THE PTOLEMIES AND THE 3rd CENTURY B.C.E. CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE

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ABSTRACT

Melanie Godsey: The Ptolemies and the 3rd Century B.C.E. Ceramic Assemblage
(Under the direction of Jennifer Gates-Foster)

The Ptolemaic political, military, and economic interests in the 3rd century B.C.E. Aegean and Greek mainland fostered cultural exchange. I examine the ceramic evidence from two sites to assess the network of interaction and its impact on the function and production of Hellenistic pottery types. The ceramic assemblage from Eretria, a city with a historically Greek affiliation, will serve as a point of comparison for the evidence from Koroni, a Ptolemaic site in Attika. The ceramic assemblage from Koroni tells us three things: 1) the fine ware indicates that the Ptolemies had already begun to be involved in what will become the Hellenistic *koine*, 2) Koroni was not directly linked with Athens, which throws into question the function of the site, and 3) the Ptolemaic intervention in and then withdrawal from Attika and the Aegean was one reason behind the fluctuation in the market for Attic black gloss pottery.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
AmerAnt	American Antiquity
BAR-BS	British Archaeological Reports, British Series
ClAnt	Classical Antiquity
IG	M. Fraenkel, *Inscriptiones graecae* (Berlin 1895–)
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum graecum* (Leiden 1923–)

Introduction

The late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C.E., a time of political and military conflict throughout the eastern Mediterranean, fostered new networks of exchange between polities that had not previously engaged in direct trade. One of the key factors in the expansion of Mediterranean trade was the Ptolemaic presence outside of the Egyptian homeland. An inscription found in the Athenian Agora in 1971 explicitly tells us that the Ptolemies directly supported Athens in the early 3rd c. B.C.E.[1] Ptolemy II Philadelphus, in 286 B.C.E., supplied grain, payment for troops, and reinforcements to support the Athenian uprising against the Antigonids.[2] The Ptolemies, then, were already involved with the Greek mainland prior to the Chremonidean War (267-262 B.C.E.). Although most of the citizens of the Ptolemaic kingdom never lived in Macedon, their socio-cultural practices seem to have maintained the Macedonian and Greek traditions of their ancestors for at least a few decades into the 3rd c. B.C.E.[3] Change in the ceramic assemblage, the development of a Hellenistic ceramic *koine*, and the appearance of new drinking and dining habits, happened rapidly in the 3rd c. B.C.E. in Athens and later throughout the Mediterranean.[4] I suggest in the following discussion

[1] *SEG 28.60.;* Shear Jr. 1978.

[2] *SEG 28.60, 11-27.* There is evidence of Ptolemaic intervention on the Greek mainland in the 290s as well (Habicht 1992, 69-71).

[3] Rotroff 2006, 140.

[4] Rotroff 2006, 140.

that these changes occurred on the Greek mainland not necessarily by the will of the Ptolemies, but certainly as a result of their economic, political, and military network in the Aegean. In fact, most of the ceramic forms that became characteristic of the Hellenistic *koine* appeared at Ptolemaic sites early on in Greece, the Aegean, and elsewhere.

I will use ceramic evidence to assess cultural practices and networks of exchange in two cities with different types of involvement in the Chremonidean war: Koroni in Attika, a site which the excavators have called a military camp for the troops of Patroclus, a general and admiral for the Ptolemaic military[5], and Eretria, an independent city without any Ptolemaic military presence but in an important location for the defense of the eastern Greek coastline.[6] A few examples from Alexandria will be used to compare exchange interests in the Ptolemaic capital with those in an area under Ptolemaic influence abroad (Koroni) and a city with a lesser connection to the Ptolemies (Eretria).[7] I argue that the ceramic evidence

[5] *Paus.* 1.1.1, 3.6.4. Patroclus was active from at least 280 B.C.E. – 257 B.C.E. (*IG* XI.2 226).

[6] *SEG 40-763*. The only definitive evidence for Ptolemaic impact in Eretria comes from the scarce presence of Ptolemaic coins and an inscription from House IV. This inscription, regarding the dedication of the cult of Arsinoe in 270 B.C.E., indicates that Eretrians had interacted with the Ptolemies prior to the Chremonidean War.; Koroni and Eretria, therefore, could have been occupied by two very different groups of people: soldiers at Koroni and civilians at Eretria. Although this hinders the study from being a perfect comparison between people with the same social standing, I believe (and will argue below) that the military of the Ptolemies was one of the factors that were key in spreading and creating new trends throughout the Mediterranean. I will suggest that Koroni might not have been a strictly military site, but the military presence cannot be excluded from the discussion of Koroni. The ceramic evidence will be discussed as an indicator of a new developing ceramic tradition in 3rd c. B.C.E. contexts. In the conclusion, I will briefly suggest that the increase of local imitations in the Aegean and Egypt was, at least in part, a result of the retreat of the Ptolemaic military out of and the loss of political control in the Aegean. I will argue, therefore, that the military was at least one factor in transmitting cultural practices and economic connections throughout the Ptolemaic kingdom. The result of this cultural *koine* was, namely, the production of local ceramic imitations.

[7] Other comparanda from Cyprus, where the Ptolemies established a strong garrison and their regional capital at Nea Paphos are included in footnotes throughout the paper. At first glance, the Cypriot cities that later became thriving Ptolemaic towns and ports did not seem to be inhabited in the early 3rd c. B.C.E. The evidence seems to be limited not because Cypriots, Egyptians, and Greeks had

from Koroni, when compared with the evidence from Eretria, reveals that the inhabitants of the site had a weak relationship, both economically and culturally, with Athens and the rest of the Greek mainland, and, in fact, were more involved with the rest of the Aegean. Koroni will also serve as a case study to explore the impact of the Ptolemaic settlement throughout the Aegean on economic and cultural exchange in the 3rd c. B.C.E. The change in function represented in the Koroni fine ware assemblage, the production origin of the fine ware, and the network exemplified by the transport amphora, all contrast with the assemblage in the Greek city, Eretria. This analysis will reveal that the inhabitants of Koroni had already employed the types of vessels that will make up the Hellenistic *koine*, and that the coastal site did not directly trade with Athens. The economic, political, and military interests of the Ptolemies outside of Egypt were major players in the shift to a more culturally and economically unified Mediterranean.

Ptolemaic Impact: The Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean

The Ptolemies were influential in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean from the death of Alexander until their empire effectively ended ca. 145 B.C.E., after the death of Ptolemy VI.[8] Power and economic impact were manifested through their acts of euergetism and worship of the Ptolemaic royal family, importance in the grain trade, new settlements, and military presence. These expressions of power indicate that the Ptolemaic empire politically and economically unified the eastern Mediterranean under their aegis. The

vacated the island in this period, but rather because proper excavation results have not been published. Notes will be added throughout the paper to document what little evidence does exist for trade, cultural practices, and more on Cyprus. Examples from Alexandria will serve the same purpose.

[8] Thompson and Buraselis 2013, 12.

network of political alliances and economic exchange was crucial in the dispersal and maintenance of these new imperial features. The emphasis should remain on the socio-political exchange, rather than a programmatic Ptolemaic set of expectations, that occurred because of this network. The Ptolemies did not spread an "Alexandrian" image of political and socioeconomic norms from the center outwards, but rather they brought together and closely intertwined the polities of the eastern Mediterranean. The interwoven network facilitated the control and unification that Ptolemy II desired. The ceramic assemblage, as I argue below, reveals that the same apparatus that helped spread political and economic unification also spread social practices. I will now address the various methods by which Ptolemy II established and attempted to retain this complex network in the Aegean and briefly assess its interaction with the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt.

Sitta Von Reden argues that coinage with an image of the Ptolemaic king on the obverse does not necessarily indicate that the coin was minted under the direct authority of the kings nor that it was minted in Alexandria itself.[9] The monetary system certainly functioned under some centralized oversight, but the minting and circulation of coins was often privatized in the 3rd c. B.C.E. The state minted coins to pay the military, commemorate major achievements of the royal family, and for taxation.[10] The benefits for the state remained, even if individuals took over local banking and managed financial affairs on a smaller geographical scale.[11] The impact of the individual, who often acted as a middle-man

[9] Von Reden 2007, 298-301.

[10] Von Reden 2007, 298-301.

[11] Von Reden 2007, 298-301.

for economic transactions was explored by J.G. Manning.[12] He dissects the crucial role that the social network of an individual can have on the market and indicates the benefits for the state that individuals created.[13] Von Reden argued that monetary networks didn't survive without influence by their imperial founders, which suggests that individuals involved in numismatic production and circulation had at least some royal guidelines.[14] The coins at Koroni, according to the excavators, were minted on Cyprus.[15] It is unclear what level of control the state had over Cypriot mints, but the presence of Cypriot coins at a site in Attika reveals that the network of mints and circulation of coinage engaged with sites beyond a simple connection between the mint and Alexandria. Von Reden lists six additional regions with Ptolemaic mints: Alexandria, Amphipolis, Asia Minor, Cyrene, Memphis, and Phoenicia.[16] Coins from these mints also circulated throughout the eastern Mediterranean.

Royal control of political and religious alliances throughout the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean was particularly important to Ptolemy II in the early 3rd c. B.C.E. Andrew Meadows argues that the Chrysaoric League, Lycian League, and League of Islanders were all the result of Philadelphus' interest in a religiously unified Mediterranean.[17] Epigraphic evidence suggests that garrisons were present on only one of the islands from the League of Islanders and that Ptolemaic presence was mainly expressed through altars, sanctuaries, and

[12] Manning 2011, 316-317.

[13] Manning 2011, 316-317.

[14] Von Reden 2010, 85.

[15] Vanderpool et al. 1964, 73.

[16] Von Reden 2007, 350-351.

[17] Meadows 2013, 19-38.

festivals dedicated to members of the Ptolemaic family, namely Ptolemy I Soter and Arsinoe.[18] The Islanders not only incorporated members of the royal family into their local cults but also sent embassies to partake in the *Ptolemaia* in Alexandria.[19] A strong connection between these islands and Alexandria, in which prominent members of the Island communities would travel to and from the Ptolemaic capital, was one of many methods through which the Aegean engaged in cultural exchange with the Ptolemies. Gifts were given by the royal family in return for the religious and political support of these islands.[20] A *nesiarch* without any military power was appointed by the Ptolemies to manage these gifts and the relationship between the king and the leagues. The royal family influenced and created trade through proxies who established the illusion that the autonomy of local administrators on each island was stronger than it was. Intense Mediterranean contact was, therefore, promoted by the Ptolemies without any military presence. An interest in *homonoia* (unity with freedom from Macedonian rule) throughout the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean was expressed in many forms in the 3rd c. B.C.E. and was one interest through which a ceramic *koine* developed by the end of that century.[21]

Kostas Buraselis argues that the Ptolemies established a wide-ranging grain trade throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean to not only create politically valuable

[18] Meadows 2013, 29-33. Members of the League of Islanders included Andros, Naxos, Keos, Cythnos, Amorgos, Mykonos, Ios, Tenos, Paros and possibly Syros, Siphnos, Heraclea, Icaros, Kimolos, Melos, Rhenea, Seriphos, and Nisyros (Meadows 2013, 35 n. 70).

[19] *IG* XII.7 506.

[20] *IG* II.2 682 II. 28-30.

[21] Erskine 1990, 91-94. Erskine argues that the *eleutheria* (freedom) that accompanies *homonoia* implies freedom from the Macedonians in Macedon itself.

economic connections but also to ensure their own stability in Egypt.[22] It was not enough for the Ptolemies to use their navy to solidify political permanence in their own empire and throughout the Mediterranean; the kings also desired to establish trade connections with partners who relied on the Egyptian grain supply as the Ptolemies relied on their support and trade connections elsewhere. Rhodes and Delos received special attention. These islands housed Egyptian grain storage centers and received grain donations as a reward.[23] Due to the importance of the grain trade to Ptolemaic political and economic stability, the navy was deployed to maintain a safe Mediterranean through which to trade. The waterways between Egypt and Athens, through which grain transports were escorted by Ptolemaic admirals, were monitored closely in the early 3rd c. B.C.E. to protect the shipment from Antigonid maritime forces and pirates.[24] It is thus clear from epigraphic and papyrological evidence that the Ptolemies, and their military, were extremely active on their Mediterranean maritime trade routes in the 3rd c. B.C.E. They placed economic importance on Delos, Rhodes, and Athens to not only maintain these valuable trading partners but also to keep control of these territories away from Antigonid power.

There is abundant evidence for Ptolemaic settlements founded to establish and maintain control of the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean.[25] Settlements originated as a

[22] Buraselis 2013, 101-103.

[23] Buraselis 2013, 104-105.

[24] Buraselis 2013, 105-106. *IG* II 650 = *SIG* 367 II. 14-17. The Rhodians began to monitor the Mediterranean sometime in the mid-3rd century B.C.E. but the Ptolemies, according to Buraselis, continued to fill the role until their navy collapsed ca. 145 B.C.E.

