

Philip Bes & Mark van der Enden

POTTERY MANUFACTURE AT HELLENISTIC TO LATE ROMAN KORONEIA (BOEOTIA, GREECE)

Ancient Koroneia (Boeotia, central Greece) was the last site surveyed by the Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project, between 2005 and 2011, under the direction of John Bintliff. An abundance of artefacts was collected that attests local pottery manufacture during the Hellenistic to Late Roman periods. This paper preliminarily presents this evidence. Manufacture began in the (Early) Hellenistic period, and is best represented by fragments of moulds for the manufacture of mouldmade (Megarian) relief bowls and misfired fragments of such vessels. The evidence is however richest for the Early to Late Roman periods. Wasters represent a broad functional range, especially open tablewares and smaller closed vessels. Of interest are fragments of kiln wall, found in an area where geophysical research picked up an anomaly, possibly a pottery kiln. The paper concludes with a first attempt to contextualise these finds in a Boeotian and wider framework of stylistic traditions and ceramic exchange.

Boeotia – Koroneia – Hellenistic and Roman Pottery – Pottery Manufacture – Archaeological Survey

Introduction

This paper shares preliminary observations regarding artefactual evidence for local pottery manufacture at ancient Koroneia (Boeotia, central Greece) during the HELL to LR (300 BC–600/650) period¹. Such artefacts are scattered in abundance across much of Koroneia's urban zone which the Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project (henceforth Boeotia Project or project) mapped and intensively surveyed between 2005 and 2011. Evidence for pottery manufacture during the HELL to LR periods has been found elsewhere in Boeotia both by the project as well as the regional ephoria (Bes and Poblome 2017: 322–325; Peeters 2023: *passim*)². Below, a summary of the aims of the Boeotia Project is followed by a presentation of selected find categories, and the paper concludes with first thoughts on the repertoire's stylistic and economic characterisation.

The Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project

The Boeotia Project carried out surface survey in Boeotia (central Greece) between 1979 and 2011. With research ongoing, a series of about 10 monographs is scheduled presenting the results of the various surveys – two of these have

been published, the third is to appear in due course (Bintliff, Howard and Snodgrass 2007; Bintliff et al. 2017; Bintliff and Snodgrass forthcoming). The project's overall aim is to understand the role people played in their use and shaping of the Boeotian landscape through the diachronic study and interpretation of settlement patterns, land use, and social, cultural, and economic behaviour. The main instruments were systematic surface survey (extensive and intensive; geophysical) and artefact collecting. While these activities essentially ended in 2011 with the intensive survey of Koroneia, research continues and includes the revisiting of sites, the mapping of architectural elements and modern-day photographic documentation (e.g. drone photography). Another key element is the ongoing study of the collected artefacts, primarily pottery fragments dating from the Neolithic to the Modern period. The presence and intensity of pottery datable to these various (pre)historical periods, however, can greatly vary across the landscape, which can be explained by (1) taphonomic processes and factors specific to survey; and (2) (pre)historical settlement and land use patterns. Boeotia still largely remains a terra incognita regarding knowledge and understanding of HELL to LR pottery, a situation the project addresses by publishing the ceramic data and interpretation of individual surveys (Bes and Poblome 2017; Bes forthcoming; Bes and Peeters forthcoming) as well as syntheses and thematic studies (Bes, Monsieur and Poblome 2021; Peeters et al. forthcoming; Peeters 2023).

Pottery Manufacture at Koroneia

Koroneia is located in southern Boeotia; the ancient city occupied a gently sloping hill and its environs (**fig. 1**). During the project's first exploration in 2005, which concentrated

¹ All dates in this paper are AD and ca. unless otherwise mentioned. Chronological abbreviations used are HELL=Hellenistic and R=Roman, which can be combined with E(arly), M(iddle) or L(ate). ER, MR and LR correspond to ca. 1–200, AD 201–400 and AD 401–650 respectively. Sherd numbers (e.g. KO9.366.A.34) referred to consist of: site (KO=Koroneia), the abbreviated year of survey (e.g. 9=2009), the survey unit (e.g. 366), the quadrant within a unit (e.g. A) and the individual sherd number (e.g. 34).

² A small quantity of kiln slag and vessel wasters was identified during the restudy of the finds from Haliartos.

