

Exploring the Neighborhood

The Role of Ceramics in Understanding Place in the Hellenistic World



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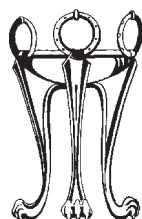
Volume 3

EXPLORING THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The Role of Ceramics in Understanding Place in the Hellenistic World

Proceedings of the 3rd Conference of IARPotHP
Kaštela, June 2017, 1st – 4th

Edited by Ivanka Kamenjarin and Marina Ugarković



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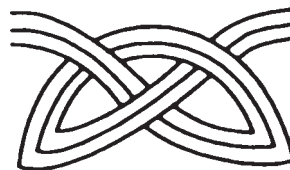
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Preface by the Chair of the IARPotHP

It is with great pleasure and pride that I present this volume on behalf of myself, the Board of the International Association for Research on Pottery of the Hellenistic Period e. V. (IARPotHP), as well as all its members. It comprises the proceedings of the Third Symposium organised by IARPotHP and hosted in the Town Museum of Kaštela in Croatia between the 1st and 4th of June 2017.

When I started my academic “adventure” with Hellenistic pottery, it was still the “ugly duckling” for Greek pottery researchers, who concentrated rather on beautiful painted vases, especially those of the Athenian Black and Red-figured wares. But that situation was slowly changing and today, it could be said that Hellenistic ceramics have been transformed from an “ugly duckling” to a “beautiful swan”. We are very proud that the activities of our organisation have also contributed to this.

The IARPotHP launched its activity in 2011, and at the time of the commencement of the Kaštela conference, has 108 members from 23 countries. This number is increasing, showing also the growing interest in research on this topic. I would like to underline that during the Kaštela conference, Dr John W. Hayes, became an honorary member of our Association.

Among the honorary members, we also have Professor em. Styliani (Stella) Drougou from the Aristotelian University in Thessaloniki, who is one of the initiators of the specialistic scientific meetings focusing on Hellenistic ceramics organised in Greece since 1986. We can say that the IARPotHP continues and develops this wonderful tradition.

According to the constitution of our Association, a General Assembly of members takes place during our conferences. In Kaštela, it was performed on June 2nd 2017. The two-year term of the Association’s Board, elected during the Lyon conference (2015), was over. As the chairwoman, after consultation with the members of the Board, I proposed that the Board should remain in the same composition for the next two years, because the two-year term of cadence is too short and there is usually insufficient time to “spread the wings” of the Association’s activities. One illustration of such time considerations is the fact that the registration of the new board in the German court usually takes six months or longer. As a result of the discussion, it was decided that the candidate for the chair of the Association would be voted on separately, and the remaining members of the Board would be voted en block. In the voting which followed this resolution, the members of the Association decided, by a large majority of votes, that I should remain in my position and also the remaining members of the Board would continue to perform their functions. Thus, the composition of the Board for the years 2017–2019 did not change and was comprised as follows: Prof. Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka as Chair, Ass. Prof. Sarah James as Secretary, Dr. Annette Peignard-Giros as Editor, Dr. Christiane Römer-Strehl as Treasurer, and Dr. Raffaella da Vela, Dr. Marina Ugarković and Alexandros Laftsidis (representing the doctoral students) as the Board Ordinary Members. Prof. Susan Rotroff was re-elected as the Trusted person and Dr. Gabrielle Puschnigg became the new Auditor. Dr Zoi Kotitsa remained the administrator of the website of the Association.

The first conference of the Association was held in Berlin in November 2013 with the topic “Tradition and Innovations: Tracking the Development of Pottery from the Late Classical to the Early Imperial Periods”. Three years later, the Association published the volume of the proceedings.

The second conference was organised in Lyon, France, also in the month of November in 2015, this time focusing on “Daily Life in a Cosmopolitan world” viewed from the pottery per-

spective and its relations with culture during the Hellenistic Period. The volume of the proceedings of this event was presented during the Athens conference in 2019.

The IARPotHP members and many guests met for the third time in the Association's history for the conference on Hellenistic pottery in Kaštela. The subject of this symposium has been specified as "Exploring the Neighbourhood: the role of ceramics in understanding place in the Hellenistic World". Such research on ceramic types and their distributions over a wide geographical area can reveal the behaviour and movement of those individuals who created and/or consumed them. During this conference, we explored this topic in depth and we explained many issues related to it. Readers will judge whether the objectives of the conference have been achieved.

It is obvious that this conference would be not possible without the hard work of many people. Our warm thanks go, first of all, to the two chief organisers: Ivanka Kamenjarin of the Kaštela Town Museum and Marina Ugarković of the Institute of Archaeology in Zagreb. We would also like to thank the Director of the Kaštela Museum, the Director of the Institute of Archaeology in Zagreb and the Croatian Science Foundation for their collaboration, financial support and hosting of the conference. Finally, our thanks go to all participants and persons supporting our Association.

The IARPotHP fourth conference took place in Athens in November 2019. The proceedings of this symposium are currently being prepared for printing.

The next conference, our 5th, is to be held in Seville, Spain, in June 2021; however, the world seems to have frozen in anticipation of the further development of the completely unexpected and unprecedented situation caused by the Corona virus pandemic. It is not known yet whether the conference will take place or whether it will be moved to another date or will be held online.

We are all delighted that the proceedings of the symposium in Kaštela are available to be handed over to readers today.



*Prof. Dr. Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka
Chair of the IARPotHP (2015–2019)*

Paphos and Kraków, October–November 2020

Introduction and Acknowledgments

We are delighted to present you with the 3rd volume of the International Association for Research on Pottery of the Hellenistic Period (IARPotHP), a collection of papers delivered during the international conference: *Exploring the Neighbourhood. The Role of Ceramics in Understanding Place in the Hellenistic World*. After conferences in Berlin (2013) and Lyon (2015), the third scientific meeting of the IARPotHP e. V. took place in Kaštela, Croatia in June 2017. The event was organized by the Museum of the Town of Kaštela (Kaštela) and The Institute of Archaeology (Zagreb), with the support of Croatian Science Foundation and RED project (*Roman Economy in Dalmatia: production, distribution and demand in the light of pottery workshops* IP-11-2013-3973), and the editors as the Organizing Committee. It took place in the 15th-century Vitturi Castle located in Kaštel Lukšić where more than 120 scholars from 22 countries and 4 continents were welcomed and presented 73 lectures and 19 posters. The conference focused on pottery studies and their contribution in understanding place in the Hellenistic world and beyond. Complex phenomena, such as the increasing connectivity throughout the Hellenistic Mediterranean and further, were examined at both regional and supra-regional level, while illuminating interdisciplinary perspectives were offered on creations of regional traits and unique local traditions and consumption patterns. This monograph includes 52 articles drawn from general studies, as well as studies of Western, Central and Eastern Mediterranean, including areas of Spain, Southern France, Corsica, Sardinia, Italy (Apenine peninsula), Sicily, Eastern Adriatic, Southern Adriatic-Ionian region, Greece and the Aegean, Asia Minor, Northern Africa and Levant, as well as the Black sea region and Central Asia. We are especially happy also to see seven studies related to Kvarner and Dalmatia, since the Eastern Adriatic region, until recently, has been poorly represented in most international publications.

The conference location of Kaštela, near Split in central Dalmatia, was not chosen by chance as the site of such a scientific gathering. The region of central Dalmatia, with the ancient Greek settlements of Issa and Pharos established on the neighbouring islands of Vis and Hvar (both of which had a ceramic workshop), is a significant area from which Hellenistic culture spread through interactions with local communities on the other islands, both along the coasts and into the hinterland. This is nicely reflected in recent excavations conducted in the western part of Kaštela, in Resnik (ancient *Siculi*), that have uncovered regionally spectacular remains of a late-2nd and 1st c. BCE mainland settlement whose urban layout and architectural planning are a clear reflection of Issaeian influence. Hellenistic Siculi, whose remains are located near the venue where the congress took place, have thus revealed direct archaeological evidence of Issa's influence on the coast, and a careful study of the material evidence will most certainly provide more in depth insights into current research issues connected with vital transformations of region in the last centuries BCE, from urbanization, intensive trade and crafts, including the production of Hellenistic fineware, consumption patterns, and cultural encounters and interaction.

We are thankful to the respective organizing institutions, for all the support, from logistical to financial, which they provided for purposes of this international conference. Gratitude is extended to the generosity of sponsors of the conference that include the City of Kaštela, the Tourist board of the city of Kaštela and the Split-Kaštela Airport. The publication of the proceedings was made possible by a Kayden Research Grant from the University of Colorado Boulder, USA and Ceramica Stiftung Basel, whom we thank very much for their generous support. Our deep appreciation and gratitude also goes to colleagues, who offered private donations towards the publication costs.

We are deeply thankful to the members of the scientific committee which consisted of the IARPotHP Board at the time: Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka (chairperson), Sarah James (secretary), Christiane Römer-Strehl (treasurer), Annette Peignard Giros (editor) and Raffaella Da Vela, Marina Ugarković and Alexandros Laftsidis as ordinary members, as well as Branko Kirigin and Goranka Lipovac Vrkljan. We thank very much the current editor of the IARPotHP, Sarah James, for her kind assistance in language editing and proofreading the entire manuscript and all the help provided during the publication preparation, as well as current chairperson, Eleni Zimi for the kind and important support provided (inclusive of grant application) and the rest of the current board for their support. Gratitude is extended also to other language editors, Marko Domljanović, Raffaella Da Vela, Lea Ivanovski and Ines Sučić. We warmly thank Dominik Žanić, from the Museum of the Town of Kaštela, for all the help he kindly provided in different aspects of the manuscript preparation. Last but not most certainly not the least, with sincere thanks and gratitude we appreciate the efforts of our numerous colleagues, who contributed their research in the form of lectures/posters or written papers made this scientific meeting and its subsequent publication possible.

Kaštela/Split – Zagreb, 18th of July, 2020

Ivanka Kamenjarin, MA (museum's advisor, Museum of the Town of Kaštela)
Dr. Marina Ugarković (research associate, Institute of Archaeology, Zagreb)

The Possible Impact of a Globalised Hellenistic Economy on Local Fine Ware Production in the Eastern Mediterranean

John Lund

Abstract

The purpose of this contribution is to highlight a phenomenon that has until now received little scholarly attention, at least as far as the Hellenistic East is concerned. Namely, the fact that local production of ceramic fine wares seems to have decreased or come to a halt at a range of places in the Eastern Mediterranean from the late 2nd century B. C. to the 1st century A. D. It is argued that we are not dealing with isolated instances but with a wider pattern to be connected with the ever-increasing imports of mass produced and standardised eastern sigillata wares at the sites in question. Competition from such imports appears to have impacted many producers of ceramic fine ware at the local level. They would be forced out of business unless they could change their line of production to imitations of the red gloss sigillata imports or to cheaper (presumably) second-grade table wares. Jean-Paul Morel has noted a somewhat similar process in the Western Mediterranean, and he connected it with the process of globalisation. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of this concept and the possible implications of the suggestions put forward in the paper for our understanding of the ancient economy.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to highlight a phenomenon that has so far received little scholarly attention: the fact that the production of ceramic fine wares appears to decline, change its character, or come to a halt at a wide range of places in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods¹. To be more precise: scholars do not fail to observe that such a thing occurs at their particular site, but they nearly always see this as an isolated incident, except for Kathleen Slane, who noted in the 1996 “Corinth Centenary” volume that “local production of fine-ware stops sometime in the 1st century at coastal sites in Italy and Africa and does not resume”². Slane discussed this matter briefly but did not suggest any reasons for it. Indeed, our understanding of this phenomenon is impeded by difficulties of a methodological nature, in particular the often unsatisfactory state of publication of pottery from many sites in conjunction with the scarcity of quantified information on ceramics from the Eastern Mediterranean. The lack of a commonly accepted terminology is potentially another stumbling block. And, to top it all off, the subject is so huge that I can only review a part of the evidence in the present context.

Terminology and challenges

The focus of this paper is on ceramic “fine wares”, also referred to as table wares. Following the precedent of John A. Riley, I use the term “fine wares” as a conventional name for pottery presumably used for serving and/or consumption of food and drink, i. e. slipped or glossed wares, thin walled wares and Pompeian Red wares³.

I define “local” as an area within a reasonable walking distance from a given place, say between 10 and 20–25 kilometres or slightly more. “Region” is a more difficult term to come to grips with, and the word is often used in a loose sense. I follow one of the definitions suggested by the Concise Oxford Dictionary, “an area of land, having definable boundaries or characteri-

¹ LUND 2015, 219f. 240.

² SLANE 2003, 330.

³ RILEY 1979, 92. For a discussion of these categories, see LUND 2015, 34.

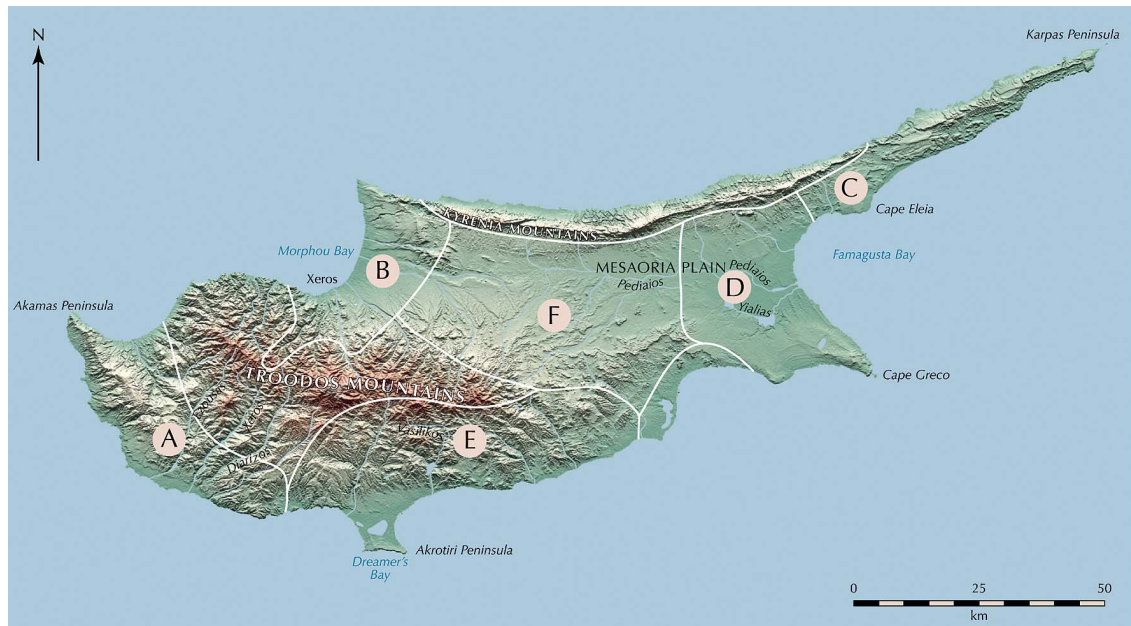


Fig. 1: The approximate ceramic regions of Hellenistic Cyprus (after LUND 2015, 157 fig. 236).

stics”. These characteristics can take many forms, but in the present case it seems reasonable to latch on to the distribution of well-defined pottery classes. This is why I call the regions defined in that manner “ceramic regions”⁴.

Moreover, as I deal with the relationship between locally made fine wares and long-distance imports, it may also be mentioned that it is at times difficult to identify the “local” production with certainty, especially when no ceramic kilns have been found. However, there are ways to get around this, and scientific clay analyses are particularly helpful.

Point of departure: Cyprus (fig. 1)

My interest in the relationship between locally produced and imported pottery originated in my study of the geographical distribution of a number of characteristic wares and shapes on Cyprus, which led to the conclusion that the island might be divided into six approximate “ceramic regions”: Western Cyprus (A), North-western Cyprus (B), North-eastern Cyprus (C), Eastern Cyprus (D), Southern Cyprus (E), and Central Cyprus (F)⁵. Their boundaries were not, however, impermeable, since up to a third of the pottery that predominated in a given region was distributed outside of it – mainly in one or more neighbouring regions.

This outcome confirmed the findings of many previous scholars. David Adnan-Bayewitz stated in his book on “Common Pottery in Roman Galilee” in 1993 that “Manufacture and trade in the Roman world were primarily local”⁶, and a new study of tableware distribution in Hellenistic Asia Minor by Mark van der Enden calls it “a generally accepted view” that most pottery was always locally produced⁷. Still, in 1987, Prudence M. Rice called the theory that “pottery was probably manufactured in the region where it is most frequently found ... not particularly illuminating”⁸, and it is indeed not hard to point to exceptions to this rule of thumb. In the following, I hope to demonstrate that there were indeed places in the Eastern Mediterranean where local production of fine wares stopped or declined in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods.

⁴ LUND 2015, 44 with references.

⁵ LUND 2015, 154–162 fig. 236.

⁶ ADAN-BAYEWITZ 1993, 19.

⁷ VAN DER ENDEN 2016, 285.

⁸ RICE 1987, 177.

A geographical survey (fig. 2)

One such site is Tel Anafa in Northern Israel. Andrea Berlin has kindly informed me that the local, so-called spatter-painted fine wares accounted for between ca. 11 and 16 % by weight in the Hellenistic 2 phase [i. e. between c. 125 and 80 B. C.], but “insofar as the evidence shows, there are *no* locally produced fine table wares at Anafa in the early Roman phases” [i. e. between c. 4 B. C. and A. D. 50]⁹.

In Alexandria, Sandrine Élaigne found that the local and regional “Delta wares” made up 52 % of the fine wares in habitation contexts from the first half of the 2nd century B. C. This figure dropped to 40 % in the second half of the 2nd century B. C. and to 12.6 % in the late 2nd and early 1st century B. C. She noted a steep increase in the presence of Eastern Sigillata A over the same centuries¹⁰. In the Roman Imperial Period, she found that the table ware is essentially imported, standardised and of high quality¹¹. At Coptos in Upper Egypt, the pottery found in the Hellenistic assemblages is predominantly local¹², but in the first Early Roman ceramic assemblage, “the tablewares are either imported from Italy (Arretine wares), or are eastern Mediterranean versions of Italian originals (ESA)¹³. In the two later Roman assemblages, the “tablewares are almost exclusively Aswan-produced versions of North African vessels”¹⁴.

Moving on to Libya, Philip Kenrick concluded that Sidi Khrebish-Benghazi was the seat of a local production of fine wares in the Hellenistic Period. However, “the absence of any new forms datable later than the first century AD suggests that the industry came effectively to an end during that century”¹⁵. Krzysztof Domżański’s survey of terra sigillata, red slip and related wares at Ptolemais does not refer to any local or regional production at all¹⁶, but the author has kindly informed me that “there was

a local or regional production of semifine ware imitating imported colour-coated vessels, but in the Late Hellenistic Period only, i. e. the 2nd and 1st century B. C.”¹⁷. Judging by Michael Fulford and Roberta Tomber’s publication of the fine wares from Sabratha, something similar was going on there. In the Hellenistic Period, “local wares” amounted to 37.3 % of the fine wares, a figure comparable to that of Berenice (41.7 %). But in Roman times, local fine wares were nearly absent¹⁸, even if a small amount of such products could hide among the

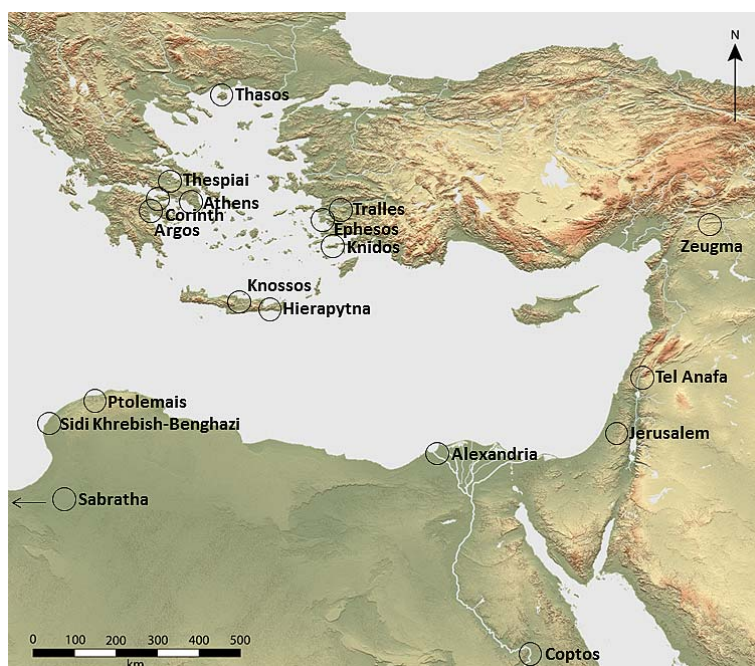


Fig. 2: Sites mentioned in the text.

⁹ Andrea Berlin, personal communication, 29th of May 2017. For a detailed publication of the finds, see BERLIN 1997.

¹⁰ ÉLAIGNE 2013, 214 fig. 1.

¹¹ ÉLAIGNE 2012, 218.

¹² See HERBERT – BERLIN 2003, 44–96. It should, though, be noted that “local” seems to be defined more broadly in this publication than what has been advocated above, cf. HERBERT – BERLIN 2003, 24–30.

¹³ HERBERT – BERLIN 2003, 97f. I am grateful to Andrea Berlin for having drawn my attention to this.

¹⁴ HERBERT – BERLIN 2003, 98.

¹⁵ KENRICK 1985, 87. See also FULFORD – TOMBER 1994, 3 pls. 1. 2.

¹⁶ DOMŻAŃSKI 2012.

¹⁷ Personal communication of the 24th of May 2017.

¹⁸ FULFORD – TOMBER 1994, 2–4 pls. 1. 2.

“Miscellaneous Red-slipped Wares (mostly Early)” and thin-walled wares published by John Hayes in the same publication¹⁹. Still, local production of fine wares could not have survived the 1st century A. D.

In Crete, Jonas Eiring’s survey of Hellenistic pottery in “*Knossos Pottery Handbook*” from 2001 was comprised almost entirely of local products, and Eiring notes that: “Imported pottery is much less frequent here than at many other sites in the Aegean area ... other foreign sources [than Attic] do not make a presence until the second century, when Asia Minor supplies what little there is ... Eastern Sigillata appears from the early first century B. C., whereas Italian thin-walled ware provides the only evidence of imports from the Italian peninsula”²⁰. By contrast, Gary Forster’s chapter on the Roman pottery deals in the same handbook nearly exclusively with imported fine wares, because the local fine slipped wares were produced in ever-decreasing quantities from the Augustan Period onwards²¹. This is clearly documented by Hugh Sackett’s publication of the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos from 1992, where the “local” pottery constituted 36 % of the fine wares under Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, 35 % under Nero, 19 % under the Flavians, 23 % at the time of Trajan, 13 % under Hadrian and 0 % under the Severans²². Scott Gallimore’s comprehensive publication of the pottery from Hierapytna from 2015 yielded a broadly similar result²³.

On the Greek mainland, Catharine Abadie-Reynal found that imported fine wares surpassed the locally produced pottery at Argos from the late 1st century AD through to the 2nd century AD, a development she linked with the developing taste of the consumers for imported red gloss fine wares²⁴.

The material from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth published by E. G. Pemberton and Kathleen Slane seems to follow the same pattern²⁵, but Slane has kindly informed me that there are some problems with the data, so it should be disregarded at present²⁶.

As for Athens, I will only quote Susan Rotroff’s reference to “a decline in the potter’s art” towards the end of the 2nd century and in the early 1st century B. C. and her suggestion that the “1st-century Athenians had to depend increasingly on imported pottery”²⁷. It is clear that local production of fine wares imitating the imports continued into the Roman Period²⁸, but the scope of the local fine ware production in Roman Athens will presumably not become known until John Hayes publishes his long-awaited Agora volume on the Athenian Plain Wares from the Roman Period.

The fine wares circulating in North-Eastern Greece and in Thasos in the Roman Period were nearly all imported, judging by the available publications²⁹.

