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ARCHAIC TRADE IN THE NORTHERN AEGEAN: THE CASE OF METHONE IN PIERIA, GREECE.

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ABSTRACT

Recent discoveries near the village of Nea Agathoupoli, in Pieria, Greece have revealed the remains of an ancient town, identifiable with the ancient town of Methone, a putative Eretrian colony founded, according to Plutarch, in ca. 733 BC. From the material excavated so far, the town's zenith was in the Late Geometric and Archaic periods, well documented by the high amounts of imports from all regions of the ancient world, especially by imported transport vessels. The significant percentage of transport amphorae in comparison to that of fine pottery strongly indicates the settlement's commercial character and suggests that Methone was operating as a redistribution centre which supplied Macedonia's hinterland with goods. This study is based on unpublished pottery analyzed here, for the first time. Among the regions, whose products are most popular in Methone are Chios and Athens, although more Eastern Greek towns such as Samos and Miletus had trading relations with Methone, too. Settlers from the these regions may have established themselves in Methone, but the initiative for the foundation of the town was, most probably, taken by Euboeans, whose activity in the Northern Aegean, in the Geometric period, was strong. Alongside the abundant imported vessels, a large amount of locally made transport vessels was unearthed. These early archaic amphora types (early 6th century BC), which have also been found in other sites in the Northern Aegean and possibly Northern Ionia, have been known in literature by my study. The discovery of these local transport vessels reveals participation by the local population in trading transactions and manufacture of a product which was packaged and circulated among the Northern Aegean towns. A mixed cultural environment starts to form in archaic Methone and includes Euboeans, Eastern

Greeks, local Thracians and others, including Macedonian neighbours. Having emerged as the most powerful military force of the area, the Macedonians residing in nearby Bottiaia, constantly expanding, were, arguably, involved in the commercial activities at Methone. This study suggests that because of Methone's geographical location and proximity to the capital of the Macedonian kingdom, Aigai (modern Vergina), Methone functioned as the capital's face to the sea, as the royal harbour of Macedonia, until it was destroyed by Philip II, in 354 BC when all activities related to trade moved to neighbouring Pydna. Methone's finds together with other Northern Aegean settlements mentioned in this study reveal how important, even indispensable, this part of the ancient world was to the commercial networks of the archaic Mediterranean. The Northern Aegean is, therefore, not only well integrated into networks connecting southern and Eastern Greece, Egypt and the Levantine coast, but constitutes a vital part of them from the 8th century BC, onwards.

I A.Archaic Trade in Methone: an introduction

The necessity of studying the Northern Aegean region has developed dramatically in the last couple of decades. The Northern Aegean's archaeological record has changed thanks to the discovery of new archaeological evidence, and therefore the need has arisen for a holistic exploration of the area. Until recently, ancient Greek historians, regarded the Northern Aegean mainly in connection with the age of Alexander the Great. That misleading view has to be updated[1]. Furthermore, research on the Macedonian Archaic period- with few exceptions – has aimed to trace the factors which motivated southern Greeks to settle in the Northern Aegean in the 8^{th}-6^{th} centuries BC (Parians in Thasos, Euboeans in Chalkidike etc). Without undermining the importance of addressing this issue, the current study also takes under consideration the role played by other Greeks in the area- and especially the Macedonians- as well as the cultural and economic interaction they had with the indigenous population, a subject which has been given very little attention.

In addition, new directions in ancient economic theories have not been well integrated into studies of the Northern Aegean region, which are- anyway- very few. This situation has arisen both because of lack until recently, of archaeological evidence and a tendency among historians to study more southern Greek areas in the early periods (Geometric and Archaic).

Furthermore, the study of important ancient towns of the Northern Aegean, such as Methone, has come to the fore thanks to recent discoveries in the field. The town of ancient Methone, which constitutes this thesis' case study has been known to archaeologists since the 1970's, when it was identified both by the English historian and great explorer of Macedonian archaeology, Nicholas Hammond and the Greek archaeologists of the archaeological service. It was discovered a few kilometres north of Nea Agathoupoli, a village in modern Pieria in Northern Greece, in the heart, therefore, of ancient Macedonia, only 30 km away from the first capital of the kingdom, Aigai. What makes Methone particularly important is that since 2003 when it began to be excavated, archaeologists have made exceptionally important finds, which allow us to reshape (and occasionally change) the picture of the early Macedonian history, especially with regard to the economic activities

[1] For what distinguished scholars believed regarding early Macedonian history, see: Kondoleon 1963, 21; for further discussion see: Fotiadis 2001; Hall 2001, 165–166; Papadopoulos 2005, 592-593; Whitley 2001, 253-255; Morris 2006, 55.

carried out in the area, in which the Macedonian kingdom, flourished. Although the life span of Methone covers a period of at least four centuries in antiquity, the study of the EIA and Archaic archaeological material discovered at the site is particularly important as it sheds light in a period about which we are poorly informed and during which time the Macedonian kingdom is emerged and seeds of what formed the Macedonian identity of the later centuries were implanted. The formation of this identity was influenced – amongst other factors- by the relations that developed between the Macedonians, the indigenous populations and the new settlers/colonisers from southern Greece; those relations appear to have been largely based on the commercial transactions, on which this study will focus.

That Methone was a place largely correlated with trade, was made particularly evident by the discovery of a large amount of imported products – mainly imported pottery- and especially transport containers, which used to carry different commodities to Methone's harbour. Although, transport amphorae of different chronological periods were found in several parts of the ancient settlement, this study will focus on a specific assemblage of transport containers which were found on the Western hill of the ancient settlement. This assemblage originates, for the most part, from a destruction layer, dated to the beginning of the 6th century BC, and therefore the discussion is mainly related to the first half of the 6th century. However, it often expands to include periods earlier and later than the this, firstly, the excavation advanced deeper in some parts of the Western hill and therefore part of the material examined is often dated to the 7th century; secondly, a very similar assemblage of transport amphorae dated to the second half of the 8th and 7th centuries BC has been discovered in a different area of the settlement and therefore comparison between the two assemblages is, in my view, mandatory[2]; thirdly, the discussion occassionally includes the latter half of the 6th century BC, but remains always within the chronological frame of what we call, Archaic period.

The main aim of this study, is to explore the commercial transactions centred in the Northern Aegean and especially in Methone. This thesis, therefore, addresses questions regarding commodities and goods which were carried to and from Methone and therefore explores the city's role as a trade centre and its early economic activity (8th-6th centuries BC). Furthermore, this thesis raises questions such as what was given in return for the goods,

[2] This is the *Hypogeion* assemblage, see below.

Methone received, as well as what routes were hypothetically taken for their transportation, distribution and re-distribution to settlements in the hinterland (whether over land, river, or sea). This thesis deals with the reasons Methone was involved in trading activities and what drove the town to become an important harbour in the area. At the same time and through a synoptic study of other harbour towns in the Northern Aegean, we will try to understand the role of Methone in comparison to them and examine whether those harbour-towns were functioning in a manner similar or different to Methone. Another question that will be addressed is the kind of goods that were transported to Methone and their quantities, while some hypotheses on the reasons there was a particular preference in some goods will be shaped; this question will be approached both by investigating the vessels' origin but also by formulating suggestions on potential carriers. Through that, another question concerning the regions, which had trading interactions with Methone, as well as the reasons these transactions may have been fruitful or not will be addressed. In conjunction to that, this study will also touch upon the issue of the so-called second Greek wave of colonization and the settling of southern Greeks in Macedonia during the Archaic period. The relevant evidence for this period from other Northern Aegean sites is meagre; Finally, this study will try to address the question of who resided in Methone in the archaic period and what their contribution to the commercial transactions was.

Moreover, socio-political issues related to trade, such as Methone's relationship with its alleged mother city, Eretria, and the question of whether Methone can be classified under a certain category of a colony, *emporion* or *polis* are discussed. Finally, I will try to explore whether a form of state control could have been exercised on the commercial activities enacted at Methone.

In order to approach this questioning, this study is divided in five chapters. In the introductory chapter a summary of the historical information related to Methone is provided. A small part is dedicated to the introduction of basic terms of ancient commerce, such as types of trade, commodities traded and means of transportation of goods. Finally, a small subchapter summarizes the activity of the most important maritime agents of the Archaic period, focusing on the ones that are present, through finds, in Methone.

After introducing the Mediterranean world in the Archaic period, the study zooms in to the Northern Aegean and familiarises the reader with the Macedonian landscape, natural resources and important archaic settlements, which will appear often in the analysis of the

data. A significant part of this thesis will deal with the analysis of the transport amphora material found in Methone, the results of which will allow us to address the questions posed, in the final synthetic chapter, which will combine all the information acquired from previous chapters. An attempt to summarise all above conclusions will be made in the final chapter.

I.B Methone: myths and historical resources

Methone is situated on the borders of the ancient provinces of Bottiaia and Pieria (figs 2,3), on the western coast of the Thermaic Gulf. According to Strabo, Methone and Pydna were part of Pieria, which covers the coastal area from Dion to the River Axios. Pieria was bounded by Mount Olympus to the west, and by the Thermaic Gulf to the east; it was the core of the Macedonian kingdom (Figs 2-3,5). Pseudo-Skylax in his *Periplous*, records that when one sailed north from Magnesia, the first coastal city to reach would be Herakleion or the modern village of Platamonas (fig. 2-5), while after Platamonas, there lay Dion, Pydna, Methone, Haliacmon, Aloros and Loudias, through which one could reach, Pella[3]. Methone is named "Greek" (*πόλις Ελληνίς*) and so is Pydna. The epithet *Ελληνίς* attributed to Pydna and Methone (also to other cities in Chalkidike) differentiates these cities from others around them and suggests that they pre-existed the emergence of the Macedonian kingdom, possibly as settlements of Southern Greeks. Methone is situated 40 *stadia* north of Pydna and 70 *stadia* south of Aloros (Strabo 7. 20-22 and fig. 2-5).

Ancient and later literature provides us with rather meagre information about ancient Methone; they inform us, however, that in the ancient world, there were four or five different towns with the same toponym[4]. Except for the Methone in Thracia-Macedonia[5], which is this thesis' case study, another one is mentioned in Magnesia (one of the cities that Philoktites led to the Trojan War), there is one in Messenia/Laconia, one in Persia and a fifth one in Euboea. Furthermore, Strabo[6] seems to confuse *Methana* -the peninsula between Troizina and Epidaurus- with the Macedonian Methone and he continues by mentioning an incidents of Agamemnon's *naustologoi*. In particular, Agamemnon cursed the Methonaean

[3] Aloros was founded on the shore of Haliacmon and belongs to Bottiaia, while Pydna belongs to Pieria. Strabo mentions Methone either as *Μακεδονική* or as *Θρᾳκία*, most likely in order to distinguish it from the Magnesian Methone. See: see above. Usually in the Classical Period, Methone is called Macedonian. See: Hammond 1972, 426, n. 1; Hatzopoulos, Knoepfler & Marigo-Papadopoulos 1990, 642-650.

[4] Demetrius from Magnesia: four: Souda, M 434, s.v *Μεθώνη*: *ἡ πόλις. μία τῶν Ἀλκυονίδων. Δημοσθένης ἐν Φιλιππικοῖς λέγοι ἂν τὴν ἐν Θρᾴκῃ· ἣν πολιορκῶν Φίλιππος ἐξεκόπη τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμόν.τέσσαρας δὲ εἶναί φησι Μεθώνας Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης.*

Stefanus Byzantius, *Ethnika* 440-441 (Meineke) five: *Μεθώνη, πόλις Θρᾴκης. Μαγνησίας, [ἣν] Ὅμηρος διὰ τοῦ η 'οἳ δ' ἄρα Μηθώνην καὶ Θαυμακίην ἐνέμοντο'. ὁ πολίτης Μεθωναῖος. ἔστι καὶ Μακεδονίας. ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ μέθυ· πολύοινος γὰρ ἐστί. καὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἧς τὸ ἐθνικὸν Μεθωναιεὺς ὡς Κορωναιεύς. δ΄ ἐν Περσίδι. ε΄ Εὐβοίας.*

[5] As correctly pointed out by Hammond 1972, 426, n. 1, the fact that Methone is mentioned either as Thracian or as Macedonian is caused by confusion among the ancient writers, where the area north of Peneius river is mentioned either as Thracia or as Macedonia.

[6] Strabo 8.6.15 [(Meineke) follows Theopompus, FGrHist 2b 115 F 384].

people, because of their unwillingness to offer their assistance to the Trojan campaign; these curses were probably addressed to the Methoneans of the Macedonian Methone, instead of the one in Argolid, which is unlikely to have refused to offer assistance to Agamemnon due to its proximity to Mycenae[7]. It is important that Agamemnon's request for assistance referred to ships repair, an activity strongly related to harbour towns and it suggests that the town (and its harbour) was used for similar purposes already in that period.

The name, Methone, has been related to several mythical figures: Methone is one of the seven Alkyonids, daughters of the giants Alkyoneas, who was killed by Hercules in the battle of Pallene[8]. Methone also appears as the daughter of Linos and sister of Pieros, the founder of Pieria or as a local Nymph, wife of Pieros and daughter of Oiagros[9]. Methon, a predecessor of Orpheus and resident of the area, gave his name to the town Methone[10]. Finally, the word *μέθυ*, which is known from Homer[11] as meaning intoxication caused by wine, sometimes related to *ἄκρατος οἶνος* or uncontrollable wine-drinking, gave its name to Methone, since it was surrounded by vineyards and therefore wine (*πολυοινος*), was named as such.

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[7] Hatzopoulos, Knoepfler and Marigo-Papadopoulos 1993, 663-665, think this passage refers to Magnesian and not Thracian Methone.

[8] Souda A 1298, in s.v *Ἀλκυονίδες ἡμέραι*: *αἱ εὐδιειναί.περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ διαφέρονται. Σιμωνίδης γὰρ ἐν Πεντάθλοις ια΄ φησὶν αὐτὰς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς περὶ ζῴων, Δημαγόρας δὲ ὁ Σάμιος ζ΄,καὶ Φιλόχορος ϑ΄.τὸν δὲ ἐπ' αὐταῖς μῦϑον Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὑπομνημάτων λέγει οὕτως· Ἀλκυονέως τοῦ γίγαντος ϑυγατέρες ἦσαν, Φωσϑονία, Ἄνϑη, Μεϑώνη, Ἀλκίππα, Παλήνη, Δριμὼ, Ἀστερίη. αὗται μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ἀπὸ Καναστραίου,ὅ ἐστιν ἄκρον τῆς Πελλήνης, ἔρριψαν αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν _ϑάλασσαν, Ἀμφιτρίτη δ' αὐτὰς ὄρνιϑας ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀλκυόνες ἐκλήϑησαν.αἱ δὲ νήνεμοι καὶ γαλήνην ἔχουσαι ἡμέραι Ἀλκυονίδες καλοῦνται.καὶ Ἀλκυόνειος ἡμέρα.* Το όνομα της *Φωσϑονίας* (see. also Apostolius, *cpg* Centuria 2.20) found also as *Φϑονία* in Efstathius [(*Παρεκβολαί εις την Ομήρου Ιλιάδα* 2, 810) van der Valk] and as *Χϑονία in* Fotius lexicon (s.v *Χϑονία*).

[9] *Comments* in Hesiod's Works and Days: 93–199 (=Μελισσεύς,FGrH 402 F1): *καὶ πραγματικῶς μὲν Πιερία καὶ Ἑλικὼν, ὄρη καὶ πόλεις Βοιωτίας. καὶ ἡ μὲν Πιερία πρότερον ὑπὸ Πιέρου κτισθεῖσα τοῦ Μεϑώνης ἀδελφοῦ, πατρὸς δὲ Λίνου, Πιερία ἐκέκλητο· ὕστερον δὲ Λύγκος ἐκλήϑη, ἧς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν Ἀέροπος, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Ἡμαϑίωνος παίδων, καϑὰ Μελισσεύς φησιν ὁ τὰ Δελφικὰ συνταξάμενος. Περὶ Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἀγῶνος αὐτῶν* 44–50 (Allen):*ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν προγενέστερον Ἡσιόδου φασὶν εἶναι, τινὲς δὲ νεώτερον καὶ συγγενῆ. γενεαλογοῦσι δὲ οὕτως· Ἀπόλλωνός φασι καὶ Θοώσης τῆς Ποσειδῶνος γενέσϑαι Λίνον, Λίνου δὲ Πίερον, Πιέρου δὲ καὶ νύμφης Μεϑώνης Οἴαγρον, Οἰάγρου δὲ καὶ Καλλιόπης Ὀρφέα, Ὀρφέως δὲ Ὄρτην, τοῦ δὲ Ἁρμονίδην, τοῦ δὲ Φιλοτέρπην, τοῦ δὲ Εὔφημον, τοῦ δὲ Ἐπιφράδην, τοῦ δὲ Μελάνωπον, τούτου δὲ Δῖον καὶ Ἀπέλλαιον, Δίου δὲ καὶ Πυκιμήδης τῆς Ἀπόλλωνος ϑυγατρὸς Ἡσίοδον καὶ Πέρσην· Πέρσου δὲ Μαίονα, Μαίονος δὲ ϑυγατρὸς καὶ Μέλητος τοῦ ποταμοῦ_Ὅμηρον*.

[10] Plutarch, *Aetia Graeca* 293a–b :*χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ πρότερον οἰκῆσαι Μέϑωνα τὸν Ὀρφέως πρόγονον ἱστοροῦσι, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ὠνόμασαν Μεϑώνην.*

[11] Homer through Eustathius, *Παρεκβολαί εις την Ομήρου Ιλιάδα* 2, 506 vrs. 1–3, 507 vrs 16–22, 763 vrs18–20 (van der Valk). *Etymologicum magnum*, s.v. *Pieria*.

While Methone's name originates from Methon, Pieria's name originates from Methone's brother, Pieros, or Eleuthera's son, Pieros, who introduced the worship of the Nine Pierian Muses born by Zeus and Mnemosyne in the Pierian Mountains [(Pausanias (9.29.1-4)]. Pieria's name is also mentioned to originate directly from a nymph called Pieria or -most likely- from the word *πίηρ/πίαρ* (from the verb *πίω* or πίον), which refers to the fertile and rich land (*Etymologicum Magnum*, 671.35, s.v. Pieria). Both Methone and Pieria, therefore, are indirectly related to vine cultivation. The name *Pieria* or Thucydides' epithet *Pierikos* are not found in Herodotus' narration, possibly in order to avoid confusion with the original Pieria, the area south and west of Haliacmon, where Methone is situated.

We retrieve a very important piece of information about Methone's early history from Plutarch's *Aetia Graeca*. According to Plutarch, when Charikrates from Corinth sailed against Corcyra, he expelled the Eretrians who lived there; after this forced movement, Eretrians sailed towards their home island, Euboea. Upon their arrival in Euboea, their compatriots still living on the island blocked them from disembarking and sent them away by throwing sling stones at them. Having no chance to reach the shore of Euboea, they decided to sail towards the North where they settled and founded Methone. The newly arrived Eretrians called the new town Methone but their neighbours called them *οι αποσφενδόνητοι*, the expelled by sling stones[12]. Plutarch's story offers a variety of information to the study of the period, especially regarding the date of its foundation.

According to Eusebius and Jerome, the foundation of the Corinthian colony in Corcyra with Charikrates or Chersikrates and Taras' foundation by the Spartans are dated around 709 BC, when Perdikas I was king of Macedonia[13]. According to recent scholarship, however, the

[12] This is Plutarch's version of the story. Strabo, however, does not mention Eretrians in Corcyra but rather Liburnians, who were expelled by Charikrates; he also mentions part of the army that Corinthians had sent to Corcyra under Archias' leadership for the foundation of Syracusae, see: Strabo 6.2.4 (Meineke) *πλέοντα δὲ τὸν Ἀρχίαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν καταλιπεῖν μετὰ μέρους τῆς στρατιᾶς τοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν γένους Χερσικράτη συνοικιοῦντα τὴν νῦν Κέρκυραν καλουμένην, πρότερον δὲ Σχερίαν. ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν ἐκβαλόντα Λιβυρνοὺς κατέχοντας οἰκίσαι τὴν νῆσον, τὸν δ' Ἀρχίαν κατασχόντα πρὸς τὸ Ζεφύριον τῶν Δωριέων εὑρόντα τινὰς δεῦρο ἀφιγμένους ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας παρὰ τῶν τὰ Μέγαρα κτισάντων ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν κτίσαι τὰς Συρακούσσας*. Hammond 1967, 414–424, Beaumont 1936 & 1952, Sakellariou 1990, 121–123.

[13] Eusebius Chronography (Fotheringham 1923, 158–159): *hi qui Partheniae vocabantur Tarenum condiderunt et Corinthii Corcyram*

foundation date is placed a generation before, in 733 BC or possibly a few years later[14]. The explulsion of Euboeans by Corinthians is also connected with a date no later that the Corinthian foundation of Syracuse (734 or 733 BC)[15]. Although, Plutarch links the foundation of Methone with the newly arrived Eretrians, it is improbable that Eretrians sailed to an unknown region and this is further supported by archaeological evidence[16]. Strangely enough, although the indigenous residents of Methone are not mentioned by Plutarch, Eretrians decided to name their town, Methone, to honour the previous resident of the area, the Thracian, Methon. According to Thucydides, the Thracian tribe of Pieres, which occupied the area were expelled after a battle with the Macedonians; after their defeat, Pieres fled to the Strymon area, where they founded Fagris, their new headtown[17].

These attestations related to populations' movement in the area have been chronologically placed between the middle of the 9th and the middle of the 7th century BC and thus the early history of Methone is further complicated. Nicholas Hammond has attempted to compromise these attestations. He argues that the tradition of a predecessor of Orpheus living in Northern Pieria must refer to the Thracian period of habitation of Northern Pieria, which by 730 BC must have faded away. When the Argead Macedonians reached Northern Pieria, they came in contact with the more civilized Pieres of south Pieria and the Eretrians in Methone, who appeared around 730 BC[18]. Being a mountain tribe, the Argead Macedonians would not be important enough, unless they dominated the fertile

[14] Based on Antiochos of Syracuse, Plutarch is drawing from Aristotle's lost *Constitution.* The date of 733 BC, therefore, cannot be set aside as a later Hellenistic invention and it helps to anchor the movement of Euboeans from Corcyra to the Northern Aegean to a contemporary to the Syracuse foundation date. For the earlier date, see also: Hammond 1972, 424–427; Hatzopoulos, Knoepfler & Marigo-Papadopoulos 1990, 661–668;Borza 1990, 75.; Graham 2001, 20–23.

[15] The date of this foundation rests on the solid data of Thucydides (6.3.8) manifestly drawing on an existing source calculating in terms of numbered years to generations. Foundations of East Sicilian colonies were surely kept alive at regular meetings at the greater altar of Apollo in Naxos as O. Murray has decisively argued both in lectures and in a forthcoming article.

[16] Hammond 1972, 424–427. Hatzopoulos, Knoepfler & Marigo-Papadopoulos 1990, 661–668. Borza 1990, 75. Graham 2001, 20–23. Tiverios 2008, 127. Bessios- Athanasiadou-Noulas 2008, 241-254. For archaeological evidence of Euboeans in the Northern Aegean, see below pp. 30-33 and 217-224.

[17] Thucydides 2.99. 3 *τὴν δὲ παρὰ θάλασσαν νῦν Μακεδονίαν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Περδίκκου πατὴρ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ,Τημενίδαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες ἐξ Ἄργους, πρῶτοι ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἀναστή-σαντες μάχῃ ἐκ μὲν Πιερίας Πίερας, οἳ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τὸ Πάγγαιον πέραν Στρυμόνος ᾤκησαν Φάγρητα καὶ ἄλλα χωρία (καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πιερικὸς κόλπος καλεῖται ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Παγγαίῳ πρὸς θάλασσαν γῆ), ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βοττίας καλουμένης Βοττιαίους, οἳ νῦν ὅμοροι Χαλκιδέων. οἰκοῦσιν.*
See also*:* Hammond & Griffith 1979 3–54; Hammond 1989, 7–8 and 82–83; Sprawski 2010.

[18] Hammond 1972, 430-434.

plain from Methone to Katerini. This must have been accomplished sometime before the foundation of Methone, in 733 BC. Therefore, the Pieres, who did not escape to Strymon would be limited to the narrow plain of Katerini and in lower Olympus, where tradition usually locates the setting of Orpheus and the Thracians. If Hammond's suggestion in regards to the early history of Macedonians is right, then the *αποσφενδόνητοι* Eretrians found in Methone not only Pieres but also Macedonians and possibly other Thracian tribes, who might have contributed to the foundation of the new city[19].

By the end of the Archaic period, the focus of this study, the expansion of the Macedonian kingdom reached the River Strymon. According to Mari, the Macedonian expansion in the Northern Aegean was divided in 4 chronological phases[20]: a) the foundation of the kingdom in the first half of the 7th century[21], b) the annexation of Bottiaia and Pieria, c) the conquest of north-western Macedonian regions, Eordaea and Almopia, sometime in the second half of the 6th century, d) finally, during the reign of Alexander I, the Macedonians expanded to the hinterland (Anthemous and the Northern part of Axios) subdued more areas in Upper Macedonia and to the east they reached the River Strymon.

The Argead Macedonians:

As mentioned above, the core of the Macedonian kingdom is the area in close proximity to Methone. Both foundation myths of the Macedonian kingdom inform us of their settling in this area where they also founded their capital Aigai, to the northwest of Methone (fig. 2-5). Our earliest source is Herodotus (8.137-139) who records that the three brothers Gyanes, Aeropus, Perdikkas of the royal Temenid family emigrated from their hometown in Argos to the North and settled in the "Garden of Midas" in Lower Macedonia, where they founded Aigai and made Perdikkas their first king. Thucydides (2.99.3; 5.80.2) tells a similar story in an excursus of Macedonia, which reflects the official late 5th century royal Macedonian version[22].

[19] For this foundation and the composition of the new residents of Methone, see chapter IV.
[20] Mari 2011, 84.
[21] Mari believes that Herodotus' narration implies a chronology of the first half of the 7th century, see Mari 2011, 80.
[22] Borza 1990, 80-84 criticizes the myth as we learn it from the two ancient writers; the debate is presented in Sprawski 2010.

In the second, more recent version of the myth - preserved in Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Historiae Philippicae (7.17-12)- Caranus, allegedly, a son of Argive Temenus was added to the genealogical scheme. According to Justin, a shepherd named Caranus (a Doric Greek word meaning head or ruler) gained command over Edessa and renamed the place Aigai. Perdiccas became his successor and the first king of Macedonians. The most important element of both stories was that Macedonian kings were descendants of Zeus, hence the genealogy provided them with a sacred aura.

Macedonians, who inhabited in the Western and Central Northern Aegean belonged to different tribal groups. For the Archaic period, there is a distinction between regional and tribal identities of the single tribes dwelling in Upper and Lower Macedonia; this is mainly because these tribes dwelled in a geographically very in-homogenous and large physical area of the Macedonian kingdom. These tribes gradually developed a common "Macedonian" identity but only above and in addition to their traditional, regional and tribal affiliations, identities and local traditions. Macedonians were primarily pastoral tribes but, as we shall see below, they may have indirectly been related to commerce and they maintained their interest in advancing their military power, throughout their existence.

Short historical overview of Methone:

The first two and a half centuries (8^{th}-6^{th} cent. BC), after the traditional foundation date of Methone were very important for the town and Methone's harbour played a significant role as a commercial hub of the area. After the end of the Archaic period, the Northern Aegean is incorporated into the Persian rule and in 480 BC, Thracian Pieres around the Strymon area, took part in the war against Greeks. Major differences between Greeks and Macedonians as Northern barbarians, were only heavily stressed after this involvement of Macedonians into the Persian wars, where they contributed troops to the Persian army. This crime of *medismos* resulted in accusing Macedonians of being barbarians and is maybe responsible for the effort of Macedonians to enhance their Greekness, especially in later times[23].

[23] It has been argued that the effort of the Macedonian kings even in the 5^{th} and 4^{th} centuries to stress so strongly the Greekness of their ancestors possibly suggests that they were Greeks who rejected the

In 479 BC and after the Persians were defeated in Plataea, the political landscape in Macedonia changed. The Macedonian Kingdom with Alexander I expands up to the River Strymon and conflicting interests among Corinth, Athens, Sparta in the *ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης*[24], involved not only Methone but also Pydna, the neighbouring harbour, which in this period becomes progressively important. Having been a very important harbour on the side of the Athenians and very close to the Macedonian capital, Aigai, Methone suffered a long siege during which according to a tradition, Philip II lost his eye[25]. Methone's siege was so stern that, reputedly, Philip removed the ladders after lifting his soldiers in the city in order for them to be more motivated to fight and win. Excavations in Methone have revealed important tunnel constructions in the western hill of Methone, which must be related to the defensive works of the Methonaeans before or during the siege[26]. In 354 BC, Methone succumbed to the Macedonian army and its inhabitants were ordered to abandon the city taking with them only one piece of clothing[27]; shortly after, Philip transferred all commercial transactions to neighbouring Pydna. From its foundation until its destruction, Methone operated as an important commercial location, very enlightening for the early economic history of the Northern Aegean and the Greek world.

The above presentation summarised the challenges, which appeared with the examination of the archaeological material found at Methone and the reasons, which led to the investigation of the topic of this thesis. The following sub-chapter introduces the notions of ancient trade, traders, means of transportation used and commodities, which have been considered fundamental for the understanding of ancient and particularly archaic trade.

'Greekness' of the Macedonian *ethnos*; To this, must be related Alexander I's request to be admitted to the Olympic games as a Greek (Hdt, 5.22.2), see Mari 2011, 81.

[24] Thucydides 1.136.1–2.

[25] Comments in Olynthiakus Γ′ 43a(Dilts) in s.v Φίλιππος ἀσθενῶν; according to Plutarch this accident took place during Olynthus' siege: *Συναγωγή ιστοριών παραλλήλων ελληνικών και ρωμαϊκών* 307d (Nachstaedt) =Stobaeus, 3.7.67 (Wachsmuth & Hense)], see Tzifopoulos 2012, 35 n. 75.

[26] See below pp 81-82.

[27] Diodorus Sicelus, 16.31.6

I. C. Key commercial terms: an introduction to archaic commerce

Local and regional trade

Local trade is conducted across small distances in a certain area. Local trade is based on a local redistributive exchange system. It is hypothesised that goods would flow to a central place or market, which would serve as a focal point of redistribution. This place, however central, will not necessarily be in a central location in the natural geography of the area. Redistribution depends on connectivity and connectivity is not necessarily a matter of physical geography, but of the patterns of human mobility[28], although privileged geographical elements would add to a place's importance. It is, therefore, more likely that the central market would be located where the greatest bulk of any single commodity is produced. Although a redistribution centre would have certain characteristics, regional trade is rather difficult to be discerned through the excavation of a single site. A safe way to detect regional trade is by examining locally manufactured pottery. In this case, we should pay attention to the quantities of local pottery in circulation and therefore the distributed commodities. Local redistributive markets may be seasonal in nature and consequently may have few, if any, permanent constructions. A close analogy in the modern world would be fairs[29]. We can also visualize that the markets served as a locus for the exchange of information regarding new technologies and their concomitant efficiencies. In the analysis of the following chapter, the possibility of Methone having been such a redistribution central point will be pointed out.

In a local exchange system a certain town would produce a product and distribute it to neighbouring sites, depending on the needs of the specific region. This would, of course, require a certain infrastructure, advanced technology and possibly craftsmen or another important advantage of a particular region over the neighbouring ones. Therefore, Thasos, for example, would have an economic privilege over the local Thracians because Thasians had control of the Skapte Hyle silver mines (see below); similarly, another region would be privileged over its neighbours just because it has the appropriate infrastructure and craftsmen to build or construct a certain category of products. A central place could also

[28] Horden & Purcell 2000, 395.
[29] Horden & Purcell 2000, 396.

develop due to its proximity to a valuable natural resource. The town would develop special craftsmanship and use this advantage over neighbouring towns.

Local trade is particularly important; it is, as scholars have argued, the basic modality for all mobility of goods and peoples in the Mediterranean before the age of steam[30]. It should not, thus, be devalued by the glitter of high commerce, even though long distance trade is equally important.

Long distance trade:

In the *Constitution of the Athenians* (2.3.1), Xenophon quotes "For there is not a single polis that needs not import or export". Much of what tied the Mediterranean world together was commercial transactions. Xenophon's passage shows how important exchanges between *poleis* were, regardless of their degree of self-sufficiency. As Horden & Purcell very successfully put it, "the Mediterranean civilization's character must be understood against the need for and possibility of interdependence"[31]. In fact, according to their model, long distance trade should be regarded as an outgrowth of the intensification of the routine patterns of distribution, namely of small-scale, regional trade[32].

Long distance trade is developed between two or more different regions. In order for a region to conduct long distance trade, certain requirements need to apply, such as an establishment of large urban centres that will be somewhat stratified in terms of craft specialization but also the development of means of transportation that are efficient in terms of energy expenditures.

In this way, different exchange systems are built and are adapted to the different kinds of commodities being procured through long-distance exchanges. At this point, questions such as how the archaeologist will be able to recognize the different exchange systems and what their characteristics are (e.g. carriers used), appear. To this purpose - understanding the different exchange systems - economic geography can contribute significantly. The location of a site, its geographical particularities, advantages and proximity to valuable resources but also its connections to nearby settlements are crucial to the development of exchange

[30] Horden & Purcell 2000, 365;143-152; Hammond 1979b, 33.
[31] Horden & Purcell 2000, 347.
[32] Horden & Purcell 2000, 366.

systems and networks. Moreover, the development of exchange systems should be conceived as an additive process and not as a system of replacement[33]. We should note that in the same way an exchange system builds up, it can also decline. The nature of the exchange systems therefore may be temporal and this is always dependent on socio-historical circumstances. For example, Ionian products' circulation -including their exchanges with the Northern Aegean- is largely affected by the pressure the Persians were imposing on the Ionian cities (see below, chapter IV).

When we are referring to terms such as "ad hoc trade" or "down the line" trade, it is speculated that the receiver of the commodity has little knowledge, if any, of the original producer. Exchange of products can take place between two cultures or societies with different economic institutions. In those cases, contact is limited to a minimal level and is often concentrated on a specific locality. Herodotus (IV.196), informs us on how the exchange between the Carthaginians and an indigenous African tribe[34] took place without the parties involved saying a single word[35].

Sometimes, peculiar or "illegal" forms of exchange seem to apply in the Archaic period. Herodotus (III.39) records that the tyrant of Samos, Polycrates, exercised piracy to amass his enormous fortunes but also to establish his power over many islands in the Aegean and over cities on the mainland. Yet again, Thucydides relevantly informs us that piracy and plunder were perfectly acceptable means of acquisition, provided that they were directed against foreigners[36].

Nieto uses the terms redistribution and direct trade in the distinction between heterogenous and homogenous cargo[37]. Nieto's idea is based on the embarkation and disembarkation of different products in different ports, which at the end constituted a ship's cargo. In short, a ship's cargo was loaded in a certain port but with products and goods

[33] Hammond 1979b, 31-34.

[34] The name of the island where the incident took place is *Κυραυιν*, although no name of the tribe is provided.

[35] They unloaded their goods on the beach and the raised a smoke. Then the natives arrived and they took a look at the goods and then placed their offer (a certain quantity) of gold on the ground; if the Carthaginians were satisfied with it, they took it and left; if not they went back aboard and waited until they raised the quantity; throughout the process, no touching of the merchandise was allowed (Hdt IV, 196), see also: Meijer and Nijf 1992, 28.

[36] Thucydides 1.5; Meijer and Nijf 1992, 25; Hall 2007, 115.

[37] Nieto 1997, 146-159; Nantet 2010, 107; see also Hordern & Purcell 2000, 369.

arriving from elsewhere, as well. Then there was reload in smaller/secondary ports (redistribution). The Giglio wreck discovered just off the southern coast of Italy bespeaks of this diversity as its cargo contained Etruscan and Greek amphorae, iron and lead ingots and various other objects. Conversely, the term "re-exportation commerce" or direct commerce is employed to describe ships, which aimed not to redistribute a cargo in a secondary harbour in a limited region but rather to secure the transport between two principal harbours connected by a long distance trade. The existence of all the types of trade mentioned above will be investigated in Methone.

Long distance trade is the type, which leads to the foundation of colonies. Colonies in the Black Sea, for example, were primarily trading factories in food producing regions, especially when the mother-cities were in need of new food resources to feed their over exceeding population[38]. However, the foundation of colonies could also be for reasons other than food shortage[39]. The capacity of the Black Sea region as a producer of grain and fish would have become known over the course of inhabitation in the Propontis colonies but there was no incentive to settle there until there was a need for its products. The connection of Methone with its mother-city Eretria will also be discussed in this study.

***Transportation*:**

After their production, packaging and loading, products are ready for circulation and a series of actions related to their transportation begins. Largely related to the transportation system, especially in the long distance trade, are the means of transport. There are two main types of transportation; over land, which is difficult and costly[40] and over sea, which is the usual type of mobility in the early periods[41].

[38] See figures and numbers offered by Hdt I.26-27, also strength of the Ionian fleet recorded by Thucydides I. 13.2.
[39] See papers in Tsetskhladze 2008.
[40] See some comments in Snodgrass 1983, 17.
[41] The first evidence of marine mobility appears in the Neolithic period, through opsidian circulation, some of which has actually reached the Northern Aegean, as finds in Nea Nikomideia demonstrate. In 2700 BC, the first ceramics start to travel and the first ships with sails appear in 2000 BC. see Renfrew 2014, in press; McGrail 2011, 95-107.

Ships

In the Archaic period, two types of merchant ships were used for sea transport; galleys, which were used for cargos that required fast transport; and smaller types of ships, which were completely dependent on oars, with their square sail used only under favourable weather conditions. Larger galleys used oars when entering or leaving a harbour but on the high seas, they used sails. There was a distinction between commercial and warships but in special cases, commercial ships were employed for military purposes[42]. It is not necessarily the case, however, that city-states which had strong commercial fleets possessed a strong naval or military power. For instance, Phocaeans, are known for their commercial activity but not for their naval force[43]. The opposite situation, however, is unlikely to occur. We therefore rarely see a polity with strong naval power to be weak commercially (e.g. Athens). The Crater of Aristonothos dated to the middle of the 7th century BC, shows us both the commercial and the warship[44]. Among the commercial ships were the *pentekoteris,* a vessel which sailed with one mast (38 m. long and 4 m wide) and the *dieres*, a ship with two masts - a technological improvement as the speed was increased for the same length[45]. These two kinds of ship constituted the essence of that period's naval technology[46]. The change to *dieres* seems to have taken place in 700 BC during the Lelantine war between Chalkis and Eretria, who were engaged in naval war[47]. If this is the case, then the *pentekoteris*[48] continued to be constructed despite the *dieres'* discovery. Indeed, Plutarch, informs us that in the 6th century BC, the Samians put into the sea an exceptionally large *pentekoteris* for the transport of heavy loads called the *samaina* (Plutarch, Pericles XXVI.3-4). We know however from later sources that very large ships were difficult to manage and they were thus not

[42] For example, commercial ships were used in the Ionian revolution against the Persians (Hdt I.26-27).
[43] It is interesting that as Thucydides (I.13) records Phocaeans were the first ones that used the trireme. For the use of trireme from the middle of the 6th century BC, see McGrail 2001, 141. See also, Tilley 2004, 11-22.
[44] Other Geometric vase-paintings show warships, see LG vase from Dipylon in Louvre in McGrail 2001, 128, fig. 4.24. for representation of ships in the Archaic period see Morisson and Williams 1968, 73-118.
[45] We know that Pentekoteris was used by Phocaeans for long-distance trade in the Archaic period (Hdt I. 163.2).
[46] Herodotus mentions a third type of ship "used for settlement voyages", see Hdt I.152. I, 163.3, 136.4. see also McGrail 2001, 127.
[47] Basch 1987, 184-187.
[48] The *pentekoteris* was the mainstay of Greek shipping used for exploration, settlement, trading and fighting, see McGrail 2001, 127.

preferred[49]. Very large ships with a capacity of 1000 tons were usually used for building materials or grain and could only anchor in large harbours such as Ostia, Alexandria, Antioch, Massalia, Carthage and Peiraeus[50]. For long distance trade, large commercial ships would be necessary, while for redistributing goods from one port to another, smaller ships would be more convenient[51].

Nantet argues that there is an increase in the capacity for cargo of the commercial ships in the middle of the 6th century BC. She argues that during the 7thcentury BC, ships carried a heterogenous cargo of a few tons; in the 6th century BC, however, cargoes were increased by almost ten tons and were homogenous in their content[52]. Despite the degree of validity in her argument the evidence from shipwreck is probably not enough to make such a statement entirely conclusive. It is clear, however, that the more long-distance commerce intensified, the more homogenous the cargo became. Alongside this intensification, however, and even in later periods, significant amounts of marine mobility would still be carried out by *cabotage* movement of heterogenous cargo. As we shall see below, this was also the case in Methone.

Navigation and harbours

As well as the selection of a suitable ship, an efficient transportation system depends also on other factors. The maritime route of a ship had to be pre-decided, according to the physical conditions. The maritime routes were dependent on the direction of winds and currents. For example, the routes from Italy and Greece to Asia Minor, Africa, Syria and Egypt were twice as fast compared to the ones of the opposite direction (Pliny Nat. Hist. XiX 3-4)[53]. According to these (and other) physical conditions, routes were articulated and they were marked with commercial stations/*emporia*. The existence of harbours directly affected navigation and transportation. In the early days of shipping, a sheltered beach sufficed as a mooring place; when ships became larger, harbours had to increase in size together with them. As trade

[49] *Syracusia* was a famous ship ordered by the tyrant Hiero II of Syracuse in 240 BC, which however, he did not enjoy for long because it was too long and therefore could not easily moor to most harbours; he therefore gave it to Ptolemy III Euergetes. (Athenaeus V. 206d-209b).
[50] Meijer & Nijf 1992, 152.
[51] Nantet 2010, 109.
[52] See examples in Horden & Purcell 2000, 369-370.
[53] Drakides 2010, 95-96.

was developing, a growing need for improved harbour facilities was developing, alongside. In the 6th century, the tyrant Polycrates of Samos ordered the construction of an immense breakwater more than 400 m to a point where the sea is 35 m deep (Herodotus III. 60). Although the earliest phase identified so far in the remnants of ancient breakwaters found in Samos, dates to 300 BC, sherds of archaic vessels dated to the middle of the 6th century BC, allowed the excavator to assume that the archaic (Herodotus') phase of the harbour installation, lies beneath the Hellenistic one[54]. A well-equipped harbour in the 5th century had long quays, where storehouses and offices were located. The various geographic settings were adapted for sheltering the ships. Some of the places, where the ships anchored were privileged with regards to the geography of exchanges; this means that they well placed to serve *caboteurs,* even though participation of the inhabitants was not a prerequisite[55]. Some other places/harbours used the indigenous population to channel goods further inland.

Furthermore, since the orientation of winds and currents was different depending on the season, not all seasons were suitable for navigation[56]. Sailing, which was conducted near the shore[57], was only being practiced during certain periods of the year. By and large, it took place from the middle of March until the middle of November but more intensely between the end of May and the middle of September[58]. Only urgent travel, such as the announcement of important events, news, the supply of necessary foodstuffs and military campaigns which could not be delayed, could break that rule[59]. Certainly, transport facilities affect some products more than others. Grain producers may be prevented from exploiting temporary shortages in particular places to the full by slow communications, but other than that, slowness of transport has little effect on the movement of cereal crops. Similarly, both

[54] Simossi 1991, 281-298 and especially 291.
[55] Horden & Purcell 2000, 395.
[56] For navigation in the Mediterranean sea, see McGrail 2001, 159-160.
[57] Already in the 8th century BC, as the evidence from shipwrecks suggest, see: Nantet 2010, 107.
[58] Hesiod's mentions that sailing was limited to 50 days after the summer solstice (text no. 4) is not followed by other authors; they allow for a somewhat longer season; Vegetius Rei Militari, 4.39.see also, Morton 2001; Tilley 2004, 85.
[59] Thucydides. II, 69; Demosthenes, *Against Dionysodorus* 30 says that between November and March the sea is considered 'closed' but special circumstances could arise that required sailing: military considerations played their part, but the most common reason would be the occurrence of a food crisis (text no. 129). In the 4th cent for example the traffic between Alexandria and Rhodes continued during the winter period. This allowed merchants to make high profits.

olives, which can be turned into pickles or oil, and grapes, which could be turned into raisins or fermented as wine do not require rapid transportation but some fruits and leafy vegetables were another matter. Only in the immediate vicinity of sizeable towns could farmers expect to be able to grow such crops for the market and only improved transport possibilities could be used for their transport[60]. As we shall see below, the easy and fast access to several settlements in the Northern Aegean favoured the circulation of these kinds of kind of products around Methone.

Commodities

Exchange is a common feature in human societies. People would exchange products well before the monetary system was developed[61]. The commodities, which are transported are a key feature to constructing the web of communications, and consequently the understanding of trade in antiquity. Although frequently we are mainly aware of the commodities which leave behind traces, such as liquids or food (e.g. wine, oil and other commodities which leave organic remains) there were different kinds of commodities which were not preserved, but which constituted a significant part of the commercial activity of the Archaic period (slaves, metals, wool, textiles)[62].

Wine

Wine was transported through maritime routes from the 2nd millennium BC until the Christian era, as demonstrated in the fundamental study made by Gras[63]. The plethora of archaeological evidence, particularly transport amphorae – probably wine's most common cargo - evinces that large-scale commercial relationships based on wine exchanges have been established very early[64]; at the same time, it witnesses the importance of wine for the consumer as well as the people engaged in its production[65]. We are, therefore, nowhere close to what was once said; that "the transport of wine occurred predominantly between

[60] Osborne (1996 first edition) 2009, 28.
[61] For a relevant discussion regarding models of economic history, see below pp 257-262.
[62] Meijer & Nijf 1992, 93; see Lawall 1995, 1-2 for products in transport vessels.
[63] Gras 1985, 255-286.
[64] See, for example, the shipwrecks of Tanit and Elisa carrying large quantities of wine from Phoenicia to Egypt, see: Ballard et al. 2002, 151-168.
[65] Koehler 1995, 323; this importance is further enhanced by the fact that a lot of the evidence was lost due to the perishable nature of some wine containers' material (e.g wood, leather skins).

the vineyard and the neighbouring town"[66] . Winemaking installations further support the entreprise built around the production and circulation of wine in ancient times[67]. Wine played a central role in the religious, ceremonial, social and economic life of many different societies in the ancient world. It became an essential part of the "civilized life" possibly because of its dietary or anti-microbial benefits but likely because it was marketed very successfully. Its value varied and there was a subtlety of tastes, which improved with age and wine eventually passed from the realm of the rich to the general populace by way of social gathering; it never stopped, however, being popular. Wine commerce was conducted by almost all Greek and foreign traders, although Nantet believes that leadership in the West in the Archaic period and especially in the middle of the 6th century BC was held by the Etruscans.[68]. According to Nantet, these Etruscan wine amphorae served to supply the newly established colony of Massalia, similar to the view that the SoS amphorae supplied the Greek South Italian colonies with oil. We should note that in the Aegean Sea, many regions were renowned in the Archaic period both for their wine and for their olive oil and therefore there was plenty of competition. However, the supply of olive oil to the Greek colonies through the SoS amphorae might find a parallel in the case of Methone[69].

Grain

Cereals and slaves are known to have become major trading commodities by the end of the 7th and 6th centuries BC, but both are archaeologically hard to detect[70]. There was even a unit which was used to measure out grain for slaves[71]. It has been argued that grain held a far more important role in the ancient diet than in our own, contributing on average as much as 70 to 75 % of daily calories[72]. Ugarit was the first place mentioned for its sea transport of grain along the Levantine coast, brought from Egypt, shortly before the collapse

[66] Meijer & Neif 1992, 110.
[67] Few such installations, however, have been excavated, most likely because they were located away from the human settlements, see: McGovern 1995, xiii.
[68] She bases this view on the preponderance of the Etruscan amphorae (80 %) among the amphora material from Massalia, where after the middle of the 6th century BC, Massaliote amphorae take the Etruscans' place, see: Sourisseau 1997; Nantet 2010.
[69] see discussion in Chapter IV.
[70] For the role of cereals in ancient Greek diet, see: Foxhall and Forbes 1982, 41-90
[71] The information comes from Athenaeus VI 272 B, where he talks about the Corinthians having so many slaves that την Πυθίαν κεκληκέναι χοινικομετρας.
[72] Moreno 2007, 31.

of the palatial system. In the Archaic period with sizeable sailing ships ubiquitous and towns sprouting up everywhere, the grain trade became a major pan-Mediterranean affair, drawing not only upon the harvest of Egypt (the eternal cornucopia, in this respect) but also those of large fertile hinterlands accessible to Sicilian powers like Syracuse, Akragas and Selinous[73]. Only few Greek towns would outgrow the provisioning capacity of their surrounding countryside in a decent year, unless they chose to invest heavily in vine,olive and grain. The exception would be small island communities, such as Pithekoussai and Aigina, whose population were liable to be abroad at any given time. A recent study on the grain supply of classical Athens successfully argues for immense quantities of imported grain to cover the needs of the Athenian population, much of which came from the Black Sea[74].

Slaves

The economic role of slaves in ancient economy and especially in the Northern Aegean deserves particular attention. Slavery is actually a structural feature of the Mediterranean society[75]. They were circulated in considerable quantities in the Bronze Age and more widely at a household scale during this time. The slave trade formed a peculiar sort of commerce. Slaves were usually war captives or criminals or descendants of such people, whereas debt slavery was also the most effective way for desperate people[76]. Although the evidence is scanty, coastal snatches of the kind were vividly described in the Odyssey[77]. In the Homeric epics practically everybody, Greeks and Phoenicians traded slaves and this continued in the Archaic period and beyond[78]. Chattel-slave was a widespread phenomenon in antiquity and slaves were employed sometimes alongside free labour, in nearly every economic sector. In the Iron Age, Assyria was organizing the slave labour of its victims in a massive scale that spread across the Mediterranean[79]. A debate still exists about when slaves began to be

[73] See discussion in Hall 2007, 247; Möller 2007, 363-364; Broodbank 2013, 548.
[74] Moreno 2007. However, no evidence about the Pontic grain trade for the Archaic period, exists, see: Tsetskhladze 1998, 55.
[75] Braudel 1972, 754-755; Garlan 1982, 43-54.
[76] Horden & Purcell 2000, 388.
[77] Sheratt & Sheratt 1993, 363.
[78] For an overview see: Garlan 1982, 43-54.
[79] Scheidel 2007, 62-63.

transported to Greece in large numbers but the evidence to resolve this question is surely lacking[80].

The main external sources of slaves were piracy and warfare, yet, these were probably not the major contributor to the supply of slaves[81] as others sources existed. For example, Herodotus (Hdt V.6 and Hdt II. 134) mentions that Thracians as a tribe thought very little about selling their children into slavery: they exercised no control over young girls allowing them to have connections with any man they pleased; their wives, on the other hand, whom they purchased at high prices from their parents, they watched very strictly. According to Philostratus (Life of Apollonius VIII. 7.12), Phrygians used to sell their relatives abroad, whereas he emphasizes that Greeks would never do such a thing; while other sources inform us that sometimes parents sold their children to slavery in order to better them (Cassiodorus, *Variae* 8.33). The pirates of Cilicia were notorious for their activities as slave traders, until Pompei put an end to their action in 67 BC. They marketed their merchandise in the slave market of Delos as Strabo (XIV. 5.2) informs us, but similar markets were hosted by other big harbour towns such as Corinth and Athens[82]. Conversely, in Athens they were at the same time broadening definitions of citizenship; Solon's injunctions against slavery, for example[83]. Where effective, these regulations ruled out a major internal source of dependent labour and formalized servile status, rather affirming its opposite, the freedom of citizens[84].

Metal ores

Finally, a very important commodity in the Archaic period were metals. Scholars have argued that together with marble, metals must have composed an important part of the tonnage of the archaic sea transport[85]. Due to their rarity, it has been argued that metals were the main reason for the foundation of commercial towns and stations in the EIA period[86]. Further to this, metals are vital to a city's economy not only because they are the only means of

[80] Reed 2003, 42.
[81] De Souza 1999, 60-65.
[82] Engels 2010, 92. For slave markets see also Archibald 2013, 122.
[83] Hall 2007, 196.
[84] Broodbank 2013, 549.
[85] Snodgrass 1983, 18.
[86] Horden & Purcell have argued that metals have affected the geography of Greek and Phoenicians cities in the first centuries of the first millenium BC. See, Horden & Purcell 2000, 348.

producing coinage but for several other reasons such as construction of ships, weapons, culinary equipment, tools, jewellery and numerous others[87]. Silver was widely crafted from the 8th century onwards and it was critically important as a bullion[88]. It was also the coinage metal *par excellence* in the Greek World, especially directly after its invention, in the middle of the 6th century BC. Silver's high marketability and multiple uses are evident in Xenophon's advice towards Athenians, which is that it is smarter to carry silver because this will pay for what someone wants to purchase very easily[89]. Moreover, gold was also particularly important in the Archaic period as the main constituent metal of electrum, and continued to be used in some parts of the Greek world in the classical period[90].

The rarity of gold and silver in the Mediterranean and peripheral regions and the limited technology available made the material even more valuable (fig 8). There are some metal deposits in the Mediterranean but only a few of them are mentioned in ancient literature; others preserve evidence of ancient working and are thus identified as mines, which were exploited in antiquity. From West to East, the Iberian peninsula has quite a few metal deposits (including tin) and in fact there is a fervent debate regarding their exploitation by Phoenicians and Greeks. The Greeks were already aware of the deposits in the late 7th century but Aubet argued, convincingly, that for the 8th century Phoenician expansion for the exploration of metal deposits and the establishment of colonies and trading posts for their exploitation was peacefully connected to Greek (and mostly Euboean) activity in the Western Mediterranean[91]. For the classical period, Cabrera argued that the development of Lavrion negated the need for Iberian silver in the Eastern Mediterranean[92], but other researchers think that this is an unsubstantiated argument[93]. Gaul has several gold deposits in the Salsigne area but they were probably not exploited before the Roman period; there is

[87] The 160 tonnes of silver found in an Assyrian palace near Nineveh affirm the stupendous quantities needed for armaments and tools.

[88] Kroll 2008, 12-38; Aubet 2001, 82. Bullion and not coinage must also have been the form of gold exchange in the famous Lydo-Spartan transaction (Hdt 1.69) where Lakedaimonians asked the Lydian king, Kroisos, to purchase gold and he decided to give it to them for free. Bullion as form of export is in general a better option than coinage, as coins would require extra costs for minting and melting.

[89] Xen. Poroi iii 1-2; cf. Finley 1973 [n. 70] 134.

[90] Bissa 2009, 29-30.

[91] Aubet 1993, 315 against Burket 1992, 21. See also Strabo 3.2.8, 3.4.2 1.163.2-3, for the Greek awareness of gold and silver deposits.

[92] Cabrera 1998, 193.

[93] Bissa 2009, 32.

evidence of circulation, however, between the local Gallic tribes with whom Massalia had contacts[94]. In Italy, gold could have entered the Greek World through the Etruscans[95] and from Sardinia, where silver mines were exploited by the Phoenicians[96]. It has long been suggested that one of the goals of Greek anchoring in Etruria was the metals and this is further supported by the discovery of the Giglio shipwreck, a Greek (Ionian) ship of the beginning of the 6th century, which carried, amongst Greek and Etruscan amphorae, also metals[97].

Important silver mines are situated in Illyria, in Damastion or modern Argyrokastro, which would affect the commercial networks built around the Northern Aegean[98]. The ThracoMacedonian region was particularly rich in metals[99]. Siphnos was the main precious metal producer in the Aegean in the Archaic period[100]. The mines contributed greatly to the wealth of the island. The distribution of surpluses preferred by the Siphnian state was direct distribution to the people allowing in this way substantial quantities of silver to enter the market creating additional wealth for those not directly involved in the mining industry. Part of the surplus was exported most notably to Aigina, where 18% of its archaic coinage was made by Sipnian silver[101]. Athens had Lavrion, which is supposed to have been exploited from the Bronze Age onwards but systematic exploration of the mines is attested in the classical period[102]. Minor precious metal deposits are found in Karystos in Euboea, Samos, Melos, Kimolos and Methymna in Lesbos[103].

[94] Diodoros 5.27.1; see also Broodbank 2013.
[95] Athenaios 1.28b.
[96] See Pernicka 1987, 619.
[97] For metals being carried in the cargoes of ships until the middle of the 6th century BC, see: Nantet 2010, 99-100. It has been argued that Etruscan culture was shaped by the interactions represented by the redistribution of these metal resources, see: Horden & Purcell 2000, 348.
[98] For the way Corinth's commercial activity was affected by the Damastion deposits, see below also p. 209.
[99] Wagner et al, 166-186; Tselekas 1996, 9-20; see Pernicka 1987, 650-657 for silver and lead, Pernicka 1987, 668-671 for copper and Pernicka 1987, 666-667 for gold. More on the Thracomacedonian metal mines in the next chapter, see pp. 49-50, 57 and 67-72.
[100] Pausanias speaks about gold mines 10.11.2.; Hdt 3.57 speaks of how prolific they were. For Siphnos see also Pernicka 1987, 662-664.
[101] Papadopoulos 2002, 42; see also Sheedy 2012, 106-107
[102] Pernicka 1987, 657-658; Bissa 2009, 39-40.
[103] Pernicka 1987, 659; Bissa 2009 42-43.

The Black Sea had several metal deposits, mainly of gold, yet Tsetskhladze disassociated the metal sources from the area's colonization by the Eastern Greek cities and associated it with the pressure put on the Asia Minor metropoleis by Lydia and Persia [104]. The Asia Minor *poleis* had not had any access to metal deposits. Paktolos river nearby belonged to the Lydian kingdom and Thasos' rich silver mines were exploited by quite a few people. Except for Paktolos, there were deposits in Troas, but the only ascertained one, near Abydos, started to be exploited in the 5th century BC[105].

Traders:

A commercial town had its magistrates whose responsibilities were to carry out and supervise commercial activities. There is a series of socio-professional occupations related to trade[106]. From the arrival of a ship in a city's port until the acquisition of the goods by private individuals, a variety of professionals were involved. Despite Finley and Jones' argument of traders' little significance – reflecting their opinion of trade's low volume- several studies argue against the marginalization of traders and support their vital role in the economic development of a town[107]. Aristotle in his Politics informs us about the multiple stages of commerce (*εμπορία*)[108]. He mentions, *naukleria*, *phortegia*, *parastasis*, as activities related to trade but he gives us no clarification if those activities required corresponding professions or whether the people carrying them out were considered traders (*emporoi)*[109]. The term *ναύκληρος* appears for the first time in the classical period and refers to both the owner of ships and sometimes the transporter of goods; he, therefore, exercises commerce for his own benefit. *Naukleros* is usually a person of a high social status, who primarily has an occupation with the political life. Solon is a good example of a *ναύκληρος* and we know that he sailed to Egypt and other places *κατ'εμπορίαν αμα και θεωρίαν (*Aristotle, *Const Ath* XI, 1; Plutarch, *Solon,* 25.6). *Έμπορος*, is again someone who transports goods but usually does not own ships and uses someone else's; he purchases his goods from producers with the aid of

[104] Tsetzhlazde 1994, 111-136.
[105] Pernicka 1987, 642;Bissa 2009, 43-45.
[106] The names of some of them are known from later periods but similar professions must have existed when/where organised trading transactions existed, see Velissaropoulos 1980, 17-19.
[106] Dietler 2010, 138.
[107] See for example Smith's study on archaic Italian economy, Smith 1998, 31-51.
[108] Aristotle *Politics*, 1. 1258b 20-25.
[109] Aristotle *Politics*, 1. 1258b 20-25 ;Velissaropoulos 1977, 63.

loans[110]. From the 5th century onwards the term *emporos* is attributed to people, who conduct long distance sea trade (*oi eispleontes*). Finally, *φορτηγός,* is the one who practises the 'profession of the sea'[111]. These are all terms, which are used in the classical period's trade but analogous terms must have existed for the Archaic period[112]. Although there is no way of knowing the exact professions, it is reasonable to assume long distance trade involved a series of middlemen, from where the ship departed, through any intermediate stations, to the final ship's destination. Therefore, a series of actions including craftsmen and producers before and after the arrival at the port would be entailed in the trade business.

In the classical period, all these secondary professions related to commerce and operating in markets had their names. As intermediaries involved in merchandise traffic are mentioned the *αυτοπώλης*, the person who sells on the spot his merchandise; the *κάπελος*, he who sells the merchandise at the same state he received it from (therefore does not pay the taxes imposed by the state); the *έμπορος* who buys the merchandise from *κάπελος* or *αυτοπώλης* to sell it abroad and the *παλινκάπελος*, who will sell it again to a third party or a customer[113].

It is unsure to what extent trade and therefore traders were a desirable activity/people, especially within a city. There are several sources, which inform us that people involved in commerce were not well accepted by the permanent residents of the city attached to the *emporion*. Reputedly, trade was left happily in the hands of foreigners either resident aliens or transient foreigners (metics or *xenoi*)[114]. The *emporoi* were considered as transporters of bad morals[115]. If the moralists of the period were looking at local trade as a necessity for the city and international trade as an inevitable activity, traders were clearly not that well received by society. Hesiod speaks about involvement into trade only as a secondary occupation and there was the view that in the Archaic period, commerce existed only as a secondary occupation, parallel to one's main occupation. We know about many impoverished people who decided to sail away because of their malstate (although these did

[110] Dietler 2010, 138.
[111] Velissaropoulos 1977, 65-66.
[112] For the pre-solonian use of the commercial professions, see Velissaropoulos 1980, 17-19; see also Reed 1984, 41. See also Smith 1998, 32-36 for the importants of the artisans (creators, initiators, servants, suppliers).
[113] For these terms see Velissaropoulos 1977, 66-68.
[114] Möller 2007, Reed 2003; Dietler 2010, 147.
[115] Bourriot 1972, 7-41.

not become neither *emporoi* nor *naukleroi*). Even Xenophon, who is supposed to be unconditionally in favour of trade, maintained some reluctance towards traders. According to him it is important to take measures in order for an intense traffic of goods to be executed. In this sense, he is more tolerant towards trade and traders than Plato or Aristotle because he looks at them from the angle of *prosodoi* of the city and not the *nomoi* but he still shows a degree of reluctance[116].

It was generally thought that the only remedy in this nearly mandatory accumulation of foreigners in the city's territory was to keep them out of the city walls, in places specifically designed for them, a port, a market or public buildings, in a space well defined in order to be closely supervised. An important element of the port is the market but never is the *emporion* identified as a city. On the contrary, the two are clearly distinct; an example is the Euboean polis of Histiaia, where the expression *λιμήν κατα πόλιν* is attested[117]. Even today, the port of a *polis* is distinct from the town itself as the port is a crowded area, where normally not many private residencies are built. A discussion on what exactly Methone should be named (*emporion, apoikia* or *polis*) will be attempted in the following chapters.

Unlike its undesirable status, trade in the Archaic period was and- to an extent still is- thought to have been controlled by an elite social class[118]. Nevertheless, the larger the scale of the commerce the more probable lower social classes were involved in related activities. We can speculate that within time, seasonal market centres evolved into more permanent fixtures and that the development of a managerial class would have been a logical outgrowth of this. Perhaps this managerial class is under the leadership of a chief, who is desirous of further establishing his status over those he rules. A mechanism to do this is through the importation of status goods and the most effective way to achieve this is to bring the status goods outside a specific region. This creates a demand for linkages between regional exchange centres. These regional exchange centres become rather permanent fixtures within the region and many tend to become regional resource specific. An information system is constructed and an outcome of this is that reciprocity becomes less of

[116] Velissaropoulos 1977, 70-71.
[117] Velissaropoulos 1977, 62.
[118] This idea has been developed on information deriving from ancient literature; for the Greek values in trade, see: Meijer & van Nijf 1992, 1-14.

a concern and profit motives begin to exert themselves[119]. Therefore already in the 8th and 7th century BC, some Greeks may have been engaged in international sea trade to such an extent that we should regard them as "maritime traders", with agent traders perhaps outnumbering independent ones. Interregional trade by sea in the Greek World was largely in the hands of men. Reed argues that many of these men if not most of them were Greek, while the Finlian model saw foreigners and metics handling trade[120], considering it as their main occupation[121]. Although we may not receive enough information about the social status of the people who were involved in Methone's trade, to the extent allowed to us by the material under examination, we will try to touch upon issues of identity of the traders. The large scale of commercial activities, which we can detect through all the imported and local transport containers, reveals the involvement of individuals in these activities. Yet, it is not impossible that a political entity in Methone in the Archaic period may have manipulated these large trading transactions.

[119] Hammond 1979b, 31-34.
[120] Finley 1985, 163-164 following Hasebroek and are referring particularly into Athenian trade
[121] Reed 1984 42-43.

I. E. Maritime agents of the Archaic period.

Euboeans:

One of the earliest and most important maritime peoples of the Mediterranean in the first millennium BC, were the Euboeans. After, the fall of the Mycenaean palaces, in the Sub-Mycenaean and EIA periods, communication and trading activity remained very active. Euboeans played a central role in this activity based on which a number of scholars put forward the idea of a dynamic *koine* strongly related with a wider network of connections within the Aegean[122]. This *koine* is formed already in the 11th century BC and continues until the middle of the 9th century BC. Lemos' suggestion of a certain uniformity among the Aegean sites during this period, through maritime connections is based on similarities of architectural, pottery and cult practices[123]. Further support for this *koine* appears through a type of transport amphorae dated already in the 10th century BC[124], found in most of the aforementioned regions and originating from Central Greece (Type I) and later on, Central Macedonia (Type II)[125].

The early connection of Euboeans with the North is both archaeologically and historically attested in Macedonia[126]. In Torone, Euboean presence has not been given much importance by John Papadopoulos[127] but the links of the site with Euboea already from an early period, are clear in the archaeological record. According to ancient literature, in the 8th century BC Eretria founds colonies in the Northern Aegean, Methone (Plutarch Aetia Graeca; Thuc. 6. 3), Dicaea[128] and Mende in Pallene. Finally we should note that en route to the

[122] Desborough 1972, Descoeudres 1973, 187-99; Popham 1994, 11-34; Lemos 1998, 45-56 and Lemos 2002, 212 ff; Lane Fox 2008.

[123] Lemos suggests that Euboea maintained its connections with Attica but that a more special relationship has been developed among Euboea, the Cyclades, Boiotia, Phthiotis, Thessaly and most probably Chalkidike and Pieria, see Lemos 2002 148, 183, 212. Connections with the North are further enhanced by the presence of amber found at Lefkandi tombs, which may originate from the Balkans through Macedonia, see: Boardman 1980, 250; Mari 2011, 80. Hammond 1998, 396, also notes strong Euboean features in Karabournaki and Stavroupoli. For architectural elements, see: Moschonissioti 1998, 258-9. For burial customs, see: Vokotopoulou 1994, 92-6.

[124] Catling 1998, 176

[125] Catling 1998, 167,176; Gimatzidis 2010; this type is also present in Methone, see below chapter III.

[126] Torone, Koukos, Mende, Poseidi see next chapter for more details.

[127] Papadopoulos 1996, 152-155; Papadopoulos 2005 , 427-510.

[128] Dicaea's location is still a matter of debate; some sites suggested are Trilofos, N. Rysio, Ay. Paraskevi, Gona, N. Kallikrateia, Sedes. For an overview and bibliography see Tiverios 2008, 24-25.

Northern Aegean, the two islands of Skyros and Skiathos, were probably used as ports of call by Euboean traders[129].

In the middle of the 6th century, Peisistratus ventured in the Northern Aegean. Cole and Viviers argued that Peisistratus' activity was presumably fomented by Eretria and resulted in the foundation of Rhekelus, in the hinterland of Chalkidike[130]. The purpose of this city's foundation was for Peisistratus to acquire the financial means to restore his authority in Athens and he did that by exploiting the neighbouring mines of Pangaion mountain. Further to that, Walker suggests that Peisistratus' mission in this area could be facilitated, thanks to Eretrians, who were expelled here together with Pieres when Macedonians arrived in Pieria; according to his view, this would also explain why Theopompus calls the area around the Pangaion Mountain, Eretrian[131].

Euboeans are perhaps present in the Dodecanese and Caria already in the 11th – early 10th century BC[132]. They also appear in various other places in the East and West Mediterranean**.** Even before the circulation of the Euboean pendant semi-circled skyphoi during the 9th and 8th centuries BC in the East[133], earlier though smaller scale distribution of Greek amphorae and open vases appear in Al Mina, Tell Sukas, Ras El Bassit, Tyre and Catal Huyuk[134]**.** Al Mina was the first Levantine site with an abundance of Greek Geometric pottery to be excavated and published. It has been called a Greek colony[135], an independent port of multiple *enoikismoi* and hinterlands[136], a free port where Euboeans and Phoenicians cohabited[137], or a domestic site founded by Levantines[138]. Regardless of what it was, its importance for the

[129] The importance of these two islands as middle stations is noted by many scholars, see: Lemos & Hatcher 1986, pp.323-337; Popham 1994, 33; Walker 2004, 153.
[130] It is based on the word Aristotle uses to describe the foundation of Rhekelus "*συνωκισε»*: Eretrians, which had knowledge of the Chalkidike peninsula geography and with whom Peisistratus had strong ties (he spent part of his exile in Eretria) and he believes that the verb "*συνωκισε»* refers to the collaborative foundation, see: Cole 1975, 42-44; Viviers 1987, 193-195.
[131] Walker 2004, 152-155.
[132] Lemos 2002, 148, 180.

[133] Kearsley 1995,7-81.
[134] For bibliography see Lemos 2001, 218; Boardman 1990.
[135] Woolley 1953; Robertson 1940 , 2-21 on the Greek pottery and Boardman 1999, 43 where he speaks of a small community of Greeks established there.
[136] Ridgway 1992, 108.
[137] Aubet 2001, 63.
[138] Perrault 1993, 68.

connection with the Greek world remains as it is the first site in the Levantine coast, which revealed a great amount of Euboean pottery[139]. After Al Mina, a lot of other Levantine sites with an abundance of Greek Geometric pottery were discovered. As in Al Mina, the majority of Levantine imports were Euboean[140].

The Euboean contacts with the East (Phoenicians, Egyptians, Cypriots[141]) are clear also from Lefkandi's archaeological record. The rich grave offerings accompanying the tombs at the Toumba cemetery[142] are there to display wealth, which was acquired by contacts and commercial interactions[143]. Matters of ethnicity, which have been raised over the deceased merchant (?) of tomb 79 in the Toumba cemetery, demonstrate potential cultural consequences of international trade (migration and mixed marriages) in this early period[144]. Starting from this point, Papadopoulos goes even further and suggests that Lefkandi may have been a place where enterprising Easterners –Phoenicians, Syrians, Cypriots- settled in the Aegean and worked together on their craftsmanship; maybe from there "they made a joint venture to the West"[145]. Even though this idea cannot be totally excluded, the excavator of the site, Irene Lemos suggests that the deceased buried in the elite Toumba building was perhaps not a foreigner but a local, who had acquired a wealthy status from trade, and then received such a luxurious tomb burial[146]. Greek contacts with the East are accepted by most scholars,but they do remain a matter- in many aspects- controversial.

[139] For a full bibliography and discussion about Al Mina, see Luke 2003 and especially Vacek 2012.
[140] Although of much importance is also the East Greek pottery found at Ras el Bassit and Tell Sukas, see: Luke 2003, 31-35. And as shown by Vacek 2012, Ionian pottery prevailed among the ceramic imports in Al Mina during the 7th century BC.
[141] For the wide presence of Euboean but also Athenian and some Cycladic pottery in Cyprus, see Luke 2003, 42-43, see also Lemos & Hatcher 1991, 206; Coldstream 2001, 229.
[142] Phoenician, Cypriot, Egyptian pottery-jewelry-beads and much more. For an overview see: Popham& Lemos 1996.
[143] The grave offerings show the couple buried at the Heroon evidently had sufficient control over their community not only to be buried with rare imported goods such as an antique Babylonian necklace but also to be honoured with a large post-Mycenaean building, see Popham 1994, 355. Crieelaard also showed that the concentration of imports are in those tombs that can be characterized as elite, see: Crieelaard 1993, 140-1; see also Lemos 2001, 219. The same idea has also been suggested by the mortuary evidence from Cymae, see: Ridgway 1992, 277; Coldstream 1998, 309.
[144] See Antonaccio's view of the deceased being a Homeric *xenos*, an intermediate in trade between the local elite and the Near Eastern elites who came to Lefkandi and married one of the local wives see: Antonaccio 2002, 28-9; see also Lemos 2001, 191-192. Papadopoulos suggested that the deceased was ethnically Oriental, see: Papadopoulos 1997, 192; see contra Popham & Lemos 1995 for a Euboean origin of the deceased.
[145] Papadopoulos 1997, 206.
[146] Lemos 2001, 188-189.

Recently, there was a suggestion that they should be examined in "total context" taking into account the geopolitical dynamics but divided in five different sub-periods of the EIA[147].

Euboeans were also the pioneers in establishing contacts with the West, which was reached at the same time or slightly later than the Northern Aegean. Buchner has once said that "With Al Mina in the East and Pithekoussai in the West, the Euboeans were from 775-700 BC the masters of trade between the Eastern Mediterranean and Central Italy"[148] . Italy's rich metal resources brought the Euboeans very close to the territory of Etruria and Elba, on the island of Ischia, where they founded Pithekoussai in 770 BC[149]. At the same time, in the mainland, Cymae was founded and it was the place, which hosted the Euboeans from Pithekoussai when the active volcano and the frequent earthquakes forced them to move from the island[150]. The foundation of the new Greek settlement on the shore only 25 km from the Etruscan site of Capua is evidence that Greeks and Etruscans were in good terms by the 8th century BC, perhaps because they were in a way 'dependant' on one another; it seems likely that the reason could have been the exchange of goods which must have been highly profitable for both sides[151]. Further Greek colonial activity followed in the 7th and 6th centuries in South Italy and Sicily[152].

Popham wonders why this momentous Euboean entreprise had such bad press or rather hardly any at all; even that the settlement in Pithekoussai was Euboean we learn from Livy[153]. Was it a political prejudice of some kind? Or was much of it too early for Greek memory? The Euboean commercial activity is reduced after the end of the 8th century BC. Lefkandi ceases to exist and the founded colonies are becoming progressively independent of the Euboean impact.

[147] Fantalkin 2006, 199-204.
[148] Buchner 1966, 12; Ridgway 1990, 64.
[149] See below p. 246.
[150] Coldstream 1994, 56.
[151] Coldstream 1983, 56 and Coldstream 1994, 56. For more details and some conflicts with the locals, see Chapter IV and p. 229-230.
[152] Vallet 1996.
[153] Popham 1994, 33.

Phoenicians:

Together with the Greeks, Phoenicians encouraged in their ventures also by the Assyrian empire[154] played an instrumental role in EIA Mediterranean trade, generally, but also particularly, in the renewal of contacts between Greece and the East in the 10th to 8th century BC. In ancient texts Phoenicians are mentioned in the Aegean. Homer informs us (Odyssey XV, 453 ff) about the Phoenicians as trade mariners frequenting the ports around the Aegean, which they reached in their voyages to central and Western Mediterranean[155]. It has been said that these were not simply 'business' trips but Phoenicians had places of more permanent residence in the Aegean as well[156].

Phoenician products in central and western Mediterranean have been traced from the 11th to the 9th centuries BC in many sites, such as Kommos[157], Eleutherna[158], Knossos[159], in Lefkandi[160], Attica[161], the Dodecanese[162], and recently possibly also in Karabournaki, Methone[163] and Thasos[164], in the 8th century BC. The presence of their products is the result of commercial activities or perhaps a trade enterprise followed by activities prolonging their presence or even a permanent residence, which probably means immigration and establishment of a number of people within a local community[165]. Greeks and Phoenicians, were sharing trading activities during this time and amongst others results of their

[154] Aubet 1993, 115; Fantalkin 2006, 200-201.
[155] Stampolidis 2003, 217-8.
[156] Homer recalls Phoenician trading in *Συρίη* where they might have resided for a longer period, in this case we have a possible prolongation. Hdt (VI, 47) and later Rhodian historians (θ) say that Rhodes, Thera, Kythera, Thassos, Boeotia received Phoenician settlements indicating actual immigration, in this case we have indication for permanent presence.see also: Stampolidis 2003, 217-8.

[157] Shaw-Shaw 2000.
[158] Stampolidis 1990. 99-106.
[159] See Stampolidis 2003, 218 n. 8.
[160] Lemos 2002, 226-227.
[161] Smithson 1968, 77ff.
[162] Coldstrem 1982, 263-4, 268-9.
[163]Tiverios& Manakidou&Tsiafaki 2004, 297; Kasseri 2012, 299-308.
[164] Koukouli-Chryssanthaki, 1992, 725-728.
[165] Stampolidis 2003, 218, implied claims that this is implied by the ancient sources. However, this matter needs a more careful consideration. See also Coldstream 1969, 1-18 for an establishment of Phoenician craftsmen in Ialysos.

commercial interaction, the transmission of the Phoenician alphabet to the Greek World was enacted[166].

Phoenicians were a considerable maritime force also responsible for colonisation in the Western Mediterranean[167]. Carthage was founded in 814 BC and its international links are attested by a lot of imported archaeological finds[168]. The middle of the 8th century BC saw the birth of the first Phoenician cities. These were founded in the same areas where the temporary installations used in the expansion towards the West had been founded. This is a common practice for *emporia* to get promoted to a colony or the other way around[169]. Phoenicians founded their colonies in two waves, the first half of 8th or second half of 7th and all their colonies were cities with wide commercial exchanges immediately after their foundation[170].

Some scholars suggest that the Euboean participation in early Greek Maritime enterprise was over-emphasized and that the real leadership in sea commerce was held by the Phoenicians[171]. In particular, Papadopoulos argues that trying to attribute leadership to Euboeans when at so many places in the Aegean there is concrete evidence about Phoenician presence is a form of "nationalism"[172]. According to Papadopoulos and others the evidence of the Phoenician presence are read in balance when they are put under the heading of "orientalism"[173] . However, others scholars suggested that because the evidence comes from islands as Crete and Rhodes, which are at the edges of the Greek World, thus liable to stronger eastern influences, the evidence should be considered as peripheral[174]. Aubet argued that for the 8th century Phoenician expansion was peacefully connected to Euboean activity in the Western Mediterranean[175] and it seems more likely that the limited archaeological and historic evidence we have for the Phoenician presence in the Aegean, in

[166] For the place of this transition, according to Ridgway 1994, 41-43, Pithekoussai; according to Johnston 1983, 63-68 Cyprus, see also: Powell 1991.
[167] Aubet 2001; Bartoloni 2003, 197.
[168] Fulford and Peacock, 1984, 116-128.
[169] Bresson& Rouillard 1993, 163-170.
[170] Bartoloni 2003, 197-198.
[171] Or more generally Easterners. See: Papadopoulos 1997; Sherratt 1993, Negbi 1992.
[172] Papadopoulos 1997, 203.
[173] Coldstream 1982; Burkert 1984; Morris 1992; Negbi 1992.
[174] Papadopoulos 1997, 195 ff. discusses the controversy in detail and provides bibliography.
[175] Aubet 1993, 315.

this period, could more convincingly be attributed to collaborative projects rather than direct and consistent Phoenician commercial activity. A paper introducing the first Phoenician evidence of the 8th century in the Northern Aegean, the transport amphorae from Methone, reached the same conclusion[176].

After the 6th century BC, destinies of eastern and western Phoenicians diverged. Western Phoenicians seem to gradually get farther from the Aegean area and start taking advantage of the Iberian peninsula, exploiting Tartessos's resources and trading in bulk commodities like dyestuffs and fish[177]. There is a loosening of the Phoenician cities with the mother-land caused both on the distance and on the Assyrian attacks and the Neo-Babylonian conquest. Later the Persian occupation gave rise to their satrapy in the Syro-Palestine coast and so the Phoenician centres had to surrender. Carthagians, however, expanded in Northern Africa around 580 BC. At the same time they tried to strengthen political relationships with the Etruscans and to go against the Phocaens, who traversed the same waters[178]. According to Bartoloni, they showed clear imperialistic political intentions aimed to control and conquer the Western Mediterranean marketplaces[179].

Corinth:

Although their activity started in the 8th century, Corinthians and Eastern Greeks solidly establish their presence as leading sea powers of the Mediterranean in the beginning of the 7th century BC[180]. Corinth was the leading Aegean maritime polity, which clashed at sea with its former outpost on Corcyra between 680 and 644 BC[181]. Corinthians are said to have been the ones to have built the first trireme in ca 700 BC[182]. Corinthian pottery largely influenced by the East, was happily welcomed and found in considerable quantities in the West and the rest of the Mediterranean throughout the Archaic period but the Corinthian transport

[176] Kasseri 2012, 299-308.
[177] Sherratt 1993, 370.
[178] This resulted in the battle of Alalia in 540 BC, see: Antonelli 2008, 211-224.
[179] Bartoloni 2003, 199.
[180] Corinth is one of the three groups of Greeks mentioned by Thucydides as being active in the maritime field in earlier times. The other two are Athenians and Phocaeans, see McGrail 2001, 127.
[181] Broodbank 2013, 514.
[182] McGrail 2001, 127.

amphorae also make their appearance[183]. It is also likely that Corinth developed metalworking and textile production for exportation but the pottery is currently the strongest archaeological evidence[184]. The elegant small vases, flasks or aryballoi, which could either carry perfume oils or could be sold as objects of art[185], were very popular especially to the market of Etruria. Corinthians also established colonies in the Ionian Sea, South Italy and Sicily and Potidaia in the Northern Aegean[186]. The Corinthian activity in the Northern Aegean will be further discussed below (chapter IV).

Rhodes:

Even though the evidence is not much and not that well studied, Rhodes seems to have come back to the trade scene in the 8th century BC. The 8th century is a turning point when *metoikoi* from the Near East possibly settle in Ialysos, as Coldstream suggests[187]. Abundant Cypro-Phoenician pottery of the period bespeaks of such a settlement[188]. Around 700 BC, a new port for Phoenician and Cypriot trade is established at Vroulia. Especially the settlement of Vroulia- at the southern tip of the island- with copious storage facilities between 625 and 575 BC was wholly orientated towards the sea[189]. During the 7th century BC, Rhodes competes with the Corinthian leadership and, as Strabo records, Rhodians had set up an imposing fleet (Str. 14.10. 1). They produce oriental types of metalwork, perfumes and textiles but also painted pottery. A faience scarab factory built in Rhodes in the middle of the 7th century could have been founded there by Egyptians, Phoenicians or Cypriots[190]. Rhodes had both a commercial, and a military harbour[191]. Thanks to its location, close to the Levantine coast, Cyprus and the Asia Minor mainland, Rhodes remained active commercially throughout its history and especially in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. In fact, from the 3rd

[183] In Methone, there is one of the earliest examples, from the early-middle 8th century BC, see below, Chapter III.
[184] Salmon 1984, 132-158; see discussion in chapter III.
[185] Boardman 1999, 17.
[186] According to Tiverios, Potidaea was founded in collaboration with the Chalkidians, because of the impoverishment of the Euboean cities after the Lelantine War, see: Tiverios 2008, 41.

[187] Coldstream 1969, 1-18.
[188] D' Agostino 2005, 67; Kourou 2003, 252-253.
[189] Horden & Purcell 2000, 381; Morris 1992, 174-199 who takes this orientation towards the sea as a sign of settlement instability.
[190] There is a similar one in Naucratis, see: Boardman 1980, 119.
[191] Triantafyllides 2014, in press.

century BC onwards it starts exporting its products in a widely distributed type of Rhodian amphora, which continues until Roman times (Rhodian amphorae I, II, III)[192]. Some indirect connections of Rhodes with the Northern Aegean during the Archaic period will be explored in the last chapter.

Crete:

Cretans are perceived as seafaring people[193] and Crete also shared in the trade in the later 8th- early 7th century BC[194]. As Morris has stated in the past "The Cretans were very open to outside influence[195] , thus the EIA and Archaic periods in Crete do not differ as much from a commercial point of view; they seem to have maintained the same intensity in their commercial contacts. However, it is argued that Cretan Archaic styles have been more influenced by elements from the Orient[196]. Knossos remains an important articulation point both for internal trade and for imported goods. Kommos and the Messara regions also maintain their role as important ports. Especially Kommos remains one of the most important commercial sites in Crete in the Archaic Period presenting a variety of imports from many other regions[197]. Chania was another important gateway by the 8th century, strongly linked into the Peloponnesian trade zone. The imports at Chania show stronger links with the Aegean and the Dodecanese than the Levant. In addition, there is a connection of the Chaniot material with Gela showing the participation of Crete in the central Mediterranean trade[198]. Links from –mainly- Eastern Crete and the archaeological site of Itanos are also attested in the Archaic period, as well as links from there with Egypt[199]. The idea of textiles as exchanged goods from the side of the Cretans and the suggestion that a dye industry- for which evidence exist in the Bronze Age- continued in the Archaic period,

[192] Triantafyllides 2014, in press.
[193] Their connection with the sea is conveyed already in Homer and in fact with piracy, Odyssey, 14, 199-284.
[194] Wallace 2010, 215-217; see also Csapo 1991, 211-216.
[195] Morris 1997, 94.
[196] Sjogren 2008, 95-96.
[197] Johnston 1993, 339-382; see also Jones 2000, 111-3,where through an analysis of the archaeological material from harbour sites such as Kommos and Amnisos, he forms internal and external trading patterns; he notes, however, that from foreign objects found in caves (Idaean, Diktaean and Tsoutsouros) we cannot assume trading activities alone.
[198] Wallace 2010, 217.
[199] Personal communication with Professors Didiers Viviers and Athena Tsingarida, the excavators of the archaeological site of Itanos.

does not seem particularly convincing[200]. Studies on Archaic Crete appear to favour either presence of foreigners in Crete[201] or the economical implementation of external contacts in the Cretan society[202]. Other scholars, however, do not accept the integration of Crete in the International trade networks. Conversely, they argue that Archaic Crete was a passive participant, a receiver of goods and totally dependent on Cyprus as an intermediate in its relation with the East[203]. Some thoughts on Crete's integration in Northern Aegean networks will be discussed below.

Ionia:

Ionian cities were also very active in trade, during the late EIA and mainly Archaic periods. Being strategically located between mainland Greece and the Near East, Ionian cities developed commercial networks, which linked Greece with the Near Eastern kingdoms of Lydia[204], Phrygia and Persia acting as mediators[205]. Very importantly, for a study of ancient economy and trade, it should be noted that the invention of coinage took place in Lydia[206] around the middle of the 7th century[207], even though it has not been clarified if the central authorities issued the coins or it was a private individual's initiative[208]. The first Ionian states to strike electrum coins[209] in ca 600 BC were Samos, Miletus, Phocaea and Ephesos[210].

Coinage is directly related to the economy of a region and the evidence so far suggest that a moneyed economy was being established as early as the late 6th century BC. Among the earliest mints to issue silver coins, which naturally followed the electrum ones, were

[200] Jones 2000, 182.
[201] Hoffman 1997, is supporting the role of immigrant craftsmen and how they influenced the Cretan workshops.
[202] Jones 2000.
[203] Boardman 1999, 35-38; Whitley 2001, 2001.
[204] Especially in the case of Lydia archaic East trade was supported by Lydian imperial policy, see Fantalkin 2014, 27-52.
[205] Villing & Schlotzhauer 2006, 7.
[206] Hdt I.94. Herodotus, speaks also about the trade of *κάπηλος* performed by the Lydians, see Cook 1946, 68.
[207] For the debate on the Artemision coins and their dating see Konuk 2012, 48 with bibliography.
[208] The reasons for this introduction are much debated, for this debate see: Wallace 1987,385-397; Kurke 1999;Kim 2001,7-22;Seaford 2004, Konuk 2012, 47.
[209] Lydia was the first one to make coins from electron because it occurs naturally there. Deposits of electrum occurred in the silts of rivers, such as Hermus and Pactolus, see: Konuk 2012, 44.
[210] Greaves 2010, 88 fig. 4.3.

Ephesus, Clazomenai, Erythrae, Teos, Phocaea, Miletus, Colophon and Samos[211]. Plenty of archaeological evidence, especially after the new wave of Turkish excavations, which was launched in late 1980's in the Ionian cities, reveals the Ionian cities' organized industry: an olive oil processing area was discovered in Clazomenai[212]. Processing of iron and bronze were taking place as the workshops in Clazomenai and Miletus witness[213]. Although the Lydians, and Croesus in particular, introduced the use of coinage, Persian kings continued using the Lydian type coinage, although in the years of the Persian empire, it was employed only regionally, in Western Asian Minor, and primarily in transactions between the coastal provinces and the Persian authorities. According to Konuk, the fundamental purpose in this use of Lydian coinage by the Persians may have been "to pay the production of the small change to vassal Greek cities, which were allowed to use their own civic types on their coinage"[214].