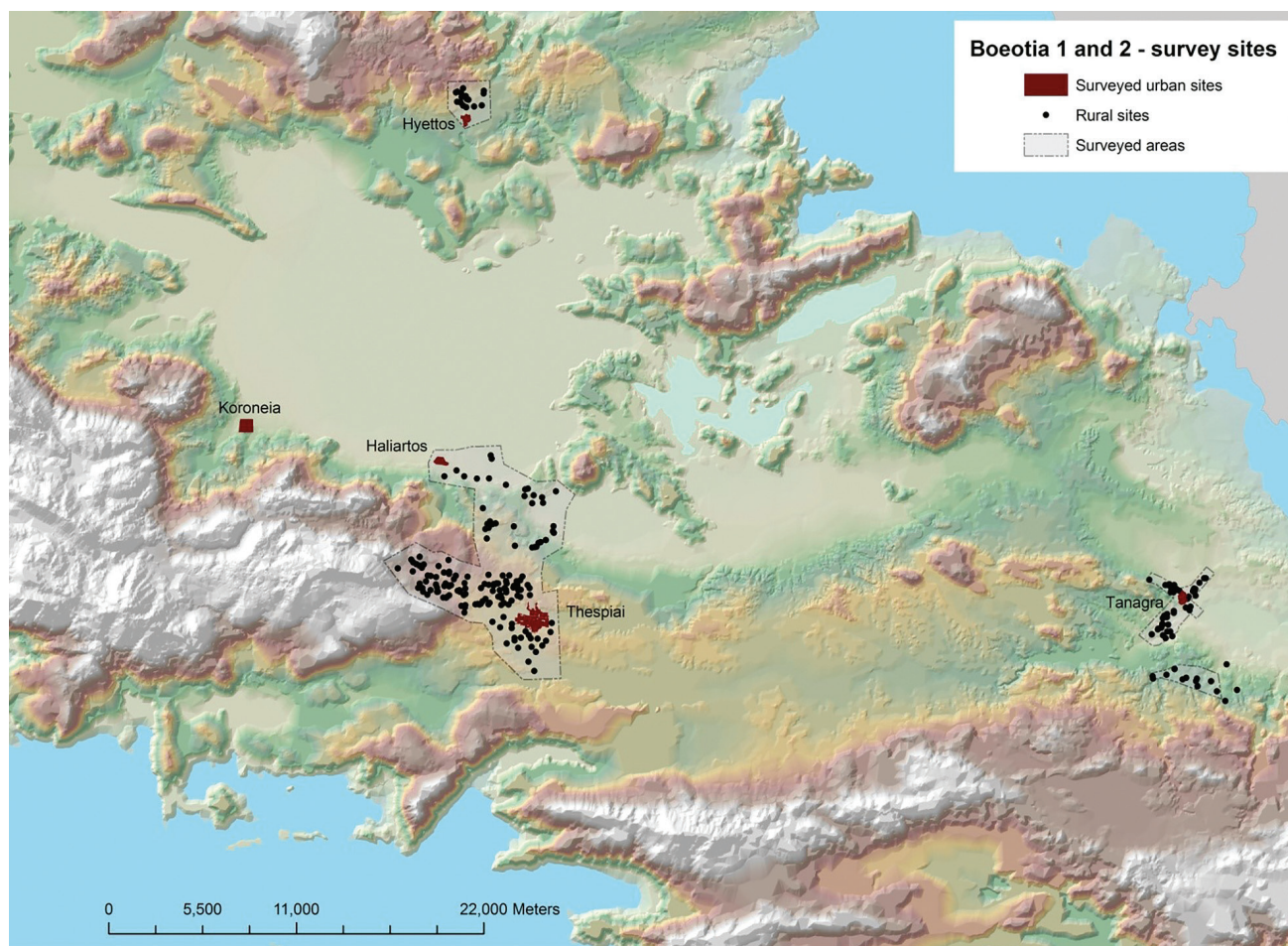


Fig. 1. Map of Boeotia; indicated are sites and areas surveyed by the Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project (E. Farinetti).

on the acropolis, the residue of pottery manufacture was already observed. In the course of the subsequent intensive survey (2006-2011) some 50.000 to 55.000 artefacts were collected, mostly pottery fragments. The authors have thus far studied a fairly small share of the total quantity of collected artefacts³, therefore, observations made in this paper are preliminary, and (some) are likely to change as the artefact study progresses. A fair portion is nevertheless evidence for substantial pottery manufacturing activities from HELL to LR times yet no precise percentage can be given since the pottery study is in progress. It is also for this reason that no distribution maps are presented, even if some observations pertain to specific areas within the survey grid.

Thus far the following seven categories of manufacturing evidence have been identified, the eighth being an umbrella category: (1) vessel and object wasters (**fig. 2d, f-g, i**), fragments of vessels (e.g. dishes) or objects (e.g. bricks) considered to have been misfired for showing clear signs of exposure to excessive temperatures, such as (combinations of) vitrification, bloating, warping, sagging and the fusing of multiple vessels; (2) other firing defects, for example a partly burnt slip; (3) moulds to produce partial or entire vessels,

figurines as well as ornaments (e.g. appliqués). Most mould fragments that have been identified until now were for making mouldmade (Megarian) relief bowls (MMB henceforth, singular and plural) (**fig. 3a-d**); (4) kiln fragments, (parts of) bricks that show partial vitrification, bloating and/or warping, though such fragments did not *stricto sensu* belong to pottery kilns. One presumed kiln wall fragment, however, consists of three (two are shown in **fig. 2**) layers of partially preserved bricks, which during the construction of the kiln were kept in place by small lumps of clay placed between two bricks, functioning as a kind of cement (**fig. 2k-m**). One fragment possibly belonged to a pillar that supported the perforated kiln floor (**fig. 2j**); (5) kiln slag (**fig. 2h**), amorphous green-greyish chunks. Presumably, excessive temperatures would cause vessels stacked in the firing chamber to (partly) melt; this molten clay would trickle down where it would eventually solidify. We cannot exclude that molten kiln wall also ‘contributed’ to the formation of these slags; (6) spacers (**fig. 2a-c**), small ovoid and pointed wedge-shaped objects with an upstanding flange, thought to have kept certain kinds of vessels/objects (bricks and tiles?) separated from one another so heat and gasses could circulate more freely and reach all parts of a vessel/object as evenly as possible; (7) stacking or spacer rings, ceramic rings of varying height and diameter presumably used to separate vessels during the firing process,

³ The authors studied the HELL (Van der Enden) and R-LR (Bes) pottery from units 1 to 105.

perhaps specifically for the firing of MMB (Rotroff 1982: 5, 93, pl. 72, nos. 414-415) – during the Roman period vessel stacking without the aid of implements appears to have been practised (fig. 2f-g); and (8) unidentified, artefacts whose function is at present unclear yet because of having certain characteristics are plausibly associated with the manufacture and/or firing of pottery. One such artefact is noteworthy for bearing a Latin cross that was incised *ante-cocturam* (fig. 2e).

