3 – THE CURRENT STATE OF KNOWLEDGE OF POST-ROMAN CERAMICS IN THE AEGEAN: THE MAJOR PROJECTS

3.1 Introduction
Archaeological research in the Aegean has expanded enormously after the Second World War (as we have seen in the previous chapter) and as a consequence the knowledge in Post-Roman pottery in Greece has greatly increased. In this chapter I will try to establish to what point precisely this knowledge has expanded as a result of recent excavations (I will not discuss survey-material here). An overview is given of what archaeologists found in a stratigraphical context during the last 25 years, of their results and of the character and date of their material. And, not least important, I will discuss the major gaps and uncertainties in the study of Medieval and Post-Medieval ceramics from Greece, at the point when I started my research on the Boeotian material in 1996.

In short, in this chapter an attempt is made to describe the current state of knowledge on the typo-chronology of Post-Roman ceramics per period and per region. This inventory is in chronological order: it starts with the Early Byzantine period (ca. 7th-9th centuries) and ends in Early Modern times (ca. 19th-mid 20th centuries).

The emphasis will be on the most important Post-War studies relating to large excavations in Greece (e.g., Athens, Corinth, Thessaloniki), in Cyprus (e.g., Paphos, Salamis) and in Constantinople/Istanbul, which were published before 1996.[1] The result of these studies will be discussed per region: e.g. ‘Constantinople/Istanbul’, ‘Greek Mainland’, ‘Greek Islands’ and ‘Cyprus’. No short excavation reports in journals such as *Archaiologikon Deltion*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* or *Archaeological Reports* will be under discussion here. Furthermore, the Medieval and Post-Medieval ceramic finds from Boeotia (e.g. Thebes, Chalkis) and from other parts of the Mediterranean will be treated in part II (in chapters 4 and 6 respectively).

3.2 Early Byzantine period (ca. 7th-9th centuries)
As has been discussed in the previous chapter, the publication of the pottery from the Great Palace (which started in the 1940s) and Saracahane excavations in Constantinople/Istanbul provided a stratigraphical basis for a much more refined chronological division of Early Byzantine and Middle Byzantine ceramics (e.g., Stevenson 1947; Talbot Rice 1958; Hayes 1968; 1992). The volumes with the pottery finds dealt with fine wares (mainly Red Slip Wares), as well as with cooking wares and amphorae (see figs. 3.1-2 for the commonest types in Late Roman fine wares and amphorae, as classified by Hayes 1968 and Riley 1981).

However, solid dates for pottery found in the parts of the Byzantine Empire outside Constantinople/Istanbul are still lacking. This holds especially true for the 7th century onwards, when imports of classic Red Slip Wares and well-known types of the Late Roman amphora series stop and local products ‘in a Roman tradition’ take their place. One of the main difficulties is that these locally produced ‘Roman derivatives’ in cooking wares and amphorae are essentially undecorated (except for some rouletting, ridges and wavy incised lines on the exteriors or on the rims),[2] and for some ceramicists therefore hard to recognize and to date.

In fact, to put it bluntly only a few studies dealing with Early Byzantine pottery of the 7th to 9th centuries from the Aegean area (such as Sparta and Gortys) are anything more than groping in the dark. The chronology of these publications is often based on coins or imports of new wares, such as glazed dishes and bowls in a white fabric from Constantinople/Istanbul (cf. Hayes 1980a). Of special interest for pottery chronology in the Early Byzantine period are the finds from Crete and Cyprus, where an Arab occupation perhaps has caused a radical break (and thus a solid date *ante quem*) in the local pottery production as well as in the Byzantine imports on these islands. On Cyprus this happened from 653/4 AD until 961 AD; on Crete from 828 AD until 961 AD.

3.2.1 Constantinople/Istanbul
The first ground-breaking publication of Early Byzantine ceramics in the Eastern Mediterranean was...
Hayes’ study of the excavated pottery from Saraçhane in Constantinople/Istanbul (Hayes 1992; preceded by the publication of a 7th century deposit in Hayes 1968). The excavations at Saraçhane uncovered remains of the church of Agios Polyeuktos, which was finished in 524/7 AD and was founded by Anicia Juliana (the daughter of the Western Emperor Flavius Anicius and Placidia the Younger). The first volume of the excavation-series dealt with the actual excavation and the architecture of the monument; the second volume dealt with all the Late Roman and Byzantine finds, ranging from the 4th to the early 13th centuries.

At the Saraçhane excavations, fine red bodied tablewares and coarser kitchen wares were a more or less constant element in all the Late Roman and Early Byzantine assemblages. Among the tablewares were the three major Late Roman fine wares, such as African Red Slip Ware from Northern Africa, Phocaean Red Slip Ware from Western Turkey and Cypriot Red Slip Ware from Cyprus, which can be generally dated from the 4th to the 7th century (cf. Hayes 1968 for these types; see also fig. 3.1). A typical shape of these fine tablewares was, for instance, the large dish or bowl with the finish of a reddish slip on the in- and outside (they lacked a glazed treatment).

Apart from these fine textured sigillata wares, other finds at Saraçhane consisted of cooking wares, among them thick-walled mortaria with a sparsely lead glazed interior, a mica-dusted ware and a white bodied ware with a matt colour-coating in red to orange-brown or black. Furthermore, a few Late Roman ‘unguentaria’ (slender fusiform flasks, sometimes bearing stamps) were found.[3]

The pottery found at Saraçhane constituted, according to Peter Megaw, also ‘the humble beginnings of glazing in Constantinople’ (Megaw 1975, 34). From the 7th century onwards, lead-glazed wares began to be produced in the neighbourhood of Constantinople/Istanbul and Corinth. The glaze was initially not used for decorative purposes, but was put on the interior of kitchenware for use as a sealant. It was only in the 8th century that glaze became more common on (sparsely) decorated tablewares. The most common shapes among them are glazed cups and fruit-stands in a white fabric (Hayes 1992, 12-34 divides them in five groups) and glazed chafing dishes in a red fabric (Sanders 1995).

The bulk of the earlier finds from the Saraçhane excavations, however, was made up of transport amphorae: they accounted for some 85 percent of the total sherd finds of the earlier Byzantine period (circa 5th-8th centuries or so), and for some 50 percent of the total sherd finds from the 10th century onwards (Hayes 1992, 3). Hayes classified them in ca. 60 types, ranging from the 4th to the 13th century in date (cf. Hayes 1992, 61 for previous classifications of the Late Roman and Byzantine amphora-types).[4] The dominant amphora type until the end of the 7th century was type S 5 (S for
Saraçhane; also known as Late Roman 1 in Riley’s typology from Berenice; see fig. 3.2) from Cilicia, Cyprus and the region around Antioch, which represented between 15-20% of the types present (cf. Riley 1979). This amphora type was followed by amphora type S 6 / LR 4 from Gaza for the transport of wine from Palestine, and amphora type S 9 / LR 2 (a globular type for the transport of wine) from the Eastern Aegean (see fig. 3.2).

Hayes argued that the 7th to 11th century tablewares and cooking wares from Constantinople had little in common with products found in peripheral Byzantine and non-Byzantine areas (e.g. Bulgaria, mainland Greece and South Russia). Nevertheless, the fine wares and cooking wares were exported from Constantinople to other regions. Recently, examples of one type of cooking pot with an internal flange halfway down the inside of the rim (Hayes’ Ware 3), produced at Constantinople in the 6th and 7th centuries, was found in Cyprus, at Carthage, in the Crimea, at Rome and at Marseilles (Hayes 1992, 54).

3.2.2 GREEK MAINLAND
Unfortunately, the publication of Early Byzantine ceramics has been rather neglected during the last 25 years by archaeologists excavating at the large urban centres of Athens and Corinth. Work at Corinth concentrated in the 1990s on the (Middle) Byzantine and Frankish periods. The excavators appear to have been working in a part of Corinth that was little occupied in Late Antiquity (although recent excavations on the edges of the Forum, East of the Theatre, and in the Panagia field to the South-east of the Forum yielded 6th-7th century finds; cf. Sanders 1999b).

The standard work for Athens is still the 1959 volume of the Athenian Agora-series by Henry Robinson (Robinson 1959). Almost half a century later, it can serve as an example of the character of Early Byzantine pottery coming from one of the most important excavations on Mainland Greece (although no quantification took place).

Athenian Agora – At the American excavations in the Athenian Agora, a group of 11 wheel-made, unglazed small jugs was found in an ossuary (group N). They were preliminarily dated by Robinson to the beginning of the 7th century on the basis of a bronze coin of Heraclius (610-641 AD) (Robinson 1959, 121-2, group N, pl. 35). Robinson suggested that the terminus ante quem for the vessels and lamps in layer XIII (group M 349-384) were a bit earlier in date, namely the last quarter of the 6th century, ‘when Slavic hordes invaded Athens and caused the retreat of the population back within the old Late Roman fortification’ (Robinson 1959, 84, M 34-84). However, John Hayes is now inclined to redate Robinson’s group M in layer XIII even earlier to circa 520-540 AD (J. Hayes, pers. comm.).

In addition, one lead-glazed plate fragment in a red fabric, some unglazed cooking pots, one unglazed jug and two globular amphorae in the level above layer XIII (that is to say: layer XIV) were then tentatively dated by Alison Frantz to the 9th and 10th centuries (Robinson 1959, 120, M 385-91, pl. 34). The plate fragment was covered with a vitreous transparent glaze on the interior, turning green to yellow-brown on the clay (Robinson, 120, M 385). Unfortunately, no picture or drawing of this important sherd exists in the book.

Perhaps even more unfortunate is the fact that since Robinson’s 1959-volume, no more Late Roman – Early Byzantine ceramics have been published from the Agora excavations at Athens. (No wonder that the archaeological world is eagerly awaiting John Hayes’
already much anticipated publication of the Athenian Agora material which is to appear at the moment that I am writing.)

Kenchreai/Corinth – In the meantime, a volume on ceramics found during excavations at Kenchreai, the Eastern port of Corinth, in the 1960s yielded no further essential information on 7th-9th century wares from the Corinthian region (Adamsheck 1979). It was the area of the harbour which was explored by the American excavators. However, the stratification was much disturbed because of problems with ground water. The finds represented primarily occupation of the later harbour area, including Late Roman and Byzantine fine and coarse wares of the 3rd until the early 7th century (such as African Red Slip Ware, Phocaean Red Slip Ware, LR 2 and ‘Samos cistern amphorae’ as well as unguentaria; see figs. 3.1-2). In all cases, glazed ceramics of the Middle Byzantine period were found mixed in the same context or at the same level and within the same co-ordinates as the 4th-7th century Red Slip Wares. The excavators concluded, therefore, that after the 4th century Kenchreai was not inhabited continuously enough to establish solid dates.

Argos – An important complex of Late Roman – Early Byzantine finds with a better stratigraphical context originated from excavations in the city centre of Argos in the Peloponnesus. In the ancient Agora of Argos a well with a large quantity of complete vessels, mostly amphorae and domestic wares, was found during excavations by the French School of Archaeology in 1976 and 1977 (Piérart & Thalmann 1980). This well was used continuously from the 3rd through the 10th century, while afterwards it became a cesspit and was finely filled in during the second half of the 12th century. Four main groups of wares were distinguished by the excavators, and labelled A, B, C and D respectively: group A was dated from the 4th to the beginning of the 5th century and included mainly amphorae (e.g. LR 3 amphora; see fig. 3.2) and one-handled jugs with ribbed bodies. Group B was dated from the end of the 11th to the beginning of the 12th century, and consisted of Byzantine amphorae with incised wavy lines, cooking pots, jugs and a pilgrim’s flask with a matt painted decoration on the outside. Groups C and D, finally, were dated from the first half to the end of the 12th century. These last two groups contained ribbed cooking pots and matt painted amphorae. (Similar painted amphorae and flask have been found at Argos by a team of Greek archaeologists, but were dated by them to an 8th-9th century context; cf. Kritzas 1973:74, 245, fig. 167c).

Of particular interest was Piérart-Thalmann’s group A’, a distinct variant of group A, which was tentatively dated by them as originating from the 5th to the 7th century (or perhaps even into the 9th century). The sub-group consisted of only four vessels: one jug with ribbed exterior (5th+ century), two cooking pots (6th-7th centuries) and a small amphora with incised graffiti on the shoulder (9th century?). They were found in the lowest part of group B, but were thought to be older than the rest in this group. According to the excavators, they were evidence that the sporadic use of this well extended for a long period of time (Piérart & Thalmann 1980, 466, pl. IV).

In her study of the distribution of Late Roman – Early Byzantine fine wares and amphorae in the Aegean, Catherine Abadie-Reynal suggested that the import of African Red Slip Ware witnessed a revival in Argos in the 6th century (Abadie-Reynal 1989a). This fine ware from North Africa represented 40% of the total amount of fine wares from this period in Argos; the rest of the Red Slip Wares came from Phocaea in Western Turkey (see fig. 3.1). These imported wares disappeared in Argos towards the mid 7th century. Of the amphorae finds at Argos, the LR 2 amphora (from the Aegean) was dominant in the 6th century with 20-30% of the total amount, but amphorae from Turkey, Syria and Palestine of the same date-range were also very well-presented on the site (see fig. 3.2). This showed, according to Abadie-Reynal, that the trade system at Argos must have been more diverse and less state-dominated than in other parts of Greece, where especially Phocaean Red Slip Ware dominated.

