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HESPERIA

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THEBES AT THE TIME OF THE CATALANS

A DEPOSIT BETWEEN THE ISMENION HILL AND THE ELEKTRA GATE

ABSTRACT

A bothros excavated in 2011 in the Thebes parking area revealed large quantities of late-13th- to mid-14th-century A.D. domestic waste, including glazed table wares, coarse wares, a small coin hoard, and other everyday objects, highlighting aspects of economic activities, domestic life, and waste management in Thebes at this time. The assemblage also offers a rare glimpse of Thebes amid significant political change: the Catalan takeover of the city and the wider area of central Greece in A.D. 1311. Both the richness of the bothros's material and its location outside the city walls argue against canonical notions of the abandonment of Thebes and economic stagnation caused by the Catalan occupation.

The bothros presented here was excavated in early July 2011 in the low area to the northwest of the Ismenion Hill, Thebes, under the auspices of the Thebes Synergasia Excavation Project, a Greek and American collaboration between the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boiotia and Kevin Daly and Stephanie Larson of Bucknell University.¹ During excavation we explored a number of medieval bothroi used as refuse pits, but we present this bothros alone for two reasons. First, the bottom layers of the bothros form a closed deposit and thus offer a particularly clear view of

1. We have many individuals and groups to thank for support, work, and camaraderie. We thank Beth Fisher and Clare Brogan, who excavated and recorded this bothros and spent countless hours in the intense parking lot sun in 2011. We are grateful to Annie Hooton for the illustrations and Jeff Vanderpool for his photography. We also thank the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, the Loeb Classical Library Foundation, the American Philosophical Society, the University of Virginia, and Bucknell University

for investing in this project, and we are grateful to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for assistance at many steps along the way. We also thank all of our colleagues in the Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Thebes for their years of collegiality. For scholarly advice and other support, we thank John Camp, Guy Sanders, and the two anonymous reviewers for *Hesperia*. For helping us get off the ground with iDig, we thank Bruce Hartzler, the mensch behind that application. For access to unpublished numismatic material from

Thebes and the wider area, we thank the successive ephors of Byzantine antiquities, Charikleia Koilakou, Eugenia Gerousi, and Pari Kalamara, and their colleagues. Mina Galani-Krikou was also of great assistance in matters of medieval Theban coin finds. For sustenance and friendship, we thank Nikos Papanastasiou, Tassos Halkiopolis, and the staff at Ladokolla and at BarBeQue in Thebes. We are also grateful to the guards and the staff of the Archaeological Museum of Thebes for their constant assistance.

late-13th- to mid-14th-century A.D. domestic waste coming from houses in the vicinity. In this respect the Ismenion bothros reveals patterns of production and consumption and waste management for a relatively narrow period in Theban history. Second, the coexistence of well-known glazed table wares and coins found in the bothros allows us to date more securely a large number of unglazed coarse wares found with them. The bothros assemblage thus adds to our knowledge and ability to recognize and date such ubiquitous ceramics and provides comparanda for similar material found in large quantities in both excavations and field surveys. Our typo-chronological and petrographic analyses of the ceramics also contribute to our understanding on issues of technology, skills, and knowledge transfer and aspects of continuity and change in ceramic traditions in the Mediterranean during this period. Finally, the narrow chronological span of the material in the bothros sheds new light on the political and economic conditions of Thebes during the Catalan rule of the city and the wider area of central Greece in A.D. 1311. The presence of local and imported table ware highlights intense economic activities outside the city walls, thus arguing against the abandonment of Thebes and its economic stagnation caused by the Catalan occupation.

In what follows, we first offer some historical context for understanding Latin Thebes in the 13th and 14th centuries. We then present the bothros assemblage in detail based on four main categories: pottery, ceramic petrography, coins, and small objects. We conclude by discussing the assemblage as a whole and its contributions to knowledge of Thebes in the late 13th and first half of the 14th centuries. Our detailed study of the bothros's ceramics and coins forms the basis for this final treatment of markets, tastes, consumption patterns, clienteles, and global networks of exchange.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: LATIN THEBES IN THE LATE 13TH AND FIRST HALF OF THE 14TH CENTURIES

The period from the late 13th century through the first half of the 14th century finds central Greece and Thebes outside the borders of the Byzantine Empire and in the hands of Latin rulers. The aftermath of the Fourth Crusade (A.D. 1204) led to the empire's political fragmentation and the allocation of Byzantine territories to Latin lords involved in the Crusade; Thebes was given in fief to the Burgundian de la Roche rulers of Athens.² Under their rule, the Kadmeia, the center of the city, continued to host the political power and administration of Thebes. In this period the city walls encircled approximately 74 acres and were reinforced by rectangular towers, which continued to be repaired and further strengthened in the following decades.³ In the mid-13th century the city came into the hands of the St. Omer family, who intermarried with the de la Roche family and received half the city as dowry. The so-called St. Omer tower, which still today dominates the northern Kadmeia within the courtyard of the Archaeological Museum of Thebes, was associated with the building activities of that ruling family, although it likely functioned originally as a *donjon*, or keep of the castle (for a map of key areas of Thebes mentioned in the text, see Fig. 1).⁴ The tower was part of an extensive defense program undertaken

2. A vast amount of literature deals with Latin Greece, but, recently, less emphasis has been placed on presenting accurate historical narratives. For this reason, the best single reference remains Longnon 1949. See also Lock 1995; Kiesewetter 2002, pp. 305–307, n. 55; Tsougarakis and Lock 2015.

3. Koilakou 1992, p. 78; 2013, p. 187; Louvi-Kizi 2002, p. 635; Kontogiannis 2012, p. 78.

4. Symeonoglou 1985, pp. 225–229; Louvi-Kizi 2002, p. 632; Koilakou 2013, p. 187.

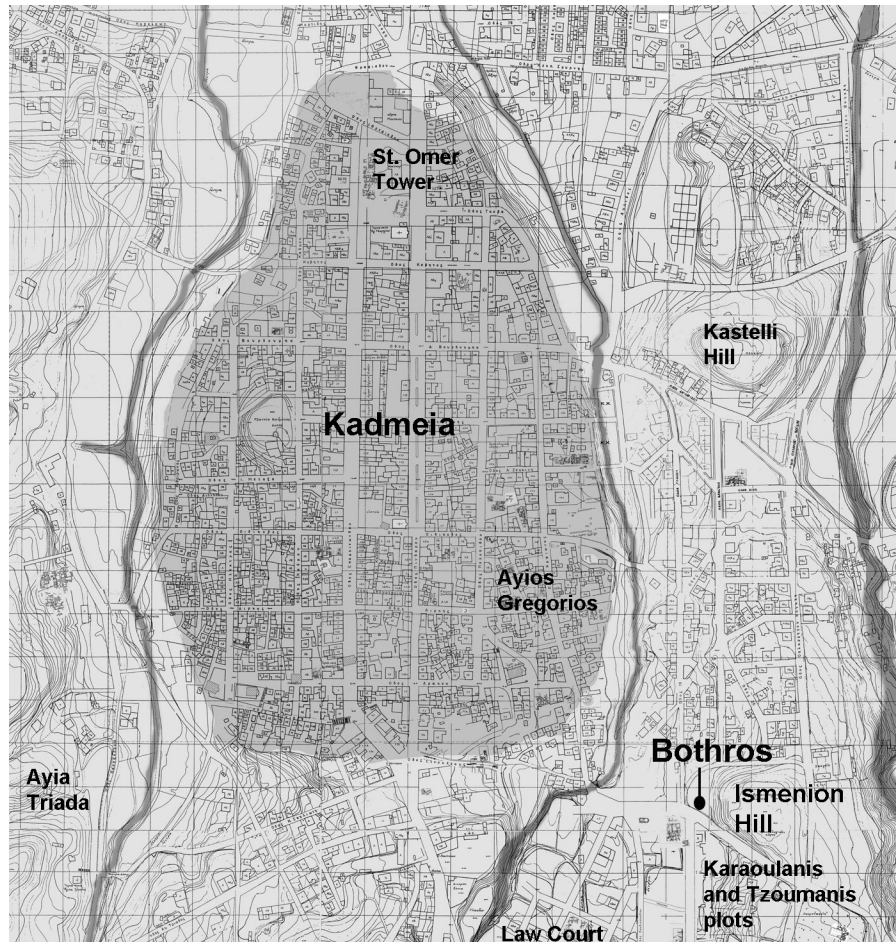


Figure 1. Thebes: map of key locations mentioned in the text. After Symeonoglou 1985

by Nicholas II de St. Omer in the last decades of the 13th century. His concern in strengthening the city walls with towers exemplifies a wider de la Roche/St. Omer strategy aimed at presenting a strong front against Byzantine interests in the Greek mainland, Euboea, and the Aegean.⁵

Under Frankish rule in the 13th century, Thebes continued to expand well outside the fortified core of the Kadmeia—a development already seen in the archaeological record of the Middle Byzantine period (9th–12th century). Houses, churches, and workshops occupied areas outside the main walls, particularly to the southeast and northeast, and extended to the west and into neighboring areas, such as Pyri and Tachi.⁶ Evidence of a separate fortification to protect inhabited areas outside the Kadmeia in the 13th century testifies to the intense habitation and economic activities there.⁷ This picture of prosperity in the 13th century is evident both for the major cities of central Greece and in the rural landscape.⁸

The Catalan Grand Company (a company of mercenaries) emerged in the Aegean in the first decade of the 14th century, at times cooperating with but also often challenging Byzantine, Angevin, and Venetian designs

5. Koder 1976; Symeonoglou 1985, pp. 161–164; Lock 1995, pp. 78–79; Louvi-Kizi 2002, p. 632; Kalopissi-Verti 2007, pp. 3–5; Koilakou 2013, p. 187. For the presence of Byzantine powers in the area and their impact on

the political life of the region, see also Laiou 1972; Angold 2012.

6. Bouras 1981, pp. 622–625; Symeonoglou 1985, pp. 168–169; Louvi-Kizi 2002, pp. 635, 637–638; Koilakou 2013, p. 185.

7. Bon 1937, pp. 188–189; see also Koilakou 1992, 1993.

8. Bintliff 1996, pp. 5–6; 2007, p. 222; Vionis 2017b, pp. 169–170; Vionis and Loizou 2017, p. 251.

in the area.⁹ In A.D. 1311 they ousted the last Franco-Italian duke of Athens and gained control of Thebes, where they set up the “Corporation of the Army of Franks in Romania,” which ruled the territories of the Duchy of Athens from Thebes until A.D. 1379–1380, when the Navarrese Company captured Thebes and Livadeia (ancient Lebadeia).¹⁰ During their rule, the Catalans established four main centers—at Thebes, Athens, Livadeia, and Siderokastro—and introduced a sizable aristocratic and middle-class population originating from the Aragonese-Catalan network, which included the island of Sicily.¹¹ These newcomers continued their contacts with their areas of origin and both encouraged and strengthened commercial ties with southern Italy and Spain. Some of the Catalan newcomers, having supplanted the Franco-Italian ruling classes, gained a livelihood by exploiting landed resources, while others worked in government, commerce, or different professions (legal, financial, medical). The Catalan period also ushered in a period of relative calm with regard to relations with Venice, with which treaties were signed in A.D. 1319, 1321, and 1331; these treaties would become important to Thebes vis-à-vis its relations with Negroponte, the name given to both the city of Chalkida and the island of Euboea.¹² Earlier scholars have imagined this period as a time of turmoil and economic interruption that forced abandonment of areas outside the city walls as well as cessation of industrial and other economic activities, and, as a result, the city is depicted as impoverished and partly abandoned in these accounts.¹³ Certainly, Theban topography was greatly changed by the Catalan’s preemptive demolition of the city fortifications to prevent enemy takeover in A.D. 1331; this destruction can be read as a response to Walter II of Brienne’s military expedition to Greece, a project supported by Angevins interested in limiting Catalan expansion in the area. Aside from this demolition,¹⁴ however, canonical notions of a shrinking and declining Thebes are not supported by excavation finds from the Ismenion Hill and the nearby areas outside the city walls, all of which have revealed architectural remains, evidence of industry, and archaeological features in use in the 14th century, such as the bothros discussed here.

A brief overview of the Byzantine life of the neighborhood of the Ismenion Hill illustrates this point. The hill had been used as a burial ground in the Early Byzantine period (5th–7th century), as demonstrated by both earlier excavations and our own recent explorations in the area; the hill was a good candidate for a burial ground at that time because of both its location outside the city walls and its proximity to the basilica of Ayios Loukas.¹⁵ During the Middle Byzantine and Latin periods (9th–12th and 13th–14th centuries), the hill fell out of use as a cemetery but continued to be a focal point of activities reflecting the growth of Thebes, with houses and churches representing part of a general expansion of the city. Our recent explorations on the hill have revealed a number of domestic features and some evidence for industry, particularly in the northwest and the south-central area.¹⁶ The ceramic finds from this specific bothros provide new evidence of the city’s economic prosperity and active participation in regional and interregional systems of exchange, despite political changes in the early 14th century. Our findings complement earlier discoveries from excavations undertaken in the 1990s–early 2000s by the Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens to the south and southwest of the hill, which revealed an extensive habitation area still in use in the 14th century.

9. Cf. Setton 1948, 1975b; Lock 1995, pp. 112–127. With respect to Venetian trade and the Catalans, see also Heyd 1885–1886, vol. 2, pp. 452–453. For the economic situation in general, see Jacoby 2015a.

10. For the administrative and social organization of the Catalans, see Setton 1975a; Lock 1995, pp. 119–127.

11. See Setton 1975b; Jacoby 2003a.

12. See Lock 1995, pp. 115–117.

13. See, e.g., Setton 1975b.

14. Shawcross 2009, pp. 31–32.

It is also possible that the tower was destroyed in 1360 at a time of internal strife within the duchy (Kontogiannis 2012, p. 79). Whatever its date, the implications of this destruction for the history of Thebes—politically, defensively, topographically, demographically, and economically—have hardly been explored in the existing literature (e.g., Setton 1948; 1966, p. 416; Koder 1976, pp. 75, 270; Symeonoglou 1985). Rubió y Lluch (1910, p. 15) notes the destruction with reference to Buchon’s edition of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, but Bon (1937) does not. For the versions of the *Chronicle* attesting the event, see Schmitt 1904, vv. 8080–8092; Longnon 1911, par. 554; Shawcross 2009, pp. 44–45.

15. See Symeonoglou 1985, pp. 160–161; Louvi-Kizi 2002, p. 633; Koilakou 2013, p. 181.

16. We will present these discoveries in the final publication of the excavation.

A number of workshops must also have existed among the houses of this neighborhood, as storage facilities, pipes, and drains were found in these excavations.¹⁷ In combination, evidence from the Ismenion Hill and its environs presents a picture of a vibrant and relatively large area outside the city walls with domestic structures operating side by side with workshops and churches, most of which developed in the Middle Byzantine period and continued under Latin rule.

DESCRIPTION OF EXCAVATION

The Ismenion bothros was cut directly into bedrock, a soft conglomerate characteristic of the area in and around Thebes that proved easy for both ancient and medieval Thebans to cut for bothroi and graves.¹⁸ The bothros sits in the northeastern area of the KTEA bus station parking lot on a low slope rising from west to east toward the Ismenion Hill (Fig. 2). It seems unconnected to any other feature identified to date in the parking lot area and should be considered to reflect a unique event of refuse disposal here. More refuse pits have been identified on the Ismenion Hill, but they are also known from other parts of the city, within and outside the city walls.¹⁹ Such waste disposal appeared in pits and unused wells near houses, workshops, churches, and burial grounds and highlights the very different urban medieval attitudes toward waste management in comparison to modern notions of urban waste hygiene.²⁰ Such pits could be used for short periods of time, as in the case of the bothros presented here, or for extended periods, since some pits seem to have been used for a number of centuries.²¹

As visible in Figure 3, the full upper perimeter of the bothros is cut into the bedrock, measuring 1.60 m in diameter north–south and 1.45 m in diameter east–west. The cutting grows larger as one descends deeper into the pit, and thus the bottom diameter measures 2 m north–south and 1.90 m east–west. The depth of the bothros remains a relatively consistent 1.68 m. The full extent of the feature’s shape and the complete stratigraphy were revealed in stages, since the first phase of exploration included only one-third of the full perimeter of the bothros on its western side. The second phase revealed the bothros’s cutting and the contents of the eastern side, and the final phase of excavation proceeded across the full diameter of the feature until the bottom. All contents were dry-sieved. The upper layers (contexts 1-2-5, 1-2-17, 1-2-24) still contained modern material intrusion from the parking lot, but the layers below began to reveal the objects catalogued and discussed in this article (Fig. 4). The division between layers was dictated by differences between deposits of cobbles, roof tile, medium to large stones, ash and charcoal, and combinations of such. Most notably, we have concluded that the bottom six contexts of the bothros (1-2-16, 1-2-46, 1-2-49, 1-2-50, 1-2-54, 1-2-57) should be considered one deposit. Initially these layers were divided arbitrarily during excavation in order to minimize the quantity of recording and cleaning involved in each layer.²² All of the catalogued coins that appear here were contained within this same deposit and were found in the far western quarter of the bothros.

We recognize four distinct and consecutive events that led to the formation of this assemblage and its deposition in the bothros: first, the period of circulation and use of the objects; second, their disuse and abandonment;

17. Koilakou 2001–2004, pp. 36–38.

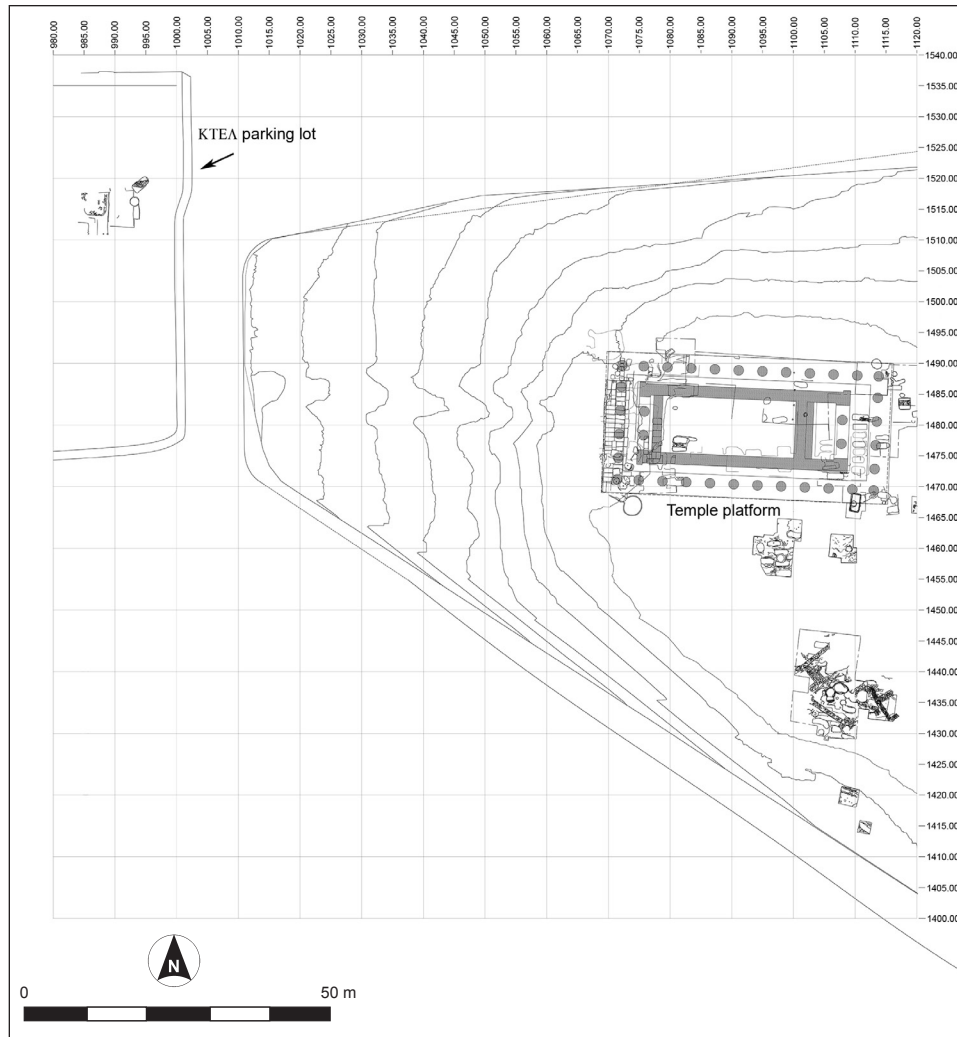
18. For the geology of the area, see Zaronikos 1970.

19. Louvi-Kizi 2002, pp. 634–635; Arvaniti 2013, vol. 1, pp. 81–82, with notes.

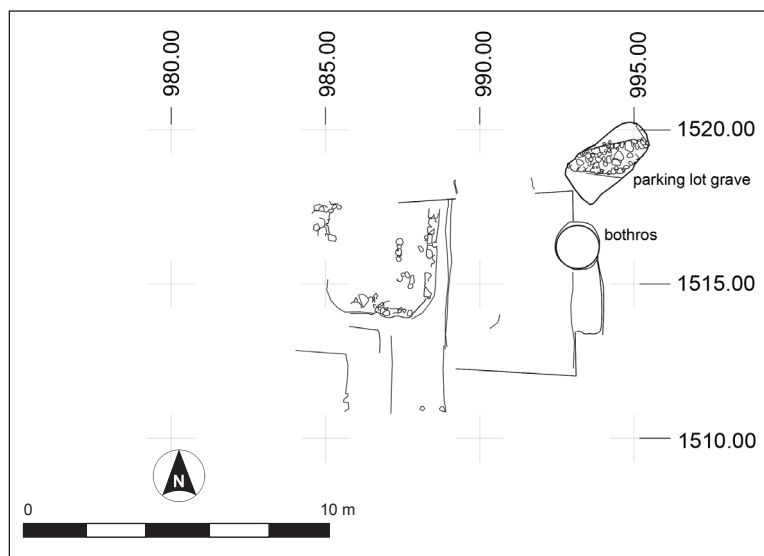
20. Koilakou 1993, pp. 79–80; 1996–1997, pp. 81–82. For a general discussion of refuse pits in Late Roman and Medieval cities, see also Tal and Taxel 2012, pp. 497–500; Gelichi 2015, pp. 156–158.

21. For examples of pits used for long periods at Thebes that contain Byzantine, Frankish, and Ottoman material, see Armstrong 1993; Vroom 2006.

22. We have successfully pieced together various vessels from across these different contexts of the pit, further confirming that they represent one assemblage at the time of deposition.



a



b

Figure 2. The Ismenion Hill: (a) the KTEA parking lot in relation to the Ismenion Hill, with the remains of the ancient Temple of Apollo; (b) detail of the immediate location of the bothros within the parking lot. D. Scahill



Figure 3. Excavated bothros after cleaning in 2011, from the southeast. Photo E. Fisher

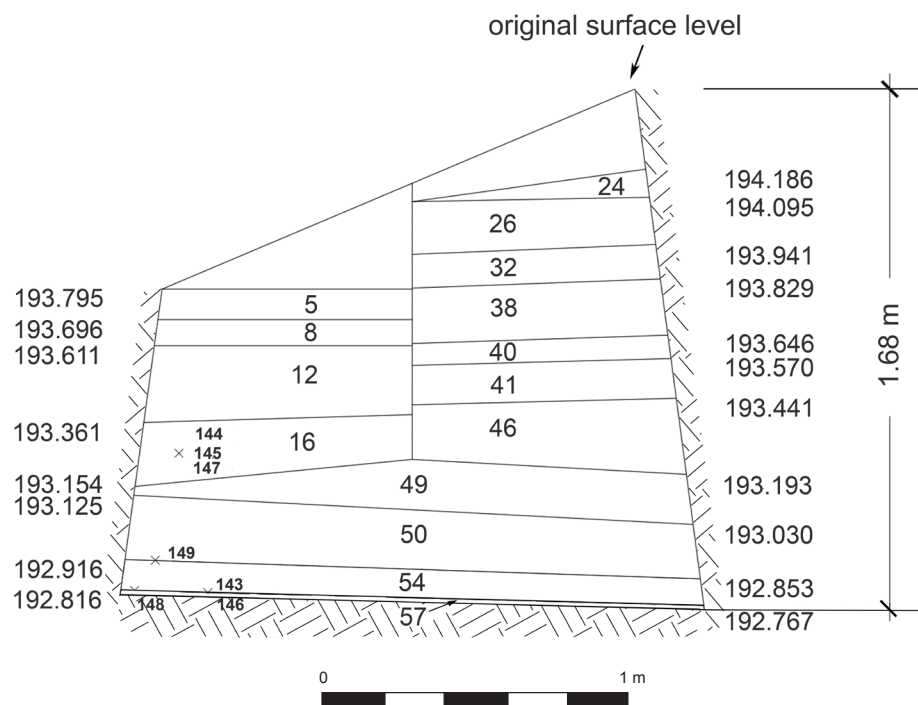


Figure 4. Schematized section of bothros, including findspots of the catalogued coins (in bold). D. Scatill

third, the digging of the bothros into the soft conglomerate bedrock; and fourth, the event of their disposal in the bothros. The period between the disuse of the assemblage and its disposal in the bothros must have been brief, considering the good condition of the pottery, with many fully or partially surviving vessels, and the close proximity of their dates. Given that the lowest half of the bothros contained this onetime unique deposit, we surmise that the bothros was planned and excavated for the purpose of this assemblage's disposal.

As we discuss the material below, we will naturally review the dating for the pottery and coins. At the same time, we consider the pottery and the coins as two different categories of artifact with different lives and distinct circulation and disuse patterns, and so we will refrain from exclusively using the one to date the other.²³ Whether the coins had ceased to be used at the same time as the pottery is unknown, but we do know that both the coins and the pottery were placed into the bothros at the same time during the final disposal of the assemblage. The small coin hoard thus provides a terminus post quem for the disposal of the material.

THE POTTERY

This section comprises detailed descriptions of the ceramic assemblage, divided into groups based on type, function, and decoration, followed by a discussion of the chronology involved in their production and circulation. The assemblage includes both decorated table wares (e.g., bowls, jugs, and plates) and a variety of unglazed cooking, serving, storage, and transport vessels, including cooking pots, jars, jugs, and lids. Since the bothros is a closed deposit, the combination of glazed and well-known ceramic types with unglazed coarse wares allows us to present a chronological and typological sequence for such undecorated wares, which are commonly found in abundance in excavations and surveys. Through their publication, we thus hope to improve the understanding and dating of such coarse wares.²⁴

While the assemblage includes several complete or semicomplete vessels, many pots survive as fragmented sherds, a state that has occasionally prohibited the distinction between dishes and bowls. In the case of unglazed table wares, we have attributed some sherds to “jugs,” although it is impossible to determine the complete form; we have thus marked such attributions with a question mark to signify this uncertainty. When applicable, petrographic sample numbers are provided for those catalogued pottery pieces that were selected for sampling.

FINE GLAZED WARES

SGRAFFITO WITH CONCENTRIC CIRCLES

Sgraffito pottery decorated with concentric circles was known in earlier publications as Zeuxippus subtypes (Ib and Ic) or as Zeuxippus derivatives, but in more recent studies this type of pottery has been disassociated from the Zeuxippus production of the end of the Middle Byzantine period (late 12th–early 13th century), and instead it is now understood as part of the large family of Late Sgraffito wares with single-colored glaze (brownish orange or green).²⁵ Although these ceramics were originally thought to be

23. For dating ceramic assemblages based on coin finds, see Sanders 2000; in prep.; Papadopoulou 2015.

24. We have consulted a number of major publications pertaining to medieval ceramics in the eastern Mediterranean, including *Corinth* XI; MacKay 1967, 2003; Sanders 1987,

1993, 2016; Williams and Zervos 1992, 1995; François 1997b; Williams, Barnes, and Snyder 1997; Williams et al. 1998; Williams and Bookidis 2003; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004; Vroom 2005; Joyner 2007; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008; Yangaki 2008, 2012; Skar-tsis 2012. For comparanda from central

Greece and Thebes in particular, see Armstrong 1993; Gerstel et al. 2003; Vroom 2003, 2006, 2009; Arvaniti 2013; Vionis 2014, 2017a; Waksman et al. 2014; Waksman, Skartsis, et al. 2018.

