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VORWORT DER REDAKTION

Der 27. RCRF-Kongress fand vom 19. bis zum 26. September 2010 im Nationalmuseum in Belgrad statt.
Thema des Kongresses war: „LATE ROMAN AND EARLY BYZANTINE POTTERY: the end or continuity of Roman production?“.

Von den anlässlich des Kongresses präsentierten Postern und Vorträgen wurden folgende nicht publiziert:

M. BERGAMINI, P. COMODI & I. FAGA	Scoppieto: La produzione di vasi a pareti sottili
D. BERNAL CASASOLA, M. LARA MEDINA & J. VARGAS GIRÓN	Roman clay fishing weights in Hispania. Recent research on typology and chronology
A. BIERNACKI & E. KLENINA	Red slip ware from <i>Novae (Moesia Secunda)</i> : 4 th –5 th local production and imports
M. CASALINI	Circolazione ceramica a Roma tra I eta delle invasioni e la riconquista bizantina. Nuovi dati dai contesti delle pendici nord orientali del Palatino
SV. CONRAD	Pottery of the second half of the 3 rd century from <i>Romuliana</i>
T. CVJETIČANIN	Late Roman pottery in Diocese Dacia: overview, problems and phenomena
M. DASZKIEWICZ & H. HAMEL	Roman pottery from Baalbek (Lebanon): provenance studies by laboratory analysis
J. DAVIDOVIĆ	Late Roman burnished pottery from Srem
E. DOKSANALTI	The late Roman pottery from “the Late Roman House” in Knidos and the Knidian late Roman pottery
D. DOBREVA	Late Roman amphorae on the Lower Danube: trade and continuity of the Roman production
D. DOBREVA & G. FURLAN	Progetto Aquileia: <i>Fondi ex Cossar</i> . Commercio e consumo ad Aquileia. Analisi delle anfore tardoantiche alla luce di alcuni contesti
KR. DOMZALSKI	Late Roman light-coloured ware: tradition and innovation
P. DYCZEK	Remarks on the so called legionary pottery
A. JANKOWIAK & F. TEICHNER	A household inventory of a <i>Mirobrigensis celticus</i>
G. KABAKCHIEVA	Spätromische Keramik in den Provinzen <i>Dacia Ripensis</i> und <i>Moesia Secunda</i>
T. KOWAL & J. RECLAW	Scientific Investigations – Program EU – Central Europe: The Danube Limes project
J. KRAJSEK	Late Roman pottery from <i>Municipium Claudium Celeia</i>
J. LEIDWANGER	Economic crisis and non market exchange: fabric diversity in the Late Roman 1 cargo amphoras from the 7 th century shipwreck at Yassiada (Turkey)
T. LELEKOVIĆ	Pottery from the necropoleis of <i>Mursa</i> (1 st –4 th centuries)
B. LIESEN	First century fine ware production at Xanten (Germany)
R. PALMA	La ceramica dipinta di Schedia (Egitto)
D. PARASCHIV, G. NUTU & M. IACOB	La ceramique romaine d’ <i>Argamum (Moesia Inferior)</i>
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CHR. SCHAUER	Pottery of the late Roman and early Byzantine periods in Olympia

- G. SCHNEIDER & M. DASZKIEWICZ In-situ chemical analysis of pottery using a portable X-ray spectrometer
- A. STAROVIĆ & R. ARSIĆ Cherniakhovo-type ceramic vessels from NW Serbia and the question of inhabitants of the central Balkans in the late 4th century AD
- M. TEKOCAK Roman pottery in the Aksehir Museum
- P. VAMOS Some remarks about military pottery in *Aquincum*
- M. VUJOVIĆ & E. CVIJETIĆ *Mortaria* from Komini-*Municipium S.* (Montenegro)
- Y. WAKSMAN “Byzantine White Ware I”: from Late Roman to Early Byzantine Pottery in Istanbul/Constantinople
- I. ŽIŽEK Late Roman pottery in Roman graves in *Poetovio*

Bei der Korrektur und Durchsicht der Artikel stand mir das *editorial committee* zur Seite. Ganz besonders danke ich Philip Kenrick für die zuverlässige Unterstützung und Dieter Imhäuser (ars) für die gute und freundschaftliche Zusammenarbeit bei Satz und Layout.

