

# LATE ARCHAIC POLYCHROME POTTERY FROM AIANI

## ABSTRACT

Excavations at the necropolis of Aiani have yielded fifty-six locally produced polychrome vases dated to the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. The shapes and decoration appear to have no immediate predecessors, and no descendants, in the local tradition, and no close parallels in Macedonian or foreign wares. Some influence of local terracotta production and certain relationships with various wares produced in Central Greece, Attica, and East Greece can be traced, but the manufacture of this pottery owes less to direct imitation than to the experimentation and inventiveness of the local potters. This article presents this interesting group of pottery and examines the society that produced and used it.

1. The polychrome vases are cited in the text by the serial numbers of the catalogue, pp. 199–209. Other finds are identified by the inventory numbers of the Aiani Archaeological Museum. The built cist tombs and grave enclosures are cited by capital Greek letters (Z, H, Θ, I, IA), the excavation sections by Latin numerals (I–VI), and the trenches and squares by Arabic numerals; for example, pit grave III.23/24/30/31 is in section III, at the junction of four squares.

2. On the history of Upper Macedonia and the kingdom of Elimiotis until the middle of the 5th century, see Hammond and Griffith 1979, pp. 14–31, 63–65, 95–96; and Hammond 1989, esp. pp. 89–99.

3. For the kings of Lower Macedonia and their relations with the upper kingdoms, see Hammond and Griffith 1979, pp. 98–104, 647–662; Hammond 1989, pp. 43–48, 106–108; and Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992.

The Late Archaic polychrome vases presented here were discovered in the necropolis of Aiani in Western Macedonia (Fig. 1) during four seasons of excavation, from 1988 to 1990 and in 1996.<sup>1</sup>

## THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: AIANI AND THE NECROPOLIS

The city of Aiani was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Elimeia, or Elimiotis, which occupied the middle valley of the Haliacmon River in Upper Macedonia, the mountainous area of modern Western Macedonia.<sup>2</sup> During the Persian occupation of Macedonia from ca. 512 B.C., when Darius I confirmed his control of Thrace, until the end of the Persian Wars in 479 B.C., the Temenid kings of Lower (i.e., coastal) Macedonia gradually gained control of the upper kingdoms, particularly during the reign of Alexander I (498–454 B.C.) to whom Xerxes gave the rule over Western Macedonia. After Xerxes' flight, Alexander continued his policy of expansion, which was completed a century later by Philip II with the incorporation of the Upper Macedonians into his kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

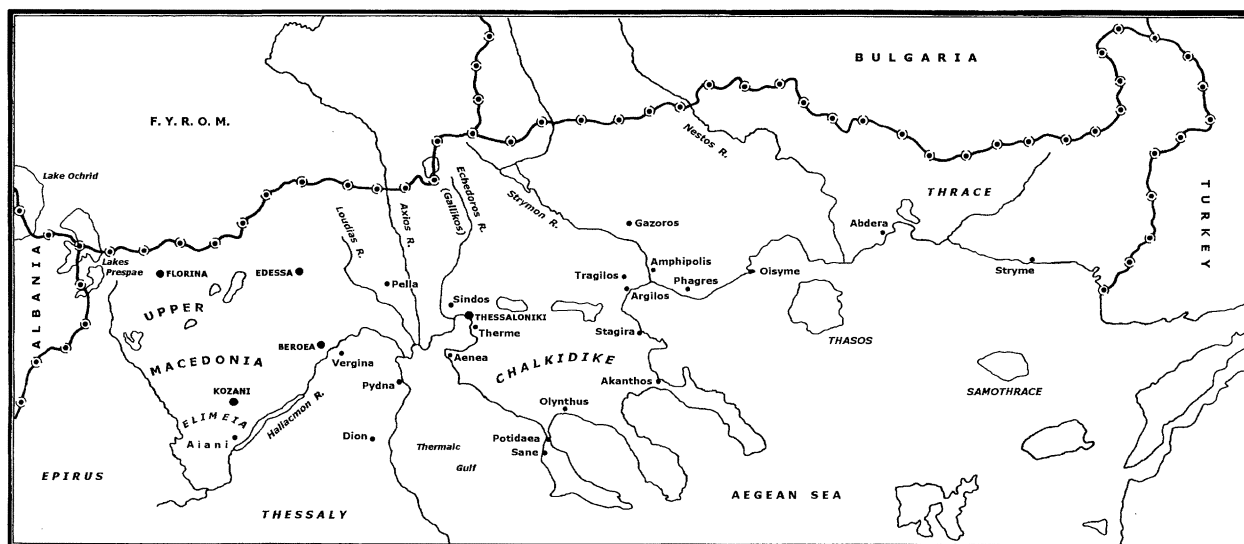


Figure 1. Map of Macedonia and Thrace

The location of Aiani, near the Haliacmon river and several mountain passes, was ideal for trade and communication with the rest of Upper Macedonia, Lower Macedonia, Epirus, and Central and Southern Greece. Among the natural resources of the area are thickly wooded mountains and rich mineral deposits, which may have included gold from the Haliacmon River.<sup>4</sup>

Excavations of the Aiani necropolis have revealed twelve built chamber tombs and smaller cist tombs of the 6th and 5th centuries, as well as numerous pit graves with inhumations dating from the Bronze Age to the Late Hellenistic period.<sup>5</sup> Some of the built tombs were surrounded by enclosures made of regular stones. All the built tombs were looted in antiquity, but several pit graves remained intact or only partly disturbed by later burials or by ancient looters.

The necropolis has yielded large amounts of pottery, both local and imported.<sup>6</sup> The earliest post-Bronze Age imported pottery includes vases of the Middle and Late Corinthian period and some Attic fragments that

4. For the natural resources of the area, see Hammond 1972, pp. 12–16. The area of Elimiotis may have been of some importance for the trade of Macedonian timber, which could have reached the sea via the Haliacmon River. It seems likely that as early as the second half of the 6th century, Athens relied heavily on Macedonia for her ship-timber. For the trade of Macedonian fir and pine see Meiggs 1982, pp. 123–128, 144–147, 325, 424, 432–433, 444. The Department of Geology at the University of Thessaloniki has initiated a research program on the mineral and gold sources along the valley of the Haliacmon River. Preliminary reports mention finds of

platinum minerals and indications of ancient exploitation of the Haliacmon gold. I owe this information to Professor Michalis Vavelidis, director of the program.

5. General information on the site of Aiani and preliminary reports on the excavation of the settlement and the necropolis can be found in Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1993; 1996; see also *Greek Civilization*, nos. 1–4, 63–71, 142–152, 348–352; *EAA Supplement 2*, III, 1996, pp. 204–210, s.v. Kozani; annual reports in *ArchDelt*, 1983–present; and in *AEpyoMax*, 1988–present. The finds, as yet unpublished, include marble palmette stelai and statues, jewelry, gold and gilded

funerary mouthpieces, metal vessels and weapons, ivory artifacts, and terracotta figurines. Illustrations of these finds can be seen in the works cited above.

6. The bulk of the pottery from the necropolis is not yet published. A few local and Attic vases are published in Kefalidou 1998 (a large black-figured amphora with komasts dancing around a flute-player); Karamitrou-Mentessidi and Kefalidou 1999 (mainly local pottery); and Kefalidou 2001 (fragments of at least two Panathenaic prize-amphoras, including one of the earliest Panathenaics found in Macedonia, attributed to the Eucharides Painter).

can be dated to ca. 580–560 B.C. The amount of imported Attic pottery increases through the second half of the 6th and the early 5th century, and seems to slow around the middle of the 5th century. At approximately the same period, during the first half of the 5th century, local potters produced black-figured vases as well as the polychrome pottery presented here.<sup>7</sup>

## FINDSPOTS AND DATE OF THE POLYCHROME VASES

Aryballoi 1 and 2 were found in pit grave IV.44 (see below, Appendix 1 (A), Fig. 10), which contained the burial of a young man, aged twenty to thirty-five years. The grave was partially disturbed, but three clusters of offerings remained in the pit. The two aryballoi were found near a bronze strigil and an Attic black-figured lekythos (96/14151) with a “chimney” mouth, produced by the Workshop of the Haimon Painter. A second lekythos (96/14152), with almost identical decoration, was found near the pelvis of the deceased. Next to the head, in a disturbed area of the burial, were sherds of an Attic black-glazed lekythos (96/14147) together with three terracotta fruits (96/14371–14373; see Appendix 3).

In pit grave VI.2 (see below, Appendix 1 (B), Fig. 11) a young adult woman was buried with numerous offerings. Among them is a bronze phiale, containing the polychrome aryballos 9, two terracotta female figurines, and a terracotta fruit (88/10626; see Appendix 3). In the same grave there was also an Attic black-figured white-ground lekythos (88/10627) of the early 5th century and three Attic black-figured lekythoi (88/11101–11103) with upright lyre palmettes, attributed to the Beldam Workshop. Another black-figured lekythos (88/10628) with upright palmettes, a local hydria (88/10624), and a terracotta “egg” (88/11888), all found near the skeleton’s feet but in a slightly disturbed spot on the edge of the pit grave, probably belong to the same burial.

The imported Attic pottery found with aryballoi 1, 2, and 9, dating from ca. 490 to ca. 460 B.C., provides a date for the polychrome vases within the first half of the 5th century.

Confirmatory evidence for the date of the polychrome vases is provided by the pottery from cist tomb Θ (Fig. 2). Although the tomb was robbed in antiquity, the pottery from its earth fill forms a homogeneous assemblage that includes six polychrome aryballoi (3, 5, 12, 13, 36, 37) and Attic pottery of the first half of the 5th century.<sup>8</sup>



Figure 2. Aiani. Cist tomb Θ: aryballoi

7. The local black-figured vases are of various shapes, including jugs with cutaway neck, skyphoi, hydrias, and amphoras; for their clay, see below, p. 186 and note 10. Their decoration consists primarily of floral and linear patterns but includes a few human figures, e.g., two satyrs with a maenad, two dancers, and two archers. The decoration of the vases is of two

distinctive types: carefully drawn, with incision and with added red and white; and carelessly drawn, with no incision and with no added colors. The shapes and decoration of these vases are quite distinct from those of the usual contemporary local wares, which are monochrome in red, brown, or gray slip, and I have suggested elsewhere that the black-figured pottery was the

outcome of interaction between local and immigrant potters, the latter probably Attic or Attic-trained (Karamitrou-Mentessidi and Kefalidou 1999, pp. 545–551).

8. The Attic pottery includes fragments of a black-figured palmette lekythos and other lekythoi, a white-ground alabastron of the Negro Group, and sherds of a red-figured pelike.

The remainder of the polychrome vases were found in contexts not clearly datable, either in large pits of disturbed burials or in the fill of built cist tombs and grave enclosures. The complete phormiskoi 41 and 42, however, found next to each other and certainly belonging to the same disturbed burial, are almost identical to the dated aryballoi 1 and 2 and were apparently made at the same time and by the same workshop.

A jug with cutaway neck (53) and a base of a large closed vase (56) were found inside built cist tomb I, in a mixed fill that contained two groups of pottery, one of the late 6th century and another of the Hellenistic period.<sup>9</sup> The later vases are certainly an intrusion. If we accept that the earlier group of pottery suggests a dating for the jug and the closed vase, we might have an indication that the large polychrome vases are somewhat earlier than the aryballoi and phormiskoi, but we cannot be sure. In any case, the production of polychrome pottery seems to have been confined to the first half of the 5th century, since no polychrome vases have been found in burial contexts dating after the middle of the century.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE POLYCHROME VASES

### CLAY

All of the polychrome vases found in the Aiani excavations are made of local clay. The local clay is rather distinctive, quite clean and containing silver mica. Its color, when fired, usually varies from reddish-yellow to yellowish- or grayish-brown. The analysis of its composition<sup>10</sup> shows that it derives from the surrounding area, which is of a rather distinctive type of geology—very rich in magnesium minerals, mainly dolomite, magnesite and chrysotile, providing diopside and enstatite when burnt.

The clay analysis of a number of samples taken from local vases, terracottas, and kilns has shown that the local clay is of two main types: Type A, used mainly for the local black-figured wares, has high concentrations of magnesium minerals and medium to high concentrations of astrites; Type B, used mainly for the polychrome vases and the terracotta figurines, but also for a few black-figured vases, has medium concentrations of magnesium minerals, high concentrations of astrites, and some asbestite.

### SHAPES

The polychrome group includes forty handleless aryballoi, seven examples of the shape conventionally called phormiskos,<sup>11</sup> two jugs with cutaway neck, and several fragments from uncertain shapes. Four aryballoi, two phormiskoi, and one jug are complete, either discovered intact or subsequently mended, and another seven aryballoi preserve a complete profile.

### ARYBALLOI (1–40)

The bases of the aryballoi are flat or nearly flat. The body is full and rounded, and the turn to the shoulder can be quite angular (e.g., 1, 2, and 9) or form

9. Last quarter of the 6th century: an Attic black-figured oinochoe depicting Dionysos among maenads (88/11253) and sherds of an Attic black-glazed plemochoe (88/11240). Hellenistic: fragments from a plate and from a so-called Macedonian amphora.