One area, comprising units 469 to 473 in the southeast of the grid, is of particular interest. Here, artefacts evidencing pottery manufacture were found, including a mould, vessel/object wasters and parts of kiln infrastructure (fig. 2h, j, k-m), which encouraged us to survey this zone using Ground-Penetrating Radar (GPR). Part of an anomaly was detected, the investigation of a larger area unfortunately was not pursued, limiting the interpretive potential of these results. Similar



Fig. 2. Artefacts evidencing local pottery manufacture at Koroneia: (a) to (c) wedge-shaped spacers; (d) beehive waster, KO8.271.B.51; (e) unidentified, KO8.299.A.44; (f) fused rims of two type 1 vessels, KO7.11.A.49; (g) exterior of a type 3 rim (cf. Fig. 4c) the sharp line an indication for vessel stacking, KO8.220.A.13; (h) kiln slag, KO9.473.A.22; (i) fully sagged closed vessel(s), KO8.235.B.19; (j) kiln fragment, possibly part of a support pillar that carried the perforated kiln floor, KO9.473.A.9; (k) to (m) various views of a part of kiln wall, KO9.471.B.1/3/4 (P. M. Bes/Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project).

anomalies that were picked up elsewhere around Koroneia were interpreted as modern disturbances⁴. Moreover, the question whether this signal represents a (pottery) kiln – and ancillary structures? – is a valid one yet essentially requires an excavation.

What is regarded as the local fabric (group) – coined Koroneia fabric 1 – has the following macroscopic properties. A fresh break comprises 5YR 6/6–6/8 (reddish yellow) to 7.5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow) though it can be somewhat darker, 7.5YR 5/6–5/8 (strong brown). A darker core is not unusual, and while usually just a tone darker than the fresh break overall, on some fragments it tends towards dark brown to dark grey. The fabric is slightly granular, feels a bit sandy and is easily scratched with a copper coin. Fresh breaks are somewhat irregular and show common to abundant very fine mica (small flakes are sometimes discerned), and except for some micropores as well as rare bits of lime and dark grit, it is otherwise nearly devoid of inclusions visible with the naked eye. Surfaces are occasionally smoothed or polished and are often slipped even if never fully on the exterior. The slip colour can be homogeneous, frequently however it is mottled and includes reddish, brown and grey hues. Dripping on the exterior is also observed. Except for type 6 (cf. *infra*) the slip never reminds one of ‘proper’ terra sigillata or red slip ware.

Potters at Koroneia had access to raw clay material that presumably required fairly little preparation and which was suitable for manufacturing the entire functional range except cooking vessels, for which no evidence has been found. These clays were probably quarried in proximity of the city, which is surrounded by rather flat land that was traversed by a stream on either side of the city hill, and which stretched all the way towards Lake Kopais.

Evidence for Pottery Manufacture during Hellenistic Times

HELL pottery is widely attested at Koroneia. Many of the familiar and characteristic shapes that are associated with this period are present, e.g. MMB, fishplates, rolled rim plates, echinus and outturned rim bowls, as well as various drinking types such as Classical- and Hellenistic-style kantharoi. Fabric-wise, most of the ceramic material collected is of presumed local manufacture. Thus far, 5966 single-period HELL fragments have been studied, with Koroneia fabric 1 forming ca. 63% of this corpus, a clear indication of a vigorous local tradition of ceramic manufacture.

The clearest evidence for local manufacture during this period pertains to MMB. Amongst the material studied so far 107 MMB fragments (mostly body sherds) have been identified, 63 of which are in Koroneia fabric 1, while a further seven fragments are classified as overfired. Twelve mould fragments were recognised up till now – these occur elsewhere in Boeotia, albeit rarely (Bes 2023: fig. 9)⁵ – ten of

which are most likely in Koroneia fabric 1. Although moulds could have been brought from elsewhere, most if not all presumably indicate local production of MMB at or in proximity of Koroneia which, besides attribution of MMB and MMB mould fragments to the local fabric, is reinforced by a number of heavily overfired fragments that are regarded as vessel wasters.

In terms of the moulds’ decorative repertoire there are 5 fragments with long petal, 4 with figured and 2 with floral motifs – one fragment is unclear (**Table 1**). In what follows, some of these mould fragments as well as selected MMB fragments that potentially represent production waste will be looked at more closely, a first step in documenting local MMB manufacture at Koroneia. Not all fragments, however, are sufficiently informative, as some are poorly preserved, very small or nondescript in their decoration, and we will therefore focus on the best preserved and most informative pieces.

Sherd Number	Fabric	Decoration
KO9.463.A.28	Koroneia 1	Long petal
KO10.464.B.25	Koroneia 1	Long petal
KO9.463.B.28	Koroneia 1	Long petal
KO11.849.B.25	Koroneia 1?	Long petal
KO9.463.A.3	Reduced/Overfired	Long petal
KO10.742.A.12	Koroneia 1	Figured
KO7.184.B.4	Koroneia 1	Figured
KO8.306.A.15	Koroneia 1?	Figured
KO9.467.A.52	Reduced/Overfired	Figured
KO9.466.A.55	Koroneia 1	Floral
KO10.761.B.8	Koroneia 1?	Floral
KO9.463.B.6	Koroneia 1	?

Tab. 1. MMB mould fragments found at Koroneia (M. van der Enden/Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project).