Die Zitierweise wurde den Richtlinien der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts angeglichen (Ber. RGK 71, 1990, 973–998 und Ber. RGK 73, 1992, 478–540).

Susanne Biegert

Platon Petridis

POTTERY AND SOCIETY IN THE CERAMIC PRODUCTION CENTRE OF LATE ROMAN DELPHI

The archaeological site of Delphi, one of the first widely excavated in Greece, is identified in the collective subconscious only with the flourishing period of its Oracle. Tourist-guides, guide-books aimed to the wide public as well as the exhibition at the Museum of Delphi¹, all leave the visitors in the dark about other significant historical periods of the site, like the Late Roman period, insisting only on the moment of the decline of the Oracle of Apollo in the 4th century AD, which is, unfortunately, identified with the end of the city of Delphi itself.

Of course, the architectural remains dating from the second half of the 4th to the beginning of the 7th century AD contradict this widely held belief. Many spacious houses, public baths, cisterns and the *Roman Forum* itself stand at a height of several meters², some of them inside but mostly around the ancient sanctuaries of Apollo and Athena, proving, along with the numerous architectural sculptures and the mosaics of the Basilicas and also some very special small finds³, the existence of a prosperous town.

The considerable number and volume of the recent and earlier architectural discoveries, the variety of their functions, their topographical spread all around the ancient sanctuary of Apollo or near the *Gymnasium* and the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia and the dating of the excavated contexts from the 4th to the 7th century AD, enable us to have a precise idea of the urban development of Delphi at two decisive points of its late antique history: the end of the oracle at the second half of the 4th century that is also the starting point for the development of the town itself, and the abandonment of the town soon after the first quarter of the 7th century.

The systematic excavations undertaken between 1990 and 1997 by the French School of Archaeology of Athens at two secular buildings of Delphi, one public (the *Roman Forum*) and one private (the so-called *Southeastern Villa*)⁴, as well as some earlier excavations all around the site, brought into light not only interesting details of these particular buildings but also medium-scale installations of pottery workshops and a considerable quantity of pottery.

The variety of this pottery and the parallel study of some very small contexts coming from earlier, mainly rescue excavations give us a detailed picture of the imported and locally produced wares of the Late Roman period.

Among the pottery workshops discovered at Delphi, the most ancient came partially into light in the 1980s in the *Xystos* area of the ancient *Gymnasium*⁵. Coins and typological analysis of the pottery date it to the second half of the 4th century AD. Remains of two kilns in a very bad condition have been discovered (**fig. 1**) along with a rectangular pit and two small cisterns. One of the kilns, 4 m. long, is constructed with bricks; the other is smaller and contains *spolia* from earlier buildings. Kiln-wasters have been discovered nearby as well as a small number of kiln supports.

In the area of the *Southeastern Villa*, the largest to-date excavated architectural complex in Late Roman Delphi,

¹ The new exhibition dates from 2004, at the time when the Museum was partly renewed and enlarged.

² Unfortunately, most of the existing Roman and Late Roman buildings are nowadays inaccessible to the public. At the same time, Roman and Late Roman structures found inside the sanctuaries of Apollo and Athena or in the new village, have been destroyed by the first excavators in order to reach "more glorious" periods of the city (this is the case of the *Gymnasium* basilica) or to permit the construction of new buildings and tourist facilities (like the *Lower Baths* situated at the entrance of the archaeological site). With the exception of some poor remains of the *Houses A and B* and the *Roman Forum*, all the other monuments (like the *Eastern Baths* or the *Portico House*) remain inaccessible to the visitors by ropes and wooden doors; guards keep whistling at visitors preventing them from any attempt to reach them. High vegetation covers an important part of the Late Roman monuments during the spring and summer months; they also suffer from the roots, branches and resin of the pines planted in the 1930's all around the sanctuary, probably to make it seem more friendly to the visitors or more Alpine! All the Roman and Late Roman monuments are also very much exposed to the weather changes and, as they are built of fragile materials, they lose every year part of their mortar becoming more and more fragile.

