Pottery to the people. The production, distribution and consumption of decorated pottery in the Greek world in the Archaic period (650-480 BC)
Stissi, V.V.

Citation for published version (APA):
Stissi, V. V. (2002). Pottery to the people. The production, distribution and consumption of decorated pottery in the Greek world in the Archaic period (650-480 BC).

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: http://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
Contents of Volume I

I Introduction

I.1 Pottery to the people: general aims 1
I.2 Pottery, without the people: history and present state of Greek ceramic studies 2
I.4 Pottery and the people: placing ceramics in their social and economic contexts 7

PART I PRODUCTION

II Production studies from the past to the future 10

II.1 Introduction: scale and organisation 12
II.2 A short history of the study of Greek pottery production 12
II.3 From a scholarly tradition to the starting point for the present investigation 19

III Quantities of preserved pottery and the scale of production 23

IV Archaeological remains of Greek pottery production: excavated workshops and kilns 35

IV.1 Introduction: a short survey of the workshop sites 36
IV.2 Location of pottery workshops: the human factor 38
IV.3 Location of pottery workshops: the role of natural resources 43
IV.4 Location of pottery workshops: social and organisational implications 47
IV.5 Lay-out of pottery workshops 48
IV.6 Kiln sizes, shapes and types in relation to their production 55
IV.7 Kilns and production capacity 59
IV.8 From kiln sets to workshop characteristics 66
IV.9 Excavated workshops and kilns: conclusions on scale and organisation 72

V Depictions of Greek potters and painters at work 75

V.1 Introduction: the depiction and what to do with them 76
V.2 The various stages of pottery production, as shown on pots and plaques 78
V.2.a Digging for clay 78
V.2.b Transport of clay and other raw materials 80
V.2.c Clay preparation 80
V.2.d Shaping 82
V.2.e Decorating 83
V.2.f Firing 85
V.2.g After firing 86
V.3 Pottery production scenes as evidence for workshop scale and organisation 86
V.4 Pottery production scenes indicating status and hierarchy within the workshop 90
V.5 The physical context of the work shown on pottery production scenes 92
V.6 Conclusion: production scenes and the scale, organisation and status of potting 94
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>The voice of the workshop: signatures as a source of information on potters, painters and the ways they worked together</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.1</td>
<td>Introduction: much discussion, little progress</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.2</td>
<td>A first uncertainty: reasons for (not) signing</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.3</td>
<td>What do signatures mean: are ‘painters’ really pot-painters and ‘makers’ really potters?</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.4</td>
<td>Signatures, names and social status</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Signatures, attribution and the size and organisation of workshops</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.1</td>
<td>Signatures, cooperation and specialisation</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.2</td>
<td>Problems and possibilities in reconstructing workshop organisation and size from signatures and attributions</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.3</td>
<td>Attic workshops of the 6th and 5th centuries</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>The magic mirror of the workshop: painted and written references of potters and painters to themselves and their colleagues</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>To the gods and the world: potters’ votives as indications of wealth and status</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Secondary evidence for the status of potters and the scale and organisation of pottery production</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.1</td>
<td>Introduction: four additional sources of information</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.2</td>
<td>Scientific analysis, clay management and workshop organisation</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.3</td>
<td>Iconography, patronage and the status of potters and painters</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.4</td>
<td>Literary references to potters: beyond the anecdote</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.5</td>
<td>Ethnoarchaeology and Greek pottery production</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Conclusions: pottery production as a large-scale phenomenon, hard-working potters and painters</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART II</td>
<td>POTTERY IN ITS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTEXT: PRICES, STATUS AND USE</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>Prices of pottery</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>Domestic use of pottery and metal vessels: prices, wages, wealth and consumption patterns</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XV Pottery and metal vessels in the household: the excavated evidence

XV.1 Introduction: possibilities and problems of domestic pottery archaeology

XV.2 The domestic sites with extensively published pottery assemblages

XV.3 The presentation of the results: from catalogues to tables and graphs

XV.4 Household pottery assemblages: the general picture

XV.5 The place of pottery in the individual household

XV.6 Spatial distribution and the appreciation of pottery in the houses of Olynthos