25. The disassociation of this type from Zeuxippus ware was based on macroscopic criteria as well as on

a product of the early 13th century, their circulation is now recognized up to the 15th century. We date the examples from the Ismenion bothros from the mid-13th to the 14th century based primarily on comparanda from stratified contexts in excavations in the Kadmeia, although similar finds from other excavations in the Aegean have also been taken into consideration.²⁶

Discovery of such sgraffito wares in numerous excavations and field surveys in the eastern Mediterranean underscores their popularity and wide circulation.²⁷ The variety of clays used testifies to numerous production sites, including Constantinople, Thessaloniki, central Greece, Sparta, Cyprus, various locations in Asia Minor, and even Italy.²⁸ The sgraffito wares with concentric circles from the late-13th-century shipwreck at Novy Svet further support the existence of multiple workshops, as ceramic analysis of the assemblage's chemical composition reveals a different chemical signature from other known production sites and thus points to a yet-unidentified large-scale production site.²⁹ The abundance of this pottery in central Greece points to this region, and in particular to Thebes and Chalkida/Negroponte, as potential candidates.³⁰ On the basis of chemical signatures, Waksman and her colleagues have suggested that Thebes was a production center for sgraffito wares with concentric circles, and our petrographic analyses of such material from the Ismenion bothros confirm that Thebes was indeed a production site.³¹

The main shapes of the group from the bothros include deep bowls with flaring walls,³² bell-shaped bowls with deep bodies and flaring rims,³³ and hemispherical bowls with everted or plain rims, occasionally with

observations regarding shape, glaze color, and decoration. For an early discussion of this type, see Megaw 1989, p. 259. For more recent scholarship, see Sanders 1993, p. 257; 2008, p. 391; Waksman and François 2004–2005, pp. 641, 683–686; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2009, pp. 456–457; Yangaki 2012, pp. 57–60.

26. Megaw (1989, pp. 259–260) originally argued for a 13th-century date based on the Zeuxippus subtypes in the destruction debris of St. Polyuktos at Sarachane. For production and circulation beyond the first half of the 13th century, see MacKay 1967, pp. 252–253; Sanders 1989, p. 196. Armstrong (1993, p. 321) dates the Zeuxippus ware from the Theban Kadmeia to the mid- to late 13th century and following. More recent studies push the dates of circulation to the first half of the 14th century and even as late as the 15th century; see Dori, Velissariou, and Michaelidis 2003, pp. 113–114; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004, pp. 128–130; Waksman and François 2004–2005, pp. 633–635; Vroom 2005, pp. 110–111; Sanders 2008, p. 391; Waksman and Teslenko 2010, p. 361; Arvaniti 2013, vol. 1, pp. 146–147. The excavations in the Kadmeia have been

instrumental in identifying and dating the Ismenion finds; see Armstrong 1993; Arvaniti 2013, vol. 2, pp. 3–27, nos. 2–60.

27. For circulation of Zeuxippus subtypes, see Waksman and Teslenko 2010, pp. 360–361; Waksman et al. 2014, p. 415.

28. See François 1995, pp. 91–96; Waksman and François 2004–2005; Vroom 2005, p. 111; Waksman and Teslenko 2010, pp. 361–362, with bibliography. For production sites securely identified archaeologically, see Lazzarini and Calogero 1989; Berti, Gelichi, and Mannoni 1997, pp. 395–396 (Venice); Waksman and Spieser 1997 (Pergamon); François 1997a, pp. 422–424 (Nicaea); Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004, pp. 125–131 (other sites in Turkey); Waksman, Erhan, and Eskalen 2010 (Constantinople); İnanan 2013, pp. 64–66 (coastal Asia Minor). Common fabrics include fine and semifine clays (light red, 2.5YR 6/6–6/8 to 5YR 7/6), with fine small gray or dark inclusions and a few mica flakes; or fine clays, light red (2.5YR 6/4–6/6) to reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), with very few dark, chalky white inclusions. The interior and upper exterior of the vessels are covered with a white slip

and an olive-yellow (2.5Y 6/8, 7/8) to yellowish brown glaze (10YR 6/8, 7/8) that also covers the rim externally, occasionally dripping downward onto the exterior body.

29. Waksman and Teslenko 2010.

30. See Armstrong 1993, p. 310; Vroom 2003, 2006; Arvaniti 2013, vol. 1, pp. 139–147.

31. Waksman et al. 2014, esp. pp. 413–414. See also Vionis's (2017a, p. 362) discussion of the similar signatures of Euboian and central Greek clays and the complexities in identifying locations of clay sources.

32. Bowls **2, 8**, and **22** are similar to Novy Svet type 1 (groups 2 and 3) and Armstrong's no. 151 from the Kadmeia; see Armstrong 1993, p. 314, no. 151, fig. 10; Waksman and Teslenko 2010, p. 362, fig. 5. Similar to this group but with a more emphasized outwardly concave rim is bowl **5**, which is similar also to Sanders 1987, p. 165, no. 1, fig. 162.

33. Bowls **6, 10, 12**, and **19** are similar to Novy Svet type 1 (group 4) and to Armstrong's nos. 86 and 150 from the Kadmeia; see Armstrong 1993, pp. 308–310, 134, nos. 86, 150, figs. 8, 10; Waksman and Teslenko 2010, pp. 358, 363, fig. 6.

outturned edges.³⁴ Often the bowls have a low ring and flaring foot with a small, low pendant cone on the undersurface.³⁵

Main decorative characteristics include two or more incised bands of horizontal and occasionally wavy lines on the rim. Spirals and concentric circles decorate the inner floor of the vessels. Bowl 7 also has a graffito inscribed after firing on its exterior base, an addition observed in other vessels of the same type.³⁶ Three examples from the Ismenion bothros are so-called One Color Sgraffito ware, a type that combines incised and painted decoration with painted brushstrokes of green or brown color (26–28).³⁷

Some vessels from the Ismenion assemblage are similar to Novy Svet ware in shape and decoration, a result that corroborates the previous correlation by Waksman and her colleagues between a locally made Theban vessel and the Novy Svet group, based on shape, glaze, color, and slip.³⁸ These discoveries demonstrate that products of the same type but with different chemical composition, and thus perhaps from different production sites, can be found together. Such coexistence highlights how commodities, ideas, and decoration techniques were diffused between different locales of the eastern Mediterranean and how they may have shaped common artistic repertoires and aesthetic values. In other stylistic correspondences, the perfectly incised concentric circles of bowl 1 can be compared with 13th- and 14th-century finds from the Hippodrome tombs in Thessaloniki and with vessels found in Italy, especially Venice.³⁹ The thicker incised circles and the freehand spiral in the floor of bowl 9 evoke similar decoration techniques known from Asia Minor.⁴⁰

1 Bowl

Fig. 5

3-2-5. H. 6.8; Diam. rim 14, base 5.6 cm.

Almost complete, only a small piece from rim missing. Seven joining pieces; complete profile. Low, slightly flaring ring foot, hemispherical bowl with flaring outwardly concave walls and vertical rim.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with a few small chalky white inclusions, mica, and rare pores.

Brownish yellow to yellow (10YR 6/8–7/8) glaze on interior and on upper exterior rim. White slip covering the inner surface and the upper exterior up to carination. Three concentric circles form a medallion on floor and encircle a small spiral in middle. Two parallel horizontal lines on inner rim. Tripod stilt marks visible.

2 Bowl

Fig. 5

3-2-33. H. 4.6; est. Diam. 18 cm.

Part of rim survives; two joining pieces. Slightly outturned plain rim, offset from straight wall.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6; core 2.5YR 6/8–5/8) with chalky white inclusions.

Brownish yellow (10YR 6/8) glaze and pink (2.5YR 8/3) slip on interior and on upper exterior. Two incised parallel lines on inner rim and another circling floor at level of carination.

Petrographic sample I12.

3 Bowl

Fig. 5

3-2-34. H. 3.7; Diam. base 6.1 cm.

Base and part of lower body survive; two joining pieces. Hemispherical bowl with low, flaring foot and flaring walls.

34. Bowls 1, 11, and 28 are similar to Novy Svet type 1 (group 6); see Waksman and Teslenko 2010, p. 364, fig. 8.

35. For typical shapes, see Armstrong 1993, pp. 313–314; Vroom 2005, p. 110–111.

36. Such graffiti have been interpreted as potters' or owners' marks or as marks associated with ceramic distribution, although alternative interpretations are possible; see Waksman and Teslenko 2010, pp. 362–363.

37. For other examples of Zeuxippus subtypes with painted decoration, see Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, p. 89, no. 101; 2009, p. 467; Dafi and Skartsis 2015, p. 641, no. 9:8, e. For similar finds from Thebes, see Arvaniti 2013, vol. 1, p. 147, nos. 52–60.

38. See Waksman et al. 2014, pp. 413–414, no. BZY504.

39. See Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1989, pp. 215–216, fig. 12; Berti and Gelichi 1997, p. 97, fig. 5.

40. See, in particular, Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004, pp. 128–130, tables 137–139.



Figure 5. Sgraffito bowls 1-4. Scale 1:3

Very fine, pink to light brown fabric (7.5YR 7/4-6/4; core 5YR 6/4-6/6) with a few fine and small chalky white inclusions, some mica, and a few pores.

Olive-yellow (2.5Y 6/8) glaze and white slip on interior. A spiral line gives the impression of concentric circles on floor encircling a spiral in the middle. Tripod stilt marks visible.

Petrographic sample I08.

4 Bowl

Fig. 5

3-2-35. H. 2.6; Diam. 21 cm.

Part of rim survives; three pieces, two joining. Flat everted rim with groove around edge.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6; core 2.5YR 6/6-5/6) with white chalky inclusions.

Yellow (2.5Y 7/8) glaze on interior. Five incised parallel lines on inner rim.

Petrographic sample I28.

5 Bowl

Fig. 6

3-2-36. H. 6.0; est. Diam. 17.9 cm.

Rim and parts of body survive; five joining pieces. Hemispherical bowl with slightly outturned plain rim, offset from straight wall.

Medium fine, red to light red fabric (10R 5/6 to 2.5YR 6/6; core 2.5YR 6/4–6/8) with a few small chalky white inclusions and a few pores.

Yellow (2.5Y 7/8) glaze and pinkish white (7.5YR 8/2) slip on interior and on exterior rim. Two incised parallel lines on inner rim, another two on floor.

Petrographic sample I06.

6 Bowl

Fig. 6

3-2-37. H. 3.3; Diam. 17 cm.

Part of rim survives; seven pieces, five joining. Plain rim, with rounded lip.

Fine, light reddish brown to reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/4–6/6; core 2.5YR 6/6–6/8).

Yellow (10YR 7/8) glaze with pinkish white (7.5YR 8/2) slip on interior and on exterior rim. Broad incised parallel lines frame wavy line on inner rim. Ledge runs around vessel internally below rim.

Petrographic sample I07.

7 Bowl

Fig. 6

3-2-38. H. 3.1; Diam. base 5.7 cm.

Base and part of walls survive; four joining pieces. Low, flaring foot and flaring walls.

Medium fine, very compact, light reddish brown to light brown fabric (5YR to 7.5YR 6/4; core 2.5YR to 5YR 6/4–5/1 toward glazed surface) with a few chalky white inclusions.

Yellow (2.5Y 7/8) glaze and white slip. In center of floor a spiral line gives the impression of concentric circles surrounding a small spiral. Graffiti on external surface of base. Tripod stilt marks visible.

Petrographic sample I09.

8 Bowl

Fig. 6

3-2-39. H. 8.5; Diam. rim 15, base 6.8 cm.

Almost complete, part of rim missing; complete profile. Restored. Hemispherical bowl with a flaring ring foot, flaring walls to carination with vertical rim.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with a few small white inclusions and a few pores.

Yellow (2.5Y 7/8) glaze and very pale brown (10YR 8/2) slip on interior and on exterior rim. An incised spiral gives the impression of concentric circles in middle of floor. Two incised parallel horizontal lines on inner rim and another incised line circles in center of floor. Tripod stilt marks visible.

9 Bowl

3-2-41. Est. H. 8; Diam. rim 14, base 5.7 cm.

Base and part of rim survive; 10 pieces (base: three joining pieces; rim: two sections, one with three joining pieces and another with four joining pieces). Low, flaring foot, flaring walls, and upright rim.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6; core 10R 6/6) with small white inclusions and a few pores.

Yellow (10YR 7/6) glaze and pink (5YR 8/3) slip on interior and on upper exterior. A horizontal incised line on inner rim. In center of floor two thickly incised concentric circles surround a small incised spiral, giving the impression of concentric circles.

Petrographic sample I10.

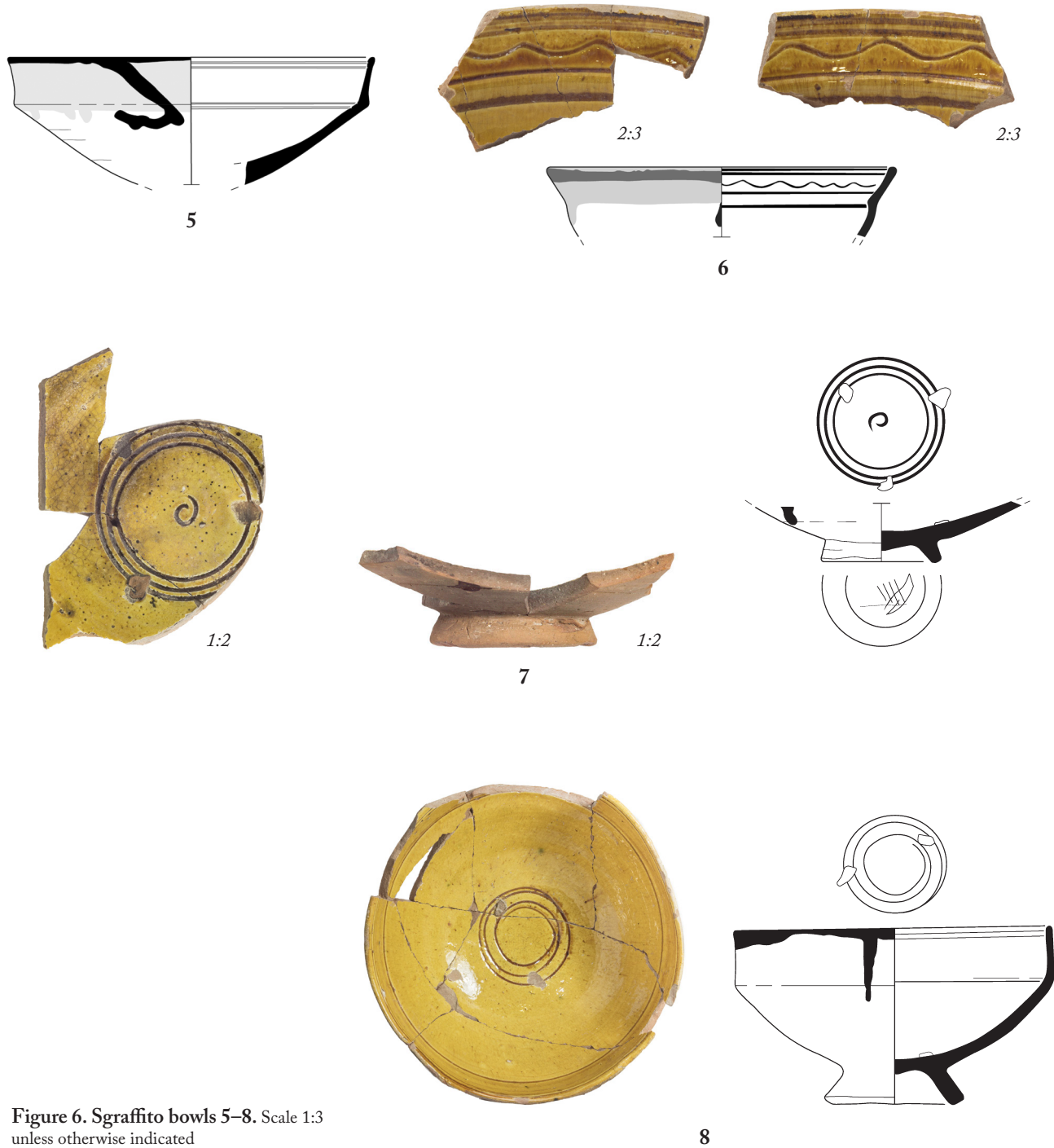


Figure 6. Sgraffito bowls 5–8. Scale 1:3 unless otherwise indicated

10 Bowl

3-2-66. H. 4.5; est. Diam. 18 cm.

Part of rim and upper body survives. Slightly outturned rim, concave exterior; hemispherical body.

Medium fine, light reddish brown fabric (2.5YR 6/3–6/4), high fired, with a few small white inclusions, very rare dark grits, and a few pores.

Olive-yellow (2.5Y 6/8) glaze inside and on upper exterior lip. Very pale brown (10YR 8/2) slip on inside and outside of rim. Three incised parallel lines frame a wavy line on inner rim.

Petrographic sample I01.

Fig. 7



Figure 7. Sgraffito bowls 10 and 12.
Scale 1:3

11 Bowl

3-2-69. H. 4.9; Diam. 11 cm.

Part of rim and upper walls survive; four joining pieces. Flaring walls and upright rim.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with rare white inclusions, rare brown grits, and a few pores.

Olive-yellow (2.5Y 6/8) to dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/3) glaze on interior and on upper lip exterior. Very pale brown (10YR 8/2) slip on interior and on exterior rim. Incised curving line (probably forming a circle) on floor.

Petrographic sample I03.

12 Bowl

Fig. 7

3-2-70. H. 3.7; est. Diam. 15.9 cm.

Part of rim survives; three joining pieces. Everted curved rim, slightly offset from curved body.

Medium fine, light reddish brown to light red fabric (2.5YR 6/4–6/6) with a few fine white inclusions.

Brownish yellow (10YR 6/8) glaze and thick very pale brown (10YR 8/3) slip on interior and on exterior rim. Incised parallel lines on inner rim.

13 Bowl

3-2-97. H. 3; Diam. base 6.6 cm.

Base survives. Low, slightly flaring ring foot.

Medium fine, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) with a few white inclusions and some mica.

Yellow (2.5Y 7/8) to brownish yellow (10YR 6/6) glaze and white slip. Incised spiral in center of floor giving the impression of concentric circles.

14 Bowl

3-2-98. H. 3.1; Diam. 18 cm.

Part of rim survives; two joining pieces. Walls flaring outwardly with vertical, slightly outturned rim at angle to wall.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with a few white inclusions and some mica.

Yellow (2.5Y 7/8) glaze and cream-colored slip on interior and on exterior rim. Two incised parallel lines run on inner rim, and another two on center of floor.

15 Bowl

3-2-99. H. 3.4; Diam. 18 cm.

Part of rim survives; two joining pieces. Vertical, slightly upward-turned rim, offset from body.

Soft fine, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/8) with rare white inclusions and some mica.

Yellow (2.5Y 7/8) glaze and pinkish white (5YR 8/2) slip on interior and on exterior part of rim. Three incised parallel lines on inner rim.

16 Bowl

3-2-100. H. 3.2; Diam. 12 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical plain rim of a possibly hemispherical bowl.

Medium fine, reddish yellow fabric (7.5YR 7/6) with a few white inclusions and some mica.

Olive-yellow (2.5Y 6/8) glaze on interior and on exterior part of lip. Very pale brown (10YR 8/3) slip on interior and on exterior part of rim. Two incised parallel lines on inner rim.

17 Bowl

3-2-111. H. 3.1; Diam. 12 cm.

Part of rim survives; three joining pieces. Vertical, slightly offset plain rim.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with a few white and gray inclusions and some mica.

Yellowish red (5YR 5/8) glaze on interior and on upper exterior lip. Pink (5YR 8/3) slip on interior and on exterior rim. Incised line on inner rim and two incised parallel lines on floor.

18 Bowl

3-2-112. H. 2.1; Diam. base 5.8 cm.

Base survives. Low, slightly flaring ring foot. Concave inside with button protruding.

Medium fine, light reddish brown fabric (2.5YR 6/4) with very few fine white inclusions, brown grits, a few mica flakes, and a few elongated vughs.

Brownish yellow (10YR 6/8) glaze and whitish slip. Three incised concentric circles in center of floor.

Petrographic sample I04.

19 Bowl

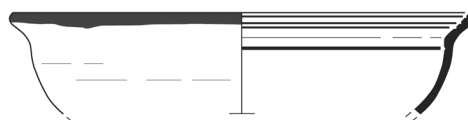
Fig. 8

3-2-113. H. 3.9; est. Diam. 18.5 cm.

Part of rim survives. Everted plain rim, offset from curving body.

Soft fine, light reddish brown to light red fabric (2.5YR 7/4–6/6) with a few fine white inclusions, brown and red grits, and very rare small voids.

Reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/8) to brownish yellow (10YR 6/8) glaze and white slip on exterior lip. Three incised parallel lines on inner rim and one incised line on floor.



19

Figure 8. Sgraffito bowl 19. Scale 1:3

20 Bowl

3-2-114. H. 2.8; Diam. 21 cm.

Part of rim survives; five joining pieces. Vertical plain rim.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with a few white and gray inclusions and some mica.

Yellow (2.5Y 7/6) glaze and pink (2.5YR 8/3) slip on interior and on upper body exterior. Two incised parallel lines on inner rim.

21 Bowl

3-2-129. H. 5.2; Diam. 16 cm.

Part of rim and upper body survives; eight joining pieces.

Vertical, slightly offset rim at angle to body.

Soft fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with a few white inclusions and some mica.

Yellow (10YR 7/8) glaze and pink (2.5YR 8/3) slip on interior and on exterior rim. Two incised parallel lines on inner rim, with another two circling floor of vessel.

22 Bowl

3-2-130. H. 6.6; est. Diam. 13 cm.

Part of rim and upper body survives; four joining pieces. Vertical, slightly offset rim at angle to body.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent white inclusions and some mica.

Yellow (2.5Y 7/8) glaze on interior and on exterior rim. Pinkish white (5YR 8/2) slip on interior and covering exterior rim, shaped as teardrops. Two incised parallel lines on inner rim. Another two incised parallel lines circle floor of vessel. Three incised concentric circles in center of floor.

23 Bowl

3-2-131. H. 4.7; est. Diam. 13 cm.

Part of rim and upper body survives; six pieces, four joining. Vertical, slightly offset rim at angle to body.

Medium fine, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/8) with a few white inclusions and some mica.

Olive-yellow (2.5Y 6/8 to 5Y 6/8) glaze on interior and on exterior rim. Pink (5YR 8/3) slip on interior and on exterior rim, shaped as teardrops. Two incised parallel lines on inner rim, with another two circling floor of vessel.

24 Bowl

Fig. 9

3-2-142. H. 4.8; Diam. base 6.3 cm.

Base and part of body survive; three joining pieces. Low, flaring ring foot with low cone on roof. Hemispherical body.

Fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6–6/8; core 2.5YR 6/8) with a few small and medium white chalky inclusions and brown and purple grits.

Yellow (2.5Y 7/8) to strong brown (7.5YR 5/6) glaze and white slip on interior. Traces of glaze on exterior surface. Two incised parallel lines on floor. In center of floor, incised spiral gives the impression of concentric circles.

Petrographic sample I21.

25 Bowl

3-2-143. H. 3.9; Diam. base 4.5 cm.

Base survives. Low, slightly flaring ring foot with low cone on roof.

Medium fine, red fabric (2.5YR 5/8) with a few fine and small white and dark inclusions and a few voids.

Brownish yellow (10YR 6/8) to strong brown (7.5YR 5/6) glaze and pink (2.5YR 8/3) slip on interior. Incised lines on center of floor, probably a spiral, giving the impression of concentric circles.

Petrographic sample I05.

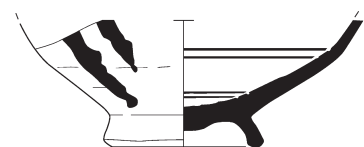
26 Bowl

Fig. 9

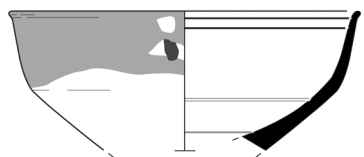
3-2-54. H. 5.7; Diam. 14 cm.

Part of upper body and rim survives; four joining pieces. Hemispherical body with vertical rim.

Medium fine, light reddish brown to light red fabric (2.5YR 6/4–6/6; core 2.5YR 6/8) with a few small and medium white chalky inclusions and rare pores.



24



26

Figure 9. Sgraffito bowls 24 and 26.
Scale 1:3

Very pale brown to pale yellow (10YR 8/3 to 2.5Y 8/4) glaze and pink (7.5R 8/3) slip on interior and on exterior rim. Two incised parallel lines on inner rim and another on floor. A partly visible incised curved line likely forms a circle in center of floor. Vertical brushstrokes of brown color on vessel's interior.

Petrographic sample I31.

27 Bowl

3-2-145. H. 4.9; Diam. base 5.2 cm.

Base; three joining pieces. Low, slightly flaring ring foot with low cone on roof. Fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with a few white inclusions.

Yellow (5Y 8/6) glaze and white slip on interior. In center of floor incised spiral gives the impression of concentric circles. Brushstrokes of green paint on interior. Tripod stilt marks visible.

Petrographic sample I02.

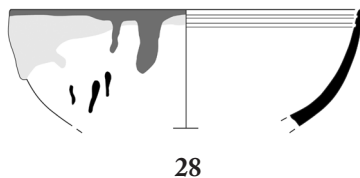


Figure 10. Sgraffito bowl 28. Scale 1:3

28 Bowl

Fig. 10

3-2-146. H. 4.7; est. Diam. 14 cm.

Part of rim survives; two joining and three nonjoining pieces. Possibly part of the same vessel as 27. Vertical plain rim.

Medium fine, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/8) with a few white and dark inclusions, mica, and a few voids.

Yellow (5Y 8/6) glaze and thick pink (5YR 8/3) slip on interior and exterior rim. Two incised parallel lines on inner rim. Brushstrokes of light olive-green (5GY 5/4) paint on interior.

OTHER SGRAFFITO WARES

The bothros also included both closed and open vessels with sgraffito decoration. All have shiny glaze ranging in color from strong brown (7.5YR 5/8) to yellow (2.5Y 7/8) covering the interior and exterior part of the lip or rim. Slip-painted “tongues” on the exterior are also often found in this category.⁴¹ Incised horizontal lines usually run around the interior rim, while the vessel's floor is decorated with a variety of different incised motifs, from abstract and geometric designs to depictions of animals and trees. Such decorative elements were widely distributed in the eastern Mediterranean, and they have been found in both Byzantine and Latin territories, including northern and central Greece, Euboea, Asia Minor, Constantinople, Varna, and even Venice.⁴²

In the Ismenion assemblage, most of these vessels are open bowls and dishes, with the exception of the small jug 34. Three bowls (30, 31, and 32) bear the same incised decoration in their interior with a motif of a stylized cypress tree with heart-shaped leaves, and thus likely form a set. Similarly decorated bowls have been found at Corinth and Thessaloniki, the latter often considered a production site for such vessels in the 14th century, and at sites in Asia Minor.⁴³ The three bowls from the Ismenion bothros also display some distinct characteristics, such as spirals between the leaves or leaves decorated with simple hatches instead of more complex decoration, as in the examples from Corinth, Thessaloniki, and Asia Minor.

Other types of decoration documented in the Ismenion bothros include incised patterns of Solomon's knot (33) and an eight-figure pattern (35) known from 13th- to 14th-century workshops in Thessaloniki, Constantinople, and Mikro Pisto in Thrace. Bowls with similar eight-figure

41. Slip-painted tongues are well known on products from Thessaloniki; see Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, p. 189.

42. See Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1987, 1999; Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou 1989, pp. 215–222. See also Vroom 2003, pp. 165–167; 2005, pp. 114–115; Papanikola-Bakirtzi and Zekos 2007; Yangaki 2012, pp. 61–69. For Euboea, see Dafi and Skartsis 2015, pp. 642, 648, fig. 8. For Corinth, see MacKay 2003, pp. 414–417, and n. 43, below. For Constantinople, see Waksman and Girgin 2008; Waksman, Erhan, and Eskalen 2009, 2010; Papanikola-Bakirtzi and Waksman 2015.