Slavic Ware – Another type of pottery from Early Byzantine times found at Argos demands particular attention: this is the so-called ‘Slavic Ware’. Aupert excavated in 1980 in Late Roman levels in the Baths at Argos cooking pots with a flat bottom, rounded sides and a flaring rim. The fabric of these pots was very coarse with many large voids and white quartz inclusions. Some of the vessels were perhaps hand-made or hand-shaped (the walls are not regular and show fingerprints on the
surface); others show wheel marks and were probably manufactured on a slow wheel or turntable. The decoration included horizontal straight and wavy lines and vertical straight lines. The pottery seemed to be similar to what is called ‘Prague-Korc˘ak Ware’, found at many sites in the Balkans and Central Europe.

Aupert argued that the vessels must have been left by an invading band of Slavs who took the city in 585 AD but quickly abandoned it, leaving the tell-tale mark of their pottery behind (Aupert 1980a, 394). Since his conjecture, the Argos material has been taken as dramatic confirmation of the historical accuracy of the Chronicle of Monemvasia and as material testimony to the Slavic invasions of the late 6th century in Greek lands (Vryonis 1981, 378-81; Gregory 1993, 151-55).

In other parts of Greece, similar hand-made coarse pottery found earlier in contexts of the late 6th and early 7th centuries were thereafter generally characterized as ‘Slavic Ware’ (Ialouris 1961-62, 107, pl. 117; Rudolph 1971; Gardawaski 1974; Davidson Weinberg 1974, 512-21). Examples were excavated and recognized at Tiryns, Olympia, Demetrias, Corinth, Isthmia and Sparta (e.g. Rudolph 1971, 102, pl. 44, no. 31; Kilian 1980; Eiwanger 1981; Gregory 1990; 1993; Sanders 1995). These finds consist of a variety of cooking vessels that feature small hand-made or slow wheel-turned pots, often with a flat bottom, out-turned rim, and rounded wall decorated with incised linear patterns. The fabric is always coarse, but otherwise varies widely, even among the finds from individual sites (e.g. Gregory 1993, 152).

However, it now appears that most ‘Slavic Ware’ finds (especially Aupert’s pots in Argos) have been dated too early and are probably of the 7th century (see for a recent discussion of the dating of this ware, chapter 6, 141-43 under Ware 2a), although Aupert’s 1980s ‘group’ seems to contain some earlier items as well (late 5th/6th centuries). In short, the dating of this deposit may have to be stretched out over a longer period (J. Hayes, pers. comm.).

Delphi – At Delphi, excavations of the French School in the Roman Agora and the so-called ‘South-Eastern Villa’ showed that the site was occupied until the beginning of the 7th century (Petridis 1995; 1996). Most of the imported tablewares came from North Africa (e.g. African Red Slip Ware; see fig. 3.1) and Attica (e.g. Central Greek Painted Ware), but also some fine wares from Turkey, Gaul and Cyprus were found. Next to these imports, there was a local production centre near the ancient Sanctuary of Apollo which must have existed between the last quarter of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century. Apart from moulds for lamps of a North African type, the excavators discovered three kilns, kiln supports and wasters. The local products included two types of colour-coated amphorae, large basins with wavy incised lines, jugs and small jugs (often covered with a red/brown slip on the upper part), Corinthian-style cooking pots and red-slipped small plates.

3.2.3 Cyprus

Although most of the Late Roman – Early Byzantine finds from Cyprus belong to the Eastern orbit of the Mediterranean, it is still important to discuss here some types of ceramics excavated on the island (e.g. Glazed White Wares, hand-made cooking pots) which are relevant for the discussion of the Boeotian wares in chapter 6.

A good general overview of 7th-9th century ceramics found on Cyprus is presented by John Hayes in a short article which deals mainly with the excavations at the site of Salamis (ancient Constantinia), but also reviews pottery finds (Red Slip Wares, amphorae and kitchenware) from other sites on the island (Hayes 1980a). Interesting is Hayes’ overview of finds of glazed wares from the East on the island. According to him, there is clear evidence of local production of domestic wares on Cyprus from circa 650 AD onwards. A typical Cypriot product was, for instance, the thin-walled, wheel-ridged cooking pot, which was probably made at Dhiorios in the North-Western part of the island (cf. Catling 1972).[6]

The chronology of the Cypriot cooking wares is often based on their occurrence together with 7th-9th century imports of glazed wares from Constantinople, which were found at Salamis, Paphos, Soli and other major sites. Ceramics dating later than the 9th century were not discussed by Hayes.

Kornos Cave – More detailed information on Late Roman – Early Byzantine finds came from the excavation by Hector Catling and A. Dikigoropoulos of a small deposit found in the Kornos Cave on North-Central Cyprus (Catling & Dikigoropoulos 1970). This limestone cave in a remote area 2500 feet (= ca. 800 m.) above sea level contained an assemblage which seems characteristic for the Late Roman – Early Byzantine era on the island. It consisted of one jug and two dishes of Cypriot Red Slip
Ware (a locally made Late Roman fine ware of the 4th-7th centuries; see fig. 3.1), as well as of jugs and a ‘pilgrim flask’ in unglazed plain wares.[7] Furthermore, a Cypriot cooking pot, a mould-made lamp with relief decoration of a cross, as well as bronze and iron objects were found in the cave, together with bronze coins of Heraclius (610-41 AD) and Constans II (641-67 AD), suggesting a date around mid 7th century for the pottery (Catling & Dikigoropoulos 1970, pl. XXIX B; for the date cf. Megaw 1986, 505).

The Kornos Cave may have been occupied by fugitives from the Arab raids in the mid 7th century, or could have been used as a refuge by outlaws, and the excavators suggest that the desertion of the cave may have been contemporary with the wholesale abandonment of Early Byzantine sites all over Cyprus late in the 7th or early in the 8th century. They suggest that this well-known but hitherto unexplained phenomenon should be understood rather in terms of natural catastrophe (such as the plague of circa 747 AD) than a wholly man-made disaster (Catling & Dikigoropoulos 1970, 61).

Salamis – Other Cypriot material, which would play a role in the refinement of Early Byzantine chronology, was excavated at Salamis/Constantia on the Eastern part of the island between 1964 and 1974 by archaeologists of the University of Lyon and the Cyprus Department of Antiquities (Diederichs 1980a and 1980b, 51-62). This material was found in the South-Eastern part of the town, especially in a large private residence, named by the French as l’Huilerie (or oil-factory), and in the Early Christian basilica of Kampanopetra.

The vessels found here consisted mainly of closed shapes (unguentaria, jugs in undecorated plain wares), amphorae (among which LR 1 and a Beirut type 8.2), some open shapes (plates, bowls, jars etc.) and lids – all in a Roman tradition. Also some typical examples of Cypriot Red Slip Ware and unglazed cooking wares in a whitish fabric (cf. Hayes 1968, 206; 1992, 38; see also fig. 3.1) were recovered at the site. Although the excavators admitted that many questions remained concerning the dating of this pottery, the publication of the material was swift and exemplary (Diederichs 1980b). However, the volume has to be used with some care because the excavation seems to contain also quite a bit of earlier Roman material (J. Hayes, pers. comm.).

Soloi – At Soloi, on the Northern coast of Cyprus, a large Early Byzantine basilica had been excavated by a French-Canadian mission already in the 1960s and early 1970s, although the publication was delayed because of the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974 (Des Gagniers & Tinh 1985). The finds seem to suggest that the large basilica may have been in function as late as the beginning of the 10th century. The pottery from the debris included both amphorae and cooking pots, related to those in use in the final phase at Kourion (see below). Hayes has suggested a 9th or even a 10th century date for the latest Soloi vessels (Hayes 1980a, 378). A partial re-occupation of the basilica area prior to the 10th century was attested by the find of a 9th century glazed Constantinopolitan plate in a white fabric (Hayes 1980a, 379, fig. 22:2; Megaw 1986, fig. 9a).

Kourion – On the acropolis at Kourion, located in South-Western Cyprus, extensive excavations were carried out in 1974-75 by Peter Megaw in a large Episcopal church. The complex was abandoned in the mid 7th century, apparently as a result of the Arab raids (Megaw 1976; 1979; 1986, 511-12). Systematic demolition and lime-burning marked the final levels on the site; among the latest datable finds were an early 8th century archiepiscopal seal and an Umayyad coin of 720-21 AD. Contemporary imports of amphorae of Umayyad and Byzantine types, among them a LR 13-variant in a Cypriot style, appeared to be typical for the early 8th century phase at Kourion. Notably absent were Cypriot Red Slip Ware (although Egyptian Red Slip Ware A was found; cf. Hayes 1993, 89) and the thin-walled, wheel-ridged cooking pot, both characteristic wares for 7th century Cyprus (cf. Dhiorios, Kornos Cave, Pegeia). Instead, the site yielded in its latest phase a thick-walled, hand-made cooking pot with circular handles and an imported thin-walled cooking pot with ribbon handles (Megaw 1986, fig. 8a-b).

Kalavasos-Kopetra – In 1987 the American ‘Kalavasos-Kopetra Project’ started an intensive survey and subsequent excavations at the small inland settlement of Kopetra in the Vasilikos Valley, circa 20 kilometres East of Limassol (McClellan & Rautman 1989; 1991; 1994; Rautman & McClellan 1990; 1992; Rautman et al. 1993). The excavations took place at the site of three basilicas near the edges of the settlement, as well as at buildings in
the habitation centre. The settlement seemed to have flourished briefly during the 6th and 7th centuries. In the middle of the 7th century the site suffered widespread damage and human activity on it was substantially reduced, probably as result of Arab raids on the island (Megaw 1986). This final phase of occupation may have lasted only a few years, and by the 8th century the site was abandoned.

The bulk of the finds from Kalavasos-Kopetra was of Cypriot manufacture, including Cypriot Red Slip Ware (which comprised over half of all the fine wares recovered; see fig. 3.1) and many fragments of LR amphora (over 90% of all identified amphora sherds; see fig. 3.2), as well as more than 200 fragments of locally made cooking vessels (among which the thin-walled wheel-ridged type cooking pot known from Dhiories and the thick-walled hand-made type known from Kourion). The hand-made cooking pots apparently constituted the latest evidence for post-destruction activity at Kopetra, and were found together with a late follis of Constans II (issued in 659/60 AD).

Related hand-made cooking pots were found in the neighbouring Maroni Valley at the 6th to early 7th century church complex at Maroni-Petrera, near Kopetra (Manning et al. 1994, 367). More examples have been reported at the necropolis of Amathus, circa 20 km to the west. These cooking pots were found in a reused tomb together with pottery, lamps and other objects of the mid 7th century (Procopiou 1995, 258, 269, pl. XXXII, 1b).

*Paphos* – Finally, British excavations on the Crusader Castle of Sarawdo Kologos, overlooking the harbour of Paphos in Western Cyprus, revealed 7th-9th century finds and the debris of a glass factory. The mound was first investigated by Peter Megaw in 1957-59 on behalf of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities. Subsequent excavations with other sponsors followed in 1966-67, in 1970-71 and in 1981-1983 (Megaw 1971; 1972; 1984; Rosser 1985). Found together with the glass was a type of (LR variant?) amphora related to the early 8th century example from Kourion (Megaw 1971, fig. 5, no. 22; 1972, fig. C).

Further study by John Hayes of the pottery associated with the glass factory and from construction contexts in the Castle included a number of plain and comb-grooved amphorae of the late 8th-early 9th century, fragments of coarse lead-glazed vessels (including chafing dishes) and two sherds of Constantinopolitan Glazed White Ware of the 8th century (Megaw 1971, 145-46; 1972, 340).

Similar 8th-9th century pottery appeared below the Crusader layers at the Castle during excavations in the 1980s. Among the finds were rim fragments of Glazed White Ware and two pieces of glazed chafing dishes of the same era (Rosser 1985, 87, n. 21, fig. H: 13-19).

### 3.2.4 Crete

Both the written sources and the archaeological evidence concerning Crete suggest that the 6th and the first half of the 7th centuries were a time of great commercial activity and financial flourishing for the island (Tsougarakis 1988, 21). This was followed by a period of decay, and from 827-828 AD onwards Crete was gradually conquered by the Arabs.

*Knossos* – In this perspective, an intriguing assemblage from a so-called ‘Arab building’ at ancient Knossos might be worth a closer study (Warren & Miles 1972). The excavators claimed to have found the first-known building from the period of Arab occupation of the island (828-961 AD), but unfortunately did not publish the pottery very adequately. The house itself, a simple rectangular structure, was dated by coins of the Arab emirs of Crete, and could have been built at the time of or shortly after the Arab conquest.

However, the pottery directly on and in the floor was mixed and included Minoan sherds, as well as pieces of unglazed ceramics which were rather vaguely described as ‘Late Roman or later’ (and compared with very disturbed deposits from a Byzantine basilica church in the northern part of Knossos; cf. Frend & Johnston 1962, 217-29). Also, a lid fragment was found with stamped squares on the outside (although the excavators designated it also as ‘Late Roman or later’, it rather looks like it should be dated to the Late Byzantine/Frankish period). A deposit at the East side outside the building yielded a pointed Arab-type lamp nozzle, several glazed sgraffito fragments from Late Byzantine/Frankish – Early Turkish times, as well as a sherd which was described as ‘dark green glazed with light green glaze patterned’ (this is, in fact, a fragment of 19th century Didymoteicho Ware from Thrace). All in all, the discus-
sion of the pottery found at this excavation was rather disappointing and does not contribute greatly to a solid chronology for the Early Byzantine material on Crete (cf. Hayes 2001, 433, note 10 also suggests a later date for the few fragmentary 'Arab' finds from this excavation).