[25] This topic of Ptolemaic power outside of Egypt is frequently explored by scholars. The main works on the subject include: Mueller 2006. Cohen 1995. Bagnall 1976.

result of *synoecism* to revitalize abandoned cities, protect trade interests on the coastline, and establish military colonies.[26] Nearly all Ptolemaic settlements in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean were founded by Ptolemy II in the early 3rd c. B.C.E.[27] Although the basic administration of Ptolemaic settlements appeared standardized, there was a high amount of diversity at the local level.[28] The largest Aegean colonies (on Crete, Keos, and Methana), all named after Arsinoe, were primarily port towns instituted to encourage trade, travel, and military stability.[29] The facilitation of travelers remains an understudied function of these settlements, but papyrological evidence features discussion on the value of a friendly port city when travelers were stranded.[30] Travelling, therefore, in addition to political, economic, and social control, was encouraged by the Ptolemies. According to Katja Mueller's recent assessment of archaeological survey data, regions with a low-density settlement pattern prior to Ptolemaic intervention received more royal attention from the king.[31] She argues that the goal of many settlements was to establish consistent Ptolemaic presence throughout the eastern Mediterranean in order to facilitate safe travel, for political, military, or pleasure purposes, throughout their empire.[32] A more interwoven set of cultural practices resulted from this additional use of royal power and investment.

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[26] Cohen 1995, 31.

[27] Cohen 1995, 417.

[28] Bagnall 1976, 251. Mueller 2006, 55, 83-84.

[29] Cohen 1995, 35. Grabowski 2013, 71.

[30] Cohen 1995, 36.

[31] Mueller 2006, 83-84.

[32] Mueller 2006, 83-84.

In the early 3rd c. B.C.E., Ptolemy began to take away power from the Antigonids by establishing additional military colonies on Cyprus and along the western coast of Asia Minor.[33] The navy became the most crucial facet of Ptolemaic power. The need for military colonies and ports was, therefore, more vital than ever. The coast of Asia Minor became a point of contention between the Ptolemies and Seleukids, but Theocritus (17.88-89) and Livy (33.20.4) suggested that the Ptolemies maintained a strong presence in the southern and western regions of Asia Minor until 197 B.C.E., when Antiochos III conquered the Egyptian settlements.[34]

These settlements served as recruitment sites for the army of the Ptolemies.[35] Although they acted as pockets of Hellenic culture throughout the Mediterranean, these settlements were also places in which non-Hellenic cultures played an active role.[36] The military was thus an important channel through which cultural exchange occurred. *Cleruchs* in Egypt itself, per a recent papyrological study by Mary Stefanou, rarely originated from areas under Ptolemaic control. Rather, most of those who chose to emigrate to Egypt to receive land in return for military participation originated from mainland Greece and Macedon.[37] The number of Macedonian and Greek *cleruchs* in Egypt, in addition to

[33] Cohen 1995, 51.

[34] Cohen 1995, 52.

[35] Cohen 1995, 63-64.

[36] Mueller 2006, 83-84.

[37] Stefanou 2013, 108-131.

Cyrenaican and Thracian, nearly quadrupled in the second half of the 3rd c. B.C.E.[38] Stefanou argues that this influx of Macedonians and Greeks was not forced by any member of the Ptolemaic royal family. A personal choice to move to Egypt reveals the interest of these cultural groups in the benefits of living on arable Egyptian land. In addition, the high number of *cleruchs* in the late 4th and early 3rd c. B.C.E. coincided with the influx of mainland Greek ceramics into Egypt.[39] The increased number of ceramic imitations of Attic wares in Egypt in the second half of the century could suggest that interest in importing from the Greek mainland itself decreased as more and more Greeks, along with the technical ability to produce adequate imitations of Attic ceramic forms, moved to Egypt.[40] This movement could possibly have also impacted settlement elsewhere in the Aegean and Mediterranean, but no substantial work has been done to prove an interest in migration to other locations. It is important to note that this population movement was partially contingent upon military involvement in the newly settled region. These *cleruchies* acted as military garrisons. Along with the movement of people came the transmission of cultural practices and production techniques. Although the scope of this paper cannot thoroughly assess the results of this population shift, I think it probable that the migration of Greeks and Macedonians in the 3rd c. B.C.E. allowed for the development of, and promoted the interest in, local production centers throughout the eastern Mediterranean, and especially in Egypt.

[38] Stefanou 2013, 117-119. Stefanou also addresses the biases of the evidence in her chapter to prove that even with a decrease in the number of extant documents from the second half of the 3rd c. B.C.E., the number of recorded *cleruchs* quadruples in that period (Stefanou 2013, 118-119).

[39] Rotroff 2004, 12-13.

[40] Gill 2012, 17. Ptolemaic 'Black Ware' was made of Egyptian fabric but was polished or burnished to look like Attic black gloss ware.

I also suggest that the beginning of the shift in the ceramic assemblage to the Hellenistic *koine* coincided with the expansion of Ptolemaic involvement in the Aegean in the early 3rd c. B.C.E. The increase in local imitations of this *koine*, therefore, in some way responded to the decline of Ptolemaic power in the Aegean in the mid-3rd c. B.C.E. The Ptolemies had already created an interest in *homonoia* throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean, and therefore, they were instrumental in strengthening cultural and economic connections. After they abandoned their military and economic interests with Athens itself, a need arose for new ceramic productions centers at a local level that continued the trends established prior to their Aegean decline. The analysis of ceramic evidence from Koroni and Eretria highlights the ceramic preferences and trade relationships that a new settlement of the Ptolemies in the early 3rd c. B.C.E. established in comparison with those in a historic Greek city. The assemblage at Koroni began to reveal the ceramic types that became typical in the Hellenistic ceramic *koine* but the Eretrian assemblage still included vessels associated with Classical traditions.

Koroni

Koroni, a peninsula in Attika, was a strategic location for Patroclus, a general for the Ptolemies, to establish a fortification. Ruins of this Ptolemaic site have been visible since its abandonment. The site was first recorded by H.G. Lolling,[41] mapped by James R. McCredie and Arthur Steinberg in 1959, then partially excavated in 1960 by McCredie and Steinberg under the direction of Eugene Vanderpool.[42] The excavators divided the site into four

[41] Lolling 1879, 351-365.

[42] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 26-61. Vanderpool et al. were unable to excavate the entire site due to overgrown vegetation and the lack of soil in many parts of the site. Each of the areas discussed below

sections: The Acropolis, the Saddle, the Ridge, and the Valley (Fig. 1). The artifacts (mainly pottery, tiles, nails, and coins) were discussed by Vanderpool separately by site section and further by room within each building. Due to the lack of soil that remained on the site, there was no discussion of stratigraphy but rather all pottery was presented in one context, as one phase of occupation. Surface finds were also collected on two separate surveys of the site.[43]

Scholars have focused on the chronological implications of the precise date assigned to Koroni for the ceramic typology of the 3rd c. B.C.E. The excavators assigned the occupation of the site to the Chremonidean War (265-261 B.C.E.)[44] based on the coins of Ptolemy II (285-246 B.C.E.) and literary evidence for Ptolemaic presence in Attika during the Chremonidean War.[45] Virginia Grace reassessed the amphoras from the site and concluded that the site was occupied in the mid-280s B.C.E..[46] After an analysis of the

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were only partially excavated. Complete assemblages are thus unavailable for analysis. The excavators only catalogued vessels with complete profiles (nearly all of these examples were fine ware but a few cook ware vessels were included) and only the amphoras with stamps. Although there is no indication of what percentage of excavated sherds were included in the publication, there is a list of uncatalogued sherds at the end of each section, which suggests that all excavated pottery was included. Only plates and bowls were drawn and only a select group of more-complete vessels were photographed. Current scholars cannot then draw direct parallels without seeing the ceramic evidence first-hand or using the few comparanda cited by Rotroff, but it is possible to assess the potential function of each building and the site and to compare trends on a general level with neighboring sites.

[43] Vanderpool et al. 1964, 71.

[44] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 26-61. The authors did not describe how they chose which pottery to publish. The discussion of transport amphora seems to have only included the stamped examples. Further excavation at Koroni would likely add to the discussion of cultural practices, networks of exchange, and the function of this site.

[45] Vanderpool et al. 1962. "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp on the East Coast of Attika," in *Hesperia* Vol. 31 No. 1, 26-61. Per the excavators, the latest coin dates after 267/6 or 265/4.; Pausanias (1.1.1, 1.7.3, 3.6.4-6) discussed the Ptolemaic military presence in Attika during the Chremonidean War under the general and admiral, Patroclus.

[46] Grace 1963, 319-334. Grace later accepted the 260s date for Koroni, and suggested that the date of the Rhodian amphoras should be moved down 30 years (Grace 1974, 193-200).

variety and the development of shapes for each type of pottery found at Koroni, G. Roger Edwards suggested that the site was occupied for a span of at least 50 years in the 3rd century B.C.E..[47] The date of occupation has been under scrutiny most recently in an article by Mark Lawall. He used newly excavated evidence from elsewhere in the Mediterranean to convincingly argue that the stamped amphoras at Koroni indicate a chronologically limited Ptolemaic presence in the early years (270-265 B.C.E.) of the Chremonidean War.[48] Many scholars have used the pottery at Koroni to date Hellenistic pottery in Athens and elsewhere,[49] but no one has used the pottery from Koroni, with the exception of a brief discussion of the transport amphora in Lawall's recent article, to understand the network of exchange that supplied the Ptolemaic settlements in the Aegean. The ceramic evidence at Koroni will supplement our understanding of the Ptolemaic role in the Aegean during the time of the Chremonidean War and the changes in trade, economy, and drinking and dining habits during the 3rd c. B.C.E.

James L. O'Neil has recently suggested that the Chremonidean War took place between 267-262 B.C.E. rather than from 265-261 B.C.E..[50] Many scholars, including

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[47] Edwards 1963, 109-111. Vanderpool et al. wrote a response to disagree with Grace and Edwards, and reiterate their original argument (Vanderpool et al. 1964, 69-75).

[48] Lawall 2015, 210-216. The reasons for assigning the amphoras to the date of occupation, not residual vessels reused as water jars (as suggested by the excavators), are discussed below.

[49] Rotroff 1997. Rotroff used several sites with fixed chronological points to establish her typology for Hellenistic Athenian table ware: Olynthos, the Pnyx, Vergina, Kerameikos Building Z, the Tholos Debris, Menon's Cistern, the Arisoneion on Samothrace, the Dipylon Well B1, Chatby, The Vari House, The Peiraieus Cistern, and Sullan Destruction Debris. She argued that Koroni was "the single most important context" for the chronology of early Hellenistic pottery (Rotroff 1997, 31).

[50] O'Neil 2008, 68-71. O'Neil used numismatic, epigraphic, and literary evidence to support the shift. Archaeological evidence was used to support a stronger Ptolemaic investment in the war than was credited in the literary sources. The large number of forts, Koroni, Patroklou Charax, Patroclus

O'Neil, believe that Ptolemy II instigated the war.[51] Lawall's date for the extant amphoras found on the site, 270-265 B.C.E., allows for the possibility that the Ptolemaic military was present in Attika prior to the war, which suggests that they certainly could have encouraged Attic resistance against the Antigonids. Ptolemy II's desire to hold off the power of the Antigonids drove him to unite the Greeks against the Macedonian kingdom. It is well known that Athens allied with Sparta and other Greek polities to fight for their freedom from the Antigonids but there is an ongoing debate regarding the role of the Ptolemaic troops throughout the war.

The excavators used the location and architectural elements to support their decision to argue that Koroni was a military fortification. The site sat atop a barren hill on a promontory on the coast of Attika. McCredie argued that the proximity to Porto Raphti indicates that this hill was an important site for a military fortification.[52] Once Piraeus was made inactive by Macedonian naval forces, in 295 B.C.E., trade into Athens was then redirected through this port.[53] The military could have been stationed here to protect the commercial activity in the area. Koroni was also situated near Keos, a strategically important island and home to another possible military fortification, which was also argued to have been run by Patroclus.[54] The location of Koroni, in and around an important port of trade

Island, and Keos, in Attika and its neighboring islands suggested that the general, Patroclus, provided many resources and perhaps even a physical military presence to assist Athens.

[51] O'Neil 2008, 66. Habicht 1997, 142.

[52] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 58-59.

[53] Habicht 1992, 69-72.

[54] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 27-29.

and an important military base for the Ptolemies in the Chremonidean War, could, therefore, suggest that further military activity took place on this promontory. There is, however, as discussed above, strong epigraphic and literary evidence for mercantile outposts that were established not as a result of a particular war, but to guarantee safe trade in the eastern Mediterranean for the Ptolemies and their trade partners.[55] These settlements were built on coastlines with a seaward orientation; Koroni's only entrance was oriented toward Porto Raphti. These sites were constructed to assist sailors and so would not necessarily engage with the land onto which they were built, which I will argue is true of Koroni based on the fine ware and amphora assemblage.