43. Such as at Sardis, Metropolis, Pergamon, and Ephesos. For such plates in general, see Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1987; 1999, pp. 184–186, 189, nos. 92–96; Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou 1989, p. 220, fig. 31; Vroom 2005, pp. 114–115. For Corinth, see C-1960-357 (Corinth Notebook 217, p. 72), which is stylistically closer to those found in Thessaloniki than those from the Ismenion assemblage. For Asia Minor, see Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004, pp. 232, 238–239, nos. 478, 517, 518, pls. 114, 118.

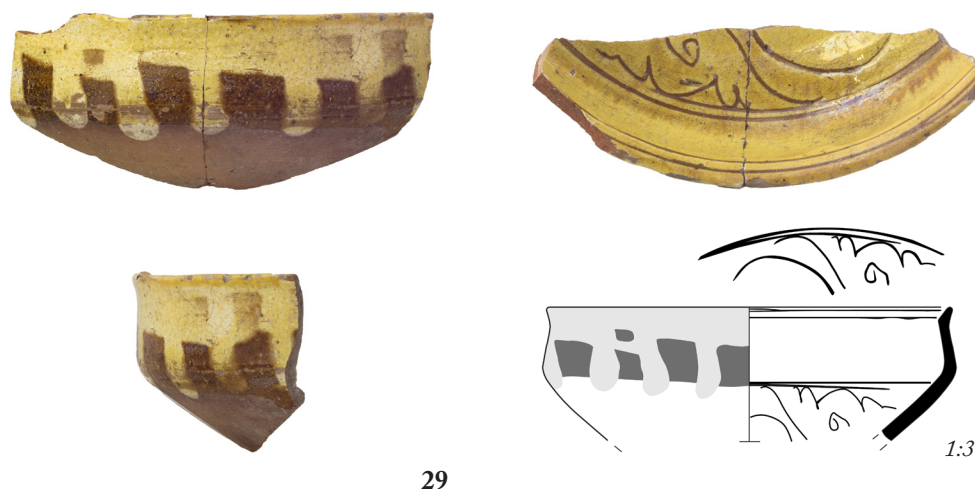


Figure 11. Sgraffito bowl 29. Scale 1:2 unless otherwise indicated

29 Bowl Fig. 11

3-2-47. H. 5.3; Diam. 16 cm.

One-third of rim survives; two joining pieces. Hemispherical bowl with flaring walls, straight rim, and lip flaring slightly outward.

Soft fine, light reddish brown to light red fabric (2.5YR 6/4–6/6; core 2.5YR 6/6–6/8) with small white inclusions.

Yellow (2.5Y 7/8) glaze and white slip on interior and on exterior rim. Two incised parallel lines on inner rim. Two incised parallel lines on floor encircling incised motif with curving and wavy lines. Slip-painted tongues on exterior.

Petrographic sample I14.

30 Bowl

3-2-49. H. 4.4 cm; no rim.

Part of main body survives. Flaring walls.

Medium fine, light reddish brown to light red fabric (2.5YR 6/4–6/6; core 2.5YR 6/8–5/8) with frequent small white chalky inclusions.

Yellow (2.5Y 7/8) glaze with white slip on interior. Incised heart-shaped leaves with hatches inside them and part of a spiral in background between them.

Petrographic sample I13.

31 Bowl Fig. 12

3-2-50. H. 3.2; est. Diam. foot 6 cm.

Base survives. Low, slightly flaring foot and flaring walls.

Fine, medium hard, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/8) with frequent small white chalky inclusions and a few pores.

Brownish yellow (10YR 6/8) glaze and white slip on interior. Floor incised with three heart-shaped leaves with hatches inside them, stemming from a branch with a spiral in it.

32 Bowl Fig. 12

3-2-55. H. 9; Diam. 23 cm.

Three-quarters of body and part of rim survive; partly restored. Widely flaring walls to carination, vertical rim, slightly inturned and rounded lip.

44. Williams and Zervos 1992, pp. 168–171. See also MacKay 2003, p. 415. Bowl fragment C-2014-31 from Corinth is also decorated with a similar eight-figure pattern and is currently dated by the excavators to the late 13th and early 14th centuries (unpublished; see the entry at <http://ascsa.net>).

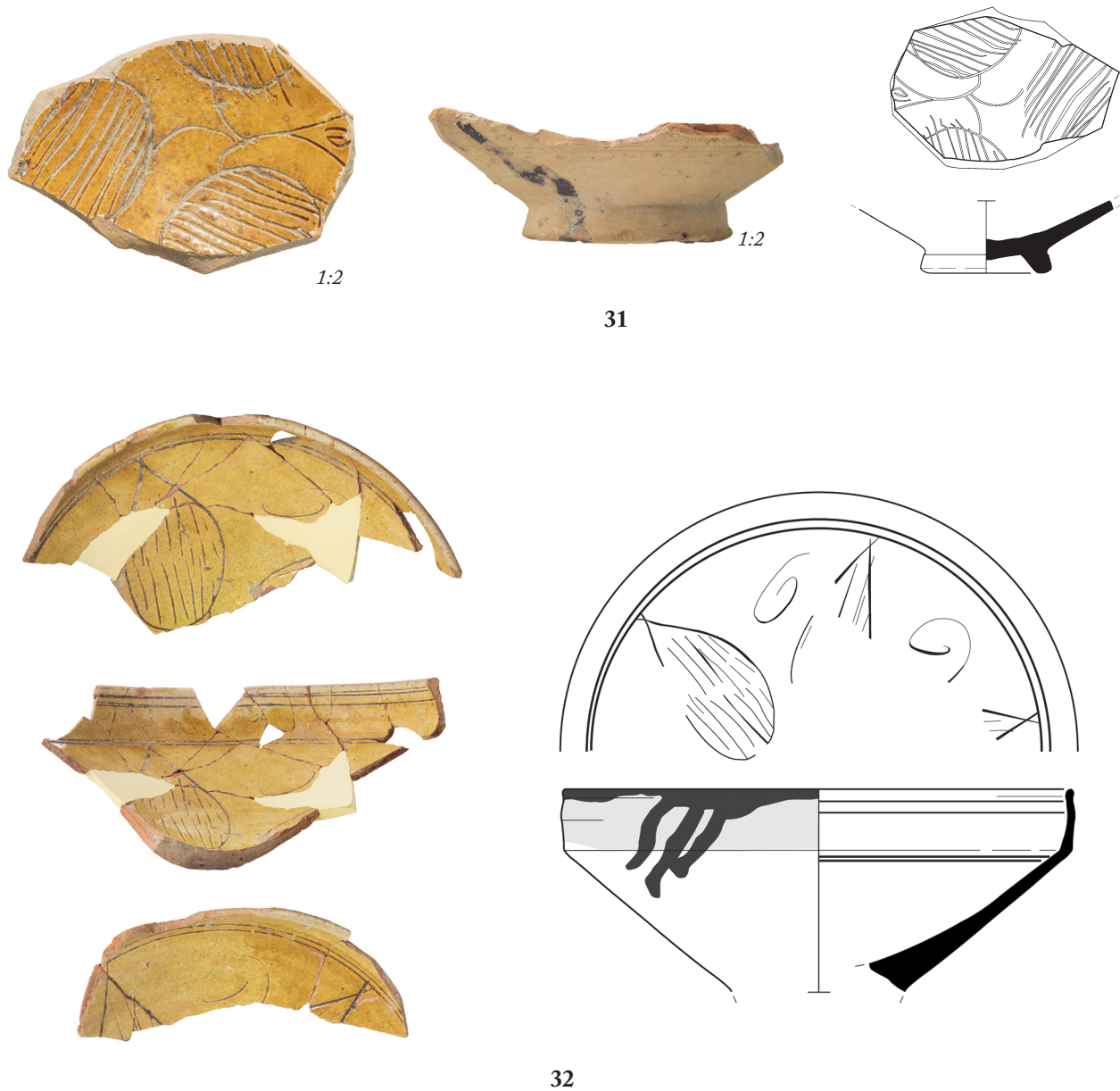


Figure 12. Sgraffito bowls 31 and 32.
Scale 1:3 unless otherwise indicated

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with frequent chalky white, brown, and gray inclusions, some mica, and a few pores.

Yellow (10YR 7/8) glaze on interior and outside around rim and white slip on interior and on exterior rim. Three incised parallel horizontal lines encircle inner rim. Another two incised parallel lines encircle floor and form a wide medallion containing four leaves with hatches and spirals among the leaves. Tripod stilt marks visible.

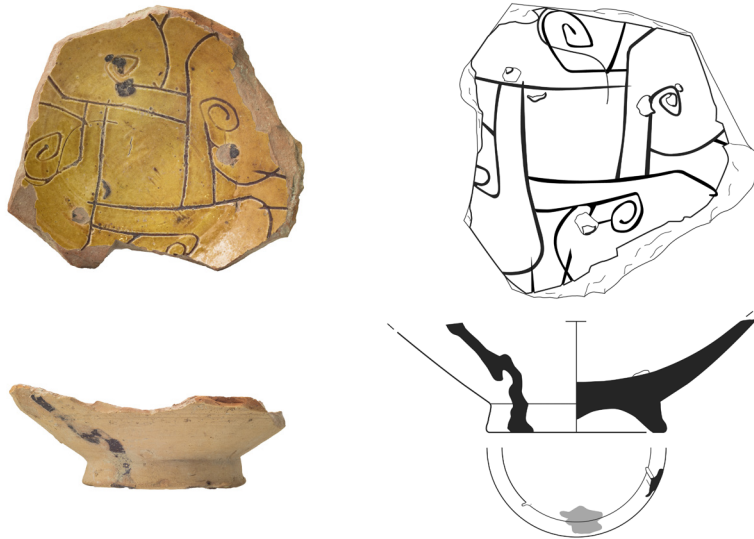
33 Bowl

3-2-58. H. 4.5; Diam. base 6.5 cm.

Base survives. Low ring foot.

Very fine, porous, reddish yellow to pink fabric (5YR 6/6 to 7.5YR 7/4; core 2.5YR to 5YR 6/6) with small white inclusions, dark and red grits, and a few mica flakes.

Fig. 13



33

Figure 13. Sgraffito bowl 33. Scale 1:3

Yellow (10YR 7/8) to brownish yellow (10YR 6/8) glaze and white slip on interior with splashes of glaze on exterior. Incised lines on floor forming a Solomon's knot. Tripod stilt marks visible.

34 Jug

Fig. 14

3-2-59. H. 13.8 cm; no rim.

Part of the neck, body, and one handle survive; two nonjoining parts. Possible trefoil mouth.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6; core 2.5YR 6/6–5/4) with a few chalky white inclusions.

Reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/8) to yellow (10YR 7/8) glaze and white slip. Two incised parallel lines around neck frame a ledge visible externally. Incised motif of parallel curves imitates a guilloche, framed by two incised parallel lines on their upper and bottom parts, separating them into zones.

Petrographic sample I24.

35 Bowl

Fig. 14

3-2-67. H. 7.5; Diam. base 9 cm.

Base and part of lower body survive; three joining pieces.

Low, slightly flaring ring foot and flaring walls.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6 to 2.5YR 6/3) with a few chalky white inclusions, some mica, and a few pores.

Strong brown (7.5YR 5/8) to brownish yellow (10YR 6/8) glaze and white slip on interior. Incised spiral motif, probably forming an eight-figure pattern, occupies floor. Incised lines engraved in imbrications created by the central motif. Tripod stilt marks visible.

36 Bowl

3-2-77. H. 3; Diam. 13 cm.

Part of rim survives; two joining pieces. Upright rim.

Medium fine, pink fabric (7.5YR 7/4) with a few chalky white inclusions.

Light olive-brown (2.5Y 5/6) glaze and white slip on interior and on upper exterior. Two incised parallel lines run along interior of rim.

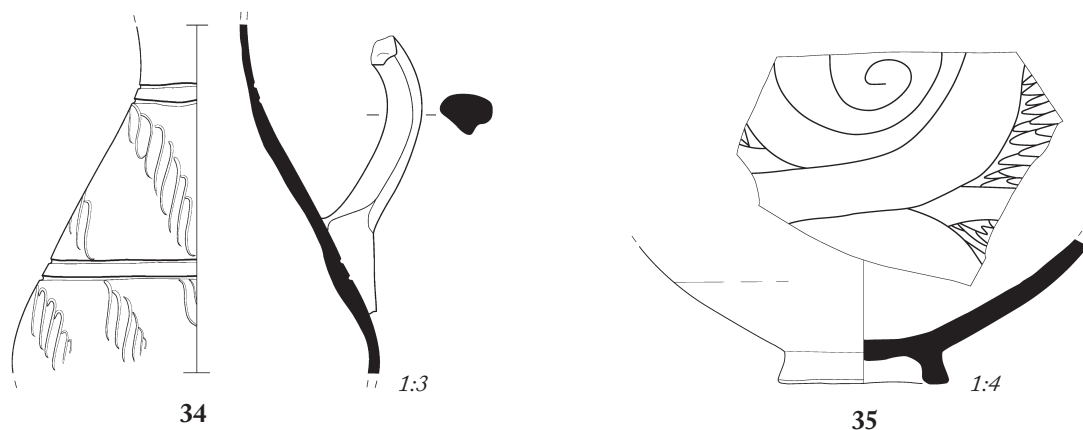


Figure 14. Jug with guilloche 34 and sgraffito bowl 35. Scale as indicated

37 Bowl

3-2-147. H. 3.3; Diam. 12 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical plain rim.

Medium fine, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/8) with a few white inclusions, a few mica flakes, and a few voids.

Strong brown (7.5YR 4/6) glaze on interior and on exterior lip. Thick pink (2.5YR 8/3) slip on interior and on exterior rim. Two incised parallel lines circle interior surface of rim.

ROULETTE WARES

The Ismenion bothros assemblage includes two nearly complete Roulette-ware bowls. This type of pottery was produced in the Veneto region during the last quarter of the 13th to the mid-14th century.⁴⁵ Roulette wares have a wide distribution area across the Crusader states, the Aegean, and the Adriatic. In Greece this type is known from Corinth, Argos, Clarentza, Akronauplia, Crete, and Arta.⁴⁶ At Corinth in particular, Roulette wares are commonly found in layers dating to the end of the 13th century and the first decades of the 14th century.⁴⁷ The examples found on the Ismenion Hill do not have the typical rouletting on their exterior but still observe the typical shape of carinated bowls, with a low, flaring foot, a central cone on the undersurface of the foot, and a high vertical rim ending in a rounded lip. In their size, shape, and decoration, they resemble the Veneto wares found at Corinth.⁴⁸

45. See MacKay 1967, p. 254; Gelichi 1984, pp. 47, 51–56. For typical shapes of Roulette-ware vessels, see Williams and Zervos 1992, p. 155; Waksman and Teslenko 2010, p. 359.

46. For dating and a general description, see MacKay 1967, pp. 254–255; Gelichi 1984; Vroom 2005, pp. 132–133; Waksman and Teslenko 2010, p. 362. For the distribution of Roulette wares in Greece and the eastern Mediterranean, see esp. François 1997b, pp. 393–401, fig. 2. See

also Oikonomou-Laniado 1993, p. 309 (Argos); Athanasoulis et al. 2005, pp. 47–48 (Clarentza); Yangaki 2012, p. 116 (Akronauplia); Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993, pp. 243–244 (Arta); see also MacKay 2003, p. 420 (Athens).

47. MacKay 1967, pp. 254–255; Sanders 1987, p. 174; Williams and Zervos 1992, pp. 151, 154. At Corinth, Roulette ware has also been found within a closed deposit that postdates the Catalan attack at Thebes in 1312, but cannot be later

than the mid-14th century; see Williams, Barnes, and Snyder 1997, p. 42; MacKay 2003, pp. 413–414. More recently, Sanders (2016, p. 5) postulates an even later date for production and circulation of Roulette ware (mid-14th to early 15th century).

48. Bowl 39 in particular is very similar in size, shape, and decoration to C-1960-37 (MacKay 1967, p. 269, no. 12), C-1934-772, and C-1934-1224 (Williams and Zervos 1992, pp. 151–154).

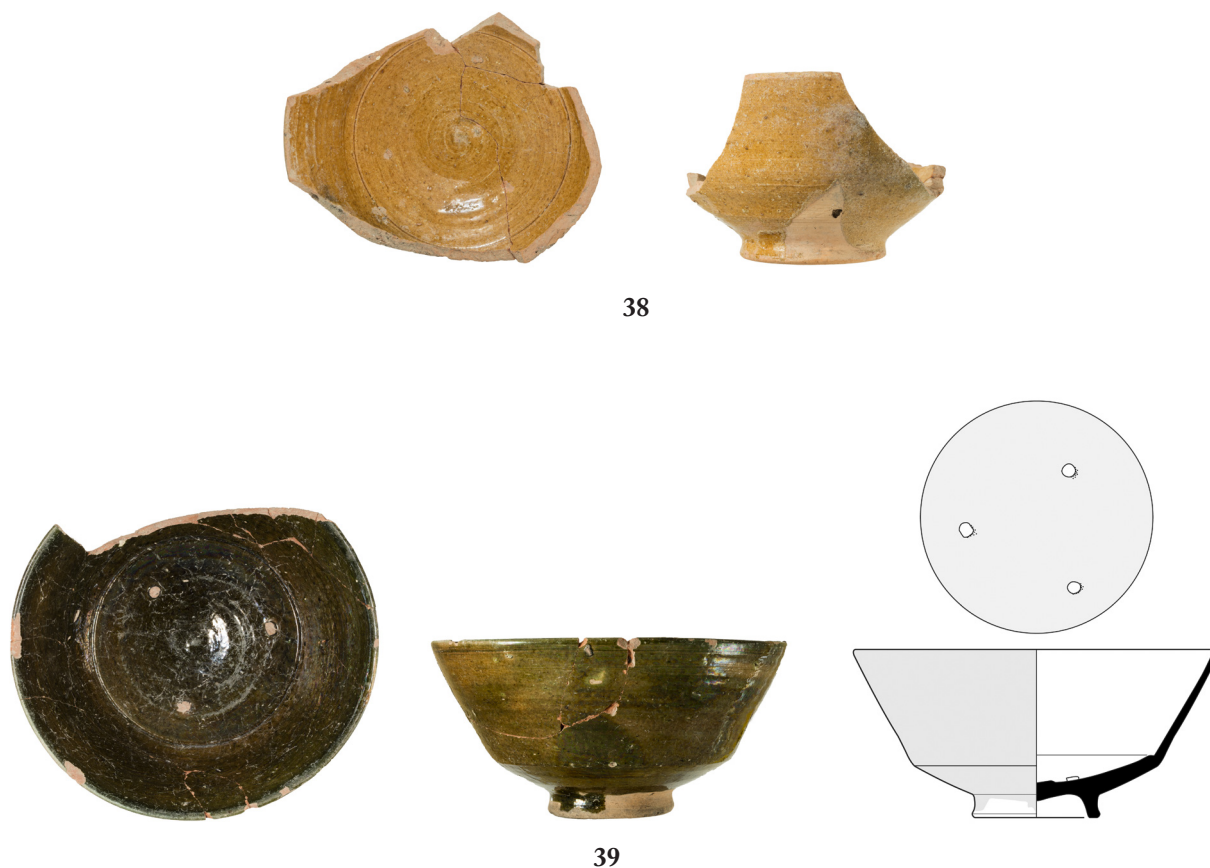


Figure 15. Roulette-ware bowls 38 and 39. Scale 1:3

38 Bowl

Fig. 15

3-2-45. H. 7; Diam. rim 12, base 5.5 cm.

Base and part of upper body and rim survive; six joining pieces. Complete profile. Low ring foot. Hemispherical body forming rounded angle with upright rim.

Fine, light red to reddish yellow fabric (2.5YR 7/6 to 5YR 7/6) with numerous mica flakes.

Brownish yellow (10YR 6/8) glaze on interior and on exterior down to ring foot. Thin incised line circles floor. Tripod stilt marks visible.

Petrographic sample I27.

39 Bowl

Fig. 15

3-2-46 and 3-2-52. H. 7; Diam. rim 14.6, base 4.9 cm.

Part of rim missing. Seven joining pieces; complete profile. Low ring foot. Hemispherical body, tall rim slightly flaring with rounded lip.

Medium fine, light red fabric (10R 6/8) with rare fine chalky white inclusions and rare pores.

Olive-green (10Y 3/4) glaze and white slip on interior and on exterior down to ring foot. Tripod stilt marks visible.

PAINTED WARES

The painted wares include both Monochrome and Polychrome Painted hemispherical bowls with vertical rims and low, flaring feet, as well as jugs. A particular type present on the Ismenion Hill is Late Green and Brown Painted ware (Morgan's Late Green and Brown Painted group V), which is

characterized by painted decoration in green and brown colors on a white slip under a colorless or pale yellow glaze.⁴⁹ These late painted wares are generally dated to the first half of the 13th century, but at Corinth they also appear in later deposits from the late 13th and early 14th centuries.⁵⁰ They are known mainly from excavations in the Peloponnese and central Greece, including excavations in the Theban Kadmeia and at Panakton.⁵¹

Two Late Green and Brown Painted small jugs share the same fabric (40, 48), and these may be parts of the same vessel, although this attribution is uncertain. The shape and decoration of both jugs share some similarities with a Green and Brown Painted jug from Panakton associated with a 14th-century church and a Green and Brown Painted spouted jug found east of the Kadmeia in Thebes.⁵²

A number of sherds from the Ismenion bothros also belong to the so-called Spatter-Painted wares. These are small hemispherical bowls with dotted or spatter-painted decoration in reddish brown (manganese) and coated with a shiny, creamy glaze on the interior and on the upper exterior. This type was produced throughout the 13th century, particularly the first half, at more than one production site.⁵³ Known examples come from throughout the Peloponnese, central and northern Greece, southern Italy, Asia Minor (Anaiia), and even Tana.⁵⁴ Bowls 44 and 45 belong to a subcategory of Spatter-Painted ware that combines incised and painted decoration; similar bowls have emerged at Otranto and Tana in levels dating between the third quarter of the 13th century and the mid-14th century.⁵⁵

The Ismenion assemblage also includes two other examples of painted ware, 41 and 49, which have a painted inner rim and an exterior covered in darker glaze, and in the case of bowl 41 decorated with slip-painted tongues on the exterior.⁵⁶ Finally, in this category we place the small bowl 47 with its painted green lip and pronounced finger-ridging inside and out, a type of decoration known from other local products in Thebes.⁵⁷

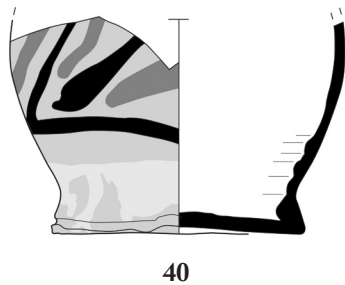


Figure 16. Painted-ware jug 40.
Scale 1:3

40 Jug

3-2-31. H. 8.6; Diam. base 10 cm.

Base and lower body survive; two joining pieces. Flat, untrimmed base with a possibly globular body.

Fig. 16

49. This category is a revival of Green and Brown Painted ware, popular and characteristic of what is typically called the main Middle Byzantine production (mid-12th to early 13th century), which nevertheless displays significant differences from its predecessor in both shape and decoration. See *Corinth* XI, pp. 80–83.

50. Sanders 1993, p. 258; Williams et al. 1998, pp. 254, 261; MacKay 2003, p. 404.

51. For Thebes, see Armstrong 1989, p. 11, no. 141; 1993, p. 306, no. 44. For Panakton, see Gerstel et al. 2003, pp. 182–183, no. 50, fig. 34. Both Armstrong (1993, p. 332) and Vroom (2005, p. 83) suggest that central Greece,

perhaps Thebes, offered production sites for this late ware.

52. For the jug from Panakton, see Gerstel et al. 2003, p. 183, no. 50, fig. 34; for that from Thebes, see Koilakou 1996–1997, p. 85, fig. 11.

53. Sanders 1993, p. 258; see also Armstrong 1993, p. 333.

54. For Corinth, see *Corinth* XI, pp. 84–85; Williams and Zervos 1995, pp. 17–18, pl. 13:d; MacKay 2003, pp. 412–413. For Sparta, see Sanders 1993, pp. 258–260. For central Greece, see Armstrong 1989, pp. 8–9; 1993, p. 332. For Akronauplia, see Yangaki 2012, pp. 41–42, nos. 14, 15. For Clarentza, see Athanasoulis et al. 2005, pp. 46–49. For Macedonia, see Marki,

Aggelkou, and Cheimonopoulou 2011, pp. 272–273, nos. 4, 5. For southern Italy, see Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, pp. 133–134, fig. 6:17; Arthur 2007, p. 245. For Anaiia, see Mercangöz 2013, pp. 54–55, fig. I-23. For Tana, see Bocharov and Maslovskiy 2012, p. 272.

55. See Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, pp. 133–135, fig. 6:17; Bocharov and Maslovskiy 2012, p. 272, fig. 2:10.

56. For slip-painted tongue decoration, see n. 41, above.

57. Bowl 47 is similar to another 13th-century vessel found in the Kadmeia; see Armstrong 1993, p. 304, no. 45, pl. 31; see also Waksman et al. 2014, pp. 385–386, fig. 3:a–c.

Soft gritty, light red to reddish yellow fabric (2.5YR 6/6 to 5YR 7/6) with a few fine white inclusions, dark and red grits, a bit of mica, and a few voids.

Pale yellow to yellow (5Y 8/3–8/6) glaze with painted brown and green lines. Thick white slip on exterior covers vessel, with the exception of lower body.

41 Hemispherical bowl Fig. 17

3-2-57. H. 5.9; Diam. rim 11, base 4.5 cm.

Part of rim and upper body missing. Nine joining pieces; complete profile. Low, slightly flaring foot. Hemispherical body with vertical rim.

Soft fine, pink to reddish yellow fabric (7.5YR 7/4; core 7.5YR 6/6) with dark red and rare light gray inclusions, mica, and a few micro-pores.

Pale yellow (5Y 8/4) glaze on interior and deeper yellow-brown painted band around lip with slip-painted tongues on exterior. White slip covers interior and upper exterior.

Petrographic sample I25.

42 Bowl

3-2-71. H. 2.9; Diam. 10 cm.

Part of rim survives; two joining pieces. Upright rim, with slightly outturned lip.

Medium fine, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6) with rare chalky white inclusions and dark angular grits.

Reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) glaze with splashes of brown (5YR 5/6–4/6) paint and pink (7.5YR 8/4) slip on interior and on exterior rim.

43 Bowl

3-2-72. H. 2.1; Diam. 9 cm.

Part of rim survives. Upright rim, with slightly outturned lip.

Medium fine, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6) with rare chalky white inclusions and rare pores.

Reddish yellow (7.5YR 8/6) glaze with splashes of brown (5YR 4/6) paint and pink (7.5YR 8/4) slip on interior and on exterior rim.

44 Bowl Fig. 17

3-2-73. H. 5.6; est. Diam. 14.9 cm.

Part of rim and upper wall survives. Plain rim.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with rare white inclusions and a few mica flakes.

Very pale brown (10YR 8/3) glaze with small splashes of reddish brown (5YR 4/4) paint. Two incised parallel lines run along interior of rim. Another incised line visible on floor.

45 Bowl

3-2-75. H. 4; Diam. 15 cm.

Part of rim survives. Plain rim.

Medium fine, light reddish brown fabric (5YR 6/3–6/4; core 2.5YR 5/6) with very few mica inclusions.

Pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3) glaze with small splashes of reddish brown (5YR 4/4) paint. Two incised parallel lines run along interior of rim.

Petrographic sample I19.

46 Jug

3-2-79 and 3-2-128. H. 4.9; Diam. base 10 cm.

Part of base and upper body survives; two joining pieces. Flat base.

