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INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR RESEARCH  
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Manufacturers and Markets

The Contributions of Hellenistic Pottery to  
Economies Large and Small

*Edited by Laura Rembart and Alice Waldner*

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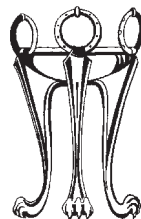
## MANUFACTURERS AND MARKETS

The Contributions of Hellenistic Pottery to Economies Large and Small

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# The Archaeology of “Dead Cities”: Ceramic Evidence from Late Hellenistic and Roman Epirus

Vyron Antoniadis – Georgia Pliakou

## Abstract

In 167 B.C., the Romans, according to Polybius, destroyed 70 cities in Epirus. Strabo describes Epirus at the end of the first century B.C. as a deserted region with cities in ruins. However, extended surveys and archaeological excavations over the last 30 years suggest that many Epirote settlements survived the major setbacks of 167 and 29 B.C. At the same time, it has been difficult to interpret the political and economic function of the old Epirote cities that were or were not destroyed under the Roman rule. The present paper attempts to interpret the function of these settlements from 167 B.C. to 29 B.C. by providing a synthesis of the ceramic evidence from both older and more recent excavations. This contextual approach on pottery finds recovered from the major Epirote cities, such as Gitana and Cassope, will shed light to the function of the local economy and of the product exchange. The authors hope that this study will aid to a better understanding of these imposing walled settlements that still dominate the Epirote landscape.

## Introduction

The battle of Pydna in 168 B.C. and the subsequent end of the Third Macedonian War had long-lasting effects on the region of Epirus. In the aftermath of this battle, the victorious Romans occupied the Epirote cities, since most of them had been closer to the Macedonian side in this war<sup>1</sup>. In 167 B.C., the army of Aemilius Paullus, according to Polybius, destroyed by decree of the Senate, 70 Epirote walled settlements in a single day and 150,000 people, mostly Molossians, were sold into slavery<sup>2</sup>. Thracian raids and the Roman Civil Wars devastated the land in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>3</sup>. Strabo, writing in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., mentions a deserted and ravaged by war Epirote countryside<sup>4</sup>. Further, around 29 B.C., Octavian founded Nicopolis. Many settlements of the adjacent areas had to be forcibly abandoned by their population for the synoecism of the new city<sup>5</sup>. By reading these testimonies one may think that certain cities of Epirus suffered more than one “death” in a period of approximately 130 years. First it was a partial destruction and decline, followed by raids and civil wars and finally a third “death” by complete abandonment.

Small and large-scale excavations and surveys over the last 30 years have challenged the aforementioned traditional historical narrative. The quantity and quality of rescue and systematic excavations all over ancient Epirus, especially in the urban centres of western Greece strongly suggest that many, but not all, Epirote settlements survived the 167 B.C. destructions. Surveys in the area of the Ambracian Gulf, in the Kokytos and Acheron Valleys and in the north at Vouthrotos, Hadrianopolis and Drinos Valley<sup>6</sup> have added a great deal of new information for the rural areas in relation to the urban centres.

From an archaeological point of view, as cities or urban centres in the case of Classical and Hellenistic Epirus (i.e. before the Roman destruction), are the settlements which fulfil at least

<sup>1</sup> Liv. 29,12; HAMMOND 1967, 599–619.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. 45,34; Plb. 30,15; Str. 7,7,3; 7,7,9; Plu. Aem. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. 74,76; D.C. 30–35,101,2; Cic. Pis. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Str. 7,7,9.

<sup>5</sup> D.C. 51,1–4; Str. 7,7,6; Paus. 5,23.

<sup>6</sup> WISEMAN – ZACHOS 2003; GIORGI 2004; FORSÉN 2009; FORSÉN – TIKKALA 2011; GIORGI – BOGDANI 2012; PERNA – ÇONDI 2012; HODGES ET AL. 2016.

some of the essential criteria established by Hansen and Nielsen<sup>7</sup> (size, walls, organised city-planning, private and public space). Moreover settlements, such as Gitana and Cassope, also functioned as major political centres. What however remains unclear, is the legal status and the economic function of these old Epirote centres, which apparently escaped obliteration under the Roman rule.

In this paper, we attempt to shed light on the nature and function of these settlements in a period spanning from 167 B. C. to 29 B. C. by providing a synthesis of the ceramic evidence from older and more recent excavations (fig. 1). This contextual approach on ceramics found in urban centres is part of a wider study of the local economy in conjunction with the adjacent rural sites<sup>8</sup>. In this paper however, we will focus on presenting the pottery finds in relation to the historical evidence. While pottery analysis and workshop identification cannot provide a conclusive answer regarding the legal status of the cities, they can offer a glimpse on important factors of the economic function and relations between these urban centres. In the present paper we focus on cities which suffered from the Roman conquest especially in the areas of Molossis, Thesprotia and Cassopaia in comparison to other cities and areas of Epirus where evidence suggest a different approach by the Romans.

### Molossis

According to the ancient historians, the area which suffered most from the Romans was Molossis: Pasarron, Tekmon, Phylake and Horraon were the four cities that resisted the legions after the battle of Pydna, but were eventually besieged and conquered by the Romans. Soon after, many Molossian settlements were at least partially destroyed<sup>9</sup>. Furthermore, as the treaty between Charadros and Ambracia reveals, the Molossians had lost access to the Ambracian gulf<sup>10</sup>. In the same disputed area, at the southern border of Molossis lies Horraon and its demolished walls are an example of the Roman actions in 167 B. C. According to the excavators, habitation at Horraon continued until 31 B. C. The remaining inhabitants of Horraon were sent by the Romans to settle Nikopolis. Dakaris discovered an Athenian coin dating to about 30 B. C. and a coin of Bouthrotos dating to the Early Imperial period was found in the excavation of House 1<sup>11</sup>. Ceramic assemblages related to this period, are unfortunately unpublished. Only some relief bowl fragments, as well as grey and red-slip wares are mentioned, without any evidence for workshops<sup>12</sup>.

Conversely, the study of the finds recovered from the settlement at Megalo Gardiki present an entirely different picture. The fortified hilltop settlement of Megalo Gardiki is located in the heart of the Epirote hinterland. Evangelidis and Dakaris identified this site as Passaron, where the old Molossian kings held ceremonial assemblages<sup>13</sup> and was the first Molossian settlement besieged and occupied by the Romans in 168 B. C.<sup>14</sup>. While the destroyed parts of the fortification bear witness to the Roman intrusion, the settlement was not abandoned, but continued to be inhabited. This is attested by finds dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B. C. Excavations were carried out in several buildings of the acropolis as well as at the western part of the walls. The detailed study of coins and pottery strongly indicates that after 167 B. C. the buildings on the upper terrace of the acropolis were repaired, whereas those lower down the slope were probably abandoned<sup>15</sup>.

7 HANSEN – NIELSEN 2004. For the Epirote settlements included in the Inventory see FUNKE ET AL. 2004, 344–348.

8 The authors study the economy of rural Roman Epirus and of the small and large-scale pastoral and agricultural installations. The results of their research will be published in a forthcoming volume of the *Μελετήματα* series (Institute of Historical Research-National Hellenic Research Foundation) about the economy and society of

western Greece.

9 Liv. 45,26.

10 CABANES – ANDREOU 1985, 499–542.

11 DAKARIS 1986, 143–144; see also HOEPLNER 1999, 409–410.

12 DAKARIS 1986, 142; GRAVANI 2011, 285.

13 Plu. Pyrrh, 5,4.

14 Liv. 45,26,4; 45,26,15; 45,33.

15 PLIAKOU 2015, 22–34; PLIAKOU 2018 a, 701–703.



Fig. 1: Map of Epirus with sites mentioned in the text (© Antoniadis and Pliakou 2020. Basemap created with data from ASTER in QGIS).

Examples of Late Hellenistic pottery from the site are provided thanks to the preservation of relatively undisturbed stratigraphy in the deposits of a basement storeroom (IV) in building B (fig. 2)<sup>16</sup>. Two successive layers of use recorded here were separated from a destruction layer that has been associated with the Roman conquest. In the upper level which corresponds to the last phase of the room, Hellenistic shapes, such as bowls with upturned rim, fish plates and Macedonian amphoras, were found. These vases do not display distinct differences from earlier examples recorded in the lower fill. The chronological framework of the upper layer is confirmed from a red-slipped lamp (type 39 of the Agora publication) and a fusiform unguentarium dating to the early 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. Moreover, numerous grey-ware fragments and Eastern Sigillata A (ESA) imports or local/regional red-slip imitations, also appear in the upper layer. Both categories, dating from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C., are mainly represented by plates with upturned rim and rouletting decoration. Italian terra sigillata sherds, which date around the period of Augustus and in the 1<sup>st</sup> century A. D. have also been found in all the excavated buildings of the upper plateau, and they confirm that the settlement of Gardiki was not abandoned in later periods.