I conclude this brief review with Ephesos, which was the epicentre of a flourishing ceramic industry in the Hellenistic period epitomized by mould-made bowls, “Graue Platten”, Ephesos-lamps and much more besides. However, Sabine Ladstätter has demonstrated that a profound change occurred in the last quarter of the 1st century B. C., which coincided with the establishment of the Eastern Sigillata B industry in the Maeander Valley at some distance from Ephesos, presumably at Tralles. In fact, production of fine wares came to an almost complete stop at Ephesos itself, and Ladstätter convincingly argued that it was the newly established Eastern Sigillata B industry that dealt a death blow to the local production of fine wares at Ephesos³⁰.

19 HAYES 1994, 139–144.

20 EIRING 2001, 91.

21 FORSTER 2001, 153.

22 SACKETT 1992, 150–164 fig. 2. See also SWEETMAN 2007, 70f.

23 GALLIMORE 2015, 93. 99. 101.

24 ABADIE-REYNAL 2007, 257f., where, however, “céramique commune” is defined somewhat differently than

suggested at the outset of the present contribution, cf. LUND 2010.

25 PEMBERTON ET AL. 1989; SLANE 1990.

26 Personal communication 23rd of May 2017.

27 ROTROFF 1997, 11f.

28 HAYES 2008; HAYES 2010.

29 MALAMIDOU 2005; GROS 2012–2013.

30 LADSTÄTTER 2007, 208–212.

What was the reason for these developments?

Evidently, the 1st centuries B. C. and A. D. were a time of profound change for “local” production of fine wares at a wide range of sites. At Tel Anafa, Alexandria, as well as in Libya, Crete and at Ephesos, local production of fine wares apparently stopped altogether. There was a decline in the potter’s art elsewhere, for instance in Argos and Athens, followed perhaps by a decreasing output of local fine wares. What might be the reasons for this? Sandrine Élaigne, Catharine Abadie-Reynal and Susan Rotroff associated this phenomenon with an increased importation of Eastern Sigillata to Alexandria, Argos and Athens³¹, beginning with Eastern Sigillata A around the middle of the 2nd century B. C. This was followed in the later 2nd and 1st centuries by the other categories of Eastern Sigillata, i. e. Eastern Sigillata B, C and D (Cypriot Sigillata), as well as Sagalassos Red Slip Ware and other relatively small producers catering to a local or regional market (fig. 3)³².

This suggests that the centres responsible for producing these fine wares not only managed to survive, but also to thrive in the Roman period by bringing out their own brands of Eastern Sigillata, whereas those that did not do so were in many cases apparently doomed to extinction. This is especially clear at Ephesos, where the local production of fine wares disappeared from the scene at the precise time when the Eastern Sigillata B industry was founded at Tralles³³. Another argument in favour of this scenario is that local production of fine wares continued at some sites that were not penetrated to the same degree by the major brands of imported sigillata. Zeugma in present-day Turkey is a case in point. Here, local (or regional) pottery in the “Hellenistic” tradition continued to predominate in the Flavian/(Trajanic) period and even later over imports of Eastern Sigillata A³⁴.

Even so, there are certainly a number of sites that do not conform to the pattern. One is Roman Corinth, where Slane found that “local types form about 60 percent of the fine ware assemblage, while imports account for about 30–35 %”³⁵, a completely different picture than the evidence from the other sites we have been looking at. Another is Jerusalem, since Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom concluded in her “Overview of the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Pottery from the Jewish Quarter Excavations in Jerusalem” that the vast majority of fine wares in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods were locally produced and that “only occasional imports of tableware are recorded”³⁶. Something similar seems to have been the case at Thespiiai in Boiotia,

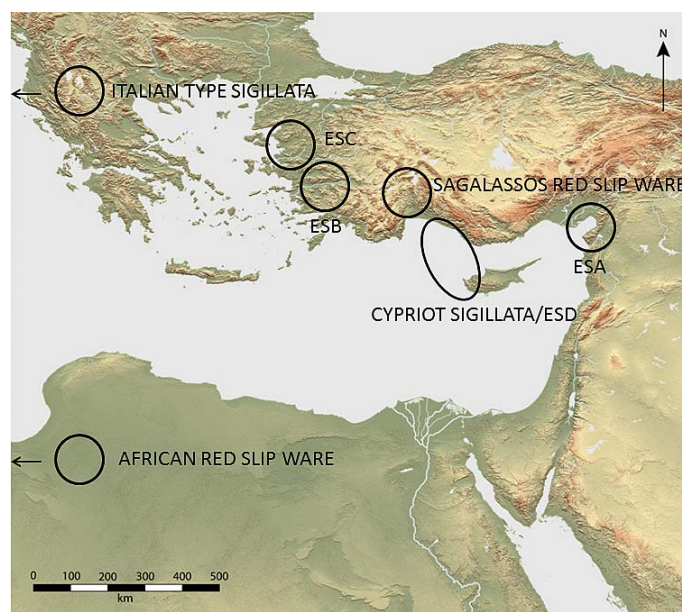


Fig. 3: The known (and suspected) production sites of the sigillata wares mentioned in the text (after LUND 2018, 162 fig. 4).

31 ÉLAIGNE 2012, 218; ABADIE-REYNAL 2007, 257f.; ROTROFF 1997, 11f.

32 For example, the pottery production centres in Asia Minor enumerated in POBLOME 2016, 389.

33 By contrast, pottery production took place at Dünzen Tepe some 1.8 km from Sagalassos in the Classical/Hellenistic periods but was relocated to a new Potter’s Quarter in the periphery of the city itself in the Early

Imperial period, cf. POBLOME 2016, 381–385.

34 KENRICK 2013, 25. 35f.

35 SLANE 2003, 330.

36 ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTOM 2014, 395–397. I am grateful to Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom for enlightening me on the ceramic spectrum of Jerusalem in the Early Roman period, personal communication on the 1st of June 2017.

where “imported table-wares of the LHELL and/or ER period are not common”, their place apparently having been taken by locally made fine wares³⁷.

There are other sites, for instance Knidos, where a robust local production of local fine wares continued from the Hellenistic into the Roman period³⁸, and it is hard to come up with a single explanation to account for the atypical find patterns at such places. One might think that fine ware imports were more likely to reach coastal sites, with easy access to major sea trade routes, than sites in the hinterland, such as Jerusalem. However, in that case one has to account for the situation at Corinth, which was very well situated for receiving trade items from the west as well as from the east. It is not unlikely that future research will confirm that distance from the major sources of Eastern Sigillata and/or communication issues may in part explain the scarcity of fine ware imports at some sites³⁹. But there were presumably other factors at work here which we do not comprehend at present, and it remains to be demonstrated if a general correlation may be established – or not – between many imported ceramic fine wares and little or no local production of such wares (and vice versa) at any given site.

In the guise of a conclusion

To conclude: the notion that it was competition from the major sigillata-producing centres that either drove some local makers of fine ware out of business or prompted them to start their own sigillata production is not as fanciful as one might think. Even the influential historian Moses Finley, who otherwise virtually ignored archaeological data, contemplated such a possibility for the Italian Type Sigillata industry, though he downplayed its significance: “All that had happened was that a few minor trades over-reached the market, some hundreds of craftsmen in the western Empire in a few cities were displaced by some hundreds in a few other cities, and nothing else”.⁴⁰ And, there are other examples of that in the Western Mediterranean. George Grantham observes that “In Pannonia, red-slip ware produced in the Rhineland and Southern Gaul utterly destroyed a local ceramic industry in the second century A. D., although the local pottery has been judged by authorities to be technically equal to any contemporary product”⁴¹. Moreover, Jean-Paul Morel has noted a somewhat similar process in the Western Mediterranean, which he connected with the process of globalisation⁴².

There is no generally agreed upon definition of globalisation, though Martin Pitts and Miguel John Versluys recently defined the concept as: “a process by which localities and people become increasingly interconnected and interdependent”⁴³. Still, in the world we live in, the wiping out of local industries by mass-produced products from abroad is a common enough phenomenon, which many see as the result of today’s globalism. I wish to end by stressing that many questions remain open and that I am well aware that this contribution raises questions instead of providing final answers. Still, I hope that it may trigger a new discussion of the complex issues involved.

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³⁷ BES – POBLOME 2017, 329.

³⁸ KÖGLER 2010.

³⁹ Cf. DE JONG 2017, 186: “Towns that were along the main roads or close to central markets were more connected and acquired new pottery faster. Variation in the material record was guided by the proximity and accessibility of networks, and the ability of local actors to engage with them”. The difference in pottery supply between the

coastal cities of Phoenicia and that of Homs in the inland of Syria may be a graphic illustration of this, cf. REYNOLDS 2014, 53–57. See further LUND 2018, 163–166.

⁴⁰ FINLEY 1965, 41.

⁴¹ GRANTHAM 2015, 66f.

⁴² MOREL 2014, 333f.

⁴³ PITTS – VERSLUYS 2015, 11. See also PITTS 2008; LUND 2015, 215f.; DE JONG 2017, 182–186.

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Neue Märkte – Neue Techniken – Neue Produkte

Das Aussagepotential von Keramik für die Interpretation von Akkulturations- und Innovationsprozessen in der hellenistischen Welt

Norbert Kramer

Abstract

This paper examines the role of ceramics in understanding the processes of acculturation and innovation in the Hellenistic World. Out of the vast number of different Hellenistic ceramic types mortars, semi-coated and glazed tablewares, terracotta figurines and moldmade, so-called megarian bowls, are considered. This study proceeds in three steps: I. Ceramic finds as a tool for indicating cultural contacts, II. Problems and approaches for interpreting such finds, and III. Conditions for technical innovation. There is a major difficulty in analyzing acculturation on the basis of ceramic finds in regions of cultural contact: We do not know in many cases the culture of the owner and user of these products, so we could hardly say anything about acculturation. But, as a first step to overcome this problem, a closer look at the manufacturing technique of ceramic products often gives us a chance to identify at least the culture of the producer. Probable places of cultural innovation are the big new cities of the Hellenistic World rather than mainland Greece. It seems possible that this is even the case also for megarian bowls, although there is a strong belief that they were invented in Athens.

I. Keramik als Indikator für Akkulturation

‘Akkulturation’ und ‘Kulturkontakt’ sind seit Jahrzehnten zentrale Felder kulturwissenschaftlicher Forschung¹. ‘Akkulturation’ in diesem Sinne meint nicht die bloße Übernahme von Gegenständen oder Verhaltensmustern einer anderen Kultur, sondern betrifft stets die Frage des Identitätsdiskurses der beteiligten Gesellschaften². Ging anfangs kaum eine Arbeit im Zusammenhang mit diesen Fragestellungen für die hellenistisch-römische Zeit auf einfache Keramik ein, so hat sie es heute bis auf die Companion-Ebene geschafft³. Ihre unbestreitbaren Vorteile sind erstens die omnipräsente hohe Funddichte und zweitens ihre Relevanz auch für sozial niedrigere Schichten, die in der alttumswissenschaftlichen Forschung meist kaum zu erreichen sind.

In Ergänzung zu den archaischen und den klassischen bemalten Vasen, den hellenistisch-römischen Sigillaten und Fernhandelsamphoren, den römischen Hypocaustenziegeln und anderen Gattungen, die im Fokus solcher Fragestellungen stehen, sei an dieser Stelle nur auf eine – selbster betrachtete – Gattung der Grobkeramik hingewiesen. An drei Orten des östlichen Mittelmeergebietes, nämlich in Assos in der Troas, in Diokaisareia im Rauhen Kilikien und in Gindaros in Nordsyrien, konnte ich Reibschalen (*mortaria*) identifizieren, die aufgrund von

¹ Auch einige der hier angestellten Überlegungen gehen auf zwei länger zurückliegende Tagungen zum Thema zurück, zum einen die Plenartagung “Hellenisierung, Romanisierung, Orientalisierung: Akkulturation in antiken Kulturen des Mittelmeerraums” (2002) im Rahmen des Schwerpunktprogrammes “Formen und Wege der Akkulturation im östlichen Mittelmeerraum und Schwarzmeergebiet in der Antike” der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft und zum anderen der Workshop “Grenzen oder Zwischenräume? Zur Konzeption und Praxis kulturellen Austauschs

in der Antike” (2009) des Exzellenzclusters “Asia and Europe in an Global Context. Shifting Asymmetries in Cultural Flows” der Universität Heidelberg. Für die Durchsicht des Manuskriptes danke ich herzlich Francisca Feraudi-Gruénais.

² Vgl. GOTTER 2000, bes. 395–399.

³ ROTROFF 2006b, bes. 140f.; eine weniger theorieals orts- und materialzentrierte Fundgrube ist nach wie vor SCHMALTZ – SÖLDNER 2003.

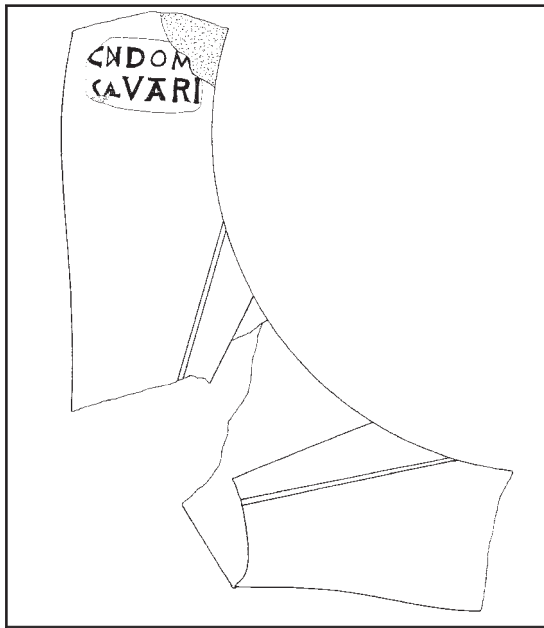


Abb. 1: Mortarium mit lateinischem Herstellerstempel aus Assos (eigene Zeichnung nach KRAMER 2006, Abb. 1).

Form, Tonbeschaffenheit und in einem Fall sogar durch den erhaltenen lateinischen Stempel sicher als italische Produkte anzusprechen sind (Abb. 1)⁴. Solche italischen Exemplare sind bislang vor allem aus der Schweiz und Südfrankreich belegt, darüber hinaus aber weniger, und vor allem für den Osten sind sie nur vereinzelt publiziert⁵. Der nunmehrige Nachweis entsprechender Funde an allen meinen östlichen Grabungsplätzen ist sicher kein Zufall. Eher ist davon auszugehen, dass man bislang nicht ausreichend auf derartige Grobkeramik geachtet hat. Möglicherweise waren selbst solche Gattungen viel weiter verbreitet, als gemeinhin angenommen wird, so dass eine bewusste Verwendung etwa der hier angeführten italischen Produkte zumindest denkbar ist. Diese auf griechische Vorläufer zurückgehenden Reibschalen dienten zum Zerreiben und Verrühren von Gewürzen und Kräutern für kalte Würzsoßen. Wie Dietwulf Baatz in einem kurzen, aber oft zitierten Aufsatz ausführt, spielen

sie eine große Rolle bei typisch römischen Kochrezepten, wie sie uns beispielsweise aus dem Kochbuch des Apicius bekannt sind⁶. Im Falle solcher Funde erhalten wir also vielleicht Indizien für die Übernahme römischer Küche. Aber natürlich ließen sich derartige Rezepte auch mit lokal hergestellten Reibschalen umsetzen. Die Bevorzugung italischer Produkte hatte daher vielleicht noch den weiteren Grund, dass ihre Herkunft – zumal wenn sie einen lateinischen Stempel zeigten – klar erkennbar und somit der Zugriff auf italisches Spezialgerät demonstrierbar war. Derartige Objekte kann man sich daher nicht nur als Küchengerät, sondern auch als Tafelgeschirr vorstellen.

II. Probleme und Möglichkeiten der Interpretation

Bei aller Euphorie ob der massenhaften Identifizierbarkeit kulturspezifischer Gegenstände in verschiedenen Kontexten gibt es doch grundsätzliche Probleme, diese in Hinblick auf das Phänomen der Akkulturation zu interpretieren. Zunächst stellt sich die Frage, ob die Produkte überhaupt einen Identitätsdiskurs berühren⁷. Gerade billige Keramik erscheint hier zunächst wenig relevant⁸. Aber zumindest die feinkeramischen Produkte sind fast stets Imitationen ähnlicher Formen hö-

⁴ Assos (mit Stempel CN(aeus) DOM(itius) SALVARI): KRAMER 2006; Diokaisareia: KRAMER 2012, 29 zu Nr. 381; Gindaros: KRAMER 2004, 246 zu EK 169; alle Stücke gehören der Form 2 nach HARTLEY 1973 an.

⁵ s. speziell zu den Produkten aus Italien HARTLEY 1973 und HOCHULI-GYSEL 1991, 116–118. Zu italischen Funden aus Zypern s. HAYES 1991, 72f.; zu Imitationen im östlichen Mittelmeergebiet mit griechischen Stempeln BLAKELY ET AL. 1992, wo aber die Ausgussformen nicht vorlagen oder nicht mitgezeichnet wurden, so dass nicht gesagt werden kann, wie sehr diese den italischen Exemplaren ähneln.

⁶ BAATZ 1977.

⁷ In pointierter Klarheit äußert Ulrich Gotter hierzu: „Bleibt die Evidenz für Akkulturation lediglich auf der Ebene

des Austauschs von Artefakten und liefert nicht einmal Indizien für die Wahrnehmung von Fremdem und den Identitätsdiskurs oder wird überhaupt nur die Beziehungen zwischen Artefakten unterschiedlicher Kulturen konstatiert, ohne die Ergebnisse auf die Folie 'kulturellen Wandel' zu projizieren, sind damit eigentlich keine Aussagen über Akkulturationsprozesse verbunden. Dann sollte es bei dem unspezifischen 'Austausch' ohne terminologische Präention bleiben, und es muß gelten: Eine Vase ist eine Vase ist eine Vase – und sei sie noch so weit gereist.“ (GOTTER 2000, 399).

⁸ Über die Wertigkeit von Keramik wird heftig diskutiert; sicher ist sie als vergleichsweise gering einzuschätzen; dass sie aber nur den Charakter von Füllmaterial hatte, so etwa FULFORD 1980, 69, trifft m. E. nicht zu.

herwertiger Materialien, die heute nicht mehr erhalten sind, wodurch das Argument des eingeschränkten Potentials repräsentativer Bedeutung aufgrund des geringen materiellen Wertes doch relativiert wird. Darüber hinaus sind Keramikgefäße, speziell Transportamphoren, Indikatoren für höherwertige Waren, etwa Wein und Öl, die in ihnen transportiert wurden. Schließlich lässt sich eine geringere Wertigkeit auch als Chance begreifen; denn fast nur mit solchen in großer Dichte auftretenden Funden besteht im Idealfall die Möglichkeit, auch die soziale Tiefendimension kultureller Veränderungen auszuloten.

Mindestens ebenso gravierend ist ein anderes Problem: Was nützen die schönsten und einer bestimmten Kultur zuweisbaren Funde, wenn unbekannt bleibt, welcher der involvierten kulturellen Entitäten – wenn man nicht von einer hellenistischen Mischkultur nach dem Muster Droysens ausgehen möchte – die Nutzer angehörten⁹? Wurde das auf einem syrischen Tell gefundene typisch griechisch-hellenistische Tafelgeschirr nun von dort angesiedelten griechisch-makedonischen Veteranen benutzt oder von der indigenen Bevölkerung, die diese neuen Produkte adaptierte¹⁰? Nur selten ist diese Frage sicher zu beantworten, etwa im Falle von Grabinventaren, wenn die Identität des Toten durch eine Inschrift feststeht. Viel öfter ist die Gefahr der Beliebigkeit der Ausdeutung und von Zirkelschlüssen gegeben, und dieses Dilemma ist nicht abschließend zu lösen¹¹.

Wird aber noch zwischen Nutzer und Hersteller differenziert, so ergibt sich möglicherweise ein kleiner Fortschritt. Es soll die These aufgestellt werden, dass die Herstellungstechnik den besten verfügbaren Indikator für die kulturelle Entität zumindest der beteiligten Handwerker bietet. Herstellungsmethoden – also mit der Hand formen, auf der Töpferscheibe drehen, mit Model formen etc. – und Verzierungs- und Verzierungstechniken – also bemalen, eintauchen, reliefieren etc. – sind in einem längeren Lern- und Ausbildungsprozess erworben. Sie dürften weniger schnell ausgetauscht oder modifiziert werden als bloße Formgebung oder Dekorelemente. Einige entsprechende Aspekte sollen anhand von drei Materialgruppen kurz beleuchtet werden.

1.) Feinkeramik mit Teilüberzug

Für den Hellenismus ist im östlichen Mittelmeergebiet eine Feinkeramikgattung massenhaft zu beobachten, die im Inneren komplett, auf der Außenseite aber nur noch im oberen Bereich überzogen ist. Diese Gattung wird oft aus der bekannten Schwarzglanzkeramik hergeleitet, die anscheinend einem steten Qualitätsrückgang unterlag und schließlich weder richtig schwarz noch vollständig überzogen war. Und in der Tat legt das Formenspektrum, nämlich vor allem Fischteller, Echinus- und Knickwandschalen, eine solche Verbindung nahe (Abb. 2)¹². Nichtsdestoweniger ist dies wohl nicht die einzige Erklärung. Vielmehr dürfte auch die spätesisenzeitliche Feinkeramik des Vorderen Orients eine Rolle gespielt haben, zeigt sie doch – jenseits einer regulären Streifenbemalung – sehr oft diese teilengobierte Gestaltungsweise¹³. Hinzu kommen weitere Merkmale: Diese hellenistische Feinkeramik weist deutlich seltener Palmettstempel oder Stichelkränze auf, wie sie für Schwarzglanzkeramik charakteristisch sind, und überhaupt war schwarz meist gar nicht mehr die intendierte Farbgebung, sondern es wurde das Farbspiel von hellbraunem Tongrund und rötlichem Überzug bevorzugt. Wie aus den Warenbeschreibungen einer Reihe von Publikationen zu schließen ist, wurde diese Keramik im weitaus größeren Ausmaß als

⁹ Nicht nachvollziehbar bleibt für mich der Versuch von Susan Alcock, dieser 'Blindheit' Positives abzugewinnen: *"While this seeming handicap has sometimes driven traditional historians to despair, in this context such blindness may be viewed as positively beneficial, for it removes the 'progress of Hellenization' from the scholarly agenda."* (ALCOCK 1993, 164).

¹⁰ Diese Frage stellte sich dem Verf. bei der Arbeit über das syrische Gindaros, s. KRAMER 2004, bes. 265 ff.

¹¹ Auch ROGL 2008b, bes. 523 fokussiert auf diese

Schwierigkeit und sucht Lösungsansätze nicht im Bereich der Verwendung, sondern schon in der Produktion, wenn auch nicht – wie hier im Folgenden – in Bezug auf die Herstellungstechnik.

¹² Zur Definition einer solchen Keramikgattung s. KRAMER 2004, 159 f.; vgl. u. a. BERLIN 1997, bes. 7 f.

¹³ s. LEHMANN 1996, passim, bes. 367 (Form 39), 368 (Form 52), 369 (Form 60), 372 (Form 77), 377 (Form 87); MÜLLER 1999, 128.