A steep incline on the north side of the hill prohibited access to the site from the sea without sailing into the bay. Two long walls were built on the north and south sides to further prevent access from the Greek mainland or from the water.[56] Although a military site would require extensive fortification walls, the isolation from the Greek mainland is suspicious in a war fought over Macedon's control of the Greek *poleis*. Additional walls separated the Akropolis from the rest of the site. Three gates allowed access to the Akropolis, which indicates that access to the Akropolis was regulated and possibly restricted. It is clear, therefore, that the site was divided into two distinct parts in antiquity.[57] Was it possible for Aegean Ptolemaic settlements to have been inhabited by both merchants and soldiers? If so, then the choice to build Koroni near an important port could, therefore, have

[55] Buraselis 2013, 83-84.

[56] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 29-30.

[57] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 30.

not been in response to the Chremonidean War but rather connected to the new mercantile practices on the eastern coast of Attika.

The only architectural evidence, among the excavated buildings, that could have indicated a military presence were the rubble benches found in Building G. The excavators argued that these benches indicated that Building G was the barracks.[58] The irregular shape of these rooms, which would have been atypical for a barracks building, could be explained by the rushed construction of the site. Overall, in my opinion, although the walls were made of stacked uncut stones, the labor and resources required to construct these walls, which were often nearly one meter wide, was still too high to suggest that these were meant to be temporary structures as a response to the sudden need of the Athenians in the war.

The excavators seem to have addressed the date of the numismatic evidence (285-246 B.C.E.) and then attached this date range to an event established in the historical record – the Chremonidean War (267-262 B.C.E.). Pausanias never mentioned that the Ptolemaic military operated on the Greek mainland, but the excavators argued that Koroni is evidence that Ptolemaic troops lived in Attika and that they were supplied by the other fortifications of Patroclus.[59] The Thasian and Rhodian amphora chronology of the late 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.E., as discussed by Mark Lawall, seems to have been intertwined with the chronology of the Chremonidean War. The Thasian amphora stamps were primarily dated by the evidence at Koroni itself.[60] Demetrias in Thessaly and Alexandria provide rough *termini post quos*

[58] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 44-45.

[59] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 58-60.

[60] Lawall 2015, 205.

(331 or 294 B.C.E.), but nothing more specific can be said about the date of production for the amphoras located there.[61] Lawall admitted that the amphoras from these two sites could even have been excavated from secondary contexts, which would push their date of production up into the 4th c. B.C.E.[62] He used recently discovered amphoras from Eretria to argue for a date of 270-266 B.C.E. for the amphoras at Koroni, but the Eretrian contexts were dated by the sack of the city attested in the historical record during the Chremonidean war, rather than looking at other evidence to help adjust and refine the date.[63] The Rhodian amphoras were dated based on the sacks of Corinth and Carthage in 146 B.C.E. and the chronological refinement of a cultural shift in Israel, attested in historical sources to have occurred in the later 2nd c. B.C.E.[64] The most controversial Rhodian handle at Koroni has been argued to date to either the 290s B.C.E. or ca. 265 B.C.E.[65] Tension remains between the amphora chronology and the historical narrative. The Thasian amphoras could be dated to a few decades earlier and the Rhodian amphoras were dated controversially by major historical events. Therefore, although the historical record mentioned Ptolemaic involvement in the Chremonidean War, the archaeological evidence does not definitively indicate that this was the motive for the construction of Koroni. I will treat the site as a Ptolemaic outpost, which could have housed soldiers, merchants, civilians, or any combination of the three.

[61] Lawall 2015, 205-206.

[62] Lawall 2015, 206.

[63] Lawall 2015, 206-207.

[64] Lawall 2015, 207-208.

[65] Lawall 2015, 208.

Eretria

The city of Eretria, founded in the 9th century B.C.E., had been continuously inhabited for centuries prior to the Hellenistic period. The city already had an established ceramic tradition, unlike Koroni, but the assemblage appears to have expanded further in the early 3rd c. B.C.E.[66] Eretria was constantly a site of interest for Macedonian leaders such as Demetrios Poliorketes and Antigonos Gonatas. Eretria joined the Boeotian League before the Chremonidean War, but soon after Antigonos attacked the city in 268 B.C.E.[67] Scholars argued that the destruction layers from this attack were clear in parts of the site.[68] These contexts included coins from Athens, the Euboean league, Ptolemy II, and Antiochus I.[69] Eretria seems to have been involved in trade with many regions of the Mediterranean, but the ceramic evidence, particularly the shapes and fabrics, suggested that many of their local traditions continued despite influence by the Ptolemies and Seleukids. I will assess the deposits attributed to the period immediately prior to the war, the destruction levels, and briefly evaluate the post-destruction contexts to understand what production centers and ceramic types civilians in a residential quarter of the Greek city valued. The juxtaposition of already established ceramic trends and the new ceramic preferences that possibly developed independently from Ptolemaic involvement highlights the ceramic trends of this mainland

[66] École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce 2004, 38-40.

[67] École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce 2004, 38-40. Lawall 2015, 200 n. 31.

[68] Schmid 2014, 362.

[69] Schmid 2014, 362.

Greek site. The evidence provides a solid set of comparanda with which to understand the preferences of the Ptolemaic residents of Koroni.

The site was excavated and published by École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce. My discussion will focus on the houses in the West Quarter, the area near the gate in the West Quarter, and the well near the House of the Mosaic on the southern slope of the akropolis (Fig. 2).[70] There was evidence of occupation throughout the first half of the 3rd century B.C.E. in these regions and their ceramic and numismatic evidence was well-published. The published work of Ingrid Metzger and Stephan G. Schmid provided the ceramic dataset for this case study.[71]

Fine ware and Cooking Pots: Koroni and Eretria

Function

Thirty-five complete fine ware and three cooking ware examples from Koroni were published by the excavators.[72] Jugs (5), fishplates (5), dishes (4), and saucers (3) made up most of the assemblage. These complete, or nearly complete, vessels tell us that these contexts were the primary deposit for the occupation of the site.[73] Lekythos, pyxis, guttus, oinochoe, and unguentarium sherds were also present, but most of the vessels were for eating and drinking.

[70] Ceramic data was taken from Lawall 2015, Metzger 1969, Reber 1980, Schmid 2014.

[71] Metzger 1969. Reber 1998.

[72] Vanderpool et al. 1962.

[73] Schiffer 1972, 161-163. A primary deposit indicates that the material was deposited into the archaeological record in that location where it was used.

Kantharoi were extremely common at Koroni; in addition to fragments in multiple rooms,[74] 6 catalogued kantharoi were found, all with a taller stem similar to an Attic example in the Athenian Agora but with variations in the feet, handles, or body.[75] The deposits of complete kantharoi, all found in situ, seem to reveal a trend at Koroni. Although there were many different variations of the kantharos found at the site, each variation seems to have been spatially grouped together, by room, in the archaeological record. This pattern appears again with other vessel shapes (see cooking pots and transport amphoras below). The anteroom of Building C (Fig. 3) on the acropolis contained all of the kantharoi with spur handles found at Koroni.[76] Additional kantharos sherds found in the valley, tower 8, Building C, and the storerooms near gate E were unpublished (Fig. 4).[77] A fragment of a kantharos with strap handles and a turned foot was found on the surface at Koroni, and had a parallel in Gabbari. [78] The presence of this parallel on the necropolis, located outside Alexandria, indicates that there was communication and/or trade between Attika and the center of the Ptolemaic kingdom. The Gabbari example was made in Attika but employs West Slope for its checkerboard pattern, unlike the one found at Koroni.[79] This is one of

[74] Vanderpool et. al. 1962, 31-51. The counts and weights of the uncatalogued sherds did not appear in the publication. This makes quantification impossible, but general ratios are apparent from the published material.

[75] Rotroff 1997, kantharos no. 12. Susan Rotroff dates no. 12 from the Agora at 300-290 B.C.E.

[76] Vanderpool et al. 1962, no. 35-38, p. 37, pl. 20. The excavators indicated that nos. 36-38 had parallels in Alexandria (Vanderpool et al. 1962, 37). This creates the question, were Ptolemaic citizens abroad driven to acquire vessels similar to those at home or did their involvement in the extensive eastern Mediterranean trade network create the supply for the market back home?

[77] The excavators do not give the number or weight of the uncatalogued sherds.

[78] Rotroff 1997, 90-91, n. 28. Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou 1961, 336 -337, no. 30, pl. III no. 42, 43.

[79] Rotroff 1997, 90-91, n. 28. Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou 1961, 336 -337, no. 30, pl. III no. 42, 43.

many examples that suggests common demand for ceramic goods, and by association similar functions and uses, between Ptolemaic citizens abroad and the residents of Alexandria.[80] Rotroff suggests that an uncatalogued skyphos fragment, the only handled drinking vessel found other than kantharoi, from valley trench 1 at Koroni is also Attic.[81] Bolsal cups were not present at Koroni, although in the early 3rd c. B.C.E. they were found in Alexandrian cemeteries and in Athens.[82] The soldiers at Koroni seem to have preferred the kantharos for their handled drinking vessel. Skyphoi and kantharoi were often found alongside one another in 5th-4th c. B.C.E. contexts at Eretria.[83] As at Koroni, skyphoi were less common in the archaeological record of the 3rd c. B.C.E. at Eretria.[84] Perhaps this is not surprising because

[80] This trend appeared elsewhere in the Ptolemaic kingdom. I noted another parallel between Koroni and Nea Paphos. Room ΓΠ1 no. 18 from the House of Dionysos is similar to Koroni no. 43 (Hayes 1991, 97). Hayes did not identify the ware of the bowl found in Nea Paphos and Vanderpool did not provide a ware description. It is then unclear where these bowls were produced, but the ware description provided by Hayes could match an Attic ware. Regardless of the production center, this is another commonality shared between the inhabitants of Koroni and the residents of a city with strong Ptolemaic presence and control. ΓΠ1 and ΓΠ3, the only two contexts from the House of Dionysos that date to the early 3rd c. B.C.E., like the Eretrian houses, had a mix of locally produced wares, Attic wares, and Gnathian wares (Hayes 1991, 101). The presence of Gnathian ware is interesting here because it was also found at Alexandria (See Hayes 1991, 7 n. 20), and Eretria (Metzger 1969, 19). The presence of Greco-Italic amphora at Eretria and Alexandria along with the Gnathian ware also suggests an expansion of the trade network, but this possibility is not explored in this paper. The early 3rd c. B.C.E. assemblage from the House of Dionysos follows a trend found elsewhere on Cyprus: the impact of Ptolemaic presence and interest did not appear until much later than it was found on the Greek mainland and elsewhere. Kraters, bowls with incurved rims, and table amphoras were found in this 3rd century context. The Cypriot archaeological record, as it stands published today, shows a lot of resistance to the effects of the Ptolemies seen elsewhere. By the late 3rd century – early 2nd c. B.C.E. the assemblage had entirely changed and fit within the Hellenistic *koine* with many local fabrics and eastern imports dominating the assemblage (Hayes 1991. Mlynarczyk 1990. Vessberg and Westholm 1956).

[81] Rotroff 1997, 94. Sim.to Agora no. 150-154.

[82] Rotroff 1997, 97.

[83] Metzger 1969, contexts 1609, 1924, 4037, 4350, 4163, 3781, 3779.

[84] Metzger 1969, contexts 4184, 1882, 1911.

kantharoi were common in the Classical period on the Greek mainland and in Macedon, and remained the most common drinking vessel throughout the Hellenistic period. Kantharoi from the well on the south slope of the acropolis at Eretria exemplify a hybrid form that began to adopt 3rd c. B.C.E. trends but still maintained some of the Classical elements in its shape (see Fig. 5).[85] Contemporary 3rd c. B.C.E. kantharoi from Attika and Boeotia had shallow stands but the local Eretrian kantharoi (Schmid nos. 7, 9, 10, 22) had tall angular feet. The body of the Eretrian kantharos (see Fig. 5a, 5c) seems to already have taken on a 3rd c. B.C.E. form while keeping the feet of a 5th-4th c. B.C.E. type (Fig. 5b). This is one way in which Eretria differs from Koroni; Eretrians maintained aspects of Classical shapes but the residents of Koroni employed vessels that will come to characterize the Hellenistic *koine*.

Bowls, plates, and fishplates made up a large and varied portion of the assemblage at Koroni (Fig. 6). These individual-sized vessels indicate that each person could possibly have had their own bowl or their own plate and, unsurprisingly, they outnumbered the serving and pouring vessels. The excavators suggested that these individual-sized vessels were acquired from local townships and farmsteads, although they did not provide fabric descriptions, which could have helped explain the variety in the form of these vessels.[86]

Pouring vessels at Koroni included one chous, one olpe, and various jugs. The chous (no. 41) had an Attic parallel (*Ag. XXIX*, no. 467-468).[87] An olpe-type jug from Koroni (no.