<sup>16</sup> The ceramic assemblage was presented in PLIAKOU 2014.

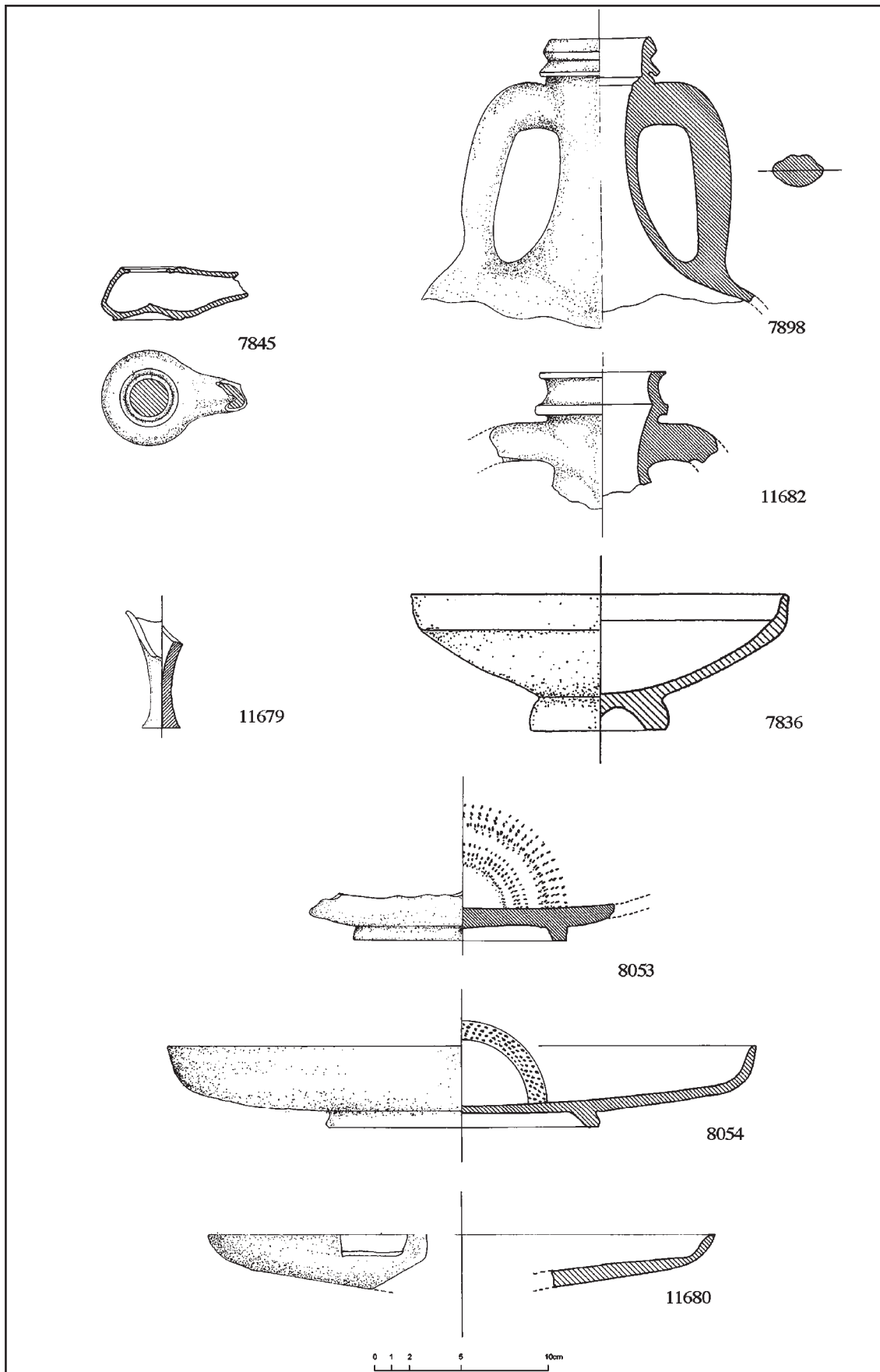


Fig. 2: Megalo Gardiki. Pottery from a mid-2<sup>nd</sup> to mid-1<sup>st</sup> centuries deposit (after PLIAKOU 2014).

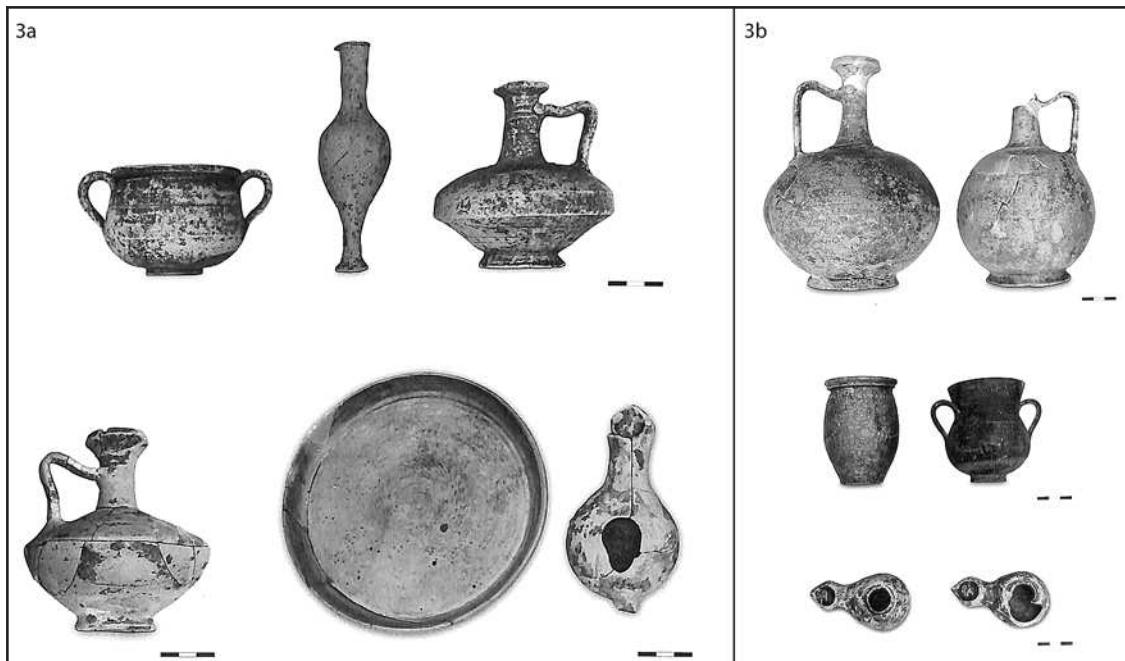


Fig. 3a. b: Ambracia. Late Hellenistic lekythoi in context (after AGGELI 2000).

Regarding the numismatic evidence, there are bronze coins of the Epirote League, and Ambracia, as well as silver coins of Apollonia, which could also be dated after 167 B. C.<sup>17</sup>. As in the case of the pottery, bronze coins from Nicopolis and later issues of Roman Emperors, prove that the settlement flourished in the period of Octavian Augustus and habitation in the site continued until at least the 4<sup>th</sup> century A. D.<sup>18</sup>.

### Ambracia

The city and territory of Ambracia, a former Corinthian colony, came under Roman control as early as 189 B. C., retaining however some degree of autonomy<sup>19</sup>. Inscriptions dating after 167 B. C. which refer to the political organization of the Ambracians, indicate strong political activity and connections between the city and the Epirote settlements and *ethne*, even after the Roman conquest<sup>20</sup>. During the Roman civil wars, the soldiers of proconsul Piso pillaged Ambracia, probably between 57–55 B. C.<sup>21</sup>. The city was abandoned, although not completely, after the foundation of Nicopolis, since it was one of the neighbouring settlements from which the inhabitants were forcibly settled into the city of the victory of Augustus. More recent archaeological research confirmed Franke’s suggestion that the city continued to issue coins during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B. C.

The ceramic production of Ambracia in the second and first centuries B. C., is well known due to detailed publications in various volumes of the Proceedings of Scientific Meetings on Hellenistic Pottery<sup>22</sup>. The city’s workshops continued to produce new categories of pottery according to the fashion created in the major Hellenistic centres, in the East and the West. Lagynoi, unguentaria, lamps and kantharoi are the most common shapes in burial contexts dating from

<sup>17</sup> PLIAKOU 2013, 451–453.

<sup>18</sup> Habitation in the 4<sup>th</sup> century A. D. is indicated by an unpublished coin dating to the reign of Konstantine I. For the chronological frame of the settlement and the numerous coins of the Roman Imperial period, see PLIAKOU 2015, 13–17; PLIAKOU 2018, 699–700. New inhabitants occupied part of the abandoned buildings around the

6<sup>th</sup> century A. D.