³ An object unique in Late Roman contexts, as far as I know, is a mother-of-pearl leopard of small size (height: 5cm, length: 5.4 cm, thickness: 11-4 mm) discovered in the complex of the *Southeastern Villa*. The specialists have identified the shell from which this object was made as a *Tridacna Maxima* found mainly in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Decorated tridacna shells or curved plaques are known since Prehistoric times, but the earliest examples of a sculptured-in-the-round object from mother-of-pearl that I found in bibliography are not older than the 15th century AD. The archaeological evidence from our excavation dates the Delphic leopard to the 6th century AD, therefore it seems to be the earliest known example of a sculptured-in-the-round object from mother-of-pearl. (See P. PETRIDIS, *Μάργαρον εκ χείρας τας εμάς τη*

προτεραία εμπέπρωκεν: η λεοπαρδαλή των Δελφών και τα αντικείμενα μικροτεχνίας από μάργαρο. In: O. Gratziou/Ch. Loukos (eds.), *Ψηφίδες* [Heraklion 2009] 73–84).

⁴ The French School of Archaeology of Athens started excavating Delphi at 1892. For the more recent excavation reports (between 1990 and 1997) see: Bull. Corr. Hellénique 115, 1991, 700–702; *ibid.* 116, 1992, 709–711; *ibid.* 117, 1993, 641–644; *ibid.* 118, 1994, 423–428; *ibid.* 119, 1995, 649–650; *ibid.* 120, 1996, 847–851; *ibid.* 121, 1997, 754–755; *ibid.* 122, 1998, 543–547).

⁵ For the excavation reports in the *Xystos* area see: Bull. Corr. Hellénique 110, 1986, 774–782; *ibid.* 111, 1987, 609–612; *ibid.* 112, 1988, 722–725.



Fig. 1. Kiln discovered in the *Gymnasium* area.



Fig. 2. Kiln discovered in the area of the *Southeastern Villa*.

stratigraphy shows that in around 590, workshops of pottery, metalwork and tannery or dye-works were installed inside the abandoned house. The most important installations belong to pottery workshops. Six kilns have been unearthed. They are all of small dimensions (the larger measures $2 \times 2\text{m}$ [?]), square or rectangular in shape, built with bricks and small stones (**fig. 2**); they rest partly on the walls of the villa (even the apse of a *triclinium*) or on the rock; bricks or half-broken *pithoi* necks have been used to support the grid [or] floor of the firing-

chamber. Three of the kilns were constructed inside the same room but they cannot have functioned simultaneously. Additional installations belonging to the workshops have been also discovered around the kilns: a cistern, basins, water-pipes and deep pits serving in a second use, probably, as clay-working pits; two of the rooms of the villa, after their doors had been condemned were transformed into waste-dumps. Thousands of kiln-wasters, moulds of lamps or moulds of metal objects and kiln supports have been found in the dumps.



Fig. 3. Shard with incised decoration.

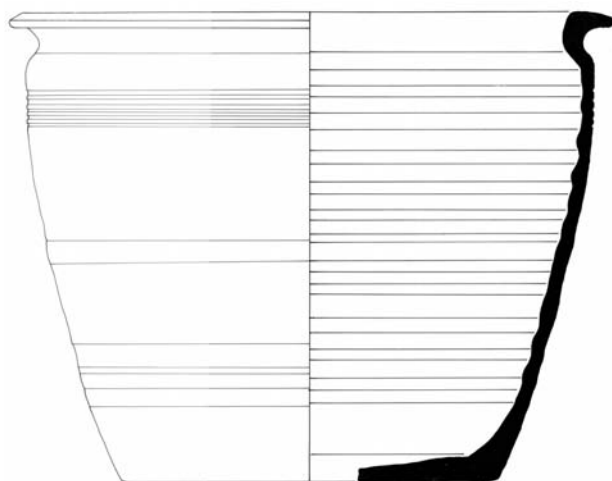


Fig. 5. Basin, 4th century production.