Gortys – More interesting are the excavated finds of the Italian Archaeological Institute near the praetorium (governor’s palace) at Gortys in Central Crete. The site was abandoned after the earthquake in 796 AD and the Arab invasion in 828 AD, when much of the city was razed. From 1978 onwards, the Italian excavators recovered a habitation area of the 5th-8th centuries with open house-shops along the west road (la strada ovest) of the praetorium (Di Vita 1988). The finds included imported tablewares, imported amphorae (LR 1 amphora: 8.7%; LR 4 amphora: 10.7%; LR 7 amphora: 3.7% of the total finds; see also fig. 3.2), glass and ivory objects from North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Cyprus, Western Turkey and Constantinople,[9] as well as locally produced amphorae and an unique type of painted ware (or ceramica sovradipinta bizantina).

This Byzantine Painted Ware from Gortys was dated by the excavators between the end of the 6th and the 8th centuries (although stratigraphical contexts seem still inadequate to provide more solid dating). The vessels are decorated with geometric patterns and designs of stylistic birds and fishes in a red-brown slip. Similar examples were also found at the sites of Pseira and Knossos on Crete. The pottery from Gortys shows many parallels with slip-decorated wares from the Greek Mainland (such as ‘Central Greek Painted Ware’ found at Athens, Argos, Delphi, Nea Anchialos, Demetrias, Thasos and Thessaloniki) and from Coptic Egypt (found at Alexandria and Kellia).

Excavations in 1988 and in 1989 in the habitation area west of the Gortys praetorium revealed the remains of ‘poor houses’ and a small monastery, which were occupied until the end of the 8th century. They yielded a few sherds of Glazed White Ware (Hayes’ groups I and II), which were dated to the second half of the 7th century (Di Vita 1993) Two large fragments were part of a lid (for a chafing dish) and were decorated with so-called ‘petals’. This Petal Ware found at Gortys, which is normally rare outside Constantinople, can be dated stylistically towards the mid 8th century (cf. Hayes 1992, 12-18; 1993, 87).

Pseira – Furthermore, American-Greek excavations on the islet of Pseira off the North-Eastern coast of Crete have revealed in the late 1980s a church complex of the Early Byzantine period with yet another find of glazed ware on Crete (Albani & Poulou-Papadimitriou 1990). Unfortunately, previous excavations in 1910 by R.B. Seager, who was searching for the Minoan settlement of Pseira, made a stratigraphical study of the ceramics ‘almost impossible’. The pottery was, therefore, provisionally dated on the basis of its fabric and typology as being from the late 6th/early 7th up to the beginning of the 9th centuries.

Among the other finds at Pseira were domestic wares (amphorae, cooking pots and jugs), a few Phocaean Red Slip Ware fragments (see fig. 3.1), and a Palestinian-type lamp of the 7th-8th centuries. The discovery of pieces of a glazed chafing dish in a red fabric is noteworthy. The chafing dish appeared to be an early type and was dated to the 9th century, which makes it a rare find outside Corinth and Constantinople (Albani & Poulou-Papadimitriou 1990, 7-8, fig. 8).[10]

3.2.5 OTHER GREEK ISLANDS

Chios – In the Aegean area itself, the excavations by the British School at Athens at Emporio on the South coast of the island of Chios in the 1950s was a relatively early example of a modern excavation almost exclusively focussed on the Late Roman, Early Byzantine and subsequent Medieval occupation of the area (Ballance et al. 1986). The Early Christian basilica church complex (erected around 570 AD) and the Byzantine fortified settlement on the Acropolis hill were explored under the direction of John Boardman (1953) and Michael Balance (1954-55). The excavators believed that the fortress may have been constructed in the early part of the reign of Constans II (641-68) against the Arab threat. The settlement was destroyed by the Arabs before their attack on Constantinople in 674 AD. The basilica church was also destroyed in this period.

The bulk of the Early Byzantine pottery, lamps, coins and other finds from the Chios excavation were later published by John Boardman (Boardman 1989). Among the finds were a few Early Roman pots, Late Roman fine tablewares (such as Phocaean Red Slip Ware, African Red Slip Ware and Cypriot Red Slip Ware; see fig. 3.1), mid 7th century plain wheel-made wares with ribbed walls and sparsely incised (wavy) lines (among them jugs.
with one or two handles, jugs with a spout, small cups and mugs, open jars and dishes), as well as cooking pots, amphorae, pithoi, lids and stoppers.

The finds suggest, according to the excavators, that there were subsequent phases of reoccupation in the fortress at Emporio: the first one ended in the early 9th century, the second one before the end of the 11th century. Pottery of the alleged 9th century re-occupation period included two round-bottomed amphorae with irregularly grooved walls (nos. 280-81), a storage jar with a pointed foot (no. 282), a handled jar (no. 283), two cooking pots (nos. 284-85), a one-handled mug (no. 287) and a jug with grooved walls (no. 286).

However, the evidence suggests that this dating might be dubious. One of the two so-called 9th century amphorae (no. 281) looks rather like a LR 1-variant and should therefore be dated to the 7th century (although the drawing of this amphora in fig. 43 looks quite different from its photograph in plate 25). The second amphora (no. 281) is a LR 13-variant with a LR 1 base and can indeed be dated to the 8th-9th centuries (P. Reynolds, pers. comm.). In addition, the supposedly 11th century glazed pottery from a tomb within the chapel in the fortress seems to be limited to a handful of fragments of Brown and Green Painted Ware and Slip-painted Ware fragments, which both are nowadays dated to the 12th century (Boardman 1989, 114, fig. 43, pl. 26).

Samos – On the island of Samos, German archaeologists excavated the Heraion (or Sanctuary of Hera) on the Southern coast, and published the Red Slip Wares found there (Technau 1929; Schneider 1929; Isler 1978, 127-131; Tölke-Kastenbein 1974, 159-162). African Red Slip Ware was used in the Heraion until the 5th century, when Phocaean Red Slip Ware rapidly became the dominant ware (see fig. 3-1). The number of finds of this ware increased dramatically after about 450 AD and reached a new peak in the first half of the 6th century (Lund 1996, 107; see also note 4 for the Eupalinos Tunnel finds on Samos).

The excavation of a cistern on Samos, which contained Late Roman/Early Byzantine wares, was published by H.P. Isler (Isler 1969). The pottery was apparently thrown in the cistern during the destruction of a nearby house, and was therefore considered as a closed deposit. The ceramics were divided into three groups: 1) crudely made kitchenware (pithoi, amphorae, pitchers, beakers and deep bowls), often with grooves on the outside; 2) hard fired, thin-walled cooking pots; and 3) fine wares with a thick rim (among them Phocaean Red Slip Ware form 3, which can be dated to the 6th century). A large group of one late 6th/7th century amphoratype from the cistern was classified twenty years later by Paul Arthur with the term ‘Samos cistern amphora’, because both the distribution and the clay of the type appear to be of Samian origin (cf. Arthur 1990; see also note 5).

More recently, a Greek rescue excavation uncovered a pit deposit of the late 6th/early 7th century at Pythagoreio on Samos (Geroussi 1992-1993). The finds included amphorae (from Africa, the Aegean area, Eastern Turkey as well as from Samos itself), domestic wares (e.g. a Beirut lantern, a wine thief and a cheesemaker) and a glazed chafing dish in a white fabric, which must be one of the earliest examples (if correctly dated) of this type of ware found outside Constantinople. Fifteen bronze coins were also found in the pit, the latest being from 613-629 AD and four others having an issue date of 611-614/5 AD. According to the excavators, the associated buildings were destroyed in the third quarter of the 7th century during the Arab invasions on the island, and in the course of later reconstructions of the buildings the pottery and coins must have been thrown into the pit.

Kythera – Other 6th to 7th century material was excavated on the island of Kythera near the Peloponnese. Some Late Roman – Early Byzantine deposits at the site of Kastri on Kythera could be dated in connection with coins from the mid 6th century to 615/6 AD (Coldstream & Huxley 1972). The excavators dated the pottery on the basis of Waagé’s old classification of the material from the excavations at Antioch in South-Eastern Turkey (Waagé 1948). The finds included Late Roman fine wares, such as African Red Slip Ware and Phocaean Red Slip Ware, as well as LR 2 amphorae (see figs. 3.1-2).

Aegina – Early Byzantine and Middle Byzantine finds from the densely inhabited Classical site (‘Burgberg’) North of the modern port of Aegina (on the island with the same name) yielded fine wares (among them African Red Slip Ware of the 7th century; see fig. 3-1), glass fragments, and lamps of the 1st century until the 6th
century (Felten 1975). According to the German excavators, the settlement was destroyed at the beginning of the 9th century (perhaps by Arabs?). The pottery was dated by them from the late 6th to 8th centuries and consisted mostly of unglazed domestic ware, such as ribbed jugs with one handle, cooking pots, fragments with incised wavy lines and two-handled amphorae. Apparently, also fragments of 8th century Glazed White Ware from Constantinople were recovered during the excavations (cf. Hayes 1993, 88).

However, a closer look suggests that the chronological range of the material from Aegina does not stop at the 8th century. The finds seem also to contain pottery from the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries. One amphora in this publication (no. 108, pl.22), for instance, looks similar to Medieval amphorae from Italy of the 10th-11th centuries. Also, the unglazed incised and gouged wares as well as the plain glazed chafing dishes in a red fabric appear to be later than proposed by the excavators.

Thasos – On the island of Thasos, in the most Northern part of the Aegean, excavations were conducted from 1969 to 1977 by Jean-Paul Sodini in the double basilica of Aliki. The finds were published in 1992 by Catherine Abadie-Reynal, together with ceramics found in a trial trench in a villa at Delkos as well as pottery from earlier excavations of the French School at Athens (Abadie-Reynal 1992). The time range of all the published ceramics was from the early 5th until possibly the 8th century. Finds included 2nd to 7th century fine wares (among them Phocaean Red Slip Ware; see fig. 3.1), as well as amphorae (LR 1, LR 2 and LR 3; see fig. 3.2) and cooking pots. Furthermore, various lamps, glass and metal objects were recovered.

3.3 Middle Byzantine period
(ca. 10th-12th/early 13th centuries)

Contrary to the situation of ceramics of the Early Byzantine period of the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, pottery finds of the so-called Middle Byzantine period are fairly well documented in publications. This period is mostly taken to stretch from the late 9th/early 10th through the 12th/early 13th century, and is often characterised by archaeologists and historians as an era of recovery and development, especially in the regions outside Constantinople. New production centres of pottery emerged in this period, using new shapes and decoration-techniques, and distribution patterns changed rapidly. Especially during the 11th and 12th centuries, with the appearance of widely used glazed wares with painted or sgraffito decoration, ‘a greater uniformity of taste in pottery styles’ was apparently emerging in the Byzantine world (Hayes 1992, 3). In the catalogue of the Thessaloniki-exhibition Byzantine Glazed Ceramics the editor refers to these centuries with good reason as ‘the age of experimentation and aspiration’ (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 18).

Fine examples of these glazed and highly decorated wares have been published in catalogues of several large exhibitions held in France and Greece from the 1980s onwards (e.g. Splendeur de Byzance 1982; Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art 1986; Brouscari 1988). Since Alison Frantz’s article from the early 1940s in which she identified the mythical Byzantine hero Digenis Akritas on a glazed plate from Athens, there has remained a constant art-historical interest in the iconography of Byzantine glazed wares (Frantz 1940-41; Biets 1977; Ioannidaki-Dostoglou 1981).

The research into Middle Byzantine ceramics has always been focussed on developing the typology and chronology for the (easily recognisable) glazed and highly decorated wares from Constantinople/Istanbul and Corinthis, and in doing so has always relied (and still relies) heavily on Morgan’s classification and dating from the 1940s (Morgan 1942). The publication of unglazed domestic pottery was mostly routinely ignored, with the notable exception of some finds from Constantinople (Peschlow 1977-78), Corinth (MacKay 1967), Argos (Piérart & Thalmann 1980), Sparta (Sanders 1993) and Nichoria (Rosser 1983).

Furthermore, a handful of fundamental publications on Middle Byzantine amphorae found in the Aegean have appeared during the last 25 years (cf. Peschlow 1977-78 for Constantinople; Piérart & Thalmann 1980 for Argos and Vassi 1993 for Lakonia). An important contribution was Bakirtzis’ study on the names, shapes and functions of cooking wares and amphorae in Greece, specifically of the period from the 9th/10th to the 13th/15th century (Bakirtzis 1989a). However, it was only Hayes’ publication of the Saraçhane excavations at Constantinople/Istanbul that provided a good dating of these wares in a stratigraphical context (Hayes 1992, 61-79).
The standard glazed wares of the Middle Byzantine period are traditionally divided into glazed ceramics with a white fabric and glazed ceramics with a red fabric. Of these, the so-called 'Glazed White Wares' (the names are based on fabric, not on colour of glaze), have a long period of production in Constantinople: from the early 7th to the 13th century (see in general, figs. 3.3-4). The 'Glazed Red Wares' appear only from the late 9th century onward, and many originate from Corinth (see in general, figs. 3.5-6). From the outset these wares have attracted the interest of most scholars working with Byzantine ceramics (e.g. Talbot Rice 1930; Morgan 1942; Stevenson 1947). According to Hayes, they even form 'the backbone of Byzantine pottery chronology prior to the appearance of the sgraffito and related classes in the 12th century' (Hayes 1992, 12).

3.3.1 Constantinople/Istanbul:
'Glazed White Wares' (Figs. 3.3-4)
After two reports of Robert Stevenson and David Talbot Rice on the Great Palace finds (which appeared in 1947 and 1954 respectively), it took a long time until a large deposit of Glazed White Wares was published in 1978 from excavations at Constantinople/Istanbul. This deposit was recovered on the South side of the Agia Eirene church in Constantinople/Istanbul, and was dated by the excavator from mid 9th to late 10th centuries (Peschlow 1977/78). It included tableware in a monochrome green and monochrome yellow glaze (sometimes with an impressed decoration), oil-lamps, chafing dishes, unglazed domestic vessels and amphorae, as well as two coins. One of these could be dated to the years 868-870 AD.

