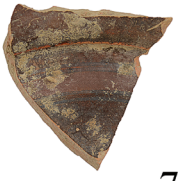
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Pl. 12



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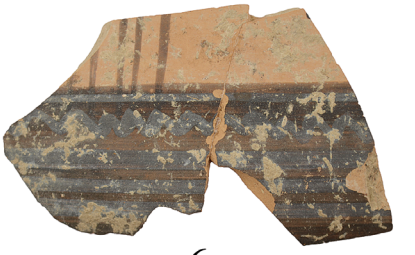
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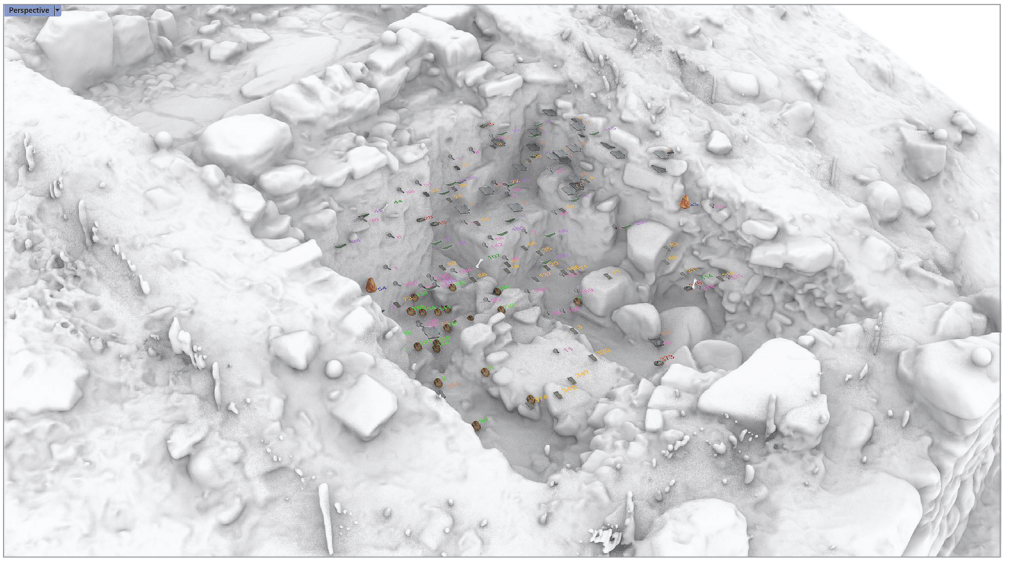


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1

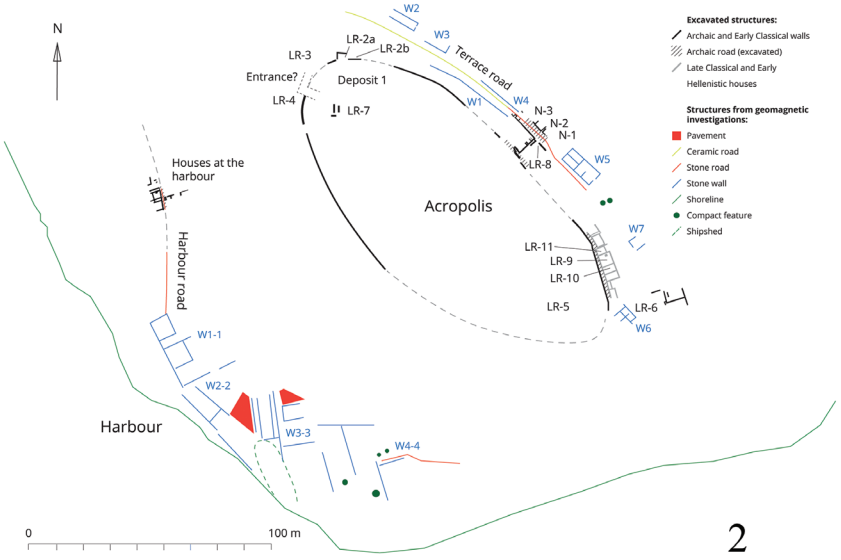


2

Pl. 14



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4 (Not to scale)



5 (Not to scale)