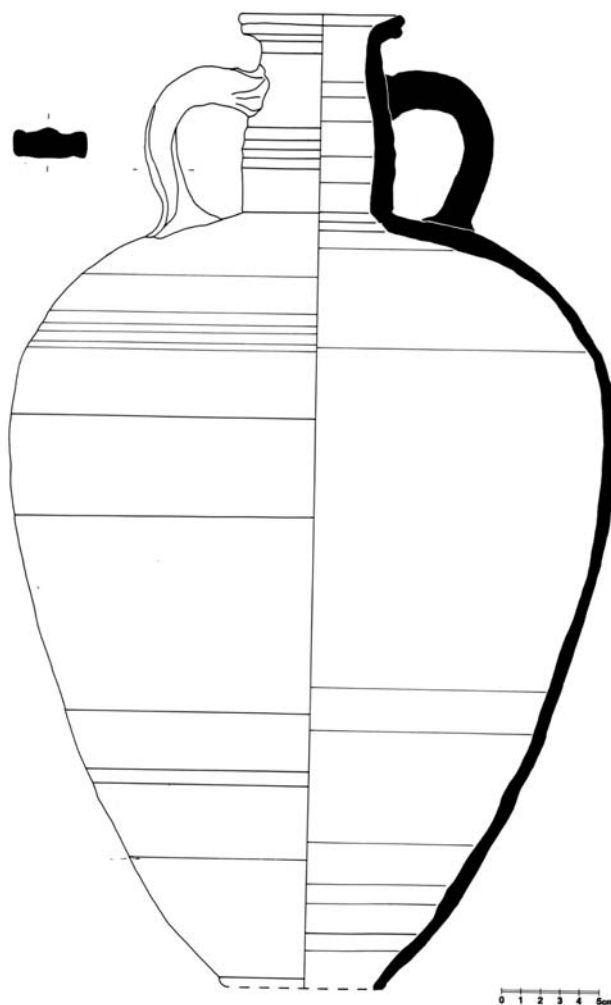


Fig. 4. Amphora, 4th century production.

All these discoveries in the areas of the *Southeastern Villa* and the *Xystos*, show the existence of a local production; the workshops date to the second half of the 4th century, the second half of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century. The wares discovered in the Roman Forum belong to the 4th century production. The pottery found in the Southeastern Villa dates mostly to the 6th and 7th century. Discoveries from elsewhere in the town fill partly the gap of the 5th century production, in order to have an almost complete view of the locally produced and imported pottery⁶. The petrographic

examination (X-Ray Diffraction method) and the chemical analysis (made according to the Atomic Absorption Spectroscopy method) proposed two main groups of local wares according to the presence or not of micas, feldspars and magnesium silicates. From a macroscopic point of view, there are no important differences in the appearance of the two groups. The clay is of good quality with small inclusions, generally light red (2.5YR 6/6) to pink (5YR 7/4), well fired with a lightly soaped external surface of light red (2.5YR 6/6), light brown (7.5YR 6/4) or reddish yellow (5YR 7/6) color. A slip of red (10R 4/6) or weak red (10R 5/4) color covers the upper part of the vases leaving – intentionally in my opinion – large drips descending vertically or obliquely to the bottom. In other cases, the slip is applied with a large brush, forming bands of color. The incised decoration consists of wavy lines or bands of parallel wavy lines covering the upper part of the vases (fig. 3).

⁶ For a detailed presentation of the local pottery, see P. PETRIDIS, *La céramique protobyzantine de Delphes. Une production et son contexte. Fouilles Delphes 5* (Paris, 2010). – For shorter publications of the local and imported pottery unearthed at Late Roman Delphi see: P. PETRIDIS, *Βιοτεχνικές εγκαταστάσεις της πρώιμης βυζαντινής περιόδου στους Δελφούς*. In: *Αρχαιολογικά τεκμήρια βιοτεχνικών εγκαταστάσεων κατά τη βυζαντινή εποχή. 5^{ος}–15^{ος} αιώνας, Χριστιανική Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία – Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Ομίλου Πειραιώς* (Athens 2004) 243–256; *id.*, *Ateliers de potiers protobyzantins à Delphes*. In: Ch. Bakirtzis (ed.), *VIIe Congrès International sur la Céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée*. Actes (Athens 2003) 443–446; *id.*, *Εισαγωγές αττικής κεραμικής στους Δελφούς κατά την παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο, Πρακτικά Η' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ Αττικής. Κερατέα Αττικής 30 Οκτωβρίου–2 Νοεμβρίου 1997* (Keratea 2001) 279–295; *id.*, *Les ateliers des*