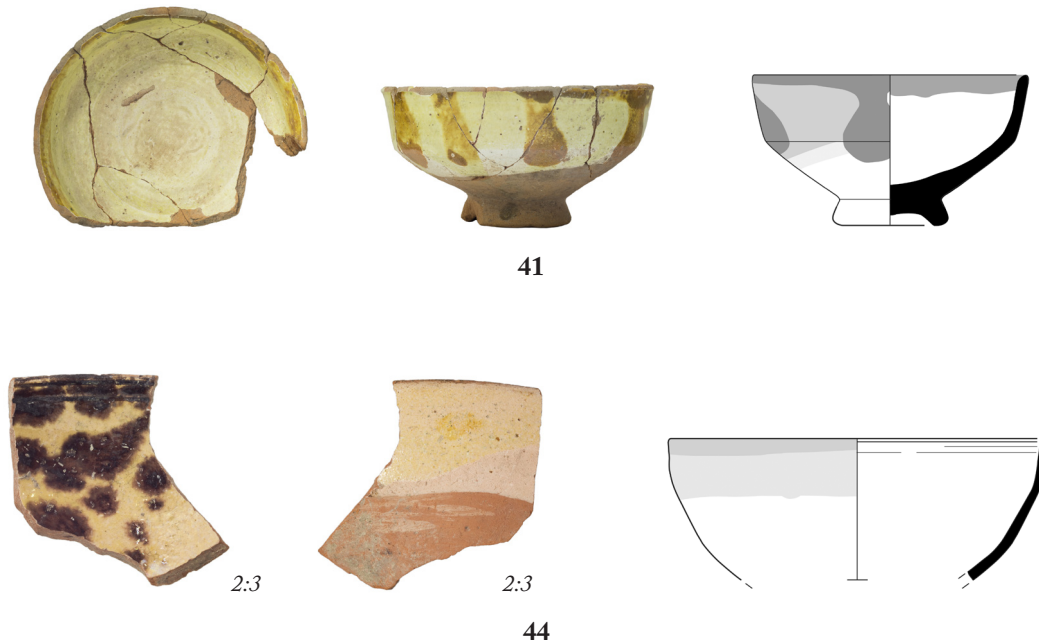


Figure 17. Painted bowls 41 and 44.
Scale 1:3 unless otherwise indicated

Medium fine, light red fabric (5YR 6/6) with rare small white carbonate inclusions, dark and red grits, mica, and a few pores.

Olive (5Y 5/6) glaze on exterior and splashes on interior. White slip on exterior. Glaze and slip cover only upper body. Traces of painted black vertical lines.

47 Bowl

Fig. 18

3-2-140. H. 6.8; Diam. rim 11, base 5.2 cm.

Small part of body missing. Nine joining pieces; complete profile. Flaring ring foot and vertical plain rim.

Medium fine, reddish yellow fabric (7.5YR 6/6; core 5YR 7/4–6/6) with a few fine white inclusions, dark fine grits, mica, and some voids.

Pale yellow (5Y 8/3) and olive-yellow (5Y 6/6) glaze painted on lip and exterior rim. Very thick white slip applied internally and on upper body. Pronounced finger-ridging inside and out. Tripod stilt marks visible.

Petrographic sample I16.

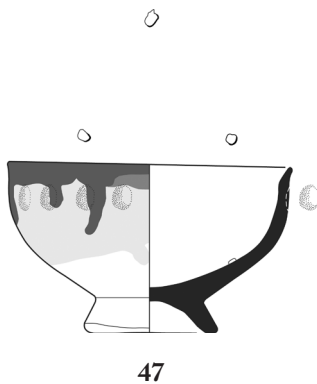


Figure 18. Painted bowl 47. Scale 1:3

48 Spouted jug

Fig. 19

3-2-144. H. 11.3 cm; no rim.

Part of body and spout survive; eight joining pieces. Globular body. Three ridges at springing of neck. Vertical spout applied high on body.

Medium fine fabric, very compact, no visible pores, silty texture, light red (2.5YR 6/6) with dark and red grits, a few mica flakes, a few fine white inclusions, and a few voids.

Pale yellow (5Y 8/3) glaze with painted dark brown vertical lines and green wavy lines. Under the spout a line of green painted dots arranged vertically.

49 Bowl

Fig. 19

3-2-162. H. 3.1; est. Diam. 20 cm.

Part of rim survives; two joining pieces. Angular upper profile and everted short lip.

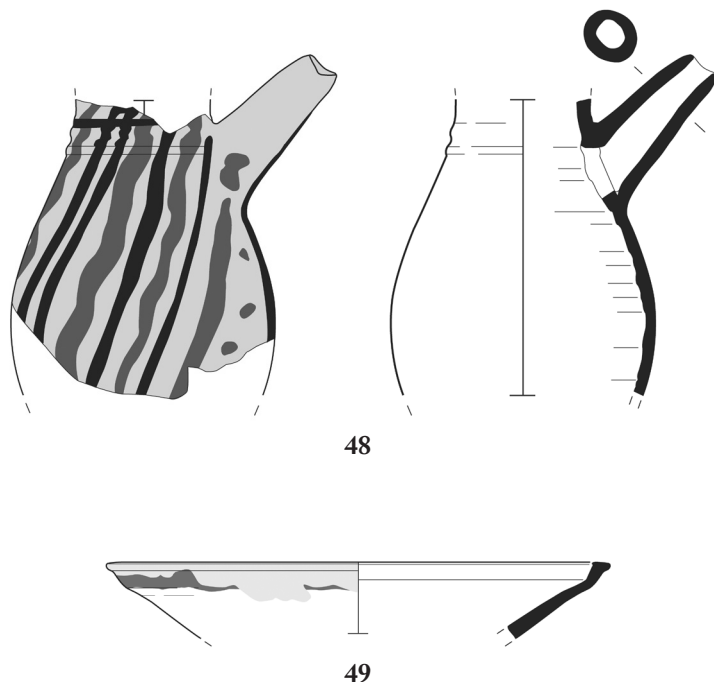


Figure 19. Spouted painted jug 48 and painted bowl 49. Scale 1:3

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/4–6/6; core 5YR 6/4) with a few dark and red grits, porous, with micro-voids and larger, coarser vughs.

Pale yellow (5Y 8/3) glaze and rim painted with brown glaze.

Petrographic sample I11.

PLAIN GLAZED WARES

Plain glazed ceramics are widespread in this period and include small hemispherical bowls, dishes, and jugs.⁵⁸ Common glazes are creamish, pale yellow or a darker yellow-brown, and green in color. In the examples from the Ismenion assemblage, pale yellow (52, 54) and yellow to strong brown (50, 55, 59) glazes dominate. Most examples from the Ismenion bothros are similar in shape and decoration to contemporary plain glazed wares found in various parts of the Kadmeia.⁵⁹

50 Jug

Fig. 20

3-2-56. H. 6.9; Diam. base 8.6 cm.

Base and lower part of walls survive. Flat base, globular body.

Medium fine, light red fabric (10R 6/8; core 2.5YR 6/8) with no visible inclusions, porous texture.

Traces of brownish yellow (10YR 6/8) glaze and thick pinkish white slip cover exterior. Glaze and slip do not cover the lower part or base.

Petrographic sample I26.

51 Bowl

Fig. 21

3-2-68. H. 5.8; Diam. rim 14, base 5.9 cm.

Part of upper walls and rim missing. Three joining pieces; complete profile survives. Low, flaring ring foot, body with flaring walls to carination. Vertical, slightly everted rim with outturned lip.

Medium fine, light reddish brown fabric (2.5YR 6/3–6/4; core 2.5YR 6/6) with small and medium white chalky inclusions, rare black and red grits, and a few pores.

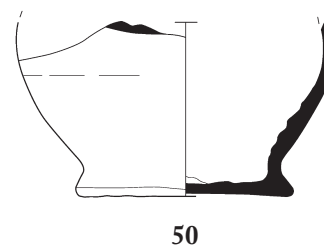


Figure 20. Plain glazed jug 50. Scale 1:3

58. For Late Byzantine plain glazed wares, see Sanders 1993, p. 263; François 1995, pp. 110–111; Arvaniti 2013, vol. 1, pp. 162–164.

59. See Arvaniti 2013, vol. 1, pp. 162–164, nos. 155–176. Jug 55 greatly resembles a 13th- to early-14th-century bowl from Pouliopoulou Street in Thebes; see Waksman et al. 2014, p. 402, no. 45 [BZY527], fig. 13:c.

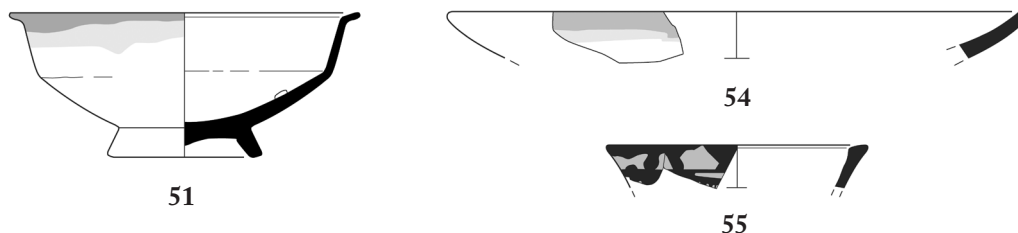


Figure 21. Plain glazed vessels:
bowl 51, plate 54, jug(?) 55. Scale 1:3

Olive-yellow (2.5Y 6/8) glaze and thick very pale brown (10YR 8/3) slip on interior and exterior rim. Tripod stilt marks visible.

Petrographic sample I20.

52 Plate

3-2-74. H. 3.1; Diam. 19 cm.

Part of rim survives; four joining pieces. Plain rim.

Medium fine, reddish yellow fabric (7.5YR 7/6) with rare white inclusions, dark red grits, and a few mica flakes.

Pale yellow (5Y 7/4–8/4) glaze on interior and on exterior lip. White glaze on interior and on upper exterior.

53 Bowl

3-2-78. H. 3.7; Diam. 12 cm.

Part of rim and upper body survives. Flaring walls and upright rim set at angle to body.

Medium fine, light reddish brown fabric (5YR 6/4) with a few white and dark inclusions and some mica.

Light olive-brown (2.5Y 5/6) glaze with white slip inside and out.

54 Plate

Fig. 21

3-2-101. H. 1.8; est. Diam. 22.8 cm.

Part of rim survives. Plain rim.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with rare white inclusions and some mica.

Pale yellow (5Y 8/4) glaze on interior and on exterior part of lip and white slip on interior and on exterior part of rim.

55 Jug(?)

Fig. 21

3-2-102. H. 1.7; est. Diam. 10.4 cm.

Part of rim survives; two joining pieces. Triangular rim in section becoming narrower in neck.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with a few white inclusions, a few gray and red grits, and rare mica.

Yellow (2.5Y 7/8) glaze with white slip covering interior and exterior. Yellowish brown (10YR 5/8) painted brushstrokes. Two incised broad lines on exterior of neck and another on lip.

56 Bowl

3-2-110. H. 4.2; Diam. 14 cm.

Part of rim survives; four joining pieces. Vertical, slightly offset plain rim.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with fine and coarse white and gray inclusions and a few pores.

Reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/8) glaze on interior and on exterior rim. Pink (2.5YR 8/4) slip on interior and on exterior rim.

57 Bowl

3-2-141. H. 7.2; Diam. base 6.9 cm.

Base and part of body survive; four joining pieces. Low, flaring ring foot, concave inside. Hemispherical body with flaring walls.

Reddish yellow fabric (7.5YR 7/6; core 5YR 6/6) with a few mica flakes and red grits; soft and powdery to the touch.

Olive (5Y 5/4) glaze with white slip on interior and splashes on exterior. Tripod stilt marks visible.

Petrographic sample I22.

58 Bowl

3-2-164. H. 3.6; Diam. base 5.3 cm.

Base survives. Low, slightly flaring ring foot, concave on interior.

Soft fine, pink fabric (7.5YR 7/4) with a few white and black inclusions and much mica.

Traces of worn glaze and white slip on interior.

59 Jug

3-2-165. H. 3; Diam. 7 cm.

Part of rim survives; two joining pieces. Vertical rim, offset from body. Handle attached below rim.

Fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8–6/6) with fine and coarse white inclusions.

Strong brown (7.5YR 4/6) glaze on interior and exterior part of lip and white-pink slip. Light ridges visible on exterior rim.

Petrographic sample I29.

SLIP-PAINTED WARES

Slip-painting was a well-established technique in the Byzantine ceramic tradition in which a thick slip was directly applied to the biscuit to create painted decorative motifs, and then coated with a transparent glaze. Slip-Painted wares were produced from the 11th century onward and continued well into the 13th and 14th centuries.⁶⁰ Late Slip-Painted wares have appeared in northern and central Greece, including Thebes and Boiotia more broadly, the Peloponnese, and Cyprus.⁶¹ In this later period the glaze can be yellow or green, causing the clay to appear darker, while the decoration remains exclusively geometric, as we see in two bowls (**60, 61**) found in the Ismenion bothros. Bowl **60** is covered with green glaze, producing a bright green color in areas with slip underneath and darkening the appearance of the clay in spots without slip; we find parallels here to similar vessels from the Kadmeia.⁶²

60 Bowl

3-2-132. H. 3.8; est. Diam. 20 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim in angle from body.

Fine, compact, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6; core 2.5YR 5/8) with no visible calcareous inclusions.

Olive (5Y 4/4) glaze on interior and on exterior rim. Slip-painted (white slip and pale yellowish green, 5GY 6/4). One horizontal broad painted line around interior of rim and three vertical small lines on lip.

Petrographic sample I30.

60. For their date in the 13th century, see *Corinth* XI, p. 103; MacKay 1967, pp. 261–262; Sanders 1993, p. 262. Sanders places the date in the first half of the century. Papadopoulou and Tsouris (1993, p. 244) propose a 14th-century date for the Arta finds. Papanikola-Bakirtzi (1989, p. 244) suggests a broader chronological range in the 13th and 14th centuries, while Vroom (2003, p. 167) dates the range to the 14th and 15th centuries. Arvaniti (2013, vol. 1, pp. 161–162, nos. 150–154) dates the finds from Thebes to the 14th and 15th centuries based on Papadopoulou and Tsouris as well as on Vroom's observations.

61. For northern Greece, see Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993, pp. 245–248. For Thebes, see Armstrong 1993, p. 307, nos. 381–383; Arvaniti 2013, vol. 1, pp. 161–162. For Boiotia, see Vroom 1998, pp. 525–526; 2003, p. 167. For the Peloponnese (Sparta), see Sanders 1993, pp. 261–262. For Cyprus, see Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1989, p. 234.

62. Vroom 1998, p. 525; Arvaniti 2013, vol. 1, pp. 161–162, nos. 152–154.

Figure 22. Slip-painted bowl 61.

Scale 1:3

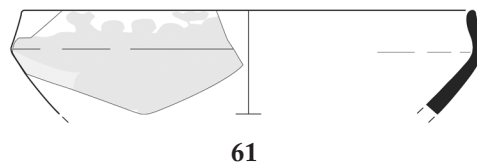
**61 Bowl**

Fig. 22

3-2-163. H. est. 3.9; Diam. 17.8 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim, slightly offset from body toward interior.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with a few chalky white inclusions and some voids.

White slip-painted broad line on interior lip and traces of another on floor with a broad band of slip also covering exterior rim, forming a horizontal band. Transparent glaze.

POTENTIALLY UNFINISHED VESSELS/WASTERS

We have categorized two bases of open vessels as potentially unfinished products, comparable to others found at Thebes, which are described as “unfinished, biscuit-fired wares” and considered part of local production.⁶³ Our initial observations identified traces of slip in both bowls but no traces of glaze.⁶⁴ On object **63**, incised decorative motifs forming a radiant pattern were highly apparent. Thin-section analysis of object **62** revealed traces of a highly altered glaze layer, which suggests that the vessel underwent two firings and was perhaps not a kiln waster.⁶⁵

62 Bowl/waster?

3-2-76. H. 1.7; Diam. base 5.7 cm.

Base survives.

Short ring foot, slightly flaring.

Medium fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6; core 10R 6/6) with a few chalky white inclusions and very few mica.

Creamish slip covers interior and exterior of base with faint traces of glaze, greatly altered.

Petrographic sample I18.

63 Bowl/waster

3-2-115. H. 2.9; Diam. base 6.2 cm.

Base survives.

Medium fine, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8; core 2.5YR 6/8) “biscuit ware.”

Incised lines forming radiant motif on floor. Unevenly distributed cream pinkish slip.

Petrographic sample I17.

63. Waksman et al. 2014, pp. 385–387, figs. 3, 4.

64. This material is characterized by quartz and subordinate feldspar inclusions within a fine-grained, birefringent matrix. Cf. Lazzarini and Calogero 1989, p. 575, sample BB510.

65. For a full discussion of the thin-section analysis, see p. 807, below.

66. For an overview of Byzantine coarse wares, see Bakirtzis 1989; François 2010. Because many of these vessels were multifunctional objects meant for a variety of uses, we also cannot exclude the possibility that some could have seen secondary use as animal feeders or troughs; cf. François 2010, p. 319.

COARSE WARES

Coarse wares from the Ismenion bothros comprise a variety of vessels associated with cooking, food preparation, and the storage and transfer of foods and liquids.⁶⁶ In what follows, we pay special attention to cooking pots because of their large numbers in the assemblage and their importance in discussion of changes in diet, cooking habits, and cross-cultural

interactions in the 13th and 14th centuries in the eastern Mediterranean. The Ismenion Hill bothros contains nearly all types of known food-related vessels: cooking pots, jars, jugs, basins, bowls, and lids for pithoi. These are plain, functional objects with little to no decoration; when decoration occurs, it includes mostly incised or stamped motifs on the exterior rim or shoulder. A small number of sherds also bear splashes of transparent or olive-green glaze, which suggests that they were produced together with glazed vessels. As an assemblage, these vessels offer glimpses of daily life in the Byzantine/Latin house, its kitchen, and its storage facilities. Most important, they also allow us to present a comprehensive typology of late-13th- to mid-14th-century wares and aspects of the technology, skills, and exchange of knowledge involved in their creation.

COOKING POTS

Most cooking pots in this assemblage have spherical or globular bodies and rounded bases, often ribbed in the upper part of the body and with a vertical, slightly offset rim. Rim diameters vary from small pots (10 cm) to large open vessels (up to 25–30 cm). Strap or oval handles are attached to rims and shoulders, occasionally even rising above the rim. The majority of vessels are thin walled (2–4 mm), but a few vessels exhibit thicker walls (5–7 mm). Some relatively intact pots point to the use of both one- and two-handled vessels (64, 68).

In their shapes, a small number of the Ismenion cooking pots are reminiscent of a typical “Middle Byzantine type,” with straight rim and rounded lip, straight convergent shoulder, grooves in the upper part of the body, and thick walls. Their presence in the assemblage and elsewhere at Thebes, in Boiotia more broadly, and at Corinth suggests that Middle Byzantine shapes continued to be produced at least until the first half of the 14th century.⁶⁷ This continuity coexisted alongside the introduction of new shapes and even perhaps changes in consumption and dining habits, as we discuss in our conclusions below. The stability in these shapes over time is noteworthy in itself but is also significant because such conservatism suggests that skills and knowledge transmitted from generation to generation, together with the social and cultural implications that accompany such choices (such as, for example, a preference for certain shapes to accommodate specific recipes), might be more resistant to political change than we have sometimes imagined.⁶⁸

The majority of the Ismenion cooking pots, however, have thin-walled bodies with strap handles attached to the rim and exhibit a vertical, slightly offset, or everted rim.⁶⁹ These share certain characteristics with the late-13th- to 14th-century iconic bag-shaped and tall-necked “Frankish” cooking pots from Corinth (thin-walled bodies with strap handles attached to the rim), but they also display important differences (for example, vertical, slightly offset, or everted rims).⁷⁰ Similar cooking pots have emerged in other excavations at Thebes (13th century), Panakton (14th century), and Sparta and Ayios Stephanos in Lakonia (late 13th and early 14th centuries).⁷¹

Before presenting the catalogue, we offer some observations on the canonical view of changes in the so-called Frankish cooking-vessel shapes and Latin dietary habits in the late 13th and 14th centuries in Greece. Changes in cooking-vessel shapes are thought to coincide with an influx of Latins,

67. For Thebes and Boiotia, see Armstrong 1993, pp. 312–313, nos. 147, 149, fig. 9; Koilakou 1993, pp. 77–78, 85, fig. 7; Vroom 2003, p. 57; Vionis 2017a, pp. 358, 369. For Corinth, see MacKay 1967, pp. 297–300; 2003, p. 418; Joyner 2007, p. 188. See also Bakirtzis 1989, pp. 39–40.

68. See François 2010, pp. 345–346; Vionis et al. 2010, p. 459.

69. At Corinth, very thin-walled vessels have been associated with the Frankish period (13th to mid-14th century), whereas thick-walled vessels are more commonly considered Middle Byzantine; cf. Joyner 2007, p. 187, fig. 3.

70. Williams and Zervos 1995, pp. 16–23; MacKay 2003, pp. 418–420; Joyner 2007, pp. 183–190. For detailed discussions of the dating, shape, and sociocultural implications of Frankish cooking pots from Corinth, see MacKay 1967; Sanders 1987; Joyner 2007.

71. For Thebes, see Koilakou 1993, pp. 79–80, 90, figs. 18, 19. For Panakton, see Gerstel et al. 2003, pp. 160–161, 171–172, nos. 9, 31, figs. 9, 22, and pp. 219–221 (for comparison with Theban finds). For “Frankish types” found in Boiotia, see Vroom 2003, pp. 168–169, fig. 6.14; François 2010, pp. 333, 335. For Sparta and Ayios Stephanos, see Sanders 1993, pp. 279–281, no. 70, fig. 13; 2008, pp. 401, 403, no. 4003, fig. 7.8.

especially Italians, into mainland Greece and the Aegean after the recapture of Constantinople by the Byzantines in A.D. 1261.⁷² Yet the Frankish pots at Corinth were not the only known shape in the period: at a number of sites including Thebes and Panakton, such cooking pots coexisted with shapes that continued Middle Byzantine repertoires. Furthermore, comparisons with cooking pots produced in contemporary northern and central Italy show no clear resemblance to those found in mainland Greece.⁷³ Williams and Zervos, Joyner, Vroom, and others have suggested that changes in vessel shapes mirror social, cultural, and technological changes relating to alterations in food preparation and diet.⁷⁴ For example, from the 13th century onward we see a preference for smaller and deeper bowls, which are more suitable for individual servings of stew, as well as the introduction of new shapes from western Europe, such as pans. These new aspects of ceramics may indicate changes in recipes and dining habits.⁷⁵

These observations raise doubts about earlier scholarship on the differences between the diets of local and Latin populations, which argued that the Latins ate much more meat, particularly beef, and instead corroborate more recent treatments of the issue. Garvie-Lok's comparative study from a number of Byzantine and Frankish cemeteries demonstrates, for example, that animal protein consumption was high in both the Middle Byzantine and Latin periods (9th–12th and 13th–14th centuries); protein consumption does not seem to have been an exclusive habit of the Latin population.⁷⁶ Similarly, faunal analysis from the Byzantine occupation phases of Alexander's Hill at Sagalassos (12th and 13th centuries) points toward cattle predominating over other types of meat, such as pork and game.⁷⁷ Faunal analysis from the Frankish monastic complex at Corinth also shows that there the Franks depended on local markets and resources, consuming more pork, sheep, goat, and less beef than expected.⁷⁸ These results recommend against hastily ascribing changes in the shapes of cooking pots to a single ethnic/cultural group, since dietary habits in medieval Greece are just beginning to be better understood.⁷⁹ Changes in diet can also be informed by age, gender, and social status, and new vessel shapes could easily have been used by different groups. Further, as more research on medieval cooking pots circulating in the eastern Mediterranean emerges, it has become evident that changes in pottery shapes often took place gradually: older shapes coexisted with new shapes and often manifested differently in various local and regional contexts. Assumptions that changes in vessel shape directly correspond to political events or should be associated with one cultural/ethnic group thus must be abandoned.

72. *Corinth* XX, pp. 431–433; Joyner 2007, p. 188.

73. François 2010, pp. 346, 374.

74. Williams and Zervos 1995, pp. 35–36; Joyner 2007, pp. 189–190. See also Vroom (1998, pp. 541–542; 2011) on changes in glazed table ware of the Latin period.

75. MacKay 2003, pp. 418–419; Vroom 2015a, pp. 364–366.

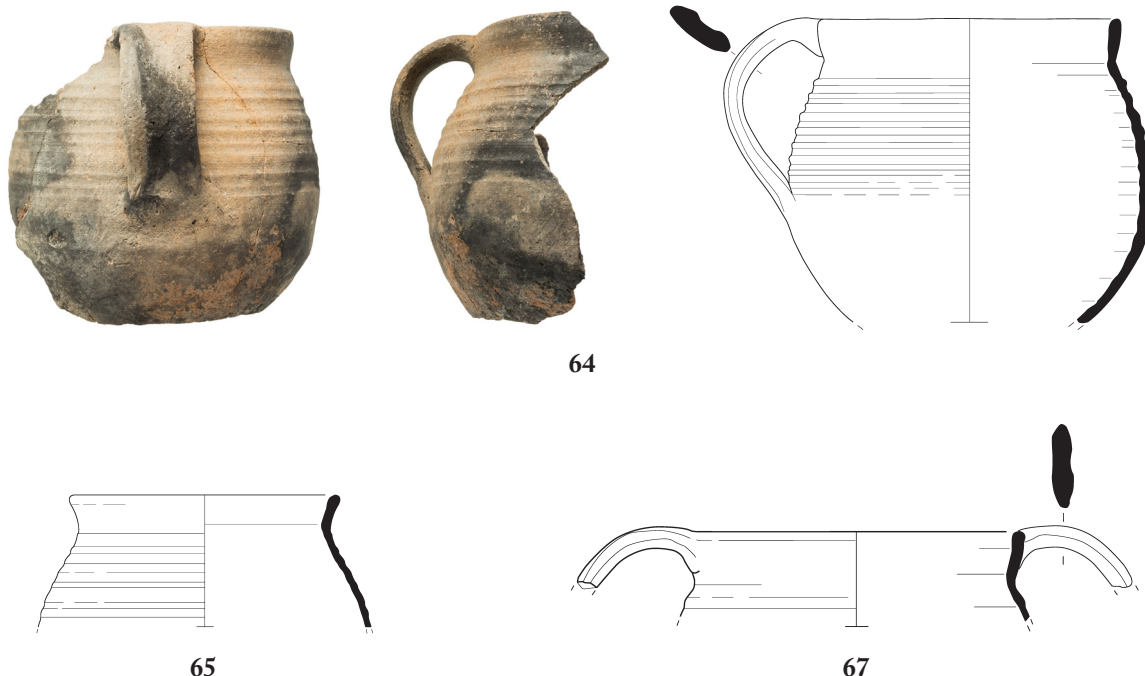
76. Garvie-Lok's (2001, pp. 454–

455) samples come from Athens, Corinth, Nemea, Servia, and Mytilene.

77. See Vionis et al. 2010, p. 456.

78. Lev-Tov (1999, pp. 90–92) also considers the nature of the Frankish conquest and the degree of Greek influence on the Latin population as contributing factors to their diet.

79. See also François 2010, pp. 346–347; Vionis 2017a, p. 369.

**64** Cooking pot

3-2-32 and 3-2-48. H. 16.3; Diam. 16 cm.

Part of base, main body and rim, and one handle survive; Eight joining pieces. Vertical rim, slightly offset from body, and rounded, slightly thickened lip. Strap handle with a groove attached at rim; grooves around shoulder (very similar to **68** aside from the handles).

Medium, pink to reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/3–7/6; core 2.5YR 7/8) with numerous translucent crystals and frequent platy inclusions.⁸⁰ Traces of burning.

Petrographic sample I44.

65 Cooking pot

3-2-40. H. 6.9; Diam. 14 cm.

Part of rim and upper body survives; two joining pieces. Rim offset from curving body. Round, thickened lip. Wheel-ridges inside and on exterior neck.

Medium coarse clay, blackened.

66 Cooking pot

3-2-42. H. 4; Diam. 13 cm.

Part of rim and neck survives; two joining pieces. Vertical rim, offset from curving body. Ridge under lip externally. Wheel-ridges on neck.