Furthermore, the Agia Eirene excavations yielded six examples of a subgroup of Glazed White Ware with a polychrome painted decoration (the so-called Polychrome Ware). These vessels belonged to Morgan’s Groups I-III, and were dated to the 10th century (Peschlow 1977-78, 405-6). In recent years, though, it has been argued by some scholars that the Agia Eirene deposit was dated too early by the excavator, and should be rather dated somewhere between the late 10th and early 12th centuries (Hayes 1992, 13; Sanders 1995, 25).

More recently, John Hayes devoted a chapter in his publication of the Sarachane excavations to the monochrome Glazed White Wares, sometimes decorated with...
an impressed or stamped decoration (Hayes 1992, 12-34). The stratigraphical and numismatic evidence of these excavations contributed greatly to the refinement of the dating of the Glazed White Wares. Hayes' publication dealt with circa 20,000 glazed sherds in a white fabric, which is the largest collection of Glazed White Wares yet studied. He suggested several improvements in the traditional diagnosis of monochrome Glazed White Ware. The previous classifications by Talbot Rice and Stevenson tended to stress the decorative aspects of these ceramics (hence their suggestions for names were 'Petal Ware' and 'Impressed Ware') (see Appendix A2). Hayes, however, divided the wares into five new groups on the basis of fabric, while Polychrome Ware was treated as a different group altogether and was discussed in a separate chapter (see Appendix A13).

At the Saraçhane excavations, the Glazed White Wares occurred in such massive quantities (ca. 20,000 sherds in total) that Hayes assumed that they were made locally – although no kilns, wasters or unfinished products have ever been found. The overall date-range may now be set from early 7th century until some time in the 13th century.

Apart from his new groupings of the Glazed White Wares, Hayes also proposed new dates and a new typology (of three groups) for Middle Byzantine Polychrome Ware. These new groups were based more or less on Morgan’s scheme but differed as far as the colours were concerned. (Hayes 1992, 35-37; see also 1993, 85-86). Hayes' group 1 may begin as early as the second half of the 10th century, group 2 is found in late 10th and early 11th century contexts and group 3 he finds in deposits of the late 11th to early 12th centuries. Polychrome Ware, however, formed only a small category of the Byzantine finds. At the Saraçhane excavations with 175 vessel sherds and 20 tile fragments it accounted for only one percent of the total amount of glazed pottery of this period (Hayes 1992, 35).

Finds of Glazed White Wares have been recorded at every major Byzantine site in the Aegean area (e.g. Athens, Corinth, Thessaloniki) and around the Black Sea shores (e.g. Cherson in the Crimea, Mesembria in Bulgaria) (cf. Waagé 1933, 321-22; Morgan 1942, 42-49; Bakirtzis & Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1981, 422; Hayes 1992, 12, n. 2; and Armstrong forthcoming, fig. 3.1 for more find spots of Glazed White Wares in the Aegean, in Italy, in Bulgaria, in Cyprus, in Turkey and in Southern Russia). More recently, fragments of 7th-9th century Glazed White Wares were also recovered and published at the sites of Salamis, Kourion, Soli and Paphos on Cyprus (Megaw 1972, 340; Hayes 1980a, 379-80; Rosser 1985; Megaw 1986, 512-13, 516), at Gortys on Crete (Di Vita 1993, 351-55), at Thera on Santorini (E. Daft, pers. comm.) and at Pythagoreio on Samos (Gerousi 1992-1993).

Half a century ago, Morgan published small quantities of Glazed White Wares found at the site of Corinth, which have recently been reassessed by Guy Sanders in the light of excavations during the last decades on the site (Morgan 1942; Sanders 1995). It now appears that this ware from Constantinople was much in use at Corinth at the end of the 10th and during the 11th century before the local factories became active, though it continued to be imported on a smaller scale in the 12th century (Morgan 1942, 49; Sanders 1995).

Morgan based his typology on the decorative styles, and he dated the material to rather long time spans of years, unless there was good evidence for suggesting narrower chronological bands. However, as far as the Polychrome Ware (in a white fabric) is concerned, Sanders’ reassessment of the archaeological evidence from Corinth has indicated that this type of ware was an 11th century decorative style and one of the primary stimuli for the glazed pottery production at Corinth (Sanders 1995). This conclusion seems to be supported by excavated material elsewhere: from Thessaloniki (Soteriou & Soteriou 1952, 238-43; Bakirtzis & Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1981) and from Nichoria in the Peloponnesus (McDonald & Howell 1971, 135, pl. 115a; Rosser 1983, pl. 10-1).

3.3.2 Corinth: ‘Red Glazed Wares’ (Figs. 3.5-6) The so-called ‘Red Glazed Wares’ (formerly also named ‘Plain Glazed Wares’ by Morgan) are the second group of Middle Byzantine glazed wares found in Greek lands. These glazed wares in a red fabric and covered with a clear lead glaze formed indeed a significant and important group of Middle Byzantine ceramics found at Corinth (Morgan 1942, 36-42). The Red Glazed Wares of the 11th-12th centuries have, according to some pottery specialists, their ‘roots’ in the excavated groups at Corinth studied by Charles Morgan in 1942 (Megaw 1975; Sanders 1995, 16). They comprised Class ‘B’ in Talbot Rice’s classification, and were also present in the
excavated deposits of the Great Palace and Sarayhan excavations at Constantinople/Istanbul (Hayes 1992, 41-2 defined them as 'Coarse Glazed Wares').

More recently, Guy Sanders clarified the picture of the locally produced Red Glazed Wares from Corinth as presented by Morgan 50 years ago (Sanders 1995). He was able to discuss the development of this glazed pottery from a body of securely dated material. Apparently, Corinth’s pottery production evolved slowly from the 9th until the end of the 11th century. In the beginning, very little was glazed (less than 0.5%). Glaze was used as a surface treatment to seal the body of a limited range of shapes intended to hold liquids (such as chafing dishes, lids and cups). From the mid 10th century, however, the shape of the Corinthian chafing dishes seemed to be influenced by examples from Constantinople (Sanders 1995, 306).

At the end of the 11th century the Corinthian industry went through a period of transformation. The shapes changed (dishes and bowls replaced chafing dishes) and new decoration-techniques were introduced. One notable change was the use of a white slip as an attempt to imitate the imported Glazed White Wares from Constantinople. In the process, the Corinthian potters experimented with a white slip (on a red fabric) and various painted and incised designs as decoration, creating the so-called ‘Slip-painted Ware’, ‘Fine Sgraffito Ware’ and ‘Green and Brown Painted Ware’ (see figs. 3.7-9). Apparently, the new influences occurred in the years immediately after the mid 11th century, after the battle of Manzikert and the conquest of Sicily by the Normans (Hayes 1993, 86). The volume of glazed pottery in the Corinthian deposits increased from the 11th century onward, and especially during the 12th and into the 13th century.

Furthermore, quantitative research at Corinth by Guy Sanders showed that some styles, which were once considered 10th century or earlier, more probably date late in the 11th century. According to him, the most urgent remaining problem that has to be tackled is the chronological gap between the mid 12th and the early 13th century.

Excavations at Corinth of a trench in the South-Eastern quarter of the temenos (shrine) of temple E revealed in 1989 that the ditch created by removal of this wall was used as a dumping ground for over 50 and up to 80 years (Williams & Zervos 1990, 339-45). Large
quantities of pottery were recovered, and both stratigraphical and numismatic data supplemented by statistical analysis of the material permitted the excavators to trace changes in ceramic styles from the last decades of the 11th and the first half of the 12th century. The finds included typical Middle Byzantine fine wares in a red fabric, such as Slip-painted Ware, Fine Sgraffito Ware, Measles Ware, Green and Brown Painted Ware, as well as cooking pots and painted amphorae (see figs. 3.7-9).

Five years later, more of the same wares were found in a waste pit that had been dug into a construction floor of a monastic complex of the 13th century. The finds included fragments of Fine Sgraffito Ware, Measles Ware and chafing dishes (Williams & Zervos 1995, 18, pl. 13: a,b,d and f).

Similar wares (e.g. Green and Brown Painted Ware, Sgraffito ware, Slip painted Ware) were also found near the surface level at the American excavations at Kenchreai, the Eastern port of Corinth. Since there were no building remains or deposits with which to associate the Byzantine pottery, none of it was dated other than by comparison. And because of their poor preservation, only ‘those pieces with some recognizable shape and/or some coherent design’ were dated and classified according to Morgan’s old system (Adamscheck 1979, 100-104, pl. 25).

The excavators concluded that during the Byzantine and Turkish periods there must have been little if any substantial occupation making use of the anchorage.

3.3.3 Greek mainland (other than Corinth)
As far as the rest of Greece is concerned, there are only sporadic and brief reports of rescue excavations in urban centres of the Aegean. At Thessaloniki, for instance, most of the excavations published the well-known Middle Byzantine glazed wares (including Polychrome Ware, Brown and Green Painted Ware and Fine Sgraffito Ware; see figs. 3.8-9), but provided no stratigraphical contexts (cf. Bakirtzis & Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1981; Evgenidou 1982).

Athenian Agora – Of the Middle Byzantine pottery published from the Athenian Agora only Alison Frantz’s exemplary article from over 60 years ago is still of practical use (Frantz 1938). Since then, nothing substantial has been published on Byzantine ceramics from Athens. Some odd finds of the Middle Byzantine period came from excavations on the Roman Agora (Orlandos...
and from excavations on the Northern slope of the Acropolis (Bronner 1938; Vavyloupolou-Charitonidou 1982).

Of particular interest, though, was the discovery of Byzantine structures from the 9th to the 12th centuries on the Northern side of the Athenian Agora (Shear 1984). The finds included typical Corinthian products in a red fabric (such as Brown Glazed Ware, Green and Brown Painted Ware and Fine Sgraffito Ware; see figs. 3.6; 3.8-9), as well as domestic wares and coins, but they were unfortunately only presented in very brief descriptions in an excavation report (Shear 1984).

Nichoria – Apart from giving laudable attention to coarse wares, the American excavators at Nichoria in Messenia (South-Western Peloponnesus) developed a sort of a rough dating of Byzantine roof tiles. The excavations yielded several Lakonian-type roof tiles which could be paralleled with imported glazed wares and with numismatic evidence (Rosser 1983). Some of the tiles were diagnosed as dating from the Late Roman-Early Byzantine period, others (from the chapel which could be dated on the basis of a coin of 1143-80 AD) from the late 10th to the early 12th century. These last ones included three basic types: cover tiles, pan tiles, and ridge tiles.

In the same way, according to the excavators, the coarse wares were dated in a refined way ‘not like other published coarse wares from the Peloponnesus’ (Rosser 1983, 378). Unfortunately, the lay-out of the Nichoria-catalogue as well as the drawings are rather unclear, and make further study of the coarse wares and roof tiles on the basis of this publication not an easy matter.

3.3.4 Greek Islands and Cyprus

Aegina – Finds of Glazed Red Ware (e.g. chafing dishes) from the Acropolis to the North of the modern port of Aegina offered comparisons for shapes (with Corinth) but offered, on the other hand, little insight into the chronology of this glazed ware (Felten 1975, 75, nos. 144-49, figs. 17-9, pl. 28). Recently, Guy Sanders has argued that the chafing dishes from Aegina appeared to represent types which can be dated between the early 9th and late 11th century (Sanders 1995, 20). This date seems to correspond with other wares in this publication, for instance, with some unglazed jugs (nos. 105, 110) and amphorae (nos. 105-109) as well as with some fragments of unglazed incised and gougèd wares (e.g. nos. 113-114, 125).

Kythera – On the island of Kythera, a Middle Byzantine deposit from a rubbish fill overlying Roman and Minoan burial levels was found at the site of Kastri (Coldstream & Huxley 1972). The finds included 12th century fine wares, among them Green and Brown Painted Ware, Slip-painted Ware, Fine Sgraffito Ware and Monochrome Green Glazed Wares. Furthermore, the excavation yielded two varieties of amphorae (e.g. Günsenin 3/ Saraçhane 61 amphorae), as well as domestic wares (bowls, jars and cooking pots) which were, according to the excavators, of ‘a ponderous crudity rarely seen at Kastri since the Early Bronze Age’ (Coldstream & Huxley 1972, 308).

Lindos – Unfortunately, the Byzantine pottery brought to Copenhagen by the Danish expedition from Lindos (on the island of Rhodes) in 1902-14 and in 1952 lacked precise information concerning its provenance (Sørensen & Pentz 1992, 217-31). Perhaps the vessels came from the Acropolis of Lindos, or from some of the other sites where the Danes were active on the island (e.g. the Agios Stephanos graves). The fragments only represent a minority of the excavated and published finds, and there are no finds of domestic wares in the Lindos-volume. In fact, most of the published fragments are nicely decorated pieces of Fine Sgraffito Ware and Champlevé Ware of the 12th-early 13th centuries, together with some odd pieces of later date, and do not give substantial information.

Underwater archaeology – Better dates of Middle Byzantine wares found in the Aegean were provided in the 1970s by underwater archaeologists. In the summer of 1970, a Byzantine shipwreck was excavated by the Greek archaeological service and P. Throckmorton off Pelagonnisos (or Pelagos) near Alonnesos in the Northern Sporades (Kritzas 1971; BPA, 229-242; nos. 263-4, 269-97; Ioannidaki-Dostoglou 1989; Armstrong 1991). The ship was carrying a cargo of six large mill-stones and ca. 1490 complete pieces of pottery, the majority of which were glazed plates and bowls with a fine engraved decoration on the inside. This Sgraffito Ware was decorated with animal figures, geometric motifs, medallions, bands with ‘Pseudo-Kufic’ letters,
interlace designs and floral patterns. On the basis of the
decoration technique of the glazed finds the shipwreck
was dated to the mid 12th century. The unglazed finds
and amphorae were, however, not published.