[85] Schmid 2014, 368-369, nos. 7, 9, 10, 22. For more information on 5th-4th c. B.C.E. kantharoi see Rotroff 1991.

[86] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 59-60.

[87] Rotroff 1997, 126.

8) featured a trefoil-shaped lip, a common feature of 3rd century Attic olpai,[88] however, the handle was more similar to an example from the Shatby cemetery.[89] This is another example that shows a bridge between the Attic and Alexandrian spheres.[90]

Ingrid Metzger published the Hellenistic pottery found at Eretria in 1969.[91] Her publication provided an interesting comparison with the assemblage found at Koroni. Fishplates, bowls, and kantharoi, like at Koroni, were the most common types found from 3rd c. B.C.E. contexts in Eretria.[92] The houses in the West Quarter, published by Karl Reber and Metzger, presented a more complex picture of the ceramic tradition in Greece beyond the Ptolemaic site. The 5th and 4th centuries B.C.E. are characterized by typical Classical shapes including kraters, table amphoras, kantharoi, bowls, skyphoi, and other vessels typically associated with Classical symposia.[93] The end of the 4th century and early 3rd century in

[88] Rotroff 1997, 129.

[89] Breccia 1912, 58 no. 138.

[90] The fabric of these vessels was not fully described in the publication. No. 41 (the chous) was made of "orange clay" (Vanderpool et al. 1962, 38) and no. 8 (olpe-type jug) had no fabric description associated. The excavators seem to have interpreted these as all of local fabric, but this was left unclear in the publication.

[91] Metzger 1969. Metzger published the Hellenistic pottery from the West Quarter of Eretria, particularly those found near the west gate, but she did not give find spots for the pottery or an explanation of how she chose the vessels that were included. Residential and sacred spaces of the Hellenistic period have been found in the region but she argued that her sample was indicative of the site as a whole because the West Quarter was on a heavily trafficked route in and out of the city.

[92] Metzger 1969, 12. Koroni was, unsurprisingly, one of the sites used by Metzger to assign dates to the Hellenistic assemblage at Eretria. Her discussion of the pottery types suggested that, although the site was so close to Athens, Eretrians purchased fewer Athenian vessels in the late 3rd century and onward (Metzger 1969, 12-14, 34-35). This pattern follows the trend found elsewhere, especially on Cyprus, in Alexandria, and elsewhere in the Ptolemaic kingdom.

[93] Metzger 1969, 173-201. For more on the transition from Classical to Hellenistic ceramic traditions see Rotroff, 1997, 11-15.

Eretria brought the introduction of the new forms associated with the Hellenistic period, including fishplates, elongated kantharoi (as discussed above), and lagynoi. However, in many cases, the Classical forms had not yet faded out of the assemblage. The ceramic evidence from Room 3 and Room D from House IV best exemplified this pattern (Fig. 7).[94] Room D was occupied from the 5th c. B.C.E. – early 3rd c. B.C.E. The assemblage of the 5th-early 4th centuries B.C.E. included 7 lekanides, 3 plates, 6 bowls, 1 saltcellar, 1 dinos, 1 skyphos, 3 kantharoi, 1 lopas, 8 table amphoras, and 1 mortar.[95] Kantharoi and skyphoi appeared together here, and table amphoras were a large percentage of the assemblage. All of this points to a traditional Classical mainland-Greek assemblage. The late 4th-early 3rd c. B.C.E. contexts in Room D included 5 plates (of a similar form to the Classical examples discussed above), 1 fishplate, 1 kantharos, 7 table amphoras, 1 closed serving vessel, 1 dinos, and 2 lekanides.[96] This phase of Room D, called 2a by Reber, was dated by an amphora stamp dating to 335-325 B.C.E. and an inscription to the deified Arsinoe II, dating earlier than 270 B.C.E., in a pit cut into the sealed floor of phase 2b.[97] Room 3's assemblage added 1 plate, 3 fishplates, 1 bowl, 1 lekanis, 2 kantharoi, 1 table amphora, 1 oil vessel, 1 pyxis, 1 dinos, and 1 chytra.[98] Table amphoras, in particular, dominated the assemblage of the early

[94] Schmid's securely-dated well assemblage was nearly identical to the residential assemblages discussed above in respect to both fine ware and cooking ware (Schmid 2014). This further supports the chronology of these domestic assemblages but also reiterates the trends at Eretria leading up to the sack of Antigonos in the 260s B.C.E.

[95] Metzger 1969, 194-195 contexts 3967, 4158, 4163, 4166, 4128, 4344, and 3983.

[96] Metzger 1969, contexts 4101, 4111, 4279, 4283, and 4281.

[97] Metzger 1969, 88, 245 amphora stamp no. 16 serves as a *terminus post quem* and the inscription "ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ" serves as the *terminus ante quem* (Metzger 1969, 87, fig. 140-141). *SEG* 40-763.

[98] Metzger 1969, contexts 2733, 2736.

Hellenistic period in House IV. Koroni, and many other Hellenistic sites of the Ptolemaic kingdom, did not have table amphoras. The table amphoras in House IV are indicative of a residual dining custom that lasted in Eretria, a city with a long history of symposia and very little Ptolemaic presence. Some of these changes reflected new drinking and dining habits. The loss of the krater and the use of narrow-mouthed wine jugs (laygnoi) suggests that the traditional symposium was discontinued.[99] Eretria, however, was not excluded from the many changes that occurred in the 3rd c. B.C.E., such as the increase in fishplates, kantharoi, and the lack of the skyphos. The city, however, seems to have held onto previously established customs. In contrast, Koroni was already engaged with the Hellenistic ceramic tradition with only a few remnants of the Classical period.[100]

The most notable difference between Koroni and the houses at Eretria was found among the cooking pots and serving vessels. While it is unclear what type of cooking pots were found at Koroni, the lack of cooking pots is striking. Cooking vessels were only represented by one pot and one lid (from the anteroom of Building C, not drawn or photographed in the publication), a lid from room 1 of Building G (Fig. 8), and sherds found near patches of ash in the anteroom of Building C.[101] The ware for these vessels was

[99] Rotroff 2006, 144-146.

[100] Fabric and shape were closely related on Cyprus in the early 3rd c. B.C.E. (Vessberg and Westholm 1956, 55-62). Bowls, for example, were either incurved with black gloss from Athens or open and shallow in the Plain White or Coarse Wares. Kraters, accordingly, followed Cypro-Classical forms and the bell-shaped Greek version. Jugs were by far the most common type of vessel but took so many different forms from lagynoi to unguentaria. Hadra hydrias were not common (Vessberg and Westholm 1956, fig. 25.3), which further suggests the presence of practices different from those at Alexandria.

[101] Vanderpool et al. 1962, nos. 48, 67.

described as “brown,” “gritty,” and “crumbly.”[102] This ware description could apply to cook ware produced in many places, including Egypt and Attika. Although hearths were present in Buildings B and C, cooking in large quantities did not seem to occur in the excavated portions of the site.

All of the serving vessels at Koroni were found in Building C, which was the same building in which the group of spur-handled kantharoi were found. [103] The consistency in the assemblage and emphasis on serving vessels suggests either a wealthy individual purchased these vessels as a set to serve guests or a central authority provided the space as a communal dining space. No cooking vessels were reported from Building B (Fig. 9), but the one excavated room from the building had a similar burnt patch, also identified as a hearth, and a hopper-type mill.[104] The acropolis storerooms near gate E (Fig. 10) also included a grind stone and hand grinder.[105] A saddle quern was found in Building G, a building which, as discussed above, the excavators called a barrack because of the benches that lined the walls in 3 rooms.[106] It is clear that grain was imported to Koroni and then ground in various parts of the site, but serving only seems to have occurred in one excavated building. There was no evidence of baking pans or a bread oven at the site.

[102] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 34, 38.

[103] Vanderpool et al. 1962, nos. 40, 41, 50 -52, 55, and additional uncatalogued sherds.

[104] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 36 no. 33. Sim. to Robinson 1938, 327-334, pl. 80.

[105] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 34.

[106] Vanderpool et al.1962, 33-34.

The characteristic Classical Greek cooking pots were the chytra, a globular pot good for boiling stews, and the lopas, a wide shallow lidded casserole used for cooking fish.[107] Eretria had, even in just one house, a variety of cooking and serving vessels including examples of a lopas, jug, lekanis, chytra, dinos, and lids.[108] The assemblage of cooking pots at Eretria was largely unchanged between the 4th century and the first half of the 3rd century B.C.E.[109] These vessels suggest that Eretrians still boiled stews and meats and served wine and other liquids from open-mouthed jugs. Change in cooking habits seems to have taken longer than drinking habits at Eretria.

The archaeological record at Koroni did not preserve many of these cooking or serving vessels. Could this lend credence to the theory that many of these vessels would have been metal? Or does this indicate a different dining practice at Koroni than at contemporary Eretria? The archaeological record cannot rule out either conclusion but it is unlikely that metal cooking pots would have been used at Koroni. The presence of table amphoras and such a variety of ceramic cooking pots at Eretria, however, certainly suggests some variation in dining practices from those at Koroni. Many of the traditions from the Classical symposium seem to have survived at Eretria, while the Macedonian/Egyptians from the Ptolemaic kingdom seem to have practiced something different.[110] There is plenty of evidence to suggest that Macedonians in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.E. participated in

[107] Rotroff 2006, 146. Baking pans were also typical but none were found at Koroni or Eretria.

[108] Metzger 1969, 192-195. House IV.

[109] See examples above.

[110] The two different practices could reflect the special circumstances of military drinking and dining, however there is not enough extant evidence to fully understand the difference between military and civilian practice and it is unclear if Koroni was, in fact, a military site.

symposia, even while on a military campaign.[111] What motive or preference would the Ptolemaic forces or merchants have to not participate in this practice? Rotroff argued that the nature of the symposium changed drastically in the Hellenistic period, with very few kraters found even in Attika, and nearly none found elsewhere on the Greek mainland.[112]

It is also strange that there was evidence of two hearths at Koroni, but there was so little evidence for cooking wares. Had the Ptolemies in the Aegean in the early 3rd c. B.C.E. already shifted away from the symposium and practiced new types of dining? The serving vessels found at Koroni were mainly jugs, and the cups are quite large, which could suggest that each individual mixed his own wine.[113] The early 3rd century was only the beginning of this change; there is strong evidence that the preference for vessels, which became part of this new Hellenistic practice, at a Ptolemaic outpost suggests that the military movements and economic trade network of the Egyptian kingdom had a role in spreading these new trends.

Network of Exchange

Nearly all fine wares at Koroni were produced in Attika with a couple of notable exceptions. A fish plate (fig. 8 no. 18)[114] and plate (fig. 8 no. 58) were of an unusual fabric

[111] Borza 1983, 45–55.

[112] Rotroff 1997,14.

[113] Vanderpool et al. 1962. jugs – nos. 40, 51, 52, large cups – nos. 36-39.; Rotroff argued that individuals mixed their own wine in the Hellenistic period after the decline of the krater (Rotroff 1997, 11-16).

[114] Vanderpool et al. described the fabric of this plate at "yellow" and "gritty," which certainly does not indicate Athenian production (Vanderpool et al. 1962, 35). The shape is very different from the other fishplates at Koroni as well, but I believe there is a parallel at Eretria (Metzger 1969, 190, fishplate number 225, context 1927, a drain next to House 1) – See Fig. 11. According to Metzger, the Eretrian context dates to the late 4th-first half of the 3rd c. B.C.E. (Metzger 1969, 202).

that, to my knowledge, has not yet been identified. The shapes of these two vessels stand out from the remaining assemblage, which further reiterates their non-Attic origin. It is clear, however, that the residents of Koroni purchased all other fine ware only from their immediate local surroundings in Attika, possibly for convenience.[115] Very few of the vessels at Koroni seem to be identical in shape to the vessels found in the Agora, which supports the idea that they were not looking to Athens itself to purchase pottery but to the countryside and nearby demes surrounding the fort.

The typology for Attic vessels has been scrutinized by so many scholars that it is much easier to restrict an Attic vessel to a particular date range than those from Boeotia or Eretria. However, even with that in mind, patterns and fluctuation in imports to Eretria were evident from Metzger's corpus. It is clear that local and Boeotian-made products supplied a large percentage of goods to Eretria in the 5th – 4th c. B.C.E., but Attic imports were still common. Twenty-three of the forty bowls from the late 4th – mid 3rd centuries B.C.E. published by Metzger were made in Attika.[116] Interestingly, the footless bowls, none of which were found at Koroni and which were uncommon elsewhere in the Ptolemaic kingdom, were never locally made at Eretria but only purchased from Attika in the late 4th and very early 3rd c. B.C.E.[117] The types, such as kantharoi, plates, and bowls, with comparanda at Koroni, however, had local and Attic examples in the 3rd century contexts.[118]

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[115] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 59.