Ionians were renowned mariners and had a big fleet for which Herodotus informs us[215]. Their pottery is present in the Aegean, the coast of Egypt[216] and the Levant[217] but also the Greek colonies in the West and of course their colonies in the Black Sea. The Phocaeans are mentioned by Thucydides as one of the three best sea-farers of the Mediterranean, even though sometimes notorious[218]. It is therefore believed that a big part of Ionia's wealth was derived by trading all those goods carried in their pottery. However, Greaves claims that Ionia achieved its wealthy status through agriculture – supporting possibly the Finlian

[211] See Konuk 2012, 53.
[212] Ersoy 2004; Greaves 2010, 99 with bibliography; the city was famous for the exportation of oil and wine in its famous Clazomenian amphoras. For the Clazomenian amphorae see: Cook & Dupont 1998,151-156.
[213]Ionians were short in minerals and used to import them from Lydia and/or Afghanistan, see: Greaves 2002, 32-7, but also from Etruria, for Ionian imports in the harbour of Gravisca, see: Boldrini 1994.
[214] Konuk 2012, 52-53.
[215] Herodotus speaks about the ships that the Ionian cities made available for the Leda battle with the Persians in 494 BC. For more information and exact numbers see: Roebuck 1984, 23.
[216] Boardman 2006, 49-52.
[217] A concentration of East Greek wares in the north Levant has started already in the 8th century before their archaic ubiquity in the region and this reflects the interest of the eastern Greeks in the southern coast of A. Minor which culminated (in the Archaic period) with the foundations of Phaselis, Soloi, Nagidus and Celendris, see: Luke 2003, 41.
[218] McGrail 2001, 127 for discussion on Thucydides passage and Hdt I, 166.1, where he states that they were pirates.

model[219]. He supports this idea on a quantitative study by Naso in Kalabaktepe in Miletus[220]. According to it almost 90 % of the transport amphorae found in Kalabaktepe are of local manufacture and Greaves interpreted this data as Miletus not being such a great commercial centre in antiquity (since no imported containers were found)[221]. Evidently, there are more possibilities, some of which could be that the Milesians had a barter system where they exported commodities in transport amphorae and received in return commodities that were not transported in amphorae, such as timber, metals and slaves. Useful information on Ionian sea transportation has been collected from two shipwrecks, one near Teos and another one near Bodrum (ancient Halicarnassos)[222]. It is also very likely that Milesians were carrying out commercial transactions on behalf of neighbouring or other regions but these suggestions will be examined in more detail in the following chapters.

Some Ionian cities like Miletus, Chios, Samos, Lesbos but also Teos took part in the colonisation movement in the West but in addition to that, they started looking towards the Northeast in the Black Sea, where they began to establish *emporia*. In 675 BC after the Mermnad dynasty had been established in Lydia, clashes began between the Ionian cities and the kingdom of Lydia. The hostile policy of Gyges and Alyattes towards the Ionian cities and the Lydians' territorial expansion westwards compelled the Ionian cities and especially Miletus to shrink (Herodotus I, 14-15). Having not enough agricultural land for its population and not even enough space for them to live, the Ionians began to search for overseas colonies and trade became their major activity. During the first stage of the Ionian colonisation in the Black Sea, in the 7th century BC, Miletus established seven settlements, with the aim of collecting information about the area and exploring the possibilities for further colonizing[223]. Later on, in the 6th century, when they secured the relationships with

[219] Greaves 2010, 71, although he also claims that despite the fact that Ionian cities were known exporters of oil, they might not have been able to export every year and they might in fact have needed to import some years.
[220] Naso 2005.
[221] Although comparatively low to local ones, there are imported transport amphorae in the habitation quarter of Kalabaktepe in the southernmost part of Miletus, see: Seifert 2004; Naso 2005 and Voigtländer 1982, 41 ff.
[222] For Tektas Burnu, see Gibbins 2000 and for Pabuc Burnu, see: Greene and Bass 2004. the 60 amphorae of Tektas carried wine, pitch and butchered cattle bones, demonstrating the variety of commodities that could be transported in them ; there was a smaller amount of fine pottery. The Pabuc shipwreck Chian, Klazomenian and Knidian amphoras in the same payload.
[223] Tsetskhladze 1994, 115-118.

the neighbouring Scythians and Thracians[224], they founded colonies. A third stage of colonisation took place in the middle of the 6th century BC. This stage was after the disaster caused by the Persian King, who obliged the Ionian cities to move north, where they founded their colonies at Pontus[225].

Athens:

Attica has started to make her presence in the EIA trade through the export of its very famous SoS amphora. This introduction is thought to have been enacted largely in the 7th century BC but new evidence including pottery found in Methone points to an earlier date in the middle of the 8th century BC. Athens emerged as a great exporting power taking over the leadership from Corinthians in the beginning of the next century[226]. Unlike East Greece, which played the role of a mediator, Athens remained distant from the Near East and this was instrumental for its development towards the Greek *polis* in the classical period"[227].

During the 6th century BC, Athenian large scale trade was much intensified[228]. One of the main commodities carried was grain but marble and silver could also largely occupy an Athenian ship's cargo, as well [229]. In the 6th century, Athens was dependent for its survival on a supply of grain from overseas sources, mostly Etruria [230]. Athens was privileged in the fact that Athenians could exploit the mines of Lavrion and exchange silver for grain from the newly established colonies in Sicily, which increasingly specialized in grain production[231]. Moreno demonstrated recently that the trade for the acquisition of grain was central to Athenian politics and controlled by powerful elites challenging in this way the prevailing Athenian democracy[232] but of course this is a matter of further investigation. Of further

[224] The Ionians, even better the Milesians were the first to influence their neighbours in the Archaic phase; Scythian jewelry and toreutics are mainly the work of Ionians, see: Bouzek 2001, 36 with bibliography.
[225] Tsetskhladge 1994, 120-123.
[226] Johnston 1991, 211; Johnston & Jones 1978, 103-141.
[227] Fantalkin 2006, 203.
[228] The beginning of this intensification can be dated earlier than the 6th but there is a range of views on this matter, see for example Cartledge 1983, 4, who suggests that large-scale trade did not start before Hellenistic times.
[229] See above Xenophon's advice towards Athenian people. See also: Snodgrass 1983,18 ff.
[230] Moreno 2007.There are scholars however who have argued that there was no period that Athens for example would not produce enough grain to feed its population, see: Garnsey 1988, 105. Tsetskhladze 1994, 123-4, Ridgway 1992, 40, Gill 1994, 102; Arafat and Morgan 1994, 129.
[231] Sherratt 1993, 374.
[232] Moreno 2007.

investigation are also Athens' early commercial attempts and its presence in both the Northern Aegean but also Egypt, an issue that will be discussed again in the concluding chapters. In the beginning of the 6th century, Solon is announcing special regulations about the control of trade. The regulations-which coincided with the change of the SoS Athenian type of trade amphora to the *à la brosse* type- comprised of the prohibition of export of all other products apart from oil and the shutting down of the Athenian borders to any emigrant craftsmen[233]. The Athenians started to specialise in commercial activity and there were either workshops or individual craftsmen moving to the West to make money out of the gradually increasing interest of Etruscans in Athenian fine pottery. Potters were not limited to the manufacturing production but were also starting to get enganged in trade as merchants; these potters-merchants adopted or invented shapes and decoration that would be of much interest to their target group, the Etruscans[234]. Athens has a solid presence through its pottery production in the entire Mediterranean.

NAUCRATIS:

Although not a maritime agent, but an *emporion*, the foundation of Naucratis was the most influential event in Greek archaic trade; an introduction of it, therefore will be included in this chapter. Although Naucratis is considered the main intersection point of Greek and Egyptian worlds, its relations to the Northern Aegean are less explored. It is situated on the east bank of the Canopic branch of the Nile in Egypt and was, unfortunately, badly excavated[235]. The site is a mart founded by twelve Greek cities, mostly East Greek, in the last quarter of the 7th century BC[236]. Athenian[237] and Corinthian pottery is present in large quantities in Naucratis and it has been argued that the carriers were either Aeginetans or

[233] Whether Solon's regulations caused the Athenian economic crisis or the Athenian economic crisis commanded the regulations is still a matter of debate, see Johnston and Jones 1978,140; Gras 1987, 46; Curry 2000, 81.
[234] Such is the case of the Tyrrhenian amphorae and the Nikosthenes workshop, see: Curry 2000, 81-85.
[235] See, Villing &Schlotzhauer 2006, 2-4.
[236] The precise dating of Naucratis foundation is problematic; the dilemma posed is whether the earliest pottery found on site and dated to 615-610 BC should mark the beginning of its existence or we should follow Herodotus' narrative (Hdt. II.178), according to which the foundation needs to be moved to 570 BC. For the pottery dating, see Kerschner 2001, 69-94; Villing &Schlotzhauer 2006.
[237] It is interesting that some of the earliest exported Attic material was found here see: Venit 1984, 141-154.

Corinthians[238]. Aeginetans were highly involved in Naucratian commerce and participated in the erection of the temple of Zeus (Hdt 2. 178-9). They might also be the people who were carrying the Laconian pottery found on the site, as the Phocaeans were probably the ones carrying the Aeolian pottery there[239]. A Cypriot presence (mostly Cypriot mortaria) is also attested, but Villing argues that the evidence for it does not suffice to postulate a thriving Cypriot community in Naucratis and, therefore, either Greeks or Phoenicians must have carried out the transportation of Cypriot products[240]. Furthermore, and very interestingly, Etruscan bucchero pottery was found in Naucratis and it is speculated that Eastern Greeks or again Aeginetans carried it there. Contact between Etruria, Southern Italy and Egypt is attested from the mid-8th century BC, Greeks and Cypro/Phoenicians or Carthaginian merchants are believed to have been carrying it out[241]. Naucratis is a trade post, through which a complex web of trade routes from all over the Mediterranean intersected: ships from the North must surely have been part of these networks. Greek ships docked here to collect linen, papyrus, grain and natron. As a payment for the grain, the traders were exchanging wine or oil[242] and certainly silver which was the most valuable commodity for Egypt even if its total amount of import was less discernible[243]. It was carried there in the form of coinage and in fact amongst others, a high proportion of Thraco-Macedonian coins were discovered[244]. Possible explanations for these transactions will be advanced in the following chapters.

Studies have shown that the impact of Greeks on the Egyptians in Naucratis was rather limited[245]. However, Greeks were marrying Egyptian women and adopting Egyptian customs, gods and names. Greek traders and mercenaries dedicated Egyptian goods in Greek

[238] Schaus 2006, 176.
[239] Kerschner 2006, 115.
[240] Villing 2006, 31-46; although Broodbank notes their conspicuous absence, see Broodbank 2013, 555.
[241] Belleli & Botto 2002.
[242] A large amount of trade amphoras from Samos, Chios, Attica (SOS), Corinth were found at Naucratis, see: Johnston 2006,21. Remains of figs were found in a Samian or Milesian transport amphora found in Naukratis, see: Stacey et al. 2010, 19-26, fig. 1a.
[243] Johnston 2000, 169.
[244] See May 1966, 2-4, n. 2, 4.
[245] Although this is not a topic that has been much researched, Herodotus seems right to say that the impression Greeks made on Egyptians was meagre. We should however mention the transport amphora re-use mentioned by Herodotus (Hdt.III.5-7).

sanctuaries[246] and introduced, amongst other things[247], the burial custom of inhumation in archaic Clazomenai and the Egyptian-style sarcophagoi in particular, a phenomenon also paralleled in archaic Samos [248]. Naucratis was therefore a place whose character and potential similarities to Methone will be discussed in the concluding chapter[249].

This introductory chapter has presented the case study of my thesis, Methone, and set the main goal of the study, namely, the exploration of the early (archaic) economy of the Northern Aegean. Key commercial terms have now been introduced, including types of trade, transportation and commodities. Finally, I have briefly introduced the main maritime agents of the EIA and Archaic periods in the Mediterranean – especially ones that seem to have been particularly active in the Northern Aegean- as well as the most famous Mediterranean *emporion* of the entire period, Naucratis, potentially comparable to Methone. Having constructed a general frame of the archaic Mediterranaean trade, I will now zoom in to this study's specific geographic area of interest, the Northern Aegean.

[246]Ebbinghaus 2006; see also Broodbank 2013, 555, fig. 10.34.
[247] Other profound changes in the Greek world are present in architecture, technology and sculpture but also in vase-painting. For an overview and bibliography, Villing-Schotzhauer 2006, 8.
[248]Hurmuzlu 2004.
[249] A recent view argues for Lydians as the mediators of commerce between Greeks and Egyptians, see: Fantalkin 2014, 27-52.

II.The Northern Aegean: geography, history and archaeology.

As Hammond has rightly noted, in a study related to Macedonia "our first need is to define it not as political unity but as a geographical entity"[250]. Macedonia's landscape, should be of central interest in a study that focuses on the Northern Aegean. The examination of the environmental conditions is clearly and largely correlated with a region's economy. A study, therefore, of trade should include an account of the physical environment such as the climate and the productivity of the land in order to better understand to what extent the region could be exploited and which were the main occupations of its inhabitants. A study of the physical environment should also deal with natural resources such as timber, metals and minerals as well as the flora and fauna and evaluate the degree to which these were taken advantage by the residents. The geographical location and potential natural advantages or disadvantages could influence the region's involvement into commercial activities[251]. In this respect, several geographical features such as natural harbours, their position and orientation, bays and inlets, the weather conditions, the direction of the winds, the currents, the astronomical navigation, naval technology all had a role in the creation, development and potential commercial orientation of the settlements[252]. Equally important is the distance from other coastal sites of the Northern Aegean from the source of raw materials, evidently crucial to the economy of a region and the access to overland and sea routes.

Alongside the description of the physical environment of Macedonia and the settlements, which developed around it, some necessary historical information is provided. The description of the geographical region will be closely associated with that of the expansion of the Macedonians. The region that the Macedonians had occupied by the end of the Archaic period has the river Strymon as eastern barrier and the mountains of Pindus as its western boundary. Special attention has been given to coastal sites, which represent the main examples of harbour settlements in the Northern Aegean during this period and slightly earlier periods; harbours, such as Nea Anchialos, Mende, Akanthus offer ground for comparison with Methone and therefore, their participation in trade networks, will be given

[250] Hammond 1981, 3.
[251] Although, the population's occupation is also influenced and often guided by certain political situations or the residents' cultural identity; for example, ancient sources inform us that Macedonians were primarily pastoral tribes, see Arrian's passage 7.9.2.
[252] A similar study was made by Georgiou for Melos and Kea, see Georgiou 1995, 33-38.

more attention compared to other sites. Although beyond the 'Macedonian border' of the period under examination, having defined the topic of this study, as trade in the Northern Aegean, some additional important coastal sites, such as Abdera, Thasos and Esyme and some Northern Aegean islands such as Lemnos and Samothrace, and a few more sites in the Aeolian mainland will be drawn into the discussion.

The examination of the region has been divided in three sections: the western, the central and the eastern part of Macedonia; of these, the western part, is not examined in detail, because of the mostly pastoral character of its economy. Although Aiani was a city that seemed to have maintained a high level in its demand of goods imported from other areas, the economy of the majority of the sites in this part of Macedonia during the Archaic period remained largely pastoral and thus western Macedonian sites are not prioritized. The second geographical section investigates the area around the Thermaic Gulf and Chalkidike and the third part examines Eastern Macedonia.

Several means were employed for the investigation of the physical environment, in order to understand how it was explored by its inhabitants. As for the identification of the Northern Aegean settlements, information coming from ancient writers was combined with archaeological data and results drawn by archaeological science (geological studies, petrographic analyses of ceramics etc). Unfortunately, the written evidence, which provides information about Macedonia, especially its colonization by the Southern Greeks is very fragmentary and usually late but occasionally it provides important and substantial information. The archaeological data collected from excavations in the Northern Aegean have been of tremendous importance since the last few decades, excavations in this region have been significantly increased. Sadly, much information still relies on short preliminary reports.

II. A.The Physical environment and the development of the Northern Aegean settlements. An overview.

Western and Central Macedonia

The most impressive natural component of Western Macedonia is the Pindus mountain range. This chain of mountains is an extension of the Dinaric Alpes; it rises in modern FYROM and Albania in a northwest-to-southeast direction crosses Northern Greece and reaches the Corinthian Gulf. This is why it is frequently called the *spine of Greece*. Pindus separates Western Macedonia from Epirus. Its maximum elevation is the peak of mountain Smolikas**,** 2637 m. high. Gramos (2520m.) to the northwest, Vasilitsa to the southeast and Voion to the northeast are the highest mountains of the Pindus range. Voion received its name by the first inhabitants of the area, the Bottiaians[253]. These mountains are very densely forested and sparsely populated. Another important mountain in Pindus is Askion (2111 m), which preserves calcareous slopes and it includes many paths through which communication with Eordea was possible[254]. The *Eordoi*, were one of the independent Macedonian tribes who lived among the mountains of Pindus, Kambounia and Bermion; the other three were *Elimiotes, Orestae* and *Lynkistae*[255]. In this area the most important settlement was the capital of Elimeia, Aiani, which grew to become a large centre supplying the surrounding cities with products, which arrived from the south[256]. The highly mountainous area dictated the population's main occupation, which was pastoralism. To the northwest of the Pindus area, lay the Illyrians with whom the Macedonians were frequently in conflict[257].

To the east of Vermion mountain, near modern Veria, lies the town of Aigai, which controls the fertile plain of the river Haliacmon. According to Herodotus (Hdt 7, 127), the rivers Loudias and Haliacmon set the boundaries of the land of Macedonians (*Μακεδονίς γη*) and flow into the same bed. Strabo (7 frg. 12) and Caesar (De Bello Civili 3,36, 3) also record

[253] Bury 1902, 54
[254] Karametrou-Menteside 1999, 48-49
[255] Karametrou-Menteside 1999, 58-101; Hammond 1972, 85-92, 106-123; Hammond 2008, 276-277.
[256] For Aiani, see: Karametrou-Menteside 2008.
[257] Although they also presented cultural similarities. In fact both Greek and Roman observers faced difficulties in distinguishing the inhabitants of the kingdom of Macedonia from their immediate neihgbours- the Illyrians, the Epirotes, the Thracians, the Thessalians and from other Greeks in central and southern Greec, see: Anson 1984, 67-68. For an overview of the Illyrians, geographical borders and archaeological evidence see Hammond 2008, 261-263.

that Haliacmon constitutes the southeastern border of Upper Macedonia. Haliacmon was also the barrier, between Bottiaia and Pieria and it also forms a boundary between Pieria and Eordaia (fig. 2-3). The *Μακεδονίς γη* is where the Argead Macedonians first settled[258]. Their arrival was believed to have taken place in the middle of the 7th century BC[259], but new evidence points to their presence in Pieria earlier, in the 8th century BC[260]. Prior to the Macedonians arrival, Bottiaians occupied the area north of Haliacmon and west of Axios. After the Macedonians arrival, Bottiaians forcefully (?) abandoned this area and moved to the interior of Chalkidike, mainly north of Pallene and Sithonia, in Bottike. Also, Phrygians who are said to have resided in the same area[261] were forced to move, as well, in order to offer the territory to the newly emerged power. According to the ancient tradition, the river Haliacmon was the sun of Oceanus and Tithys (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 341 and Pseudo-Ploutarch, *Peri Potamon* 18.1); Haliacmon is the longest river in Greece with a total length of 322 km and an average flow of 54 m^3 / sec. Haliacmon predominates in Western Macedonia, it springs from the Northern Pindus mountains and waters an extensive area of West and Central Macedonia (Kastoria, Neapoli into Grevena and the Polyfytos dam, southeast of Aiani and southeast of Veria, north of Aiginio and northeast of Methone and finally into the Thermaic Gulf) thus forming an important component of the region's agriculture. The river forms the western section of the delta of Axios river, while in Herodotus' time (Hdt. 7,127), Haliacmon was apparently joined by Loudias; Loudias is still joined with Haliacmon but it flows directly into the Aegean Sea. Haliacmon has many tributaries in its upper and middle reaches and one considerable tributary in the South, the *Moglenitsa*[262].

The Pierian plain, lies just south of the Haliacmon; it is bordered to the East by the Thermaic Gulf and the West by the Pierian mountain range. To the Southwest, Mount Olympus serves as a boundary between Pieria and Thessaly. Olympus is the highest

[258] According to Hdt 8.138.2, the Argead Macedonians, the progenitors of the royal family of Macedonia originated from Temenos, the king of Argos. Having crossed the Haliacmon river, they settled near a place called the gardens of Midas "in which uncultivated roses grew, each of them with sixty petals and a scent surpassing others". The three sons of Temenos came to the Northern Aegean as refugees; the youngest of the sons was Perdikas I, the first king of Macedonians.

[259] See, for example, Walker 2004, 152-155.

[260] See below, pp. 257-259. See also Tiverios 2008, 18 and for the arrival of Macedonians in Pieria before the middle of the 8th, see, Hammond 1972, 434, see also Bessios & Athanasiadou & Noulas 2008, 248.

[261] Hammond 1972, 407-414; Mari 2011, 83.

[262] For a detailed description of Haliacmon tributaries see: Karametrou-Mendeside 1999, 50.

mountain in Greece (2917 m) and is known for its very rich flora. From the settlement of Methone, Mount Olympus is very clearly seen and the Pierian mountains are indeed in immediate proximity. When the Macedonians occupied this area, they expelled the Thracian Pieres, who originally lived there and who fleed to the Eastern side of the river Strymon, in the Pieris valley (Thucydides 2.99.3), which was named after them[263].

Bottiaia, is bordered on the east by another long river, Axios[264]. The name Axios is mentioned by Homer (Il. 21.141, Il. 2.849) as the home of the Paeonians, allies of Troy. The Paionians, a powerful nation, controlled the area where Axios stemmed from and they were in command of organized cities such as Pella and Ichnai in Central-North Macedonia[265]. During winter months, this area of Thessaloniki and the Axios delta is hit by cold winds. Axios springs from Vrotok in modern F.Y.R.O.M, it passes through Skopje, enters Greek territory in Axiopouli and moves to the south until it empties in the Thermaic Gulf. Axios and Haliacmon are perennial thanks to the rain and snow-bearing winds. The discharge of Axios now is 4.56 million m^3 and in antiquity it is likely to have been greater[266].

Loudias**,** is nowadays a separate river, which flows between Axios and Haliacmon and empties into the Thermaic Gulf. Loudias became extremely useful because of its location, in later times. Located about 24 km upstream of Pella, it had the advantage of giving access to the sea without exposing the town to an attack from the southwest[267].

Echedoros or modern Gallikos is situated to the east of Axios river. Its length is 65 km, it stems from Mountain Dysoron to the North and flows in the Thermaic Gulf. Herodotus (V, 17, 2) and Aristotle (*Peri Thaumaston Akousmaton*, 45) record the extraction of gold from the river in Paionia as well as from the mines in Mount Dysoron from which Alexander I had a revenue of a talent per day. According to *Etymologikon Magnum* (404,9), the collection of

[263] The nearby gulf was also named after them, *Pierikos kolpos*, see Pikoulas 2001. See also below pp. 202-205 (the Argead Macedonians). See also Walker 2004, 152-155, where he argues that some Eretrians were expelled together with the Pieres.

[264] Axios river is also called nowadays *Vardaris* or *Vardarec,* which is also the name of a powerful prevailing northerly wind, which blows across the river valley in Macedonia as well as in the F.Y.R.O.M.

[265] Hammond 1989, 41-44; Hdt 7, 123 mentions Pella and Ichnai as standing on a narrow piece of land and separating Mygdonia from Bottiaia. During the Persian invasion in the Balkans, the Paionians were defeated by the Persians and the Macedonians took advantage of that opportunity and recaptured Pella and Ichnai.

[266] Thomas 2010, 69.

[267] Thomas 2010, 68.

gold from Echedoros was enacted by the use of goat's skin. Apart from the extraction of gold, the cult of the Echedorides Nymphs, mentioned in ancient literature, was initiated here most probably by Euboeans[268]. According to Tiverios, Euboeans were extracting gold from Echedoros since the 10th century BC[269].

II B. Coastal towns of Macedonia: their history, physical environment and involvement in trade.

Western-central Macedonia

A number of settlements were developed over the first half of the first millennium BC in this privileged area (Western and Central Macedonia), which gives access to the Aegean Sea, through the Thermaic Gulf and thus opportunities for trade but it also encompasses one of the largest and most fertile areas of land in the Northern Aegean and it therefore offers opportunities for agriculture (fig 2-5).

The area of Western and Central Macedonia was not unknown to the Mycenaeans. Herakleion, Leibithra, Pydna[270], Methone, Dion[271], Nea Anchialos, Kastanas[272], Karabournaki, Toumba[273] have yielded finds to indicate the Mycenaean presence (figs 3, 4). It is uncertain when the Greeks settled here and there are no written sources referring to their arrival, however, Besios believes that the first Greeks settled in Pieria after the fall of the Mycenaean centres possibly tolerated by the Thracians[274]. This would explain also why Pseudo-Skylax (Periplous) names Pydna and Methone, 'Greek cities'. In addition, the name *Pytna* reminds of the name *Hierapytna* in Crete and it should be noted that Cretans settled

[268] Tiverios 2008, 21.
[269] Tiverios bases his argument mainly on the large amount of Euboean pottery found in Nea Anchialos, see: Tiverios 1998, 241-253.
[270] Where a Mycenaean chamber tomb has been discovered, see: Besios 1996, 236.
[271] Poulaki-Pandermali 1987, 697-718.
[272] Hänsel 1989.
[273] Andreou et. al. 1996, 581-582.
[274] Some scholars believe that the aforementioned towns were all founded by Eretrians, see Walker 2004, 152-155; although there is plenty of Euboean influence on Macedonian settlements, the evidence to support such a statement, is insufficient. Furthermore, the limited burgeoning of Pydna in LG period does not match well with flourishing Euboean expansion in that period.

in nearby Bottiaia[275]. During Late Geometric and Archaic times, Pydna doesn't seem to flourish much and Besios thinks that this is probably due to the presence of Macedonians who had expelled the Thracians from the area[276]. This does not seem to be the case, however, for neighbouring Methone, which presents an unusually high amount of imports and an astonishingly active harbour involved in various commercial networks[277]. The description of these two cities (Pydna and Methone), as 'Greek cities', implies that they pre-existed the formation of the Macedonian kingdom as colonies founded by Southern Greeks. Whether the Greeks of the second wave of colonisation towards the Northern Aegean in the 8th century BC, found in these areas local Thracians or Macedonians will be further discussed in the concluding chapter of the study[278].

Early Greek presence has also been mentioned at the settlement of Kastanas**,** in the Axios river valley[279]. According to Schulz[280], the settlement at Kastanas was situated on an island during the Bronze Age. Nevertheless, a later strong fluvial sedimentation of the Axios and Haliacmon rivers to the North and to the Southeast respectively, resulted in an infilling of the Northwestern margins of the embayment and the creation of the extensive lagoonal environments. A large lake was formed in the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC to the western part of the former bay. Although the lake shrunk considerably through time due to the rapid delta sedimentation of the Axios and the Haliacmon rivers, it was only artificially drained in the middle of the 20th century AD[281]. The rapid fluvial sedimentation of the Axios and Haliacmon and to a lesser extent of the Gallikos and Loudias, deposited on the sea floor on the river mouth, infilled the plain and by 200 BC, the small "Gulf of Kastanas" in the Axios

[275] The presence of Minoans in the Northern Aegean has been first noted by M. Andronikos because of the discovery of many double axes in the site of Vergina. See also Hammond 1972, 153; For Minoans in Samothrace, see: Matsas 1995.
[276] Besios 1996, 236-237; nonetheless, a fragment belonging to an archaic ionic temple was found in Pydna built into a Byzantine church, see: Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 136-7 but we are not aware of its provenance. Other researchers think that Pydna was an Eretrian colony, see Walker 2004, 152-155.
[277] For the first results about the LG and Archaic periods in Methone, see: Besios-Tzifopoulos-Kotsonas 2012.
[278] See chapter IV.
[279] Haensel 1989, 171-208, see also Mazarakis-Ainian, who suggests that Greeks settled here right after the collapse of the Mycenaean centres, see: Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 124, 252.
[280] Schulz 1989, 375-393.
[281] A detailed analysis of the geomorphology of this area is found in Krahtopoulou 2010, 45; see also Gimatzidis 2010, 24-58.

valley had also silted up[282] (fig. 6). This continuous sedimentation resulted in further regression of the shoreline and the creation of the extensive Thessaloniki plain of today[283].

The changes of the sea-level landscape affected also the area around Archontiko, where a settlement started burgeoning already in the Early Bronze Age (fig. 2-5). Today, the archaeological site lays more than 10 km inland but in the Bronze Age the shoreline was only 4.9 km south of the settlement. The lake formed in the vicinity of Archontiko because of fluvial sedimentation persisted until 200-37 BC, when fluvial sedimentation shifted the lake southwards[284]. This lake must have been one of the major components of Archontiko's flourishment also in the Archaic period and one of the main reasons why finds in Archontiko indicate commercial transactions[285]. The settlement was accessible by water through the navigable rivers and the (today lost) lake in the area. After personal examination of pottery material found in the settlement of Archontiko, it was revealed that imported archaic transport amphorae, similar to the Methone imports were also unearthed in Archontiko.

Further to the Southeast of Archontiko, at the modern village of Nea Anchialos one of the most important Central Macedonian sites has been excavated. Nea Anchialos was a settlement situated on the west bank of river Echedoros and in ancient times next to the sea coast (fig.3-6)[286]. The identification of the ancient settlement is still problematic, since some scholars identify it as ancient Chalastra but the excavator of the site, Michalis Tiverios, argues quite persuasively for its identification as that of ancient Sindos[287]. Chalastra, which was also a coastal city in Late Geometric and Archaic periods and which Ekataios describes as a Thracian city must be located, according to Tiverios, in the modern village of Agios Athanassios on the east bank of the Axios River (fig. 4-5)[288].

[282] See Krahtopoulou 2010 46.
[283] Morton 2001, 7. Same is the situation in other places in Greece, especially in Asia Minor such as at the mouth of the rivers Cayster, where once coastal cities such as Ephesos now stand some miles from the coast.
[284] Krahtopoulou 2010, 47
[285] Recently, a rescue excavation at Archontiko revealed rich warrior burials from the middle of the 7th to 580 BC and other burials with imports from Chalkidike, the Aegean islands, Ionia, Attica and Corinth, see: Chrysostomou- Chrysostomou 2008, 119-128.
[286] see above, description of the fluvial sedimentations of Kastanas; see also, Gimatzidis 2010, 31-43; Vavelidis et al. 2003.
[287] Tiverios 1996, 418-419.
[288] Tiverios 1996, 418-419; Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos 1985, 62-64.

The settlement of Nea Anchialos is situated on a double terrace and its occupation started in the LBA period. 16 stratigraphical layers have been identified, which correspond to different chronological phases ranging from the LBA until the late Classical period. The settlement seems to be reaching its zenith in Geometric times. In phase 7, which corresponds with the Late Geometric period, significant changes can be observed among the pottery repertoire in the households of Sindos. The amount of wheel-made pottery increases rapidly and as a result it outnumbers the hand made pottery, for the first time. Amongst the imported wares, a very high percentage originates from Euboea[289].

Apart from the considerable amounts of Euboean imports, which reached Sindos, there are also a few stratified fragments from other regions such as Attica, while vessels from Thessaly or Corinth are also represented but in even smaller numbers. At the same time with the increase in the imported wheel made pottery there is an increase in the local production of particular categories of ceramics, such as the so-called *Thermaic Gulf* transport amphora (type II) and *silvery-ware,* another category of pottery with a very dinstinctive silvery surface both products of the settlement of Nea Anchialos[290].

After the abandonment of the last Late Geometric phase 4 in Nea Anchialos, the settlement came to an end at the upper terrace. Large parts of the lower trapeza were also abandoned. Sindos was re-occupied in the second half of the 6th century BC**.** A few signs of the destruction in phase 7 may indicate that this substantial violent damage was caused by a hostile attack[291].

The Euboeans' strong presence in the Nea Anchialos settlement, especially during the Geometric times, the local pottery, which presents clear similarities to Euboean pottery, and the settlement's proximity to Echedoros, led to the suggestion that Nea Anchialos might have been a Euboean *emporion* with mixed population[292]. The river's rich deposits of gold, a valuable resource for the excellent Euboean craftsmen, constituted a strong incentive for the establishment of a temporary or more permanent settlement, at this region. To further

[289] Gimatzidis 2010, 85, fig. 5.
[290] For an analysis of the Thermaic Gulf amphora type see chapter III; for the 'silvery ware', see Gimatzidis 1997.
[291] Gimatzidis 2010, 302-315.
[292] Tiverios 1998, 249-250 and Tiverios 2008, 21 with bibliography.

support this suggestion, traces of coppersmith's workshops, dated to the Geometric period have been found in the settlement[293].

During the Archaic period, the Euboean presence declines in Nea Anchialos, yet the importance of the settlement is maintained. Herodotus, mentions Sindos in his description of Xerxes' expedition (Hdt VII, 123). The settlement's significance in the Archaic period is also evident in the expansion of the settlement to the neighbouring slopes and the rich graves discovered in the cemetery of the settlement, which indicate a wealthy and thriving society[294]. The excavations have even yielded evidence of monumental buildings (Ionic capitals), perhaps of temple of the early 6th BC[295].

II. C. The Chalkidike peninsula

The large fertile Macedonian plains continue east of the river Echedoros (fig. 2-3,7). To the East of Axios the regions of Krousis and Mygdonia covered the central plain of Chalkidike, which was inhabited by Thracian populations (figs 2-3)[296]. There is a cluster of settlements active from the Bronze Age until the formation of Thessaloniki in the 4th century BC around the head of the Thermaic Gulf and slightly further inland. These settlements were benefited by their access to the sea and seem to have been involved in trading activities. In the LBA and EIA, the basic nucleus of the *komedon* city[297] must have been the settlement of Toumba in modern Thessaloniki but in the 8th century and mainly from the 7th century BC[298], the centre seems to be shifted towards the coastal settlement of modern Karabournaki. This is a very privileged area with several natural harbours that could control the upper part of the Thermaic Gulf. Ancient Therme from which the Gulf took its name[299], is thought to have

[293] Tiverios 1996, 415.
[294] Saripanidi 2010, 471-480.
[295] Vokotopoulou et al 1985, 12.
[296] Hammond 1972, 182-190.
[297] For the *komedon* city, see: Flensted-Jensen 2004, 818-9.
[298] This is the time when the maritime commerce is supposed to have been firmly established; however, the recent finds from Methone reveal a rather well established Mediterranean commercial network already in the second half of the 8th century BC, see: Kotsonas 2012, 226.
[299] For the name, Bakalakis 1953-1954.

been located in modern Karabournaki in Thessaloniki[300]. The settlement, which is located today some 500 m. away from the coastline, is being systematically excavated and has so far revealed remains of a settlement well connected with various centres of the Mediterranean, such as Chios, Samos, Lesbos, Attica and Corinth. This is the place where Xerxes chose to camp his army and anchor his fleet (Hdt VII, 121)[301]. Excavations in Karabournaki have yielded pottery of the Geometric period: Attic, Cycladic, Euboean. From the 7th century BC onwards there is a strong presence of pottery from East Greece, which continues in the 6th century enriched with a lot of Attic, Corinthian and some Laconian wares. Interestingly, in Karabournaki, a vessel carrying an inscription in Carian[302] was found. The extensive trade activities that must have been taking place in Karabournaki are further supported by the discovery of a considerable number of transport vessels originating from several Greek cities in the South and East such as Athens, Corinth, Samos, Chios and Laconia[303]; Karabournaki is a harbour settlement, which must have operated in a manner similar to Methone[304].

Chalkidike.

The territory of the Thessaloniki area elevates to the northeast of the modern city forming Mountain Chortiatis known as Kissos in antiquity, which highest peak reaches 1,201 m. The rich forested area offering abundant timber must have been one of the reasons, an early settlement was formed at the foothills of the mountain; this settlement constituted part of the later synoecised Thessaloniki. Not much is known about this settlement in early times but part of it has been unearthed at the foot of modern Chortiatis. There is also a *katabatic* wind that occurs on the Thermaic Gulf, which was named after the mountain. Mountain Chortiatis played a crucial role for the water supply of Thessaloniki after the town was

[300] There is no indication or written source of whether Therme was a colony or not. Head says it was a Corinthian one but with no strong arguments, see Liampi 1994, 12.
[301] Two recent finds of representation of what could very likely be a Persian figure with an inscription in possibly Aramaic have been discovered in Toumba and are in exhibition at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki.
[302] Tiverios 1999, 1175-81.
[303] Filis 2012, 309-320.
[304] See discussion in chapter IV.

founded and until modern times[305]. Another two low mountains called Vertiskos and Kerdylion are situated to the North and Northeast of the Thessaloniki area respectively.

Mountain Kissos enters the area of Chalkidike and in particular its eastern hinterland, which is identified with the area of Anthemous. This is a very fertile area to the east of the Thermaic Gulf and there was even a settlement called Anthemous, which is probably situated where the village of modern Galatista is today (fig. 4-5). The area of Anthemous must have been the area that hosted Rhaikelos, a settlement founded by Peisistratus in the middle of the 6th century BC with the objective of collecting funds to launch his final bid to Athens[306]. Rhaikelos is called a *polis*, in later times by Lykophron and Stephanus Byzantius[307] but there is no agreement in its precise location. Some scholars place Rhaikelos in modern Peraia, where a workshop, which produced Attic columned craters has been found[308] and where Peisistratus' activities could be more reasonably explained by the presence of the Eretrians[309]. Edson suggests, possibly Rhaikelos was the name of the area and Aenea was the settlement[310]. According to Viviers, Rhekelus may have been in Dicaea, which he places between Aenea and Potidaia, standing on the way from Therme to Potidaia and was mainly inhabited by Eretrians but some Athenians, as well[311].

Neighbouring to Kissos and in the centre of Chalkidike's hinterland is Mountain Cholomontas. It covers almost the entire Central and Eastern Chalkidike. In antiquity it was

[305] Manoledakis 2007, 96-108.
[306] Zahrnt 1971, 218-9.
[307] Stephanus Byzantius calls what were probably smaller places χωρα (χωρίον) Ερετριέων; e.g. Okolon, *chorion* of the Eretrians larger places such as Methone, he calls them *poleis*. Stepahnus Byzantius, S.v *Ρακελος*. Lycophron, *Alex*. 1236-37.
[308] Skarlatidou 1999, 1033-6. Some others place it in Nea Kallikrateia, where a considerable amount of Dikaia's coins have been found; for a discussion of Dikaia's location see: Tiverios 2008, 24-25; Kefalidou 2013, 101.
[309] According to Thucydides, Eretrians founded three colonies around the Thermaic Gulf: Methone, Dikaia and Mende and Peisistratus is known to have been in good terms with them, therefore it may have been them who brought him to Northern Greece, see: Viviers 1987, 193-5. Dikaia is placed somewhere in the same area, see: Tiverios 2008, 24-25 for discussion of its location.
[310] See Walker 2004, 153. Aenea is according to the tradition founded by Aeneas himself on his way to Latium, after the fall of Troy, see: Zahrnt 1971, 27, 143-4, 234-5.
[311] Viviers 1987, 193-195.

called, mountain *Ypsison*[312]. It is covered by dense oak forest. The highest peak rises northeast of Polygyros at 1.165 m. and this is the highest point of Chalkidike.

Moving southwards we reach the peninsula of Chalkidike, an area of great interest since many settlements directly related to trade activities were established in this area. The peninsula is situated in the eastern side of the Thermaic Gulf, south of the lakes Koroneia and Volve and on the western side of the Strymonic Gulf (fig. 7). Chalkidike is comprised of three prongs. From west to east, there is Pallene[313] (or Flegra[314]), Sithonia and Akte. Not many rivers exist in Chalkidike; there is only Olynthiakus and Ormylia's river, which stream from mountains Kissos and Cholomontas respectively and empty in Cassandra bay. Chalkidike is comprised of 500 km of coastline and it entails several bays, suitable for the anchoring of ships[315].

Moreover, Chalkidike is an area very rich in natural resources. It is one of the few places in Greece that combines a variety of deposits of metals and minerals (gold, silver, lead) with rich resources of timber and large lands for agriculture. Chalkidike was and still is very famous for its wine and honey[316]. In Mende, Afytis, Akanthus, they were cultivating a special variety, the "Αφυταίος καλούμενην»[317].

Although the most important metal centre in Greece is located in Lavrio, Macedonia is much richer than the Greek peninsula in minerals. The areas rich in metals are in Northeastern Chalkidike (Metaggitsi, Mavres Petres, Olympiada)[318]; also in Skouries, where extensive remains of ancient exploitation have been found (fig. 9)[319] . A substantial quantity of gold in Chalkidike has been found in the alluvial soil of streams, such as Chavrias,

[312] Flensted-Jensen 2004, 830.
[313] According to ancient tradition, the name Pallene derives from the Achaian *Pelleneis*, who are said to have settled on the first prong right after the Trojan War; these are the ones who allegedly founded Skione as well, see: Thucydides 4.120.1 and Zahrnt 1971, 13-4.
[314] Hdt Z, 123; Strabo Z fr. 25.
[315] The two main Gulfs from West to East are the Toronaian and the Singitic; smaller bays are formed for which see: Zaglis 1956, 16-17; Casson 1968, 29-30.
[316] Stamos 1961, 20.
[317] Marangou 1999, 78-81.
[318] Vavelidis 2009, 19
[319] Papastamataki 1979, 869; Oikonomopoulou-Eliopoulou et. al. 2000, 150. Skouries ores are still rich in gold and their gold mines started to be exploited again, recently.

Kokkinolakas and Asprolakkas[320]. Although ancient sources offer limited information about Northeastern Chalkidike's mines, this area was a large production centre of gold and silver, since impressive objects such as Philipp's quiver from Vergina and a belt from Mesimbria originate from silver extracted from Northeastern Chalkidike, according to isotopic analysis[321]. Further to that, the analysis of coins originating from Akanthus and Aegina shows that the silver used derived from the same area[322]. Finally, numerous slag heaps, shafts and galleries found in the region testify that the area was heavily mined[323]. The mines of ancient Stageira in the third prong of Chalkidike are reported by Diodorus Sicelus (XXXI, 13) to have been exploited, although Aristotle, who originated from the area does not mention anything relevant to their exploitation. Metallurgical activity in the immediate area (and generally in the Chalkidike peninsula) is confirmed not only by the discovery of metal kilns dating to, at least, the 6th century BC[324] but also because of the early and large minting of coins of neighbouring Akanthus, which must have used silver from the neighbouring mountain Stratonikio (where the two main mining areas Skouries and Olympias were-fig.9)[325]. Stageira is the nearest polis to these deposits of silver, nevertheless, Akanthus was more powerful and a prolific minter, especially in the Archaic Period[326].

The name of the Chalkidike peninsula originated from the Chalkidian Euboeans[327]. Herodotus speaks about the *Chalkidiko genos* of the Greek colonists in Chalkidike and Strabo (10.1.8), clearly mentions Eretria's colonies in Pallene and Akte (although in Akte we also find Andrians) and Chalkis' colonies in Sithonia (7 fr. 11). Diodorus Sicelus (12.68.6) refers to Torone as a colony of the Chalkidians. Thucydides (4. 123 1) records Euboean colonies in the

[320] Wagner et al. 1986.
[321] Vavelidis 2007,47-61 ; Wagner et al. 1986, 166-186. A number of scholars had argued that these mines were not exploited before the reign of Philip II, see Davies 1932, 151 ; Borza 1982, 1-20, before the results of the lead isotopic analysis.
[322] Vavelidis 2009, 48-49.
[323] See Tselekas 1996, 10 and map 2, where the position of ancient mines of Chalkidike is indicated.
[324] Workshop of metal processing have been found both in Mende and in modern Polychrono, where ancient Neapolis, Mende's colony must have been located, see below p. 63. In Torone an EIA ceramic kiln was discovered, see: Papadopoulos 1989, 9-44.
[325] Tselekas 1996, 9-11.
[326] We know this both by the amount of coinage minted by Akanthus and the tribute they paid (5 and 3 talents) to Athens in the 5th century BC, see Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 559, 613.
[327] For a full bibliography of the origin of the Chalkidians see: Vokotopoulou-Papaggelos et al. 2002, 35-36.

Northern Aegean, such as Mende and Dikaia[328]. The foundation dates of the Euboean colonies are unknown with certainty. Bradeen, however, thinks that Euboean colonisation in the Northern Aegean was concentrated within the period 775-750 BC and Kontoleon also believes that it pre-dates that of the West[329]. Walker, makes a distinction between Eretrians and Chalkidians to conclude that it was Eretrians**,** who first colonized the Northern Aegean because the Pierian coast and Pallene are the most fertile areas in the region (and these are the areas that were reputedly colonized by Eretrians (Thucydides 4.123.1). Athos is covered by mountains and Sithonia although it has some small plains, it is not much more attractive as a place for self-supporting colonies. He believes therefore that Chalkis seems to have compromised with the second best[330]. Walker goes as far as to suggest that Methone, Pydna, Dion, Eion, Aloros, Aineia (Ainos), Mende, Sane in Pallene, Skione, Apollonia (on the Thermaic Gulf), Therambos, Aige, Neapolis (on Pallene), Olophyxos and Akrothooi were all certain or possible Eretrian colonies in the Northern Aegean[331].

However, the name Chalkidike could only originate from Chalkis and not Eretria. To this argument, one can notice similarities in the iconography of their coins, linguistic and in numerical symbols that prove the connection of Chalkidike with Chalkis[332]. It has been argued that because Chalkidians founded permament settlements and Eretrians bridgeheads for commerce, this is way the peninsula was named after Chalkidians[333]. In any case, Euboean presence is clear through a plethora of archaeological finds. There is Protogeometric and Geometric pottery directly or indirectly connected with Euboea, found in sites of central Macedonia, Chalkidike and the Troad[334]. In addition to the imported Euboean pottery local imitations have also been found[335] and the relations of Euboea and

[328] There are more ancient writers that refer to the Euboeans in Chalkidike and the Northern Aegean, for a full account of the ancient sources see Bradeen 1952, 366-368 and Mele 1998, 219. For the leadership of Chalkidians or Eretrians see Walker 2004, 152-155.
[329] Bradeen 1947; Kondoleon 1966.
[330] Walker 2004, 152-155.
[331] Other likely Eretrian were Charadriai, Palaiorion and Pharbelos, see Walker 2004, 152-155.
[332] Parker 1998, 45-48.
[333] Kontoleon 1963, 23-26.
[334] For a full list of the sites with Euboean pottery and the special attention given to the pendant semi-circled skyphos, see: Tiverios 2008, 8; a distribution map of Euboean and Eubonizing pottery is provided in Kotsonas 2012, 129, map 3.
[335] Papadopoulos' argument, Papadopoulos 1996, 152-155, rejecting the connection of Chalkidike with Euboea because the pottery found at Torone does not originate from Euboea but is a local imitation of it, is

Macedonia, are further supported by Macedonian pottery, which has been found in Euboea itself and some Euboean shapes that are modeled on Macedonian originals[336].

Prior to the arrival of the southern Greeks, Chalkidike was inhabited by Thracian tribes[337], as was the entire Macedonia and Thrace. There were Krousians in Krousis in the first prong[338], Sithones in the second prong (Strabo, Z fg. 11) and Edonoi, Visaltes and Kristonaioi in the third prong.

We do not know the exact period Greeks first arrived in Chalkidike. Thucydides records that Scione, on the first prong, was founded by the Achaians on their way home to the Peloponese (Thucydides 4.120.1) and there is also Aenea for which there is a tradition that it was founded by Aeneas himself on his way to Latium after the fall of Troy[339]. There was even a town named Euboia near modern Edessa, which could be linked with Euboea's participation in the Trojan War with Abantes and possibly founded right after the end of the war[340]. All the above is certainly very speculative but Scione and Aenea's traditions are supported by late archaic coins struck by the two cities with the names of Protesilaos and Aeneas respectively. In addition to this, strong evidence of Greek presence in Chalkidike already in the 12th century BC is offered also by archaeology (pottery and architecture), in Mende, Poseidi[341] and in Torone[342] .

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unsubstantiated. Even in the case of an imitation of Euboean pottery by locals, there must have been a reason why they imitated Euboean and not pottery originating from elsewhere.

[336] Catling& Lemos 1993, 97-100; see also the distribution of the Thermaic Gulf amphora.

[337] For the Chalkidian local population, see: Vokotopoulou 2001, 747; Vokotopoulou-Papaggelos et. al. 2002, 36.

[338] Krousis is located on the western side of Chalkidike right to the south of Anthemous; the main settlement was Aineia, see: Hdt Z, 123.

[339] Zahrnt 1971, 27, 143-4, 234-5. Aenea is identified with the remains of the settlement in modern Nea Michaniona on the eastern side of the Thermaic Gulf, see: Vokotopoulou 2001, 746; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 822.

[340] The information about Macedonian Euboia is drawn by Strabo (10. 449), see: Sakellariou 1958, pp. 199-203.

[341] See below nts. 332-334 & 341.

[342] Mainly pottery; the earliest in Chalkidike has been found in Torone and dates to LM I-II, see Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1993. For bibliography about Mycenaean pottery, see: Tiverios 2008, 11, n. 55.

Pallene peninsula (fig. 2-4,7, 9)

Several cities developed and thrived within the rich natural environment of Chalkidike. Potidaia, is situated at the entrance of the Pallene prong, strategically located on the isthmus, which links the Pallene peninsula with the interior of Chalkidike and therefore offers direct access to the Thermaic and Toronaic Gulfs[343]. Potidaia is the only Corinthian colony in the entire Northern Aegean and Black Sea. According to tradition, Euagoras, founded the colony in around 600 BC (FGrHist A2, 90 fr. 59 [Nikolaus Damascenus] [344]. The presence of Protocorinthian pottery in Potidaia may suggest that Corinthians could have been familiar with these parts from around 700 BC, although the presence of fine decorated pottery alone does not necessarily imply the presence of the city of production, itself[345]. The settlement of Potidaia seems to have hosted a population of a more commercial rather than agricultural character; regardless of the population's main occupation, Potidaia has surely been a very important settlement of Northern Greece in the Archaic period since it had its own treasury at the sanctuary of Delphi and was the only settlement in Northern Greece to take part in the battle of Plateae. Persians' bid to conquer it in 479 BC ended unsuccessfully. The town's walls, ran from the Thermaic to the Toronaic Gulf and finds such as the archaic marble kouros and abundant imported pottery confirm the site's contact with other famous cities of the Archaic period. A sanctuary of Poseidon to which some discovered Doric capitals may have belonged was the town's main sanctuary (Hdt VIII. 129.3) [346]. Poseidon was also portrayed at Potidaia's coins[347] and it was Potidaia's tutelary deity.

Moving southwards from Potidaia**,** we find Sane**,** situated to the north of the modern village of Megali Kypsa[348]. Little is known about Sane's early history since a Byzantine tower is built on top of the ancient acropolis. Nevertheless, there are early finds that date to the

[343] For Potidaia, see Flensted-Jensen 2004, 838-839.
[344] For the date of Corinth's foundation, see: Alexander 1963, 16 and 100, n.21.
[345] Tiverios 2008, 41.
[346] Vokotopoulou 2001, 749.
[347] Poseidon has a notable presence in Northern Greece. This can be related to the fact that Northern Greece has been reached by sea travellers. Poseidon is also the guardian angel for the earthquake prone area of Chalkidike, see: Knoepfler 2000. Because of this phenomenon, the Greeks believed their Gods had battled in Chalkidike with the Giants and they name part of the Pallene area, *Phlegraia pedia*. According to Hdt (7.123.1) the old name of Pallene was Phlegre. Similar phenomena are known in the Gulf of Naples, where another *Phlegrea pedia* existed and where Euboeans also arrived.

[348] Flensted-Jensen 2004, 840.

Submycenaean, ProtoGeometric and Geometric periods as well as important archaic finds[349]. Traces of an archaic sanctuary of a female deity, probably Pythian Artemis, which had strong links with East Greece has been discovered. The links with East Greece during the Archaic period are supported by an impressive amount of Ionian pottery that has been unearthed[350]. Corinthian pottery is also present during the 7th and 6th centuries BC as well as Attic and Laconian. The Corinthian presence is well explained by the existence of the nearby Corinthian colony of Potidaia[351].

One of the most important settlements in Chalkidike is Mende. Thucydides (4.123.1), tells us that it was a Euboean colony. It occupies a strategic location on the south of the Pallene peninsula, overlooking the Aegean Sea and controlling naval traffic from East and South but also the entrance into the Thermaic Gulf. The acropolis of the settlement, known as Vigla is built on top of a flat open hill, covered with pine trees. Along the circumference of this space, evidence of a fortification wall has been found[352]. There is even evidence of a temple, which has not been discovered yet[353]. The cemetery of the settlement is located on the beach and 250 burials have been so far revealed[354]. The vast majority of the burials were inhumations of infants and young children in pithoi and pithamphorae. The burials date between the 8th and the 4th century BC[355].

The first settlement dates to the Submycenaean period[356]. Together with the local Thracian products, imported pottery dated between the 12th and the 7th centuries BC has been found. Similarities in Mycanean and Protogeometric pottery found at Mende and Poseidi with the one found at Lefkandi, were identified[357]. Quantities of Euboean pottery are present also in the Geometric period; pottery of this period from Mende looks very similar to the one found in Eretria but also in Nea Anchialos. The similarities between Euboean and

[349] Vokotopoulou 2001, 756-7; Rhomiopoulou 1978, 65; Giouri 1976, 138.
[350] Rhomiopoulou 1978, 65, pls. 28-30, figs 3-7.
[351] Tiverios 2008, 40.
[352] See Tsigarida 2011, 146.
[353] A clay tile antefix in the form of a Gorgoneion has been found, see Vokotopoulou 1996, 322.
[354] Large part of the cemetery remains unexplored because of its occupation by a modern hotel.
[355] Moschonissioti 2004.
[356] Moschonissioti 1998, 257-60.
[357] Vokotopoulou 1987, 280-281.

Northern Aegean settlements go beyond the pottery resemblances and include several other aspects of the settlements patterns[358].

Interestingly, in the 8th and 7th centuries BC shapes of pots and decorative motives comply also to the Cycladic Linear style[359] and already in the beginning of the 7th century BC, Mende's pottery products largely resemble those originating from Ionia and Aeolis[360]. This Aeolian impact is evident also in modern Polychrono, on the east side of the Pallene peninsula, where, presumambly, one of Mende's colonies, Neapolis, is situated[361]. In Polychrono, the exploitation of the neighbouring rich metal resources[362] is supported by the discovery of an iron smelting furnace dated to the 5th century BC[363].

During the Archaic and classical periods Mende was one of the most important cities. It started striking coins already in the Late Archaic period, which were circulated widely as far as Egypt, Mesopotamia and Italy. The settlement was also very well-known for its wine (Minde or Μίνθη was the settlement's original name)[364]**.** In the 5th century BC, Mende starts producing a special type of transport amphora in which it exports its wine. The Mendaean amphorae are found in several places around the Mediterranean and particularly in the Greek colonies of the Black Sea.

A few kilometers to the south of Mende, in modern Poseidi**,** we find the remains of the sanctuary of *Poseidon Pontios* confirmed by inscriptions[365]. The sanctuary at Poseidi preserves cult evidence since the Late Mycenaean period and its use continued until Late

[358] Mostly architectural elements, see: Vokotopoulou 1990, 399-400 and Lemos 2002, 216.
[359] Well proportioned, orientalising decorative elements of the 7th century BC with SubGeometric decoration, see Vokotopoulou 1996, 323-324; Moschonissioti 2004.
[360] Paspalas 1995, 69, 75-80, 89-91; Vokotopoulou 1996, 324.
[361] Thoughts have been expressed that ancient Neapolis may have been located in modern Kryopigi, where antiquities have also come to light. If this is correct then in modern Polychrono we should locate ancient Aige, see: Pappa 1990, which Hdt (7.123. 1) mentions immediately after Aphytis and Neapolis. Otherwise, we should locate Aige in modern Kapsochora or Hanioti. For the location of these cities, see: Zahrnt 1971, 142; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 821-822.
[362] Important metal mines are situated in Northeastern Chalkidike, see: Vavelidis 2009, 19.
[363] Tiverios 2008, 37.
[364] For wine see: Salviat 1990, 470-5; Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolychroni 2004; Garlan 2004; Papadopoulos and Paspalas 1999 with full bibliography.
[365] Moschonissioti 1998, 265-267.

Hellenistic times. One of the oldest cult buildings known in Greece dated to the 10th century BC, is preserved on this site[366].

On the east coast of Pallene, the important settlement of Aphytis is located[367]. Aphytis may have been an Eretrian foundation[368], a hypothesis, which is supported by the rich Euboean pottery found at the neighbouring sanctuary of the Nymphs dated to the 8th century BC[369]. In the Archaic period, the settlement seems to receive many imports from Corinth, Attica and Eastern Greece. In neighbouring Kallithea, there is a temple of Zeus Ammon of the 4th century BC and a sanctuary of Dionysus, which Xenophon mentions (Hellenika 5.3.19) and which according to the excavational data was first built in the Late Geometric period. These temples probably belonged to the settlement of Aphytis[370].

Sithonia Peninsula (figs 2-4, 7, 9)

The second prong of Chalkidike, the peninsula of Sithonia, also includes some very important sites that flourished during the first half of the first millenium. Strabo (VII fr. 11 and X C447) records that Chalkidians founded 30 cities in this peninsula. Torone was certainly the most important settlement in Sithonia and one of the most noteworthy in Chalkidike. It is recorded by Herodotus to have been the southernmost settlement on the Western coast of the Sithonia peninsula (Hdt 8.127). It has been located in the Northwest of the secure natural harbour of Kophos, (*κωφός λιμήν*: Strab. Geog. 7 fr. 32), proverbially noted for its tranquility (Zen. 4.68) used by, amongst others, thirty ships under Cleon in 422 BC (Thuc.5.2.2). Meritt's description of the harbour includes all of the typical features of the natural harbours, which appealed to sailors so much because they provided not only excellent shelter in all weather but also ready access to the interior[371]. It is noteworthy that if one enters the harbour of *κωφός λιμήν*, there is absolute tranquility.

[366] Moschonissioti 1998, 265-7 and for the cult Knoepfler 2000.
[367] According to Stephanus Byzantius 151 λ. the name derives from a resident of the settlement, called *Afytos.*
[368] Strabo records that the first prong was colonised by Eretrians, Strabo X 447. See also Walker 2004, 152-155.
[369] Giouri 1976, 135-136. The cult of the Nymphs possibly introduced by the Euboeans had great significance in the Northern Aegean. The date of the Euboean pottery found, accords well with the time during which Euboeans are known to have founded colonies in the Northern Aegean (Methone,Dikaia, Mende).
[370] Tsingarida 2011a, 165-181.
[371] Thomas 2010, 71.

Although, the local Sithonians lived there before the Greeks arrived, the tradition of Torone's founding, which included Poseidon, Herakles and the sons of Proteus suggests that the Greeks may have had some sort of early contact with Torone[372]. It is archaeologically confirmed that it was known already in the Mycenaean period[373]. The settlement's importance is demonstrated in the high amount of imported pottery from the ProtoGeometric to Archaic period[374]. Torone had also its own pottery production as is witnessed by pottery kilns discovered in the settlement[375].

In the Archaic period, the settlement's importance is witnessed in Herodotus' account, who records than when Artabazos destroyed Olynthus, he gave it to Chalcidian Toronians (Hdt 8.127). Furthermore, in the 6th century BC, Torone mints its own coins, which were widely circulated[376]. In the 5th century BC, Torone pays 12 talents to the Athenian league[377].

Another important site of the Sithonia peninsula is Koukos near the modern village of Sykia, which has yielded remains of a cemetery and a fortified settlement. The foundation of a settlement in this place is evidently related to mining operations[378]. The earliest pottery found at Koukos dates to the 10th century BC and the latest to the beginning of the 7th century BC. There are some clear resemblances of the pottery found at Koukos with that dated at the same period from Lefkandi[379].

The most important settlement in the second prong is Olynthus**,** which has a very turbulent history. It has been inhabited since the Neolithic times and was destroyed twice, the first time by the Persians and the second by Philip II. It has, however, played an important role in Chalkidike with its safe harbour Mekyberna, at the head of the Toronaic Gulf[380]. There are remains of harbour facilities even today. The name Mekyberna is pre-hellenic and there is evidence of habitation of the Bronze Age, which confirms its early

[372] Bibliography about the myths of Torone in Tiverios 2008, 45 n. 208.
[373] Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1993.
[374] Papadopoulos 2005.
[375] Papadopoulos 1989, 9-44.
[376] Flensted-Jensen 2004, 848.
[377] Tiverios 2008, 45.
[378] Vokotopoulou 1987, 284-285, for the silver mines in Polygyros.
[379] Carington-Smith& Vokotopoulou 1988-1992.
[380] Flensted-Jensen 2004, 834-836 with bibliography. See also Cahill 2002, 23-73.

existence[381]. This is where the Bottiaia, driven away by the Argead Macedonians settled, but without forceful movement of the local population[382].

Akte peninsula (Figs 2-4,7,9)

There is little information in ancient literature about the peninsula of Athos. Homer mentions the Athos mountain (Il. Ξ 219) and Herodotus informs us that the peninsula was called *Akte* (Hdt VII:22). The steep mountainous landscape and the fact that the peninsula of Akte is nowadays a World Heritage Site covered by Byzantine monasteries makes excavations in the area nearly impossible. The peninsula of Akte is the easternmost prong of the Chalkidike peninsula; it protrudes 50 kilometres into the Aegean Sea and has a width of 7 to 12 kilometres. Athos mountain is full of steep, densely forested slopes reaching up to 2,033 m. Timber is one of the main attractions of the peninsula, although it has been argued that a considerable quantity of the timber is not suitable for shipbuilding[383]. Furthermore, there is very little arable land and the surrounding seas can be dangerous. Ancient sources record the infamous heavy storms especially on the Northeastern tip of the peninsula, where in fact the entire fleet of Dareius A' was sunk in 492 BC[384]. And again, in 411 BC, the Spartans lost a fleet of 50 ships under admiral Epicleas (Diod. Sic. *Bibliotheca historica* XIII 41, 1–3). Recently, the discovery of a few ancient objects by fishermen allowed the underwater identification of an ancient shipwreck in the area[385].

The peninsula of Athos was originally populated by Thracians, Bisaltians, Krestonians and Edonians, but Thucydides (4.109.4) and Strabo (7. Fr. 35 and 10.1.8) inform us that a few of the *Chalkidikon genos* were living on Akte, as well. Herodotus mentions that Pelasgians from the island of Lemnos populated Akte (Hdt VII: 22). It is uncertain when Pelasgians migrated to Akte, however, the fact that they essentially confined themselves to Akte peninsula and did not attempt to occupy areas in the other two fingers is, according to Tiverios, an indication that they settled in an area which Euboeans had mostly left uninhabited, due to its barreness; this must have occurred, after Miltiades had occupied Lemnos in 500-499

[381] Tiverios 2008, 49.
[382] Hammond 1972, 358-360.
[383] Chovardas 2008, 23-24.
[384] Hdt VI (Erato) and Aeschylus *The Persians;* Publius Vergilius Maro, Georgica 1, 332.
[385] For the story of the finds and the identification of the shipwreck, see: Chovardas 2008, n. 61. The two helmets discovered are on exhibit in the Ouranoupolis tower museum.

BC[386]. It is possible that Euboeans might have also had difficulty in driving away local Bisaltians, Krestonians, Edonians[387] and therefore abandoned the effort to settle in this barren land[388].

Moreover, Greeks from other places founded settlements in *Akte.* In the middle of the 7th century BC, the Andrians founded some of the most important cities of the Northern Aegean in the northern part of the third prong, Akanthus, Stageira and Sane. The history of the peninsula during later ages is shrouded by the lack of historical accounts and in addition to that, excavations of ancient remains rarely take place.

The foundation of the Andrian colonies to the north of the peninsula (Akanthus, Stageira, Sane) is attributed by Hammond to the upheavals, which resulted when Bottiaians settled there after having been driven out by Macedonians[389]. The Chalkidians fomented the Andrians' foundations and this is likely not to have been a fortuitous choice. Andrians were under the dominion of Eretria before the Lelantine War, therefore they must have been pleased by the settlement's fall, which would have heralded their own independence. However, the collaboration of the Chalkidians with the Andrians did not end in Euboeans' favour. Plutarch records (Mor. 298 A-B) the Andrian victory against the Chalkidians in the battle over Akanthus and the Euboean defeat is indicative of the weakened state of the once mighty Chalkis[390].

Akanthus**,** which was founded in 655/4 BC (Eusebius chronicle 2, 184) was built on the conspicuous hill range by the safe-water of the gulf, that bears the same name. It is situated at the entrance of Akte, between the Strymonic Gulf/Thracian Sea and the Syngitic Gulf. Akanthus was controlling large plains of fertile land, which allowed the settlement to become renowed for its wine (Athenaeus 1, 56)[391]. Another great advantage of Akanthus' location is that it was situated near mountain Stratonikeion, which allowed access and use of

[386] For Lemnos see Reger 2004, 756-7 and for Pelasgians in Northern Greece see: Vasilescu 1997.
[387] Clashes between Chalkidians and Bisaltians are mentioned in written sources : FGrHist A1, 26 fr. XX.
[388] Tiverios 2008, 50-51.
[389] Hammond 1972, 440.
[390] For the Andrian colonies, see: Bérard 1960; Graham 1978, 223-225; Rhomiopoulou 1999.
[391] Salviat 1990, 469. Workshops which produced local commercial amphorae were recently located: Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 2004; Garlan 2004 and Akanthus was the centre of production of a type of amphora, see: Rhomiopoulou 1986, 479-483. A special variety of wine called Αφυταίος was produced here, see: Marangou 1999, 78-81.

the gold and silver mines[392] (fig. 9). This is the main reason for Akanthus' economic vigour, which is reflected in its largely circulated coins already in the 6th century BC; there was an Akanthian *oikos* in the sanctuary of Delphi, witnessing the economic prosperity[393]. Akanthus hosted Xerxes' army in 480 BC, and this hospitality was rewarded by the king with rich gifts (Hdt. 7.115-120).

The first settlement in Akanthus, at Kastro, a naturally defensible hill is dated to the EIA; the settlement was protected with a fortification wall and included a temple dedicated to Athena and public buildings[394]. There is a pre-colonial cemetery, which reveals cultural affinities not only with Southern Greece but also with central European cultural tradition[395]. The peak of the settlement, nevertheless, begins with the settling of the Andrians. The presence of different imported ceramic categories, including many transport vessels, throughout the entire Archaic period but especially from the second half of the 7th century BC onwards is remarkable. Akanthus' finds reveal links with other settlements in the Northern Aegean, such as Nea Anchialos/Sindos. A number of the so-called Thermaic Gulf amphorae, which were most likely manufactured in Nea Anchialos, as well as 'silvery-ware' also produced at the same site were found[396]. A large preponderance, however, is observed in the finds from the islands of Eastern Greece, including a significant amount of transport amphorae dated from the end of the 7th to the end of the 5th century BC originating from Chios, Samos, Clazomenae[397]. At the same time, products of the local/Akanthian pottery production present clear influence from this part of Greece. A very typical example is the workshop of Akanthian hydriae of very good quality, which resemble the wavy line motifs of Ionian pottery[398]. Apart from the very obvious Ionian elements, there is a clear influence in the Akanthian pottery in shapes and decorative motifs (amphorae and pithamphorae, *horror vacui* in decoration) of the Island Linear style, reminiscent of the Orientalising works of the

[392] Vavelidis 2009, 19-20.
[393] Tselekas 1996.
[394] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 2006/07, 47.
[395] A vaulted tomb was discovered and grave goods in the burials included jewllery with many spiral motifs and weapons typical of the Balkan tradition, see: Trakosopoulou 2004, 266.
[396] Pante 2005, 347-348.
[397] Filis 2011.
[398] The workshop was first noticed by Rhomiopoulou. For a comparison, see: hydria in Pante 2005, fig 12 and amphorae in Birzescu AA 2009, 128-134.

same period[399]. Similar, locally produced works have been found in Esyme and Mende and are dated to the same period, the second half of the 7th century BC[400]. The local production is artistically influenced also by Lemnos. This is influence is obvious in a category of *amphoriskoi* manufactured in Akanthus, which resemble pottery found in the Protolimnian cemetery of Hephaisteia[401].

Stageira was founded at the same time with Akanthus. There is little information about the settlement's early history. Strabo 7.331, fr. 33-35 informs us that its harbour was called *Kapros.* A wild boar was the settlement's symbol also in its coins[402]. Sane in modern Nea Roda is recorded by Plutarch to have been founded by Andrians not long before Akanthus and it made sailing along the dangerous coast unnecessary[403]. A major engineering work took place during Xerxes' stay in the Akanthian Gulf. Akanthus played a leading role in the construction of the canal of Xerxes, which is slightly to the East of Sane (Hdt 7.116-117). Sane would have certainly gained additional importance as long as the canal was open, for it was one of the earliest and largest technical projects carried out in ancient Greece[404], although it must have been very expensive to maintain it and therefore it must have hardly ever been open[405].

[399] See Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 2006/07, pl. 4.1
[400] Moschonissioti 2004, 277-292.
[401] Beschi 1985, 56-64.
[402] For general information on Stageira, see: Sismanidis 2003.
[403] Tsigarida 1998, 84.
[404] Papangelos and Kampouroglou 1998-99.
[405] Chovardas 2008, 35.

II. D Eastern Macedonia and Thrace

The fourth Andrian colony, Argilus, is founded along the coast of the Strymonic Gulf, to the East of the Chalkidike peninsula. Argilus was probably founded slightly later than Akanthus, Sane and Stageira, perhaps at the end of the 7th century[406]. It was built in a favourably situated area, where it could control passings of ships along the Strymon valley; this fertile area also gave access to local mineral deposits (figs 7, 9). Mountain Dysoron, which is in Argilus' vicinity, is recorded by ancient writers (Hdt V,17.2 and Aristotle *περι θαυμασιων ακουσματων*,45) to have been rich in silver and gold. Herodotus also records that in 513 BC Argilus was the eastern barrier of Macedonia and that it was close to lake Prasias[407]. Bisaltians and Edonians, who were living in the area stoutly and often successfully, resisted Greeks' attempts to settle there. The name Argilus is, according to Stephanus Byzantius, Thracian and it means "mouse" *s.v. Argilus*. The abundant local pottery, further confirms the presence of a strong local population despite the arrival of the Greeks. Argilus is the oldest Greek colony in the Strymon area. The new residents of Argilus enhanced their position by founding nearby Kerdylion, a foundation on a commanding site closer to Strymon, clearly in order to control better the area around the mouth of the river (Thucydides 5.6.3). Argilus' prosperity is seen in the amount of imports continued in the 5th century BC until Amphipolis' foundation in 437 BC. The upheavals in this area are possibly related to one alluvial gold deposit in Nigrita and one silver deposit, mentioned by Herodotus as particularly rich (Hdt 5.17.2)[408]. In the 5th century, those deposits were exploited by the Thracians. After that, there must have been a small period of Macedonian domination while after Amphipolis' foundation, they were probably exploited by the new town[409].

[406] There are no earlier finds yet to support Argilus' foundation at the same time with the other two Andrian colonies, see: Bonias and Perrault 1996, 666. A preliminary examination of its transport amphorae material shows evidence of earlier connections with Argilus in the middle of the 7th century BC or containers that the first settlers brought with them when they arrived.
[407] This could be either modern lake Doirane, see: Samsaris 1976, 12 or lake Kerkine, see: Kanatsouli 1964, 4; Hammond 1972, 194.
[408] Shepherd 1993, 96.
[409] Hammond 1979, 102.

***The area of Strymon* (figs 2-3, 7, 9).**

In Eastern Macedonia[410] the major environmental component is river Strymon. It springs from the Vitosha Mountain in modern Bulgaria[411] and flows into the Strymonian Gulf in the Aegean Sea. The river's length is 415 km and the river's valley is a coal-producing area in modern Bulgaria. The Greek portion's valley, is suitable for agriculture, being modern Greece's fourth biggest valley. The name 'Strymon' is ancient but Pseudo-Ploutarch records also the name *Παλαιστίνος* (*Περι Ποταμών*, XI). The famous 'Strymonian land' (*Στρυμόνα Γη*, Steph. Byzant. *Strymon*) was the land among the mountains Orbelos, Pangaion, Vertiskos and Dysoron (fig. 2-3,7). Thanks to the fertility of the soil and several other benefits that it offered, the inhabitants of the area had impersonalized the river and immortalized him; temples were built in his honour and he was also represented in coins[412]. The Strymonian wind, caused by the river was known to the ancients to have blown in the plain of modern Serres (Hdt VII, 118, 2). After the river crossed that plain, it emptied in the Strymonic Gulf very near to where 'the dances of Nereides' (*Νηρηίδων Χοροί*, Skymnos X, 649-651) were thought to have taken place. In its route, Strymon very often changed bed and in the winter it often froze[413]. This was mainly near the northeastern region of the Pangaion and the plain of Philippi, where the climate resembles more the one of Central Europe with cold winters and hot summers. On the other hand, the climate of the coastal area is markedly different showing mild winters and pleasant dry summers[414]. The area was also famous for its wine production. From the literary sources we know they were vineyards in low Strymon and in particular in the Gazoros area (north of Amphipolis), Amphipolis and Esyme[415].

Just before the river emptied in the Strymonic Gulf it joined Lake Kerkinitis (Lake Tahinos), which is nowadays known as lake Kerkini and it consists of an artificial dam and a very important hydrobiosphere. In ancient times, it may have been a swamp before forming a

[410] Eastern Macedonia was reached by the Argeads during the reign of Alexander I (495-452 BC). Prior to that, several Thracian tribes including Paionians were residing in that area, see: Hammond 1989, 42-44.

[411] The ancient name of this mountain is *Skomion* (Thucydides II, 96, 3-4).
[412] Samsaris 1976, 16.
[413] Aeschylus, *Persians,* 492-510; Hdt VIII, 115.
[414] Hammond 1981, 5-6
[415] Marangou 1999, 78-81.

lake[416]. It seems that from that point and as far as the Strymonic Gulf, where Strymon emptied, the river was navigable[417]. The river Strymon had also a large geo-political significance, serving as a boundary of different tribes during the Archaic period and until the 4th century BC[418].

East of the river Strymon not far from the Strymonic Gulf lays the Pangaion mountain range (fig. 3, 7, 9). The Pangaion mountain range covers the southeastern portion of modern Serres perfecture as well as northwestern part of Kavala (ancient Neapolis). Its highest elevation is 1,956 m. Not only is the Aegean Sea to the south of this area and the plains of Philippi-Drama to the north, are of the most fertile in Northern Greece but the Pangaion mountains are widely known since antiquity for their abundant gold and silver mines[419]. The sources mention three mining areas; ancient remains of gold exploitation have been found in Philippoi, Daton and Scapte Hyle and the sources mention three mining areas nearby, Nikisiani, Mesorope and Philippoi (fig. 9). Scapte Hyle was exploited by the Thasians, the settlement therefore could be identified with Mesorope near Neapolis, one of the first Thasian colonies (Hdt 6.46.2-3). Daton is said by the sources to be related to Thracian Edoni and therefore could be identified with Nikisiani, near Amphipolis (Hdt 9.75.1). In the early Archaic period, the control of the district most probably belonged to the Thracians (Pieres, Odomantes and Satres) and after Thasos' foundation, it forcibly took control of this part of the area[420]. The Thasian exploitation is said to have had a profit of 80 talents per year (Hdt. VI, 46, 3 and VII, 112). Evidence of a systematic exploitation of the Pangaion metal resources has occured from modern Nigrita to Amphipolis (Hdt I, 64 and Strabo VII, 34, fig. 9). Apart from Peisitratus (Hdt I, 64 & Arist. Ath. Pol. 15, 2), Histiaeus of Miletus (Hdt. V, 23) is known to have established mining operations in the area. Later Athenians and Macedonians were concerned with conquering the nearby settlements clearly in order to

[416] Arrian Alexander Anab. I, 11, 3, where he says that at this lake the fleet of Alexander the Great had anchored and Thuc. IV, 108, 1; V, 7, 4.
[417] Arrian, Alexander Anab. I, 11, 3; Livius XLVIV, 46; Apollodorus II, 5, 10; Strabo VII, frag. 35. The suggestion that the river was navigable throughout its entire length is rather weak, see: Casson, 1926, 20-21.
[418] This refers to the Thracian tribes residing in this area; the Pieres that were expelled by the Macedonians from Pieria and settled in the Strymon area and the Odomantes and Satres.
[419] Vavelidis 2009, 19.
[420] For the archaic conflict between Thasos and Thracian tribes of the area, see Archilochos F 102, 105, 291; Thracian holdings: Hdt 7.112; Lavelle 1992, 17.

exploit the mines. Athens in the 460s tried to dominate the area but succeeded in only wresting Scapte Hyle from the Thasian control.

Further to that, there are marble deposits both in Pangaion and in Menoikion[421].There are deposits of white marble, similar to the Parian but also green and grey marble[422] .

In addition to its rich marble and metal resources, Mountain Pangaion was reknowed for the abundant timber it offered (Thucydides IV, 108, 1). The hills, which are directly across the plain of Philippi, located between the Strymon and the Xiropotamos rivers are covered in oriental plane and chestnut trees. Pangaion's timber was especially praised for the construction of ships and paddles (Hdt. V, 23) and is known to have supplied timber suitable for the construction of ships to Amphipolis and Datos[423] (Hdt V, 23, 2;Thucydides IV, 100, 3 and StraboVII, 33, 36).

A little further to the north, southeast from Serres and Northwest from Kavala, we find mountain Orbelos or modern Lekane[424]. Another summit nearby is called Symbolon but the name is modern. These mountains must be identified with the ancient *Bibline mountains* (Etym. Magn. *Βίβλινος Οινος*)[425]. On the foothills south of the mountain was Crenides[426], a colony of the island of Thasos, previously known as Datos/n. *Daton* means source of goods (Strabo, VII, frag. 34), a name which is clearly related to the area's privileged natural environment. The foundation of the colony owes its existence also to the rich copper deposits of Mount Lekane and the large mining centres for which ancient sources inform us [Strabo (VII, 34) and Diod. Sicelus (XVI, 8.6)][427]. In 356 BC, the settlement was re-founded and renamed Philippi after the Macedon king, Philip II. The exploitation of the mines before the Macedonian expansion in the area (around 480 BC) was controlled by Thasian residents

[421] Casson 1926, 65-6.
[422] There were marble mines in Philippoi, see: Collartes-Ducrey 1975, 12-13.
[423] Those shipyards were constructed by Athenians in 437 BC for the reinforcement of their naval force and were later used by Brasidas, Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Romans.
[424] Orbelos is mentioned by both Diodorus XX, 19, 1 and Arrianus Anab. I, 5 in his description of Alexander the Great's route to the Asia.
[425] Samsaris 1976, 15.
[426] The name comes from the many springs, which are bubbling around a hill there, see BC IV 105, 439 and Isaac 1986, 1.
[427] Vavelidis 2009, 20.

but their production was poor (Diod. XVI, 8, 6); Philip II exploited them more efficiently.[428] The whole passed to Macedonian control through conquest in the second half of the 4th century BC. Although the exploitation regime between Thasians and Thracians before the Macedonian conquest is not known, the exploitation of the mines of Pangaion by Peisistratus possibly bespeak that the Thracians were not averse into leasing out concessions[429].

The richly forested mountainous areas, offer trees suitable for shipbuilding but in the plains corn and cereals are cultivated. The coastal plains around the Strymon area, are devoid of trees, quite flat and their fertility is discussed by many ancient writers[430]. In the area of Bisaltia and around Amphipolis they grow fruit trees (figs are mentioned by Theopompus), olive trees, vineyards, melons[431]. There is also evidence for the cultivation of wheat and barley[432]. The cultivation of garlic must also have been famous in the area, especially if we take under consideration that Odomantes and more generally, Thracians were notorious for the consumption of garlic (Aristophanes, *Acharnes*, 164). Nevertheless, the product, which has been considered a landmark for Eastern Macedonia was the production of wine, central to the Dionysian cult. The Thracians were considered *πολυπόται* and *ακροπόται* (Theopompus in Athenaeus X, 60; Xenophon *Anabasis,* 7, 2, 23, 3, 24)[433]. Not much information about the techniques of the cultivation of the land is preserved but the Thracians must have certainly learnt by the newcomers, the Southern Greeks[434].

The literary tradition informs us that the residents of this area, are known to cultivate the hundread-leaf roses (Theofrastos Nat. Hist. VI 6, 4; Athenaeus XV, 682; Plinius Hist. Nat. XXI, 17), which were used in the cult of the dead (*rosalia*) and were most probably related to the cult of Dionysus[435]. The peak of mountain Pangaion, is said to have been Nysa, the birthplace

[428] Annual income of 1000 talents per annum (Diod. XVI, 8, 6)
[429] Hdt 1.64; [Aristotle], *Constitution of the Athenians* 15.2.
[430] Theopompus in Athenaeus III, 77; Livius XLV, 30, 3; Strabo VII, fragm. 33; Hekateus fragm. 123.
[431] Isaac 1986, 2.
[432] Many archaic and classical pithoi and millstones and the representation of wheat on coins of the area's cities and a Roman inscription from Gazoros provide information on this, see: Samsaris 1976, 28-29.
[433] The drinking of wine is even recorded for Thracian women Pausanias, IX, 30, 5).
[434] Samsaris 1976, 30.
[435] Nilsson RE 2R I, 1111-15.

of Dionysus, where Herodotus tells us a large sanctuary was situated (Hdt. VII, 111. Euripides Rhesos, 971-974).

In regards to the fauna of the Strymon area, Herodotus records lions and wild oxen with long horns. Representations on coins minted in the region represent bulls, oxen, wild swines, eagles, panthers, goats, rabbits and most importantly horses[436].

The lakes, rivers and the Aegean Sea to which the Strymon area had access, certainly offered abundant fish to the residents. Herodotus (Hdt. V, 16) talks about special types of fish called *πάπρακες* and *τίλωνες*, in large quantities in lake Prasias, which the residents of the settlements around the lake were catching with baskets. Aristotle (Hist. Z, IX, 45) informs us that Strymon contained abundant fish, mainly eels, which were fished by blurring the water with mud. A fishery (*cella natatoria*) constructed by Oppius Fronto is also mentioned in Roman times according to an inscription[437] .

The most influential event for the history of the region was the arrival of Parians in Thasos. Parians with Telesicles (father of the Lyric poet Archilochos) founded Thasos in 680-670 BC, although it is speculated that some settlers may have arrived earlier[438] . Thasos is particularly known for its wine[439], its timber and its mineral wealth, which brought a very high annual income the island[440]. The island preserves evidence of habitation already in the Palaeolithic era. During the Iron Age, and even before the arrival of the settlers, Thasos seems to have contact with several centres of the Greek world such as Ionian cities, Aeolia, the Cyclades[441]. In addition, there are some historical sources recording Phoenician presence on the island, which, however, has not been archaeologically confirmed[442]. Finally, products

[436] The area was known for its horses; Thucydides records a congregation of horses within the walls of Amphipolis (Thuc. V, 6, 10). For horses in the Northern Aegean, see: Archibald 2013, 183-187. For the popularity of Macedonian horses, see also: Hammond & Griffith 1979, 660.
[437] *CIL* III, 7342.
[438] The Nekyia painting suggests that the colonisation may have started with Telesicles' father, Telles (Pausanias 10.28.3).
[439] Thasian commercial amphorae start to be produced around 500 BC and Thasian wine is exported as far as Palestine, see: Marangou 1999, 78-81.
[440] Hdt 6.46.2-3; the information refers to the early 5th century BC.
[441] Bernard 1964; Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1992, 717-720;Kohl et al. 2002; Gimatzidis 2002; Tiverios 2006.
[442] For the presence of Phoenicians in the Northern Aegean, see: Kasseri 2012, 209-308, with bibliography and discussion on the Phoenician presence in the Northern Aegean.

from the interior of the Balkans also arrived in Thasos[443]. These contacts are maintained and intensified in the 7th century and several finds from the Artemision, the Hermes gate, the Thesmoforion and Alyki, where a natural harbour was shaped, have been unearthed to confirm them[444].

With the settling of Parians, the Thracian tribes in Thasos were expelled to the opposite coast but very soon after their arrival in Thasos, Parians started to expand to the Thracian mainland, as well[445]. Thasians' (sub)colonial activity was primarily between Strymon and Nestos, where they founded several colonies and *emporia*[446]. The earliest subcolonies were Neapolis[447], in modern Kavala and Esyme in modern Nea Peramos were established already in the third quarter of the 7th century in strategic locations to give access to mineral-rich areas-especially the Pangaion- and agriculturally prolific areas[448]. Neapolis was defined by reference to another nearby settlement, Antisara (Νεάπολις παρ' Αντισαράν[449]) and was rather fast detached from the metropolis. Of particular importance in Neapolis is the sanctuary of Parthenos, where even Archaic Laconian pottery was found[450]. Esyme was known to Homer as Aisyme[451] and its archaic finds are remarkable among which a significant assemblage of imported commercial amphorae similar to the Methone assemblage but of poorer variety. Thasos also founded Galepsus, Apollonia and Stryme (the easternmost known Thasian colony[452]) and a number of *emporia* such as Antisara, Akontisma, Skapte Hyle, Daton and Pistiros[453].

[443] Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1992, 708-711 and in other sites in Macedonia, already in an early period, see Mari 2011, 80.
[444] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 91 (with bibliography).
[445] This haste may be related to an opponent present in the area, the Andrians, see: Kondoleon 1963, 74.
[446] For their establishment they had to give difficult fights with several Thracian tribes (Edonians, Saians, Pierians, Odomantians, Sapaians,Satrians, Sintians, Bistonians), Paionians and other Greeks, see Bakalakis 1967, 143-144. They also had activity outside these boundaries, such as Stryme, for example.
[447] Although it is not confirmed by written sources that it was a Thasian colony, see: Tiverios 2008, 81.
[448] Samsaris 1976, 24-27; Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1990.
[449] Mentioned like this in the tribute lists of the first Athenian League.
[450] Laconian pottery is very rare for the Northern Aegen, see: Stibbe 2004, 223 no 48 (example from Thasos).
[451] Isaac 1986, 64.
[452] Archilochos mentions a quarrel between Thasians and Maroneians for the possession of Stryme, see: Bakalakis 1958, 95-95.
[453] For identification of these sites, see: Tiverios 2008, 86-91. For an economic study on Pistiros, but focused on the Hellenistic period, see Walton 2007.

The most important commercial centre of the Archaic period, east of river Nestos is Abdera. Abdera was founded initially by Clazomenae, in the middle of 7th century BC and differently to written sources which record that this first settlement collapsed -most probably because of the Thracians' (Bistonians) resistance- and the settlement was re-colonised by Teans, a century later[454], the archaeological record does not support such an abandonment[455]. A very safe natural harbour and Abdera's proximity to the Asia Minor coast were important factors for its economic development through commerce, which is witnessed in a fascinating variety of imported pottery and indeed, transport containers. Very interestingly, most of them were used for inhumation of infants on a beach necropolis – a burial practice known from other settlements of the Northern Aegean; a significant amount of the deceased died of malaria, as analysis on bones has demonstrated[456] . Abderitans advanced to the interior of Bisaltia and founded a colony, Bergepolis. The settlement advanced commercially and became a powerful city-state[457].

East of Abdera, Maroneia was founded by Ionians, primarily Chians, while further east, Dikaia and Orthagoria (possibly Kikonian Maroneia[458]) are also known as Greek colonies[459]. Finally, Samothrace, was reached by Aeolians and possibly Samians sometime in the middle of the 7th century BC[460]. Samothrace is particularly significant because of its location linking Asia with Europe and the Aegean islands with Thrace and seems to have been a stopping point for sailors, already in the Bronze Age[461].

Having set the scene of the Northern Aegean physical environment and the settlements, which developed around this prolific land in the EIA and Archaic periods, we will now zoom in into the settlement of Methone, the case study of this thesis. The history of Methone covers a span of at least 4 centuries. Below, the site of Methone and its surroundings is introduced and a detailed description of the conducted archaeological investigations both in

[454] For information on the date and the battles with the Bistonians, see: Isaac 1986, 80-81.
[455] Skarlatidou 2000, 325-8.
[456] Agelarakis in Skarlatidou 2000, 3-5 (Appendix 2).
[457] Skarlatidou 1990,611-618.
[458] Lazaridis 1972, 49-50.
[459] The region was known from the Homeric times (Iliad 2.844-850) for its viticulture and the production of the Ismarian wine, see: Tiverios 2008, 100.
[460] Lehmann 1998, 19.
[461] Matsas 1995; Matsas 2009, 251-253.

the area where the archaeological material under study was found and the rest of the settlement will be provided. Through this description, it is hoped that the reader will become sufficiently acquainted with the archaeological site in order to fully comprehend the following analysis of the transport amphorae assemblage found in the settlement of Methone.

III. Methone: the settlement.

Methone was inhabited already in the Neolithic times and continued to be occupied certainly during the Mycenaean period. In the Late Geometric period, however, a change in pottery marks a new era for Methone, which very likely coincides with the arrival of new population groups (Euboeans and very likely others)[462]. These population groups were added to the existent indigenous Thracians tribes (Pieres) and the Macedonians, who were, in this period, starting to emerge in the region.

III. A. Topography of the site and the surrounding settlements. Excavations in Northern Pieria.

The first excavation in Northern Pieria was in 1861 when Greece was still under Ottoman rule by the French archaeologist L. Heuzey. The next excavation took place only a century after by the archaeological service and more extensively in the 1980's where emphasis on the archaeological site of Pydna was given[463]. Pydna is one of the largest archaeological sites (settlement occupies 250 acres) in Macedonia being inhabited from the late Neolithic until the late Byzantine period. The settlement and its two necropoleis, the north and the south have yielded very important finds (some 3.000 burials dated from the Late Bronze to the late Roman times have thus far been excavated); however, only rescue excavation has been conducted. A small Hellenistic shrine has also been found in the settlement.

Inland Pieria has been very little researched and a series of excavations during the 80's have assisted in shaping a picture of the area in ancient years (Fig 4, 10). There were four sites of the Neolithic period, 3 sites of the Bronze Age, 1 site of the EIA and eleven sites dated from the classical period until Late Antiquity. It is usually the prehistoric settlements, which occupy a larger area, while the later settlements are smaller. Opposite is the situation with the necropoleis. The earlier the necropolis, the smaller it is, in size. Very importantly a series of geoarchaeological surveys was conducted in Northern Pieria and assisted in forming a better picture of the dramatic change of its landscape over the last 10,000 years[464]. In 2003, the first excavation of ancient Methone was conducted.