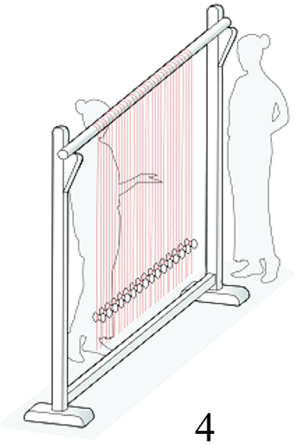
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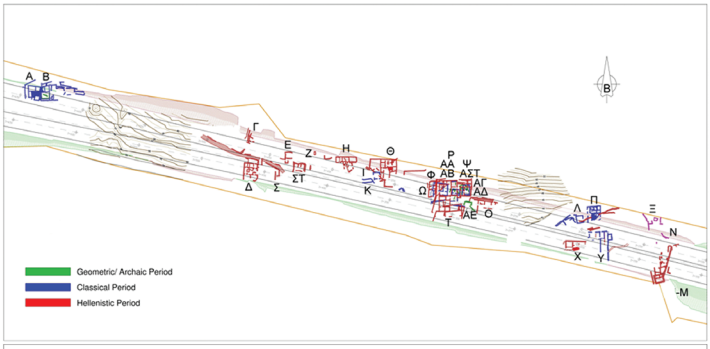


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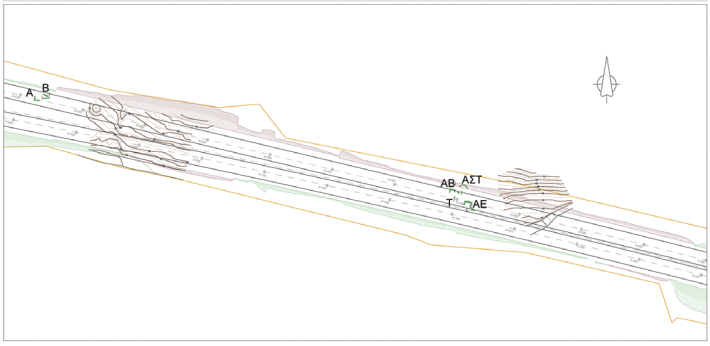


8

Pl. 16



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3



1 (No to scale)



2



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4



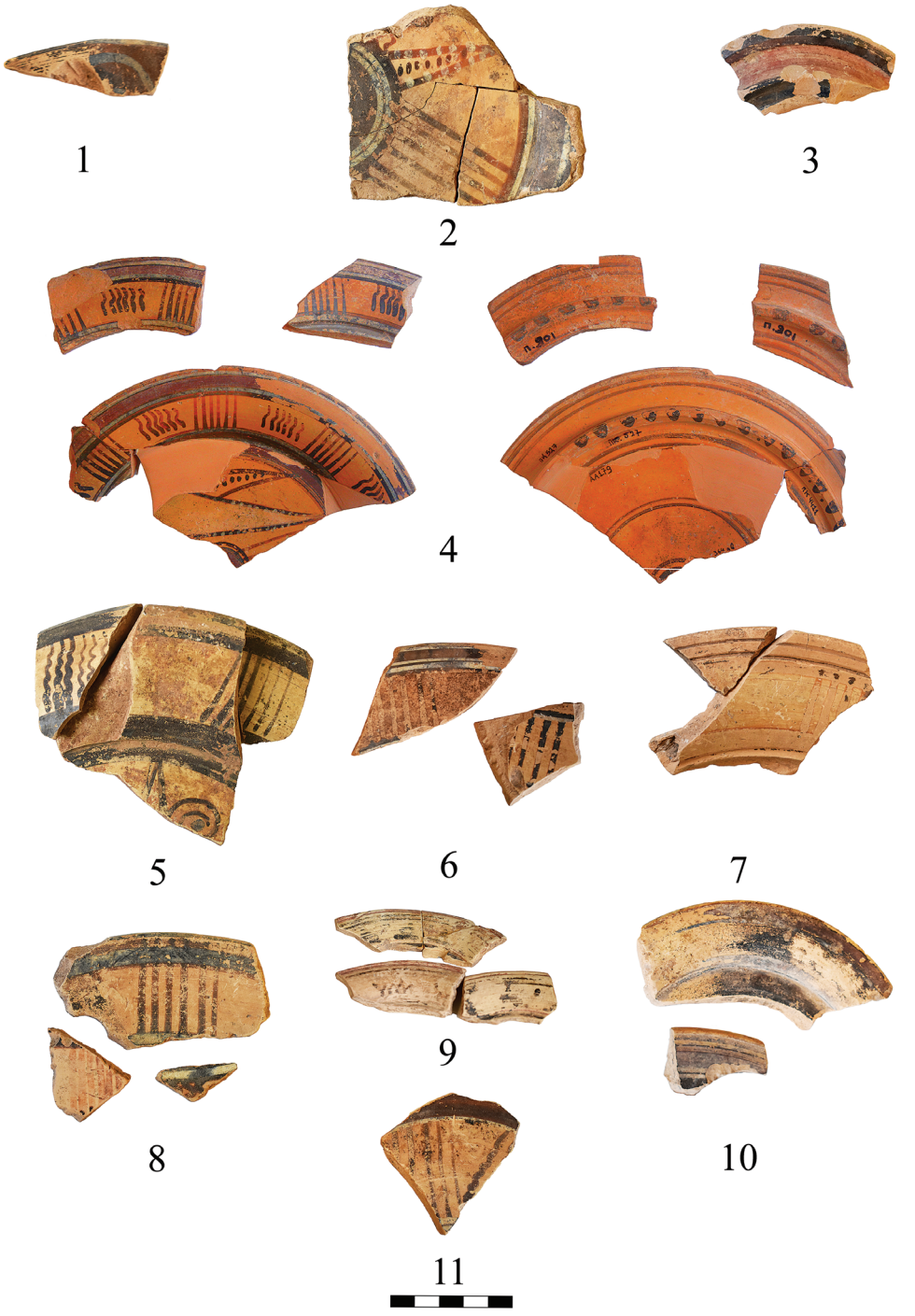
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Pl. 20