Medium coarse, light reddish brown to light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6–6/4; core 2.5YR 5/6) with frequent platy inclusions and some mica.

67 Cooking pot

3-2-43. H. 5; Diam. 17.6 cm.

Part of rim and one handle survives; two joining pieces. Vertical rim, slightly offset from body, and rounded lip. Strap handle attached at rim; grooves around shoulder.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with numerous chalky white inclusions, brown and gray pellets, some translucent crystals, very rare mica, and a few pores. Gray core in handle.

Fig. 23

Figure 23. Cooking pots **64**, **65**, and **67**. Scale 1:4

Fig. 23

Fig. 23

80. A few words on the terminology used to describe inclusions in the cooking fabrics catalogued here: “platy inclusions” denotes slate, phyllite, and/or schist evident under the polarizing microscope; “translucid crystals” refers to quartz inclusions; “chalky white inclusions” indicates calcite in thin section; and “dark gray and brown pellets” denotes either sedimentary rocks or fragments derived from the ophiolitic mélange, which may indicate two distinct production environments. However, visual analysis of the fabric alone cannot be considered an indisputable method for mineral identification of inclusions. Our macroscopic fabric descriptions aim to record the most noticeable inclusions visible on the vessels’ surfaces with the naked eye and therefore should not be understood to indicate all inclusions contained in the fabric.



Figure 24. Cooking pot 68. Scale 1:4

68

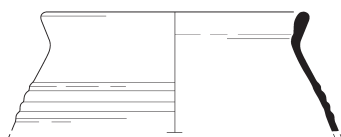
68 Cooking pot

Fig. 24

3-2-51. H. 12.5; Diam. 12 cm.

Rim, two handles, and upper body survive; 12 joining pieces. Vertical rim, slightly offset from body, and rounded, thickened lip. Strap handles attached at rim; grooves around shoulder.

Medium coarse, light reddish brown to light red fabric (2.5YR 6/4–6/6; core 10R to 2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, and some mica. Gray core in handles.



69

69 Cooking pot

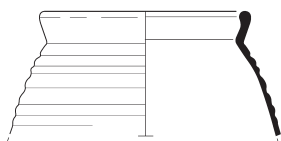
Fig. 25

3-2-60. H. 6.3; Diam. 14 cm.

Part of rim and upper body survive. Vertical rim, offset from deep, curving body, and rounded, thickened lip.

Wheel-ridges on upper body. Ridge internally at lower part of lip and lower part of rim.

Medium clay, blackened.



70

70 Cooking pot

Fig. 25

3-2-61. H. 6.6; Diam. 11 cm.

Part of rim and upper body survive. Vertical rim, offset from curving body, with slightly inturned, rounded, thickened lip and pronounced wheel-ridges on exterior.

Hard, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, brown and gray pellets, and very little mica.

Figure 25. Cooking pots 69 and 70.
Scale 1:4

71 Cooking pot

3-2-62. H. 4.7; Diam. 11 cm.

Part of rim and neck survive. Vertical rim, offset from body. Wheel-ridges inside and out.

Medium coarse, light red to red fabric (10R 5/6–6/6; core 10R 6/8–6/6) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, and mica.

Petrographic sample I54.

72 Cooking pot

3-2-63. H. 6.2; Diam. 20 cm.

Part of rim and one handle survives. Vertical rim, slightly offset from body, and rounded lip. Strap handles attached at rim.

Medium coarse, light red to yellowish red fabric (10R 6/8 to 5YR 5/8), core gray, with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, some translucent crystals and mica, and a few small and medium pores.

73 Cooking pot

3-2-64. H. 2.8; Diam. 15 cm.

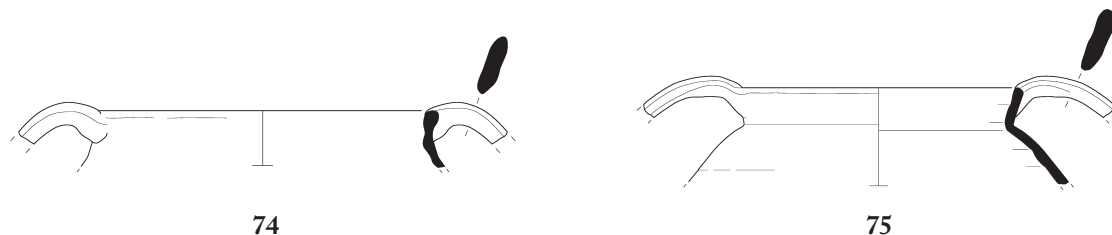


Figure 26. Cooking pots 74 and 75.
Scale 1:4

Part of rim and handle survive. Vertical rim, slightly offset from body, and rounded lip. Strap handles attached at rim.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with frequent chalky white inclusions, rare dark and gray pellets, some translucent crystals and mica, and frequent small and medium pores.

One small splash of olive green-brown glaze in inner part of handle.

74 Cooking pot Fig. 26

3-2-65. H. 2.8; Diam. 17.8 cm.

Part of rim and handle survive. Vertical rim, slightly offset from body, and rounded lip. Strap handles attached at rim.

Hard clay, blackened.

75 Cooking pot Fig. 26

3-2-82. H. 5; Diam. 15 cm.

Part of rim, shoulder, and handle survive; two joining pieces. Vertical rim slightly offset from body, and thickened lip. Strap handle from rim to shoulder, top rising slightly above level of rim.

Hard clay, light red fabric (10R 6/6; core 10R 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions and remains of vegetal temper. Gray core in handle.

Petrographic sample I47.

76 Cooking pot Fig. 27

3-2-83. H. 18; Diam. 30 cm.

Part of rim, upper body, and handle survive; four joining pieces. Plain rim, offset from curved body. Strap handle attached to rim and shoulder.

Hard coarse, light red to red fabric (2.5YR 6/6 to 10R 5/6), gray core, with frequent chalky white inclusions and a few pores.

Petrographic sample I34.

77 Cooking pot

3-2-84. H. 5.6; Diam. 15 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim, slightly offset from deep, curving body. Three grooves on exterior rim and on shoulder.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (10R 6/8 to 2.5YR 6/6) with frequent chalky white inclusions.

Petrographic sample I55.

78 Cooking pot

3-2-85. H. 4.4; Diam. 11 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim, slightly offset from body, and rounded lip. One groove on exterior of rim, wheel-grooves on shoulder.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (10R 6/6–6/8; core 10R 6/8), porous and sandy texture with frequent light, medium, and dark gray pellets, platy gray inclusions, and rare mica.

Petrographic sample I50.

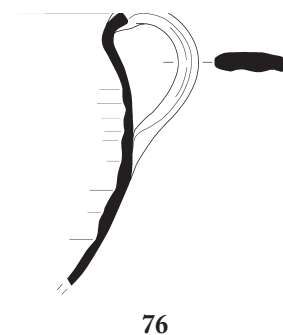


Figure 27. Cooking pot 76. Scale 1:5

79 Cooking pot

3-2-87. H. 8.2; Diam. 12 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim, slightly offset from body, and rounded lip. Wheel-grooves on shoulder.

Medium coarse, light reddish brown to light red fabric (2.5YR 6/4 to 10R 6/8; core 10R 6/6–6/8), porous, with frequent white inclusions, gray and brown pellets, translucent crystals, and some mica.

Petrographic sample I37.

80 Cooking pot(?)

3-2-88. H. 4.7; Diam. base 8.1 cm.

Part of base; four joining pieces. Flat base and flaring walls (with slight but visible distinction from base to body).

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with frequent chalky white inclusions, dark pellets, translucent crystals, and mica.

Partial burning on exterior.

81 Cooking pot

3-2-91. H. 2.6; Diam. base 7.1 cm.

Part of base survives. Round base of a round/spherical body.

Medium hard, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8), gray core, with a few white, gray, and dark pellets, translucent crystals, and mica.

Blackened exterior.

82 Cooking pot

3-2-93. H. 7.1; est. Diam. base 5.7 cm.

Part of base and upper body survive; five joining pieces. Round base and body.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent white, gray, and brown pellets, translucent crystals, and some mica.

83 Cooking pot

3-2-94. H. 2; Diam. 10 cm.

Part of rim and handle survive. Vertical plain rim, slightly offset from body, with strap handle starting from rim.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with frequent chalky white, brown, and dark pellets and some mica.

84 Cooking pot

3-2-95. H. 2.5; est. Diam. 10 cm.

One handle and part of rim survive. Vertical rim, concave on interior with flat lip sloping toward interior (possibly an interior flange for lid). Oval handle. Coarse, gray core.

85 Cooking pot

3-2-103. H. 5.2; Diam. 17 cm.

Part of rim and upper body survive; two joining pieces. Vertical rim, slightly offset from body, and rounded lip. Two grooves around exterior rim, wheel-grooves on shoulder.

Medium coarse, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6; core 2.5YR 6/8), porous, with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, and a few mica.

Petrographic sample I51.

86 Cooking pot

3-2-104. H. 2.9; Diam. 17 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim, slightly offset, slightly concave inside.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, and mica.

87 Cooking pot

3-2-105. H. 3.7; est. Diam. 19 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim, with rounded lip.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, brown and dark pellets, and some mica.

88 Cooking pot(?)

3-2-106. H. 4.4; est. Diam. foot 7 cm.

Part of base and lower body survive. Rounded base, possibly spherical body.

Medium coarse, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6), gray core, with a few white inclusions, brown and dark pellets, some mica, and some pores.

89 Cooking pot(?)

3-2-107. H. 1.2; est. Diam. base 6.5 cm.

Part of base survives; three joining pieces. Flat base.

Medium coarse, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6), gray core, with a few chalky white inclusions and dark pellets, a few mica flakes, and some pores.

Blackened exterior.

90 Cooking pot

3-2-108. H. 9.3; est. Diam. base 8.1 cm.

Part of base and walls survive; five joining pieces. Slightly rounded base, possibly round/spherical body. Wheel-grooves on body.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8), partially gray core, with frequent chalky white inclusions, brown and dark pellets, and some mica.

Blackened exterior.

91 Cooking pot

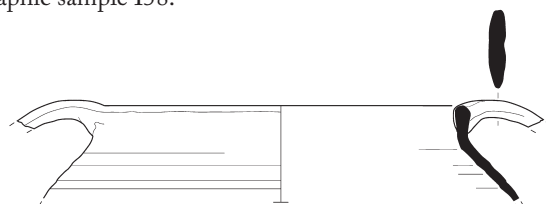
Fig. 28

3-2-116. H. 6.3; est. Diam. 24 cm.

Part of rim and one handle survive; two joining pieces. Vertical plain rim, slightly offset from body, with strap handle starting from rim, and wheel-grooves on shoulder.

Medium coarse, pink to reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/4–6/6; core 5YR 6/3–6/4), moderately tempered, with platy inclusions.

Petrographic sample I58.



91

Figure 28. Cooking pot 91. Scale 1:5

92 Cooking pot

3-2-117. H. 3.2; Diam. 13 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical plain rim, slightly offset from body. One groove on lower part of lip and one on lower part of rim inside and out.

Coarse clay, blackened.

93 Cooking pot

3-2-118. H. 2.3; Diam. 17 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical plain rim.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, translucent crystals, and some mica.

94 Cooking pot

3-2-119. H. 2.4; est. Diam. base 8 cm.

Part of base survives; three joining pieces. Rounded base.

Coarse clay, blackened.

95 Cooking pot(?)

Fig. 29

3-2-125. H. 1.8; est. Diam. 10.8 cm.

Part of rim and handle survive. Vertical rim, slightly offset from body. Strap handle attached to rim.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and brown pellets, translucent crystals, and mica. Gray core in handle.

96 Cooking pot

3-2-126. H. 2.2; Diam. 7 cm.

Part of rim and one handle survive. Vertical, slightly flaring rim, offset from body, slightly concave rim on interior. Strap handle attached to rim.

Medium coarse, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and brown pellets, a few mica, and some pores.

97 Cooking pot

3-2-127. H. 2.7; Diam. 14 cm.

Part of rim and handle survive. Vertical rim, slightly offset from body, with rounded lip. Strap handle attached to rim.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent white inclusions, gray and brown pellets, and some mica. Gray core in handle.

98 Cooking pot

3-2-133. H. 11; est. Diam. 11 cm.

Part of rim, one handle, and part of body survive; two joining pieces. Vertical rim, turned slightly inward. Strap handle attached to rim. Wheel-grooves at body.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and brown pellets, some mica, and frequent voids.

Partially blackened exterior.

99 Cooking pot

3-2-134. H. 4; Diam. 13 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim, offset from body, with wheel-grooves on shoulder.

Medium coarse, light red to light reddish brown fabric (2.5YR 6/6 to 5YR 6/4; core 2.5YR 6/6) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and brown pellets, some translucent crystals and mica, and some voids.

Petrographic sample I46.

100 Cooking pot

Fig. 29

3-2-135. H. 3.9; Diam. 15.2 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical, thickened rim, offset from body. Small groove under external lip; two interior grooves, one under lip and one under rim; possible wheel-grooves on shoulder.

Blackened.

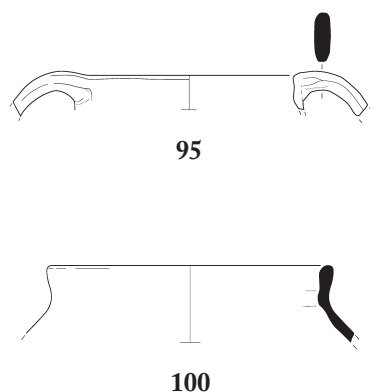


Figure 29. Cooking pots 95 and 100.

Scale 1:4

101 Cooking pot

3-2-136. H. 2.6; Diam. 17 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim, offset from body, with rounded lip. One groove on exterior of lip.

Medium coarse, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/8) with numerous chalky white inclusions, gray pellets, some mica, and some pores.

102 Cooking pot(?)

3-2-137. H. 10; Diam. base 6.5 cm.

Base and part of lower body; five fragments. Rounded base, spherical body, with wheel-ridges on external body.

Soft coarse, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6) with numerous chalky white inclusions, brown and gray pellets, some mica, and some voids.

Partially blackened.

103 Cooking pot

Fig. 30

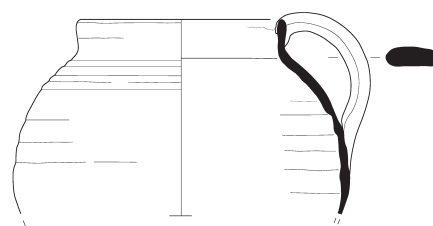
3-2-148. H. 10.5; Diam. 11 cm.

Base missing; eight joining pieces. Vertical rim, offset from body, with one groove on exterior of lip. One oval handle. Wheel-ridges on shoulder.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6 with burned areas; core 2.5YR 6/8) with a few white chalky aggregates.

Partially blackened.

Petrographic sample I32.



103

104 Cooking pot

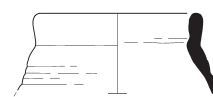
Fig. 30

3-2-149. H. 4.3; Diam. 9 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim, offset from body. Wheel-ridges on shoulder and one on external lip.

Medium coarse, light red to red fabric (10R 6/6–5/6; core 10R 5/8) with frequent fine and semicoarse white chalky inclusions, gray and brown platy inclusions, dark brown pellets, and some mica.

Petrographic sample I41.



104

Figure 30. Cooking pots 103 and 104. Scale 1:4

105 Cooking pot

3-2-150. H. 3.4; est. Diam. 8 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim, offset from body, with rounded lip. Wheel-ridges on shoulder and one on external lip.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent white inclusions, dark pellets, some mica, and some voids.

106 Cooking pot

3-2-152. H. 3.7; est. Diam. 11 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim, offset from body. Wheel-ridges on shoulder.

Medium coarse, weak red fabric (2.5YR 5/2; burned core 2.5YR 6/1).

Splash of glaze on exterior rim.

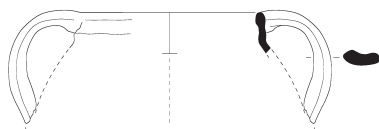
107 Cooking pot

3-2-155. H. 4.3; Diam. base 6.3 cm.

Part of base survives; two joining pieces. Round base.

Medium coarse, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and brown pellets, and some mica.

Partially blackened.



108

Figure 31. Cooking pot 108. Scale 1:4

Fig. 31

108 Cooking pot

3-2-157. H. 6; Diam. 10 cm.

Part of rim and one handle survive. Vertical rim, turning slightly inward from body, slightly concave on interior. Strap handle attached to rim.

Medium coarse, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, some mica, and a few pores.

Partially blackened exterior.

109 Cooking pot

3-2-158. H. 3.5; est. Diam. 20 cm.

Part of rim and one handle survive. Vertical rim, with a rounded, thickened lip. Strap handle attached to rim.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, and some mica.

110 Cooking pot(?)

3-2-166. H. 0.6; Diam. base 9.2 cm.

Part of base survives; four joining pieces. Slightly curving/round base.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and brown pellets, and a few mica.

Blackened exterior.

111 Cooking pot

3-2-167. H. 2.4; Diam. 18 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim, slightly offset, with thickened lip and ridge on exterior of lip.

Blackened.

112 Cooking pot

3-2-168. H. 5.8; est. Diam. 20 cm.

Part of rim and handle survives. Vertical rim, slightly offset, with rounded lip, and oval handle attached to rim.

Medium coarse, red fabric (2.5YR 5/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, and some mica.

113 Cooking pot

3-2-169. H. 3.9; Diam. 19 cm.

Part of rim and handle survives. Vertical rim, slightly offset, with rounded lip. Strap handle attached to rim.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, and some mica. Gray core in handle.

114 Cooking pot

3-2-173. H. 2.9; Diam. 10 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical rim, slightly offset from body, with rounded lip.

Medium coarse, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6), gray core, with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, and some mica.

Blackened exterior.

OTHER COARSE WARES

Common in the Ismenion bothros assemblage are table amphoras with globular bodies, cylindrical necks, straight or slightly flaring rims, and strap handles attaching to the neck and upper body. Many such pieces have

extremely thin walls (3–4 mm) and share a neck rib formed externally where the rim and handle join (**118–120**). Close parallels for this type appear in 13th- to 14th-century deposits from Corinth, Panakton, and Crete.

Large open vessels with diameters larger than 20 cm, labeled here as basins, were also present in the deposit; such objects were used for various activities, including preparing and transporting food.⁸¹ We highlight vessel **115**, a basin with a horizontal, slightly outturned rim with a square lip and an incised wavy line. A similar basin, dated to the 13th century, emerged northeast of the Kadmeia at a site identified as a pottery workshop, while contemporary parallels are also known from Eleutherna and Nemea.⁸² A number of late-13th-century glazed basins with multiple handles from Corinth are of similar shapes and bear incised motifs.⁸³ Wide-rimmed bowls with external ridges on the upper body, such as vessel **117**, were also in use from the 12th to at least the 14th century at Corinth, Eleutherna, and Otranto.⁸⁴

Jugs are also well represented in the Ismenion bothros assemblage, as is evident in the number of flat bases of small closed vessels. A couple of rim fragments also suggest that some were trefoil jugs, such as vessel **129**. Similar jugs have been found in other refuse pits in Thebes from the 13th–15th century.⁸⁵

The Ismenion bothros deposit also contained two lids for storage vessels.⁸⁶ Lid **142** shows stamped decoration on its external side, reminiscent of a roulette pattern.⁸⁷ On lid **141** raised ribs form concentric circles with radial ribs joining the two circles perpendicularly, similar to a lid from Panakton.⁸⁸

115 Basin Fig. 32

3-2-44. H. 7.2; Diam. 33 cm.

Part of rim, handle, and upper wall survive; three joining pieces. Horizontal rim, slightly offset from upper walls. Strap handle attached to rim with groove. Wavy line incised on upper surface of rim.

Hard, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8–7/8) with high concentration of translucent crystals. Gray core in handle.

116 Basin Fig. 32

3-2-86. H. 4.8; est. Diam. 31 cm.

Part of rim survives. Outturned, nearly horizontal rim from a straight wall. Three incised lines on exterior surface of rim.

81. For the variety in their functions, including cooking, see Bakirtzis 1989, pp. 51–52; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008, pp. 69–70; François 2010, pp. 355–357.

82. For the Kadmeia, see Koilakou 2001–2004, pp. 33–36, fig. 11. For Eleutherna, see Yangaki 2008, pp. 225–226, tables 13:η, 15:β, γ. For Nemea, see Athanassopoulos 2016, pp. 123–124, no. 247.

83. Williams and Zervos 1992, pp. 158–161, fig. 11.

84. At Corinth, both large bowls and basins with wheel-ridged upper

bodies are known in late-13th- and early-14th-century assemblages (Sanders 1987, pp. 183–185). For Eleutherna, see Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008, pp. 69–70, 156, table 32 (vessel no. 114 at Eleutherna is identical to object **117** from the Ismenion assemblage). For Otranto, see Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, pp. 91–92, 100–102, fig. 6.4. For Nemea, see Athanassopoulos 2016, pp. 66, 111, 145–146, nos. 9, 190, 289.

85. Koilakou 1999b, p. 134, fig. 34. For the variety of jug shapes and functions, see François 2010, pp. 366–370.

86. For an overview of lids and their function, see François 2010, p. 340.

87. For similar lids at Thebes, see Armstrong 1993, p. 310, no. 115. For Crete, see Yangaki 2008, pp. 219–220, table 219a. For lids with stamped decoration from Boiotia, see also Vroom 1998, p. 539, no. 9.3, fig. 15. For this type of decoration on coarse wares, see also Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008, pp. 75–76.

88. Gerstel et al. 2003, p. 171, no. 35, fig. 23.

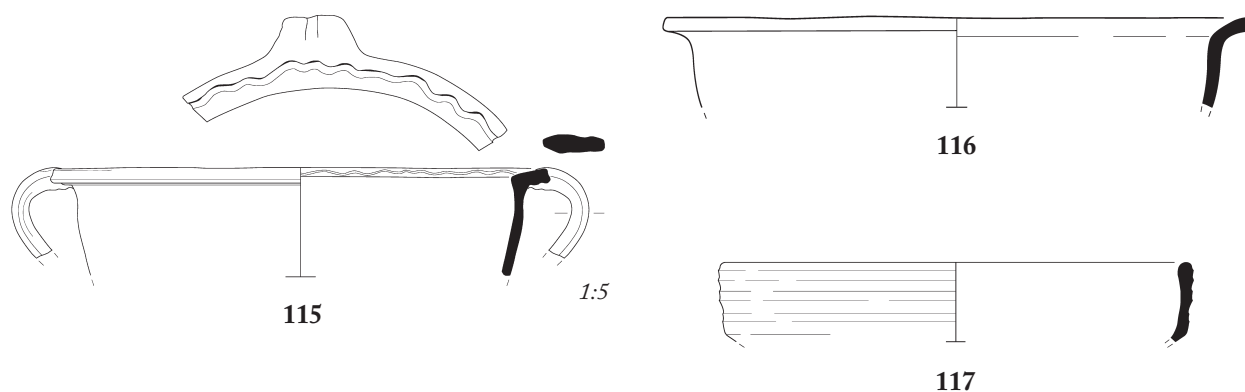


Figure 32. Basins 115–117. Scale 1:4 unless otherwise indicated

Medium coarse, red fabric (10R 5/6 and burned; core 10R 5/6–5/8, 2.5YR 5/1) with gritty surface.

Petrographic sample I56.

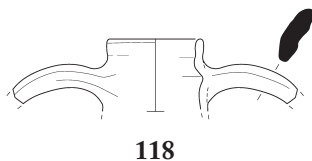
117 Basin

Fig. 32

3-2-153. H. 4.3; est. Diam. 24.9 cm.

Part of rim survives; two joining and two nonjoining pieces. Vertical rim, with rounded lip. Prominent wheel-ridges on exterior.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and brown pellets, some mica, and some pores.



118

Figure 33. Table amphora 118. Scale 1:4

118 Table amphora

Fig. 33

3-2-52. H. 3.9; est. Diam. 11 cm.

Part of rim and handle survive. Vertical rim, offset from neck, with broad strap handle springing horizontally from neck. Neck rib formed externally where rim and handle join.

Medium coarse, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6; core 2.5YR 6/6–5/1) with frequent small white, brown, gray, and dark inclusions, rare mica, and a few pores.

Petrographic sample I38.

119 Table amphora

Fig. 34

3-2-53. H. 22; Diam. 7 cm.

Lower body and base missing; five joining pieces. Spherical body with rounded shoulder, cylindrical neck, and vertical, slightly offset rim. Strap handles attached to neck and lower shoulder. Grooves at base of neck and upper body. Neck rib formed externally where rim and handle join.

Figure 34. Table amphora 119. Scale 1:5



119



Figure 35. Table amphora 120 and jug 121. Scale as indicated

Medium coarse, light reddish brown to light red fabric (2.5YR 6/4–6/6; core 2.5YR 6/8) with numerous translucent crystals and vegetal temper.

A few small splashes of transparent glaze on rim and handle.

120 Table amphora

Fig. 35

3-2-80. H. 12.4; Diam. 7 cm.

Part of rim and one handle survive; two joining pieces. Cylindrical neck with vertical, slightly offset rim. Strap handles from middle neck to lower shoulder attaching to neck and lower shoulder. Neck rib formed externally where rim and handle join.

Medium coarse, light reddish brown to light red fabric (2.5YR 6/4–6/6; core 2.5YR 6/1) with numerous translucent crystals and well tempered with vegetal matter, especially in handle.

121 Jug

Fig. 35

3-2-10. H. 22.5; Diam. rim 11, base 9 cm.

Part of rim missing; complete profile. Flat untrimmed foot, deep straight body with slightly offset rim, and oval handle attached to rim and shoulder. Grooves in upper body and neck. Handle slightly offset at angle from body.

Medium coarse to medium fine, pink to reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/4–7/6; core 5YR 7/4), porous, with a few dark pellets and some mica, and no remains of vegetal temper.

Petrographic sample I60.

122 Jug(?)

3-2-81. H. 2.7; Diam. base 8.3 cm.

Base survives. Flat base with low foot and flaring walls.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6), partially gray core, with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and brown pellets, some mica, and frequent pores.

123 Jug

3-2-89. H. 8; Diam. base 7.5 cm.

Part of base survives. Flat base with rounded transition.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, few dark and gray pellets, and some mica.

124 Jug

3-2-90. H. 1; Diam. base 8 cm.

Base survives. Flat base with rounded transition.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6), partially gray core, with frequent chalky white inclusions, a few dark pellets, and some mica.

125 Jug

3-2-92. H. 1; Diam. base 7.7 cm.

Base survives. Flat base with rounded transition.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with a few chalky white inclusions and mica.

126 Trefoil(?) jug

3-2-96. H. 4.2; est. Diam. 5 cm.

Part of rim survives. Plain, slightly thickened rim. Raised ridge externally marking join of rim and neck.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with frequent chalky white inclusions, small dark and gray pellets, some mica, and some pores.

127 Jug

3-2-109. H. 9; est. Diam. base 7 cm.

Part of base survives. Flat base.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with a few chalky white inclusions, gray pellets, some mica, and some pores.

128 Jug

3-2-120. H. 1.6; Diam. base 7.2 cm.

Base survives; three joining pieces. Flat base with rounded transition.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) to light brown (7.5YR 6/4) on interior, with frequent small dark and chalky white inclusions, translucent crystals, and some mica.

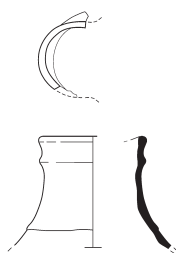
**129****129 Trefoil jug**

Fig. 36

3-2-121. H. 5.6; Diam. 5.8 cm.

Part of rim and neck survive; three joining pieces. Plain, slightly flaring rim with probable trefoil mouth. Short neck, and raised ridge externally marking join of rim and neck.

Medium coarse, light reddish brown to light red fabric (2.5YR 6/4–6/6; core 5YR 6/6) with frequent platy metamorphics, a few mica flakes, and rare remains of vegetal temper.

Petrographic sample I45.