potiers à Delphes à l'époque paléochrétienne. TOPOI 8 (1998) 703–710; *id.* 1997; *id.*, *Das frühchristliche Delphi. Die keramischen Zeugnisse*. In: M. Maass (ed.), *Delphi – Orakel am Nabel der Welt. Ausstellungskat. Bad. Landesmus. (Sigmaringen, Karlsruhe 1996) 121–124; 208–209.*



Fig. 6. Bowls, 4th century production.

The discovered pottery of the 4th century AD comprises mainly amphorae, basins, bowls and lamps.

The main amphora type of that period (fig. 4) has an ovoid body, a thickened lip with a groove on the vertical edge and a very characteristic swelling on the neck. This neck is common in some parallels from Corinth⁷ and Athens⁸ dating also to that period.

The basins (fig. 5) have an everted rim, high oblique wall and a wheel-ridged body. They bear red slip on the interior. Close parallels but of earlier date have been found in Athens⁹.

The bowls, discovered in a large number are small, with a hemispherical body and a pronounced horizontal rim (fig. 6). They resemble bowls of form Hayes 78.2¹⁰ or other productions of Red Slip Wares and bear slip on the inside and sometimes also on the outside.

The lamps produced at that period are large and have a rosette on the discus and circles on the base (fig. 7). Their execution and firing are not very successful and it seems that this type of lamp had a very short period of life. As it is expected, no parallels to these lamps have been found elsewhere.

The 6th and 7th century local production covers a much wider range of shapes covering almost all domestic or outdoor needs.

The amphorae produced at that period are of small or medium size and can be classified into 3 different types judging by the shape of their body (ovoid¹¹ or spherical¹² (fig. 8)) and base (flat or umbilical).

The jugs are also of 3 types, *type I*, with spherical body standing on a false ring foot, *type II*, with ovoid body and flat compact base (fig. 9) and *type III* with piriform body and false ring foot¹³. The small jugs¹⁴ or lekythoi can follow a similar classification. One lekythos of Delphic *type II* with a stem foot and flat base has been found in Athens in a layer of the late 6th century¹⁵.

The bowls are of two main types; they have either an everted lip and a ring foot or a heavy rolled rim and a flat

base¹⁶; the second one is very common at Delphi (fig. 10) and its rim is an imitation of the Form Hayes 99 in African Red Slip Wares¹⁷.

It is interesting to notice that the only form of tableware not detected in the Delphic local production is that of the large plates or dishes: this probably means that the needs where covered by the imported pottery. In fact, many circular dishes of African Red Slip Ware or Asia Minor Red Slip Ware have been found at Delphi, as well as some plates of Central Greek Painted Wares¹⁸.

The basins have horizontal handles, oblique walls slightly closing before the rim and a proportionally small flat or umbilical base¹⁹ (fig. 11). They bear slip on the inside.

The cooking wares are of two main forms: of an almost vertical body and flat or nearly flat bottom (fig. 12) and of spherical body with a rounded bottom²⁰. An interesting example of a trefoil jug used as water boiler has also been found (fig. 13).

The locally mould-made lamps of the 6th and 7th centuries are of two types: the first one is an interesting imitation or, more precisely, an interpretation of African lamps. The variant with long channel bears very often representations of birds (fig. 14) and stylized rim patterns that are distant reminiscences of the original African rim motifs²¹. The variant with a shorter channel bears always a cross on the disc and a branch on the rim (fig. 15) and has parallels to lamps found at other Greek sites like Demetrias²², Athens²³ and Corinth²⁴; the second type is that of circular lamps with small plain disc and a *chevrons* motif on the rim creating the impression of a star-like motif (fig. 16). Parallels coming from Athens²⁵ are interpreted there as attic imitations of South Italian round lamps. Many moulds of both types of lamps have been found at Delphi proving their local origin.