[462] See below chapter IV.
[463] For the history of the excavations in Northern Pieria, see: Bessios 2010, 17.
[464] Krahtopoulou 2010.

Location

The location of ancient Methone has been known since the 1970's[465]. It is situated right to the North of Pydna at the modern village of Nea Agathoupoli in Pieria on the western coast of the Thermaic Gulf (fig. 2-5, 10). The settlement was developed on two hills, the saddle between the two hills and the area to the North of them (figs 10-14). Further to the northeast of the settlement, outside of the area marked with a red line a natural harbour protected by both the south and the north strong winds of the Pierian coastline is formed (fig. 12). The existence of this natural harbour was an advantage that gave Methone the opportunity to develop into an important transit centre. In addition to that, the settlement was located next to the main land routes of North to South and thus its location acquired even greater geostrategic importance by accessing the routes in central and western Macedonia and even regions further inland in the Balkans. A second harbour was presumably[466] formed along the Pierian coastline (right next to the settlement's eastern hill). However, the alluvial soil from neighbouring rivers (Haliakmon, Axios) has changed the landscape, which looks very different today, therefore the ancient settlement now lies around 500-700 m.[467] from the sea (fig. 10,12). The importance of the location, accords well with the important finds of Methone and explains the key role that the settlement must have held in regards to the archaic Northern Aegean trade.

The Eastern hill

On the Eastern hill[468], where the settlement was initially established many of the deposits have been lost due to erosion by the sea (figs 11, 13-15). It has however become clear by pottery finds that the Eastern hill had already been inhabited in the Later Neolithic and it continued to be inhabited until the abandonment of the site in 354 BC. On the top of the Eastern hill, a unique subterranean room with a depth of 11m., was discovered (figs 13-15); it contained the largest pottery assemblage in the Northern Aegean known to date. It is

[465] Hammond 1972, 129; A. Babritsas & M. Siganidou, 16th Ephorate's records, see Bessios 2003, 443, n. 3.
[466] There is no evidence of it but the excavator believes there is a possibility of a second harbour in this area.
[467] Depending on the tide, the water in this area is very shallow.
[468] Plot 274.

conventionally called the 'basement' or the *Hypogeion* and it comprised of two deposits: the earlier dates to the second half of the 8th/ beginning of the 7th centuries BC and the later deposit was the above layer of habitation that collapsed because of the decay of organic material and was deposited on the top of the 'basement'[469]. This last deposit contains pottery dating to the end of the 7th and the 6th centuries BC. The pottery from the earlier deposit consists of a large number of imported transport amphorae from Attica and Chios, a few from Samos and Lesbos and individual examples from Corinth (one) and Miletus (one) that date to the second half of the 8th century. There is also a number of amphorae of Macedonian origin[470] dated to the same period. Finally, sherds that belong to Phoenician amphorae were also discovered[471]. Apart from the amphorae there is a plethora of drinking vessels, in particular Euboean LG skyphoi and craters. Late Geometric Corinthian kotylai, craters, skyphoi, oinochoai and pyxides, as well as skyphoi and craters of the Thapsos group were also found in the earlier deposit. A few Late Geometric Attic drinking vessels were also found but in fewer quantities than the Euboean and Corinthian examples. From across the Aegean, East Greek Late Geometric and early Archaic pottery is also represented by drinking vessels especially cups and Ionian bird bowls. A significant quantity of Iron Age Aeolian Grey ware is also present. The deposit includes a number of local imitations of Euboean skyphoi and Corinthian kotylai, which have also been found in other Macedonian sites[472]. Finally, a good number of Early Iron Age handmade Macedonian pottery and some Subgeometric 'silver-ware' pottery [473] were also discovered. The later deposit contained Attic and Corinthian fine pottery and Ionian cups[474] .

[469] Bessios 2012, 39-107.

[470] Amphorae of Catling's type II with concentric circles on the shoulder, see Catling 1998, 166-17; Gimatzidis 2010, 327 and another type of local origin amphorae with banded decoration. In his recent study Kotsonas identified this type as local "Methonaean", see Kotsonas 2012, 146-150, but petrographic analysis conducted proved that the specimens came from Miletus, see Kyriatzi et al. in press.

[471] See Kasseri 2012, 299-308, for a first paper of the Phoenician transport amphorae.

[472] Karabournaki, Sindos, Akanthus and several other sites in Chalkidike, see Pante 2008, 84,289, 298

[473] This is a category of pottery found mainly in sites in Macedonia and has been considered a production of a neighbouring Macedonian site of N. Anchialos and possibly some more sites around the Thermaic Gulf, see Gimatzidis 1997; Gimatzidis 2010, 327 for updated information.

[474] For a study of the inscribed early material from the so-called basement see: Bessios-Tzifopoulos-Kotsonas, 2012.

The area between the hills

In the saddle between the two hills, thanks to the concave formation of the ground, an accumulation of deposits from the eastern, western and northern sides covered and thus protected the architectural remains from the dangers of stone reuse in later periods[475]. We are therefore fortunate to have part of the public sector of archaic Methone preserved (fig. 16). In this area five buildings whose size and masonry show their public character, were revealed. In the area of the *agora*, the settlement's destruction layer was mainly excavated and in some cases earlier chronological phases up to the first quarter of the 6th century BC were detected. These buildings are arranged around a trapezoidal square and there is clear evidence that some were metal workshops[476]. In building A, a hoard of Alexander I' silver coins was found. A second smaller square is located west of building A and south of building E. In this area remains of musical instruments and wasters from glass workshops have surfaced. Based on the above evidence the excavator identified this area as the *agora* of ancient Methone.

The western hill

Moving westwards to the eastern slope of the steeper hill of the modern village of Nea Agathoupoli (fig. 11, 13)[477], the excavators discovered a long defensive ditch. An apsidal building dated to the Protogeometric period was found in this ditch and the Protogeometric pottery found together with it, was the earliest evidence of habitation on the Western hill. It seems that this ditch was filled at some point during the Protogeometric period in order to expand the settlement- limited until then to the Eastern hill- towards the western hill. During the Late Bronge Age period the western hill was used as a cemetery of the settlement; this is indicated by LBA burials, which were found on top of the western hill and which were disturbed by later occupation[478].

[475] Stone material is rather rare in Pieria because it lacks quarries and thus, the architectural remains (especially of the archaic period) have been preyed upon by later settlers.
[476] Bessios,Athanasiadou,Noulas 2008, 241-254.
[477] Plots nos 245 and 229 are excavated in this hill.
[478] Mycenaean pots and jewellery were found together with the burials. There is a chronological gap on the Western hill between the PG building and the late 7th century habitation on the top of the hill but this could

Although, many of the ancient deposits in the western hill have been lost due to erosion caused by the seawater in the western hill, some subterranean tunnels have been discovered. According to the excavator, these must have belonged to the defensive works of the Methoneans. Based on these tunnels, he argues that the western hill was the location where the ancient Methone's walls were situated and together with the fact that the western hill is clearly steeper and higher compared to the Eastern one, he believes that the acropolis of Methone used to be on the Western hill.

On the top of the western hill, in the northern part architectural remains that belong to three buildings were revealed (figs 13, 17)[479]. The buildings, which are divided into several rooms, were made of local sandstone; the walls are 0,40 m. thick and some reach a height of 1 m. The upper deposits of the 5th and 4th centuries were lost due to erosion and modern cultivation of the area. As soon as the surface layers were removed remains of the archaic phase of the buildings started to appear (figs 18-19). They date to the end of the 7th and to the first half of the 6th centuries BC. Nonetheless, in some cases, the excavation has gone deeper and therefore, some examples may belong to an even earlier date, towards the middle of the 7th century BC. In all the rooms of these buildings, evidence of a large fire appears in the same stratum (figs 18-19). This fire, which occurred at some point during the first half of the 6th century and probably destroyed the buildings of the western hill and sealed a layer of occupation. Furthermore, fire evidence is also present in the archaic phases excavated in the public district of the settlement on the saddle between the two hills, where the *agora* of ancient Methone must have been situated. This evidence indicates that the settlement must have been partially or totally destroyed by a fire in the first half of the 6th century BC[480].

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also be due to the fact that the excavation has not progressed in depth but rather attempted to cover a wide surface area to allow the excavators form a general picture of its urban planning. Nonetheless, it is likely that this lack of evidence is related to certain shrinkage of the settlement during the 8th century BC, in the first phase of arrival by the new settlers. Methone is not the only settlement where this type of decline is observed on the coastline of Pieria. The neighbouring site of Pydna was also reduced in size, while Koutsouro was completely abandoned during the 8th century BC. Other settlements in Macedonia also decreased in size or disappeared. It is likely that this shrinkage of settlements is caused by the arrival of the Argead Macedonians in the area. Scholars argue towards this early arrival, see Mari 2011, 80.

[479] The buildings were discovered in plots 229, section B. See Bessios, Athanasiadou, Noulas 2008, 245-248.
[480] Bessios-Athanasiadou-Noulas 2008, 241-254.

The sealed destruction layer preserved the contents of the buildings, which included a large number of finds, especially pottery (fig. 19). Amongst this pottery, the transport vessels, mainly amphorae predominate and will constitute the main focus of my research. Apart from the transport vessels, there is abundant fine decorated pottery as well; the Corinthian products constitute the largest assemblage of fine pottery, but East Greek and Attic pottery is also present in significant quantities[481]. Finally, local produced vases also represent a significant proportion of the overall pottery assemblage.

The function of the buildings on the top of the western hill is most likely related to workshop activity. Although it would be rather obvious to identify the buildings on the western hills as storage rooms because of the amount of amphorae discovered, this does not seem to be the case. Evidence of workshop activity has been found amongst the finds. On the western side of building A, two pottery kilns have been found. Further to the east a hearth with wasters of melted bronze has been uncovered within two large pits (fig. 17). In addition to these, potsherds containing traces of gold indicate gold-working in the southern part of building A, whilst jewellery moulds and ivory wasters have been recovered from several places within the area of these buildings. Workshop activity is indicated also in the archaic phases excavated in the public district of Methone, as mentioned above[482].

[481] EC and MC kotylai, aryballoi, craters, oinochoai; Ionian cups, chian kalykes, wild goat style oinochoai; attic kylikes and skyphoi, craters, oinochoai.
[482] Wasters of glass and metal workshops but also remains of the manufacture of musical instruments, see Bessios-Athanasiadou-Noulas 2008, 241-254.

III. B. Methone: the transport amphorae from the Western hill

Transport amphorae's importance and their role in drawing conclusions on trade.

Containers used to transport goods were not called transport amphorae in antiquity. While the terms transport or commercial amphorae are used in modern literature[483], in Greek texts, transport jars are often called *κάδος* or *σπάθη*[484]. Despite the great popularity of the amphora, other shapes could be used to transport commodities and primarily hydriae. More often than not, transport jars were made of perishable material (e.g wood, barrels, skin) and thus a considerable amount of the transport vessels used, have not been preserved[485].

Transport amphorae hold a special place in the economic history of the ancient Mediterranean. Amphora production became universal in the Iron Age, although it had never extended beyond the easternmost Mediterranean in the Bronze Age. The Aegean had long abandoned its stirrup jars and by the 7th century distinctive amphorae reached both ends of the Mediterranean[486]. Clay transport amphorae are particularly important because their study offers – although fragmentary- significant information for the economy of a region. By placing imports of amphorae within the whole range of archaeological data, it is more likely to understand the economic, social and cultural needs, they were destined to satisfy. The value of the amphorae lay in their contents rather than the vessels themselves and since they were produced in a large quantity it is thought that they had little chance of being transported empty[487]. The amphorae, thus, as opposed to fine-pottery trade and monetary circulation significantly assist in the reconstruction of a network of exchanged commodities. Nonetheless, this is exactly where the difficulty of their study is found, namely, converting amphorological data into economic history.

[483] See Di Sandro 1981; Dupont 1982; Panzeri-Pozzetti 1986; Gras 1987; Durando 1989; Cavagnera 1995; Pelagatti 1995; Albanese- Procelli 1996; Albanese- Procelli 1997; Stea 1997; Naso 2005; Sourisseau 2006; Gantès 2007. For the English term 'transport amphoras' and the German 'Transportamphoren', see: Koehler 1978a; Lawall 1995; Whitbread 1995; Docter 2000; Seifert 2000; Jacobsen 2002; de Domingo & Johnston 2003; Lund 2004; Sezgin 2004; Kerschner & Mommsen 2005; Leidwanger 2005–2006; Docter 2007; Fantalkin & Tal 2010; Dupont & Skarlatidou 2011; see also: Panagou 2010; Filis 2011.
[484] Johnston 1979, 228, 230; Johnston 1984, 211.
[485] Vickers 2010, 15.
[486] Broodbank 2013, 517.
[487] Garlan 1983, 27-35; nevertheless, there are cases such as Egypt, for example, where we know of transportation of empty jars, see: Koehler 1995, 327 and n. 14.

For later chronological periods, after stamps were invented, it is easier to create statistics and therefore to shape a better picture of the volume of exchange. In many cases, transport amphorae were the symbols of a city-state, exactly as coins were. Nonetheless, it is very likely- and will be clear from the analysis below- that sometimes they represented a region, rather than a particular city-state. Researchers attribute to amphorae a name of a certain town, for instance, "Chian"; yet, very often this particular type, called Chian, may not have been manufactured in Chios itself but rather in the Chian peraea. A similar problem was encountered with the introduction of the new amphora types, found in Methone and classified, for the first time in this study; their origin has been placed – macroscopically- in the extended region of Methone but the exact place of their production is yet to be confirmed; it is very probable that several manufacturing centres of the same type were active simultaneously. The emblematic value of the amphora shape for the polis, suggested by Gras[488] and well exemplified by the case of Virginia Grace's "Samian" containers[489], has been put under question after the archaeometric results of Dupont's studies on transport amphorae from East Greece[490]. The treatment of the amphorae dated in early periods, from the 8th to early 6th century BC should evidently be different from the one of later periods as we are dealing with a period when writing on the transport vessels is rare and when there are no inscriptions or stamps to confirm the city-state of origin. On the contrary, the identification of the transport amphorae of this period-especially the undecorated ones- is based on the morphological and fabric characteristics and encompasses, therefore, a certain amount of uncertainty.

[488] Gras 1987, 41-50.
[489] Grace 1971, 52-95.
[490] Dupont 2010, 40.

Although discussion referring to the Greek transport amphorae's origin has been adequate, research on the technology of their manufacture is rather poor. The current study makes some observations concerning the technology of manufacture, especially regarding Thermaic Gulf amphorae and other types of amphorae found in Methone. Amphorae studies have been significantly assisted by the archaeometric techniques and in particular by petrographic and chemical analyses. The examination of Greek transport amphorae's fabric began in the 1980's and since then it has been considered a specialization of archaeology[491]. Although the importance of microscopic analysis for accurate and complete results on identification of origin and technology of manufacture is certainly acknowledged, the current study of the Western Hill material is unfortunately at present only based on macroscopic examination; it is, however, intended that the future publication of the material will include petrographic analyses of certain samples. In the analysis of the data, the necessity of laboratory work is often indicated, especially for specific examples.

The implementation of the methodology, which was employed for the technical study of this pottery assemblage, was a difficult task, as the excavation at Methone is at a preliminary stage. New material is still emerging and the workforce and finances were severely limited. The above factors resulted in hasty conduct of the excavation by the Greek archaeological service. Despite the archaeologists' remarkable efficiency, given the limited time and financial means they could employ, no stratigraphical data were provided. It is therefore likely that the chronological scheme proposed in this study will be significantly improved if such data become available. The study of the fine pottery, found together with the pottery assemblage under examination, will be even more helpful in establishing a definitive chronology. The lack of an overview of the pottery of the site of Methone was an additional impediment to the data interpretation. However, this problem was partially solved by the publication of preliminary reports of the excavations at the site and discussion with the excavators.

The practical and technical problems described above hindered the completion of the quantification analysis applied in this study, which aimed to answer questions posed by the material under examination. However, the work completed so far will be used as a basis for

[491] Clinkenbeard 1982; Dupont 1982; Dupont 1983; Whitbread & Koehler 1984; Jones 1986; Whitbread 1995; Seifert 1996; Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen & Niemeier 2002, 28–36; de Domingo & Johnston 2003. Seifert 2004;Dupont & Skarlatidou 2005; Dupont 2007a; Dupont 2010a; Dupont 2010b; Dupont 2011.

the forthcoming publication of the material. Further analysis will be conducted and it is expected that further conclusions will be drawn, once the finances allow the completion of the quantification analysis.

The pottery assemblage under study consists of only a percentage of the total, which – although difficult to estimate - should be around 75 % of the total from the stratum dated to the first half of the 6th century BC and not more than 20 % of the total from the second half of the 7th century stratum. This thesis' pottery analysis examines only the transport or potential transport vessels from the western hill of Methone. The vast majority of those refers to amphora examples, except for two hydriai and one (included in the catalogue) oinochoe. The reason that only few transport oinochoai are examined in this study is related to limited known parallels of transport oinochoai (Chian transport oinochoai –the Methone example is possibly identified as such- have been discovered in other sites, but transport oinochoai are not generally known to have been much circulated).

In order to eliminate, to the degree possible, any bias in regards to the findings, fragments of transport vessels were separated and an elementary quantification analysis consisting of counting all the sherds under study was applied. Although aware of the risk of a distorted picture of the original ceramic population that this method hides, it was still preferred as it gives an immediate idea about the state of preservation and the composition of the finds[492]. The selection of the examples which were catalogued was based on the examples' diagnostic characteristics, either morphological or fabric. The catalogued examples were grouped according to their fabric (after thorough macroscopic examination), measured and catalogued and the material was divided in several groups according to the examples suggested provenance. This provenance is supported by morphological and fabric features and decorative elements, where applicable. The examination of the material is divided in workshops of different regions and distribution of all types in the Northern Aegeanis presented alongside the typological analysis[493]. Except for a few intact or almost intact vessels, most of the pottery material is fragmentary and drawings of it were provided, although limited due to the above-mentioned lack of time and finances.

Weighing as a quantification method was avoided, as it is time-consuming and provides

[492] Verdan 2008, 166.

[493] For the importance and need of more intense orientation of research towards distribution studies, which allow the reconstruction of commercial networks, see Lawall 1999, 231; Lawall 2000, 4, 72-73.

limited information. On the other hand, the practice of taking overall photographs of the examined potsherds, sometimes with the fine pottery context, was applied. However, these collected photographs are not included in this study, for reasons related both to their poor resolution and the fact that the fine pottery has not been published yet. They were, however, particular helpful for the data processing.

The more elaborate method that was employed for the quantification of the sherds was Evaluate Vessel Equivalent (EVE)[494]. This method, although more tedious to implement, was chosen because it is the most suitable method when dealing with undifferentiated pottery, such as the Methone assemblage, which consisted, predominantly, of amphora sherds. MNI (the alternative quantitative method) was avoided as it disregards several body fragments considering them as one. It would therefore be unsuitable for the Methone material, which included numerous body sherds.

However, not many body sherds were catalogued as the criteria for the selection of the catalogued pieces were largely based on their morphological diagnostic characteristics. These would usually be rim or foot fragments of the transport vessels, but sometimes a body fragment would be sufficient to offer identification of provenance based on its fabric and occasionally even an identification of the type, based on the thickness of its walls. Such informative examples were catalogued. Not all the discussed (and catalogued) examples are included in the catalogue of finds of the thesis owing to the word limit of the current thesis and, in some instances, the lack of sufficiently high resolution photographs. These examples will of course be included in the final publication. Overall, very few examples were left uncatalogued (usually very small undiagnostic pieces) and no significant/diagnostic example was omitted in the thesis' discussion. Tables with exact numbers are provided in the beginning of the analysis of each different workshop (e.g. Chian, Milesian etc).

Furthermore, the content of the different types of transport amphorae where a variety of goods were circulated, liquids and solid foodstuffs is discussed [495]. It is very important to discover the amphorae's contents but it is also tentative to speculate on commodities without the assistance of science. Michel Gras, has rightly noted that «Nous devons le reconnaître: le débat sur le contenu des amphores archaïques a toujours été le tendon

[494] Verdan 2008, 167-169; for methods see also Orton & Hughes 2013, 210-212.
[495] For transport amphorae's content see: Lawall 1995, 1–2; Whitbread 1995, 37-38.

d'Achille».[496] Defining the content of a type of amphorae may be achieved through a combination of methods but it is usually based on our information from ancient literature for a certain region, which is, of course, related to the basic agricultural product produced in the area[497]. Unfortunately, rarely do we use the method of DNA analysis of the contents remains, usually in shipwrecks[498]. Given the lack of studies made on this field, for the moment, we can only hypothesize on the contents of amphorae's vessels. In this study, it is suggested that either olive oil or wine was carried in most of the amphora types. It is, however, very probable that a number of other products were transferred in those containers[499]. Yet, even in the case that a type of amphora was used systematically for the export of a certain product, the same container could have been reutilised with another content or recycled[500] and this again contributes to the study of amphorae's beset.

Quantitative and qualitative data from the analysis of the Western Hill material, together with data derived from a similar but earlier dated assemblage of transport amphorae from the *Hypogeion* of Methone will be used together with information from other chapters in the final chapter (Chapter IV).

[496] Gras 2010, 111.
[497] Sourisseau 1997, 268-270; Gassner 2003, 134-37; Panagou 2010, 9-13; Lawall 2011a, 24-25.
[498] Foley, Hansson, Kourkoumelis &Theodoulou in press; for DNA analysis see also Lawall 1995, 1, n. 3. DNA analysis is expected from some samples from the Methone *Hypogeion* too. M. Roumbou from the University of Reading. For results on archeobotanic results from Karabournaki, see: Valamoti 2009, 99; Manakidou 2010, 464.
[499] Lawall 2011a, 23-25; Lawall 2011b 43.
[500] Lawall 2011a, 30-32; Lawall 2011b, 43–47; Sherratt 2011, 22; For ancient sources see also, Dupont 2001, 85. See Bertucchi 1992, 185-191;Carlson 2003, 588-590;Hansson & Foley 2008; Lawall 2011b, 43; Foley, Hanson, Kourkoumelis & Theodoulou, in press with DNA analysis; For the re-use of transport amphorae, see: Lawall& Lund 2011 & Pe~na 2007, 61-192.

Analysis of the material

1.LOCALLY PRODUCED TRANSPORT VESSELS

THERMAIC GULF WORKSHOPS (cat nos 1-8) :

Thermaic Gulf AMPHORAE	**IDENTIFIED SHERDS**
TOTAL	20
COMPLETE	0
HANDLES	8. 4699*, 4700, 4701, 4603, 4702 (?), 4761, 4690 (?), 4799
RIMS	0
FEET	0
BODY	12. 4698, 4703, 4719 (?), 4758, 4769, 4780, 4782, 4815 (?), 4618, 4786 (?), 4760 (?), 4798

There are 20 fragments, which were found in the western hill of Methone and they can be classified under the Thermaic Gulf amphorae type. This assemblage is examined closely with the Thermaic Gulf amphorae found in the *Hypogeion* of Methone. From the 9 examples found in the *Hypogeion*, 4 different vessels are identified and dated to the late 8th and beginning of 7th century BC. From the 20 examples in the western hill assemblage, 5 different vessels can be identified; they are dated to the second half of the 7th century BC. There is more Thermaic Gulf material from the *Hypogeion* but it is still unpublished.

With the term "Thermaic Gulf amphorae", we refer to a group of transport amphorae that were initially identified as a separate type by Richard Catling[501]. Catling, names this type "Northern Aegean Type II amphorae". Before Catling's study, Paul Bernard, who studied

[501] Catling 1998, 166-172.

* All four-digit numbers mentioned in the following chapter refer to Methone's inventory.

pottery material from Thasos refered to this type as "amphores de décor geometrique"[502]. In other publications they are referred to as "SubProtogeometric Northern Aegean amphorae" or "local geometric amphorae" or "amphorae with concentric circles"[503]. However, as the manufacture of the type has been rather securely located in the Thermaic Gulf area and because the first study and discussion of this type of amphorae in Methone has been conducted under the term "Thermaic Gulf" amphorae[504], the same term has been opted for the current study.

Based on Richard Catling's study, the presentation of this type's examples in several sites in the Northern Aegean[505] and the work carried out by the writer in Methone, the main characteristics of this type has been summarized in the following: the Thermaic Gulf amphorae are large vessels made of a coarse fabric but the coarseness of the fabric can vary; they can reach a height of 0,60 m. and they have a capacity of 50 lts, although fractional vessels of the same type with a height of 0,35-0,40 m. have been reported[506]. They have a large thick ovoid body, a stout neck and a wide and sometimes flat on the top rim, cylindrical in section; their vertical handles begin on the neck and end on the shoulder, their typical feature are the two vertical grooves which run along them and two bands of black paint which follow them. Their main decoration consists of 3 large sets of concentric circles on the shoulder, drawn with a multiple brush. It is rather similar and repetitive, identical on both sides. Sometimes, the concentric circles are replaced by triangular motifs but no such example survives in the assemblage under examination[507]. Secondary decorative motifs such as crossing of the bands which run along the handles, to the area below the handles as well as crossing of two lines on the neck of the vessel can occur; the upper part of the neck and

[502] Bernard 1964, 116.
[503] Tiverios & Gimatzidis 2000, 196; Tiverios & Gimatzidis 2001, 302; Tiverios,Manakidou &Tsiafaki 2004, 341. Papadopoulos 2005,576; Gimatzidis 2010a, 252–274; Gimatzidis 2011a, 101.
[504] Kotsonas 2012, 150-158.
[505] Catling 1998,153–154, 166; Lenz, Ruppenstein, Baumann; Catling 1998, 204; see also: Bernard 1964, 116- 123; Gimatzidis 2002, 74–76; Moschonisioti, Pentedeka, Kiritzi & Mexi 2005, 250–251; Skiadas 2009,35–36,110–112; Gimatzidis 2010, 99–100,258–262;Patis 2010.
2010, 62,64–66,131–136; Hatzis 2010,171–173; Kotsonas 2012, 150-157.
[506] Most of the examples in the *Hypogeion* were large examples but a few small ones were also identified and they remain unpublished. see Kotsonas 2012, 150-157 for the inscribed ones. For other fractional vessels, see: Catling 1998, 153–154; Gimatzidis 2006, 216-217; Skiadas 2009, 36; Gimatzidis 2010, 259; Hatzis 2010,172. The common capacity of Greek amphorae was 25-30 lts and the biggest ones reached 40lts, see: Koehler & Matheson 1993, 89.
[507] There is one reported in the *Hypogeion*, see Kotsonas 2012, no. 84 and more unpublished. For more examples of this type, see: Catling 1998, 166–167; Gimatzidis 2002,75–76; Hatzis 2008, 66; Hatzis 2010, 173; Gimatzidis 2010, 259-260.

the rim are covered with slip. The rest of the body is decorated with bands, which run along the transition of the lower part (belly) to the shoulder[508].

Fabric:

According to the studies made so far, the Thermaic Gulf amphorae's fabric is very light brownish/beige (7.5 YR 6/4) with a light to dark grey core and a darker reddish or brownish interior. The fabric is coarse and it contains abundant golden and silver mica, schistolithic inclusions and small quartz inclusions, dark inclusions, clay pellets and pieces of shell. Very similar to the above description is the fabric of the examples found both in the *Hypogeion* of Methone and the western hill. Although, Kotsonas in his study of the *Hypogeion* material does not report any significant differentiation among the examples examined, the examination of the western hill material allowed the classification of the Thermaic Gulf amphorae fabrics in three different categories based on their coarseness. The following examples are further divided in smaller groups based also on morphological characteristics.

1. **15 examples**: 4698,4699, 4700, 4701, 4703, 4719, 4758, 4769, 4780, 4782, 4798, 4799, 4815, 4786, 4760

4698-4701 (cat no. 1): these four sherds come from the same area and possibly belong to the same vessel. They are all wheel-made and their fabric is identical, orange/buffish with grey core, contains large white and small black inclusions and abundant silver mica. Although these examples' fabric is very similar to the description provided above, it is also different from the fabric of the *Hypogeion* examples. The *Hypogeion* examples are made of a coarser fabric and they are not entirely made on wheel[509]. Catling has argued that the Thermaic Gulf amphorae are wheel-made[510], but what seems to be more correct is that the percentage of intervention/use of wheel varies among different examples and can possibly provide evidence for the dating of the vessel (see below). The suggested technique with

[508] See for example Tiverios 2009, 405.
[509] Kotsonas 2012, 152-153.
[510] Catling 1998, 153 and others followed his view, see: Hatzis 2010, 171-176; Patis 2010, 63-76; Skiadas 2009, 35-49; Gimatzidis 2010, 99-100; Gimatzidis 2011a, 101.

which the Thermaic Gulf amphorae were manufactured (τεχνική κουλούρας), involves a roughly handmade core foolowed by the use of wheel to complete the vessel; in this way the obvious marks of wheel observed on the vessels are also explained[511].

Comparing the examples of this group to the ones found in the *Hypogeion*, differences in the shape of the handles can also be observed. Handles in this group are well shaped and smaller in thickness and diameter, as well as flatter than the ones found in the *Hypogeion* (see 4799, 4761, **cat. Nos 3 & 8**) [512], which present a circular or triangular section and they are significantly larger[513]. Decoration is similar in both the *Hypogeion* and the examples from the western hill and typical of the Thermaic Gulf amphorae (see above). The shoulder of the vessel is decorated with sets of 9 black concentric circles in both cases (4699-**cat no. 1**).

4780 (cat. no 2) & 4262 are wheelmade, and their fabric is buff and coarse with abundant silver mica. Both 4780 **(cat. no 2)** and 4262 come from the bottom part of the vessel and therefore preserve three black horizontal bands of decoration, typical of the Thermaic Gulf amphorae decoration (see above).

4798-99 (cat. no. 3) belong to the same vessel and have a very similar fabric to 4780 **(cat. no. 2**). They are made of a more buffish rather than orange clay but the quantity of silver mica seems to be the same and black inclusions are present too. 4799 **(cat. no. 3)**, which is a handle preserves the same type of grooves and decoration with 4700-4701.

4703,4719,4758,4769,4782,4789,4815. 4758, 4769 (?), 4782 (**cat. no. 4**) are made of an orange fabric with grey core, abundant mica and white and dark inclusions. They are also wheel-made and less coarse than the *Hypogeion* examples. In these examples we can detect a well applied thin slip on the surface of the vessel, contrary to what Catling describes as a rough, thick slip applied on his type II amphorae[514]. It is interesting to note that the slip described by Catling is present in the *Hypogeion* examples, which are dated to the end of the 8th/ beginning of the 7th century BC, as well as in the Nea Anchialos examples, which are dated to the same period[515]. Finally, these three examples (4758, 4769, 4782-**cat. no. 4**)

[511] The wheel marks are noted by Catling but the "kouloura technique" has been noted a few years ago by archaeologists of the region and especially by M. Tiverios and was mentioned by Kotsonas in his study of the *Hypogeion* material, see Kotsonas 2012, 153, n. 510.
[512] See also below 4761.
[513] Kotsonas 2012,153.
[514] Catling 1998, 153. See also: Lenz, Ruppenstein, Baumann & Catling 1998, 204. Tiverios 2006, 77. Gimatzidis 2010, 99.
[515] See Kotsonas 2012, 153 & 420 no. 85.

preserve decoration of concentric circles on the exterior surface, although 4769's circles look rather odd and unequal in thickness, it may therefore belong to a different type of vessel, although still an amphora made with local clay.

4815 (?)- cat. no 5 is a body fragment made of a very similar to this group's fabric although slightly more greyish, which is probably the result of fire. Differences in firing conditions that cause colour dissimilarities have been noticed in the examples from the *Hypogeion*, as well[516]. However, this example also presents decoration of two overlapping sets of concentric circles and therefore may belong to a different type of closed vessel (not a Thermaic Gulf amphora), although still of local/Macedonian origin.

4786 (?) is made of a fabric that contains less mica than the average example of this type and the surface of the sherd is covered by a thin buffish slip on top of which the decoration of concentric circles is placed. The walls of the vessel are thick enough to allow us to identify it as an amphora, however the possibility of it being imported rather than a local manufacture should not be excluded, although the place of origin is not clear.

4760 (?) – cat. no 6 is made from an even finer fabric than 4786. Its fabric, however, presents similarities in composition to the Thermaic Gulf amphorae's fabric; it is orange/buffish with grey core and therefore presenting the so-called "sandwich clay", typical of the Thermaic Gulf amphorae and it contains a lot of silver mica and large white inclusions; however, the exterior is also covered with a thin slip and is finely made; this example, therefore, may belong to a different vessel.

2. **3 examples:** 4603, 4618, 4702.

4603 & 4618 (cat. no. 7) are made of a fabric different than group 1. Although the composition is very similar, their fabric is coarser than Group 1 and although Group 2 examples contain a large amount of silver mica, they also contain many larger inclusions. Group 2 examples look like they have been made by the "kouloura techniqhe" described above. The fabric of this group therefore is closer to the *Hypogeion* examples. In addition, 4603, which is a handle, is larger and closer morphologically to the *Hypogeion* examples, although not as coarse and large as those. The decoration of 4603 consists of two horizontal grooves painted with black bands running along the upper surface of the handle and

[516] Kotsonas 2012, 153.

therefore matches the standard one and so does 4618 (cat. **no. 7**), which is decorated with the typical concentric circles drawn with a multiple brush.

4702 (?) is part of a handle made of coarse orange clay with grey core, and contains abundant silver mica. This handle presents a thicker and coarser fabric and looks handmade. This example could only belong to an amphora, as no other vessel would preserved such thick handle; however, it is not decorated with the typical Thermaic Gulf decoration and is therefore very tentatively classified under this category.

3. **2 examples: 4761 (cat. no. 8) and 4690**.

These two amphora handles are made of a fabric, which stands in composition very close to the other two groups (contains abundant mica and large white and black inclusions) but in coarseness, it is placed between Group 1 and Group 2. 4761 **(cat. no. 8)** stands morphologically very close to 4701 of group 1; however, both handles do not resemble the typical Thermaic Gulf amphorae handles, which are thicker and wider[517]. The decoration elements are not uncommon: 4761 **(cat. no. 8)** is decorated with grooves and black bands, which run along them, similarly to the examples of Group 1 and typically for Thermaic Gulf amphorae.

Provenance:

The origin of the Thermaic Gulf amphorae, was initially placed in Asia Minor[518]. Catling suggested the area around the Thermaic Gulf as a place of origin, a hypothesis, which was strongly supported by the discovery of a large quantity of this type of amphorae in Nea Anchialos. On the basis of this material, Michalis Tiverios went further to suggest that Nea Anchialos was the manufacturing place of the Thermaic Gulf amphorae[519]. It seems however that there were more than one production centres of this type around the Thermaic Gulf. This is mainly because depending on the place of discovery of certain examples, there is a differentiation in fabric, whereas all other characteristics of the amphorae remain the

[517] See for example: Kotsonas 2012, nos 80, 81, 83 (Methone, *Hypogeion*); Tiverios 2009, 405, fig. 7(Nea Anchialos).
[518] Ghali-Kahil 1960, 33, no. 39–40. See also, Bernard 1964, 116 and Graham 1978, 67.
[519] Initially in Tiverios 1993b, 250; Tiverios & Gimatzidis 2000, 196, where it was only a hypothesis and later more securely in Tiverios & Gimatzidis 2001, 302; Tiverios 2006, 77; In Gimatzidis 2002, 75–76 the production centre is placed more generally in the Thermaic Gulf area rather than exclusively the site of Nea Anchialos.

same[520]. In Torone, a pithamphora with the same decorative features as the amphora was found in a ceramic kiln[521]. Similarly, in Mende, it was indicated through petrographic analysis that the Thermaic Gulf amphorae were made of a fabric very similar to the one that local vessels were made of [522]. Therefore, there must have been more than one centres of production of the Thermaic Gulf amphorae. Although, the rocks that were identified in the thin sections taken from samples of the *Hypogeion* are very common in the eastern coast of the Thermaic Gulf, petrographic analysis also showed the fabric of the Thermaic Gulf samples is not similar to the locally produced coarse vessels. It was therefore proposed that Methone was probably not a production centre of Thermaic Gulf amphorae[523]. To this suggestion we can offer, new evidence of the current study, which shows that the majority of the Thermaic Gulf amphora from the western hill were found next to or near a kiln and we already know that there was production of ceramics in Methone, as the discovery of misfired fragments clearly indicate[524]. Considering that the assemblage under examination is dated later than the one from the *Hypogeion*, we could perhaps argue that production of Thermaic Gulf amphorae in Methone took place during the last period of the type's production (see below).

Distribution:

Many examples of Thermaic Gulf amphorae dated to the late 8th and early 7th centuries BC have been found in several sites mostly in Northern Greece but also in a few other places in the Mediterranean. When Catling published his study on this type of amphorae he had in a way predicted the discovery of Thermaic Gulf amphorae in the coastline of Pieria, where Methone is located but also in other areas[525]. Recent excavations have indeed revealed a lot of Thermaic Gulf amphorae in the Northern Aegean. Examples are found in Nea Nikomideia[526], Gallikos[527] Edessa[528], Kritsana[529], Leibithra[530], Kastro in Neokaisareia[531],

[520] Comparison has been made between Thasos, Troy and Karabournaki, see: Gimatzidis 2002, 76; 176; Chabot Aslan 2009, 41, no. 9; Hatzis 2010. In the case of the Troy specimen, chemical analysis showed the relation to Troy's local pottery, see: Mommsen, Hertel & Mountjoy 2001, 195–196 (sample 118), 203.
[521] Papadopoulos 1989, 24, 27,30–31, no. KP-5.
[522] Moschonissioti, Pentedeka,Kyriatzi &Mexi 2005, 250,259–260,264.
[523] Kotsonas 2012, 155.
[524] Bessios 2012, 90, fig. 65; Kotsonas 2012,115.
[525] Catling 1998, 170.
[526] The fragment is unpublished; it is kept at the cast gallery of the Philoshophical School of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.
[527] British Museum cat. No. 2011, 5013.1180

Leykopetra[532], Archontiko[533], Axiochori (Vardaroftsa)[534], Kastanas[535], Nea Anchialos (very large quantity)[536], Sari Omer (Pentalofos)[537],Lebet[538], Toumba[539], Karabournaki[540], Gona[541], Thermi[542], Perivolaki[543], Nea Kallikrateia[544], Sane (Pallene)[545], Mende (significant quantity)[546], Poseidi[547], Afytis[548], Akanthos[549], Argilos[550], Amphipolis (area)[551], Neapoli (Kavala)[552], Thasos (significant quantity)[553] . Outside Macedonia, examples of Thermaic Gulf amphorae have reached Halos (Southeast Thessaly)[554], Iolkos (big quantity)[555], Svilengrad (Bulgaria)[556],

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[528] Chrysostomou 1999, 269, fig.9.
[529] An unpublished fragment (handle with marks) stored in the cast Gallery of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
[530] Poulaki-Pandermali 2008a,32; figure in Pante 2011.
[531] Jung&Gimatzidis 2008, 138–139, fig 14.
[532] Stefane 2007, 569, fig 10.
[533] Chrysostomou & Chrysostomou 1993, 160, fig. 7. Catling 1998, 169.
[534] Heurtley & Hitchinson 1925–1926, 28, fig 14a, Tb XXIa; although Catling is unsure about the identification of these sherds as Thermaic Gulf amphorae, see Catling 1998, 170.
[535] Hänsel 1979, 197, fig. 18.3; Hänsel 1989, Tb. 8.2.
[536] Gimatzidis 2010, 258–269.
[537] Rey 1917-19, 257, fig. 48 and one more fragment in the cast Gallery of the Aristotle University, see Kotsonas 2012, 258, n.556.
[538] Catling 1998, 169; Tzanavari 1992, 367.
[539] Havela 2006, 51–54.
[540] Rhomaios 1941, 369, fig. 4; Catling 1998,169; Tiverios, Manakidou & Tsiafaki 2003a 193–194, fig 5; Moschonissioti 2004, 292; Tiverios, Manakidou & Tsiafaki 2004, 341; Tiverios, Manakidou & Tsiafaki 2005, 190; Tiverios, Manakidou & Tsiafaki, 2006, 267; Tsimpidou-Avloniti, Kayiouli,Kaiafa; Lykidou, Mandake & Protopsalte 2006, 273 fig. 7; Pante 2005, 277; Tiverios 2006, 77, fig 3; Tiverios, Manakidou & Tsiafaki 2007; 266; Hatzis 2008, 65–70; Skiadas 2009; 44–45; Tiverios 2009, 392-394, fig.13; Manakidou 2010, 466, fig. 318; Hatzis 2010, 171-176.
[541] Patis 2010, 64, 131–136.
[542] Skarlatidou 1996, 440, tb 118c.
[543] Catling 1998, 169.
[544] Kefalidou 2011.
[545] Vokotopoulou 1993, 198, fig. 4.
[546] Vokotopoulou 1987, 369; Vokotopoulou 1990a, 400, 407–408, fig. 9–10; Vokotopoulou 1990b, 315; Vokotopoulou 1992, 385, Tb. 112a. Catling 1998, 167. Moschonissioti 1998, 259, fig. 6. Gimatzidis 2002, 75–76, n. 14. Moschonissioti 2004, 281–282, 291. Moschonissioti, Pendedeka, Kyriatzi & Mexi 2005, 250–251, fig. 1. Moschonissioti 2010, 215 and personal examination of the material.
[547] Moschonissioti 2011 and personal examination of the material.
[548] Misailidou-Despotidou 2009, 225 fig. 3; possibly not a Thermaic Gulf amphora.
[549] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 2006–2007, 49,Tb 3.
[550] Perrault-Bonias 2006, 50–51, Tb I.2; after personal examination of the material, I was able to see 1-2 fragments of the type made of a very coarse clay and looking rather early, possibly before the middle of the 7th cent. BC.
[551] Catling 1998, 169.
[552] Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 1993, 687, fig.32; Catling 1998; 169; two fragments are exhibited in the new gallery at the Archaeological Museum of Kavala.
[553] Ghali-Kahil 1960, 33, no. 39–40; Bernard 1964, 116–123; Catling 1998, 167–169; Gimatzidis 2002, 74-76 fig. 2-6 where he mentions two wrong identification of Bernard, n. 14); Blondé, Muller, Mulliez, Kohl, Sanidas 2008, 410; Muller 2010, 216-217 and personal examination of the material.
[554] Gimatzidis 2010, 101- 104, 108, fig 7.
[555] Catling 1998, 169-170.
[556] Karadzhinov 2010, 163, 171, fig. 2; 5–6. I have, personally not examined this fragment but according to Kotsonas it possibly comes from a Thermaic Gulf amphorae, see Kotsonas 2012, 259, n. 575.

Antissa[557], Efestia[558], Troy (significant quantity)[559], Oropos[560], Eretria[561], Lefkandi[562], (significant quantity)[563], Kommos[564], El Bassit in Syria[565] and Pithekoussai[566].

Chronology:

The Thermaic Gulf amphorae belong to a series of amphorae, which appear particularly early and even before the appearance of the known Greek transport amphora types, which appear in the 8th century BC onwards. When Catling made the classification of the pottery material in Troy, he found large quantities of a type of amphora, which was also decorated with spires or concentric circles on the shoulder and which was considered as the predecedor of his Type II (which corresponds to the Thermaic Gulf type, see above). The place of manufacture for this early type, which appears in the late 11th and early 10th centuries BC has been tentatively placed in Phokis or Lokris[567]. According to the same study, this production lasts from the 10th century and until the middle of the 9th or the beginning of the 8th,when the centre of manufacture moves to Thessaly and Chalkidike; there, an evolution in the shape is taking place and leads to the establishment of the new type (Type II or Thermaic Gulf) in the early 8th century BC. From that period onwards, the production of this amphora seems to be limited to Macedonia and most especially around the Thermaic Gulf. Nea Anchialos/Sindos has been suggested more securely as one of the production centres but these vessels must have been manufactured elsewhere too[568].

As it has been described in chapter 2, the layer where most of the material under examination has been found has been roughly dated to the first half of the 6th century BC; however, in certain areas the excavation has gone deeper and the context of the finds

[557] Lamb 1931-1932, 56, 9; Catling 1998, 170.
[558] Danile 2009, 309, 322, fig. 27.
[559] Chabot Aslan 2009a, 41, no. 9. Chabot Aslan 2011, 392–393, no. 20–21.
[560] Petrakos 2007, 28, fig.20; Mazarakis-Ainian 2007, 13, Tb 13b; Vlachou 2010, 307, 358.
[561] Catling 1998, 170; Kenzelmann, Pfyffer, Theurillat & Verdan 2005, 73, no. 58, where the fragment is mentioned as Cypriot amphora but a new identification as a Thermaic Gulf amphora has been made, see: Kotsonas 2012, 258, n. 541.
[562] Catling 1998, 169-170; Lemos 2009, 34–35, fig 6.
[563] Chabot Aslan 2011, 392–393, no. 20–21.
[564] Johnston 2000, 197, αρ. 12.
[565] Gimatzidis 2010, 262.
[566] Di Sandro 1986, 116, SG 264; Buchner & Ridgway 1993, 600-601, no. 621.
[567] Catling 1998; see also Catling 1996, 126; Lemos 2002, 57–58; Dickinson 2006, 130,207-208; Hatzis 2008, 66–67; Gimatzidis 2010, 253–258; Patis 2010, 69–76.
[568] Tiverios 2009, 403-404 and see also above.

indicates an earlier dating. The examples that belong to the Thermaic Gulf amphorae all come from contexts, earlier than the 6th century BC.

It is unclear and there is a disagreement among scholars regarding the type's end of production. Catling believes in a survival of the type until the early 7th century BC[569]. Gimatzidis, on the other hand, having studied the Nea Anchialos pottery material argues for a survival of the type until around 700 BC[570]. Evidence pointing to an even later survival of the type has been found in Abdera in a burial dated to the 600 BC[571].

There are 16 examples in the western hill of Methone, securely identified as Thermaic Gulf amphorae. Most of them were unearthed from the area next to and around the kilns of the northern part (squares 007, 008, see plan) and 5 sherds can be identified in the southern part of the hill (squares 020 and 028). Overall, the excavation context of the areas from where the Thermaic Gulf amphorae were unearthed is similar: they were found together with local EIA pottery, often with fragments of other transport amphorae, such as Chian and SoS. 4262 was found with egg-shell pottery, typical of the 7th and 6th century Thermaic Gulf settlements and fragments of Early Corinthian kotylai but in the same context a fragment of a SubProtogeometric 'silver-ware' vessel has also been discovered. 4618 (**cat. no 7**) was found with a sherd of an imported Corinthian vessel dated to the Early Protocorinthian period (Meth 4619); cat no.7 has been classified under Group 2 and is made of a rather coarse fabric. The material under examination has been divided in the above three groups based on the examples' coarseness and based on the hypothesis that the level of coarseness can be an indication of earlier or later dating. Nevertheless, only 4618 (**cat. no 7**) supports this hypothesis, although there is no evidence to reject it at this point, either. Additional information will be provided after the completion of the excavation and the study of fine pottery of the area; for the moment and based on the above we could provisionally date the Thermaic Gulf amphorae found in the western hill of Methone to the second half of the 7th century BC.

[569] Catling 1998, 167–170, 176; see also Chabot-Aslan 2011, 392, no. 20, evidence which support this chronology.
[570] Gimatzidis 2006, 216, 218; see also: Hatzis 2008, 68; Patis 2010, 68; Hatzis 2010, 172–174, especially n. 200 and 213; Gimatzidis 2010, 261, 269.
[571] Skarlatidou 2010, 190, n. 100, no. K1 17, 357. For the later dating see also Gimatzidis 2002, 75.

Content:

The content of the Thermaic Gulf amphorae is still a matter of debate. Some scholars believe that the Catling types I and II were carrying different goods, such as wheat, olive oil or wine[572]. Catling argued that they were carrying olive oil and other scholars agreed with this suggestion[573]. Important information regarding the Thermaic amphorae content were provided by the archaeobotanic study in Karabournaki, which has revealed among others, a significant amount of grape seeds[574]. The discovery provided evidence for the production of grape juice in Karabournaki, where also a large quantity of Thermaic Gulf amphorae was found; it has therefore been argued that the Thermaic Gulf amphorae were produced for the exportation and the promotion of local wine rather than olive oil[575].

Although clearly a production of the Macedonian potters, the Thermaic Gulf amphorae have been related with the commercial activity of Euboeans; this was mainly based on the strong Euboean presence in the Thermaic Gulf during the 8th century BC, when the type starts to appear and the discovery of this type of amphorae in Pithekoussai and Eretria, as well as the discovery of "Macedonian bronzes" in Pithekoussai. Regardless of who was circulating the products, it is very important that a type of amphora manufactured in Macedonia is exported in places like Pithekoussai and Bassit already in such an early date, before the mass production and exportation of the majority of Greek transport amphorae begins. At this point we should start examining the possibility of the participation of the local population residing in Methone in the circulation of these vessels and their goods. The production of these vessels was clearly a local initiative and had little to do directly with Euboea, as finds in Lefkandi and Eretria show[576]. In addition to that, I think that the possibility of Methone being one of the production centres of this type, although rejected by Kotsonas, should be reconsidered, bearing in mind the new evidence from the western hill in Methone and the fact that the majority of the sherds were found around a kiln area.

[572] Lemos 2001, 216-219; Moschonissioti, Pentedeka, Kyriatzi & Mexi 2005, 250.
[573] This is what Michalis Tiverios originally thought but he changed his mind afterwards.
[574] Valamoti 2003, 201 ff.
[575] Tiverios, Manakidou, Tsiafaki 2003, 192.
[576] There is little evidence of this type in Euboean sites to support production of it in the island. The absence of the local population from the commercial networks has been noted by several scholars Heurtley 1939, 139; Hammond 1972, 192; Tiverios, 1993b, 1488- 1492 (referring to the 6th cent BC); Gimatzidis in press,958 and it needs to be reconsidered.

Graffiti:

Regarding the discussion of the origin of the traders who circulated the products, we need to also evaluate the commercial and other symbols and inscriptions that the Thermaic amphorae carry. The material from, the western hill material does not provide much information but insciptions are abundant in the *Hypogeion* material. The Thermaic Gulf amphorae carry commercial marks primarily on the handles and sometimes on the rim and rarely on the body. Many of the Thermaic Gulf amphorae, which were found in the Northern Aegean carry graffiti, Nea Anchialos, Kritsana, Gallikos, Karabournaki, Thasos, Troy[577]. It is interesting that four examples from the *Hypogeion* in Methone[578] carry a commercial mark of three short lines at the bottom half of the upper part of the handle; the same mark has also been noted by Kotsonas in Samian and "Methonaean" transport amphorae in the *Hypogeion* material and the rarity of it has also been noted[579]. This piece of evidence becomes even more important if we add Corinthian and Milesian amphorae that carry the same mark on their handle and were found in Methone's western hill (see corresponding chapters). Did perhaps this mark have a special meaning for Methone or the Macedonian harbours?

[577] See above fns 494, 496, 503, 507, 520, 529.
[578] Kotsonas 2012, nos 77,78,79,81.
[579] It occurs only once in the rich Nea Anchialos material, see Gimatzidis 2010, 266, no. 374; Kotsonas 2012, 158.

2.IMPORTED TRANSPORT VESSELS

ATTIC-SOS-A LA BROSSE WORKSHOPS (cat. nos 9-23):

SOS AMPHORAE	IDENTIFIED SHERDS
TOTAL	67 (12 MISSING: 4384, 4170, 3726, 4294, 4299, 4379, 4381, 4382, 4383, 4669-4670, 4680.). Information below without the missing/non-examined fragments.
COMPLETE	1 (3202)
RIM & NECK	Upper part: 4030 Neck and shoulder: 10 Rim+neck+handle: 4380, 4174
HANDLES	11
RIMS	10
FOOT AND BODY	0
FEET	11
BODY	25
DECORATED	7
SQUARES FOUND	008, 009, 010, 012, 013, 014, 015, 016, 019, 020, 022, 027, 028, 032, 033

Fragments that belong to either SOS or à la brosse amphorae have been found everywhere in the western hill and their abundance among the pottery has been noted already in the firsts reports of the archaeological site[580]. SoS and à la brosse amphorae are the second most numerous group of sherds in the western hill's pottery, after those originating from Chios. Of

[580] Bessios 2003, 449.

the 67 examples in total, at least 19 different vessel were identified, 4 of which could be attributed to the à la brosse type and 11 to the SoS type. For the remaining, there was no secure identification, so far.

Early SoS amphorae were also found in the *Hypogeion* of Methone where 7 vessels were identified by Kotsonas[581]. He dated the examples examined from the late 8th to the first half of the 6th century BC.

Fabric:

The most complete study regarding the SoS amphorae was conducted by Johnston & Jones and it included petrographic analyses, as well[582]. SoS amphorae present a large variety in their fabric; as ceramic analyses has shown, this is due to the fact that there were more than one production centres for these vessels[583]. According to the studies made so far and my personal examination of the Western hill assemblage, SoS amphorae are made of fabric with the following general characteristics: the colour of the clay is either light buff or light red 5YR 6/4 or 2.5 YR 6/4, 5YR 7/4 or 7.5YR 7/4. The exterior is covered with a thin slip and therefore the surface has a different colour, which can be from beige/yellow to reddish/brown. (5YR 6/4), reddish (5YR 7/4,7.5YR 7/4, reddish/yellow (5YR 7/6, 7.5YR 8/6) light red (2.5YR 6/6) light brown (7.5YR 6/4) or beige (10YR 7/3 to 7/4). The fabric includes few to many brown/red inclusions, mostly medium and small but sometimes also large; sometimes there are few white inclusions and a little silver mica.

Kotsonas in his study of the *Hypogeion* material categorized the SoS amphorae in 3 fabric groups. In order to maintain a continuum in the study of the Methone transport amphorae, I attempted to categorize the material from the western hill to the same/similar categories:

1. Orange/reddish clay with abundant to many brown inclusions, some white inclusions and mica (5YR 7/4 to 7/6)[584]: 4682, 4633, 4621, 4538, 4714, 4707, 4797, 4727,

[581] Kotsonas 2012, 188.
[582] Johnston& Jones 1978. For a collected bbibliography on SoS amphorae, see also: Tiverios 2000, ns. 1, 6,7.
[583] Stern& Desceudres 1977, 80, 85, nos 77-78; Johnston& Jones 1978, 122-128, 140; Jones 1979; Jones 1986, 706-712; Docter 1991, 45 note 2; Vokotopoulou-Christidis 1995, 11-12; Albanese-Procelli 1996, 99-102; De Domingo & Johnston 2003, 32-33, 37-38; Savelli 2006, 108-109.
[584] Kotsonas 2012, cat nos 6, 104, 173,174.

4795, 4710, 4563, 4669, 4794, 4820, 4578, 4835, 4752, 4825, 4637, 4540, 4384, 4659(traces of metal), 4670, 4174, 4172, 4387, 4390, 4386.

2. Light coloured clay, beige/yellowish, fewer dark inclusions and no visible mica. The main difference of this group from the previous one is the reduced quantity in dark (brownish/reddish0 inclusions. The fabric shows a colour differentiation, it's reddish (7.5 YR 7/4) to light reddish, light brownish or light ochre brownish. This fabric contains a few to abundant small brownish/reddish inclusions, few to very few dark ones and occasionally very few white[585] : 4833, 4831, 4779, 4030, 4778, 4726, 4615, 4543, 4821, 4637a, 4718, 4541, 4539, 4385, 4834, 4695, 4625, 4542, 4619, 4616, 4380, 4224, 4388.

3. This group is represented by examples with almost the same fabric as group 1 but the fabric here contains more mica. The fabric is reddish/yellow to reddish and it contains fewer and smaller dark inclusions[586]: 4753, 4785, 4545, 4696, 4574, 4602, 4594, 4525, 4544, 4389, 4233.

All the examples above are considered to originate from Attica, unless differently stated. According to Kotsonas, groups 1 and 2 present the same fabric but different degree of processing. Whereas group 3 represents an even more advance degree of Attic clay processing[587].

Typology.

The SoS amphora appears in the third quarter of the 8th century BC and it disappears in the second quarter of the 6th or possibly, slightly earlier, in beginning of the 6th century, when it is replaced by the à la brosse type[588]. In the beginning of its appearance, the SoS amphora presents a symmetrical balloon body, a stout straight neck, a vertical lip and a ridge/ring below it; its handles are round[589] but during the 7th century BC they progressively become flatter and arching[590]. The profile of the neck and rim are of key importance to the understanding of the development of the shape and the dating of the examples[591]. During

[585] Kotsonas 2012, cat nos 105,106,111, 112,113.
[586] Kotsonas cat nos 107-110, 175.
[587] Kotsonas 2012, 185-186.
[588] Lawall 2011c, 296. The development of the type has sufficiently been studied, see: Young 1939, 178-179; Brann 1961, 338; Brann 1962, 32-33; Strom 1971, 112-113; Johnston & Jones 1978, 132-133; Oettli 1994, 33-36; Sourisseau 1997, 100-101; Lawall 2011c, 296.
[589] According to Johnston, this shape has a functional use to facilitate the carrying of the vessel.
[590] Johnston & Jones 1978, 133.
[591] See especially Brann 1962, tb 42, no. 25-28 for a comparative display of the late 8th to late 7th examples.

the 7th century BC, the neck progressively becomes flaring and so does the rim. It has also been argued that the sharp moulding under the vertical lip was used as a drip ring to catch the contents of the oil in case it dribbles over[592]. The foot turns from straight to beveled and even if the balloon body survives, it becomes fuller.

Early examples of SoS amphorae have been discovered in the *Hypogeion* of Methone; of the ones published so far, 4 samples have a thick rim and a relief ring underneath it, which indicate a date in the late 8th and early 7th century[593]. Among the assemblage of the Western hill, **rims** there are 2 groups of rims:

1. Cylindrical section rim with a ring underneath: 4820 (**cat. no.9**), 4578, 4669, 4834, 4753, 4294, 4299 (**cat. no 10**). These rims have different thickness but very similar shape. 4820 (**cat. no.9**) and 4753 have a more stout, straight rim profile than the others and 4299(**cat. no 10**) is between 4280 and the other examples of this group but they all have a ring placed under the rim; right below the rim in examples 4578, 4669 or slightly lower in 4834 **(cat. no. 11)** and 4820(**cat. no 9**). The placement of the ring below the rim is typical of the SoS amphorae dated before the beginning of the 6th century BC, whereas the placement of the ring lower on the neck is a sign of a later date[594]. The same feature is indicative of these vessels' origin from Attica, since the Chalkidian SoS amphorae present a ridge at the same spot[595]. In 4174(**cat. no. 22**), no ring is clearly seen but there is a small protrusion on the bottom part of the rim; in addition, the example preserves part of the SoS decoration on the neck; there is therefore no doubt that it comes from an SoS amphora.

2. This group consists of rims, which are cylindrical in section and thicker than group 1, flare outwards and have no ring underneath: 3202 (**cat. no. 12**), 4030 (**cat. no. 14),** 4695(**cat. no. 13**), 4794, 4380, 4388, 4386. In the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 6th, the lip becomes cup-shaped, flares outwards and the ridge/ring disappears, the handles arch and the shoulder becomes broad and very flat; this is the Late SoS type. 4695

[592] Johnston 1978, 133
[593] See Kotsonas 2012, nos 104-111 & 113. All examples that have a ring underneath the rim are dated before the first half of the 6th century BC.
[594] See Brann 1962, tb 42, no. 25-28 for a comparative display of the late 8th to late 7th examples.
[595] Johnston & Jones 1978, 111, 133.

(**cat. no. 13**) preserves traces of decoration on the neck, - probably part of the **O-** but it's rim profile looks exactly like 3202 (**cat. no. 12)**, which is an à la brosse type. The à la brosse type[596] follows the late SoS and is characterized by a rounded flaring rim, an ovoid body and a ring-shaped wide foot. The à la brosse' s body is covered by a worn off slip but the neck and handles are left unpainted. The type's development is limited. It is therefore difficult to distinguish a late SoS type from an à la brosse one, since only the rim and neck differ[597]. 4695 (**cat. no. 13**) must belong to the period between these two types and so does 4030 (**cat. no. 14)**, which has a cup-shaped rim and a reserved neck. All other examples are identified as à la brosse amphorae and are thus dated in the first half of the 6th century BC.

Similarly, the **handle** fragments from the western hill were divided into 2 groups:

1. Large, cylindrical in section, entirely covered with black/brownish slip: 4637b (**cat. no. 15**), 4835, 4170 (**cat. no. 16**). Examples in this group could also belong to "fully painted" amphorae but their fabric points more to an Attic provenance[598]. These handles are thick, with a large diameter, nearly circular, and this is an indication of an early date in Attic SoS (see above). 4825 is also covered with black slip, although it is clearly flatter. 4170 (**cat. no. 16**) has been found close to 4172 (**cat**. **no.17**)[599], fragments of Thermaic Gulf amphorae, local SubGeometric pottery and "egg-shell" pottery; both the morphological characteristics and the context point to a date in the 7th century BC, although most probably the third quarter.
2. Small, cylindrical in section, none covered with slip, all arching: 3202 (**cat no. 12**) 4714 (?), 4707, 4779, 4682 (?), 4831, 4383 (**cat. no. 18**), 4030 (**cat. no. 14**), 4389, 4752. This group contains handles of small diameter/thickness, which most probably belong to the à la brosse type. 4714, 4707 have the same shape and are made of similar fabric; they even preserve the same sediment; however, 4714 arches to a degree that almost forms a semicircle and therefore may be a horizontal handle and in this case not from an amphora.

[596] It is alternatively called 1501 Agora type and Villard calls them Greek-Anatolian, see "La ceramique Grecque de Marseilles", Paris 1960, p. 49.
[597] Johnston & Jones 1978, 121.
[598] This is a type of transport vessels that were first identified by Docter while he was studying material from Toscanos and Carthage and lately Bouthroto. Their provenance is still debatable but Docter has very tentatively attiributed them to Samos, see Docter 2000, 71.
[599] Which is dated to the 620/600 BC, see below.

4752 and 4383 (**cat. no. 18**) are not very small in dimensions but their neck is left unpainted, whereas the body is covered with thick black slip; this decoration is typical of the à la brosse type but since the handles are still rather large, this example must belong to the transitional period between the late SoS type and the à la brosse (see above).

4831 seems rather straight but the fabric is typical Attic (with red inclusions) and in addition it preserves traces of slip at the beginning of the handle, therefore it can be identified with relative certainty as a handle of an SoS type. The late SoS type had indeed straighter handles, compared to the early type which had handles covered with slip at the upper surface.

All preserved **feet** of SoS amphorae have similar morphological characteristics: they are high, flare outwards and they are covered with brownish/reddish slip until just the bottom of the vessel but leaving a stripe of the vessel reserved. 4385, 4718, 4795 have the same dimensions with the complete à la brosse example (3202-**cat. no. 12**). 4541[600], 4727, 4387 **(cat. no. 19)** and 4539 are slightly slimmer in dimensions, mainly the thickness of the foot's walls, which may suggest either a later date or a smaller size vessel. This is the typical shape of the late 7th and early 6th century BC foot of the SoS amphora[601]. Finally, 4710 (**cat. no. 20**) is an enormous piece, which finds parallels in SoS amphora feet found in Karabournaki and Abdera[602]. 3726 is thicker than 3202 and it must be earlier in date, maybe of a Late SoS type. It also preserves a rare type of graffito on the bottom wall of the base: **MYN**.

The only foot example that has a different profile from all the other examples from the western hill is 4172 **(cat. no. 17);** it is straight and hollowed in. The profile of it is an indication of its early date. An amphora with the exact same foot profile is dated by Rizzo in 620/600 BC[603].

4588's fabric looks Attic but the profile of the foot is not the typical SoS as the walls are thin and rounded; it may therefore not come from a SoS amphora.

[600] A few more fragments of the same vessel are preserved, one of which is also from the foot but does not join (Meth 4539 and 4540).
[601] Identical examples preserved completely are found in a tomb in Cerveteri with a secure context of the same period, see Rizzo 1990, 17, fig. 11-12, 23 : identified as SOS Late II and dated to 600 BC.
[602] These samples are unpublished but they were identified after personal examination of the writer
[603] Rizzo 1990, 12-13, fig. 2.

Decoration:

The decoration of the SoS amphorae consists of a brownish/black worn off slip applied on the entire vessel except for the neck, which stays reserved. There are also one to three thin reserved bands on the shoulder of the vessel. On the neck decoration, several motifs are applied and they can vary from zig-zag motifs[604] to a range of circular motifs[605]. In the early and middle SoS period there is a combination of triangular instead of circular motifs[606] and zig-zags. Triangular motifs are present at the *Hypogeion* material and not in the western hill[607] .The double triangle with a St Andrew's cross, found on an SoS amphora in the *Hypogeion* (cat. no. 110) is very popular in the early SoS samples[608]. There are 7 examples in the western hill assemblage that preserve decoration. 4390 (neck, handle and shoulder) preserves part of the S decoration in brown paint; The handle is covered on the upper part with brown slip. 4538 and 4615, 4821 (**cat. no. 21**) are fragments of the neck that preserve concentric circles of the known SoS motif in red, brown and black paint, respectively. This motif is the simple 'wheel' for which Johnston argues that is frequent in LG neck amphorae[609]. 4174' s (cat. no. 22) decoration is more peculiar; it is decorated with 3 thin red lines below the rim and sets of 3 vertical lines on each side of the handle; small part of an O (?) is also preserved between the vertical lines. This example is reminiscent in colour and in motifs decoration of the *Hypogeion* examples dated by Kotsonas to late 8th / beginning of the 7th century BC. On 4224 (neck, handle and shoulder), part of an S is preserved on the neck. The shoulder and the area around the neck are covered with black slip. Particularly interesting is the decoration of 4820 (**cat. no. 9**): the circle with the cross in the middle framed by two zig-zag motifs is known from examples in Eretria and Pithekoussai and dated to the ProtoCorinthian A period[610].

3202 (**cat. no. 12**) is a complete example of an à la brosse type, where the typical decoration can be observed: the vessel is covered with red paint (which in other examples can be brownish/black worn off), which has been applied to the vessel with a thick brush-

[604] Johnston & Jones 1978, 137 fig. 9.
[605] Johnston & Jones 1978, 136 fig. 8.
[606] Johnston & Jones 1978, 138.
[607] Kotsonas 2012, 191.
[608] Johnston & Jones 1978, 138; Mazarakis Ainian & Livieratou 2010, 98 n. 98.
[609] Johnston & Jones 1978, 136 fig. 8a, 137.
[610] Verdan 2008, 131 no. 354 ; Jones 1978, 136-137;Andreiomenou 1983, pl. 53.28; Di Sandro 1986 pl. 1 sg 2.

hence the French term- and only the neck, upper part of the shoulder and handles are left reserved; this feature differentiates the à la brosse type from the SoS type, which has a decorated neck. 4794, 4030 (**cat. no. 14**), 4381, 4383(**cat. no. 18**), 4785, 4637a (**cat. no. 15**) are different parts of à la brosse amphorae, decorated in the manner described above.

Finally, an uncatalogued example (**cat. no. 23),** deserves our attention. This example, which preserves part of the neck and shoulder of the amphora is covered with a creamy slip, on top of which a decoration of zig-zig lines is placed in orange paint. This is a very unusual decoration and strange to the Attic workshop; it is therefore suggested that this examples was a product of the Chalkidian workshop (see below).

Provenance and distribution:

Attica was the main centre of production for the SoS amphorae. However, there was smaller scale production in Chalkis, which targeted local consumption and not exportation. Gras has argued that the SoS type was first inspired in Chalkis but his view is not very convincing[611]. Imitations of SoS amphorae were produced in Pithekoussai and possibly in other sites[612].

Alan Johnston who, together with the petrographical analyses of Richard Jones, composed the fullest study of the fabric of the Attic amphorae provided us with important information on the distinction between the fabric of Attic and Chalkidian products[613]. In particular, he discovered that the fabric of the Attic amphorae includes red and white inclusions of different size and frequency. These inclusions are not present in the Chalkidian amphorae, whose fabric is pinkish/reddish, devoid of inclusions. In other publications, Johnston defined in more detail SOS amphorae from Kommos features as reddish/yellow[614] or buffish- buffish/yellow and noted the low quantity of mica[615]. As mentioned above, there is an uncatalogued example in the western hill material (cat. no. 23) may be the product of a

[611] Gras 1988, 293. The distribution of the pieces which are identified as Attic is far wider and there were SoS amphorae found at Oropos, which were considered imported from Attica, see: Charalambidou 2008, 144; Vlachou 2010, 121. It would not be reasonable for a town to import a vessel they have invented from elsewhere.
[612] Johnston & Jones 1978, 140.
[613] Johnston & Jones 1978, 111, 128; Jones 1978, 706-712. For more recent petrographic analyses, see:Seifert 1996, 37-39; Docter 1997, 244, 246-247; De Domingo & Johnston 2003, 32, 37-38, 44; seifert 2004, 49; Boileau & Whitley 2010, 236, no. KN 70 (euboean sample).
[614] Johnston 1993, 357-358; Callaghan & Johnston 2000, 244-245, no. 330 and 335; de Domingo & Johnston 2003, 44; Johnston 2005, 362-363.
[615] Johnston 1993, 357; de Domingo & Johnston 2003, 44; morphological differences are mentioned above.

chalkidian workshop; to this direction point also its fabric, which contains very little mica and has very few small inclusions. Another example from the *Hypogeion*, has been identified as originating from Chalkis[616]. A similar to the *Hypogeion* example was found in Mende[617].

SoS amphorae distribution covers a wide range of sites around the Mediterranean[618], from Al Mina to Huelva[619] and Mogdanor and from Histria in the Black Sea[620] to Gurna and Karnak in Egypt[621] and they are also found in every archaeological site which has produced archaic pottery in the Northern Aegean. Except for Methone, SoS and à la brosse amphorae were found in Karabournaki[622], Amphipolis, Esyme[623], Pitane, Archontiko[624], Nea Anchialos[625], Toumba[626], Mende[627], Torone[628], Abdera[629], Samothrace[630]. The abundance of SoS amphorae in the Northern Aegean is accompanied with the presence in large quantities of Attic fine pottery. Panathenaic amphorae, who supposedly succeeded the SoS chronologically, are not found in the Northern Aegean before the end of the 6th century BC.

The à la brosse amphorae were initially called Greek-Anatolian or Greek-oriental by Villard but after Johnston's and Dupont's chemical analyses, it was proven that they came from Attica although the non-Attic provenance of some pieces cannot be rejected. The à la

[616] Kotsonas 2012, 191: clean clay and decoration peculiarities: triple concentric circles and triple triangles.
[617] Vokotopoulou & Christidis 1995.
[618] For distribution of the middle type see Rizzo 1990, 43 no. 1 and Late ibid, 94 no.1.
[619] For the western Mediterranean sites, see: Dominguez & Sanchez 2001, 88: Aljaraque, Castillo de Dona Blanca, Cerro de los Infantes, la Fonteta, Illeta dels Banyets, Tos Pelat, Cabanyal-Malavarosa, Burriac, Ampurias, Ibiza, are some of the Spanish sites where they have been discovered.

[620] Birzescu 2012, 175-180.
[621] Johnston& Jones 1978, 107-121; Shefton 1982, 340 (distribution map). To this add, Van der Mersch 1989, 97 (South Italy); Dupont& Goyon 1992, 154-155, 157 (Egypt); Dupont 1995-1996 (Black Sea); Albanese-Procelli 1997, 5, 8-9 (Sicily). Docter 1997, 235-238 (Carthage and Toscanos); Sourisseau 1997, 100, 105 (central and western Mediterranean); Smolarikova 2002, 25-26, 34-35, 45 (Egypt); D' Oriano& Oggiano 2005, 172, no. 6, 198-199 (Sardenia); Johnston 2006, 27-28 (Egypt); Savelli 2006, 107 (Magna Grecia); Marangou-lerat 2009, 120-121 (Egypt). For the rarity of the SoS in the Black Sea, see: Lawall, Lejpunskaja, Diatroptov & Samojlova 2010, 361.
[622] See Kotsonas 2012, 285 note1130; see example in Pante 2009, 279, fig. 15. In Karabournaki there was an SoS amphora found and carried the inscription ΚΑΛ(Λ)ΙΑΣ; it is possibly an Atheanian oil producer who exported his olive oil to Macedonia; it's dated to the first decades of the 6th century B.C., see: Tiverios 2000, 519 ff.
[623] Koukouli-Chryssanthaki & Marangou 2011, 286, fig. 10.
[624] Chrysostomoy 2011, 300.
[625] Oettli 1994, 22-23.
[626] Chavela 2006, 194-195.
[627] Moschonissioti 2010, 215. the vessel example has a Cypriot graffito on the shoulder and brings up the issue of Phoenician or Cypriot involvement into the circulation of SoS amphorae, see: Shefton 1982, 339-342; Graham 1989, 51; Docter 1991, 47-48.
[628] Paspalas 2001a, 320-321, no. 5.30.
[629] Skarlatidou 2010, 136, note 29; Dupont & Skarlatidou 2012, 253-264.
[630] Karadima & Koutsoumanis 1992a, 497.

brosse type was distributed all around the Mediterranean starting from the beginning of the 6th century[631].

Graffiti:

The SoS and à la brosse type consist the largest set of marked jars, among the Greek transport amphorae and they include long texts, as well[632]. Among the western hill's assemblage, five examples preserve marks. 3 of these graffiti are made after firing and they are either elaborate commercial marks, such as on 3202 (**cat. no. 12**) or part of inscriptions, such as 3726, which preserves 3 letters: MYN. 2 examples have marks made before firing (4380, 4794). Unlike the *Hypogeion* examples, where the majority of the graffiti were made after firing on the body. None of the western hill SoS examples carry graffiti on the shoulder but rather on the rim and the neck. The example that has a neck mark is the cat. no. 23, which is identified as originating from Chalkis (see above). Marks have also appeared in examples from other Northern Aegean sites, such as Karabournaki[633], Nea Anchialos[634] and Mende[635]. In fact, Mende's example saves a Cypriot Graffito on the shoulder.

The pre or post firing marks, offer valuable information for the debate around the identity of the people who have made these marks. The post-fire commercial marks were most likely made before or during transactions but many SoS examples save inscriptions of male names, usually in genitive form and accompanied by the verb *ειμί*. They, therefore, try to display their owner's name. Whether this owner is the manufacturer/producer of their content or the trader is still undecided[636].

Except for questions of identity, question on the content of the SoS amphorae appear through the graffiti they carry. SoS amphorae are largely thought to have contained olive oil, although wine has also been considered as a candidate,[637]. The latter suggestion has been made on the basis of iconographic evidence and is therefore not particularly strong[638]. Some

[631] Examples can be seen in Rizzo 1990, 71-72, 100.
[632] Johnston & Jones 1978, 128-132; Johnston 2004.
[633] Tiverios 2009, 392.
[634] Oettli 1994, 77, no. 5.
[635] Vokotopoulou & Christidis 1995; Bourogiannis 2007, 431-433.
[636] Tiverios 2000, 519-527.
[637] Docter 1991.
[638] Gras 1987, 46–50; Niemeyer 1984, 216; Niemeyer 1985, 31; Docter 1991 (where he argues that Solon abolishment of any exportation except olive oil Plutarch *Solon* XXIV,1, implies exportation of Attic wine) ; Foxhall 1998, 302; Garlan

recent examples from Pithekoussai come to complicate the content debate, as one of them preserves the word **ΛΕΙΑ**, which possibly means "sweet wine"; while two to others have the word **ΛΙΠΟΣ** and the word **ΑΛΣ** inscribed[639]. We could therefore suggest that the content of the SoS amphorae could either vary or the containers may have been reused with a different content.

2000, 84–90; Brun 2004, 86; Lund 2004, 213; Foxhall 2007, 18. Brun 2010, 426–427; see also Young 1939, 210. Brann 1962, 32. Ström 1971, 112. Boardman 1999, 17.

[639] Gras 1987, 47, note 44.

CORINTHIAN WORKSHOP (cat nos 24-33):

Corinthian AMPHORAE	IDENTIFIED SHERDS
TOTAL	**23: At least 5 different vessels.**
COMPLETE	**1 (3544)**
RIM & NECK	**1 (4029, hydria)**
HANDLES	**6 (3841, 4179, 4586, 4697, 4812, 5176)**
RIMS	**8 (4168, 4178, 4684, 5178, 4725, 4783, 5174, 5175).**
FEET	**0**
BODY	**7 (5177, 4783, 4678, 4601, 4612, 4525, 4558)**
SQUARES FOUND	**007, 008, 012, 013, 014, 019, 020, 023, 033 (in fire layer 5 sherds-4 belong to the same)**

There are 23 sherds of Corinthian amphorae found in the western hill pottery assemblage, which belong to at least 5 different vessels. Corinthian amphorae were also discovered in the *Hypogeion*, but only one of them is inscribed and therefore examined[640]. The identification of a second example from the *Hypogeion*, as Corinthian transport amphora[641] has been rejected by Kotsonas on the basis of macroscopic and petrographic analyses[642]. However, this example discussed as potential Corinthian transport amphora by Gimatzidis possibly presents similarities to some Corinthian-looking vessels found in the Western hill (see below).

[640] Kotsonas 2012, 182.
[641] Gimatzidis 2010, 284, n. 1757–1758, 327.
[642] Kotsonas 2012, 276-277 n. 1029.

Fabric:

Corinthian fabric used for transport vessels is very distinctive. It has been studied macroscopically and microscopically by Farnsworth, Jones, Vandiver, De Paepe, Watson, Oladipo, Whitbread[643]. Koehler, who produced the first and thorough study on the classification of the Corinthian amphorae, identified three main types (Types A, A', B)[644]. In Methone's western hill and in the *Hypogeion*, fragments of Type A have been identified[645]. Type A Corinthian amphorae present a uniform clay body for the entire period of their existence (8th to 4th centuries BC). The fabric of type A is hard and quite vitreous, red to grey in colour with many large inclusions. Generally, a grey core is sandwiched between thin red surface layers and a slip-like pinkish-yellow or orange surface, which is slightly darker on the surface than on the subsurface interior. *Terra rossa* soils in Corinth are identified as potential sources for red-firing clays and Type A amphora fabrics but according to Whitbread, each type of transport amphora that the Corinthian workshop produced provides different information on raw materials[646]. Type A's inclusions are reddish (rarely greyish), angular, poorly sorted, sparse to abundant, chert, fine quartz and rounded pellets of fine yellow clay grog; finely divided calcite lime is present but only rarely visible as an inclusion in the clay[647]. It is very important to note that Corinthian Type A amphorae are handmade. According to Vandiver, there was intentional effort in both composition and firing progression to control the finer pore size found in Type A amphorae. In addition to that, Vandiver and Koehler note that the same firing progression and firing composition were used for later Athenian painted fine wares were pre-figured in the technology used to manufacture Corinthian amphorae[648].

Examples found both in *Hypogeion* and in the Western Hill in Methone match the above description and are classified in two groups:

[643] Farnsworth et al. 1977, 455-468; Vandiver and Koehler 1986; Oladipo 1987; Watson 1985; Whitbread 1995 and Whitbread 2003.
[644] Koehler's classification begins from the beginning of the 7th century BC, see: Koehler 1978a; see also Grace see: Grace 1953, 108-109.
[645] There are more Corinthian transport amphorae of type B in the neighbouring cemetery of Pydna (unpublished).
[646] Whitbread 2003, 11.
[647] Vandiver & Koehler 1986, 176; Whitbread 1995, 266.
[648] Vandiver and Koehler 1986, 210.

1) examples with a more reddish fabric, a grey core and a plethora of red inclusions (2.5Y YR 6/8 red): 4029, 4558, 4697, 4684, 4631, 4812, 4612, 4168.

2) examples with a more yellowish/pale surface and more grey rather than red inclusions (10 YR 7/6 yellow): 3544, 4783, 4586, 4678, 4601, 4725, 4178, 4179, 3841.

Corinthian type B amphorae start being manufactured at the last quarter of the 6th until at least the 2nd century BC and are recognised by a soft and porous fabric, yellow body and surface but they are pinkish in the core; there are no grey inclusions and only minor amounts of quartz. A problem of provenance of this type of amphorae is yet to be resolved. The elemental compositions of Type B Corinthian jars match control groups for both Corinth and Corcyra suggesting that contemporary production took place in both locations[649]. Corinthian type B is wheel-made and type A' is made with a combination of wheel and hand methods. According to Vandiver and Koehler, the different techniques were being applied in order to monitor the desired permeability of the vessel to liquids[650] (see below).

Typology:

The history of Corinthian A and B transport amphorae serve as a primary index for nearly the entire historical period of Greek Corinth from about 700 to 150 BC. The results are drawn from the excavations in Corinth, Isthmia and the Athenian Agora, publications mainly from necropoleis in Sicily and Magna Graecia, where a large number of Corinthian amphorae has been unearthed[651] and finally some sporadic publications of archaic settlements but also ancient shipwrecks around the Mediterranean.

Type A started being produced in the 8th century and continued through the 4th century BC. However, the shape of this amphora follows a sequence of a geometric amphora

[649]A production site has been excavated in Corcyra, see: Preka-Alexandri 1992, 41-52.
[650] Vandiver&Koehler 1986, 173, 179-193; Koehler 1992, 266.
[651] Recently a study of the material in Camarina offered important information on the typology of the Corinthian amphorae, see Sourisseau 2006.

type, dated even earlier, to the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 8th century BC[652]. Type A Corinthian amphorae have got a broad and trapezoidal projecting/outturned rim, which we see in examples 3544 (**cat. no24**), 4168 (**cat. no29)**, 4178 (**cat no. 27**), 4029 (**cat. no. 31**), 4725, 5174-75 and a wide, cylindrical stout neck, clear in examples 3544 (**cat. no24)**, 4029 (**cat. no 31)**, 4783 from where rounded handles arch down to the top of the shoulder, as in examples 3544 (**cat. no 24)**, 5176, 4812, 4697, 4631, 4586 (**cat. no. 26**), 4029 (**cat. no 31)**, 4179 (**cat. no 28)**, 3841 (**cat. no 25)**. The Methone examples preserve rather long handles but Corinthian transport amphorae may also appear with short rounded handles, especially in early periods. Except for the rounded handles, Corinthian amphorae may appear in their early phase, in the second half of the 8th century BC with strap handles[653]. Whether the limited production of this variety was intended to be used for a different purpose is not clear. The large spherical body of type A tapers to a cylindrical foot, as shown in example 3544 (**cat. no. 24**). This foot becomes narrower throughout the 7th century BC. By the middle of the 6th century at least two basic forms of Type A were produced, one nearly spherical and the other tapering in the lower body[654]. **3544** (**cat. no 24)** has all the fabric and morphological characteristics of Type A yet it belongs to a fractional type of the Corinthian Type A with spherical body and a well distinct toe[655].

Although the typical Corinthian amphora rim is trapezoidal, rims nos 4684, 5178 **(cat no. 30)** are different. They are made of the typical coarse Corinthian fabric but they are triangular in section and sloping downwards. According to Koehler, this type of rim is found in Corinthian amphorae of the early 5th century BC[656]. 4684 comes from a surface layer and therefore offers no additional information on the dating but 5178 **(cat no. 30)** comes from an undisturbed context and was found with other examples of the Corinthian workshop (3544-cat no 24, 5174-5177); while in the same layer in other squares Thermaic Gulf, Chian,

[652] Pfaff 1988, 29-31; Koehler 1978a, 10-11; Koehler 1981, 451; Vandiver and Koehler 1986, 176; Koehler 1992, 266;Lawall 1995, 57-58; Whitbread 1995, 256; Sourisseau 1997, 81-82; Sourisseau 2006; Savelli 2006, 110.

[653] Pfaff 1986, 32 gives two examples: one in the Anaploga well and one in Gela; after personal examination, this type of handle appeared in Argilos; the examples in Argilos may therefore date to the beginning of the 7th century BC.

[654] Examples from the second type of tapering body in Ramacca in Sicily, see: Albanese-Procelli 2000, 479, fig 333.

[655] See Koehler 1992, Table 1b; Cavalier 1985, fig.2 no 3

[656] Koehler 1992, Table 1c. see for example Birzescu 2012, 192, fig. 65 (Corinthian A').

SOS and Samian amphorae of the end of the 7th century BC were found. Considering that 5178 (**cat. no 30**) was found with many other coarse Corinthian body sherds, some of which belonged to different vessels, such as a mortarium, makes us wonder whether this rim may belong to a different vessel, although an amphora rim remains one of the very plausible identifications. It is possible that the way the vessel broke affects the identification of its shape. As stated above, not all discussed examples from the western hill of Methone are drawn, therefore cat no 30's identification is likely to be clarified once its drawing is completed.

4178 (cat. no 27) and 4179 (**cat. no. 28**) probably belong to the same vessel. They were found in close proximity to one another and their fabric is identical; their morphological features also show that they belonged to the same amphora. In fact, they look very much like Sourisseau's type 2. Sourisseau studied the 209 Corinthian amphorae found at the necropolis of Rifriscolaro in Camarina and divided his examples of Type A amphorae in 6 sub-types covering almost the entire archaic period from 660 to 480 BC[657]. His Type A1 is the earliest and seems to be very popular in contexts dated between 675-600 BC but is represented also in the earlier excavation contexts of Marseille, founded in 600 BC and has therefore survived until the beginning of the 6th century BC[658]. In fact, this is the type that Koehler dates to the first quarter of the 6th century BC[659]. Type A2 from Rifriscolaro was produced in Corinth from the middle of the 7th century and according to Sourriseau the examples of this type are very rare in this period outside Corinth. In all South-Italian sites well known for their 7th century pottery like Incoronata in Metaponto or Messena, this type is totally absent. It is found, however, in the Etruscan necropolis of Banditaccia in Cerveteri, where is dated to 630 BC and in Gela and Naxos dated in the second half of the 7th. In Camarina this type is very frequent and it appears from the middle of the 7th until the first quarter of the 6th and therefore conforms to Koehler's classification[660]. This subtype has a large body and wide toe and the upper part of the vessel is also massive; the precise turning of the rim and the offset edge around the sides of the capped toe give a clearer definition to the parts of the vessel than previously. Type A3 seems, according to Sourisseau, to have

[657] Sourriseau 2003, 129-147.
[658] Sourriseau 2003, 135.
[659] Koehler 1978a, 97, no.20.
[660] Koehler 1981, 451-452, pl. 98c.

been distributed between 580/70 and 550/40 BC. This vessel marks the beginning of the 6th century. During this century, the shape of Corinthian A amphorae changes gradually, as the top of the jar and the toe both contract in relation to the size of the body. Type A4 has a higher neck and is dated from the middle of the 6th to 490 BC. Sourisseau dates A5 in 540-510 BC[661]. The profile of this type is slightly elongated compared to the previous examples. Finally, type A6 has its longest perimeter placed towards the upper part of the vessel whereas the lower part becomes narrower. The foot is narrower too. The neck is rather short and not as wide as the previous examples (see drawings below). Sourisseau places it between 540/20 and 480 BC[662]. In Central Mediterranean in Elea, imitations of Type A are also mentioned [663].

A rare find was included among the Corinthian pottery found in the western hill of Methone. 4029 (**cat. no. 31**), is a fragment of a Corinthian transport hydria. The upper part of the vessel, including the neck, rim and handle, is preserved. The vessel is made of a coarse yellowish clay with many large red and brown inclusions. The neck is cylindrical and smaller than the regular amphora's type. The handle, which is circular in section begins below the rim and slants smoothly downwards ending on the shoulder. The rim is trapezoidal in section, identical to the amphora ones described above. The neck is intact, therefore there is no space to argue that this was not an hydria. Coarse-ware (transport) hydriae are known since the Geometric period in Corinth. Pfaff notes that their development follows that of the transport amphorae and in the last quarter of the 7th century BC, where he dates an hydria very similar to the one in Methone, the two vessel shapes are distiguished only by the placement of the handle and are identical other than that[664]. Another Corinthian transport hydria has been discovered in Argilos (C 14087); the sample comes from the area where two preliminary trial trenches were opened in the beginning of the excavation of the site and have reached the natural soil. According to its morphological characteristics it can be dated around the same period, to the second half of the 7th century BC.

A few examples (**cat. nos 3550 &4516**) in the western hill assemblage are worth discussing together with the Corinthian transport vessels. These examples come from a

[661] Sourriseau 2003, 140.
[662] Sourisseau 2003, 141.
[663] Gassner 2003, 119.
[664] Pfaff 1988, 32-33. fig. 23 C 672-673

closed, basket-shaped vessel, with thick horizontal handles and a disk shaped base. Unfortunately, the upper part of the body is not preserved and therefore we cannot identify the shape with certainty. Their fabric is coarse and has a pale yellow colour and contains large grey inclusions. It is, therefore, imported to Methone and very similar to the Corinthian fabric. On the exterior surface these vessels are decorated with two uneven thick bands applied around the base and around the body. Although we can't be sure of the provenance of these vessels, a potential Corinthian origin could certainly be proposed. Considering that these vessels are large enough and coarse enough to be transport containers, we could classify them under containers which transferred Corinthian goods to Methone. A similar vessel has been found in Torone[665] and it is likely that the example from the *Hypogeion* that was initially identified as Corinthian to belong to this type of vessel[666].