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10



11

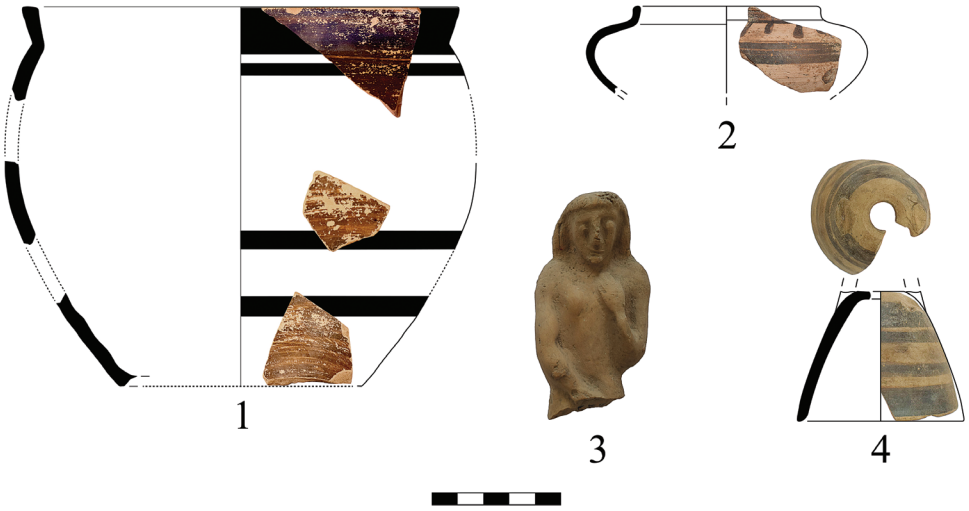
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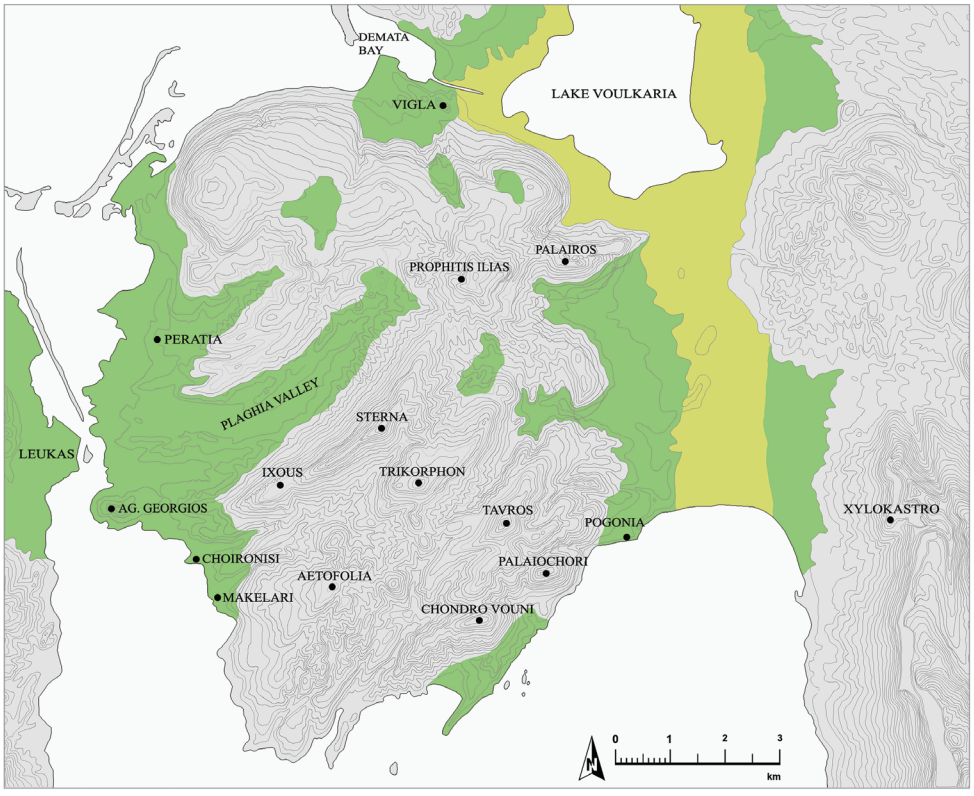