⁷ K. W. SLANE, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The Roman Pottery and Lamps. Corinth 18,2* (Princeton 1990) 115–116 fig. 28.

⁸ ROBINSON 1959, 93 pl. 22.

⁹ Ibid. pl. 13.

¹⁰ HAYES 1972, 127, fig. 22.

¹¹ See PETRIDIS 1997, 691 fig. 7.

¹² See ibid. 691 fig. 8.

¹³ See ibid. 692 fig. 10.

¹⁴ See ibid. 693 fig. 11.

¹⁵ ROBINSON 1959 pl. 34.

¹⁶ See PETRIDIS 1997, 694 fig. 12.

¹⁷ HAYES 1972, 152–155 fig. 28.

¹⁸ For those wares see HAYES 1972, 413; PETRIDIS 1997, 695 fig. 16. See also P. PETRIDIS, *Les productions protobyzantines de céramique peinte en Grèce Continentale et dans les îles*. In: J. Zozaya/M. Retuerce/M. A. Hervás/A. de Juan (eds.), *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Cerámica Medieval en el Mediterráneo* (Ciudad Real 2009) 39–47.

¹⁹ See PETRIDIS 1997, 692 fig. 9.

²⁰ See ibid. 694 fig. 15.

²¹ See ibid. 690 fig. 6; 694 fig. 13.

²² J. EIWANGER, *Keramik und Kleinfunde aus der Damokratia-Basilika im Demetrias. Demetrias 4* (Bonn 1981) Taf. 74.

²³ PERLZWEIG 1961 pl. 41.

²⁴ O. BRONEER, *Terracotta Lamps. Corinth 4,2* (Cambridge 1930) pl. 22.

²⁵ PERLZWEIG 1961 pl. 44.



Fig. 7. Lamp, 4th century production.

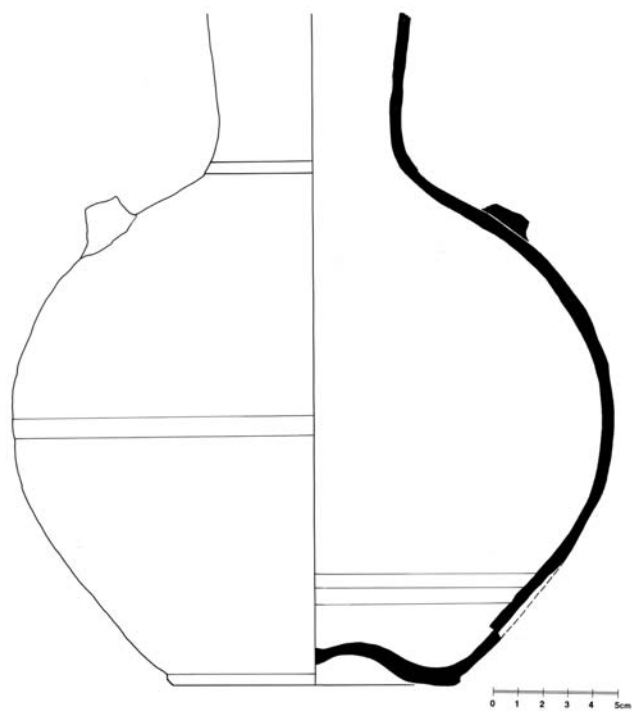


Fig. 8. Amphora with spherical body, second half of 6th century.