<sup>19</sup> Plb. 21,29; 21,30; Liv. 28,44; Plin. nat. 35,36,66; 38,44,6.

<sup>20</sup> ANDREOU 1996/1997, 141–172.

<sup>21</sup> Cic. Pis. 96.

<sup>22</sup> AGGELI 2000; GRAVANI 2009; KATSAADIMA – KARAMPA 2014; KARAMPA 2018.

the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. (fig. 3 a; 3 b)<sup>23</sup>. The lagynoi of Ambracia, conical, biconical or globular in shape, bear an orange slip that could be an imitation of the red-slip ESA<sup>24</sup>. Most of the lagynoi produced in the local workshops in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. were found in burial contexts. The shape of kantharos also appears among grave goods after the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, although with fewer examples. The Ambracian Late Hellenistic Kantharoi have a relatively short and wide globular body with a high upturned rim (fig. 3 a), while in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. they become thin-walled (fig. 3 b)<sup>25</sup>.

Regarding pottery found in domestic contexts and more specifically table ware of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B. C., plates of various types are the most common shape (fig. 4). Most of the plates, mainly large in size, have an upturned or upcurved rim and rouletting decoration, with both, grey and red-slip wares are represented<sup>26</sup>. Another category includes offset rim grey-bodied plates bearing black slip and rouletting decoration, probably influenced by black-glazed Campana A plates, as well as by red-slip ESA ware respectively. According to their context and typological parallels, all these categories are dated from the last quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the first decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.<sup>27</sup>.

Among the relatively few moldmade relief bowls in Ambracia, some fragments with floral decoration made with grey or pink clay (fig. 4), could be attributed to the post-167 B. C. period, according to the stratigraphic evidence and parallels<sup>28</sup>. The production of long petal bowls apparently was continued by the local workshop until the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. This is indicated by a mold found in a 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. deposit<sup>29</sup>.

### Cassopaia

In the crucial period of the Third Macedonian War 170–168 B. C., the *ethnos* of the Cassopaians followed the Molossians and consequently the Macedonians in their struggle against Rome<sup>30</sup>. After Pydna they suffered the consequences of this alliance. As in other areas of Epirus, invasions and civil wars caused economic decline. After the battle of Actium, Octavian founded Nicopolis in the heart of Cassopaia. Most of the Cassopaians were forced to abandon their settlements for the synoecism of Nicopolis. Cassope was the political centre of the Cassopaians. The city probably suffered pillaging by the Romans, but it was not abandoned. In fact, after the middle of the second century B. C., with the revival of the Epirote League, Cassope regained some importance<sup>31</sup>. According to the excavators, no signs of destruction by fire were detected during excavations in the habitation space of the settlement, while, by contrast, public buildings might have been destroyed by fire at this time<sup>32</sup>. Gravani argues, based on the stratigraphy and research on the pottery, that an abrupt decline occurred after 170 B. C., in the city of Cassope, where apart from the reduction of the production activities, there was also a population decrease. The successive construction phases of Cassope have been highlighted through the study of stratigraphy in domestic contexts, such as houses 5 and 6, where the last construction phase which dates after 167 B. C. to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C., can be clearly distinguished<sup>33</sup>.

The moldmade bowls' production at Cassope began before the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. and flourished in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup>, within workshops A and B and the minor workshop groups 1, 2 and 3. The workshop B and groups 1, 2 and 3 continued their activity at Cassope

23 AGGELI 2000, pl. 158c. 160–161.

24 AGGELI 2000, especially 318.

25 KARAMPA 2018, 829 fig. 1. 835–836.

26 KATSADIMA – KARAMPA 2014, 73–74 pl. 11. 14.

27 KATSADIMA – KARAMPA 2014, 74–75 pl. 12. 14.

28 GRAVANI 1988/1989, 104–105; KATSADIMA – KARAMPA 2014, 76–80 pl. 13. 14.

29 KATSADIMA – KARAMPA 2014, 80.

30 DAKARIS 1972, 3.

31 DAKARIS 1972, 91–93.

32 SCHWADNER 2001, 112 contra Dakaris who also excavated and supervised the excavation at Cassope (DAKARIS 1979, 114–118) supports that houses were also partially destroyed by fire, but they were rapidly repaired.

33 GRAVANI 2000, 478–480; GRAVANI 2001, 117–124.



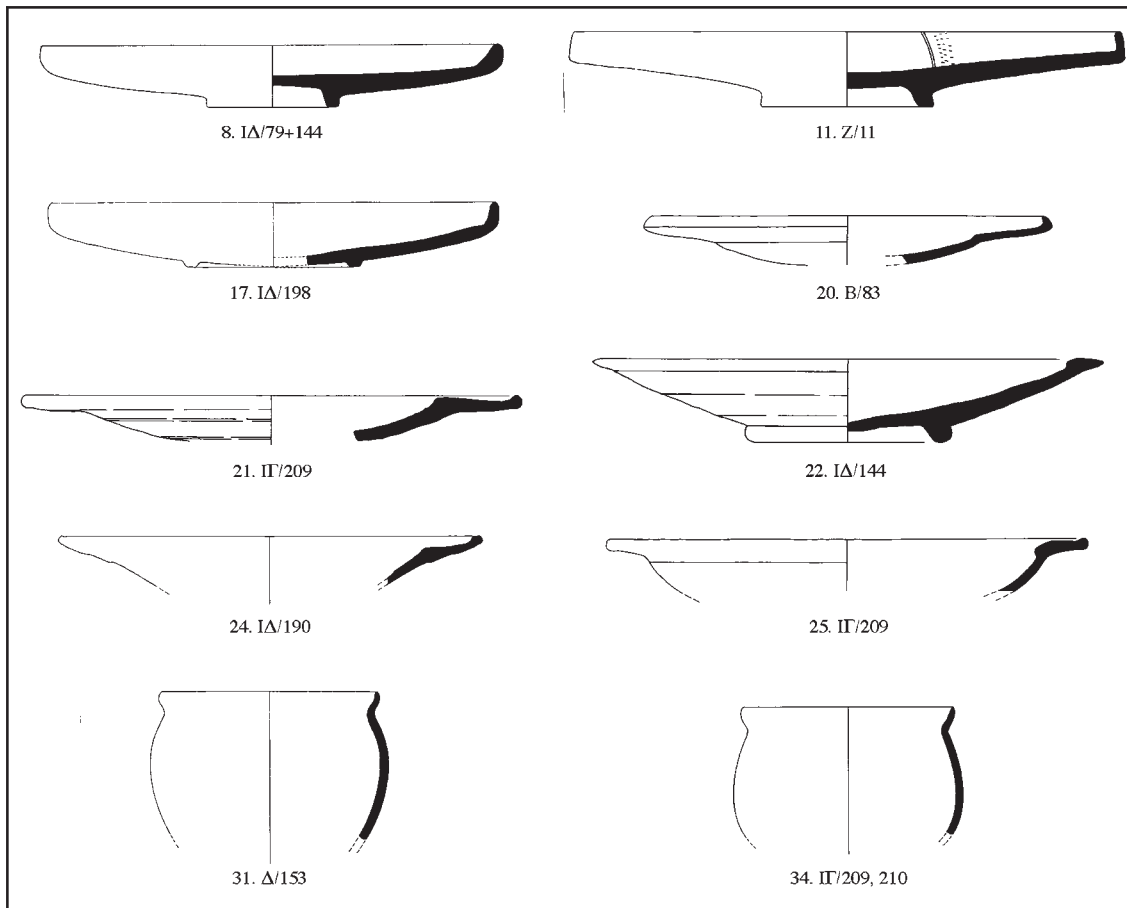


Fig. 4: Ambracia. Grey and red-slip wares: plates with upturned/upcurved rim (8. 11. 17). plates with offset rim (20–25), local relief bowls (31. 34) (after KATSADIMA – KARAMPA 2014).

until the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C., even if the molds were rather worn in the later periods<sup>34</sup>. After 167 B. C., a new workshop, known as C, began its activity and developed a different repertoire, producing bowls with short calyx and figures, with figures and living creatures, with “Macedonian” decoration and long petals, in which none of the older decorative patterns are recognized (fig. 5a)<sup>35</sup>. Taking into account the new decorative repertoire in workshop C, it has been suggested that this activity was connected with new inhabitants in Cassope after 167 B. C. However, there is no conclusive evidence, based exclusively on the use of a specific ceramic repertoire, to support this view. Alongside the production of workshop C from new molds, a considerable number of imported relief bowls arrived at Cassope. These “luxury” imported vases were perhaps intended for the few privileged inhabitants, such as the occupant of the house with the peristyle courtyard built on the site of older houses<sup>36</sup>.