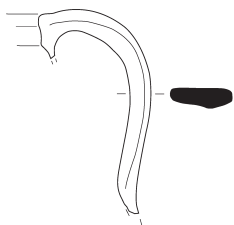
**130****130 Jug**

Fig. 36

3-2-123. H. 10.8; Diam. 7 cm.

Part of rim and one handle survive; two joining pieces. Slightly flaring rim, concave internally. Strap handle attached to rim.

Medium coarse, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6), gray core in handle, with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, translucent crystals, some mica, and some pores.

131 Jug

3-2-124. H. 9; est. Diam. 9 cm.

Part of rim and one handle survive; two joining pieces. Vertical, slightly flaring rim. Strap handle attached to rim.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 7/6; core 2.5YR 7/8 to light gray in handle) with numerous chalky white inclusions, remains of vegetal temper, and platy gray inclusions.

Petrographic sample I49.

Figure 36. Trefoil jug 129 and jug 130. Scale 1:4

132 Jug

Fig. 37

3-2-138. H. 7.8; est. Diam. base 6 cm.

Base and part of lower body survive. Flat base, globular wheel-ridged body.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8), gray core, with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and brown pellets, a few mica flakes, and some pores.

133 Trefoil(?) jug

3-2-139. H. 4.9; Diam. 6 cm.

Rim and neck survive. Plain, slightly flaring rim with probable trefoil mouth.

Raised ridge externally marking join between rim and neck.

Medium coarse, light red to reddish yellow fabric (2.5YR 6/6 to 5YR 7/6; core 2.5YR 7/8) with a few platy purple inclusions and rare calcareous aggregates.

Petrographic sample I42.

134 Jug

3-2-151. H. 1.1; Diam. base 7.4 cm.

Base survives. Flat base and flaring walls.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and brown pellets, some mica, and a few pores.

135 Jug

Fig. 37

3-2-154. H. 4.6; est. Diam. 8.5 cm.

Part of rim and neck survive; two joining pieces. Tall, vertical, slightly flaring rim thickened on lip, and raised ridge externally marking join between rim and neck.

Medium coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, translucent crystals, a few mica flakes, and a few pores.

136 Jug

3-2-156. H. 3; Diam. 8 cm.

Part of rim survives. Vertical, slightly flaring rim.

Medium coarse, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6; core 2.5YR 6/1–5/1) with remains of vegetal temper, porous.

137 Jar

3-2-159. H. 9.3; Diam. 13 cm.

Base and lower body survive; 11 joining pieces.

Flat base and spherical lower body.

Medium coarse, light red (2.5YR 6/8), partially gray core, with frequent chalky white inclusions, gray and dark pellets, some mica, and a few pores.

138 Jug

3-2-170. H. 2.2; Diam. base 7 cm.

Part of base survives. Flat base, slightly uneven.

Hard coarse, light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with frequent gray pellets, chalky white inclusions, some mica, and a few pores.

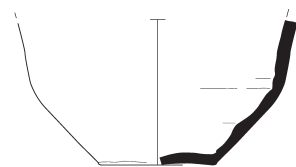
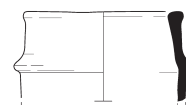
139 Jug

3-2-171. H. 4.2; Diam. 5 cm.

Part of rim and neck survive. Tall, vertical rim, slightly offset, with rounded lip, and raised ridge externally marking join between rim and neck.

Medium coarse, light reddish yellow to light red fabric (2.5YR 6/3–6/6; core 2.5YR 6/8) with a few chalky white aggregates. Wheel-ridges visible on rim.

Petrographic sample I39.

**132****135****Figure 37. Jugs 132 and 135. Scale 1:4**

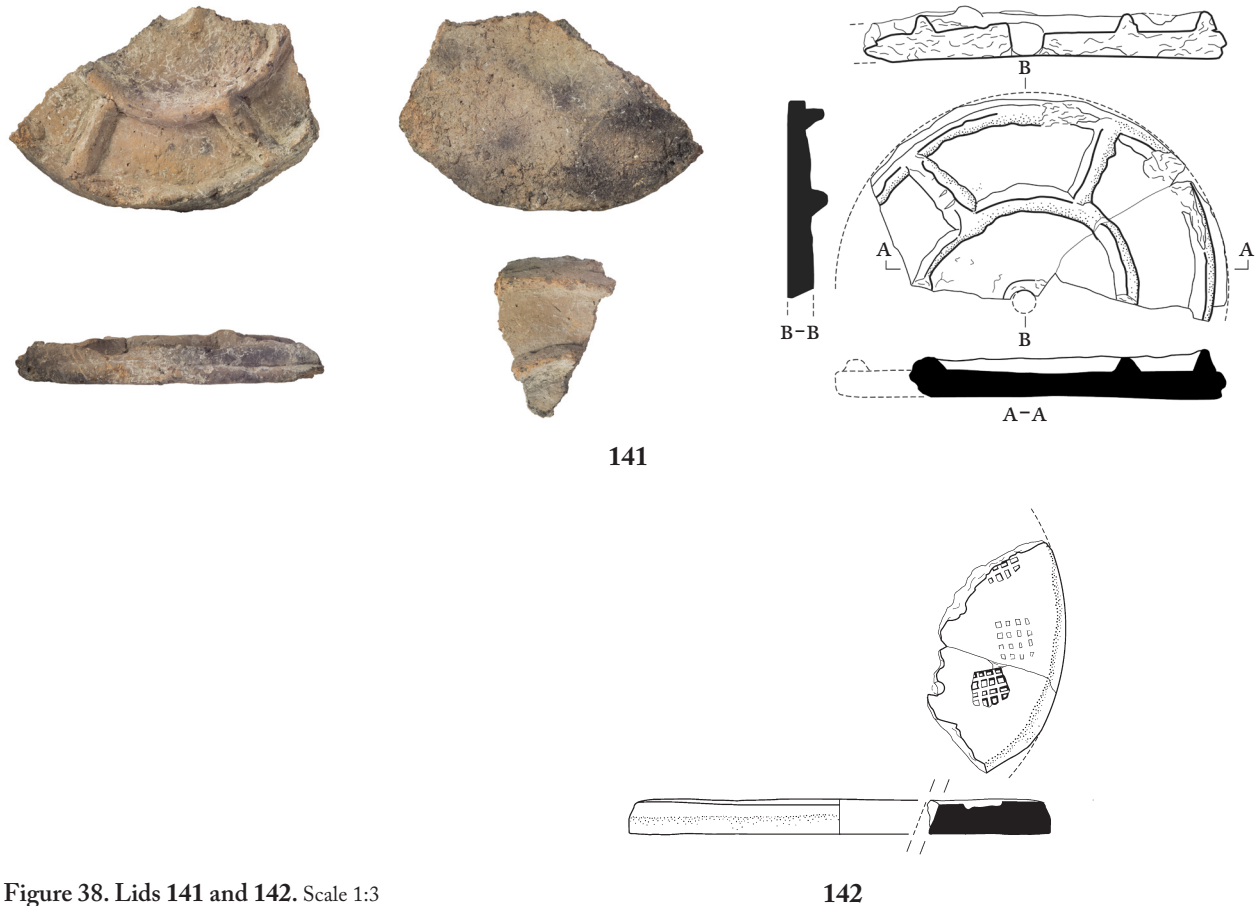


Figure 38. Lids 141 and 142. Scale 1:3

140 Bowl(?)

3-2-172. H. 2.2; Diam. 1.2 cm.

Part of rim survives. Narrow, flat, horizontal rim. Wheel-ridges under external rim.

Medium coarse, reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6) with a few dark and chalky white inclusions, and some mica.

141 Lid

Fig. 38

3-2-122. H. 1.9; Diam. 15.5 cm.

Part of lid survives; two joining pieces. Raised ribs on upper surface create a radiant motif between two circles, one in center of lid and the other following its external edge. Potential small hole in middle.

Very coarse, light reddish brown fabric (2.5YR 6/4; core same color) with frequent dark purple and medium gray platy inclusions, rare chalky white inclusions, translucent crystals, and remains of vegetal temper. Slightly blackened on bottom.

Petrographic sample I57.

142 Lid

Fig. 38

3-2-160. H. 1.3; est. Diam. 15.8 cm.

Part of lid survives; two joining pieces. Stamped roulette pattern repeated on surface, and possible small pierced hole preserved.

Medium coarse, pink to reddish yellow fabric (7.5YR 7/4-7/6; core 7.5YR 7/6) with frequent dark orange and purple platy inclusions and pebbles, rare chalky white inclusions, and translucent crystals.

CERAMIC CHRONOLOGY

The chronological span of ceramic production and circulation of pottery in Thebes under Latin rule will become clearer once our study of all excavated pits from the Ismenion Hill is complete. Based on the ceramic evidence presented so far, the Ismenion bothros dates from the late 13th to the mid-14th century. We have established this chronology for the ceramic assemblage via parallels from closed deposits and stratified layers throughout the eastern Mediterranean, particularly in the Peloponnese (Corinth), central Greece (Thebes, Panakton), Crete (Eleutherna), Macedonia (Thessaloniki), Thrace, Anatolia, and Constantinople. The lack of glazed wares typical of the so-called main Middle Byzantine production (12th–early 13th century), such as Fine Sgraffito, Aegean ware, and Green and Brown Painted ware, suggests the second half of the 13th century as the earliest possible date for this assemblage. The Ismenion ceramics include some of the most well-known categories of the late 13th and 14th centuries, such as incised sgraffito with concentric circles, late Byzantine Thessalonian and Constantinopolitan incised sgraffito, Veneto ware, and Late Green and Brown Painted ware.⁸⁹ Similarities in shape and decoration with Novy Svet ware and the glazed and coarse wares found at Panakton allow us to further secure our chronological boundaries to a late-13th- to mid-14th-century date.⁹⁰

The combination of certain wares in this assemblage further supports this chronology. The coexistence of incised sgraffito ware with concentric circles and Veneto wares typically occurs in the late 13th to 14th century, at Corinth and Sparta, for example.⁹¹ Similarly, the combination of northern Greek ceramics from Thessaloniki and Veneto ware is also characteristic of the first half of the 14th century at Corinth.⁹²

Turning to the coarse wares, similarities between our Ismenion cooking pots, 13th-century finds from other Theban excavations, and 14th-century examples from Panakton also support our proposed date range for the Ismenion bothros finds. Comparisons between table amphoras from the Ismenion bothros, examples from Crete (13th century), and finds from Corinth (14th century) further bolster this chronology. The coinage, which in toto predates ca. 1330, offers a terminus post quem for the deposition of this material (on which, see more below). Based on the composition of our assemblage and these myriad ceramic comparanda, we feel confident in this late-13th- to mid-14th-century date, while we also recognize the limitations imposed by this small sample from a single context.

CERAMIC PETROGRAPHY

For the petrographic side of our study, we analyzed 49 ceramic samples from the bothros assemblage in thin section: 20 plain-ware vessels (12 fast wheel-thrown cooking pots, one table amphora, five jugs, one basin, and one lid) and 29 lead-glazed table-ware vessels (24 bowls, two suspected wasters, and three jugs). Florence Liard compared these samples to clay-rich sediments collected in eastern Boiotia and to petrographic results from other medieval Mediterranean pottery.⁹³

89. For the discussion of the dates of these individual wares, see the pottery section, above.

90. Gerstel et al. 2003; see also the earlier discussion of the coarse wares, above.

91. MacKay 2003, pp. 413–414.

92. Williams, Barnes, and Snyder 1997, p. 42; MacKay 2003, pp. 415–416. More recently, Sanders (2016, pp. 4–5) has proposed dating some of these deposits to the later 14th to early 15th century.

93. Permission for clay sampling in eastern Boiotia was given by the Institute of Geology and Mineral Exploration (IGME, permit 3452). A general outline of the geology of eastern Boiotia, the sediment sampling locations, the protocol for preparing fired clay briquettes, and a detailed petrographic analysis will be presented in a separate article on the provenance and technology of coarse household vessels of medieval Thebes (Liard, Kondyli, and Kiriatzi 2019).

Here we offer a general discussion of the diversity of fabrics identified in the assemblage.⁹⁴ We explore pottery supply strategies from nearby and more distant workshops and reconstruct aspects of local craftsmanship at Catalan Thebes, such as production, paste preparation recipes, and decoration techniques. We first discuss household vessels in coarse plain fabrics and then present lead-rich glazed table wares in fine fabrics.

We follow the recent provenance study by Waksman and her colleagues of the mid-12th- to early-14th-century sgraffito table wares found at Thebes and Chalkida/Negroponte. Using wavelength dispersive X-ray diffraction (WD-XRD) analyses of chemical composition of ceramic fabrics combined with archaeological investigation, these authors identified Chalkida as the main supplier to Thebes of glazed table wares of Middle Byzantine styles during the mid-12th to early 13th century.⁹⁵ Some changes likely occurred in consumption patterns of glazed pottery in Thebes during the mid-13th century, when a local workshop is suspected to have begun, although glazed pottery production continued in Chalkida. This Theban production, which appears to have consisted of glazed sgraffito bowls with concentric circles, is thought to have lasted until at least the early 14th century.⁹⁶

Based on the study by Waksman and her colleagues, we chose to sample 18 glazed pottery fragments and table wares, preliminarily identified as local products based on their types and styles (13 sgraffito bowls with concentric circles, two presumable wasters, one tripod stilt, and two yellow glazed jugs with sgraffito patterns). We also sampled four presumably Chalkidian products and seven other fragments identified as probable imports (two Spatter Painted-ware vessels, two plain glazed bowls, and three Thessaloniki wares).

For petrographic analysis of plain household vessels, our study accords with recent archaeometric examinations of various types of cooking pots in the medieval Mediterranean and focuses mostly on this category. Past archaeometric analyses primarily concern cooking pots found in Latin territories.⁹⁷ Their results suggest that technology involving a silty sediment and siliceous rock fragments of various sizes and shapes (which may have resulted from pounding clayey sediment or crushing rock) had developed in the Latin territories of the Mediterranean, such as Catalan Spain, Provence, and northern Italy, from at least the 11th century onward. This practice then spread in the Aegean-Anatolian region, notably to Corinth, and was then used to produce long-necked cooking pots in Corinth from A.D. 1260 onward.⁹⁸

Current petrological research suggests that Byzantine and Latin-controlled territories of the Mediterranean observed distinct coarse-pottery tempering traditions. However, very little petrographic data for Byzantine and Frankish pottery assemblages from Greece has been published; Corinth provides the single diachronic petrographic study.⁹⁹ Accordingly, our petrographic study of the Ismenion bothros assemblage aims to characterize the provenance and fabric recipes of cooking pots in which we recognize either a Byzantine-influenced or a Frankish-influenced shape. We chose our samples to reflect local diversity in shapes (rim profile, handle type, body shape, and overall proportions), surface treatment (smooth or grooved), and fabric categories (color, porosity, inclusions). We also sampled one jar and

94. Liard will also be publishing the full petrographic analysis of the pottery sampled from the bothros separately.

95. Waksman et al. 2014.

96. Waksman et al. 2014, pp. 380, 413–416.

97. For plain cooking pots at Byzantine and Frankish Corinth, see the petrographic study by Joyner (2007). For glazed cooking pots in 12th- to 13th-century Genoa, see Capelli and Cabella (2010), who combine petrographic thin-section, X-ray powder refraction, and scanning electron microscopy and energy dispersive X-ray spectroscopy (SEM-EDS) analyses.

98. Cf. Capelli and Cabella 2010 for both local and imported cooking wares in 12th- and 13th-century Genoa; for local cooking wares from 12th–14th century Corinth, see Joyner 2007, pp. 192 (table 1), 197–198. On the change in cooking-pot shapes at Corinth between the Byzantine and the Frankish periods, see François 2010, pp. 333–347, figs. 1:1–5, 2:1–5.

99. Joyner 2007.

three jugs from the most recurrent fabric categories to explore tempering practices for other vessel types.

Petrographic analysis of pottery samples from the Ismenion bothros assemblage was completed at the Fitch Laboratory of the British School at Athens with a Zeiss Axio Scope A1 microscope. In what follows, each object is identified according to its catalogue number, followed by a petrographic sample number, prefixed with “I.”

PLAIN HOUSEHOLD VESSELS

We identified 13 representative coarse fabrics illuminating pottery provenance, fabric preparation recipes, and correlations between pottery types and shapes.¹⁰⁰ Euboian imports largely prevail in the sampling set and are diversified in both fabric and pottery types (11 fabrics; 17 samples). In contrast, we distinguish only one local Theban pot (one fabric; one sample) and only a few regional products from northern Boiotia, among which is a single Byzantine-shaped cooking pot with thick walls and a short flaring rim (one fabric; two samples).

Local Fabric

The local fabric is represented by jug **121** (sample I60). This cylindrical plain jug displays a reddish yellow fabric with a very fine silty to pure clay texture and a few rounded, coarse sand inclusions of quartz, gneiss, and serpentinite. This composition strongly suggests production near the Kadmeia at Thebes. Petrographic analysis of clay-rich sediments from eastern Boiotia indicates that loams deriving from the weathering of sandstone-chert-shale formations, widespread in the area of Thebes, are richer in serpentinite and quartz fragments as one progresses toward the Kadmeia.¹⁰¹

Northern Boiotian Fabric

Northern Boiotian fabric, represented in a Byzantine-shaped cooking pot (**76**; sample I34) and a basin (**116**; sample I56), consists of a red clay base tempered with organics and calcimudstones. This fabric also contains some altered inclusions of silicate-rich sedimentary rocks, and a few shale fragments of calcareous composition, some of which are depleted into mudstones. A similar pottery fabric is reported from the area of Lake Kopais in northern Boiotia.¹⁰²

In terms of technology, a targeted sampling of mid-12th- to mid-13th-century coarse wares from the Karaoulanis plot, contiguous to the Ismenion Hill, demonstrates that pottery in the same fabric was already being consumed in Byzantine Thebes; there the fabric appears across cooking pots and pithoi.¹⁰³ At nearby Chalkida, Waksman and her team report that handles of 12th-century transport amphoras were heavily tempered with organics.¹⁰⁴ At Corinth, on the other hand, cooking pots from the Byzantine and Early Frankish periods were tempered with different kinds of mudstone (rarely calcimudstone); vegetal tempering has not been identified petrographically among the local cooking pots.¹⁰⁵

Euboian Fabric

The most representative samples for Euboian fabric are pots **64** (sample I44), **71** (sample I54), **75** (sample I47), **77** (sample I55), **78** (sample I50), **79** (sample I37), **85** (sample I51), **91** (sample I58), **99** (sample I46), **103** (sample I32), and **104** (sample I41); table amphora **118** (sample I38); trefoil

100. The petrographic groups discussed in this article were identified through a larger petrographic study of 36 sherds collected from diverse deposits on the Ismenion Hill; see Liard, Kondyli, and Kiriati 2019.

101. Zaronikos 1970 (geological map).

102. See the mudstone fabric described by Boileau, Tartaron, and Sarri (2007).

103. As known from the study currently being conducted by Liard and Kondyli on a 12th-century assemblage from the Karaoulanis plot.

104. Waksman, Skartsis, et al. 2018 pp. 1114–1115.

105. See groups 3, 4, and 6 described by Joyner (2007, pp. 192–193, table 1).

jug **129** (sample I45) and trefoil(?) jug **133** (sample I42); jugs **131** (sample I49) and **139** (sample I39); and lid **141** (sample I57).

We present six representative fabrics displaying a distinctive petrographic signature: siliceous and micaceous sandstones, chert, shales, and phyllites in relative ratios related to the series of sedimentary to low-metamorphic Triassic formations sitting directly east of the Lelantine Plain near Chalkida.¹⁰⁶ The number of Byzantine- and Frankish-shaped cooking pots in our assemblage is outstanding in this set of imported vessels, and sometimes both types of cooking pots occur within the same fabric.¹⁰⁷ Additionally, we have identified two trefoil jugs (**129**, **133**), two cylindrical jugs (**131**, **139**), and a table amphora (**118**) as Euboian imports.

Most Euboian fabrics mix a red clay with a calcareous and mica-rich plastic material, although a few others seem to have been made from a single red clay. Apart from rounded sandstone particles that may be natural components of the clay-rich sediment, the red clay base was often tempered with vegetal matter or crushed rock (chert or phyllite). Several textural characteristics of the fabrics tempered with crushed rock match those Joyner describes for Corinthian cooking pots from the Middle and Late Frankish periods, thereby suggesting the possibility of shared technological practice between various workshops of the mainland after the Latin conquest.¹⁰⁸

The variety in fabric composition, tempering practices, and vessel types identified in this set of imported Euboian pieces suggests that several different central Euboian workshops supplied Catalan-controlled Thebes with household vessels. In this group we were unable to identify any particular pattern in the use of specific tempers in producing specific pot shapes. For example, within this assemblage, Byzantine-shaped cooking pots are produced with vegetal tempering or calcareous clay mixing, two clay-processing techniques of possible Byzantine origin in central Greece. Likewise, Frankish-shaped cooking pots, which occur in a diversity of fabrics and often display groove decoration on surfaces, were tempered either with vegetal matter, in Byzantine fashion, or with crushed rock, the latter practice recalling cooking-ware fabrics reported for Latin territories of the Mediterranean.

GLAZED TABLE WARES

Main Fabric Group: Theban and Possibly Chalkidian Production

We identified a broad fine fabric group characterized by a continuum of matrix texture and colors ranging from light brown (pure clay texture) to light reddish brown (silty micaceous texture). The matrix exhibits red and calcareous clay pellets (<0.5 mm) and very fine white and colored mica silts (<50 µm). Additionally, the matrix contains sparse rounded inclusions of quartz, chert, plagioclase, and serpentinite. Most samples exhibit a few inclusions of shale and gneiss (Fig. 39:a). Some samples also include rare schist fragments (0.8 to 1.5 mm; Fig. 39:b).

With a total of 15 samples, this fabric group is by far the largest of the glazed pottery samples from the bothros. We remain uncertain about provenance ascription, since the rock inclusions observed in each thin section individually exhibit either a sedimentary fingerprint or a low-grade metamorphic fingerprint: some samples of this group are therefore compatible with a provenance in the area of Thebes, while others could potentially have come from the Lelantine plain near Chalkida. Notably, in this fabric

106. These formations comprise sericitic sandstones, graywackes, shales, phyllites, and sericite- and chlorite-bearing schists; see Tsombos 2007.

107. Byzantine-shaped cooking pots (**71**, **79**, **85**, **91**) and Frankish-shaped cooking pots (**64**, **75**, **77**, **78**, **99**, **103**, **104**).

108. Joyner (2007, p. 200) suggests that angular inclusions found in various cooking-pot fabrics from the Frankish period at Corinth may be temper.

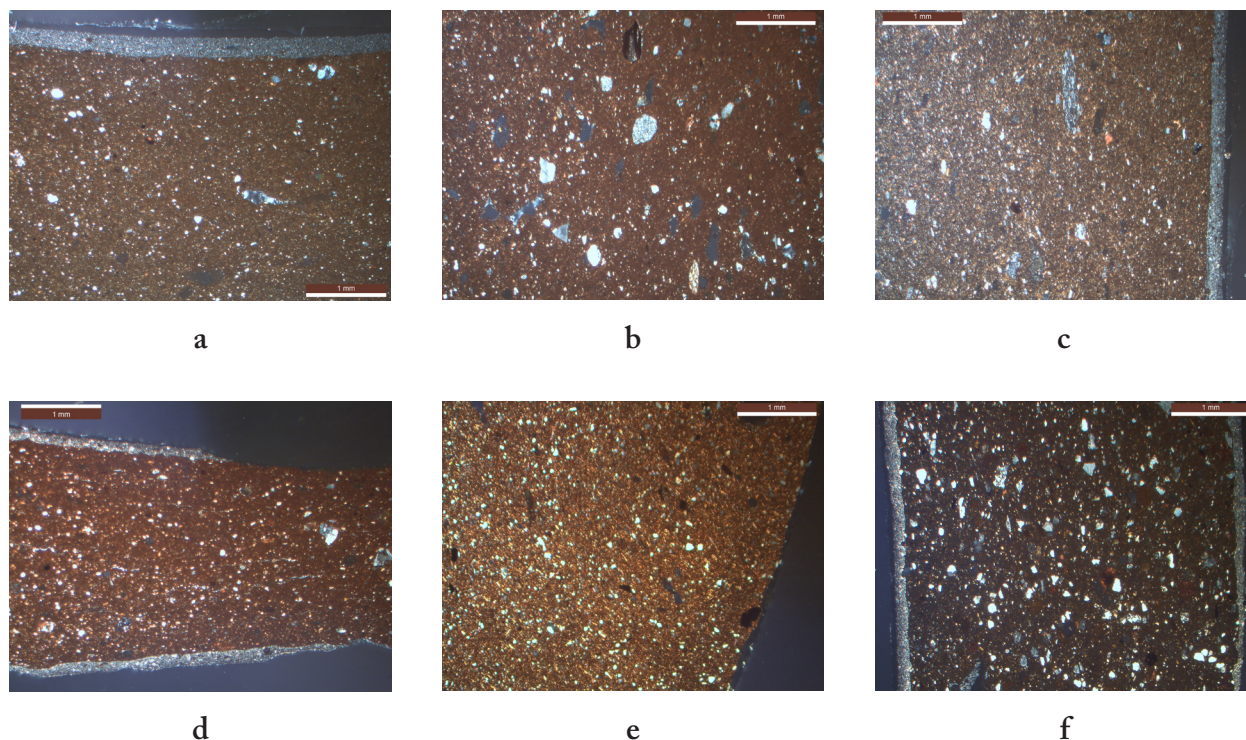


Figure 39. Petrographic analyses of catalogued pottery: (a) local product from Thebes; (b) local product from Chalkida; (c) import from Thessaloniki region; (d) import from Constantinople region; (e) import from the Veneto; (f) presumable import from the Apennine region. Photos F. Liard

All examined under cross-polarized light, with a field of view of 4.4 mm. Samples as indicated: (a) I09 [7]; (b) I05 [25]; (c) I13 [30]; (d) I10 [9]; (e) I27 [38]; (f) I16 [47].

we identified sgraffito ware with concentric circles. Our results thus corroborate those of Waksman and her colleagues, who identified such bowls as 13th- and 14th-century products from both Thebes and Chalkida.¹⁰⁹

In terms of chemical composition, Waksman and her colleagues identified a higher calcium content and accentuated ultrabasic fingerprint in Theban glazed pottery than in Chalkidian glazed pottery.¹¹⁰ Similarly, in our analyses, some samples of the fine fabric group display dull grayish brown colors, suggestive of a low-calcareous clay; this fabric often appears together with coarser serpentinite fragments indicative of an ultrabasic geological environment such as Thebes. On the other hand, we speculate that some samples of this large petrographic group are of Chalkidian origin, since they contain quartzite, phyllite, and schist fragments, a combination that matches the geology of the Lelantine plain in Euboea (Fig. 39:b). In what follows, we use these various petrographic characteristics to distinguish Theban and Chalkidian products within this main fabric group of glazed table wares.

Local Production

Samples included bowls **3** (sample I08), **6** (sample I07), **7** (sample I09), **10** (sample I01), **11** (sample I03), and **18** (sample I04); jug **34** (sample I24); and bowls/wasters **62** (sample I18) and **63** (sample I17).

This group includes sgraffito ware with concentric circles in yellow (**6**, **7**), olive-yellow (**3**, **10**, **11**), and brownish yellow (**18**) glaze, a reddish yellow to yellow glazed jug with guilloche (**34**), and sherds that we identify as kiln wasters (**62**, **63**). Samples in this group exhibit a particularly fine version of the main fabric, with frequent fragments of quartz and serpentinite (Fig. 39:a). On inner surfaces, the body is covered with a thick microgranular slip of a thickness ca. 100–120 μm . This slip recalls imitations of

109. Waksman et al. 2014, pp. 413–414.

110. Waksman et al. 2014, pp. 406–415, where representatives of this chemical reference group for Thebes include tripods, unfinished wares, and a few finished products that mainly consist of sgraffito with concentric circles.