XV.7 Conclusions on the use and appreciation of the various kinds of pottery and metalware in the household

XVI Pottery and other vessels in sanctuaries

XVI.1 Introduction: problems and possibilities of the archaeology of sanctuary vessels

XVI.2 The sanctuaries with extensively published pottery assemblages and some general problems they pose

XVI.3 Some characteristics of sanctuary pottery assemblages

XVI.4 Sanctuary pottery assemblages: the general picture

XVI.5 From changing pottery assemblages to consumption patterns

XVI.6 Metal vessels in the sanctuaries of Greece: written sources and extant remains

XVII Pottery from graves

XVII.1 Introduction: a special kind of assemblage and its possibilities

XVII.2 My sample of funerary sites

XVII.3 Funerary pottery assemblages: the general picture

XVII.4 Conclusions on the status and social role of funerary pottery

XVIII Conclusions: pottery as a semi-luxury

PART III DISTRIBUTION

XIX Introduction: from pottery distribution patterns to the organisation of transport and exchange

XIX.1 Pottery distribution as a process: grasping the evidence of pots in transit

XIX.2 Pottery as the object of trade: complexity, status and profitability

XX Pottery in transit: direct evidence of transport and exchange

XX.1 Pottery in shipwrecks

XX.2 Trademarks as evidence for the organisation of transport and exchange

XX.2.a Introduction: kinds of marks and their meaning

XX.2.b Trademarks and pottery transport

XX.2.c Trademarks and traders

XX.2.d Functions of trademarks
**Pottery and sea trade: the ancient written sources** 319

**Distribution patterns and distribution systems of Attic figured pottery** 325

**Patters of production and consumption as evidence for distribution** 333

**What can consumption tell us?** 334

**What can production tell us?** 336

**Conclusions: a general view and detailed insights combined** 339

**General conclusions** 343

**Pots and economical models: looking between extremes** 344

**Scale and organisation** 345

**Status and appreciation** 345

**Status, efficiency and risk** 346

**Back to the people** 347

**Nederlandse samenvatting** 348

**Bibliography** 352

### Tables in the text

**Table III.1** The amounts of Greek pots in the major European museums, 1818-1911 25

**Table III.2** Some early estimates of the numbers of preserved Greek pots 26

**Table III.3.a** The amounts of pottery in the assemblages treated in this study 26

**Table III.3.b** Some large pottery finds and collections mentioned in this study 27

**Table III.3.c** The amounts of catalogued pottery in some major publications 27

**Table III.4** The preserved amount of Panathenaic amphorai 28

**Table III.5** Hypothetical potters’ and painters’ outputs 32

**Table IV.4** Workshop sizes and spaces 51

**Table IV.5** Hypothetical kiln sizes for given diameters 60

**Table IV.6** Workshop types according to kiln set and output 65

**Table IV.7** Workshop categories according to location and output 66

**Table XIII.1** Pottery prices (in obols) 192

**Table XIII.2** Prices of pottery from the Hermakopidai sales and Olynthos 195

**Table XX.1** The pottery found in the Giglio wreck 301

**Table XX.2** The pottery found in the Pointe Lequin 1a wreck 302
Contents of Volume II

Appendix I

Appendix II Catalogues of objects mentioned in Part I
A Depictions of pottery production on Attic pots and plaques 444
B A depiction of pottery production on a Boeotian skyphos 454
C Depictions related to pottery production on Corinthian plaques 455
W Depiction of the potter's wheel on Attic and South-Italian red figure pots 483
D Potters' and pot-painters' dedications on pots and other ceramic objects 484
R Pots with written references to and depictions of potters not at work 487
S Sculptures possibly showing potters 492
T Attic pots showing the selling of pots 494

List of plates 495

Plates

Tables

List of Tables in Volume II

Table IV Characteristics of the locations of pottery workshops
   Table IV.1 Geographical context
   Table IV.2 Artisanal context
   Table IV.3 Functional context