The red-slip wares are both imported and locally made<sup>37</sup>. Imported red-slipped pottery in Cassope comprises ESA plates with upcurved or offset rim, as well as ESA hemispherical bowls. A second large group of red-slipped pottery was produced in the city’s workshop, as evidenced by the fabric and colour of the clay as well as by the quality of slip. The local workshop attempts to imitate the shapes of the imported ESA and Campana A pottery, producing plates in two variants<sup>38</sup>. The first variation was produced from 167 B. C. to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C., while the production of second variation began after 148 B. C. and continued until the mid-1<sup>st</sup>

34 GRAVANI 2001, 139–140.

35 GRAVANI 2000, 488–89; GRAVANI 2001, 140.

36 GRAVANI 2001, 140.

37 GRAVANI 2004.

38 GRAVANI 2004, 572–576.

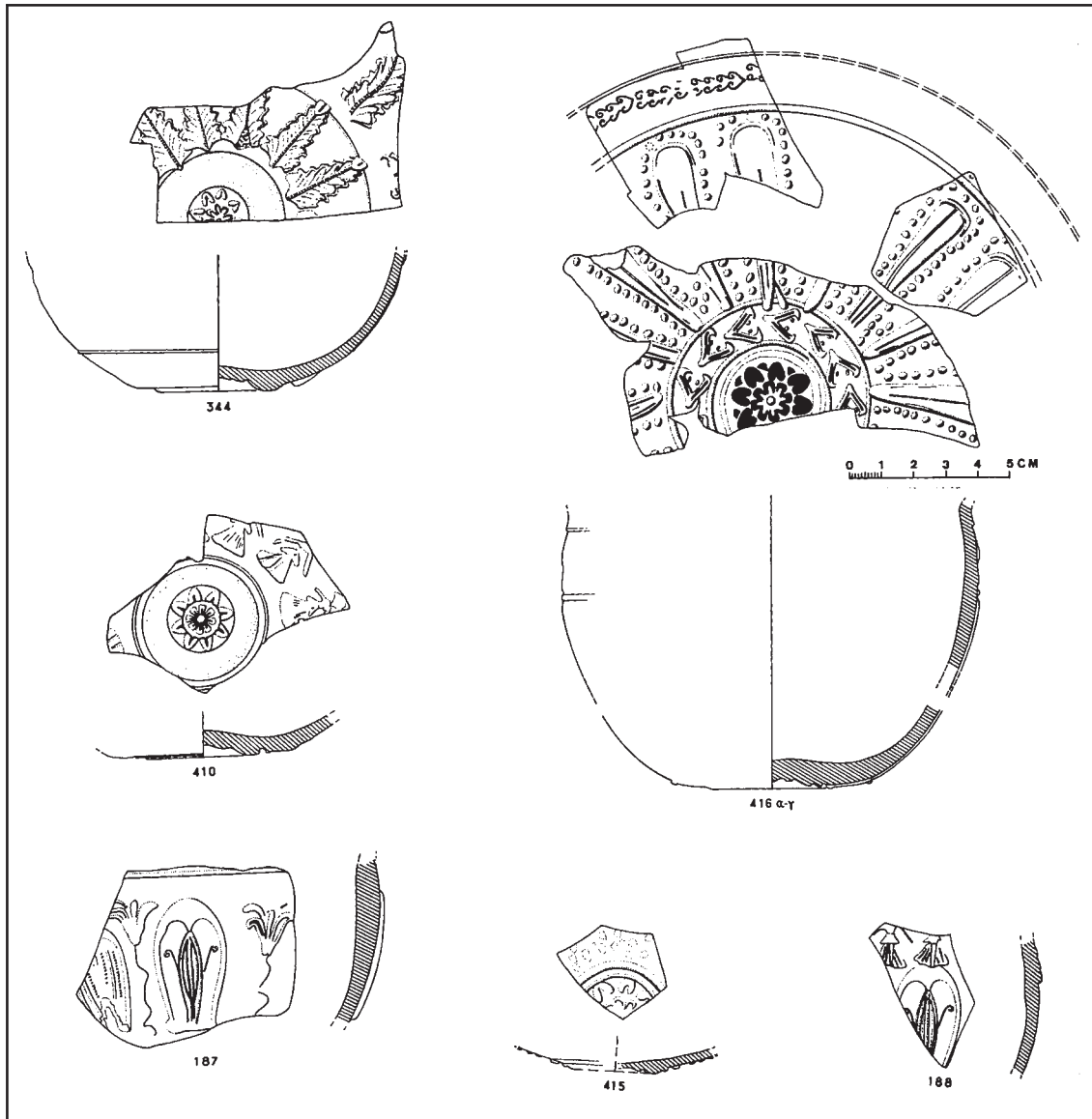


Fig. 5a: Cassope. Workshop C, relief bowls (after GRAVANI 2000, GRAVANI 2004).

century B. C. Some local vases bear the potter's stamp ΣΩΤΗΡΙΧΟΥ in the fashion of the imported ESA (fig. 5b)<sup>39</sup>.

### Thesprotia

After 170 B. C. and the split in the Epirote *Koinon*, the Thesprotians who lived south of the Kalamas River remained faithful to the Molossians in the last two crucial years of the Third Macedonian War<sup>40</sup>. Phanote was the first pro-Macedonian Thesprotian city that surrendered to the Romans in 168 B. C. after the battle of Pydna<sup>41</sup>. Thesprotia was one of the first areas that began to attract Roman settlers of all classes immediately after the conquest in 168 B. C. In fact the earliest Roman settlements date to this period<sup>42</sup>.

Gitana was the political centre of the Thesprotians in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Recent publications on the Hellenistic pottery of the city testify intense productive and

39 GRAVANI 2004, 576–580.

40 ANTONIADIS 2016, 61.

41 Plb. 30,12–13; 3,6; 35,4–5; Liv. 45,31; HAM-

MOND 1967, 634; ANTONIADIS 2019, 389–390.

42 ZOUMPAKI 2019.

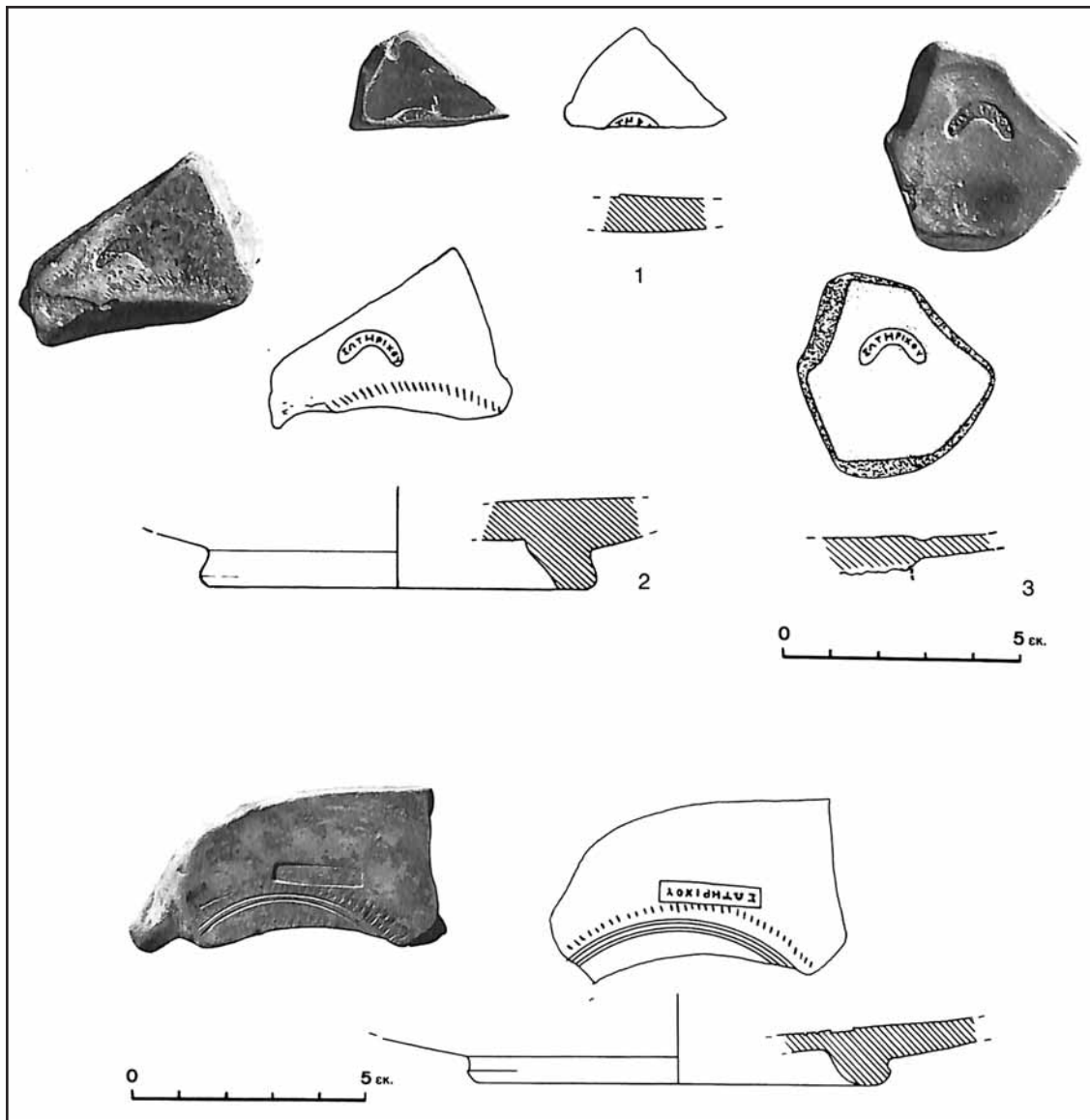


Fig. 5b: Cassope. Local red-slip ware with the stamp: ΣΩΤΗΡΙΧΟΥ (after GRAVANI 2000, GRAVANI 2004).