More Eastwards, another shipwreck was discovered in
1970 off Cape Zapheirion (Pounenti) on the South-Western coast of Kastellorizo Island (Filotheou &
Michailidou 1986; Loucas 1989). The wreck was already
known from material in the local museum and in foreign
collections. The cargo of the ship consisted of a
minimum of 130 vessels (an unknown amount has
dispersed without a record). They all had the same
shape and size: a thick, deep bowl or plate with a ring
foot and hemispherical body. One group had incised
motifs (e.g. stylised birds, fish, octopus, star), the other
group was painted (e.g. slip-painted, green splashes,
green and brown painted). The value of the Kastellorizo
cargo, which was dated to the late 12th-early 13th
centuries, lies in the fact that it constituted a closed find,
probably loaded onto the ship from one (yet unknown)
pottery workshop.

3.4 Late Byzantine/Frankish period
(ca. 13th-mid 15th centuries)

It was only after the Second World War that the
complexity and variety of pottery of the periods
following Byzantine rule over Greece, the ‘Late
Byzantine/Frankish period’ (13th-14th centuries) and
‘Turkish period’ (15th-18th centuries) were recognized
(see for some examples figs. 3.10-11). Slowly but undeni-
ably, finds from these periods began to attract more
attention and interest at Greek excavations. After early
publications concerning finds in Constantinople/
Istanbul, one of the most important sources of informa-
tion for the Late Byzantine/Frankish period in the
Aegean became the study of Medieval pottery from
Cyprus, which grew into an important commercial centre
between Western Europe and the Crusaders’ dominions
in the East during the Crusader period, when the island
was a fief of the Lusignan family (1192-1489 AD).

The emphasis of research in the most recent decades
was on glazed and highly decorated wares with incisions
and painted colours (e.g. ‘Brown and Green Sgraffito
Ware’), on the identification of local pottery workshops
(e.g. on Cyprus and at Thessaloniki) and on the publica-
tion of products from a single manufacturing centre (e.g.
‘Zeuxippus Ware’ and ‘Aegean Ware’). Much glazed
pottery of the Late Byzantine/Frankish period was
published in catalogues of private collections in Greece
and on Cyprus (e.g. Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1982; 1984;
1989; Makropoulou 1995).

A recent development is the attention to the distribu-
tion of pottery in Late Byzantine/Frankish times. A good
deal of study was made, for instance, of imports in Greek
lands of 13th century glazed tablewares from Italy, such
as ‘Metallic Ware’, ‘Roulette Ware’ and ‘Proto-Maiolica
Wares’ (François 1997b). This last group of glazed wares
from Italy was found at the excavations of Corinth
(Waagé 1934; Robinson & Weinberg 1960), of Argos
(Oikonomou-Laniado 1993), of Isthmia (Gregory 1989;
1993, nos. 6-19) and of Arta (Papadopoulou & Tsouris
1993, figs. 7-9).
Until now, less work was done in the Aegean on the study of unglazed domestic wares and amphorae of the Late Byzantine/Frankish period (these ceramics were often better studied in Eastern Europe). The publications of the major excavations in Greece covered very little of domestic pottery, with the exception of Corinth (MacKay 1967; Sanders 1987; Williams & Zervos 1989-95), Sparta in the Peloponnesus (Sanders 1993) and of Paphos on Cyprus (Megaw 1971; 1972; Von Wartburg 1983; 1984). 

3.4.1 Constantinople/Istanbul
The earliest endeavours to diagnose Late Byzantine/Frankish wares in more detail concerned pottery found in Constantinople/Istanbul (and the Crimea). The difficulties encountered during these attempts are reflected in the shifting terminology.

During the final quarter of the last century, the term ‘Zeuxippus Ware’ was used for a type of thin-walled Sgraffito Ware of the Late Byzantine/Frankish period which was first identified by David Talbot Rice during excavations of the Baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople/Istanbul in 1927, and which was described by him as ‘Shiny Olive Incised Ware’. However, the view on Zeuxippus Ware as the product of a ‘single centre’ at Constantinople soon began to fall apart, due to new finds which did not fit the theory.

In an attempt to rescue his views on the ware Megaw suggested the possibility of ‘Zeuxippus derivatives’, or ‘local imitations’ (Megaw 1971; cf. Armstrong 1992 with 13th century examples from Sparta). This could not prevent the designation remaining under criticism. It became clear that the ware had been produced not only in Constantinople, but also in Northern Italy, Corinth and on Cyprus. Imitations had even been made throughout the Balkans into the Turkish period.

Recently, Sanders suggested the more general term ‘Late Sgraffito Ware’ for this group of ceramics, because ‘Zeuxippus Ware’ is, as he rightly remarked, ‘a stylistic grouping of great complexity’ (Sanders 1993, 257). The only problem with his new term might be that Talbot Rice had earlier used the very same label ‘Late Sgraffito Ware’ as a designation for the entire collection found at the Baths of Zeuxippus (Talbot Rice 1930; see Appendix A2).

In the meantime, Megaw had distinguished in 1975 a second ‘new’ type of ware in the finds from Zeuxippus, which he called ‘Aegean Ware’. This ‘Aegean Ware’ is a coarse, thickly-gouged type of Sgraffito Ware with a low ring-base. Megaw dated the ware to the early 13th century on the basis of its occurrence in the destruction fill from the 1222 AD earthquake at the Castle of Saranda Kolones in Paphos on Cyprus (Megaw 1971; 1972; 1975). On this site sealed deposits with Medieval coins have been uncovered, providing a dated assemblage.[14]

Megaw argued for an Eastern Aegean provenance of his new ceramic category, mainly by comparing the shapes and designs of the ware with similar late 12th century pottery found in this region, which he believed were the proto-types of his group (Megaw 1975, 39). Other designations of this ware have also been proposed: apart from ‘Champlevé Ware’ (Sanders 1993, 260-1), one may encounter the terms ‘Incised Ware’ and ‘Coarse Incised Ware’ (Morgan 1942, 162-66; Stevenson 1947, 54, pl. 20.8). Most ceramicists still seem to use the designation ‘Aegean Ware’ (e.g. Armstrong 1991 for a group of material from a shipwreck off Skopelos), though the technical description ‘Champlevé Ware’ seem to be more appropriate, taking into account that

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Fig. 3.11 Shapes of Late Sgraffito Wares (after Dark 2001, fig. 65).
the theory of its provenance seems now to be faltering (see Sanders 1993, 260-61). According to excavation evidence, the ware is generally dated to the second half of the 12th and the early 13th centuries (Morgan 1942, 156-57; Hayes 1992, 48).

3.4.2 Cyprus
In the Post-Second World War years Cypriot-made Medieval pottery not only became the subject of a successful exhibition at Nicosia in 1947 (see Loizides), but also of a tentative classification system (Du Plat Taylor & Megaw 1951; preceded by the earlier note Du Plat Taylor 1938; see Appendix A5 and A9). In this preliminary classification system the wares from Medieval Cyprus were divided into twelve distinctive groups, identifiable by technique and design as well as by form and texture (e.g. Plain Sgraffito, Slip-painted Ware, several Brown and Green Sgraffito types, Plain-glazed and imported wares). These groups were placed in a more or less chronological sequence. However, the system was soon afterwards revised and supplemented with further subdivisions (Dikigoropoulos & Megaw 1958).

More recently, the excavations at the Castle of Saranda Kolones in Paphos yielded abundant information about Cypriot glazed wares from the Middle Byzantine and Early Late Byzantine/Frankish periods (Megaw 1971, 1972, 1982, 1984; see also Rosser 1985), as did the excavations at Medieval sites such as Kouklia and Paphos, which yielded mainly early 13th to late 16th century pottery finds (e.g. Herrin 1973; 1974; Giudice et al 1992; 1993; 1994; 1995).

In addition, the publication of 60 pots in the Pierides Foundation Museum added further to the knowledge of the shapes and decorations of Cypriot pottery from the Early Frankish to Early Turkish periods (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989). With its colour illustrations this handsome catalogue gives a good idea of the decorated tablewares produced at workshops in the area of Lemba, Lapithos and Enkomi. Small and deep bowls, goblets or chalices on a high ring-base predominate, decorated with sketchy figures in sgraffito emphasized by alternate green and ochre colours in the lead glaze.

Apparently, such Cypriot pottery was a regional phenomenon with its own local features, but was influenced by Sgraffito Wares from the Near East such as the so-called ‘Port Saint Symeon Ware’ from South-Eastern Turkey and Northern Syria. Although perhaps manufactured by local potters from the region around Tarsus, Adana and Antakya, occasional examples of Christian motifs leave no doubt that this latter class of lead-glazed sgraffito ware was intended for the Crusaders’ market (Lane 1957, 40).

A good example of industrial archaeology on Cyprus can be found at the site of Kouklia, where a sugar cane factory of the Late Medieval period (15th-16th c.) is under excavation since 1973 (Maier 1977; 1979; 1980; 1981; 1984; Wartburg 1983; 1984). Under the direction of Franz Georg Maier and Marie-Louise von Wartburg of the University of Zurich excavations of the ancient Temple of Aphrodite unexpectedly revealed masses of unusual and distinctive Medieval vessels. These appeared to be narrow clay jars and funnel-shaped ‘sugar cones’, or containers into which the boiled syrup of sugar cane was poured and crystallized in a method of production described in Medieval texts (Maier 1971; 1977, 133, fig. 2 and pl. XXX: 4-5; 1979, 174ff.).

The three main types of matching cones and jars found at Kouklia represented in graded sizes the once-, twice-, and thrice-boiled sugar. The largest and crudest of the moulds, for the once-boiled sugar, were by far the most common types (Wartburg 1995). The Swiss excavators also uncovered a kiln for the on-site production of the sugar cones and jars. In addition, at the castle of Saranda Kolones in the port of Paphos, more sugar cones were discovered in a mill room of the Crusader levels (Megaw 1971, fig. 2:4; 1982, 215-6: Rosser 1985, 87-88, figs. E and 13).

3.4.3 Greek Mainland
Corinth – The first specialised study of glazed ceramics of the Late Byzantine/Frankish period was published in the late 1960s by the American archaeologist Theodora Stillwell Mackay, and concerned the finds excavated at Corinth in 1959-61 (Mackay 1967). A good deal of this 13th-14th century material came from closed deposits and relatively undisturbed fills (designated as bothroi I-V). This gave MacKay the occasion to correct to some extent Morgan’s tentative remarks on the ware, which he made in the margins of his writings on Byzantine pots (Morgan 1942). The chief purpose of MacKay’s article was to provide material which could be helpful in dating 13th century fills, but really innovating was her dating of some unglazed 10th-13th century domestic wares. The chronology of these last wares – ‘a province almost...
untouched in works on pottery of this period’, as she rightly remarked – was based on coins and firmly dated glazed wares (MacKay 1967, 249). In her article MacKay was able to push Morgan’s previous chronology of several wares into the first quarter of the 14th century.

Further progress in the study of Medieval pottery in Greece was made only in more recent years. A range of smaller publications in Greek periodicals may be mentioned here, such as the ones concerning ceramics from 13th-14th century disturbed layers at Arta (Andreou 1976; Charitonidou 1981-82; Vavyloupolou-Charitonidou 1984), from (sometimes unstratified) excavations at Thessaloniki (Bakirtzis 1980; Efgenidou 1982 and Vavyloupolou-Charitonidou 1989), and from 12th-13th century Tyrnavos in Thessaly (Gourgiotis 1983). The last author also published unstratified Thessalian pottery from the Middle Byzantine period and the Late Frankish-Early Turkish period (Gourgiotis 1989; 1994; 1995). The number, variety and quality of these local wares from Thessaly, now assembled in the Folk-Art Museum in Larissa, enabled Gourgiotis to make a significant contribution to the study of Frankish-Early Turkish ceramics on Mainland Greece.

Notable progress also came with the excavation at Corinth in 1986 to the South of the South-East corner of the podium of Temple E, which revealed a deep fill containing Medieval pottery from the late 13th or early 14th century (Sanders 1987). The pottery had been dumped between four walls of a ruined room of an as yet incompletely excavated structure. Approximately 12,000 sherds, weighing ca. 165 kg., were retrieved along with nine coins, glass, some bone and iron objects. The nine coins were recovered from this Medieval fill above the floor; six of these were Middle Byzantine (12th century) and three were Late Byzantine/Frankish (13th century).

Although publication of these finds has until now only taken the form of an article, the statistical approach by Guy Sanders and his exemplary descriptions of the fabrics, as well as the close attention paid to plain wares, such as cooking pots and amphorae, and the discussion of the imported Proto-Maiolica wares, resulted in a major step forward in the study of Medieval Wares in Greece. Earlier datings proposed by Megaw (especially concerning the ‘Zeuxippus Ware’) could now be substantially refined (Sanders 1987).

The recent discovery of buildings and a cemetery of the Late Byzantine/Frankish period (of the 13th-14th centuries) in Corinth seem to provide for the first time stratified material in association with numismatic evidence for this period (cf. the interim reports by Charles Williams and Orestes Zervos in Hesperia 1989-1995). The excavations have revealed, amongst other things, an ecclesiastic complex immediately South-East of the Corinthis museum (e.g. Williams & Zervos 1990; 1991; 1995; Williams 1993). This complex was constructed in the late 13th or early fourth quarter of the 13th century at the Western edge of the Medieval city. Within the complex stratigraphical sequence of this area the evolution of pottery styles at Medieval Corinth became discernable.