Graffiti:

Marks and stamps are not as common on type A as on type B Corinthian amphorae, however they are not particularly rare on type A and are found already in the early archaic period. Individual marks have been found even on Geometric Corinthian amphorae[667]. During the archaic period they are found exclusively on the handle or the neck and they can be short parallel lines, X marks, triangles or even stars[668]. 3544 (**cat. no. 24**), preserves a triangular (commercial?) mark incised at the beginning of its handle. The same mark and at the same place (beginning of the handle) is preserved in 4179 (**Cat. no. 28**). Whereas in 3841 (**cat. no. 25**) three short parallel lines are incised on the upper surface of the handle and closer to the shoulder attachment. This is not an uncommon mark on the Methone amphorae and it has been found in many other amphorae in Methone originating from different places such as Samos and Miletus[669]. Except 3841 **(cat. no. 25**) all other graffiti are made after firing. From the early graffiti found on Corinthian amphorae of the archaic period, one of the most interesting is the one found in Monte Abatone and dated to the end of the 7th century BC; it

[665] Papadopoulos 2005, although John Papadopoulos denies the similarity between the two specimens.
[666] Gimatzidis 2010, 284, n. 1757–1758, 327 and Kotsonas 2012, 276-277 n. 1029.
[667] Kotsonas 2012, 188 nts. 1055-1058.
[668] Personal examination of a Corinthian amphora from the cemetery of Abdera near modern Xanthi (unpublished).
[669] Kotsonas 2012, 198-199 and see below chapter on Milesian amphorae.

preserves the inscription ΤΑΛΙΩ ΕΙΜΙ in Attic alphabet[670]. This is the type of inscription that we usually find on Attic amphorae and it raises again one of the most fervent questions in trade history of whether the names mentioned on transport amphorae are referring to traders or oil producers[671].

Distribution and provenance:

Corinthian A transport amphorae formed a considerable portion of the goods shipped from Corinth to the West during the period of Greek expansion. Koehler has produced a distribution map of Corinthian transport amphorae in the Mediterranean sea, where it's clear how diffused they were in the entire Mediterranean but since then, there are more places that need to be added on that map[672]. Already since the beginning of their production in the 8th century BC, they were exported to the markets of Italy and their number increased throughout the years. Most of them have been recovered from necropoleis in Sicily: Megara Hymblaea[673], Gela[674] and Camarina[675],Leontinoi, Mylai, Sybaris, Syracuse, Heraclea Minoa where they were used as funerary urns for infants (*ekhutrismoi*)[676]; an early example of the early-middle of the 7th century BC has been found in Etruria, in Cerveteri[677]. Early type A is also found in the Corinthian Gulf and around Corcyra, in Isthmia, Athens[678] and in the Sanctuary of Olympia. Other Corinthian vessels reached North Africa in the 7th century, although Egypt was never an overly attractive market destination for Corinth[679]. Corinthian imports were found also in the Black Sea area[680]. Unlike Corinthian fine pottery, transport amphorae of Type A are not very common in the Eastern Aegean; however, a handle of a Corinthian type A is recorded at Miletus[681], a couple of archaic Corinthian transport vessels have been found in Ephesus and a few in Clazomenae. Several necks, handles and one base

[670] Rizzo 1990, 50.
[671] Tiverios 2000 where he argues that the inscriptions refer to oil producers. In this case, however, (of an Attic inscription on a Corinthian container) it seems that it must have been written by the trader.
[672] Koehler 1978b, 235, fig.4.
[673] Gras, Treziny, Broise 2004, 97-99.
[674] Panvini 2001, 70-72.
[675] Sourisseau 2006, 129-147.
[676] For an overview see Di Sandro 1986, 5-6; Albanese-Procelli 1996, 95-99; Savelli 2006, 110-111.
[677] Rizzo 1990, 49 no. 1.
[678] Brann 1962, 59, no. 242.
[679] Smolarikova 2002, 30.
[680] Koehler 1979, 54-61.
[681] Naso 2005, 76-77.

have been collected from the shipwreck of Kekova Adasi, off the coast of Turkey, very close to the Uluburun shipwreck and dated to the second half of the 7th century BC[682]. Many Corinthian amphorae have been collected underwater from several shipwrecks off the coasts of Greece and Sicily[683]. The amphorae found in the colonies in Sicily indicate that Corinthians and other Greeks had possibly arrived there with their basic supplies in Corinthian A jars. This is evinced by the remarkable amount of imports of type A amphorae in Naxos and Megara Hymblaea[684], but will remain a hypothesis until supported by further statistical and chronological data. Small quantities of Corinthian type A transport amphorae dated to the middle of the 7th century BC have been found in Kommos in Building Q[685].

Extensive imports of these amphorae continued throughout the 6th century BC at such colonies as Selinus, Gela, Camarina, Syracuse, Leontinoi, Megara Hymblaea[686], the Lipari islands[687] and Metapontum[688]. Etruscan Pyrgi began to import products from Corinth in the 6th century BC and continued for the next two centuries[689]. In other cities of Etruria such as Gravisca[690], Caere and Vulci and Cerveteri trade between Corinth and Etruria during the 6th century BC is accentuated[691].

Corinthian type A amphorae are found in Corcyra in the 6th century BC[692] and in the Western Mediterranean Sea, they are found in Aljaraque, Huelva, Castilo de Dona Blanca, Cabanyal Malvarrosa, Alorda Parkb and Ampurias[693]. An unexpected number of type A jars were shipped to the Black Sea, notably to Olbia, through the Classical period[694].

[682] Greene et al. 2011, 64, fig. 6.
[683] Micha 2007, 91 no. 14.
[684] Gras 2010, 113.
[685] Johnston 2005, 364.
[686] The majority of amphora material of the 6th century in Ramacca comes from Corinth, see Albanese-Procelli 2000; see also, Koehler 1978a, 3, 10-11, 72, 78-79, 89-96; Di Sandro 1986, 5-6; Albanese-Procelli 1996, 95-99; Savelli 2006, 110-111.
[687] Cavalier 1986.
[688] Stea 1997, 35, 37.
[689] Colonna 1985, 9 no. 6
[690] Slaska 1985, 19.
[691] see Rizzo 1990, 55 no. 1, for one of the many examples from Cerveteri.
[692] Gras 2010, 114.
[693] Dominguez & Sanchez 2001, 88.
[694] Koehler 1978b, 238. Also in Histria, see Birzescu 2012, 188-192.

Corinthian B amphorae, which begin to be manufactured in the last quarter of the 6th century BC, appear at many of the sites mentioned above such as Leontini, Camarina, Ragusa and Pyrgi and many others in Greece. Their strong presence in Athens could indicate the strength of Corinthian trade already demonstrated by the increase of Type A amphorae in the late archaic period. Type B amphorae were traditionally attributed to Corinth but because there is doubt that the fabric is Corinthian, they have been called Graeco-orientali, Magno-greche or Sicilian[695] . Early forms of type B are very similar in shape to the so-called "Ionian" and the Graeco-Massaliote amphorae, although there are slight differences in forms[696]. Grace based on a short passage in the ancient literature and stamp devices on the amphorae argued that the type was manufactured in Corcyra[697]. The Corinthian colony of Corcyra seems to have made at least some jars in this series, although the type was manufactured also in Corinth[698].The text (anonymous but of the Aristoteleian corpus) records trade in Lesbian, Chian, Thasian and Corcyraean amphorae at a market in the neighbourhood of Mentores between Histria and Liburnian territory. The 7 or 8 rayed star in a circular stamp, found on some of the Type B handles is similar to a device that occurs on coins of Corcyra. The attribution to Corinth has been made on grounds of large quantities of type B amphorae and similarity between type B fabrics and those of Corinthian pottery in specimen[699]. The type is mentioned by Pseudo-Aristotle as *Kerkyraikoi amforeis* (Aristotle n.d.). Corinthian amphorae of A and B types were found in shipwrecks together; however, Koehler's view that this evidence demonstrates an economic cooperation between Corinth and Corcyra[700] -which no other source documents- seems slightly far-fetched.

During the 5th century the communication of Corinth with most of the Sicilian cities continues. In the East, Corinthian A fragments in the Black Sea appear particularly in Olbia and settlements in the Lower Don[701].

In the 4th century type A seems to have been limited though towards the end of the

[695] Albanese-Procelli 2000, 480.
[696] Whitbread 1995, 259.
[697] Grace 1953, 101-110.
[698] There is a debate on where they were manufactured see: Farnsworth, Perlman & Asaro 1977, 455-68;Jones 1986, 713-720;Whitbread 1995, section 5.

[699] Whitbread 1995, 259.
[700] Koehler 1978 b, 237.
[701] Koehler 1992, 279-283.

century, commercial activity seems to have extended to Benghazi and Carthage and also to Pella, Amphipolis and Apollonia in Northern Greece. Type B production and circulation has increased in this century. We find them in large numbers in Corinth, Isthmia, Athens, Corcyra but there is a significant concentration also in Patras, Syracuse and Gela and in Motya. Type B moves more freely during the late 4th century especially towards the north. The spherical Corinthian Type B jars were sent as far as Mallorca but type A jars of that period were almost exclusively used in Corinth[702]. A sudden decrease in the production and shipment of both series of transport amphorae after the 4th century, indicates that Corinth had probably ceased part of the export of its products.

In Northern Greece, Corinthian amphorae are not widely distributed. A fragment of an early Corinthian amphora of type A has been recorded in the *Hypogeion* of Methone and has been dated by Kotsonas as early as the first half of the 8th century BC. The manufacture of the early amphora found in Methone precedes the foundation of the Methone, as it is recorded by Plutarch (733/32 BC); it may, therefore, have been brought there by the first settlers.

Two examples of Corinthian amphorae found at Nea Anchialos are dated towards the middle of the 8th century BC. Gimatzidis names these pieces the 'precursor' of type A[703]. These pieces belong to the tradition of a Geometric amphorae which has been defined by Pfaff[704]. Corinthian amphorae of the Archaic period in the Northern Aegean have been found in Karabournaki[705], Esyme[706], Abdera[707]. The Abdera example preserves a rare graffito, which is reminiscent of a Hebrew cross/star[708]. According to Filis, in Karabournaki there are examples dated to the end of the 7th century BC and others dated to the end of the 6th century BC. Although both belong to type A,the later examples have slimmer proportions[709]. After personal examination of the Karabournaki material, I believe that some large fragments of Corinthian amphorae, possibly not examined by Filis yet, must belong to an

[702] Koehler 1978b, 237.
[703] Gimatzidis 2010, 283-285, no. 617.
[704] Pfaff 1988.
[705] Manakidou 2010, 463, n. 11.
[706] Koukouli-Chryssanthaki & Marangou 2011, 287, fig. 11.
[707] Skarlatidou 2010, 171.
[708] Abdera catalogue, no. K87.
[709] Filis 2012, 316 fig. Γ.

earlier date, perhaps even in the beginning of the 7th century BC. No precise date is given for the material found in Esyme but examples there, also belong to type A and rather to the beginning of the 6th century BC[710]. Examples from Abdera originate from the cemetery and are dated by the excavator between 650-600 BC[711]. However, after personal examination of the material in Abdera, I believe that these examples belong to an earlier form of Type A, which is closer to the Geometric one[712]; these examples, therefore, must have preceded the date of the first foundation of the colony in 654 BC and must have been brought together with the settlers who arrived in Abdera or that the settlers arrived in Abdera earlier than it is recorded/thought. After personal examination of the Argilos material, I noticed that some of the examples have strap and not rounded handles, which is another indication of an early date and may therefore provide evidence for earlier commercial connections of the settlement with Corinth, and interestingly before the Andrian settlers arrived. Such contacts were most possibly in the hands of the local population[713].

Capacity:

Type A Corinthian amphorae held 31-70 lts and their weight when filled could be between 40-85 kg. Moving these heavy jars would require more than one person. However, the heavy trapezoidal rim of type A would also provide the opportunity to rotate these jars. When empty the top-heavy type A jars could have been stored securely upside down on their rims. Furthermore, the thickening on the upper side of the handles adopted in the second half of the 7th century, may have served for the same purpose: to form a bridge along which the jar could be shifted when inverted. The edge of the rim and toe were beveled or rounded to deter chipping. Shortening of the type A bodies and rounding their lower part in the 6th and 5th century BC not only compacted the load but also made it easy to roll the amphorae when they were full and to tip them when dispensing contents because the centre of gravity and centre of mass were located on a level with maximum diameter. The elongation of the shape occurred in Type B amphorae was probably related to the greater ease with which

[710] Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 2007, 53; Koukouli-Chryssanthaki & Marangou 2012, 287, fig. 11.
[711] Skarlatidou 2010, 102 K87, 207 K201, 212 K221, 227 K280. Dupont& Skarlatidou forthcoming.
[712] Pfaff 1982, 63 and 30-31 for dating of the amphora to the MG-LG period.
[713] There are about 5 fragments, one belongs to an hydria; C1753 is the one with the thin, rectangular handle.

one person could lift an ovoid jar by keeping the centre of gravity close to their body[714].

Content:

Koehler has distinguished types A and B as containing different commodities: "The hard red and gray fabric of type A jars suggests a connection with oil, since it is very similar to the clay used for contemporary Corinthian lamps and jugs containing oil"[715]. Type A amphorae have never been found to contain resinous remains, which significantly increases the possibility of them containing oil[716]. Type B amphorae, on the other hand, have been occasionally[717] found to preserve remains of resinous substance on the interior, which suggests that they carried wine. This would have prevented wine from soaking into the porous walls of the container[718].

Additional evidence on the different commodities carried by the two types has been offered by Vandiver and Koehler's study. The observed changes from Type A (handmade) to Type A' (permeable to semi-permeable, see above) and type B (wheel-made) could be a change in contents from liquid (such as olive oil) to dry (such as grain or nuts) products. Changes in the method of manufacture of Corinthian exports and/or the adoption of linings such as beeswax or pine pitch to achieve advantages such as more cost-effective production, increased storage time or changes in taste preference"[719]. Those significant differences in the properties of these visually and technologically distinct amphorae are a strong indication why Corinth produced more than one type of amphora for storage and export at the same time. The different types accord with different standards of properties such as, permeability, strength, density, hardness and porosity[720].

[714] Vandiver and Koehler 1986, 202-203.
[715] Koehler 1978, 231.
[716] This is because fat (oil) is damaged by resin when it comes in contact with it.
[717] An example was found in Apollonia (Albania), where a Corinthian colony was founded in the 6th century BC, see Gras 2010, 114.
[718] Koehler 1979, 279.
[719] Vandiver and Koehler 1986, 173.
[720] Vandiver and Koehler 1986, 205.

THE LACONIAN WORKSHOP (cat no 34)

Laconian pottery has not been studied extensively. After Pelagatti's identification of the transport amphorae[721], Stibbe produced a study on them[722] and Sourisseau made a classification based on the material from Marseille[723], while Johnston classified the Kommos material[724]. Recently, Coudin, in his overview of Laconian pottery, comments on the previous literature[725].

The most successful products of Laconian pottery are black-glazed or black-figured drinking cups (43 % of the whole production) and craters (23 %) and to a lesser degree closed vessels; the amphora production, especially that of the transport amphorae, is fairly low. The number of Laconian vessels/sherds that have been discovered so far is about 3803[726], however, this number is constantly increasing and there is a large amount of unpublished material, especially from Northern Greece.

Laconian pottery production seems to rise in the Geometric period[727] but it becomes important and begins to be exported in significant quantities in the end of the 7th century BC. From then onwards, it presents a rapid increase and reaches its peak in the second quarter of the 6th century BC. In the middle of the 6th century, a 'crisis' in Laconian pottery is observed that makes the production fall back into levels of the first quarter of the 6th century and thereafter it never recovers but continues to diminish until it disappears in the first quarter of the 5th century BC[728].

Similarly, the production of Laconian transport amphorae started relatively late, in comparison to other cities of mainland Greece (Attica or Corinth). Laconian amphorae first appear in the end of the 7th century BC and an increase in their production and circulation is

[721] Pelagatti 1992, 133.
[722] Stibbe 2000, 70-83.
[723] Sourisseau 1997, 109-111.
[724] Johnston 1990a; Johnston 1993, 358–359; Johnston 2005, 203.
[725] Coudin 2009.
[726] Figures provided by Coudin 2009, 15, Tb 1.
[727] There is evidence of Laconian PG, see Coldstream 2008, 212-214 and new evidence of PG Laconian pottery by Sparta's sanctuary of Amyklaion was recently presented by Vicky Vlachou in a workshop held on 25/05/2013, in the Ioannou centre at Oxford University. Laconian PG pottery presents many similarities to Argive pottery of the same period.
[728] Coudin 2009, 10 and 76-78.

noticed in the first half of the 6th century BC. This increase corresponds well with the intensification of commercial relations, which Laconia developed within the Mediterranean basin during that time. The amphora production seems to continue until the end of the 5th sparsely, however, after the beginning of the century and after this period Laconia does not export any type of pottery.

In Methone, there is so far only one Laconian amphora securely identified , 2684 (**cat no. 34**); It was found in the central part of the building complex in the western hill.

Fabric:

The fabric of the Laconian amphorae has not been extensively studied and it seems to vary among the published examples. Paola Pelagatti and Alan Johnston find it similar to the fabric of fine Laconian pottery[729]. The clay has normally a pink-purple colour but it can range from red, red/orange to brown. What also varies is the quantity of mica, which can be from very little (more often than not) to abundant; inclusions are not attested often but when they do, they are small white, angular ones[730]. The Methone example is made of a buffish/purplish fabric (5YR: 6/4 light reddish/brown) with many white inclusions and therefore follows Johnston's description of Laconian fabric of the Kommos examples.

Typology:

The shape and decoration of the Laconian amphorae is similar to the SoS and especially the à la brosse types. Pelagatti, distinguished two types of Laconian transport amphorae that parallel with two types of her table amphorae. Pelagatti's type 1[731],which corresponds with Stibbe's group G[732] and Johnston's type A[733] presents a rather red, micaceous fabric and a long ridge below the lip. The rim appears to have a circular section and the handles can either start right below the rim, slant downwards and attach on the shoulder or start on the

[729] Pelagatti 1989, 11; Pelagatti 1992, 133; Johnston 1985, 265.
[730] Johnston 1990a, 115; Johnston 1993, 359-361; Pelagatti 1992, 133-134.
[731] Pelagatti 1992, 133.
[732] Stibbe 2000, 71.
[733] Johnston 1993, 359.

lower part of the neck and attach on the lower shoulder slanting upwards. According to the Kommos material[734], handles can vary from flat to more rounded but always having a diameter between 3.5/3.9 and 2.2/2.4 cm[735]. There is always a light ridge/protrusion at the upper part of the shoulder[736]. The body of type 1 is ovoid and stands either on a base or on a broad beveled ring foot[737]. The inside of the neck and the outside of the body are covered with black-brown worn off slip[738]; the neck and upper shoulder can be reserved, exactly like the à la brosse technique but this particular type is attested mainly in a fractional size[739]. This type is placed chronologically in the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century BC.

A second type of Laconian amphorae, Pelagatti's type 2 and Stibbe's Groups H and I tend to have less red and less micaceous fabric than the first type. This type has a different rim; the rim is semi-circular in section (the outer surface is concave), flat and horizontal on the top and as a result, it projects outwards quite bit. This description matches exactly the rim of the Methone example. In addition, type 2 has a collar below the rim, which is angular and pointed (not elongated and curving as in Group G[740]). The Methone example has a ridge exactly in the middle of the neck, instead. The neck of this type is squat and the handles are vertical and they start from the middle of the neck and attach to the lower shoulder. The body is ovoid and rests on a wide ring foot, very similar to the SoS but narrower than the previous type. This type usually has its neck and shoulder unpainted but some of the examples have a black neck, such as one from Gravisca[741] and the Methone example. Regarding the chronology, the prototype, as Pelagatti calls it, is dated to the second quarter of the 6th century BC[742]. This group, however, contains examples of the end of the 7th century BC or the beginning of the 6th and therefore the two types co-exist in the same

[734] Stibbe 2000, 71, is unsure whether the Kommos examples come from Laconia but he notes the morphological similarities with his Group G dated to the beginning of the 6th century, although the Kommos examples have their neck reserved unlike the majority of Group G examples.
[735] Johnston 1990a, 116.
[736] Johnston 1990a, 115.
[737] In one case, in the Kommos material, the foot is hollowed on the interior, see: Johnston 1990a, 116.
[738] The Camarina example has a thicker and glazed slip, see Pelagatti 1992, 135 fig. 47
[739] Pelagatti 1992, 133.
[740] Stibbe 2000, 71.
[741] Boitani 1990, 56, no. 98, fig. 135.
[742] Pelagatti 1992, 134-135, fig. 49.

period[743]. The Methone context points also to an earlier date of the beginning of the 6th century BC.

There is a third type which is placed chronologically between the second half of the 6th and the 5th centuries BC and this is Sourisseau's groups nos 3-5 of Laconian amphorae. These groups correspond to Stibbe's Group I. Group no. 3 contains amphorae presenting a neck with angular ridge and an almost globular body with a low ring foot. Examples of this type are covered with a black slip and the neck and handles are reserved. This group is diffused between 550 and 500 BC. The most characteristic example of this last group is an amphora from the Athenian Agora, mentioned as "non attic"[744], which has a relatively high and flaring lip, as well as a very high neck and flat handles, which attach to the upper neck and the upper shoulder. The ring foot is low and the vessel is overall much slimmer than its 6th century counterparts. The surface is covered with a black slip either thick or worn off, while the neck stays reserved. Pelagatti dates this piece, which is the latest Laconian transport amphora attested, to the last quarter of the 5th century BC[745].

Pelagatti argues that type 1 of Laconian amphora was inspired by SoS and à la brosse amphorae but Stibbe thinks that the wide, flat band directly below the rim, especially in Group H copies metalware and according to him the prototypes were Laconian bronze amphorae, the earliest of which can be assigned to the first quarter of the 6th century BC and bronze hydriae, which are related to the form of the bronze amphorae[746]. It has been argued that Later examples of Laconian amphorae have been influenced by the Corinthian type B[747].

Laconian hydriai of either bronze or clay were also used as transport vessels. The bronze vessels have been distributed as far as central Europe[748] while clay Laconian hydriae have been attested from the PG period to the early 5th century BC with a few changes in their form. Stibbe categorizes Laconian hydriae in 4 main categories according to their

[743] Stibbe 2000, 71.
[744] Pelagatti 1992, 137.
[745] Pelagatti 1992, 137 fig. 57.
[746] Stibbe 2000, 71.
[747] Johnston 1984, 208.
[748] Stibbe 1992, 53. A2 (Hungary), 55 no. G1 (near Bern).

chronological evolution[749]. No sherds of Laconian transport hydriae have been found in the Methone material yet. Nevertheless, unlike Kotsonas' claim, some of the *Hypogeion* amphorae identified as "fully painted" amphorae (ολόβαφοι αμφορείς)[750] possibly need reconsidering[751].

Distribution and provenance:

Laconian pottery has been found from Huelva to Al Mina, in settlements of the Black Sea, in Naucratis and in the Cyrenaica. The highest percentage of Laconian pottery has been found in Sicily and South Italy and in the Etruscan cities (40 % of the total amount of Laconian pottery discovered so far). The total number of Laconian transport amphorae found in the Mediterranean is 89[752]. However, only 5 transport amphorae were found in Laconia itself. This number is very low compared to the local fine pottery that has been found in Laconia, which constitutes one third of the Laconian pottery found around the Mediterranean; it therefore could suggest that Laconian transport amphorae were only produced to be exported. The majority of transport amphorae have been found in Marseille (34 examples)[753] and in Sicily (26 examples). 21 examples have been found in Greece (most of them come from Kommos in Crete, a total of 19 examples)[754] and 17 in Etruria and Latium, whereas 6 in Magna Grecia, 13 in the Western Mediterranean and 1 on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, in Salento. Nevertheless, apart from the transport amphorae, neither in Kommos nor in the South of France has Laconian pottery been found (except for a table amphora in Kommos and a krater in Eleutherna). The picture is similar in Incoronata, where although 4 examples of Laconian transport amphorae were found, no fine pottery was present[755].

[749] Stibbe 2000, 73-77.
[750] The type was first identified by Roald Docter in his study of the Toscanos, Carthage and Vouthroto material, see Docter 2000, 70-72.
[751] Kotsonas thinks that we can't identify those examples as Laconian because their body is fully covered with slip but as the western hill example and many others show, this is quite common in Laconian transport amphorae, see Kotsonas 2012, 208.
[752] Coudin 2009, 15, tb 1.
[753] Sourisseau 1997, 112.
[754] Johnston 1993, 358-362
[755] Stea 1997, 35, cat 28 & fig. 241.

In Sicily Laconian transport amphorae have been found in Monte Lato, Gela, Camarina, Monte San Mauro, Naxos, Grammichele, Ramacca[756] but also in Messene, Himera, Syracuse[757]. The Laconian transport amphora production, therefore, did not only reach the coast but also penetrated inland and has allowed some scholars to speculate on the circulation of products via the sea[758]. In Etruria, Laconian transport amphorae are also present (17 examples) mainly in Gravisca (8 examples)[759] but also in tombs in Vulci, Cerveteri, Murlo and Tolfa. Two fragments of Laconian amphorae dated to the third quarter of the 6th century BC were found in Cyrene in Libya[760]. The bottom part of a Laconian amphora dated to the end of the 7th century BC was found in Histria; it walls are significantly thicker than the Methone example[761].

Laconian transport vessels are distributed mainly between 625 and 550 BC with the exception of Gravisca[762] and Marseille[763], where the majority belongs to the second half of the 6th century. The transport amphora shift in circulation in the middle of the 6th century BC accords well with that of the aryballoi and follows in this way an atypical scheme in relation to the assemblage of Laconian vases. The Laconian amphorae continue to be exported even after the disappearance of the Laconian aryballoi and fine pottery. The type that disappears around the middle of the 6th century is the one covered with black slip (Stibbe's Type G). Could that mean that there was a 'crisis' in the product that these vessels contained? This type has been found with a lot of Laconian aryballoi in sites such as Gravisca and Cerveteri. The types found in Marseille and dated to the second half of the 6th[764], correspond with those found in Gravisca and dated in the same period. It is in this period (the second half of the 6th century) that Gravisca receives the largest amount of Laconian pottery. It seems that settlements in Greece and Egypt receive primarily drinking cups and

[756] Pelagatti 1992, 124 fig. 1 & Tav XX.
[757] Coudin 2009, 37.
[758] Albanese Procelli 1996, 108.
[759] Most of them of the second half of the 6th century BC, see Stibbe 2000, 72, Group I.
[760] Schaus 1985, 19 nos 58 & 59.
[761] Birzescu 2012, 347, no. 1386, tb 81.
[762] The Gravisca material has been studied by Francesca Boitani, who accepted the typology introduced by Pelagatti, see: Boitani 1990, 19-72.
[763] Sourisseau 1997.
[764] Sourisseau 1997, 112 and 335.

settlements in the west, with the exception of Magna Grecia, don't seem to show any preference[765].

In Northern Greece there is limited distribution of Laconian amphorae so far; from the published examples there are three in the cemetery of Abdera[766], which in fact look very close to the Methone example and are dated to the third quarter of the 7th century BC. Fragments of Laconian amphorae come also from the site of Karabournaki In Thessaloniki[767] and in Akanthus, where only one out of three examples is dated to the 7th century BC[768].

The Laconian transport amphorae were probably initially manufactured to carry and export olive oil[769]. Nevertheless, because of the small number of the Laconian transport vessels we have in our disposal we are unable to draw general conclusions on the Laconian commercial activities. Their distribution, however, witnesses exchanges between Laconia and the colonies in the West especially in areas like the south of France where Laconian table ware is nearly missing[770]. It is important together with the distribution of the Laconian ware to understand the historical significance of the production and distribution of Laconian transport amphorae. Their paired study offers information on trade from and to Laconia, which should be examined in regard to its manner of functioning, organisation and social and economic importance of the Spartan society. The changing pattern of production of Laconian craftsmanship has often served as a reference point for reconstruction of the development of the Spartan society of the classical period. Laconian art from the 7th century to the classical period has been seen as an undifferentiated whole and a product of a creative spirit that was doomed to extinction in the stern Spartan society of the classical period[771].

However, between the Second Messenian War and the 5th century, 'the sixth- century revolution' took place in Sparta. Laconian pottery production has managed to occupy an unusual and a privileged position with respect to artistic production in Sparta and to other

[765] Coudin 2009, 14.
[766] Skarlatidou 2010, 144 & 146 & K98, K 260, K269 and 150 K83; 6 in total examples were seen by the author: K98, K106, K132, K260,K 260, K269, K83.
[767] Filis 2012a, 309-320.
[768] Filis 2013, 71.
[769] Pelagatti 1992, 11, no. 91; Garcia et al. 2000, 196.
[770] Coudin 2007, 17.
[771] Nafissi 1989, 68-69.

Archaic wares, such as Attic, Corinthian and Ionian. Although, Laconian pottery as far as its distribution is concerned is not regarded as a representative sample of the total volume of Spartan commerce it is an indicator of the trade that was conducted throughout the Mediterranean by merchants who frequented Laconia. The written sources offer more information about what can generally be referred to as Laconian commerce than is commonly thought. The archaeological evidence, while remaining at all times our main guide should be handled very cautiously, because of a number of problems and more importantly the small size of the sample, which often makes the statistical basis of any observation, precarious.

The WORKSHOP OF LESBOS (cat. Nos 35-43)

Lesbian AMPHORAE	**IDENTIFIED EXAMPLES**
TOTAL	21 (missing: 4741, 4661, 4762, 4839)
COMPLETE	4 (Meth nos 3543,4151, 2462, 2463, the last two examples are tentatively identified as Lesbian)
NECK	1 (4032)
HANDLES	12 (4225-missing, 4395, 4595, 4559, 4627, 4665?, 4688, 4747, 4764, 4768?, 4792?, 4839
RIMS	0
FEET	2 (4561, 4600)
BODY	2 (4575, 4762)
Grey series (one is brown)	5
Red series	9
Brown clay	1
Squares found	007, 008, 012, 013-014, 015, 016, 019, 020, 027

There are 21 examples, which with relative certainty can be attributed to workshops of the island of Lesbos. Of these, at least 9 different vessels can be identified. Lesbian amphorae have been found also in the *Hypogeion* of Methone; only 8 examples are discussed by Kotsonas but there are more, which are not examined because they are not inscribed.

The manufacture of this type was officially attributed to the island of Lesbos by

Clinkenbeard, in 1982[772] but more studies classified Lesbian amphorae type[773]. Furthermore, a misfired handle of the type called 'Lesbian' was found in Lesbos and together with results from petrographic and chemical analyses securely confirmed production of this type of amphorae in Lesbos[774].

The majority of researchers place the amphorae's earliest appearance in the second half of the 7th century BC. Finds from excavations in Old Smyrna, however, suggest that the Lesbian amphorae were in circulation already in the second half of the 8th century, if not earlier[775]. Although the Smyrna material remains unpublished, the theory of the early appearance of Lesbian amphorae was recently supported by new archaeological evidence. Tell Qudadi and Mezad Hashavyahu amphorae examples suggest that Lesbian amphorae production had started already in the second half of the 8th century BC.[776]. The early appearance of Lesbian amphorae is further supported by examples found in the *Hypogeion* of Methone, which date to the end of the 8th century BC[777].

Fabric:

The fabric of Lesbian amphorae is very characteristic. In fact, the amphorae were originally identified as originating from Lesbos because of their characteristic grey clay colour and the view that Lesbos constituted the only region, which manufactured and exported vases in grey clay since the Bronze Age[778]. Their fabric is generally described as of reduced fire, rich in mica, grey to dark on the surface, grey to brown on the core[779]. Petrographic examination of

[772] Clinkenbeard 1982, 248-268; nevertheless, the observation that grey clay comes from Lesbos was made in 1950, see below.
[773] Dupont 1998, 156-163;Monakhov 2003, 43-49; De Domingo and Johnston 2003, Birzescu 2006, 22-56.
[774] Williams & Williams 1991, 184 and for the petrographic analysis see: Bieber, Brooks, Harbottle & Sayre 1976, 127, 130. Clinkenbeard 1982. Dupont 1983, 30. Whitbread 1995, 154–164. De Domingo & Johnston 2003, 35–36. Seifert 2004, 49. Dupont 2010b, 38. Lungu 2010, 49–50. Fantalkin & Tal 2010, 7–8. Dupont 2011.
[775] Cook 1953, 124.
[776] Fantalkin 2010, 1-12.
[777] Kotsonas 2012, 201-205.
[778] The original identification was made in the 1950's. The local grey ware in the area of Aeolis was as highly valued in Lesbos as the imported East Greek painted pottery even at the end of the archaic period, see Spencer 1995, 331.
[779] De Domingo-Johnston 2003, 31.

the fabrics has been conducted by Whitbread and Master[780]. According to them, the fabric of the vessels is characterized by dark-grey micromass colour, a sandy and well-sorted texture and inclusions of mica and quartz. Whitbread notes that the lithology found in the amphorae occurs in the eastern part of the island of Lesbos, away from the area of Methymna, where Virgil places the origin of the wine and the volcanic area[781]. It is also important that the island presents a fair degree of geological heterogeneity, which suggests multiple workhops even on the island itself. Although the Lesbian amphorae were traditionally correlated as manufactured by grey fabric, there is another series of Lesbian amphorae made of a red (or oxidized) fabric. Lawall, after his study of the archaic amphora material in Troy went even further as to suggest that Lesbian amphorae were manufactured not only by grey and red but also by several other clay colours, such as tan, brown and white[782]. This variety of clay colour is further supported by new examples of Lesbian amphorae made of brown fabric found in *Palaia Polis* in Emporion, Spain[783]. An example from Methone is now possibly increasing the number of examples made by brown fabric (see below Meth 2463- **cat no. 43**).

An important observation has been made by Kotsonas in his study of the *Hypogeion* material. He divided the early Lesbian amphorae in light grey and dark grey fabrics and noticed that the light grey ones are wheel-made and the dark grey are handmade[784]. The two types are characterised by the same composition (white inclusions and mica) and therefore the same place of manufacture has been suggested by petrographic analysis conducted by Kyriatzi and Charalambidou[785].

In the assemblage from the Western hill of Methone, examples of both the red series and the grey series- very likely the two types that Kotsonas suggests- were found and were classified below in different groups according to their fabric and morphological characteristics.

[780] Whitbread 1995, 154-164; Master 2001, 40, 146-147 (Category 18).
[781] Whitbread 1995, 160.
[782] Lawall 2002, 215-216, although the evidence is meager.
[783] Aquilue et. al. 2000, 330 and 331 fig. 39. 10-11.
[784] Kotsonas 2012, 203.
[785] Kyriatzi et al. in press.

Grey series (groups):

Although, no early example of the grey series (8th century BC) is fully preserved and thus we cannot acquire a full picture of what was the shape of the early vessels, some morphological observations can be made based on the preserved material. This early shape has a very large and squat cylindrical neck, which can either slant downwards[786] or preserve a straight profile[787], a protruding rim and handles which are either of circular section and ending in the very characteristic Lesbian 'rat-tail'[788] or are flat[789].

The examples found in the second half of the 7th century contexts present a similar shape having a squat neck and concave rim, cyclical section handles which end in 'rat-tails' and an ovoid body which rests on a ring foot; the foot is wide and it looks more like a base. It also has a big depression underneath[790]. According to Dupont, during the same period (end of the 7th century) two more types of Lesbian amphorae were in circulation. These are, two table amphorae, which are dated to the second half of the 7th century. The first table amphora is identical to the contemporaneous standard type described above but it has smaller dimensions and the second has a squat neck with a protruding rim, small globular body and a wide foot[791].

In the first half of the 6th century, the standard shape of the grey series is introduced. It has a thin protruding rim, a downward slanting neck, an emphatic bulbous belly with its diameter set high, while the body tapers towards a ring-shaped foot; the vessel's circular section handles end in 'rat-tail'[792].

According to the above characteristics, the Western hill's material is divided into the following groups:

[786] Tell Qudadi's example, see Fantalkin 2010, p. 7 fig. 8 and Methone's example, see Kotsonas 2012, cat. No 132 (Mθ 2191).
[787] see example from Methone: Kotsonas 2012, cat. No 4 (Mθ 2237).
[788] see Fantalkin 2010, 7 figs 8-9; see also Kotsonas 2012, cat nos 132 and 136.
[789] Two examples in Methone's *Hypogeion*, see Kotsonas 2012, cat nos 132 and 136; Spencer 1995, 301, fig. 12 for an example in Antissa and Skarlatidou 2000, 81-82 K275 for a close parallel from Abdera.
[790] An example is illustrated in Spencer 1995, 301, fig. 12.
[791] Dupont 1998, fig. 23.4 f, g; for another example see also Pelagatti 1976, pl. LXXVI 16.
[792] Dupont 1998, 156-157 23.4 b.

1. Methone's numbers 3543 (**cat. no. 35**), 4627, 4561 (**cat. no. 36**), 4395 (**cat. no. 37**) belong to the standard type of the grey series of the first half of the 6th century, as the complete preserved example shows (**3543- cat. no. 35**). It has a concave protruding rim and a ridge supporting it, a neck which slants downwards, an emphatic bulbous belly, which has its largest diameter high and tapers into a narrow ring shaped foot. 4561 (**cat. no. 36**) is a foot, which is exactly the same size as 3543's (**cat. no. 35**) foot and the same shape and dimensions are also seen in 4627 and 4395(**cat. no. 37**), which are parts of handles. All the examples are made of a fabric which is grey and brown in the core, contains a lot of mica and is made in a slow wheel, they therefore belong to what Kotsonas called the dark grey clay examples[793].

2. 4764 **(cat. no. 38)** is more elongated than the above mentioned handles and looks more similar to the red series handles. The fabric is brown on the exterior and grey in the core and contains a lot of white inclusions. Considering that there was no chronological difference in this stage of the grey and the red series, perhaps 3543 (**cat. no. 35**) and the examples that belong to the same group are dated to the beginning of the 6th century BC and 4764 (**Cat. no. 38)** can be dated slightly later, in the first half of the 6th.

3. 4225 is a grey wheel-made handle with a rat-tail and therefore possibly belongs to Kotsonas' light grey type. The same identification possibly applies to examples 4575 and 4762, which are made on the wheel and present the same composition in fabric; they also have thick walls, a feature that ascribes to the light grey clay vessels[794].

4. 4735 **(cat. no. 39),** 4736**,** 4768 are examples of twisted handles that possibly belong to Lesbian amphorae. 4735 **(cat. no. 39)** is most likely to have been part of a Lesbian amphora: its fabric is brown on the exterior and grey in the core; the thickness of the vessel allows us to argue that this was an amphora . The other two examples are less likely to have been handles of an amphora, 4736 because it is probably too small and 4768 because of its shape (pointed arching, which is not typical for a Lesbian amphora); however, the possibility of them belonging to a smaller dimension amphora or a table Lesbian amphora cannot be excluded. Lesbian amphorae with twisted handles are a rare variety and have so far

[793] Kotsonas 2012, 202.
[794] Kotsonas 2012, 203.

appeared in Kommos and dated to the end of the 7th century BC[795]. Another example of twisted handle Lesbian amphora has been found in Abdera[796].

The type of the first half of the 6th century with the slanting neck continues to be produced until the third quarter of the 6th with minor variations: slimming of the belly and of the neck and a new kind of flat base in replacement of the former ring base[797].

Towards the last quarter of the 6th century, there is a tendency for a neck elongation and a tightening of the belly of the Lesbian transport amphorae[798]. This tendency occasionally becomes so emphatic as to form an almost 'phi' outline shape of the body. The 'phi' outline type is being produced and circulated in two sizes.

The development of the grey series continues until the second half of the 4th century BC and in that period, it seems to be more in accordance with the red series development[799]. It seems that their production ends after the last quarter of the 4th century as there are no amphorae found after this date.

Red series:

The red Lesbian series are not as well studied as the grey series. The late archaic examples were thought to have been the beginning of the series and they are known with two different names: Zeest called them 'tumbler-bottomed' amphorae and Clinkenbeard called them 'fractional red'[800]. Dupont thinks that neither of these terms are successful[801] and suggess that the beginning of the red series production was in the first half of the 6th until the middle of the 5th centuries BC. Recent evidence from Histria[802] has provided us with two new pieces of information; the first is that there are examples in the red series that can be either rimless[803] or have a trapezoidal rim. The second is that the red series appearance starts much earlier, in the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th centuries BC. The earlier

795 Csapo-Johnston-Geagan 2000, 124, no. 67; 125 no. 74.
796 Skarlatidou 2010, 178 K63.
797 Dupont 1998, fig. 23.4 c.
798 See example in Histria: Knigge 1976, 86 no. 7.
799 The shape of the grey series is closer morphologically to the one of the red series.
800 Zeest, 1960, 72-74 & Clinkenbeard 1986, 358.
801 Dupont 1998, 161.
802 Birzescu 2005, 50-52.
803 Birzescu 2005, cat no. 5.

beginning of the series is supported by further evidence from Salamis in Cyprus[804] and Camarina[805]. According to both Dupont's and Birzescu's classification, this early shape has a thin protruding rim, a downward slanting neck, circular section handles and a bulbous body, which tapers into a ring shaped foot. The foot of the red series becomes progressively narrower at least until the end of the archaic series. Based on the above and on more examples from the Black Sea, some Ukranian specialists named the red Lesbian series 'conical footed red-clay' amphorae[806].

Red series examples from Methone have been divided into the following groups:

1. 4150 (**cat. no. 40**), 4032 (**cat. no. 41**), 4747, 4839. These examples all have the same profile; they all have a long/funnel neck and circular handles and are made of a dark red fabric with white inclusions and abundant mica. This type is the standard type of the Lesbian amphorae in the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th century BC; the same type is produced also in grey-coloured clay (see above grey series group 1).
2. 4595, 4600, 4668 and possibly 4813 are made by also a red but coarser fabric, which contains more frequent white inclusions and some red ones and not as much mica as Group 1 of the red series.

2462 **(Cat. no. 42)** is a complete example made of a red-coloured clay with chunks of white inclusions and smaller white and darker ones and abundant mica. 2462 **(Cat. no. 42)** is a high vessel with a cornice rim, a straight, cylindrical stout neck and a pear shaped body, which tapers into a wide ring foot. It does not match with any of the suggested types by Dupont neither with Birzescu's classification made on the basis of the amphorae in Histria[807]. The Methone piece preserves characteristics of the Lesbian workshop, such as the circular section handles, the pear shaped body and ring shaped foot but the short squat straight neck and the short handles are peculiar to the Lesbian amphora production of this period (beginning of the 6th cent. BC). It could be more easily associated to the early examples of the Lesbian series rather than the examples of the period that it is dated.

[804] Karageoghis Salamis IV, 57-58, no. 3 pl. CCXXIII.3.
[805] Pelagatti 1976, 525, pl. LXXVI.13.
[806] Ruban 1990, 12-19.
[807] Birzescu 2005, 45-75.

Similar to the above amphorae, seem to have been found in Akanthus and Esyme and were named by Filis "amphorae of Lesbian type". It is interesting that all the 'Lesbian type' amphorae from Akanthus carry graffiti on them[808]. The Methone piece preserves a circular mark on the neck. According to Filis, some of the "Lesbian type" amphorae from Akanthus did not originate from Lesbos. Their fabric greatly matches the Northern Aegean one and their manufacturing technique seems quite clumsy to originate from an Eastern Greek workshop. Even if the 'Lesbian type' amphora was made in Lesbos, we still do not have any evidence from the island that would point to a local manufacture of this type but we need to stress that Lesbos is a large island, which has not been well investigated. Filis, proposed that the 'Lesbian type' might have been manufactured in Esyme[809]. Among the examples of the Lesbian amphorae of the red series with the characteristic slanting neck, 4032 (**cat. No. 41**) seems slightly clumsily made. Bearing in mind that Methone presents strong evidence of workshop activity[810], including a misfired piece, which suggests pottery production perhaps Methone could also be a candidate for the manufacture of this type. Further archaeological evidence and a detailed study of the material will shed light on such a hypothesis.

Example **2463 (cat. No. 43)** from the Methone assemblage, which has actually been found in the same area with 2462 (**Cat. No. 42**) is very interesting. It is made of a fabric similar to 2462 (**Cat. No. 42)** in composition, although more of a brown colour clay[811] and it has an ovoid body and the same type of stout neck; however, the rim is overhanging and its handles are strap and straight. The shape of the vessel is very close to an example from the necropolis of Esyme dated to the end of the 7th century BC, which has also remained unidentified by Antigone Marangou, although she points out the similarities to some Lesbian workshop characteristics[812]. The strap handles are also not unknown to the Lesbian workshops, as early examples also from the *Hypogeion* material indicate (see above). Some morphological similarities of cat. No. 43 with an example from Histria, which Birzescu

[808] Filis 2011.
[809] Filis 2011; this is largely hypothetical, though since no kilns were found.
[810] See above, description of the site. According to the excavator there was evidence of workshop activity in every place where archaic remains of the settlement were found, see Methone 2008. Unfortunately the type of Methonaean amphorae suggested By Kotsonas to have been produced in Methone has proven to be Milesian after petrographic analysis, see: Kyriatzi& Charalambidou in press.
[811] Different clay colours were used for the production of Lesbian amphorae, see above but different colours have also been noticed due to firing conditions, see Clinkenbeard 1982, 253-254.
[812] Koukouli-Marangou 2013, 282, fig. 2b.

classifies under the "west-Greek" type (kat. 1406), should be noted[813]. The similarities between the Histria and the Methone examples are noted mainly on the upper part of the vessels (at the overhanging rim and handles). The Histria example is dated to the second half of the 6th century BC.

According to Birzescu, another type of red series appears, between 560 and 510 B.C. In this period the neck is getting higher and slimmer and the handles continue to be circular. This shape can either have a protruding trapezoidal section rim or no rim at all[814] and a narrow conical ring shaped foot.

Around the end of the 6th century appears what Dupont defines as canonical oxidised or 'tumbler-bottomed' type[815]. Birzescu places the beginning of that group, earlier, between 530 and 480/470 B.C. The height of this type does not change much compared to the previous type but the belly gets narrower. It resembles the 'phi' outline shape of the grey series but it is clearly more tapered[816]. The red series Lesbian amphorae continue to develop new types throughout the classical period and until the end of the 4th century.

Distribution and provenance:

Lesbian amphorae of both the grey and the red series appear in a wide range of sites in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Examples that might belong to the 8th century appear in Smyrna[817], Mesad Hashavhayu and Tell Qudadi[818] and in the *Hypogeion* of Methone[819]. In the Athenian Agora, in Pithekoussai, some Lesbian amphorae have been dated to the third quarter of the 7th BC[820] but early examples have been found also in South Italy, In Incoronata and in Siris[821]. Examples of the grey series of the late 7th century have been found in Kommos[822]. This shape has also been found in the necropolis of Clazomenai, used for infant

[813] Birzescu 2012, 199, no. 1406, tb 82.
[814] Birzescu 2005, 53 cat. No. 5.
[815] Dupont 1998, 161.
[816] Dupont 1998, fig. 23.5 c.
[817] Cook 1953, 124.
[818] Fantalkin 2010, 1-12.
[819] Kotsonas 2012, 201-209.
[820] For Athens, see: Clikenbeard 1982, 249, pl. 70:1; for Pithekoussai, see: Di Sandro 1986, 86, no.SG 20.
[821] Stea 2000, 473 fig. 322; Berlingo 1993, 9, fig. 16. 10.
[822] Johnston 2000, 218.

inhumations[823], in Histria[824], in Tocra[825] and in Ashkelon[826]. In the same period or more likely in the beginning of the 6th century, a neck fragment of a Lesbian amphora has been reported from the Palacio de Buenavista in Bahia Malaga in Spain[827]. The table amphorae of the end of the 7th century were hardly attested outside Lesbos[828]. One example from Olbia has been found in a context of the second half of the 6th century[829]. In the 6th century, when the basic Lesbian amphora shape is established distribution rose significantly and included more sites in the Black Sea area[830], Gordion, Troy[831], Daskyleion[832] and Egypt (Migdol, Heliopolis, Iuffa, Qurna)[833]. The shape is also found in Camarina[834] and in Cyprus (Salamis[835] and Kition[836]). Dated between 560 and 540 B.C. two fragments of Lesbian amphorae from the grey series have been surfaced in *Palaia Polis* in Emporion Spain[837]. The type, which forms a body of 'Phi' shape is attested in the Black Sea and Egypt[838].

The early type of the red series is attested in Salamis Cyprus[839], Kommos[840] Histria[841], Jagorlyk[842], Berezan[843], Orgame[844],Troy[845]and Camarina[846]. Another fragment of shoulder and neck of the oxidized series has been reported from the excavations of Palacio del Buenavista in Bahia Malaga dated before 550 BC. Examples of the second group of the red

[823] Humurzlu 2003, 455-456 figs 101/m, 106/m;2004, 82.
[824] Birzescu 2012, 26-28, Types I and II. Birzescu classifies the Histria material of grey Lesbian amphorae in 7 types, see Birzescu 2012, 26-35.
[825] Boardman/ Hayes 1966, 139, no. 1416, pl 90.
[826] Barako 2008, 445, Amphora 15.
[827] Cisneros Garcia et al 2000, 196 & 200 fig. 10: 21/23/20.
[828] Dupont 1998, fig. 23.4 f, g. In Lesbos many of them have been found in necropoleis, see: Cook 1958–1959, 14. Brann 1961 b, 346, no F80.
[829] Lepuinskaia 1987, no. 5, 98 fig. 34.5.
[830] see Dupont 1998, 160; Birzescu 2005, 62-62 Group II
[831] Lawall 2002; Aslan 2002.
[832] Koçak Yaldr 2011,367–368.
[833] Dupont 1998, 156-165.
[834] See for example Pelagatti 1976, LXXVI nu. 15.
[835] Gjerstad 1977, pl. 22, 4.
[836] Johnston 1981, 40-41.
[837] Aquilue et al. 2000, 330 and fig. 39. 8-9.
[838] Oren 1984, 20 n. 44 fig. 23.6, 27, 29 fig. 39-40; Lepuinskaiia 1987, 99 n. 5
[839] Gjerstad 1977, pl. 22, 4.
[840] Johnston 2000, 218 cat. 108, fig. 29, nos 107, 109, 116, tb 9.
[841] Birzescu 2006; Birzescu 2012, 37 type I, fig. 9.
[842] Ruban 1990, 13-14, figs 1,6
[843] Ruban 1990, fig. 1, 5.
[844] Birzescu 2005, cat. No. 3.
[845] An example with tan and not red fabric, see: Lawall 2002, 216, Cat 9, Fig. 6.9
[846] See above n. 834.

series of Lesbian amphorae dated between 560 and 510 BC has been found in Akanthus[847], Apollonia[848], Berezan[849], Histria and a few other sites in the Black Sea[850]. It has also been found in Camarina[851] and in the shipwreck of Pointe Lequin 1A[852]. Three more examples were found in Phocaea[853], Troy[854] and Samos[855].

The 'phi' type of the red series dated to the last quarter of the 6th and the first quarter of the 5th centuries has a very wide distribution in the Black Sea and the Aegean. It is also found in some sites in central and Southern Italy and the Western Mediterranean (Aegina[856], Athens[857], Thorikos, Thasos, Troy, Rhodes, Apollonia, Histria, Berezan, Hephastia in Lemnos, Gela, Pyrgi[858] and Malaga)[859].

In the Northern Aegean, Lesbian transport amphorae of the 8th century have been found in Methone[860]. Many examples of the end of the 7th century BC were found in Abdera[861], including the kind with the pseudo-twisted handles that was found in Kommos and possibly in Methone (see above). Fragments of Lesbian amphorae dated to late 7th and first half of the 6th centuries have been surfaced in sizeable quantities also in Karabournaki[862], N. Philadelphia, Sindos[863], Archontiko, Thermi, Chalastra, Gona, Toumba, Lebet (Polihni). Several sites in Chalkidike: Nea Kallikrateia, Sane, Mende, Poseidi, Aphytis[864],

[847] Filis 2011.
[848] Lazarov 1973, 19, Cat 79-82, Pl. 8.
[849] Ruban 1990, fig. 1, 9.10.12.
[850] Birzescu 2005, 52, 63 Group II nos 4-7; 9-14; 20-22.
[851] In the necropolis of Rifriscolaro T. 398.
[852] see Dupont 1998, ch. 23, n. 118.
[853] Ozigit 1994, 89 fig. 5, 104 Pls 29-30.
[854] Lawall 2002, cat. 1 fig. 6.1.
[855] neck fragment (unpublished).
[856] Johnston 1990b, 1, 40-42 figs 2-3.
[857] Roberts 1986, 63-65, cat no. 408-411 fig. 41 pl. 15.
[858] Colona 1990, 9 fig. 10.
[859] For a full list and bibliography, see Birzescu 2005, 64-68 Group III.
[860] See above p. 136.
[861] Skarlatidou 2010, 178 K63.
[862] Tiverios 1995–2000, 311; Tiverios, Manakidou & Tsiafaki 2000, 208; Tiverios, Manakidou, _& Tsiafaki 2001,259; Tiverios, Manakidou &Tsiafaki 2003a, 19 6; Tiverios , Manakidou & Tsiafaki 2003b, 333; Tiverios 2004,297; Tiverios, Manakidou &Tsiafaki 2005, 192; Tiverios 2008 ,28; Tiverios 2009a, 392; Manakidou 2010, 463, n. 11; Tsiafaki 2011. The majority of the samples are of the grey series.
[863] Tiverios 2010, 16.
[864] All of the material above is unpublished.

Akanthus[865] and many sites in Eastern Macedonia: Esyme[866], Argilos[867], Neapolis, Thasos, Stryme[868], Maroneia[869] and Efestia in Lemnos[870].

In Akanthus, two types of Lesbian amphorae have been found: first, the type of amphora of clear Lesbian origin; this one displays fabric and morphological features that match those of the Lesbian models. Apart from this type, however, there are many examples that display only some of the Lesbian amphorae features such as, circular section handles; Filis called these amphorae "Lesbian type"[871]. The 'Lesbian type' amphorae were divided and dated into two different groups mainly based on their morphological characteristics. They have one or a combination of the following morphological features: round section handles, thick ring-shaped round or semi-circular rim, a ridge supporting the rim, wide pear-shaped body or globular body and ring-shaped base. They cover a chronological range from the beginning of the 6th century until the end of the 6th century B.C. Methone's 2462 (**cat. no. 42)** also belongs to this type and a third example has been found in Esyme[872].

One of the large provenance debates regarding Lesbian amphorae is the origin of the oxidised series. Initially, Zeest thought they originated from Athens because of their alleged representations in Athenian vase-painting[873]. Clinkenbeard argues that the oxidised type was manufactured in a workshop in Southern Thasos although it carried Lesbian wine; she bases her view on morphological features, which were very similar to the Lesbian grey type[874]. Contrarily to her arguments, Dupont thinks that it is hard to understand what profit would Lesbos draw by this "subcontracting of part of its wine packaging to Thasian potters";he, therefore, argues that the production centre for both series is the island of Lesbos and the difference in clay witnesses two distinct groups of workshops each with its own technological traditions. Lesbos as the place of manufacture seems probably the most

[865] For Akanthus see, Filis 2011.
[866] Koukouli-Chryssanthaki-Marangou 2013, 281.
[867] After personal examination of the material, 2 examples of the grey series and 1 of the Lesbian series can be confirmed.
[868] Terzopoulou 1995, 658.
[869] Karadima 2009, 152, 162, fig. 19.
[870] Beschi 2005b, 141–142, no 197; Danile 2011b.
[871] Filis 2011.
[872] Koukouli-Chryssanthaki-Marangou 2012, 281.
[873] Zeest 1960, 74.
[874] Clinkenbeard 1986, 353-359.

convincing suggestion, as many more examples of early red series have been discovered since. Alternatively, Dupont calls these amphorae, types of the 'Lesbos circle'[875], acknowledging that the red series might have been manufactured in mainland Aeolis instead of the island of Lesbos[876], a theory which is convincing enough, considering the geological similarities between the island and the mainland. Ozyigit suggested that some of these late archaic amphorae may have been made in Phocaea[877]. The theory of multiple centers of production within the mainland Aeolis seems to be more plausible and would justify also the variety of fabrics which has been reported by Lawall in Troy and which continues to be enriched by new examples[878].

As far as the content of Lesbian amphorae is concerned, literary sources inform us about Lesbian wine being of a very high quality and the addition of sea-water to it. The two different series (grey and red) do not seem to have been especially designed to carry different food staples[879]. One grey and one oxidised amphorae had in their interior remains of resin coating, which means that they were carrying wine. Further examples of the same coating are found in Simagre (Colchis) in both grey and oxidised examples of the second half of the 6th century[880]. Vines were grown in the plain of Methymna around Eressos**.** However, the island of Lesbos and its *peraea* were not only suited for wine growing, olive oil also played an important role in the economy of the island and therefore such containers are very likely to have been used for more than one purpose[881]. The island is even nowadays well-known for its olive plantations.

[875] Dupont & Kacharova 2002, 219.
[876] Filis 2011 but no evidence of fire kilns have been found there yet; see also Dupont's new archaeometric analyses results in Dupont Lesbiaca 2010, 37-47.
[877] Ozyigit 1994, 89.
[878] See above p. 143, for examples from Palacio de Buenavista in Bahia Malaga.
[879] Dupont Lesbiaca 2010, 42; Johnston has argued that the grey contained olive oil and the red series wine, see: Johnston 1990b, 41–42.
[880] Dupont-Kackarava 2002, 222,
[881] Dupont 1998, 162; Dupont Lesbiaca 2010, 38-39.

THE CHIAN WORKSHOPS (cat. nos 44-60)

Chian AMPHORAE	**IDENTIFIED SHERDS**
TOTAL	74 (missing 31)
COMPLETE	1 amphora (2465. A second example preserves large pieces of the body 3948 a,b) 2 hydriai (4648, 4216)
Examples with concentric circles decoration	3 (4240, 4355, 4650)
UPPER PART (RIM & NECK and/or HANDLE)	2 (4248, 4166)
HANDLES	13
RIMS	15 (4759 might not be Chian)
FEET	9 (4295, 4217, 4176, 4242, 4319, 4649, 4652, 4653, 4668, 4751, 4756, 4773, 4774
BODY	39
Graffito	12
Squares found	006, 007, 008, 010, 012, 013-14, 015, 016, 018, 019,020, 022-023, 027.

There are 74 examples, which can securely be attributed to Chian transport vessels and this number makes the transport vessels coming from Chios the most numerous group among the western hill pottery assemblage. Chian amphorae have been found also in the *Hypogeion* of Methone and date from the late 8th to the beginning of the 6th centuries BC. At least 15 different vessels can be identified in the western hill and 6 in the *Hypogeion* assemblage (there is more material from the *Hypogeion* which has not been studied, yet).

Fabric:

Chian amphorae are easily recognized thanks to the very distinctive whitish slip and decoration, which covers their surface[882]. The production of these amphorae on the island of Chios was strongly suggested by the discovery of a pottery kiln dated to the early 5th century BC, made for the production of this type of amphorae[883]. However, based on the results of chemical and petrographic analyses more production centres were proposed both within the island and on the opposite coast, possibly in Erythrai, Clazomenai or elsewhere in the Chian *chora*[884]. Description of the Chian clay have been given lately, in detail, by Yasar Ersoy in his study of the material from Clazomenai but also by Christina de Domingo and Alan Johnston in their study of the Kommos material.

Chian examples found in the western hill of Methone were divided into 3 **fabric groups**:

1. Brownish clay with grey core (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown, some of them have a brown core) with many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions and abundant silver and gold mica. Examples which belong to this group are: 3948a, b, 4528, 4529, 4530, 4532, 4533, 4537, 4557, 4579, 4598, 4608, 4617, 4650, 4652, 4654, 4656, 4658, 4628, 4655, 4668, 4672, 4679, 4694, 4709, 4724, 4728,4754, 4756, 4763, 4771 (with brown core), 4775, 4781, 4788 (no grey core), 4808, 4817, 4818, 4828, 4842, 4845, 4706, 4521, 4554, 4722, 4295.

2. Orange clay with grey or darker core (7.5 YR, 6/6 reddish/yellow) with a slightly increased amount of mica compared to Group 1 and many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions. Examples which belong to this group

[882] Lambrino 1938, 100-113 and 124-128; Ghali-Kahil 1960, 35; Zeest 1960, 16; Dupont 1982, 194-198; Di Sandro 1986, 53; Jones 1986, 283; Slaska 1986, 55–57; Oettli 1994, 38–44; Sourisseau 1997,129–130–133; Dupont 1998, 146; Monachov 1999, 33–60; Aquilue et al. 2000, 330; de Domingo & Johnston 2003, 30; Monachov 2003,10–24, 183–188; Seifert 2004, 22; Pelagatti 2006, 64–65; Nedev & Gyuzelev 2011, 63–64; for Mende and Methone, see: Moschonissioti, Pentedeka, Kyritzi, Mexi 2005, 249–267; for Methone, see Kyritzi & Charalambidou in press.

[883] Tsaravopoulos 1986, 136–139 and Jones 1986, 283- 284.

[884] Boardman 1978, 288. Jones 1986, 283–284. See also: de Domingo & Johnston 2003, 33–34. For chemical analysis see also: Seifert & Yalçin 1995, 24–25. Seifert 1996, 35–36. Seifert 2004, 49., Whitbread 1995, 143; Sezgin 2004, 180–181, no. 18; Gassner 2011.

are: 4606 and 4827, also 4829, 4784, 4848, 4846, 4557, 4749, 4841, 4651, 4796 (very clear wheel marks), 4722, 4733, 4673, 4634, 4765, 4836, 4755, 4614, 4536, 4622, 4248, 4166, 4356 a,b, 4648.

3. Coarser clay than the previous 2 groups, brown with larger grey core (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown). The main representative of this group is 4773. Under the same group, more examples were classified: 4319, 4774, 4531, 4740, 4844, 4556, 4590, 4822, 4677, 4843, 4653, 4649 because of their slightly coarse clay, although 4773 is significantly coarser.

The first 2 fabric groups identified in the Methone material have been distinguished already by Anderson, in 1954 during the study of the Kofina material[885]. One is described as 'unslipped with coarse gritty light-brown clay' and the other as 'far smoother, less gritty clay'. Further analyses of the Chian fabric were undertaken by Domingo and Johnston[886] and Whitbread[887]. Whitbread has again distinguished two fabrics of Chian amphorae. The first has a brownish clay colour and frequency in its inclusions (the analyses has been conducted on an amphora dated probably in the end of 7th/beginning of 6th century). Whitbread's second class has a more reddish-yellow colour with a pinkish grey-core and less frequent inclusions (the thin section analysis has been conducted on a sample taken by a Chian amphora dated to middle 5th century) [888] and his results were confirmed also by R. Sauer[889]. Furthermore, Whitbread notes a similarity of the ancient fabric with that of the modern clay of Armolia, thus indicating a plausible provenance for the ancient material from the same area[890]. Although workshop installations have not been found yet[891], it should be noted that large part of the island still remains unexplored. In addition, it is also interesting that there is considerable resemblance in the geological conditions of Chios with that of Erythrai and

[885] Anderson 1954, 139-140.
[886] De Domingo/Johnston 2003, 30.
[887] Whitbread 1995, 139.
[888] Whitbread 1995, 141.
[889] See, Gassner 2011.
[890] Whitbread 1995, 140-143.
[891] A fire kiln has been discovered in Limnia (western part of Chios) but it dates to the Hellenistic period, see Dupont-Lingu 2010, 5.

Teos[892]. This suggests, as mentioned above, that the manufacture of the 'Chian' types could have also taken place in sites of the mainland.

Whitbread's types/classes, which also accord with the descriptions of Chian fabric by Ersoy and De Domingo & Johnston match Methone's Groups 1 and 2. Examples of groups 1 and 2 have both been found in the *Hypogeion* of Methone, and therefore there is no chronological differentiation between the fabric groups, except perhaps for the coarseness of the earlier examples. The example of the third fabric group 4773 (**cat no. 50**), which presents a coarser fabric is possibly dated earlier (see below). However, we should note that in his description of the *Hypogeion* material, Kotsonas mentions that white inclusions are very occasionally found in the fabric of Chian examples[893], while they constitute one of the main elements of Chian fabric in the western hill material.

Types and evolution:

According to Dupont, Chian amphorae are divided into two chronological series. The first one starts around the middle/end of the 7th and continues until the middle of the 6th century BC[894], although Chian amphorae have most probably appeared earlier than the middle of the 7th century[895]. During the second half of the 7th, the Chian amphora appears to have a squat neck, an ovoid bellied body and a ring shaped foot. The foot is usually quite broad and the handles are cylindrical, thick and stout[896]. The decoration of this first type consists of a series of horizontal red bands painted on top of a creamy, thick slip covering the entire surface of the vessel. Most of the early examples have a painted "eight"[897] or S motif on both sides of their shoulder[898].

[892] According to a recent study, at Erythrae there was local pottery production , see: Dupont-Lungu 2010, 3-9.
[893] Kotsonas 2012, 198.
[894] Dupont 1998,146. Most scholars place the beginning of the Chian series in the middle of the 7th century, see also: Whitbread 1995, 135.
[895] Evidence which suggests that Chian amphorae were produced and circulated already since the end of the 8th century, see below chapter on distribution.
[896] Dupont 1998, 146.
[897] The full 8 motif is only found in early examples, whereas the S is typical for later examples of the end of the 7th and first half of the 6th centuries BC.
[898] An example from Salamis and many from Egypt however, look very similar to this early type of Chian amphora with squat characteristics but they are found in tombs of Cypro-Archaic II and dated in the 6th century, for Salamis see: Calvet & Yon 1978, 49; for Egypt see: Oren 1984, 24-25 figs 24.1, 31.33-34.

Methone's examples 4654, 4656, 4679, 4749, 4771 **(cat no. 47),** 4808, 4817, 4841 are all wide and thick handles which preserve remains of a thick creamish slip on top of which there is -for some examples better preserved while for some others, fairly destroyed- decoration of a broad parallel band. 4622 and 4261 **(cat. no. 48)** are interesting because instead of creamish, they are covered with a pinkish but still quite thick slip. 4261 **(cat. no. 48)**, which is a handle is additionally decorated with a pair of crossed black bands on the upper surface. This difference from the standard decoration may indicate a different workshop or even a Clazomenian production[899], possibly even a different content of the vessel. In fact, another example from the *Hypogeion* is similarly decorated and finds parallel in a Pithekoussian example[900], whose Chian provenance has been questioned[901]. Furthermore, 4628, 4673, 4836, 4843, 4579, 4556, 4755 are all body sherds covered with a thick creamish slip and having thick walls and therefore belonging to this first type with stout characteristics. 4529, 4828 are two 'overhanging' rims that resemble the early type of Chian amphora described by Dupont and dated to the third quarter of the 7th century BC[902]. The foot of this type has a large diameter, it has a small outward protrusion in the middle and forms a ring around its perimeter. These features can be seen in examples 4652, 4756 (**cat. no. 49**) and 4295. All the above examples, resemble in characteristics the early type of Chian amphorae of the second half of the 7th century BC. The context where they were found is equally supporting this dating and sometimes it is suggesting an even earlier date towards the middle of the 7th century BC. Although, as stated above (p. 87), no clear stratigraphical data are provided, it is important to note that the majority of the above examples were found in deeper strata than the fire layer of the first half of the 6th. Moreover, the above examples were found together with imported and local pottery of the second half of the 7th century, including many transport amphorae examples: Thermaic Gulf of the early type, Corinthian type A, SoS (cat. no. 9 with the rare wheel motif). It is therefore probable that they also belong to an earlier period. 4773 (**cat. no. 50**), which is also a broad foot is made of a very coarse fabric and is not covered by slip. This example looks slightly earlier than the previous ones and it was also

[899] However, no fabric differentiation, visible macroscopically, points to this direction.
[900] Buchner & Ridgway 1993, 429, no 397.1.
[901] Kotsonas 2012, 199, no. 180; the Pithekoussan piece has been identified by Johnston as Clazomenian, see: Docter 2000, 75 for the debate between Johnston and Durando.
[902] Dupont 1998, 146, fig. 23.1 a.

found quite deep in the excavation and may thus be dated to the middle of the 7th century BC, when unslipped Chian amphorae were produced[903].

4650 (**cat. no. 51**) must also be dated quite early. This is a fragment of a closed vessel with a decoration of concentric circles on a thick creamy slip. An identical example has been found in Methone's *Hypogeion* (unpublished). Another two examples decorated with concentric circles on a creamish slip are found in the Methone assemblage, nos 4240, 4355 **(cat. no. 52**). 4355 **(cat. no. 52)** is identical with a hydria found in the *Hypogeion*, which however is decorated with concentric circles between sets of wavy lines, while the example from the western hill is decorated with concentric circles between sets of straight lines. Interestingly, the western hill example has been found with EIA local pottery of the middle/second half of the 7th century BC. Concentric circles are not very common in Chian repertoire[904]; in addition to that, the decorative motifs on these examples, especially on 4650 (**cat. no. 51**) are very reminiscent of the decoration on the locally manufactured Thermaic Gulf amphorae (sets of concentric circles above a broad band on the shoulder). From a close macroscopic examination of the fabric, this example's clay origin from Chios could be suggested. If this is true, we might be dealing with a Chian potter, who had moved to Methone having carried with him Chian clay and wanted with this decoration to combine the local decorative motif with the Chian appearance[905]. The establishment to Methone of Eastern Greek populations has been proposed by the study of the *Hypogeion* material and is suggested from this study, too. The early date to which the example is dated, possibly corroborates this hypothesis, as it may suggest that the Chian clay was carried there together with the first settlers from Northern Ionia. Obviously, further study and archaeometric analysis of this example will clarify the above questions.

4216 **(cat. no. 53**), 4554, 4528, 4709 are all straight profile rims, which are flat on the top but are covered with a thick creamish slip; these four examples and especially 4709, and

[903] Anderson 1954, 139-140.
[904] However, from personal examination of transport amphorae material, an example of this type was seen in Clazomenae.
[905] The importation of clay is not frequently documented, see Tiverios 2008, 9, but it has been reported, especially in places with bad clay, such as Egypt, see: Boardman 1956, 56; Möller 2000, 140, ft 17; Smolarikova 2002, 62, ft 17.

4216 **(cat. no. 53)**[906], which was found together with a horizontal handle probably come from transport hydriai. A half complete transport hydria has been found in Methone (4648-**cat. no. 45**) and allows us to partly restore the shape and decoration of the vessel. The shape of the Chian **hydria** is different than the amphora's: the diameter of the rim, neck and body is certainly larger than the amphora. The rim is everted and forms a 90 degree angle with the neck; the neck is much wider than the amphora's. The handles are horizontal and placed on the shoulder (the bottom part of the body is not preserved. The hydria is also differently decorated compared to the Chian amphora, although it maintains clear Chian characteristics. It is covered with creamish/whitish slip and on top of the slip, decoration in red paint is placed. Nevertheless, the central motif on the shoulder is not a leaned **8**, as at the amphora decoration but rather a circular motif, pointed in the centre, which covers the entire shoulder area on both sides. The rim is covered with orange paint but left unpainted on the top flat surface; this upper lip surface is instead decorated with sets of small vertical lines. Directly below the rim, 3 parallel lines are placed and underneath the parallel lines the central shoulder motif is painted. The area below the shoulder is decorated with a set of 4 wavy lines. The handles are covered with red paint. The hydriai seem to have been among the early examples of Chian transport vessels in Methone. Most of the examples and especially 4709 have been found together with local pottery of the EIA and more amphora fragments of the second half of the 7th century BC.

4248 (**cat. no. 54**) is an interesting example. It is a fragment of the neck and the body of an amphora and although it saves a thick slipped decoration and thick bands, the shape of the neck seems more elongated than that of the early stout type and therefore resembles more the shape of the standard type of the a' half of the 6th century BC. This example seems to belong to the period between the early type and the following, standard type and is probably a transitional example. In fact, this example is very close to Dupont's middle type and dated to the end of the 7th century BC[907]. Similar is the case of 4166 and 4176 although these two examples are even closer to the standard type, as they present slimmer proportions.

[906] 4528 is rather unlikely to come from a hydria as it looks that a handle is being formed right below the rim.
[907] Dupont 1998, 148, fig. 23.1 b.

Progressively the body of the Chian amphora becomes slender and in the beginning of the 6th century BC, the height increases, the neck and handles become longer and the foot becomes narrower; the decoration also changes: the slip, which up until then used to be thick and creamy, now degenerates in a thin chalky-white slip and the band decoration placed on top of the slip becomes much thinner (a' half of the 6th century BC).

There are several examples of this type in the Methone material. A completely preserved amphora (**2465-cat no.44**) belongs to this type, which is also called "the standard type" of the Chian amphorae[908]. 2465 (**cat no.44)** has an elongated body, a tall neck and a small cylindrical rim, long, thin handles and very narrow foot. It is decorated with a thin chalky slip, which covers the entire vessel, on top of which lies the decoration in orange paint. 4 parallel lines run around the vessel, one at the bottom, another one on the belly, one on the shoulder and one on the neck. The rim is covered with an orange band. Loops go around the beginning and the end of the handles; the handles themselves are decorated with a parallel line, which runs along their top surface and intersects with the bottom loop. The main decoration motif is placed on both sides of the shoulder, a leaned 8 or S.

There are several rims that can be attributed to the standard type of the first half of the 6th century among the Methone material: 4557, 4846, 4672, 4845, 4775, 4724, 4824, 4606 are all convex and cylindrical in section. They present different dimensions but same profile and therefore belong to this type of Chian amphorae. The typical narrow and hollowed in foot of the standard type can be seen in examples 2465 (**cat. no. 44**), 3948b (**cat. no. 46**) and 4653, while 4649 is slightly larger in diameter and flatter and can therefore belong to an earlier vessel. Finally, thin handles of the standard type are also preserved, 2465 (**cat. no. 44)**, 4842, 4818. While 4320 (**cat. no. 55**) may be slightly later than the standard type as it preserves even slimmer proportions. Several examples preserve the typical whitish worn off slip of the period 4706, 4842, 4530, 4653, 3948 a,b (**cat. no. 46**).

Another type of Chian origin, is known as **Kolomak** type and appears during the same period as the early Chian series[909]. This type has smaller proportions than the standard Chian

[908] for bibliography see Dupont 1998, 148 nts 42&43. See also: Calvet & Yon 1978, 49 fig. 5b; Gjerstad 1977, 37 nos 183-187 securely dated in Cypro-Archaic II;Oren 1984, 24-25; Pelagatti 1976/77, pl LXXVI. 5.

[909] This is the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th century B.C. The type's name comes from a site in Scythia where it was first found, see: Radzievskaja 1985, 257 and Monakhov 2000, 172-173.

type. It is much shorter[910] and the foot is wider, the junction between the neck and shoulder is well marked and there are also differences in decoration. The Kolomak type has parallel bands running around the perimeter of the vessel (as the regular Chian type) but except for those, it also has two vertical bands that cross the horizontal ones and reach the bottom part of the body. In addition to that, the Kolomak type has decoration on the neck. Two diagonal lines cross and form an X decorative motif on the vessel's neck. The Kolomak type is dated in the end of the 7th and the first half of the 6th century BC.[911]. A fragment of foot in Methone's assemblage can be attributed to the Kolomak type, 4668. Most of the slip has been lost but the profile of the outward flaring, beveled foot with the thin walls points to this identification. Another example, 4217 (**cat. no. 56**), preserves a cream slip and an orange band around the foot and also flares outwards exactly like the Kolomak type one.

4356 a,b (**cat. no. 57**) are two handles of a closed vessel with unknown provenance. The rim is small and cylindrical, the handles are long cylindrical and arching and the fabric is orange and grey in the core with mica and white inclusions; this example, therefore points to a Chian provenance. Also on the upper surface of the handle there are traces of a red band. The shape is not reminiscent of the known Chian types and there are no traces of slip. Nonetheless, when Anderson first identified the Chian fabric, he described it as "unslipped" and we know also that Chian amphorae of the end of the 7th century have been found in Etruria[912] in funerary contexts and are covered by a colourless slip, while an additional band of paint covered the foot[913]. This example, therefore, may belong to this category.

A few examples among the Methone material are covered with a very distinct goldish-looking and shiny slip: 4215, 4656, 4658 (**cat. no. 58**), 4532, 4788. Similar examples have appeared in the *Hypogeion* (unpublished). Especially 4658 (**cat. no. 58**), resembles the decoration of multiple parallel lines of one of the examples from the *Hypogeion* and is likely that it comes from a similar type, which is not the standard one and may have signified a different workshop or place of production. The thick bands that is decorated with, point to

[910] Kolomak type's height: 50-60 cm; Regular Chian type's height: 60-70 cm.
[911] Monakhov 2000, 172-173.
[912] Cristofani 1978, p. 162; Slaska 1978, p.228
[913] Rizzo 1990, 15.

an early date of this example. Similar examples covered with goldish shiny slip have been found in Etruscan necropoleis[914].

Finally there are some examples among the Chian vessels, found in the Western hill, especially from the bottom of the vessel which do not belong to neither amphorae nor hydriai, nos 4751, 4774, 4784 (**Cat. no. 59**). They are most probably from a type of jug or oinochoe. Chian (transport?) oinochoai have been found in Ashkelon[915], in Tell Sukas[916], in Mesad Hashavyahu[917] and in Al Mina (unpublished) and are dated to the end of the 7th century BC.

In the middle of the 6th century BC, a new series of Chian transport amphorae emerges and several types occur. The first type appears around the middle of the 6th century and lasts until 510 with its zenith being the years 550-525 BC. This is the funnel type or Lambrino's type A1[918]. Its main characteristic is its funnel neck, ovoid belly and a foot deeply hollowed out. There is almost no white slip covering the vessel while one or rarely two bands run around the shoulder. The second type of this series is the 'swollen-neck' type or Lambrino's A2. This one appears around 525 and lasts for approximately a century[919]. This type adopts a bulging neck and a squat belly and arching handles. The decoration consists of one band around the rim and one below the handles, sometimes there is a third one directly above the foot[920].Chian transport amphorae continue to be produced until the 1st century BC and can be found as devices on coins of Chios until the 3rd century AD[921].

Graffiti:

According to Johnston, Chian amphoras are the second most numerous group of marked amphorae[922] and the Methone examples confirm this claim as they have a lot of marks. 12

[914] Rizzo 1990, 56 fig. 55. Cat III.2.
[915] Barako 2011, 286, no 420.
[916] Ploug 1973, 70–71, pl. 16 nos. 320–21.

[917] Fantalkin 2001:79 Type VIC, 81 fig. 29:3.
[918] The name derives from the first scholar who studied this type; for a profile of the vessel see Dupont 1998, 150 fig. 23.2 a-c
[919] Although according to a recent study the type ceases to be produced in the middle of the 5th century, see: Kakhidze & Khalvashi 2006, 291-295
[920] Dupont 1998, 150, fig. 23.2 d-f.
[921] Grace & Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 277-382
[922] Johnston 2004, 737

examples among the Methone material from the Western hill carry marks, all made after firing while 6 inscribed examples have been found in the *Hypogeion*. They are all either commercial or other marks and some of them are very elaborate. 3730 and 4021 (**cat. no. 60**) are incised with a circle made with a caliper and dot in the middle; the mark is placed in both cases on the vessel's neck. 4248 (**cat. no.54**) has a similar circular post-fired mark on exactly the same place on the neck, which indicates that this mark had a special meaning for Chian amphorae. Another example preserves two incised caliper made overlapping circles on the body; identical graffito on the body of a Chian amphora dated to the late 8th century BC has been found in the *Hypogeion* of Methone[923] , while 3738 and 3847 carry an **X** and a **XX** mark, respectively. An **X** is also incised on western hill's complete example, 2465 (**Cat. no. 44**)**;** while 3715 is a body sherd which carries the letter, **A (?)** and possibly a second one before that, a **K (?).**

Distribution and manufacture:

Chian amphorae have a wide distribution from Ukraine to the Western Mediterranean colonies[924]. Evidence to suggest a very early appearance of the Chian amphorae has been found in Smyrna, Pithekoussai, Toscanos, Carthage[925] and recently in the *Hypogeion* of Methone[926] but also at two other sites in the Northern Aegean: in Sindos[927] and in

[923] Kotsonas 2012, 459 no. 131. For the graffito see: Csapo, Johnston & Geagan 2000, 122, no. 53. SEG 53.957; Kenzelmann Pfyffer, Theurillat & Verdan 2005, 66–67, no. 26. SEG 55.980. BE 2005.385).

[924] Bernard 1964, 138; Slaska 1978, 228; Slaska 1986, 55–57; Sarikakis 1986, 122-123. _Dupont 1998, 146; Lawall 1998, 86–90; see also, Van der Mersch 1989, 94 (South Italy); Albanese-Procelli, 1996, 104–106 (Sicily); Albanese-Procelli, 1997, 5-9 (Sicily); Cabrera Bonet 1997, 370–372 (Andalucia); Docter 1997, 241–243 (Carthage and Toscanos); Sourriseau 1997, 129, 134 (Italy and France); Dupont 1999 (Black Sea); Monachov 1999, 33–60; (Black Sea);Monachov 1999b,172–173 (Black Sea);Docter 2000, 66–68, 72–74 (Carthage and Toscanos) Rouillard 2000, 227–228 (West Mediterranean); Smolarikova 2001, 165–168 (Egypt); Smolarikova 2002,23, 25–27, 34,36–37,40,43,69,79,82, 99-100 (Egypt); Monachov 2003a, 11-24 Black Sea); Seifert 2004, 22–23 (Miletus); Balabanov 2005; 31–32 (Black Sea); D 'Oriano & Oggiano 2005, 172, no.5·198 (Sardenia); Dupont & Skarlatidou 2005 (Black Sea); Savelli 2006, 112, n. 58 (Magna Graecia) Bourriau,French 2007, 119–120 (Egypt); Gantès 2007, 144–145 (Egypt); Masson 2007,362; (Egypt); Smolarikova 2007, 191–192 (Egypt); Teleaga 2008, 58–60 (Black Sea); Marangou-Lerat 2009, 123-24 (Egypt); Nedev& Gyuzelev 2011, 65 and Tzochev 2011,75-77 (Bulgarian coast of the Black Sea); Wilson 2011, 165 (Egypt).

[925] Cook 1958-1959, 14 (Smyrna); Buchner-Ridgway 1993, 429 pl. 211 no. 397 (Pithekoussai for examples that are probably Clazomenian); Docter 2000, 74 for early specimens in Toscanos and Carthage.

[926] Kotsonas 2012, 201-205.

Cook 1958-1959, 14 (Smyrna); Buchner-Ridgway 1993, 429 pl. 211 no. 397 (Pithekoussai for examples that are probably Clazomenian); Docter 2000, 74 for early specimens in Toscanos and Carthage; Early examples have also been found in Methone in the *Hypogeion*, see Kotsonas 2012, 201-205.

Herakleion (Krania)[928]. Examples of Chian amphorae of the end of the 7th century have been found in Etruria[929]. An example at Ashkelon and other sites of the Levantine coast such as Sukas and Mesad Hashavyahu[930] have been dated to the late 7th century BC. The Kolomak type appears in a wide range of sites in the Mediterranean and in the earliest occupation levels of sites in the Black Sea[931]. The Chian transport amphorae continue to be found around several sites in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea[932], such as in Cyprus[933], Egypt[934] and Sicily[935] in the first half of the 6th century. It should be noted that examples with squat characteristics found in Migdol, Naucratis[936] and Daphnae[937] are dated to the first half of the 6th, a period when the slender type with elongated body members had already appeared. The latter type has been found in Chios[938], Athens[939], Tocra[940]. In the Western Mediterranean, Chian amphorae of the same period have been found in Huelva, Cadiz, Coria del Rio, Malaga, Toscanos, Cerro del Penon, La Fonteta, El Oral, Cabanyal-Malvarosa and Ampurias[941]. There is poor representation of Chian amphorae in Miletus, Ephesus and Samos, unlike the locally made transport vessels, and unlike the Northern Aegean markets were there is an abundance of all three regions' products. This is perhaps evidence of a competition between Northern and Southern Ionian cities over the Northern Aegean clients.

Examples of the new series (funnel neck type and swollen neck type) start appearing in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea already in the second quarter of the 6th century[942]. The swollen type constitutes the most widespread Chian type. It is attested widely in the Black

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927 Gimatzidis 2010, 288, n.1789· 290, no. 660 and 662; Tiverios 2010, 16.
928 Gimatzidis 2010, n. 1804.
929 These are the slipless examples, see: Cristofani 1978, p. 162; Slaska 1978, p.228; Rizzo 1990, 15.
930 Barako 2008, 446 nu. 16; Ploug 1973, 71 nos 322-324; Naveh 1962.
931 The type received its name from a village in the region of Kharkov in Ukraine. For a full bibliography of the distribution of the type see Monakhov 2000, 172.
932 For more bibliography see Dupont 1998, 148 nts 42&43. See also Birzescu 2012, 50-60.
933 Calvet & Yon 1978, 49 fig. 5b; Gjerstad 1977, 37 nos 183-187 securely dated in Cypro-Archaic II.
934 Oren 1984, 24-25; Bourriau&French 2007, 119 fig. 1:6.
935 Pelagatti 1976/77, pl. LXXVI. 5.
936 Boardman 1956.
937 Petrie 1888, pl. 36.5. At Daphne the Chian amphorae come from a layer sealed with cartouches of the King Amasis (570-526 B.C.) and thus confirm its date to the middle of the century.
938 Kofina ridge, see Anderson 1954, 169 fig. 5.17-18; Emporio, see Boardman 1967, 1967, 178-179.
939 Sparkes and Talcott 1970.
940 Boardman and Hayes 1966, 137 pl. 90. 1414.
941 For a full list of the Chian transport vessels in the colonies of the Western Mediterranean and bibliography for each of the sites listed, see: Dominguez & Sanchez 2001, 88; Rouillard 2000, 227-228
942 Corinth, Athens, Gravisca, Regisvilla, Ponte Lequin 1A (shipwreck in Gaul) and Egypt (T. 21 Qedua)

Sea, also in Palestine, Cyprus, Egypt and Athens[943].

Except of the early examples mentioned above, Chian amphorae in the Northern Aegean appear in the middle of the 7th century until the third quarter of the 5th century. A few examples of the middle of the 7th come from the cemetery of Abdera[944]. Amphorae from the end of the 7th and the first half of the 6th, appear in the Northern Aegean in Livithra, Herakleion (Krania), Kastro Neokaisarias (Pieria[945],Archontiko[946],Koufalia, Sindos[947], Lebet (Polihni), Karabournaki[948], Therme-Sedes[949], Toumba[950], Dikaia[951],Mende, N. Kallikrateia[952], Poseidi[953], Akanthus[954], Thasos[955], Esyme[956], Argilos[957], Fagris[958], Stryme[959], Samothrace[960],Efestia[961], Troy[962], Daskyleion[963], Eressos[964],Aeolian Cyme[965].

As briefly mentioned above, the early Chian or of 'Chian' origin'[966] amphorae with or without white slip were not all manufactured in Chios. Dupont's results of chemical analyses showed that some of them were made in the area of northern Ionia and particularly in Erythrae or Clazomenae[967]. A reasonable hypothesis would be that Chios' large production

[943] Alexandrescu 1966, 159 no. 11, pl. 73; Knigge 1976, pl. 45.8, 48.2, 49.4, 51.6, 86.3;Roberts 1986, 67 nos 419-420 fig. 42, pl. 18.
[944] Skarlatidou 2010, 130-131.
[945] Jung& Gimatzidis 2008, 149, fig. 15b Gimatzidis& Jung 2008, fig. 15.
[946] Chrysostomou & Chrysostomou, 2012, 512.
[947] Gimatzidis 2010, 288, n. 1789, 290, no. 660 and 662; Tiverios 2010, 16.
[948] See an example in Pante 2009, 279, fig. 14; see also, Manakidou 2010, 463, n. 11; Tsiafaki 2011.
[949] Skarlatidou 1996,440.
[950] Soueref 1992, tb.10 8β.
[951] Karadima 2009,152, 162, fig 1_7; Triantafyllos &Tasaklaki 2011.
[952] Kefalidou 2012.
[953] Moschonissioti 2012 and personal examination of the material
[954] Filis 2011
[955] Bernard 1964, 137-138 figs 10, 50; Empereur & Simosi 1989, 379, drw 1. Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 2007, 51 and personal examination of the unpublished material. In Thasos, we also find fragments of the early type with squatter characteristics.
[956] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki & Marangou 2013, 281-283.
[957] Approximately 10 examples were found after personal examination of the material.
[958] Nikolaidou 2009,93, fig.8.
[959] Terzopoulou 1995, 658.
[960] Karadima &Koutsoumanis 1992,679.
[961] Beschi 2005b, 142, no 198–202; Danile 2011b
[962] Lawall 2002, 202.
[963] Koçak Yaldr 2011, 366–367.
[964] Zachos 2011.
[965] Fransca 1993,61–62, fig. 28.
[966] Such as the Kolomak type-it has been called of "chian origin" .
[967] Dupont 2006, 20.

and distribution influenced the production of the neighbouring areas and the various morphological differences we can observe may be explained by the existence of different pottery workshops in Chios itself[968]. This is probably the case with the 'early' type, which has squatter characteristics. While Dupont considers its dissimilarities as evidence for an early date (dated to the third quarter of the 7th), we find this type in 6th century contexts[969]. It could therefore indicate a different workshop. Nonetheless, the majority of the Methone material indicates an earlier date for the examples belonging to this type. Most of them were either found in lower strata or with early archaic pottery. The influence of the Chian transport containers on pottery of other regions could be further supported by both examples in Methone with concentric circles on a white slip background but also a plethora of Chian products, which are very well represented in the Northern Aegean during the archaic times, and especially the early archaic period, including fine pottery. In fact, a production of a local imitation of Chian fine pottery, called "pseudochiaka" has been attested in the sanctuary of Parthenos in Kavala, in the Chian colony in Maroneia and in Thasos[970].

The adoption of a new amphora shape in the middle of the 6th century might be related to the Persian invasion in Western Asia Minor around 547 B.C[971]. The new funnel type, which appears approximately at that time, although limited in the Northern Aegean (Akanthus and Sindos) continues to be quite popular in the rest of the Mediterranean. The 'swollen neck' type, however, is quite popular in the Northern Aegean: we find fragments of it in Karabournaki, Sindos, Akanthus, Berge, Thasos, Fagris, Mesivria-Zone, Dikaia and Samothrace[972]. Examples of complete swollen type amphorae have been found also in the northern cemetery of Pydna, close to Methone, where they were used as human urns[973].