Mould Fragments

- A rim fragment which, despite being very worn, carries the imprint of a distinct decorative scheme, a heart-shaped guilloche (**fig. 3a**). Similar motifs have for instance been attested at Corinth (Edwards 1975: 160–161, pl. 65, cat. no. 789), Athens (Rotroff 1982: 82, pl. 58, cat. no. 312) and Caesarea Maritima (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2016: 137–138, cat. no. 40). The Athenian example pertains to a mould dated to 225–175 BC. The piece from Corinth is believed to have been in use around the destruction of the city in 146 BC;

- A rim fragment displaying an Eros and a heart (**fig. 3b**). Erotes frequently appear on MMB (Rotroff 1982: 57, pl. 20, cat. no. 112, 59, pl. 24, cat. no. 129, dated to 175–150 BC and 225–175 BC respectively), yet no direct parallels have been identified thus far;

- A rim fragment with jewelled long petal decoration (**fig. 3c**). Parallels are attested in Athens (Rotroff 1982: 86,

⁴ Courtesy of Eastern Atlas. We also wish to thank Chiara Piccoli (University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands) for clarifying her reservations in the use and interpretation of these results.

⁵ A single MMB mould fragment was collected at Askra in Boeotia.



Fig. 3. Selected fragments of MMB and MMB mould fragments found at Koroneia: (a) heart shaped guilloche, KO9.466.A.55; (b) heart and Eros; (c) jewelled long petals; (d) jewelled long petals, KO11.849.B.25; (e) cockle shells; (f) old bearded man face; (g) imbricate bowl; (h) horizontal line and dot decoration (M. van der Enden/P. M. Bes/Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project).

pl. 64, cat. no. 355, 86, pl. 64, cat. no. 356, both dated to 145-86 BC) and Corinth (Edwards 1975: 175-176, pl. 77, cat. no. 898, dated to 150-146 BC);

- The decoration of this body fragment is similar to no. 3 (**fig. 3d**).

Overfired / Misfired Fragments

- A body fragment with distinct cockle shell motifs (**fig. 3e**). Parallels are attested e.g. at the Athenian Agora (Retroff 1982: 88, pl. 65, cat. no. 370 and 49, pl. 7, cat. no. 39 which was dated to 225-200 BC);

- A body fragment, with the face of a bearded man clearly recognisable (**Fig. 3f**). While no exact parallels were attested during a first exploration of available literature, a fragment from the Athenian Agora dated to 175-150 BC displays a similarly bearded head, referred to as an old man mask (Retroff 1982: 56, pl. 19, cat. no. 107);

- A body fragment displaying multiple small pointy leaves placed in rows (**Fig. 3g**). This kind of decoration is referred to as imbricate and parallels are widely attested, for example at the Athenian Agora, there dated to the 2nd century BC, 100-86 BC and to the second quarter of the 2nd century BC (Retroff 1982: 48, pl. 5, cat. no. 29, 48, pl. 6, cat. no. 35; Retroff 2013: 152, pl. 2.1). A mould for an imbricate bowl which parallels the fragment from Koroneia has been dated to 225-175 BC (Retroff 1982: 49, pl. 7, cat. no. 44). Potential parallels have also been identified at Dorylaion (Yedidağ 2016: 236-237, fig. 1, cat. no. MB9, 241-242, fig. 6, cat. no. MB41), where their manufacture is placed in the 2nd century BC, Kremna (Metin 2017: 282, 295, fig. 7, cat. no. M28, dated to the last quarter of the 2nd to the mid-1st

century BC), in Dalmatia (Miše and Šešelj 2008: 2, fig. 2.6), Caesarea Maritima (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2016: 149, cat. no. 76, in a deposit dated to the 2nd century BC), Eretria (Schmid 2004: 24, 497, cat. no. 28), Pantikapaion (Žhuravlev and Žhuravleva 2014: 261, fig. 71) and Teos (Polat 2016: 166, fig. 4, cat. no. B1);

- A rim fragment with a row of dots between horizontal raised bands (**fig. 3h**). Finds with similar decoration from the Pontic area were dated to the mid-2nd century BC (Petrova 2014: 222, figs 4, 6). A mould from the Athenian Agora also displays this decoration, with *Nymphaea lotus* petals below, and is dated to 225-175 BC (Retroff 1982: 312, pl. 14, cat. no. 78).

Discussion

The above represents a cursory and brief presentation of some of the MMB moulds and overfired fragments attested at Koroneia, and a first exploration of the literature indicates that the decoration represented on these fragments is (a) often not clear in their entirety, as decorative schemes survive only partially; and (b) those that are recognisable are mostly paralleled elsewhere. The long petal (**fig. 3c-d**) and the imbricate bowl (**fig. 3g**) are good examples of this. Chronologically, Retroff (1982; 2006) has demonstrated that in all likelihood MMB were manufactured first in Athens during the late 3rd century BC yet only became really popular around 180 BC, and that it took time before MMB became widespread elsewhere (e.g. Retroff and Oliver Jr. 2003). Taking this into consideration the examples from Koroneia highlighted above probably date to within the 2nd century BC and most likely after 175 BC (Retroff 2006), while the long petal bowls take

us beyond 150 BC. Schmid (2004: 495, 500) has illustrated that a destruction layer in Eretria dated to the early 1st century BC contained mostly MMB of the long petal variety with a sprinkling of supposedly earlier bowls (with imbricate and floral decoration).