[116] Metzger 1969, 49-52.

[117] None were attested on Cyprus of any fabric in this period (Vessberg and Westholm 1956, 57-58 fig. 21).

[118] Metzger 1969, 49-52. Attic nos. 1,3, 5, 6, 7-13, 20, local nos. 4, 14, 16, 17, 19.

Production centers of Hellenistic kantharoi developed earliest in Athens, but by the mid-3rd c. B.C.E. these drinking cups were produced throughout the eastern Mediterranean.[119] Skyphoi, a rare shape at Koroni, were strongly represented at Eretria by Attic examples in the 4th c. B.C.E. (nos. 1-4), but only local examples were found from the 3rd c. B.C.E. (nos. 5, 6). Eretria was not exempt from the pattern found elsewhere in the Mediterranean; Attic imports were replaced by local imitations in the second half of the 3rd c. B.C.E.[120]

Due to the dominance of Attic fine ware elsewhere in the Ptolemaic kingdom and the lack of Attic versions of shapes not found at Koroni (skyphoi, footless bowls, and table amphoras) in the early 3rd century B.C.E., I argue that one of the factors that drove the market for Attic fine ware was the network created by the Ptolemaic military garrisons, political alliances, and economic relationships throughout the Aegean. The movement of the military and merchants expanded the Attic fine ware market and, as I will argue below, the decline of Ptolemaic dominance in the Aegean broke the affordable supply network. The mobility of the Ptolemaic military and merchants, in addition to the increase in Greek *cleruchs* in this period, could have expedited transmission of the crafting process, specifically the adaptation of production techniques and the function of these vessels, to allow for an easy transition to locally-made imitations in the mid-late 3rd c. B.C.E.[121] The influx of new people also drove up the demand for Attic products, a market which certainly suffered with the

[119] Kallini 2013, 64-65.

[120] Metzger 1969, 12-14, 34-35.

[121] Greene 2008, 77. Greene argues that the Roman army facilitated the transmission and development of ceramic types and functions.

sudden loss of demand as a result of the population movement into Egypt itself.[122] This is one reason, of many that varied region by region, that Attic fine ware was found throughout the Aegean through the reign of Ptolemy II and into the reign of Ptolemy III, but was replaced after 222 B.C.E.[123]

The Transport Amphora

The transport amphora at Koroni and Eretria, however, imply an even wider range of interaction, trade, and interest beyond the Greek mainland. Although nearly all unstamped amphora sherds from Koroni were not kept or recorded by the excavators, the stamps that remained illuminate interesting and diverse networks of trade. The transport amphora data from Koroni best indicates two things: 1) there was economic and political separation between Athens and the Ptolemaic site and 2) the Mediterranean economy expanded alongside the growth of Ptolemaic mercantile, naval, and military movement. Rhodian amphoras were the most common transport vessels found in Alexandria from the early 3rd c. B.C.E. onward.[124] Although Thasian amphoras were the most common at Koroni by a slim margin, Rhodes was the second most common supplier.[125] The presence of Rhodian

[122] Greene 2008, 79. As discussed above, it is likely that the market was also affected by the population movement to other locations, but not enough evidence has yet been published to adequately explore this scenario.

[123] Vessberg and Westholm suggest that, based on the pottery from early 20th century excavations throughout Cyprus, the fineware from the early Hellenistic period on Cyprus consisted of Attic imports, quickly followed by a period of local imitation of Attic forms. The early 3rd century B.C.E. contexts from the House of Dionysos in Nea Paphos illustrate the argument made by Vessberg and Westholm (Vessberg and Westholm 1956, 75-77).

[124] Lawall 2015, 202-204.

[125] Lawall 2015, 199-200.

amphoras at Koroni suggests that Ptolemaic ties with Rhodes included commerce beyond the center of the kingdom.[126] This is an indication of the extensive network of trade established by the Ptolemies to not only secure their control over the maritime economy but to also help supply their outposts throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Rhodian amphoras were almost entirely missing from the archaeological record of early 3rd century B.C.E. Athens.[127] Thasian amphoras have been found in Athens but not in such a large ratio as at Koroni.[128] The Thasian amphora trade had a long history in the Aegean and the Greek mainland in the centuries leading up to the Chremonidean War. The strong presence of Thasian amphoras at Koroni and Athens is therefore not entirely surprising. The variety of amphora present at Koroni (Koan, Parian, Greco-Italic, Chian, and ZH-group A) led Lawall to suggest, however, that the presence of the Ptolemies expanded the trade networks in the Mediterranean.[129] This

[126] Gabrielsen 2013, 66-81. Lund 2014, 300-302. Lund used transport amphora to argue that trade with Rhodes was not confined to the boundaries of either the Ptolemaic or Seleukid kingdom but suggested that by the late 3rd century B.C.E. there was a system to encourage trade within the Ptolemaic kingdom. Most of the amphora found in early 3rd c. B.C.E. contexts in Nea Paphos were made of a Cypriot fabric and had similar shapes to those from earlier periods on Cyprus (Olof Vessberg and Alfred Westholm 1956, 61-62.). However, Thasian, not Rhodian, amphoras were the only published imported amphoras from early 3rd c. B.C.E. Nea Paphos (Hayes 1991, 85-6, 97, fig. 40 nos. 16, 17**)**. This pattern could be a result of the lack of published 3rd c. B.C.E. amphoras, but if it is not then Nea Paphos seems to have continued to trade with a region it already traded with before the Ptolemaic habitation of the island, Thasos. The only evidence of Rhodian amphora reaching Cyprus before the second half of the 3rd c. B.C.E. was a 4th c. B.C.E. shipwreck off the coast of Kyrenia (Młynarczyk 1990, 152, n. 277). On Cyprus this trend was common in the early 3rd century B.C.E. The fine ware also followed previously established customs from the Classical period until ca. 220 B.C.E. This is further evidence of a huge shift to a Hellenistic ceramic *koine* in the 3rd quarter of the 3rd c. B.C.E. In addition, this case study on Cyprus, though it could possibly be amended after further excavation, suggests that Ptolemaic influence on the economy in the early 3rd c. B.C.E. did not extend to the entire kingdom. It did not even extend to a city with a large amount of Ptolemaic presence, Nea Paphos. The economic networks in the Ptolemaic kingdom were complex and after newly excavated data is published more answers could come to light.

[127] Lawall 2015, 202.

[128] Lawall 2015, 202.

[129] Lawall 2015, 199.

implies that the Ptolemies gained economic allies in the Aegean, Asia Minor, and even Italy as a result of military expansion and economic power. This network was not a simple exchange between these regions and Alexandria, where goods were then redistributed. Rather, this seems to have been a complex system that took into account previous economic partnerships, and most likely hinged on the main nodes of trade under the influence of the Ptolemies: Rhodes, Cyprus, and Crete. As I have argued above, I believe this network extended to the development and circulation of fine ware as well.

Lawall noted that the amphora assemblage at Eretria looked remarkably similar to that at Koroni.[130] Rhodian, ZH-group A, and Greco-Italic amphoras have been published from Eretria and some of the same eponyms appeared on stamps at both sites. These stamps confirm that a portion of the imported amphoras and their goods that came to Koroni from Thasos, Rhodes, and ZH-group A also were involved in trade to Eretria.[131] Whether these amphoras were initially sent to Eretria directly from their production and filling centers or they were brought in second-hand through a Ptolemaic channel is unclear. It seems most likely that, regardless of the initial destination for them, these amphoras were deposited into the archaeological record in Eretria through the economic network enabled by the Ptolemies. Ptolemaic influence in Eretria can be attested at least as early as 270 B.C.E., when an inscription indicated that an altar was dedicated to Arsinoe.[132] The destruction contexts of 268 B.C.E. included Ptolemaic coins, of a similar type to those found at Koroni, alongside

[130] Lawall 2015, 204.

[131] Metzger 1969, 27-28.

[132] *SEG* 40-763.

the amphoras.[133] Eretria, as the political center of Euboea, an island off the northeast coast of Attika, could have assisted in the defense of the Greek mainland and was also in a good position to trade with the Ptolemies and, as numismatic evidence implies, the Seleukids.[134] This evidence suggests that Ptolemy II and Patroclus wanted to keep Antigonos from sacking another coastal city[135] but, like elsewhere in Greece, Antigonos' successful sack of the city reveals that the Ptolemaic aid was not enough.[136]

Amphoras from Euboea, Boeotia, and southern Thessaly, however, are more common than imports at Eretria.[137] Most of the supplies imported to Eretria seem to have been unaffected by the war. Not one example of these amphora types has been discovered at Koroni. This comparison reveals the impact of the Ptolemaic intervention, or rather lack thereof, in the region. Cities did not abandon their prior trade practices but expanded to incorporate the new opportunities that the Ptolemaic network provided.[138] These new exchanges did not necessarily include trade with the garrisons themselves, but rather the new goods and merchants that accompanied the garrisons circulated within the cities and regions to which the military travelled. The fineware, discussed above, reveals a similar pattern in

[133] Schmid 2014, 361-363, 369-370.

[134] See the evidence for coins of Antiochus I above.

[135] Antigonos seems to have already controlled Piraeus at this time.

[136] There is no evidence of Ptolemaic troops in Eretria. It appears that the city was involved in trade with the Ptolemies but did not receive military or mercantile reinforcement.

[137] Lawall 2015, 201.

[138] The residents of Cyprus also expanded their trade relationships to accommodate new opportunities, such as exchange with Alexandria, Rhodes, and Knidos, but did not abandon their prior trade partners in Syro-Palestine. For epigraphic evidence of economic exchange between Nea Paphos and other important ports see Mlynarczyk 1990, 151-159.

the ceramic assemblage. The choices of the Ptolemaic military outside of Alexandria certainly impacted trade and customs beyond the center of the Ptolemaic homeland but did not immediately replace local traditions and trade relationships.

Most of the transport amphoras, and interestingly also most of the coins, at Koroni were found in test trenches in the Valley section closest to the sea.[139] The trenches in the Valley were dug just inside a set of walls, which suggests that the amphoras were carted in from the sea and stored at an easily accessible point in the fortification. Although some amphoras, mainly the more unique examples, such as the possible Spanish amphora, were found on the acropolis, it is clear that most of the supplies ended up in a place where they could be easily distributed to the residents. The excavators suggested that the amphoras were found in the surrounding countryside and were used to haul water to the site.[140] Lawall argues, and I agree, that the homogeneity of the amphora assemblage and their different points of origin from the imports found elsewhere in Attika indicates that these were imported to Koroni for consumption by the inhabitants of the site.[141] Scholars, including Lawall, argue that wine was the only content in these amphoras.[142] While wine was certainly imported (the large number of drinking cups found at the site confirms the presence of wine), grain must also have been imported in these transport amphoras.[143] The large number of grain-related tools indicates that grain-grinding occurred at Koroni.

[139] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 48-53.

[140] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 38 n.7.

[141] Lawall 2015, 112-113.

[142] Lawall 2015, 213-214. For more on wine as a military ration see Lawall 2015, 214.

[143] For more on the grain trade see Gabrielsen 2013, 66-81.

Koroni in Context

There is no evidence of a production center for clay products nor any mudbrick used in the architecture at Koroni. The walls were made of field stones, with only structurally important sections made with cut stones.[144] Haste seems to have urged the builders to use uncut blocks and not even make mudbrick for the upper portion of the walls. Tiles were found in most rooms, but there is no indication of their production at the site. The presence of both Laconian and Corinthian tiles suggests that no one entity at the site was responsible for tile-production, as was the case in Roman military sites.[145] The variety in tiles suggests, rather, that the tiles were brought into the site from a range of production sources. Clay processing was not necessary, and is not evident, at Koroni for building materials. It is unlikely that ceramic production occurred if no mud or clay was used for any other purpose. The variety in forms and Attic parallels implies that no centralized pottery production occurred on the site, and the brief occupation of the site also indicates that it was impractical to establish a ceramic production center. Cook ware, often produced on military sites in the Roman period, is a helpful indicator of interest in the local or their own native dining traditions, but only a few examples were found at Koroni and they were not well-

[144] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 29-48. The jambs of Gate A are the only point in which cut blocks were indicated.

[145] Peacock 1982, 149-151.

published.[146] It is impossible to tell if they brought these cooking vessels with them or purchased them locally.

The variety of pottery forms at Koroni reveals that a bulk order was not the norm. Building C on the akropolis is the exception in which there was evidence for a set of kantharoi and serving vessels from Attika. A marble krater was found set into the floor of the ante-chamber of Building C with an inscription with the name "Δημοστρατη" from the nearby deme, Steria.[147] It is possible that the kantharoi and krater were used in a sympotic-type context, but no couches were preserved in this building and the rooms were very small.[148] It could be that residents could drink and dine together in this building, not necessarily in a sympotic fashion but in a more tavern-like setting. Drinking vessels were common throughout the site which suggests that there were a variety of locations for drinking.[149] This was the only example of a matching set of vessels and it is clear that it was only for a unique circumstance on the site.