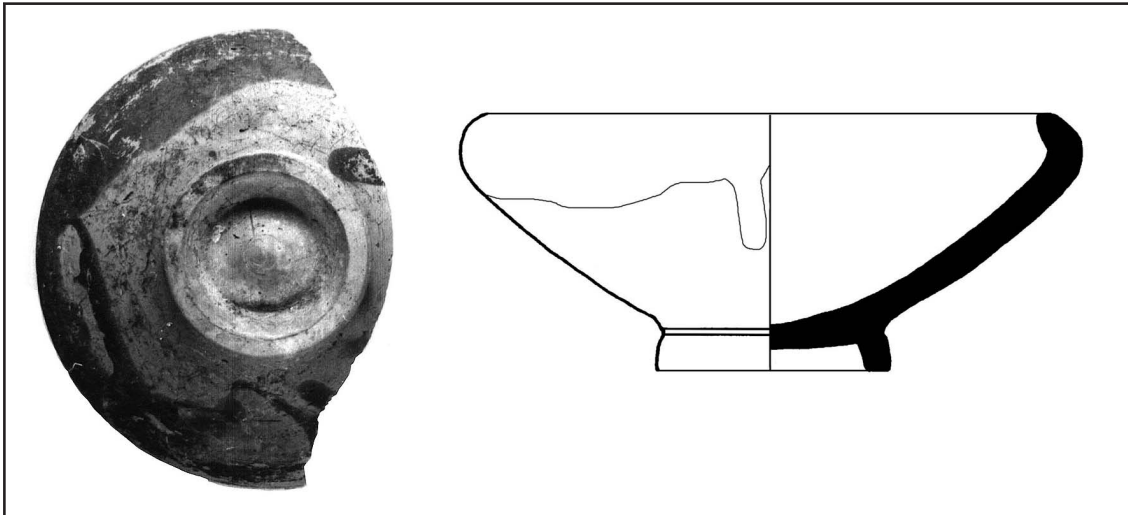


Abb. 2: Echinusschale mit Teilüberzug aus Gindaros (eigene Zeichnung).

etwa später die Sigillata regional gefertigt. Somit ergibt sich der Befund eines an vielen Orten produzierten Tafelgeschirrs, das sowohl griechische wie nichtgriechische Elemente aufweist. Aber in welchem kulturellen Milieu ist diese Produktion nun zu verorten? Folgt man der genannten These, ist die Herstellungstechnik das entscheidende Kriterium. Besonders gut lässt sich diese an der hellenistischen teilüberzogenen Keramik aus Syrien, bei der der Überzug außen oft in dicken Tropfen verläuft, nachvollziehen. Das Gefäß wurde am Boden festgehalten und zunächst nur wenig in den Schlicker getaucht, wodurch beim Wiederaufrichten außen die verlaufende Kontur des Überzuges entstand. Der versiegelnde Überzug im Inneren wurde dann durch Schwenken des im Gefäß verbliebenen oder zusätzlich hineingegossenen Schlickers erzielt, wodurch regelmäßig das sogenannte *double-dipping* zu beobachten ist¹⁴. Hieraus folgern zwei Dinge: Erstens lässt sich so die überwiegend im griechischen Kulturkreis zu beobachtende Herstellungstechnik des Eintauchens in einen Schlicker nachweisen. Der Farbauftrag bei den Gefäßen der vorderasiatischen Eisenzeit wurde hingegen in der Regel mit einem Pinsel oder ähnlichem Instrument bewerkstelligt. Zweitens bedeutet eine solche Vorgehensweise – obwohl der Begriff des ‘Teilüberzuges’ es suggerieren könnte – keine Vereinfachung. Daher ist davon auszugehen, dass die resultierenden Musterrungen und Farbspielereien auf der Außenseite als ästhetisch ansprechend beabsichtigt waren. Es liegen also Produkte griechischer oder zumindest griechisch ausgebildeter Töpfer vor, die aber – womöglich durch vorgefundene Traditionen angeregt – experimentierten, um ein neues Design hervorzubringen. Ob hier auch bewusst auf den nichtgriechischen Markt im Umfeld hellenistisch gegründeter Siedlungen geschaut wurde, ist nicht mit Gewissheit zu sagen, aber auch nicht auszuschließen.

2.) Glasierte Keramik

Anders sieht es bei der glasierten Keramik aus. Die aufwendige, weil einen doppelten Brennvorgang erfordernde Technik des Glasierens von Tonziegeln und Keramikgefäßen hatte schon in hellenistischer Zeit im Alten Orient eine Jahrtausende alte und hochelaborierte Tradition. Auch im hellenistischen Vorderen Orient verbreitete sich diese Keramik fast überall und in signifikanter Zahl¹⁵. Und es lassen sich mit der Etablierung des Seleukidenreiches markante Veränderungen – oder besser Ergänzungen – im Formenspektrum erkennen, denn nun treten auch die bereits erwähnten Fischteller, Echinus- und Knickwandschalen auf (Abb. 3). Jedoch sind diese Stücke so

¹⁴ Vgl. KRAMER 2004, 159f. (‘Keramik mit Tropfenüberzug’).

¹⁵ s. schon grundlegend DEBEVOISE 1934, 28–34 (Se-

leukeia am Tigris) und TOLL 1943 (Dura Europos); vgl. KRAMER 2004, 248–251 mit weiteren Belegen.

wie allgemein die orientalische glasierte Keramik in der Regel deutlich dickwandiger und weniger scharf profiliert gestaltet. Dies, die Glasurtechnik allgemein und die gleichbleibende, meist helle und sehr körnige Warenbeschaffenheit deuten darauf hin, dass diese Stücke überwiegend aus den alteingesessenen Werkstätten Mesopotamiens stammen und nicht aus neu angelegten griechischen Töpfereien¹⁶. Dies gilt möglicherweise selbst für die neuen griechischen Zentren in diesem Raum, wie Seleukeia am Tigris oder Dura Europos, in denen man sich ja durchaus die Ansiedlung einheimischer Töpfer vorstellen darf. Der Kontakt mit den Griechen führte aber wiederum zu Mischformen, die wohl zumindest auch auf griechische Abnehmer – oder solche, die sich griechisch geben wollten – zielten, und zwar sowohl im Umfeld der mutmaßlichen Produktionszentren als auch in den westlichen Städten, in die entsprechend exportiert wurde¹⁷. Interessant ist darüber hinaus, dass nach dem Ende der griechischen Herrschaft über die Gebiete östlich des Euphrats in der Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Chr. die glasierte Keramik im Westen des Seleukidenreiches offenbar kaum mehr auftritt. Außerdem verschwinden im Osten die griechisch angeregten Formen, auch wenn die dortigen Werkstätten die Produktion glasierter Keramik kontinuierlich weitergeführt haben. Dies könnte bei aller Vorsicht darauf deuten, dass die politischen Grenzen in der Antike eine größere Auswirkung auf Warenproduktion und -handel hatten, als man es heute gemeinhin annehmen möchte¹⁸.

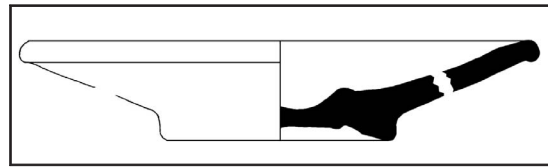


Abb. 3: Glasierter Fischteller aus Gindaros (eigene Zeichnung).

3.) Terrakotten

Neben der Gefäßkeramik sind uns aus wohl allen Fundorten hellenistischer Zeit auch Unmengen an figürlichen Terrakotten überliefert. Insbesondere die sogenannten Tanagrafiguren, also Darstellungen typisch griechisch gekleideter Frauen in dezenter Bewegung, erfreuten sich großer Beliebtheit und fanden Verbreitung bis Babylonien und darüber hinaus¹⁹. Mit solchen Bildern lassen sich Fragen zu kulturellen Identitäten und so auch zu deren Wandel in kulturellen Kontaktzonen besser beleuchten als mit einfacher Gefäßkeramik. So fällt etwa auf, dass in hellenistischer Zeit Figuren im griechischen Stil mit entsprechender Kleidung und Frisuren auch in Babylon das Bild prägen. Nichtsdestoweniger kamen die in altorientalischer Tradition stehenden Typen nackter Frauen – sei es in Form der altbekannten Figuren mit zu den Brüsten geführten Händen oder Weiterentwicklungen mit herabhängenden Armen²⁰ – in dieser Zeit offenbar keineswegs außer Mode²¹. Anders sieht es zur gleichen Zeit in der nicht weit entfernten griechischen Neugründung Seleukeia am Tigris aus; denn hier treten diese Typen viel seltener auf²². Und in der ebenfalls neu angelegten griechischen Siedlung auf dem Jebel Khalid am westlichen Ufer des Euphrats wurden sie bislang gar nicht gefunden; stattdessen folgt der Bestand hier bis auf vereinzelte *'Astarte plaques'* griechischen Typen²³. Um solche interessanten Befunde aber konkret auf die Frage der Akkulturation fokussieren zu können, wäre es nötig, zu wissen, wer die jeweiligen Nutzer solcher Materialien waren. Nur so wäre zu klären, wie sich Griechen und regionale Einwohnerschaft in Babylon oder in griechischen Neugründungen verhielten und wie sie ihre Gewohnheiten veränderten.

¹⁶ Die genannten Merkmale unterscheiden diese Keramik von der westkleinasiatischen späthellenistisch-römischen Glasierten Keramik, s. zu dieser HOCHULI-GYSEL 1977.

¹⁷ Vgl. WAAGÉ 1948, 80ff.

¹⁸ Vgl. KRAMER 2004, 249 und KRAMER 2003, bes. 125f.

¹⁹ s. grundlegend KLEINER 1942.

²⁰ Zur Datierung der Frauen mit herabhängenden Ar-

men s. KLENGEL-BRANDT – CHOLIDIS 2006, 183.

²¹ s. KLENGEL-BRANDT – CHOLIDIS 2006, 148–202; VAN INGEN 1939 passim bezeichnet diese Frauen als *'Mother Goddess'*.

²² s. VAN INGEN 1939, 8; 18ff.; MENEGAZZI 2016, 397f.

²³ s. JACKSON 2006; dasselbe gilt für das nordsyrische Gindaros, KRAMER 2004, 99ff.; aus Antiocheia liegt noch keine systematische Vorlage vor.

Erneut soll in diesem Zusammenhang die Herstellungstechnik näher betrachtet werden. In der griechischen Welt wurden in hellenistischer Zeit solche Terrakotten nicht mehr massiv, sondern fast ausnahmslos als modelgeformte Hohlfiguren gefertigt. Diese Technik hatte nicht nur den Vorteil eines geringeren Materialverbrauches, sondern auch den, dass die Rohlinge weniger anfällig für Verformungen und Rissbildungen während des Brennvorganges waren²⁴. Auch in den Neugründungen im Vorderen Orient wurde ausschließlich oder zumindest überwiegend in dieser Technik gearbeitet²⁵. In den altorientalischen Orten tritt uns aber ein interessantes Phänomen entgegen, das zwar mehrfach beobachtet, aber noch kaum entsprechend gewürdigt wurde. Zwar hielt auch hier die Produktion von Hohlterrakotten der neuen griechischen Typen Einzug, nichtsdestoweniger wurden diese parallel und mehrheitlich in der traditionellen Massivtechnik gefertigt, wobei die Ergebnisse äußerlich – bis auf ein Luftloch auf der Rückseite bei den Hohlfiguren – nicht zu unterscheiden sind²⁶. Die umfangreiche Publikation der Terrakotten aus Babylon erlaubt einen genaueren Blick auf die Verhältnisse²⁷. Demnach sind hier nur ca. 10 % der Darstellungen von Frauen, Männern und Musikanten der ‘Spätzeit’ als Hohlterrakotten gearbeitet²⁸. Das heißt, dass – bei allen Schwierigkeiten der Binnendifferenzierung dieser ‘Spätzeit’ – wohl auch die weit überwiegende Mehrheit der griechisch geformten Typen in der traditionellen Massivtechnik hergestellt wurde. Es erscheint wenig wahrscheinlich, dass griechische Figurenbildner, die sich in Mesopotamien in alten oder neu gegründeten Siedlungen niedergelassen haben, ihre erlernten und bewährten Techniken verändert haben. Viel eher steht zu vermuten, dass die griechischen Figurentypen in Massivtechnik von alteingesessenen lokalen Handwerkern hergestellt wurden, die von bestehenden Figuren neue Formen abgenommen haben und somit in der Lage waren, äußerlich identische Produkte herzustellen.

Ein weiteres technisches Merkmal ist in diesem Zusammenhang von Interesse. Im Alten Orient wurde – anders als in der griechisch-hellenistischen Welt – der Ton generell sehr oft mit organischen Materialien, vor allem Häcksel, gemagert. Besonders bei den massiven Terrakotten ist die Magerung wichtig, um Rissbildungen bei zu fettem Ton zu vermeiden. So lässt sich in vorhellenistischer Zeit auch bei Terrakotten regelmäßig Häckselmagerung beobachten, selbst wenn hierdurch die Oberflächen infolge des Verbrennens des Häckseles etwas unregelmäßiger wurden. In den persischen und hellenistischen Zeiten ging aber auch hier diese Praxis deutlich zurück; nur noch etwa 3 % der Terrakotten aus Babylon weisen nun Häckselmagerung auf²⁹. Bezeichnend ist überdies die Verknüpfung beider Beobachtungen: Häckselmagerung liegt fast ausnahms-

24 In den Katalogen wird diesbezüglich oft nur ungenau differenziert; so bedeutet die Verwendung einer ‘einteiligen Form’ nicht zwangsläufig eine massive Figur, da auch handgeformte Rückenplatten möglich sind, s. etwa VAN INGEN 1939, 10. 98 Nr. 202; ebenso bedeutet die Verwendung einer ‘zweiteiligen Form’ nicht zwangsläufig eine Hohlfigur. Zu Griechenland s. vor allem BURR THOMPSON 1952–1966ff.; VIERNEISEL-SCHLÖRB 1997; MERKER 2000; zu Kleinasien BURR THOMPSON 1963; TÖPPERWEIN 1976; MROGENDA 1996 und allg. jetzt MULLER – LAFLI 2016.

25 s. JACKSON 2006 passim; VAN INGEN 1939, 9; MENEGAZZI 2016, 398.

26 Vgl. allg. KARVONEN-KANNAS 1995, 23f.; zuvor wurden die Terrakotten nahezu ausschließlich massiv aus einer einteiligen Form gedrückt, bei KLENGEL-BRANDT – CHOLIDIS 2006 werden nur drei “Hohlterrakotten” (Nr. 144. 145. 150), die zudem alle Masken sind, für die vorachaimenidische Zeit erwähnt.

27 Die akribische Vorlage des grandiosen Bestandes aus dem Vorderasiatischen Museum Berlin durch KLENGEL-BRANDT – CHOLIDIS 2006 ist unschätzbar; jedoch fallen auch Monita auf: Während die altorientalischen Stücke (Nr. 1–699) in drei Epochen geteilt und separat

behandelt werden, wird der ungleich größere Bestand aus persischer, hellenistischer und parthischer Zeit (Nr. 700–4222!) schlicht unter ‘Spätzeit’ subsumiert; hier wären bei allen Problemen hinsichtlich der Datierungen (vgl. ebd. 12) Differenzierungen möglich gewesen. Diese Behandlung scheint auch in der Grundaussage des Werkes durch, die geprägt ist von der Betonung der altorientalischen Kontinuität, während die teils radikalen Änderungen in hellenistischer Zeit nicht gesondert behandelt und eher nebenbei notiert werden, etwa 12. 15–20. 147. 184 u. ö. Auch wäre für die Auswertung eines derart umfangreichen und sorgfältig aufbereiteten Kataloges eine digitale Version eine große Hilfe.

28 KLENGEL-BRANDT – CHOLIDIS 2006 Nr. 700–2137; meiner Zählung nach sind 105 von 893 Frauenfiguren, 33 von 340 Männerfiguren und 12 von 202 Musikantenfiguren als Hohlterrakotten gearbeitet. Die genannte ‘Spätzeit’ umfasst persische, hellenistische und parthische Stücke.

29 KLENGEL-BRANDT – CHOLIDIS 2006 Nr. 700–2137; meiner Zählung nach sind 27 von 893 Frauenfiguren, 15 von 340 Männerfiguren und 6 von 202 Musikantenfiguren häckselgemagert.

los bei den Massivfiguren vor³⁰. Griechische Handwerker haben sich naheliegenderweise nicht der für sie ungewohnten Magerungsart bedient, aber im Kreise der lokalen Kollegen, die die griechischen Typen in traditioneller Massivtechnik nachahmten, nutzten zumindest einige auch die althergebrachte Magerung weiter.

Die Reihe der untersuchbaren technischen Eigenheiten ließe sich fortsetzen. Warenbeschaffenheiten, Luftlöcher bei Hohlfiguren, Bemalungen oder auch die Glasur von Matrizen – sicher zum Zwecke der höheren Haltbarkeit³¹ bieten Potential nicht nur zur analytischen Gruppenbildung, sondern auch zur kulturwissenschaftlichen Interpretation. Allerdings erlauben die Daten der vorhandenen Kataloge derzeit kaum verlässliche und flächendeckende Untersuchungen. Und unklar bleibt bislang immer noch, welcher Entität die Abnehmer der Produkte der unterschiedlichen Produzenten angehörten. Nichtsdestoweniger darf die Herstellungstechnik als vielleicht besser verfügbarer Indikator für die kulturelle Zugehörigkeit zumindest der Produzenten gelten. Und damit bietet sie auch eine Ausgangsbasis für die Fragen, wer unter welchen Bedingungen die eigentlichen Betreiber von Innovationen waren und wo die entsprechenden Räume zu suchen sind.

III. Raum und Rahmenbedingungen für Innovationen

Für den Hellenismus sind nicht zuletzt infolge des ausgeweiteten Kulturkontaktes vielfältige Innovationen auch und vor allem in der materiellen Kultur zu beobachten, die sich dann in kürzester Zeit in der gesamten hellenistischen Welt ausbreiteten. Auf der Basis der heutigen Funde und Befunde ist somit die Frage, wo der Ursprung dieser dynamischen Prozesse und der neuen Produkte anzunehmen ist, nur schwer zu beantworten. Eines der markantesten Beispiele für solche neuen Produkte stellen sicher die reliefierten halbkugelförmigen sogenannten Megarischen Becher³² dar. Sie wurden an fast allen zeitlich relevanten Grabungsplätzen der östlichen Mittelmeerwelt gefunden und mittlerweile vielfach besprochen. Das eigentlich Innovative liegt wiederum in der Technik: Sie wurden mit Hilfe einer Form hergestellt, in welche die Ornamente gestempelt waren. Der Ton wurde in diese Form gedrückt, diese sodann auf einer Töpferscheibe zentriert, und das Innere des neuen Gefäßes wurde in bewährter Weise gedreht. Gefäßherstellung und Verzierung erfolgten also nicht mehr in getrennten Arbeitsschritten³³. Besonders nach der grundlegenden Bearbeitung der Funde von der Athener Agora durch Susan I. Rotroff wird die Erfindung dieser Gefäße gemeinhin in Athen verortet. Rotroff verbindet in Bezug auf die Datierung die stratigraphischen Anhaltspunkte der untersuchten *Deposits*, die im Grundsatz schon von Homer A. Thompson 1934 erarbeitet, wenn auch absolut deutlich zu hoch datiert wurden, mit der Einführung der ersten Ptolemaia-Festspiele in Athen im Jahr 224/3 v. Chr. Zu diesem Fest könnten entsprechende Gesandtschaften Silbergefäße aus Alexandria nach Athen mitgebracht haben, die sicher als gestalterische Vorbilder der keramischen Reliefbecher anzusehen sind. Rotroff schlägt somit nachdrücklich das Jahr 224/3 v. Chr. für die Erfindung dieser Reliefbecher vor.³⁴ Nahezu alle Bearbeiter entsprechender Funde folgen diesen Annahmen, wonach sich die Megarischen Becher im letzten Viertel des 3. Jh. v. Chr. von Athen aus zunächst in Griechenland, dann aber schnell auch in Makedonien, Kleinasien, schließlich in der gesamten hellenistischen Welt bis zur Levante und nach Mesopotamien ausgebreitet hätten. Jedoch gibt es kaum weitere eigenständige

³⁰ So weit ich sehe, gibt es lediglich zwei Ausnahmen im Bestand aus Babylon, KLENGEL-BRANDT – CHOLIDIS 2006 Nr. 1144. 3858.

³¹ Vgl. VAN INGEN 1939, 11–14; bes. Nr. 1500. 1522. 1523 (glasierte Formen).

³² Der Name, der noch auf BENNDORF 1883, 117f. zurückgeht, wird aufgrund seiner falschen geographischen Zuordnung vielfach kritisch gesehen. Allerdings generiert der etablierte und sicher nicht mehr misszuverstehende Begriff eine präzisere Vorstellung der in Frage stehenden

Gattung, als alle neutraleren Bezeichnungen, wie etwa 'Reliefbecher' etc.

³³ Zur Herstellungstechnik s. u. a. ROTROFF 1982, 4f.; ROTROFF 2000.

³⁴ THOMPSON 1934, passim; zentral ROTROFF 1982, 9–13 und erneuert ROTROFF 2006a, bes. 370. Zum alexandrinischen Einfluss s. schon PARLASCA 1955, 129–154 und grundlegend zur alexandrinischen Toreutik PFROMMER 1987.

stratigraphische oder sachkritische Erkenntnisse, die ein solch exaktes Anfangsdatum oder die generellen Verbreitungswege – von einzelnen identifizierbaren Motivabhängigkeiten abgesehen – belegen könnten. Vielmehr ist es die Autorität zum einen der Bedeutung Athens als Keramikzentrum und zum anderen der Qualität der Bearbeitung durch Rotroff, die diese Thesen immer mehr als Gewissheit erscheinen lassen³⁵.

Nichtsdestoweniger mehren sich die Indizien, die auf differenziertere Entwicklungen deuten könnten. Schon bei den Datierungen der ersten Becher aus Athen ist eine Unschärfe unvermeidbar. Zunächst sind die sauber ergrabenen und plausibel interpretierten Verfüllungen doch nicht mit genau datierbaren Trennschichten versiegelt, die allein sichere Aussagen zu den *termini ante quos* erlauben³⁶. Des weiteren gibt es in diesen Fundstellen nur wenig genau datierbares Material, was freilich nicht verwundert. Im Gegenteil – das Besondere ist, dass es tatsächlich Funde gibt, die im besten Fall jahresgenau zu datieren sind, nämlich gestempelte rhodische Amphorenhenkel. Nun sind die Datierungen genau dieser hier genannten eponymen Heliospriester des sogenannten ‘Pergamon-Komplexes’ durch zwei jüngere und unabhängig voneinander entstandene Arbeiten von Gérard Finkielsztein und Mark L. Lawall um 10 bis 20 Jahre herabgesetzt worden, was in der Forschung bislang allgemein anerkannt wird³⁷. Rotroff selbst hat darauf in einem längeren Beitrag reagiert und kommt zu dem Schluss: *“Finkielsztein’s revisions suggest that the introduction of the moldmade bowl should be bracketed between ca. 226 and 211, making an initial date of 224/3, while not impossible, seem less likely than it once did”*³⁸. Darüber hinaus treten die Megarischen Becher in signifikanten Mengen erst in späteren Fundstellen auf, was Rotroff durch ein von Donald A. Spratt entwickeltes mehrstufiges Modell von punktueller Erfindung bis zur späteren Verbreitung zu erklären versucht³⁹. Durch diese leichten Verschiebungen wird ein zeitlicher Vorrang der Athener Produktion gegenüber allen anderen nicht *ad hoc* unplausibel, aber auch nicht zwingender⁴⁰.

Zur Peripherie der griechischen Welt, in der Errungenschaften mit einem gewissen Zeitverzug Einzug gehalten haben, werden gemeinhin schon Nordgriechenland und Makedonien gezählt. Ob dies auch für die hellenistische Zeit sinnvoll ist, darf bezweifelt werden; und insbesondere für die Megarischen Becher ist Makedonien – auch wenn die dortigen Funde bislang nicht sicher vor das 2. Jh. v. Chr. datiert werden können –⁴¹ in mindestens zweifacher Hinsicht interessant: Stephan G. Schmid konstatiert, dass im 4. Jh. v. Chr. in Makedonien vermehrt Metallgefäße sogenannten ‘achaimenidischen Typs’, die an einem hohen, nach außen ladenden Rand erkennbar sind und florale Dekorationen zeigen können, auftreten. Er vertritt die These, dass die späteren Reliefbecher die direkten Nachfolger dieser Achaimenidischen Becher seien⁴². Die neuen dann auch in Keramik überführten Gefäße verdrängten die klassischen Kylikes und waren Teil einer neuen (Trink)Kultur⁴³. Bei dieser Entwicklung sei – auch eingedenk des unbestreitbaren motivischen Einflusses der alexandrinischen Toreutik – die Rolle Makedoniens als Mittler zwischen Kleinasien, dem Balkan und Griechenland höher als bislang

35 Es würde zu weit führen, hier alle entsprechenden Bearbeitungen zu zitieren; auch der Verf. hat diese Thesen mehrfach kritiklos übernommen, etwa KRAMER 2004, 136. Zur Forschungsgeschichte s. u. a. ROGL 2008a, 26–31. Kritisch hinsichtlich der vielleicht zu großen Autorität Athens hat sich schon SCHMID 2006, 80 geäußert.