10. Analysis of the clay was carried out in 1996, in the “Kentro Lithou” at Athens, under the direction of chemist K. Kouzeli. The methods used were X-ray diffraction, electron microscope analysis, and X-ray microanalysis. For details see Karamitrou-Mentessidi and Kefalidou 1999, pp. 551–553.

11. The term phormiskos—“little basket” or “little pouch”—is conventionally used to describe a group of closed vases, some of which resemble small pouches of cloth, leather, or rush. On the shape, function, and possible prototypes of clay phormiskoi, see below, pp. 187–189, 195–198.

a soft curve (e.g., 3 and 6). The shoulder slopes softly, and the neck is short and cylindrical. The mouth is narrow, usually with an inward-sloping rim-disk, although three of the vases display a flat rim (1, 2, and 27). The height of the aryballoi varies from 5.6 cm to approximately 9.5 cm, the majority measuring about 7–8 cm.

The aryballos is a new shape in the local repertoire. Except for the polychrome examples, no locally made aryballoi have been found so far in the excavations of Aiani or the area of Elimiotis in general. Their shape, although very simple, appears to have no close parallels. Despite the presence of imported potential prototypes, such as Corinthian<sup>12</sup> and East Greek faience<sup>13</sup> and glass aryballoi,<sup>14</sup> the local potters did not attempt to imitate these. Probably some inventive Elimeian craftsmen, having in mind the general profile, size, and function of imported examples, modeled this simple shape, much like their Boiotian and other colleagues who had also produced handleless aryballoi.<sup>15</sup>

### PHORMISKOI (41–47)

From Rhodes to South Russia and from mainland Greece to Egypt, Italy, and Sicily there are, as yet, about ninety vases, including a few metal examples, that can be described as phormiskoi, i.e., sack-shaped or bottle-shaped vases with an elongated neck, closed on top except for suspension holes (see Appendix 2).<sup>16</sup> There is great variety in their size, manufacture (handmade, wheelmade or moldmade), shapes (various profiles, and shapes of necks and neck-finials, usually with a rounded or conical bottom, but also some, including the Aiani ones, with an almost flat resting surface), and decoration (e.g., black-figured, polychrome-on-white, plain white,

12. The Corinthian pottery from Aiani (mostly aryballoi and a few kotylai) is not published.

13. The faience aryballoi from Aiani are not published. Similar vases have been found in many graves in Northern Greece: see, e.g., M. Tiverios in *Σύνδρος*, no. 160; Sismanidis 1986, p. 800; and Koukouli-Hryssanthaki et al. 1997, p. 642, fig. 12. These vases seem to have been produced in several workshops, especially in Naukratis and Rhodes: see Webb 1978, pp. 5, 9–10; and Cook and Dupont 1998, pp. 140–141. For imports of Egyptian faience into Macedonia see Tiverios 1993.

14. Glass and polychrome clay aryballoi are similar in the shape of their mouth and neck, as well as in general profile, but the glass vases have two handles and a rounded base. For

similarities in their decoration, see below, note 32. The glass vases found at Aiani are not published; for illustration of two of the vases, an aryballos and an amphoriskos, see Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1996, fig. 21. Some glass alabastra and miniature trefoil-rim oinochoai have also been found. For similar examples of Archaic and Classical core-formed glass vases from many graves in Macedonia, see, e.g., Filow 1927, pp. 94–96, nos. 141–144, fig. 112; *Σύνδρος*, nos. 17–23, 44, 307–308, 339–340, 379–380; Sismanidis 1986, p. 800; Ignatiadou 1998, pls. 2–3 and pl. 5; and Kaltsas 1998, p. 276. These core-formed glass vases were produced in several workshops, among which Rhodes and the other islands of the Dodecanese seem to have played a prominent role: see Grose 1989, pp. 93–121; Weinberg and McClellan

1992, pp. 19–20, nos. 6, 8, 13–16, 19–20, 23–24.

15. The shape of the aryballos is possibly an imitation of small leather pouches: see Hommel 1978, esp. pls. 8–10. For some Boiotian handleless examples see *CVA*, Frankfurt 4 [Germany 66], pl. 43:7–12, fig. 16; *CVA*, Louvre 17 [France 26], pl. 15:1; and Andreiomenou 1995, p. 168, pl. 26, fig. 18:c. For some local moldmade Macedonian examples see Tiverios 1990a, p. 23 (with further references), pl. 7:b.

16. A variation on the form is found in some Boiotian phormiskoi that have a small hole pierced through their bottom, and in some extraordinary examples with doorlike openings on their body. For these exceptional forms, see below, pp. 195–196.

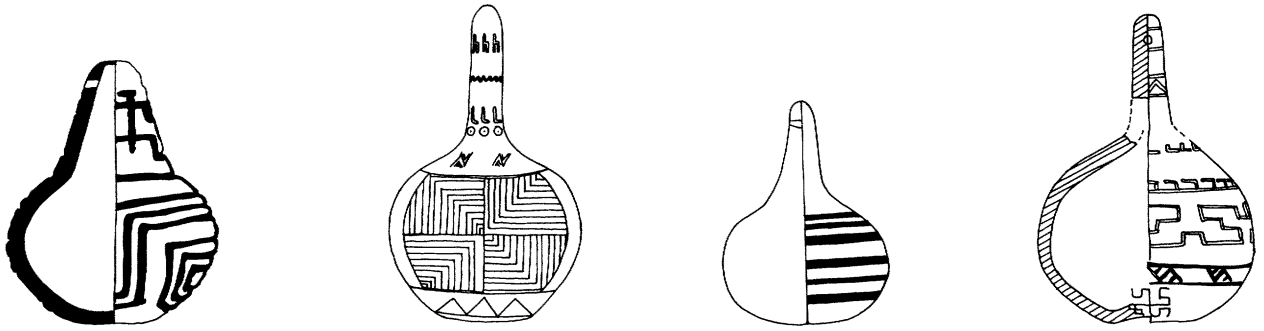


Figure 3. Clay phormiskoi from Latium and Etruria. After Brocato and Buda 1996, fig. 2

and also impasto and bucchero). It is therefore unlikely, as discussed below, that they all had the same function. Except for a few early phormiskoi from Italy and some 4th-century and Hellenistic examples, the majority of phormiskoi date to the 6th and 5th centuries.<sup>17</sup> Aside from the seven Aiani vases and one from Vitsa in Epirus (see Appendix 2, no. 6), I know of no other phormiskoi found in Northern Greece.

The Aiani phormiskoi are wheelmade, as are all of our polychrome vases. They are among the smallest examples of this shape: the two complete vases, 41 and 42, are 8.7 cm tall, and the fragments of the rest belong also to small vases.<sup>18</sup> The phormiskoi are hollow inside, in contrast to some other small phormiskoi that are solid or have a solid neck.<sup>19</sup> Their base is almost flat and they have a sagging, pear-shaped body, with its maximum diameter close to the base. The neck is quite tall and narrow, its finial either rounded or conical. On each, a suspension hole is pierced horizontally near the top of the neck; vase 43, exceptionally, has a second hole on

17. Notice that the Geometric vase from Eleusis (Skias 1898, p. 111, fig. 31), although included in the list of phormiskoi in Brocato and Buda 1996 (no. 16), is not a phormiskos but a rounded rattle, as already pointed out by Hampe (1976, note 12); see also below, notes 67 and 70. Furthermore, the so-called Geometric phormiskos from Tiryns, listed in Brocato and Buda 1996 (no. 11), is not a phormiskos but a “bottle,” open at the top. The shape formerly referred to as the “Corinthian phormiskos” is a bottle with stopper; some of the stoppers are preserved, sometimes with holes below the lip. For this shape see Jucker 1963; Payne [1931] 1971, pp. 313–314; Hampe 1976, pp. 200–201; Amyx 1988, I, pp. 152, 201, 228–230; II, pp. 501–502, 655–657; and Neils 1992, p. 233. The so-called phormiskos from Patra (now in Amsterdam, Al-

lard Pierson Museum 783), mentioned by Hampe (1976, note 12) and Touchefeu-Meynier (1972, p. 99, fig. 8), is a Corinthian bottle with its stopper preserved; see Amyx 1988, I, p. 152, no. 8.

18. The largest phormiskoi are 29 and 28 cm tall, the first from Lokri Epizephyrii (Orsi 1913, p. 27, fig. 32), the second from Metaponto (now in the Tampa Museum of Art, 86.114: Hampe 1976, pp. 193, 196). The smallest phormiskos known to me is 4.8 cm in height and comes from the Perachora sanctuary (now in Athens, National Museum 17169); it is mentioned in *Perachora* I, p. 102, no. 324, where its height is wrongly recorded as 4.2 cm.

19. Some examples are in Hampe 1976, pp. 195–196; to these add the Perachora miniature solid vases, above, note 18.

the top of the curved finial, creating a small depression. The flat base of the Aiani phormiskoi, which allows the vases to stand on their own, is rare among phormiskoi, and finds its closest comparanda in locally made early phormiskoi from Latium and Etruria that are similar also in dimensions and profile (Fig. 3).<sup>20</sup>

### OTHER SHAPES (53–56)

The jug with cutaway neck is one of the most traditional shapes in Macedonian pottery from the Early Bronze Age until at least the late 4th century B.C.<sup>21</sup> The jug 53 has a flat base and ovoid body. The tall neck projects almost vertically, and the spout turns slightly outward. The handle is approximately rhomboid in section, with a central ridge. The spout fragment 54 belongs to a similar, perhaps slightly larger jug. Fragment 55, part of a vertical round handle, is probably from a jug.

Fragment 56, which belongs to a large closed vase, preserves a torus-base in one degree, concave beneath, with a raised ring at the join of base and body.

### DECORATION

The decoration of the Aiani polychrome vases is very similar to that on some terracotta figurines.<sup>22</sup> After firing, the vases were covered with a powdery chalky-white slip<sup>23</sup> and then decorated with matt colors: black (which varies from charcoal to very dark), red (bright, sometimes with a brick tint), and blue (bright and light).<sup>24</sup>

Since most of the conservation work is yet to be done, we have refrained from taking samples for pigment analysis. Recent research on ancient painting techniques in Macedonia has revealed that the pigments used in the paintings of the 5th and 4th century derive from naturally occurring minerals (e.g., red, yellow, or brown ochre, cinnabar, and malachite); they are organic (e.g., violet lake, carbon black, bone black) or artificially made (e.g., Egyptian blue, white lead). On the Aiani polychrome vases, white and black are probably asbestite and carbon, respectively, both

20. The Italian examples are impasto, bucchero, and Italo-Geometric wares, most of them dating to the 8th and 7th centuries: see Brocato and Buda 1996. Phormiskoi with a rather flat resting surface are also found among the Attic black-figured examples. See the two vases in Brussels, *Musées Royaux A1012* and *A1013: CVA*, Brussels 3 [Belgium 3], pl. 27:2–3; and Touchefeu-Meynier 1972, figs. 9–10; also, the phormiskos in Bonn, *Akademisches Kunstmuseum 667*; Greifenhagen 1935, pp. 487–488, no. 52, fig. 62.

21. For this shape see Andronikos 1969, pp. 194–201; Vokotopoulou 1975,

pp. 65–69; 1986, I, pp. 236–241; Parovic-Pesikan 1993; and Karamitrou-Mentessidi and Kefalidou 1999, pp. 544–545.

22. The connections between polychrome white-ground vases and terracotta figurines are discussed by Wehgartner (1983, pp. 3–4, 22) and Kurtz (1984, p. 318). General information on the polychrome decoration of terracottas is presented by Higgins (1954, p. 7; n.d., pp. 69–70, 82).

23. The white is often smeared with the other colors and has a pink-brown or grayish tint.

24. Higgins (n.d., pp. 69–70) notes

that on Boiotian terracottas the white slip was applied before firing and the colors were applied after firing, in a tempera technique. This may also be the case of the phormiskoi from Perachora and Boiotia, and also of at least some examples from Lokris (see Appendix 2, nos. 7–10, 13–19). They all have a quite well preserved thick layer of white slip, while the rest of the colors are barely visible, almost transparent. I have visually inspected these vases in the National Museum, Athens, and in the Lamia Museum, but determination of the technique will require archaeometric examination.

of which occur in local sources; blue must be Egyptian blue; the source of the red is uncertain.<sup>25</sup>

All the colors are very fragile, the white, red, and black usually surviving better than the blue.<sup>26</sup> At least two sizes of brushes were used, a thick brush for the wider bands and a very thin brush mainly for the black outlines.