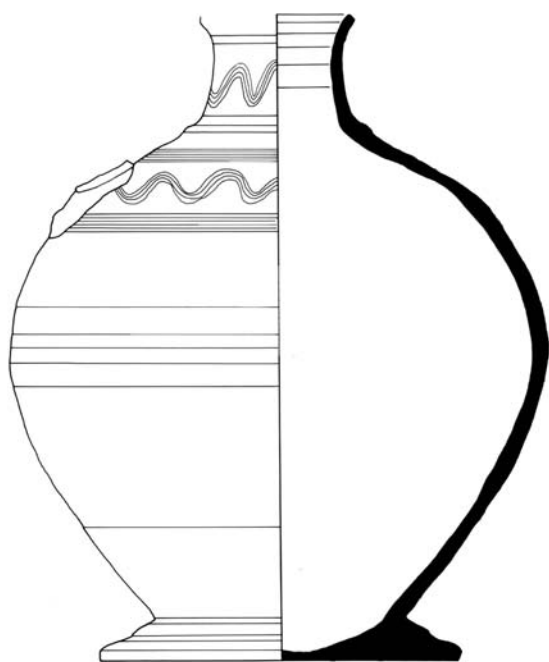


Fig. 9. Jug with ovoid body and flat base, end of 6th century–beginning of 7th century.

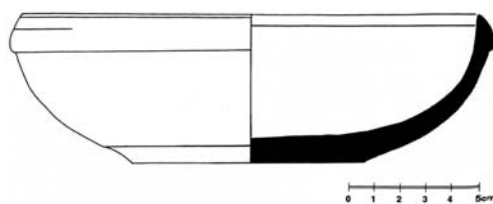


Fig. 10. Bowl, 6th century.

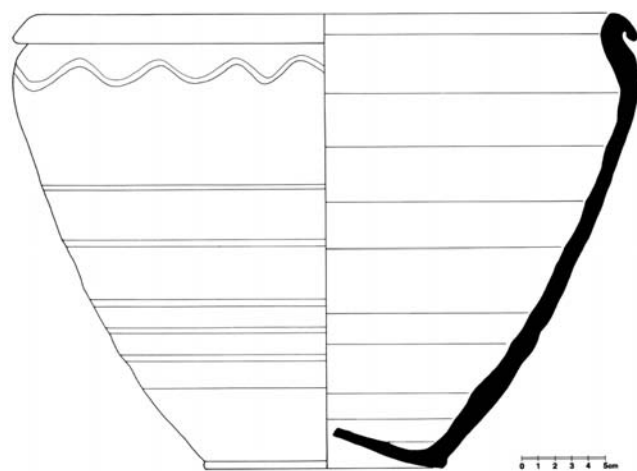


Fig. 11. Basin, end of 6th century–beginning of 7th century.

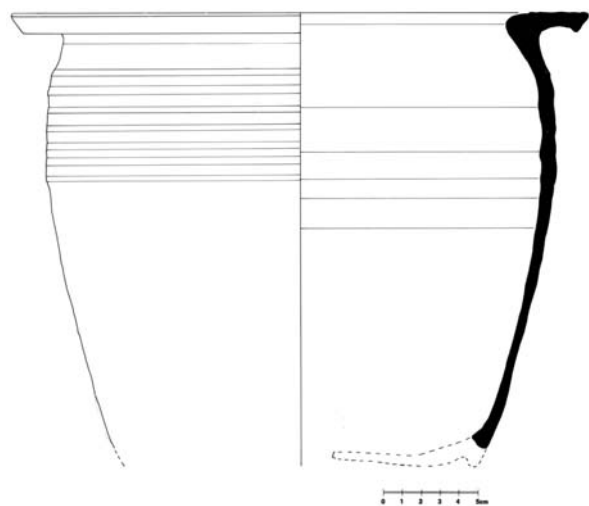


Fig. 12. Cooking ware with vertical body, second half of 6th century.



Fig. 13. Water boiler, second half of 6th century.

From the study of the architectural remains, the small finds and the locally made or imported pottery²⁶, the town of Delphi appears as a medium-scale prosperous town of the Greek peninsula until the first quarter of the 7th century, when a sudden abandonment of the city is well attested. Despite a

²⁶ For the imported pottery which has not concerned us in this article, see PETRIDIS 1997, 693.

widespread belief, the decline of the Oracle of Apollo at the 4th century AD did not mark the end of the city of Delphi. On the contrary, the small city which surrounded the sanctuaries of Apollo and Athena in antiquity and apparently depended totally on them for its economic survival, was transformed into a real town, expanding to a considerable circumference around the old sanctuaries. A prosopography of the Delphians of that period is almost totally absent²⁷, but some observations could be made on the society which ordered, produced, used and certainly exported some of the ceramics mentioned above and on the potters themselves.