36 Zur Frage der Datierbarkeit s. erneut ROTROFF 2006a, 365. 376.

37 Zum Pergamonkomplex s. grundlegend SCHUCHARDT 1895 und BÖRKER – BUROW 1998 sowie nun FINKIELSZTEIN 2001 (dazu die Rezension LUND 2002) und LAWALL 2002.

38 ROTROFF 2006a, 360f.

39 ROTROFF 2006a, 367–375; s. SPRATT 1989, 255f. zur Übertragbarkeit auf vormoderne Verhältnisse.

40 Vgl. zu Vorschlägen einer früheren Entstehung in Athen, ohne freilich den Vorrang Athens grundsätzlich zu hinterfragen, HAUSMANN 1996, 105 und SCHMID 2006, 80f.

41 Zu diesen Datierungen s. SCHMID 2006, 80f.; DROUGOU 2012b, 249 und DROUGOU 2012c, 271.

42 SCHMID 2006, 78–80. Zu – andersherum – ‘achaimenidischen Bechern makedonischen Typs’ s. ausführlich PFROMMER 1987, 42–74, bes. 56–61. Es muss jedoch konstatiert werden, dass ‘achaimenidische Phialen’ schon im 5. Jh. v. Chr. in Athen in Keramik nachgeahmt wurden, vgl. MILLER 1993, 118–120.

43 Zur Trinkkultur s. ausführlich SCHMID 2006, 71–81; ROGL 2014b sowie zum Verschwinden der Kratere im frühen 2. Jh. v. Chr. ROTROFF 1997, 14f.

einzuschätzen. Zweitens ist die Untergruppe der sogenannten Homerischen Becher, die mit mythologischen Szenen verziert sind, eine zunächst nordgriechische und makedonische Eigenart, deren Vorbilder auch nicht in der alexandrinischen Toreutik zu finden sind. Die Frage, wann und unter welchen Bedingungen diese Variante auftrat, ist nach wie vor nicht geklärt. Ulrich Sinn schlug 1979 – noch in Unkenntnis der Publikation von der Athener Agora – vor, dass diese mythisch-narrative Gestaltungsweise im Zusammenhang mit der Hofgesellschaft des Königs Antigonos Gonatas entstanden sei⁴⁴. Da sich dies aber durch nichts archäologisch oder historisch belegen lässt, wurde diese These fast ausnahmslos abgelehnt⁴⁵. Allerdings besteht der Haupteinwand darin, dass dies nicht sein könne, weil die Homerischen Becher eine nachgeordnete Entwick-



Abb. 4: Achaimenidischer Silberbecher, Britisches Museum (Inv. 134740) http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=367824&partId=1 (letzter Zugriff 06.01.2018).

lung zu den Megarischen Bechern seien, die aber erst in den 20 er Jahren des 3. Jh. v. Chr. erfunden worden seien. Sollten diese beiden Grundannahmen jedoch relativiert werden, steht auch eine Neubewertung der Homerischen Becher und der Rolle Makedoniens im Raum. Und hinsichtlich der figürlichen Gestaltung sind vielleicht wiederum achaimenidische Vorbilder nicht ausgeschlossen. Denn jenseits der glatten oder floral verzierten Becher achaimenidischen Typs, auf die Schmid sich vorrangig bezieht, gibt es auch Silberbecher mit figürlichem Dekor⁴⁶. Das vielleicht prominenteste Beispiel, ein Stück aus dem Britischen Museum, das nur ungenau in das 5. bis 4. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren ist, stellt die Figuren zwar in einem eindeutig persischen Darstellungsduktus schlicht additiv hintereinander, ohne eine Handlung anzudeuten (Abb. 4)⁴⁷; nichtsdestoweniger ist der Gesamteindruck auffallend ähnlich. Auf solche Parallelen wurde in der Forschung noch nicht hinreichend eingegangen.

Im Gegensatz zu den leicht herabgesetzten Datierungen in Bezug auf Athen gibt es für das Material aus Pergamon in Kleinasien interessante, in frühere Zeit verweisende Vorschläge. Die Endpublikation der Funde aus den alten Grabungen im Stadtgebiet und im Asklepieion steht nach wie vor aus, zumeist werden sie aber an das Ende des 3. Jh. v. Chr. datiert⁴⁸. Als in unserem Zusammenhang interessanter könnten sich die neueren Funde aus dem noch nicht abschließend aufgearbeiteten spektakulären Töpferviertel im Ketiostal erweisen. Diese werden gelegentlich früher in das 3. Jh. v. Chr. oder gar an dessen Anfang datiert, wobei diese Ansätze freilich auch kritisch bewertet werden; auszuschließen ist beim momentanen Stand der Erkenntnisse eine solche Frühdatierung jedoch nicht⁴⁹. Ein weiteres wichtiges Zentrum der Keramikherstellung in Kleinasien muss hier Erwähnung finden: Ephesos. In seiner gewaltigen Arbeit zu den Funden

44 SINN 1979, bes. 64–69; Sinn weist selbst auf die Notwendigkeit einer Neubewertung nach der Publikation der Megarischen Becher von der Athener Agora hin, ebd. 40.

45 s. u. a. ROTROFF 1986, bes. 474; DROUGOU 2012 c, 271; vgl. SCHMID 2006, 97 f.

46 SCHMID 2006, 78–80; für die sog. Homerischen Becher sieht Schmid hingegen Vorbilder vorrangig in der Großplastik, SCHMID 2006, 53–70.

47 BM Inv. 134740, vgl. HANSEN ET AL. 2009, 282 Nr. 90.

48 ZIEGENAUS – DE LUCA 1968, 124 Nr. 158 zu einem

Becher aus der Bauphase 8, die an das Ende des 3. Jh. v. Chr. datiert wird; ZIEGENAUS – DE LUCA 1975, 73–76 zu Bechern aus der Sondage C des Asklepieion und dazu HÜBNER 1993, 43 mit Anm. 34, die diese Sondage auf das letzte Viertel des 3. Jh. datiert; vgl. auch DE LUCA – RADT 1999, 92–117, bes. 96–100.

49 ÖZYİĞİT 1990, 94–97; leider sind ebd. 95 die wichtigen Beobachtungen zu den Funden in einer durch einen Brandhorizont vom Anfang des 3. Jh. v. Chr. abgeschlossenen Schicht wenig verständlich; s. kritisch HAUSMANN 1996, 104 f.; vgl. zum Ketiostal auch BOUNEGRU 2000 und BOUNEGRU 2009, bes. 83.

aus Delos etablierte Alfred Laumonier nicht nur die Methode des Punzenvergleichs auch für die Megarischen Becher, sondern prognostizierte auch eine ‘ionische’ Herkunft seines umfangreichen Fundmaterials⁵⁰. Heute schlägt man gemeinhin Ephesos und seine Umgebung als Sitz dieser ionischen Werkstätten vor. Die Abschlusspublikation zu den Funden der österreichischen Grabungen in Ephesos selbst ist zwar noch in Vorbereitung; es gibt aber eine Reihe von Vorberichten. Bei allen Unsicherheiten hinsichtlich der Datierungsmöglichkeiten gehen diese davon aus, dass die Produktion der Reliefbecher in Ephesos eher spät, also nicht vor der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jh. v. Chr. anzusetzen ist, und Ephesos möglicherweise die Nachfolge von Pergamon als wichtigstes Produktionszentrum angetreten hat⁵¹. Andere Herstellungsorte in Kleinasien scheinen in der Folge sehr von den ephesischen Produkten abhängig zu sein⁵².

Schließlich ist auch der Großraum Syrien hinsichtlich nachhaltiger Innovationen im Hellenismus nicht außer Acht zu lassen. Nach heutigem Kenntnisstand wurde zum Beispiel in der Region von Antiocheia am Orontes in der Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Chr. die erste Produktion Östlicher Sigillata (*Eastern Sigillata A*) etabliert⁵³. In Bezug auf die modelerstellten Reliefbecher war es für den Ausgräber Frederik O. Waagé 1948 selbstverständlich, dass ihre Produktion im Grunde mit der Gründung der Stadt um 300 v. Chr. begann⁵⁴. Dass dies durch keine Stratigraphie am Ort belegt werden kann, wurde schon früh moniert⁵⁵; aber eine Falsifikation einer solchen Annahme ist hieraus allein ebensowenig abzuleiten. Für Palästina liegen bessere stratigraphische Ergebnisse vor, und Megarische Becher lassen sich hier erst im 2. Jh. v. Chr. sicher nachweisen⁵⁶. Jedoch muss dies für das nordsyrische Kerngebiet des Seleukidenreiches wenig bedeuten; überhaupt scheinen in Judäa/Palästina mit seinen wenigen hellenisierten urbanen Zentren die zum Teil figürlich verzierten Megarischen Becher nicht zum beliebtesten Geschirr gehört zu haben⁵⁷, und Modellefunde als Indikator für eine eigene Produktion liegen – so weit ich sehe – bislang nicht vor. Als stärkstes Argument, die Hypothese einer Frühdatierung rigoros auszuschließen und eine Spätdatierung um 200 v. Chr. zu proklamieren, erscheint daher wiederum die Prämisse, dass ein Auftreten solcher Becher prinzipiell nicht eher als in Athen möglich sei⁵⁸. Vor allem die neuen Grabungen auf dem Jebel Khalid am Euphrat, wo in frühseleukidischer Zeit eine Festungsstadt angelegt wurde, lassen es allerdings durchaus möglich erscheinen, dass Megarische Becher aus dem Raum Antiocheia bereits im 3. Jh. v. Chr. bis ins Hinterland im Umlauf gewesen sind⁵⁹. Eine sachkritische Beobachtung sei ergänzt: Zumindest das obere Abschlusskyma in den Formen für die Megarischen Becher wurde mit einem Rollstempel hergestellt. Für diese Technik erwägt Rotroff selbst den Vergleich zu altorientalischen Rollsiegeln⁶⁰; solchen potentiellen Anregungen war man in Antiocheia freilich näher als in Athen. Und vielleicht legte diese einfache Gestal-

⁵⁰ LAUMONIER 1977; die Methode des Punzenvergleichs stammt ursprünglich aus der Numismatik; vgl. bereits IMHOOF-BLUMER 1878, 2f. und für die westliche Terra Sigillata KNORR 1905.

⁵¹ S. SEITERLE 1982; MITSOPOULOS-LEON 1991, 67–74; GASSNER 1997, 71–88; neuer ROGL 2011 (mit Verweis auf ein FWF-Projekt zur Aufarbeitung der ephesischen Reliefbecher, ebd. 541, Anm. 1) und ROGL 2014a (mit Verweis auf ihre unpublizierte Dissertation zum Thema aus dem Jahr 2008, ebd. 139, Anm. 13). ROGL 2014a, 131f. (Anm. 24) gibt an, dass schon um 200 v. Chr. Reliefbecher in Ephesos nachweisbar sind und die eigene Produktion in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jh. v. Chr. einsetzt; vgl. KOSSATZ 1990, 5.

⁵² Vgl. KOSSATZ 1990 zu Milet; KÖGLER 2010 und KÖGLER 2014 zu Knidos; FENN 2011 und FENN 2014 zu Priene.

⁵³ Vgl. zur *Eastern Sigillata A* KRAMER 2013.

⁵⁴ WAAGÉ 1948, 30; er geht ebd. sogar von einem Produktionshöhepunkt schon im 3. Jh. v. Chr. aus. Die

zahlreichen Funde aus Hama (CHRISTENSEN – JOHANSEN 1971) und Tarsus (GOLDMAN 1950) bieten für die Chronologie der Megarischen Becher keine weiteren Erkenntnisse.

⁵⁵ S. u. a. KENYON 1957, 282.

⁵⁶ S. schon LAPP 1961, 209; CROWFOOT 1957, 273 sieht in Samaria erste Megarische Becher in Fundstellen aus dem 3. bis 2. Jh. v. Chr. Neuere Stratigraphien liegen vor allem aus Tel Ashdod (DOTHAN 1971); Tel Dor (STERN 1995, zu den Reliefbechern ebd. 209–212 [Rosenthal-Heginbottom]); Yoqne Am (BEN-TOR ET AL. 1996, zu den Reliefbechern ebd. 48–50 [Avissar]) und Tel Anafa (HERBERT 1997, zu den Reliefbechern ebd. 407–416 [Cornell]) vor.

⁵⁷ Vgl. allg. zur Verwendung griechisch-römischer Produkte im jüdischen Kontext BERLIN 2005.

⁵⁸ ROTROFF 1982, 10: “Waagé’s conclusion that manufacture began soon after 300 ... must be adjusted”.

⁵⁹ S. JACKSON – TIDMARSH 2011, bes. 359.

⁶⁰ ROTROFF 2000, 496.

tungsweise zudem die Idee nahe, mehrere solcher Register übereinander zu legen⁶¹. Dies lässt sich an den meisten Fundorten regelmäßig beobachten, besonders eindrücklich jedoch in Antiocheia, wo diese ornamentalen Bänder oft nicht mehr als Randdekor anzusprechen sind, sondern den Charakter der Becher insgesamt bestimmen. Ob diese Gestaltungsweise, die mit der aus der Toreutik stammenden Auffassung des Bechers als Blattkelch nichts zu tun hat, wirklich nur als späte, schon degenerierte Form dieser ursprünglichen Idee zu erklären ist, wie Lili Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford es in einem vieldiskutierten Aufsatz für die allgemeine stilistische Entwicklung der Megarischen Becher vorschlug⁶², erscheint mir keineswegs sicher. Jedenfalls wäre eine solche Entwicklung keine Einbahnstraße, zeigen doch die Nachfolger der Megarischen Becher im Spektrum der syrischen *Eastern Sigillata A* weniger übereinandergelegte Bänder, sondern nähern sich eher (wieder?) der Idee des Blattkelches an⁶³.

Nach diesem Überblick erweisen sich die Megarischen Becher als überaus vielschichtiges Phänomen, und die hier vorgeführten Beobachtungen können nicht zum Ziel haben, in ein konzises Entwicklungsmodell zu münden. Allerdings erscheint auch der heute fast ausnahmslos vertretene Ansatz einer Erfindung in Athen im Jahr 224/3 v. Chr. und einer konzentrischen Ausbreitung von dort in die hellenistische Welt als nicht hinreichend zwingend. Athen blieb sicher ein Knotenpunkt hellenistischer Kommunikation und Repräsentation, und der Abzug der makedonischen Besatzung 229 v. Chr. mag ebenda Potential generiert haben⁶⁴. Nichtsdestoweniger ist Athen zu Beginn des Hochhellenismus, Generationen nach Etablierung von Alexandria bei Ägypten, Demetrias, Seleukeia am Tigris, Antiocheia am Orontes oder Pergamon als Hauptstädte großer multikultureller Reiche sicher nicht mehr der einzig denkbare Kandidat für technische und gestalterische Innovationen. Im Gegenteil erscheinen aus einer ganzen Reihe von Gründen die neuen Großpoleis des Hellenismus hierfür als passendere Umgebung⁶⁵. Auf der einen Seite erwuchs in ihnen und in ihrem Hinterland von Beginn an und quasi *ex nihilo* ein enormer Bedarf an allen Dingen des täglichen Lebens, so auch an einem günstigen und dennoch ansprechenden Tafelgeschirr. Auf der anderen Seite gab es vor allem in der Gründungsphase vermutlich kaum ausreichend ausgebildete Fachkräfte, um diesen Bedarf zu bedienen – Bedingungen also, die prozessvereinfachende Erfindungen außerordentlich begünstigt haben dürften. Und selbst ungeachtet der Frage, wie eng die Interaktionen zwischen Griechen und Nicht-Griechen im Hellenismus waren, gänzlich ohne befruchtende Wirkung kann man sich diese Kulturkontakte sowohl mit den jeweiligen indigenen Umfeldern als auch mit der achaimenidischen Welt kaum vorstellen.

Ähnliche Untersuchungen ließen sich für eine Reihe weiterer Gattungen anstellen, was an dieser Stelle nicht mehr ausführlich geschehen kann. So änderte sich etwa die Herstellungstechnik der Tonlampen im frühen Hellenismus grundlegend: Wurden sie vorher mit Hilfe der Töpferscheibe geformt, so stieg man nun auf Formen um⁶⁶. Die Vorteile sind zum einen die Möglichkeit einer

61 Verwiesen sei aber auch noch einmal auf den achaimenidischen Silberbecher mit zwei Figurenregistern aus eingelegetem Goldblech (Abb. 4); zur Technik dieser Gold-einlagen s. MOOREY 1988, 233f.

62 BYVANCK-QUARLES VAN UFFORD 1958.

63 Die Megarischen Becher wurden in der *Eastern Sigillata A* in der Form 24 nach HAYES 1985, 24f. weitergeführt. Unterschiede sind vor allem die Ausschließlichkeit des roten Überzuges, geringere Wandstärke, markantere Randausprägung und der einfachere, flachere Dekor; nichtsdestoweniger ist die Abgrenzung nicht immer leicht, vgl. ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTOM 1995, 212f. und KRAMER 2004, 136.

64 ROTROFF 2006a, 370; vgl. HABICHT 1995, 176–196; allg. zur Rolle Athens in der Repräsentation hellenis-

tischer Herrscher s. BRINGMANN – VON STEUBEN 1995, 17–89 und SCHMIDT-DOUNAS 2000, 216–244.

65 Zum Selbstbewusstsein der neuen Städte s. etwa Meleagros von Gadara: „Tyros hat mich erzogen, doch Gadara war meine Heimat, jenes neue Athen in der Assyrier Land“ (Anthologia Graeca, VII 417). Relativiert man die athenische Perspektive, so relativieren sich auch einige der von Rotroff als überraschend charakterisierten Beobachtungen, wie der zeitliche Verzug einiger Innovationen in der Materiellen Kultur im Hellenismus im Vergleich zu den politischen Entwicklungen, ROTROFF 2006b, 140f., oder die Verminderung der Qualität der athenischen Keramik im 2. Jh. v. Chr., ROTROFF 2014, 524.

66 s. zu den Herstellungstechniken ausführlich BAILEY 1975, 3–6 und SCHEIBLER 1976, 125–139.

Verzierung mit Reliefs, was infolge der Rußentwicklung und der Kontamination mit Öl die einzig dauerhafte Dekorationsart war, und zum anderen die einfachere und schnellere Produktion. Angesichts der höheren Ästhetik reliefierter Lampen und der überwältigenden Zahl entsprechenden Funde scheint der erstgenannte Aspekt der wichtigere zu sein. Aber schon vielfach ist festgestellt worden, dass die frühesten modelerstellten Typen, die noch bis in das 2. Jh. v. Chr. produziert wurden, gar kein Relief zeigen, so dass sie äußerlich nicht von den scheibengedrehten zu unterscheiden sind, und manchmal lässt sich sogar die Abformung von scheibengedrehten Lampen für neue Model nachweisen⁶⁷. So war der primäre Grund für die technische Innovation wohl das Bedürfnis nach einer einfacheren Produktion, die auch ungelernte Kräfte umsetzen konnten. Und da bei solchen Lampen auch der Arbeitsschritt des Anbringens einer separat gefertigten Schnauze fehlt, dürfte zudem die Zeitersparnis erheblich gewesen sein⁶⁸. Überlegt man, wo unter antiken Bedingungen entsprechende Bedürfnisse aufgetreten sein könnten, ergeben sich wiederum die neuen hellenistischen Städte als plausible Kandidaten.

Wie Innovations- und Akkulturationsprozesse im Hellenismus im Einzelnen abliefen, kann beim momentanen Stand der Forschung für kaum einen Bereich sicher gesagt werden, und gerade deswegen sollten keine Möglichkeiten vorschnell ausgeschlossen werden. Die Keramik hat für diese Fragen enormes, noch längst nicht ausgeschöpftes Potential.

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⁶⁷ s. BRONEER 1930, 48f.; WAAGÉ 1941, 58 (Nr. 32 vs. Nr. 33); SCHÄFER 1968, 129 (Nr. O1, P1–P2); SCHEIBLER 1976, 64f. (Nr. 366–370); JACKSON 2002, 160–166 (Nr. 31–44); DROUGOU 2012a, 101; KRAMER 2004, 111

(Nr. La 7–La 9); JACKSON 2002, 160–166 (Nr. 31–44).

⁶⁸ Vgl. SCHEIBLER 1976, 64; KRAMER 2004, 111, Anm. 230.

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Setting a Common Table for the Hellenistic World?

Revisiting the Hellenistic Ceramic “koiné”¹

Alexandros Laftsidis

Abstract

Fine wares of the Hellenistic period have traditionally been studied by region, often giving the appearance of great variety in shapes and decoration. However, by taking a step back and looking for similarities instead of differences, a common ceramic language emerges, one at work throughout the Hellenistic world and in parallel with the linguistic “koiné”. Several scholars have argued for this ceramic “koiné”, such as Stella Drougou and Konstantina Gravani. Jean-Paul Morel, on the other hand, downgrades the importance of that “koiné” focusing on the particularities of regional and local workshops. This paper is a part of a wider study investigating the character and chronological and geographic extent of the phenomenon. Through the examination of a large quantity of published tableware from Thessaly and Boeotia and based on local particularities and variations of shapes found there, the paper aspires to illuminate the ceramic character of these areas and compare it to the ceramic commonalities found throughout Greece. Hence, I argue that the acceptance and scholarly importance of the concept of Hellenistic ceramic “koiné” are inextricably connected to the level of scrutiny each researcher applies. The investigation of this common ceramic language is of utmost importance because this “koiné” is culturally charged, revealing similar cultural practices of people living in different areas of the Hellenistic world. Similarly, its occasional rejection by inhabitants of some areas can be explained on the grounds of their refusal to accept imported products and ideas and/or their adherence to local traditions.

In his seminal work on the art of the Hellenistic Age, J. J. Pollitt distinguishes five attitudes that characterize this period. The concept of *cosmopolitan outlook* has a significant place among them, it being the main dynamic in attaining the cultural homogenization of the vast Hellenistic world². This aspect is more readily evident in the Hellenistic “koiné” language, a linguistic device meant to serve the voluminous and diverse population of this world³. Common elements have been observed in the area of material culture too, for the so-called ‘grand arts’, sculpture and architecture⁴. According to many researchers, however, common cultural features can be observed even more clearly and completely in a less impressive category of material culture, namely pottery⁵. However, local particularities and variations of shapes or decorative techniques, which

¹ I owe many thanks to Prof. Kathleen Lynch and Prof. Susan Rotroff, who read an early version of this paper and provided me with their valuable insights. For his help in technical issues concerning the editing of the maps, I would also like to thank John Wallrodt.

² POLLITT 1986, 1–16, especially 10–13.

³ COLVIN 2011, 31f.

⁴ BURN 2004, 24 who notes that factors, such as the expanded boundaries of the Hellenistic world and the greater mobility of artists and craftsmen, led to the formation of a common artistic voice throughout this world, an equivalent of the linguistic “koiné”.