Evidence for Pottery Manufacture during Roman to Late Roman Times

Decorative and in particular morphological attributes also enabled the identification of large quantities of fragments datable to the R-LR period. Determining more precise dating criteria remains a challenge especially for local and regional wares, though establishing whether a shape or attribute is HELL or R-LR is nevertheless already helpful. Besides fabric frequency⁶, the identification of diagnostic vessel wasters is another crucial aspect in documenting Koroneia's repertoire. Accordingly, it appears as if the R-LR repertoire is functionally and typologically more extensive than the Hellenistic repertoire, an observation which remains tentative given the preliminary nature of this study. Moreover, stratigraphic superposition implies that the HELL pottery should be covered by the R-LR, thus obstructing a better understanding of the former.

Eight types of open tablewares have been classified so far – their local manufacture is confirmed by their attribution to the Koroneia 1 fabric and the identification of vessel wasters. Some of these types resemble shapes that were also manufactured elsewhere, and whilst mutual influences and inspirations in behavioural and artisanal processes are not ignored, we refrain from using terms such as 'imitation' or 'copy' which, in our opinion, downplay if not ignore circumstances and conditions that are specifically and perhaps uniquely local: the raw clay material, the social and cultural setting, the potters. These and other elements contributed to the formation of a ceramic repertoire which we presume was specific to Koroneia. As said, some types were almost certainly made at one or more other places in Boeotia (and beyond); however, the macroscopic distinction between different Boeotian fabric groups, i.e. supposed centres, remains partly fuzzy.

This current classification of eight types (**fig. 4**) represents a mixture of non-Boeotian and what we presume to be Boeotian attributes. One feature of Boeotian Roman-period open tablewares is the use of flat bases – observed also in surrounding areas – though evidence from Askra suggests this was not universal (Bes 2023: fig. 8). The lack of stratigraphic context combined with the local character do not allow establishing date ranges based on internal criteria. Typological similarities with finds from excavated contexts therefore provide chronological references, and whilst helpful, suggesting a typological parallel and/or origin for a local type can be (too) deterministic, for instance regarding chronology. Some scope to refrain from typological (and chronological) fixation is thus warranted. This chronological contextualisation is ongoing: types 1 and 2 (**fig. 4a-b**), for example, are presently dated to

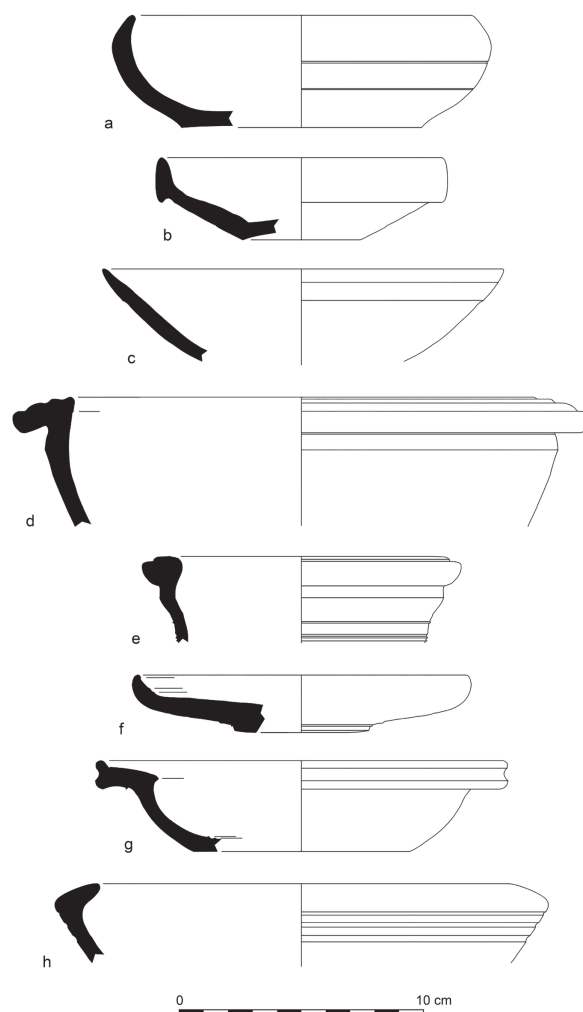


Fig. 4. Preliminary typology of locally-manufactured open tablewares: (a) type 1, KO9.366.A.34, diam. 28.5 cm.; (b) type 2, KO9.403.A.76, diam. 22 cm.; (c) type 3, KO8.221.C.24, diam. ca. 30 cm.; (d) type 4, KO7.93.A.93, diam. 34 cm. (inner); (e) type 5, KO7.60.A.13, diam. ca. 24 cm.; (f) type 6, KO7.96.B.59, diam. ca. 25.5 cm.; (g) type 7, KO9.374.D.80, diam. ca. 31 cm.; (h) type 8, KO7.83.C.33, diam. 37 cm. (P. M. Bes/Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project).

the 2nd-3rd centuries yet may have continued into the 4th. Type 3 (**fig. 4c**) resembles African Red Slip Ware Hayes Form 50, which presently places type 3 between the mid-3rd and late 4th century, though its manufacture could also have continued. Whereas no complete profiles exist, types 4 and 5 (**fig. 4d-e**) are best seen as deep(er) bowls if not *lekanai*. Types 7 and 8 (**fig. 4g-h**) are bowls; only type 7 can be shown to have had a flat base. Interestingly, type 8 finds a potential parallel in a cooking vessel in LR Aegean Micaceous Ware, which could point to crossover inspiration between different functional categories (Slane 2000: 309-310, fig. 12). A presumed Boeotian fragment resembling type 8 was found at Isthmia (Hayes and Slane 2022: 132, fig. 55, cat. no. 766). Type 6 (**fig. 4f**) resembles Eastern Sigillata A Hayes Form 4 and is the only type so far that can be comfortably placed in the 1st centuries BC and AD. Specimens of this type are

⁶ Of the pottery from units 1 to 105 nearly 50% was classified as Koroneia fabric 1.

always fully covered by a smooth red slip, setting it apart from the other types, and whilst wasters of bases that likely match type 6 were collected, some reservation to convincingly assign this to the Koroneia repertoire is in order.