The assemblage at Koroni seems to indicate that metal vessels were not primarily used for drinking and dining, because vessels for these activities make up nearly all of Koroni's ceramic assemblage. It is also highly unlikely that cooking pots at Koroni were metal. Nearly all the fine ware is Attic, which implies that the military had access to Attic

[146] Greene 1979, 101.

[147] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 39 no. 49. *IG*, II, 7455.

[148] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 36-38.

[149] The earliest known example of the "tavern" is from Delos in the 1st c. B.C.E. (Rotroff 2006, 146). The vessels involved in this new type of drinking setting had been established since the early 3rd c. B.C.E. which could suggest that communal eating and drinking took place outside of the private sympotic setting long before the first official "tavern."

ceramic cookware. Does this imply that all Ptolemaic citizens preferred the black gloss fine ware of Attika? Comparanda from Alexandria and elsewhere in the kingdom imply that Aegean black-gloss fine ware was preferred by all under Ptolemaic control in the early 3rd c. B.C.E. Although the archaeological record is an unreliable source to assess the presence or absence of metal vessels, the high number of Attic bowls, cups, and plates at Koroni and in Alexandria suggests that for drinking and dining ceramic was preferred.[150]

Most of the evidence at Koroni indicates that purchases were made by individuals but there is also evidence for a purchase in a set (Building C).[151] The high percentage of Attic ware, however, does not necessarily prove a connection with Athens itself, but rather individuals seem to have accumulated ceramics based on their own preferences. The variety in the ceramic forms also indicates that, as the excavators hypothesized, they purchased fine ware from the closest available resources.[152] Most of the fine ware did not have a parallel in Athens. Even the parallels cited by Rotroff are only loosely connected. Most of the kantharoi, for example, have at least one major difference from their counterpart in the Athenian Agora. Thus, there is no indication that Koroni directly dealt with Athens.

O'Neil argues that Koroni could not have served as a fortification from which to defend Attika, because it faces the sea, is not easily accessible from inland cities, and was inhabited for such a short period of time.[153] He suggests that the fort served as a supply base

[150] Attic black gloss fine ware was also valued on Cyprus, see n. 80.

[151] At least 4 spur-handled kantharoi were found in the ante-room of Building C (Vanderpool et al. 1962, 37-38).

[152] Vanderpool et al. 1962, 59.

[153] O'Neil 2008, 74-75.

to provide resources to Athens on a route not occupied by the Antigonid forces.[154] Numismatic evidence from the site itself and the road between the site and Athens support a link between the two sites.[155] I argue, however, that the site could not have supplied or been supplied by Athens because the transport amphora assemblage is drastically different from that found in Athens.[156] Koroni is then a perfect site from which to explore the trade relations between outposts of the Ptolemies and the rest of the Mediterranean, as it is clear that they are not receiving supplies from, and thus are independent from, the same sources as Athens itself. The high percentage of Attic black gloss found at Koroni certainly suggests a strong relationship with the neighboring demes of Attika.[157] If this is the case, then Attic demes supplied the Ptolemaic forces with local goods but the residents of Koroni were not involved in helping Athens itself. Attic goods then easily traversed the complex network of fortifications, garrisons, and economic hubs established by the Ptolemies, either to Keos, down to Patroclus Island, or eastward (Fig. 12) but the Ptolemaic residents did not reciprocate this trade to the urban center.[158]

[154] O'Neil 2008, 74-75.

[155] O'Neil 2008, 74-75.

[156] Mark Lawall 2015, 202.

[157] The same Athenian products were found in other contemporary sites. The ratio of types is also strikingly similar between the sites argued to be the forts of Patroclus: high numbers of kantharoi were dominant in all excavated assemblages (Caskey 1982. 14-16, 210-211).

[158] See figure 10 for a layout for the geographic relationship of the three potential Ptolemaic Chremonidean war fortifications to Athens.

Conclusion

I have compiled evidence to explain the functional nature of the Ptolemaic assemblage in Attika, an assemblage which characterizes general trends in the Ptolemaic kingdom. The ceramic assemblage, in fact, reveals the disconnection between Koroni and Athens, and therefore brings into question the function of the site. Finally, the two networks revealed by the transport amphoras and fine wares illuminate the impact of Ptolemaic military mobility and political power on cultural exchange in the 3rd c. B.C.E. Mediterranean. The case studies from elsewhere in the Ptolemaic kingdom and a nearby city, Eretria, have helped illuminate the Ptolemaic ceramic preferences and the function of the site.[159] Koroni's assemblage mainly featured fishplates, kantharoi, bowls, and jugs. More diversity appeared in the type (skyphoi, table amphoras) and function (a wide variety of cooking pots, ritual vessels, serving ware) of pottery found in Eretria. This suggests that the Ptolemaic residents of Koroni practiced very different drinking and dining habits from the Eretrians. In addition, the types of vessels found at Koroni remained common throughout most of the Hellenistic period, while Eretrians still maintained previously established Classical Greek types at least until the third quarter of the 3rd c. B.C.E.[160]

[159] The shape and decoration of Attic pottery were common throughout the Mediterranean in the late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C.E. Case studies in Egypt and Cyprus suggest that the most common shapes found at Koroni (plates, fishplates, bowls, and kantharoi) were extremely common elsewhere in the Ptolemaic kingdom. In the mid-late 3rd century B.C.E. the dispersal of Attic imports decreased but the shapes were imitated on the local level. The Ptolemaic residents of Koroni needed to import vessels into Attika to suit their cultural preferences because they preferred Attic vessels in all regions of the kingdom.

[160] Metzger 1969, 16-17.

O'Neil also argues that Ptolemy II did not send troops into Attika, but rather only naval forces.[161] I believe that the ceramic and architectural evidence from Koroni not only supports his claim, but further suggests that those who lived at Koroni might not have been soldiers and had no contact with Athens itself. Most of the pottery is Attic but very little of it has a parallel from the Athenian Agora. In addition, the transport amphoras at Koroni suggest that the Ptolemies were uninterested in supplying Athens with imported goods. The littoral seaward-oriented site implies that they did not spend much of their time interacting with Athens, but rather stayed on the coast. After Patroclus pulled out of Greece in the middle of the Chremonidean War, Athens was sacked and the Antigonids had a stronger claim to Greece and the Aegean.[162] Regardless of whether soldiers lived at Koroni, the site was likely abandoned no later than the retreat by Patroclus. When the military evacuated, the supply network and Ptolemaic control of the Aegean also decreased.

The geographic proximity to Athens in the late 4th-early 3rd centuries B.C.E. did not seem to dictate fine ware assemblages. The Ptolemaic cities of the eastern Mediterranean, Greece, and Egypt shared a similar Attic black gloss assemblage.[163] These forms were then imitated by local potters in the second half of the 3rd century B.C.E. The transition from

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[161] O'Neil 2008, 85.

[162] Höbl 2001, 40-53. Patroclus lost much of his naval control of the Aegean as well. Ptolemy II did not send any additional assistance to Greece, but Ptolemy III Euergetes was famous for being the benefactor of Athens in the third quarter of the 3rd c. B.C.E. Thus, contact between the Ptolemies and Athens was not entirely cut-off, and in fact prospered with limited military presence until 222 B.C.E. Ptolemaic support to Kleomenes was ended in 222 B.C.E. when Antigonos marched on Sparta. Ptolemy IV went further to officially renounce any interference in Greece that would hinder Macedonia's control over the region. However, Ptolemaic garrisons remained on Crete and Thera.

[163] See note 123.

Attic market-dominance to either a preference or need of local imitations stimulates interesting debate on the declining role of Athens and the Aegean in the mid-late Hellenistic period. It is clear, however, that the preference for Attic black gloss wares in the first half of the century was stimulated by Ptolemaic presence in the region and that something drastically changed in the second half of the century. An assessment of Koroni's link with Attika and the military decisions of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III have helped shed light on this issue. The ceramic assemblage at Koroni tells us three things: 1) the fine ware indicates that the Ptolemies had already begun to be involved in what will become the Hellenistic *koine*, 2) Koroni was not directly linked with Athens, which further supports the notion that Koroni was not built to protect the city, and 3) the Ptolemaic presence in Attika and the Aegean was one reason behind the expanded market for Attic black gloss pottery.

Perhaps the fine ware of the early 3rd c. B.C.E. Aegean, largely Attic-dominated, tells us that the Ptolemies were key in the spread of the Attic ceramic trade. However, this would not represent the full picture; Attic products were exported throughout the Mediterranean in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.E. There was already a strong interest in these products, but I argue that the expansion of the market, which Lawall proved with his analysis of the transport amphoras, can be mapped onto the fine ware trade as well. The assemblage at Koroni was similar with what became the Hellenistic *koine*; it shows that the choices of the Ptolemies had an impact on what became a trend in the late 3rd and 2nd c. B.C.E. Thus, further research could reveal to what extent and in what ways the Ptolemies were influential in the expansion of the market in the late 4th-early 3rd centuries B.C.E.

FIGURES

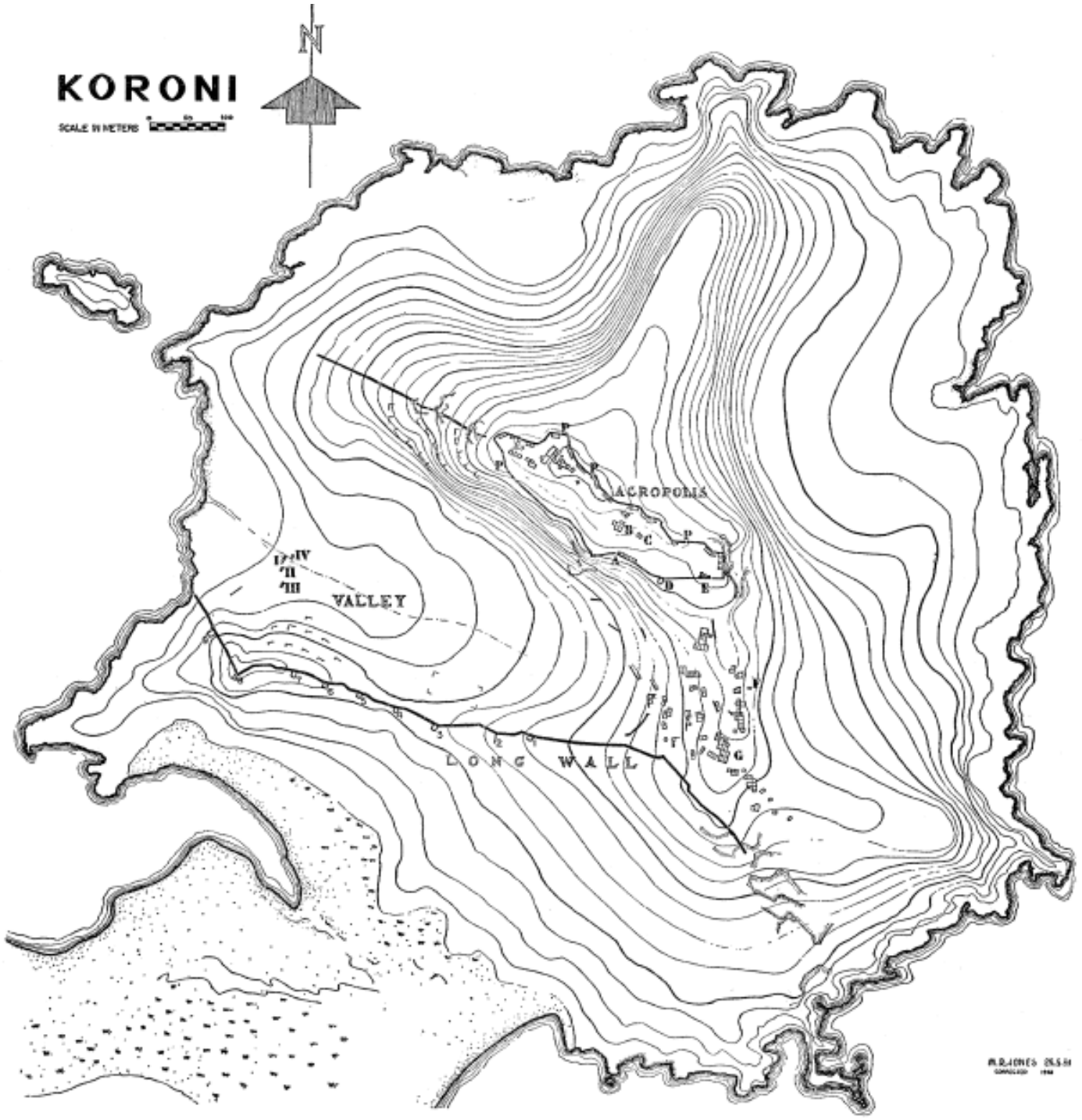


Figure 1: Koroni Site Plan

Vanderpool et al. 1962, fig. 2.