⁵ Werner TECHNAU (1929, 48) was the first to speak of a Hellenistic ceramic “koiné” already in the early 20th cent. He based his assertion on similarities in terms of

ceramic forms and manufacturing techniques. More recently, other researchers have touched upon this topic: Stella DROUGOU (1989, 110; 2011 a, 276; 2012, 48) states that pottery of the Hellenistic period acquired a common, panhellenic, but also an international character. Konstantina GRAVANI (1989, 9) comments on the homogeneity and the “common” descent of Hellenistic pottery. Katerina TZANAVARI (2012, 133f.) speaks of a “common means of expression in Hellenistic pottery.” Petros THEMELIS (2004, 429) acknowledges the existence of local morphological divergences in the form of the shapes, but states that they do not affect the recognition of a Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”, since these divergences are usually subtle and nuanced.

can be found quite often, led scholars such as Jean-Paul Morel to downgrade the importance of this ceramic “koiné” or even deny its existence in favor of local and regional workshops⁶. In this paper, I offer a different approach to reaching and understanding the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”, an approach that amalgamates these two seemingly opposing opinions. Accepting the reality both of global standardization and of local variation in the Hellenistic world, I argue that the degree of acceptance and scholarly importance granted to the concept of Hellenistic ceramic “koiné” is inextricably connected to the level of scrutiny each researcher is applying.

The term “koiné” was first used by ancient writers of the 3rd or the 2nd cent. B. C. to describe the linguistic device used by Alexander III and, later on, his successors to facilitate the government of the vast Hellenistic world⁷. Moreover, modern linguists have made such an extensive use of the term, often in ways straying from its original meaning, that the term has almost taken on a life of its own⁸. Borrowed from linguistics, the term “koiné” was first used in the context of material culture by Dietrich Fimmen in his study of archaeology of the Aegean Late Bronze Age⁹. His example was later copied by researchers in other periods of Greek history, who were similarly able to discern common cultural elements at play over an extensive area¹⁰. Expectedly enough, the term was also employed for the study of material culture of the Hellenistic period, acting as a logical counterbalance to the linguistic “koiné”. As mentioned above, similar images and styles in relation to sculpture and architecture of the Hellenistic period validate the use of the term “koiné”. Thus, the same stylistic attitudes and architectural iterations can be found in far-flung corners of the Hellenistic world, such as Athens, Pergamon, Alexandria, and Ai Khanoum¹¹.

According to many researchers, such as Drougou and Gravani, the same phenomenon of “koiné” marks the ceramics of the Hellenistic period and does so more fully and obviously due to the omnipresent character of pottery¹². Just like its linguistic equivalent, however, the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné” is a concept difficult to pin down¹³. It is no coincidence that the only definition provided until now has a generic character, lacking details as to the composition and the exact nature of this ceramic “koiné” over time¹⁴. As a consequence, specialists on Hellenistic pot-

6 MOREL 1997, 406–412. It should be noted, however, that the area from which Morel draws most of his examples is Italy. This area had remained outside the core of the Hellenistic world and, therefore, the emergence of a number of significant ceramic particularities is to be expected.

7 Cf. Aelius Herodianus et Pseudo-Herodianus Gramm. et Rhet. *Περὶ παθῶν* 3,2.339.4, *Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* 3,2.692.28 and 755.22, *Παρεκβολαὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ῥήματος* 7.3; Philoxenus Gramm. *Fr.* 323.7; Theodorus Gramm. *Canones isagogici de flexione nominum* 4.2.35.10; Choeroboscus Gramm. *Prolegomena et scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini canones isagogicos de flexione nominum* 137.5, 137.9, 172.1, 201.22, 310.11; *Scholia in Batrachomyomachia* 137.4; the ancient commentator on Dionysius Thrax (Gr. Gr. I.3.469); Diodorus Siculus 1.16.

8 The fact that no less than 36 languages dating to the modern colonial era have been described as “koinai” is indicative of this broader trend. SIEGEL 1985, 359. In the same paper Jeff Siegel offers an overview of the extensive bibliography on the use of the term “koiné” language in modern linguistic studies.

9 FIMMEN 1921.

10 It is through this process that terms, such as Aegean and Mycenaean “koiné”, came into being. For these terms and a discussion of their legitimacy or the need for their partial replacement, see GALANAKIS 2009. Specifically for

the Aegean “koiné”, see NIEMEIER – DEGER-JALKOTZY 2002. For a recent paper on the Mycenaean “koiné” in particular, see also PETRAKIS 2009. For the term Euboean “koiné”, see LEMOS 1998. The continuing interest in the use of the term material “koiné” in archaeological studies of the Early Iron Age and the Archaic period is manifested by the proceedings volume of a conference organized recently in Athens by the Danish Institute. HANDBERG ET AL. 2018.

11 POLLITT 1986, 59–149. 230–249; BURN 2004, 24.

12 See above, n. 5.

13 The difficulty in defining the Hellenistic “koiné” language has its roots in the fact that ancient authors never offered a complete definition, but it is also related to the unclear affinity between the spoken and written versions of this language. COLVIN 2011, 31. Unclear also is whether the term “koiné” referred to only some of the variations of this language, such as the spoken variety used by the urban elite (BRIXHE 1987, 22) or the dialect employed by prose writers (MEILLET 1965, 253; BRIXHE – HODOT 1993, 20). In relation to the material culture “koiné” in general, see ROTROFF 2006b, 147f., who wonders about the mechanisms involved in its diffusion throughout the Hellenistic world.

14 GRAVANI 1989, 9 alone has attempted to draw out the general elements of this Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”. They include the use of various types of clay, different glazes, the multiplication of shapes, the restricted interest

Hellenistic Ceramic "koine" Revisited

Country: Greece Shape: Kantharos Inventory #: P 18542

District / Area: Attica Athens Subtype: With rotelle handles

Location: Agora Date: 325-300 B.C.

Sector: B 19.5 Layer: Workshop:

Findspot Type: ☐ cemetery ☒ settlement ☐ sanctuary ☐ unknown

Production technique: ☒ wheelmade ☐ mouldmade

Production Details: -Three-stepped foot with three torus moldings
-Scraped grooves between moldings
-Resting surface reserved and lightly grooved

Unglazed: ☐ Yes ☒ No ☐ UNK

Decoration: ☒ glazed ☐ relief ☐ Lagynos Ware ☐ Barbotine
☐ stamped ☐ plastic attach. ☐ painted ☐ Gnathia Ware
☐ banded ☐ Applique ware ☐ Glossy Slip Ware ☐ Sigillata
☒ reserved ☐ burnish ☐ White Ground Polychrome ☐ Green-glaze
☐ rouletting ☐ red-figured ☐ White Ground ☐ slipped
☐ west-slope ☐ incised ☐ Gray Ware

Decoration Details: -Shiny black glaze
-Mitos

Clay:

Height: cm. Base Diam.: cm. Body Diam.: cm. Rim Diam.: cm.

Notes:

Bibliography: Rotroff S.I., Hellenistic pottery : Athenian and imported wheelmade table ware and related materials. Agora XXIX. 1997. No 101. Fig. 9. Pl. 10

Image 1: 101
Image 2: 101

Creation Date: 2/15/2016
Modification Date: 2/23/2018

Source's representative value: ☐ Bad ☐ Fair ☐ Good

Fig. 1: Sample entry of the FileMaker database.

tery often speak of the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné” when attempting to either incorporate to or dissociate from it the assemblages they present from their own excavations¹⁵. It is evident, however, that each scholar has a – more or less – different view on what this ceramic “koiné” would exactly look like. The situation becomes even more problematic if we accentuate inevitable local particularities, which often enough reflect unique ceramic forms. These ceramic particularities concern most of the times secondary morphological details that are handled differently from those going with the more universal version of whatever vase is concerned. Truly unique ceramic forms can indeed be observed, such as the various types of Cretan cups¹⁶, the Elian kantharos in the northwest Peloponnese and Aitolokarnania¹⁷, the Ionian-type kylix in Thrace¹⁸, or the double oinochoe again in the northwest Peloponnese¹⁹. Focusing on such particularities, Morel has suggested that under the weight of local variations a ceramic “koiné” is very difficult to identify. Elsewhere, he expresses himself very skeptically about the existence of such a “koiné” altogether, naming it a “*pretendue koiné*”²⁰. Nevertheless, such a sweeping denial of the concept of a “koiné” for the ceramics of the Hellenistic period means overlooking the great number of similarities traversing this world.

Because of the wide range of these diverse perceptions, a broad-based effort to identify and define the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné” would be expedient. This was the aim of my dissertation. By examining pottery from dozens of sites around the Aegean, I was able to identify a ceramic “koiné”, at several scales of resolution, applicable to the Hellenistic world as a whole and right

in decoration, the diminution of iconographic elements, and the frequent use of molds.

¹⁵ Cf. CHARAMI 2011, 243; STAVROPOULOU-GATSI – TSANTILA 2009, 254.

¹⁶ Cf. CALLAGHAN 1981, 46; ENGLEZOU 2005, 149–165; KARAMALIKI 2011, 910. 918.

¹⁷ Cf. GEORGIADOU 2005, 54f.; ALEXANDROPOULOU 2011 (for the high-stemmed variety).

¹⁸ Cf. KALLINTZI 2011.

¹⁹ Cf. VASILAKIS – KOUTSOUBELITI 2011, 735. For an attempt to collect and interpret all the ceramic particularities, observed in the Hellenistic pottery record of a very large number of archaeological sites within modern Greece, see LAFTSIDIS 2019.

²⁰ MOREL 1997, 406–412.

down to regional preferences and idiosyncratic site traditions. My investigation concerned, in particular, a large amount of published tableware. Based on an extensive database of more than 11,000 vases and sherds, I explored in depth the pottery record of a large number of regions (fig. 1)²¹. My focus on tableware was dictated by several factors, but mainly by the need to somehow combat the overwhelming volume of published Hellenistic pottery. Moreover, and equally important is the fact that tableware is the best published category of Hellenistic pottery and also the most palpably culturally charged one, as they readily illuminate dietary and dining habits²². Any such effort is naturally subjected to several limitations, such as the amount of published pottery, its frequently selected character and the often unequal representation of both different sites and/or chronological periods within the same area. These factors can be overcome only through an increase in the comparative data. Indeed, this study would not be possible 30 years ago. However, after several decades of intensive study and publication of Hellenistic pottery, the time was now ripe for such a comparative approach²³.

It is obviously impossible to lay out within a mere article the full features comprising the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”, as well as to comment on the various aspects it presents, or the difficulties involved in the provision of a definition. Nevertheless, a schematized picture of the phenomenon in relation to tableware is offered below. It is based on two axes, ceramic forms and decoration, and despite its brevity it is sufficient enough to highlight the dynamic character of the phenomenon. In the beginning of the Hellenistic period (late 4th–early 3rd cent. B. C.), the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné” is marked by an Athenocentric approach, adopting shapes that were prominent in the Athenian pottery production throughout the 4th cent. B. C.²⁴. This includes kantharoi (mainly of the Classical, but also the Hellenistic type), and skyphoi (mainly bolsals, but with numerous Attic-type and Corinthian-type pieces as well). Pouring vessels are represented by oinochoai, olpai, jugs, gutti, and table amphorae. Finally, plates (mainly the types with rolled and to a lesser degree rilled rim, and fish-plates), small bowls (primarily with an incurved, but also with an outturned rim), one-handlers, and saltcellars (mainly the footed type and secondly spool saltcellars) complete the picture during this time slot. The next period, including most of the remainder of the 3rd cent. B. C., brings several differences to the composition of the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”: shapes, such as bolsals and skyphoi of the Attic and Corinthian type slowly go out of fashion, while kantharoi retain a conspicuous place, with the Hellenistic variety occupying an elevated place. Important too is the role played by several newly introduced shapes, namely the various types of hemispherical cups, while the inclusion of bowl-kantharoi and cup-kantharoi can be claimed, as well. Small bowls (with incurved and outturned rims), plates, fish-plates, saltcellars, one-handlers, and oinochoai retain a conspicuous place, followed by jugs and Macedonian-type amphorae. The end of the century is marked by the appearance of lagynoi and moldmade bowls. During the next period, the 2nd cent. B. C., both these last-mentioned shapes meet with great popularity, while other common forms are oinochoai, jugs, Macedonian-type amphorae, West Slope amphorae and kraters, small bowls (with an incurved, outturned, and even vertical rim) and fish-plates. Kantharoi can still be found, but in significantly smaller numbers. The 1st cent. B. C. features plenty of moldmade bowls, lagynoi, oino-

21 LAFTSIDIS 2018.

22 Conversely, cooking wares usually stand at the other end of the spectrum. The basic and unaltered needs covered by them dictate a very slow pace of development. DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 2004, 621. There are only a few exceptions to this rule, such as the *orlo bifido* pan, which indeed reflects a culturally relevant change in diet. ROTROFF 2006a, 192f. For the shape of *orlo bifido* pans, as well as their distribution in Italy, the Eastern Mediterranean, and Western Europe, see BERLIN 1997, 106f.

23 For a review of the history of research on Hellenistic pottery until the mid-1980s, see GRAVANI 1989. For a

review on the older, as well as the newer developments on the study of Hellenistic pottery, which have transformed it into an extremely dynamic and vibrant field, see LAFTSIDIS 2018, 27–37.

24 The leading role of Athens on a political, cultural, and commercial level, as well as its well-known ceramic dominance during the previous century justify this development. In particular, the prominence of Athenian pottery during the 4th cent. B. C. throughout Greece and beyond has led Andreas Furtwängler to recognize and proclaim an Athenian “koiné”. FURTWÄNGLER 1997, 399.

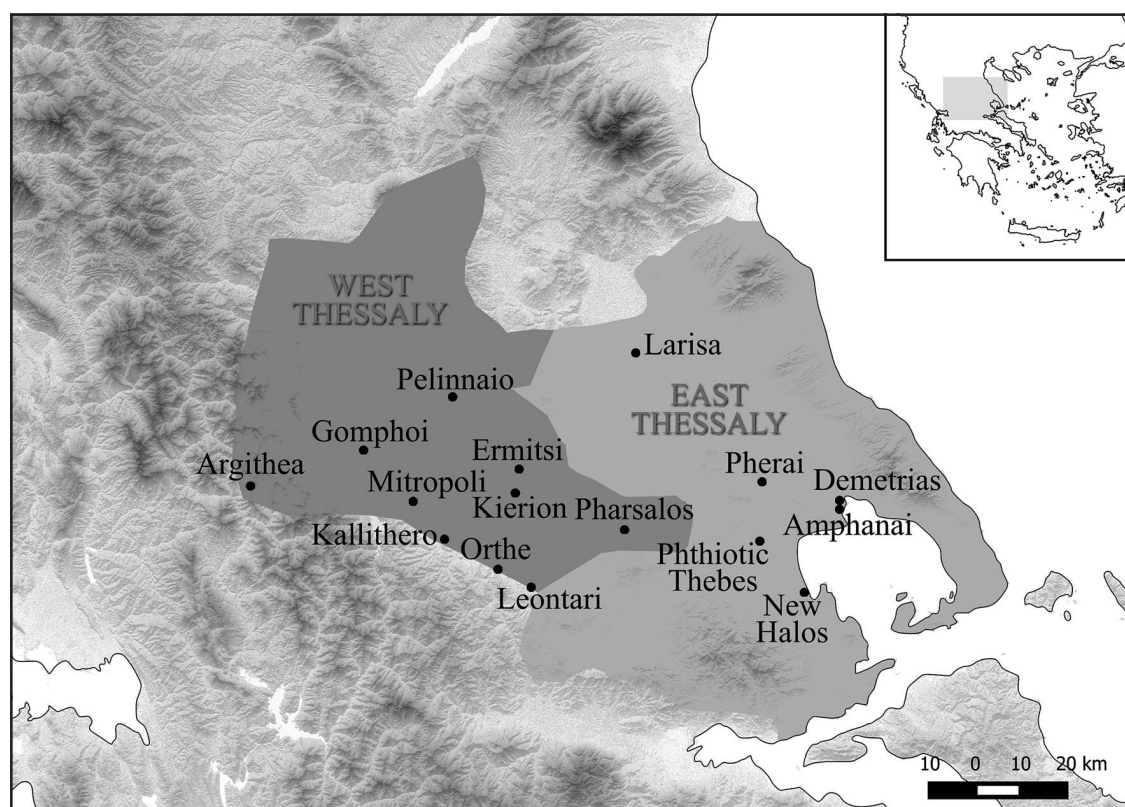


Fig. 2: Map of Thessaly with all sites providing the recorded pottery marked.

choai, jugs, small bowls, and plates, but yet fewer kantharoi. Finally, another shape that has a dynamic and increasing presence in this period is the handleless cup (beaker)²⁵.

As far as common decorative features are concerned, the beginning of the Hellenistic period is dominated by stamping and rouletting, found either in isolation or combined on the same vase. West Slope makes its appearance around the end of the 4th cent. B. C., to become the most common type of decoration during the 3rd cent. B. C.²⁶. It is often combined with plastic attachments, usually in the form of thumb rests (mainly on kantharoi) or medallions (on the floor of hemispherical cups or on the lower attachment of handles of vases, such as amphorae and pelikai). Other common decorative techniques during the 3rd cent. B. C. include stamping and rouletting, as well as painted decoration and plastic attachments in isolation. The most popular decorative technique for the remainder of the Hellenistic period is relief decoration. West Slope, however, can still be found during the 2nd cent. B. C. Finally, other types of decoration, such as stamping, rouletting, and painted decoration appear quite frequently too (until the early 1st cent. B. C.), but usually in conjunction with specific shapes²⁷.

As mentioned above, my study was based on the pottery from a large number of sites around the Aegean. However, we only have space to concentrate on two areas here, namely Thessaly and Boeotia. I examine both the shapes and their proportions within their ceramic records as well as the observed decorative techniques. The choice of these areas is deliberate since – as I will show – their pottery corresponds to the above mentioned seemingly conflicting trends: the

²⁵ For a detailed overview of the various tableware included in the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné” over time, see LAFTSIDIS 2018, 717–727.

²⁶ Three varieties of West Slope can be distinguished: plain West Slope with the employment only of clay paint for the decorative motifs, West Slope with incision, where incision is used next to clay paint, and incised West Slope,

in which incision is used exclusively for the execution of the decorative motifs. For West Slope in general and the temporal succession of its variations, see ROTROFF 1991.

²⁷ For a more detailed overview of the decorative techniques that claim a place in the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné” as it transforms over time, see LAFTSIDIS 2018, 728–731.

pottery record of Thessaly presents an image which conforms in most respects to that of most areas within Greece, as described above in the discussion for the ceramic “koiné”, while Boeotia is well-known for its several unique ceramic forms. The exploration of these differences will create, then, the necessary background in order to unfold the proposed methodological approach, which will hopefully lead to a fuller understanding of the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”.

The area of Thessaly is the first to be examined (fig. 2). Although the volume of the recorded pottery from this area is not too large, it is still enough to produce an adequate picture, portraying its ceramic character during the Hellenistic period²⁸. A large number of shapes are represented. The evidence provided from all is very important, but the small percentages of many make their sensible inclusion in the discussion of the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné” and the way it is manifested locally difficult²⁹. Therefore, I focus on the best represented shapes (fig. 3a). The Early Hellenistic period is marked primarily by bowls with incurved rims³⁰, bolsals, and pouring vessels, such as oinochoai, olpai, jugs, and table lekythoi³¹. Quite common are also kantharoi, belonging to the Hellenistic and surprisingly to the Hexamilia type (fig. 4a)³², as well as pelikai³³ and hydriai. Next, the most prevalent shape during the 3rd cent. B. C. is the kantharos and especially the Classical type. This leads one to believe that their absence from the pottery record of the beginning of the Hellenistic period is only accidental³⁴. West Thessaly, however, does present a particularity: the most prevalent type there is a local one, which can be viewed as a variation of the Classical-type kantharos (fig. 4b)³⁵. They are, however, joined by plates, both

28 The volume of the recorded Hellenistic pottery from Thessaly is directly connected to the relatively small number of publications on the topic. Most of them appear in short papers in the volumes of the *Scientific Meetings on Hellenistic Pottery*, as well as in another one, sponsored by the same institution and devoted exclusively to Thessaly. KYPRAIOU 2000. The only sites with dedicated monographs are Demetrias and New Halos. MILOJČIĆ – THEOCHARIS 1976; REINDERS 1988; REINDERS – PRUMMEL 2003. Consequently, it should be noted that most of the published pottery derives from the eastern part of Thessaly. This is an important observation, since it has been argued (DROUGOU 2011b, 717) that the two parts of Thessaly present a somewhat differentiated picture. Their differences, however, do not go deep and for the most part the area follows the same ceramic development. LAFTSIDIS 2018, 241f.

29 Shapes with poor representation include bowl-kantharoi, cup-kantharoi, Attic-type skyphoi, calyx-cups, handleless cups, askoi (except for gutti), kraters, canteens, small bowls with projecting rims, and saltcellars. Their low percentages might be just the result of chance, but, nevertheless, they prevent us from listing them among the common shapes for the respective sub-period of the Hellenistic period, in which they show up.

30 Small bowls with an outturned rim are present as well, but, expectedly enough for this early period, their percentages are no match for those of bowls with an incurved rim. Evidence from Athens and other sites of the Hellenistic world suggests that the type with an outturned rim grows in popularity only from the advanced 3rd cent. B. C. onwards. ROTROFF 1997, 156 n. 40.

31 The term “table lekythos” is used here to describe a vase, derivative of the black Deianeira lekythos of the Archaic and Classical periods. Although always an oil container, its consideration here as a tableware is justified by the indications for a variety of functions, some of which can be connected to the ancient table. ROTROFF 1997, 169.

This has never been a very widespread shape during the Hellenistic period. For examples from various areas, see ROTROFF 1997, 169–171. 349–351 1110–1125 figs. 69. 70 pls. 81. 82; ROTROFF 2006a, 79. 252 cat. 74–75 fig. 12 pl. 12 (Agora, Athens); ANDREOU 1994, 200 (Leukada); ANDREIOMENOU 2001, 218 cat. 125 figs. 67. 68 (Akraiphia, Boeotia); POULIOS 1994, 121 pl. 70b (Drama); BLAŽEVSKA 2011, 476 pl. 198a. b (Vardarski Rid). They are usually glazed but those from Lefkada and a couple from Athens are plain. The examples from Thessaly derive mostly from New Halos, while one more example comes from Pherai. BEESTMAN-KRUYSHAAR 2003, 87 cat. P 165–174 fig. 6, 2; DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 1997, 68 pl. 52a. b.

32 For the Hexamilia vases in general, see below, n. 54. This type of kantharos – as noted below – makes its appearance more often in sites of Boeotia and the northwest Peloponnese. The few examples that have been discovered in Thessaly come from funerary contexts in Phthiotic Thebes (ADRI-MI-SISMANI – ALEXANDROU 2004, 76. 85 cat. BE 11091 pl. 15c) and New Halos (MALAKASIOTI 2000, 151 cat. BE 9206. BE 6299 figs. 6. 7).

33 Although not a typical Hellenistic shape, its presence in the Early Hellenistic period is not unusual, since this period marked the end of its long development. For the general popularity of the shape in the 4th cent. B. C., see SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, 49–51. For early Hellenistic examples from other areas in Greece, see AKAMATIS 2013, 70. 160–162 (Pella, Macedonia); TZANAKAKI 1997 and SKORDOU 1997 (Crete); AGGELI 2004 (Epirus).

34 The great gap between the percentages of Classical and Hellenistic-type kantharoi is surprising. In general, Hellenistic-type kantharoi appear as early as the late 4th cent. B. C. and become the most dominant type from the mid-3rd cent. B. C. onwards. ROTROFF 1997, 97–99; KALLINI 2013, 62f.