## ARYBALLOI

A white slip completely covers almost all the vases. The body is decorated with simple linear and floral patterns. The decoration of neck, mouth, shoulder, and base is more or less standard:

- a) Almost all the vases have a red neck and mouth (inside and out). Aryballoi 7 and 33 have a white mouth, and aryballos 13 has a blue mouth.
- b) A common shoulder decoration is a band of pointed leaves radiating from the base of the neck. The leaves on aryballoi 6, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 21, and 22 are rendered with a black outline and are alternately filled with red and reserved in white; on aryballos 3, the leaves are filled with red and blue. The leaves on aryballos 18 resemble reversed double chevrons and are rendered in red. Under the leaves of aryballoi 6 and 11 is a band of red dots and groups of thin black lines.
- c) On most of the aryballoi there is a red band, single or framed by thin black or red lines, around the edge of the curve of the shoulder. On aryballoi 6 and 11 the edge is decorated with thin black lines.
- d) The base is usually reserved white. Exceptions are the black base of aryballos 1; the red bases of 2, 7, 19, 20, and 49, the last belonging either to an aryballos or a phormiskos; and a blue eight-leaf rosette on aryballos 3.

The body decoration of the polychrome aryballoi can be divided into at least five groups (see the catalogue, pp. 199–203, for full descriptions):

### Group I

#### *Parallel lines and bands*

The shoulder and body of the two complete aryballoi, 1 and 2, and possibly of some fragmentary examples (16, 17, 18, 19, and 21), are decorated with parallel lines and bands in black, red, and blue.<sup>27</sup> Lines and bands of various colors appear on other aryballoi, usually high on the body or low and toward the base (5, 6, 7, and 8).

### Group II

#### *Various "net" or checker patterns*

On the body of aryballoi 3 and 4, a "net" is rendered with black lines on the white ground. The squares on 3 are alternately filled with blue color and red x's; the squares on 4 are alternately filled with red color and reserved.

The fragmentary aryballoi 5 and 6, on which red dots are painted at regular intervals, possibly had a checker pattern, but no lines of a net are preserved.

25. See Forbes 1965, pp. 215–225 (red and blue), 232–236 (black and white); Wehgartner 1988; and Koch 1996, pp. 31–53. Important results of recent research on pigments and paints were presented at the International Conference on Color in Ancient Greece (Thessaloniki, April 2000). Of the numerous papers relevant to our discussion, that by Breccoulaki and Perdikatsis (2000) helpfully summarizes the results of their investigation of a great number of painted monuments. For the possible local sources of pigments in the area of Elimiotis, see Hammond 1972, p. 13.

26. Not all of the colors adhere well to the walls of the vases, and extreme caution was taken during excavation to prevent the colors from attaching to the surrounding soil. Special conservation treatment will be needed to stabilize the paint without altering its color or texture. The polychrome vases are currently stored in acid-free paper in a dark, controlled environment.

27. The same decoration is applied on the complete phormiskoi 41 and 42.

*Group III**Panels*

Five poorly preserved aryballoi (7–11) bear decoration resembling vertical panels disposed around the body. The extremely bad condition of the painting prevents us from distinguishing the height and width of the panels; the dimensions of the panels on aryballos 9 that are represented in Figure 7 are only suggestive. The panels alternate in red and blue (aryballoi 8, 9, and 11), red and reserved (10), or blue and reserved (7).

*Group IV**Bichrome decoration*

This group is represented by the two smaller aryballoi (12, 13), which were probably too small to receive more elaborate decoration.<sup>28</sup> Covered with white slip, vase 12 has a red neck and mouth, and vase 13 has a blue neck, blue mouth, and red body.

*Group V**Various patterns*

In this group belong a) many of the shoulder fragments with radiating leaves described above; b) aryballos 20, on which we can discern a floral pattern (perhaps a lotus flower) rendered with a red line on the white ground; c) various sherds with lines and bands; and d) fragments 23–40, mainly of mouths painted red.

The horizontal bands of Group I are paralleled in numerous examples in other fabrics, such as the Corinthian,<sup>29</sup> Lakonian,<sup>30</sup> and Boiotian banded aryballoi,<sup>31</sup> and also the polychrome glass aryballoi found at Aiani.<sup>32</sup> Variations of the checker or net patterns of Aiani Group II are found as secondary decoration on black-figured and polychrome phormiskoi<sup>33</sup> as well as on Late Corinthian trefoil-mouth squat jugs.<sup>34</sup> The panels of alternating colors on the aryballoi of Group III are reminiscent of paneled decorations on Corinthian vessels.<sup>35</sup>

Secondary decoration on the Aiani polychrome aryballoi also finds parallels. The alternating painted and reserved pointed leaves around the shoulder are seen on a number of East Greek pomegranate aryballoi,<sup>36</sup>

28. A similar bichrome decoration, with the addition of some details in red, is also applied on the jug with cut-away neck 53.

29. See *Corinth* XV, iii, nos. 1551–1559, 1601; *CVA*, Kassel 1 [Germany 35], pls. 9:11–12, 10:1–2; and *CVA*, Kiel 2 [Germany 64], pl. 31:1. See also the recently found examples from Boiotia in Andreiomenou 1995, pp. 160, 167, and pl. 24.

30. Margreiter 1988, pp. 87–88, pl. 53.

31. *CVA*, Louvre 17 [France 26], pl. 15:1; *CVA*, Frankfurt 4

[Germany 66], pl. 43:7–12, fig. 16.

32. See note 14. The glass aryballoi are decorated with alternating bands of straight or wavy horizontal lines in various tones of yellow, blue, brown, and white, on blue or white ground.

33. See Neils 1992, figs. 1, 8, 10, 11; Andreiomenou 1996, fig. 80; and Athens, National Museum 11197, 11198, and 11200 (Appendix 2, nos. 14, 15, and 17).

34. See Hornbostel et al. 1980, pp. 47–48, no. 35; *Corinth* XV, iii, nos. 1651–1652 and no. 1666 (bowl).

35. *Corinth* XV, iii, nos. 1548–1550

and no. 1560 (alabastron); *Σύνδος*, nos. 247–248; *CVA*, Erlangen 1 [Germany 67], pl. 24:11; *CVA*, Giessen 1 [Germany 70], pl. 13:1–3.

36. See, e.g., Higgins 1959, nos. 1652 and 1653, pls. 19 and 20; Ducat 1966, pp. 142–143, nos. 1, 4, 5, and 6; Muthmann 1982, p. 79, fig. 64; and Chamay and Maier 1984, pp. 90–91. Cf. also the black pointed leaves around the neck of some black-figured phormiskoi: Bothmer 1961, pls. 76, 78; Touchefeu-Meynier 1972, figs. 4–7; and Hampe 1976, fig. 1.

and the geometrical patterns on a pomegranate-shaped aryballos in a private collection in Basel are closely comparable to the decoration on aryballos 3: squares with x's and a white rosette on the surface of the base.<sup>37</sup> The rosette suits this rounded surface well, and variations of this pattern are extremely common on the bottoms of Corinthian alabastra and aryballoi,<sup>38</sup> Attic black-figured eggs,<sup>39</sup> and many phormiskoi.<sup>40</sup>

## PHORMISKOI

Decoration was applied on the same powdery chalky-white slip that was used on the aryballoi. The necks of 43, 44, and 45 only preserve traces of the white slip, but the better-preserved 41, 42, 46, and 47 indicate that the neck was usually painted red. The preserved parallel bands in red, black, and blue on the body of the two complete phormiskoi, 41 and 42, are similar to those on the aryballoi of Group I, above. On vase 42, one can dimly discern a patterned row of red x's, but since the vase has not been cleaned, it is not certain if the apparent pattern is, instead, a poorly preserved red band.<sup>41</sup> The fragmentary phormiskoi 43–47 preserve only slight traces of red, black, and blue, with the addition of two black lines on vase 46.

## OTHER SHAPES

Decorating the white body of jug 53 are a blue neck, spout, and handle. The interior of the spout and the edge of the rim are red. A thin red line circles the body at two points, toward the base and near the neck, and the lower line is accompanied by a band of red dots. The spout fragment 54 has a similar decoration: blue outside, with red inside and on the edge of the rim. The handle fragment 55 is blue. Finally, fragment 56 belongs to the blue base of a large closed vase, probably with a white body, and preserves a raised, red-painted ring at the juncture of body and base.

The local taste for polychromy can be traced back to the Late Bronze Age tradition, when an important Elimeian workshop specialized in matt-painted vases, most of the known specimens found in the necropolis of Aiani. The earlier decoration consists of geometrical patterns rendered in red and black over a pale yellowish slip.<sup>42</sup> The gap in time between the matt-painted vases and the Late Archaic polychrome vessels is too great for continuity in local tradition to be suggested. However, matt-painted pottery continued to be produced locally through the Iron Age, when the decoration was restricted to black patterns on the natural color of the clay.

37. For this aryballos see Schefold 1960, p. 124, no. I 41, pl. on p. 124; and Muthmann 1982, pp. 78–79, figs. 61–63. The aryballos was found in Attica or Boiotia and follows the tradition of the linear decoration seen on several Geometric pomegranate vases (for the latter see Langdon 1993, pp. 93–95, no. 22, with earlier bibliography). Similar geometrical patterns are also found on some Boiotian terracotta *poloi* decorated with panels in floral

and linear designs: see, e.g., Higgins n.d., p. 82, fig. 87; *CVA*, Louvre 17 [France 26], pl. 15:3–4, fig. 6.

38. Illustrations can be found in Amyx 1988, III, pls. 33:4, 35:1, 36:1–2, 39:3, 40:1, 42:2, 43:1–4, 48:1, 61:2, 127:2, 128:2 (alabastra) and pls. 38, 44:2, 46:1, 47:2–4, 108:2 (aryballoi).

39. Lullies 1949, pp. 63–65, nos. 33–43, pls. 11–13.

40. See Hampe 1976, fig. 1; Andrei-omenou 1996, fig. 80; and the Boiotian

and Lokrian phormiskoi in Appendix 2, nos. 4, 5, 8, 14–18, 20–22.

41. The x's are shown in the drawing of vase 42 in Fig. 8; they are hardly visible in the photograph (also Fig. 8).

42. The local matt-painted wares are not published. Some references and illustrations can be found in *Greek Civilization*, nos. 64, 66–69; Karmitrou-Mentessidi 1999, pp. 126–141.

Tradition dies hard in Macedonia, as is attested by the continuity of jugs with cutaway neck, and later generations were familiar with the Bronze Age pottery, finding it in the area of the necropolis when digging to bury their own dead.

The terracotta-like decoration of our vases encourages comparison with the Archaic and Classical figurines and plastic vases from the Aiani necropolis. Most of these terracottas belong to the so-called “eastern-Ionian” type, and they usually represent female figures, although male figures, dwarves, birds, horses, and other animals are also found.<sup>43</sup> The repetition of the same types, the color of the clay, and the results of clay analysis of a few samples indicate that most of the terracottas were locally made. Their decoration, over a white ground, includes colorful renderings of eyes, hair, earrings, and necklaces; clothing; and saddles and reins. Some of the geometrical patterns painted on the garments of the female figurines, which resemble the motifs on woven wool textiles, are preserved also in the linear patterns on the polychrome vases.<sup>44</sup>

A group of local terracottas depicting fruits seems particularly closely related to the polychrome vases. These pieces—probably representing apples (see Appendix 3)—are contemporary with the polychrome pottery,<sup>45</sup> wheelmade, from the same clay as the polychrome vases, and decorated with the same white slip. The makers of these terracottas appear to have been very familiar with the contemporary polychrome vases, and probably produced both wares.<sup>46</sup>

The polychrome technique, both in white-ground and not, has a long history in several Greek pottery workshops from as early as the middle of the 7th century.<sup>47</sup> A number of local Archaic workshops, mainly in Boiotia and Lokris, produced white-ground polychrome wares that can be compared with the Aiani pottery. Special mention must be made of the “Boiotian Kylix Style—Class II” from the Rhitsona graves;<sup>48</sup> the related “polychrome group” from the cemetery of Akraiphia;<sup>49</sup> and, finally, several polychrome

43. The Aiani terracottas and plastic vases are not published. Some illustrations can be found in Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1993, pp. 77–78, figs. 10, 13–16; *Greek Civilization*, nos. 146–147. For similar terracottas found throughout Macedonia and Thrace, see Σίδος, nos. 46, 173–175, 251–257, 394, 395, 397–401, 413, 414; Sismanidis 1986, pp. 794–795; Giouri and Koukouli-Hryssanthaki 1988, p. 370, figs. 15, 19–21; Koukouli-Hryssanthaki 1988, p. 410, fig. 5; Skarlatidou and Ignatiadou 1997, p. 484, fig. 13; Tsimpidou-Auloniti 1997, p. 252; and Kaltsas 1998, pp. 270–273.

44. See, e.g., the black net and the red x's on the garments of the figurine illustrated in Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1996, frontispiece.

45. Several terracotta fruits of

similar shape have been found in the necropolis, mostly in disturbed pits but also some in pit graves; see Appendix 1 (A–D).

46. Many ancient workshops turned out a variety of products. See *Agora* VII, pp. 59–62; Higgins 1954, p. 5; Kurtz 1984, p. 318; and Biers 1994, pp. 512–513. Note also the molds for terracottas found in the destruction layer of an Athenian pottery workshop: Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1994, p. 49.