Zeuxippus were originating in the Aegean.¹¹¹ In incised decoration, the sgraffito wares with concentric circles display yellow hexagonal crystals that result in the dark color and opacity of the glaze in the incisions. We identify these crystals as iron oxides because of their specific shape and color observed in thin section.¹¹² Our forthcoming investigation of these crystals using μ -XRD and μ -Raman tests will determine whether the yellow crystals originated as secondary particles that emerged during firing (from the red ceramic body diffusing iron-rich particles into the lead glaze) or if they represent dark pigments intentionally added to force the incisions to stand out from the yellow glaze.¹¹³

We identify objects **62** and **63** as wasters, or “biscuit, unfinished wares.” Petrographically, these two pieces are similar to the sgraffito bowls described above, but they are coarser, and their optical characteristics in cross-polarized light (XPL) indicate that they were low fired (under 750°C).¹¹⁴ Object **63** exhibits radial strokes engraved on an inner, slipped surface, a pattern that recalls a sherd analyzed by Lazzarini and Calogero and broadly attributed to the Aegean.¹¹⁵ Object **62** displays a sheeted slip with impurities on its inner surface (ca. 80 μ m).¹¹⁶ Petrographic analysis also revealed light remains of a highly altered glaze layer on its inner surface, which suggests that **62** might not be a kiln waster after all. We raise this possibility because such material is often used as a reference for local provenance ascriptions in petrological investigations. With object **62** we thus emphasize the risk in reaching misleading interpretations by following such practice.

Chalkidian Production

Bowls **5** (sample I06), **25** (sample I05), **27** (sample I02), **51** (sample I20), and **60** (sample I30) represent the Chalkidian examples. This group includes bowls of sgraffito with concentric circles (**5**, **25**), one with green slip-painted decoration (**27**), one with slip-painted decoration (**60**), and one olive-yellow glazed bowl (**51**). The various samples display a sheeted, supposedly clay-rich slip of uneven thickness (from 20 to 200 μ m) that contains some iron-rich intrusions and siliceous rounded particles.

Imports: Thessaloniki

Samples identified as imports from northeastern Greece (bowls **24** [sample I21], **29** [sample I14], **30** [sample I13]) are characterized by a mica-rich clay with white micas and rubified biotite laths. The fabric contains angular coarse fragments of schist, quartzite, and serpentinite, with some rare inclusions of dolerite, arkose, muscovite, alkali, and plagioclase feldspars (0.2–0.8 mm; Fig. 39:c). We observe a similar petrographic fingerprint in other pottery from Thessaloniki.¹¹⁷ Bowl **29** also contains several fragments of plutonic acid rocks, yet another characteristic of the geology near Thessaloniki.¹¹⁸ These three samples exhibit a thick sheeted slip with iron-rich particles and sparse siliceous crystals (thickness: 100–120 μ m).

The styles of these pieces further indicate a Thessalonian or northeastern Greek provenance: bowl **30** exhibits incised heart-shaped leaves with hatches inside them, a typical sgraffito pattern from northern Greece. Bowl **24** displays yellow to strong brown glaze and incised circles. Bowl **29** is decorated with incised parallel lines encircling an incised motif with curving and wavy lines and a yellow glaze; similar decoration appears on a yellow glazed dish classified as a product from Thessaloniki based on the chemical fingerprint

111. Waksman and François 2004–2005, p. 639.

112. M. Verità (pers. comm.).

113. The use of iron oxides in creating black patterns, sometimes highlighting incisions, is typified at Venice with the “Graffito typo San Bartolo” (Saccardo 1993, p. 212), and in Islamic “Mamluk Sgraffito” at Fustat during the 14th century (Gayraud 2003, p. 600).

114. Liard proposes this firing temperature on the basis of tests she completed on ceramic briquettes made from eastern Boiotian clays and fired at 750°C in oxidizing conditions at the Fitch Laboratory (British School at Athens); these pieces exhibited similar petrographic characteristics to **62** and **63**.

115. Lazzarini and Calogero 1989, p. 575, sample BB10.

116. This slip is characterized by quartz and subordinate feldspar inclusions within a fine-grained, sheeted, and highly birefringent matrix.

117. For petrography of Bronze Age pottery from Thessaloniki, see Kiriatzi 2000, pp. 126–127. For petrographic characteristics of 12th- to 13th-century glazed bowls that were presumably imported to Venice from Thessaloniki, see Lazzarini and Calogero 1989, p. 577.

118. Kiriatzi 2000, pp. 126–127.

and petrography of its fabric.¹¹⁹ Thessaloniki is to date one of the best-known cities in late Byzantine Greece where archaeometry has identified sgraffito ware with concentric circles as a potentially local product.¹²⁰

Imports: Northwestern Turkey

Vessels from northwestern Turkey are represented by bowls **4** (sample I28), **9** (sample I10), and **45** (sample I19); and jug **59** (sample I29). This group includes diverse styles: one sgraffito bowl with concentric circles and pale yellow glaze (**9**); a bowl with pale yellow glaze and small splashes of reddish brown paint (**45**); one yellow glazed bowl with five parallel lines incised on the inner rim (**4**); and a jug with strong brown glaze (**59**).

Two fabrics from this group are mineralogically related, displaying a silty micaceous texture with orangish and reddish brown tinges and some streaks indicative of clay mixing. Also visible throughout the matrix are white mica silts and rubified biotite particles (10–60 µm) as well as isolated crystals of pyroxene and epidote (<50 µm). On the one hand, the aplastic fraction of three of the vessels (**4**, **45**, **59**) mainly consists of sparse fine fragments of quartzite, schist, and serpentinite, with rarer gneiss and shale (0.12–0.40 mm; Fig. 39:d). These characteristics resemble those of northwestern Anatolian glazed wares found at Venice and tentatively identified as Constantinopolitan products by Lazzarini and Calogero, but at this early stage in the petrographic investigation of this kind of material we cannot rule out a different provenance.¹²¹ The fingerprint of bowl **9**, on the other hand, suggests a different geological environment (fragments of quartz and quartzite, granite, plagioclase, a few andesite and rare schists inclusions; 0.10–0.40 mm). In the current stage of our research, we suggest the Karalar-Yesiller area, 200 km southwest of Istanbul, where geologic studies attest extrusive lava flows and intrusive rocks of the serpentinite-peridotite and granodiorite types in a dominantly sedimentary to low-metamorphic environment.¹²² All four vessels display a sheeted-textured slip of uneven coarseness that can be related to the clayey slips described by Waksman and François for Zeuxippus ware originating in the region of Constantinople.¹²³ In our sampling set, however, we observe the same slip among glazed table wares imported from other Greek workshops, such as Chalkida and Thessaloniki—a similarity that suggests some community of practice among workshops of the Byzantine tradition located outside Constantinople.

Imports: Frankish Attica

Imports from Frankish-controlled territories of central Greece remain particularly difficult to identify petrographically. As an illustration, we present these two sgraffito bowls (bowls **2** [sample I12] and **26** [sample I31]) with incised parallel lines on their inner rim and varied glaze colors, pieces similar in style to the two Anatolian imports (**9**, **45**) discussed above. Both vessels in this category display a silty, micaceous, red fabric with quartzite, biotite-rich phyllite, and schist fragments, and sparser serpentinite and feldspar inclusions of various sizes (0.5–1.5 mm). The phyllosilicate content of this fabric is hardly compatible with a Boiotian origin and displays affinities with glazed table wares identified petrographically and stylistically as Attic products.¹²⁴ The microgranular slip (ca. 100 µm) covering the bowls resembles material used in other workshops of Latin-controlled Greece, most notably Thebes.

119. Lazzarini and Calogero 1989, p. 575, sample BB23.

120. Waksman and François 2004–2005, p. 639.

121. Lazzarini and Calogero 1989, p. 577.

122. Krushensky, Akçay, and Karaeğre 1980, pp. 1–5.

123. These clayey slips identified petrographically by Waksman and François (2004–2005, p. 639) contrast with the quartz-rich slips identified for Zeuxippus-ware products from the Aegean. Because one expects a granular and not sheeted texture from quartz-rich slips, we suggest correlating them with the microgranular slips identified petrographically among our sampling set.

124. Lazzarini and Calogero 1989, p. 577.

Imports from Northern Italy

The group of northern Italian imports include five diverse vessels with either pale yellow or strong yellow glaze, in some cases with local green paint: bowls **38** (sample I27), **47** (sample I16), **49** (sample I11), and **57** (sample I22), and jug **50** (sample I26). Each vessel in this category displays a different fabric, although they share a sandy texture in their paste, as well as highly birefringent, fine-grained slips that suggest common technological practice. The choice of an alluvial clay base can be inferred from the high content in unimodal and angular rock fragments and from plentiful coarse unaltered mica needles. At the same time, the diverse mineralogical assemblages of the inclusions suggest different production locations within the same region for these five pieces.

Bowl **38**, most likely a Venetian import, is composed of a light red to reddish yellow clay packed with angular inclusions of quartz, white mica needles, chlorite, sparse feldspars, and rare basalt and chert fragments (ca. 100 μm ; Fig. 39:e).¹²⁵ The fabric of bowl **57**, on the other hand, is incompatible with the composition of medieval glazed wares from the Veneto region, displaying a calcareous fabric packed with rounded inclusions of quartz and chlorite, rubified biotite, serpentinite, and a few chert fragments (up to 80 μm ; Fig. 39:f).¹²⁶ Bowl **57** may come from a different region in northern Italy, closer to the Apennine ridge.

Vessels **47**, **49**, and **50** are made of light red to reddish yellow calcareous clays, rich in coarse white and colored mica needles and with numerous sand inclusions of serpentinite and serpentinitized peridotite (up to 200 μm), depleted limestones, and chert, quartz, and various feldspars that may derive from weathering of the rare altered gabbro and basalt fragments also present in some of the samples. The provenance of this fabric requires further investigation. It remains possible that these three samples were locally produced in Thebes, since the mineralogy of their inclusions resembles that of clayey sediments collected on the western and northern borders of the alluvial plain of Thebes, but at the same time their texture is coarser and more angular. Further, there exists a resemblance between this lithological assemblage and the geology of the northern Apennines, particularly the ophiolitic outcrops of southern Tuscany, which include formations of gabbro and serpentinitized peridotite.¹²⁷

Four of these pieces (excepting **38**) are covered with a coarse-grained sheeted clay-rich slip of medium thickness (ca. 100 μm), resembling those observed petrographically in 13th- and 14th-century Venetian and Paduan glazed wares.¹²⁸ Bowl **38** is glazed but unslipped. The glaze contains unfused silicate crystals, which indicates a specific glaze recipe likely involving a lead-silica mixture, a technique matching those of medieval Venetian and Paduan sgraffito wares.¹²⁹ These observations support the hypothesis that these vessels come from various workshops in northern Italy.

INTERPRETATION: PROVENANCE AND TECHNOLOGY

These petrographic analyses allow us to make some preliminary remarks about technological traditions, demand for ceramic products, and artistic connections in Thebes and in the Late Medieval Mediterranean. On the one hand, our results point toward a Theban reliance on central Euboea for coarse wares. The diversity in pottery styles and tempering techniques among the

125. On the petrography of glazed pottery produced in Venice during the 13th and 14th centuries, see Lazzarini et al. 1980, pp. 62–63; Mignucci 2002.

126. L. Lazzarini (pers. comm.).

127. On this, see Tribuzio, Thirlwall, and Vannucci 2004, pp. 1109–1111.

128. Lazzarini et al. 1980, pp. 58, 62.

129. Lazzarini et al. 1980, p. 62.

assemblage of Euboian coarse wares also points to combinations between Byzantine and Latin technological traditions within a decentralized system of ceramic production there. On the other hand, results from our tests of the glazed table wares also support the existence of an early-14th-century Theban workshop producing glazed bowls of the sgraffito ware with concentric circles type, as Waksman suggests, although likely in tandem with a continued supply of glazed pottery from Chalkida. Although we await WD-XRF testing for further comparisons of these wares with provenance data, the diversity of the other imports we have identified petrographically in the bothros material is also quite remarkable. The Ismenion bothros assemblage points both toward a variety of aesthetic tastes within the Theban population and to Theban trade connections with other Mediterranean regions, notably Constantinople, Thessaloniki, and northern Italy.

THE COINS

The bothros contained six to seven coins in its far western quarter: three appeared in context 1-2-16 in the same spot (**144**, **145**, **147**); two others came to light in the same spot at the bottom of the bothros in context 1-2-57 (**143**, **146**); see Figure 4 for these plotted findspots.

Julian Baker, who completed the analysis of the coins, divides them into two groups. One or two pieces (**143**, **144**) date to the early 13th century and belong to the low-grade coinages of the Crusaders at Constantinople after 1204.¹³⁰ The other five coins (**145–149**) belong to the main tournois silver-based penny coinage produced in Latin Greece after A.D. 1267; within this larger category these five issues hail from Achaia and Naupaktos and span the first two decades in the early 14th century.¹³¹

For a number of reasons it seems likely that the five deniers tournois, but perhaps not the other coin(s), were originally a hoard or part of a hoard. To start, daily coin usage was dominated by copper-based coinages: multiple coins of higher intrinsic value (at 20%–30% silver) would therefore not have been the result of single fortuitous loss. The same five coins are also tightly dated ca. A.D. 1301–1318. No other common tournois appear in this group (e.g., those of William II Villehardouin, 1246–1278, or his successors to 1301). This fact points to the presence of a hoard, as does the absence of local Theban issues, alongside the representation of the Clarentza and Naupaktos mints, since even small hoards commonly display supraregional profiles.¹³² Further, the five deniers tournois are all in similar condition: corroded and broken, although with little sign of contemporary wear.

We thus name the hoard “Thebes 2011.” We suspect that the hoard may have been part of a larger group of coins, although we cannot speculate on its size. In terms of its date of deposit, the hoard has a firmly established terminus post quem of 1316, but the deposit also could have been made in the 1320s or even around 1330, after which the plentiful issues of the Achaian prince John of Gravina (1321–1332) would have appeared.

We do not consider **143** and **144** (possibly not a coin) part of Thebes 2011 for two main reasons. First, these two denominations (trachea and tournois) are never hoarded together in the early 14th century. Second, with the addition of these two pieces, this hoard would otherwise not contain

130. Hendy 1999, pp. 653–697 (although the chronologies proposed there are unacceptable).

131. See Schlumberger 1878, pp. 285–400; Metcalf 1995, pp. 252–289; Baker 2015; Tzamalīs 2016, pp. 49–219.

132. For deniers tournois of the Thebes mint issued ca. 1285 to 1311, see Baker 2011, 2015; Tzamalīs 2016.

any issue dating from ca. 1210 through ca. 1301, a broad and implausible span. Additionally, billon trachea continued to circulate or be available a century after their dates of production, which means that **143** does not point to an early-13th-century date for the bothros in any way.

This numismatic record attests to a number of phases with implications for the other bothros materials, as follows. In the early 14th century all the bothros coins were potentially in use. At some point between 1316 and ca. 1330, Thebes 2011 was set aside or concealed by its owner. At a later point, but possibly close to the previous one, Thebes 2011 was abandoned, perhaps for the same reasons involving the abandonment of the other material. Subsequently, the hoard was disturbed in its original position, perhaps dismembered (if it was originally larger), and transferred to the location of the bothros. Numismatically, the chronology for these final developments cannot be determined. It is possible if not likely that other parts of Thebes 2011, as well as fragments of the same pottery vessels, still lie in unexcavated bothroi.

COIN CIRCULATION IN THEBES, CA. 1200–1350

Numismatic evidence from Late Byzantine Thebes serves to contextualize the coins from the Ismenion bothros and contributes to our general historical and topographical conclusions, and so we present here a brief but hopefully useful account of Theban numismatics that is not published elsewhere. Numismatic data from Thebes are now available for the central Kadmeia and from regions beyond the medieval walls.¹³³ We divide this overview into three phases: (1) the initial conquest period down to the middle of the 13th century; (2) a second period during which the de la Roche rulers of Athens began minting at Thebes, in line with other large mints of the time (Corinth, Clarentza, Naupaktos); and (3) a final period after the Catalan conquest of 1311, when minting ceased at Thebes, with the possible exception of a short-lived base tournois issue of the Catalans themselves.¹³⁴

PHASE I

The neighborhood on the ridge to the south of the Kadmeia near the Ismenion Hill saw particularly high-quality numismatic activity in the early years of the 13th century. From the current law-court building excavations come three hoards; one of these emerged on the northern edge of the Ismenion Hill (in the Stamides plot).¹³⁵ All of these hoards contained trachea of the Byzantine and Latin empires that seem to have been concealed before 1210. Stray finds of similar coins have also emerged in the area.¹³⁶

133. Theban coins currently are (for the most part) gathered in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes. The numbering systems used for these coins are diverse, but the largest bulk are cited according to the unified numbers used on the occasion of the major transfer of material from Athens to Thebes (coins prefixed with “αε”).

134. On this final period, see Baker 2003, 2011.

135. For the hoards from the

law-court building, see Koilakou 1993, p. 77; 1997b, p. 115 (Giannakou Street). Six unpublished trachea from the Katselis plot are also on display in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes, as is the hoard from the Stamides plot; see Koilakou 1997b, p. 118. There are further unpublished strays from the same plot (αε 9225, 9226, 9245, 9285, 11064, 11066, 11072, 11084, 11094, 11099, 11118).

136. Galani-Krikou 1993

(law-court excavations); from the Doukas plot (Loxis Falangos and Eteokleous Streets) came 11 unpublished billon trachea: αε 7856–7858, 7861, 7863, 7864, 7866, 7869, 7870, 7876, 7877; Koilakou 1992, pp. 73–74 (Liakos and Koropoulis plots in Vryzakis Street); and five Latin billon trachea emerged farther to the south at the site of the old slaughterhouse (αε 8006–αε 8010).

Also nearby, but inside the southern Kadmeia around the church of Ayios Gregorios, a number of plots have yielded similar material, as have two plots just east of the Kadmeia, in the valley of the ancient Strophia stream, in close proximity to our own bothros.¹³⁷ In the immediate neighborhood between the stream and the foot of the Ismenion Hill lie the important Karaoulanis and Tzoumanis plots, which revealed additional unpublished numismatic material (the Karaoulanis being the plot mentioned above in the pottery and petrographic sections).¹³⁸ In other areas of Thebes outside the southern Kadmeia and Ismenion Hill a number of important early-13th-century numismatic assemblages have also come to light. A useful sequence of billon trachea emerged on the northern edge of the Kadmeia, an area that may have been partially covered in the late 13th century by the castle of St. Omer and defensive structures to the north. To the west of the Kadmeia nearly 50 post-1200 billon trachea surfaced in the very different extramural Ayia Triada district.¹³⁹ And to the northwest of the Kadmeia, a large hoard of 627 base metal coins (trachea and tetartera) emerged.¹⁴⁰ This hoard, Thebes 1967(1), containing issues of Constantinople, Anatolia, and Thessaloniki, proves that local coin circulation in the later 1230s was still dominated by issues of Latin Constantinople from the first decade of the century. Outside Thebes the only significant accumulation of trachea was found at Akraifnion-Karditsa.¹⁴¹ These data suggest that the conquest period was perhaps particularly intense in Thebes, with consequences for the numismatic record.

PHASE II

From ca. 1250, when Guy de la Roche began issuing petty denominations at Thebes, until 1311, plentiful numismatic material comes from Theban locations. The Ayia Triada site revealed many petty coins: two parallel issues from the Corinth mint (principality of Achaia); two southern Italian pennies of King Charles I of Anjou (1266–1285); successive deniers tournois of Poitou, Achaia, and Athens; and a billon trachy of Emperor Andronikos II (1282–1328), a rare find for central Greece. In the same location a hoard of 15 tournois and one tetarteron came to light.¹⁴² This tournois hoard shows a typical assemblage of its kind, with issues of the main Clarentza, Thebes, and Naupaktos mints, and with one additional

137. For the Karamagkioles plot off Dirkis Street, see Koilakou 1994, p. 120; for Ayios Gregorios itself, see Koilakou 1996–1997, p. 82; for the Lambros plot on Dirkis Street, see Koilakou 1992, p. 82; for the Gkogkos plot on the continuation of Dirkis Street, see Koilakou 1993, p. 83; and farther to the north, for the Segkos plot on Dagklaridos Street, see Koilakou 1992, p. 81.

138. Four billon trachea (αε 9658, αε 10640, αε 10643, αε 10647) from the Karaoulanis plot; one small module Latin trachy (N2462) from the Tzoumanis plot.

139. Galani-Krikou 1998 (northern edge of the Kadmeia). Unpublished billon trachea also derive from excavations (2006–2007) within the museum compound and from the Ayia Eleousa church (αε 9150). For the Ayia Triada district, see Galani-Krikou 1997.

140. This hoard was found in the Rousis plot in Pyri; see Karamesini-Oikonomidou 1974, p. 14; Price 1979, p. 225; Touratsoglou 1981, p. 222; Oikonomidou 1985, pp. 989–995; Symeonoglou 1985, site 128; Metcalf 1995, p. 338, no. 143; Galani-Krikou et al. 2002, pp. 119–120, no. 109.

141. For a gold hyperpyron of the

Latin empire, see Koilakou 1997a, p. 128, pl. 60:γ, δ; Athanasoulis and Baker 2008, p. 247, n. 36. Numerous early-13th-century billon trachea remain unpublished (αε 6862, 8431, 8433–8435, 8438, 8445, 8446, 8449, 8516, 8518, 8908–8912, 8914, 8921, 8924, 8927, 8931, 8932α, 8935, 9198–9200, 9203, 9204, 9206, 9208, 9211, 9215, 9216, 9218, 9222, 9247α–δ, 9262, 9267, 9271, 9272, 9615, 9616, 9784, 9785). Some of these, together with Middle Byzantine coins from the site, are now on display in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes.

142. See Galani-Krikou 1997.

specimen of Neopatra, concealed ca. 1308.¹⁴³ In the northern Kadmeia, two deniers tournois emerged, and a plot in the southern Kadmeia revealed a royal French tournois and an Achaian petty denomination issue.¹⁴⁴ We also have petty denomination issues and deniers tournois in the southern part of the medieval fortified town around the church of Ayios Gregorios and Dirkis Street as well as from the valley below the eastern wall.¹⁴⁵ In northeastern Thebes at the foot of the Kastelli Hill, a hoard of six Venetian grossi of Doge Raniero Zeno (1253–1268) and two of Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268–1275) surfaced, deposited ca. 1270.¹⁴⁶ In northern Thebes, excavations brought to light a French royal tournois of Louis IX (1226–1270) and a Theban tournois.¹⁴⁷

Moving south to the western foot of the Ismenion Hill and in very close proximity to our bothros, a single royal French gros tournois emerged (Philip III, 1270–1285).¹⁴⁸ Nearby, the Karaoulanis plot again offers important comparanda for numismatic deposits on and around the Ismenion Hill, with one Corinthian petty denomination issue and one tournois.¹⁴⁹ From the Stamides plot come three Theban and one Corinthian petty denomination coins and two tournois.¹⁵⁰ To the southwest of Thebes a mix of petty denomination issues and tournois were found, and to the far southeast two Frankish Greek coins were reported.¹⁵¹

During this period the nearby Boiotian countryside also appears to have become more intensely monetized: evidence comes from Eutresis, Orchomenos, and a grave hoard at Aliartos.¹⁵² Additionally, 10 Theban and Corinthian petty denomination issues and seven tournois came to light at Akraifnion.¹⁵³

PHASE III

Numismatic material from Thebes in the early Catalan period has not emerged as readily as the preceding periods, but the available finds are nonetheless significant. The so-called Thebes 1967(2) hoard came from the city but was subsequently dispersed; information about the hoard is pieced together from different accounts.¹⁵⁴ Thebes 1967(2) comprises

143. Oikonomidou 1992, p. 8; Galani-Krikou 1997, pp. 138–139; Baker 2003, p. 313, no. 2; Baker and Galani-Krikou 2004, p. 414, no. 13.

144. See Galani-Krikou 1998 (northern Kadmeia, excavations for the Cultural Centre); Koilakou 1999a, p. 131 (southern Kadmeia, the Matalas plot between Amphion and Oedipus Streets).

145. See n. 136, above.

146. Koilakou 1998, p. 102, pl. 57 (near the high school at the Karabitsakos plot on Katsina Street). The Archaeological Museum of Thebes now displays this hoard. For grosso coinage in Greece, see Touratsoglou and Baker 2002.

147. These were excavations for the municipal water company (ΔΕΥΑΘ) in

northern Thebes, between the Archaeological Museum of Thebes and the railway station; the French royal tournois (αε 10574) emerged specifically on Alamanas Street, and the Theban tournois (αε 10571, of the GVI.DVX variety) on Diamanti Street.

148. Koilakou 1998, p. 103, pl. 58 (from a small plot on Osios Klimanta Street); see also Phillips 1997.

149. Coins αε 10642 and αε 10652.

150. Coins αε 9244, 9246, 11035, 11071, 11086, 11089.

151. Coins αε 7989–αε 7993 (in the plots in and around the law courts as well as the slaughterhouse area). For the Mochopodi area (the Karatzas plot), see Koilakou 1999b, p. 134.

152. Galani-Krikou 1994; Athanasoulis and Baker 2008, p. 248,

n. 46. Additionally, one stray Athenian petty denomination issue and one tournois (αε 9343, αε 9344) come from the site.

153. Coins αε 8437, 8447, 8510, 8909, 8916, 8920, 8922, 8923, 8925, 8926, 8930, 9244, 9255, 9257, 9258, 9261, and 9265, partially on display in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes.

154. See Tzamalīs 1981, p. 94; Kravartogiannos 1983; 1987, p. 2181 (some pieces formerly in Kravartogiannos's collection are now in the Archaeological Museum of Amphissa); Sotheby's 1997, p. 51, no. 409; Baker 2002, p. 177; 2003, p. 319, no. 30; Testa 2008, p. 559; 2014; Baker and Galani-Krikou 2009, p. 468, n. 35; Tzamalīs 2016, p. 182.

many (ca. 500, or even more) large and high-value Western silver coins of different contemporary states (Aragonese Sicily, Angevin Naples, Venice, the Papacy at Avignon, Angevin Provence); the hoard constitutes one of the most valuable and extraordinary assemblages of coins known from Latin Greece. The Neapolitan issues help date the hoard more precisely, the last such coin most likely dating no later than A.D. 1330.¹⁵⁵ About a decade after the deposition of Thebes 1967(2), another hoard was concealed a short distance from the Ismenion bothros. This group contained four soldini of Francesco Dandolo (1329–1339), the new debased silver coin of the republic, and one pre-1311 Theban tournois.¹⁵⁶ A decade later, perhaps just before 1350, another small hoard of soldini and one tournois was concealed in the Ayia Triada area.¹⁵⁷ Finally, east of the Kadmeia a mixed assemblage of tetartera, trachea, petty denominations, and tournois surfaced.¹⁵⁸ Our own Thebes 2011 hoard of deniers tournois complements this picture of varied coin circulation in 1311–1350, for which otherwise only a few additional stray finds are available.¹⁵⁹

The Boiotian countryside mirrors the evidence from Thebes at this time: a well-known hoard from Kaparelli comprises the usual denier tournois, Venetian soldino issues, and a Sicilian pierreale (deposited in 1350).¹⁶⁰ Thespiiai produced a small hoard of soldini concealed at approximately the same time, and Eutresis and Livadeia also appear in the numismatic record of the early Catalan period.¹⁶¹

NUMISMATIC DISCUSSION

From this survey we emphasize the following points: Thebes was alimanted with fresh coinage in an extraordinary fashion in the first decade of the 13th century. This dramatic increase left a lasting mark on money supply, and trachea from this period continue to emerge in various contexts from much later dates, including quite probably our Ismenion bothros hoard, Thebes 2011. In the second half of the 13th century, Thebes emerges as one of the richest sources of numismatic evidence within Latin Greece. The city's remarkable finds come from diverse areas of the town but seldom from the Kadmeia itself. The local Thebes mint operated ca. 1250 and again ca. 1285–1311 and was responsible for a part of local monetization. The discontinuation of official tournois minting under the Catalans increased the use of diverse imports from southern Italy and Provence, Venice, parts of the Aegean, and areas farther east. The strong presence of the soldino in Thebes is particularly noteworthy in light of the supposed hostilities between the Catalans and nearby Venetian Chalkida/Negroponte.

