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: https://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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.1</td>
<td>Pottery to the people: general aims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.2</td>
<td>Pottery, without the people: history and present state of Greek ceramic studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.4</td>
<td>Pottery and the people: placing ceramics in their social and economic contexts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PART I PRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II</th>
<th>Production studies from the past to the future</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II.1</td>
<td>Introduction: scale and organisation</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.2</td>
<td>A short history of the study of Greek pottery production</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.3</td>
<td>From a scholarly tradition to the starting point for the present investigation</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| III | Quantities of preserved pottery and the scale of production | 23 |

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

| 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

<p>| 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 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VI</th>
<th>The voice of the workshop: signatures as a source of information on potters, painters and the ways they worked together</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI.1</td>
<td>Introduction: much discussion, little progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.2</td>
<td>A first uncertainty: reasons for (not) signing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.3</td>
<td>What do signatures mean: are 'painters' really pot-painters and 'makers' really potters?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.4</td>
<td>Signatures, names and social status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Signatures, attribution and the size and organisation of workshops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.1</td>
<td>Signatures, cooperation and specialisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.2</td>
<td>Problems and possibilities in reconstructing workshop organisation and size from signatures and attributions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.3</td>
<td>Attic workshops of the 6th and 5th centuries</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>To the gods and the world: potters' votives as indications of wealth and status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Secondary evidence for the status of potters and the scale and organisation of pottery production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.1</td>
<td>Introduction: four additional sources of information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.2</td>
<td>Scientific analysis, clay management and workshop organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.3</td>
<td>Iconography, patronage and the status of potters and painters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.4</td>
<td>Literary references to potters: beyond the anecdote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.5</td>
<td>Ethnoarchaeology and Greek pottery production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Conclusions: pottery production as a large-scale phenomenon, hard-working potters and painters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART II</td>
<td>POTTERY IN ITS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTEXT: PRICES, STATUS AND USE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>Prices of pottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>Domestic use of pottery and metal vessels: prices, wages, wealth and consumption patterns</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
XXI Pottery and sea trade: the ancient written sources

XXII Distribution patterns and distribution systems of Attic figured pottery

XXIII Patters of production and consumption as evidence for distribution

XXIII.1 What can consumption tell us?
XXIII.2 What can production tell us?

XXIV Conclusions: a general view and detailed insights combined

XXV General conclusions

XXV.1 Pots and economical models: looking between extremes
XXV.2 Scale and organisation
XXV.3 Status and appreciation
XXV.4 Status, efficiency and risk
XXV.5 Back to the people

Nederlandse samenvatting

Bibliography

Tables in the text

Table III.1 The amounts of Greek pots in the major European museums, 1818-1911
Table III.2 Some early estimates of the numbers of preserved Greek pots
Table III.3.a The amounts of pottery in the assemblages treated in this study
Table III.3.b Some large pottery finds and collections mentioned in this study
Table III.3.c The amounts of catalogued pottery in some major publications
Table III.4 The preserved amount of Panathenaic amphorai
Table III.5 Hypothetical potters' and painters' outputs

Table IV.4 Workshop sizes and spaces
Table IV.5 Hypothetical kiln sizes for given diameters
Table IV.6 Workshop types according to kiln set and output
Table IV.7 Workshop categories according to location and output

Table XIII.1 Pottery prices (in obols)
Table XIII.2 Prices of pottery from the Hermakopidai sales and Olynthos

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

Appendix I 389

Appendix II Catalogues of objects mentioned in Part I 443

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 Vrysooula 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