47. On the origins, evolution, and varieties of the white-ground technique (polychrome and not), see Kurtz 1975, pp. 9–20, 133–136; Wehgartner 1983, pp. 3–29; Kurtz 1984, pp. 318–323; and Schaus 1988, pp. 107–111. See also Koch 1996 for early white-ground vase painting and a detailed account of the literary and archaeological evidence for early Greek painting

on wood, stone, terracottas, and vases. For polychromy in East Greek pottery (purple, white, and brown), see Lemos 1991; Cook and Dupont 1998, pp. 71–76, 114–115.

48. See Burrows and Ure 1907–1908, pp. 309–318.

49. The group includes small or miniature amphoras, hydrias, trefoil-mouth jugs, plates, bells, and phormiskoi. Some discussion and a few illustrations can be found in Andreiomenou 1988, p. 11, pls. 1:6c and 2:1; 1996, pp. 176 and 215, notes 71 and 187, figs. 31 (third from left), 80, and 103. I would like to thank A. Andreiomenou and K. Rhomiopoulou, former Ephors of Antiquities, for useful information and bibliographical references on Boiotian polychrome wares.

vases, including phormiskoi, from sites in Boiotia<sup>50</sup> and Lokris.<sup>51</sup> To these we may add four polychrome phormiskoi, from Olbia, Egypt, the Paris Market, and a private collection.<sup>52</sup> All these vases preserve fragile terracotta-like decoration, sometimes only in traces, in red, yellow, gray, black, and, in at least one case, green,<sup>53</sup> over a white slip. Common patterns are petals and leaves, palmettes and double volutes, hatched triangles and nets, lines, bands, and dots.

The relationship among the polychrome vases of Aiani, Lokris, and Boiotia is a puzzling issue. The vases are more or less contemporary and their technique<sup>54</sup> and funerary (or votive) use are close, but the shapes differ, even among the phormiskoi. The relationship between these polychrome wares and the well-known Attic white-ground lekythoi decorated with non-ceramic colors is also uncertain. Examples of the Attic technique are very rare in the first half of the 5th century,<sup>55</sup> and it is difficult to determine their relation to the Archaic polychromes of Central and Northern Greece. We may suggest, however, that the Boiotian, Lokrian, and Macedonian polychromes are early examples of what Athenian potters would later attempt—vases for the grave, with fugitive colors.

It may be, instead, that the traditions do not overlap. The Aiani polychromes had a short life, only within the first half of the 5th century. The examples from Boiotia stand at the end of a long tradition of colorful Boiotian cups. The local pottery from Lokris, which has not yet been studied, apparently attests an important polychrome production closely related to the Boiotian wares. Finally, following an early tradition of non-ceramic colors—applied, for example, on the well-known elaborate polychrome vases from the Kerameikos—Attic workshops of the 5th century seem to have made a new start, probably due in part to changes in Attic funerary customs in the two decades following the Persian Wars.<sup>56</sup>

50. From Thebes, probably Boiotian: Mannheim, Reiss Museum Cg 177: *CVA*, Mannheim 1 [Germany 13], pl. 11:9; Neils 1992, p. 232, fig. 12. Probably from Tanagra, now in the University of Heidelberg: Hampe 1976, p. 196, fig. 4 (center). From the Kabeirion at Thebes, once in the Rubensohn collection: Hampe 1976, p. 195, note 12. From Thespiiai, now in Thebes, Archaeological Museum ThP425 and ThP248: Schilardi 1977, II, pp. 176–177, nos. 431–432. From Rhitsona: Burrows and Ure 1907–1908, p. 280, no. 377, pl. XII:c. More examples from Boiotia: Appendix 2, nos. 14–22.

51. Several phormiskoi from Halai: Goldman and Jones 1942, p. 382. Plates and a hydria from the graves in Triantaphyllia: *ArchDelt* 37,

1982 [1989] B' 1 Χρονικά, pp. 182 (grave II 15), 183 (grave II 24), 185 (grave II 49), and 186 (grave II 51). More examples from Lokris: Appendix 2, nos. 7–10.

52. From Olbia: Pharmakowsky 1912. From Egypt, now in Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 667: Greifenhagen 1935, p. 484, note 5. From the Paris Market, now in Erlangen: Appendix 2, no. 4. From a private collection, now in Prague: Appendix 2, no. 5.

53. Phormiskos from Thespiiai: Schilardi 1977, II, p. 177, no. 431.

54. Cf., however, the comments on the white slip, note 24 above. Also, there is no yellow or green color on the Aiani vases and no blue on the Boiotian and Lokrian vases, but these distinctions are probably matters not

of taste but of the availability of natural or artificial pigments in each area.

55. Wehgartner 1983, pp. 20–29, esp. p. 22. See also the standard article on the decoration of Attic white-ground lekythoi, Noll, Holm, and Born 1974. I owe this reference to E. Aloupi, chemist-archaeometrist, who was very kind to discuss with me various aspects of the polychrome wares.

56. I thank John Oakley for showing me his unpublished article “Die Ursprünge der attisch-weissgründigen Lekythos,” where he discusses earlier views on the beginnings of Attic white-ground lekythoi and proposes a convincing interpretation of the domestic scenes depicted on most of them.

## FUNCTION OF THE POLYCHROME VASES

The find contexts and fugitive color of the polychrome vases indicate that they were not produced for everyday use but were produced exclusively for funerary purposes. The people of Aiani followed a common Greek tradition: in some periods and for certain reasons the white-ground surface was considered appropriate for pots of funerary use, probably because the resulting resemblance to marble, alabaster, or some other precious material made the vases appear more elaborate and expensive than they really were.<sup>57</sup>

There is not enough evidence to connect the polychrome vases of Aiani with a specific group of deceased, that is, people of a certain status, sex, or age. One aryballos was found in a woman's burial, another two in a man's burial. Both were young adults and their graves were very rich in offerings, but several contemporary graves of young adults that present numerous offerings contain no polychrome vases.

The aryballoi, jugs, and large closed vase must have held some kind of liquid, perhaps perfumed oil, used during the funeral. The use of the phormiskoi is less clear, and can be approached best through the evidence of examples found outside Aiani.<sup>58</sup>

The find contexts,<sup>59</sup> the decoration with funerary subjects,<sup>60</sup> and the presence of fugitive color suggest that phormiskoi were produced to serve mainly as offerings, most often in graves but occasionally in sanctuaries. Some scholars, considering them to be nonfunctional simulacra, have identified them as imitations of real phormiskoi—i.e., pouches—that probably contained astragaloi (knucklebones). Others, interpreting them to be functional vases, have suggested that they are sprinklers or rattles.

The interpretation of phormiskoi as sprinklers should be abandoned. The phormiskoi could not have been filled with liquid except by the use of a syringe directed through the tiny suspension holes, and the emptying of the contents, through the same holes, would have been very difficult.<sup>61</sup>

The interpretation of phormiskoi as imitations of pouches of cloth, leather, or rush<sup>62</sup> is supported by the evidence of six vases. Two of these are clay phormiskoi that depict astragaloi in relief in a recessed field, appear-

57. Cf. the interesting, though in some cases far-fetched, arguments in Vickers 1984.

58. The phormiskoi in the National Museum, Athens, and in the museums of Lamia and Rhodes (see Appendix 2, nos. 7–19) constitute a rather large corpus of material and will be published in a separate study. Here they are used only as comparanda in regard to their shape, decoration, and function.

59. The majority of phormiskoi come from graves. A few were found in sanctuaries, mostly of chthonic deities. These are a) Three examples from the Kabirion of Thebes: phormiskos once in the Rubensohn collection: Hampe 1976, p. 195, note 12; phormiskos in the University of Heidelberg collection:

Hampe 1976, p. 196; and phormiskos in Athens, National Museum 10399/10: Schmaltz 1974, p. 141 and p. 184, no. 390.

b) An unknown number from the sanctuary of Persephone in Lokri Epizephyrii: Orsi 1913, p. 27, note 1. c) Two miniature examples from the sanctuary of Hera in Perachora: *Perachora* I, p. 102, no. 324, pl. 115. Only four phormiskoi were found in excavations of settlements: a) Phormiskos in Museo Archeologico di Morgantina 59.2151: Neils 1992, p. 225. b) Phormiskos from Palatino: Brocato and Buda 1996, no. 38. c) Two phormiskoi from the Agora at Athens: Appendix 2, nos. 1–2 (note that one of these shows women mourning).

60. For the funerary subjects on Attic and other phormiskoi: Touchefeu-

Meynier 1972; Rühfel 1984, pp. 37–41; Shapiro 1991, pp. 636–638; Neils 1992, p. 233.

61. For the interpretation of phormiskoi as sprinklers, or *ardania*, see Brommer 1959; Jucker 1963, p. 47; and Shapiro 1991, p. 637. Hampe (1976, pp. 198–202) convincingly argues against this view; cf. also the arguments of Schilardi (1977, I, p. 469) and Neils (1992, p. 233).

62. Hampe (1976, esp. pp. 195–202) argues for the interpretation as astragal bags, and he is followed by most scholars; see, e.g., Vokotopoulou 1986, p. 55, no. 1; Neils 1992, pp. 232–234; and cf. Brocato and Buda 1996, pp. 79–82. For the material of original astragal sacks see also below, pp. 197–198 and note 81.

ing to provide a view of their contents.<sup>63</sup> Another four phormiskoi, three made of clay and one of silver, have openings on their body, and were therefore used as containers: the doorlike openings on two of the clay examples were once attached to the vases with threads,<sup>64</sup> a violin-shaped opening is found on the third clay example,<sup>65</sup> and a hinged flap covers the opening of the elaborate silver phormiskos.<sup>66</sup>

The interpretation of some phormiskoi as rattles is supported by a wide range of evidence. At least twelve phormiskoi are reported to have a pellet inside of them and to produce a rattling sound when shaken.<sup>67</sup> My test of several intact phormiskoi yielded the following results. The Aiani vase 41 makes no sound. Vase 42 produces a sound that is too light to be intentional and that is probably caused by a small piece of clay that has separated from the interior wall or by an intrusive bit of soil. The Perachora examples (Appendix 2, no. 13, and note 18) are miniature and solid. The only intact Lokrian example (Lamia Museum Δ5187; Appendix 2, no. 8) makes no sound. Of the four intact Boiotian phormiskoi in the National Museum in Athens (nos. 11197–11199 and E1189; Appendix 2, nos. 14–16, 18), only no. 11198 rattles. Finally, a loud and clear rattle is produced by the Erlangen polychrome phormiskos (Appendix 2, no. 4). There are, therefore, at least fourteen rattling phormiskoi,<sup>68</sup> and this number can probably be increased by a test of additional vases.

Although phormiskoi must be included among the very few shapes that produce sound, the capacity to rattle is not a *sine qua non* for the shape.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, when a rattling vase is also a functional vase it is difficult to tell the purpose for which the sound-making pellet was inserted, whether for sound or for a more practical purpose such as stirring the contents or stopping the flow of a liquid. In the case of our “nonfunctional” phormiskoi, however, the production of noise was apparently a primary intent. On the interpretation of phormiskoi as pouches, the rattling might have been attributed to the presence of astragaloi.

Further support for the interpretation of phormiskoi as rattles might come from the evidence for ancient clay gourd-shaped rattles.<sup>70</sup> Clay rattles

63. Phormiskos in Paris, Louvre CA 943, and in Mannheim, Reiss Museum Cg 177. For these vases see Touchefeu-Meynier 1972, p. 97, fig. 14; Hampe 1976, esp. fig. 2; and Neils 1992, pp. 232–234, fig. 12.

64. Phormiskos from Metaponto (Hampe 1976); phormiskos from Morgantina (Neils 1992). Both of the phormiskoi were found in fragments. Although it was suggested that they had contained knucklebones, the openings of these and of the other two similar phormiskoi could have been used for the insertion of other small objects such as pebbles or beads.

65. Adriani et al. 1971, p. 24, no. 37, pl. 13:d.

66. Silver phormiskos from the Taman peninsula in South Russia, now in the Hermitage; illustrated in Phar-

makowsky 1913, fig. 18; Jucker 1963, pl. 18:1; see also Neils 1992, p. 232.

67. Brocato and Buda (1996, pp. 82–84) mention twelve rattling examples (but no. 16 in their list is not of a phormiskos shape, cf. note 17 above) and another ten which perhaps rattle. We should also add the phormiskos in Prague that is reported to have a pellet inside (Appendix 2, no. 5). For remarks on the rattling sound, see Hampe (1976, p. 198), who gives some examples of rattling phormiskoi but argues (although unconvincingly) that the sound is accidental.

68. To these we may also add the two phormiskoi recently found at Ialysos (Appendix 2, nos. 11–12), which according to the excavator, T. Marketou, produce a rattling sound (pers. comm.).

69. Rattling vases of other shapes

include some vases of the “Talcott Class” and some hollow-rimmed kantharoi; Sparkes 1977, pp. 15 and 24. I would like to thank Elisabeth Stasinopoulou for her suggestions on the “Talcott Class.”