In regards to the content of the Chian amphorae, the high quality of Chian wine and its exportation is attested by the ancient writters. More particularly Strabo records that the area of Ariusian in Chios, used to produce excellent wine (Strabo XIV, I, 35& Pliny N. H. XIV,

[968] Also supported in Filis 2012, 265-282.
[969] See above pp. 150-155.
[970] Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 287-295. According to Lemos, Chian pottery was made on Thasos by a Chian workshop settled somewhere on the mainland, possibly in Maroneia, see: Lemos 2000, 379.
[971] Gorman 2001, 125-126.
[972] Filis 2012, 265-282.
[973] The material is unpublished and is kept in the storerooms of Makrygialos

ix, 73). Most scholars argue towards wine as content[974] of the Chian amphorae but some have argued for olive oil[975]. After DNA analysis of the remains in a Chian amphora of the classical period, it was found that it contained olive oil mixed with oregano; while another one has been found with mastic residues [976].

[974] Dupont 1998, 148, 151. Wine as content: Rhomaios 1941, 372; Johnston 1993, 375. Tiverios 1993β, 247. Sourisseau 1997, 133, 136. Tiverios, Manakidou & Tsiafaki 1997, 330. Tiverios 1998, 252; Boardman 1999, 17; Gassner 2003, 122; Tiverios 2004, 297; Tiverios, Manakidou & Tsiafaki 2007, 268; Panagou 2010, 416–418; Dupont & Skarlatidou 2011.
[975] Tiverios 1993 c, 1490-92; Oettli 1994, 37–38 and Lawall 2011a, 27.
[976] Hansson & Foley 2007, 1-8.

SAMIAN WORKSHOPS (cat. nos 61-73)

Samian AMPHORAE	IDENTIFIED SHERDS
TOTAL	26
COMPLETE	1 (needs conservation)
RIM & NECK	3 (4635, 4721, 4850)
HANDLES	4
RIMS	5
FOOT AND BODY	1 (4263)
FEET	4
BODY	9
Squares found	002-004, 006-008, 010, 012, 013-14, 015, 027, 033.

The examples found in the Western hill ceramic assemblage and likely to derive from the island of Samos have been classified under 6 groups based on their fabric and morphological characteristics. They belong to at least 13 different vessels (and most probably more) Samian transport amphorae have been found in Methone's *Hypogeion*, as well and 11 different vessels have been identified[977].

The official identification of Samian transport vessels, was made in the seminal work of Virginia Grace[978] and was afterwards further studied and confirmed with petrographic and chemical analyses by a number of scholars[979]. What is confirmed by all studies including the one of the western hill material is the variety of fabrics of which Samian transport amphorae were made; this has led to the conclusion that there must have been a number of production centres, many of which must have been scattered not only around the island but

[977] Kotsonas 2012, 190-195.
[978] Grace 1971.
[979] Slaska 1978, 224; Di Sandro 1981, 7; Dupont 1982, 206–207; Slaska 1986, 58–60; Oettli 1994, 54–56; Lawall 1995, 176–191; Sourisseau 1997, 137–140; 144; Dupont 1998; 164-165; Monachov 1999, 33–60; de Domingo & Johnston 2003, 30–31, 34, 41–42; Monachov 2003, 25–29, 189–190; SEifert 2004, 24–25; Lawall, Lejpunskaja, Diatroptov & Samojlova 2010, 356–357; Whitbread 1995, 122–133; See also: Dupont 1982, 204–205; Lawall 1995, 186–188.;Seifert 2004, 49.; Dupont 2007; Dupont 2010, 40;Gassner 2011.

also in the mainland and especially in the area of Miletus[980]. The above described situation deteriorates the problem between the identification of Samian and Milesian amphorae, which have only recently been separated into distinct productions. In fact, some scholars still prefer to examine them together.

Finally, in the assemblage under examination, there are some examples, which are problematic in their identification and have, therefore, been classified under undiagnosed/unidentified groups; some macroscopic observations or morphological characteristics led me to believe that they may originate from Samos or its *peraea*. Those examples may very likely be identified as Milesian instead of Samian. Potential future petrographic analyses will assist in their problematic identification.

Fabric:

As mentioned above, Samian amphorae's fabric varies significantly from one example to the other; nevertheless, after all the studies and petrographic analyses which have been conducted by a number of researchers and on numerous samples, some common characteristics have been identified. Samian amphorae's clay is light brownish/red 5YR 6/3 to 6/4 or reddish (5YR 7/4) or reddish/yellow (5YR 7/6) and has either a grey core or a brownish core. Samian amphorae's fabric usually contains brownish to dark inclusions but the western hill examples very often contain white inclusions too. The most characteristic attribute of the Samian transport amphorae is the good preparation of the clay and the very good firing, which makes them look more like fine pots rather than transport vessels.

1. **3549**, **4767 (cat. no. 61).** Two examples from the pottery assemblage in the western hill present a brownish/greyish coarse fabric with chunks of white inclusions, which appear as white spots scattered all around the surface of the vessel, mainly the interior but also the exterior. This characteristic is reminiscent of a description that Pierre Dupont makes

[980] Many recent sets of analyses has shown that and more recently Eretria's examples, Johnston 1990b, 47 n. 19; Dupont 1998, 165,176–177; Lawall 1995, 186–191; Whitbread 1995, 129–130; Dupont 1998,165, 176-177; Dupont 2000, 59; de Domingo & Johnston 2003, 31; Gassner 2011: noting that there may have been production in Ephesos.

for Samian amphorae: "massive fabric pieces"[981]. Dark inclusions area also frequent in this group's fabric, however, no mica is visible. The Samian fabric, however, was not originally described as such[982] and in fact the element that has been constantly highlighted in the description of a Samian amphora's fabric is the presence of mica in different quantities and the very good preparation of the clay (see description above and see also following groups).

3549 (**cat. no. 61**) presents a funnel neck and a protruding, cylindrical rim; its handles are small, arching and flat. Large body sherds are preserved and they reveal a slim, ovoid body, which tapers to a ring shaped beveled foot. An identical example was found in Samos[983]. The above morphological characteristics match exactly Dupont's description of the early Samian examples (his type I[984]), which he places at the end of the 7th century BC. 3549 (**cat. no. 61**) was found together with quite a few transport vessels and a very coarse one, which had a thick layer of resin coating preserved on its interior but also fine Early Corinthian pottery; therefore a date in the end of the 7th/ beginning of the 6th century for this example is further supported. 4767, is a body sherd whose fabric resembles 3549's (**cat. no. 61**). None of the *Hypogeion* examples present such a coarse fabric as Group 1 and Group 2 of the western hill.

2. **4635a (cat. no. 62)** is the upper part of a closed vessel. 4635a'a fabric is also rather strange for a Samian amphora; it is reddish in colour and made in a very slow wheel, almost handmade while the core is black (probably as result of an external fire, rather than firing) and contains large dark inclusions. There is, so far, nothing similar to such coarse Samian fabric in the Methone material. The preserved morphological caharacteristics are typical of Samian amphorae and point quite securely to an attribution to a Samian worskhop. The neck is straight but very subtly looking outwards and the rim is echinoid and cylindrical in section. In addition to this, a ring runs around the vessel, on the transition of the neck to the shoulder. This last characteristic is typical of Dupont's Samian type II, which has a pear shaped body and its Samian origin has been accepted by the majority of the researchers[985].

[981] Cook-Dupont 1998, 166.
[982] Grace 1971, 72-74.
[983] Isler 1978, Tb XLI, fig 48, no. 627.
[984] For this first type, there have been some doubts on its provenance from Samos, see: Dupont 2000, 59; Dupont 2007, 43.
[985] Dupont 2000, 59; Dupont 2007, 43.

A foot of a Samian amphora was found together with the 4635a (**Cat. no. 62**). Although, **4635b** (**Cat. no. 62)** were found together with 4635a and were originally thought to belong to the same vessel, this first impression became slimmer after a close observation of the clay. 4635 b's fabric is different than 4635a and resembles more that of 3549 (**cat. no. 61**) and 4767. It is likely, therefore, that the two examples belong to different vessels.

3. **4811**, **4849, 4830, 4772 (Cat. No. 63), 4667, 4770** are all made of a fine orange clay, which does not contain many inclusions and has a different colour in the core by turning grey. These examples come from squares 027 and 008, 016 and they belong to at least 3 different vessels. Examples 4830 and 4849 were found in the same area and depth and 4770 with 4772 **(cat. No. 63**) presumably belong to the same vessel; 4849 was found in an area at the southernmost part of the excavated region, where another Samian amphora was also found (meth 4780-4850- **cat. No. 66**). Finally 4811 and 4667 may have been part of the same vessel as they were found in neighbouring trenches in the same depth.

The examples of this group are made of a fabric very similar to the one the examples from the *Hypogeion* are made of[986]. A common characteristic of this group is their well-polished surface, which is typical for Samian amphorae and differentiates them from the common transport amphora clay surface, which is usually coarser and not polished.

Regarding their morphological characteristics, the majority of the examples are unfortunately body sherds and none of the neck parts are preserved enough to say if they were straight of flaring but none had a ring on the transition with the shoulder; in addition, of the preserved rim fragments, none is strongly protruding. The examples of this group, therefore, must belong to Dupont's early type (type I) dated to the end of the 7th-early 6th century BC[987] .

4. The fabric of this group is very similar, if not identical, to Group 3 fabric; the only difference is that the examples in this group present a core, which is not grey but of a reddish/brownish colour and therefore more homogenous with the walls of the vessel. Brownish inclusions are also present and, therefore, the Samian origin of the fabric is further supported; in fact, in **4805 (cat no. 64)**, which is a handle, we can macroscopically see dark

[986] Kotsonas 2012, Meth 2458, 2845.
[987] Cook-Dupont 1998, fig. 23.6 a.

inclusions in a significant quantity. At least 3 different vessels belong to this group. There are parts of three bases **4737 (cat. No. 65), 4738, 4742** with exactly the same profile. Their ring-shaped beveled profile and the macroscopic observation of the fabric leaves no doubt for their identification as parts of Samian transport amphorae. In fact, examples of bases like these have been found also in the *Hypogeion* assemblage[988].

4847, **4850 (cat. No. 66)** belong to the same fabric group. 4847 and 4850 **(cat. No. 66)** presumably belong to the same vessel as their fabric looks identical (it also contains white inclusions) and they come from the same area. 4850 (**cat. No. 66**) has an echinoid rim and a small, arching and strap handle and although only the beginning of the handle is preserved, it looks very similar to 4805 (**cat. No 66**), which is the typical Samian amphora handle. All these fragments belong to what Dupont describes as type I. 4805 (cat. **No. 66**) also contains white inclusions in its fabric while large white inclusions are also present in the fabric of **4263 (Cat. No. 67);** this is a fragment of foot and body which is made by very clean clay with a brownish core and no frequent dark inclusions. The profile of this foot is identical to 4738, although a bit larger in size. **4583** is an example, which can be classified under the same group, although it was initially thought Milesian (see Milesian Group 3)

5. **4721 (Cat. No. 68)** is the upper part of a closed vessel. The fabric is very similar to Samian Group 3 but it contains an increased amount of silver mica and the surface is not polished but has a rather rough texture. The morphological characteristics of 4721 (**cat. No. 68**) come to verify its Samian origin. Except for the shape of the rim and neck, which are identical to 4635a (**Cat. No. 62**), there is also a ring on the transition of the neck to the shoulder, which is a typical feature of Dupont's type II Samian amphorae. A similar example, with the same neck and rim profile, but without the ring has been found in Histria and dated between the end of the 7th and first quarter of the 6th century BC[989].

A ring around the neck is also present in **4803 (cat. No. 69)**, which is made by a fabric similar to Group 3. However, there is an increased amount of mica in this example, therefore it may also be Milesian (see also unidentified Group 4). Based on this identification, another example can be classified in this group. **4587** is part of a neck and shoulder and its fabric is similar to Samian Group 3. However, its surface is rougher than Group 3 examples and the

[988] Kotsonas 2012, Meth 2458, 2845.
[989] Birzescu 2012, 337, no.1289, tb 62.

clay contains more silver mica, as exactly 4721 **(cat. No. 68)** and 4803 (**Cat. No. 69**) do. 4587 has a ridge around the transition from the neck to the shoulder and can therefore be classified under Samian Type II. Similarly, in **4604 (cat. No. 70),** we can note the same fabric with 4803 but in this example there is no ridge around the neck; we can therefore tentatively attribute this piece to Dupont's type I. 4219 (**Cat. No. 73**) is similar in fabric to 4604 (**cat. No. 70)** but it's got a thick grey core; it's fabric is identical to examples of Group 3. Interestingly, in this example which is made of a typical Samian fabric and also preserves the well-known for Samian amphorae examples echinoid rim, there is a ridge in the middle of the neck which we can also see in 4604 (**cat. No. 70**); the two examples, therefore, possibly belong to the same type of vessel.

6. SAMIAN (?) : **4708 (cat. No. 71), 4730 (cat. No. 72)**. Although the identification of these 2 examples as Samian is not at all certain, they preserve some characteristics, which may point to a provenance from Samos. 4708 **(cat. No. 71)** is accompanied by another 3 body fragments, which match the wall thickness and fabric of 4730 **(cat. No. 72)**; they were found too far from one another to allow us to speculate that they belong to the same vessel but they could belong to the same type. Fabric characteristics, which are abundant mica and brown inclusions but also the conical foot and the strap handles could point towards a provenance from Samos or its *peraea*. In addition, the low, ring shaped and somewhat flaring foot resembles 4263a (**cat. No. 67**) and could therefore be a product of a Samian workshop. A similar example has been found in Ashkelon[990]. 4708 (**cat. No. 71**) is a handle, which contains a huge piece of silver mica, an element which is also observed in 4587 (see also Unidentified Group 9).

4676, probably belongs to the same fabric group- although this example contains less mica- and possibly comes from a large closed Samian vessel. Two body sherds, **4723** and **4560**, which contain a lot of golden mica and black inclusions probably come from another Samian amphora.

Although the typical Samian transport amphora surface is well-polished and very carefully manufactured, we saw that among the western hill assemblage, there are examples with coarser fabric. It would therefore be of interest to examine whether these, less carefully

[990] Waldbaum 2011, 312 no. 508.

made vessels, contained a different product than the others or whether they addressed a different audience.

Distribution and provenance:

Samian amphorae were traditionally known to have started their circulation in the second half of the 7th century BC. However, the more the study of the amphorae is progressing, the more their earlier circulation is confirmed. Samian transport vessels of the late 8th and early 7th centuries BC have been reported from Eretria[991], Sindos[992], Pithekoussai[993], Carthage[994], Toscanos[995] and throughout the 7th century from Kommos[996]. More interestingly, the largest assemblage of early examples is reported from the *Hypogeion* of Methone[997]. 15 sherds of these belong to the lower deposition and are thus dated to the late 8th-beginning of the 7th century BC, one or two belong to the middle deposition, which is dated to the late 8th – middle of the 7th century BC and none or perhaps one is dated to the upper deposition dated to the late 7th-early 6th century BC. Unfortunately this is a body sherd and therefore does not offer any information of any morphological developments[998]. Samian amphorae of this last chronological period at Methone are far better represented by the western hill examples and therefore allows us to observe a continuity of imported Samian products in Methone's harbour in the later 7th and early 6th centuries BC.

During the period under examination and according to Dupont's classification two types (I and II) of Samian amphorae are circulated and they are both represented in the Methone material. Among these examples, we also see manufacture of Samian amphorae not from the typical polished and clean clay but from a coarse fabric and these different Samian examples could be the carriers of a different product[999]. Samos was renown for its olive oil.

[991] Blandin 2007, 25, burial 11.
[992] Gimatzidis 2010, 288 n. 1789, 289-290 no. 576; Tiverios 2010, 16.
[993] Johnston 2006, 752, no.149 (unpublished).
[994] Docter 2000, 66, 68-69.
[995] Docter 2000, 67-70.
[996] Johnston 2005, 369, no. 217-220.
[997] 11 different vessels have been identified so far and only the inscribed material has been studied see: Kotsonas 2012, 194-199.
[998] Kotsonas 2012, no. 176.
[999] A variety of products, such as canned fish, shells, nuts/dry food, grapes, olives, beef, resin were

A coin of the 5th century BC shows a Samian amphora next to an olive branch[1000] but according to Dupont the local consumption of wine must not have been insignificant[1001]. Viticulture is suggested for the island of Samos[1002] and therefore some scholars have suggested that Samian amphorae may have contained Samian wine as well[1003]. Although, Samian wine was not at all as popular as it is today, these differently made vessels found in Methone may have been some attempts by Samians to export their wine as well. In order perhaps to make it more appealing to their potential purchasers, they swapped the content of the well-polished vessels' from oil to wine and placed the famous and easily sold olive oil in less attractive containers. Second use, especially for the wine amphorae is also known and Kotsonas is speculating a second use for one amphora from which a large rectangular fragment of the vessel seems to have been cut deliberately in antiquity[1004]. The production of Samian amphorae continues in the classical period and ends around the end of the 5th century BC[1005].

Samian amphorae have been found in many places in Southern Europe, from Spain[1006] to Italy, France[1007] and Cyprus[1008] and from Carthage and Egypt[1009] to the Black Sea[1010]. Alongside amphorae found in settlements or cemeteries, a significant amount of Samian amphorae have been collected by ancient shipwrecks[1011]. In the Northern Aegean, Samian

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transported in amphorae, see Parker 1992, 92-93; Bertucchi 1992, 189-190; Carlson 2004, 13-18. The transportation of grain and cereals or other non-liquid foodstuff must have taken place in baskets or pokes. For the content of the amphorae, see, Lawall 2011a, 23-33. Koehler 2000, 323-337, mainly 326-330.

[1000] Grace 1971, pl. 15, 6-8.
[1001] Cook-Dupont 1998, 167.
[1002] Shipley 1987, 16-17.
[1003] See Kotsonas 2012, n. 1211.
[1004] Kotsonas 2012, 199, cat. No. 17.
[1005] Cook-Dupont 1998, 169.
[1006] Stampolidis 2003, 292, no.252 (Huelva);Cabrera-Bonet 1997, 371-372 (Andalusia); Docter 1997, 239-240 (Toscanos).
[1007] Sourisseau 1997, 137,143; Albanese-Procelli 1996, 107-108 and Albanese-Procelli 1997, 5,9 (Sicily), Albore-Livadie 1985, 138-139.
[1008] Gjerstad 1977, pl. XXII no 5; pl XXIII no 4; Karagheorghis et all 1981, pl. XVIII, no 39.
[1009]Smolarikova 2001, 165-166; Smolarikova 2002, 25, 27-28, 32, 34, 37, 44, 69, 79, 82, 99-100; Johnston 2006, 27-29; Gantes 2007, 145; Smolarikova 2007, 191; Marangou-Lerat 2009, 122; Wilson 2011, 165.
[1010] Dupont 1999, 145-148; Monachov 1999a, 4042; Monachov 1999b, 170-172; Monachov 2003a, 25-29; Birzescu 2012, 149-158, types I and II. A study on the Milesian material, Seifert 2004, 24-25 includes some Samian amphorae.
[1011] The Giglio shipwreck dated around the 600 BC, see: Bound 1991, 9,24; Rendini 1988, 193; Pointe Lequin shipwreck end of 6th-a' half of the 6th, see: Long, Miro, Volpe 1992, 205-207.

amphorae have been found besides Methone also in Abdera[1012], Sindos[1013], Dikaia[1014], Zone[1015], Thasos[1016], Karabournaki[1017], Esyme[1018], Poseidi[1019], Akanthus[1020], Troy[1021].

With regards to fine pottery from Samos, we can only collect information from Karabournaki and Mende. However, as Kotsonas has noted already, this information may be misleading because in the very few and brief reports from finds in the Northern Aegean, Samian pottery is usually classified under the general category of "Ionian"[1022]. In the western hill of Methone, Ionian fine pottery is well represented, especially by Ionian kylikes.

Graffiti:

Graffiti are also known on Samian amphorae[1023]. In fact, an unusually high number is placed on early Samian amphorae before firing. Most of the graffiti are placed on the handle but they are also found on the neck or shoulder. Many of the *Hypogeion* examples save marks but no graffiti has been found on the western hill material. This is not unusual as Dupont notices, since the graffiti examples dated to the beginning of the 6th century are limited to some finger marks or simple patterns (cross or V) but an exceptional one is mentioned in Camarina showing a man facing a horned animal surmounted by a solar symbol[1024]

[1012] Skarlatidou 2010, 165 n. 49; 193, n. 106; Dupont & Skarlatidou 2011 and personal examination of the material.
[1013] Gimatzidis 2010, 288 n. 1789, 289-290 no. 576; Tiverios 2010, 16.
[1014] Karadima 2009, 152, 162 fig. 17.
[1015] Karadima 2009, 152, 162 fig. 18.
[1016] Empereur & Simosi 1989, 380.
[1017] Manakidou 2010, 463 n. 11.
[1018] Koukouli-Chryssanthaki and Marangou-Lerat 2012, 284-285.
[1019] Moschonissioti 2012, 385-398 and after personal examination examination of the material there were a few sherds of Samian amphorae of Dupont's type I and II.
[1020] Filis 2011.
[1021] Lawall 2002, 202-203, 223 no 77.
[1022] For the problem of distinguishing among Ionian pottery centres, see: Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen & Niemeier 2002.
[1023] Lawall 1995, 191-193; Dupont 1998, 169; Dupont 1999b, 11; Johnston 2004, 739, 746, 749, 751-752; Blandin 2007, 25, burial 11.
[1024] Grace 1979, n. 57, 118, pl XXXV 1-2.

THE MILESIAN WORKSHOPS (cat nos 74-80)

Milesian AMPHORAE	IDENTIFIED SHERDS
TOTAL	19
COMPLETE	3 (2675, 3542). 3947(up to shoulder)
UPPER PART (RIM & NECK & HANDLE)	4 (4169, 4391, missing: 3546, 4636a-b ?)
HANDLES	1 (4810?)
RIMS	8 (4165, 4335, 4338, 4359, 4562 a-b-c,4692,4715, 4739)
FEET	3 (4171, 4392, 4522 ?)
BODY	0
SQUARES FOUND	002, 006, 008, 009, 012, 013, 014, 019, 020

Milesian transport amphorae are represented with 19 examples in the assemblage from the western hill and of these examples at least 10 different vessels can be identified. They were found around a wide area on the hill and they are represented in the assemblage from the *Hypogeion* as well, although only one example has been published so far[1025]. The material discussed below is divided into 3 groups based on similarities of fabric and/or shape.

The attribution of Milesian amphorae to a workshop situated in Miletus and not in Samos was the outcome of archaeometric studies initially conducted by Dupont[1026] and confirmed later by other scholars[1027]. Equally important was the typological classification from the excavations at Miletus, although a full typology of the Milesian transport vessel is still incomplete[1028]. Dupont noticed that the type of amphora with the high convex lip and the

[1025] Kotsonas 2012, 195-197.
[1026] Dupont 1982, 193-209.
[1027] Seifert 2004, 3649; Kerschner and Mommsen 2005; Mommsen, von Haugwitz & Johrens 2010.
[1028] See Seifert 2004 and Naso 2005, 73-84 for all previous bibliography. For the typology which is still not complete, see also Kerschner & Mommsen 2005, 119; Lawall, Lejpuskaja, Diatroptov &Samojlove 2010, 356; Docter 2000, 63-88.

ridge on the neck (which was later identified as Milesian) is missing on Samos but is found in Miletus and Caria and in the exportation market already since the end of the 7th century BC[1029].

Seifert studied the amphora material from the settlement of Kalabaktepe and the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Zeytintepe in Miletus. She divided the Milesian amphorae in 20 different groups of decorated and undecorated vessels[1030]. What seems to be evident by Seifert's work is that there is a development in the rim profile from heavier examples to variants with a thinner and more flaring rim. We can therefore observe that in the beginning of the 7th century BC, the rim of the Milesian transport amphora is relatively thick, rectangular in section and it progressively becomes more rounded and cornice resembling that of Samos[1031]. In the beginning of the 6th century BC, when the standard type appears, Milesian amphora's rim is thin and flares outwards resembling an *echinus*. The echinoid rim, is the main characteristic of the standard type of the Milesian transport amphora at least for the 6th century examples. There are plenty of these examples in the assemblage under examination, 2675 (**cat. No. 74**), 4165, 4739 (**cat. No. 75**); however, there are other examples, such as 4169 (**cat. No. 76**), 4335, 4391 (**cat. No 77**) and 4715, whose rim is thicker and straighter and in addition, they preserve a ring on the transition of the rim to the neck; the above elements indicate an earlier date, most likely in the third quarter of the 7th century BC[1032].

Fabric:

According to Grace, who first thoroughly studied the Samian amphorae[1033], Milesian amphorae were only a variant of the Samian vessels; the similarites between Samian and Milesian amphorae are further acknowledged by more researchers[1034]. Even the

[1029] Dupont 1998, 170.
[1030] Seifert 2004, 57-70.
[1031] Isler 1978, 162 nos 626-629 and pl. 22.
[1032] Dupont 1998, 174, fig. 23.7a; Seifert 2004.
[1033] Grace 1971.
[1034] Lawall 1995, 176-195;Dupont 2000, 57-62; Seifert found difficulty in distinguishing the fabrics among Samian, Milesian and Clazomenian, see: Seifert 1996, 40. Some of them still study Samian and Milesian together.

morphological feature that constituted the key difference of Milesian and Samian amphorae, the high and thin rim has been questioned once by an example of an early Samian amphora, which was found in Eretria and has this kind of rim[1035]. Fabric similarities between Samian and MIlesian amphorae, can also be explained by the resemblances between the geological formations of the Milesian peninsula and Samos and the geographical vicinity to Clazomenae[1036].

Furthermore, there is significant divergence in fabrics even amongst the Milesian amphorae. For instance, some of them are very micaceous and others are much less. Therefore, the Milesian clay is not easy to identify and despite scholars' attempts[1037], it is always tentative to give one secure and accurate description of its fabric. Some of the elements, however, are common in all Milesian amphorae and therefore an attempt for a description will be made here: Milesian amphorae usually display a beige/yellowish coloured surface, which differentiates them from Samians' reddish surface; Milesian fabric is orange, buffish or reddish yellow in the core (2.5 YR 7/6 or 6/6; 5 YR 7/6 or 6/6); they contain abundant silver and less gold mica and quite a few small black inclusions; sometimes they contain small white inclusions too. A distinctive feature of the Milesian fabric is the high amount of quartz.

The western hill material is divided into the following groups according to their fabric and morphological characteristics:

1. The standard type of the MIlesian transport amphorae, which receives its final form in the first half of the 6th century BC is represented by several examples in the western hill: 2675 (**cat. No.76**), 3947(**cat. No. 78**), 4692, 4715, 4562a, b, c 4739 (**cat. No. 75**), 4169 (**cat. No. 76**), 4392. All these examples are made of the same fabric: orange (or sometimes more buffish 4562, 4739, 4169) with abundant silver and gold mica, frequent small black inclusions and few small white inclusions. 4169 (**cat. No. 76**): has a grey surface and core, which is presumably the result of fire. The rims, which belong to this group are all high, thin and flare outwards, some are thicker than the others (4715); below the rim there is always one or two ridges overhanging around the neck; 4715 preserves two foldings below the rim and so does

[1035] Blandin 2007, 25, burial 11, vessel I; the vessel was dated to the late 8th century BC and its Samian provenance was confirmed by chemical analysis, see: Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer, Theurillat 2011.
[1036] Docter 2000, 76; Dupont 2007, 621
[1037] Johnston 1993, 366-368; Naso 2005, 75.

4391 (**cat. No. 77**) and they are also very similar in their composition of the fabric containing many white inclusions. Additional ridges are present on the transition of the neck to the shoulder, one: 2675 **(cat. No.76)**, 3542 (**cat. No. 82**), 3546 (**cat. No. 79**), 4169 (**cat. No. 76**), or two ridges[1038]. The neck of the standard type may be straight or flaring outwards and sometimes instead of a ridge or a gorge at the transition with the shoulder, there is a folding (3947-**cat. No. 78**, 4391-**cat. No. 77**), a feature that one notices also on the Fikellura style amphorae[1039].

The handles of the standard Milesian type are small cylindrical/oval in section and arching and they start just below the ridge of the rim and end on the shoulder (2675-**cat. No. 74**, 4169-**cat. No. 76**, 4391-**cat. No. 77**, 4810). The body is ovoid and rests on a low-ring foot (2645- **cat. No. 74**, 3947- **cat. No. 78**, 4392), which flares outwards and is sharply beveled at its base[1040]. A rim and neck of amphora in Ephesus is very similar to Methone's 2675 (**cat. No. 74**) and is dated to the end of the 7th century BC[1041]. In Histria, an example identical to Methone's 2675 (**cat. No. 74)** has been dated to the first half of the 6th [1042].

4739 (cat. No. 75), which shares the same fabric characteristic with this group is an example without precedent. According to Dupont's[1043] and the examples reported so far, the majority of the vessels found outside Miletus are undecorated. This is interesting since there is a remarkable variety of decorative motifs amongst the transport amphorae of the 6th century found in Miletus. But those found elsewhere are rarely decorated and when they are, they usually have one or two wavy lines on the neck[1044]. 4739 **(cat. No. 75)** comes from a high and thin Milesian rim and is covered with brown slip.

4810 has a more reddish fabric and contains larger white and one very large red inclusion but it still contains a lot of mica and it may well be a handle of a Milesian amphora or possibly a Samian transport amphora.

[1038] There are exceptionally three, reported so far only in Miletus, see: Naso 2005, 75, fig Cat 4 & 5.
[1039] Cook 1933/34, fig. 3.
[1040] Dupont 1998, fig. 23.8.
[1041] Kerschner-Mommsen 2005, 119-120 Fig. 1 & 6
[1042] Lambrino 1938, 175, fig. 127.
[1043] Dupont 1998, 170-177.
[1044] Seifert 2004, nos 113-117. Many more decorative motifs are attested but only in Miletus and they were not exported; Docter 2000, 76.

3546 (cat. No. 79) is also a particularly rare example as it displays a handle peculiarity: it has one oval and one double-ridded handle. This morphological feature is rare and only one example has been noted, so far[1045]. Peculiarities like this reinforce the hypothesis that multiple workshops, which could be scattered around the area of Miletus and Caria were active during this time[1046]. 3546 (**Cat. No. 79**) shares all other common morphological characteristics of the standard MIlesian amphora: high and thin rim, flaring neck, ridges below the rim, small oval handles.

2. 3542 (**cat. No. 80**) is a type of vessel that doesn't resemble the standard shape of the Milesian amphora. Its fabric has a beige/buffish colour and contains mica and black inclusions (some white inclusions are present as well) and could therefore originate from Miletus but it is morphologically very different from the standard type, 2675 (**cat. No.74**); cat. No. 80 is significantly smaller and has a straight neck profile with a tiny rim that very slightly flares outwards; its handles are also different, they are flatter/thinner and longer than 2675 (**cat. No.74)**. Its profile finds parallel in a rare Milesian type reported only twice so far (in Salamis in Cyprus and in Histria in the Black Sea) and dated to the first half of the 6th century BC[1047]. In his recent publication of the Histria material, Birzescu discusses two examples of Milesian amphorae, which look similar to the Methone example and tentatively dates them to the beginning of the 6th century[1048]. A second example, 4636 (**cat. No. 89**), could possibly belong to the same type, although there are some differences at the shape of the rim but the fabric and the general profile look very similar (see also unidentified group 6).

3. 4391 (**cat. No. 77**) presents differences in fabric from Groups 1 and 2. It doesn't contain as much mica as group 1 but it contains white inclusions and some red ones. Its surface is rougher/coarser than group 1 and it's closer in this respect to group 2, although group 2 has more black inclusions and more beige clay, whereas 4391 (**cat. No. 77**) is made of an orange clay with grey core. Its profile and morphological features leave no doubt that

[1045] One example at the island of Cos (unpublished); see also Dupont 1998, 174.
[1046] Dupont 2000, 57-58; Filis 2012, 265-282. The archaeolometric results of the analysis Kerschner and Mommsen conducted also led to the suggestion of additional workshop outside Miletus, see: Kerschner and Mommsen 2005, 123-124. After communication with Dr M. Kerschner, I was informed that both single and double riddle handles are found in Miletus, although the combination is indeed rare.
[1047] Dupont 1998, 175, fig. 23.8 h, "funnel-shaped neck"; Dupont 2007, 625.
[1048] Birzescu 2012, 329 no. 1192 and 331, no. 1214, tbs 58 and 59, respectively.

this is the upper part of the Milesian amphora and in fact with two ridges below the rim and a ring around the neck. The rim, however, is not the typical thin, flaring of the standard type, therefore we would tentatively date this example to the 7th century BC, although most probably in the second half, a stage directly before the appearance of the standard type[1049].

Although for most of the diagnostic parts of the Milesian amphora we have an idea of their evolution, development of the **body** of the Milesian amphora is not as easy to follow. This is mostly because we lack complete examples of the standard type with the thin flaring rim[1050]; but it is also due to the large variety of morphological characteristics mentioned above. In addition, it is difficult to follow the development of the shape of these amphorae since Seifert has illustrated only the upper part of the vessel (rim and neck) and not complete profiles. Dupont, who has studied and classified the Milesian amphorae based on material found primarily in the Black Sea, suggests an inconsistent form for the body of the archaic Milesian examples. According to Dupont, the body is ovoid and more or less bulging[1051]. He does not however, specify whether the amphorae have more globular body in the beginning of their production and whether it becomes progressively slender (as is the case with other transport amphorae, e.g. Chian). A well-proportioned example, with slender body, which would be expected to be dated in the late 6th or even the 5th century BC, was found in a context of the first half of the 6th [1052]. There are two examples in the Methone assemblage that preserve the entire body of the vessel, 2675 (**cat. No. 74**) and 3947 (**cat. No. 78**); those examples look identical in dimensions and match the description of the standard type of the first half of the 6th century BC (see above).

In the last quarter of the 6th and during the first half of the 5th century, MIlesian amphorae tend to present a more elongated body and no such example is found among the Methone material. The height increases and the neck becomes longer, the folding, which was previously on the junction of the neck with the shoulder is now moving upwards; the lip displays an almond shape profile; the handles are now becoming longer and the former ring

[1049] A similar example from Histria, is dated to the middle of the 6th century BC, although similarities with an example from Kommos, which is dated to the end of the 7th century BC are noted, by Birzescu, see: Birzescu 2012, 330, no. 1198 and Johnston 1993, 367, fig. 10.
[1050] Monakhov 2000, 169.
[1051] Dupont 1998, 174.
[1052] Although most likely towards the middle of the century, see: Monakhov 2000, 169.

foot becomes a bulging hollowed toe[1053]. During this period, a new type appears; this is the type that Zeest initially called "Samian" and later "Prototasian". there is a debate on whether this type originates from Miletus and its *chora* or the Northern Aegean[1054]. No examples of this kind have been found in the Western hill assemblage[1055] but examples of this type have been noted at the necropolis of Pydna (unpublished). The development of the Milesian types continues until at least the beginning of the 4th century.

Distribution :

The standard Milesian amphorae are widely distributed in the Mediterranean and especially in the Black Sea. Miletus founded several colonies in the Black Sea and supplied them with amphorae containing foodstuffs, mainly olive oil. The standard Milesian amphora with the high thin lip dates back to the end of the 7th and the first quarter of the 6th century. This type has been found in, Sozopol[1056], Jagorlyk[1057],Histria[1058] and in Berezan[1059].

In the Mediterranean, early types of the 7th and early 6th centuries have been found in sizeable quantities in Didyma[1060], Melie and the area of Caria. An impressive amount of Milesian amphorae were found in Ephesus[1061]. The exportation of Milesian transport amphorae to Ephesus has started around the middle of the 7th century. The undecorated type of the first half of the 6th century with the thin, flaring rim appears to be the most popular in Ephesus[1062]. Milesian amphorae of the first half of the 6th were also found in Chios, Cyprus and several sites in Magna Grecia[1063]. The peculiar variant of the same date, called the 'funnel neck' type has a very limited distribution. It has been found only in Salamis

[1053] Dupont 1998, 175-176.
[1054] Carlson 2004, 53-64; Lawall 1995, 137 n. 90, they argue for the Ionian provenance of the type, see: Dupont 2006, 20-21, fig. 4 for a Chian origin of the so-called "Samian".
[1055] For a description of the type, see: Dupont 1998, 178 & Dupont 2010, 3-11.
[1056] Where one of the few complete ones, see: Lazarov, 1973, pl. 7 no. 72.
[1057] See: Monakhov 2000, 169 n. 35.
[1058] Lambrino 1938, 175 fig. 127. See also Birzescu 2012, 130-132, type I no. 1194, tb 58, dated between the end of the 7th and the first quarter of the 6th century BC.
[1059] This is the example that is probably dated towards the middle of the century and is still unpublished. Its drawing is illustrated in Monakhov 2003, 184 fig. 9.
[1060] Some illustrations of the Didyma material in Schattner 2000, 49, 53 fig. 1, fig.3; for the material in Miletus, see:Seifert 2004, Groups 1-7a and for examples in the first half of the 6th, 62 nos. 70, 82. In Miletus the archaic series actually starts already in the beginning of the 7th century.
[1061] Kerschner & Mommsen 2007, 119-130.
[1062] Kerschner & Mommsen 2007, 120 Group A.
[1063] For a full bibliography see Dupont 1998, 174-175.

in Cyprus[1064] and in Histria[1065]. Milesian amphorae of the first half of the 6th century BC are very popular and well attested in Spain (Huelva, Andalucia, Cerro del Penon in Toscanos)[1066]. One painted double-ridded handle has been found in Carthage and it has tentatively been suggested to be Milesian[1067]. The *Byblos* type known from many examples in Miletus and dated before 610 BC has also been found in Metaponto[1068] and Siris[1069]. The *Oikos* type[1070] has hardly ever been exported as the excavations in Didyma[1071] and Teichioussa[1072] show; but two examples have been found in Kamiros in Rhodes[1073] and in Berezan[1074].

In the Northern Aegean, Milesian amphorae present a limited distribution. Some amphorae from Krania in Pieria[1075] and Nea Anchialos/Sindos[1076] preserve traces of painted decoration and horizontal ridges on the neck; these are dated to the LG II period and have been tentatively considered Milesian[1077]. The example from the Methone *Hypogeion* dates to the end of the 8th century[1078]. Furthermore, from Karabournaki in Thessaloniki a table amphora originating from Miletus probably dates to the 7th century[1079] .The standard Milesian type which was developed in the end of the 7th century and first half of the 6th century BC, is found except for Methone, in Abdera[1080], in Thasos[1081], where some examples with painted decoration have been surfaced[1082], in Karabournaki[1083] and in Esyme[1084].

[1064] Calvet & Yon 1978, pl. 11.
[1065] The example is unpublished but a drawing is illustrated in Dupont 2007, 625.
[1066] Fernandez/Rufete/Garcia 1994, 82, 96 fig. 10a; Cabrera 1994, 371; Docter 2000, 76.
[1067] Docter 2000, 76-77 fig. 11c.
[1068] Stea 2000, 472 fig. 318.
[1069] Berlingo 1993, 11 fig. 21.
[1070] The Byblos and the Oikos type are Milesian amphorae which were rarely exported but well attested in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Miletus, see: Birzescu 2009, 127.
[1071] Wintermeyer 1980, 144 no. 151 , Pl. 53.
[1072] Voigtlander 2004, 321 Pl. 167.
[1073] Jacopi 1931, 270 Pl. 8.
[1074] Monakhov 2003, 248, fig. 18, 4.
[1075] Unpublished.
[1076] Gimatzidis 2006.
[1077] The attribution has been made by the excavators, the examples are still unpublished. However, a sizeable quantity of Macedonian pottery includes imitations of Eastern Aegean workshops, thus these examples could also be local.
[1078] Kotsonas 2012, 199-201; only one example is described from the lower deposit, late 8th-beginning of 7th century BC.
[1079] Filis 2011.
[1080] Skarlatidou 2010, 89 K 193.
[1081] Grandjean 1992, no. 29, 35, fig. 4, 5.
[1082] They are unpublished.
[1083] Tiberios 2009, 392; Tsiafaki 2012, 227-238.

Because not that many decorated examples of Milesian amphorae have been found abroad, Dupont suggested that only the undecorated type was exported. The addition of Methone's example (4739-**cat. No. 75**) to the other finds in Thasos and possibly Krania and Sindos but also the decorated examples from Toscanos and Carthage reveal that this conclusion is probably incorrect or applies perhaps only to the material from the Black Sea[1085]. Since quite a few of these exceptions we find in Macedonian sites, one wonders whether a potential different content of these decorated vessels was popular or even afforded by residents of Macedonia.

Although some scholars believe that the Samo-Milesian products are mostly popular in Macedonia in the end of the 6th and in the 5th in most of the northern Aegean sites[1086], rather than the 7th and 6th centuries BC, finds from Abdera and Akanthus, now also from Methone dated to the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th century BC, weaken this view and show the commercial connection of the Northern Aegean with South Ionia from already the 7th if not the 8th century BC.

The initial theory that the intensification of the commercial interactions of the Northern Aegean with Eastern Greece only took place in the late 6th century, was one of the reasons Dupont tried to attribute the manufacture of Zeest's "Samian" and "Protothasian" types to a workshop in the Northern Aegean[1087]. The distribution of these types in the Black Sea is remarkable during the second half of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th centuries BC. This wide distribution, according to Dupont, might be related to the decline of Ionian imports in the Black Sea due to the invasion and thus pressure imposed by the Persians. After further research, however, several other cities claim candidacy for the manufacture of 'Samian' and 'Protothasian' models, such as Chios, Erythrae, Teos or even Colophon[1088].

As far as the content of Milesian amphorae is concerned, they are known to have been carrying olive oil[1089]. Literary evidence shows that Miletus was a major exporter of olive oil

[1084] Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 2011, 285 fig. 6b.
[1085] See also Docter 2000, 76.
[1086] For Abdera see Dupont, Skarlatidou, forthcoming; for Akanthus see: Filis 2011.
[1087] Dupont – Kacharava 2002, 219-225.
[1088] For a full discussion of the candidate cities, see: Dupont 2010, 4-11.
[1089] Dupont 1998; Naso 2005; Birzescu 2009; Greaves 2010.

(Aristotle, *Politics*)[1090]. Although not in a very convincing manner Dupont has suggested that the folding of the neck, characteristic of the Milesian amphorae, has served to prevent the olive oil that the amphora was carrying in from dripping out[1091]. In addition, amongst the imports of amphorae in Miletus the majority comes from Chios and Lesbos and very little comes from Corinth and Attica. Bearing in mind that Corinth and Attica were the main distributers of oil, this is perhaps an indication that Miletus did not need to import olive oil but other products[1092].

Graffiti:

Milesian graffiti are rare on Milesian amphorae but when they exist, they are usually found on the handle or the shoulder and the neck[1093]. The Methone examples enrich the list of marks on Milesian transport amphora. In fact, 2675 (**cat. No. 74**) preserves two marks on one handle, on the outside: **IE** and on the inside: **///**, on the bottom of the other handle a **Λ** or a triangle symbol, a **/** on the rim, whereas a very large letter has been incised before firing on the shoulder **E** (?). 4169 (**cat. No. 76**) has a **X** on the rim. All marks have been made after firing, except for the large E in 2675.

[1090] See also: Kerschner & Mommsen 2005, 127-128; Greaves 2010.
[1091] Dupont 1998, 175.
[1092] Naso 2005, 76. It should however be noted that Milesian amphorae, were found in Scythian kourganes, as grave offerings, which indicates that they may have carried wine of good quality, see: Dupont 2000, 58; for the suggestion of wine as content of the Milesian amphorae see also:Sourisseau 1997, 145; Docter 2000, 96; Dupont 2007γ, 30; Panagou 2010, 310; Dupont & Skarlatidou 2012, 253-264.
[1093] Lawall 1995, 191–193; Dupont 1998, 177; Dupont 1999, 11, 15; Johnston 2004, 742, 750–751; Dupont 2007b, 624.

UNIDENTIFIED workshops/groups (cat nos 81-95):

Unidentified AMPHORA SHERDS	**NUMBER OF SHERDS**
TOTAL number of sherds	**67** (56 local, 9 imported)
TOTAL number of groups	**7**(local), 5 (imported)
COMPLETE	**7** (2462, 3545, 2708, 2464, 3949, 2463, 4851 a,b)
RIM & NECK	**6** (4031, 4636, 4807, 4582, 4566, 3545, 4605,4570)
HANDLES	**33** (4691, 4626, 4580, 4573, 4585, 4180, 4807, 4613, 4800, 4813, 4665, 4660(?), 4750, 4551, 4804, 4693, 4584, 4576, 4804, 4809, 4693, 4674, 4717, 4950, 4593, 4793, 4624, 4568, 4167, 4243, 4259)
RIMS	**2** (4340, 4583)
FEET	0
BODY	**1** (4599)
GRAFFITO	**1** (3545)

A significant number of examples from the pottery found in the western hill of Methone were fragments of vessels, mostly amphorae, for which a secure identification of provenance could not be proposed. Some of the amphorae examples seem completely unknown and some others are reminiscent of identified fabrics or amphora types, which exist but remain unclassified. These examples are discussed in the following chapter. After careful examination, the material has been divided into two main categories according to their provenance[1094]. The existence of a question mark next to a group indicates the possibility of a different provenance.

[1094] All the examples discussed are closed and most probably amphora fragments, unless differently stated.

1. LOCAL (?). 4580, 4851 (**cat. No. 81**)**.** These 2 examples are both made of a coarse, handmade reddish fabric with large white and grey inclusions and they preserve potter's marks/fingers at the beginning of the handle. The profile of the handle is very similar in both examples of this group, presenting an arching and cylindrical profile. It is likely that the two examples belong to the same type of amphora having such similar features. According to the more complete piece (**4851- cat no. 81**), this type would have a cylindrical stout neck, an outwards looking and rectangular in section rim and wide handles, cylindrical in section decorated with either one or two potter's marks. The bottom part demonstrates an ovoid body ending on a wide foot. Macroscopic observation of the fabric, led to the preliminary conclusion of a non-imported fabric. We could, however, note a similarity of the rim with that of the early Corinthian Type A[1095].

2. LOCAL A, B, C (?). 14 sherds in total. This group is divided into three subcategories, A, B and C. Examples belonging to these subcategories share similarities in fabric composition but some examples under A present different morphological characteristics that those in B and C.

2A: The main representative of this group is the upper part of an amphora (**4031-cat no. 82).** This is an example of a beige-colour fabric, very rich in golden mica and with many large white inclusions, although black, red and grey inclusions are also present. It has got a cylindrical long and wide neck and a cylindrical section rim that slightly protrudes from the neck and a light ridge in the middle of the neck, which runs around the vessel. Although the handle of this piece is not preserved, a small part which emerges from the neck, indicates that it was a flat, wide and cylindrical in section. Another example of a handle was found in the same area. **4573 (cat. No. 83)** is made of a similar fabric, very rich in golden mica and having a flat, straight profile. In addition, more handles, one from the same stratum as 4573 **(cat. No. 83)** and another from a surface level (4626, 4691)., all are identical in shape and clay composition and preserve a fingerprint at the attachment with the body. 4573 **(cat. No. 83)** is very likely to originate from the same vessel as 4626, as they were found in the same area (fire layer); the small part of handle preserved in 4031 **(cat. No. 82)** suggests that they may have belonged to either the same vessel or the same type of vessel. This seems to have

[1095] See for example Kotsonas 2012, 436 cat no 103.

been an, up to now, unknown amphora type dated to the Archaic period only. Its transport function, , is obvious not only by the stout closed shape of the vessel but also by the incised commercial marks, which were found on 4031 **(cat. No. 82)**. The fire layer, from which most of the examples of this subcategory come from, includes archaic pottery both imported and local, subGeometric *Euboenising* skyphoi locally produced, in addition to a lot of grey wares (possibly Aeolian) and tiles; there was also a burnt piece of ivory and a burnt bone found in the same area. Together with the many undiagnosed amphora pieces, there were also some fragments of SoS amphorae and one sherd of Corinthian amphora found, as well as a complete amphora possibly of the red Lesbian series (for this piece see above chapter on Lesbian workshops), dated to the end of the 7th century BC (**2462-cat. No. 42**).

I have been able to identify a similar handle to 4573 in Poseidi and another in Thasos, the latter, carrying a graffito with the letter **E**[1096]**.**Interestingly enough, a third handle very similar to the Methone, Poseidi and Thasos' examples was seen among pottery in the ancient city of Erythrae by the writer. The handle from Erythrae was made by Northern Aegean fabric and it preserved a potter's mark. There is no current excavation in archaic layers at Erythrae but the excavator of the site of Cennetepe, Dr Cugdem Gerkes Guzu from Ankara University confirmed that although the ongoing excavation was at a Roman villa, the material where this handle was found, comes from a disturbed layer. It is therefore likely that this example can date to earlier years.

Large quantities of Mendaean transport vessels were found in Tektas Burnu -a shipwreck of the Classical period just off the coast of Erythrae- together with a plethora of Erythraean amphorae, marked with the stamp EPY. We know, therefore, that commercial connections between the two regions existed in the classical years. Although, the evidence is meager, this accidental find in the site of Erythrae, so similar to the examples of Methone allows to speculate that the commercial connections of the two regions may have their origins in the archaic times.

4599,**4729**,**4589** present similar fabric characteristics and therefore have been categorized under group 2A. 4599 although a body fragment is important because of its clear context; it has been found in the fire layer in the same area were most of the examples belonging to this group have been found (see above). Furthermore, **4566 (cat. No. 84), is**

[1096] The fragment was found in Apostolidis plot after personal examination.

made of an identical fabric as that of 4573 **(cat. No.83),** 4691 and 4626**;** it was also found in the fire layer and it preserves part of the rim, neck and handle. Cat no. 84 rim is slightly different than 4031 **(cat. No. 82)**: it has a more triangular profile but the fabric is very similar, we could therefore argue for another type of amphorae of the same workshop. This second type must have had a long neck, a thin rim and arching handles. **4582** could perhaps belong to this type as well. Other examples such as **4826,** which is particularly rich in golden mica and **4585**, which was found in the same area with the examples described above and together with **4180** could very likely belong to this amphora type with arching handles.

2B: 3545 (cat. No. 85) is the most representative example of this group and one of the most interesting examples in the western hill material. The upper part of this amphora (including a full neck profile and both handles) is preserved and it is made of a fabric very similar to group 2A; this is a fabric of a yellow/beige colour, sandy texture and a large amount of golden mica. However, the morphological features seem to be very different that those identified in the examples of 2A. The key difference is that 3545's (**cat. No. 85**) handles are circular in section as opposed to 2A's handles, which are flat, straight and cylindrical in section. In fact, 3545' (**cat. No. 85)** handles and the whole neck and rim profile look very similar to 2462 (**cat. No. 42**); although the latter has initially been identified as a Lesbian amphora of the red series, we should perhaps reconsider this identification since its handles are decorated with potter's fingerprints instead of rat-tails. It has been argued above that 2462 (cat. No. 62) could belong to the "Lesbian type", a type which has been found in a few places in the Northern Aegean and mainly in Akanthus, it is of local manufacture and presents a combination of morphological features of the Lesbian workshops with local characteristics. It is therefore probable that this cat no. 85 also belongs to the same type. **4792** shares the same fabric and morphological characteristics with 3545 (**cat. No. 85)** and therefore must belong to the same type of amphora. **4800 (cat. No. 86), 4813 and 4665** are also very similar both in fabric and shape and are therefore classified under 2B category (See also, unidentified Group 8). **4181 and 4336** have a similar fabric composition but they are semicircular section handles. 4181 preserves 2 finger prints at the beginning of the handle, which is a typical feature of the Northern Aegean workshops but not the Lesbian ones; it was found in the surface layer and therefore is not very securely dated to the Archaic period, but 4336 has been found in a more secure context in which a rim from a Milesian amphora

(4335 and 4338) and several other amphora sherds including a Chian (4339) and an SoS were also found, all of them are dating the layer to the first half of the 6th century BC.

2C: 4340 (cat. No. 87) is a rim and part of the neck of a closed vessel with very similar fabric to the examples described in this group (slightly more sandy texture- 7.5 YR 7/8 reddish yellow, the sample has been taken from the core where the colour is more buff/orange). However, neither 2A nor 2B morphological features match this example: it has a straight neck and the rim slants abruptly outwards and then upwards forming a completely new profile. The fine pottery found with this piece indicates a date towards the middle of the 6th century BC; to the same direction point also fragments of other transport amphorae found in the same context from Chios and Attica.

In conclusion, according to the material presented above, we can identify 3 or possibly 4 new types of amphorae coming from archaic layers and made by a similar fabric but presenting different morphological features. Those types are identified for the first time here and based on a preliminary macroscopic examination, they are tentatively identified as production of a pottery workshop/s based somewhere in Macedonia. Further investigation of the archaic pottery of both Methone and other archaic harbours in the Northern Aegean will potentially shed light into the identification of the origin of these types and their exact location. The presence of a graffito, where we can read a (masculin ?) name on the neck of one of the examples (3545-**cat no 85**), but also their rather coarse fabric and trade marks, indicate that these vessels were produced, circulated and used to transport goods.

3. IMPORTED. SAMO-MILESIAN (?). 4803 (cat. **No. 69**), which has been discussed also in the Samian Group 5, is a neck fragment of a vessel made of a beige/orange, well fired and good quality clay. Abundant mica is also present and some medium white inclusions and the core is grey. The fabric looks very similar to Samian fabrics and especially that of 4770; in addition there is a ring around the transition of the neck to the shoulder common in Samian transport amphorae (see for example 4721-**cat no. 68**). Nonetheless, the quantity of silver mica present in this example is rather rare to Samian vessels. The finesse with which the vessel is made points to an attribution to an Eastern Greek workshop and Milesian transport vessels contain a lot of silver and golden mica (see chapter on Milesian workshops). A closer examination of the fabric and potential identification of quartz in the fabric of no. 69 could clarify the provenance of this example.

4. IMPORTED. SAMO-MILESIAN (?). **4583** (see also Samian Group 5).

5. LOCAL. **2708 (cat. No. 88)**, **4605**. These two examples are identical in both fabric and morphological characteristics. They are made of a well-fired reddish/brown fabric (5YR: 6/8 reddish/brown) with very small white inclusions and mica (4605 has an increased amount of mica compared to 2708-cat no. 88). They both preserve the upper part and allow us to see that they had an identical rim diameter of approximately 13 cm, a long neck, which slants downwards and a ridge below the rim on exactly the same spot. 2708 (**cat. No. 88**), is preserved almost entirely and thus gives us an idea of how the remaining body of this type can be reconstructed: the handles are circular and the body is short and bulbous and tapers down to a wide foot. This type of amphora is unknown so far but a similar example has been classified by Dupont as a pithoid variant of Zeest's "Samian types" and dated to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.[1097]. Interestingly, this variant looks very similar to a type of transport vessel seen by the writer in Clazomenae, Teos and Thasos. According to the excavator of Clazomenae Yasar Ersoy, this type is called "Anatolian" and is largely circulated in the Asia Minor coast, in the middle of the 6th century. The Methone examples, however, were found together with pottery, which can't be dated later than the beginning of the 6th century BC[1098]. Could the Methone type be perhaps the predecessor of the so-called "Anatolia" type?

Although the similarities with the vessels described above are clear, 2708, cat. no. 88 also preserves some morphological characteristics of the 'Lesbian type' amphorae, which combine Lesbian with local characteristics and may have been manufactured in the Northern Aegean. A potential attribution of this example to the 'Lesbian type' should also be considered, athough the quality of the clay does not point to a local production. Given the variety of possible answers, an archaeometric analysis for this example has been considered necessary.

6. IMPORTED. MILESIAN (?). **4636a** and b (**cat. No. 89**), which belong to the same vessel, are made of a fabric, which is beige/yellow in colour and contains black inclusions and abundant mica. This fabric shows similarities with a rare type of Milesian amphora found in Methone (3542- **cat. No.80**). In addition to the fabric similarities, 4636's straight neck, the ridge below the rim and the long handles are also reminiscent of the Milesian vase.

[1097] Dupont 1998 fig 23.10 e and 23.12 k; Birzescu 2005; see also, Filis 2012, 265-282, fig 12 e.

[1098] Upper part of a Milesian amphora of the standard type, SoS amphora with decoration of concentric circles and Chian amphorae with thick creamish slip, see: 4391, 4514, 4615, 4608.

However, there are also differences such as, the height of the neck and the quantity of dark inclusions in 4636's fabric. No other parallel among the published Milesian transport containers was found but 4636 may possibly be a variant of the 3542 (**cat. No. 80**) type[1099].

7. LOCAL. **2464 (cat. No. 90)**, **3949 (cat. No. 91)**, **4807**, **4613**. 2464 (**cat. No. 90**) is a complete vessel of an unknown amphora type. It has a convex and cylindrical in section rim and a second ridge on the neck, a long, straight cylindrical/funnel type neck and long arching, cylindrical handles, which preserve potter's fingers on each side. It is made of a fabric very rich in golden mica with dark and red inclusions. Another example, 3949 (cat. No. 91) is made of a very similar fabric with the same composition but with a slightly rougher texture and identical morphological characteristics with 2464. 4807 and 4613 are rims of the same type and 4343, which is a handle with a very similar profile probably belongs to the same type. Interestingly, all above examples that preserve a rim bear similar graffiti on the lip or neck made mostly after but in one case before firing (4807). Although this is a transport amphora type, which has not yet been identified in literature, after personal examination of archaeological material in several sites in the Northern Aegea, I was able to identify the same type in Karabournaki (one example of smaller dimensions) and Poseidi (two examples)[1100]. The possibility, therefore, of this type's manufacture in a Northern Aegean site and was its use to circulate goods among Northern Aegean sites, is suggested.

8. LOCAL (?) CONNECTED WITH GROUP 2: **4800**, **4813, 4665, 4660(?), 4750, 4551**. These examples are all handles of circular section and of similar diameter. Although they are circular in section, they are neither products of a Lesbian workshop (not make of the typical Lesbian fabric) nor they present a rat-tail, in which the typical Lesbian handle ends (except perhaps for 4660). 4800 and 4665 are made of exactly the same fabric which is similar to

[1099] After a visit in the archaeological site of Teos, I was informed by M. Kerschner that many examples of transport amphora found in the Asia Minor coast present some but not all Milesian amphorae features; for example, they are either made by Milesian fabric and don't have all morphological characteristics of the Milesian amphorae or –more often- they present Milesian amphorae morphological features and are made of a different fabric. The latter was the outcome of archaeometric analysis conducted by Kerschner and Mommsen, in which 2 examples of Milesian amphorae showed a different element pattern than all the others, which were securely attributed to Miletus. It was therefore suggested that there were more than one production places of Milesian amphorae, see: Kerschner and Mommsen 2005, 123-124, for attribution to Miletus and 124, frgms 41 and 44, figs 9-10 for the examples with different element pattern. Other scholars' studies pointed to the same suggestion, see: Ersoy 1993, 415; Dupont 2000, 58.

[1100] The example in Karabournaki was found together with many Mendaean and Thasian amphorae, however, the layers in Karabournaki are severely disturbed because of later digging of the area in modern times.

unidentified group 2 and all the others are made of a different fabric which is buffish/yellow to orange/reddish with large, frequent white inclusions and fewer black and they all have a grey core. The similarities that these examples present, point to an identification of a type of closed vessel, most probably an amphora but the evidence is yet very little to complete the picture of its shape.

9. **4570 (cat. No. 92)** is part of a rim and neck of an unidentified amphora. The fabric is well-fired, rich in white, dark and red inclusions but it doesn't contain any mica and therefore cannot be local. The shape, with a thick rim, triangular in section and outwards and the long neck are not reminiscent of any of the known archaic types of amphorae. The example has been found in a secure context with many other transport amphorae of the early 6th century BC. This was in the fire layer near the kiln that was discovered in the western part of the western hill.

10. IMPORTED or LOCAL: **4604 (cat. No. 70)**. This example of an unidentified closed vessel presents a fabric of beige exterior, grey core and abundant mica. The profile of the neck is not reminiscent of anything. The fabric of it, however, with the thick grey core and abundant mica looks very similar to an example from the *Hypogeion* [1101], which Kotsonas dates to the late 7th-early 6th century BC. The provenance of the *Hypogeion* example is also uncertain. Another example, **4587,** is similar to 4604 in fabric and shape (see also: Samian Group 5).

11. LOCAL (?). An almost complete amphora (**2463- cat. No. 43**) with coarse matt reddish/brown clay and a little mica, some white inclusions and small grits has been found in in the Western hill. The vessel lacks only part of the handles but **4716**, which is a handle with a potter's mark is identical in fabric and of the same size as the handle of 2463's (cat. No. 43); it therefore possibly completes the profile of the vessel. The two examples were found in a distance from each other and thus cannot belong to the same vessel but they originate from the same type. Although the fabric is unknown, this is a transport vessel as the elaborate commercial mark on the neck indicates and possibly of local origin. Unfortunately neither of the examples comes from a safe excavation context and therefore we cannot say whether this type was archaic or not; its profile, however, is close to the archaic examples

[1101] Cat. no 23 in Kotsonas 2012, 371.

and some similarities are observed with an example from Esyme, dated to the end of the 7th century BC[1102]. Another similar amphora has been found in Poseidi (personal examination)

12. LOCAL (?) amphora handles: **4802, 4832, 4607 (cat. No. 93) 4567, 4686, 4689, 4816, 4549**. They present a variety in fabric and morphology and none of them is reminiscent of a known type. They all however, present a potter's fingerprint at the beginning of it.

4804, 4693, 4584, 4576, 4809, 4693, 4674, 4717, 4593, 4793, 4624, 4568 are also unidentified but have not potter's mark preserved.

4167 (cat. No. 94) and **4243** and **4259** are different in fabric but they all preserve a very deep potter's mark at the attachment with the shoulder. 4167 **(cat. No. 94)** also preserves 2 symmetrically placed circular grooves on the upper surface, along the handle. Many of the handles, which belong to this group were found in the part of the western hill where the kilns were located.

[1102] Koukouli-Marangou 2013, 282, fig. 2b: the profiles of the vessels are very similar. For a possible provenance from a Lesbian workshop, see relevant discussion above p. 136, 141.

IV. Trade in the Northern Aegean: Methone's commercial life and trade networks.

In chapter I, a number of questions regarding trade in Methone and in the Northern Aegean were posed. In the following chapter, the various kinds of information provided above concerning the physical environment, the maritime agents of the Archaic period, the Northern Aegean coastal sites and primarily the information acquired by the study of Methone's transport vessels will be combined in order to answer those questions and to draw some conclusions on archaic Northern Greek trade[1103]. The first part discusses results drawn from the close empirical analysis of the amphora material on site at Methone. The second part discusses aspects of social structure and configuration of Methone, given that it is a town whose remains imply such a strong commercial character.

IV. A: Methone as a commercial and production centre

The study of the Methone amphora material enabled us to identify potential commercial transactions and to some extent reconstruct trade networks in which Methone must have participated. Some of these networks can securely be identified, yet in some cases they constitute only preliminary suggestions based on the available information. One should keep in mind that the archaeological material found most recently in the Northern Aegean is immense and for the most part unpublished, while every year new finds are discovered. Thus the Results of my study may change after the study of transport amphorae from other Northern Aegean sites and with the progress of the excavations in Methone.

[1103] For a full description of the questions posed both on the transport amphorae examined in this thesis and questions referring to the role of Methone and the function of neighbouring coastal sites, see introductory chapter, pp 2-4.

Regional trade: production and circulation of local products. Connections to the other harbours of the Northern Aegean and to inland Macedonia.

New archaic amphora types:

One of the most basic, but most important questions, arising from the examination of pottery found in the Western hill concerns the representation of different regions of the Mediterranean and the chronological distribution of their products[1104]. Among the archaic pottery assemblage of Methone, I was able to identify eight new types of amphorae manufactured in the northern Aegean area, either the Thermaic Gulf or Chalkidike or possibly eastern Macedonia. Of these types, only the Thermaic Gulf amphorae had previously been known to scholarly literature. Of the groups identified and classified for the first time here, the most popular amphora type, Type 7, is represented by six examples in Methone, two examples in Karabournaki (where I was also able to locate another, smaller size, example) and one example in Poseidi[1105]. Examples of Type 11, another type manufactured in the Northern Aegean, are found in Methone (cat. no. 93) and in Esyme and Poseidi.

Type 2A (cat nos 82-83) of the above classification (identified as local) has been found in archaic layers in Thasos, Poseidi and possibly Erythrae. The Thasos example, bears a graffito of an **E**, which provides further evidence that these were commercial vessels. Similarly, the upper part of a transport amphora of type 2B (cat. no. 85), which could possibly be classified under what we have called "Lesbian type"[1106], preserves on the neck an inscription of a name, ***ΤΕΛΙ***. This mark does not only indicate that this vessel had been travelling. It also implies that there were several different producers, the inscription was incised before firing and so it cannot simply be the name of a trader, it surely identifies the producer, because he needed to certify his own particular product/brand with a signature to distinguish it from others. The example of the same type found at Erythrae is very interesting. Commercial connections of Macedonia with Northern Ionia are evident in the shipwreck of the classical

[1104] See previous chapter for details.
[1105] See classification made in the analysis of the amphora material above, pp 181-189. It is possible that more examples can be found in the archaic pottery assemblages from other sites but even in the sites mentioned here after a more thorough examination of the material- the current examination of material from other Macedonian sites was brief and conducted for reasons of comparison.
[1106] See discussion under Lesbian amphorae and below pp. 203-204.

period in Tektas Burnu, Erythrae, where a plethora of Mendaean and Erythraean amphorae were found together[1107]. Having no data from the Archaic period in Erythrae[1108], it is too soon to draw any conclusions. I am tempted, however, to suggest that the commercial connections between the two regions may have had their origins in an earlier period.

To further support a link between the northern Ionian coast and the Northern Aegean, I would like to draw attention to cat. No 88, possibly of local origin. As discussed above, this type may be the predecessor of a later type called "Anatolian" which was distributed widely in archaeological sites of the Asia Minor coast (and hinderland) in the middle of the 6th century BC: the heavier and bulkier shape of Cat 88 provides additional support towards this hypothesis[1109].

It is, also, especially suggestive that the profile of the upper part of cat. no. 88 resembles Lesbian amphorae's morphological features: long slanting neck and circular handles. This is either an accidental common feature, or an imitation from Aeolian workshops and potential connections with the two regions. The collaboration between the Northern Aegean and Lesbos[1110], which scholars have argued for, in later years may have its origins in these archaic examples. Yet, more similarities between local vessels and Lesbian workshops have been observed (see above unidentified group 2B and "Lesbian type" amphorae) and a couple of the later (4th century) Akanthian amphora types look largely similar in their upper profile to the red series standard Lesbian type of the beginning of the 6th century BC[1111]. Finally, it is most important to note that the intact vessel of this group (cat no. 88) comes from an area where a kiln was discovered. This increases the possibility that it was a locally produced vessel, and it can even suggest that this new type was a production of Methone itself.

[1107] Carlson 2003, 581-600.
[1108] Archaic layers in the archaeological site of Erythrae have not been excavated recently and there is no evidence of transport containers available.
[1109] See the analysis above p. 185. A second sherd, which belong to the same type has been found in pottery assemblage under examination, see Meth 4605. Both examples were found with pottery that cannot be dated later than the first half of the 6th, see again above p. 185.
[1110] A collaboration between Thasos and Lesbos has been suggested in Clinkebeard 1986, 353-362.
[1111] For this collaboration, see Clinkenbeard 1986, 352-362. For a photograph of the Akanthian type, see: Filis 2013, fig. 15b,c.

Of course, the contents of the new local types could vary, as could the means of their transportation. It is important that in Karabournaki, which must have operated in a manner similar to Methone (as a redistributive centre, but on a smaller scale), examples of Type 7 have also been found, in fact in a smaller size. It is difficult to speculate on the commodities which were carried in these amphorae without the assistance of science, but if the Thermaic Gulf amphorae were carrying wine, as recent archeobotanic evidence has shown[1112], perhaps these new types replaced the earlier Thermaic Gulf amphorae as wine containers. Their replacement could indicate a new brand name or maybe another Northern Aegean settlement, which became more prominent and started exporting its surplus (as, for example, Mende exported one in later years). Whatever product was being circulated in this vessel, it was popular enough formsto be shipped in containers of different sizes.

Although we do not have yet, a secure archaeological context, the above locally made transport vessels cannot be dated later than the second quarter of the 6th century BC. If this dating is correct, they are the earliest transport vessels of the Northern Aegean after the so-called Thermaic Gulf amphorae, which are dated to the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

Methone as a pottery manufacture centre:

If the people who were circulating these amphorae were only farmers selling their surplus, there would not be the manufacture of a special type of vessel in which they would package their content, for sale. The production of a special vessel, regardless of the product it contained, implies the existence of a local 'enterprise' built around the circulation of products. This enterprise indicates specialisation on the part of the locals and further to that, the ability– either from their side or from the side of those who controlled the exchanges- to optimize their resources[1113]. This 'enterprise' would include the production of the commodity, for instance wine, the preparation of the container in which, it would be carried, its transportation from the production place to the harbour, its transportation from the harbour to neighbouring regions to be resold and the necessary co-ordination of these tasks.

[1112] Valamoti 2003, 201 ff.

[1113] Horden & Purcell 200, 366 for a detailed analysis of that idea. To optimize resources in Methone's case would mean that people on the site had the technical knowledge and practical ability to take advantage of the abundant natural resources (e.g.fertile soil suitable for the cultivation of vine, clay and timber resources etc) for the production of a surplus with intention to sell and trade.

Alternatively, the containers could be transported to a place with a big market, a convenient point of sale.

Pieria, as we have seen, is famous for its vineyards; its name may have even derived from the Greek verb "drink". We can therefore assume that production of wine did indeed take place in the Methone area, and the discovery of the pre-fired inscription on a local type of amphora further supports the local production, but it is very likely that the manufacture of the containers, which carried it, took place in Methone, as well.

Among the pottery assemblage under study, some 20 sherds of the Thermaic Gulf (type II of the Catling types) amphorae were also found. Fabric differentiation has been noticed amongst the examples from the Western hill, unlike the examples studied from the *Hypogeion*. Bearing in mind that the majority of these examples come from a chronological context later than the *Hypogeion*, we could attribute this differentiation to a chronological development. Alternatively, we could explain the changes in fabric by a rise of the sites, which manufactured the Thermaic Gulf (type II) transport amphorae during the Archaic period. Petrographic analysis verified that in Mende, the amphorae were made of the same fabric to that of local vessels[1114]. The results do not argue against Michalis Tiverios' view that the workshop of Thermaic Gulf amphorae was in Nea Anchialos; but they argue for the existence of more than one Thermaic Gulf amphorae workshop in later periods[1115].

Kotsonas, in his study of the *Hypogeion* amphorae is reluctant to accept a production in Methone of the Thermaic Gulf (type II) amphora. Nonetheless, the discovery of a significant amount of complete vessels and sherds, manufactured locally, in proximity to a kiln on the Western hill of Methone, as well as the discovery of a misfired piece of a 'Euboeanising' skyphos in the *Hypogeion* of Methone, strongly suggests that there were vases made in

[1114] Moschonissioti, Pentedeka,Kyriatzi &Mexi 2005, 250,259–260,264. EIA pottery production in the Northern Aegean has been reported elsewhere too, in Torone, for example, where a pottery kiln was found, see Papadopoulos 1989, 9-44, while manufacture of vessels (and indeed amphorae) continued in the 6th and following centuries as 8 ceramic kilns in Akanthus and more in Thasos suggest, Filis 2013, 79, fig. 6.

[1115] Tiverios accepted the view of the operation of different workshops later: Tiverios 2009, 403-404. The existence of different workshops has been supported in the past also by clay analysis: Comparison between fabrics has been made between Thasos, Troy and Karabournaki, see: Gimatzidis 2002, 76; 176; Chabot Aslan 2009, 41, no. 9; Hatzis 2010. In the case of the Troy specimen, chemical analysis showed the relation to Troy's local pottery, see: Mommsen, Hertel & Mountjoy 2001, 195–196 (sample 118), 203.

Methone in the late Geometric period[1116]. Methone may not have been a production centre of the Thermaic amphora type in the Geometric period but when the Thermaic Gulf amphorae started being produced in more places in Macedonia, during the Archaic period, Methone could very likely have been one of these places. At this point, we should mention that the Methone material is dated much later than the majority of Thermaic Gulf amphorae examples found so far, which belong to the second half of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th centuries BC, whereas the Methone examples are dated in the second half of the 7th century, a date which supports better the possibility of an increase in manufacturing places, in the Archaic period. Provided that it is a pottery centre in the Archaic period, Methone could also have been a place of manufacture for the archaic local amphora types, introduced in this study.

In addition, Methone is a good candidate for the establishment of pottery workshops for reasons related to its location. There are abundant clay deposits around the Methone area and if the town offered facilities to host such large scale trade, it would have made sense for craftsmen to establish themselves there and facilitate tasks related to manufacturing products, which could either be loaded and sent away or be sold in the large market, which Methone must have hosted. After all, this is a common practice in other large commercial centres in the Mediteranean world, such as, for example, Gravisca.

This increase in places of manufacture and the production of new local amphora types, alongside the Thermaic Gulf amphorae would perhaps allow us to speculate on an increase in regional but also long distance trade in the Archaic period[1117]. The distribution of the Thermaic Gulf type II amphora is not very extensive in the Mediterranean but they have been found in considerable quantities in Thessaly, in Lefkandi, Troy, Crete, El Bassit and Pithekoussai[1118]. Provided that we have an increase in production centres in the Archaic period and considering that there was no significant differences in general appearance but in the methods of manufacture and/or fabric of the Thermaic Gulf type II amphorae, we could possibly argue that Macedonian settlements were exporting under a ”northern Aegean”

[1116] Bessios 2012, 90, fig. 65.
[1117] To this direction also points the development of many other categories of locally produced pottery, such as egg-shell pottery, hydriae with wavy lines, silver-ware, oinochoae with cut-away neck and ‘Lesbian type’ amphorae. For archaic Northern Aegean categories of pottery, see Pante 2005.
[1118] See above pp.97-98.

label, in the Archaic period. But to support this hypothesis, we need more finds from regions outside the Northern Aegean. A similar situation, however, is known from the Ionian cities, the islands and the opposite mainland (Asia Minor coast) [1119].

Exchanges of these products and thus regional Macedonian trade could have been conducted in many ways. One known method is that of *cabotage*; the Northern Aegean with all its bays and inlets offers the opportunity for large *cabotage* circulation. Small boats would leave from the amphorae's place of manufacture and sail towards other Northern Aegean sites to sell their products. A boat trip from Methone to the first prong of Chalkidike would have taken not more than a few hours. Boats setting off from Methone, however, could also stop and drop off their cargo in coastal sites around the Thermaic Gulf and in this way they would avoid heavy and costly transportation by overland routes. Finally, transportation in the area would be greatly eased by the neighbouring rivers. I will come back to this issue later in my discussion.

We can therefore conclude that, as demonstrated by the Thermaic Gulf amphorae, regional trade was taking place, as early as the 8th century BC. From the distribution of the Thermaic Gulf amphorae, we see Northern Aegean products travelling even further, around the Mediterranean; we certainly cannot speak about quantities being exported or organised trade on the part of the local residents, as the evidence is insufficient. There is indication, however, that traders were frequenting the harbours of the Northern Aegean and going back or visiting places such as Bassit or Pithekoussai and that local residents/traders were taking part in these transactions. Production and circulation of local products did not stop in the Archaic period and restarted in the late 6th with the production of the Mendaean and the Thasian amphorae, as was previously thought. It is, after all, improbable and there are no obvious reasons for an interruption to have taken place. On the contrary, the local production maintained a continuity within the Archaic period, as several locally manufactured amphorae show, types 7,2A,2B and 11, which were circulated from material examined so far, in several sites in the Northern Aegean and possibly the Asia Minor coast.

[1119] Multiple production centres of "Chian amphorae" or "Samo-Milesian amphorae", pp. 148-157 and 163-181.

Finally, it should be pointed out that except for a candidate place for pottery manufacture, Methone was likely also a centre for metalwork and possibly other products. The reasons Methone may have been a centre for the manufacture of metal products are similar to the reasons Methone became a centre of commerce. The town's proximity to river Echedoros, which had rich gold deposits, gave the craftsmen easy access to raw materials. A similar suggestion has been made for the neighbouring town of Nea Anchialos. The archaeological record there strongly suggests an early Euboean presence, already in the 10th century BC, and thus it is proposed that a Euboean *emporion* had flourished at the settlement of Nea Anchialos, taking advantage of the settlement's proximity to the well attested alluvial gold deposits of the neighbouring river, Echedoros. It is likely that Methone was another Euboean commercial station established but unlike Nea Anchialos, Methone developed into a large harbour because of its location, whereas Nea Anchialos lost its importance once it started to silt up and the shoreline drew back.

To support the possibility that Methone was a manufacture centre, it is important to note that plentiful remains from workshops were found during the excavation not only of the Western hill buildings (traces of gold on pots, hearths, kilns, metal processing remains, wasters of ivory, jewellery moulds), but of the entire settlement, where archaic layers have been revealed[1120]. The fact that not many roof-tiles have been found in the Western hill area should not detract from the suggestion that it functioned as a workshop district, as it is not uncommon for 7th century workshop installations to be roofless[1121] .

Regional trade was a fact, but the bulk of Methonaean trade came inward. This fact is made very clear by the numerous imports of transport amphorae carrying goods from several places in the Mediterranean.

[1120] In what has been identified as the 'agora' of the settlement, remains of bronze, glass, even wasters of manufacture of musical instruments were found, see: Bessios;Athanasiadou;Noulas 2008, 241-254. Similarly, in the *Hypogeion* and the Western hill, stone and clay moulds, ivory wasters and remains of gold processing were recovered from the destruction layer, Bessios 2012, 41-53.

[1121] See for example, the industrial-scale olive oil production at Ekron (southern Israel)-one of the biggest installations of this kind, in ancient Mediterranean, see Broodbank 2013, 510, fig. 10.3.

Long-distance trade: exchanges between the Northern Aegean, the rest of the Aegean and beyond.

Eight different regions of the ancient world are represented by their transport amphorae in the archaic material of Methone[1122]. The highest number of imported examples comes from the island of Chios and its *peraea*[1123]. The rich Chian representation during the Archaic period appeared already in the *Hypogeion* material, where the Chian imports in the upper deposit of the *Hypogeion* were significantly more numerous than in the earlier deposits. Chians' intense commercial activity in Methone is evident not only from these quantity of the examples but also from their quality and variety. The standard amphora type of the end of the 7th century with squatter characteristics and the type of the beginning of the 6th century with slimmer proportions co-exist in the same assemblage and suggest that there was no disruption in the imports of Chian goods from the Late Geometric and throughout the Archaic period. Rare examples, such as Chian transport hydriai and closed transport vessels decorated with concentric circles are also present not only in the Western hill assemblage but already in the pottery found in the *Hypogeion,* dated to the second half of the 8th century BC. Furthermore, another type of Chian amphora with a very characteristic goldish slip (cat. No.58), found also in Etruscan tombs has appeared in Methone. We are tempted to assume that this type may have been associated with funeral rites and may have contained a special kind of wine, used possibly for burial ceremonies and deposited in special containers in the tomb. Wine is, after all, the product that Chians were particularly known for.

A plethora of other Chian vessels has been found in the Northern Aegean during the Archaic period, including not only transport vessels but also fine pottery. In fact, a statistically significant amount of vessels made in the Northern Aegean and imitating Chian fine pottery -possibly manufactured by a Chian workshop settled in the Thracian mainland- has been found in the sanctuary of Parthenos in Kavala, in Thasos[1124] and in the Chian colony

[1122] A large piece of what can most probably be a handle of a Cypriot basket handle amphora has been found but is not included in the current study.
[1123] For the provenance of the Chian-looking example see above pp. 154-155.
[1124] See Lemos 2000, 379.

of Maroneia, founded in the 7th century BC, east of the Nestos river [1125]. The presence of Chians continues uninterrupted in the late Archaic and Classical periods in Macedonia, as we can understand from a cursory look at the finds of the Pydna necropoleis[1126]. Among the rich amphora material from Pydna's cemeteries, we can identify both Chian amphora types of the late Archaic and Classical periods. The introduction of a new amphora shape in the middle of the 6th century might relate to the Persian invasion in Western Asia Minor[1127]. The new funnel type, which appears approximately at that time, is limited in the Northern Aegean (Akanthus, Sindos, Pydna), although it is quite popular in the rest of the Mediterranean. The 'swollen neck' type, however, is well distributed in the Northern Aegean settlements: we find fragments of it in Karabournaki, Sindos, Akanthus, Berge, Thasos, Fagris, Mesivria-Zone, Dikaia and Samothrace[1128]. This preference was related either to the type's content or the popularity and successful business of a particular workshop in the Northern Aegean.

Should we therefore speak of a special connection of Macedonia with the Chians? Chians appear to have built a strong, consistent and continuous commercial network with the Northern Aegean, which is supported by the foundation of their colony in Maroneia. Chian amphorae are, of course, present in many places in the Mediterranean and finds of them in this part of the Aegean perhaps only means that they were active traders. Yet, there seems to have been a special network to which products from Chios belonged and I will come back to it in more detail, later.

In contrast to the Chian presence, that of Clazomenian transport amphorae is very small, almost non-existent in the Northern Aegean before the middle of the 6th century BC, except for Abdera, which was apparently a Clazomenian colony[1129].

However, the island of Samos and its *peraea* are quite well represented among the pottery found at Methone. Early examples have been found in the *Hypogeion* and are dated

[1125] We are not aware of the exact foundation date of Maroneia but scholars think that Maroneia was founded before the middle of the 7th century; they base this dating on historical resources recording that Maroneians and the Thasians were quarreling over Stryme around 650 BC. See Lazaridis 1972; Isaac 1986, 114; Tiverios 2008, 100.
[1126] Preliminary examination of the material by the writer.
[1127] Gorman 2001, 125-126.
[1128] Filis 2012, 267-269.
[1129] Sezgin 2004, 169-183; see also Filis 2012, 269-270 for their limited distribution.

to late 8th and 7th centuries BC. Examples of the late 7th and early 6th are found in the Western hill material and therefore allow us to observe a continuity of imports of Samian products to Methone's harbour during the Archaic period. Particularly interesting is the fact that although the typical Samian transport amphora clay surface is well-polished and very finely manufactured (this is also how the examples from the *Hypogeion* look), among the western hill assemblage there are examples with coarser fabric. Without being able to be certain about the provenance of the vessels, macroscopic and morphological observations point to Samos. It would therefore be of interest to examine further whether these less carefully-made vessels contained a different product to the others or whether they addressed a different target group of consumers. We could, for example, speculate that these vessels were intended to be sent further away to inland settlements, after arriving in Methone. But to confirm this, further investigation and excavation in inland sites is required.

Samian fine pottery has been reported in the Northern Aegean only in Karabournaki and Mende. Nevertheless, as Kotsonas has already noted, this information may be misleading because in the very few and brief reports from finds in the Northern Aegean, Samian pottery is usually classified under the general category of "Ionian"[1130]. It is therefore very likely that there is more Samian pottery than what has been mentioned so far in archaeological reports. In the Western hill of Methone, Ionian fine pottery is well represented, especially by Ionian kylikes, but the material remains unpublished.

We are informed by both ancient writers and the widespread Samian amphorae that Samians were skilled sea-farers. Herodotus also informs us that Polykrates was highly involved in naval activity and built a large fleet; he even mentions that he considered piracy a legitimate means for acquiring wealth. Although Samians appear to export their goods, most probably their olive oil and Samian wine for mass consumption, imports of transport amphorae in Samos were relatively low[1131]. Samians were therefore receiving in return for their exported goods, products that could not fit into an amphora. Metals and timber are plausible candidates. As Snodgrass has argued, metal ores must have been vastly cheaper

[1130] For the problem of distinguishing among Ionian pottery centres, see: Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen & Niemeier 2002.

[1131] Although there are quite a few from Mende, see: Isler 1978, 131-133. The comparatively low percentage of imported amphorae was corroborated by the author's visit to the archaeological site and a cursory look of the material.

per unit of weight than finished metalwork[1132]; Samians could have been supplied with the raw materials and then ship them back home or to other places. Finally, bearing in mind Herodotus' comment on Polykrates' large fleet, shipbuilding timber must have been quite valuable for Samians. Methone is situated right next to the rich forests of the Pierian mountains and could therefore be used to reimburse Samians for their high quality agricultural products.

Interestingly, given its relatively limited distribution of transport amphorae, Miletus has a good representation at Methone and in fact the variety of transport vessels presented is remarkable, if not unique, for a Northern Aegean settlement. According to Dupont, it is very uncommon to find decorated Milesian amphorae outside Miletus[1133]. However, there is a remarkable variety of decorative motifs amongst the transport amphorae of the 6th century found in Miletus. Among the archaic assemblage of Methone not only decorated examples of Milesian transport amphorae have been found but also rare examples of Milesian transport amphorae types, which are very little distributed outside Ionia [1134].

The discovery at Methone of one example of a painted rim (cat. No. 75) and other decorated examples found in Thasos and possibly Krania and Sindos make us wonder whether there was something particularly valuable in the Northern Aegean settlements for which Milesians would make an exception, and export their decorated transport amphorae. Further decorated examples found in Toscanos and Carthage provide evidence that Dupont's conclusion is plausibly incorrect or applies perhaps only to the material from the Black Sea[1135]. Yet, it is still interesting that apart from the examples mentioned, Milesian decorated amphorae have not been found elsewhere in the Mediterranean.

In Miletus – as in Samos- the majority of imports comes from Chios and Lesbos while limited are the imports from Corinth and Attica. Bearing in mind that Corinth and Attica were the main distributers of oil, this is perhaps an indication that Miletus did not need to import oil, but other products[1136]. Finally, graffiti on Milesian amphorae are not common;

[1132] Snodgrass 1983, 24-25.
[1133] In fact he argues that only undecorated examples were exported, see Dupont 1998, 170-177.
[1134] Such as Meth 2542, which was only found in Histria and in Salamis, see above 180.
[1135] See also Docter 2000, 76.
[1136] Naso 2005, 76. It should however be noted that Milesian amphorae, were found in Scythian kourganes, as grave offerings, which indicates that they may have carried wine of good quality, see: Dupont 2000, 58;

the Western hill material, however, preserves quite a few and not only commercial ones, but also some with letters. This provides additional evidence that the Northern Aegean may actually have been a prolific and preferred market for Milesian products.

Furthermore, Ionian pottery is largely distributed in both Akanthus (as shown by the large quantity of Chian amphorae), in Mende and Esyme and several other places in the Northern Aegean. In fact, in Akanthus there is a preponderance of Ionian products, which also influenced local production pottery, such as the well known Akanthian hydriai, which resemble Milesian examples but with wavy lines in a smaller scale[1137]. Similar products dated to the second half of the 7th have been found both in Esyme and in Mende[1138]. More settlements in the Northern Aegean, such as Sane in the first Chalkidike prong, where a sanctuary of most probably Pythian Artemis has been discovered, demonstrate a strong connection with Eastern Greece through their Archaic finds[1139].

Continuing the description of the large number of Eastern Greek amphorae present in Archaic Methone, we should not neglect the considerable variety of transport vessels originating from the island of Lesbos. Lesbian amphorae started arriving in Methone already in the end of the 8th century BC; the examples of such early Lesbian transport amphorae in the ancient world are rare and have been identified only in very few places in the Mediterranean, in Smyrna and in Mesad Hashavhayu and Tell Qudadi (Israel)[1140]. Lawall suggested that Lesbian transport amphorae were made of clay of different colours; based on this observation a brown-coloured amphora found in Methone (cat no. 93), alongside many examples of the red and grey series, could be attributed to a Lesbian workshop. The rarity of Lesbian amphorae of a different to grey or red colour suggests that they were different workshops or production areas. More rare types of Lesbian amphorae such as the one with twisted handle have appeared in Methone. The fact, alone, that there are quite a few (nine

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for the suggestion of wine as content of the Milesian amphorae see also: Sourisseau 1997, 145; Docter 2000, 96; Dupont 2007b, 30; Panagou 2010, 310; Dupont & Skarlatidou 2012, 253-264 and we should always keep in mind that the contents of amphorae could be more than wine and olive oil, see: Lawall 2011a, 27.

[1137] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 2006/07, pl. 4.1; For a comparison, see: hydria in Pante 2005, fig 12 and amphorae in Birzescu AA 2009, 128-134. For more imitations of Eastern Greek products in Nea Anchialos and other Northern Aegean sites, see: Saripanidi 2010, 474-479.

[1138] Moschonissioti 2004, 277-292.

[1139] Vokotopoulou 2001, 756-7; Rhomiopoulou 1978, 65; Giouri 1976, 138.

[1140] See above p. 138, n. 786.

catalogued) examples of the red series is interesting as, in this period, they are missing completely from other sites in the Northern Aegean, such as Akanthus[1141].

Even more importantly, among the Western hill material, 'Lesbian-type' amphorae, which are hybrid shapes, combining Lesbian amphorae features with local elements, have been found. Filis, who first identified the 'Lesbian type' in Akanthus, proposes Esyme as their place of manufacture, although not very convincingly[1142]. An example from Esyme mentioned by Marangou as "presenting Lesbian characteristics', is likely to belong to the same category of 'Lesbian type' amphorae[1143]. Since there is not enough evidence to suggest a place of manufacture yet, I believe that Methone should be added in the list of candidates[1144]. An established workshop in Methone would control a system of imports of Lesbian wine, packaging in Methone and redistributing to inland settlements of Western Macedonia. It is interesting that this type of amphorae has been found in certain places so far, in Akanthus, Esyme and Methone and not, for example, in Karabournaki, where there is a wide variety of transport amphorae discovered; the possibility therefore for both Esyme and Methone to be manufacturing places of the type should remain open to discussion. While additional evidence is surely needed, it seems logical for two manufacturing centres, one in Eastern Macedonia and one in Central to have served the inland populations, accordingly.