35 The type consists of a high, conical molded base, a low stem, a deep hemispherical body, a short, wide neck, a

plain ones and fish-plates, small bowls with both incurved and outturned rim, hemispherical cups³⁶, oinochoai, jugs, gutti, and bolsals. The transition from the 3rd to the 2nd cent. B. C. presents a similar picture with Classical and Hellenistic-type kantharoi and plain plates and fish-plates comprising the most popular shapes³⁷, while other important shapes are hemispherical cups, small bowls³⁸, and lagynoi³⁹. Moldmade bowls are not unknown but their extremely rare presence in contrast to their dominant place during the next period, the 2nd cent. B. C., speaks for their relatively late acceptance by the local population⁴⁰. Other shapes that occur in considerable numbers in the 2nd cent. B. C. are bowls with an outturned rim, plates, lagynoi, and amphorae, mainly of the Macedonian type⁴¹. Finally, for the last period under consideration, the 1st cent. B. C., our limited sample indicates the presence of moldmade bowls, kantharoi of the Hellenistic type, and lagynoi. The above analysis does reflect some regional particularities straying from the norm, namely the preference of certain sub-types over others (e. g., the predilection for small bowls with incurved rim instead of those with an outturned one, or the preference for Classical-type kantharoi over the Hellenistic type), the absence of some shapes, such as Corinthian-type skyphoi and saltcellars, or the time of introduction of moldmade bowls. In general, though, the diachronic composition of the Thessalian pottery record seems to conform to that of most areas of Greece, as described above⁴².

slightly outturned rim, and a set of strap handles that do not rise above the level of the rim. Characteristic is a narrow zone of vertical incised lines that can often be found on the upper part of the body. INTZESIOGLOU 2004, 131–134 cat. KEK 457. 1477b. 5225. 3635. 5123. 291. 749 pls. 31b; 32a. b; 33a. b; 34a. b. For the type, see also KALLINI 2007, 274–277, who considers them locally inspired vases. The presence, however, of similar locally-made kantharoi in neighboring Epirus, might indicate this area as the type's source of inspiration. Cf. ANDREOU – ANDREOU 1997, 86 cat. Γ.2/A pl. 67, b.

36 The considerable position this shape enjoyed in the 3rd cent. assemblage from Thessaly causes no surprise, as it is clearly an innovation of this century. It appears in several of its known sub-types: the earliest is the one with moldmade feet, while the types with interior decoration or with West Slope decoration below the rim on the exterior date later in the transition from the 3rd to the 2nd cent. B. C. For the shape and its various sub-types, see ROTROFF 1997, 107–117. For the precocity of hemispherical cups with moldmade feet, see also DROUGOU 1990, 91f.

37 This is the first instance that a preference for the Hellenistic-type kantharos is indicated by the material at hand. Classical-type kantharoi, however, follow quite closely, possibly suggesting still an adherence of the local population to this more traditional type.

38 Both main types with incurved and outturned rims are still present, but, interestingly enough, the former type appears again to be the most dominant one. See above, n. 30.

39 The first occurrence of the shape in this period is expected. Although it becomes very popular in most areas of the Hellenistic world from the 2nd cent. B. C. onwards, its introduction occurs earlier, in the later part of the 3rd cent. B. C. AGGELI 2000, 312. For the shape in general, see also LEROUX 1913; VESSBERG – WESTHOLM 1956, 59f. 65; PIEROBON 1979.

40 Moldmade bowls are generally considered an Attic invention of the last quarter of the 3rd cent. B. C. ROTROFF 1982, 10. The earliest recorded example comes from

Demetrias and dates in the late 3rd cent. B. C. MILOJČIĆ – THEOCHARIS 1976, 96. 114–121. There is only one more, early example, which comes from Argithea and is placed slightly later, at the transition from the 3rd to the 2nd cent. B. C. CHATZIAGGELAKIS 2000, 181 fig. 8. Finally, it is interesting that Pherai, which provides us with numerous examples dating in the 2nd cent. B. C., has yet to offer even a single moldmade bowl for the late 3rd cent. B. C. DOULGERI-INTZESIOGLOU 1997, 76.

41 The Macedonian origin of this type of amphora is supported by their much greater presence in this area of the Hellenistic world. For the shape and its classification into two sub-types, see DROUGOU – TOURATSOGLOU 1980, 117–120. The consideration, however, of the shape among the common pottery of the Hellenistic period is justified by its widespread diffusion. For examples outside Macedonia, see KOTITSA 2007, 33 n. 53. The considerable presence of the shape in Thessaly too is, of course, to be expected due to the geographical vicinity of the two areas. For Macedonian amphorae from Thessaly, see BATZIOU-EUSTATHIOU – TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOU 2012, 265. 270 cat. 1–2 fig. 148; KARAPANOU 2011, 316. 319 cat. Φ/A 12–13. Φ/A 71. Φ/A 105 pls. 128, c. st; NIKOLAOU 2000, 49 cat. BE 16960 fig. 8; ZAOURI – MELLIOU 2000, 86. 103. 105 cat. M95/340. M98/28 figs. 22. 27.

42 For the hold in ceramic terms of Athens over Demetrias in particular, see SEILHEIMER 2013. In accordance to this statement is the expressed view “that the Thessalian Hellenistic ceramic language had been influenced by the Athenian accomplishments and sealed by the Macedonian agency”. BOUGIA 2011, 346. As mentioned above, the Athenian ceramic production had been instrumental in the early phases of the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”, while the Macedonian, although gradually acquiring a distinct character, nevertheless remained for the most part pretty close to the output of the Athenian *kerameikos*. DROUGOU – TOURATSOGLOU 2012; TZANAVARI 2012, 128f. 135. 137–140. 143f.; TZANAVARI – TSIMPIDOU-AVLONITI 2018, 84.

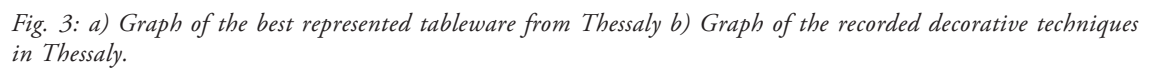




Fig. 4: Ceramic particularities from Thessaly and Boeotia: a) “Hexamilia” kantharos from New Halos (after MALAKASIOTI 2000, fig. 6); b) local variety of kantharos from Leontari in west Thessaly (after INTZESILOGLOU 2004, pl. 34a); c) “Hexamilia” mug from Akraiphia (after ANDREIOMENOU 2001, fig. 41); d) two-handled cup from Thebes (after CHARAMI 2012, fig. 172); e) kantharoid cup from Tanagra (after CHARAMI-MAMALI 2000, fig. 17).

As far as decoration is concerned, an even more straightforward accordance with the principles of the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné” can be seen. The most common decorative techniques at the beginning of the Hellenistic period (late 4th–early 3rd cent. B.C.) are stamping and rouletting, with the latter found more often, while the combination of the two techniques is also common (fig. 3b). West Slope has a smaller impact at the local pottery record. This early presence of West Slope is not unheard of⁴³. Noteworthy, however, is the discovery of a few vases with incised West Slope decoration (all motifs on them are made only through incision)⁴⁴, since this decorative style typically evolves later, during the 2nd quarter of the 3rd cent. B.C.⁴⁵. Finally, another form of decoration during this period involves plastic attachments in the form of ivy leaf thumb rests on the handles of Hellenistic kantharoi and, in one occasion, on a Hellenistic-type bowl-kantharos⁴⁶. The next period, the 3rd cent. B.C., retains the same types of decoration, although the correlation between them is changed. West Slope appears in the recorded material as the most common technique, quite often combined with plastic attachments in the form of thumb rests. However, this image seems to be overturned by statements made by the excavators of the region, who argue that West Slope is rarely found in Thessaly⁴⁷. Further, stamping now has a stronger presence than rouletting or the combination of the two, while plastic attachments in the form of thumb rests or medallions on the floor of hemispherical cups⁴⁸ also make a great-

43 See for example a large group of amphorae and pelikai from Ambrakia and Leukada, which date in the late 4th – early 3rd cent. B.C. AGGELI 2004; ANDREOU 1994, 203 pl. 151 d.

44 ADRIMI-SISMANI 2000, 136 cat. BE 11372 fig. 4; ADRIMI-SISMANI – ALEXANDROU 2004, 76. 85 cat. BE 11100. BE 11099 pl. 15a. b.

45 ROTROFF 1997, 43.

46 MALAKASIOTI 2000, 149 cat. BE 9354 fig. 1.

47 DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 1997, 63; KARAPANOU 2011, 329. Therefore, it appears that the image reflected in the recorded pottery is a result of research bias, originating in the predilection for publishing decorated vases over undecorated ones.

48 These take the form of the busts of young satyrs. Cf. MILOJČIĆ – THEOCHARIS 1976, 122 cat. 133–135 pls. 43, 3; 43, 5; 43, 7; XIX, 1–3.

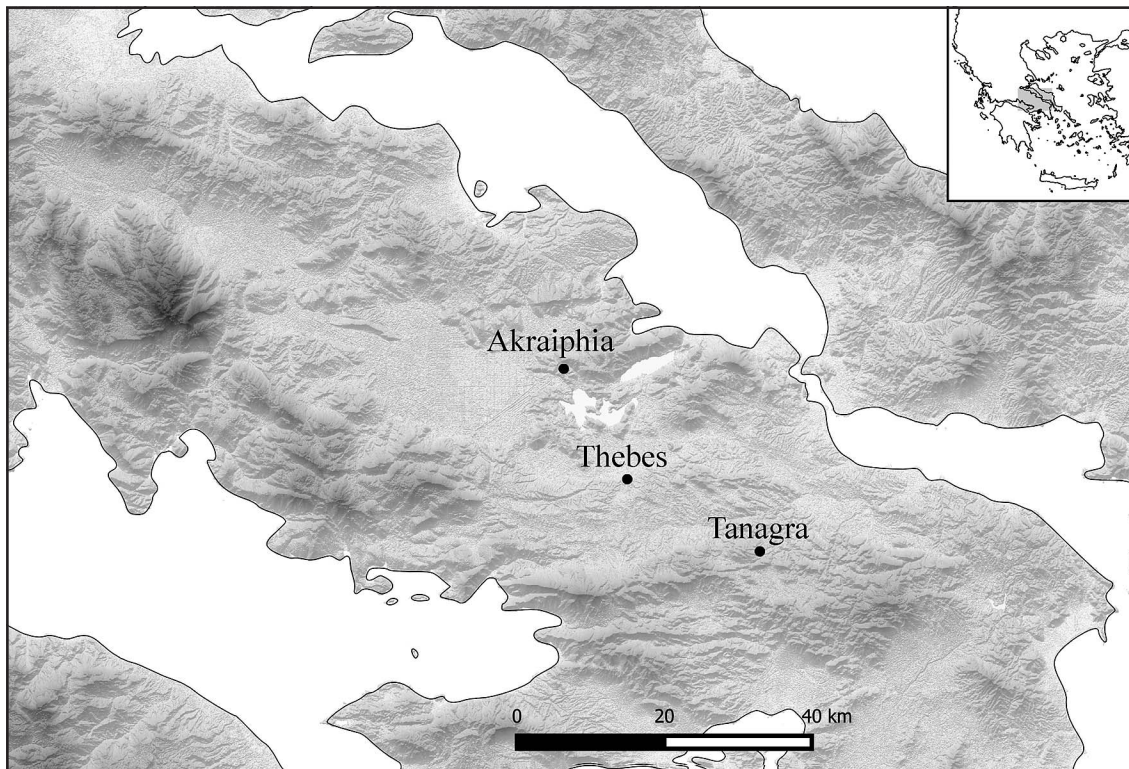


Fig. 5: Map of Boeotia with all sites providing the recorded pottery marked.

er impact than before. Finally, west Thessaly only shows a preference for incision, which is explained by the presence of the locally-produced kantharoi⁴⁹. West Slope is reflected on a sufficient number of examples during the transition from the 3rd to the 2nd cent. B. C., while plastic attachments, incision, and relief decoration have a slender presence. It is, however, the 2nd cent. B. C. that presents a totally different picture. West Slope and stamping can still be found, but at much lower percentages. Equally faint is the presence of incision⁵⁰ and painted decoration⁵¹. The cardinal place is now taken by relief decoration, owing of course to the dominant presence of moldmade bowls. Finally, for the end of the Hellenistic period, the 1st cent. B. C., the very little evidence indicates the continuing presence of relief decoration and painted decoration, as well as of plastic attachments.

Boeotia, on the other hand, presents a different picture (fig. 5)⁵². Again, not all of the numerous shapes can provide us with sufficient and reliable information as to reimagine the local ceramic “koine”, thus forcing us to focus on the best represented ones (fig. 6a)⁵³. Starting with the late 4th–early 3rd cent. B. C., important shapes elsewhere, such as kantharoi, plates, small bowls, footed saltcellars, and oinochoai also seem to occupy a significant portion of the pottery record in Boeotia too. However, frequent locally-made one-handed cups, also known as “Hex-

49 See above, n. 35.

50 Lagynos BE 16871 from Demetrias. NIKOLAOU 2000, 56 fig. 19a.

51 Jug BE 13164 from Pherai. DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 1997, 66f. pl. 51a. c.

52 Boeotia offers a more voluminous pottery record than Thessaly, although this comes from only three sites, Thebes, Akraiphia, and Tanagra. Bibliography on Hellenistic pottery from the area is also not too rich. Heimberg’s work (1982) on the pottery from the Kabirion still remains the only monograph on the topic, with the sole exception of Charami’s dissertation (2012), which examines finds

from the excavation of cemeteries in Thebes. The remaining bibliography on Hellenistic pottery from Boeotia concerns a small haul of papers, hosted in the volumes of the *Scientific Meetings on Hellenistic Pottery*. Apart from the papers noted in the Appendix, see CHARAMI-MAMALI 2000 (for Tanagra), KYLAPHI 2000; CHARAMI 2016 (for Akraiphia), and CHARAMI 2014 (for Thebes).

53 Shapes with percentages too small to serve any indicative purpose include bowl-kantharoi, spool saltcellars, askoi, Attic-type skyphoi and bolsals, olpai, lagynoi, hydriai, and canteens.

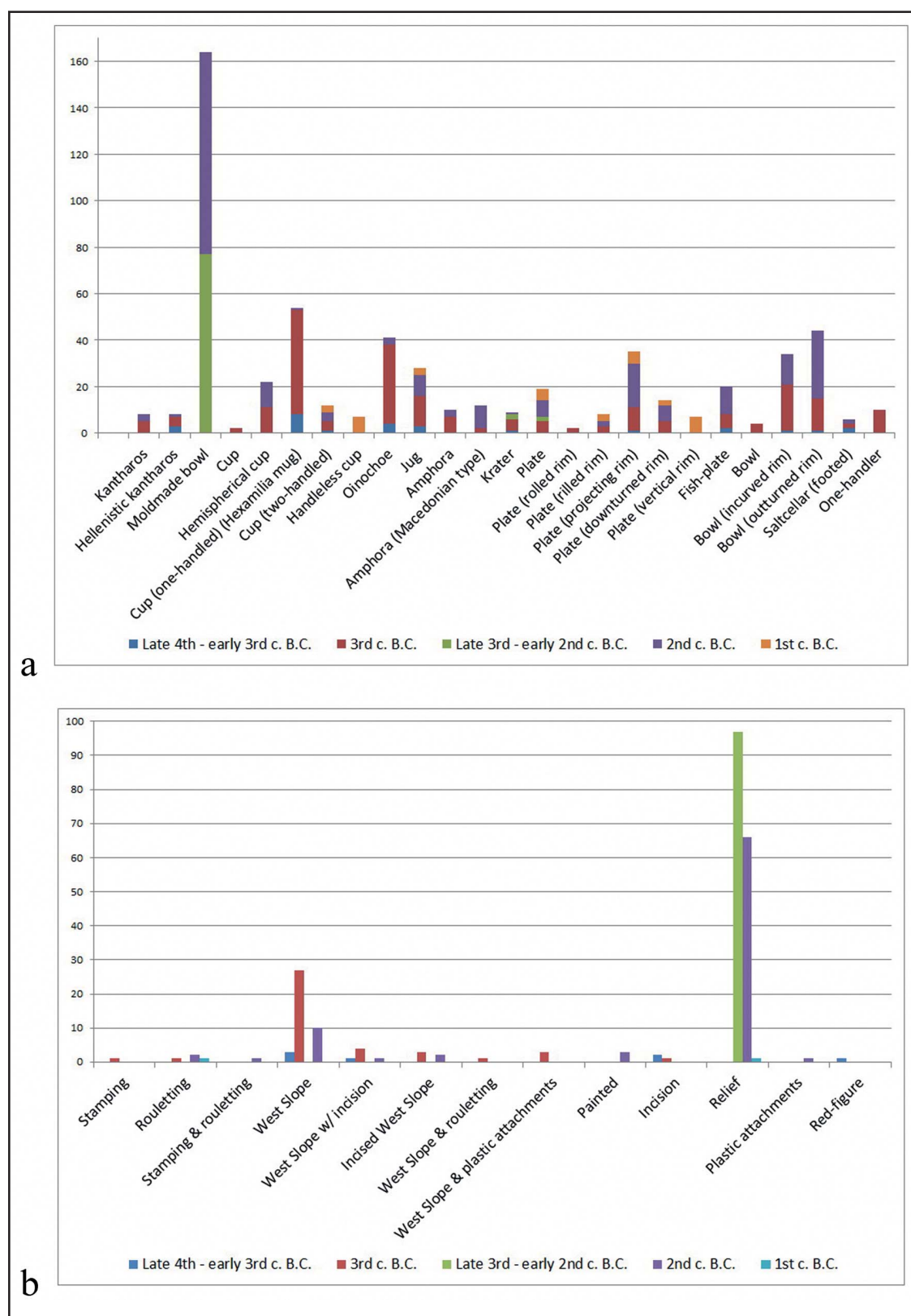


Fig. 6: a) Graph of the best represented tableware from Boeotia; b) Graph of the recorded decorative techniques in Boeotia.

amilia” mugs, infuse a very distinct character (fig. 4c)⁵⁴. This is coupled by some resounding absences (or near-absences), including one-handlers, skyphoi of the Attic, Corinthian or bolsal types, and possibly gutti. The 3rd cent. B. C. fits this picture too; plates of various types, small bowls, oinochoai, jugs, hemispherical cups, kantharoi, and amphorae, have all – as in other areas – a strong presence, whereas the local importance of Hexamilia mugs and of two-handled cups with deep, carinated bodies is now even more pronounced (fig. 4d)⁵⁵. The quite strong presence of one-handlers during this time frame indicates that their previous absence was probably accidental. The transition from the 3rd to the 2nd cent. B. C., as well as the 2nd cent. B. C. in general, are dominated by moldmade bowls⁵⁶, as expected. Other shapes with strong presence during the 2nd cent. B. C. are plates of various types and small bowls, while hemispherical cups, oinochoai, jugs, and amphorae, especially of the Macedonian type, follow in smaller numbers. Lagynoi – although not absent – appear only in small numbers, a fact that causes some surprise, given that elsewhere this is their main period of diffusion⁵⁷. Finally, the 1st cent. B. C. is characterized by plates, jugs, and handleless cups (beakers), which have now replaced moldmade bowls⁵⁸. The locally-important two-handled cups can still be found, but their numbers are clearly fewer⁵⁹. Hence, even though the majority of the elements comprising the local pottery record are typical for other areas too, there are diachronically distinct local divergences recognized in the absence or very poor representation of some shapes (e. g., Attic-type, Corinthian-type skyphoi, and bolsals) or the inclusion of others (e. g., Hexamilia mugs, two-handled cups), with an unmistakable local character.

Concerning decoration, the only observable decorative techniques for the late 4th–early 3rd cent. B. C. are West Slope, red-figure⁶⁰, and incision (fig. 6b). The poor sample for the period makes it difficult to comment on their popularity and is probably responsible for the utter absence of stamping and rouletting, which are expected now⁶¹. West Slope is clearly the most common technique during the next period, the 3rd cent. B. C., sometimes combined with plastic attachments⁶² and on one occasion with rouletting⁶³. Further, stamping⁶⁴, rouletting⁶⁵, and inci-

⁵⁴ Twin shape to the so-called Hexamilia mug is the Hexamilia kantharos, which is differentiated from the former by the addition of a second handle. These vases owe their distinct, but misleading, name to Roger Edwards. He was the first to study some Hexamilia kantharoi discovered near Corinth. EDWARDS 1975, 86f. Despite their diffusion into areas such as the northern Peloponnese and Phokis, Boeotia is considered their birthplace, since their presence in this area is much stronger and dates earlier, while ceramic forerunners can easily be found in the local pottery tradition. For an introduction to Hexamilia vases, see SABETAI 2004, 464–466; CHARAMI – VLACHOGIANNI 2004, 480f.

⁵⁵ These peculiar two-handled cups can be found in Boeotia already in the late 4th cent. B. C., but they achieve their greatest popularity mainly in the 1st halves of the 3rd and the 2nd cent. B. C. They were often complemented by West Slope decoration below the rim on the external surface. Examples of the type have been found in other sites of central Greece, such as Eretria (SCHMID 2000, 363f. cat. 1–2, 13, 18 pls. 181, 1, 2; 182, 13, 18), Medeon (VATIN ET AL. 1976, 38 cat. 41.4 figs. 35, 36; 46 cat. 59 B.2 figs. 60, 61; 48 cat. 60.4 figs. 68, 69; 54 cat. 64.5 fig. 96; 62 cat. 75.6 figs. 109, 110; 72 cat. 129 B.2 figs. 143, 144) and Lamia (PAPAKONSTANTINOY 1997, 53, 55f. pl. 38a. b). Their origin, however, is now almost unanimously considered Boeotian. PAPAKONSTANTINOY 1997, 55f.; CHARAMI 2012, 182; SCHWEDT ET AL. 2006.

⁵⁶ See above, n. 40.

⁵⁷ See above, n. 39.

⁵⁸ This is a typical Late Hellenistic shape, the origin of which is considered west Mediterranean, since most examples have been detected in Italy and as west as Iberia. Cf. RICCI 1985. Conversely, it is usually a rare find on the Greek mainland. ZAOURI – MELLIOU 2000, 91f. All the recorded examples come from Thebes and belong to the category of thin-walled vases, which again has been studied only through examples discovered in the west Mediterranean. Cf. MARABINI MOEVS 1973; RICCI 1985.

⁵⁹ HEIMBERG 1982, 40, 134 cat. 238–240 pl. 12.

⁶⁰ The presence of red-figure is not unexpected, since the beginning of the Hellenistic period coincides with the end of the long lifetime of this celebrated decorative style. COOK 1997, 177f. In Boeotia it concerns a calyx-crater, dating in the period 330–320 B. C. SABETAI 2004, 463f. cat. 32618 pl. 213.

⁶¹ ROTROFF 1997, 37f.

⁶² These are ivy leaf/satyr head thumb rests on a kantharos (CHARAMI 2012, 113 fig. 27, A8), a Hellenistic-type bowl kantharos (CHARAMI 2012, 107 fig. 25, A12), and a cup (CHARAMI 2011, 241 pl. 97 a3).

⁶³ Both the combination of these techniques and the shape (a bolsal) they are called to decorate are unusual. ANDREIOMENOU 2001, 209 cat. 14981 n. 81 figs. 46, 47.

⁶⁴ Fish-plate from the Kabirion of Thebes. HEIMBERG 1982, 138 cat. 386 pl. 17.

⁶⁵ Plate from the Kabirion of Thebes. HEIMBERG 1982, 137 cat. 339 pl. 16.

sion⁶⁶ can also be found, at very low rates. The transition from the 3rd to the 2nd cent. B. C. is marked by the overwhelming presence of relief decoration, which continues throughout the 2nd cent. B. C. During the same time, West Slope holds the second place in popularity. As expected, other decorative techniques include stamping and rouletting⁶⁷, as well as painted decoration⁶⁸ and plastic attachments⁶⁹. They appear, however, to be nowhere near as common as the relief decoration and West Slope. Finally, the sample for the end of the Hellenistic period is not well represented. It suffices only to indicate the continuing presence of relief decoration and rouletting⁷⁰.