12



13


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DEMATA BAY
VIGLA
LAKE VOULKARIA
PALAIROS
PROPHITIS ILIAS
PERATIA
PLAGHIA VALLEY
STERNA
LEUKAS
IXOUS
TRIKORPHON
AG. GEORGIOS
TAVROS
POGONIA
XYLOKASTRO
CHOIRONISI
AETOFOLIA
PALAIOCHORI
MAKELARI
CHONDRO VOUNI
0 1 2 3
km

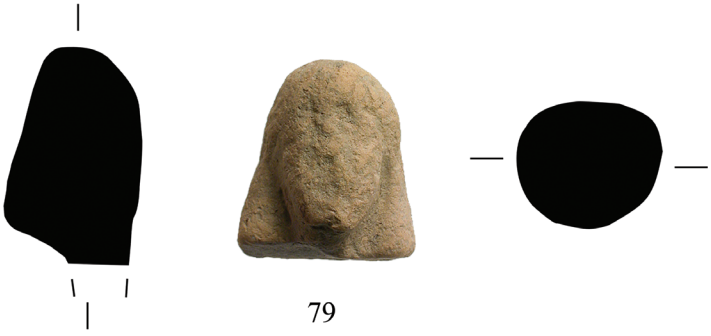
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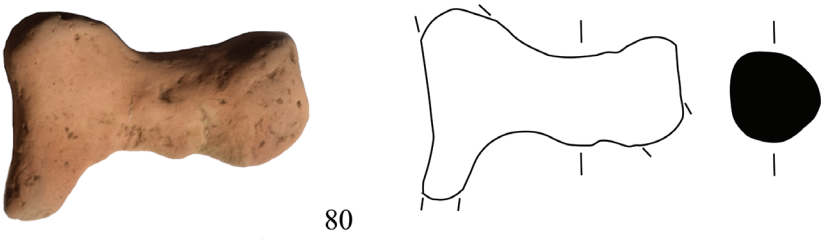
77



78



79



80

cm



1



5



8



11



27



21



26



30



31





32





39



46 a-b

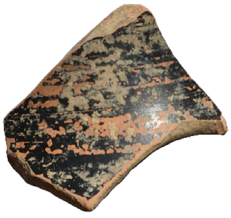
cm



41



49



62





67



68



72





77



75



Olympia 1



Olympia 2