Imported Aeolian products in the Northern Aegean were found in important coastal sites such as Akanthus, Mende, Polychrono, Esyme, Nea Anchialos[1145] and have had a strong impact on local production of pottery[1146]. Although not included in this study, two table vessels, which were found together with the archaic transport amphorae material in the Western hill resemble vessels found in Lesbos and dated to the beginning of the 6th century BC[1147]. Finally, a connection with Lemnos has been indentified, especially in a category of

[1141] Filis 2013, 70.
[1142] Filis 2011.
[1143] Koukouli-Cryssanthaki & Marangou 2013, 281.
[1144] See above reasons why Methone must have been a pottery manufacture centre of the Archaic period.
[1145] Paspalas 1995, 69, 75-80, 89-91; Vokotopoulou 1996, 324.
[1146] For example see the local so-called Aeolian 'bucchero' pottery, Aeolian influences in local pottery of Akanthus and Mende and probably Mende's colonies, see: Paspalas 1995, 69, 75-80, 89-91. Vokotopoulou 1996, 324 &327; also an 'imitation' of a Lesbian type of transport amphora made of local clay, see: Filis 2011.
[1147] Achillara 2012, 59, fig. 5.

amphoriskoi manufactured in Akanthus, which resembles pottery, which was found in the Protolimnian cemetery of Hephaisteia[1148].

It is unlikely that this abundance and variety of eastern Aegean products is accidental. If we add to this variety, the early Eastern Greek examples found at the *Hypogeion*, it is evident that the theory suggesting that the intensification of commercial interactions of the Northern Aegean with Eastern Greece began only in the late 6th century, is incorrect[1149]. According to this theory, Dupont based his attribution of the manufacture of Zeest's "Samian" or "Protothasian" types to a workshop in the Northern Aegean[1150]. The distribution of these types in the Black Sea is remarkable during the second half of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th centuries BC. This, according to Dupont, might be related to the decline of Ionian imports in the Black Sea due to the invasion and thus pressure imposed by the Persians. Bearing in mind that the commercial relations of Eastern Greece with the Northern Aegean did not intensify in the 6th but persisted at a similar level from the beginning of the 7th century BC, we should perhaps consider even more seriously the proposed candidacy for the manufacture of the 'Samian' and 'Protothasian' models, of cities, such as Chios, Erythrae, Teos or even Colophon[1151]. Eastern Greek products travelled widely around Northern Aegean in the late 8th century already; we are, therefore, far from what Cook said back in 1946, that "old Greece was generally earlier in trading than East Greece"[1152].

Mainland Greece, is mainly represented in Methone by transport vessels originating from Attica. The Attic examples are actually the most numerous among all regions represented in the Western hill. This high quantity is an indication that we should re-examine two issues related to the Athenian commerce. The first is that intensified commerce between Athens and the Northern Aegean started earlier than previously thought (later in the Archaic period). The intense commercial activity with Athens is supported by the variety of the material offered both in decorative motifs and in graffiti. It was Attic fine pottery trade, which started reaching the Northern Aegean in considerable

[1148] Beschi 1985, 56-64.
[1149] Coldstream 2003, 109-292; Dickinson 2006, 216-217.
[1150] Dupont – Kacharava 2002, 219-225.
[1151] For a full discussion of the candidate cities, see: Dupont 2010, 4-11.
[1152] Cook 1946, 86.

quantities in the middle of the 6th century, rather than Attic transport vessels and thus Athenian agricultural products. In fact, the majority of the transport amphorae examples, seem to have belonged to the SOS type and not to the à la brosse type, which dates the material prior to the early 6th century BC. Nevertheless, this early arrival of Athenian products is not present in all Northern Aegean sites. Akanthus, for example, shows a limited number of SoS amphorae in the 7th and 6th centuries BC but in Karabournaki, SoS are well represented. In Abdera, "several specimens" of SoS are mentioned but a specific number is not provided[1153]. In Esyme and Thasos connections with Athens are attested in the end of the 7th and 6th centuries BC but no precise number of vessels is provided[1154], and in Argilos SoS amphorae have been seen by the author but quantitative data are again missing. If the concentration of SoS amphorae is mainly in the Thermaic Gulf sites, it would be interesting if there is a special connection of the Thermaic Gulf settlements with Attica.

The second issue that needs re-examination is the view that intense Athenian commerce began with the South Italian colonies or Etruria. High numbers of Attic imports in Methone demonstrate that the Athenian enterprise had a strong Northern Aegean prong throughout the 7th century BC. It is true that Athenian fine pottery of the 7th century BC is not frequent in the Northern Aegean and in addition to that we lack data for many important coastal towns in eastern Macedonia. Nonetheless, given the popularity of SoS amphorae also in Karabournaki, Nea Anchialos, Archontiko and Toumba we could argue that Athenians may have been interested in certain centres of the Northern Aegean, possibly central Macedonian towns. Especially given the fact that Methone is so rich in SoS amphorae and bearing in mind that Methone was a redistribution centre (see below) we could perhaps argue that the Athenian commercial network of the end of the 7th century BC and the beginning of the 6th, focused on Methone. From there, Athenian olive oil (and perhaps more products) were redistributed to inland settelements. When later in the 6th century BC, their fine pottery started becoming popular, they increased their trade with Northern Aegean cities and possibly had their ships anchored in more harbours. Very interestingly, an SoS amphora bearing a Cypriot graffito links the Northern Aegean with Eastern Mediterranean. A post-fired inscription on a foreign transport vessel could most likely be made by a

[1153] Dupont-Skarlatidou 2013, 260, fig. 23.
[1154] Koukouli-Chryssanthaki & Marangou 2012, 328 fig. 14.

middleman, a trader, the person who transferred it to its destination; alternatively, it could mean that the Athenian vessel was transported to Cyprus and arrived in Mende with contents different from its original one. Although, not presented in this study, among the pottery assemblage of the western hill, a handle of presumably a Cypriot basket-handled amphora has been found. I will come back to the connection with Cyprus later.

It is noteworthy that mainland Greece is not as represented as one would expect among this large market of goods at Methone. With the exception of Attica, Corinth and Laconia have a relatively poor presence in Methone, an observation, which is not surprising for Laconian products as they are not particularly widespread in the Mediterranean but quite unexpected for Corinthian as during the 7th and 6th centuries Corinthians travel, especially in Southern Italian and Sicilian territories.

Although Corinthian products are poorly represented, among the Western hill material a hydria was found. Corinthian transport hydriai are not particularly common but they have been found in 7th century contexts in Corinth; they could perhaps signify contents different than the amphora's contents. All examples of Corinthian transport vessels come from Type A and date to the end of the 7th century. From a brief look at Pydna cemeteries' finds, however, I noticed that Corinthian transport amphorae continued to be imported during the late Archaic and Classical periods. What is very important is that one of the earliest exports of Corinthian transport vessels was found in Methone. According to Kotsonas, the example found in the *Hypogeion* is dated to the early-middle 8th century BC; this dates it earlier than the examples found in Pithekoussai, Incoronata and Siris[1155]. If the above dating is correct, it is both suggested that sea ventures to the Northern Aegean began earlier than the West and that pre-colonial contacts, presumably with the Thracians, existed.

The presence of early Corinthian transport vessels is equally low in other Northern Aegean sites (they only appear in Abdera, Esyme, Karabournaki and Nea Anchialos), even though Corinthian fine pottery appears in significant quantities from the beginning of the 7th until the middle of the 6th century BC in the Northern Aegean[1156]. There is a reason for this ostensibly poor involvement of Corinthians in the Northern Aegean commercial networks.

[1155] Kotsonas 2012, 183.
[1156] For Corinthian fine pottery in Northern Aegean sites, see studies in Tiverios, Manakidou, Misailidou, Avramidou 2012.

The aim of Corinthian traders (or people who operated as agents of Corinthians) in the Northern Aegean must have been related to metals and timber. Analysis of Corinthian coins has shown that before the Peloponnesian war, Corinth imported only one third of its silver from Athens with the other supplier/s remaining unidentified[1157]. The foundation of Potidaia in close proximity to Chalkidike's silver mines must have been chosen to fulfil the the remaining demand for silver. The presence of Corinthians through their transport amphorae, however, remains limited and the reasons should be sought in obstacles placed by previous residents of the area or other Greeks interested in the exploitation of mines. This is the main reason the majority of Corinth's maritime ventures were oriented towards Central Mediterranean and not the Northern Aegean. Corinth, however, widely traded products with the Central Mediterranean for an additional reason; this was evidently owed to its place astride; it offered an easy alternative route to ships towards Central Mediterranean avoiding the circum of the Peloponese.

It looks as if the Corinthians had access to alternative markets for the products that the Macedonian land had to offer, and thus Corinthians were using the Northern Aegean market in a rather supplementary manner. Damastion has been argued to be the main supplier of silver to Corinth, at least in the 5th century BC[1158] but it was probably in their disposal already in the Archaic period and this may have limited their transactions with Macedonia. In addition, this is also the time that a revival in Corinth's contacts with the inner Adriatic- which until then had enjoyed independent trade- began[1159]. It is therefore probable that Corinthians would use the Thracomacedonian region for their supply of metals but not to the extent that it was used perhaps by Athenians or Eastern Greeks.

Corinth had one *apoikia* in the Northern Aegean, Potidaia. Potidaia was surely a very important settlement of Northern Greece in the Archaic period[1160]. It should be emphasized that Potidaia's location is extremely important as it is on a sea-pathway from the Thermaic to the Toronaic Gulf, and thus it facilitates communication between settlements of the Thermaic Gulf with the first and second prong of Chalkidike, while at the same time, it gives access to the peninsula's hinterland (see figs 2-3, 7) It therefore must have been a

[1157] Shepherd 1993, 106.
[1158] Shepherd 1993, 106.
[1159] Broodbank 2013, 561.
[1160] See above p. 61.

commercial hub, where ships arrived and could then distribute their cargoes to all three areas mentioned above (first and second prong and Chalkidike's hinterland); it could have therefore also operated in the way Methone did, as a redistribution point. The discovery of high amounts of fine Corinthian pottery may have been distributed through Potidaia and we could even argue they were conducted by another carrier (e.g. Aigina). The important archaic material, which has been found in Potidaia further supports this hypothesis, although the poor state of excavation and the complete lack of publications does not allow us to reconstruct potential commercial networks[1161].

It is interesting that, although, Euboeans had, according to Strabo, an intense commercial activity in the first Chalkidike prong[1162], they did not occupy the strategically located site of Potidaia; according to Tiverios, they may have attempted to settle prior to the given foundation date, 600 BC, but failed due to resistance by local Krousians; when Corinthians eventually managed to settle, it must have been with Euboeans' assistance[1163].

Despite their limited representation in the Mediterranean, Laconian products arrived at Methone's harbour. They also appear in Methone, Akanthus, Abdera, Karabournaki, and therefore appear in a considerable number of settlements in the Northern Aegean. We should also note that they are not easy to identify (especially in a fragmentary state) and that they can be easily mistaken for SoS amphorae; there may thus be more than what has been reported so far. Laconian fine pottery has not been, thus far, identified in Methone but has appeared in the Northern Aegean in other sites and especially in the sanctuary of Athena Parthenos in ancient Neapolis (modern Kavala)[1164] .

Finally, it was until now thought that imports in the Northern Aegean had a sequence. Scholars have argued that Euboeans initiated the commercial contacts with the Northern Aegean and after the Lelantine war, when they started to lose their naval strength, they hand them over to Eastern Greeks, whereas Corinthians and Athenians followed slightly

[1161] Finds such as the marble kouros, the sanctuary of Poseidon, which is additionally important as it may be more easily linked with travellers- another very important coastal town in close proximity, Mende, also worshipped Poseidon and in fact in a separate and long-lived sanctuary (Poseidi).

[1162] Strabo X, 44 7 and Z, fr. 11 and above pp. 30-33 and below 217-224.
[1163] Tiverios 2008, 41.
[1164] For the limited Laconian pottery in the Northern Aegean, see: Stibbe 2004, 223. See also Pipili 2012, 197-208.

after, around the middle of the 6th century BC[1165]. It appears, however, from the examination of archaeological material at Methone that things were more complex and that the proposed sequence is probably not accurate. This does not diminish the importance of Euboeans who must have been the first who have explored the area and established commercial stations but informs us that the Northern Aegean market was large enough to accommodate products from many other Aegean regions simulataneously and thus transactions were profitable for both sides. We should keep in mind, however, that the presence of pottery does not necessarily equal the presence of the city-state it represented. A discussion, therefore, of potential carriers of the products which arrived in Methone and the commercial networks built is necessary.

[1165] Vokotopoulou 1990, 86; Morris 2006, 78;Tiverios 2008, 126.

IV B. Methone's networks: commodities and carriers.

The special connection of Chios with Macedonia –described above- is possibly due to a product or products, which were valuable to Chios and which the Northern Aegean had in abundance; an easy assumption would be metals. Eastern Greece is not rich in metals; silver deposits in Anatolia were controlled by the Lydians and not by the Ionian cities[1166]. By establishing commercial relationships with the Northern Aegean, the Chians would acquire the necessary metals they needed. To this purpose, Chians founded Maroneia[1167], which although not in immediate proximity to Pangaion, had access to the mountain's rich metal resources[1168]. The question, which appears, however, is whether Maroneians could actually exploit the Pangaion silver deposits; it is possible other population groups, active in the area, of Pangaion, such as Andrians, Thracians, Thasians/Parians or even Macedonians who were expanding towards that direction, would not allow them to. Nevertheless, even in the case Chians could not exploit the silver mines of Pangaion, the establishment of a commercial station in a neighbouring area, would still be beneficial for them as it would allow them to negotiate directly with the locals or the ones who were controlling the mines and consequently facilitate the supply of Chian ships with metals; they would therefore play the role of a mediator. The establishment of a colony in the Pangaion area would be beneficial for the Chians for an additional reason. Herodotus mentions a large Chian fleet[1169]. These were, of course, warships that Herodotus refers to, but they are indicative of the Chians' naval force; the wide distribution of Chian transport amphorae demonstrates that the merchant fleet must have been equally prominent. For the construction of these ships, it is obvious that Chians would need suitable shipbuilding timber, which they could find in abundance in the area around Pangaion[1170]. Finally, the selection of Maroneia's location should also be related to the famous local Ismarian wine. Chians were reknown for their

[1166] For details on the metal deposits of the Mediterranean, see above pp. 23-25.
[1167] The exact date of its foundation is not known; Pseudo-Scymnus, 676 ff suggests the first half of the 6th but scholars have argued for an earlier foundation, see discussion in Tiverios 2008, 99.
[1168] Mine galleries have been surrounded in the surrounded area, see: Isaac 1986, 112. In addition, neighbouring Abdera evidently used the silver from Pangaion or the mines mentioned above to mint coins and because its coins were widely distributed and came out in large denominations, people have argued that Abdera exported silver, as well see Tiverios 2008, 97 for bibliography and discussion.
[1169] Hdt informs us about the high amount of both ships and people of the Ionian cities in the battle of Lade: Hdt 1.163; Hdt 7.184.1; 8.17; Hdt 6.15.1.
[1170] For Pangaion's timber suitability in shipbuilding see: Thuc. IV, 108, 1 and Hdt. V, 23.

advanced viticulture skills and the area is ideal for the cultivation of wine[1171]. In fact, it has been argued that their peaceful co-existence was based on the exchange of secrets on the preparation of wine[1172].

Methone itself would be a prolific market target for timber and metals. In this way, the special relation, evident through the archaeological material between Chians and Methone would be further explained. Rich in wood Pierian mountains, in direct proximity to the harbour, Echedoros' rich gold alluvial deposits and Chalkidike's prolific silver mines, in combination with the limited metal deposits that Eastern Greeks had in their disposal, rendered harbour towns, such as Methone situated next to the sources, particularly significant. Further to that, Methone gave access to Lake Pikrolimni in Central Macedonia, where the famous *Chalastraion Nitro* was extracted- still extracted today- and had multiple uses from medicine to glass-making[1173].

Moreover, this intense commercial activity required physical labour. According to Thucydides (8.40.2), Chios in the 5th century BC had more slaves than any other state apart from Sparta[1174]. Ancient literature records that there was a revolt in Chios against the freeborn[1175]. Samians were also particularly interested in the slave trade; Polykrates and the elite of archaic Samos accumulated wealth through piracy and therefore, slave trade must have been conducted by them[1176]. Consequently, another commodity sought in the Northern Aegean by Eastern Greeks would be slaves[1177]. Macedonians were not using many slaves and therefore the Northern Aegean slave market would become even more propitious for foreign traders[1178]. Unfortunately, slaves' commerce does not leave any

[1171] See Isaac 1986, 101; Salviat 1990.
[1172] Tiverios 2008, 100.
[1173] Kremydi 2011, 159.
[1174] Chattel slavery as a provision of a source of labour is particularly well-suited in island locations in order for agricultural production to be intensified, see: Horden & Purcell 2000, 391. Chians are, allegedly, the first Greeks who bought barbarian slaves, see: Athenaeus, *The Philosophers at the dinner table*, 265 d-f.
[1175] Theopompus and Nymphodorus, see Horden & Purcell 2000, 391.
[1176] Samians had developed a value system of plunder and ransom, see: Bravo 1980.
[1177] Thracians and Phrygians (both residents of the Northern Aegean are notorious to give away their relatives to slavery, Hdt V.6; see also Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* VIII. 7.12; see also Garlan 1995, 52-53.
[1178] Engels 2010, 92.

archaeological traces, especially in early periods, although we know that slaves' trade took place throughout the ancient world during the Archaic period[1179].

Egypt and Eastern Greeks (Ionians and others)

Except for silver acquired for each city's use (to mint Chian coins, for instance), Eastern Greeks could have acted as carriers of the Macedonian metals to other regions. In particular, there is evidence to support a network of commodity exchange between Macedonia and Egypt, the latter being an area completely devoid of silver deposits. Egypt was for many years under the thumb of Assyria but the Babylonian threat to Assyrian power liberated it. We know that in the middle of the 7th century BC, Egypt had relations with Greeks, since Psammetichos I employed Eastern Greek and Carian mercenaries to fight with his troops[1180]. Herodotus (Hdt. IV.15.2) informs us of a certain Kolaios from Samos who conducted trade with Egypt not late in Psammetichos' reign. This Kolaios may have been a Samian trader who arrived in Macedonia, unloaded his cargo of olive oil and received silver, probably in the form of bullion[1181], which he then brought to Egypt to exchange it for grain. But the fertile alluvial soil of Central Macedonia was also suitable for the cultivation of grain[1182]; the connection, thus, may have been direct without the intervention of Egypt. We know that grain was one of the major commodities in demand in the Archaic period and it is therefore very tempting to link names of aristocrats, known from ancient literature, such as Samian Kolaios or Sappho's brother, Charaxos, or Solon himself, who travelled to Egypt for this (and other) purpose[1183]**.**

Population in Eastern Greek cities would definitely be in excess of the productive capacity of the cultivable land, especially if we take into account the numbers Herodotus provides[1184]. but even if those numbers are not true, it is logical that an island of the size of Chios or

[1179] See: Garlan 1995, 43-46, 59-61; see also Reed 1984, 42.
[1180] Hdt II, 152. 3-5; see also Herda 2006, 144.
[1181] For the use of bullion as means of exchange see: Kroll 2008, 12-38. For Kolaios, see Freyer-Schauenburg 1966, 89-108.
[1182] Kremydi 2011, 159.
[1183] For Solon, see: Aristotle, *Const. Ath*., XI, 1: *κατ' εμπορίαν αμα κατά θεωρίαν*; Plutarch, *Solon* 25, 6: *Πρόσχημα της πλάνης την ναυκληρίαν ποιησάμενος, εξέπλευσε.*
[1184] Herodotus speaks about 80.000 residents in Chios and 64.000 residents in Miletus (Hdt V.30); as high as these number may be, we are still convinced that the population must have been high enough to require grain import, see Austin 1970.

Samos would not have infinite arable land[1185]. In general, cities that did not control as vast territories as those of Athens or Sparta had little option but to send out men in search of sustenance[1186]. In order to pay for their grain, the Ionian cities had to develop the cultivation of special products and additionally to carry out transactions profitable enough to allow them not only to feed their residents but also to erect temples such as the Heraion in Samos. They would, thus, not only be in need of grain, themselves but, had to establish large-scale commercial transactions, which would allow them to have such an accumulation of wealth; a long-distance transaction with Egypt, rich in grain would probably serve their purpose[1187].

To further support direct or indirect connections of Egypt with Macedonia come the ivory wasters discovered amongst the archaic pottery on the Western Hill, which could very likely come from Egypt[1188]. Naucratis, the greatest Greek *emporion* in Egypt was founded primarily by Eastern Greeks and the highly profitable backbone of its trade was Aegean silver. Late archaic silver has been found at scattered points in the Delta, either in the form of hoards or in the form of coins. This led some scholars to argue that Egyptian grain in the Archaic period was the chief article of trade in quantity, and that it was paid by silver from the Thraco-Macedonian silver producing region[1189]. The coins found are of large denominations (except for the Milesian), so they must have been brought into Egypt for large scale purchases and not to be spent on small purchases of goods by travellers or sailors. Many of them are marred with cuts to test if the silver was solid or plated. 30% of the coins found in Egyptian towns are Thraco-Macedonian (from Thasos, Neapolis, Lete, Akanthus, Dicaea, Scione, Mende, Torone, Sermely, Potidaia, Abdera but interestingly not from Maroneia). Although this is evidence originating from the late Archaic period, the network may have been active already in early Archaic times, although most likely with silver in the form of bullion.

More commodities could be traded with Egypt, such as linen, papyrus and faience and Eastern Greeks could have played the role of intermediaries[1190]. Methone's finds demonstrate that the Northern Aegean was a very popular- perhaps even the favourite-

[1185] See also Horden & Purcell 2000, 381-383 on the problem of islands' overpopulation.
[1186] Hall 2007, 114.
[1187] For the vital significance of grain in Naucratis, see: Möller 2000, 81.
[1188] See Bessios-Athanasiadou-Noulas 2008, 241-254.
[1189] Roebuck 1984,33-34. For more recent studies on silver in Naucratis, see: Bomhard 2012.
[1190] Tiverios has argued towards the existence of a commercial network between the Northern Aegean and Egypt, possibly also through Rhodians, see: Tiverios 1993b, 1487–1493.

market of Eastern Greek products. Moreover, having stated above that the maritime routes were dependent on physical conditions, we should note that Eastern Greek ships were in a privileged position as they were further benefitted by winds and currents of their route towards Macedonia[1191].

Nonetheless, Aigina could also be a candidate carrier city for the Macedonia-Egypt trade route. Aiginetans cannot be identified by pottery but Aigina was striking its own silver coins, already by the early 6th century BC[1192] and in fact analysis that has been conducted in Aiginetan coins proved that they were made by Macedonian silver[1193]. Aeginetans were highly involved in Naucratian commerce and have participated in the erection of the temple of Zeus (Hdt 2. 178-9). They might also be the ones who were carrying the Laconian pottery found in Naucratis[1194]. They had good reasons to be involved in a network with Egypt as they almost certainly did not have the agricultural capacity to feed their population[1195] and they were thus in great need to import grain, which they would find in abundance in Egypt[1196].

In the same period, Eastern Greek cities and especially Miletus sent out their first colonies to the Black Sea.[1197]. Samian and Milesian containers appear in Abdera, Akanthus and Methone during the latter half of the 7th and early 6th centuries and then again show up in quantities in the end of the 6th century; their presence has been linked to information from ancient sources about activity of Milesians around the Strymonic Gulf (Hdt V). During the same period the Ionian *poleis* had signed a treaty to end the Graeco-Lydian wars and thus their relations with the Lydian kingdom, remained friendly until about the middle of the 6th century BC. Recently, there was even a proposal that Eastern Greeks were greatly encouraged in the trade with Egypt by Lydians[1198]. Having been devoid of land some of the Ionian poleis suffered from an internal crisis and eventually reached the Black Sea[1199]. Until

[1191] Papageorgiou 1997, 424-442.
[1192] Osborne 2009, 237-244.
[1193] Schaus 2006, 176.
[1194] Kerschner 2006, 115.
[1195] Hall 2007, 115; in fact, a story by Strabo records how poor their land was, which basically rendered the turn to trade indispensable, see: Strabo, Geography 8.6.16 and Horden & Purcell 2000, 370.
[1196] Austin 1970; Möller 2000, 81.
[1197] Filis 2011.
[1198] See Fantalkin 2014, 27-52.
[1199] Tsetskhladze 1994, 124-125.

then their main supplier of grain remained, the route to Macedonia and then Egypt and especially Methone, where Samo-Milesian products of all kinds arrived[1200] .

It has been suggested that during the 7th century BC, the Ionian products have been transported to northern Greece by Rhodians[1201]. Without being able to exclude this possibility, it is difficult to support a non-direct commercial network of the Ionians with the Northern Aegean, since their influence in several forms of art (e.g pottery, sarcophagi), appears to have required a direct contact with the residing in the Northern Aegean population, if not teachings from Eastern Greek craftsmen. In addition to this, Ionians are so well-known sea-farers that it is difficult to believe they would allow another party to conduct trade on their behalf. Alongside the Ionian cities, which are archaeologically present in Methone and other Northern Aegean settlements, there are also Phocaeans and Teans, who can't be detected archaeologically but are widely known for their sea voyages. Phocaea's extensive use of the *pentekonters* for its long voyages to the west in the 7th century BC marks the beginning of large Ionian navies and therefore supports the early sea involvement of Ionian cities[1202]. To this early involvement points also the large variety of Samo-Milesian products found in Methone's *Hypogeion* and dated to the second half of the 8th century BC, while Phocaeans, whose trading activity was highly intensified after the pressure imposed by the Persian rule- they are even said to have fled from their territories to escape Persian enslavement- were very likely the ones carrying the Aeolian pottery to Naucratis[1203] ; this suggests they could also have been active in the Northern Aegean[1204].

Finally, another network, which included the Cycladic islands must have been active in the Northern Aegean, especially in Eastern Macedonia through Thasos (a Parian colony) and Akanthus (an Andrian colony[1205]); some of the islands' ships, which participated in the commercial transports must have reached Central and Western Macedonia. Another Andrian settlement of the area, Argilos, must have been included in the same network as it

[1200] For the wide variety of Samo-Milesian products in Methone, see above pp. 200-202.
[1201] Tiverios 1993, 1487-1493.
[1202] Roebuck 1984, 22-23.
[1203] Kerschner 2006, 115.
[1204] Some of the late archaic Lesbian red series production was suggested to have been manufactured in Phocaea; it is therefore likely that they were transported also by Phocaeans, see: Ozyigit 1994, 89.
[1205] Well proportioned, orientalising decorative elements of the 7th century BC with SubGeometric decoration, see Vokotopoulou 1996, 323-324; Moschonissioti 2004.

presents a high amount of imports and especially transport vessels; it is, however, very soon to draw conclusions as the examination of the transport amphorae material found in these settlements is in a very preliminary stage.

The limited presence of Laconian pottery in the Northern Aegean, evinces, on one hand, Methone's importance as a commercial destination – as it is one of the few places where Laconian pottery was found- and, indicates, on the other hand, the existence of a network, which would bring Laconian products to the Northern Aegean. Rhodians could be among the candidates for their transportation[1206]. In the end of the 7th century BC (620-660 BC), Tocra was founded in Cyrenaica and together with Laconian pottery, numerous sherds of Rhodian pottery were found, it was therefore suggested that Rhodian population was established there[1207]; it is likely that these Rhodians had engaged in trade and may have been responsible for the transportation of goods such as ivory and Laconian transport vessels in Methone. Rhodian ships, therefore, could also link the Northern Aegean with Egypt, and carry with them Laconian products.

Rhodians may have also been responsible for the import of the few Phoenician amphorae dated to the second half of the 8th century BC in Methone. Phoenicians frequented and have possibly established in the island of Rhodes[1208]. A faience scarab factory was built in Rhodes in the middle of the 7th century and could have been founded here by Egyptians, Phoenicians or Cypriots[1209]. Rhodians are important sea agents in the 7th century BC and competed with the Corinthian for leadership; it is likely, therefore, that Rhodians brought the Phoenician amphorae with them in one of their trips to the Northern Aegean[1210].

It is clear that a complex set of networks and trading circuits had been formed and continued to be defined and segmented in the Archaic period reflecting the maturation and the efficiency of the networks as a whole[1211]. Networks become additionally multiparted

[1206] See above n. 1201.
[1207] Boardman 1994, 145.
[1208] Bourogiannis 2013, 139-189.
[1209] There is a similar one in Naucratis, see: Boardman 1980, 119.
[1210] Euboeans could be another candidacy for the Phoenician amphorae transport, see: Kasseri 2012, 299-308. For this connection and the transport of Cypriot products to Northern Greece, see also below p. 221.
[1211] Sheratt & Sherratt 1993, 369-374, argue that this drastic redirection and speeding up of the building of Archaic Mediterranean networks – in which the Northern Aegean seems to have played an important role- was largely triggered on the decline of Tyre.

when we think that commodities' transportation was not, necessarily, carried out by residents of the same city-state of the products they carried. A significant role in this growing volume of trade was played by the middleman, the *emporoi,* who could certainly be of different origin than their cargo. Below, the activity of a number of powerful seafaring peoples, who would have very likely been involved in the Northern Aegean networks is further examined.

Euboeans and others:

All of the above renders Eastern Greek cities the perfect candidates for the foundation of a commercial town in Methone. Plutarch, however, informs us that Methone was founded by the *αποσφενδόνητοι* Eretrians[1212]. In the second half of the 8th century BC, there is, indeed, a change in Methone's archaeological record, particularly evident in the pottery assemblage from the *Hypogeion*, demonstrating a large amount of imported goods[1213]. A similar change has been detected in the same period in neighbouring sites, such as Nea Anchialos[1214]. Given that the change in pottery shows imports from Euboea and even more imitations of Euboean shapes of the period, it has been considered that Plutarch's narration found archaeological confirmation and the change in Methone's pottery was linked with the arrival of the Euboean settlers. 'Euboenising' pottery is abundant in many Northern Aegean sites but it is only in Methone that it was found in such large quantities and it is only in Methone that its manufacture has been archaeologically confirmed by the discovery of the misfired piece of a 'Eubonising' skyfos[1215]. Further support to Plutarch's attestation comes with the inscription on the so-called *Ακέσανδρος* cup. This inscription is the first unquestionable case of an early use of the Euboean alphabet in an alleged Euboean colony in the Northern Aegean[1216].

[1212] Plutarch Aetia Graeca 293a–b, see : chapter I.
[1213] Kotsonas 2012, 223.
[1214] Gimatzidis 2010, 85, fig. 5.
[1215] Bessios, Athanasiadou, Gerofoka ,Christakou-Tolia 2004, 368, fig 2 and Bessios 2012, 90, fig. 65, see also Kotsonas 2012, 115. It should be associated to Euboean craftsmen residing in Methone, see Ridgway 2007, 147-148 for similar case in Pithekoussai.
[1216] For the inscription see Tzifopoulos 2012, 334-338; see Jefferey 1990, 363 for more evidence.

Many settlements of the Thermaic Gulf and Chalkidike demonstrate links and influence from Euboea from the 10th century BC[1217] until the LG period[1218]. At the same time, Euboeans were venturing to places far away, surely to search for metals and to trade in regions ranging from the Eastern Mediterranean to Italy and even the Iberian peninsula. However, the Northern Aegean is a much shorter trip for Euboeans than the west: it is therefore unlikely to have been ignored by them, unless other seafarers had reached it first, and somehow monopolized it. So far, there is no strong archaeological evidence to indicate such a contact with non-Euboeans. Having already ventured to the Northern Aegean in the 10th century, the Euboeans were building commercial stations, either to anchor ships and take advantage of resources in the area, or to advance in the hinterland and explore metal exploitation. The poet of the Hymn to Delian Apollo portrays Euboea as being "famous for its ships", *Euboia nausikleite.* It is therefore very likely that Euboeans founded Methone, in order to exploit the rich forests in Methone's proximity. The narration tells about Eretrian settlers and at the same time, it has been argued that Eretrians were building bridgeheads for commerce as opposed to Chalkidians, who were building permanent settlements[1219]. Strabo also informs us that the first prong was occupied by Eretrians and the second by Chalkidians [1220]. Some of the commercial stations managed to develop into real towns[1221]. The case of Nea Anchialos, for example, must have been of this kind: a Euboean commercial station was established there but when the Euboean activity in the Northern Aegean started to fade away in the Archaic period, the settlement continued to exist under a new ruling class, which was developed by a mixture of Euboeans, who had migrated there, local Thracians, perhaps newly arrived Greeks and Macedonians. In addition to this newly formed situation among its population, Nea Anchialos lost its commercial importance also because

[1217] Lemos 2001, 216-217; Lemos 2002, 207& 214-217; Tiverios 2008, 9; *contra* : Papadopoulos 1996, 156-158; Papadopoulos 1997, 191-219.

[1218] The relation between the two regions- Euboea and Macedonia- is indicated through ancient literature Hdt, 10. 1.8; Strabo, 7 fr 11; Thucydides, 4.123 1; Torone, Archilochos, fr. 81; see also, Vokotopoulou-Papaggelos et al. 2002, 35-36 and archaeological finds, For a full list of the sites with Euboean pottery and the special attention given to the pendant semi-circled skyphos, see: Tiverios 2008, 8; a distribution map of Euboean and Eubonizing pottery is provided in Kotsonas 2012, 129, map 3; Catling& Lemos 1993, 97-100See further: Parker 1998, 45-48. For similarities of Mende and Poseidi with Lefkandi, see: Vokotopoulou 1987, 280-281; Vokotopoulou 1990, 399-400. For cult elements: Giouri 1976, 135-136; Knoepfer 2000. Euboeans were looking to share some of Macedonia's natural wealth, see: Tiverios 1993a, 555.

[1219] Kontoleon 1963, 23-26;Tiverios 2008, 66; Mari 2011, 84-85.

[1220] Strabo records that the first prong was colonised by Eretrians, Strabo X 447.

[1221] For the example of Aphytis and other settlements of the Northern Aegean, see below p. 249.

of the elongation of the settlement from the sea and therefore Methone took over completely the leading commercial role in the area but still supplied Nea Anchialos with imported products in the Archaic and Classical periods, as the very rich finds from the archaic Sindos cemetery demonstrate[1222].

Some scholars have fervently disagreed with this 'Euboean phenomenon' and have, instead, stressed the importance of either other Greeks or Eastern peoples and especially of Phoenicians in terms of maritime expertise and capital concentration in the Mediterranean trade[1223]. The substantial contribution of Phoenicians in trade and circulation of goods is evident and unquestionable[1224]. But, as was mentioned in the first chapter, alongside the Phoenicians - and especially in certain waters - there is a considerable amount of traffic with Greeks, other peoples - locals even - participating without apparent rivalry[1225]. Huelva and the Iberian peninsula could have been the suppliers of metals for Phoenicians, but Macedonia must have been the supplier of Euboeans and other Greeks for silver and gold. There may therefore have been some Phoenician ships, which possibly arrived in the Northern Aegean, but most likely Phoenicians could not establish in the Northern Aegean because there were already too many Greeks in this area; and the archaeological record supports this view. We already argued that even Corinthians were not able to established themselves well in the Northern Aegean and this may have been due to the increased traffic and privileged circumstances for Euboeans and Eastern Greeks. Similarly, in the Western Mediterranean, there are some Greek colonies such as Ampurias in the Iberian peninsula and Massalia, on the South coast of France but these waters were mainly Phoenicians' and Etruscans' rather than Greeks'[1226].

There have not been a lot of studies produced on the impact of other population groups in the Northern Aegean but on the EIA settlement of Torone, Papadopoulos believes that the

[1222] Saripanidi 2010, 471-480.
[1223] Sherratt 1993; Papadopoulos 1997, Papadopoulos 2000, 134; Negbi 1992. Although the importance of Cypriots and their candidacy for the leadership has been put forward see, Catling 1994, 132 ff; Catling 1995, 123 ff, Kourou 1997, 219 ff, Crielaard 1998.
[1223] Sherratt & Sherratt 1993, 374-375; Papadopoulos 2000, 135.
[1224] see chapter I- maritime activity of the Phoenicians.
[1225] Greeks and Phoenicians were probably working together as well, see: Johnston 1993, 158 and Coldstream 1982, 263; see also Aubet 1993, 315.
[1226] Broodbank suggests that despite the story of the exclusive foundation by Phocaeans, there are hints of Etruscan activity and indigenous characteristics see Broodbank 2013, 564.

Athenian impact was larger than the Euboean one. For the presence of Euboean wares in Torone, he claims that they are of local manufacture, a conclusion he reaches through clay analysis[1227]. He takes this argument further to include other Macedonian but also western Mediterranean settlements and to argue that Euboean imported pottery is rare in all of these sites. Nonetheless, as David Ridgway very successfully argued, "it is the presence of 'Eubonising' pottery that would provide evidence to identify the origin of the residents and not the imported Euboean pottery"[1228]. Tiverios, similarly, argued that even if these Euboean wares were indeed made in Torone, this does not weaken the view that there was an Euboean presence or impact in the Northern Aegean, as the local or immigrant craftsmen chose to imitate Euboean and not, for instance, Argive Protogeometric wares[1229]. And he continues that one should not totally depend on clay analysis because of the existence of itinerant workshops that often used local clay, either temporarily or permanently settled[1230].

But even if we accept Papadopoulos' view[1231] of the dominant presence of Athenian over Euboean pottery in Torone, this proposal would not exclude Euboean presence in the Northern Aegean, especially taking into account the connections of Euboea with Athens. Transactions between Euboeans and Athenians were of high volume and the Athenian products could easily have reached Methone, either by an Athenian or a Euboean ship, not only in the LPG and LG periods as Mayr suggested[1232] but also in archaic times. It is beyond the purpose of this study to examine in detail the Euboean predominance in the Northern Aegean in the Geometric period, as the current study focuses on a period during which Euboean activity was not particularly strong. Yet, except for the abundant Euboean pottery found in the *Hypogeion*, the very much discussed links with the Northern Aegean through the Euboean *koine*[1233] and Peisistratus' activity in the Northern Aegean, which is said to have been fomented by Euboeans, there is some archaeological evidence, which appeared during the study of the Western hill material and which I would like to highlight, as it may assist in the progress of the above debate. This is the discovery of examples, such as cat no. 9, which

[1227] Papadopoulos 1996, 152-155.
[1228] Ridgway 2007, 147-148.
[1229] Tiverios 2008, 9.
[1230] Tiverios 2008, 9.
[1231] See the argument in Morris & Papadopoulos 1995, 254-255.
[1232] Mayr 1993, 3-12, where he claims that the impact of Athenian Kerameikos in Torone came through Euboea.
[1233] Lemos 2002 148, 183, 212.

has also been found in Eretria and Pithekoussai[1234] and the uncatalogued cream slipped SoS amphora, which most likely originate from Euboea and thus further support the - admittedly declined in this period - Euboean presence in Methone. Further to this, in Akanthus, the imports of SoS amphorae in the 7th and early 6th century are very low[1235] and this accords well with the historical information that Andrians fought with Chalkidians over Akanthus and won[1236]; for some time therefore, Chalkidian or Athenian products/ships would not be particularly popular.

Further to Athens' early involvement in the Northern Aegean commercial transactions, it is very important to note that SoS and à la brosse amphorae constitute one of the most numerous types of imported transport vessels both in the Western hill material and among the *Hypogeion* assemblage and together with the Attic fine pottery (which is intensified from the beginning/middle of the 6th century BC) increase the direct or indirect activity of Athenians in the Northern Aegean. In the beginning of the 6th century, Solon is announcing special regulations about the control of trade. The regulations, which coincide with the change of the SoS type of amphora to the à la brosse type, refer to the prohibition of export of all other products apart from oil and the shutting down of the Athenian borders to any emigrant craftsmen[1237]. I believe that such high quantity of Attic amphorae in Methone in the Archaic period is largely related to the Attic amphorae's content, which was olive oil[1238].

Finally, an example of an SoS amphora found in Mende and carrying a Cypriot graffito, could be another indication of Euboean activity in Macedonia during the early Archaic period. The indirect link of Northern Aegean with Cyprus, which is further supported by the discovery of two examples of archaic Cypriot basket-handled amphorae, one in Abdera and one, very plausibly, in Methone[1239], very likely existed through Euboea. An extensive exchange network which linked Cyprus with western Mediterannean areas and which was built primarily for the purposes of securing metal supplies can be traced far back into the

[1234] Verdan, Kenzelmann, Pfyffer, Lederry 2008, 101 n. 678; Di Sandro 1986, pl. 1, sg 2 (attic?).
[1235] Filis 2013, 71.
[1236] Plutarch Quaest. Graec. 30.
[1237] See Johnston and Jones 1978,140; Gras 1987, 46; Curry 2000, 81.
[1238] For wine as a candidate foodstuff of the SOS amphora has also been proposed, see: Docter 1991.
[1239] See Dupont & Skarlatidou 2013, 263 fig. 31. A handle of an amphora among the western Hill material has been tentatively identified as Cypriot (Meth 4393).

Bronze Age[1240]. The Euboean contacts with Eastern traders (Phoenicians, Egyptians, Cypriots) are clear from Lefkandi's archaeological record[1241]. These routes- between Euboea and Cyprus- were established in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods and it is probable that they continued in the Archaic, especially the early phase to which these finds belong[1242]. Some scholars have argued that sea routes starting from Cyprus westwards were following the Anatolian coast and reached Rhodes. From there they either continued around the Aegean or they continued westwards in two streams: either along the south, through Crete and up the west coast of Greece to cross to southern Italy and Sicily or through the Cyclades to Euboea and Attica[1243]. From there, goods may have been transported to the Northern Aegean with either Euboean or Athenian ships. Consequently, the discovered Cypriot products would have very likely arrived in Methone, through Euboeans; although we can clearly not exclude the possibility that they were carried there by Rhodian ships.

To summarize, there is, first of all, too much evidence to ignore the suggestion of a special place of Euboeans in the Northern Aegean area, archaeologically and historically and secondly, co-existence of all sea peoples -and especially Eastern Greeks- carrying out trade has never been questioned; what is argued for, in this study, is the seminal role of Euboeans who must have ushered other traders to this very prolific region. Euboeans, however, were not necessarily the only settlers in Methone. It is very probable that after their arrival, as it often happens with traders, Euboeans played the role of the imparters of information. After Euboeans, more traders, predominantly Eastern Greeks having been informed that fellow Euboeans (and others?) lived in Methone, among a hospitable foreign ethnos called Thracians and that there is enough arable land and one can get involved in trading activities and sell and resell and become a trader, a retailer an *autopolis* or a *kapelos*[1244]*,* would have

[1240] Trade between Sardinia and Cyprus was found out to have been taking place already in the Late Cypriot III (1200-1050 BC) and it is even argued that some Cypriot bronzesmiths established themselves in Sardinia.
[1241] Phoenician, Cypriot, Egyptian pottery-jewellery-beads and much more. For an overview see: Popham& Lemos 1996. The rich grave offerings accompanying the tombs at the Toumba cemetery are there to display wealth, which had been acquired by contacts and commercial interactions of the buried people.
[1242] We are also aware of trade routes, which existed in later periods, where Macedonian wine together with Ionian products- Chian and Samian amphorae- have been found in Amathus, Kition and Salamis, in late archaic and classical period layers, see: Marangou 2009, 117-131.
[1243] Sheratt 1993, 367.
[1244] These are names of professions related to commerce, which appear in later periods but surely its equivalents would exist during the archaic times, see Velissaropoulos 1977, 66 and above pp.25-28.

strong motivation to migrate to Methone- considering the period's intense mobility[1245]- and start or advance their 'business' in trade. So far, archaeological evidence supports the aggregation of diverse population groups in Methone and particularly Eastern Greeks[1246].

Finally, there is another particularly intriguing point, which could be an interesting topic for further exploration and which I would like to introduce here. The Euboean commercial activity was reduced after the end of the 8th century BC and the alleged Lelantine War. Lefkandi ceases to exist or moves to nearby Eretria and the Eretrian colonies founded in this exact period are becoming progressively independent of the Euboean impact. Interestingly, Methone starts presenting evidence of trade intensification in the second half of the 8th century BC, contemporaneous with the ultimately terminal decline of Lefkandi's importance. Plutarch's attestation speaks about *αποσφενδόνητοι* Eretrians. Could these Eretrians be the Eretrians that exceeded the amount of people that newly founded Eretria could accommodate and thus sailed towards Methone? Could, thus, Methone in a way be a continuation of Lefkandi?

Location and locals

Methone grew to become an important harbour and a commercial hub for the entire central and western Macedonia and this was largely due to its location. The Northern Aegean is full of natural harbours and inlets/bays, where ships can anchor and sea transport networks can be established. Harbours are important because as it has very successfully been phrased "where the land and the sea meet, this is where phenomenal stuff will happen"[1247]. Nevertheless, not all settlements in the Northern Aegean were suitable to host a harbour. There are various reasons for this: the main one was the location, but as explained in the first chapter, a harbour would entail a busy environment, with many foreigners and a market, giving rise to noise and the concentration of travelers and slaves who would need accommodation. As a result, a harbour's proximity to a town was avoided: hence for practical reasons, *emporia* were generally places distinct from *poleis*.

[1245] See below pp. 237-241.
[1246] See graffiti on vessels from the Methone *Hypogeion*: Tzifopoulos 2012, 303-312.
[1247] Broodbank 2013; see also Horden & Purcell's formula for Mediterranean history "connectivity by sea and fragmentation by land", Horden & Purcell 2000, 396 and chapter VII. 6.

We can match these needs to the several examples of harbour-towns in the Northern Aegean: Olynthus' harbour, Mykeberna, which is preserved today, is far from the settlement itself (on the other side of the modern highway) and clearly divided from the residential area. Settlements like Sane in Pallene (although very little explored as yet) seem to have had many imports from various places in the Aegean world[1248], yet it seems unlikely such a place could host a harbour or a large market. Settlements like Sane and Mende have advantageous location: they were built on high hills right next to the sea and therefore the residential area would have little direct contact with ships' arrivals, although it would be able to control the process from a slight distance. This geographical advantage enabled such places to have a harbour area, which could be separated, from the residents' area. Such settlements, therefore, would be a stopover for ships rather than places to host a big market. Methone' s location, on the other hand, is more exposed to the sea and, to interaction with ships' arrivals, even though the residential area is also situated on top of two hills. It is likely, therefore, that Methone was a town particularly closely related to its harbour and commercial activities. The first public buildings discovered in Methone revealed several stoas- dated as early as the first half of the 6th century BC- around a large open square[1249]; this arrangement of buildings is known for other ancient Agorai[1250] and although we do not know yet the buildings' function, it is highly likely that they were related to manufacture and commercial activities. The abundant workshop evidence also points in that direction. It is, therefore, possible, given the amount of imports, that the permanent population on the site was occupied primarily with professions related to commerce and less to agricultural activities. The topography of Karabournaki (probably ancient Therme) is similar: here, too, the settlement was closely related to its harbour. Further comparison in the area would help to make the suggestion more accurate.

Harbours in the Northern Aegean preferably faced southwards. In the Northern Aegean, troublesome northerly winds prevailed (e.g the Strymonian), and in order to avoid being directly open and vulnerable to them, harbours faced away from them. Where north-facing harbours did develop and prosper, this was usually due to the protection afforded by

[1248] Vokotopoulou 2001, 756-7.
[1249] See chapter III: topography of the settlement.
[1250] Marc 1998, 5-12.

offshore islands[1251]. The asty of Thasos, for instance, stood on the island's north coast, and so it faced directly towards the Thracian coastlands from which the fearsome northerlies blew most strongly. The town had two harbours, one 'open' (protected by only a mole), one 'closed' (protected by an encircling harbour wall). All ships using the open harbour, or lying to anchor outside the harbour walls, would have been exposed to northerlies, were it not for the presence of Thassopoulo, an offshore island, which bore the brunt of the wind's force and helped to guarantee the shelter available in the harbour to the south.

In this general context, Methone's harbour's location is unique (figs 4, 10, 12). Despite the sea access that quite a few coastal sites (Pydna, Herakleion, Platamonas, Louloudia) could offer to inland central and western Macedonian settlements, only Methone is situated next to the safest natural harbour of the Thermaic Gulf (figs 10, 12). Whatever the direction of the winds, Methone's harbour would not be affected nor would the transportation of goods. This 'location advantage' played a major role in Methone's success as a redistribution centre.

At this point, it is worth discussing some additional elements relating to the location of Methone and neighbouring towns. The two putative Euboean colonies Mende and Methone were established opposite from each other, at the entrance of the Thermaic Gulf. This suggests that they may have been founded in this specific location to be in direct communication and simultaneously control the entrance into the Gulf. Having occupied such strategic positions, their founders used the eastern station (Mende) to anchor ships and from there to reach the Chalkidike silver mines- hence the foundation of Mende's subcolony, Neapolis. The western settlement (Methone) was used to reach the gold of the River Echedoros and to acquire timber from the Pierian Mountains. On the Chalkidike side, they seemed to have been able to anchor in many places and thus the temporary settlements could more easily develop into proper towns. Methone, on the other side, served the entire area of western and much of central Macedonia and therefore maintained a pure harbour character for longer, perhaps throughout its existence. The choice of the location for the two settlements, therefore, does not seem to have been accidental and considering they have, supposedly, been identified as colonies of the Eretrians, one is tempted to think that they were actually founded by Eretrians, possibly as an outcome of careful planning. The third

[1251] Similar cases we find in the harbours of the Black Sea and Alexandria in Egypt also protected by an offshore island, see: Morton 2001, 129-130.

putative Eretrian colony, Dikaia, is argued to have been at modern Nea Kallikrateia (figs 4, 7), which is also a control point of the Thermaic Gulf. According to the latest report by its excavators, its topography presents similarities to Methone's topography: the settlement is developed onto two hills with a saddle between them. In addition, abundant Euboean pottery of the second half of the 8th century is reported, which further resembles Methone's finds[1252].

Transportation in boats from the Thermaic Gulf to Chalkidike must have been a route known also to the local Thracian population. Archaeological finds duly vouch for regional network[1253]. The comparatively lower cost of bulk transport over sea as opposed to land routes makes transportation in the Northern Aegean, particularly advantageous. The extent to which the local population was involved in transporting goods over sea is not clear but the transportation to the hinterland of Macedonia must have continued being conducted by locals throughout Methone's existence[1254]. The Thermaic Gulf amphorae and later the archaic amphorae of types 2A, 7 and 11 certainly witness Thracians' participation in transporting goods and evidently some sort of local exchange and *cabotage* trade must have existed. In fact, there is no evidence to exclude that Thracians were capable seaman and the engaged in some sort of piracy, since they knew the waters; a similar case has been noted with the Ligurians in Southern France[1255]. With the beginning of the Archaic period, regional trade surely increased and the locals must have played a role in this[1256].

Before the arrival of the settlers, during the Geometric and Archaic periods, the local population could produce a limited agricultural surplus. Even though abundant raw materials were available and the climate was suitable, specialisation was needed for the production of specific products, and this specialisation could only take place in a few centres, while the remainder would import from them. This is the theory of comparative

[1252] Kefalidou 2012, 101.
[1253] See above p. 192-198.
[1254] Similar is the case in Massalia, for instance, see Dietler 2010, 144; also Broodbank 2013, 565.
[1255] Livy XL. 18 and 25-28 and Dietler 2010, 144. See also Malkin 2002,151-181 for Greeks and Etruscans.
[1256] See above pp. 192-198 for the several new places of manufacture of the Thermaic Gulf amphorae in the Archaic period ; see also Moschonissioti, Pentedeka, Kyriatzi & Mexi 2005, 249-267. Although the intensification and broader distribution of the local transport amphorae was more correlated to the newcomers Euboeans and other Greeks. It was them who transferred quantities of goods from one side to the other and who took Thermaic Gulf wine as far as Pithekoussai and El Bassit. For Bassit, see: Courbin 1993; for Pithekoussai, see: Buchner &Ridgway 19936 600–601; no 621.

advantage[1257]. This theory must apply to the Northern Aegean's economy, as well; although the locals had raw materials, they had a lack of technical knowledge to cultivate the land sufficiently and thus needed to import products. This explains why although Macedonia was so self-sufficient in terms of raw materials and resources, it developed such an intense commercial activity with the rest of the ancient world. The newcomers from southern Greece brought more advanced technology in both agricultural methods and craftsmanship with them and taught these techniques to locals and this must have been the main reason they peacefully co-existed in many areas[1258].

Nonetheless, one can argue against this suggestion; if the agricultural methods of the locals were not advanced enough, then why did they produce a special type of vessel to commercialise their agrarian product(s)? It is here that we should link this production with the abundance of Euboean Greek pottery which was found together with the Thermaic Gulf amphorae and consider whether it was Euboeans who initiated or even requested this production in their transactions with the locals[1259]. Later, in the Archaic period, when more southern Greeks started to settle in several places in the Northern Aegean, Thracians started to be well introduced into the newly brought techniques. Therefore, new local commercial amphora types started to emerge (2A, 7, 11) together with various types of local pottery, imitating trends and developing to the 'locals' an insatiable desire to acquire products from well-known pottery centres of the Aegean World and customize them[1260].

Yet, there were additional reasons of location for Methone's development into a large redistribution centre. Transportation from Methone would be greatly eased by the town's proximity to four major rivers, all of them, navigable. All the settlements of western and central Macedonia, some of which now turn out to have had remarkably rich imports, were being supplied through Methone's harbour. We could therefore postulate that the rich

[1257] For this theory see: Sherratt 2001, 23; Broodbank 2010, 259.
[1258] For a dual interaction of newcomers and indigenous populations, see similar cases in Sicily, where the Greek identity was adopted, Broodbank 2013, 533 and similar ideas in Sherratt 2010, 119-142. For other examples- although not necessarily with a peaceful integration of the newcomers- see, Euboeans or Pithekoussai population when they moved to the mainland to find Cumae (forceful settlement obstructed by Opici. See: Liv. VIII.22.5, see also, D' Agostino 2009, 190).
[1259] See *contra* Kotsonas 2012, 229-232, who argues towards a direct involvement of the indigenous population and a lack of Euboens' involvement in these transactions.
[1260] See above pp. 192-196, 227 for Methone's ideal location for the establishment of workshops for process of raw materials in vicinity (e.g. metals) and the ones that were arriving (e.g. ivory).

town of Aiani floated timber and gold from its rich forests and resources down to Methone's harbour and received imported goods in return, which arrived on Samian, Chian, Athenian or other ships at the harbour of Methone. Western Macedonian 'retailers' could make their way to Methone to purchase goods and then transfer them back to other settlements in the west by boat along Haliacmon. Similarly, the River Axios, to which Methone has direct access would serve the settlements in central and northern Macedonia. Products, which originated from the hinterland of the Balkans, possibly even from the Adriatic[1261] would be given in return to traders arriving at the port of Methone. Products from the Balkans' hinterland, which have been found in Akanthus[1262] would also have been transported from the northern hinterland through Methone to Akanthus by sea, since it is the closest, least troublesome and least costly route. Wooden bridges, which we know existed in over the River Strymon[1263], must have been constructed over the Axios and Haliacmon, as well.

Except for the uniqueness of its harbour's interrelation with the navigable rivers, Methone's location was for another reason privileged, its proximity to rich forests, which would provide timber, one of the rarest Macedonian assets. A wide variety of species of wood were tended in Macedonian mountains such as beech, oak, chestnut, pine, hazel, white horn and evergreen maquis, oak, fir, cedar[1264]. A species of dogwood, 'the cornel', proved well-suited for the Macedonian weapons[1265] and therefore, very likely, other weapons, as well. We are aware that timber export played an important role surely in later years, in Philip II's transactions with the city-states of Southern Greece[1266]. It is, therefore, highly likely that it was exploited in earlier years, as well.

The rich forests of Macedonia were also home to many animals, an attractive commercial commodity for traders[1267]. Good horses must have been important, especially for cities investing in military equipment, in order to generate their cavalry; perhaps, this was one of

[1261] See: Whitley 2001, 252-255.
[1262] The finds are from the pre-colonial cemetery; spiral motifs on jewellery and similarities in weapons, see: Trakosopoulou 2004, 266.
[1263] Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 2000, 361-362.
[1264] Hammond 1981, 10
[1265] Although probably not *sarissa,* see: Thomas 2010, 71.
[1266] For the timber trade, see: Hammond and Griffith 1979, 173; see also Meiggs 1982, 135.
[1267] For Macedonian animals, see above p. 74.

the commodities, which Laconians were after in Macedonia[1268]. From Isigonos (information through Plinius 7,27) we learn that the inhabitants of Chalkidike and especially Akte lived long because of their consumption of snakes. We are also informed (Hdt 6,44 and Cl. Ail.De nat. Animalium 6,20) about the wide variety of fish and the rarity of species in Northern Aegean waters[1269]. All these may have been commodities attractive to traders arriving at Macedonian ports and we can imagine the products being exhibited in a large market at a central point, where most ships anchored and unloaded their voluminous cargoes.

As for the acquisition of metals and minerals, although the most prolific deposits are in Northeastern Chalkidike and the Pangaion mountains, Methone's port could play a similarly crucial role in their trafficking[1270]. One could postulate, metals being extracted in Chalkidike and shipped to Methone to be sold in its big market. Rich deposits of gold, silver, copper and iron were major attractions for the Northern Aegean and we are aware of their exploitation by both the local Thracians and later the Macedonians[1271]. In fact, the exploitation of metal mines constituted a *casus belli,* many times and is responsible for upheavals, especially in Eastern Macedonia[1272]. It is not clear what the policy regarding mines' exploitation was among Thasians, Thracians, Macedonians and other Greeks, but the fact that Thracians were interested in them demonstrates their ability to take advantage of their value by selling the mines' products or exchanging them with other goods, in early periods. And this is further supported by finds in precolonial cemeteries, such as the one in Akanthus, where imports of southern cities are present in the settlement before the arrival of the new settlers. Exchanges of locally made products packaged in containers, such as

[1268] There were also red and roe deers, sheep, goats, buffalos, wild oxen and fearsome species including wild boars and wild bulls or aurochs, brown bears, wolves, lynx, panthers, leopards and lions in the forest of Western Macedonia and in the Pangaion mountains. Macedonian lions made Xerxes's encampment difficult because, as Herodotus stated, they regularly descended at nights and attacked the camels of the Persians (Hdt 7.125).

[1269] Hdt (6,44) also speaks about the *ἄγρια θηρία*, which were devouring the shipwrecked Persians of Dareius' fleet. We also know that there was wide consumption of dried fish in antiquity.

[1270] For the short duration of a sea voyage from Chalkidike to Methone and the navigable rivers around it, see above p.197.

[1271] For the exploitation by Philip II and by the Athenians, see: Hammond and Griffith 1979, 173. For the mines of Chalkidike, see: Vavelidis 2009, 45-49; Papadopoulos 1996, 171-5; Wagner et al 1986.

[1272] The fact, however, that Peisistratus' 'business' related to mines in Pangaion were profitable Hdt 1.64; [Aristotle], *Constitution of the Athenians* 15.2., implies that Thracians were not averse into leasing out concessions, even though many times they must have lost the battle over the mines' control.

Thermaic Gulf amphorae, silver-ware pottery and egg-shell pottery may also have been based on exploitation of raw materials such as metals. As regards later types of amphorae such as types 2A, 7 and 12 and 'egg-shell' pottery, one should be more cautious with attributing identity to their manufacturers, as these categories may have been the result of a mixing of population groups, after the arrival of Greeks and the intervention of Macedonians. The term 'Thracian', therefore, should be used with caution regarding their origin.

Weather conditions in Macedonia were also quite advantageous for the development of commercial transactions. Herodotus records the value of the physical features of the region in his account of the travels of the three Temenid brothers, (Hdt. VIII.138.2). Fertile soil and a climate suitable for the cultivation of vine, fruit, and vegetables- in some cases olives- is 'enjoyed' by both Chalkidike and the Strymon area[1273]. Further to that, the ranges of Macedonia especially those around Haliacmon and Axios, as opposed to the barren limestone mountain ranges of Epirus and Megarid, are densely forested and conserve rainfall even during the summer; therefore, they create more favourable conditions for productive land, which depends largely on the amount of water available for irrigation[1274]. Oracular prophecies were known to have given favourable advice about places where the "sky was pierced", for the foundation of colonies[1275] . Moreover, there is the example of Cyrene, which was founded after a seven-year drought (Hdt 4.151.1), we can therefore understand the significance of rainfall for the burgeoning of a place. Macedonia being

[1273] Hammond 1981, 9 where he mentions 19 main fertile basins in Macedonia, whose soil provided the main centers of production in antiquity and today. In the area of Bisaltia and around Amphipolis they grow fruit trees (figs are mentioned by Theopompus), olive trees, vineyards, melons, see Isaac 1986, 2. There is also evidence for the cultivation of wheat and barley: Many archaic and classical pithoi and millstones and the representation of wheat on coins of the area's cities and a Roman inscription from Gazoros provide information on this, see: Samsaris 1976, 28-29. The cultivation of garlic must also have been well-known in the area, especially if we take under consideration that Odomantes and more generally, Thracians were famous for the consumption of garlic (Aristophanes, *Acharnes*, 164).
[1274] Krahtopoulou 2010, 72.
[1275] Hdt 4.158.3 and Pausanias 10.10.6.

fortunate in that respect, gave the opportunity to its residents for the production and exportation of several agricultural products such as wine[1276].

Furthermore, the Thracians were considered *πολυπόται* and *ακροπόται* (Theopompus in Athenaeus X, 60; Xenophon *Anabasis,* 7, 2, 23, 3, 24)[1277] and in Eastern Macedonia wine was considered a landmark and central to the Dionysian cult. Many famous wines are known in the Northern Aegean from later years, Akanthian, Mendean, Thasian and they were packaged in special amphora containers in the late archaic and classical years. In fact, scholars have argued towards a Northern Greek *koine*[1278]*,* because of the similarity in morphological characteristics of the amphorae, which were used for the wine's packaging. After the examination of the Methone material, I would like to argue that the seeds of this *koine* must have been planted, a century earlier, in the end of the 7th and early 6th century BC, when the archaic local transport containers (types 2A, 7, 11) started to be manufactured and circulated[1279]. Major role in this must have played the containers from Lesbos but also the aggregation of different products and people from so many regions of the ancient world. Methone's location and ability to bring people together, as well as its evident workshop activity could be a good candidate place where this took place. Thasos and Akanthus maintained some independence, as they were relatively far and possessed their own harbour facilities (Thasos' were especially good) but Mende was in close connection with Methone and must have sent voluminous cargoes of Mendaean wine to be shipped from Methone's harbour. Abundant Mendean amphorae found in Methone, further support this hypothesis (unpublished).

With regards to the production of olive oil, the Northern Aegean had limited opportunities, as noted by Herodotus. As briefly mentioned above, I believe that the high amounts of Attic, SoS and à la brosse amphorae in early periods, and also the unexpected- for the early Archaic period- variety of Samian and Milesian transport containers, found

[1276] The fertility of the Macedonian soil is discussed by many ancient writers. See: Theopompus in Athenaeus III, 77; Livius XLV, 30, 3; Strabo VII, fragm. 33; Hecateus fragm. 123. See also: Samsaris 1976, 30; it is therefore only logical to argue for an early exploitation of the land.
[1277] The drinking of wine is even recorded for Thracian women Pausanias, IX, 30, 5)
[1278] Lawall 1995, 156-175; Filis 2013, 72.
[1279] This idea is introduced above where exportation under a "Northern Aegean" label is argued for, see above pp. 196-197.

among the Methone material must be related to high demand for olive oil in Northern Aegean towns. Olive oil may have been a product Macedonia was lacking and therefore oil producing regions were welcomed by Northern Aegean towns.

Another interpretation for this relative wealth of evidence concerning imports from so many oil producing regions in Methone would be that the locals simply lacked the knowhow of cultivating olive trees, which they may have developed later with the arrival of the southern and eastern Greeks; hence they needed to import olive oil from other regions. The situation in Iberia was similar, where the olive became established as a 'cash crop' only between the 5th century and the Roman times, at various dates [1280] and in Massalia where olive oil production only started after 500 BC, indicating the more immediate economic incentives and opportunities for social intercourse between the constituent groups in Southern France that were offered by the grape[1281]. Scholars have argued that in the West, wine production took off faster than that of oil thanks to a 'local pre-familiarity' with alcohol fuelled rituals and hospitality and of the roles that wine drinking played in lubricating cross-cultural encounters and establishing an addictive dependency that assured the acquisition of other desirable goods in return"[1282]. Similar, therefore, may have been the case in Methone and the vine was cultivated prior to olive.

A similar point can be made about pastoral revenues. The swampier plains near the rivers provided excellent areas for cattle and sheep and herds of buffalo; the same is valid for the abundant mountainous areas, where space for summer pastures for flocks (sheep or goats) were provided. Bones of deer and horse found in the settlements support a highly developed hunting activity and a use of domesticated animals[1283]. Especially, in the area of Strymon, where the Thracian population remained until its merging with the Macedonian tribes, stock breeding was considered a significant if not the major factor of the Thracian economy offering meat, milk, butter, cheese and wool for the renowned Thracian woollen outfits[1284]. After all, Thracians seemed not to have largely resisted their movement to more inland places by either southern Greeks or Macedonians and this could have been partly due

[1280] Buxo 2008, 235-236.
[1281] Dietler 2007, 255-56; Dietler 2010, 230.
[1282] Broodbank 2013, 516.
[1283] Hammond 1981, 14
[1284] Samsaris 1976, 30.

to their preference in livestock rather than trade[1285]. The hypothesis that the Thracians were able to always turn to pastoral life, may justify their tolerance towards so many population groups in their territory.

With the arrival of the southern Greeks, the locals slowly start to become part of a hybrid new society. Similarities of the settlements formed after the arrival of the new settlers can be noted. Firstly, we observe common features in the organisation of space. Most of the settlements are built next to important natural resources. For example, Nea Anchialos was developed next to the River Echedoros, and Akanthus next to the valuable silver deposits of Mountain Stratonikeion. Further to that, all settlements share evidence of fortification walls, which were built already in the first period of their foundation. Moreover, these Northern Aegean settlements, which developed into large harbours, are built on flat open spaces, terraces (e.g. double trapeza of Anchialos, steep hills in Methone and Mende).

Secondly, it is noteworthy that the pottery production and consumption at the majority of the Northern Aegean harbour settlements described above seem to follow similar trends[1286]. This observation applies to both imported types and those, which were copied or modified to local taste. In particular, until the LG times, Euboean products are especially favoured in Methone and Mende, which are referred by the sources as Euboean colonies but also in Nea Anchialos, which must have been a Euboean *emporion* and Nea Kallikrateia which is very likely ancient Dikaia[1287].

The impact of Eastern Greek products is clear, especially in sites such as Akanthus, which was founded in the 7th century BC. Such trends can be traced in both the production of local pottery, but also in other artefacts (e.g. sarcophagi and statuettes),[1288] in the Archaic period. The Chalkidian and the Central Macedonian settlements seem to largely imitate pottery from Ionia. Alongside several Ionian shapes (such as amphorae, hydriae, cups) and decorative motifs (wavy lines, red paint), a new category of pottery is introduced, namely,

[1285] Although we are aware both about the fights for territory and their involvement in trading activities, see: Kotsonas 2012, 232 and above p. 226.
[1286] Same trends are also observed in urban planning; see topography of Nea Anchialos, Mende, Sane, Nea Kallikrateia (ancient Dikaia).
[1287] Tiverios 2008; Kefalidou 2012, 91-104.
[1288] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 2006/07, 49-54; Filis 2011; Kaltsas 1998, 270-275, 292-297.

the ‘egg-shell’ pottery. The manufacture of these very distinctive vessels, with very thin walls, is an attempt to imitate the archaic Ionian cups[1289]. During the 7th century BC, Chalkidian workshops also produce pottery imitating the Cycladic Linear style[1290].

Methone is in the centre of this active and fast-changing environment of the Archaic Northern Aegean which brings together goods and people from several regions of the Aegean world. To the extent allowed by this pottery study, I will discuss, below, some aspects of social structure in the town of Methone.

[1289]Egg-shell pottery is found in abundance in archaic layers in Methone, Karabournaki, where the production center must have been see: Tiverios, Manakidou, Tsiafaki 2007, 266; also in Ayia Paraskevi, Akanthus, Sindos and many more, see Pante 2008.

[1290] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 2006/07, 50-53; Moschonissioti 2004, 277-292. See also above pp. 63 and 217.

IV C. Aspects of social structure and configuration in Methone

Which category (colony, emporion, polis) does Methone fall into?

It is not easy to select the term, which best describes the nature of Methone's settlement. On the one hand, there is the inherent difficulty of distinguishing the notions of *apoikia* and *emporion* during the early Archaic period and, on the other, the understudied data and scarcely excavated city of Methone further hinder the selection. We need to first have a clear idea of what a colony, an *emporion* and a *polis* are and then compare Methone with corresponding examples. Special attention will be given here to a comparison between Methone and Pithekoussai; as two supposedly Euboean foundations, which the ancient literary sources ascribe to Euboeans, they present a number of similarities.

The dominant economic model of a united Mediterranean points to intense mobility in the Mediterranean during the EIA and Archaic periods. Over the course of the later 8th and 7th centuries, it is estimated that 2-3 % of all adult males were in 'movement'. This mobility has been described by two different terms: "migration" and "colonisation". These two terms need to be clarified and used with caution. Migration usually refers to the mass movements of loosely organised bands of people prior to the emergence of settled political communities[1291]. On that definition, migration best refers to years before the formation of the *polis*. It usually describes the movements after the fall of the Mycenaean palaces. We, therefore speak about the 'Ionian migration'. A migration, however, could also be the aggregation of different population groups in certain places in the Mediterranean and therefore the informal formation of settlements, a natural outcome of the afore-mentioned constant mobility of the period[1292]. A natural consequence of migration is the formation of native *emporia* and trading posts. According to Dietler, native *emporia* are places of exchange under the control of local people, which were open to a range of traders of diverse origins; while, trading posts were exclusive outlets set up by a particular group of foreign traders for the exchange of their merchandise[1293]. The distinction between the two is subtle. In practical terms, it is not always possible to discern and there could easily be frequent

[1291] Hall 2007, 93.
[1292] Yet, this distinction is not followed even by ancient authors, Thucydides, for instance, who uses the word *apoikia* both for the Corinthian, Spartan colonies sent out in Sicily but also for the Athenians settlement of Ionia (the Ionian migration), see: Hall 2007, 95.
[1293] Dietler 2010, 147.

shifts in the nature of individual sites. What primarily distinguishes native *emporia* and trading posts from other indigenous settlements is the exceptionally large quantity, in proportional terms, of amphorae and other imported ceramics[1294]. This element is easily discernible in Methone, as has been demonstrated by this study. Yet, trading posts grow and become subsumed within a town. For example, many Phoenician establishments in Southern Spain during the 6th century BC turned into proper towns[1295] ; even Naucratis, the *emporion par excellence* is said to have been developed beside its 'emporic' origins into a settled city-state[1296].

The term colonisation, instead, generally defines the more organised overseas expeditions dispatched from city-states to locations around the Mediterranean and Black Sea from the last third of the 8th century onwards, for which the surviving literary accounts are deemed more trustworthy. Colonisation would involve from the outset, a direct and exclusive relationship between a single-founding city and its colony, something that is less apparent in the literary tradition for migrations. Methone would then well fit into that category of a colony, as both a foundation story and a mother-city survive through ancient literature. Despite the ostensible suitability of the term[1297] ,'colony' is a very unhelpful word, especially its Roman connotation, which entails the imperial dimension[1298]. It is true that the Greek word *apoikia*, describes better the attempt of creating "a home away from home", but in this case, it is again difficult to differentiate between the *apoikia* and the type of *emporia,* described above. They are both, however, outgrowths of seaborne network, bridgeheads, which manifest the unity of maritime connectivity[1299].

Methone was admittedly a place with excellent maritime activity. It appears to have been the central point of several commercial networks of the Archaic Mediterranean and in addition to that it had mining and agriculture potential. It is, at the same time, a place where

[1294] Dietler 2010, 149.
[1295] Aubet 1993.
[1296] Whitley 2001, 124.
[1297] Dietler 2010, 27-74 for a recent discussion; Osborne 2008; Hall 2007, 93-118.
[1298] Broodbank 2013, 523-524.
[1299] Horden & Purcell 2000, 396.

intense workshop activity took place[1300] and therefore craftsmen must have resided on the site, alongside traders. Similar characteristics are noticed in famous Mediterranean *emporia* such as Gravisca, which operated as the port of Tarquinia but also in more settlements of the Northern Aegean such as Nea Anchialos, Akanthus, Mende, Torone and Polychrono, some of which are known from later years to have developed into proper towns. Despite these similarities, Methone retained a special character, functioning in a different manner than the above-mentioned towns; the reasons for this will be discussed in the following pages.

Comparing Methone to trading posts such as Motya in Sicily and Sulcis in Sardinia, we find that Methone again presents differences. During the 7th and by the 6th century BC, two offshore islands, Motya and Sulcis, seem to have expanded and developed, considerably. In Motya, the entire islet was circled with defensive walls, joined by a mole to the main island of Sicily and densely packed with warehouses, shrines, a tophet, a cothon harbour and housing for some 15,000 inhabitants[1301]. Sulcis did not expand so dramatically but was more overtly territorial, staking out its metal-rich hinterland with a line of further settlements, which doubled up as points of interactions with surrounding native communities[1302].

On the contrary, Methone appears to have intensified commerce established already since its foundation, traditionally placed in 733 BC, a date which was lately also archaeologically confirmed[1303]. From the beginning of Methone's existence, when there is this dramatic increase in imported pottery and until its destruction, there is a continuity in the intensity of commercial transactions with other regions, which provides evidence for a number of things. Firstly, Methone seems not to have been an unknown place even before its official foundation. Secondly, Methone's residents were not necessarily dependent on the imports of goods to feed themselves but were conducting trade for other reasons – if the reason for all those imports was feeding the new settlers, the commercial activity and especially amphorae imports would have been significantly reduced in the Archaic

[1300] See discussion above pp.196-199. Evidence such as wasters of metals, glass, ivory, jewellery moulds, misfired clay fragments are strong indications of such an activity, see above Bessios- Athanasiadou-Noulas 2008, 241-254.
[1301] Reese 2005, 107-114; although it is unconvincing that a settlement with such a high number of population was merely a trading post.
[1302] Aubet 2001, 240-241.
[1303] For a big change in the archaeological record, especially pottery, see: Kotsonas 2012, 224.

period[1304]. Finally, unlike Sulcis and a number of South Italian and Sicilian colonies, which founded subcolonies, Methone operated individually throughout its existence. It is, however, noteworthy and further underlines Methone's special position, that other Northern Aegean coastal towns acted similarly to South Italian cities. Shortly after their establishment in Thasos, Parians expanded on the Thasian *peraea*, founding Neapolis, Esyme and more subcolonies; while Mende in Chalkidike operating in a similar manner, founded another Neapolis[1305].

In Methone the newly settled people, also had to deal with the indigenous population, which was not of Greek origin. Similar situations occured in many *emporia* around the Mediterranean, such as Gravisca, Naucratis and Massalia. Many of the ports quickly established an economic and a demographic symbiosis with their hinterlands. The bilateral impact of native societies with the new settlers and especially trade with the hinterland, aided in shaping new cultures and identities. In other cases, *emporia* simply served as places for redistribution and the participation of the locals was not required; these were enclaves managed from the world of the sea, such as Kommos[1306]. Ampolo thinks that there is a fundamental difference between the *emporia,* which were established in the Greek world, and the ones that are established in a non-Greek environment. She argues that the term *emporion* becomes problematic, as it addresses different realities[1307]. Naucratis, the model "port of trade" for Polanyi[1308], was a Greek *emporion* dependant on the Egyptian king. Some other commercial towns, such as Ashkelon, were operating in similar circumstances. The supreme marriage of convenience between imperial command economies and mercantile cities on the sea was established at Tyre between Phoenicians and the Assyrian empire. More recently, Dietler has argued that political alliances or hostilities had little effect on foreign merchants, who would flow in and out of ports with their trade goods[1309], but it is difficult to imagine that a harbour town such as Tyre would not be affected by such an

[1304] According to many examples, especially in South Italy and Sicily, in the beginning of their existence, colonies were mainly supplied in food by the colonists until they developed a sufficient degree of independency to be able to feed their population, see Dietler 2008, 255–256, 259–261, 272–274. Buxo 2009.
[1305] See above pp. 63, 76, nts. 361, 449.
[1306] Shaw 1989.
[1307] Ampolo 1994, 30.
[1308] Möller 2000, 145 ; Ulf 2009, 81-132.
[1309] Dietler 2010, 140-141.

ambitious powerful neighbour as the Assyrian empire, especially in view of the Assyrians' lack of skills for sea ventures and their consequent need for Phoenicians' sailing prowess. In the area where Methone was founded, Macedonians also resided. Thus, if there was a state authority behind the commerce conducted, it would be a Greek one[1310], whereas in Naucratis it was Egyptian, in Gravisca, Etrurian and in Tyre, Assyrian. The Macedonians' presence, together with Methone's proximity to Euboea, traditionally its mother-city is what makes Methone strikingly different from the other *emporia* of the archaic Mediterranean.

Methone and the mother-city

We mentioned above that there was a settling of people at Methone in the second half of the 8th century. Was this, however, as Thucydides informs us, a 'colony' that the newcomers founded? It was argued above that colonisation – in the classical period- was significantly different from earlier migratory movements, in that it was more formally organised, more strictly regulated and undertaken after considerable planning[1311]. If these characteristics apply also to the 8th century colonial activity then we are dealing with two very different actions. It is not, wholly, clear, though it is the view of recent scholars that earlier colonial ventures did operate along similar lines to those better attested in the classical period[1312]. In order to have a more sharply focused grasp of Methone's nature, we will investigate its relation with the supposed mother-city, Eretria.

Malkin and others have argued that towns crystallized more sharply as *poleis* if they sent out people to 'colonise'. To colonise was, indeed, a sign of vitality. It is the result of an ambitious productive opportunism[1313]. It hinted the state's ability to send members to travel and discover new lands[1314]. Nonetheless, the act of sending away entire groups to colonise abroad was not necessarily evidence of a well-organised, coherently formed political

[1310] For the Macedonians' ethnicity see above, p.10-11; see also discussion below pp. 251-255.
[1311] Hall 2007, 100; where he also uses epigraphic evidence from two 5th century decrees to support his argument.
[1312] Hall 2007, 100-101.
[1313] Malkin 2005, 9; Figueira 1985, 275 ; Horden & Purcell 2000, 396.
[1314] Although there are cases where the reasons that could initiate the movement of large population groups could be different; for example, an entire nation could migrate because of hostile attacks- Phocaeans or maybe Phoenicians.

community (*polis*) at home. In Malkin's carefully argued view, it was the very act of separation and colonization, which formed, homogeneized and consolidated the mother-city, too, as *polis*[1315]. This idea applies convincingly to the case of Methone. If we follow Plutarch's narrative, it would also explain why indigenous Thracians called their new neighbours, *οι αποσφενδόνητοι*. Plato (Laws 740e) records that: *in case there are too many citizens in the state, there is a dispatch in a friendly manner from a friendly nation, of colonies consisting of as many people as is deemed possible. As* Plato's description is very reminiscent of Plutarch's story of Methone's foundation, we could perhaps argue- even if the myth itself is not entirely true- that the first Methone residents were the ones who were thrown away by fellow Eretrians because there was not adequate space for them to settle back again in the newly founded Eretria. The state, therefore, decided to drive off some of its migrating population, who sailed towards, previously-known territories in the North and eventually arrived in Methone.

According to Malkin, there were two models in colonisation, the model of sovereigneity and independence and in contrast, the model of short-distance colonies that were completely dependent on their mother-city[1316]. The model of sovereigneity applies to cases where mother-cities were not much involved in the movement and were retrospectively appointed by the colony: in these cases the initial incentives for colonising were less coherent, less planned and more opportunistic[1317]. Trial-and-error tales abound in legends dealing with the selection of places to settle, whereby a core group of specific origin was constructed later in tradition. Similar may have been the case of Methone and the name given to it by the Thracian Methon or the *αποσφενδόνητοι* from their Thracian neighbours.

Further to the founders of these "colonies", there is an increased tendency to attribute them to a single mother-city; for example, Rhegion, was colonised by Chalkidians but in

[1315] Malkin 2005, 2.

[1316] The examples mentioned for this model are mainly examples of subcolonies, which the initial colonies founded to gain access to neighbouring territories; for examples Kasmenai and Akrai were dependant of the metropolis the Syracuse, see Malkin 1994, 1.

[1317] Motivations for the movements may have varied (failed harvest, excessive numbers living off a given patch played a part in specific instances) but the inviting factors prevailed overall. Principal among these would be a clear opportunity to turn an arable land or other trade-based profit to a successful business. And as it has been said colonisation is the result of an ambitious productive opportunism, see: Horden & Purcell 2000, 396. It has been suggested that they may even have been manufactured on political propaganda in the classical period, see Malkin 1987, 115; Wilson 1997, 205.

reality there were people from four different states, including fugitive Messenians from the first Messenian war. One familiar aspect of Greek colonisation is that of "mixed colonies". As Snodgrass has very successfully said "the composition of early colonies was not exclusively, or even largely, drawn from the nominal colonising state, but from various Greek states"[1318]. And he continues, "If their initial objectives included an element of extending the culture of the Greek world to new shores, this was very soon forgotten in the much greater challenge of founding a new world all together"[1319]. The analysis of the archaeological material in Methone supports Snodgrass' views and the commercial relationships, even with the mother-city, are different than the political or religious ones[1320]. Commercial links were not necessarily based on familial or civic connections among producers and customers, at least in the early Archaic period[1321]. However, with the concentration of different population groups in Methone, we could imagine the Eastern Greeks having more commercial connections with their homeland (the Euboeans with Euboea and so on) operating in a way like commercial ambassadors of their city of origin.

The Northern Aegean was a prime destination of colonial ventures and in fact Archilochos describes the mixed group of settlers under Parian leadership to colonise Thasos[1322]. Yet, as it happened with most of the newly founded commercial towns in the Northern Aegean, the relationship with the *metropoleis* was soon forgotten, most probably because of the proximity but also because of the cosmopolitan character that Methone and other northern Greek "colonies" developed shortly after their foundation[1323].

[1318] Snodgrass 1994, 1-10.
[1319] Snodgrass 1994, 8-10.
[1320] Scholars have argued about a religious dimension added to Methone's foundation, see Malkin 1994, 1.
[1321] Boardman 1994, 138.
[1322] Hall 2007, 100-101.
[1323] Except perhaps for Thasos, which although rather independent, maintained even a religious contact with the metropolis, see: Grandjean & Salviat 2000, 115, 195, 230.

Polis

In order to be able to fully explore the nature of Methone's settlement, it is important to also take under consideration that the late 8th century BC, when Methone's archaeological record bespeaks of a change in the settlement, is also the period during which the *polis* was being formed; we should, therefore, discuss whether Methone was founded in the frame of this process.

A *polis* is defined as a strongly institutionalised and centralised microstate consisting of one city (*polis*) and its immediate hinterland (*chora* and *ge*)[1324]. In addition, a *polis* should have specific urban features (e.g. public buildings), which only appear with certainty in late 6th century BC[1325]. Nonetheless, because settlements like Lefkandi or Chora in Naxos indicate complex political and social hierarchies, scholars concluded that the state aspects of the *polis* preceded its urban characteritics[1326]. Although, there is a debate on when the *polis* exactly rose, there is consensus that the formation of the polis required a gradual and continuous process.

According to Aristotle's definition, the community of the *polis* must render it self-sufficient, self-governing and independent. Yet, as a result of the Copenhagen *polis project,* certain orthodoxies have been challenged: self-sufficiency was, surely, rarely achievable in practice, while external autonomy was not a defining characteristic of the *polis* since there are many communities that are politically or militarily dependent on more powerful neighbours but are still named *poleis* in ancient sources[1327]. Methone has shown finds of a well-organised commercial town[1328], with public buildings and mechanisms to hold and support international commercial activities. Even if the Macedonians imposed control on it[1329], it seems not to have affected Methone's capacity to organize itself.

[1324] Hansen 2012, 259-260.
[1325] For earlier buildings, which can be considered public buildings for political aggregations, see: Hall 2007, 70-83.
[1326] Hall 2007, 69.
[1327] See Hall 2007, 69 for examples.
[1328] See model of coastal towns and concentration of capital and inland settlements more agriculturally self-sufficient in Morris 2012, 283.
[1329] This idea will be further developed below.

Whether Methone in this early stage can be called a proper *polis* needs a thorough discussion, which is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning one of the *polis* types that Hansen describes, "a *polis* is formed when a number of colonists, went abroad to found a town invariably centrered on a nucleated settlement that rapidly grows to become a *polis"*[1330]. Methone- similarly to the Pithekoussai example- was very likely created by a gradual aggregation of people in which case, it is placed very close to Hansen's description. However, Methone also preserves a foundation story; one could, therefore, argue that Methone belongs to another type of *polis* that Hansen introduces and in which the *polis* is formed by a formal act of migration, called *synoikismos*, (people gathered together in one settlement and build a proper city from scratch)[1331]. The formal character of Methone's foundation cannot be easily affirmed; this is because – as mentioned above- it is doubtful to what extent these foundation stories were true or simply a creation of the classical period[1332]. It is, therefore, less likely that massive implants took place in the 8th century and more probable that the early *polis* was formed through local processed and network based interaction[1333].

Nonetheless, Methone does appear to have taken the pathway towards the *polis,* as it appears to have grown on an earlier concentration of people and was largely involved in well-organised trading activities. A similar case is found in Gravisca, Athens, Argos, Knossos, Rome and Eretria, and Corinth. But differently to those places, which exercised authority over territories[1334], Methonaeans seem not to have had territorial claims. All other mentioned cities, given their dominance over the locals and their elite social groups, they can reasonably be thought of as emergent polities, even if they don't meet the required urban characteristics (although Corinth had a few shrines to present, Rome and street-less Eretria had probably very basic urbanisation elements to show). Although Methone does not seem to follow this path, Thasos would be a good example (of the Northern Aegean settlements) that emerged as an early town and it is even one of the first towns called *polis*

[1330] Hansen 2012, 265.
[1331] Hansen 2012, 265.
[1332] Wilson 1997, 206; see also Tiverios 2013, 97-108 for an example of Euboeans possibly using the myths of Herakles to legitimize their conquests.
[1333] Broodbank 2013, 514.
[1334] See competition between Caere and Veii, Eretria's war with Chalkis over the Lelantine plain.

in the written sources[1335]. Thasos was indeed a major economic, military and cultural centre of the Archaic period. It conducted long distance trade and had a huge domestic market, where local trade was carried out, possibly using the native populations for the transportation of goods to the hinterland and using its 'subcolonies' -founded on the opposite mainland- for similar purposes. Similarly, Abdera seemed to have achieved a high level of autonomy thanks to its trade with other regions.

Except for these few examples, the *polis* in northern Greece is thought to have emerged much later than in southern Greece; yet, this is again misleading, as the discussion and attention on *polis* formation in southern Greece, has caused other state forms, equally complex and functionally efficient, to be neglected[1336]. Apart from the characteristics discussed above, a *polis* was largely formed on the basis of socio-historical circumstances, and in Northern Greece, they significantly differed from those further south. This special situation is beyond the scope of this study but requires a new framework when discussing the state's formation in the Archaic Northern Aegean.

In post-archaic Macedonia, the process of urbanisation was continuously encouraged and controlled by the Macedonian kings, either by, conquering and incorporating earlier Greek *poleis* into the kingdom or by, being benefactors of existing cities. Despite substantial local autonomy, the cities in the Macedonian kingdom were subject to the king's decisions and were not allowed to pursue an autonomous foreign or military policy. This was a major difference between Greek and Macedonian cities and an important aspect of Macedonian political, military and social identity. Engels classified post-archaic Methone under the category of economically and culturally influential Greek colonies, which were eventually conquered and integrated into the kingdom together with Pydna, Amphipolis and Potidaia[1337]. In my view, Methone advanced differently from the cities with which Engels classes in it and maintains a special character, which will be further discussed below.

[1335] The other two poleis attested in datable written sources are Sparta and Dreros, see: Hansen 2012, 264.
[1336] Hall 2007, 68. It is for the same reason that scholars have argued that the word *polis* carries a healthy warning and other terms such as 'microstate' are preferable because they include all Greek polities, see Davies 1997, 27.
[1337] Engels 2010, 82-84.

Methone and Pithekoussai

A comparison of Methone to Pithekoussai, a harbour town founded around 770 BC, on the island of Ischia, in Central Italy is particularly fruitful[1338]. Pithekoussai and Methone are both reputedly founded by Euboeans[1339] but through archaeological evidence Pithekoussai's origins are argued to have been more diverse than the literary tradition suggests[1340], and a similar situation may be true for Methone. Similar to Pithekoussai, the pre-eminent commodity sought in Methone must have been metals and in fact such good metals that it would be worth shipping them back home for smelting[1341]. Both Methone and Pithekoussai were founded on the entrance of a Gulf. This was, surely, a deliberate action, primarily to control the ships' circulation and very likely to be able to tax the corresponding amount of their cargo[1342]. Yet this selection may have been based on additional factors; for example, such a location would allow smaller boats to be able to transport the goods arriving at the port to either the opposite mainland, or to several other places around the Gulf. In Pithekoussai, it is argued that the residents were fed with food imported from Campania[1343]; likewise, in Methone, because the population occupied themselves with the co-ordination of trading activities, it is not improbable that they were fed with goods arriving from neighbouring regions; this would also explain the large variety of locally manufactured transport amphorae found in Methone[1344]. To this end, may have served also the nearly simultaneous foundation of Cyme in the Campanian mainland. It has been argued that Pithekoussai functioned as a projection of Cyme and served as a central meeting place for the region's merchants and artisans (Easterners, Greeks and locals)[1345]. Although, Methone cannot constitute a strong parallel to the Pithekoussai-Cyme example, it is interesting that

[1338] For the nature of Pithekoussai's settlement, see: D' Agostino 2009, 171-196.
[1339] Pithekoussai by Chalkidians (Livy 8.22.6) or Eretrians (Strabo 5.4.9).
[1340] Although PIthekoussai is recorded as Euboean colony, the archaeological record reveals an image of people from far and wide aggregating rapidly in a place newly favoured by production and trade.
[1341] Pithekoussai was considered a centre for metallurgy in the networks of movements of Greeks and others in the 8th century BC and appears to have been closely linked with Oropos and central Euboea, see: Blackman 1997, 14-16. For the view of metals being extracted in one place and processed in another, see: Snodgrass 1983, 23.
[1342] Taxation was surely imposed on arriving ships and this is something archaeologically invisible but very important and the main source of these places' wealth, see: Ampolo 1994, 35. See also Bissa 2009, 19-20, where a need for state control for this taxation is argued.
[1343] Broodbank 2013, 513.
[1344] For new and old types see above pp. 182-190.
[1345] D' Agostino 2009, 190-191.