70. For examples of clay gourd-shaped and other rattles, see Buchholz 1987, pp. 101–105 (with bibliography); Goldman and Jones 1942, pp. 378, 382; Schilardi 1977, I, pp. 465–466; II, pp. 175–176, nos. 428–430; III, pl. 55. See also the two clay vases found in a child’s burial in Olbia (Pharmakowsky 1912): one has the usual phormiskos shape; the other, with the oblong body of a phormiskos, formerly had a wooden handle and was certainly used as a rattle (cf. the examples in Goldman and Jones). Cf. also the rounded Geometric rattle from Eleusis (note 17, above).



Figure 4. Modern gourd-rattle from Cyprus

can be expected to have imitated examples made from gourds (Fig. 4), although we have no ancient Greek testimony for the existence of a musical instrument or noise-making device made of a dried gourd.<sup>71</sup> In shape, the phormiskos is quite similar to depictions of rattles on stone funerary stelai<sup>72</sup> and possibly on a Boiotian terracotta.<sup>73</sup> Depictions of rattles appear also on vases, where they are usually held by children<sup>74</sup> and, less often, by adults, as in the well-known Late Geometric “Rattle-Group” vases, which present variations of the same ritual scene: two or more seated figures (usually male) hold in each hand, and apparently brandish, a pair of rounded or ovoid objects having a handle and a second projection. The most common interpretation of these “Rattle-Group” scenes is that the gourd-shaped rattles are being shaken to provide music or to banish evil spirits, probably during a funeral.<sup>75</sup>

Finally, the interpretation of phormiskoi as rattles finds support in the excavation of pairs of phormiskoi from single burials.<sup>76</sup> The phormiskoi may have been used together, one in each hand, as they are in the “Rattle-Group” scenes. The two intact Aiani phormiskoi, 41 and 42, although they are not from an undisturbed grave, were found lying side by side, are exactly the same size, and are almost identical in shape and decoration, and it therefore seems quite probable that they belong to the same burial.<sup>77</sup> If we accept this interpretation, the phormiskoi that do not produce noise, including those from Aiani, are perhaps to be interpreted as nonfunctional simulacra of rattles, while the rattling examples might have been used briefly during the funeral, perhaps in some ritual similar to the one shown on the “Rattle-Group” vases. The fragility of the colors seems to preclude the interpretation that they were used outside of a funerary context.

It is worth remarking that numerous clay phormiskoi have distinctive gourdlike details. In many cases there is a small plastic projection, vertical or slightly bent, at the top of the finial, which can only be interpreted as an imitation of the stalk of gourds (see Fig. 4).<sup>78</sup> Other phormiskoi have plastically rendered neck finials that might be imitations of stoppers, perhaps of leather, of containers made from gourds.<sup>79</sup> Ancient vessels made from gourds are of course lost. There is, however, at least one literary reference

71. I thank Stelios Psaroudakis, Lecturer of Ancient Greek Music at the University of Athens, for useful information on rattles made from gourds. For real gourd-rattles see Buchholz 1987, with extensive bibliography.

72. Schmidt 1977, p. 18.

73. Higgins n.d., p. 174, fig. 213 and fig. on p. 162; note that the head of Eros is a later addition. The rattle looks suspiciously large in proportion to the piece; there is no mention, however, that it might be fake.

74. Examples in Schmidt 1977, pp. 16–19.

75. On the “Rattle Group” see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 60–61,

76–77; Buchholz 1987, pp. 105–109; Rombos 1988, pp. 283–315; Rystedt 1992; Langdon 1993, pp. 91–93, no. 21; and Parker 1996, pp. 282–283.

76. See, e.g., the vases from Olbia (see note 70); the pair from a pithos burial in Triantaphyllia (Appendix 2, nos. 9–10); the vases from Halai (Goldman and Jones 1942, p. 382, no. 1: burials with two or four phormiskoi); and the examples from the Thespian Polyandria (two phormiskoi in the burial and two probably in the pyre: Schilardi 1977, I, p. 468).

77. The fragments of another two phormiskoi, 44 and 45, were found in pit IV.35/36/45, but we cannot be sure

that they originally belonged to a single burial.

78. Illustrations can be found in Burrows and Ure 1907–1908, pl. 12:c; Touchefeu-Meynier 1972, figs. 1–3 and possibly fig. 13; Hampe 1976, figs. 1, 4–5; Schilardi 1977, III, pl. 55, nos. 431–432; Shapiro 1991, figs. 7–9; and *Έργο Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού* 2, p. 140, fig. 3. Stalk-like projections are also found on all the Boiotian phormiskoi (in the National Museum, Athens, and elsewhere) and on the Lamia vase no. Δ5188; see Appendix 2, nos. 4, 5, 9, 14–19, 22.

79. See *CVA*, Mannheim 1 [Germany 13], pl. 11:9; Hampe 1976, p. 195; and Touchefeu-Meynier 1972, p. 99.

to a *κολοκυνθαρύταινα* (gourd-made *arytaina*) on a papyrus fragment, and another reference to the emptying and modeling of an extraordinary gourd intended to serve as a boat for *κολοκυνθοπειραταί* (gourd-pirates).<sup>80</sup> In addition, the doorlike openings on some phormiskoi may be interpreted as imitations of the openings that were cut on the side of real gourd-vessels in order to facilitate their use. These gourd-vessels could have served a number of functions: dippers, rattles, containers of almost any given liquid or solid, as well as containers of astragaloi.<sup>81</sup> Phormiskoi show many variations in manufacture, shape, size, and decoration, and it is therefore difficult to decide if they all had the same function.<sup>82</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The polychrome vases from the necropolis of Aiani are a significant contribution to our still limited knowledge of the local pottery production in Macedonia during the first half of the 5th century B.C. The polychrome series includes two newly introduced local shapes, the aryballos and the phormiskos. Also new is the terracotta-like linear decoration with non-ceramic colors over a powdery white ground, although there had been a local tradition of linear vase decoration and of polychrome terracottas of the “east-Ionian” type.

Prior to full publication of the Aiani excavations, only a few suggestions can be made about the circumstances that stimulated the local potters to experiment with new shapes and techniques in the Late Archaic period. Elimeia was the southernmost of the Upper Macedonian kingdoms, very close to Thessaly, allowing for easy contact with the south. Communication had been established through trade and travel, and perhaps also through the immigration of craftsmen. Furthermore, in the period of the *Pax Persica* (ca. 512–479 B.C.) and again during the reign of Alexander I (498–454 B.C.), the kingdom of Elimeia came into still closer contact with both Lower Macedonia and East Greece, as is suggested by the historical sources<sup>83</sup> and by excavated evidence of imported finds and

80. *Adespota Papyracea* (SH), fr. 960, 7, and Lucian, *Ver. hist.* 2.37, respectively.

81. The dried shell of gourds was widely used all over the world until recent years. In the Eastern Mediterranean, we know of gourd-made wine- or water flasks, drinking vessels, dippers, various toys (such as carts and lanterns), even life jackets (made of several gourds tied together), as well as cartridge containers. It is interesting to notice that the knucklebone-bags held by some boys on Boiotian terracottas have a rounded or ovoid shape and a smooth polished surface, and look

more like gourds than like soft and sagging pouches: see, for example, the illustrations in Higgins n.d., pls. 183–184.

82. See Touchefeu-Meynier (1972, pp. 96–102), who distinguishes among the different shapes of phormiskoi as probably referring to different uses; and Brocato and Buda (1996), who group the phormiskoi according to provenance, shape, rattling, and iconography.

83. For the Persian occupation of Macedonia see Hammond and Griffith 1979, pp. 56–69, and Hammond 1989, pp. 42–48. See also note 2 above.

local imitations.<sup>84</sup> These contacts should be viewed within the wider context of an intense movement of people and traded goods in the Aegean that has become increasingly apparent with archaeological investigations in Macedonia and Thrace.<sup>85</sup>

Only two decades ago Nicholas Hammond could remark that little was known of the situation in Upper Macedonia during the 6th and early 5th century.<sup>86</sup> Our understanding has increased since then, but much research remains to be done to illuminate the Upper Macedonian society of Elimiotis during the Late Archaic period.

## CATALOGUE

The pottery presented in the catalogue is divided first by shape and, in the case of aryballoi, next by decoration. To the extent possible, complete or better-preserved examples are mentioned before fragmentary ones. The vases are assumed to be of the standard shapes described in the text unless noted otherwise. The composition of the clay is the same for all of the vessels, and only the color is stated.

### ARYBALLOI (1-40)

#### PARALLEL LINES AND BANDS

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1 96/14149 Figs. 6, 10</p> <p>Complete. H. 7.0, Diam. base 3.1, Diam. mouth 2.8 cm. Flat rim. Pit grave IV.44 (found together with 2).</p> <p>White ground. Red on mouth and neck, black on lower body and base. On the body and shoulder, alternating bands and lines (six red and three black).</p> <p>Clay: reddish yellow (5YR 7/6).</p> | <p>2 96/14150 Figs. 6, 10</p> <p>Complete. H. 7.0, Diam. base 3.1, Diam. mouth 3.2 cm. Flat rim. Pit grave IV.44 (found together with 1).</p> <p>White ground. Red on mouth, neck, lower body, and base. On the body and shoulder, alternating bands and lines (four red and three blue).</p> <p>Clay: reddish yellow (5YR 7/6).</p> |
|---|--|

#### CHECKER PATTERN

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>3 88/10619 Figs. 2, 6</p> <p>Joined fragments, almost complete, only small parts of body missing. H. 9.0, Diam. mouth 3.5, max. Diam. 7.8 cm.</p> <p>Tomb Θ (found together with 5, 12, 13, 36, 37).</p> <p>White ground. Red on mouth and neck, black line around the base of neck. On the shoulder, a band of leaves with black outline, filled alternately with red and blue. Red band on the curve of the shoulder. On the belly a black</p> | <p>net forming squares filled alternately with blue and red x's. A band of red circles surrounds the lower body. On the surface of the base, a blue rosette with eight leaves.</p> <p>Clay: light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4).</p> |
| <p>4 88/10618 Fig. 7</p> <p>Eight fragments: seven from body, one preserving part of mouth and neck. Max. H. of mouth fragment 2.2, Diam. mouth 3.4, max.</p>   |   |

84. Apart from the finds already discussed (faience and glass vases, "Ionian" cups, and "east-Ionian" terracottas), the Aiani excavations have also yielded several examples of "Ionian" linear style wares and some bucchero vases. The latter are briefly mentioned in Karamitrou-Mentessidi and Kefalidou 1999, p. 538. It is significant that, at the same time, the East Ionic Greek dialect and alphabet spread considerably within Macedonia: see Panayotou 1996, with references to the Ionic and other early Greek inscriptions from Upper Macedonia and Aiani.

85. Tiverios 1986, pp. 81-85; 1989, pp. 57-63; 1993; 1997, pp. 415-416, 418; 2000. Vokotopoulou 1993, esp. pp. 185-186 (for the possible existence of an Ionian trade-station [*emporio*] in Sani, Chalkidike); 1996. Papadopoulos 1996 and 1997.

86. In Hammond and Griffith 1979, p. 63.

dim. of fragment with checker pattern 4.1 cm.

Tomb Z (found together with 34, 35, 43, 51).

White ground. One fragment preserves the pattern of a black net

forming squares filled alternately with red and reserved in white. Other fragments preserve traces of white, red, and black.

Clay: pink (5YR 7/4).

On the next two vases no net pattern is preserved. Several red dots at regular intervals around the body resemble the x's on aryballos 3 and may indicate the existence of a checker pattern, now lost.

5 88/14364

Joined and nonjoining fragments preserving parts of shoulder, body, and base. Max. H. of joined base and body fragments 5.0 cm.

Tomb Θ (found together with 3, 12, 13, 36, 37).

White ground. A red band and two red lines on the curve of the shoulder. On the belly, red dots at regular intervals. On the lower body, a blue band with three black lines on each side.

Clay: pale brown (10YR 6/3).

6 88/9878

Fig. 7

Joined fragments preserving mouth, shoulder, and part of body; base missing. Max. H. 9.5, Diam. mouth 3.8 cm.

Section I, east side.

Traces of white. Red on mouth and neck. On the shoulder, a band of leaves in black outline, alternately filled with red and reserved. Lower on the shoulder, three black lines, then a band of red dots, and four black lines on the curve of the shoulder. On the belly, red dots at regular intervals.

Clay: pink (7.5YR 7/4).

## PANELS

7 90/11464

Fig. 7

Joined and nonjoining fragments preserving mouth, base, and parts of body; profile almost complete. Est. H. 8.5, Diam. mouth 3.1 cm.

Area IV.35/36/45.

White ground. White mouth. On the shoulder, two red bands alternating with two sets of two black lines. On the body are panels with black outline, filled with blue or reserved in white. Traces of vertical red bands. On the lower body, three black lines and two red bands, alternately. Red on the surface of the base.

Clay: pinkish gray (7.5YR 7/2).

leaves in black outline, alternately filled with red and reserved in white. Red band amid black lines (one above and two below) on the curve of the shoulder. On the belly, traces of panels filled with red and blue, alternately. On the lower body, near the base, red band amid black lines (one above and two below).