It now appears that the Corinthian potters working during the early years of the Frankish occupation produced fine wares that continued to be decorated in local styles such as incision with a needle like instrument, incision with a broad-ended instrument and champlevé decoration (Williams & Zervos 1995, 16). The recent finds illustrated the continuity of shape and style from the 12th into the 13th century. The 13th century local products, painted in murky green and brown, became more crudely potted than their Byzantine predecessors: the walls became thicker and wheel marks on the outside were generally undisguised (Williams & Zervos 1995, 18).

In addition, new types of imported pottery started to appear around the beginning of the second quarter of the 13th century. The most important ones were from Italy: Metallic Ware, Roulette Ware (Veneto Ware), Proto-Maiolica (from Brindisi) and other South Italian wares (cf. Williams 1993). Noteworthy were also some imports of drug jars (albarelli), accompanied by a Mamluk jar, from the Near East and Egypt (Williams & Zervos 1994, 16-22, pl. 5:11, pl. 6) According to the excavators in Corinth, especially the influx of these foreign glazed wares (and not so much the sack of Corinth by the Catalans in 1312 AD) seemed to have almost completely eliminated the local manufacture of glazed wares by the second decade of the 14th century (Williams & Zervos 1995, 23-4).

This decline during the 14th century seems to be the reason that local ceramics of the 14th and 15th centuries long remained virtually unknown at Corinth. They are, in fact, absent in the catalogues of Morgan and MacKay (Morgan 1942; MacKay 1967).
Excavations by American archaeologists at the nearby site of Isthmia offered an opportunity to learn more about the local pottery in use in the Isthmus area during Late Byzantine/Frankish times (Gregory 1989; 1993). Some of the 13th century wares produced at Corinth have been found at Isthmia, but more common were pieces of the 13th to 15th centuries. Finds from a series of more or less closed deposits included imports from Spain (‘Lustre Ware’) and Italy (‘Proto-Maiolica’ and ‘Polychrome Sgraffito Ware’), as well as locally produced products with an incised circle in the centre (the so-called ‘Local ware A’).

Sparta – Renewed excavations by the British School on the Acropolis of Sparta produced new information on Lakonian Byzantine pottery, 83 years after Dawkins and Droop’s first publication on later ceramics from this site (Sanders 1993). This more recent paper offered the opportunity to examine stratigraphically-excavated sequences of ceramics between the late 12th and early 14th centuries, and to contrast Sparta’s Medieval wares with assemblages from Corinth. Interesting, for instance, is the fact that imports of this period common at Corinth (such as Rouletted Ware, Metallic ware and RMR) are totally absent in Sparta. The excavated strata at Sparta especially have helped to define the development of early 13th glazed tableware in another part of the Peloponnesus (such as Late Sgraffito Ware, Zeuxippus Ware, Glaze Painted Ware, Champlevé Ware, Plain Glazed Wares, Incised Ware, Sgraffito Wares and Measles Ware). Furthermore, the Sparta material has helped to fill the gaps in the typology of coarse wares and plain wares (which were divided into decorated and undecorated types).

Lakonia – Further information from the Sparta area has been provided by a rescue excavation, conducted in 1989-90 by the Greek archaeological service in the village of Magoula, 1 kilometre South-West of the Acropolis of Sparta (Vassi 1993). The excavation revealed the remains of a Late Roman or Early Christian structure. The fill of a later pit cut into the interior corner of this building contained sherds of both glazed and plain wares. Outside and to the West of the building were two rows of graves. According to the excavators, these were to be associated with the pit, which may well have served as a bothros (waste pit) for the nekrodeipnon vessels (Vassi 1993, 287). One burial was accompanied by a coin of 1071-78 AD, another burial by a coin of 1143-80 AD. The pit yielded a Slip-painted bowl, dated by the excavator to the late 11th-early 12th century, fragments of domestic ware and a three-handled amphora type. The broad strap handles of this last vessel were incised with three or four vertical lines, separating diagonal deep incisions (sometimes forming a herring-bone pattern).

Comparing Vassi’s Slip-painted bowl with similar decorated vessels from the above mentioned excavations at Sparta it appears that the bowl from Magoula is dated too early (cf. Sanders 1993, 261-263, nos.12-14, pl. 24). The decoration of this ‘Late Slip-painted Ware’ from Sparta consists of circles, concentric circles and dots, covered with a bright yellow glaze (just like Vassi’s bowl). However, Sanders rather dates this ware later, in the first half of the 13th century, on the basis of unpublished contexts in Corinth with Latin coins and other early 13th-century pottery (Sanders 1993, 262).

Furthermore, similar decorated handles and body sherds of Vassi’s amphora type found at Magoula were also collected by the Dutch-British Lakonia Survey near Sparta. The sherds were subsequently identified as the product of a Lakonian ceramic workshop, and generally dated to the late 12th- early 13th century (Armstrong 1989). More products of this Lakonian workshop were recovered in early 13th century strata during the British excavations on the Acropolis of Sparta (Sanders 1993, 268-269, nos. 12, 14, 35-38).

Thessaloniki – The long-standing assumption that Thessaloniki was a production centre of ceramics in the Late Byzantine/Frankish period has been justified by recent discoveries (Bakirtzis 1980; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1983; 1985; Babritzas 1970: Evgenidou 1982; Kourkoutidou-Tsioumi-Pazaras; Soteriou & Soteriou 1952; Pelekanidis 1959). Apart from isolated finds of tripod stilts and wasters, kiln waste was found in some quantity in 1973 on the Pharangi building site near the Rotunda. The find of an unfinished fragment, decorated with a bird in a combination of engraving and cut-slip (champlevé) technique, proved the existence of a workshop of bird bowls in the city centre (Bakirtzis & Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1981). The production may be dated to the second half of the 13th and the 14th centuries.

Further excavations in the centre of Thessaloniki revealed at the Hippodrome in 1972 a cemetery with 32
The graves contained 230 glazed bowls, dating from the end of the 13th until the beginning of the 15th century. Of these 213 burial vessels, three or four were imported, the rest were locally produced in the workshops of Thessaloniki. The interior walls of the local bowls were decorated with incised and gouged designs of birds and geometric motifs.

Similar finds were recovered in 1976 by the Greek archaeological service in the church of the 14th century Vlatadon Monastery at Thessaloniki, when a section of the monastery’s cemetery was brought to light. Nine graves were discovered inside the church amongst the foundations of the earliest constructional phase, another nine graves were found in the precinct. Sixteen of these eighteen graves contained burial vessels: fifty-five bowls in total. The oldest finds from the graves have been dated to the second half of the 14th century and the latest to the beginning of the 16th century (Makropoulou 1985).

**Thasos – More eastwards, on the island of Thasos,**
ceramics of the Late Byzantine/Frankish period were recovered by French excavators at the Ancient Agora, the Castle of the port and the terrain of Psatheri. The publication of these finds presented a technical perspective on the manufacture of local Medieval wares (e.g. clays, glazes and the use of potter’s wheels and kilns) in a specific area (François 1995). Emphasis was put by the author on the relationship between historical events at Thasos and the distribution of imported and locally produced ceramics, specifically to movements of the Latin fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean between the 13th and 15th centuries (François 1993; 1995).

It is known from historical sources, for instance, that during the 13th century Genoa undertook substantial commercial activities in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean, and the archaeological material shows that the long-distance imports from the East (from Syria-Palestinian sites) on Thasos, date specifically from that period. In the 14th century, however, with the loss of Genoese control in the East, commercial activities on Thasos shifted towards the Black Sea area and as a consequence pottery from Northern Greece suddenly appeared on the island of Thasos. Finally, during the 15th century, under the Turkish threat, long-distance imports ceased and local pottery was produced in a (yet unknown) workshop on nearby Lemnos.

With her approach to the Thasos-material, François may be heralded as one of the first ceramicists who effectively tried to link pottery finds with information from written sources, so that a more comprehensive information came out of the pottery finds, by looking to the wider exchange patterns (long-distance versus short-distance) of pottery in the Late Middle Ages.

### 3.5 Turkish period (ca. late 15th-18th centuries)

Interest in Post-Medieval pottery in Greece (that is to say: pottery from the period of the ‘Turkokratia’) has been slowly growing since the pioneering articles of Waagé and Frantz which dated from the first half of the last century (Waagé 1933; Frantz 1942). Although a handful of interesting publications has appeared since then (e.g. Bakirtzis 1977 and 1978 for Didymoteicho in Thrace; Hayes 1981 and 1992 for Istanbul; and Hahn 1989 for Crete), there is still much to be done in the field of Ottoman archaeology in the Aegean. It may be noted that until 1950 the archaeological legislation in Greece only protected antiquities dating before 1453 AD, the year of the ‘fall’ of Constantinople.

Literature dealing with Ottoman ceramics in general, such as the famous colourful tablewares produced in Iznik, Kütahya and Çanakkale in Western Turkey, is of course quite extensive (e.g. Aslanapa 1965; Keskiner 1989; Altun et al. 1991; see also figs. 3.12-13). However, research into these wares was until recently not undertaken from a purely archaeological perspective, but rather from an art-historical approach and heavily focussed on the variations in decorative styles. The technical aspects of the production processes of these wares or their distribution and use throughout the Ottoman Empire were hardly studied (notable exceptions are Tite 1989; Atasoy & Raby 1994). The publication of the excavation of some pottery kilns at Iznik (with emphasis on kiln equipment and deformed or unfinished products) appeared to be the only example of a more modern approach to Ottoman ceramics in the Eastern Mediterranean (Aslanapa et al. 1989).

Furthermore, most studies of Ottoman ceramics only focussed their attention on the well-known wares, which were produced in large scale production centres (in Iznik, Kütahya and Çanakkale). Other types of fine ware or cooking wares, which were produced throughout the
Ottoman Empire at medium-sized centres or in small local workshops, remained up to this day unpublished and therefore unknown (an exception is Ziadeh 1995 for locally produced wares in Ottoman Palestine). Hardly any attention has also been given to ceramics which were imported during the Ottoman era into the Aegean region from other parts of the Mediterranean or from North-Western Europe, such as Maiolica from Italy.

On the other hand, since the 1980s a new dating-tool in Ottoman archaeology has become available in typologizing and dating of assemblages of clay tobacco pipes of the chibouk style from Constantinople/Istanbul, as well as from Athens, Corinth and Cyprus (Hayes 1980b; updated 1992; Robinson 1983; 1985; Baram 1995).

3.5.1 GREEK MAINLAND

Didymoteicho — About twenty-four years ago, the excavations by the Greek archaeologist Charalambos Bakirtzis in Macedonia and Thrace provided a new stimulus to the study of pottery from this period on the Greek mainland (Bakirtzis 1977; 1978). Especially, his publications of Didymoteicho as an important Thracian production centre during the Turkish period were groundbreaking (Bakirtzis 1977; 1980).

Here, for the first time previously unknown locally produced wares dating from the 15th century until the Early Modern period were shown (Bakirtzis 1980b). Most vessels found at Didymoteicho were made in a ‘Byzantine’ style, using traditional decoration-techniques such as sgraffito and slip-painting. Other yet unknown wares published by Bakirtzis included monochrome green glazed vessels in various shapes and unglazed domestic vessels (such as chamber pots and jugs with spouts on the shoulder). Two glazed jugs with rosettes in relief on the outside looked very similar to similar types from the production centre at Çanakkale in Western Turkey. An unfinished product of such a jug, however, showed that they must also have been made in Didymoteicho. Local production at Didymoteicho was confirmed by the find of two kilns, several potter’s tools and much kiln waste datable to the early 19th century in a building site just outside the town walls (Bakirtzis 1980, 148 ff.).

Ten years after the groundbreaking publication of Bakirtzis, the Greek archaeologist Tsouris recovered again potter’s tools from the Turkish – Early Modern period at Didymoteicho, bearing the date 1825 AD.
(Tsouris 1987). More recently, Veronique François gave a good overview of the extensive distribution of the later Slip-painted ware from Didymoteicho in the Eastern Mediterranean in Turkish and Early Modern times. It has been found, for instance, on sites in Greece, on Crete, in Turkey, on Cyprus, in the Near East and in Egypt (François 1994, 383-85; 1995).

Bakirtzis’ article on ‘Post-Byzantine’ wares from Didymoteicho initiated a crop of articles in Greece in the 1980s, which were published mainly in popular periodicals such as ArchaioLOGIA and Eθνινογραφικά. Research concentrated on locating pottery production centres of fine and domestic wares, for instance at 16th-18th century Larissa (Gourgiotis 1981; 1984; 1994), at 17th-19th century Athens (Charitonidou 1982) and at 17th-18th century Arta (Vaylopoulou-Charitonidou 1980; Charitonidou 1981-82).

These publications showed that the production centres of glazed wares in Ottoman Greece did not change their pottery repertoire and decoration methods radically compared to previous manufacturing methods of Byzantine and Medieval times. In fact, the two main decoration techniques employed by the Greek potters during the Turkish period were painting and incision (sgraffito), while they closely followed the conservative Byzantine colour palette of green and ochre-yellow brushstrokes. The decoration was limited to some winding lines and circles and covered with a transparent lead glaze, as in the Medieval period.

Arta was such a production centre of glazed wares, where tradition had managed to survive in the Turkish period. The red-bodied, lead-glazed products of Arta included Slip-painted Ware, Coloured Sgraffito Ware and Brown and Green Painted Ware. Other production centres in Greece using ‘Byzantine and Medieval’ techniques were Thessaloniki, Veria and Trikkala, where unfinished products, potter’s tools and wasters of the Turkish period were found during rescue excavations in the city centres.