Methone and Mende were also founded around the same time, and – as argued above- possibly by intended Euboean effort and functioning in close collaboration.

Finally, shipwrecks that have been identified in the area of Pithekoussai are additionally supportive of the idea that there was shipping traffic around the harbour; although we still do not have this degree of data for Methone, a recent shipwreck map presented by the Greek marine archaeological service identified some shipwrecks near Methone[1346].

It is noteworthy that there is no sanctuary found in Pithekoussai [1347]. A shrine articulates communications and trade and in EIA, shrines are not only holy places, but also visually and economically powerful elements in the Mediterranean's land and seascapes. All known *emporia* of the period, such as Gravisca and Naucratis preserved large cult buildings. Similarly, Methone has not revealed a sanctuary and this -possibly temporary- similarity adds up to the two settlements' special function.

Apart from the similarities, however, the two settlements also present many differences. In contrast with Pithekoussai, where not only commercial ties to the Levantine coast are confirmed but a Phoenician presence at the island has been arguably suggested, Methone has yet to reveal this kind of presence. In Pithekoussai a bi- or trilingualism must have been commonplace, while in Methone the epigraphical evidence has so far not shown any presence but Greek, although the Greek language was surely spoken in different dialects[1348]. The script used on pots of this period in port-towns is very indicative of the people, who frequented the area, as it was a kind of vehicular trade language[1349]. The cosmopolitan character of such places (*emporia* or *apoikiai*) is rather axiomatic, as they directly juxtapose two ethnic groups, the colonists and the original inhabitants; yet, further conclusions on ethnic composition of the residents should be based on archaeological finds and Methone's finds do not, so far, suggest non-Greek settlers. Unlike Pithekoussai, which grew from obscure origins to one of the most ambitious small-island communities thus encountered

[1346] Koutsouflakis 2014. The shipwrecks have not been explored or dated, yet.

[1347] There is only a cult deposit, see: Ridgway 1992, 45-82.

[1348] See several inscriptions made on imported vessels from different reasons. For example: *φιλιονος ειμι* on a Lesbian skyphos or *Αντυκυδεος*, an inscription on a Lesbian transport amphora both made after firing found in the *Hypogeion* in an undiagnosed but Greek alphabet, see: Tzifopoulos-Bessios-Kotsonas 2012, no.1 and 340 no 4.

[1349] Dietler 2010, 145.

beyond Phoenicia[1350] but only as late as the 8th century BC, Methone has demonstrated the same popularity and intensity in its commercial transactions (8th century contexts with 6th century contexts reveal an equally commercially active population), but remained Greek and maintained this commercial nature throughout its four-century existence. Pithekoussai's span of life was small, although as has been noted by the majority of researchers, it was operating in a manner complementary to Cyme[1351].

With regards to the identity of the people residing in those two harbour-towns, we can argue that they both give the impression of a healthy equilibrium with the native populations; this is very likely because the commercial 'business' was profitable for everyone. Pithekoussai's composition was staggeringly diverse: people came from Campania, Etruria, Sardinia, the Aegean, primarily Euboea and Corinth, and there was also a range of Phoenician locals[1352]. Methone, however, was surely different. The Phoenician element is not strongly represented[1353] and on top of the Thracians' involvement, there is the very important intermediate factor of the Macedonians. The diversity and mixing of population groups can be discerned from a settlement's necropoleis and thus in Pithekoussai we can configure the variety of people's origins but for Methone there is no such data yet. Until then, we will confine ourselves to saying that the two towns had a similar cosmopolitan character, where the primary lure was evidently trade.

Places such as Pithekoussai have intensified a major academic debate around the growth of ethnic self-awareness in certain parts of the Mediterranean basin. People have argued that it is anachronistic to speak about Phoenicians or Etruscans or Greeks when we talk

[1350] Broodbank 2013, 512.

[1351] According to Coldstream it all started from Strabo's who although knew about Pithekoussai, he called Cyme (V. 4.4) the earliest Greek western colony and therefore Pithekoussai is categorized as a mere *emporion,* while it is a true Greek *apoikia*, which aimed in becoming self-sufficient from the very beginning of its establishment; but, in the end of the 8th the colonists became the victims of their own commercial success and found themselves too little arable land to support a rapidly increasing population or the volcano caused the colonists to move to Cyme and thus Pithekoussai showed severe decline evidence in the 7th century, see Coldstream 1994, 56. For the bilateral way of function between Pithekoussai and Cyme, see D Agostino 2009, 191.

[1352] We should note, however, that the Cyme establishment was not completed very peacefully, as there were conflicts with the local Opici, see D' Agostino 2009, 189-190.

[1353] For a preliminary view of the little Phoenician pottery, see Kasseri 2012, 299-308.

about Mediterraneans even in the 8th and 7th centuries BC[1354]. We don't know how the millions of people spread in the Mediterranean over the years, identified themselves (with the exception of people in Pharaonic Egypt) but scholars tend to believe that Greek identity was not a quality immanent in the Aegean[1355].

For a long time, Pithekoussai was considered an *emporion*, a trading post, different from the later permanent foundation of *apoikia*; this was both because of the mixed origins of its settlers and the primary activity in which they were engaged, which was commerce. Today, the distinction between *emporion* and *apoikia* seems less valid[1356]. Agriculture seems not to have had a subsidiary role in the island's economy and Pithekoussai was fairly large for a trading post (a population, admittedly estimated, of 5,000-10,000 people); in addition, the San Montano burials show a hierarchically structured society in which both men and women of all ages were represented. Consequently, this was not a mere community of traders and craftsmen settled for solely reasons of commerce[1357].

Similarly, Methone was not a mere *emporion,* either[1358]. It was rather a hybrid place, where a melting-pot community developed. This community was established in the Thermaic Gulf by displacing -by negotiation or force- a pre-existing centre of sea trade, whose role then drastically scaled up. In fact, there were many similar cases in the Northern Aegean, but very few (according to the evidence so far) advanced to Methone's stage. For example, Aphytis seems to have been founded by Euboeans (as suggested by some historical

[1354] Ampolo 1994; Dietler 2010, 140. They have even argued against the use of the terms "Euboeans", "Athenians" and so on, in long-distance trade, which involved *considerable absences from home*, see: Hall 2007, 98; see also Horden & Purcell 2000, 381 for similar ideas.

[1355] See above discussion on Euboeans, p.30-33 and 217-224. See Malkin 2002, 151-181 for the relation of Greeks with Etruscans. More on ethnogenesis in Broodbank 2013, 534-535, where he argues that it was possibly the emergence of writing which created an illusion of rising ethnic self-awareness and Broodbank 2013, 547, where he argues that during the 7th century places which where settled by groups of people in the previous century seek to refer to a certain mother-city of their *apoikia,* even if the initial migration was conducted by more than one ethnic groups and had not been taken by the official approval of a state. For the latter matter, see Snodgrass 1994, 2; Osborne 1996 a, 114-118, 128-129; Osborne 1996b , 40-41; Osborne 1998; Whitley 2001, 124–125; Gosden 2004, 65–71; Owen 2005, 7–8; Hall 2007, 110; Osborne 2007, 283; Tiverios 2008, 126–127; *Contra* Boardman 1994, 138. For a compromising approach see Malkin 2011, 65–95,209–212.

[1356] Broodbank 2013; Hall 2007, 98. Horden & Purcell 2000, 399 refer to Pithekoussai as the first Greek *apoikia.*

[1357] Hall 2007, 98-99.

[1358] Their counterpart Levantine terms, which includes quayside, market and enclave is called *karum, see:* Broodbank 2013, 524.

records). However, it is not mentioned as a Euboean *apoikia* by Thucydides, and is commensurately poor in archaeological finds compared to Methone, even though the sanctuary of the Nymphs is a good sign that there may have been an aggregation of seafarers, possibly of Euboean origin, there. This could imply that although Euboeans (and possibly others) established several commercial stations in the Northern Aegean, only some were able to evolve into proper towns and prosper; some others would remain mere toe-holds for traders. Perhaps, Thucydides decides to mention, as *apoikai,* only those commercial stations that advance towards the formation of a polity. Moreover, Stephanus Byzantius calls what were probably smaller places *χωρα* (*χωρίον*) *Ερετριέων*, whereas larger places such as Methone, he refers to as *poleis*[1359]; yet, for the moment, this remains hypothetical.

To conclude, Methone was a settlement founded in the second half of the 8th century BC by the arrival of a group of settlers. It developed a certain degree of craftsmanship and was a manufacturing centre, alongside large-scale trade and production services. Although it has characteristics of a commercial station, it was neither an *emporion* nor *apoikia*. Pithekoussai would be its closest equivalent but yet they are different in many ways and chiefly with respect to the ethnic composition of the populations, who resided there, as well as the duration of the settlements' existence. Methone was quickly detached from the alleged mother-city, Eretria, because it developed connections through commerce with many other places and thus many places were involved in an inter-dependent relationship with Methone, so that the mother-city existed only to serve as a connection to the past and set the origins of the new town[1360]. After detaching from the mother-city, Methone followed the pathway to the formation of a *polis.* Nonetheless, despite demonstrating evidence of an independent polity, like many Northern Aegean settlements, Methone never managed to fully develop into a *polis* and this was most likely related to the intervention of the "Macedonian factor"[1361]. The Argead Macedonians seem to have imposed a more rigorous control to the hinterland, leaving the coastline -where all southern Greeks' *apoikiai* were founded- with a more autonomous status; and this may even be an indication of respect

[1359] Stephanus Byzantius S.v *Ρακελος*. e.g. Okolon, *chorion* of the Eretrians, see also Walker 2004, 153.
[1360] With the exception of Abdera for which it is said that it even helped Teos to be re-stablished, see: Veligianni-Terzi 1997, 692-695.
[1361] The idea was first suggested by Soueref 2007, 666.

towards people of common heritage. They were, however, still in control of the area. Given the Macedonians' maritime impotence and the need for taxation and state control for the proper function of a harbour town[1362], their strategy -similar to Assyria's or to Lydia's[1363] – could have been to impose taxes on trade profits, until they were established enough to directly deal with and profit from the harbours themselves; and this is likely a strategy applied to all commercial towns in the Northern Aegean under their control[1364]. Methone, however, was additionally important for one more reason; its proximity to Aigai, the Macedonian capital of the Archaic period, whose needs it must have served, possibly like Gravisca did for Tarquinia, since Methone was the closest large harbour town to the capital.

Who conducted and who controlled trade: the role of the Macedonians in the Northern Aegean market.

The majority of scholars share the view that the economic model in the Mediterranean during the later 8th century BC and the Archaic period was a freelance and profit-oriented system of trade. For a long time, however, this was not the prevailing theory. On the contrary, it was thought that trade was controlled exclusively by aristocrats and that very few people were involved in it; this idea largely derived from selective interpretation of Homeric texts- almost entirely a reflection of an ideology of the nobility- along with some passages from Hesiod[1365]. The economic and social importance of such voyaging aristocrats and their trading and raiding have been the subject of considerable debate[1366]. Historical schemes of the development of Mediterranean trade have often posited a shift from an ancient phase in which aristocrats did, in fact, set sail with their *hetairoi* on voyages that combined gift exchanges and raiding to a later phase, in which trade became a specialized activity dominated by professional merchants who were disdained by the aristocrats. This is

[1362] Bresson & Rouillard 1993; Bresson 1993, 226; Bissa 2009, 19-20.
[1363] For the mediating role of Lydians between of the Eastern Greek city-states and Egypt, see Fantalkin 2014, 27-52.
[1364] The matter of chronology for the emergence of the Macedonian kingdom and the first arrival of Argead Macedonians in Pieria is still open but it seems more likely that the Argeads arrived in Methone and expelled the Thracian Pieres to the areas of Strymon before the arrival of the southern settlers around the middle of the 8th century BC, see: Thucydides 2.99. 3; see also Hammond 1972, 434; Bessios & Athanasiadou & Noulas 2008, 248.
[1365] Hesiod in *Works and Days* suggests that one should not invest much into trade because of its dangerous elements and the insecurity of financial benefits. See also: Humphreys 1978, 214.
[1366] Humphreys 1978; Mele 1979; Osborne 2007; Reed 2003; Tandy 1997.

the distinction, for example, made by Alfonso Mele between his *praxis* versus *emporic* forms of trade[1367].

If there was such a shift from aristocratic trade to a freelance trade, it was very likely developed through small groups or networks of merchants, the "maritime traders"[1368], who were agent traders, working for a wealthy patron, and who perhaps outnumbered independent entrepreneurs. From the beginning of the 7th century, a number of independent and agent traders established special privileged relationships with particular local communities. Initially, they were secretive about sharing with other traders information concerning the location of markets and the tastes, customs, resources and standards of the value of trade partners[1369]. The more information was dispersed, the greater the scale and variety of trade and interregional trade prevailed. This would then lead to the foundation of commercial stations and even proper *apoikiai* and by that time, commercial activity had little to do with aristocratic exchanges. Indeed, the amount of transport amphorae found in Methone is unlikely to have been related to wandering aristocrats of Homeric legend[1370]. Yet, in the absence of a security provided by an established polity, this trade must have still been eased with timely gifts and guest friendship intended to safeguard people and thus the aristocrats continued existing[1371].

In fact, precisely because commerce had become so broadly based, all social classes could be involved. We can therefore speculate that market centres which originally must have been seasonal in nature, evolved into more permanent fixtures and that the development of a 'managerial class' must have been a logical outgrowth of this. This 'managerial class' was evidently under the leadership of a chief, who would be desirous of further establishing his status over those he ruled[1372].

It is therefore reasonable that the voyaging aristocrats did not disappear and that they continued to combine raiding, piracy and trading in order to carry out these transactions. In

[1367] Mele 1979, 106-107.
[1368] The term was introduced by Reed 1984, 42-43.
[1369] Dietler 2010, 148.
[1370] Same idea by Gras 2000 and Dietler 2010, 142 based on Massalia's and other places' finds in the end of the 7th century BC.
[1371] Broodbank 2013, 515.
[1372] Hammond 1979b, 31-34.

fact, this description is likely an apt characterization of the 6th century Phokaian expansion in the West; this would suggest that the Phokaians founded Massalia not solely (as one source has it), in the course of trade, but also in the course of that mix of activities such sea-going aristocrats and their *hetairoi* undertook[1373]. The oligarchic elite responsible for the goods in and out of Massalia consisted of aristocrats like Protis, the alleged founder. Murray rightly argues that the hoplite phalanx transformed the Greek elite from a warrior aristocracy to one of leisure, preoccupied now with the international games[1374]. Where the transformation did occur, aristocratic leisure was hardly compatible with regular maritime trading. The earliest survival of the word *emporos* is in Simonides of an uncertain date but most probably living in the second half of the 7th century BC. In the same period (and even earlier) men began to leave a record (archaeological and epigraphical) of themselves as maritime traders[1375].

Alongside this aristocratic class and already in the 8th century BC, a "middle group", started to form. The formation of this group is hinted at by the impressive imports found in Athenian cemeteries, which mirror the wealth accumulated by commercial transactions; similar groups definitely developed elsewhere[1376]. This new leadership class does not drop in status from aristocrats to impoverished nobles, but rather emerged from people who served as 'maritime traders'[1377]. They became the ones who sponsored the large sea voyages, in a way similar to the bottomry loans, developed in the classical period, after the widespread monetization of commercial exchanges and in response to the commensurate demand at Athens for bulk imports of grain[1378]. We know that grain was one of the major commodities also in demand during the Archaic period and we can therefore not help but link the names of aristocrats known from ancient literature, such as Sappho's brother or Solon himself, who travelled to Egypt to conduct trade. In addition, Demaratos from Corinth and Kolaios from Samos are said to have brought back a haul of Iberian silver, straight from the ostensibly Phoenician zone. These must have been traders, aiming to pursue a profitable 'business'.

[1373] Piracy was particularly highlighted in those waters; in fact, the battle of Alalia was purportedly launched by Etruscans and Carthaginian allies to suppress the troublesome piracy of Phocaens settled on Corsica: Hdt Historiae I, 166.1.
[1374] Murray 1995, 134-136.
[1375] Bravo 1977, 44; Velissaropoulos 1977; Reed 1984, 38.
[1376] Broodbank 2013, 521 and Morris 2000, 109-191.
[1377] Bravo 1977, 24-25; Reed 1984, 42.
[1378] See Cohen 1992.

These were elites who had retained sufficient resources to qualify as the likeliest candidates for loans made by rich landowners to individual traders; through these activities a kind of 'middling group', who participated in and made profit from trade would further develop and alter their status; we can imagine them as the *naukleroi* and *emporoi* of the early Archaic period[1379].

Behind all this flourishing trade in the Archaic period lies the overlooked issue of the relationship between individual enterprise and wealth on one hand, and the potential economic control of the city-state, on the other[1380]. Although some scholars argue for the non-involvement of the state in the activities of merchants[1381], it is more probable that the state had, in fact, a direct interest in trade, primarily to acquire taxes from merchants on imports and exports, as this was the harbour-towns' main source of wealth[1382]. Furthermore, the state would intervene, to secure vital necessities, such as harbour infrastructure and a market space for exchanges. Finally, the presence of an authority would have been indispensable in order to provide legal mechanisms for settling disputes among traders[1383]. It is therefore evident that there was a need for some authority not only to exercise control, but also to co-ordinate and to allow the normal conduct of activities [1384]. This need for management by an authority is embedded also in the connectivity model proposed by Horden and Purcell[1385].

After the Bronze Age, the centralized forms across the Mediterranean basin that remained, were only the ones directly related to kingdoms; yet, for all the control that those forms exercised, there has been opposition[1386]. What was the authority therefore that regulated the commercial activities of all these freelance merchants? How did these

[1379] For professions related to trade, see chapter I, pp. 26-29.
[1380] Bresson & Rouillard 1993; Bresson 1993, 106, 226.
[1381] Dietler 2010, 140 and 148. Does he think that the state had no interest in trade?
[1382] Polanyi suggests that governmental non-intevention is considered a major sign of primitive or unevolved economy.
[1383] Dietler 2010, 140.
[1384] Reed 1984, 40; Bissa 2009, 19-20.
[1385] Horden & Purcell 2000, 376.
[1386] Briant 2002,401 has argued that the exploitation of the Lydian resources was in the hands of private individuals who merely turned in part of their profits to the king using as evidence the story of Pythios (Plutarch Moralia 262d-263c), see contra Bissa 2009, 46 where she explains that Pythios was a governor of the city under Persians, which implies that the mines were under the control of the state**.** Several examples of direct exploitation of natural resources appear in oriental kingships (e.g. Urartu by Sargon II).

seemingly economically weak city-states create such imposing urban landscapes and act so effectively abroad? Who allowed Peisistratus to come and exploit mines in Pangaion and how did Siphnos, for example, donate its lavish treasure in Delphi?

The sources of revenue for the state were either mines, which were in territory owned by the city-state[1387], or taxation, which made harbours particularly important. It was probably at this stage that the term *emporion* came into its definitional own to describe such places (e.g Gravisca operating for Tarquinia and Pyrgi, which was Caere's harbour). In such *emporia*, which were operating for another town or in *emporia* such as Naucratis, which was under the control of the Egyptian king, the authority which would exercise control is quite obvious; what happened, however, to harbours (and indeed so prolific harbours) such as Methone, which did not have an obvious authority present?

The Argead Macedonians:

It is a vexing issue to examine whether and to what extent Macedonians were involved in the intense trading activity taking place in the Northern Aegean during the Archaic period. This is due to a number of reasons, primarily relating to the lack of archaeological evidence and ancient resources. Nonetheless, Macedonians need to be introduced into the discussion, as they were also residents of this area and by the Archaic period, they had completely emerged as a powerful military force. They will therefore be the topic of discussion in the following sub-chapter.

Methone was inhabited before the period of its foundation- as recorded by Plutarch and confirmed by the examination of early pottery and epigraphic material from the *Hypogeion*. The identity of new settlers is a more complicated issue, although the majority must have been Euboeans[1388]. Although the indigenous people of Methone were Thracians, we are informed of their expulsion to the Strymon valley by the Argead Macedonians. There, the Thracians Pieres settled, founded their capital, Fagritas, and gave their name to the

[1387] This would be the answer for Siphnos' wealth; Pausanias speaks about gold mines 10.11.2.; Hdt 3.57 speaks of how prolific they were. The distribution of surpluses preferred by the Siphnian state was direct distribution to the people allowing in this way substantial quantities of silver to enter the market creating additional wealth for those not directly involved in the mining industry, see: Bissa 2009, 39; Part of the surplus was exported most notably to Aigina, where 18% of its archaic coinage was made by Sipnian silver, see Papadopoulos 2002, 42.

[1388] See discussion above pp. 218-225, see also Kotsonas 2012, 228-235.

neighbouring Gulf (Pierikos kolpos)[1389]. It is a moot point, when this movement and therefore when Macedonians' establishment in northern Pieria took place. Examining this topic - the date when Argead Macedonians expelled the Thracians from Pieria - falls beyond the scope of this study but I will briefly mention that although some scholars believe that the southern Greeks found Thracians when they moved into that area[1390], it is very likely that Macedonians had already expelled the Pieres before the *apoikoi* arrived[1391]. The excavator of Methone and neighbouring sites in northern Pieria, Manthos Bessios, strongly supports an early Macedonian arrival in Pieria. Bessios argues for an early movement before the middle of the 8th century BC, on the basis of archaeological evidence, which shows decline of the settlements in Methone, Pydna and neighbouring sites such as Koutsouro, for example, which was completely abandoned[1392]. It is therefore likely that the new settlers - Euboeans and perhaps others - were welcomed in Methone by Macedonians[1393].

On the basis of the above view, we can draw two major conclusions; the first one is that the remaining Thracians in Methone would not be powerful enough to claim any territorial rights on the area and this is actually quite evident in the peaceful establishment of the newcomers to Methone[1394]. The second conclusion is that, had the Macedonians established themselves in Pieria and expelled the Thracians, there is no obvious reason why they would want anyone else to occupy this territory, unless they were welcoming an ally (or somebody they considered a kin), or they would benefit from their settlement.

The most obvious answer would be that Macedonians profited from the settlers' arrival. A number of reasons can support this suggestion. The first is that Macedonians were mainly

[1389] Thucydides 2.99. 3, see also above p. 14.
[1390] Tiverios 2008, 18; Hatzopoulos & Paschidis 2004, 804.
[1391] It is important to note here that evidence in a neighbouring site of Nea Anchialos suggest an abandonment by a hostile attack during the same period, see above p.54; see also Gimatzidis 2010, 302-315.
[1392] Besios 1996, 236-237. The early Macedonian presence in Pieria was suggested by Hammond, as well, see: Hammond 1972, 434.
[1393] The recently exhibited finds from the necropolis of Archontiko, confirm that there were a group of aristocratic warriors buried with rich grave goods (e.g. gold masks) and in full armour; the excavator of the burials, P. Chysostomou, considers the deceased, the early Macedonians. See: *Macedonian treasures*, exhibition at the Archaeological Museum of Pella, 5/9-3/10/2014.
[1394] There are no signs of destruction in Methone, in this period; in fact, there is only a change in pottery; in the middle of the 8th century BC, Methone starts to receive many more imports.

pastoralists and soldiers and rather inexperienced in trade[1395]; their involvement, therefore, in commercial transactions without guidance would likely be unsuccessful. Another reason why Macedonians would allow the newcomers to settle would be that, having somebody else exploiting the prolific natural resources of Macedonia, while they were expanding in the Northern Aegean would give them both the revenues to continue with their campaign (and thus increase troop numbers and buy weaponry to accrue their military power) and advance without concern towards the expansion of the kingdom and the inclusion of additional territory.

Another question posed is, why did the Macedonians had to expel Thracians and accept the *apoikoi* while, as far as we have seen, Thracians were also involved in commerce with the rest of the Greek world (and beyond). It would not be unreasonable to hypothesise here a bias in favour of fellow Greeks. Alternatively, Macedonians may have been informed or already aware of the southern Greeks' advanced skills in commerce and decided to deliver leadership to the most effective party.

Finally, if we accept the Macedonians' involvement in trade, we should examine what this involvement entailed. Was it an involvement in the form of engagement in the economic activity and transactions, or an intervention, which, according to Bissa, is when the the authority in charge seeks to influence the economic behaviour of the citizens[1396]? Ownership of the mines, for example, makes the government involved into the mining industry. This is the kind of control that we can imagine Macedonians might have had on the trading transactions of the Northern Aegean. Initially, we can imagine this intervention affecting places like Methone, and as the kingdom expanded, it surely incorporated other coastal

[1395] Evidence of their pastoral character appears already in the royal family's origin myth, which was linked with the raising of animals (Hdt 8.138.2). See also Arrian's passage, where he praises Philip II (Arr.7.9.2), because "he moved his people from the mountains to the fields". Arrian's passage clearly implies that until Philip's reign the majority of the Macedonian people were largely involved in pastoral activities. See also Thomas 2010, 71 and Hammond has found similarities and the same pattern of tranhumance in April and October to the Vlachs of the 20th century. See also Douzougli and Papadopoulos 2012, 12 where it is argued that in Epirus also, a fundamental economic reorganisation takes place only as late as the 4th century BC; however, in the same article Papadopoulos, following Halstead, rejects the similarities between the ancient economy and the Vlach model, see Douzougli & Papadopoulos 2012, 10.

[1396] Bissa 2009, 18-25.

sites, as well. The other way Macedonians may have intervened was, of course, taxation on the cargoes of ships, either under regulation or arbitrarily[1397].

Methone has been classified as an economically and culturally influential Greek town, which the Macedonians eventually conquered and integrated into the kingdom[1398]. The importance of Methone and its striking amount of imports are undeniable, but there was an additional reason why Methone was of paramount importance to the Macedonian kingdom: Methone's proximity to Aigai, the capital of Macedonia. In fact, it was the best-located place to provide the Macedonian capital access to the sea. It is thus very likely that it was operating as the harbour of the Macedonian capital and such a function would further explain why it was such a prolific harbour. It is no wonder that Pieria was the birthplace of the Macedonian kingdom, and thus the best-located harbour in the area would be their capital's port. The fact that Methone never founded subcolonies – dissimilarly to other Northern Aegean *apoikiai* (e.g. Thasos, Mende) – but instead always operated individually, further supports the above hypothesis, which undeniably needs additional research and confirmation.

Economic theories and the case of Methone

The role of trade in ancient economy, namely Finley's position about trade's insignificance, and opposition to this view by the neo-modernists, constitute the main debate concerning this study[1399]. Finley used the approach of *substantivism* in classical economic history and built on Polanyi's model of non-market economic systems. He put forward the lack of an organized large-scale trade, the unwillingness of Greeks and Romans to pursue technological advances as a means of increasing productivity as well as the lack of credit-based

[1397] Even piracy was considered a method of governmental control, see Ampolo 1994; See also Horden & Purcell 2000, 387-388.
[1398] Engels 2010, 82-84.
[1399] A previous debate concerning a distinction between the study of the Graeco-Roman world and that of Egypt and the Near East started already in the 19th century AD and was integrated into the theories of Weber and Marx forming the humanists idea of the superiority of Europe. See also Hasebroek 1933 for the 20th century view and Polanyi, who rendered the ancient economy primitive and acknowledged a value in it only according to its closeness to into the social norms, see: Polanyi 1957. The divided- Mediterranean model was seriously questioned, especially in the last 20 years. See rival expositions on credit and lending in Athens by Millet 1991 and Cohen 1992. See also: Gillis, Risberg, Sjoberg 1995. Although also supported Jongman 1988;Whittaker 1995; Möller 2000. In France, it was favoured by most of the scholars: Descat, Bresson, Salmon, Cartledge, to name a few.

institutions[1400]. Some new and interesting theories, such as the world systems theory and the network theory will also be drawn into this synoptic discussion. Their applicability to the case of Methone will be briefly examined.

The economic model of a divided-Mediterranean was first challenged by Braudel, in 1949, with an important argument in favour of the unity of the Mediterranean[1401]. The main shift in questioning the Mediterranean's division came with West, Burkert and Bernal. These were more or less supporters of the unity of the Mediterranean but placed the centre and source of ideas in the East[1402].

The economic model which is proposed by recent scholarship and which this study principally favours is Horden and Purcell's model of a united Mediterranean without a specific centre[1403]. Horden and Purcell suggested that the Mediterranean region was only loosely unified and distinguishable from its neighbours to degrees that vary with time, geographical direction and topic; its boundaries were not of the sort that are easily drawn on a map[1404]. Unlike Finley who saw boundaries, institutions and cities, they saw fluidity, connectivity and individual action, in a vastly larger unity. They saw tremendous mobility and a "constant shifting diaspora". They also put emphasis on what they call *cabotage*, small-scale movements of traders not controlled by the state[1405]. Morris places their theory very close to modern globalization[1406]. Very similar to Horden and Purcell's model is Broodbank's theory of the inner sea bringing examples of Phoenician, Etruscan and Greek trade into the picture, discussing them under the same united Mediterranean frame[1407].

[1400] Finley 1985, 121-122, 147-149.
[1401] Braudel 1949. He argued that the whole sea shared a history and all cultures developed around it lived in the same rythms and experienced identical problems and trends if not identical consequences. In this way he was mixing the boundaries even between Christians and Muslims. See also, Manning & Morris 2005, 15 for a summary.
[1402] Burkert speaks of a common culture in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 8th and 7th centuries BC but what he really means is a pure Greek borrowing from the Near East, see: Burkert 1984 [1992].
[1403] Horden & Purcell 2000.
[1404] Horden & Purcell 2000, 523
[1405] Horden&Purcell 2000, 143
[1406] See Morris 2003, 30-55.
[1407] Broodbank 2013.

According to the above model, the EIA and Archaic Aegean is only one component of a much broader Mediterranean pattern of development[1408]. The Mediterranean, until 500 BC, formed a series of well-differentiated zones within a world-system in which the Northern Aegean gradually appears to have played a very important role through active membership and response. Having accepted the validity of the united Mediterranean model, I will now proceed with deploying the reasoning why particular economic model/s should be rejected or applied to Methone. First of all, a number of Finley's views ought to be addressed.

The theory that the world is overwhelmingly agricultural and trade has no economic gains and can only be embedded in the social sphere must be far from the reality of the ancient Mediterranean. Discussion in preceding chapters allowed us to conclude that Finley's idea about the non-existence of market economy is false[1409]. A number of studies after Finley have indeed rejected the validity of his assumption and have reached the solid conclusion that trade was equally, or even more important - for some towns - than agriculture, in the EIA and archaic economy. Osborne[1410] argued towards the interdependence of markets through pottery in the Archaic period and Foxhall argued in favour of a widespread market in related imports[1411]. Moreover, Shipton proved that elite investment in Athens was more oriented towards manufacture than land[1412] and Cohen very convincingly demonstrated that the Athenians in the 4th century had credit-based institutions in the form of banks, which supported trade and manufacture[1413].

But even if the old-fashioned character of Finley's view had not been exposed by all these studies, merely the remarkable quantity of Methone's finds, clearly discloses that a profit-oriented objective was aimed through that large-scale commercial activity. It was even proposed that the town of Methone could have been a town oriented towards trade and manufacture, and its economy was considerably, if not exclusively, based on commerce[1414]. A type of large scale commercial 'industry' - adjusted to the standards of the period – developed in Methone. This 'industry', which entailed a lot of regional trade, alongside the

[1408] Broodbank 2013, 506.
[1409] Finley 1986, 47-66.
[1410] Osborne 1996b.
[1411] Foxhall 1998, 295-308.
[1412] Shipton 2000, 94-95.
[1413] Cohen 1992.
[1414] This is one of the reasons it was similar to Pithekoussai; they both may have imported agricultural products from nearby regions, see above pp. 246-251.

long-distance maritime tranports, was buttressed by a general trend of the period for low transportation costs (unlike Finley's suggestion), rendering travel from one end of the basin to the other, perfectly feasible[1415]. Transportation may have been costly overland, but a number of smaller *cabotage* networks using smaller bays or navigable rivers in the Northern Aegean surely operated on a regular basis. Haliacmon and Axios, which were both in close proximity to Methone, were utilised to supply settlements in the hinterland with goods arriving at Methone's large port and the importance of Haliacmon for the Macedonian capital Aigai should be specifically emphasized.

Consequently, although this study examined archaeological material from a premonetary period of the ancient economy, it is evident from Methone's finds that this economy was little associated with communalising, gift-oriented systems. On the contrary, the finds confirm that entrepreneurship and market economy were completely feasible in premonetary societies, and that the aim of exchanges was economic and not social gain, disproving Finley's view that without money, trade cannot exist in its own right. In fact, devoid of the use of coinage, Methone's commercial activity reveals a commodity-based and economically efficient structure[1416].

Such an organized exchange and production presupposes the state's vested interest in exports as well as imports[1417], as opposed to Finley's view, who wrote off the state as uninterested in commerce, without considering ancient sources and archaeological evidence[1418]. A form of intervention by a kind of authority is considered necessary to regulate activity and prevent trade interactions from becoming overly piratical. In the specific case of Methone it has been suggested that this authority could have been the Argead Macedonians; this suggestion, however, must be treated tentatively.

Regardless of the preferred economic model, it is nowadays unanimously agreed that any study related to ancient economy should take into consideration modes of analysis such as social science's tools, approaches to demographic and technological advances, comparisons

[1415] Horden&Purcell 2000, 143.
[1416] Bloch and Parry 1989, 3-7.
[1417] Bresson 2000, 109-130; see also Bissa 2009, 18 for definitions of state and the *polis*.
[1418] Taxation is not detectable archaeologically but the level of organization seen through the finds (amphorae in our case),renders a regulative authority a pre-condition.

between economic institutions and above all, a thoughtful consideration of archaeology[1419]. In most cases, archaeological evidence is the only data that offers information or at least new information about various aspects of ancient economy. Further to that and especially pertinent to this study, the examination of archaeological material such as transport containers, which are strong representatives of commercial transactions, is additionally important.

To conclude, although Lawall's neutral view that, "*by freeing ourselves from defending one or the other model, new questions take on interest and new methods and data can be explored*"[1420], contains a considerable amount of truth, we ought to acknowledge the validity in Horden and Purcell's model of a united Mediterranean. Furthermore, we ought to consider Broodbank's approach of examining the mobility of people across the basin in EIA and Archaic periods by bringing in examples for comparison from different parts of the Mediterranean, because this will contribute to a more complete idea of the Mediterranean trade. That said, we should also acknowledge that Ampolo's theory that *emporia* should be distinguished between the ones founded in the Greek world and the ones founded in the non-Greek world, and similar theories, are also valid. The particularities of the region - especially the regions where commercial towns are founded - should undeniably be taken into consideration. Indeed, in Methone the Macedonian factor increases the set of particularities, as it creates a combination of population groups, unique in the Greek world, within a stunningly rich physical environment. In this sense, the network theory[1421], developed relatively recently as an answer to the older World systems theory[1422], which respects the particularities of the place, appears more flexible and deals equally with the parties involved, without hierarchising amongst them. Most important is the significance it attributes to the good connection of a trade node with its local environment (locally central, relatively central, globally central and peripheral points in a network), which appears fairly

[1419] See for example, Stroud's example of the grain tax-law of 374/373 BC, Stroud 1998; see also Morris and Manning 2005, 3-5.
[1420] Lawall 1995, 148.
[1421] Stein 2002; Stein 2005, 8–9, 29–30. Hodos 2006, 6–9. Constantakopoulou 2007;Malkin, Constantakopoulou & Panagopoulou 2009;Knappett 2011, 28–30. Malkin 2011;Papadopoulos 2011, 129–130;Sherratt 2011, 16–17. There is a certain diversity in the way the network theory is conceived by the disfferent researchers; see Knappett 2011 and Malkin 2011.
[1422] Sherratt & Sherratt 1992; Wilkinson, Sherratt & Bennet 2011.

applicable to a place such as Methone[1423]. Social historians using the network theory are able to explain or explore how the interactions latent in one relationship affected those occurring in others. Similarly, in ancient economic history, by applying this model we are able to explain how from a particular trading transaction, a whole commercial network of transactions is built.

Although the model introduced by Horden and Purcell, which sees co-evolution as a pattern of development[1424], would not find the idea of a separation on the basis of 'ethnos' particularly attractive[1425], attributing ethnic characteristics to different population groups in the ancient Mediterranean, certainly does not intend to politicise the past – the way we politicise ethnic characteristics nowadays. Conversely, it "innocently" aims to differentiate cultural habits and acknowledge particularities within different population groups and in this sense it is desirable and in fact very useful for a place with such a cosmopolitan character as Methone.

Having said the above, although this study accepts the view of understanding Mediterranean trade as a combination of Greek, Etruscan and Phoenician contribution[1426], for the Aegean and specifically its Northern part, Etruscans should be excluded and Phoenicians may have had some (although poor, if any) activity[1427]. Greek ships from a variety of towns however, certainly frequented the harbour of Methone[1428] and their representatives may have resided there, as well. There were, therefore, networks that were constructed and which we have discussed above, which could be both solidly established or open to changes but the objective would be similar: to transport certain commodities to Methone in order to exchange them primarily for timber and metals and very likely slaves.

[1423] The network theory was developed by sociologists and capitalizes on the existence of relationships, on the establishment of links among interacting units. Small scale social interaction is regarded as key to the creation and development of networks.
[1424] Horden and Purcell 2000.
[1425] Merrillees 2003, 371-372.
[1426] Gras 1993, 106; Horden & Purcell 2000, 397; Broodbank 2013.
[1427] Pots, do not equal people as Vickers has once said, especially so few Phoenician pots found in Methone, see Vickers 2010, 14.
[1428] The epigraphic material strongly supports this view, see: Tzifopoulos 2012, 303-312.

V. Conclusions

The Northern Aegean is a region endowed with such a great combination of natural resources that seems rather unreasonable to have been neglected, once discovered. Moreover, the Northern Aegean was not 'colonised' in a single campaign. On the contrary, although we are informed about connections with southern Greece in the Late Mycenaean period[1429], it is only in the 8th century BC that we discern a turn in the archaeological record. This turn is marked in Methone - and very likely in other settlements - with a sudden increase of imported products, which is indicative of the establishment of new population groups. The Northern Aegean exploration, therefore, was a gradual process and as the interest of Southern Greeks became greater, it resulted in new waves of arrivals, which sometimes caused clashes with the original Thracian population (see, for example, narrations of Archilochos regarding fights between Parians and Thracians in Thasos and in the Thasian *peraea)*.

Euboeans played a pivotal role in the arrival of new settlers in the Northern Aegean during the 8th century BC. They ushered Eastern Greeks, Athenians and others into the prolific Macedonian territories. They established multiple commercial stations around the Thermaic Gulf and the Chalkidike peninsula, which later with the aggregation of more people, either developed towards a form of polity or remained *emporia*/stopovers where ships could anchor to unload their cargo and to serve internal market needs. Some of these stations developed into towns but by the Archaic period no longer had strong connections with commercial activities, as could have been the case with Nea Anchialos due to its elongation from the coast.

During this intense Euboean commercial activity, Methone was founded; originally, by Euboeans, yet, as soon as the information of the area's natural gifts was dispersed, surely other traders and very likely Eastern Greeks - who seem to have developed a special relationship with the Northern Aegean - were amassed in Methone. This aggregation of

[1429] Information comes from both ancient literature and archaeological evidence. There are myths about Aenea and Scione, for example, being founded after the Troyan War (Zahrnt 1971, 27, 143-4 & Thucydides 4. 120.1). For Scione, see also: Tsigarida & Mandazi 2004. For archaeological evidence from Mende, Poseidi and Torone, see above p, see also Cambitoglou & Papadopoulos 1993, 289-302. For the evidence of the Greek cult from the 12th century BC in Poseidi, Parthenonas and Sane and the burial customs in Torone ,Mende and Koukos, which clearly reflect Greek burials and practices, see: Vokotopoulou 1994 , 92-6; Vokotopoulou 1996, 325-327; Papadopoulos 2005. 244-258.

skillful traders and very likely craftsmen among a naturally rich environment was the reason Methone grew to become a large redistribution centre of paramount importance for the supply of Central and Western Macedonia in particular, although the networks in which Methone was involved largely affected the economy of the entire Aegean.

This large impact that Methone had on the economy of the period was based on its proximity to rare metal mines. Alongside this major commodity sought by a number of city-states of the EIA and Archaic periods, timber and slaves must also have made Methone fairly attractive to traders, though less bulky but equally rare commodities, such as the famous *Chalastraion* nitron, extracted in the vicinity of Methone, would also be popular products. This access to rare natural resources, in combination with Methone's proximity to four navigable rivers and its safe harbour made it unique, and played a decisive role in the formation of population dynamics and the town's commercial interactions with a number of city-states[1430].

Having the benefit of the exploitation of these resources, Methone developed on the one hand a high level of craftsmanship, very likely by the establishment in Methone of southern Greek craftsmen and, on the other hand, a large market[1431], which progressively grew in size and attracted people from a long distance as well as from neighbouring areas. Regional trade and a lot of *cabotage* movement must have taken place from and to Methone. The study of the Western hill archaeological material revealed eight groups of locally manufactured transport vessels, many of which have been seen in other Northern Aegean sites and possibly also in the city of Erythrae. It is noteworthy, that with the discovery of the new types, the gap of the 7th and the 6th centuries BC, between the end of the Thermaic Gulf amphorae production and the beginning of the Mendaean, Thasian and Akanthian amphorae production is covered. There is now continuity in the circulation of local products in locally made vessels throughout the EIA, Archaic and Classical periods in Macedonia.

Moreover, it is very likely that locals, either Thracians or people of a hybrid identity formed by the aggregation of all these different population groups, actively participated either as traders or middlemen or as producers of commodities. In fact, an inscription on one of those locally manufactured transport vessels, bespeaks of different producers who exhibited their

[1430] According to Etienne, the two reasons that a place becomes valuable in antiquity is either its access to important resources or the possession of high technical knowledge, see Etienne 2010, 147.
[1431] The buildings of the so-called "agora" excavated thus far – although very poorly studied- could point to this direction, see above chapter III, topography of the site.

products in the market of Methone and had established a brand name, good enough to be worth labeling their merchandise with.

Nearly every known state of the Aegean world and beyond was sending directly or indirectly their products to Methone. Special relationships seem to have been established with Chians and Athenians. Samo-Milesian products are remarkably represented in Methone - especially Milesian - while Eastern Greek ships very plausibly made their way from Macedonia to Egypt to exchange valuable silver - acquired from Macedonian mines - for grain. Alongside Ionians, Rhodians may have been involved in this network and they were very likely responsible for the little but not insignificant Laconian pottery in the Northern Aegean. Aeginetans surely hold a strong candidacy for the transportation of both Laconian products and Macedonian silver to Egypt but possibly also for Corinthian fine pottery, as Corinthians seem to have been largely occupied with their commercial activity in the West and used the Thraco-Macedonian region in a rather complementary manner[1432]. Athenians, on the contrary, seem to have started their intense commercial contacts with the Northern Aegean and particularly with the Thermaic Gulf settlements relatively early, already in the beginning of the 7th century BC, if not earlier. If this observation through Methone's pottery is true then the high number of Attic transport containers would be very likely explained by a high demand of Northern Greek settlements for olive oil. Peisistratus organises mining operations in the middle of the 6th century BC - clearly by a set of arrangements profitable for both parties - and Athenians continue to have a major impact on the economic, political and military life of Northern Aegean towns until the 4th century BC.

Finally, another important conclusion of the study is that there is no chronological sequence as was conceived by scholars who studied pottery in the Northern Aegean (the sequence being Euboean, Eastern Greek, Corinthian, Attic (referring to the intensity of the arrival of imports and the corresponding imitation by local craftsmen). Apart from a predominance of Euboean pottery in the Geometric period, from the second half of the 8th century BC, Euboean, East Greek, Attic, Corinthian and Cycladic products all arrive in Methone, although admittedly some regions' products are better represented.

[1432] See the discussion above pp. 210-211 and for the Egypt network and the carriers see also Tiverios 1993, 1487-1493 and Vavelidis 2009, 52 fig. 32 for the isotopic analysis of Aeginetan coins, which have been found to have been manufactured with Macedonia silver.

Regarding the question of the nature of Methone's settlement, it is clear from the studied finds so far, that Methone was a special place. It is surely more than a mere *emporion* and it could be as Thucydides informs us, an *apoikia*; but if it were an *apoikia* were it, as Plutarch records, a Euboean *apoikia*?

If we accept the definition of an *apoikia* as an organized movement controlled by a mother-city[1433], Methone should probably not be classified under this category. Such a large amount of imported products, as recorded at Methone, has been noticed in other cases, directly after the foundation of an *apoikia*[1434]. The continuation, however, of the abundance and variety of imported products throughout Methone's existence is indicative of a different form of polity (different than the *apoikia).* This astonishing amount of imported products aimed either to satiate a great desire for variety by a prosperous and wealthy Methonaean society[1435] or Methone's harbour and the adjacent settlement functioned as an intermediate station from where goods were finding their way to inland Macedonia. Lastly, but very importantly, such a place could have functioned on behalf of a strong political/military force, which in the case of Methone would be the Macedonians; Methone would therefore operate as the royal harbour, the supplier of goods for the Macedonian capital, which was located in Methone's vicinity. If Methone's services were serving the royal capital, the abundance and variety of its finds would be easily explained.

Plutarch's story may have a historical basis - although the bulk of the foundation tales were given to the *apoikiai* retrospectively and had little to do with the initial motives of the foundation, which were rather based on profit - and thus the first settlers of Methone could have been Euboeans. We can even hypothesise that the expelled Eretrians that Plutarch informs us of, were ousted from Euboea because the newly founded Eretria was overwhelmed with people - the abandonment of Lefkandi and possible movement to Eretria may have been reasons for that - and could not afford to accommodate more people. The exceeding population, therefore, needed to sail away and they decided to go North - evidently by design rather than chance - where they founded Methone. Nonetheless, more

[1433] Hall 2007, 95.
[1434] The increased needs in foodstuffs and thus the intensification of trade for the colonizers has been studied mainly in the Western Mediterranean colonies, see: for example Dietler 2008, 255–256, 259–261, 272–274. Buxo 2009.
[1435] See relevant theory in Foxhall 1998, 295-309.

Greeks, especially from East Greece joined them, shortly after settling and established themselves in this prolific land where they started their commerce 'business'. The progress of Methone's formation into a state was very similar to Pithekoussai, where Euboeans also played a leading role - and this is very plausibly why the ancient writers mention them and not others - but unlike Pithekoussai, Methone remained largely Greek because of its location and its proximity to so many Greek states and unlike Pithekoussai, Methone continued to trade until the middle of the 4th century BC, when Philip terminated its existence.

Shortly before or after the establishment in Methone, the Argead Macedonians started dominating the area. Although they were military powerful, they were traditionally pastoral tribes; their knowledge in trade was, thus, poor. Nonetheless, understanding the financial profits of trade, Macedonians played the role of the state authority, monitoring the commercial transactions. Monitoring and thus receiving financial benefits from those transactions, allowed Macedonians to acquire funds, in order to proceed with their military campaigns and their expansion in the Northern Aegean. The location of Methone, serving as the best access point of the Macedonian capital to the sea, further supports this hypothesis.

It has been very characteristically said that the Northern Aegean in the Archaic period became a magnet for what were previously dismissed further south as the entrepreneurial dregs of the Aegean[1436]. Regardless of whether the initial settlers were dregs of the south or not, the outcome of this rapid aggregation was that different groups of people were established in Methone rather successfully. The dynamics of the peoples who resided and were using this rich natural environment constantly altered over the centuries. Between the 8th and the 6th centuries BC, and in the political climate of the arrival of the new settlers in the Northern Aegean and the Thracian residents, the Argead Macedonians formed a powerful force and constantly gained ground. It is them who bring together the different forces in the area: the Greeks: Euboens, Andrians, Corinthians, Aeolians and slowly subjugate, drive away or absorb the powerful Paionians, other Thracians and the remaining Phrygians. If the hypothesis formed above - referring to an economic/political partnership of the Macedonians with the new settlers - is valid, this partnership would facilitate the expansion of the Temenids towards the North and East and against the Paionian-Lydian

[1436] Broodbank 2013, 561; Osborne 2009, 220-224.

alliance and the Thracian tribes[1437]. The merging of all these Aegean and Asia Minor populations and their culture in an Ionian, Aeolian, Macedonian and Lydo-Phrygian amalgam has to be considered as the major component of the Thraco-macedonian physical and historical environment, especially in Macedonia where the mixed Greek and Hellenized environment has never been eroded but instead has often been revitalised and remained unmarked until late antiquity.

The study of the Methone material allowed us to draw some first conclusions on the early economy of the Northern Aegean region and to confirm that Methone holds a special place in the Northern Aegean trade, compared to other harbour towns. The continuation of the study of Methone and of other coastal towns in the Northern Aegean will clarify several issues, which hinder the understanding of the early history of this gifted region of the Greek world.

[1437] According to a view, the burials discovered in Archontico (being the first evidence of war equipment with a southern origin, see above n. 1393) were considered an indication of an alliance of the Temenids with the other (Southern) Greeks, after Gyges' unexpected death. This alliance expanded east to include the favoured to Lydians, Paionia. According to the same view, Macedonians, during the same period, settle in Bottiaia Thuc. II 99.3 and perhaps earlier, in Pieria. See: Zannes 2011 and Bessios et al. 2008, 249.

VIII. ABBREVIATIONS-BIBLIOGRAPHY

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FIGURES

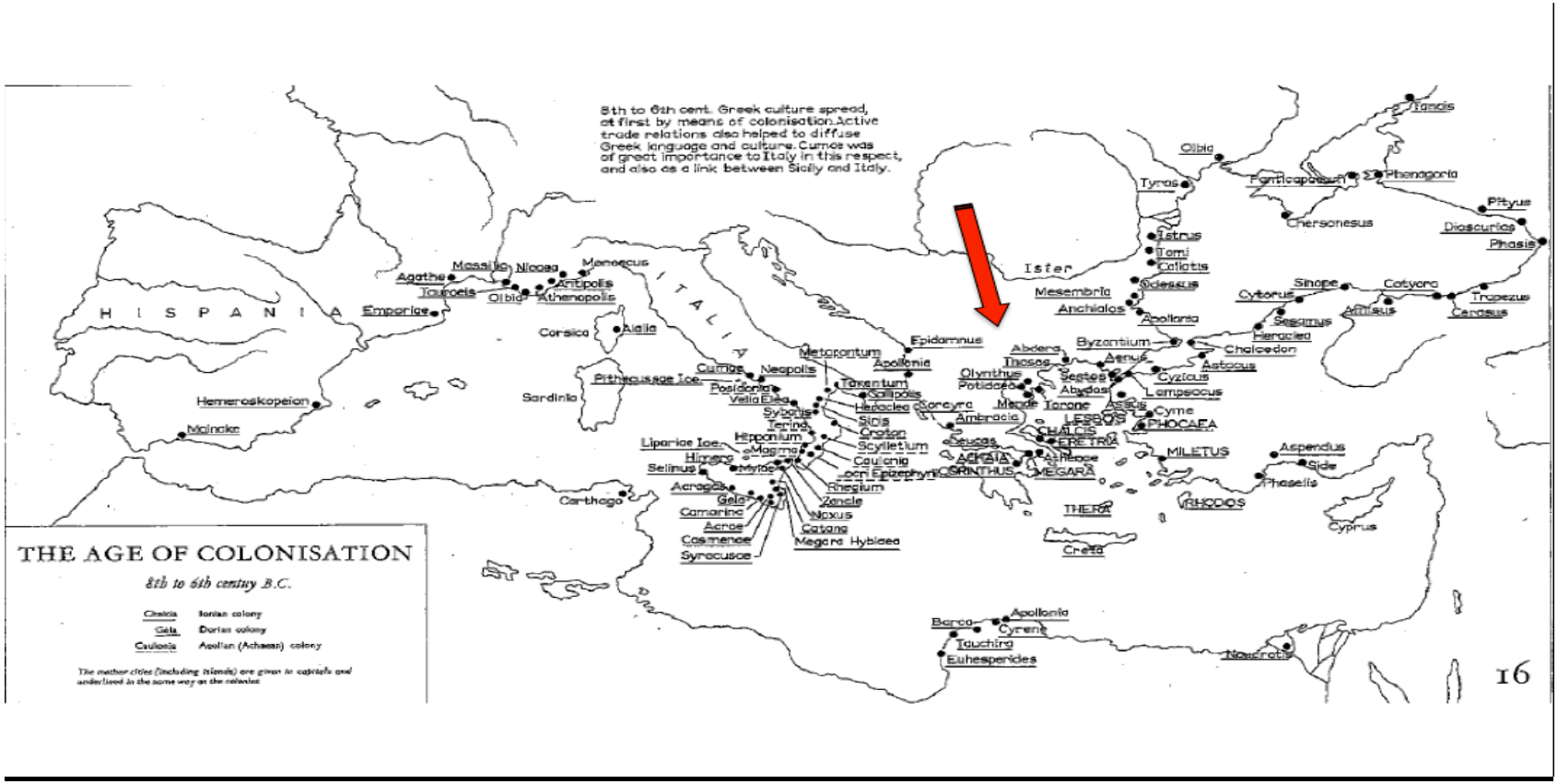


FIGURE 1: Map of the Mediterranean, showing important sites of the Archaic period and indicating the Northern Aegean's location (Heyden Van der and Heughes 1959, 35, map 16).

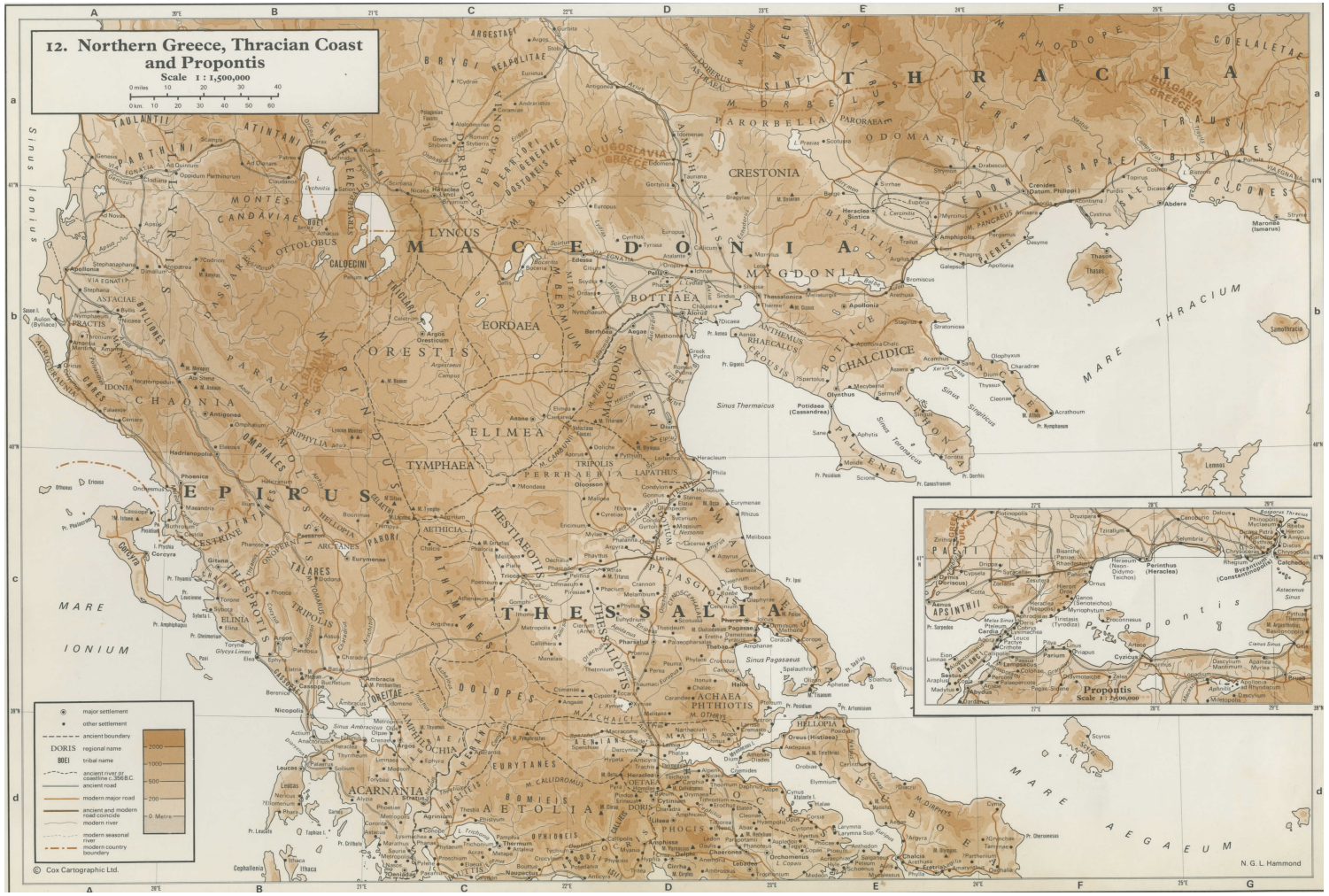


FIGURE 2: Historical map of the Northern Aegean Region (Hammond 1981)



FIGURE 3: Map of the Northern Aegean showing the most important settlements of the Archaic period (Tiverios, Manakidou, Arvanitaki, Michailidou-Despotidou 2012, 19).



FIGURE 4: Map showing all sites in the Northern Aegean mentioned in the study (Kotsonas 2012, 120, map 1).

M : METHONE	12. Argilos	24. Edessa	36. Kastro, Neokaisareia	48. Methymna	60. Palaio Gynaikokastro	72. Sari Omer (Pentalofos)	84. Lebet
1. Abdera	13. Archontiko	25. Eresos	37. Koukos	49. Myrina	61. Parthenonas	73. Servia	85. Troy
2. Ayia Paraskevi	14. Assos	26. Zone	38. Kountoriotissa	50. Mytilene	62. Pergamon	74. Souroti	86. Tsaousitsa
3. Agriosykia	15. Asomata	27. Eion	39. Koufalia	51 Naousa	63. Perivolaki (Langadas)	7_5. Stageira	87. Fagris
4. Anchialos/Sindos	15. Afytis	28. Imathiotika, Pieria (Rizomata, Sfakia)	40. Kritsana	52. Nea Kallikrateia	64. Pitane	76. Stavroupoli	84. Lebet
5. Aiani	17. Vergina	29. Herakleion (site of Krania in Pieria)	41. Kyme (Aiolian)	53. Nea Nikomideia	65. Poseidi	77. Stryme	85. Troy
6. Aineia	18. Veroia	30. Efestia	42. Larissa (Ermos)	54. Neapoli (Kavala)	66. River Lissos	78. Svilengrad	86. Tsaousitsa
7. Ainos	19. Galepsos	31. Thasos	43. Leivithra	55. Nea Philadelpheia	67. Potidaia	79. Torone	87. Fagris
8. Akanthus	20. Gallikos	32. Therme	44. Leykopetra	56. Neo Paralimnio	68. Prokonissos	80. Toumba (Thessaloniki)	84. Lebet
9. Amphipolis	21. Daskyleion	33. Thessaloniki	45. Maroneia	57. Esyme	69. Pydna	81.Toumba (Topsin)	85. Troy
10. Antissa	22. Dikaia	34. Karabournaki	46. Mende	58. Olynthus	70. Samothrace	82. Tragilos	86. Tsaousitsa
11. Axiohori	23. Dion	35. Kastanas	47. Mesiano, Yannitsa	59. Palatiano	71. Sane (Pallene)	83. Gona	87. Fagris

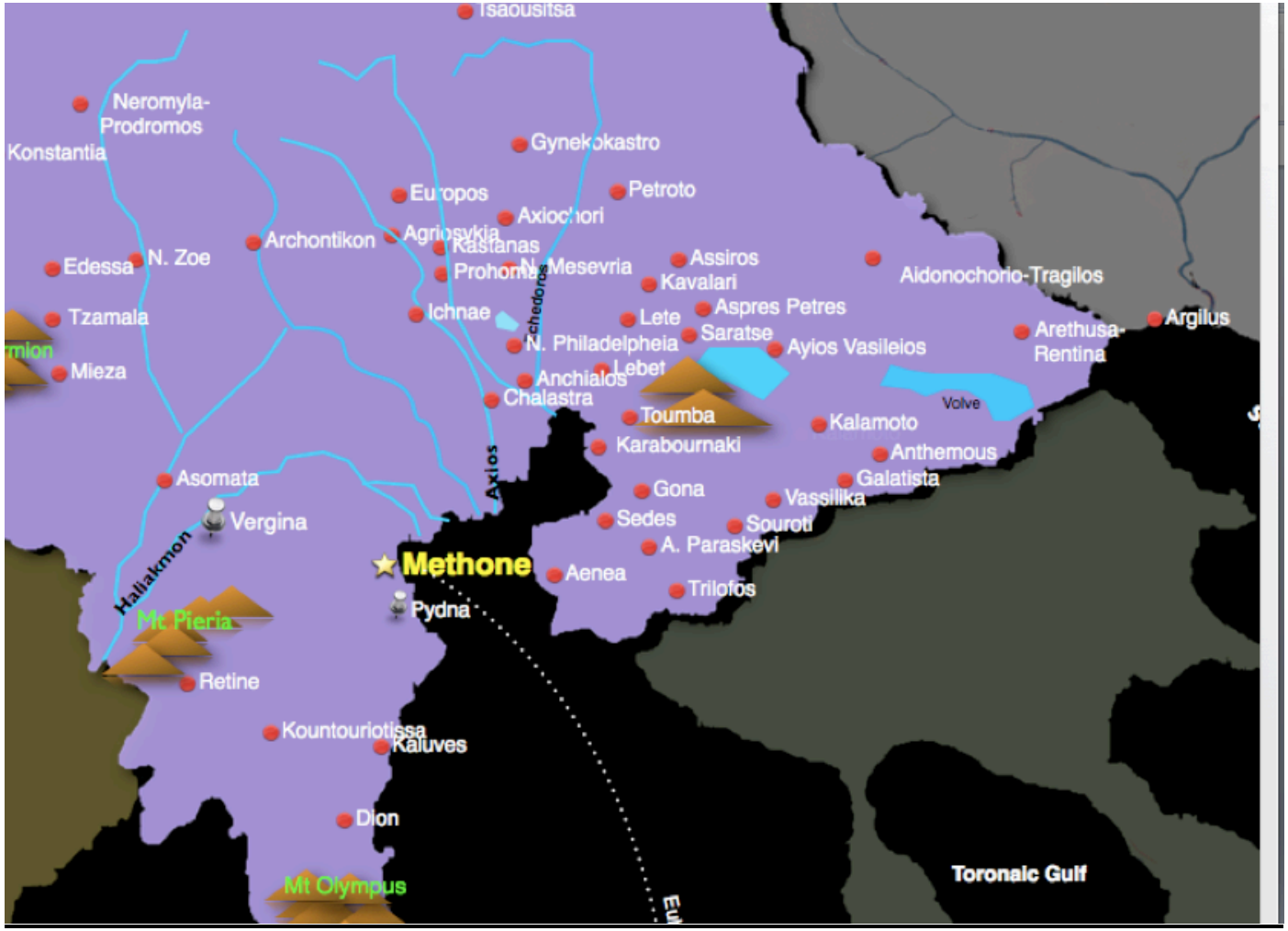


FIGURE 5: Central Macedonia and Methone (detail)

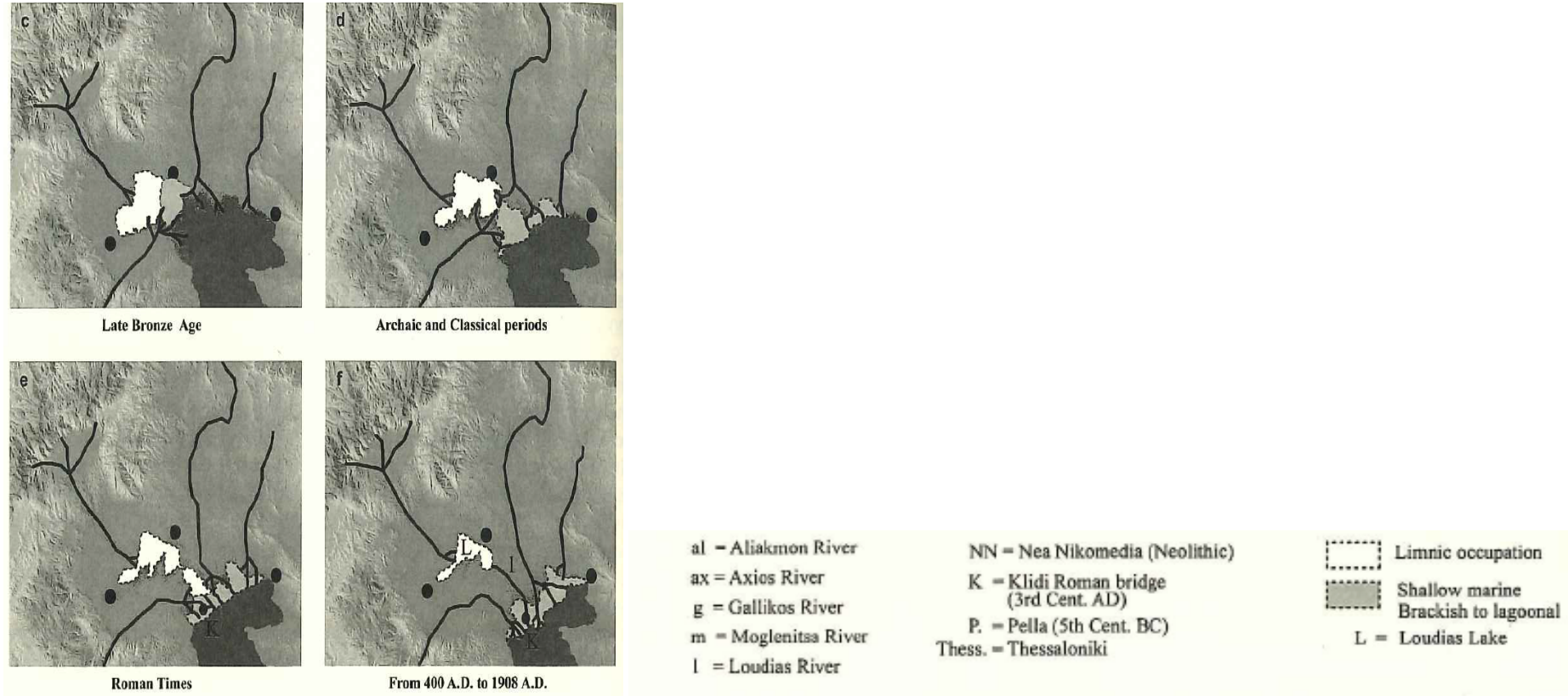


FIGURE 6: Evolution of the Thessaloniki plain from Late Bronze Age to modern times (Ghilardi et al. 2008).



FIGURE 7 : The Chalkidike peninsula and the Strymon area (Touratsoglou 1995).

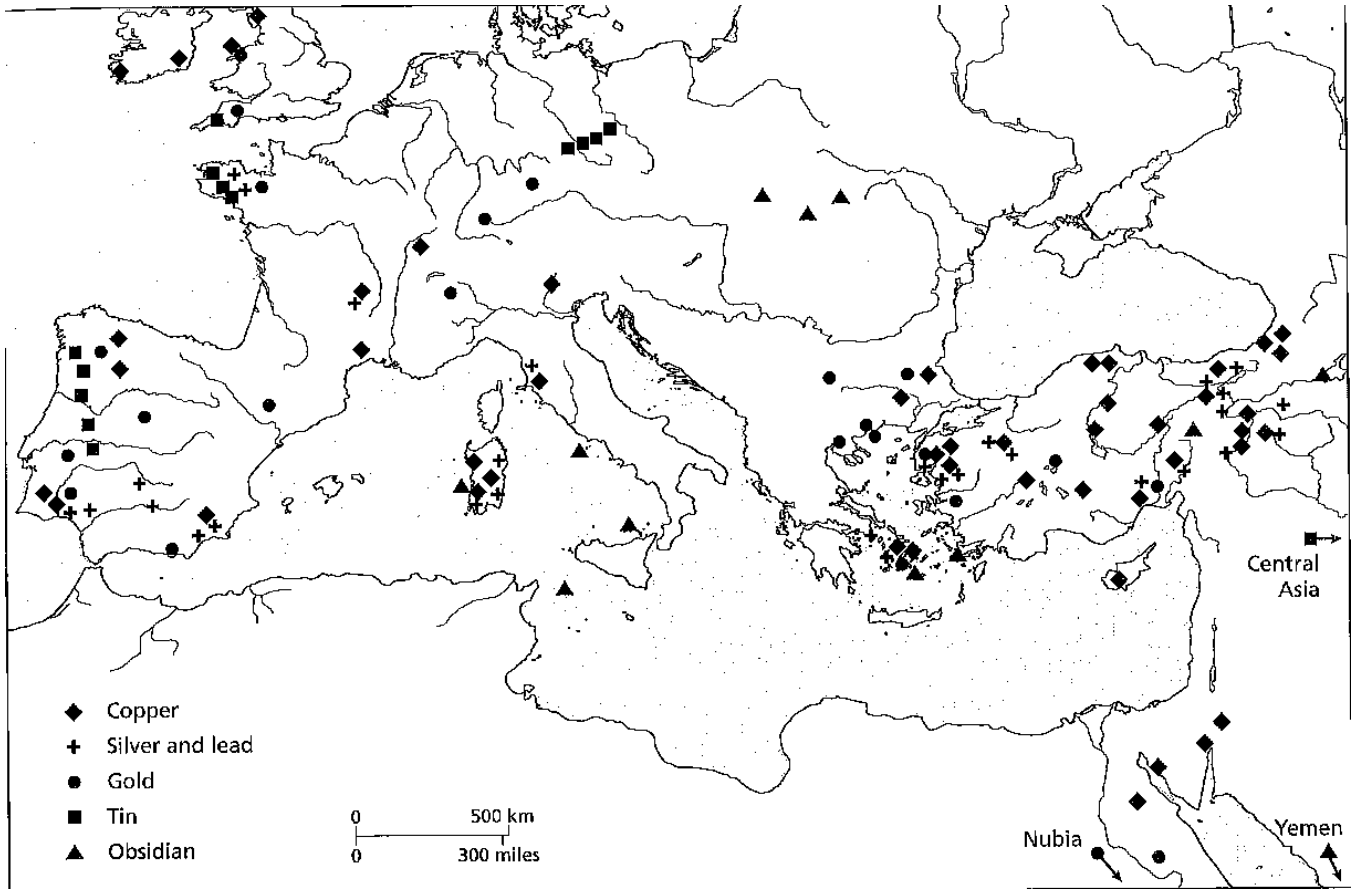


FIGURE 8: Major sources of metals and opsidian in and around the Mediterranean (Broodbank 2013, 69, fig. 2.6).

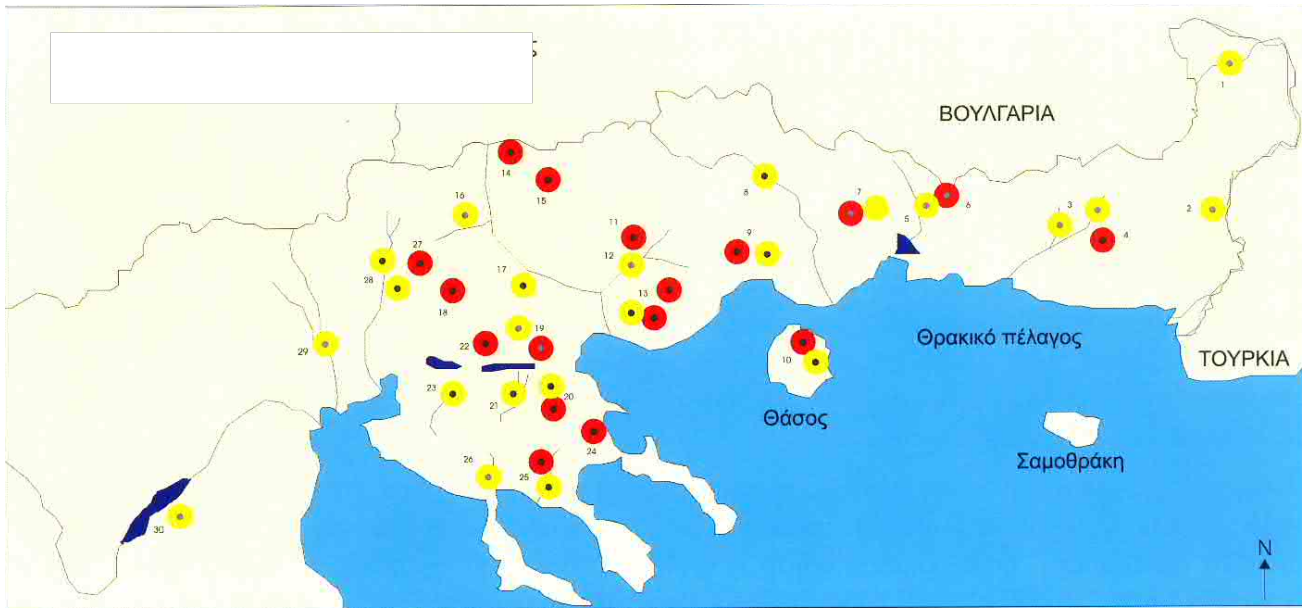


FIGURE 9: Deposits of Gold in ancient Macedonia and Thrace (Vavelidis 2009, 20, fig. 2).

Gold deposits in rivers

Deposits of Gold

Evidence of ancient exploitation of gold deposits

1. Alistrate	11.Marathousa
2. Agitis	12.Apollonia
3.Pangaion	13.Askos
4. Angistron	14.Persitera
5. Vrontou	15.Olumpiada/Stratoni/Skouries
6. Heimaros	16.Metaggitsi/ river Havrias
7. Nigrita area	17.River Linthos
8. Lahanas	18.Kouronouda-Big river
9. Philadelpheia	19.Echedoros
10.Stanos	20.Axios
	21.Haliacmon

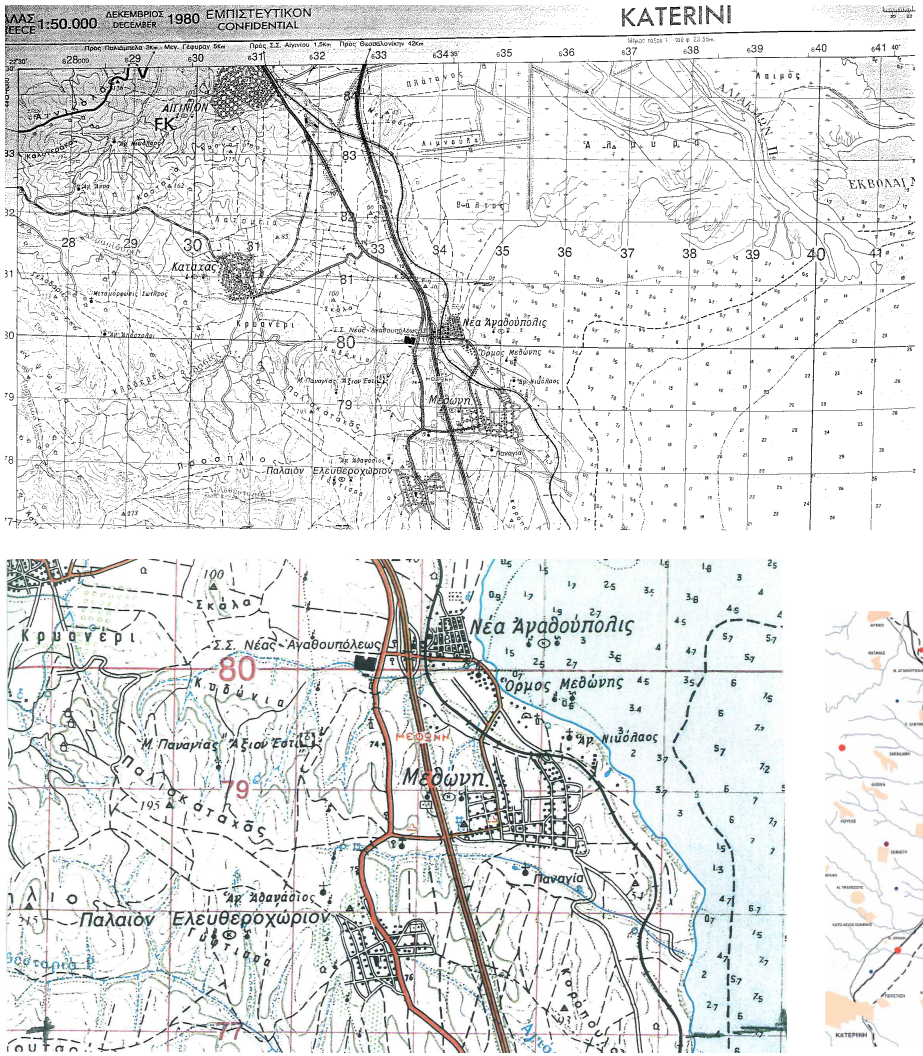


FIGURE 10 : Maps showing Methone's location in relation to the sea and nearby hilly areas. (Greek Military Service and Bessios 2010a, 21).



FIGURE 11: The two hills of Methone, on which the ancient settlement was developed (photo taken from SW, photo credit K. Noulas).

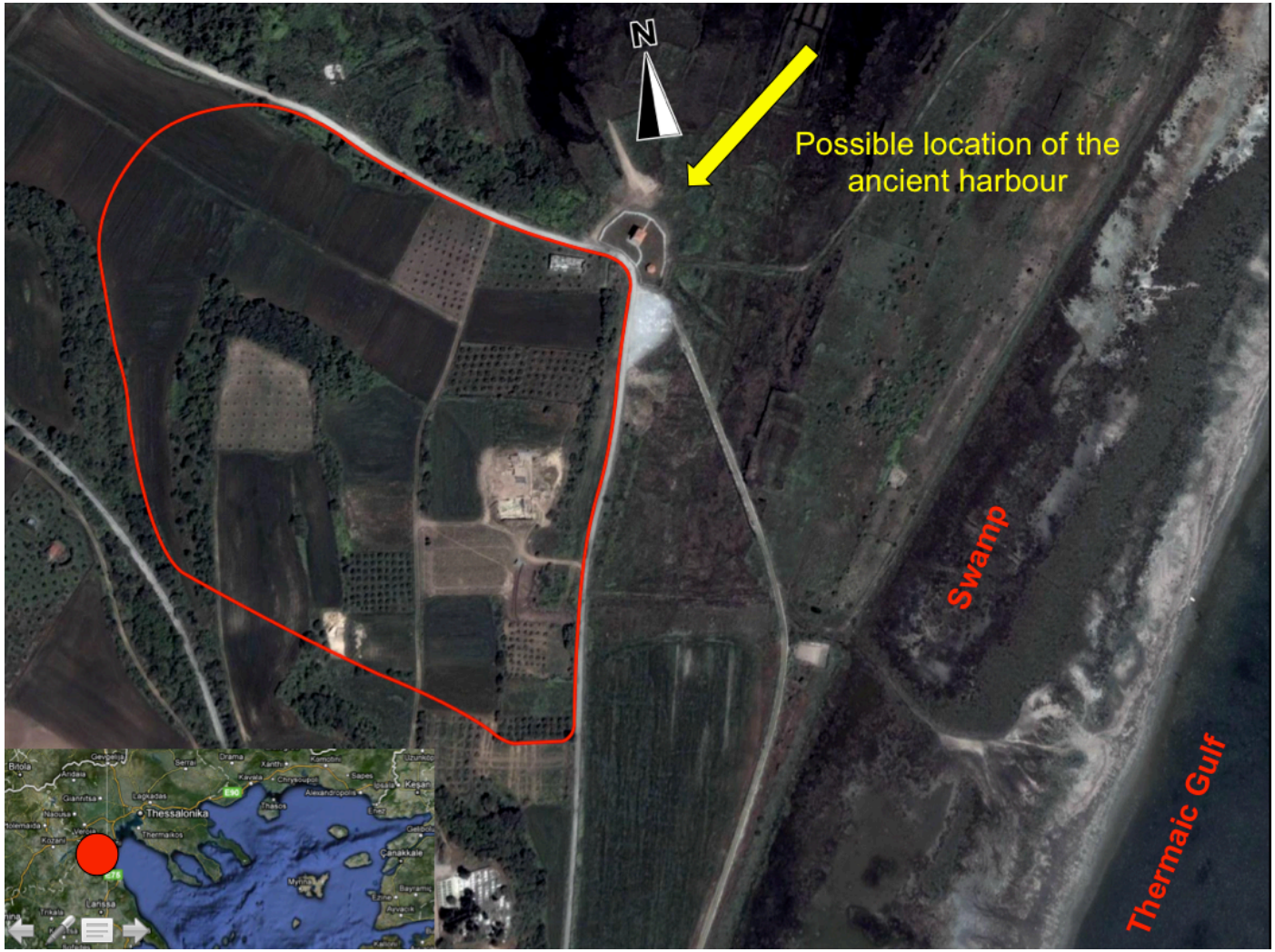


FIGURE 12: Satellite photograph of Methone, the red line marks the limits of the ancient settlement.

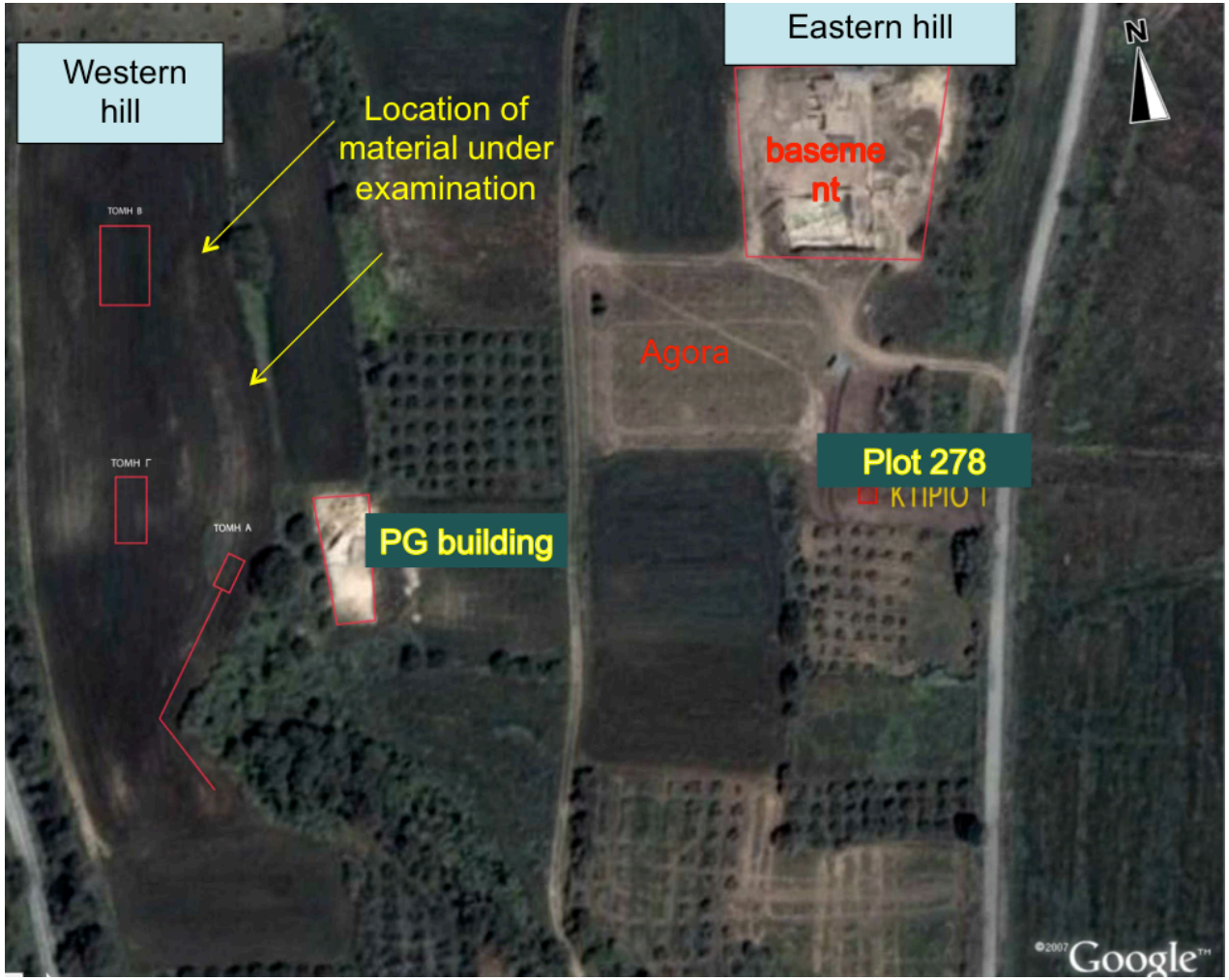


FIGURE 13. Satellite photograph of the settlement of ancient Methone and the excavated areas.

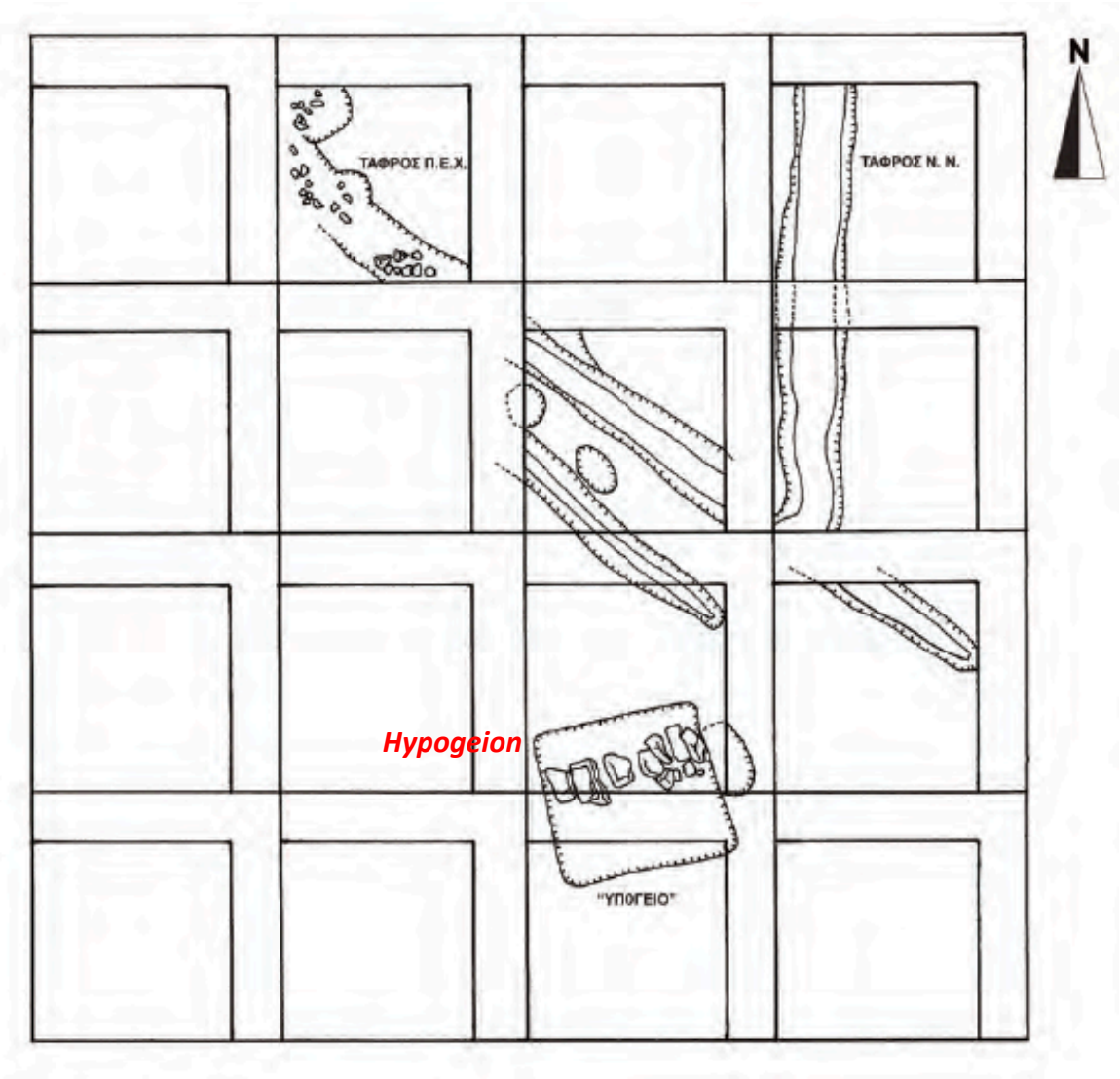


FIGURE 14: Plan of the top of the eastern hill (Bessios 2012,42)



FIGURE 15 : The *Hypogeion* excavation (photo taken from the archaeological service archive).