Although Thessaly emerges from the above discussion as an area with a fairly typical ceramic record for the period, local particularities are not missing either. As noted above, the number of Attic-type skyphoi and saltcellars is very small⁷¹, while one-handlers and Corinthian-type skyphoi are totally absent. Furthermore, some of the kantharoi in west Thessaly are local variations. On the top of this, it is noteworthy that, according to regional excavators, West Slope decoration did not seem to be particularly popular in any period of the Hellenistic era⁷². Other decorative particularities are of less importance due to their occasional and limited character and they do not disrupt the expected picture, according to the previously outlined principles of the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”. They include the presence of West Slope on a late 4th cent. B. C. saltcellar with concave walls⁷³, the aforementioned late 4th cent. B. C. bolsal with West Slope and rouletting⁷⁴, the rare combination of stamped and painted decoration on a mid-3rd cent. B. C. plate⁷⁵, and the co-existence of West Slope and stamped decoration on a 3rd cent. B. C. plate⁷⁶.

It is Boeotia, though, that presents a much more diversified image. Thus, here kantharoi, one of the most popular ceramic forms throughout the Hellenistic world in general before the advent of moldmade bowls⁷⁷, never become the most popular type of drinking vase. Instead this place is occupied by the so-called “Hexamilia” mugs (and to a lesser degree the “Hexamilia” kantharoi)⁷⁸. Another local variation, represented in smaller percentages, is still telling for the local preference for cups: the locally-made two-handled form, which appears in the local pottery record during the 3rd and 2nd cent. B. C.⁷⁹. Indicative of the local devotion to cups is the limited presence (in Tanagra) of a uniquely-shaped variety, which probably draws its inspiration from the local pottery tradition. It is described as a kantharoid cup with a cylindrical wall, calyx-shaped rim, and a set of strap handles (fig. 4e)⁸⁰. This emerging picture of local variation is further emphasized by the Early Hellenistic period absence of both one-handlers and skyphoi of the Attic, Corinthian or bolsal type. On the other hand, if we pass over these main divergences, the projected image does not seem to be overly different than that of other areas, as reflected in the

66 Hemispherical cup from the Kabirion of Thebes. HEIMBERG 1982, 136 cat. 314 pl. 14.

67 A bowl with incurved rim from the Kabirion of Thebes (HEIMBERG 1982, 134 cat. 257 pl. 339), a bowl with incurved rim from Tanagra (CHARAMI 2011, 242 pl. 98, a5), and a bowl with outturned rim from Thebes (CHARAMI 2012, 139 cat. A220 (T. 40) figs. 48, A220. 184).

68 A hydria and a lagynos from Thebes. CHARAMI 2012, 126f. cat. A100–101 (T. 26a) figs. 35, A100. 101; 74; 195. 196.

69 An askos from Thebes. KALLIGA 2011, 230 cat. 18/7 pl. 88 d25.

70 A plate from the Kabirion of Thebes. HEIMBERG 1982, 80. 144 cat. 582 pl. 31.

71 See above, n. 29.

72 See above, n. 47. Worth noting is also the quite frequent presence from the late 3rd–early 2nd cent. B. C. of the oak branch motif, which is almost unknown in other

areas. The only exceptions known to me are Ambrakia (AGGELI 2004, 550f. 554 cat. 5485. 5486. 93 pls. 263a. b; 266b; 268) and Patra (KYRIAKOU 1994, 190 cat. 5043 pls. 134a; 140a).

73 BATZIOU-EUSTATHIOU – TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOU 2012, 289 cat. 77 fig. 202.

74 BEESTMAN-KRUYSHAAR 2003, 93 cat. P 371 fig. 6, 5.

75 ADRIMI-SISMANI – ALEXANDROU 2004, 78f. cat. BE 11090 pl. 16 e. st.

76 MILOJČIĆ – THEOCHARIS 1976, 104 pls. 32, 6; XVII.3.

77 ROTROFF 1997, 83; KALLINI 2013, 59.

78 Cf. ANDREIOMENOU 2001, 216 fig. 65.

79 See above, n. 55.

80 Several plausible suggestions have been offered regarding the origin of this unique type, even though no one has been corroborated so far. For them, as well as a more detailed presentation of the shape, see CHARAMI-MAMALI 2000, 733–735; CHARAMI 2011, 240 pl. 95 d2.

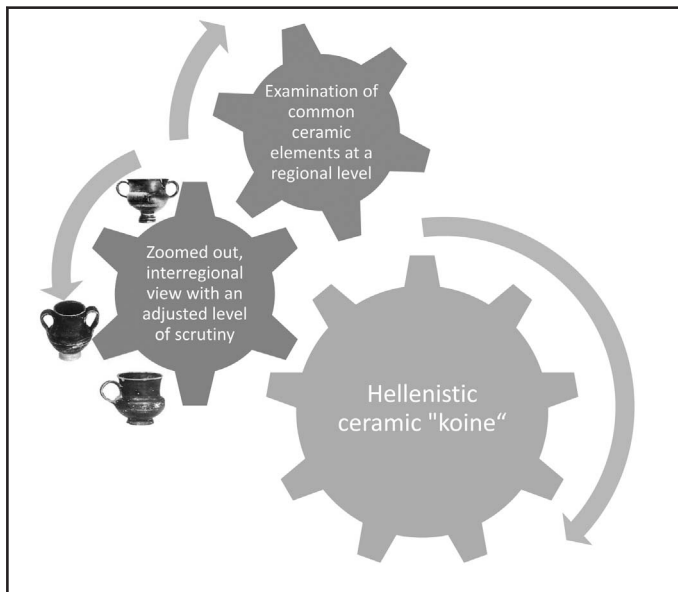


Fig. 7: Graphic of the proposed approach for the investigation of the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”.

seemingly opposing approaches, one favoring global similarity, the other local variations? I argue that the answer lies in the implementation of a two-pronged approach. First is an examination of common ceramic elements at a regional level, which allows for an in-depth analysis of the pottery record. Second, when moving to a more panoramic and interregional level, is the adjustment of the level of scrutiny to which we subject assemblages of pottery – or as Vladimir Stissi puts it, the inclusion of an allowance for a lesser degree of homogeneity or a greater degree of variation (fig. 7)⁸³. A broader, zoomed out view will allow us to observe “koiné” patterns, whenever available. This two-fold approach, then, will highlight both the local particularities and the common elements among different areas. Further, by allowing for a lesser degree of homogeneity, the absence of some shapes from the pottery record of both Thessaly and Boeotia does not cause any problems in accommodating them within the frame of the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”, as long of course as the majority of features of these records conform to this “koiné”. Similarly, the presence of local variations of kantharoi in west Thessaly (fig. 4b) is not problematic, given that other, more universal types of kantharoi also find their way into these local pottery records, while from a functional point of view all these vases were clearly fulfilling the same purpose within the same social context. The same applies for the poor presence of West Slope decoration in Thessaly. Despite the fact that all the evidence suggests that local potters opted not to employ the technique very often, West Slope is known in the area, while the rest of the decorative modes present a picture similar to that seen in the rest of the Hellenistic world. More challenging is the handling of instances, such as the late 4th and 3rd cent. B. C. locally-made “Hexamilia” mugs in Boeotia (fig. 4c): on the one hand, these occur in great numbers, but equally they find no notable parallels outside their core area of production and diffusion. What should our response to local particularities of this kind be? Should the strong presence of such a unique shape in this area rule out the recognition of a Hellenistic ceramic “koiné” there? If we adopt this approach, how could the numerous similarities in other respects of the pottery records be explained? I think that a reasonable way to deal with such a situation is to employ the phrase regional ceramic “dialect”⁸⁴. This terminology clearly accepts the presence of a local pottery record, with some local

above discussion on the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”. Comparable to this is the situation on the decorative front; for the most part, the observed decorative techniques for each sub-period of the Hellenistic era and their percentages follow the expected course. The minor decorative particularities are not enough to disrupt this pattern: such include the early presence (ca. 300 B. C.) of incision on a trefoil oinochoe decorated in the West Slope technique⁸¹ and the uncommon combination of West Slope and rouletting on a 3rd cent. B. C. bolsal⁸².

How can, therefore, the example of these two areas help us in bridging the gap between the two

81 ANDREIOMENOU 2001, 218 n. 135 fig. 71.

82 ANDREIOMENOU 2001, 209 cat. 14981 n. 81 figs. 46. 47.

83 STISSI 2014, 115.

84 The term regional ceramic “dialect” is offered here in place of the more common regional ceramic “koiné”.

characteristics, without, however, denying the inclusion – even if conditional – of this area in the wider Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”⁸⁵. In the case of Boeotia, such a solution would also be supported by the fact that these distinct “Hexamilia” mugs or the two-handled cups (fig. 4d) are also found with some degree of frequency outside Boeotia. The former can be attested – apart from the neighboring Phokis⁸⁶ and Lokris⁸⁷ – in areas further away, such as the north Peloponnese, Thessaly, and Macedonia⁸⁸, while the latter show up in Euboea, Phokis, and Phthiotis⁸⁹.

Despite the interesting scholarly challenges that the clarification of the exact form of the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné” presents, it is not that “koiné” *per se* that matters. What really matters is the decipherment of these similarities and especially of the local particularities. Pottery has the ability to act as a proxy for human behavior. Observed local particularities in the pottery record can illustrate the choices of the humans behind them and inform our understanding of the social and economic contexts they lived and operated in. To that end, the people of Thessaly seem to have been much more ready to wholeheartedly adopt almost the full repertoire of ceramic forms, as promoted by the most important and prestigious pottery production centers of the Hellenistic period, such as Athens and Macedonia. The same, however, cannot be said for Boeotia (fig. 8). Although shared qualities can also be realized for this area, the strong presence of locally-made distinctive shapes and the suspicious absence of some typical Hellenistic shapes speak for a different reality in operation. The choice of the Boeotians to stick with their cups of various types, as well as the local variety of kantharos (“Hexamilia” kantharos), indicates a desire to maintain their identity even while joining in the broader cosmopolitan trends. Their willingness to combine in many other instances their long established pottery tradition with the current ceramic fashion reveals an eclectic element existing in the local society⁹⁰.

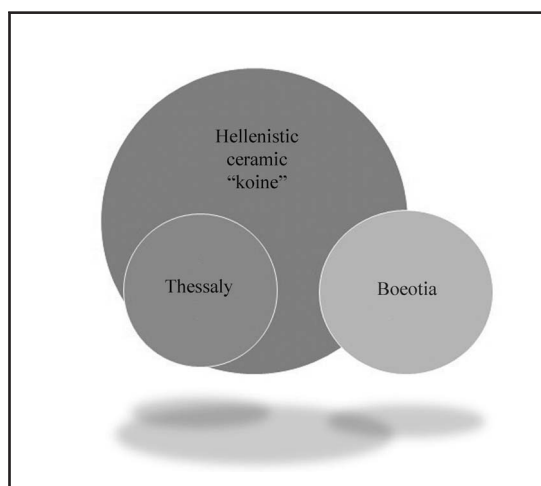


Fig. 8: Graphic depicting the position of Thessaly and Boeotia within the Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”.

Appendix

Archeological sites in Thessaly providing the examined Hellenistic tableware for this paper. Numerals in parentheses indicate the numbers of the recorded pottery for each site.

East Thessaly

Demetrias (210): MILOJCIC – THEOCHARIS 1976; DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 1990; DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 2000; NIKOLAOU 2000; BATZIOU-EUSTATHIOU – SCHIZA 2004; BATZIOU-EUSTATHIOU – TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOU 2012

This is a conscious choice, because of the fact that the latter term seems to undermine the entire Hellenistic ceramic “koiné”: if the term “koiné” is employed at this narrower level, then the whole concept loses its force. LAFTSIDIS 2018, 738f. Further, the proposed term invites a comparison between the Hellenistic “koiné” language, including dialects, and its ceramic counterpart.

⁸⁵ Mark van der Enden (2013, 214) expresses similar thoughts on this topic.

⁸⁶ VATIN ET AL. 1976, 68 cat. 115 bis.3 figs. 131. 132; ARAPOGIANNI 1984, 105 cat. M.Δ. 12498 fig. 19 pl. 37 e.

⁸⁷ CHARAMI – VLACHOGIANNI 2004, 481 n. 76.

⁸⁸ ANDERSON-STOJANOVIĆ 2011, 120 pl. 51g–f (Pelo-

ponnese); ADRIMI-SISMANI 2000, 143 cat. BE 11033 fig. 7 (Thessaly); KOTITSA 2007, 160 cat. 104 fig. 30 pl. 45; KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI 2011, 417f. cat. 1543. 1462 pl. 174a–d; LILIMPAKI-AKAMATI – AKAMATIS 2014, 142. 150f. 167f. cat. 583. 637 figs. 578. 630 (Macedonia).

⁸⁹ See above, n. 55.

⁹⁰ For examples of other instances where the study of pottery has allowed us a glimpse at the mentality and identity of ancient populations, see ENGLEZOU 2005, 416; VOGELKOFF-BROGAN 2011, 711f. (Knossos); STEWART 2013, 190–192 (Gordion). For the difficulties and traps, however, that this process might involve, see DIETLER 1994, 585f.

New Halos (167): MALAKASIOTI 2000; BEESTMAN-KRUYSHAAR 2003
 Pherai (38): DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 1990; DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 1997; DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 2000
 Amphani (5): TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOU 2000; TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOU 2004
 Phthiotic Thebes (24): ADRIMI-SISMANI 2000; ADRIMI-SISMANI – ALEXANDROU 2004
 Larisa (22): DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 1990; DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 2000; ZAOURI – MELLIOU 2000

West Thessaly

Kierion (4): DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU 2000; CHATZIAGGELAKIS 2004
 Kallithero (5): INTZESILOGLOU 2004
 Leontari (1): INTZESILOGLOU 2004
 Ermitsi (10): CHATZIAGGELAKIS 2004
 Mitropoli (4): CHATZIAGGELAKIS 2004
 Pharsalos (32): KARAPANOU 2011
 Ancient Orthe (modern Kerdos, Karditsa) (4): INTZESILOGLOU 2000; INTZESILOGLOU 2004
 Gomphoi (3): CHATZIAGGELAKIS 2004
 Argithea (9): CHATZIAGGELAKIS 2000; CHATZIAGGELAKIS 2004
 Pelinnaio (modern Petroporo, Trikala) (12): KARAPANOU – KATAKOUTA 2004

Archeological sites in Boeotia providing the examined Hellenistic tableware for this paper. Numbers in parentheses indicate the numbers of the recorded pottery for each site.

Boeotia

Akraiphia (137): ANDREIOMENOU 2001; SABETAI 2004; CHARAMI – VLACHOGIANNI 2004
 Thebes (450): HEIMBERG 1982; KALLIGA 2011; CHARAMI 2012
 Tanagra (16): CHARAMI 2011

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Drinking without Handles in the Age of Alexander

Susan I. Rotroff

Abstract

The Greek drinking assemblage went through a dramatic change in the second generation after the death of Alexander, with new shapes replacing Classical ones by the middle of the 3rd century B. C. The most striking innovation is the handleless drinking cup, based on the standard drinking shapes of the East, replacing the two-handled cups that had been the Greek norm for centuries. Already within the 4th century B. C., Greek potters were producing the calyx cup, modeled on the Achaemenid cup widely used in the Persian empire. It was never produced in significant numbers, and its lifespan was limited to little more than 50 years. Several handleless and approximately hemispherical shapes were introduced in small numbers in the first quarter of the 3rd century. By about 275, however, Attic potters began to make handleless drinking cups in significant numbers and in two main varieties, both decorated with paint on the inside: a shallow cup with straight walls and rim, and a deeper, almost perfectly hemispherical cup with an outturned lip. These forms paved the way for the acceptance of the mold-made bowl in the last quarter of the century. Given the centrality of wine drinking for the Greeks, a change in the vessel from which one drank is a significant indicator of the influence of outside forces. This paper investigates the introduction and the reception of the handleless drinking cup and what it can tell us about drinking customs and cultural interchange in the Hellenistic age.

A new form of ceramic drinking vessel swept through the cities of Greece in the Hellenistic period: a cup without handles. This simple and unassuming shape, which counts among the creations of the earliest potters, had been abandoned by Greek drinkers centuries earlier. Greeks of historical times, and even earlier, had a firm grasp of the relationship between handles and function: two handles for drinking, one for pouring, none for eating. There may be a few exceptions or areas of debate – the ubiquitous echinus bowl could have served as a drinking cup rather than a food bowl¹, and the function of the one-handler (bowl ? dipper ? cup ?) is uncertain² – but it is indisputable that the great mass of Greek drinking cups have two handles, in a tradition extending from the Mycenaean kylix to the Archaic and Classical cups and stemlesses to the skyphoi and kantharoi of the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic period. In the 2nd century, however, Greek drinkers abandoned this model and embraced the handleless cup.

The change was more than stylistic or aesthetic. This new cup required new table manners³. Archaic and Classical images show that drinkers had often balanced the kylikes and skyphoi of those times on one hand, but the absence of both foot and handles called for a new posture, cradling the vessel in the palm of the hand or supporting it on the fingertips. Without a foot to provide a firm resting surface, the cup could not be abandoned on a tabletop; one had either to drain it in one go or learn to support it with one hand throughout the party and to lift it elegantly to drink without the helpful support of handles or foot.

The source of this new fashion is no mystery. Easterners for centuries had felt equally strongly that a drinking cup needed no handles whatsoever. The 7th-century Garden Party relief of Ashurbanipal offers a well-known instance⁴. Enemy vandals have deprived the reclining Assyrian

¹ HUDSON 2016, 215. 218.

² SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, 124.

³ As Elspeth Dusinberre has pointed out in the Ana-

tolian context (DUSINBERRE 2013, 133–135).

⁴ BARNETT 1976, 56–58 pls. 63–65. For a recent discussion, see ÁLVAREZ-MON 2009.

ian king of his vessel⁵, but his companion holds her handleless cup elegantly on the tips of her fingers. Later images repeat the theme, with handleless cups perched on the fingertips or cradled in the palm⁶. The cups themselves appear repeatedly as gifts in the hands of Darius' subjects in the famous processional reliefs at Persepolis⁷, underlining their role as a Persian cultural marker, and survivals in precious metal have been found throughout the Persian empire.

All of this is well known. But the question that has not been addressed is why the Greeks embraced this new and alien drinking cup so wholeheartedly in the Hellenistic period, in many cases to the exclusion of their traditional two-handled forms. In order to frame an answer, I will first look at three earlier adoptions of the handleless cup, one in the Near East and two in the Greek world: the Achaemenid cup in 6th-century Asia Minor, and in Greece, two shapes based on the Achaemenid cup, the phiale in the 6th century and the calyx-cup in the 4th. The historical situation is different in each case, and therefore the conjectured reasons and motives behind the adoptions differ as well. Nonetheless, these well-studied earlier instances offer models that can help to clarify two independent Hellenistic introductions of the handleless cup: the hemispherical cup with interior decoration and the moldmade relief bowl.

Note that, in all of these earlier cases, the prototypes are Persian metalware, and all involve the same Eastern shape, the Achaemenid bowl/cup. It exists in two main variants – a broad, shallow bowl and a deeper cup, but both share the unmistakable and characteristic concave-convex profile. It is also likely, though only sometimes demonstrable, that these adoptions involve two different and presumably sequential steps. The first is reproduction of the shape in precious metal, vessels crafted by local smiths for the use of the local elite. Replication in ceramic is a second step and aimed, obviously, at a more modest clientele. The timing of the two adoptions – in metal and in clay – may have been different, but independent dating of the metalware is rarely possible. It may also be that different motives lay behind these two acts of mimicry.

Finally, it may be useful to keep in mind a distinction developed by Michael Dietler, in his study of the adoption of wine-drinking in Gaul. Dietler, followed by Margaret Miller in her discussion of the imitation of Persian drinking cups in 5th-century Athens, distinguishes between “diacritical” and “associative” drinking, two modes of behavior that support social differentiation⁸. Diacritical drinking employs particular practices in order to distinguish the drinking group from others within a society, while associative drinking seeks to create a conceptual relationship between the drinkers and another group.

The Achaemenid Cup in Western Asia Minor

The first case, and perhaps the easiest to understand, takes us outside of peninsular Greece, into the western provinces of the Persian empire itself. Elspeth Dussinberre has examined the adoption of the Achaemenid cup in Anatolia, where the shape became widespread in the wake of the Persian conquest⁹. At Sardis, for example, ordinary Lydians (those who drank from clay cups) had traditionally enjoyed their wine in a footed, two-handled cup, the skyphos. Although the skyphos was never completely abandoned, the Achaemenid cup came to dominate the ceramic drinking assemblage soon after Cyrus's conquest of Lydia (fig. 1). The mechanism that seems to lie behind this phenomenon is the distribution of precious drinking ware from the center, in Iran, as part of the royal system of gift-giving. The Great King regularly presented visible and lavish gifts, including tableware, to local rulers throughout his realm; these functioned as markers of the recipient's status and of the Great King's favor. As such, they would have been prominently displayed, and consequently would have become known to the subject population¹⁰.

⁵ NYLANDER 1999.

⁶ MILLER 2011 surveys the different ways easterners and Greeks held the handleless cup, especially the style of the Persian court, balancing the cup on the fingertips.

⁷ SCHMIDT 1953, pls. 31. 32. 34. 38. 39. 41.

⁸ DIETLER 1990, 377.

⁹ DUSINBERRE 1999; DUSINBERRE 2003, 172–195; DUSINBERRE 2013, 125–140.

¹⁰ For a summary of the system, see SANCISI-WEERENBURG 1989.



Fig. 1: Achaemenid cup from Sardis, P65.249: 6911, late 4th to early 3rd century B. C. (ROTROFF – OLIVER 2003, 62 no. 217 pl. 34). Photo, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.



Fig. 2: Athenian black-gloss phiale. Agora P 9274, 500–480 B. C. (SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, 272 no. 521 fig. 6 pl. 23). Photo, Agora Excavations.

They were imitated by local silversmiths to supply the lesser elites who aspired to the life-style of the dynasts, as finds from tombs in Asia Minor demonstrate¹¹. Drinking (and being buried) with these cups became a signal of membership in the empire-wide Achaemenid elite. In other words, wealthy individuals in Persia's western provinces participated in associative drinking that created a link between themselves and their distant Achaemenid masters. Adoption of the shape in ceramic was a second step, an unsurprising aping of the practice of a higher class, but a practice that joined these drinkers too to the Achaemenid authority.

The forces at play appear to be quite straightforward. The process involved the projection of power outward from the center, through royal gift-giving, its trappings imitated by those far from the imperial capital in distance and status, but all part of the same imperial system. In Lydia, fortuitously, we have all three parts of the equation: the Persian model, the local silver versions, and the clay derivative. Local silver production helps to establish the shape in a new locality, but the clay cups are what tell us how the larger body of citizens participated in the cultural exchange initiated at a higher level.

The Phiale in Athens

The situation becomes more complex when we move outside the Persian Empire and into the Greek world. In what follows, I concentrate primarily on the cities of mainland Greece, excluding those of Asia Minor, where prior contact with the East may have resulted in different patterns. Athens looms large in the discussion because of the wealth of datable material there.

Margaret Miller has investigated the adoption of Persian shapes in the pottery of Late Archaic and Classical Athens.¹² She stresses the difference between true imitation – the effort to reproduce the model precisely, a process that is quite rare – and adaptation, a far more common phenomenon involving alteration of the model in response to local norms. Perhaps the best known case is the rhyton, a Persian horn without foot or handles and terminating in an animal head or protome, which Athenian potters translated into animal-head cups fitted with handles and sometimes with feet¹³. But there were other shapes as well, most of them adapted to Athenian usage by the addition of handles and feet: an example of particular interest in the present case is the deep Acrocup, an Achaemenid cup with a foot and handles¹⁴. One of the few true imitations was the phiale (fig. 2), which retained the handleless form of its model, the shallow Achaemenid cup¹⁵. In the Greek world it was used mainly for libations, though it is occasionally

¹¹ E. g., a pair of locally-made silver Achaemenid cups looted from a 5th-century tomb in Lydia, now in the Manisa Museum (ROOSEVELT 2009, 241 fig. C.20). Cf. also DUSINBERRE 2013, figs. 73. 103–106 from elsewhere in Anatolia.

¹² MILLER 1993; MILLER 1997, 135–152.

¹³ MILLER 1993, 122–126 pls. 24–28; MILLER 1997, 141–144 figs. 47–50.