In almost all of the locally produced pottery in Ottoman Greece, one can distinguish the influence of Italian Renaissance pottery (such as tin-glazed Maiolica from Northern Italy or Polychrome Sgraffito Ware from the Veneto-region). Finds of imitations of Italian blue- and-white Maiolica in Athens were found together with two potter’s kilns, wasters and potter’s stilts (Frantz 1942; Vaylopoulou-Charitonidou 1982a; 1982b, fig. 43b).

All in all, two main types of locally produced ceramics of the Turkish period were found during excavations on the Greek mainland: painted and sgraffito wares in a traditional ‘Byzantine’ style, and Italian imitations. Archaeologists working in North-Western Greece, published these two types of wares from excavations at the Castle of Rogon near Arta (Vavyloupoulo-Charitonidou 1986-87), as well as from excavations from the Castle at Ioannina in Epirus (Tsouris 1982). The stratigraphy of these excavations, however, is not always clear.

3.5.2 CONSTANTINOPLE/ISTANBUL

The modern standard for diagnosing the typochronology of glazed and domestic wares of the Turkish period from stratigraphical excavations at Constantinople/Istanbul was set recently by John Hayes. His first preliminary report on these wares came from excavations of the Bodrum Djami (or the Myrelaion), followed by a more detailed publication on the finds from the Saracağhane excavations eleven years later (Hayes 1981; 1992).

At the excavations of the Bodrum Djami, the richest deposit in pottery was the 16th century fill overlying a Late Byzantine tiled floor. It yielded some 90 percent of the finds. The great bulk of the material was uniform, comprising fragments of Iznik Ware (and other fine sherds), as well as local domestic pottery current during the first half of the 16th century. In addition, a small amount of 18th century pottery was recovered, which corresponded to the finds from the upper fill. The date of this later fill was given by fragments of well-datable 18th century Kütahya Ware. In addition, a few pieces of modern China came from the surface of the fill.

At the Saracağhane excavations, most of the Post-Medieval finds came from fifteen pit- and well-groups, which provided an excellent conspectus of the wares and types current between 1500 AD and 1650 AD. The period of 1700-1850 AD was rather poorly represented. This provided, however, a convenient break between the earlier and later Ottoman ceramics. The only difficulties in separating earlier from later products were found in the Chinese Porcelain and Maiolica series, which appeared to span the whole Turkish period.

In absence of numismatic evidence, it was the fine wares (e.g. Porcelain, Iznik Ware, Maiolica) which served as a dating-tool for the coarse wares of the (late) 15th to 17th centuries. Some twenty wares of the latter, glazed as
well as unglazed, were identified by Hayes. According to him, most of them were locally produced in Istanbul.

About 190 vessel-types were listed in a preliminary conspectus of the types used in Istanbul during Early Turkish times. Unfortunately, the transitional shapes of the late 17th to early 18th century were rather underrepresented in these samples (Hayes 1992, 233).

The Ottoman pottery produced and used in Istanbul apparently differed significantly from its Byzantine predecessors. One of the most striking new features was the total disappearance of large amphorae, which were probably replaced by wooden barrels. Noteworthy was also the replacement of the thin-walled, unglazed cooking pots by simple lead-glazed types. As a result, the proportion of glazed wares in the later assemblages increased substantially, to around 35-40 percent of finds in Early Turkish contexts, with a further rise in the 18th/19th centuries, when glazed wares came to predominate (ca. 60-80 percent) (Hayes 1992, 233). The glazes of the local wares were generally dark-toned, and applied directly to the body-clay (though a white slip occurred on some wares). Decoration was not common on the domestic wares. From the 18th century onwards, one can discern a decline in the Medieval folk pottery tradition.

A breakdown of the chief classes present in late 15th to early 17th century deposits at Saraychane shows the following pattern: 1) Fine wares (Iznik, Porcelain etc.): some 1-10 percent of total sherds; 2) Plain glazed wares: about 25-35 percent; 3) Unglazed tablewares: about 15-20 percent; 4) Coarse unglazed wares (mainly drinking-cups, spouted jugs) about 50 percent (declining in 17th century). The 18th century increase in the proportion of glazed wares is largely explained by the part-glazing of the formerly unglazed spouted jugs from this time onwards. New shapes were mostly unglazed, such as high-stemmed drinking bowls (goblets), spouted jugs (the so-called ibrik), and tall two-handled flagons.

In his publications of the Istanbul finds, Hayes introduced clay tobacco pipes as chronological indicators for dating assemblages (they appeared after the introduction of tobacco in the Ottoman Empire after ca. 1605 AD). His preliminary report on Ottoman clay pipes from the Saraychane excavations initiated the typologizing of pipe bowls in the so-called chibouk style (Hayes 1980; revised in 1992, 391-95). Based on associated finds, he constructed a provisional typology and chronology of these bowls into 27 types. The types were then grouped into five categories, ranging from early types in grey clay to imported types in different fabrics. The significance of Hayes’ research was that he not only contextualized the finds firmly in the Turkish period, but also that he provided a fine dating method, where other scholars had in the past mistakenly dated the objects as Roman (Baram 1995, 301).

Hayes’ report of 1980 formed the inspiration for two important articles on Ottoman clay pipes: the first one dealt with finds from German excavations at the Kerameikos in Athens, the second one with finds from American excavations at Corinth and at the Athenian Agora (Robinson 1983; 1985). Unfortunately, no stratigraphy was observed in the Post-Medieval levels of the Kerameikos excavation, and the pipe bowls found were without context. In the Athenian Agora and at the Corinth excavations, on the other hand, the pipes for which there was any stratigraphical context came from Late Turkish to Early Modern levels (or the 18th century and later). Robinson’s accurate publications of these finds included the history of pipe-smoking in Greece as well as detailed descriptions of approximately 250 pipe bowls from Athens and Corinth, comparing them with more examples from Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and Syria. Her studies enabled other archaeologists working in the Eastern Mediterranean to parallel their finds with the Greek examples.

Making use of Hayes’ and Robinson’s catalogues, the Ottoman archaeologist Uzi Baram examined 53 tobacco pipes from Cypriot collections and organized them into a new typology (Baram 1995). He grouped these pipe bowls according to shape, fabric colour, borehole size and the presence of maker’s marks. From the total of these attributes Baram presented typologies for production and chronology.

### 3.5.3 GREEK ISLANDS AND CYPRUS

Little is known about the pottery used in Southern Greece and on the Greek islands from the late 14th until the 17th centuries, when these parts of Greece were under occasional or localized Venetian rule. One might expect to find imported pottery from Italy in these Venetian outposts and colonies. However, very few Renaissance ceramics from the West have been published until now, and there is no clear picture of the pottery distribution systems in later times. Exceptions to the rule are the publication of some occasional pieces of
15th-16th century graffita arcaica and 16th century Maiolica found on Rhodos (Michailidou 1993) and on Crete, for instance at Mallia (François 1994, 376-380), at Khania (Hahn 1989; 1991) and at Heraklion (Stillwell MacKay 1996).

Crete – On Crete, the Greek-Swedish Kastelli excavations at Khania provided good stratified layers and sealed deposits of Post-Byzantine finds (including kitchenware, as well as imported tablewares from Italy and Turkey), but the material was unfortunately very fragmentary (Hahn 1989). A helpful addition was the publication of six well-preserved 15th-16th century tin-glazed jugs found in Western Crete, now in the collection of the Archaeological Museum at Khania (Hahn 1991). Although these jugs were all stray finds from villages near Khania, and information about the exact provenance and context was scarce, they provided the excavators of Khania with entire profiles to help them in their study of the smaller fragments.

Another 15th-16th century group of published material came from digging activities in Heraklion (Stillwell Mackay 1996). The finds, which are now stored in the Historical Museum in Heraklion, included a Lustre bowl from Spain (Valencia), Maiolica from Northern Italy and one piece of a polychrome painted ware, the so-called ‘RMR’ ware (which stands for the colours ramina, manganese, rosso) from Southern Italy, as well as undecorated glazed wares and unglazed wares (cooking pots). Unfortunately, the photographs in the publication of the finds are not well reproduced and there is no information about the find circumstances of these vessels.

Cyprus – On Cyprus, the only serious publication dealing with 14th-16th century imports from Italy is Peter Megaw’s pre-World War II article (but published in 1951) of three closed deposits of table and kitchen wares excavated in Nicosia (Megaw 1951). These finds were the result of random discoveries during building operations, and therefore not the result of systematic excavation. The rubbish pits contained Maiolica from Faenza, Padua and Venice, as well as Italian Polychrome Sgraffito Ware from the Veneto-region. Apart from these Italian imports, also some pieces from the East such as Iznik Ware from Turkey, Chinese Porcelain and painted bowls from Syria were found in the pits. According to Megaw the Syrian finds showed that trade flourished between Cyprus and the Near East, ‘when Syrian merchants, circumventing the Papal Edicts which prohibited Christians from trading in the ports of the Saracen enemy, transported their merchandise to Cyprus for re-shipment in Christian vessels to the West’ (Megaw 1951, 145).

3.6 Early Modern period (ca. 19th-mid 20th centuries)

Ceramics from Early Modern Greece remained little more than objects of curiosity until the middle of the 20th century, when they emerged as the focus of legitimate scholarly study in their own right (fig. 3.14). With the appearance of plastic vessels and containers in the late 1950s the production and the demand for earthenware pots decreased enormously, which at the time stimulated interest in the declining art and craft of ‘the last potters’ of Greece. This feeling was voiced by one student of Greek pottery who sadly remarked about the vanishing craftsmen: ‘Their achievements, unfortunately, will soon be of historical rather than contemporary interest, and will become an item for study by industrial archaeologists’ (Matson 1972a: 223).

Until now two main perspectives were used in research into early Modern ceramics in Greece: an ethnoarchaeological approach and an art-historical approach. It is unfortunately impossible to discuss here material found in a stratigraphical context, because publications of a purely archaeological character do not exist for Early Modern wares.
3.6.1 THE AEGEAN AND CYPRUS: THE ETHNOARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH

The awakening of interest in Early Modern wares had begun somewhat earlier than the mid-century, with a provocative article by Stanley Casson on traditional potting practices and pottery trade in the Aegean (Casson 1938; with a follow-up in 1951). Casson collected data from the main modern pottery production centres (on Cyprus, Crete, Chalkis, Samos, Siphnos, Skyros and in Çanakkale, Turkey) as an illustration for a better understanding of ceramics from the past. He shows, for instance, an Early Modern unglazed water-jar from Cyprus with rouletted decoration round the neck, which closely follows forms of Bronze Age pottery. Incidentally, he called attention to a few glazed and unglazed mugs, plates, cups and jugs with slip-painted decoration from Samos and Skyros. However, it was clearly not his intention to investigate the subject in full.

Other pioneers in the field were the Germans Roland Hampe and Adam Winter, an archaeologist from Heidelberg and a professional potter from Mainz-Kastel respectively. In May and June of 1960 they visited the traditional potters of Crete, Messenia and Cyprus in order ‘to acquire profound knowledge about the manufacture of ancient ceramics’. They carefully documented the working methods, wheel- and kiln constructions and organisation of these workshops, as well as the distribution of their products, all of which resulted in a massive treatise on traditional pottery production in the Aegean (Hampe & Winter 1962). This publication was soon extended by a second one on potters in Southern Italy, Sicily and other parts of Greece (Hampe & Winter 1965). Because of the systematic approach of gathering as much ethnographic data as possible, both volumes remain ‘classics’ for an understanding of the Early Modern Greek potter’s craft. The registration of Early Modern pottery remained in both volumes, though, restricted to one (!) drawing of a storage jar from Thrapsanos on Crete.

A number of archaeologists and potters have since visited traditional pottery centres in Greece, often with the purpose of learning about the past from the present (e.g. Matson 1972a; 1972b; Noll 1983; London 1987; London et al. 1990; Blitzer 1990). Among them, Frederick Matson tried to compare aspects of Bronze Age wares found in the course of the Minnesota Messenia Expedition with traditional pottery production of the region (Matson 1972a). His research was based upon the study of sherd collections, visits to archaeological sites, and extended conversations with Messenian potters at work. Still interesting is his ecological approach of looking at the sources of the material used, the physical properties of the clay and the siting of the workshop. He repeated this methodology in a study of five potters in the Arethousa district of Chalkis (Matson 1972b).

The sedentary and nomadic aspects of traditional pottery-making at Thrapsano and Kentri on Crete were recorded in the 1970s and 1980s by Maria Voyatzoglou (1972; 1973; 1974; 1984) and by Harriet Blitzer (1984), although a detailed account of the organisation of the Thrapsanos potters had already been published some 50 years earlier (Xanthoudides 1927). The best documentation of the Cretan potters’ products, though, is presented in a special volume of the Research Centre of the Museum of Cretan Ethnology at Vori (Vallianou & Padouva 1986). Here, for the first time, 88 unglazed pottery types produced on Crete in the 19th and 20th centuries were presented according to the same archaeological standards as used for the recording and diagnosis of ancient ceramics. The decoration of the studied vessels was restricted to some incised (wavy) lines and carelessly painted blotches.

Besides ethnographic descriptions and the comparison with ancient potters, the social environment of the Early Modern potter’s workshop became one of the key-items of research on the other Greek islands (Wagner 1972; Psaropoulou 1984; 1990; Voyatzoglou 1979-80). The most important of those studies is the work of F.C. Wagner, who visited all the traditional pottery centres on the island of Siphnos in the 1960s. His main contribution was the thorough documentation of the location, function and organisation of the Siphniote workshops, among which he identified four main workroom-types. In addition, he published 20 different shapes of unglazed kitchenware (among them the typical cooking pot (tsoukali), manufactured on Siphnos.