commercial activity during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B. C. A long petal mold fragment, strongly suggests that the local workshop continued to produce relief bowls after the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, numerous Italian transport amphoras of the types Dressel 1A, 1B, IC, Lamboglia 2 and Brindisi confirm that Gitana, with its port in the Ionian Sea, participated in a wide commercial network during the late 2<sup>nd</sup>/middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. (fig. 6)<sup>44</sup>. An interesting suggestion by Kaliopi Preka Alexandri, excavator of the city, is that there was production of Lamboglia 2 amphoras in the local pottery workshop<sup>45</sup>, but this remains to be proven. It is also under investigation whether the presence of these types is related to Roman settlers in the city after the Roman conquest.

Similarly, the evidence from the cemeteries of Gitana points out that habitation was not interrupted after 167 B. C. A large family cist grave investigated at the Kalamas Dam contained multiple burials, most of which were cremations placed in stone and clay urns. Three, chronologically distinct, sets of grave goods found inside the grave, date to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C., to the sec-

43 PREKA-ALEXANDRI 2014, 107–108 pl. 28.

45 PREKA-ALEXANDRI – ARGYROU 2019, 200. 202.

44 PREKA-ALEXANDRI – ARGYROU 2019, 199–202.

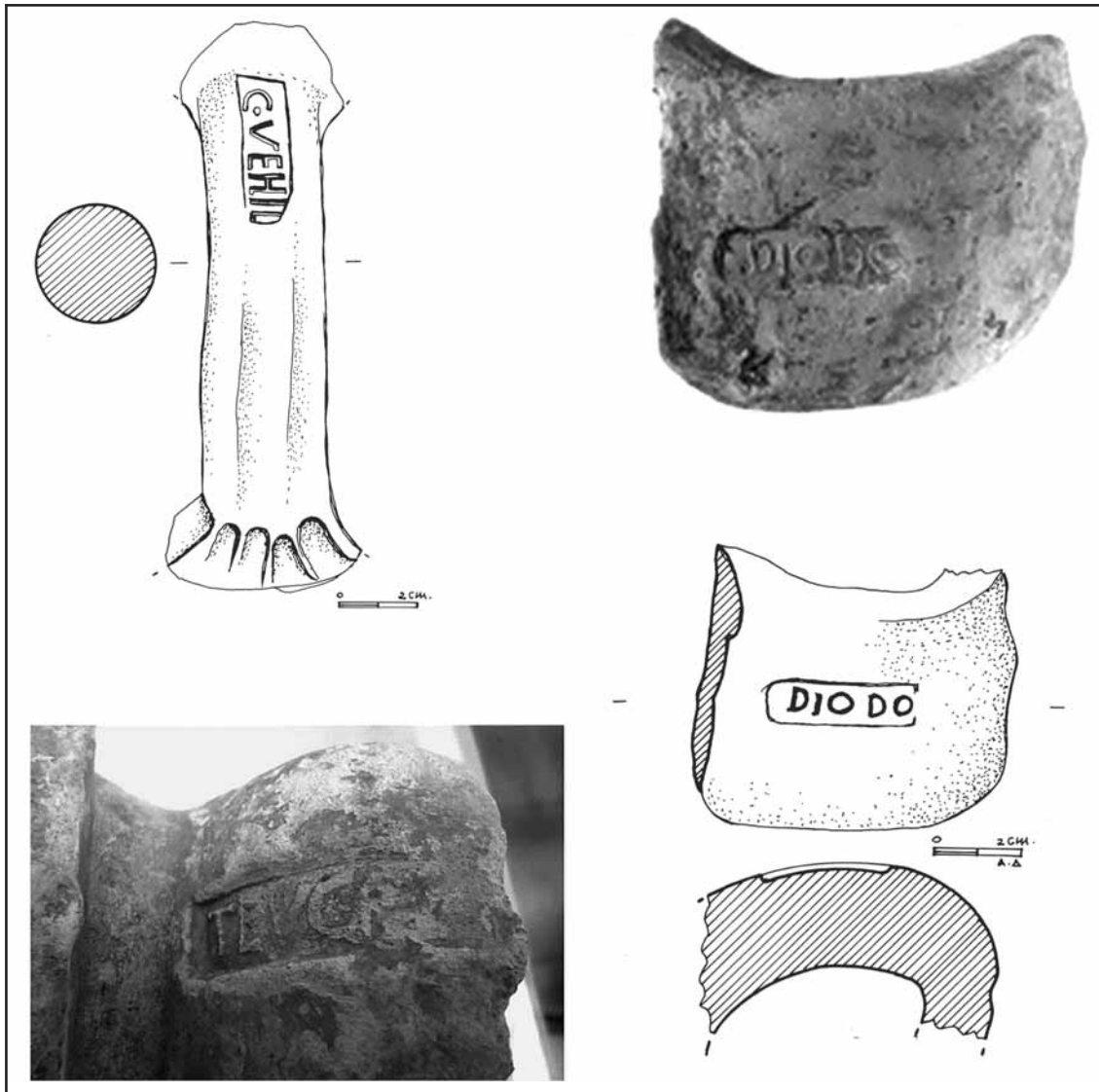


Fig. 6: Gitana. Stamped amphora handles (after PREKA-ALEXANDRI – ARGYROU 2019).

ond half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. and to the late 2<sup>nd</sup>–early 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. respectively<sup>46</sup>. The use of the same tomb for more than 100 years, with careful arrangement and perhaps respect for the previous burials, most likely indicates that the wealthy (or pro-Roman) families of Thesprotians, not only continued to live in their city after the Roman conquest, but fully retained their burial practices<sup>47</sup>. As in the case of the Ambracian graves, after the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C., unguentaria and lagynoi are the most common types of vessels offered to the dead. Ancient testimonies also support the notion that members of the local Thesprotian elite had allied themselves to the Romans. Such an example is the family of Charops Machata. He was the leader of the pro-Roman Epirotes and together with Nicias provided the Romans with the names of the Epirote leaders who had supported the Macedonians in 168 B. C. Charops died suddenly in 158 or 157 B. C. By this time, Epirotes had suffered considerably by his actions and even the Romans were annoyed by his behaviour.

Another important Thesprotian centre was Elea. The destruction of 167 B. C. did not eliminate any trace of life in Elea. It caused however a significant reduction of its population and de-

<sup>46</sup> RIGINOS 2019.

<sup>47</sup> PALLI ET AL. 2017, 11–12; PLIAKOU ET AL. 2020, 284.

cline of the economy. This is suggested by the discovery of a coin treasure with bronze issues of the Epirote Koinon that were produced after 148 B. C. and were hidden during the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.<sup>48</sup>. Moreover, there are few pottery finds that could be dated after the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. Among them a transport amphora from Sicily has been dated to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. and associated with the last phase of the settlement before the Roman conquest<sup>49</sup>. However, it is more likely that the vessel dates after the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C.<sup>50</sup>.

In the Thesprotian fortified settlement of Dymokastro, excavation finds demonstrate some activity during the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. A Roman coin dating to the Roman Republic Period was found among late issues of the Epirote Koinon, in a private Hellenistic building, which continued to be inhabited after 167 B. C.<sup>51</sup>. Furthermore, the fragments of a marble statue in the type of Hermes Lodovisi (late 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.) demonstrate that sanctuary A was still in use in that period<sup>52</sup>. Regarding ceramic evidence, Italian Lamboglia 2 amphorae with stamped handles, bearing the letters TEVCRA and CEVI, have been found<sup>53</sup>. It is worth mentioning that the stamp TEVCRA also appears on a Lamboglia 2 handle discovered in Gitana<sup>54</sup>. In any case, the indications for commercial activity in the Early Roman period, are apparently linked to the key geographical location of this coastal settlement.