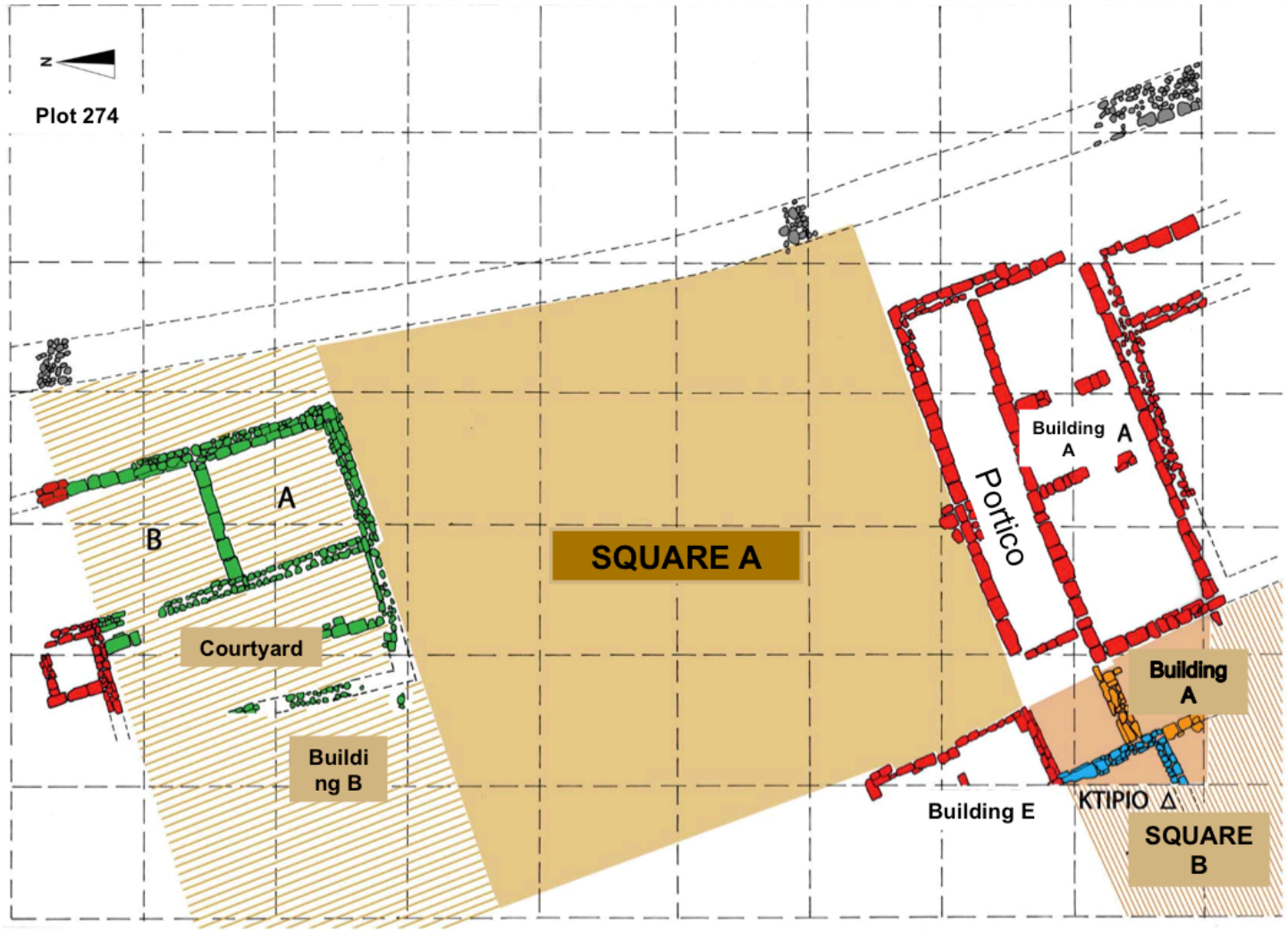


FIGURE 16: Plan of the "Agora" in the saddle between the eastern and western hill.

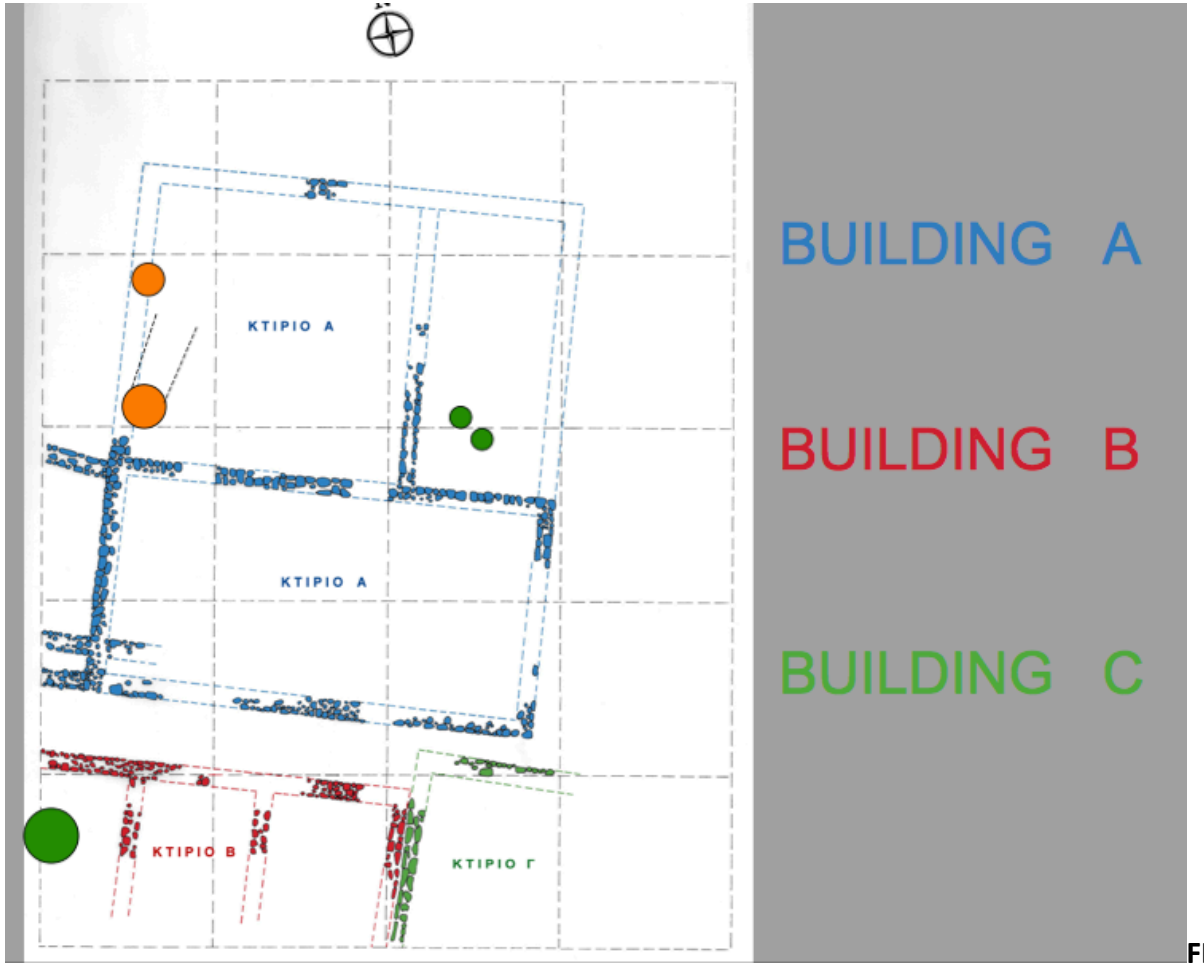


FIGURE 17. Plan of the building complex of the western hill. Kilns are indicated with an orange circle and pits with metal remains with a green circle.



FIGURE 18. Detail of a building in the Western Hill : the fire layer.



FIGURE 19. Pottery of the fire layer at the building complex of the Western Hill.

GRAPHS

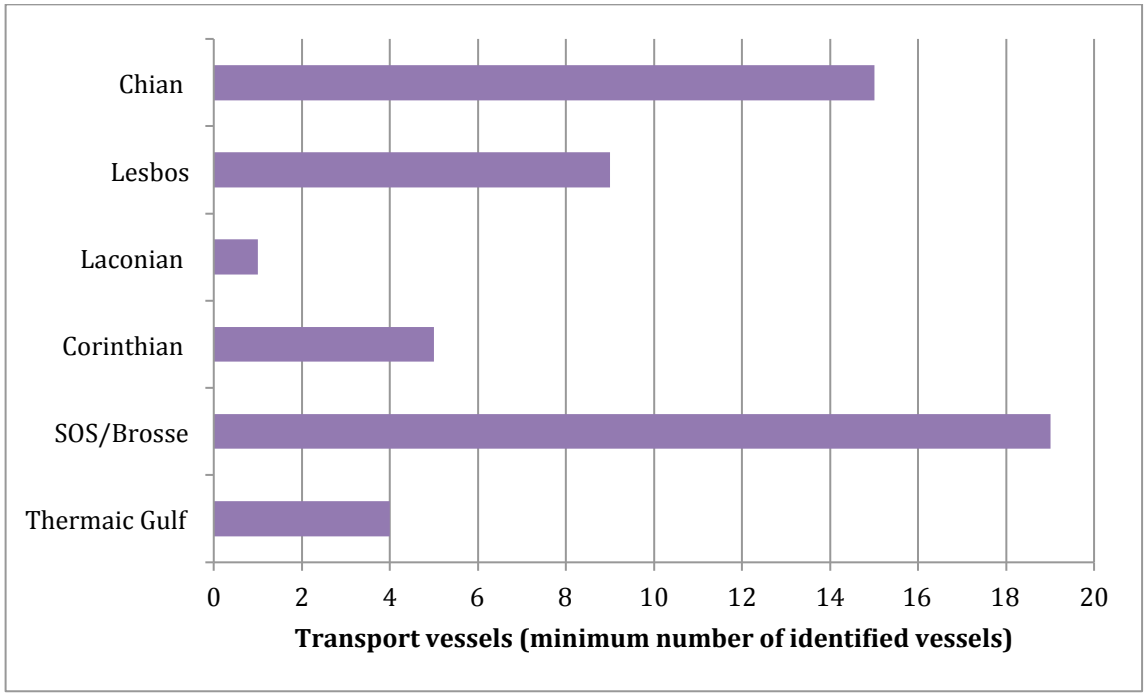


FIGURE 20. Transport vessels from the Western Hill (identified examples)

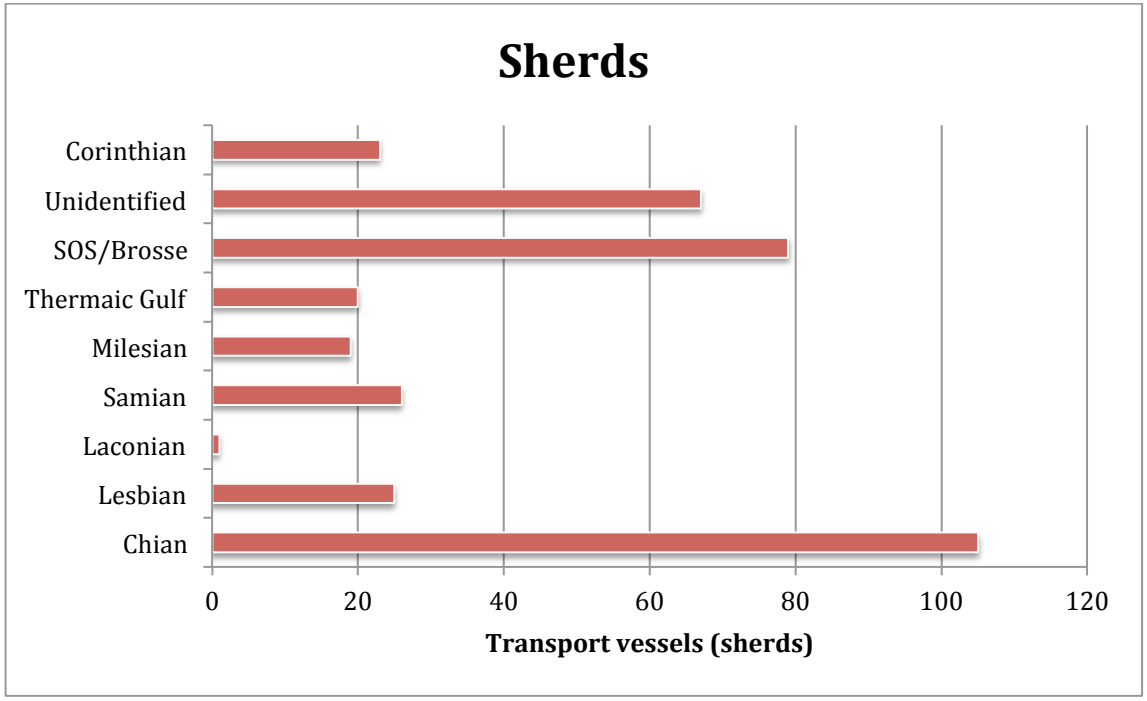


FIGURE 21. Transport vessels from the Western Hill (identified sherds)

CATALOGUE

-The following catalogue refers to amphora vessels, unless otherwise indicated.

- Some data are occasionally omitted; this is usually the case for uncertain examples, which need further examination.

- Drawings and high resolution photographs are not included in the majority of the cases in line with the confidentiality of the unpublished material and because of lack of professional photography and drawing but they will be available for the final publication of the catalogue.

1. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Preserved Height	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4699	229/028013. Depth:0,68-1,00 m.	Body sherd	0,088 x 0,103m. x 0,0125 m. (wall thickness)	wheel-made buffish clay with white inclusions and large pieces of mica and small pebbles (10 YR 7/3)

2.



Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Dimensions	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4780	229/007010.TrenchB3.Northern part. 0,80-1,10 m.	Body sherd	0,058 x 0,061 x 0,014 (wall thickness) m.	buffish with a lot of inclusions and abundant mica,grey in teh core (10 YR 7/3)

3.



Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Preserved Height	Handle	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4799	229/020021.Western part of room 2	Bottom partof handle	0,071 m.	flat/cylindrical. Width:0,041, thickness:0,019 m.	2 parallel grooves and 2 bands running along the grooves	beige/buffish with many white inclusions and big chunks of silver mica (10 YR 7/3)

4.



Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Dimensions	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4782	229/007023. Trench B. East.Northernpart. Depth :0,90-1,10 m.	Body sherd	0,05x 0,025x 0,001 (wall thickness)	7 concentric circles of unequal thickness drawn with black paint on light brownish slip	orange clay with grey core, white inclusions and a lot of mica

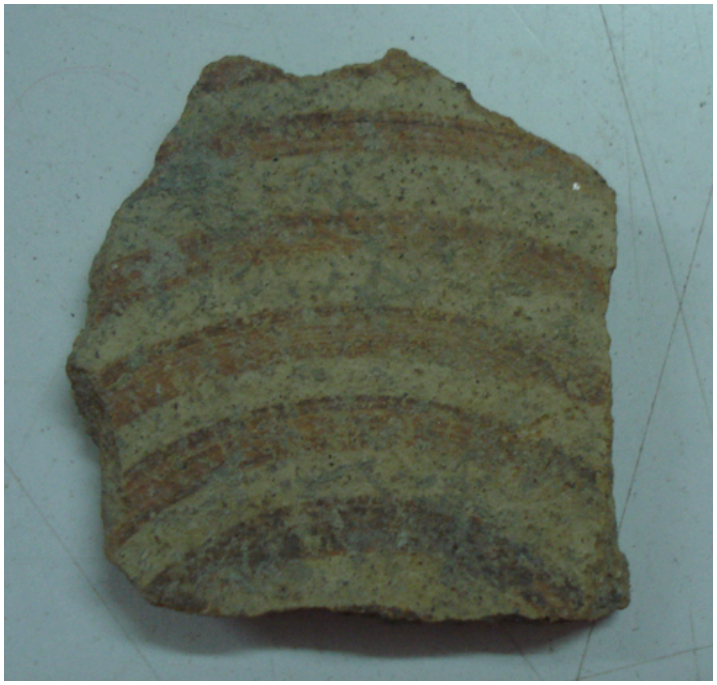
5. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Preserved height	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4815	229/027005. Southern part of the trench. Above the natural soil	0,023 m.	0,023 m.	2 overlapping sets of concentric circles	grey clay with a lot of mica and some other small inclusions (5YR 7/6 reddish yellow)

6. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Dimensions	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4760	229/007011. Trench B Depth: 1,25-1,50 m.	Body sherd	0,048x 0,032x 0,09m. (wall thickness)	2 overlapping sets of concentric circles	orange with mica but very fine. the core is thick grey (5YR 7/6 reddish yellow)

7.



Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Dimensions	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4618	229/008012 Black Soil (West of wall 4)	Body sherd	0,048x 0,032x 0,09m. (wall thickness)	5 concentric circles applied directly on the clay with orange paint	Orange clay with gray core coarse than Groups 1,2.

8.



Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Preserved height	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4761	229/007004. Section B Northern part of the trench. Depth: 0,25-0,50 m.	Flat and cylindrical handle and small part of the body	0,078 m.	Two black bands run parallel to each other, along the handle and around its transition to the body. Fairly clumsy drawing	Buffish with many inclusions (mostly white) and a fair amount of mica

9.



Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Rim height	Preserved Height	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4820	229/027004. Southern part of the trench. Depth: 1,1-1,4 m.	Part of the Rim and neck	0,09 m.	clean reddish clay with some small black and some small white inclusions	Motif of a wheel with a cross framed by wavy lines, all drawn in red paint	clean reddish clay with some small black and some small white inclusions (10 YR 7/4, very pale brown

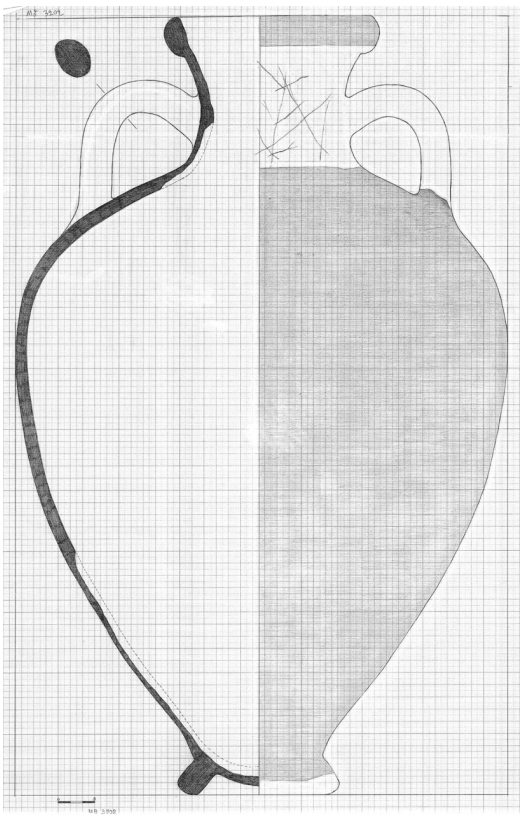
10. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Rim type	Dimensions	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4299	229/019014. East of wall 19 Grey soil, Below the fire layer. Depth 0,75-1,07 m.	Part of the Rim and small part of the neck	convex	0,0535 x 0,025 m.	Rim covered with brownish paint	brown with large dark inclusions and some white ones (7.5 YR 6/3 light brown)

11. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Rim type	Dimensions	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4834	229/027. Surface layer	Part of the Rim and small part of the neck	echinoid	0,062 x 0,05 m.	Rim covered with black paint	beige/buffish with some small white inclusions (10 YR 7/4, very pale brown





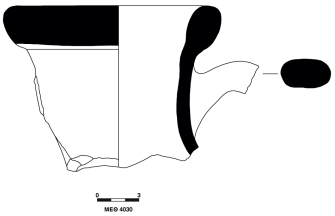
12.

Catalogue no.	ΜΕΘ 3202
Area of discovery	229/019/001. North section together with A36
State of preservation	Almost entirely preserved- Small parts of the body missing
Dimensions the vessel	Height: 0,625 m. Body diameter: 0,40 m.
Rim	Cylindrical,echinoid.Diameter: 0,179. Thickness: 0,022 m.
Handle	Cylindrical, arching. Thickness: 0,035 m.
Foot	Wide, bevelled. Diameter: 0,085 m.
Decoration	Vessel covered with brownish slip- (in the a la brosse technique). The neck and handles are reserved.
Fabric	beige-yellow, fairly fine (10YR 7/6 yellow)
Graffito	Yes. One on each side of the neck.

13. 

Catalogue no.	**Area of discovery**	**State of preservation**	Rim type	**Preserved Height**	**Decoration**	**Fabric**
ΜΕΘ 4695	229/032001 South part of the trench, surface layer, above wall 6.	Part of the rim and the neck	Cylindrical/echinoid. Diameter: 0,014 m. thickness:0,022 m.	0,059 m.	Rim covered with dark brown paint	Orange coloured, fine clay with red inclusions.(5YR 6/4)

14. 



Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Rim/handle	Preserved Height	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4030	229/008002. Fire layer. SW part of the trench	Preserved from the shoulder up, missing one handle	Echinoid rim. Diameter: 0,79 m. Thickness: 0,152 m.	0,10 m.	Rim covered with brownish paint	Clean, orange-buff clay, fine, red inclusions. (5YR 6/4)

15. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Handle	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4637a, b	229/006 013. Depth: 0,45-0,78 m.	Neck and body, handle. Another 8 body fragments of the vessel are preserved.	Thick and cylindrical, slightly arching Thickness: 0,035 m.	Body and handle covered with brownish paint. Neck reserved	buffish/red, clean, white inclusions small and larger, some small black ones(2.5 YR 6/4)

16. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Height	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4170	229/019026 southern part of room 2. 1,19-1,33 m.	Part of the Neck and handle	Thick cylindrical, almost rounded. Thickness: 0,045 m. Height (of the fragment: 0,0865 m.	Entirely covered with black slip	Buff/reddish with many inclusions and small pebbles (5YR 5/4 (reddish brown)

17. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Foot	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4172	229/019026 Southern part of room 2. 1,19-1,33 m.	Part of a foot	High and straight Height: 0,06 m.	Covered with red slip	buff/yellow with red and white inclusions 7.5 YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)

18. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4383	229/014003. Black soil. down to 0,65 m.	Handle and small part of the body. Cylindrical and slightly arching Height: 0,12 m. Thickness: 0,0239 m.	Handle reserved, body covered with brownish slip	Yellowish/orange clean with some red inclusions (7.5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow.)

19. 

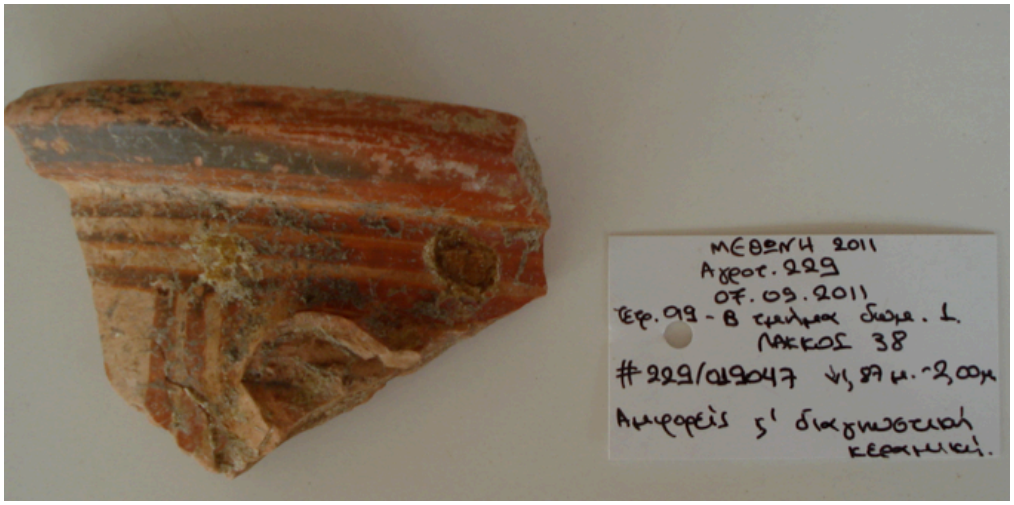
Catalogue no.	ΜΕΘ 4387
Area of discovery	229/014003. Black soil.
State of preservation	Part of the foot (belongs to the same vessel with 4539).
Foot	The foot is high and bevelled. Height: 0,065 m.
Decoration	Worn-off brownish slip applied to the entire surface
Fabric.	Orange fine clay, no visible inclusions (7.5 YR, 7/6, reddish yellow

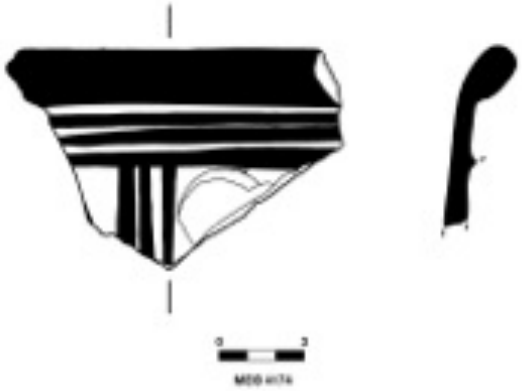
20. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Dimensions	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4710	229/008	Large base and small part of the body	Height: 0,068 m. Wall thickness: 0,016 m. Diameter: 0,188 m.	Worn-off brownish slip applied to the entire surface except a band on the bottom of the vessel	Clean orange clay with small black inclusions and large white, very little mica (7.5 YR, 6/6, reddish yellow).

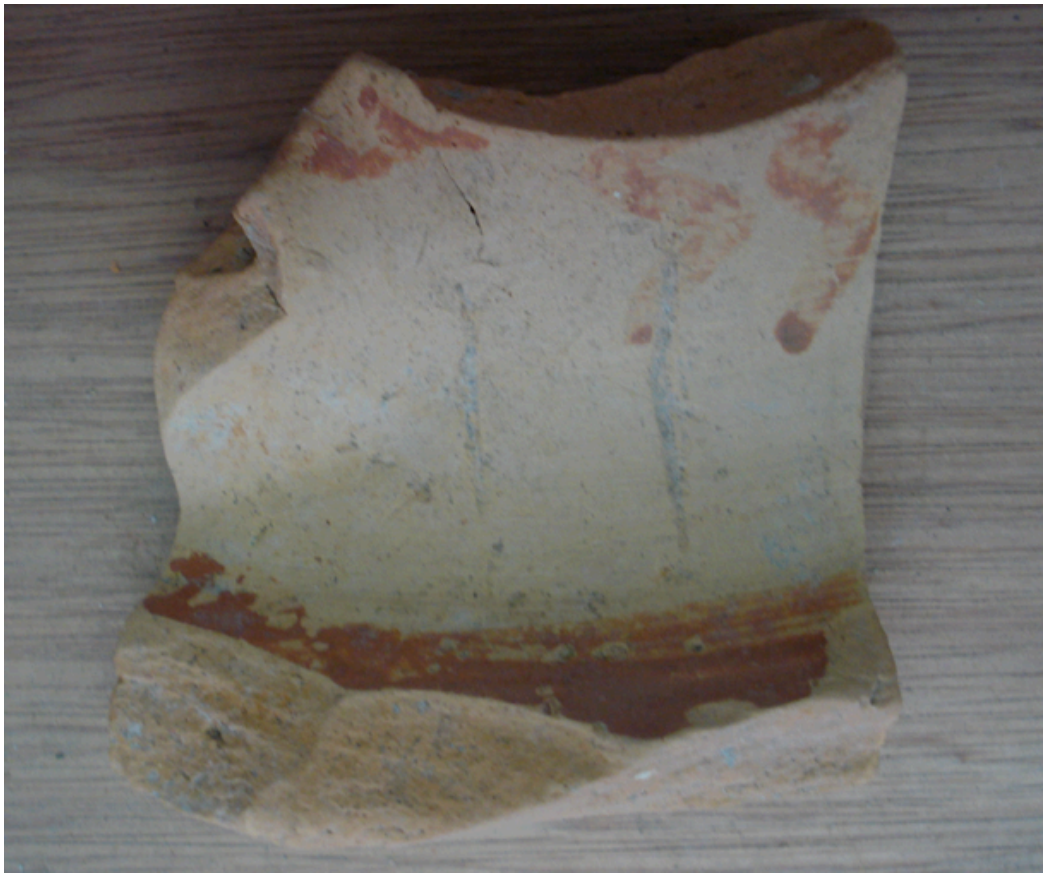
21. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Dimensions	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4821	229/027004. Southern part of the trench. 1,1-1,4 m.	Part of the neck and the shoulder	Height: 0,0415 m. Wall thickness: 0,0135 m.	Body covered with black thick slip and part of 2 concentric circles on the neck.	Yellowish fine with one visible large white inclusion and some smaller red ones (7.5 YR, 7/6, reddish yellow).

22. 



Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Dimensions	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4174	229/019047. 1,87-2,00 m.	Part of the rim, neck and handle	Preserved height: 0,0798 m. Rim: flaring. Diameter:0,17 m. Thickness: 0,014 m.	Rim covered with orange paint and 3 parallel lines On the neck right below the rim, three vertical lines right next to the handle. Small part of an O decoration (?)	orange reddish fine with mica and white inclusions (5 YR 7/4, pink).

23. 

Catalogue no.	ΜΕΘ uncatalogued
Area of discovery	229/014/003 3.Black soil, Depth :0,65 m.
State of preservation	Part of the neck and shoulder
Decoration	Shoulder covered with creamy slip and the rest of the body covered with orange paint. On top of the creamy slip, there is a double S decoration made in orange paint and also a two incised marks
Fabric	Buffish/yellow with very little mica (7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow).
Graffito	Yes. Two parallel, almost chevron-like motifs incised after firing.

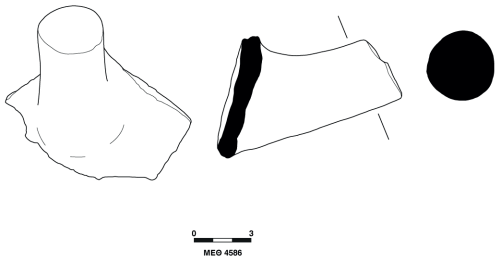
24. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Dimensions	Rim	Handle	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 3544	229/013 002 014003. Black soil	Nearly complete. Missing parts of the body and one handle	Height: 0,452 m. **Body diameter**: 0,335 m.	Trapezoidal.Diam: 0,167m. thickness: 0,015 m.	Rounded. Thickness: 0,033 m.	Coarse reddish/yellow with large inclusions (7.5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow)

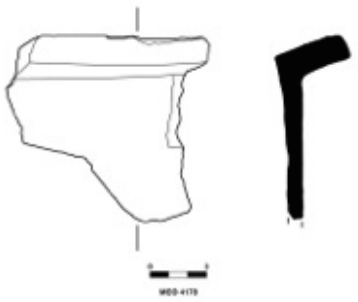
25. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Handle	Fabric	Graffito
ΜΕΘ 3841	229/033/001 1. Above the fire level. Eastern part of the trench	Nearly complete handle	Rounded. Height: 0,127 Thickness: 0,035 m.	Coarse pale yellow with large brown inclusions and medium size white ones (2.5 Y, 7/3 pale yellow)	YES. 3 short parallel lines, running perpendicularly on the handle.

26. 



Catalogue no.	**Area of discovery**	**State of preservation**	**Handle**	**Fabric**
ΜΕΘ 4586	229/008004 South part of the trench, West of wall 4 (above the clay construction)	Part of the handle and the body	Rounded. thickness: 0,035 m. Preserved height: 0,127 m.	Coarse pale yellow with large brown inclusions and medium size white ones (2.5 Y, 7/3 pale yellow)

27.  

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Preserved Height	Rim	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4178	229/03300.Fire layer, 0,40m. East x 0,25 m. North	Part of the rim, neck and handle	0,101 m.	Trapezoidal. Diameter: 0,15 m.	Coarse,reddish yellow on the exterior, grey in the core.Large red,brown,white inclusions 7.5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow)

28. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Handle	Fabric	Graffito
ΜΕΘ 4179	229/033002Fire layer, 0,40m. East x 0,25 m. North	Part of the handle and body	Preserved height: 0,065 m. Rounded,slightly arching Diameter: 0,059 m.	Coarse,reddish yellow on the exterior, grey in the core.Large red,brown,white inclusions 7.5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow)	YES. Triangular incised mark made after firing

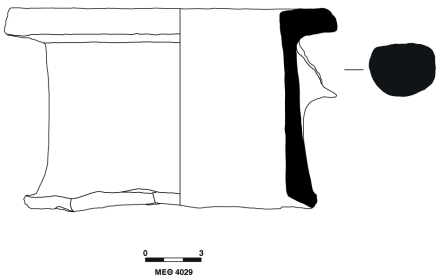
29. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Rim	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4168	229/019048 Northern part of room 1, Pit 38	Part of the rim and neck	Trapezoidal. Diameter: 0,113 m. Preserved height: 0,048 m.	red/buff on the surface, grey in the core. Coarse with large red and black inclusions (2.5 Y, 7/3 pale yellow)

30. 

Catalogue no.	**Area of discovery**	**State of preservation**	**Rim**	**Fabric**
ΜΕΘ 5178	229/013002 (Black soil) 0,35-0,40 m.	Part of the rim	Triangular in section Height: 0,013 m. 0,028 m. (thickness)	Coarse reddish on the exterior and grey core. Many red and grey inclusions (2.5 Y, 7/3 pale yellow)

31. 

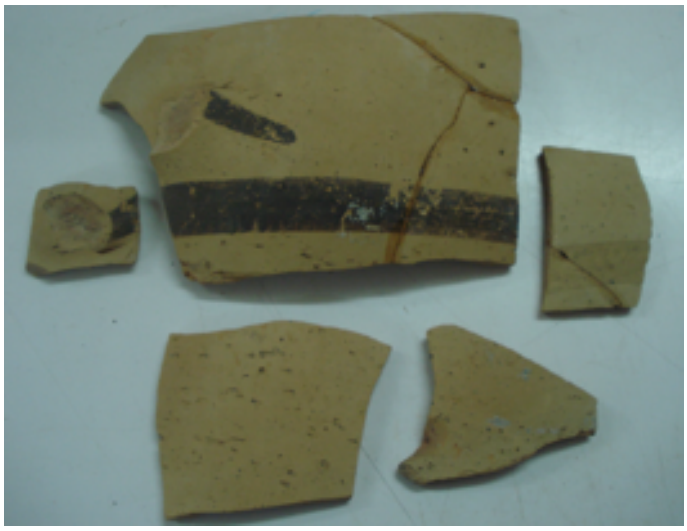


Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Handle	Rim	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4029 (hydria)	229/008002	Height: 0,088 m.	Rounded. Diameter: 0,038 m.	Trapezoidal. Diameter: 0,113 m.	Coarse, reddish with many large red and brown inclusionsblack inclusions (2.5 Y, 7/3 pale yellow)

32.



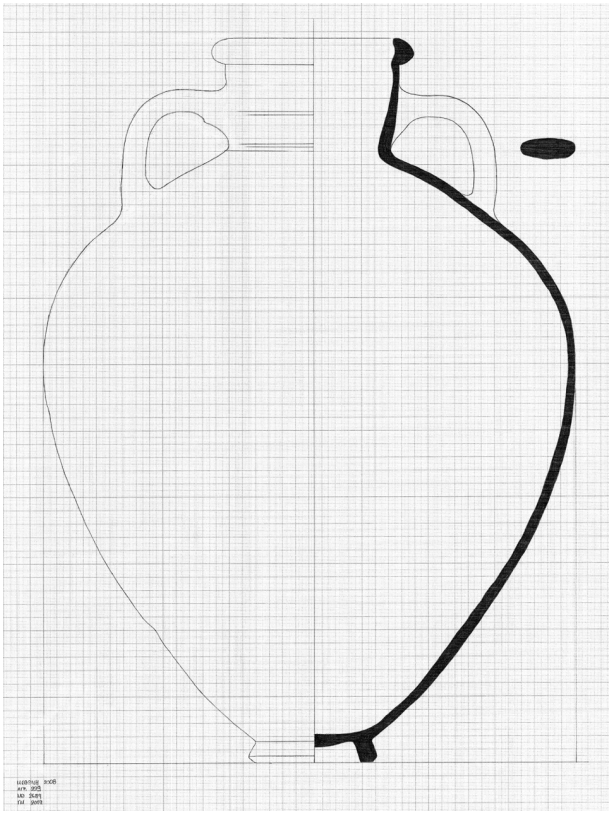
Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Handle	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 3550 (basket-like vessel)	229/008	Approximately half of this closed vessel is preserved. Body and foot up to the neck	Cylindrical and horizontal	2 black bands run around the body of the vessel	yellow-ochre with a lot of calcareous inclusions 2.5 Y, 7/3 pale yellow)

33. 

Catalogue no.	**Area of discovery**	**State of preservation**	**Dimensions (of the large sherd)**	**Handle**	**Decoration**	**Fabric**
ΜΕΘ 4516 (basket-like vessel)	229/013-14	5 fragments of the body.one preserves beginning of handle	0,103 x 0,14 m.	horizontal	black band around the perimeter ofthe vessel	yellow-ochre with a lot of calcareous inclusions 2.5 Y, 7/3 pale yellow)

34.

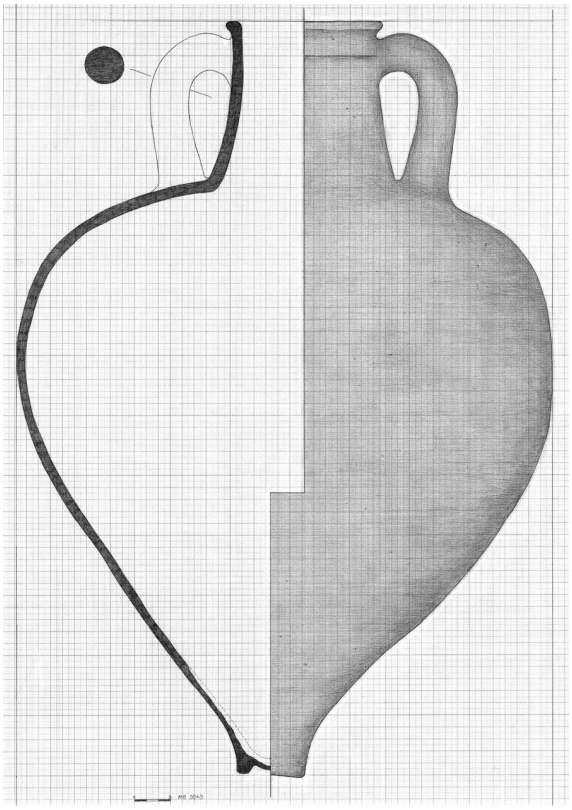




Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	Dimensions	Handle/rim/foot	Decoration	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 2684	229/ 020/002	Preserved height:0,529 m. Body diameter :0,367m.	Handle: Small, cylindrical /flat. Rim: Slightly protruding, flat. Foot: Ring-shaped.	Entirely covered with brushed off slip, except for the rim	Buff/pinkish with white inclusions (5YR: 6/4 light reddish/brown)

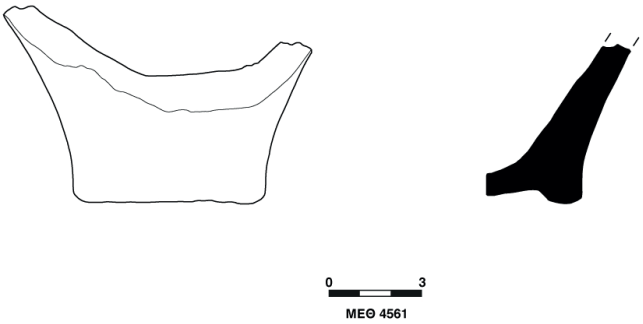
35.





Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	Dimensions	Handle/rim/foot	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 3543	229/019/001 1 A36. North section	Height:0,538 m. Body diameter: 0,42 m.	Handle: Rounded. Rim:Thin, looking outwards. Diameter:0,127 m. Foot:narrow-ring-shaped. Diameter:0,059m.	Brownish/orange-reddish with grey core. White medium to large inclusions and medium size grits. (2.5Y 4/2 dark greyish brown).

36. 



Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Foot	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4561	229/008001/ Eastern part/ west of wall 4. Surface layer	Entire foot and small part of the body	Very narrow-ring-shaped Preserved height: 0,045 m.	Browinish/orange-reddish with grey core. White medium to large inclusions and medium size grits. (2.5Y 4/2 dark greyish brown).

37. 

Catalogue no.	**Area of discovery**	**State of preservation**	**Handle**	**Fabric**
ΜΕΘ 4395	229/013-014	Handle almost entirely preserved with small part of the body	Rounded, slightly arching, ends in rat-tail. height: 0,165 m. Wall thickness:0,033 m.	Made in a slow wheel. brown/orange with a lot of mica and large white and black inclusions (7.5 YR 5/4 brown)

38. 

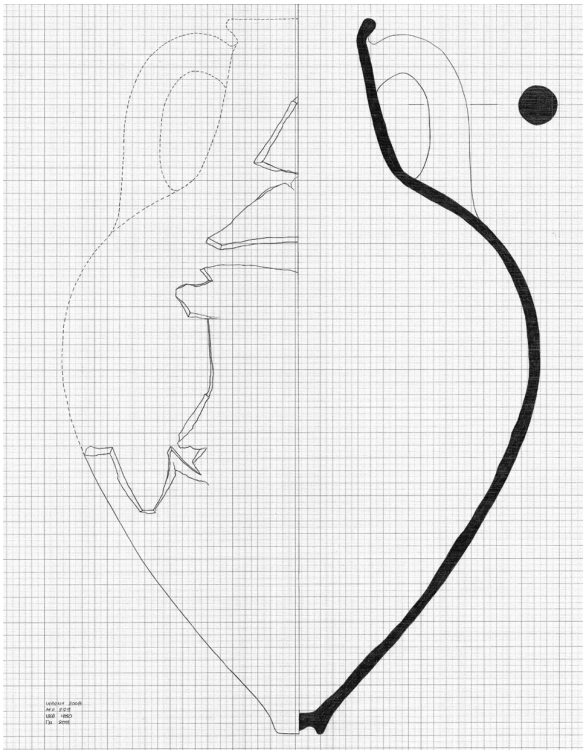
Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Handle	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4764	229/007026. Layer 6. Depth: between, 1,30-1,45 and 1,55-1,60 m.	Entirely preserved handle with small part of body	Rounded-rat-tail. Height: 0,093 m. Wall thickness: 0,008 m.	grey on the exterior and buffish on the interior(7.5 YR 5/4 brown)

39. 

Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Handle	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4735	229/012015	Part of the handle of, most likely, an amphora but possibly another closed vessel.	Rounded and twisted. Preserved height: 0,065 wall thickness: 0,0315	Brownish clay with dark grey core with with inclusions (7.5 YR 5/4 brown)

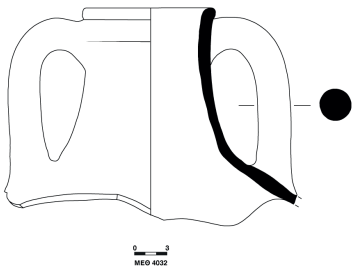
40.





Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	Dimensions	Handle	Rim	Foot	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4150	229/019001 Depth: 0,45-0,64 m.	Height:0,61 m. Body diameter: 0,352 m.	Rounded, rat-tail Diameter: 0,28 m.	Thin and slightly protruding Diameter:0,12 m. Thickness: 0,117m.	Narrow Diameter: 0,35m.	Made on a slow wheel. brown/orange with a lot of mica and large white and black inclusions (7.5 YR 5/4 brown)

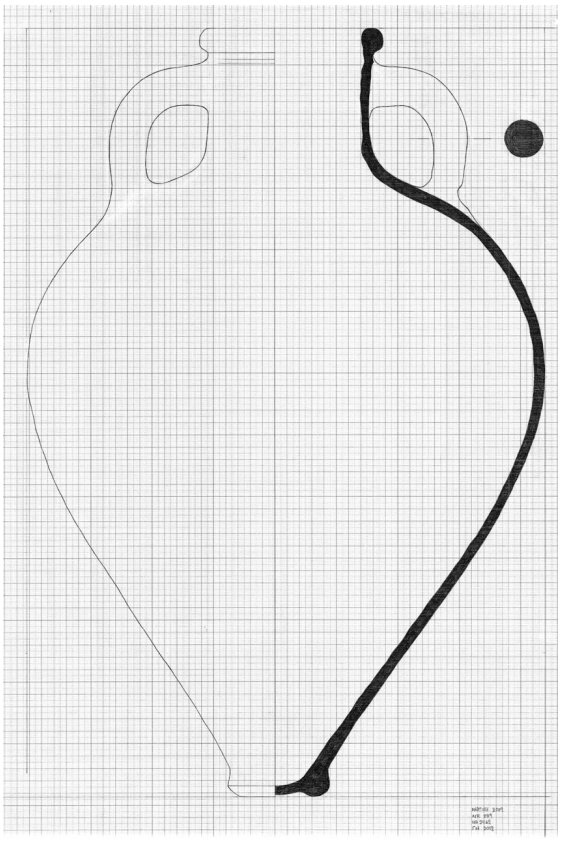
41. 



Catalogue no.	Area of discovery	State of preservation	Handle	Rim	Fabric
ΜΕΘ 4032	229/012 NW corner, Western wall (pareia). 0,30-0,45 m.	Preserved height: 0,185 m.	Handle: Rounded, rat-tail. Thickness: 0,031 m.	Thin, slightly protruding Diameter: between 0,12-0,135 m. (**uneven**) Thickness: 0,0128 m.	Reddish on the interior and exterior, grey-buff in the core. Abundant mica and white inclusions, more inclusions than the grey series amphora of Methone (7.5 YR 5/4 brown)

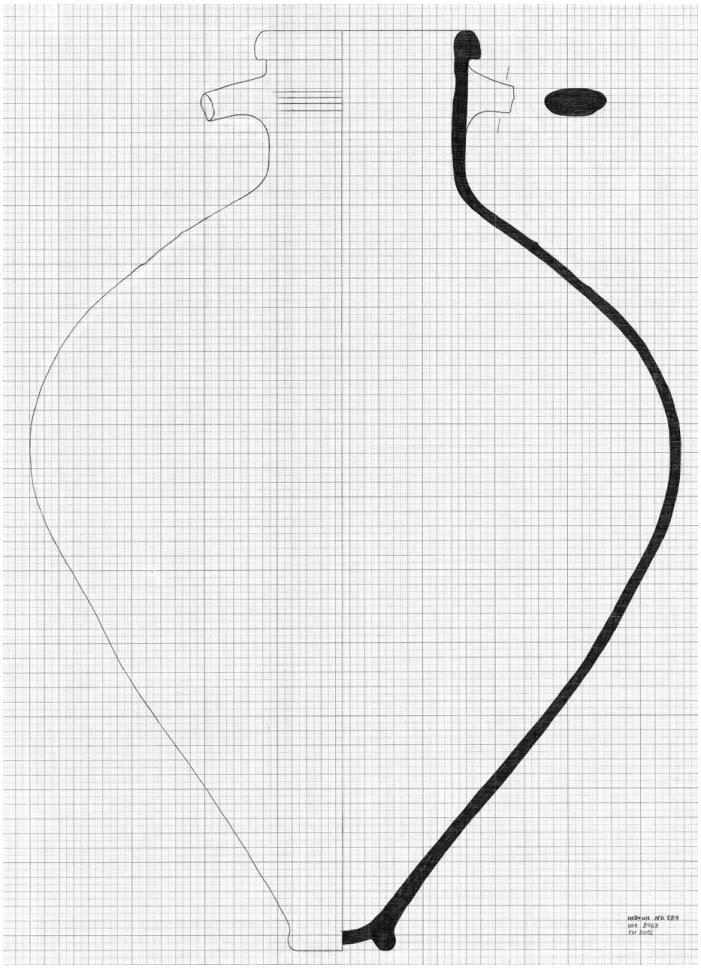


42.



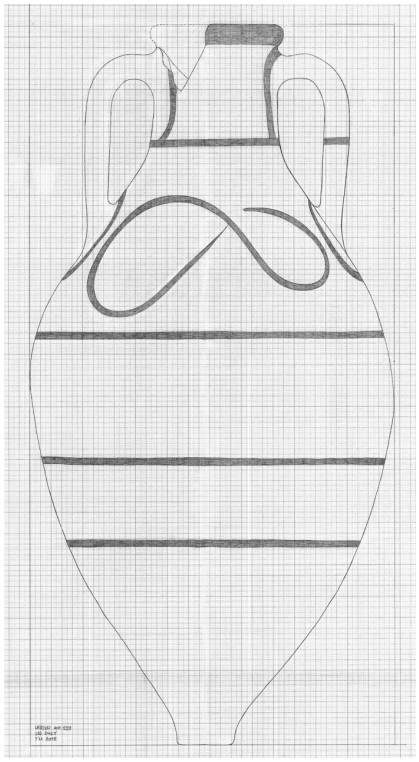
Catalogue no.	ΜΕΘ 2462
Area of discovery	229/008/002. West of wall 4. Depth:0,65 m.
State of preservation	Entire vessel is preserved. Few body sherds missing.
Dimensions	Height: 0,60 m. Body diameter:0,405m.
Neck/Rim	Straight neck, convex rim. Rim diameter: 0,145m.
Handle	Rounded, arching, no rat-tail
Foot	Narrow-ring shaped. Diameter: 0,078 m.
Fabric	Orange, micaceous, coarse with many visible medium to large white inclusions and grit (7.5 YR 5/4 brown).
Graffito	Yes. Circular mark on the neck

43. 



Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 2463
Area of discovery	229/008
State of preservation	Nearly complete vessel; handles are preserved in less than half their size and some body fragments are also missing.
Rim	Convex rim. Diameter: 0,157 m.
Handles	Strap, cylindrical, slanting downwards
Neck	Straight, cylindrical. Triple ridge on the upper part
Foot	Conical narrow foot. Diameter: 0,074 m.
Fabric	Coarse matt reddish/brown clay and a little mica, some white inclusions and small grits Unidentified Group 11 (2.5 YR 5/8 red).
Dimensions of the vessel	Height **:**0,632 m. Diameter**:** 0,39 m.
Graffito	Yes. Mark in the middle of the neck





44.

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 2465
Area of discovery	229/020/008. FIRE LAYER
State of preservation	Almost complete. Missing smallparts of the rim and body
Fabric	Dark brown. 5YR between 5/4 and 6/4 (light reddish brown and reddish brown) Core: grey 5B/1. Small to medium white inclusions and grey inclusions and small black ones
Foot/handle/rim	**Narrow, ring-shaped (**diameter:0,055 m.), long, cylindrical, convex, thin (diameter:0,127 m.).
Preserved height	0, 685 m.
Body Diameter	0,334 m.

Decoration	The entire vessel is covered with chalky-white slip. Thin horizontal bands of red colour are painted onto the slip. One band covers the lip both inside and outside, there is another band on the neck and three more on the body at the height of the maximum diameter of the vessel. On the shoulder of the vessel on both sides, an S pattern also in red paint is horizontally placed. The upper and lower attachments of the handles are encircled by one band each. Two more bands run along the upper surface of the handles. These bands continue to run along the lower body of the vessel and stop slightly lower of the next horizontal band, which is running around the vessel.
Graffito	X on the neck

45. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4648
Area of discovery	229/007014, 019, 022-025. 015. North of wall 14.
State of preservation	Preserving an incomplete upper part of a **hydria**, until the middle of the body.Currently, restored with plaster
Fabric	Orange clay with large and many white inclusions and fewer red inclusions, also quite a lot of mica (7.5 YR, 6/6 reddish/yellow)
Handle/rim	Handle: Thick horizontal/ rim: looking outwards, flat on the top (diameter:0,255 m.)
Preserved height of the vessel	0,193 m. wall thickness: 0,007 m.
Diameter of the vessel	0,394 m.

Decoration	The vessel is covered with a creamish/whitish slip and on top of this, decoration in red paint is placed. Nevertheless, the central motif on the shoulder is not a leaned **8**, as on the usual amphora decoration, but is rather a circular motif, which covers the entire shoulder area on both sides. The rim is covered with orange paint but left unpainted on the top flat surface; this upper lip surface is instead decorated with sets of small vertical lines. Directly below the rim, 3 parallel lines are placed and underneath the parallel lines the central shoulder motif is placed. The area below the shoulder is decorated with a set of 4 wavy lines. The handles are covered with red paint.
Graffito	X on the neck

46.





Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 3948 a,b
Area of discovery	229/006/013 13. Depth 0,50-0,70 m.
State of preservation	Large parts of the body and a foot which co-belong to the same vessel.
Fabric	Brownish clay with grey core (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown, occasionally the fabric is more brownish in the core) with many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions and abundant silver and gold mica (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown).
Foot	Narrow, low conical foot
Max. pre height	0,361 m.
Diameter of the vessel	0,394 m.
Decoration	The body of the vessel is covered with white-chalky slip; there is one black (or dark grey) and one orange horizontal thin bands painted onto the slip and two vertical thin bands of the same colour. Traces of fire are evident on the large body sherd
Graffito	-

47. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4771
Area of discovery	229/007006. Tome B. Northern part. 0,55-0,70 m.
State of preservation	Handle fragment
Fabric	Brownish clay with grey core (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown). Many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions and abundant silver and gold mica.
Foot	Narrow, low conical foot
Preserved height	0,076 m. Wall thickness: 0,0255 m.
Decoration	Thick creamish slip and wide brown band on the top, running along the upper surface

48. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4261
Area of discovery	229. Trench Γ. pit 19.
State of preservation	Fragment, lower part of handle
Fabric	Orange clay with mica white and black inclusions (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown)
Preserved height	0,099 m.
Decoration	Thick pinkish slip and decoration of two crossed bands on the upper surface of the vessel

49. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4756
Area of discovery	229/007005. NorthWest part (black soil)
State of preservation	Foot and small part of the body
Fabric	Brownish clay with grey core (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown, some of them have a brown core) with many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions and abundant silver and gold mica
Foot	Ringshaped, height: 0,045 m. Diameter: 0,075 m.
Decoration	Thick cream slip applied to the entire surface. Traces of a black think line around the vessel, on the transition from the lower body to the foot

50. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4773
Area of discovery	229/007010. Tome B3. Southern part.
State of preservation	Fragment, foot and small part of the body
Fabric	Coarse clay, brown with larger grey core (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown).
Foot	Ring-shaped, short, diameter: 0,099 m.

51. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4650
Area of discovery	229/016007, 022, 023. Pit 7a
State of preservation	Body/shoulder fragment
Fabric	Brownish clay with grey core (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown, some of them have a brown core) with many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions and abundant silver and gold mica
Dimensions	0,065 x 0,009 m. (wall thickness)
Decoration	Thick creamish slip and decoration of 2 sets of 5 concentric circles in orange paint on top.

52. 

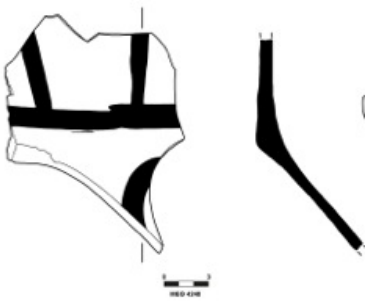
Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4355
Area of discovery	229/013004. North wall 15
State of preservation	Shoulder fragment
Fabric	Brownish clay with grey core (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown. Many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions and abundant silver and gold mica
Dimensions	0,116 x 0,06 x 0,006 m. (thickness)
Decoration	Thick creamish slip and decoration of 1 set of 7 concentric circles in brown paint on top, next to a set of four vertical lines.

53. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4216
Area of discovery	229/015010 Pit 8. and 229/015008, grey soil (pipe deposit). 0,75-1 m.
State of preservation	Rim and small part of body. Found together with a horizontal handle (uncatalogued)
Fabric	Brownish clay with grey core (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown. Many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions and abundant silver and gold mica
Rim	Flat, slightly flaring.
Preserved height	0,053 m.
Decoration	Thick goldish/creamish slip and decoration of wide red bands on top.

54.



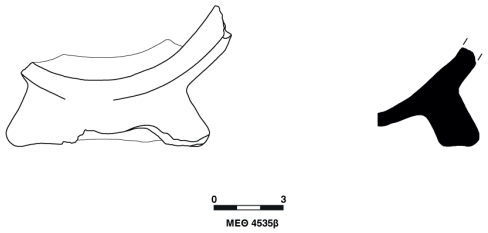


Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4248
Area of discovery	229/015 Trench Γ. Pit 3
State of preservation	Neck and shoulder
fabric	Orange clay with grey or darker core (7.5 YR, 6/6 reddish/yellow) with a slightly increased amount of mica compared to Group 1 (see text p. 147-48) and many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions
Neck	Straight, slightly flaring.
Preserved height	0,15 m x 0,12 m.
Decoration	Thick creamish slip and decoration of wide black bands on top.
Graffito	Yes. Circular mark on the neck

55. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4320
Area of discovery	229/013-014
State of preservation	Handle ans small part of the body
Fabric	Brownish clay with grey core (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown. Many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions and abundant silver and gold mica
Handle	Slender, covered with whitish slip
Dimensions	Height: 0,205 m. Thickness :0,0215
Decoration	Whitish slip. Traces of a black band on the top of the handle's surface.

56. 



Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4217
Area of discovery	229/015/010 Pit 8
State of preservation	Foot and small part of the body
Fabric	Group 1: Brownish clay with grey core (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown). Many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions and abundant silver and gold mica
Foot	bevelled
Preserved height	0,039 m.
Decoration	Creamish slip and orange band running around the foot at the bottom part

57. 

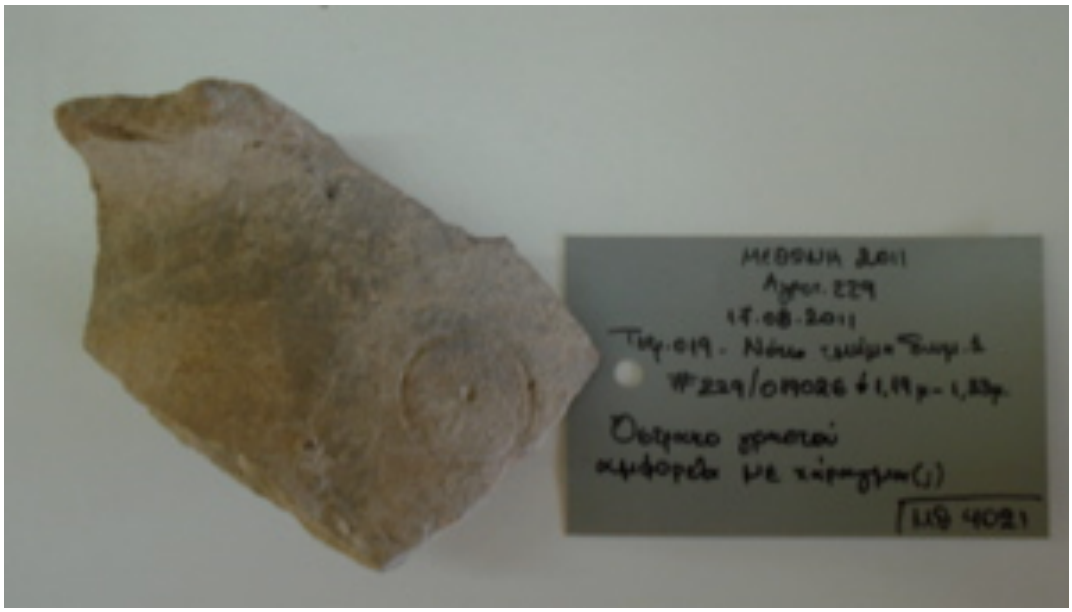
Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4356
Area of discovery	229/013-014
State of preservation	Two handles and part of the rim of a closed vessel, most probably an amphora. Not joined.
Fabric	Group 2:Orange clay with grey or darker core (7.5 YR, 6/6 reddish/yellow) with a slightly increased amount of mica compared to Group 1 and many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions
Rim/handle	Small cylindrical 0,115 m. Width of rim: 0,035 m./ wide cylindrical
Max. pre height	0,205 m.
Decoration	Creamish slip and orange band around it

58. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4658
Area of discovery	229/016007, 022, 023. Pit 7a
State of preservation	Body fragment
Fabric	Brownish clay with grey core (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown). Many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions and abundant silver and gold mica
Preserved height	0,107 m. Wall thickness:0,007 m.
Decoration	Goldish slip and 2 black parallel decoration bands

59. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4784
Area of discovery	229/007004. Southern part of the trench. Layer 2. Tome B
State of preservation	Part of the foot
fabric	Orange clay with many white inclusions and a lot of mica (7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow)
Max. pre height	0,024 m.

60. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4021
Area of discovery	229/019026 southern part of room 1. 1,19-1,83 m.
State of preservation	Neck fragment
fabric	Brownish clay with grey core (5YR: 5/4 reddish/brown. Many small and medium white inclusions and fewer small and medium dark inclusions and abundant silver and gold mica
Preserved height	0,024 m.
Decoration	Slip and black bands which are difficult to discern because of the accumulated sediment on sediment.
Graffito	YES. Circular mark drawn with a caliper and a dot in the middle

61. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 3549
Area of discovery	229/019010
State of preservation	Upper part of the vessel *
Fabric	Reddish brown in the core and brownish on the exterior and the interior. Large chunks of white inclusions and small black.
Handle	Small, arching, cylindrical (in section)
Rim	Thick and flaring, cylindrical (in section)

*more sherds of this vessel have been identified and are currently under restoration, thus measurements were not taken for this vessel until it is entirely restored.

62.





Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4635 a,b
Area of discovery	229/006010. South part of the trench. fire layer, black soil.Depth: 0,67- 0,97 m.
State of preservation	Upper part of the vessel (rim, neck, co-belonging foot?)
Fabric	Reddish brown in the core and brown on the exterior with large traces of fire. Made in a very slow wheel.
Rim	Thick, slightly flaring. Diameter: 0,11 m. Rim +neck's height: 0,09 m.
Foot	Ring-shaped. Height: 0,052 m.

63. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4772
Area of discovery	229/007012. Trench B. Layer just above the natural soil. Depth: 1,50-1,70 m.
State of preservation	Fragment of rim and body
fabric	beige, well-fired, grey in the core, some white inclusions (7.5. YR 6/6 reddish/yellow)
Max. pre height	0,042 m.
rim	Diameter: 0,135 m. thickness: 0,014 m.

64. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4805
Area of discovery	229/020004. Depth: 0,20-0,40 m.
State of preservation	Part of the handle and body
fabric	Orange/reddish clay, big white and black inclusions and some mica (7.5. YR 6/6 reddish/yellow).
Max. pre height	0,11 m.
handle	Small cylindrical, slightly arching. Width: 0,03. Thickness: 0,017 m.
Graffito	Yes. Prefired mark**: /** on the upper surface

65. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4737
Area of discovery	229/012016. Depth: 1,00 -1,15 m.
State of preservation	Foot and small part of the body
Foot	High, ring-shaped. Diameter: 0,085 m. Height :0,03 m. Wall thickness: 0,021 m.
Fabric	Orange/reddish clay, big white and black inclusions and some mica (7.5 YR 8/6 reddish yellow)

66. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4850
Area of discovery	229/027003. Depth: 0,75-1 m.
State of preservation	Rim, neck and beginning of handle,; 4847 possibly co-belongs to the same vessel.
Rim	Cylindrical in section, echinoid. Diameter: 0,12 m. Thickness: 0,018 m.
Handle	Cylindrical and arching. Thickness: 0,014m.
Fabric	Clean and fine clay, reddish with many small black and white inclusions, a little golden mica (7.5 YR 8/6 reddish yellow)
Max. pre height	0,06 m.

67.





Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4263
Area of discovery	229. Trench Γ. pit 4
State of preservation	Foot and part of the body. Another 5 large body fragments.
Foot	Ring-shaped, hollowed out, slightly looking outwards. Diameter: 0,087 m. Height: 0,285 m. Thickness: 0,019 m.
Fabric	Clean and well fired, reddish/brown, with many large and small white inclusions and less small black (2.5 YR 5/8 red). On the surface: 7.5 YR 8/6 reddish yellow
Max. pre height	0,152 m.

68. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4721
Area of discovery	229/012002. Directly west of wall 4
State of preservation	Upper part of the body: rim, neck, part of shoulder and of one handle
Rim	Cylindrical/echinoid, diameter: 0,144 m. Thickness: 0,017 m.
Handle	Cylindrical and arching. Thickness: 0,018 m.
Neck	Slightly flaring, ring on the transition of the neck to the shoulder

Fabric	Not very homogenous clay colour, orange/buff, darker is some areas, lighter in others. It contains abundant mica and some chunks of calcareous inclusions (7.5 YR 8/6 reddish yellow).
Max. pre height	0,083 m.

69. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4803
Area of discovery	229/020002. Western wall 17. 0,20-0,65 m.
State of preservation	Fragment of neck and shoulder
Neck	Ring on the transition with the shoulder
Fabric	Clean and well fired, beige/orange with abundant mica and some medium white inclusions. The core is grey (7.5 YR 8/6 reddish yellow).
Dimensions	0,036 x 0,052 x 0,01 m (thickness)

70. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4604
Area of discovery	229/008004. Southern part of the trench East of wall 4 (kiln area). Depth: down to 0,53 m.
State of preservation	Fragment of neck and shoulder
Neck	No ridge on the neck
Fabric	Clean and well fired beige/orange with abundant mica and some medium white inclusions. The core is grey 7.5 YR 8/6 reddish yellow). Samian Group 5 and unidentified group 14.
Dimensions	0,036 x 0,052 x 0,01 m. (thickness)

71. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4708
Area of discovery	229/022002. Fire layer.
State of preservation	One handle and 3 body fragments belonging to the same vessel
Handle	Cylindrical and arching. Height: 0,08 m. Thickness: 0,018 m.
Fabric	Orange clay with a yellowish exterior, more brownish red in the core. It contains a lot of mica gold and silver, as well as white inclusions (7.5 YR 8/6 reddish yellow).

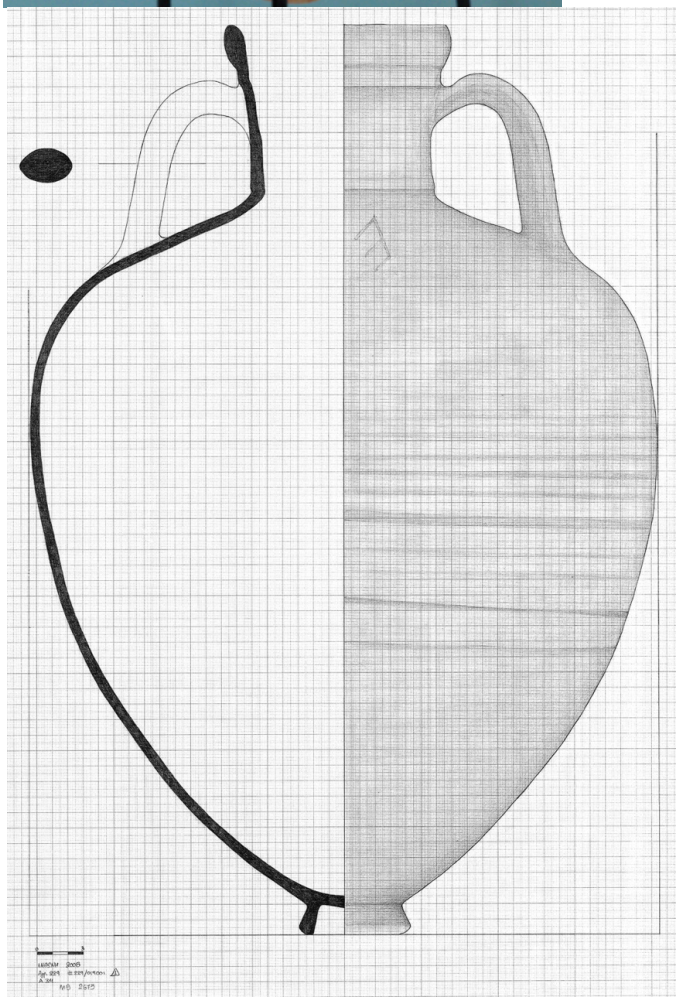
72. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4730
Area of discovery	229/012009. NW part of the trench. Depth: 0,20-0,40 m.
State of preservation	Part of the foot and body of the vessel
Foot	ring-shaped, not high and not hollowed. Diameter: 0,06 m.
Fabric	orange clay with abundant mica (7.5 YR 8/6 reddish yellow)
Max. pre height	0,115 m.

73. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4219
Area of discovery	229/015010 Pit 8 and 229/015008, grey soil (pipe deposit). Depth: 1,70-1,90 m.
State of preservation	Part of the rim and neck.
Rim	Echinoid. Diameter: approximately 0,14 m. Thickness: 0,02 m.
Fabric	Clean and well fired, brownish on the surface and grey in the core with silver mica and small white inclusions. 7.5 YR 6/4 light brown
Max. pre height	0,075 m.

74. 



Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 2675
Area of discovery	229/019/001 1 North section. Depth: 0,50 m
State of preservation	Entirely preserved apart from some small body fragments.
Rim	High convex, thin and underlined by a ridge. Diameter: 0,142 m.
Neck	Cylindrical slightly flaring, with a neat gorge on the transition to the shoulder.
Handle	Flat, oval, slanting slightly upwards without forming a high arch.
Foot	Ring-shaped, looking outwards, diameter: 0,079 m
Fabric	Well fired, orange with abundant silver and gold mica, frequent small black inclusions and few small white inclusions (5YR: 6/6 reddish yellow).
Dimensions of the vessel	0,60 m. (total height). Diameter: 0,425 m.
Graffito	YES, 3. Along the upper surface of both handles and on the transition of the handle with the shoulder an **E** (?)

75. 

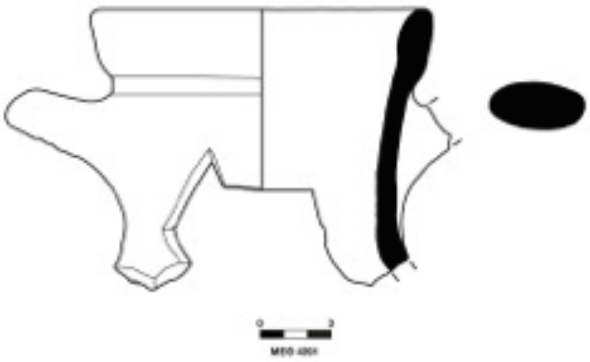
Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4739
Area of discovery	229/012016. West of wall 3 and south of wall 10 (grey-brownish soil). Depth: 1,00 -1,15 m.
State of preservation	Rim and very small part of the neck
Rim	Thin, slightly flares outwards . Dimensions: 0,0385 x 0,058 m. Thickness: 0,0098 m.
Fabric	Well-fired, yellowish clay with mica (5YR: 6/6 reddish yellow).
Decoration	Surface covered with brown slip.

76. 



Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4169
Area of discovery	229/019028 Northern part of room 1. 1,19-1,33 m.
State of preservation	Rim, neck and small part of the body, part of the handle.
Rim	Thickish, straight, ring on the transition with the neck. Diameter: 0,145 m. Thickness: 0,0129 m.
Neck	Straight, ridge on the transition with the shoulder
Handle	Cylindrical, slightly arching
fabric	Buff/red in the core, micaceous and small white and red inclusions. Traces of fire (5YR 6/6 reddish yellow).
Max. pre height	0,1075 m.
Graffito	YES. **X** on the rim

77. 



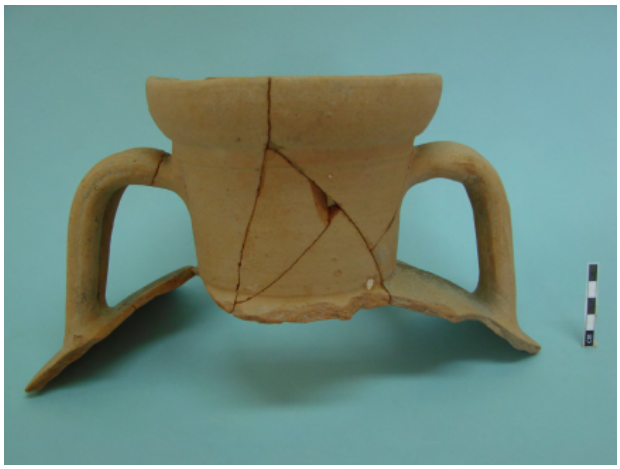
Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4391
Area of discovery	229/020008. Over the 'floor'. Depth: 0,55-0,75 m.
State of preservation	Rim, neck and small part of the body, part of the handles.
Rim	Thin, straight, slightly flares outwards. Ring on the transition with the neck. Diameter 0,145 m. Thickness: 0,013 m.
Neck	Straight, ridge on the transition with the shoulder
Handle	Cylindrical, arching
Fabric	Fine, reddish with grey core, mica and black inclusions (5YR 6/6 reddish yellow).
Max. pre height	0,12 m.

78.



Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 3947
Area of discovery	229/014
State of preservation	Vessel entirely preserved except for upper part (neck, rim and handles). Some fragments of the body are also missing.
Shoulder	Ridge on the transition with the neck
Foot	Low and ring shaped. Diameter: 0,076 m.
Fabric	Well-fired, orange with abundant silver and gold mica, frequent small black inclusions and few small white inclusions (5YR: 6/6 reddish yellow).
Diameter of the vessel	0,483 m.
Max. pre height	0,12 m.

79.







Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 3546
Area of discovery	229/013/002 2 (Black soil).
State of preservation	Upper part: rim, neck, both handles and part of shoulder preserved.
Handle	Cylindrical, arching. Two different handles: one oval, the other one double-ridded.
Neck	Slightly flaring, ridge on the transition with the shoulder.
Rim	Thin, flaring with a ridge on the transition with the neck. Diameter: 0,140 m.
fabric	Light orange with a lot of mica. (5YR: 6/6 reddish yellow).
Max. pre height	0,12 m.



80.

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 3542
Area of discovery	229/020 Section B.
State of preservation	The vessel is preserved until the lower part of the body (foot is missing).
Handle	Cylindrical, long and arching.
Neck	Slightly swollen, straight neck . Ridge on the transition with the shoulder.
Rim	Straight and short. Diameter: 0,088 m. Thickness: 0,09 m.
Fabric	Very light brown-beige, micaceous but less than 2675. Medium white and small to medium black inclusions. Evidence of fire (7.5 YR, 7/3, pink).
Diameter of the vessel	0, 113 m.
Max. pre height	0,48 m.

81.





Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4851 a,b
Area of discovery	229/016/002. Depth: down to 0,45 m.
State of preservation	Upper part (neck, handles, rim and part of shoulder) and bottom part (base and bottom part of body). The two parts do not join.
Handle	Cylindrical, arching. Width: 0,039. Thickness: 0,026 m. Potter's mark . 4580 possibly from either the same vessel or the same type.
Neck	Straight, cylindrical. Height: 0,088m
Foot	Disk-shaped. Diameter: 0,122 m.
Rim	Trapezoidal .Diameter: 0,15 m. Thickness: 0,015 m.
Fabric	Handmade, coarse, reddish/brown with many grey and some white inclusions, some dark inclusions are very large (2.5 YR 5/8 red).
Diameter of the vessel	0, 113 m.
Max. pre height	0,173 m. Thickness: 0,009 m.

82. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4031
Area of discovery	229/008002. West of wall 4 and south of wall. Depth" 0,80- 0,95 m. West x 1,30 m.x 0,60 m.
State of preservation	Upper part (neck, part of one handle, rim and part of shoulder) .
Handle	Cylindrical. Thickness: 0,023 m.
Neck	Straight and wide. Height: 0,088m.
Rim	Small, cylindrical. Diameter: 0,152 m. Thickness: 0,015 m.
Fabric	Yellowish/pale clay with gold mica and many white and black inclusions. Group 2A (5YR: 6/6 reddish yellow).
Max. pres. height	0,173 m. wall thickness: 0,009 m.
Graffito	YES, 2. An **X** on the rim and 2 lines **//** on the interior part of the rim.

83. 

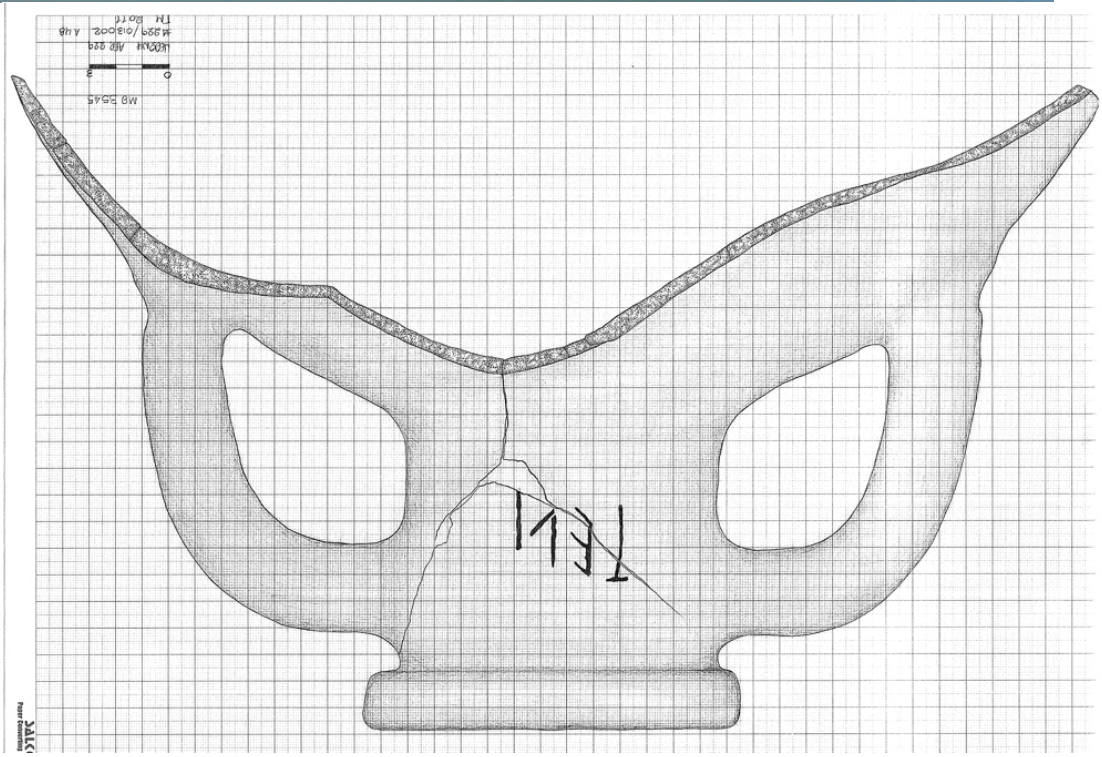
Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4573
Area of discovery	229/008002. West of wall 4, South of wall 21. Fire layer
State of preservation	Part of a handle.
Handle	Cylindrical, straight.
Fabric	Buffish clay with a lot of gold mica and big chunks of white calcareous inclusions, red inclusions, as well. Group 2A. (5YR: 6/6 reddish yellow).
Max. pre height	0,0715 m.

84. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4566
Area of discovery	229/008002. South of wall 21 and West of wall 4.Fire layer
State of preservation	Part of the rim, neck and handle.
Handle	Cylindrical, wide.
Fabric	Orange/buffish, a lot of silver mica, small white inclusions, orange inclusions. Group 2A. (5YR: 6/6 reddish yellow).
Max. pre height	0,067 m x 0,051 m.

85.





Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 3545
Area of discovery	229/013/002, 0,4m South -0,5 West, A48. Depth: 0,42 m.
State of preservation	Upper part of the vessel preserved (rim, neck, handles, shoulder)
Rim	Cylindrical, convex. Diameter: 0,135 m. Thickness: 0,018 m.
Neck	Cylindrical and straight. Height: 0,09 m.
Handle	Stout, rounded, arching. Thickness: 0,033 m.
Fabric	Yellow/ochre very sandy with abundant golden mica (7.5 YR 8/6 reddish yellow).
Diameter of the vessel	0,365 m.
Max pres. height	0,38 m.
Graffito	Yes: on the neck. Both sides: ΤΕΛΙ +

86. 

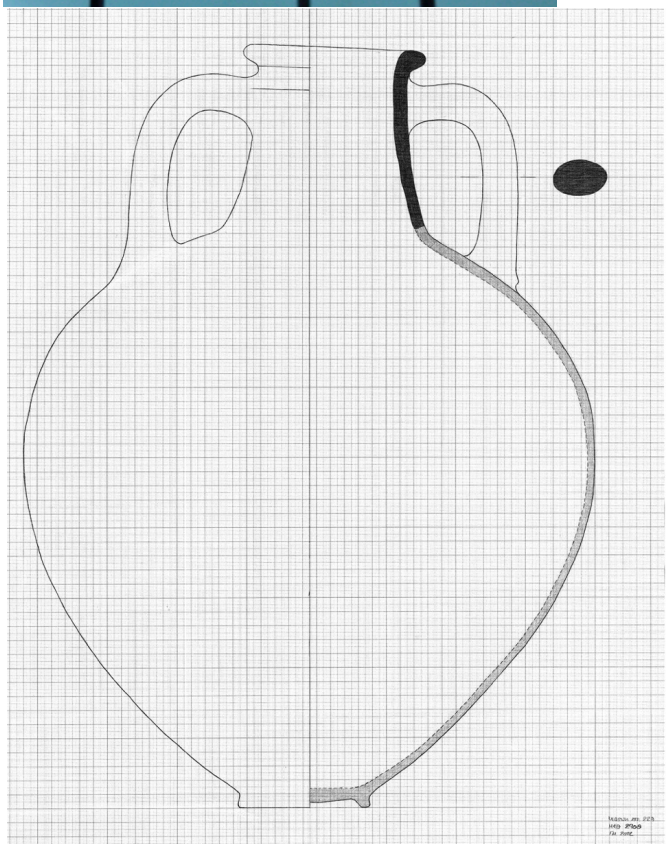
Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4800
Area of discovery	229/020002. Western wall 17. Depth: 0,20-0,65 m.
State of preservation	Handle and small part of the neck
Handle	Rounded.Diameter: 0,022 m.
Fabric	Beige, sandy with abundant golden mica. Group 2B (7.5 YR 8/6 reddish yellow).
Max. pre height	0,062 m.

87. 

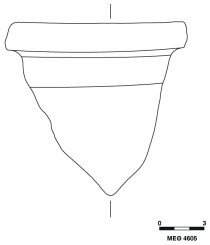
Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4340
Area of discovery	229/014004. North of wall 15 and East of wall 2. Depth: 0,75-0,90 m.
State of preservation	Part of the rim and neck of a closed vessel.
Rim	Trapezoidal. Flares outwards (almost vertically) and then upwards. Diameter: approximately 0,145 m. Thickness: 0,012 m.
Fabric	Badly fired yellow/beige clay with plenty of silver and golden mica and other inclusions, quite sandy Group 2C. (7.5 YR 7/8 reddish yellow-sample taken from the core where it is more buff/orange)
Max. pre height	0,095 m.

88.







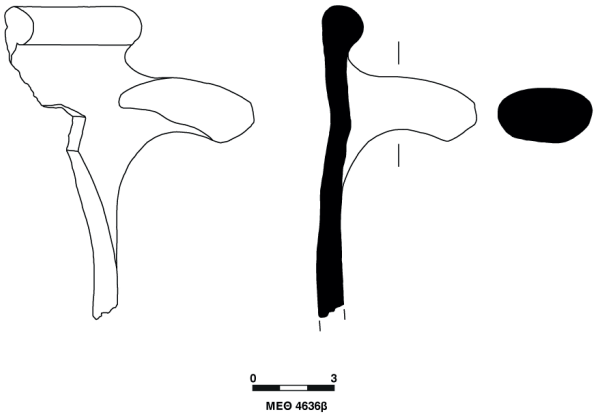




Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 2708 (unidentified local Group 5)
Area of discovery	229/020/008. SW area of the trench. Depth: 0,35-0,55 m.
State of preservation	Entirely preserved vessel, only small parts of the body missing
rim	Trapezoidal. Diameter :0,13 m. thickness: 0,187 m.
Neck	Slanting and flaring downwards.
Handles	Rounded and arching.
Foot	Ring-shaped. Diameter: 0,09 m.
Fabric	Well-fired reddish/brown fabric (5YR: 6/8 reddish/brown) with small white inclusions and mica unidentified Group 5.
Diameter of the vessel	0,401 m.
Height of the vessel	0,538 m.

89.





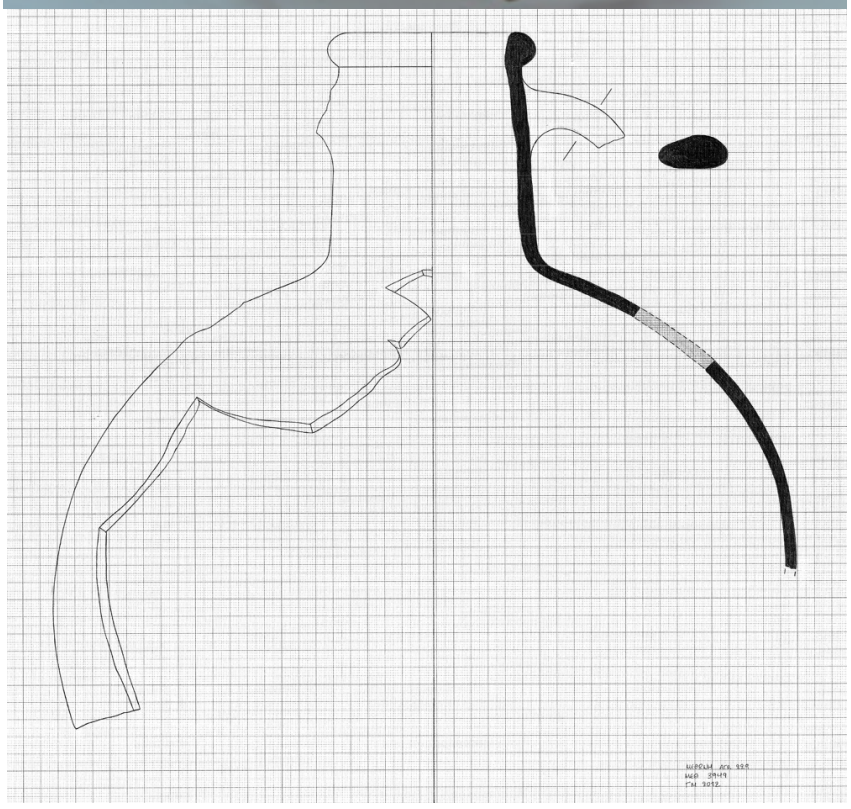
Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4636a, b
Area of discovery	229/006010. South part of the trench. Fire layer, black soil. Depth: 0,67- 0,97 m.
State of preservation	Two large parts of rim, neck and handle. The two parts are not joined with each other.
Rim	Cylindrical, slightly protruding.
Neck	Long straight, ridge at the handles height and slight bulging of the neck.
Handles	Long, cylindrical, thickness: 0,03 m.
Fabric	Well-fired, yellowish/buffish with mica and black inclusions (5YR: 6/6 reddish yellow).
Diameter of the vessel	0,401 m.
Max. pre height	0,538 m.

90. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 2464
Area of discovery	229/020
State of preservation	Entirely preserved vessel, only small parts of the body missing
Rim	Convex. Diameter: 0,142m. Thickness: 0,017 m.
Neck	Cylindrical, ridge on the transition of the neck to the shoulder and another one at the height of the handles
Handle	Arching, cylindrical. Thickness: 0,025 m.
Foot	Low, ring-shaped, slightly looking outward. Height: 0,01 m. Diameter: 0,079 m.
Fabric	Orange-reddish, very micaceous (gold mica). Many small, medium and large white inclusions. Remains of sediment (2.5 YR 5/8 red) Unidentified Group 7.
Diameter of the vessel	0,425 m.
Height of the vessel	0,64 m.
Graffito	Pre-fired mark, on the neck: **/**

91.





Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 3949
Area of discovery	229/013-014
State of preservation	The vessel is preserved down to the bottom part of the body (foot is missing)
Rim	Convex. Rim height: 0,02 m. Diameter: 0,142m. Thickness: 0,017 m.
Neck	Cylindrical, ridge on the transition of the neck to the shoulder and one more ridge below.
Handles	Arching and cylindrical. Thickness: 0,025 m.
Fabric	Orange-reddish, very micaceous (gold mica). Many small, medium and large white inclusions. Traces of fire (2.5 YR 5/8 red) Unidentified Group 7.
Dimensions of the vessel	Diameter: 0,348 m. Max pres. Height: 0,175 m.

92. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4570
Area of discovery	229/008002. West of wall 4, South of wall 21. Fire layer
State of preservation	Part of the rim and neck
Rim	Triangular in section. Diameter: 0,145 m. Thickness: 0,024 m.
Neck	Long and straight
Fabric	Buffish/orange with many inclusions: white, black, red inclusions and mica, medium size pebbles. Unidentified Group 9 (5YR: 6/6 reddish yellow).
Max. pre height	0,113 x 0,08 m.

93. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4607
Area of discovery	229/008004. Southern part of the trench, East of wall 4 (kiln area). Depth: down to 0,53 m.
State of preservation	Part of a handle
Fabric	Yellowish/buffish exterior and containing a lot of black inclusions. Unidentified Group 12. (5YR: 6/6 reddish yellow).
Max. pre height	0,07 m.

94. 

Cat. number	ΜΕΘ 4167
Area of discovery	229/019043 Northern part of room 1.
State of preservation	Part of a handle
Fabric	Orange/buff on the surface and grey in the core. Contains abundant mica, medium and large size dark inclusions. Unidentified Group 12 (7.5 YR, 6/6 reddish/yellow 6/8 reddish yellow).
Max. Pres. height	0,026 m.
Graffito	Impressed holes: 3. Two along the upper surface and a larger one on the attachment with the handle.