The pottery industry on Cyprus was the focus of a six-month ‘ethnoarchaeological project’ of the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (London 1987; id. 1989; London et al. 1990 with references to earlier publications). Apart from the by now well-known aim to use traditional pottery as a tool to learn about ancient people and their lifestyles, this project also inves-
tigated pottery reuse and discard patterns, percentages of wasters and even the gender of Cypriote potters in past and present. The ceramics under study were unglazed casseroles, cooking pots (with matching lids) and jugs with oblique stippled patterns and incised wavy line decoration, made in Kornos and Agios Dimitrios.

A more technical and synthetical perspective was chosen by Richard Jones, the director of the Fitch Laboratory in Athens during the 1980s, who classified all the published information about traditional pottery and tile workshops in the Aegean. He presented a table with categories concerning the location of the workshops, the materials used, the characteristic wares and the pottery-distribution (Jones 1986, table 12.1 and fig. 12.1 with further literature). In addition, his article included some case studies of the main modern production centres (e.g. those of South-West Messenia, Siphnos, Thrapsanos, Chalkis and Cyprus), emphasizing their different modes of organisation.

Until the 1980s, however, the focus of scholarly attention had been rather on the potter’s craft instead of his products. That traditional Early Modern and Modern pots could actually be the subject of a broad typo-chronological as well as of a socio-economic study in their own right was shown in an article of 1990. The manufacture of one particular group of ceramics, the large unglazed storage jars with ribbed walls from Koroni (the so-called koroneïka), was studied within the traditional cultural context of 19th- and 20th-century Messenia by Harriet Blitzer (1990). She examined the reasons for their use and trade throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, and, using the distribution of these modern pots as an indicator, defined some types of commercial interaction that might have been possible in prehistoric Aegean trade.

3.6.2 THE AEGEAN AND CYPRUS:
THE ART-HISTORICAL APPROACH
Meanwhile, Early Modern ceramics were also being studied from an art-historical perspective, often in the context of Greek folk studies. Vassilios Kyriazopoulos (1969; 1984), Georgios Giourgiotis (1976; 1994), Angeliki Vavyloupolou-Charitonidou (1976; 1982) and, more recently, Katerina Korre-Zographou (1995 with further Greek literature) treated decorative types of glazed or painted folk pottery in Greece as objects of art within a historical context.

Fig. 3.15 Display of Early Modern ceramics in a traditional Greek household (after Korre-Zographou 1995).

Their concern was less focussed on the technical analysis of ware-types, forms and fabrics, but more on the recording of ornamental vessels in Greek folk collections. One of the conclusions forwarded in these studies was that with the general rise in the standard of living in pre-modern Greece during the 20th century, there was also an increasing need for ceramic objects which satisfied purely aesthetic demands.

In these publications the folk pottery was often ordered according to the regions of production. Kyriazopoulos, for instance, concluded that ceramics from Western Greece were more primitive, their forms simpler, and the decoration (both plastic and painted) more sparse and less vivid. The Eastern regions were characterized by more richly and vividly decorated pots. Noteworthy also was his observation that the Greek potters limited themselves to the production of unglazed earthenware and slip-covered vessels, and did not engage in the manufacture of Porcelain, although the raw material for Porcelain (kaolin) existed in abundance on the island of Melos (Kyriazopoulos 1969, 90 note 3). Fine examples of the various types of Early Modern and Modern pottery in the folk tradition are nowadays on display in the Kyriazopoulos Collection of Ceramic Folk
Art at Monastiraki, Athens (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1976).

Of special interest for the study of Early Modern pottery in the Aegean are also some publications on industrially made transfer-printed wares from North-Western Europe (especially from France and Great Britain), which were imported in Greece during the Early Modern period (Amandry 1982; Kyriazopoulos 1984; Korre-Zographou 1995, 245-64). This printing technique, whereby the design of an inked engraving was transferred to paper and from there to the ceramic object, was a cheap and fairly easy process. Therefore, the plates decorated in this way could be mass produced and widely distributed. The transfer-printed vessels were introduced to Greece after the mid 19th century, with the emergence of Syros as one of the trading centres after the War of Independence. These so-called 'Syriana' ceramics were made in North-Western Europe, but commissioned by merchants from Syros, who promoted them in the Greek market. In Early Modern Greece, at least in the more prosperous regions, printed plates were often arranged on wall-shelves or a mantle-piece to ornament the house (see fig. 3.15). Decorated with scenes from Greek Antiquity and the Greek War of Independence, they became status symbols and confirmation of continuity from the Greek past. Ideological themes on these plates were scenes or heroes from the War of Independence, such as Lord Byron or Kolokotronis, but also Alexander the Great was very fashionable (cf. Gourgiotis 1976; Amandry 1982; Korre-Zographou 1995: figs. 452-55 and 475-91).

Apart from these decorative and ideological devices, the main use of the transfer-printed plates was the serving of food during special occasions. Gourgiotis described the moments of excitement, when the figure of Venizelos or the horse of Kolokotronis would appear after the last spoonfuls of soup (Gourgiotis 1976b). Nowadays, these plates can still be seen in traditional households on the Cyclades and the Sporades, in small Folklore Museums all over Greece and in the Benaki Museum at Athens.

3.7 Summary

Summarizing, we can conclude that interest in Post-Roman pottery in the Aegean is a fairly recent phenomenon. In fact, excavations in the Aegean have yielded more systematic, stratigraphical information on Medieval and Post-Medieval ceramics during the last twenty years than before. An excellent example of a recent, all-period approach is the publication by John Hayes of the pottery from the Saraçhane excavations at Constantinople/Istanbul (Hayes 1992). This volume is a landmark for Post-Roman pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean for several reasons: 1) the multi-period nature of the excavation; 2) the excellent presentation of the finds; and 3) the exhaustive comparisons with other excavations.

However, we must not cheer too early: as far as Medieval and Post-Medieval pottery is concerned the situation is not yet ideal. There is some sort of basic typochronology of the fine wares, but there is still much uncertainty. As far as local production and later (unglazed) domestic wares are concerned, there is hardly any knowledge. As Guy Sanders has rightly stated: 'Recent work on later ceramics in the Eastern Mediterranean is still limited to survey finds, poorly provenanced museum objects, and sites on which Medieval material was sparse and unstratified. The excavation of large, multi-period urban centres which possess significant Medieval components is a perennial occupation of archaeologists in Greece (e.g. at Athens, Corinth, Thebes and Thessaloniki). It is only Corinth, however, that produces regular reports on ceramic finds from the later strata' (Sanders 1993, 251-2). For each of the periods discussed here, problems still loom large over the advances in knowledge.

Most publications dealing with pottery from the Late Roman – Early Byzantine period, for instance, are focussed on the differences in percentages between locally produced or imported fine wares, domestic wares and amphorae from the 5th to 7th centuries. After the 7th century, there is still a gap in our ceramic knowledge in the Eastern Mediterranean. It seems as if the amount of pottery in use was less, the familiar, mass-produced fine and cooking wares became rare, and imports were less common. The standard types of Late Roman amphorae were superseded by LR1 and LR2 variants and imitations made in Syria, Palestine and the Aegean. Arab territories continued to produce and export amphorae in Cyprus in the 8th century.

The well-known Late Roman tablewares, such as the Red Slip Wares from North Africa, Western Turkey and
Cyprus, which had been used until the 7th century, seemed to be no longer produced and distributed in significant quantities. In their place came glazed wares in a white fabric from Constantinople. However, the presence of these first White Glazed Wares is in many regions of the Aegean still obscure because of lack of publication. The discussion about the provenance and the distribution of these wares is therefore limited to excavated material from Constantinople/Istanbul and from some urban centres.

In addition, hand-made wares were used together with thin-walled wheel-made pots. The appearance of hand-made cooking pots (on Cyprus and in the Peloponnese) suggests that pottery-making gradually shifted from large *fabricae* to small, locally based craft tradition. These wares were probably made at the household or village level. This suggests that the discussion around finds of the so-called ‘Slavic Ware’ is too much connected with historical conclusions around the appearance of the Slavs in Central Greece.

For the study of ceramics from the Middle Byzantine and Late Byzantine/Frankish periods, the emphasis of research and publication in the Aegean is often on the decorated sgraffito and painted wares instead of on the less recognizable cooking wares and amphorae. Sanders seems quite right in complaining that ‘those finding and reporting Medieval material culture almost routinely ignore unglazed pottery, even though plain and cooking ware styles can be easily recognized, are highly regionalized, and in some cases possess qualities attractive to markets outside the production area’ (Sanders 1993, 251–2).

Furthermore, most recent publications on Medieval and Post-Medieval pottery offer hardly any new type-series of the studied material, no new developments in pottery research, let alone patterns of exchange. The emphasis of most publications is often on complete pots from private or museum collections. There is hardly any good stratigraphical information. Most authors follow the standard chronology of Corinth, which is (as we have seen in the previous chapter) insecure and even wrong in its dating, although lately advances are in progress under the leadership of the director of the excavations, Guy Sanders.

As far as Ottoman and Early Modern pottery is concerned, it seems that the more recent the pottery the more art-historical and ethnographic the study of it – and less archaeological. For pottery from the Turkish period, for instance, good work has been done in Northern Greece (Macedonia and Thrace), but pottery from excavations in the large urban centres in Greece (e.g. Athens, Corinth, Thessaloniki) is very unsatisfactorily studied and hardly published. At least, not in a stratigraphical context. Studies of the distribution and use of ceramics in the Aegean area during Ottoman times are lacking altogether.

If we look at the various approaches used in the research into Early Modern ceramics in Greece, it is clear that there were two main perspectives until now: 1. an ethnoarchaeological perspective in which the diminishing pottery industry (especially kilns and workshops) was studied and recorded, sometimes with the aim of gaining a better understanding of Prehistoric and Classical technologies; and 2. an art-historical perspective in which traditional pottery types in the Aegean were documented, often from a folk-cultural point of view.

However, the bulk of these studies offer only a very limited help for archaeologists presently working with Early Modern sherds found on excavations or sampled on surveys. In fact, what field ceramicists need most urgently, is an accurate description of fabrics and glazes, more information about the provenance and function of Early Modern pottery and good archaeological drawings for the establishment of ceramic type-series.

Much remains to be done. We need more information on production centres and kilns in the Aegean area. Furthermore, we need more study of closed deposits from excavations in the large urban centres, including all excavated material (fine wares as well as cooking wares), to create new typo-chronologies. Finally, we need more archaeological approaches concerning pottery research in the later periods: that is to say, the Turkish and Early Modern periods.

**Notes**

1. Cf. for the use of the designation ‘Constantinople/Istanbul’ chapter 2, note 1. See for the most important places in the Eastern Mediterraneum area mentioned in this chapter figs. 2.1 and 2.2.

2. Hayes (1995; 1997) hails this ‘aniconic style’ as the road towards Iconoclasm. The term ‘aniconic style’ is used for
Byzantine pottery which has no figural subject but only geometric or foliate decoration.

3. See Hayes (1971) for more information on these Late Roman unguentaria.

4. Ten years before, W. Hautumm (1981) also tried to establish a chronology for Late Roman amphora 1 and 2 by exploring new research-methods. All of the 7th century material in his catalogue (ca. 605 fragments) came from the Eupalinos-tunnel on the Island of Samos, excavated by the German Archaeological School at Athens between 1971 and 1974 under the direction of Ulf Jantzen.


6. According to John Hayes, the pottery finds in the Dhiorios-article are dated by Catling too late. They should be dated pre-550 AD. Only one of the kilns, the one of rectangular form, can be dated later (J.W. Hayes, pers. comm.). See also Megaw (1959, 34) for the dating of the stock in trade from the potters’ workshop at Dhiorios to 'not later than the mid-8th century'.

7. Plain wares are used for the preparation or serving of food; see in general, Riley (1979, 277).

8. Hayes’ recent article (2001) features another Early Christian pottery assemblage dating from the 5th to 7th centuries (and including a 7th century cistern deposit) from a church complex in the northern zone of ancient Knossos. See also Catling & Smith (1976) for the late 6th-7th century finds from an osteotheke found some hundred metres to the south(-east) of this church complex at Knossos.

9. Of the imported fine wares, African Red Slip Ware dominated in the 4th and the 7th centuries; Phocaean Red Slip Ware, on the other hand, in the 5th and the 6th centuries (see fig. 3.1).

10. Just recently, more fragments of late 7th-early 8th century glazed wares in a white fabric have been found at excavations in Heraklion, but this material has yet not been published by Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou.

11. Megaw & Jones (1983, 263), however, mention the discovery of an unpublished waster from Kyriotissa (Kalenderhane) at Constantinople/Istanbul. Furthermore, their chemical analyses indicate a possible origin close to Istanbul, at Arnavutköy on the European side of the Bosporus.


13. The best overview of Zeuxippus Ware, found in various sites from the Black Sea to Cyprus, is given by François (1995, 377-9, pl. 23). See also Papanikola-Bakirtzis (2001) for more examples of Zeuxippus Ware from Kato Paphos on Cyprus and from Pieria, near ancient Pydna, in Northern Greece.

14. Also the conservative firing technique (i.e. the upright stacking in the kiln, which was not typical of later 13th-century glazed ware) led Megaw to date Aegean Ware to the early 13th century (Megaw 1975, 42). However, the destruction date of the castle of Saranda Kolones in 1222 AD has recently been debated by Von Wartburg (2001c), who suggested that the castle was destroyed somewhat later and not by the earthquake of 1222 AD.