The fortified settlement of Doliani was identified as ancient *Fanoti*, which, according to Livy, was the first Epirote city surrendered to the Romans in 168 B. C.<sup>55</sup>. The scarce excavation finds that were revealed in Doliani indicate that the settlement probably escaped a complete destruction by the Romans. The characteristic grey-bodied plates with a grey to black slip, dating to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.<sup>56</sup>, are of great interest since they can be compared with relevant examples from all the Epirote sites we deal with in this paper. Additionally, a red-slipped cup with very thin walls and upturned rim (early 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.)<sup>57</sup> finds parallels in Ambracia<sup>58</sup>. This can be linked to the debate on the identity of the population of the conquered settlements. In other words, one wonders whether the inhabitants of the post-167 B. C. were Romans, Italians, or locals, i.e. members of the pro-Roman local aristocracy. Regarding the numismatic evidence, bronze coins of the post-167 B. C. Epirote Koinon were found, however in ill-defined deposits<sup>59</sup>. Finally, Italian Sigillata potsherds (and a stamped amphora handle bearing the name SEXT), point out the connections of Doliani with Italy in the Early Imperial period<sup>60</sup>.

### Chaonia

Chaonians in the Third Macedonian War remained loyal to the Romans or were under their firm control and they escaped destruction. After 168 B. C., a new Epirote *Koinon* was formed by the people of Phoinike and the surrounding areas<sup>61</sup>. The Hellenistic ceramic assemblages of Phoinike are very well known thanks to the systematic study of the pottery of this Chaonian centre by Anna Gamberini<sup>62</sup>. Late Hellenistic vases were recovered both in funerary and domestic contexts. The local biconical and globular lagynoi, which can be compared with similar in shape examples from Ambracia, Gitana, as well as from Vouthrotos in Chaonia and Taras, are the most popular shapes in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.<sup>63</sup>. The fish plates of “Epirote type”

48 LIAMPI 2019.

49 LAZARI 2014, 296 pl. 130 d.

50 Amphoras of this type usually date to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B. C. A close parallel from the Ioannina region, has been found in a deposit of the early 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. See PASCUAL – PLIAKOU in this volume with further bibliographical references.

51 RIGINOS 2007, 165; LAZARI ET AL. 2008.

52 MANCINI 2019, 169–170.

53 LAZARI ET AL. 2008, 49; KANTA-KITSOU ET AL. 2008, 50 fig. 1.

54 PREKA-ALEXANDRI – ARGYROU 2019, 201 with

further discussion on the identity of the relevant workshop.

55 DAKARIS 1972; DAKARIS 1987.

56 LAMPROU – DROSOU 2011, 289–290 pl. 116b.

57 LAMPROU – DROSOU 2011, 289 pl. 116a.

58 AGGELI 2000, pl. 161 b; KARAMPA 2018, 829 fig. 1. 835–836 pl. 5 no. 4751.

59 KANTA-KITSOU – LAMBROU 2008, 37.

60 PREKA-ALEXANDRI 1995, 444.

61 FRANKE 1961, 225–237; SARIKAKIS 1964, 107.

62 GAMBERINI 2016.

63 GAMBERINI 2016, 84–85. 86 fig. 3, 27. 87 fig. 328. 260 pl. 15.

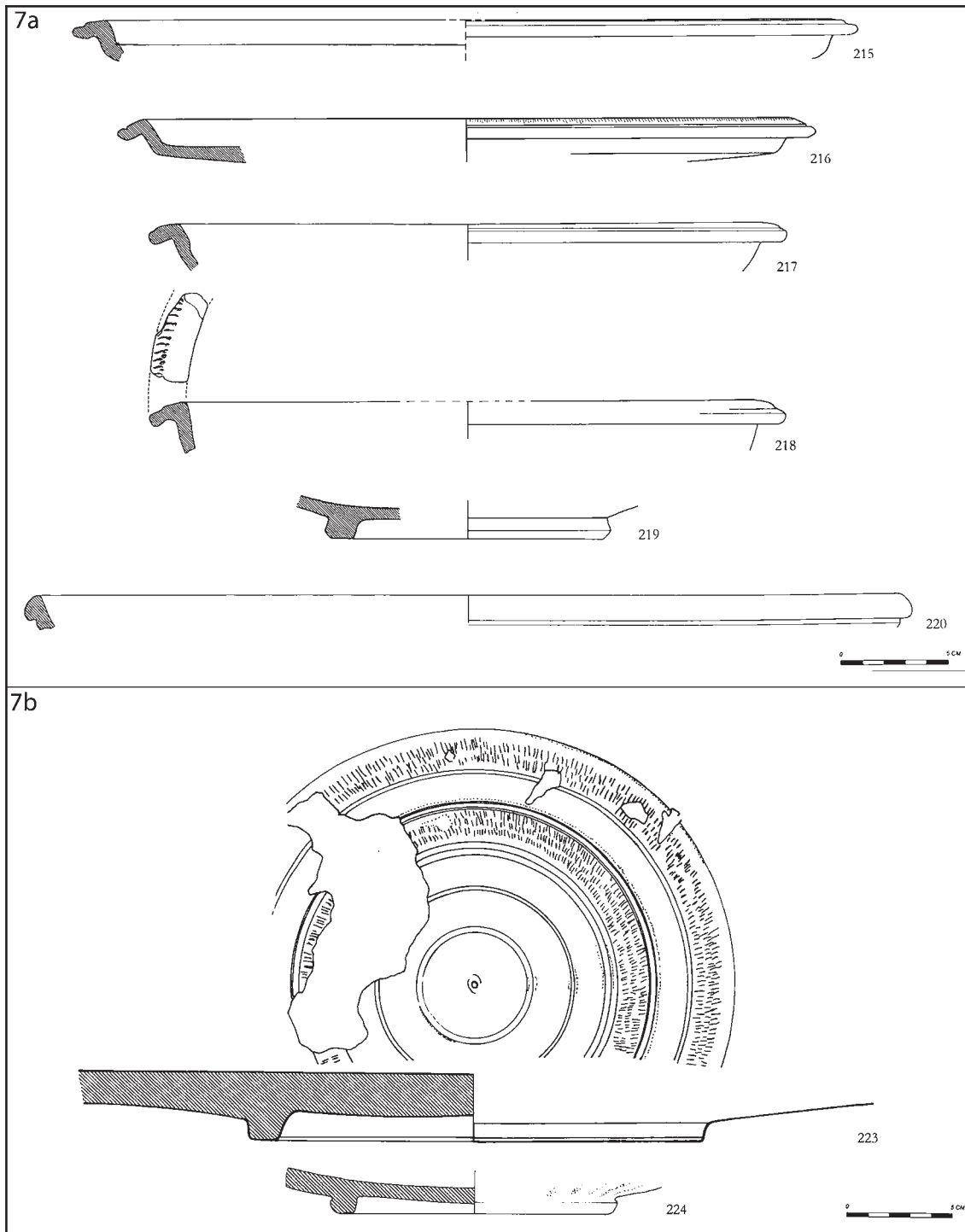


Fig. 7a. b: Phoinike. Local grey ware: plates and platters (after GAMBERINI 2016).

with the characteristic slightly formed rim, remains the most common table ware shape, but with a deeper body<sup>64</sup>. Offset rim plates, dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>–early 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C., have been considered as influenced from ESA and Campana A pottery<sup>65</sup>, while some grey ware plates and platters date to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. (fig. 7)<sup>66</sup>. The local workshop of relief bowls in Phoinike, confirmed through archaeometric analysis, continued its activity until the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and possibly the

<sup>64</sup> GAMBERINI 2016, 92–95, 266 pl. 21.

<sup>65</sup> GAMBERINI 2016, 94–95, 268 pl. 23.

<sup>66</sup> GAMBERINI 2016, 96–99. 268–271 pl. 23–26.