Another notable find concerns what Hayes has termed “Late Gougged Jugs” (Hayes 2008: 93), small quantities of which have been identified at various Boeotian sites. Whilst the gouged decoration seems characteristic of central Greece, their exact provenance remained unknown. Wasters of such jugs have been collected at Koroneia (fig. 5) – such jugs could of course have been manufactured also at other places – and it is noteworthy that Hayes tentatively identified a gouged jug found in Athens as Boeotian (Hayes 2008: 93, 254-255, fig. 44, pl. 72, cat. no. 1472), which ties in with the circulation of Boeotian pottery in central Greece (cf. *infra*).

A Broader Regional Context

Considerable quantities of imported HELL to LR pottery from across the Mediterranean and, to a much lesser extent, Pontic areas are present throughout Boeotia, though quantitative and functional variations are observed between urban and rural sites. At Koroneia, imported pottery does not point to any noticeable gaps in its occupational history, which the local pottery also bears out, though less securely. Historical sources indicate for example that during the Third Macedonian War (171-168 BC) Koroneia attempted, unsuccessfully, to resist the Romans. As a punishment its inhabitants were carried off into slavery, a decision which was subsequently reversed which allowed the pro-Roman community to return, though it is unclear how much time elapsed between the two events (Worthington 2023: 209; Piccoli 2017: 113-114; Ziolkowski 1986: 78, n. 60). In any case, these events do not appear to have caused any major and extended break in Koroneia’s occupational history nor the community’s ability to produce pottery.

Despite an insistence to view and study HELL to LR pottery manufacture at Koroneia from a localised perspective, its workshops did not function in isolation but must be seen as part of broader, diachronic ceramic developments. This encompassed also manufacturing activities; in fact, evidence from across Greece suggests that pottery manufacture was rather widespread and practiced at both urban as well as rural sites (Hasaki, <https://atlasgreekkilns.arizona.edu/>, accessed 5 May 2023), yet very little detail is known about the technological, fabric and typological specifics of many of these production sites. The ongoing study of pottery finds that were collected by the Boeotia Project, as well as Dimitris Grigoropoulos’ research in Kalapodi for example, continue to draw attention to the wider-spread manufacture and circulation of some open tableware types. Types 1, 2 and/or 3, for instance, are identified elsewhere in Boeotia (Bes and Poblome 2017: 325) and beyond, e.g. at Elateia (Kouzeli and Zachos 2000: 556-557, fig. 2, nos. 4-5), Kalapodi (Grigoropoulos 2016-2017: 235-238, fig. 30)⁷, Delphi (Petridis 2010: 80-81, 215, pl. 270), Eretria (Ackermann and



Fig. 5. Waster fragments of gouged jugs found at Koroneia (P. M. Bes/Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project).

Zurbruggen 2020: e.g. 106-107, fig. 42, cat. nos. 276-278), Corinth (Slane 1990: 60, 62, fig. 11, cat. no. 135), Isthmia (Hayes and Slane 2022: e.g. 100-101, fig. 36, cat. nos. 495-499)⁸ and further away at Hadrianopolis in Albania (Sofia Cingolani, pers. comm.). Vessels embodied not only actual objects but also ideas and inspirations, and their circulation offered a potential pool – directly and/or indirectly – for workshops to tap into. Besides tablewares this appears to have concerned also one kind of *chytra* (Boeotian cooking pot form 2), being rather common at Koroneia as well as at Hyettos in northern Boeotia. It belongs to a morphological style with a much wider geographical resonance that included modern-day Albania and southern Italy (Shehi 2016: 216-217, figs 1 (top), 4; Reynolds 2020: e.g. 34-35, fig. 3.3.3). It is essentially MR, yet its development includes the later 2nd and early 5th century: its origin may be sought in southern Illyria (Shehi 2016: 211-212). These various types of table and cooking ware were probably not manufactured at each of the sites mentioned, nevertheless, these examples seem to point to more than ephemeral contacts between various regions in central Greece and the southern Adriatic, representing a larger geographical zone in which similar morphological-stylistic traditions existed, potentially a ceramic *koinè* that encompassed (parts of) southern Italy, the southern Adriatic and central Greece. More research is nevertheless required to explore geographical and chronological parameters.

Fragments that resemble the Koroneian repertoire in fabric and morphology are occasionally identified elsewhere in Boeotia, most notably at Hyettos, comprising 12.2% of all LHELL-LR pottery finds (Bes forthcoming). Pottery of presumed Boeotian manufacture is also being recognised further away, for example at Athens (Hayes 2008: 94, 255, fig. 44, pl. 72, cat. nos. 1475-1476), Corinth (Slane and Sanders 2005: 262, 270, 284, figs 5, 8; Hammond 2018: 683-684, fig. 12)⁹ and more recently at Isthmia (Hayes and

⁸ Classified as Athenian.

⁹ Some of the presumed Boeotian finds were kindly shown to the first author by Mark Hammond (who is kindly thanked) during an excursion

⁷ These are mostly identified as “Elateian Ware”.