Figure 2: Eretria Site Plan

Reber 1980, fig. 1.

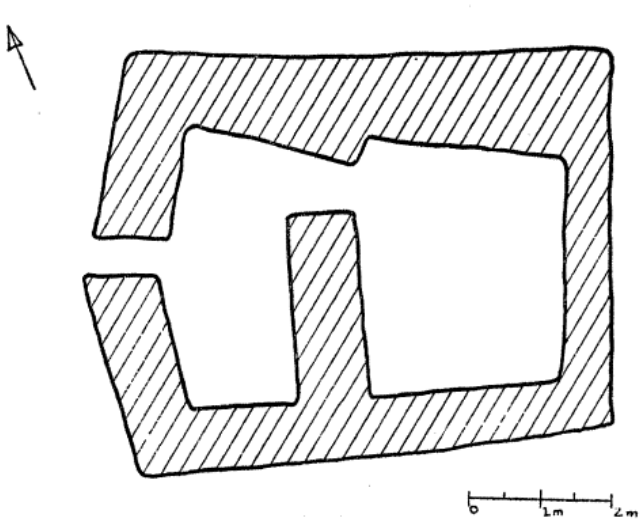


Figure 3: Building C, Koroni

Vanderpool et al. 1962, fig. 6.

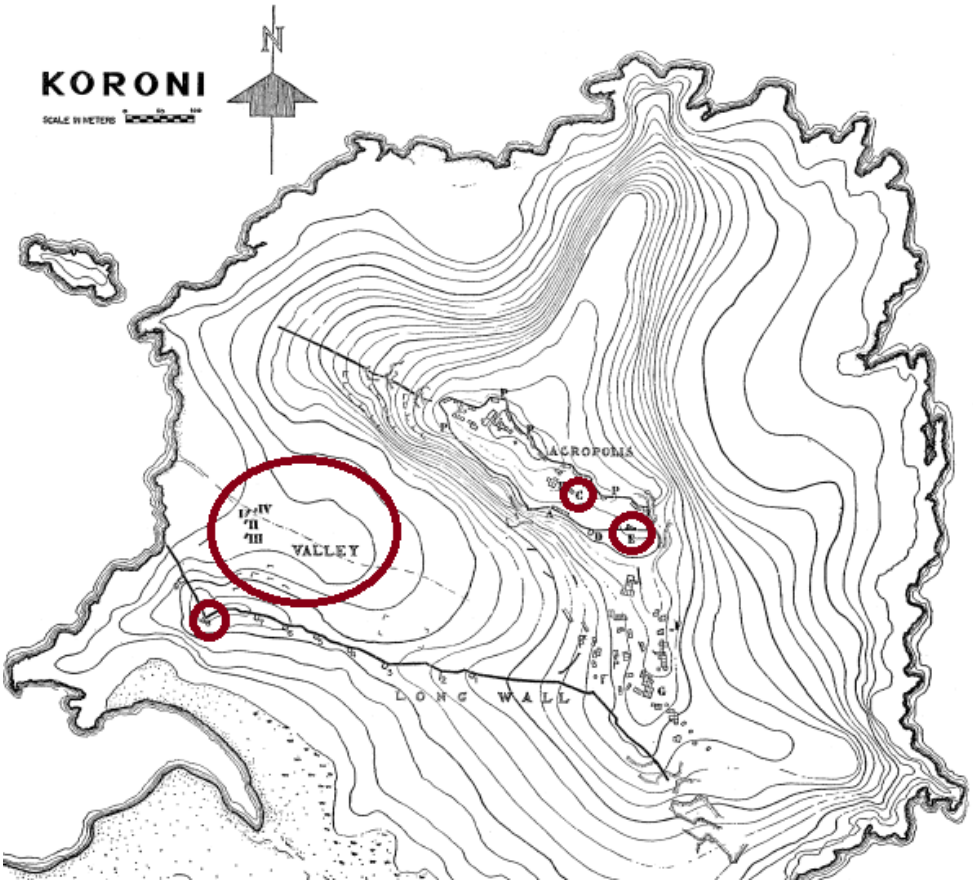
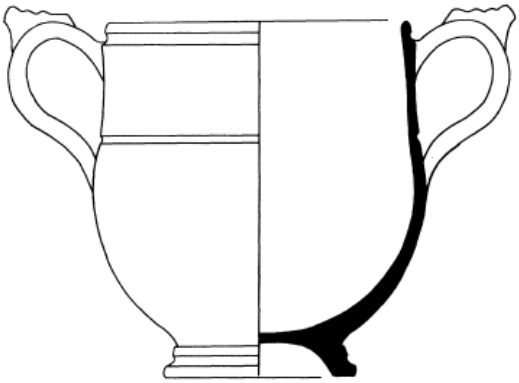


Figure 4: Findspots of Kantharos Sherds, Koroni

Vanderpool et al. 1962, fig. 2.

a.



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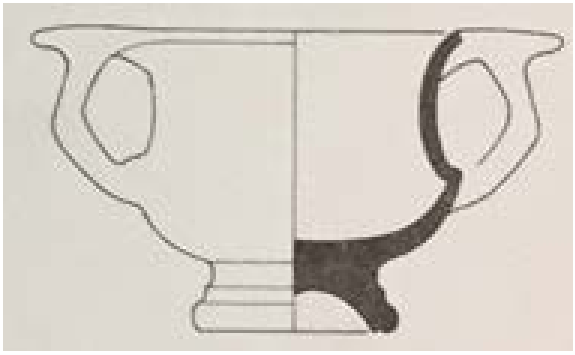

c.

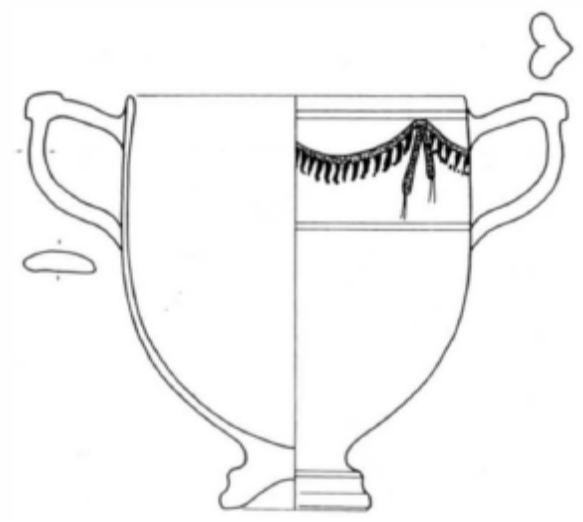

Figure 5: Kantharoi Comparison

a. Hellenistic 3rd c. Type Baggy Kantharos. Rotroff 1991, 87 Fig. 15, Baggy Kantharos 80.
b. 5th century tall, angular foot Kantharos. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, Fig.7, pls. 28, 29, no. 708.
c. Hybrid Eretrian 3rd c. baggy Kantharos. Schmid 2014, Plate 181, Kantharos 9.

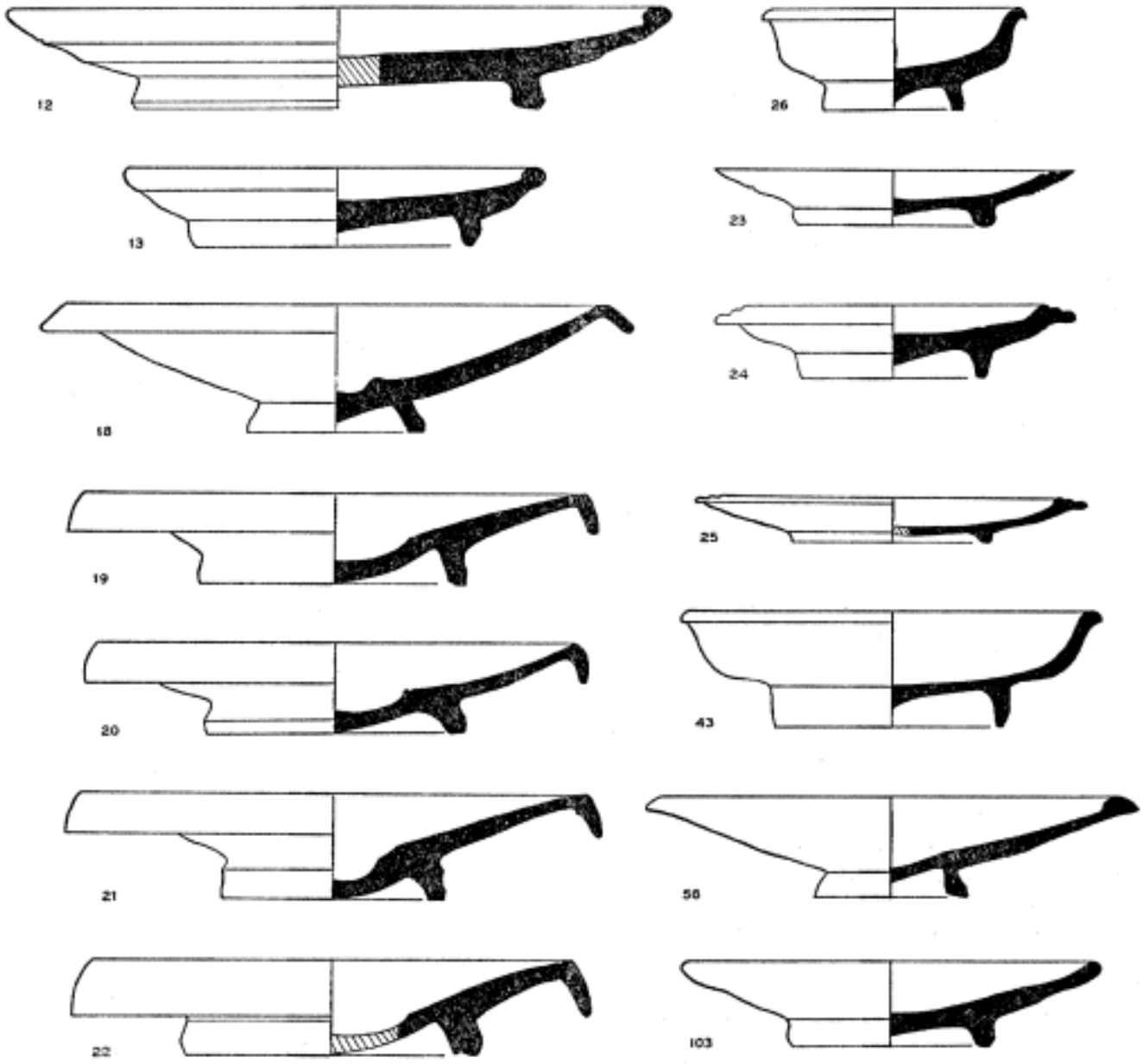

FIG. 8. Profiles of plates and bowls (2:5).

Figure 6: Profiles of plates and bowls, Koroni

Vanderpool et al. 1962, fig. 8.

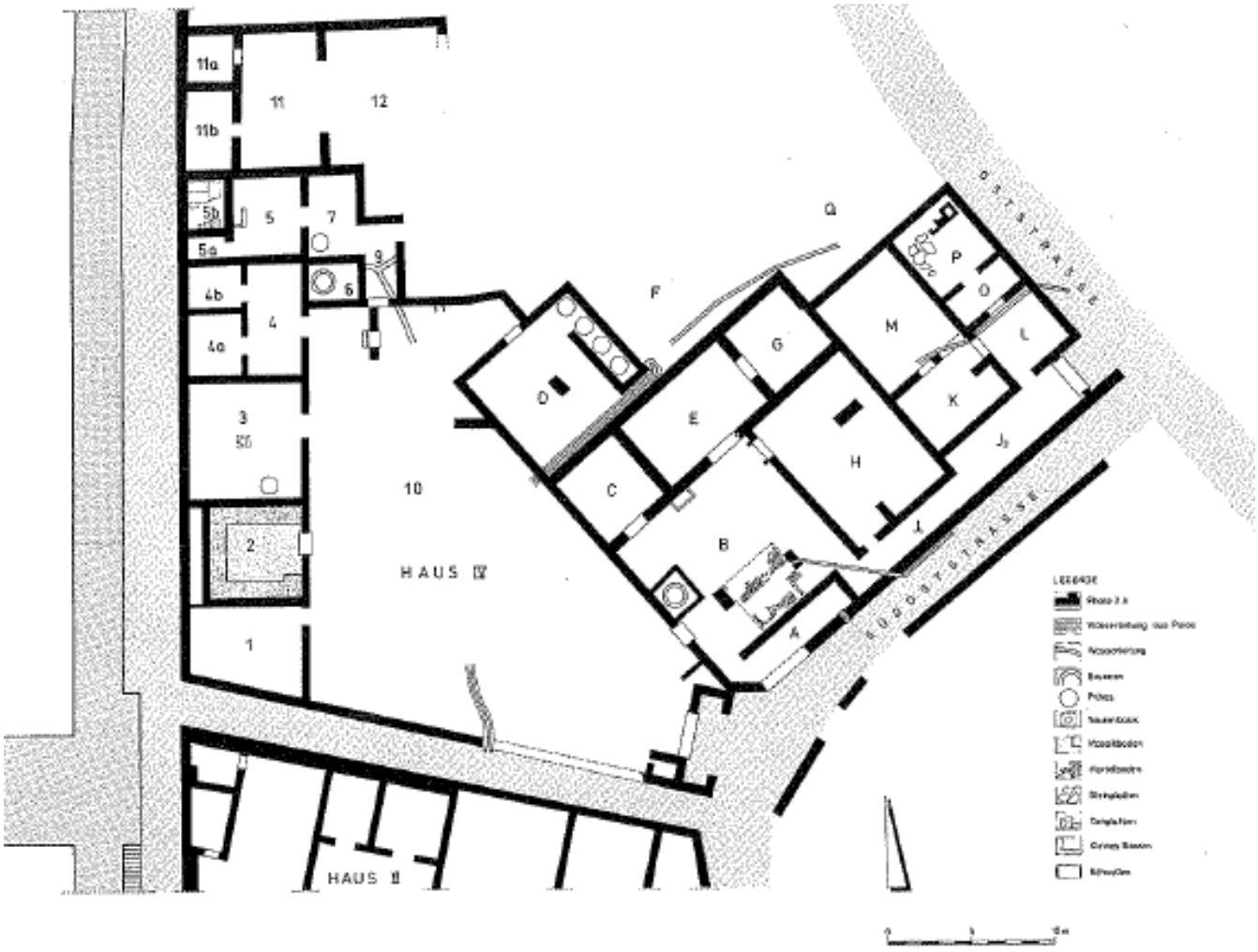

Figure 7: House IV Phase 2a, Eretria

Reber 1980, fig. 104.