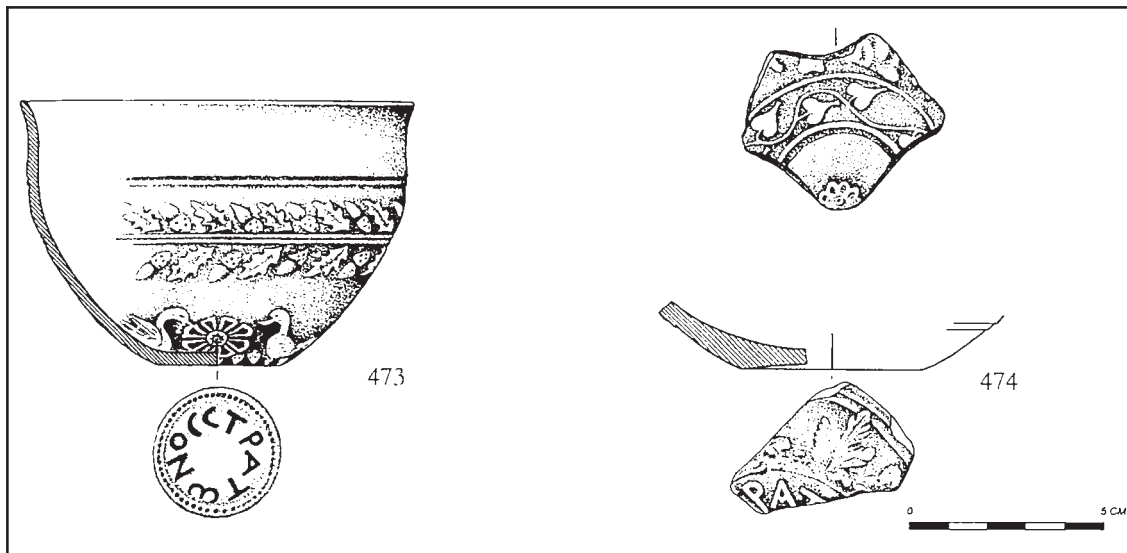


Fig. 8: Phoinike. Local relief bowl with the stamp ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ (after GAMBERINI 2016).

first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C., with the later examples bearing the stamp of the potter: Στράτωνος (fig. 8)<sup>67</sup>. Finally, it is remarkable that the production of predominantly Hellenistic shapes that usually disappeared before the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C., such as the kantharos, pyxis, and the amphora of “Epirote type“, in the case of Phoinike continued, transforming their morphological features, until the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.<sup>68</sup>.

### Discussion

The study of the ceramic evidence and the possible production centres all over Epirus from 167 B. C. to the late 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. is very important for determining the nature and function of the former major Epirote cities during this period. The evidence suggests that pottery workshops at Ambracia, Cassope, Gitana and Phoinike continued producing during this period typical Hellenistic pottery shapes, such as plates, moldmade relief bowls and lagynoi. These pots and shapes apparently served the needs and taste of the remaining local population. New pottery imports and shapes also appeared after the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. These were the red-slip ESA and grey wares, already dominant in the markets of the eastern and western Mediterranean. Local workshops rapidly began to copy these imports. An interesting point is that the red-slip wares from Cassope and the relief skyphoi from Phoinike bear signatures in the Greek alphabet by the potter makers. This indicates an influence by the stamps of the Eastern Sigillata ware.

The influence of Campana A pottery on the local ceramic production and the discovery of Italian commercial amphoras suggest that after 167 B. C. there were commercial relations between various centres and Italy. This can be easily explained at Phoinike and Ambracia which had established friendly relations with the Romans and escaped the 167 B. C. destruction. In the case of cities that suffered after the battle of Pydna this influence can be related to other factors. While the presence of imported vases cannot be directly associated with the origin of their owners, one wonders whether the new pottery styles were adopted in order to satisfy the need of newcomers from Italy, who may have settled in cities such as Cassope or Gitana. There is no conclusive evidence to support this view, but it seems that gradually Roman merchants and Italian landowners who had established themselves in the rural areas and coast of western Epirus, began to penetrate into the defeated Epirote cities. This is indicated by the construction of workshops which included ceramic kilns along with wine and oil press installations, in the area

67 GAMBERINI 2016, 150–151. 293 pl. 48.

fig. 5,3. 161 fig. 5,4. 162–163 fig. 5,5.

68 GAMBERINI 2016, 158 fig. 5,1. 159 fig. 5,2. 160

of the Prytaneion at Gitana<sup>69</sup>. Another interesting point related to the use of imported ceramic styles is the local population. Certain members of the local elite, as those buried in the cist grave at Kalamas Dam, might have been allies of the Romans and they had acquired a taste for Italian pottery and products.

In the area of Molossis, evidence from pottery (red-slip and grey wares) recovered from the acropolis at Megalo Gardki demonstrates that habitation continued after 167 B. C. Archaeologists have so far carried out extensive investigations in only a limited area of the fortified settlement without discovering a pottery workshop dating to this period. Perhaps the red-slip and grey wares, which do not belong to the local Hellenistic tradition, were imported to Megalo Gardiki from Ambracia or Cassope<sup>70</sup>. The other major settlements of the area, Kastro at Ioannina and Kastritsa, which was initially identified with Tekmon, probably remained uninhabited from 167 B. C. to the beginning of the Imperial period<sup>71</sup>.

Pottery evidence suggests that after 167 B. C., in each area of the Epirote *ethne*, certain cities managed to survive the Roman conquest, while others did not. At Chaonia, Phoinike became the political centre of the Epirote League, but Antigoneia was probably deserted<sup>72</sup>. Gitana and Dymokastro at Thesprotia functioned, among other things, as commercial centres, but Elea shows no evidence of major activity. At Molossis, only Megalo Gardiki survived the 168/167 B. C. events, while the other larger urban centres fell into decline. At Cassopaia, only the excavations at Cassope have demonstrated the continuity in occupation for this urban centre. There are also other walled settlements at Cassopaia such as Kastri, Kastro Rogon, Kastri hill at Rizovouni and Palaioroforo. No excavations have been carried out in these sites, but surveys indicate Roman presence after 167 B. C.<sup>73</sup>. From this overview it is suggested that only very few major centres managed to survive in each area. One wonders whether this was due to specific Roman policy for maintaining a limited number of centres or due to a general decline of the population.

Ceramic finds demonstrate that life continued in a few of the Epirote urban centres, including commercial relations and economic activities such as workshops. Regarding the institutional status of these centers, epigraphic evidence supports the existence and function of the local Koina, such as the Thesprotian Koinon, up to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.<sup>74</sup>. Besides, the Hellenistic temples of Gitana and Dymokastro seem to have been renovated at the same period<sup>75</sup>. Nevertheless, what seems evident is that newcomers from Italy were far more interested on using the former public buildings as private residences and/or workshops. This occurred, for example, at Kassope<sup>76</sup> and Gitana and demonstrates that even if the Epirote *ethne* maintained their existence and identity after 167 BC, their urban centres either “died” deserted or they became residences without the former distinctive characteristics of the Classical and Hellenistic cities. In a way this was another kind of death.

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69 Preka-Alexandri 2019, 174–175. 179; PREKA-ALEXANDRI – ARGYROU 2019, 201–202.

70 PLIAKOU 2014, 91 note 43.

71 PLIAKOU 2018b, 141 (Kastritsa). 142 (Kastro of Ioannina), with further bibliography. For a recent discussion on Epirote abandoned settlements, see FORSÉN 2019, 25.

72 BUDINA 1972; ZACHOS ET AL. 2006, 338–339 with further bibliography.

73 MOORE MORISON 2006, 18; FORSÉN 2019, 25 note 137. For the historiography of these sites see ANTONIADIS

2016, 28. 29. 31. 46–47.

74 PREKA-ALEXANDRI – NAKASIS 2018, 749; PREKA-ALEXANDRI 2019, 180; CABANES 2019, 99. 113–116. The existence of a Molossian Koinon in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. is also confirmed by epigraphic evidence. See CABANES 2019, 99.

75 MANCINI 2019 (sanctuaries of Dymokastro); PREKA-ALEXANDRI – NAKASIS 2018 (temple of Parthenos at Gitana).

76 ANTONIADIS 2016, 30.



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## Contents

Preface by the Chair of the IARPotHP .....	9
Preface by the former Chair of the IARPotHP .....	11
Introduction and Acknowledgements .....	13
<b>Topic 1: Ceramic Manufacturers and their Workshops from East to West</b>	
VERÓNICA MARTÍNEZ-FERRERAS – JOSEP M. GURT-ESPARRAGUERA – ANNO HEIN – SARA CARRIÓN	
Tableware for Symposia in Northern Bactria (Central Asia) .....	17
MARINA E. KLEMESHOVA – GEORGY A. LOMTADZE	
Imitation of Greek Ceramics Imported from the Ancient Settlements of the Bosphorus .....	35
BARAK MONNICKENDAM-GIVON	
Cooking Vessels Production in Southern-Phoenicia: A Selective Use .....	47
CÉCILE HARLAUT	
Vases de banquet, de culte (?), offrandes funéraires et urnes cinéraires. Nouvelles données pour un groupe de céramique peinte hellénistique d’Alexandrie et d’Égypte .....	65
ANNE-SOPHIE MARTZ	
A Delian / Cycladic Cookware Production? .....	81
GUY ACKERMANN	
Pottery Production in Central Euboea during the Hellenistic Period .....	99
KONSTANTINA GRAVANI – DIMITRA DROSOU	
Amphorae from the Ancient Cassope, Epirus – Greece .....	111
FRANCESCA TOMEI	
The Hellenistic Pottery Kilns from the <i>chora</i> of Metaponto: A Landscape Analysis to Understand Locational Choices and Networks of Distribution .....	127
ZOI KOTITSA	
Shining Vessels: Transferring the Technology of Tin-foiled Pottery in the Mediterranean ...	141
LAURA AMBROSINI	
Hellenistic Pottery from Lipari (Sicily) Imitating Metal Vases .....	161
ARCHER MARTIN – ALBERT RIBERA I LACOMBA	
Black-Gloss Ware Produced at Pompeii. Finds from the Excavations of the Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia .....	183
ILARIA ROMEO – ALESSIA CONTINO – LUCILLA D’ALESSANDRO – DARIO PANARITI – MARTINA RODINÒ	
Nuovi dati sulla ceramica a vernice nera e le anfore della città romana di Cosa (Ansedonia, GR/Italia). Le indagini dell’Università di Firenze a Cosa: l’Edificio P .....	195
CUSTODE SILVIO FIORIELLO	
Produzione ceramica in Puglia nell’età della romanizzazione .....	225