The economic possibilities of this society are hard to establish only from the pottery with almost a total lack of precious metal objects or coins. Nevertheless, the discovery of some very special small finds, like the mother-of-pearl leopard mentioned earlier²⁸, manifests the fine taste and a certain prosperity of the Delphic upper class which absorbed a considerable quantity of imported African pottery²⁹; this prosperity is also deduced from the dimensions, the numerous triclinia, the mosaics, the marble pavements and the private baths of the Southeastern Villa and of some other urban villas installed in and around the ancient sanctuary of Apollo. Of course, no comparison could be made with the luxurious ways of the aristocracy of more important cities of the Empire. Delphi remained a provincial town and in addition it was deprived of its past sources of revenues (i.e. the benefits from the Oracle). The exploitation of the valley of Kirrha could be a considerable source of income for this upper class, but the benefits coming from the position of Delphi on a commercial route relating the Corinthian Gulf to the inner part of Central Greece must have been more important.

As far as the faith of the population is concerned, the discovery of clay moulds for metal crosses (fig. 17) in quite early contexts shows the presence of a Christian community at Delphi already at the beginning of the 4th century. The important number of African-type local lamps decorated with the motif of the cross³⁰ and holy bread stamps with various religious representations found in the *Southeastern Villa* potters' quarter or in other places of the town³¹, constitute additional proofs of the prevalence of the Christian faith.

What was then the place of the potters in this society? No name of any potter is preserved, even in the lamp production, while potters in other Greek cities (like Athens) continued the Hellenistic and Roman tradition of signing their products during the whole Late Roman period. The small to medium-scale installations and the sporadic presence of the Delphic material (in time and space) outside the town³² shows a *not*

²⁷ A very small number of inscriptions of the Late Roman period have been preserved. The only inscription bearing names of the inhabitants of Late Roman Delphi is the tomb-stone of the deaconess Athanassia mentioning also the name of a bishop, Pant[i]mianos.

²⁸ See *supra* note 3.

²⁹ The importation of pottery, mainly from Tunisia, remained continuous, although reduced, during the last decades of the city's life.

³⁰ See *supra* p. 15 and fig. 8.

³¹ For these bread stamps see P. PETRIDIS, Holy bread stamps from Delphi. In: B. Böhlendorf-Arslan (ed.), *Byzantine Small Findings in Archaeological Contexts* (forthcoming).

³² Some Delphic products have been certainly detected at the nearby city of Antikyra on the Gulf of Corinth, in Athens and at the city of Phitiotides Thebes.



Fig. 14. Lamp mould with representation of a bird (dove?), end of 6th century–beginning of 7th century.



Fig. 15. Lamp with cross on the disc, end of 6th century–beginning of 7th century.



Fig. 16. Lamp with chevrons decoration, end of 6th century–beginning of 7th century.



Fig. 17. Clay mould for metal crosses.

very ambitious industry, mainly focused on the local market, with workshops working side by side and using probably common kilns. These kilns were used simultaneously for vases of different shapes and sizes but not always with success, as the wasters show.

What is undeniable is the good quality of their products and, especially at the last period, a surprising creativity of the local potters who had not behind them a big infrastructure or a long pottery tradition like their colleagues from Corinth or Athens. The increase of the local production in the second half of the 6th century and the decrease of the imports prove that an almost self-sufficient system was established at that time. The comparison, however, with other local productions of the Greek Mainland shows that self-sufficiency was not synonymous with isolation. The Delphic potters had the ability to follow

the types in fashion by interpreting widely spread shapes and motifs, and to interact with potters of the neighboring cities by sharing a common repertory of regionally developed motifs.

All these would not be considered extraordinary, of course, if we were not talking about the last decades of the 6th and the first of the 7th century, which means a period that, already before 580, is supposed to be characterized by many economic and demographic difficulties, invasions and hostilities, depopulation and decline; in a few words, during a period considered by historians, at least for the Greek peninsula, as the prelude of the Byzantine Dark Ages. Maybe the study of the pottery should indicate a not so dark period at least until the end of the first quarter of the 7th century.

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