Introduction to the Tables to chapters XV, XVI and XVII

Tables to chapter XV Domestic pottery assemblages
   Table XV.1 Athens, Agora, building fills related to the Persian destruction
   Table XV.2a Athens, Agora, wells filled in after the Persian destruction
   Table XV.2b Athens, Agora, wells filled in after the Persian destruction (selective counts)
   Table XV.3 Athens, Agora, well N7:3
   Table XV.4 Athens, Agora, well R13:4
   Table XV.5 Athens, Agora, well of Public Dining Place (H4:5)
   Table XV.6 Athens, Agora and Areiopagos area, early Archaic wells
   Table XV.7 Athens, Agora, well H6:5
   Table XV.8 Athens, Agora, well B15:1
   Table XV.9a Athens, Agora and Areiopagos area, Late Geometric wells
   Table XV.9b Athens, Agora, wells filled in after the Persian destruction (early finds)
   Table XV.9c Athens, Agora, building fills related to the Persian destruction (early finds)
   Table XV.10 Dema House, Attika
   Table XV.11 Vari House, Attika
   Table XV.12 Corinth, well T-U 2
   Table XV.13 Corinth, well I-J 24-25
   Table XV.14 Corinth, well E-K 30-37
   Table XV.15 Corinth, well 1937-1 and drain 1937-1
   Table XV.16 Imported domestic pottery from the centre of Megara Hyblaia
   Table XV.17a Halieis, complete counts of the finds in houses 7, D and E
   Table XV.17b Halieis, test trenches in streets
   Table XV.18a Delphi, Late Geometric house
Table XV.18b  Delphi, 7th-century house
Table XV.19a  The Geometric-Archaic house at Punta Chiarito, Pithekoussai (Ischia), Geometric finds
Table XV.19b  The Geometric-Archaic house at Punta Chiarito, Pithekoussai (Ischia), early Archaic finds
Table XV.20  Olynthos, the House of the Many Colours and other finds

Tables to chapter XVI
Sanctuary pottery assemblages

| Table XVI.1     | The sanctuary of Aphaia, Aegina |
| Table XVI.2     | The sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros, Selinus |
| Table XVI.3     | The sanctuary at Tocra |
| Table XVI.4     | The sanctuary at Santa Venera, Poseidonia (Paestum) |
| Table XVI.5     | The cluster of sanctuaries at Gravisca |
| Table XVI.6     | The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, Cyrene |
| Table XVI.7     | The Thesmophorion, Eretria |
| Table XVI.8     | The votive deposit in Mycenaean grave 1, Thorikos |
| Table XVI.9     | The Korykian Cave |
| Table XVI.10    | The Vrysoula Deposit, Corinth |
| Table XVI.11    | The Agamemnoneion |
| Table XVI.12    | A dump of votive pottery below the city wall, Keos |
| Table XVI.13    | Imported votive pottery from the centre of Megara Hyblaia |
| Table XVI.14    | The Akropolis, Athens |

Tables to chapter XVII
Funerary pottery assemblages

| Table XVII.1    | The Kerameikos, Athens |
| Table XVII.2    | Corinth and the Corinthia |
| Table XVII.3    | Valle di San Mantano, Pithekoussai (Ischia) |
| Table XVII.4    | Taras |
| Table XVII.5    | Rhitsona (ancient Mykalessos) |

Tables to chapter XXII
Attic pottery from various regions in the Mediterranean and beyond

| Table XXII.1    | Athens and Attika |
| Table XXII.2    | Mainland Greece and Aigina |
| Table XXII.3    | Aegean Greece and Asia Minor |
| Table XXII.4    | The Greek West: Italy, Libya, Emporion |
| Table XXII.5    | Etruria |
| Table XXII.6    | Apulia |
| Table XXII.7    | Non-Greek Spain and Southern France |
| Table XXII.8    | The Near East and Cyprus |
| Table XXII.9    | Egypt |
| Table XXII.10   | Bulgaria |