**Topic 2: Aegean Networks**

GEORGE KOUTSOUFLAKIS – MAX LUACES – JOSÉ ANGEL ZAMORA LÓPEZ – ANTONIO MANUEL SÁEZ ROMERO  
 A Fresh Approach to Seaborne Trade and Maritime Connectivity Between the Levant and the Aegean in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods ..... 241

JOHN LUND  
 The Formative History of the Lagynos: Some Suggestions ..... 255

KOSTAS FILIS – VIVIAN STAIKOU  
 The Transport Amphorae from the Port Facilities of Ancient Leukas. Local/regional and Extra-regional Exchange Networks ..... 263

ANNETTE PEIGNARD-GIROS  
 Delos in an Eastern Mediterranean Roman Network in the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> Centuries B. C. The Evidence from Pottery ..... 279

COLETTE KRUYSHAAR – KAREY A. RODGERS – MARGRIET J. HAAGSMA – SOPHIA KARAPANOU  
 “Phocaeen” Cookware in Achaia Phthiotis (Thessaly) ..... 289

SERGEY YU. MONAKHOV – NATALIYA B. CHUREKOVA  
 Hellenistic Amphorae in the Project “Greek Amphorae from the Northern Pontus Euxinus (7<sup>th</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> Century B. C.) – APE” ..... 307

**Topic 3: Local Economies in Light of Regional Connectivity and Identities**

GABRIELE PUSCHNIGG  
 Sirvan Ceramics: Local Communities and Interregional Networks in the Central Zagros .... 317

MARIOLA HEPA  
 Funktionale Analyse und Kontextualisierung von Keramik aus einem ptolemäisch-römischen Tiergräberfeld in Syene/Oberägypten ..... 329

VINCENZO SORÍA  
 The Story of an Ordinary Object: Italic Black Gloss Tableware in Portugal During the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> Century B. C. .... 339

FRANCISCO B. GOMES  
 Reconstructing Perfume Trade in Hellenistic Iberia: Ceramic Unguentaria and Other Perfume Vessels from the Late Iron Age to the Early Roman Period ..... 351

FRANCISCO JOSÉ GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ – ANTONIO M. SÁEZ ROMERO  
 Almost Roman. Change and Persistence in the Table Wares of Southwestern Iberia after the Roman Conquest (2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C.) ..... 365

DARIO D’ORLANDO  
 From Urban to Rural: Trade and Production Between *Caralis* and its Hinterland (Sardinia, Italy) ..... 383

CHRISTINE PÖNITZ-HUNZIKER  
 From the Table to the Grave (?). The Different Use of Ceramics in House and Grave Contexts in Crotona (Calabria) ..... 395

CLAUDIA NOFERI  
 Terracotta Figurines in Hellenistic Grave Goods of the Southern Etruria: Meanings and Production Areas ..... 405

## Contents

NADIA ALEOTTI	
Hellenistic “Corinthian type B” Amphorae from Butrint (Southern Albania): Reconsidering their Typology and their Role in the Regional Hellenistic Economy . . . . .	411
ANNA GAMBERINI	
Ceramics for the Living and Ceramics for the Dead in Phoinike (Southern Albania) . . . . .	427
VIKTORIJA KOTENKO	
Tauric Chersonesos Tableware on the Markets of the North-western Black Sea Region . . . . .	437
ELENA V. KUZNETSOVA – SERGEY Y. MONAKHOV	
Trade Connections of the Northern Black Sea Region in the Hellenistic Period (After Materials of Museum Collections) . . . . .	447
MARCIN MATERA – SERGEY IL’YASHENKO – SVETLANA NAUMENKO	
The Dynamics of the Development of Amphora Trade at Tanais in 3 <sup>rd</sup> –2 <sup>nd</sup> Centuries B. C. . . . .	463
ALEXANDROS LAFTSIDIS	
The Imitation Game: The Enduring Effects of Attic Pottery in the Hellenistic Times . . . . .	475
NATACHA MASSAR	
Cretan Fine Wares in and out of Crete. Trade Patterns and Distribution Networks . . . . .	495
NATALIA VOGELKOFF-BROGAN	
East Crete between Metellus and Octavian (67–31 BCE): The Case of Mochlos . . . . .	517
VYRON ANTONIADIS – GEORGIA PLIAKOU	
The Archaeology of “Dead Cities”: Ceramic Evidence from Late Hellenistic and Roman Epirus . . . . .	527
ELPINIKI NAOUM	
Hellenistic pottery from the West Cemetery of Pella . . . . .	545
MARIA NASIOULA	
Ἀμφιδάμαντα δὲ Τηλέμαχος. The Killing of the Suitors on <i>Grammatika Vases</i> . . . . .	559
EFSTATHIOS RAPTOU	
“Macedonian Type” Amphorae from Western Cyprus (Paphos Region) . . . . .	569
MELANIE GODSEY – MACHAL GRADOZ	
Pottery from Orneai in the Western Argolid (4 <sup>th</sup> cent. BCE – 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. CE) . . . . .	581
REGINA KLÖCKL	
Zu einigen Reliefbechern aus Pheneos, Arkadien . . . . .	595
DRIES DAEMS – JEROEN POBLOME	
The Hellenistic Pottery of Sagalassos: A Typological Update . . . . .	607
VASILICA LUNGU	
Labraunda: économie locale et contacts régionaux à l’époque hellénistique. La contribution des trouvailles céramiques . . . . .	619
IVANKA KAMENJARIN	
Ceramic Cult Objects from Siculi, Croatia . . . . .	631

<b>Topic 4: Defining a Market. Widespread Distribution of Goods as »Globalisation« Markers ?</b>	
MAX LUACES	
Defining a Market in Antiquity: Beyond the Ceramic and Commodity Exchange . . . . .	639
NADEZHDA NOVOSELOVA – MARIA AKHMADEEVA	
A Hellenistic Pottery Deposit from the “Archelaos” Household of Tauric Chersonesos: Evidence for Globalization . . . . .	653
EMANUELE TACCOLA	
Pisa, Piazza del Duomo. The Hellenistic Pottery as Commercial and Economic Indicator of the Northern Coastal Etruria . . . . .	667
CARLO DE MITRI	
Commercial Product, Personal Property or Gift? A Few Case Studies in the Ionian-Adriatic Area . . . . .	683
JEYHUN EMINLI	
Pottery Production in Qabala – The Capital City of Caucasian Albania in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods . . . . .	695
FABIENNE OLMER	
Amphorae and Hellenistic Products in the Western Celtic World Before the Roman Conquest: Opportunism or Economic Contacts? . . . . .	709
VIOLETA MORENO MEGÍAS	
Fragments of <i>luxuria</i> . The Role of Amphorae in the Consumption of Fish Products in Republican Rome . . . . .	723
SARAH A. JAMES	
New Analyses of Hellenistic B-type Amphorae from Corinth . . . . .	733
GUILLERMO PASCUAL – GEORGIA PLIAKOU	
Transport Amphorae from the Late Hellenistic Farmstead of Episkopi, Ioannina . . . . .	747
PHILIP BES – JEROEN POBLOME	
First Observations on Hellenistic Amphorae at Kinet Höyük . . . . .	759
ANTONIO SÁEZ ROMERO – M. REYES LÓPEZ JURADO	
Ceramic Unguentaria from the Bay of Cádiz (Spain) in the 3 <sup>rd</sup> –1 <sup>st</sup> Centuries B. C. A Review of Their Typological Evolution and Function . . . . .	769
ANTONIO MANUEL POVEDA NAVARRO – PAOLA PUPPO	
Nuovi dati sulla diffusione della ceramica ellenistica a rilievo nelle Isole Baleari (Spagna) . . .	781
SUSAN I. ROTROFF	
An Italian in Arcadia? Moldmade Bowls of Italian Type at Mount Lykaion . . . . .	793
SANDRA MERMELSTEIN	
Off to Market: The Production and Movement of Hellenistic Moldmade Relief Bowls (MMBs) in the Southern Levant . . . . .	805
STANISLAV ZADNIKOV – IRYNA SHRAMKO	
Rhodian Amphora from Lutishche and the Question of Greek Imports of the Hellenistic Period in the Forest-steppe Scythia . . . . .	813



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