Clay: light brown (7.5YR 6/4).

9 88/10625

Figs. 7, 11

Joined fragments preserving the vase complete, except some chips. H. 8.3, Diam. mouth 3.8 cm.

Pit grave VI.2 (found inside a bronze phiale).

White ground. Red mouth and neck. On the shoulder, a band of leaves in black outline, alternately filled with red and reserved in white. Red band on the curve of the shoulder. On the belly, traces of panels alternately filled with red and blue.

Clay: light brown (7.5YR 6/4).

8 88/9879

Joined and nonjoining fragments preserving parts of base, body, neck, and mouth; profile almost complete. Est. H. 9.4, Diam. mouth 3.8 cm.

Section I, east side.

White ground. Red mouth and neck. On the shoulder, a band of

## 10 90/10634b

Seven fragments from the body. Max. dim. of joining decorated fragments 7.8 cm.

Area VI.3/4/12/13.

White ground. On two joining body fragments, traces of panels alternately filled with red and reserved in white.

Clay: pinkish gray (7.5YR 6/2).

## 11 88/11277b

Six fragments, some joined, preserving part of body and shoulder. Max. p.H. 7.2 cm.

Grave enclosure IA (fill).

White ground. On the shoulder, a red leaf, probably belonging to a leaf-band. Below, three groups of three black lines each. Amid the two lower groups, a band of red dots. On the belly, red and blue panels alternate.

Clay: light brown (7.5YR 6/4).

## BICHROME

## 12 88/11234

Fig. 2

Joined fragments preserving the profile complete; missing small part of mouth and much of body. H. 5.6, Diam. mouth 2.8 cm.

Tomb Θ (found together with 3, 5, 13, 36, 37).

White ground. Red mouth and neck.

Clay: yellowish brown (10YR 5/4).

## 13 88/14363

Figs. 2, 7

Joined fragments from mouth, neck, and body, preserving the profile almost complete, except for the base. Max. H. 5.4, Diam. mouth 2.5 cm.

Tomb Θ (found together with 3, 5, 12, 36, 37).

White ground. Blue mouth and neck, red body.

Clay: yellowish brown (10YR 5/4).

## VARIOUS

From the following aryballoi, only fragments survive, mainly from the shoulder (with leaf band) and the body (with various horizontal bands and lines). There are also several mouths and other fragments that preserve only traces of colors; some may belong to aryballoi found in the same trench.

## 14 88/9748

Joined fragments preserving mouth, neck, parts of shoulder and body. Max. H. 5.4, Diam. mouth 3.3 cm.

Area I.13.

White ground. Red mouth. On the shoulder, traces of leaves with black outline, filled with red. On the body, traces of red.

Clay: very pale brown (10YR 7/3).

## 16 88/9850a

Five fragments from shoulder, body, and base. Max. dim. of largest fragment (shoulder) 4.4 cm.

Section I, east side.

White ground. On the shoulder, black parallel lines.

Clay: pinkish gray (7.5YR 6/2).

## 15 88/9749e

Fragment from shoulder. Max. dim. 2.7 cm.

Area I.13.

White ground. Traces of leaves with black outline, alternately filled with red and reserved in white.

Clay: pinkish gray (7.5YR 7/2).

## 17 89/10049a

Joined and nonjoining fragments from mouth, neck, and body. Max. p.H. 7.6 cm.

Area IV.6/7/16/26.

White ground. Red mouth and neck. On the shoulder, traces of a red leaf with black outline. Red on one body fragment, four black lines on each of another three body fragments.

Clay: light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4).

- 18 89/10049b  
Two joined fragments from shoulder. Max. dim.: H. 2.3, L. 4.6 cm.  
Area IV.6/7/16/26.  
White ground. Traces of red leaves resembling double angles or reversed double chevrons. Below, three black lines, a red band, and another two black lines.  
Clay: pale brown (10YR 6/3).
- 19 90/10659b  
Ten fragments from shoulder, body, and base. May belong with 29. Max. dim. of largest fragment: H. 3.9, L. 6.1 cm.  
Area VI.12.  
White ground. On two fragments, red bands amid groups of black lines. Red on other fragments, traces of blue on one. A solid red circle covers most of the surface of the base.  
Clay: pale brown (10YR 6/3).
- 20 88/10767  
Joined and nonjoining fragments preserving large part of body and base. Max. p.H. 5.1 cm.  
Section VI, northwest part.  
White ground. On the belly, traces of red leaves or flowers (lotus flowers?) painted in outline. On the base, traces of red.  
Clay: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6).
- 21 88/11175b  
One fragment from shoulder, one from body. Max. dim. of the larger (shoulder) sherd 4.7 cm.  
Trial section in grave enclosure Z, west side.  
White ground. Black line on the lower end of the neck. On the shoulder, a band of leaves with black outline, alternately filled with red and reserved in white. Below, on the curve of the shoulder, three black lines and a red band. Three black lines on the upper part of the body.  
Clay: pink (7.5YR 8/4).
- 22 88/11277a  
Seven fragments from base, body, and shoulder. Max. H. of largest (base) fragment 3.8 cm.  
Grave enclosure IA (fill).  
White ground. On a shoulder fragment, part of a band of leaves with black outline, alternately filled with red and reserved in white.  
Clay: reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6).
- 23 88/9749a  
Diam. mouth 3.6 cm.  
Area I.13.  
Red.  
Clay: reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6).
- 24 88/9479b  
Four fragments from the edge of the mouth. Est. Diam. 3.5 cm.  
Area I.13.  
Red.  
Clay: reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6).
- 25 88/9479c  
One fragment from neck and shoulder, and four from body. Max. p.H. 2.5 cm.  
Area I.13.  
Traces of red.  
Clay: pink (7.5 YR 7/4).
- 26 88/9749d  
Fourteen parts of body or bodies, some joined. Some may belong to aryballoi 23–24.  
Area I.13.  
Traces of white, red, and black.  
Clay: pale brown (10YR 6/3).
- 27 89/10042a  
One fragment preserving part of the mouth, and six fragments from body. Max. H. of mouth fragment 1.2 cm.  
Area IV.6/7/16/26.  
White ground. Red mouth. Traces of red on one body fragment.  
Clay: pink (7.5YR 7/4).
- 28 89/10043  
Six fragments from body and shoulder. Max. dim. of the largest fragment 3.0 cm.  
Area IV.6/7/16/26.
- White ground.  
Clay: light brown (7.5YR 6/4).
- 29 89/10049c  
Two fragments from the edge of the flat rim. Max. dim. 3.5 cm.  
Area IV.6/7/16/26.  
Red.  
Clay: light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4).
- 30 90/10634a  
One fragment from mouth and three from body. Diam. mouth 3.7 cm.  
Area VI.3/4/12/13.  
White ground. Red mouth.  
Clay: very pale brown (10YR 7/3).
- 31 90/10659a  
Mouth broken in two fragments. May belong with 19.  
Diam. 3.8 cm.  
Area VI.12.  
Red on white ground.  
Clay: pale brown (10YR 6/3).
- 32 88/10777  
Mouth and neck. Max. H. 1.7, Diam. mouth 3.5 cm.  
Junction of sections IV and VI.  
Red.  
Clay: light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4).
- 33 88/11175a  
Mouth and neck. Max. H. 2.0, Diam. mouth 3.5 cm.  
Trial section in grave enclosure Z, west side.  
Traces of white inside.  
Clay: pink (7.5YR 8/4).
- 34 88/14360  
Mouth and part of neck. Max. H. 2.0, Diam. mouth 3.5 cm.  
Tomb Z (found together with 4, 35, 43, 51).  
Red on white ground.  
Clay: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4).

## 35 88/14362a

Three fragments from mouth and one from base. Max. dim. of base fragment 7.0 cm.

Tomb Z (found together with 4, 34, 43, 51).

White ground. Red mouth.  
Clay: pinkish gray (5YR 6/2).

## 36 88/14365a

Mouth fragment. May belong to aryballos 5. Max. dim. 2.1 cm.

Tomb Θ (found together with 3, 5, 12, 13, 37).

Red.  
Clay: light brown (7.5YR 6/4).

## 37 88/14365b

Mouth fragment. Max. dim. 1.2 cm.

Tomb Θ (found together with 3, 5, 12, 13, 36).

Red.  
Clay: pinkish gray (7.5YR 6/2).

## 38 88/14367

Joined and nonjoining fragments preserving parts of base, body, and shoulder. Max. H. 5.8 cm.

Section I, east side.

White ground. Red band amid black lines on curve of shoulder. Traces of red and black on body.

Clay: pink (7.5YR 7/4).

## 39 88/14368b

Ten fragments from body, some joining. Max. H. 5.4 cm.

Section I, east side.

White ground. Traces of red and black.

Clay: pale brown (10YR 6/3).

## 40 88/14368c

Nine sherds from body. Max. dim. of largest fragment 3.0 cm.

Section I, east side.

White ground. Traces of red and black.

Clay: grayish brown (10YR 5/2).

## PHORMISKOI (41–47)

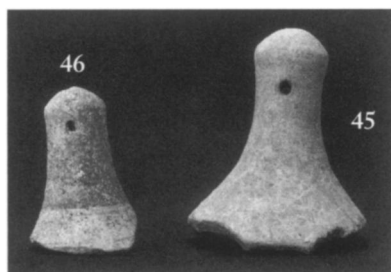


Figure 5. Aiani, phormiskoi

## 41 96/14374

Fig. 8

Complete. H. 8.7, max. Diam. 6.2 cm.

Area IV.54 (found together with 42).

White ground, red neck. Around the body, parallel lines and bands in red, black, and blue. Red dot on exterior, in center of base.

Clay: pink (5YR 7/4).

## 42 96/14375

Fig. 8

Complete. H. 8.7, max. Diam. 6.5 cm. Produces a light rattle when shaken.

Area IV.54 (found together with 41).

White ground, red neck. Around the body, parallel lines and bands in red, black, and blue. Toward the shoulder, probably a row of red x's.

Clay: pink (5YR 7/4).

## 43 88/11140

Seven fragments: one from the neck (max. H. 4.1 cm), five from the body (two joining), one from

the base. On the top of the rounded finial, a hole creating a small depression.

Tomb Z (found together with 4, 34, 35, 51).

Traces of white ground. Traces of blue on one wall fragment.

Clay: grayish brown (10YR 5/2).

## 44 90/11515

Nine fragments, some joining, preserving parts of base, body, and neck. Max. dim. 7.7 cm.

Area IV.35/36/45.

Traces of white ground. Traces of black and red on wall fragments.

Clay: brown (10YR 5/3).

## 45 90/11516

Figs. 5, 8

Fragment preserving neck and part of shoulder. Max. H. 6.4 cm.

Area IV.35/36/45.

Traces of white ground.

Clay: pink (7.5YR 8/4).

## 46 90/10660

Figs. 5, 8

Fragment preserving neck and part of shoulder. Max. H. 4.9 cm.

## Area VI.12.

Traces of white ground. Red on the neck, two parallel black lines on the shoulder.

Clay: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6).

47 90/14369a

Very small fragment from the area around the suspension hole.

Max. dim. 1.0 cm.

Area VI.12.

Traces of red.

Clay: light brown (7.5YR 6/4).

**PHORMISKOI OR ARYBALLOI (48–52)**

The following are very small fragments.

48 90/10634c

Three fragments from body.

Area IV.3/4/12/13.

Traces of white and red.

Clay: reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6).

and blue. On one, two red bands on white ground.

Clay: varies from pinkish gray to reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/2, 6/4, 6/6).

49 90/10776

Fourteen fragments from base and body.

Area between section VI and grave enclosures H and IA.

White ground. Red on some fragments and on base.

Clay: varies from light brown to reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/4, 6/6, 6/8).

51 88/14362b

Three fragments from body or bodies; one or two may belong to 34.

Tomb Z (found together with 4, 34, 35, 43).

Traces of white, red, and black.

Clay: light reddish brown (5YR 6/3–6/4).

50 90/14260

Seven fragments from bodies.

Area IV.35/36/45.

On some, traces of white, red,

52 90/14369b

Nineteen fragments from bodies; some may belong to phormiskoi 46 or 47, found in the same pit of disturbed burials.

Area VI.12.

On some, traces of white, red, and black.

Clay: varies from pink to light brown (7.5YR 7/4–6/4).

**OTHER SHAPES (53–56)**

53 88/10621

Fig. 9

Jug with cutaway neck. Joined fragments preserving most of the vase. H. 17.8, Diam. base 5.4, Diam. neck 4.0, Diam. belly 11.3 cm.

Tomb I (found together with 56).

Base flat. Ovoid body, its maximum diameter toward the shoulder. Handle rhomboid in section, with ridge in center. The neck rises almost vertically, the spout turns outward, the rim is plain. Small plastic ring between neck and shoulder.

White ground. The handle and the outer surface of neck and spout are blue. The edge of the rim of the

spout and the inner surface of neck and spout are red. The plastic ring at the base of the neck is red and there is a band of red dots around the shoulder. A thin red line surrounds the vase just above the base.