¹⁴ MILLER 1993, 127–129 pl. 31, 4. 5; MILLER 1997 144f. fig. 53.

¹⁵ MILLER 1993, 118f. pls. 19–22; MILLER 1997, 136–139 figs. 35–37.

pictured as a drinking vessel, usually in the hands of heroes¹⁶. Any role the ceramic phiale played in the drinking assemblage of daily life, however, must have been a small one. Only about 35 are inventoried at the Athenian Agora, in contrast to many hundreds of two-handled drinking cups of traditional Greek shapes. None date later than the end of the 5th century, when the potters apparently lost interest in the shape. Nonetheless, the continued appearance of a phiale, or at least a round-bottomed, handleless cup, on red-figure vases and votive reliefs of the 4th century suggests that the use of such silver cups may have continued among the elite¹⁷.

Miller devotes considerable attention to the question of why Athenians embraced luxury vessels associated with their Persian enemies¹⁸. The phenomenon can be traced back to the late 6th century and consequently cannot be ascribed to the mass of Persian wealth that entered Greece after the Persian Wars, though this certainly accelerated it. Miller postulates that, despite ethnic differences, late Archaic elite Athenians felt a certain class kinship with Persian aristocracy. Persian-style vessels served the Athenian elite as ready-made symbols of authority, and later, after the victories at Salamis and Plateia, use of these vessels underlined the Greeks' equivalence to the powerful Persians. It is another case of associative drinking but different from that of the Lydians, for the Athenians were not emulating an imperial center; rather they were, in Miller's words, "emulating the quality of being a center"¹⁹. The step down to clay signals demand, at a lower social level, for attractive curiosities associated with elite lifestyle, but may also have shared in this cultural chauvinism.

The Calyx-Cup in Macedonia and Athens

Athenian potters' second flirtation with the handleless drinking vessel is the calyx-cup, modeled on the deep form of the Achaemenid cup (fig. 3)²⁰. A single example at Olynthus confirms that the shape began to be made in clay before the middle of the 4th century²¹. In this case we also have the local silver emulation that must have served as a model for the clay vessels: silver cups with the convex-concave profile of the Achaemenid model, but differing from it in their proportions, the moldings on the shoulder, and the profile of the lip (hence adaptations, not imitations)²². A full understanding of this case is hampered by uncertainty about where the local metal adaptations were made. Most were found in Macedonia, and it has generally been presumed that they were manufactured there as well²³. Some, however, bear weight inscriptions reflecting the Attic standard, which was not in general use in Macedonia until the reign of Alexander the Great, and Beryl Barr-Sharrar has recently argued that the cups were made by Athenian silversmiths²⁴. At present, it is not possible to determine the ethnicity of the smiths or to know where they practiced their craft, but Macedonian aristocrats were certainly among the cups' most enthusiastic users. Those who made them directed much of their output to the Macedonian market, and the cups might have been made by Attic craftsmen who had set up shop in Macedonia. The silver cups must also, however, have been well known in Athens, for they spawned significant numbers of ceramic imitations there²⁵.

16 E. g., the reclining hero on the well-known Totenmahl relief from Thasos, now in Istanbul, THÖNGES-STRINGARIS 1965, 73f. no. 34 Beil. 5.

17 E. g., MILLER 1993, pls. 26, 27 (4th-century red-figure kraters Vienna KHM AS IV 910/AS IV 7348; Paris Louvre G512); THÖNGES-STRINGARIS 1965, passim (4th-century votive reliefs).

18 MILLER 1993, 136–141; MILLER 1997, 150–152.

19 MILLER 1993, 140; MILLER 1997, 152.

20 SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, 121f. fig. 7 pl. 28; ROTROFF 1997, 91f.

21 ROBINSON 1950, 294 no. 521A = 526 pls. 190, 191, 215. It is impossible to say whether or not the cup is Attic, but an example from the Agora (fig. 3) may be equally early and is certainly Attic (Agora P 16828.

SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, 285 no. 691 fig. 7 pl. 28, from deposit G 13:7). The cup comes from a small floor deposit; although it is not sealed and contains a few much later fragments, most of its datable pottery can be placed in the second quarter of the 4th century on stylistic grounds.

22 PFROMMER 1987, 56f. 234–236; ZIMI 2011, 70–85, 214–240.

23 PFROMMER 1987, 56–61; ZIMI 2011, 73, 83.

24 BARR-SHARRAR 2016. The alternative is that those particular cups were made after the introduction of the Attic standard to Macedonia in the time of Alexander the Great.

25 Many examples found outside of Athens may also be Attic, but the shape was made sporadically elsewhere as well. See ROTROFF 2003, 215 no. 8; ZIMI 2011, 72.

It seems likely that the Macedonian aristocracy, like the Athenians earlier on, embraced this Persian-style silver cup as a marker of authority, broadcasting the message that Macedonian power was equivalent to or, as time went on, had succeeded to Persian power. The silver calyx-cups in Tombs II and III at Vergina confirm that the cups were used by royalty²⁶, and Claude Rolley opined that, in the eyes of its users, the calyx-cup was the drinking cup of the Great King, its use a signal that power had now changed hands²⁷. That observation is strictly applicable only after the time of Alexander, but the use of such cups would also have suited Philip II's imperial aspirations. What is less clear is why Athenian silversmiths would have felt called upon to imitate the Persian shape, if it is they who made them. Possibly the impetus came from Macedonian patrons, but perhaps the rise of the second Athenian League spawned sufficient imperial aspiration in Athens to make such symbolism appealing there as well.



Fig. 3: Athenian black-gloss calyx-cup from deposit G 13: 7. Agora P 16828, 375–350 B.C. (SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, 285 no. 691 pl. 28 fig. 7). Photo, *Agora Excavations*.

Uncertainty about the place of manufacture of the silver cups and their status in Athens also poses difficulties in understanding the shape's transfer into the clay medium. If Athenians read this as an Athenian shape, imitation in clay presumably follows the same model as the earlier adoptions and adaptations of Persian shapes: reproduction of an attractive novelty associated with wealthy Athenians, coupled with a popular willingness to see Athens as a revived imperial power. If, however, Athenians viewed the silver calyx-cup as a Macedonian shape, different motives must lie behind the creation of the ceramic versions. The Macedonians were the first Hellenistic dynasts the Greeks encountered, and the politics of the late 4th and early 3rd century centered on how to deal with these powerful rulers. During much of the time when the clay calyx-cup was most common at Athens (ca. 325–275), Macedon was in firm control there. Macedonians were present in the city and for a short period it was a royal residence. Athenaios mentions a banquet at Athens in honor of Demetrios Poliorketes (3.101e, 4.128a–b); such events would have given the Athenians the opportunity to observe royal drinking customs and tableware. If, in the eyes of the Greek drinker of the clay class, the calyx-cup was a Macedonian rather than an Athenian marker, then to use such a cup would be to associate oneself with the prevailing ruling class (associative drinking), and to distinguish oneself from those opposed to Macedonian power (diacritical drinking).

It is worth noting, however, that the calyx-cup was never a very common shape, at Athens or elsewhere. It exists in only about 20 inventoried instances at the Agora, most of them spread over the 50 years between 325 and 275²⁸, and it never rivaled the standard, two-handled drinking cups of the day. When we turn to later Hellenistic cases, we see that the entrenched power of the new Hellenistic dynasts was soon to result in a much greater imprint on the Greek drinking assemblage.

The Hemispherical Cup with Interior Decoration

About the time that the clay calyx-cup was disappearing from the ceramic record, the first of the Hellenistic handleless forms was introduced, initiating a trend that would culminate in the widespread adoption of this form. Reflecting evolving styles in eastern silverware, the new cup re-

²⁶ ZIMI 2011, 216f. nos. 68–71.

²⁸ ROTROFF 1997, 92.

²⁷ ROLLEY 2006, 317.

places the countercurves of the Achaemenid cup with a plain profile, and it is decorated on the inside, sometimes with a Greek-style relief emblem at the center of the floor (fig. 4)²⁹. This is the first handleless shape to find wide adoption in Greek ceramics, and examples occur throughout the Greek world³⁰. The Macedonian elite were already using metal cups of this shape in the early 3rd century – a drinker on the facade of the tomb at Aghios Athanasios in Macedonia cradles one in his hand³¹. Analogous silver cups have been found over a wide area and timespan, from the 3rd to the 1st century; many come from the East, but some are undoubtedly Mediterranean products³², illustrating the first step of adoption, in local metalware. The clay cups are not slavish imitations but diverge from the metal models in small ways. There are two profile variations. One reproduces the shallow, conical profile of the preserved silver cups (fig. 4, left), while the other, introduced slightly later, is fully hemispherical, a variant that is not represented among the metalware, as far as I am aware (fig. 4, right). Both have flattened bottoms in place of the continuously rounded undersides of the metal models. They thus fall into the category of adaptation rather than true imitation. These small changes may have contributed to their more enthusiastic acceptance by the buyers and users of clay drinking cups. Miller argues that adaptation signals a more self-confident use of a foreign model, as the recipients choose to boldly remake that model rather than copy it slavishly³³, though to my mind it could just as well illustrate the common phenomenon of a copyist unconsciously introducing something of his own experience into his creations.

One of the earliest Athenian cups displays a portrait of King Ptolemy I on its floor (fig. 4, left)³⁴, underlining the connection of the shape with royalty and specifically with the court at Alexandria, with which Athens had close ties at this time (280–260 B. C.). It must copy a metal original, like that preserved in a plaster cast of an emblem of Ptolemy I from a hemispherical cup, found in a workshop at Memphis³⁵. Alexandrian inspiration has also been suggested for 3rd-century ceramic cups in Sicily and Taranto³⁶, and it is possible that the broad appeal of these cups – both silver and clay – is to be found in the political contacts between the Greek cities and Hellenistic rulers.

The political situation in the 3rd and 2nd centuries was very different from that of earlier times. A simple “them vs. us” model for Persians and Greeks no longer functioned, as the eastern lands were now under the control of Macedonian rulers who had adopted Greek language and culture as the imperial norm. The metalware that they commissioned was heavily influenced by Greek conventions, but it also incorporated eastern traditions. In imitating it, artisans in the cities of Old Greece were not adopting a wholly exotic model, but a hybrid of the familiar and the strange.

The situation of the Greek cities in which the new cups were crafted had also changed. Although they were at least notionally independent, their citizens were not in any position to flaunt borrowed symbols of authority – as earlier Athenians had – or, like the 4th-century Macedonians, to claim themselves equals or successors to the powerful men who used these utensils as a matter of course. Their motives in adopting these eastern shapes are therefore likely to have

29 ROTROFF 1997, 110–117. 277–283 figs. 21. 22 pls. 33–37.

30 See ROTROFF 1997, 110 n. 113, to which a major addition is the large collection from Morgantina in Sicily recently published (STONE 2014, 89–91. 231–268. 313. 378–390 nos. 22. 22A. 23. 519–600 pls. 4. 72. 110–123).

31 TSIMPIDOU-AULONITI 2005, 127 pl. 34b. The dark reddish color of the cup suggests clay, but it is impossible to believe that participants in such an event drank from unglazed clay vessels. Possibly bronze or gold is intended. The red detail on the white (probably silver) rhyton held by another drinker (pl. 33b) probably repre-

sents gold ornament.

32 BOTHMER 1984, 54f. nos. 92–94 (from Morgantina, in Sicily); PFROMMER 1993, 20–43. 110–143. 223–226 nos. 1–17 pls. 1–3. On the eastern inspiration of the form, see PFROMMER 1993, 20.

33 MILLER 1997, 151.

34 ROTROFF 1988; ROTROFF 1997, 277 no. 333 fig. 21 pls. 33. 36.

35 RUBENSOHN 1911, 24–25 nos. 12–14 pls. 10, 21; REINSBERG 1980, 312f. nos. 37–39 figs. 51–53. 55. 57.

36 GREEN 1976, 13 with no. 58; STONE 2014, 239–240.

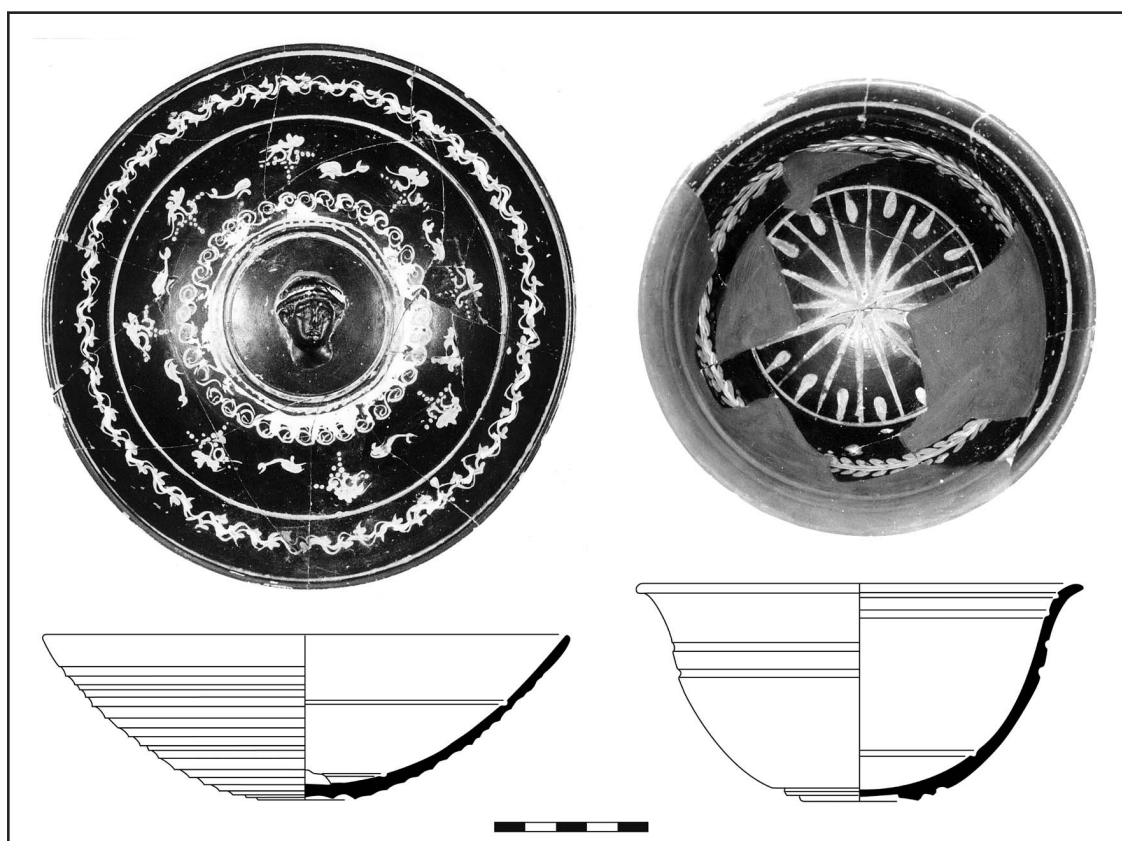


Fig. 4: Athenian cups with interior West Slope decoration. Left, with conical profile and emblem of Ptolemy I, Agora P 747, 280–260 B. C.; right, with hemispherical profile, Agora P 16226, 240–220 B. C. (ROTROFF 1997, 277. 280 nos. 333. 361 figs. 21. 22 pls. 33. 35. 36). Photos, Agora Excavation. Drawings, S. I. Rotroff, after ROTROFF 1997, figs. 21. 22.

been different from those of their predecessors. The relationships of the old Greek cities to the Hellenistic centers of power were complex. The dynasts exerted varying degrees of military control over the cities, and appeals to Hellenistic kings for solutions to internal problems and support against external enemies put the cities in the position of dependents. Yet, they were not subjects. Writing of the Ptolemaic court in particular, historian Kostas Buraselis points out that, while economic and political clout resided at Alexandria, the Greek cities had substantial cultural capital in their legacy of Greek culture, something the Hellenistic rulers valued highly³⁷. The Ptolemies depended on the Greek cities for cultural legitimation, as well as for administrative expertise, mercenary troops, military commanders, and support in their own rivalries with other dynasts. It was as important to Alexandria as it was to Athens that relations between the two be friendly. Surviving sources suggest that many Greek cities found themselves in similar positions vis-à-vis one or another of the great Hellenistic rulers at one time or another.

Embassies reached the royal courts from all over the Greek world. The fabulous stores of silver and gold banqueting ware and the lavish gift-giving practices of Hellenistic monarchs are well documented³⁸, and the ambassadors are likely to have received precious tableware as gifts. I offer this as a mechanism for the dissemination of this new form of the hemispherical cup, now in vogue in the royal courts of the Hellenistic world³⁹. The gifts were then copied in the ambassadors' home towns, probably first in silver, then in clay. In a city like Athens, they may have

³⁷ BURASELIS 1993.

³⁸ VÖSSING 2004, 114–123. 174–178. The wedding of Karanos in early 3rd-century Macedonia offers a useful

example of elite (or possibly royal, see MILANEZI 2013) gift-giving (Athenaios IV. 128c–130e).

³⁹ ROTROFF 2019.

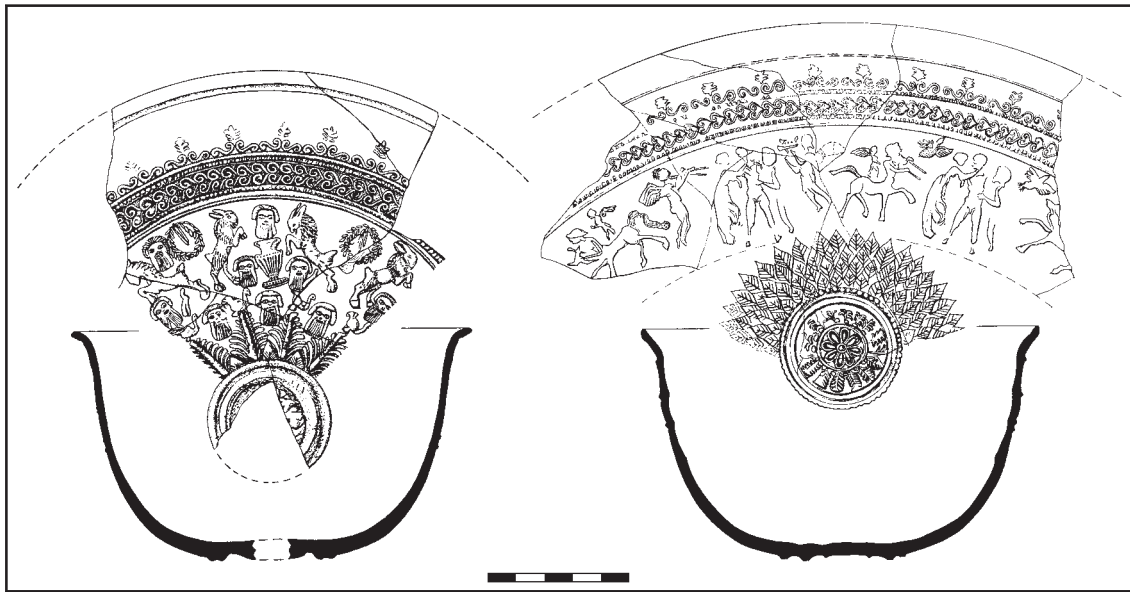


Fig. 5: Athenian figured moldmade bowls of the first phase of production, Agora P 18666, P 28537, 225–175 B. C. (ROTROFF 1982a, 56. 70 nos. 105. 212 pls. 18. 41. 75. 82). Drawings, *Agora Excavations* (Eleni Besi, Abigail Camp).

formed part of a program to drum up further support for ties with Alexandria, both at the elite and popular level. Display of the silver cups in the context of the symposium would have boosted the prestige of an elite host and thus enhanced his ability to influence group decisions – a useful tool in political climates like that at Athens, where state policies were still negotiated within the assembly⁴⁰.

The Moldmade Relief Bowl

The new hemispherical cups were more popular than the calyx-cup, but they still did not eclipse the two-handled cup of the traditional Greek drinking assemblage. The Hellenistic kantharos, a firmly-footed, two-handled vessel, was made in large numbers at Athens throughout the 3rd century, at a rough guess outnumbering the hemispherical cup by more than two to one⁴¹. The moldmade relief bowl, however, ultimately drove the kantharos out of the Athenian drinking assemblage. This final instance of eastern imitation appears in clay in the latter part of the 3rd century, again modeled on royal metalware⁴². The first clay cups are precise imitations – mechanical copies of a set of metal bowls, either imports or Athenian knock-offs⁴³. They are truly hemispherical, with a uniformly rounded underside, and could not stand unaided, as is also true of most extant metal bowls. Greek artisans soon made adjustments, however, with a slight flattening of the base (fig. 5)⁴⁴. This secure resting surface apparently appealed to the wider population that used the clay cups, people who may never have mastered the art of handling a truly hemispherical vessel. Even so, the shape must have demanded new patterns of behavior. Drinking

40 Michael Dietler (1990, 371) writes: “competition among individuals or groups for extra-institutional power (i. e., the capacity to influence group decisions and actions) is frequently conducted through manipulation of drink in the institution of hospitality.” He is writing of “societies without much development of institutionalized political authority or centralized leadership roles,” a description that could apply to Athenian democracy of the 4th century.

41 The Agora inventory lists about 140 kantharoi during the century of their existence, in contrast to about half

as many hemispherical cups, probably produced over a longer period of time.

42 Although the earliest evidence of the clay form is found at Athens (ROTROFF 1982a, 9–11), it is possible that the process of imitation took place independently in other centers with close ties with Hellenistic royalty.

43 ROTROFF 1982b.

44 Evident in almost every profile in ROTROFF 1982a, pls. 73–87. 92.



Fig. 6: Athenian West Slope kantharoi at the end of the series, Agora P 6297, 240–220 B. C.; Agora P 28523, 210–200 B. C. (ROTROFF 1997, 264, 270 nos. 213, 270 figs. 15, 18 pls. 20, 25, 141). Photos, Agora Excavations.

from a handleless and rounded cup, even when its bottom has been flattened, requires a different set of motions and practices than drinking from the tankard-like kantharoi of the standard repertoire.

A second adaptation in many of the old Greek cities (as opposed to the East, where the floral decoration of the metal models persisted in the clay versions), was the development of elaborate figured decoration, turning the vessels into conversation pieces as well as drinking cups. Athenian artisans, magpie-like, scavenged figures wherever they could find them: from miniature altars, large-scale sculpture, mural painting, and the like, combining them with their own inventions in a heterogeneous and often chaotic medley of images. The northerners – Macedonians, Thessalians, Boiotians – took a more restrained and scholarly approach with the so-called Homeric bowls and their coherent tableaux from epic and tragedy⁴⁵. The elaborate scenes and texts on these vessels suggest that drinkers examined them with care and interest, something for which the shape is not particularly well suited.⁴⁶

At Athens, the clay relief cups were so successful that the traditional two-handled shapes (the angular and baggy kantharos with West Slope decoration, fig. 6), which had in the 3rd century been used side by side with hemispherical cups, disappeared completely within a generation. Second-century Athens did have its two-handled cups, but they are not common and rarely have decoration of any kind (fig. 7). The black-gloss kantharos with a molded rim, which began to be made in the first half of the 3rd century, continued in use throughout the 2nd century (ten inventoried examples dating after 200 at the Agora)⁴⁷. The other two instances are both local versions of shapes developed elsewhere: the Palestinian cup (seven inventoried examples) and the Knidian cup (twelve inventoried examples)⁴⁸. The absence of decoration calls into question their use in

45 Conveniently collected in SINN 1979. Maria Nasioula, who is conducting a major study of this material, now makes a good case that they should more appropriately be called *grammatika poteria* (NASIOULA 2017).

46 As F. Mosca's imagined portrait of a drinker doing

so illustrates (PUPPO 2011, pl. 269b).

47 ROTROFF 1997, 106, 273 nos. 292–301 fig. 19 pls. 29, 30.

48 ROTROFF 1997, 117–119 figs. 22, 23 pls. 38, 39.