Slane 2022: 62-63, MMB, cat. nos. 315-318 (and 314?); 69, a beehive, cat. no. 366; 108, 132, 193, open tablewares, cat. nos. 766-768, P274; 89, 107, 150, closed vessels, cat. nos. 414, 548, 554, 896)¹⁰. Small numbers of Corinthian oil lamps as well as other categories that were manufactured in the northeast Peloponnese (e.g. cooking vessels) and the Argolid (e.g. LRA 2 and basins in Southern Argolid Ware) are identified at Boeotian sites. Presumably, the (eastern) Corinthian Gulf connected surrounding areas and sites, a framework in which Corinth (and its harbours) likely played a considerable redistributive role. Mark Hammond, however, has pointed out that at Corinth Boeotian pottery appeared “only when a variety of networks were already supplying Corinth. Thus, it appears that geographic proximity alone was not enough to stimulate distribution between neighbouring regions, with Corinth’s import of ceramics from regional centres in

Attica and Boiotia seemingly facilitated by the presence of long-distance routes with Africa” (Hammond 2018: 684). In other words, Boeotian workshops, which probably catered mostly for local demands, benefited from an intensification of exchange between central North Africa and central Greece in the later part of Late Antiquity so that, dependent on specific political and economic circumstances, ceramic products of one or more of these reached customers further afield. While these finds reflect active artisanal and economic networks that connected different parts in eastern central Greece, more data will allow us to better understand the precise role(s) of Boeotian pottery beyond its home region, and this paper will hopefully contribute to its recognition.

Philip Bes

Austrian Archaeological Institute,

Austrian Academy of Sciences

philipmbes@gmail.com/philip.bes@oeaw.ac.at

Mark van der Enden

University of Surrey, Student Experience Department

m.vanderenden@surrey.ac.uk

to Corinth as part of the 32nd *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores* congress. While not all looked Boeotian, some did.

¹⁰ Cat. no. 548 is possibly Koroneian. Boeotian tablewares did not look familiar to our colleagues from Eretria: we are grateful to Guy Ackermann and Simone Zurbriggen.

Bibliography

- Ackermann, G. and Zurbriggen, S. 2020. La céramique. In Th. Theurillat, G. Ackermann, M. Duret and S. Zurbriggen (eds.), *Les thermes du centre* (Eretria XXV): 102-120. Gollion, Infolio.
- Bes, P. M. 2023. A beehive of activity. Thoughts on pottery manufacture at Late Roman Askra (Boeotia, central Greece). *Eurasia Antiqua* 26.
- Bes, P. M. forthcoming. Urban and rural Hyettos: Late Hellenistic to Late Roman pottery. In J. L. Bintliff and A. M. Snodgrass (eds.), *Hyettos: the Origins and Afterlife of a Small Boeotian City* (Boeotia Project Volume III). Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Bes, P. M. and Peeters, D. forthcoming. Roman-period pottery from the Valley of the Muses. In J. L. Bintliff and A. M. Snodgrass (eds.), *Askra and the Valley of the Muses* (Boeotia Project Volume IV). Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Bes, P. M. and Poblome, J. 2017. Urban Thespiiai: the Late Hellenistic to Late Roman pottery. In J. L. Bintliff, E. Farinetti, B. Slapšak and A. M. Snodgrass (eds.), *The City of Thespiiai: Survey at a Complex Urban Site* (Boeotia Project Volume II): 317-349. Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Bes, P. M., Monsieur, P. and Poblome, J. 2021. A rising tide lifts all boats? Republican and Roman imperial Italian pottery in Boeotia and the central Greek landscape. In E. Farinetti (ed.), *Local Responses to the Roman Impact on the Greek Landscape* (Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente 99.1): 524-540. Athens, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene.
- Bintliff, J. L., Howard, P. and Snodgrass, A. M. (eds.) 2007. *Testing the Hinterland: the Work of the Boeotia Survey (1989-1991) in the Southern Approaches to the City of Thespiiai* (Boeotia Project Volume I). Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Bintliff, J. L., Farinetti, E., Slapšak, B. and Snodgrass, A. M. (eds.) 2017. *The City of Thespiiai: Survey at a Complex Urban Site* (Boeotia Project Volume II). Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Bintliff, J. L. and Snodgrass, A. M. (eds.) forthcoming. *Hyettos: the Origins and Afterlife of a Small Boeotian City* (Boeotia Project Volume III). Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Edwards, G. R. 1975. *Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery* (Corinth VII.3). Princeton, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Grigoropoulos, D. 2016-2017. Die Keramik der römische Kaiserzeit und der Spätantike. In K. Sporn, *Forschungen zur Anlage, Ausdehnung und Infrastruktur des Heiligtums von Kalapodi. Der Kampagnen 2014-2016. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Athenische Mitteilungen* 131-132, 233-246.
- Hammond, M. D. 2018. Late Roman (late 4th to 7th century) ceramics from the Panayia Field in Corinth, Greece: the local and regional networks of a globalized city. In S. Biegert (ed.), *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta* 45. *Congressus tricesimus Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Olisipone habitus MMXVI*, 675-684. Bonn, Rudolf Habelt Verlag.
- Hasaki, E. (ed.). *WebAtlas of Ceramic Kilns in Ancient Greece*. The University of Arizona, viewed 5 May 2023, <<https://atlasgreeckkilns.arizona.edu/>>.