Clay: pink (7.5YR 7/4).

54 88/10413a

Part of the spout of a jug with cutaway neck. Max. H. 4.1 cm.

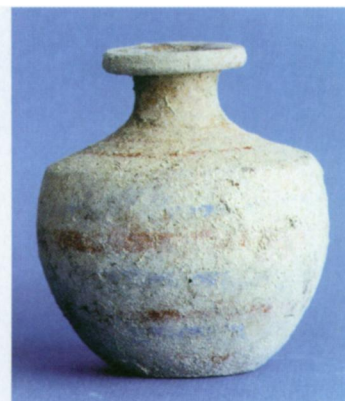
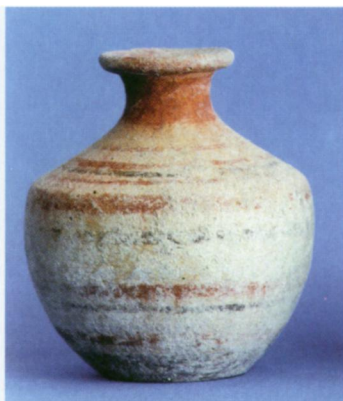
Chance find from the necropolis area.

White ground. The outer surface is blue, the inner surface and the edge of the rim of the spout are red.

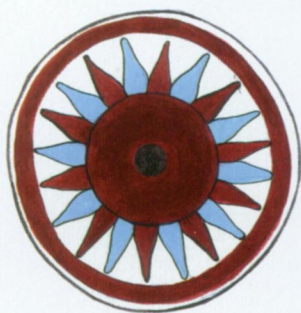
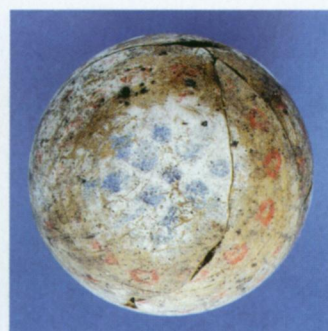
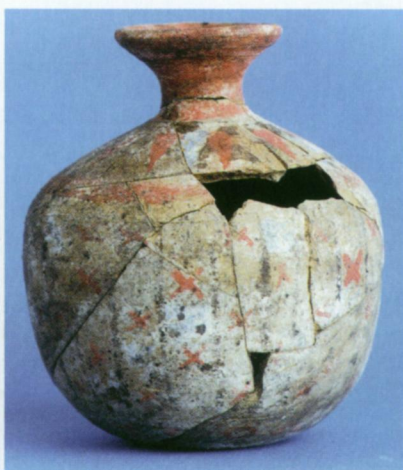
Clay: pale brown (10YR 6/3).



1



2



3



Figure 6. Aiani, aryballois. Scale 1:2



Figure 7. Aiari, aryballoi. Scale 1:2

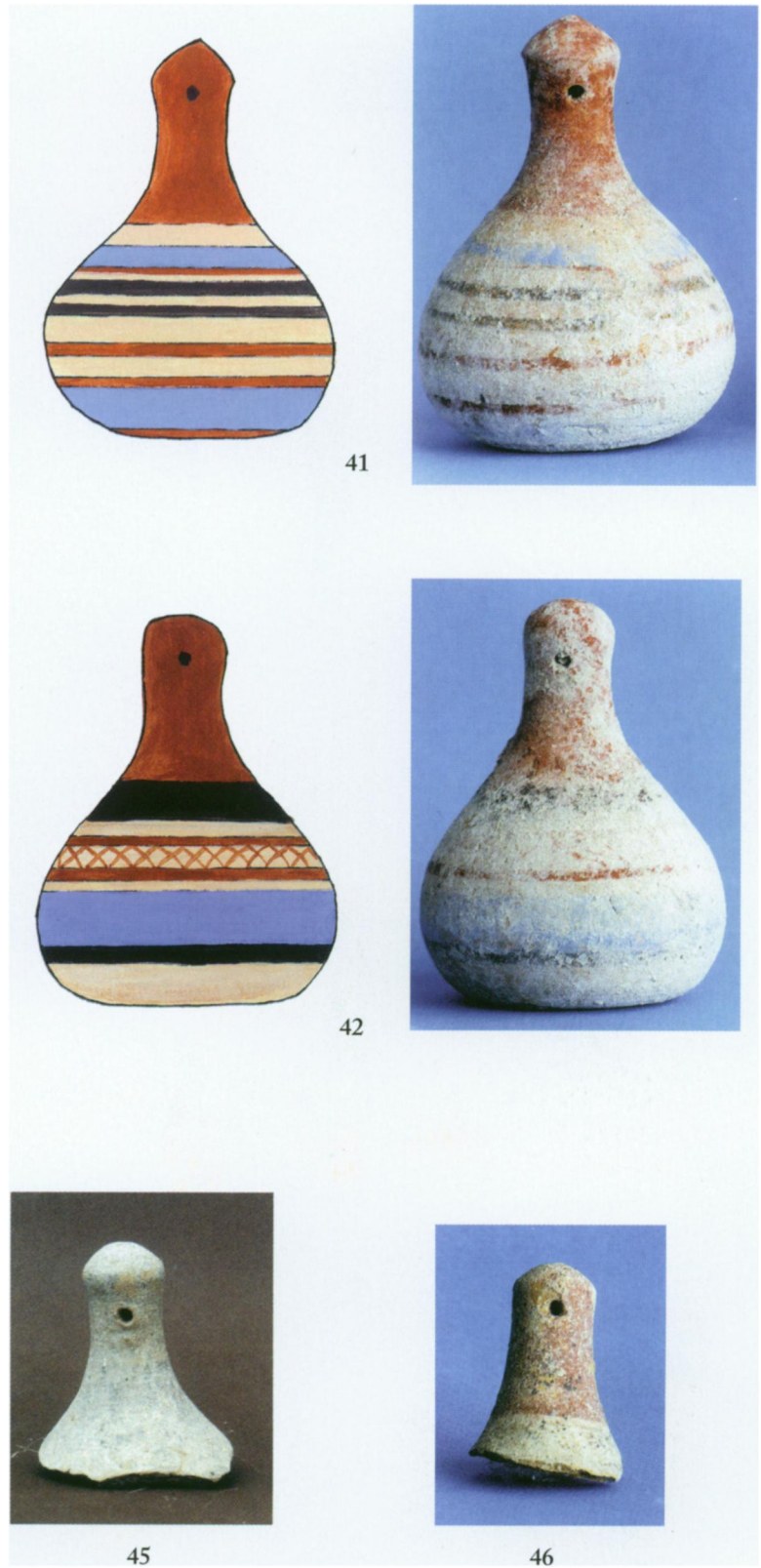
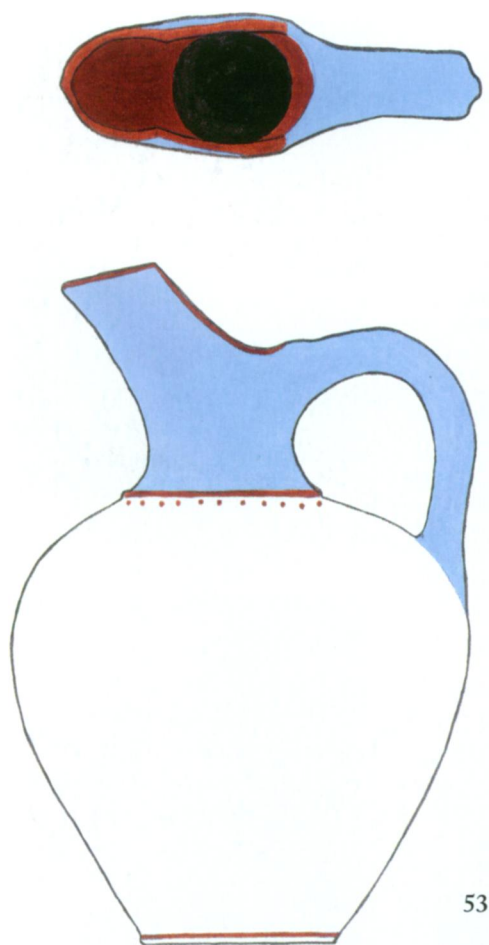
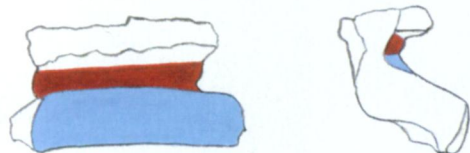
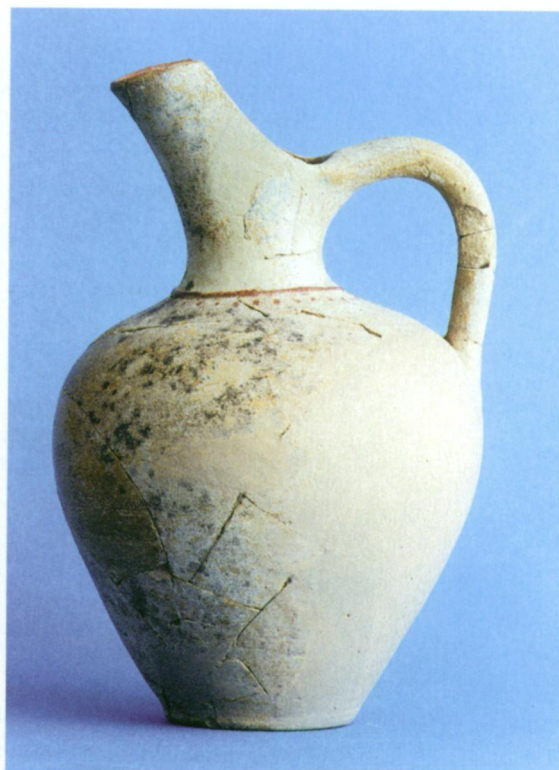


Figure 8. Aiani, phormiskoi. Scale ca. 1:2



53



56



Figure 9. Aiani, jug (53) and base of closed vessel (56). Scale ca. 1:2

- 55 88/10413b  
 Part of a vertical handle, oval in section, probably from a jug. Max. L. 4.8 cm.  
 Chance find from the necropolis area.  
 Blue on white ground.  
 Clay: pinkish gray (7.5YR 6/2).  
 body of a closed vase. H. 3.6; est. Diam. base 12.0 cm.  
 Tomb I (found together with 53).  
 Torus-base in one degree, concave beneath, with a raised ring at the join of base and body.  
 White ground. Blue base, red ring. The small surviving part of the body is reserved in white.  
 Clay: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6).
- 56 88/10620 Fig. 9  
 Part of base and lower part of

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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I was a member of the Aiani project from 1989 to 1999. Permission to publish this material was granted by the director of the Aiani excavations, G. Karamitrou-Mentessidi. The difficult task of producing accurate color drawings of the polychrome vases was carried out by the artists Maria Kriga (aryballoi 1, 3, 4, 9; jug 53; fragment 56) and Argyris Pafilis (aryballos 13; phormiskoi 41, 42). Stella Zoulaki made the drawing in Figure 3, George Zografidis produced the map (Fig. 1), Christoforos Giavanidis took most of the photographs, and Helena K. Berry, osteoarchaeologist, informed me about the age and sex of the two skeletons in pit graves IV.44 and VI.2. My warm thanks to all of them. All photographs and drawings are courtesy of the 17th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.

This article is dedicated to the people of modern Aiani and especially to the students from the village.

# APPENDIX 1

## DATING CONTEXTS: POTTERY AND TERRACOTTA FRUITS FROM FOUR PIT GRAVES

### A. Pit Grave IV.44

(Fig. 10)

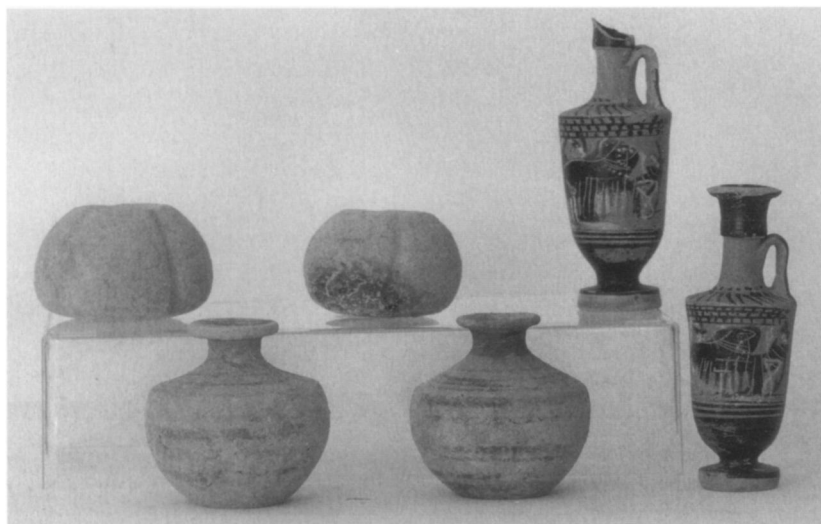


Figure 10. Aiani. Pit grave IV.44:  
(top) terracotta fruits 96/14371,  
96/14373; lekythos 96/14152;  
(bottom) aryballoi 2, 1; lekythos  
96/14151.