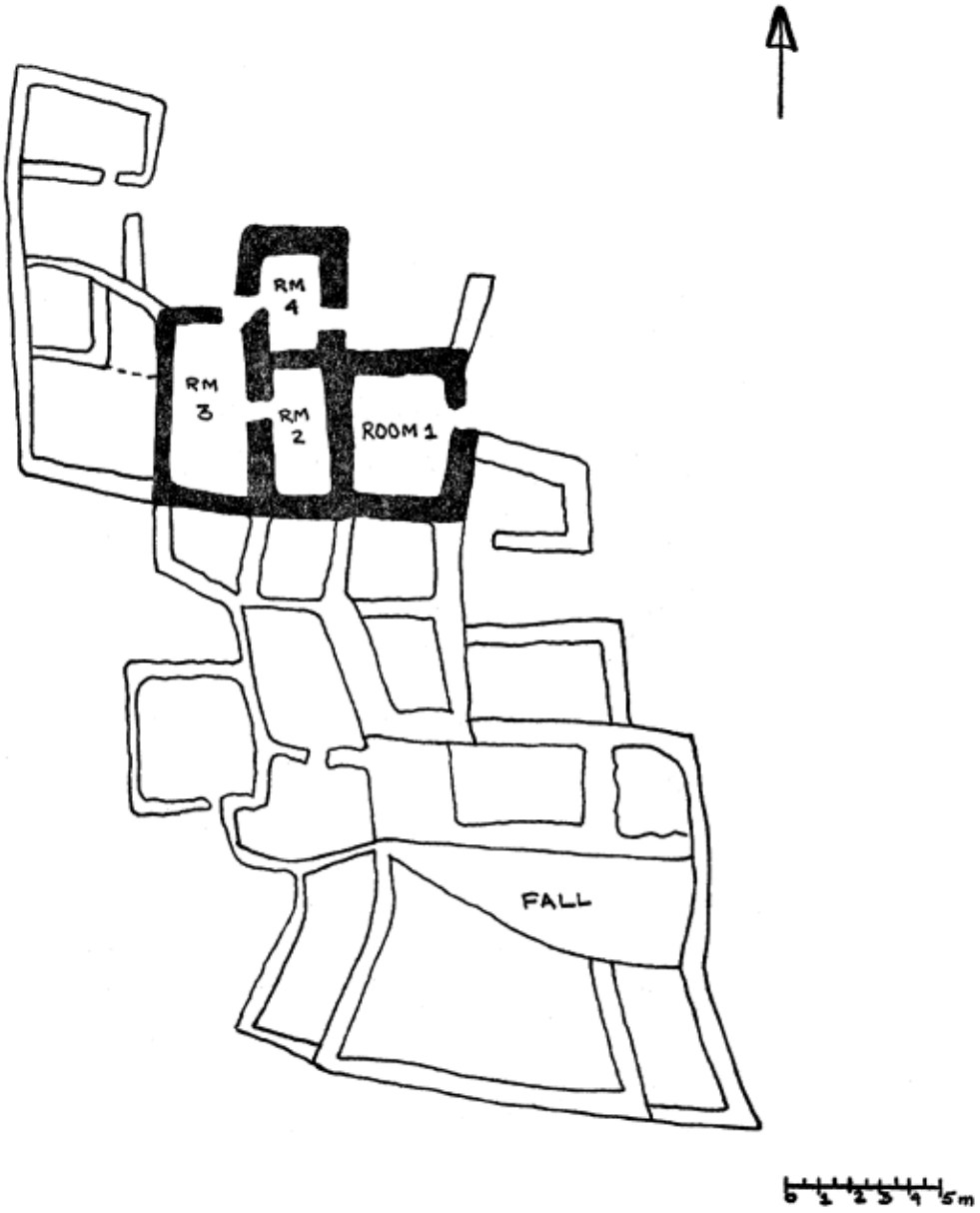

Figure 8: Building G, Koroni

Vanderpool et al. 1962, fig. 10.

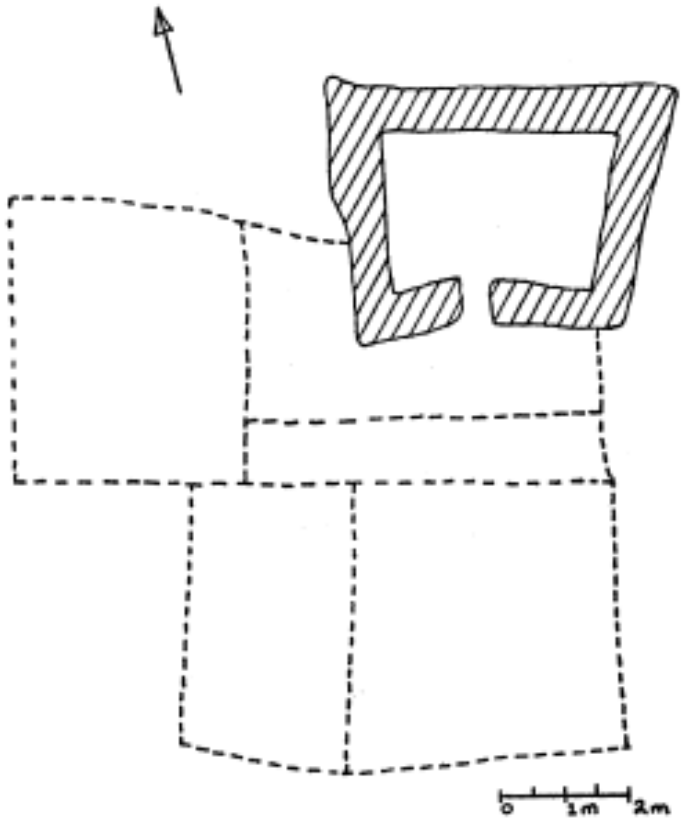

Figure 9: Building B, Koroni

Vanderpool et al. 1962, fig. 5.

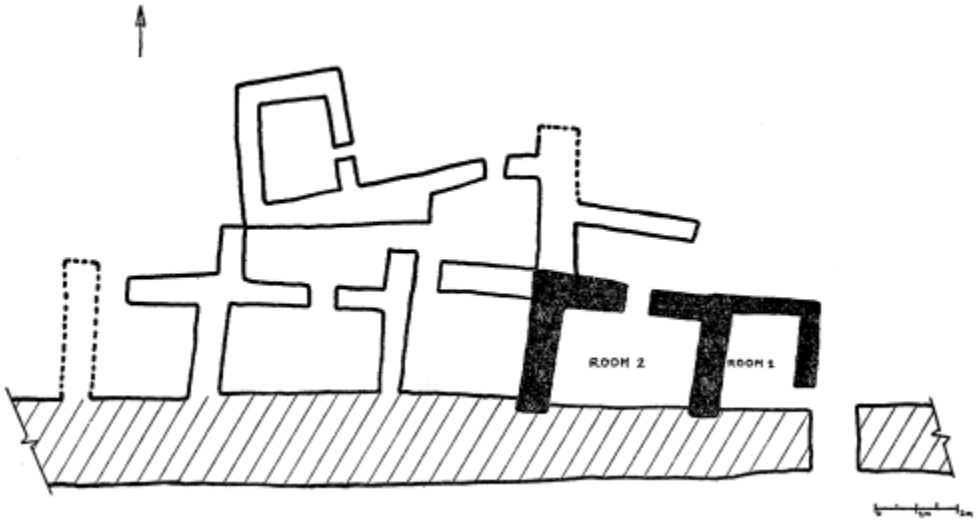

Figure 10: Gate E and Storerooms, Koroni

Vanderpool et al. 1962, fig. 4.

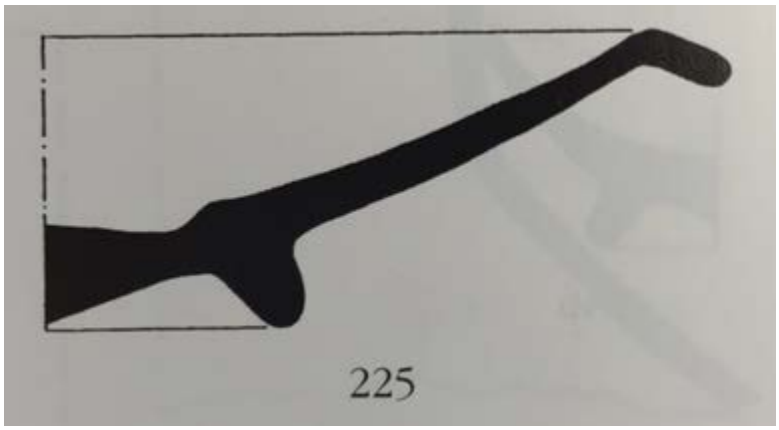

Figure 11: Fishplate no. 225, House 1, Eretria

Reber 1980, Abb. 232.

See Figure 2 no. 18 for comparison.

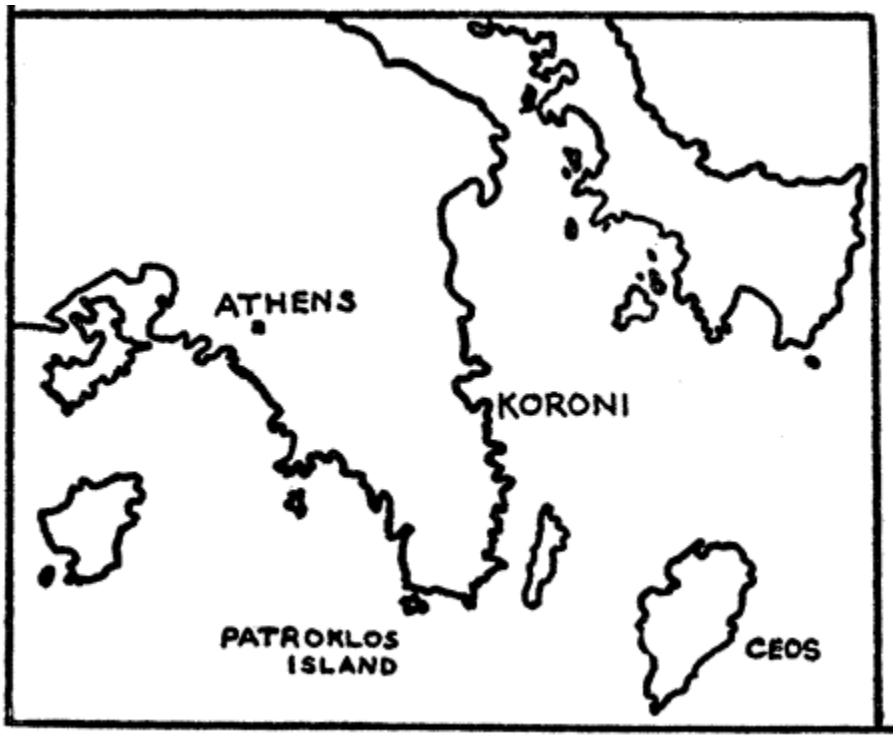

Figure 12: Major Forts of Patroclus in Attika

Vanderpool et al. 1962, fig. 1.

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