- Hayes, J. W. 2008. *Roman Pottery. Fine Ware Imports: Typology* (The Athenian Agora XXXII). Princeton, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Hayes, J. W. and Slane, K. W. 2022. *Late Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Pottery* (Isthmia XI). Princeton, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Kouzeli, K. and Zachos, G. 2000. Middle/Late Roman Elateian Ware (Phokis, Greece). Archaeological-physicochemical-petrographic analysis. *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta* 36. *Congressus vicesimus Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Ephesi et Pergami habitus MCMXCVIII*, 555-560. Abingdon, Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores.
- Metin, H. 2017. Hellenistic mouldmade bowl moulds from Kremna. *Olba* 25, 259-296.
- Miše, M. and Šešelj, L. 2008. The Late Hellenistic and Early Roman fine pottery from the sanctuaries of Diomedes in Dalmatia. *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta* 40. *Congressus vicesimus quintus Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Dyrrhachii habitus MMVI*, 113-119. Bonn, Rudolf Habelt Verlag.
- Peeters, D. 2023. *Shaping Regionality in Socio-Economic Systems. Late Hellenistic-Late Roman Ceramic Production, Circulation, and Consumption in Boeotia, Central Greece (c. 150 BCE-700 CE)* (Roman and Late Antique Mediterranean Pottery 18). Oxford, Archaeopress.
- Peeters, D., Bes, P. M., Poblome, J., Hayes, J. W. and Bintliff, J. L. forthcoming. Making use of time and space – using African Red Slip Ware as an indicator of economic activity in Mid- and Late Roman Thespieae and Tanagra. In J. Hilditch and M. Revello-Lami (eds.), *Ceramic Perspectives on Connectivity in the Ancient Mediterranean. Proceedings of the Conference held at the University of Amsterdam, 1-3 February 2013*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.
- Petrídis, P. 2010. *La céramique protobyzantine de Delphes: une production et son contexte* (Fouilles de Delphes 5) (Monuments Figurés 4). Paris, École française d'Athènes.
- Petrova, A. 2014. A Pontic group of Hellenistic mouldmade bowls. In P. G. Bilde and M. L. Lawall (eds.), *Pottery, Peoples and Places. Study and Interpretation of Late Hellenistic Pottery* (Black Sea Studies 16): 215-231. Aarhus, Aarhus University Press.
- Piccoli, C. 2017. *Visualizing Cityscapes of Classical Antiquity: from Early-Modern Reconstruction Drawings to Digital 3D Models. With a Case Study from the Ancient Town of Koroneia, in Boeotia, Greece*. PhD thesis, University of Leiden.
- Polat, R. T. 2016. Mold-made bowls from Teos Hellenistic city wall excavations. *Colloquium Anatolicum* 15, 108-131.
- Reynolds, P. 2020. *Excavations on the Vrina Plain Volume 3: the Roman and Late Antique Pottery from the Vrina Plain Excavations* (Butrint 6). Oxford, Oxbow Books. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv138wsd0>
- Rosenthal-Heginbottom, R. 2016. Moldmade bowls from Straton's Tower (Caesarea Maritima). *Journal of Hellenistic Pottery and Material Culture* 1, 112-169.
- Rotroff, S. I. 1982. *Hellenistic Pottery. Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls* (The Athenian Agora XXII). Princeton, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Rotroff, S. I. 2006. The introduction of the moldmade bowl revisited: tracking a Hellenistic innovation. *Hesperia* 75.3, 357-378.
- Rotroff, S. I. 2013. A new moldmade bowl from Athens. *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 17, 151-162.
- Rotroff, S. I. and Oliver Jr., A. 2003. *The Hellenistic Pottery from Sardis: the Finds Through 1994* (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 12). Cambridge, MA., Harvard University Press.
- Schmid, S. G. 2004. Some reflections on recently found mouldmade and relief decorated pottery from Eretria. In *E'epistemonike sunantese gia ten ellenistike keramike, Volos, 17-23 April 2000*, 495-504. Athens, Tameio archaiologikōn Porōn kai Apallotriōseōn.
- Shehi, E. 2016. Illyrian Cooking Ware (ICW): some ideas on the origin, production and diffusion. In S. Japp and P. Kögler (eds.), *Traditions and Innovations. Tracking the Development of Pottery from the Late Classical to the Early Imperial Periods. Proceedings of the 1st Conference of the International Association for Research on Pottery of the Hellenistic Period, Berlin, November 2013, 7th-10th* (International Association for Research on Pottery of the Hellenistic Period 1): 209-221. Vienna, Phoibos Verlag.
- Slane, K. W. 1990. *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The Roman Pottery and Lamps* (Corinth XVIII.2). Princeton, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Slane, K. W. 2000. East-west trade in fine wares and commodities: the view from Corinth. *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta* 36. *Congressus vicesimus Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Ephesi et Pergami habitus MCMXCVIII*, 299-312. Abingdon, Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores.
- Slane, K. W. and Sanders, G. D. R. 2005. Corinth: Late Roman horizons. *Hesperia* 74.2, 243-297.
- Worthington, I. 2023. *The Last Kings of Macedonia and the Triumph of Rome*. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Yedidağ, T. Y. 2016. Hellenistic moldmade bowls from Phrygia Epiktetos: new evidence from Dorylaion. In R. A. Stucky, O. Kaelin and H.-P. Mathys (eds.), *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 9-13 June 2014, Basel, Volume 2*, 235-246. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Žhuravlev, D. and Žhuravleva, N. 2014. Late Hellenistic pottery and lamps from Pantikapaion: recent finds. In P. G. Bilde and M. L. Lawall (eds.), *Pottery, Peoples and Places. Study and Interpretation of Late Hellenistic Pottery* (Black Sea Studies 16): 255-286. Aarhus, Aarhus University Press.
- Ziolkowski, A. 1986. The plundering of Epirus in 167 B.C: economic considerations. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 54, 69-80.