Polychrome aryballoi 1 and 2.

Lekythos 96/14151, by the Haimon Workshop: H. 11.4, Diam. mouth 2.5, Diam. base 2.5 cm. Quadriga to the right, two women mounting, a third woman behind the horses, and another woman sitting on a folding chair in front of the horses. For vases with similar subjects by the Haimon Workshop see *ABV* 539, no. 1, 542, no. 120; *Paralipomena*, 269, 271–273; *Beazley Addenda*, 134; and *CVA*, Leiden 2 [Netherlands 4], pls. 94:1–3 and 7–10, 95:4–12, 96:7–9 and 12–13. Vases of the Haimon Workshop are quite common in the necropolis of Aiani (see below) and in other cemeteries of Macedonia and Thrace (see, e.g., Kallipolitis 1973, p. 138 and note 1, pl. 70:a; Σίνδος, nos. 2 and 517; Tiverios 1991, pp. 301–302, figs. 12–13; Kaltsas 1998, pp. 241–242, 244; Pantermali and Trakossopoulou 1998, p. 207; and Poullos 1998, pp. 417–418, figs. 6–8).

Lekythos 96/14152, by the Haimon Workshop: max. H. 12.1, Diam. base 3.2 cm. Almost complete, but missing a large

part of the “chimney” mouth. Decoration as on lekythos 96/14151 (see above).

Black-glazed lekythos 96/14147, twelve sherds from base and body: max. H. of fragment with base 6.2, Diam. base 5.5 cm.

Three terracotta fruits (all wheel made, with white slip): 96/14371 (H. 4.6), 96/14372 (fragmentary), 96/14373 (H. 4.4 cm).

### *B. Pit Grave VI.2*

(Fig. 11)



Figure 11. Aiani. Pit grave VI.2: lekythoi 88/10627, 88/11101–11103; aryballos 9.

### *In the grave*

Polychrome aryballos 9.

Terracotta fruit 88/10626 (fragmentary, wheelmade, white slip).

Black-figured white-ground lekythos 88/10627 (H. 27.5 cm).

Athena mounting quadriga; behind the horses, Artemis and Apollo playing the lyre; in front a male figure with himation, holding a staff. The body decoration can be connected with the Workshop of the Athena Painter (see Haspels 1936, I, pp. 147–165, 254–262) but the shoulder palmettes resemble the style of the Gela Painter: cf. Haspels 1936, I, pp. 206–207; Kurtz 1975, pp. 17–18, fig. 9:b.

Three palmette lekythoi of the Beldam Workshop: 1) 88/11101: H. 17.2, Diam. base 4.1, Diam. mouth 3.4 cm.

2) 88/11102: H. 17.8, Diam. base 4.2, Diam. mouth 3.5

cm. 3) 88/11103: H. 11.2, Diam. base 3, Diam. mouth 2.7

cm. For the palmette lekythoi of this workshop, see Haspels 1936, I, pp. 185–186; cf. also Kurtz 1975, pp. 153–155, for the white-ground examples. Lekythoi of this workshop are frequently found in cemeteries in Macedonia; see, e.g.,

Σίνδος, nos. 3, 36, 68; Moshonissiotou 1991, p. 288, fig. 15 (center); Pantermali and Trakossopoulou 1998, p. 208; and Kaltsas 1998, p. 242.

*In a disturbed area on the edge of the grave*

Palmette lekythos 88/10628: H. 12.3, Diam. base 3.3, Diam. mouth 3.5 cm.

Hydria 88/10624: H. 21.0, Diam. belly 18.0, Diam. base 8.0, Diam. mouth 10.8 cm. Decorated with horizontal bands, wavy lines, and zigzag patterns; see Karamitrou-Mentessidi and Kefalidou 1999, p. 549, no. 11, fig. 13.

Terracotta “egg” 88/11888: L. 8.8 cm. Handmade, decorated with three red lines over a white slip.

For clay, stone, and real eggs as grave offerings, see Nilsson 1908; Greifenhagen 1935, pp. 487–488, no. 52, fig. 62; Lullies 1949, pp. 63–65, nos. 33–43, pls. 11–13; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 77, 149, 215; *ArchDelt* 37, 1982 [1989] B' 1 Χρονικά, p. 183; *Έργο Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού* 2, p. 140, fig. 3; Kaltsas 1998, p. 302; and Sabetai 2000, p. 508.

Comparable to our “egg” is one example from Rhitsona: Ure 1934, p. 72, no. 121:35, pl. XIX (with red, black, and yellow lines on white ground). A second terracotta “egg” was found in pit grave I.22; see below.

*C. Pit Grave III.23/24/30/31*

(Fig. 12)



Figure 12. Aiani. Pit grave III.23/24/30/31: lekythos 89/9965; cup 89/9966; terracotta fruit 89/9967.

Partially disturbed, with a cluster of finds in situ.

Terracotta fruit 89/9967: H. 5.0 cm (wheelmade, white slip).

Lekythos from the Workshop of the Haimon Painter, 89/9965:

H. 20.0, Diam. base 5.3, Diam. mouth 3.8 cm. Herakles fighting the boar, between Amazons on horseback; quiver and bow, cloth suspended, ivy on the background; one club is suspended, another is held by Herakles. For similar vases attributed to the Haimon Workshop see *ABV* 546–547, nos. 229–239; *Paralipomena*, 277; *Beazley Addenda*, 134; and *CVA*, Geneva 2 [Switzerland 3], pl. 76:16–18.

Small stemless “Ionian” cup 89/9966: H. 4.9, Diam. base 4.5, Diam. mouth 8.7 cm. Decoration with horizontal bands. For these cups and their distribution see Cook and Dupont 1998, pp. 129–131 (examples dating from the late 7th until the middle of the 6th century); Isler 1978, pp. 77–81, pls. XXXII:3–XXXVIII:34; and Martelli Cristofani 1978, esp. pp. 163–166, 195–204, pls. LXXXVI:64–LXXXIX:89. The abundance of these cups throughout Macedonia and Thrace during the 6th and 5th centuries shows that there were numerous workshops producing them. For some examples see Σίνδος, nos. 74 and 415; Tiverios 1988, p. 252, fig. 19; 1990b, pp. 75–76; Koukouli-Hryssanthaki 1983, pp. 139–140; Sismanidis 1986, p. 793; Vokotopoulou 1996, pp. 326–327; Tzanavari and Lioutas 1997, p. 271; Kottaridi 1997, p. 87; and Kaltsas 1998, pp. 225–228.

#### *D. Pit Grave I.22*

(Fig. 13)



Figure 13. Aiani. Pit grave I.22: hydria 88/9815; terracotta fruit 88/9812; cup-skyphoi 88/9813, 88/9814; terracotta egg 88/9811.

Terracotta fruit 88/9812: H. 5.2 cm (wheelmade, white slip).

Terracotta “egg” 88/9811: L. 7.1 cm (handmade, white slip).

Local hydria 88/9815: H. 15.2, Diam. base 6.4, Diam. belly 13.5, Diam. mouth 7.9 cm. Red slip.

Local black-figured cup-skyphos 88/9813: H. 5.1, Diam. base 4.4, Diam. mouth 8.8 cm.

Local black-figured cup-skyphos 88/9814: H. 5.0, Diam. base 4.5, Diam. mouth 8.4 cm.

For the local vases see Karamitrou-Mentessidi and Kefalidou 1999, pp. 541–542.

## APPENDIX 2

### CATALOGUE OF PHORMISKOI

Most known phormiskoi are listed and discussed (with bibliography) in Touchefeu-Meynier 1972; Hampe 1976; Schilardi 1977, I, pp. 467–472 and II, pp. 176–178; Neils 1992; and Brocato and Buda 1996. To these we should add, apart from the seven Aiani examples, the following vessels:

- 1–2. Fragments from two black-figured phormiskoi from the Agora at Athens: *Agora XXIII*, pp. 48, 253, nos. 1258–1259, pl. 88 (no. 1259 shows women mourning).
3. Two fragments from a black-figured phormiskos in Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls University, S101507 and 101707A. Depictions of Odysseus and the Sirens or Charon, and either Polyphemos or Sisyphos alone: *CVA*, Tübingen 3 [Germany 47], pl. 22:6–7.
4. White-ground polychrome phormiskos in Erlangen, bought in the Paris Market in 1907: Grünhagen 1948, p. 72. It is probably Boiotian because its shape and decoration are similar to phormiskoi from Boiotia, mentioned below (nos. 14–22).
5. White-ground polychrome phormiskos in *CVA*, Prague, Universitát Charles 2 [Czech Republic 3], pl. 57:4. Although it is published as “Ionian,” it is probably Boiotian because its shape and decoration are similar to phormiskoi from Boiotia, mentioned below (nos. 14–22). I thank Victoria Sabetai for this reference.
6. Phormiskos from a grave in Vitsa (in Epirus), now in Ioannina, Archaeological Museum 2026, early 6th century: Vokotopoulou 1986, I, p. 55, no. 1, pl. 77:b.
7. Lamia Museum Δ10186, from a grave in Lamia: *ArchDelt* 48, 1993 [1998], B' 1 Χρονικά, p. 201.
8. Lamia Museum Δ5187, from a grave in Halai: *ArchDelt* 42, 1987 [1992], B' 1 Χρονικά, p. 229, pl. 134:A.
- 9–10. Lamia Museum Δ5188 and probably Δ10299, from a pithos burial in Triantaphyllia: *ArchDelt* 37, 1982 [1989] B' 1 Χρονικά, p. 183 (grave Π 24).
- 11–12. Two Late Archaic phormiskoi found in disturbed burials at Ialysos in 1998: *Έργο Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού* 2, p. 140, fig. 3.
13. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 17169A; one of the two miniature examples from the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora. Mentioned, together with the published phormiskos (now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 17169), in *Perachora* I, p. 102, no. 324, pl. 115.
- 14–17. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 11197–11200, from graves at Tanagra.

18. Athens, National Archaeological Museum E1189, Empedocles collection, probably from Boiotia.
19. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 11196, from Thebes.
- 20–21. Thebes Museum, two phormiskoi found in 1995 at Akraiphia (Grava) in 5th-century contexts (grave T 4 and pyre II 28, respectively): *ArchDelt* 50, 1995 [2000], B' 1 Χρονικά, p. 302; and Sabetai 2000, pp. 508–509. I thank the excavator, Victoria Sabetai, for this information.
22. A growing number of phormiskoi from Late Archaic graves in Akraiphia in Boiotia: Andreiomenou 1988, p. 11; 1996, pp. 215 and 217, notes 187–188, figs. 80 and 81:b.

## APPENDIX 3

### TERRACOTTA FRUITS

The Aiani necropolis has yielded several terracotta fruits (as yet unpublished), some of which are closely related to the polychrome vases. They are contemporary with the polychrome vessels (see the grave contexts in Appendix 1); they are wheelmade, in contrast to the majority of similar objects from elsewhere that are moldmade or handmade; have a vent hole at the bottom; and are hollow inside; also, they are made of the same clay as the polychrome vases (see above, p. 186 and note 10). Finally, they are covered with the same white slip as the polychrome pottery, lacking, however, traces of other colors. It seems very probable that they were produced by the same potters who made the polychrome vases (see above, p. 193 and note 46).

The local potters hand-finished the pieces, impressing four or five vertical ridges around the body of the terracottas in order to give some plasticity to their rounded shape. This rendering produces a peculiar multilobed shape in comparison to the softly curved bodies of similar moldmade or handmade terracotta fruits.<sup>87</sup> The lobes of the Aiani fruits remind us of the similarly rendered multilobed apples, quinces, and pomegranates depicted on coins, especially those from Melos.<sup>88</sup>

The Aiani examples probably represent apples. They are certainly not pomegranates and they are too broad and flat to be considered quinces.<sup>89</sup> They look very much like the Japanese persimmon (called “lotus-fruit” in modern Greek). It would probably be anachronistic, however, to identify them as persimmons; as far as I have been able to check, we cannot be sure whether the oriental persimmon (*diospyros kaki*) was cultivated this early in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>90</sup>

87. See, e.g., Ure 1934, p. 72, nos. 18262 and 18264, pl. XVII; Goldman and Jones 1942, p. 382; Higgins 1954, nos. 198–200, pl. 34; Schmaltz 1974, p. 141 and p. 184, no. 386; and Kaltsas 1998, p. 71, no. 21, and p. 275.

88. *SNGCop* 679–692; Baumann 2000, pp. 32–33 and no. 57, pp. 50–51 and no. 118.

89. It is quite difficult to distinguish among the different species since all these fruits are similar in shape and size. In ancient literature the word *μῆλον* (apple) is used as a generic term for the apricot, quince, citron, peach, and pomegranate, in addition to naming the genuine apple; see Littlewood 1968.

90. See, e.g., Baumann 1993, p. 142, pl. 278. My thanks to C. Bourbou and E. Tegou for bibliographical references on the “lotus-fruit.”

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