Numismatic developments in Thebes are thus concentrated particularly in the decades of the 1320s and 1330s, when copious new good-quality coins were introduced and when multiple hoards were concealed: the significant Thebes 1967(2) and our own smaller Thebes 2011. We hypothesize with caution that these two events—namely, the deposit and nonretrieval of 1967(2) and the abandonment of the materials deposited in the Ismenion bothros—were connected and occurred in or around 1330. We find it fascinating in this context that not a single coin from the period ca. 1311–1350 is currently positively known from the medieval walled area at Thebes; this absence may also play a role in the same historical narrative.¹⁶²

155. See Testa 2008; Baker 2011.

156. Tzamalis 1994, type GR20Γ, nos. N2452–N2456 (at the Tzoumanis plot).

157. Galani-Krikou 1997, p. 134, no. 110; Baker and Galani-Krikou 2009, p. 466, n. 17.

158. From the Stamides plot in the Tabouri Rouki area, this hoard-like assemblage of 21 pieces (αε 11052) remains unpublished but is on display in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes.

159. A single tournois from Ayia Triada of John II Orsini minted at Arta some time before 1330, for example; a single Achaian tournois of John of Gravina (1321–1332) from Moschopodi outside Thebes; and from the Stamides plot two soldini, including one of Francesco Dandolo (1329–1339) and one 14th-century Cypriot penny (αε 11037, αε 11051, αε 11053).

160. Cox 1930; Metcalf 1960, p. 57, no. Q; 1995, p. 252, no. 206; Baker and Galani-Krikou 2009, pp. 467–468 (n. 22), 471 (n. 34).

161. For Thespiiai, see de Ridder 1922, p. 298; Baker and Galani-Krikou 2009, p. 466, n. 18. For Eutresis and Livadeia, see Béquignon 1931, p. 454; Baker 2003, p. 320, no. 7.

162. This period also left a strong numismatic mark on the countryside: while certain sites thrive, others are in severe decline, as described for all Catalan territories of Greece by Baker and Galani-Krikou (2009).



Figure 40. Coins from the Thebes 2011 hoard. Scale 1:1

COINS OF THE LATIN EMPIRE AT CONSTANTINOPLE

- 143** Billon trachy, anonymous, minted at Constantinople Fig. 40
 3-2-18. Diam. 19–20 mm. Wt. 1.02 g. Die axis 6 o'clock.
 Obverse: Christ seated.
 Reverse: Full-length figure of emperor.
 Small module type B; *DOC IV*, no. 31.
 Ca. A.D. 1205–1208.

- 144** Billon trachy(?), anonymous, minted at Constantinople Fig. 40
 3-2-25.
 Small module of uncertain type; *DOC IV*, nos. 30–36.
 Ca. A.D. 1205–1210.

COINS OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF ACHAIA

- 145** Billon denier tournois, Prince Philip of Savoy Fig. 40
 (A.D. 1301–1304/6), minted at Clarentza
 3-2-6. Diam. 17 mm. Wt. 0.66 g. Die axis 11 o'clock.
 Obverse: Large cross patty, circular legend +PhSD[S]ABPACHē.
 Reverse: Tours castle, star beneath, circular legend [+D]ECLARE[NC]IA.
 Tzamalīs 1994, type PSA.
 Ca. A.D. 1303–1304.

- 146** Billon denier tournois, Prince Philip of Taranto Fig. 40
 (A.D. 1304/6–1313), minted at Clarentza
 3-2-15. Diam. 17–19 mm. Wt. 0.71 g. Die axis 8 o'clock.
 Obverse: Large cross patty, circular legend +PhSPACHPTARDR.

Reverse: Tours castle, *lis* beneath, circular legend +DECLARENCIA.
Tzamalís 1994, type PTB.
Ca. A.D. 1304–1309.

- 147** Billon denier tournois, Princess Mahaut of Hainaut (A.D. 1316–1321), minted at Clarentza Fig. 40
3-2-26. Diam. 17 mm. Wt. 0.69 g. Die axis 5 o'clock.
Obverse: Large cross patty, circular legend +MAhAVTAPACH.
Reverse: Tours castle, flower beneath, circular legend +DECLARENCIA.
Metcalf 1995, type MA1b.
Ca. A.D. 1316–1318.

COINS OF THE DESPOT OF ROMANIA AT NAUPAKTOS

- 148** Billon denier tournois, Despot Philip of Taranto (A.D. 1296/8–1314), minted at Naupaktos Fig. 40
3-2-16. Diam. 18 mm. Wt. 0.80 g. Die axis 1 o'clock.
Obverse: Large cross patty, circular legend +PhSPPTARDESP.
Reverse: Tours castle, circular legend +NEPANTICIVIS.
Metcalf 1995, type DR1b.
Ca. A.D. 1301–1303.
- 149** Billon denier tournois, Despot Philip of Taranto (A.D. 1296/8–1314), minted at Naupaktos Fig. 40
3-2-12. Diam. 18 mm. Wt. 0.59 g. Die axis 11 o'clock.
Obverse: Large cross patty, circular legend +PhSPPACHTARDR.
Reverse: Tours castle, *lis* beneath, circular legend +NEPANTICIVIS.
Metcalf 1995, type DR2bi–ii.
Ca. A.D. 1306.

MINOR OBJECTS

The Ismenion bothros assemblage also yielded a small number of metal and stone objects that find parallels at Corinth and Panakton. Corinth offers an almost identical parallel to our sole spindle whorl (**150**; Corinth MF-2012-4; and a second similar piece, Corinth MF-2013-20). Comparable 12th- to 13th-century whorls have emerged in Thebes under the nearby modern law courts.¹⁶³ The presence of a metal vessel (**152**) in the assemblage reminds us of the variety of vessels comprised of different materials, such as metal and wood, that coexisted with ceramic objects, even though they rarely survive in the archaeological record.¹⁶⁴ For the knife clasp (**156**) we again find parallels in Corinth: an iron version (Corinth MF-1973) and a bone version with a finger guard (Corinth MF-1993-9). For knives and knife blades in general and as parallels to **154** and **155**, we adduce somewhat similar knife blades from Houses I and IV at Panakton (1991-78, 1999-371, 1992-65).¹⁶⁵ For the interesting iron object **158**, consisting of a metal shaft surrounded by a series of iron disks with spaces between them, we have found no parallels, although at the time of excavation we speculated that it could have been an interior part of a lock. We still imagine this piece as part of a metal mechanism. Object **157** could be a key, although close

163. Although the artifacts from this excavation have not yet been fully published, photos of these objects appear on the informational signs at the archaeological site; see also Koilakou 1993, pp. 77–78.

164. François 2010, pp. 331–332.

165. Gerstel et al. 2003, pp. 163–164, 174, nos. 23, 41.



Figure 41. Spindle whorl 150, stone weight 151, nail 153, knife blade 154, knife clasp 156, and iron objects 157 and 158. Scale 2:3 unless otherwise indicated

examination reveals the possibility of metallized wood on one end; perhaps the object served as some sort of curved scraper for use in leatherworking or other similar activities.

- | | |
|--|---------|
| 150 Spindle whorl | Fig. 41 |
| 3-2-17. H. 1.6; Diam. 2.4 cm. Wt. 19 g. | |
| Stone with hole in center. Complete, with some chipping on exterior. | |
| Polished external surface with incised parallel horizontal lines around circumference near top and base. | |
| 151 Stone weight | Fig. 41 |
| 3-2-2. H. 3; Diam. 9.7 cm. Wt. 252 g. | |
| Stone disk with hole in middle. | |
| 152 Metal vessel | |
| 3-2-29. H. 6.3 cm. Wt. 58 g. | |
| Small fragment of body survives. Iron. | |
| Cylindrical body and vertical, slightly flaring rim. | |
| 153 Iron nail | Fig. 41 |
| 3-2-27. H. 15.3 cm. Wt. 73 g. | |
| Nail with convex rectangular head and square shaft slightly bent at tip. | |
| 154 Iron blade | Fig. 41 |
| 3-2-14. L. 11.7; Th. 1.8–2.5 cm. Wt. 41 g. | |
| Iron, wide flat blade, tip missing. | |

- 155** Iron blade
3-2-22. L. 10; Th. 1.2–1.5 cm. Wt. 10 g.
Iron, wide flat blade.
- 156** Knife clasp for wooden knife handle Fig. 41
3-2-11. L. 7.8; H. 1–1.6 cm. Wt. 24 g.
Both sides preserved.
- 157** Iron object (key?) Fig. 41
3-2-28. L. 5.5; W. 0.5–1.8 cm. Wt. 7 g.
Iron piece of varying thicknesses and widths with rectangular iron shaft at end.
- 158** Iron object Fig. 41
3-2-23. L. 6; W. 1.4 cm. Wt. 5 g.
Series of small iron oval pieces connected by a metal bar, round in section.

ENTANGLED THEBES: THE ISMENION BOTHROS ASSEMBLAGE IN CONTEXT

The Ismenion bothros assemblage offers us a fresh glimpse into life in Thebes and the political and socioeconomic conditions of the late 13th and first half of the 14th centuries. The bothros contained a variety of artifacts, ranging from architectural debris to pottery, a small coin hoard, and daily objects such as knives and a spindle whorl, which were discarded into the pit after an initial phase of disuse and abandonment. The deposit comprised many objects from a domestic context and thus corroborates previous excavations completed in the nearby Karaoulanis plot that brought to light evidence of a contemporary and densely populated neighborhood in that part of Thebes.¹⁶⁶ The pottery categories present in the bothros cover broadly the late 13th and 14th centuries, with many vessels and combinations of specific ceramic types found typically in contexts of the late 13th and first half of the 14th centuries. The coins were in use into the early years of the 14th century and provide a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 1316/1330 for the disposal of the bothros material, and a likely *terminus ante quem* of ca. A.D. 1330.

Scholars generally agree that the 13th–15th century comprised a global era of exchange, travel, and communication, spearheaded by the Italian maritime cities.¹⁶⁷ Political circumstances in this period also promoted global and far-reaching economic practices. For instance, in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, the fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire led to Latin control of numerous ports and resources in mainland Greece, the Aegean, and Constantinople. Even after the reconquest of the Byzantine capital, the Latin powers, in particular Venice and Genoa, continued to intensify their trade activities and further expand their sea trade networks to the Black Sea.¹⁶⁸

In an effort to place the finds from the Ismenion bothros within this wider political and economic context we consider four main questions. First, how did Thebes participate in long-distance systems of exchange? Second, what was the role of local and regional trade, and how was it informed by

166. See Koilakou 2001–2004.

167. See Laiou-Thomadakis 1980.

168. Jacoby 2016, p. 198.

global economic and political trends? Third, how can we understand the Ismenion assemblage as the material manifestation of the socioeconomic and political conditions prevalent both in Thebes and, more broadly, in mainland Greece in this period? Finally, how do these finds inform our understanding of interaction between locals and newcomers and between Greeks and Latins?

In this article we have been interested in exploring aspects of Mediterranean connectivity to better understand the dynamic relations between places, people, and commodities within an exchange network.¹⁶⁹ Both our ceramic and numismatic analyses of the Ismenion bothros material point to a time of political complexity as well as economic expansion. For example, the Thebes 2011 coin hoard reinforces a picture of Theban interactions with other centers of power and trade in its inclusion of tournois from two issuing mints and one possibly very long-lived post-1204 trachy. The ceramic imports reaching Thebes from different parts of the Mediterranean likewise situate the city in both regional and global exchange networks. The Italian imports testify to central Greece's location along the routes of Venetian galleys as they crisscrossed the Aegean with Constantinople and the Black Sea as their final destination. The Ismenion bothros also includes pottery from elsewhere in the Byzantine world, such as Thessaloniki, northern Greece more broadly, and Constantinople. Vessels from still unidentified production centers operating in the Aegean, particularly in connection with the sgraffito wares with concentric circles and the Novy Svet ware, point to links with other ceramic-manufacturing centers in the eastern Mediterranean. Finally, ceramics from nearby centers of production, such as Corinth and Euboia, offer new insight into commercial relations between Catalan Thebes and its Frankish and Venetian neighbors in mainland Greece.

The presence of imported vessels in the Ismenion assemblage complements Arvaniti's recent study of ceramic assemblages from the Theban Kadmeia that include a number of Italian and Islamic imports.¹⁷⁰ In combination, these results suggest that the economic and cultural ties of Thebes, which extended far beyond political borders, were able to shape common tastes, habits, and social norms among its different populations. These new discoveries can help us redraw François's distribution map of imports in the Aegean, in which Thebes is recorded only as having protomajolica imports, while surrounding areas, such as Corinth, Isthmia, and Athens, register numerous imports from Italy, Syria, Egypt, and Spain.¹⁷¹

Arvaniti hypothesizes that the presence of imports at the heart of the Kadmeia and near the St. Omer tower, where the city's administration was situated, indicates the potential of such imports as symbols of status and wealth.¹⁷² However, their distribution in a number of locations outside the city walls also points to their use beyond the city's administrative center and their appeal to a wider and non-Western clientele than merely the Latin ruling elite.¹⁷³ It would be facile to assume that the presence of Western commodities correlates with a large Latin population in the same area; such a linear, binary interpretation assumes prescribed behavior in which Latins used pots originating in the West, while Greeks used Byzantine or Byzantine-looking pots.¹⁷⁴ Rather, the numerous Italian imports discovered

169. See François 2016, p. 144.

170. Arvaniti (2013, vol. 1, pp. 167–183; vol. 2, pp. 77–98) includes 65 sherds from imported vessels from seven different excavation locations within the Kadmeia.

171. François 1997b, p. 403, fig. 2.

172. Arvaniti 2013, vol. 1, pp. 271–272.

173. Our own excavations on the Ismenion Hill have brought to light a number of protomajolica sherds on the northeastern side of the hill. The immediate area east of the hill, excavated by the Ephorate, has also revealed similar finds. Although a complete publication of the excavated pottery is still pending, a close in-person examination has verified the presence of Italian imports in the area. For other examples of imported pottery outside the Kadmeia, see also Koilakou 1996–1997, pp. 76–78.

174. François 1997b.

both within and outside the Kadmeia, including those from domestic structures and bothroi such as ours, suggest that Thebes provided a market of some size for Italian imports, even though these vessels were not meant to compete with or fully replace local and regional products.¹⁷⁵ Such imports could function as status symbols but can also be understood as markers of shared tastes among the Latin, Greek, and Jewish inhabitants of Thebes, both elites and nonelites.¹⁷⁶ The large number of glazed table wares from the Ismenion bothros, situated outside the city walls, also informs us about the economic situation of the area's inhabitants. On the one hand, the introduction of ceramic tripod stilts in the early 13th century had increased ceramic production, thereby perhaps making pottery more affordable.¹⁷⁷ As mentioned earlier, the key geographic position of Thebes and its access to land and sea trading routes also translated to potentially easier access to ceramic and other commodities. However, the owners of the glazed table wares found in the Ismenion bothros were not poor; although not of the ruling elite, they had the economic means to supply their homes with expensive commodities of greater fragility and with shorter lives than wood or metal objects.¹⁷⁸

These imports further attest to vigorous regional sea and land trade that included inland locations, such as Thebes, as well as major transit ports, such as Negroponte and Thessaloniki, which were in turn connected to long-distance trade routes. As in antiquity, the location of Thebes on a main road network linking northern Greece with the Peloponnese, and its access to nearby ports in the Euboian and the Corinthian Gulfs, supported Theban connectivity and access to multiple hubs of trade and movement.¹⁷⁹ The coexistence of certain wares in this deposit, such as Veneto ware, sgraffito ware with concentric circles, and products from northern Greece/Thessaloniki, provides evidence for common distribution networks centering on the supply of large coastal centers, which further facilitated pottery diffusion in other areas.¹⁸⁰ Similar patterns of distribution in Boiotia, Attica, and the northern Peloponnese point to systems of communication and exchange around the Corinthian Gulf, linking Corinth, Athens, and Thebes.¹⁸¹ The existence of such routes is further supported by the appearance of Corinthian products both in Thebes and at rural sites elsewhere in Boiotia.¹⁸² Venetian merchants were the protagonists of these operations,

175. This trend held true even when Western imports increased significantly in the second half of the 13th century, after the reconquest of Constantinople and the influx of Latins into Frankish Greece (François 1997b, pp. 400–401). Vionis (2017a, p. 362) highlights a similar result from the Boiotia survey and his study at Thespiei, concluding that in the post-Roman period the majority of table wares (76%) were local/regional products. The lack of systematic publications from several sites around the Aegean in both coastal

and inland locations prohibits developing a clearer understanding of the ratio of imported to locally produced vessels, but we hope that this article contributes to such discussions.

176. Jacoby 2001; 2015b, pp. 258–259.

177. Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, p. 21; Vionis 2017a, p. 368.

178. For a discussion of the costs of pottery making and the economic profile of pottery owners, see Sanders 2016, pp. 9–17.

179. For the central location of

Thebes, see also Arvaniti 2013, vol. 1, pp. 257–259. For Theban imports and exports from ports in the Corinthian Gulf, see Lock 1995, p. 262; Dunn 2006, pp. 58–59; Vionis 2017a, p. 362.

180. See also François (2016, p. 147) on the common distribution of Zeuxippus and Aegean wares.

181. Laiou 2012, p. 141; Yangaki 2012, p. 196; Vionis 2017a.

182. Vionis 2008; Vroom 2009; Arvaniti 2013, vol. 1, p. 261.

although other groups (e.g., the Genoese, Florentines, and Greeks) actively traded in Thessaloniki and the Aegean and were equally responsible for bringing ceramic products from northern Greece and Constantinople to mainland Greece and the Balkans.¹⁸³

The Ismenion bothros deposit also offers the opportunity to reexamine the relationship between Thebes and nearby Chalkida/Negroponte in a period of political turmoil. Soon after the Catalan takeover of central Greece, a series of Catalan-Venetian treaties in the first half of the 14th century provided the foundation for peace and intensified commercial exchange between Catalan-held Thebes and Venetian-controlled Negroponte. Part of the treaties' terms required the Catalans to refrain from alliances with the seafaring Turks in the East and from all shipping activity in the Saronic Gulf.¹⁸⁴ Such agreements were extremely useful to Thebes, which could now benefit from newly established routes in the Gulf of Corinth, centered on the port of Livadostro.¹⁸⁵ Moreover, Negroponte served as a major production and distribution site of agricultural commodities and thus played a key role in the economic life of the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁸⁶ Thebes benefited from both Negroponte's key location on the route to Constantinople and its intense commercial activities, which grew further after 1301 with the establishment of regular armed convoys of Venetian state galleys (to the detriment of competing hubs such as Thessaloniki).¹⁸⁷

Thebes had also already established itself as a production and trading center of agricultural goods, commodities, and even luxury objects from the Middle Byzantine period (9th–12th century).¹⁸⁸ Based on the evidence from a number of industries that survived in the city until at least the mid-14th century, such as metallurgy and silk and pottery production, Thebes maintained this role under Catalan control and continued to produce and distribute staples such as grain, oil, and wine.¹⁸⁹ In this period Thebes also became a hub in the slave trade, where female slaves of Greek and Slavic origin in particular were sold, destined for domestic service in Italy and farther afield. The intermittently close relationship between the Catalans and the Ottomans and the rogue status of the Catalan Company within the Angevin-dominated Latin empire (despite its treaties with Venice) aided the economic expansion of Thebes. It is possible that in these years the slave trade supplanted the silk industry as the most lucrative part of the local Theban economy.¹⁹⁰ A marked difference in the treatment of Thebes in two of the most important merchant manuals of the period testifies to

183. For the role of Venetian merchants in distributing ceramics in Aegean and Frankish Greece, see François 1997b, p. 400; Matschke 2002, pp. 771–772. For merchant groups operating in Thessaloniki and Negroponte, see Jacoby 2003b, 2004. For the diffusion of Thessalonian products in central Greece, see Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2012, p. 209.

184. For Catalan ties to the emirates

of Monteshe and Aydin and their use of Turkish armies, see Zachariadou 1980.

185. See Bon 1937, p. 188; Dunn 2006, p. 58.

186. For Negroponte as a production and distribution center, see Jacoby 2001; Kontogiannis 2013, pp. 35–36.

187. Jacoby 2001; 2003b; 2010, pp. 191–192. For Negroponte's port as a major medieval maritime hub, see Waksman, Koutsouflakis, et al. 2018.

188. See Dunn 1995, p. 770; Louviki 2002, p. 631; Vionis 2017b, p. 162; Vionis and Loizou 2017, pp. 248–249, 251.

189. For bibliography on the Theban silk industry, see Koilakou 2004, pp. 221, 229; Balard 2006, p. xlvii.

190. On Thebes in particular, see Duran i Duelt 2000; on slavery in the Aegean, see Moschonas 2003, 2006.

the city's rise in prominence as a commercial center during early Catalan times. In the second decade of the 14th century, the *Zibaldone da Canal*, a manual aimed at a Venetian readership, mentions Thebes only twice in a subordinate position, and the Theban local money of account still appears out of sync with that of Negroponte.¹⁹¹ A mere decade later, in his discussion of Thebes and other trading locations, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti reveals that the monies and weight standards of Thebes were now aligned with its closest trading partners (Chalkida/Negroponte, Corinth, and Clarentza).¹⁹²

In terms of Euboian pottery production, recent chemical composition tests have shown that Negroponte-produced glazed table ware from the 12th century and was also a main production site of Günsenin II (10th–11th century) and Günsenin III (12th–13th century) amphoras, found throughout central Greece.¹⁹³ The Thebes Ismenion excavations provided one of the most recently discovered samples for these tests, the results of which both demonstrate the existence of imports to Thebes from Negroponte and highlight the solid economic relationship between the two cities.¹⁹⁴ Our own ceramic petrography of the bothros material suggests that intense exchange between Thebes and Euboea may have continued well into the 14th century: as seen above, a fair number of cooking vessels from the Ismenion assemblage were imported from Euboea, a result that further illustrates the island's key role as a production site for a variety of vessel types. These finds point to continuous economic connections between the two regions and underscore the sustained infiltration of Venetian interests and activities in the mainland and at Thebes in particular, despite the Catalan conquest of the city.¹⁹⁵

The Ismenion assemblage also adds to our knowledge of local Theban ceramic production. Although no kilns have been identified in Thebes to date, wasters and tripods have appeared in four different locations: one in the Kadmeia, two more to the south outside the city walls, and one on the Ismenion.¹⁹⁶ Armstrong attributed some of the sgraffito ware with concentric circles found in the Kadmeia to local Theban workshops.¹⁹⁷ More recently, Arvaniti has also suggested that some of the monochrome sgraffito wares could have been produced in local workshops.¹⁹⁸ Based on chemical analysis of fabrics, Waksman and her colleagues have confirmed that Thebes produced glazed ceramics, including but not limited to sgraffito ware with concentric circles, at least in the second half of the 13th century.¹⁹⁹ Our own petrography results from the Ismenion bothros material demonstrate that the tradition of producing sgraffito with concentric circles at Thebes was sustained for several generations into the late 13th–14th century.

191. Dotson 1994, pp. 107, 121.

192. See Evans 1936, pp. 65, 113, 118–119, 167, 169–170.

193. For Negroponte as a production site of glazed table ware, see Waksman et al. 2014; for amphoras, see Waksman, Skartsis, et al. 2018. For more recent discussions of possible production sites for Günsenin type II and III amphoras in Boiotia, see Vionis

2017a, pp. 358–359.

194. Waksman et al. 2014; Waksman, Skartsis, et al. 2018.

195. The imported cooking pots presented here also serve as a cautionary tale against generalizations that favor local production for coarse wares.

196. See Armstrong 1993, pp. 334–335; Koilakou 2001–2004, pp. 33–36;

see also Arvaniti 2013, vol. 1, pp. 246–248. The waster from the Ismenion Hill excavations will appear in the final publication.

197. Armstrong 1993, pp. 307–310.

198. Arvaniti 2013, vol. 1, pp. 253–254.

199. Waksman et al. 2014, esp. p. 416.

Our results also show that Thebes was producing some types of coarse wares, mainly jugs, whereas other types of plain household pottery, such as cooking vessels, were produced in the hinterland of Thebes and in Boiotia more broadly.²⁰⁰ Vroom had similarly considered possible Theban production of unglazed products in her study of ceramics from the Boiotian rural landscape, and on strictly stylistic grounds Gerstel had suggested that some of the common unglazed wares at Panakton were Theban products.²⁰¹ The cooking pots from the Ismenion bothros that we have identified as regional products are stylistically different from contemporary Euboian imports and point to workshops that exploited clay resources farther afield in Boiotia and were supplying Thebes and smaller settlements in the region.²⁰² Further archaeometric analyses at Thebes and in Boiotia, which we intend to complete in the coming years, will provide more information on the questions of the relationship between Thebes and its hinterland, and the overlap between local and regional networks of ceramic exchange.

Our analyses paint the following picture of regional vessel manufacture: by the late 13th and first half of the 14th centuries in Boiotia, a decentralized yet well-informed and interconnected system of ceramic production had come to exist.²⁰³ Several workshops seem to have operated in a number of other Boiotian cities that specialized in producing specific types of vessels that complemented the production of Theban workshops. These results correspond well to Vionis's conclusions in his study of local and regional production in Boiotia and at Thespiiai in particular.²⁰⁴ Coarse wares were also imported by neighboring Euboia, but they are different in shapes and types from the Boiotian products (as shown via petrography).

Our petrographic results have also illuminated various technological aspects of producing cooking pots; with these results we are better able to appraise continuities and changes in production in central Greece during the tumultuous start of the 14th century. The mineralogy of the clays, coarse inclusions, and tempers we have observed reflect the coexistence of various raw materials selected by regional workshops for cooking-ware production. This evidence contrasts with the somewhat higher level of standardization among Euboian imports. Tempering practices adopted in Boiotia seem also to have been more diversified than in Euboia and to have involved the recurrent use of vegetal temper (almost never attested in the Euboian imports).²⁰⁵ Boiotian workshops thus seem to have been more receptive to Latin methods of processing raw materials (although less so to Latin vessel shapes). Euboian workshops, on the other hand, continued clay preparation as it had been practiced in central Greece during the Middle Byzantine

200. Armstrong (1993, pp. 333–334) had already suggested the production of coarse wares in Thebes; Liard's analyses have now verified this activity.

201. Gerstel et al. 2003, p. 221; Vroom 2006.

202. Similarly, we can identify diffusion of other ceramic production from major cities to the rural countryside, such as amphoras, and the *Sarāḡhane*

61 type in particular, which is a common find in Boiotia; see Vionis 2008, p. 38.

203. Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2012, p. 215.

204. Vionis 2017a, pp. 358, 362.

205. For the use of temper in regional Boiotian ceramic products, see Vionis 2017a, p. 359.

period, but at the same time they produced new vessel types influenced by Latin ceramic repertoires.

Our ceramic data thus enhance a general understanding of Theban and central Greek economic activity during the end of the 13th and first half of the 14th centuries. In terms of pottery production, we find both a continuation in traditional production and technological knowledge co-existing alongside innovation and adaptation of new pottery shapes and clay recipes.²⁰⁶ Our assemblage also provides strong evidence for Theban interconnectedness with imports from the western Mediterranean and the Byzantine world, thus highlighting the economic stability of the city during this period. Our small coin hoard, too, speaks to Theban relationships with the larger Mediterranean world and also offers us a firm date, ca. 1330, for discussing these networks. We conclude, then, that political fragmentation of the 13th century with the Frankish and Catalan conquests did not seriously disrupt Theban economic life in the 13th and first half of the 14th centuries. These conclusions complement the results from the Boiotia survey that indicate persistent continuity of habitation and economic activities until the mid-14th century and the arrival of the Black Death.²⁰⁷ In looking to the future, this article opens new avenues for exploring political and economic interaction, commercial exchange, craft making, knowledge transfer, and mobility in central Greece and the eastern Mediterranean more broadly at the end of the 13th and first half of the 14th centuries.

206. We will be exploring themes of crafting communities and knowledge transfer in ceramic production in future publications.

207. See Bintliff 1996, 2007; Vionis 2017b, pp. 169–170; Vionis and Loizou 2017, pp. 251–252.

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