

POTTERS AT WORK IN ANCIENT CORINTH

Industry, Religion, and the Penteskouphia Pinakes

ELENI HASAKI



HESPERIA
SUPPLEMENT

51

POTTERS AT WORK IN ANCIENT
CORINTH

Copyright © 2021 American School of Classical Studies at Athens,
originally published in *Potters at Work in Ancient Corinth: Industry,
Religion, and the Penteskouphia Pinakes* by Eleni Hasaki. This offprint
is supplied for personal, noncommercial use only.

HESPERIA SUPPLEMENTS

The *Hesperia* Supplement series (ISSN 1064-1173) presents book-length studies in the fields of Greek archaeology, art, language, and history. Founded in 1937, the series was originally designed to accommodate extended essays too long for inclusion in the journal *Hesperia*. Since that date the Supplements have established a strong identity of their own, featuring single-author monographs, excavation reports, and edited collections on topics of interest to researchers in classics, archaeology, art history, and Hellenic studies.

Hesperia Supplements are electronically archived in JSTOR (www.jstor.org), where all but the most recent titles may be found. For order information and a complete list of titles, see the ASCSA website (www.ascsa.edu.gr).

Hesperia Supplement 51

POTTERS AT WORK IN ANCIENT
CORINTH

Industry, Religion, and the Penteskouphia Pinakes

ELENI HASAKI

WITH A CONTRIBUTION BY
IOULIA TZONOU AND JAMES A. HERBST



American School of Classical Studies at Athens

2021

*Publication of this book has been aided by
a grant from the
von Bothmer Publication Fund
of the Archaeological Institute of America*



Copyright © 2021
American School of
Classical Studies at Athens,
Princeton, New Jersey

All rights reserved.

Cover illustrations: (front) Penteskouphia pinax showing kiln firing (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 802); photo C. Begall, courtesy Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; (back) Penteskouphia pinax showing potter at the wheel (Paris, Musée du Louvre MNB 2857); photo H. Lewandowski, courtesy Musée du Louvre, © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Name: Hasaki, Eleni, author.

Title: Potters at Work in Ancient Corinth : Industry, Religion, and the Penteskouphia Pinakes / by Eleni Hasaki, with a contribution by Ioulia Tzonou and James A. Herbst.

Description: Princeton, New Jersey : American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2021. | Series: Hesperia supplements, ISSN 1064-1173 ; v. 51 | Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020014032 | ISBN 978-0-87661-553-9 (paperback)

Subjects: LCSH: Terracotta plaques—Greece—Penteskouphia Site. | Potters in art. | Pottery industry—Greece—History—To 1500. | Excavations (Archaeology)—Greece. | Penteskouphia Site (Greece) | Corinth (Greece)—Antiquities. | Greece—Antiquities.

Classification: LCC NK4102.C67 H37 2021 | DDC 738.30938/7—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020014032>

Printed in the United States of America

FOR ALAN

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	ix
List of Tables	xvii
Acknowledgments	xix
<i>Chapter 1</i>	
INTRODUCTION	1
<i>Chapter 2</i>	
EXCAVATION SITE OF THE PENTESKOUPHIA PINAKES by Ioulia Tzonou and James A. Herbst	23
<i>Chapter 3</i>	
MANUFACTURE, FUNCTION, ICONOGRAPHY, EPIGRAPHY, AND CHRONOLOGY	45
<i>Chapter 4</i>	
CATALOGUE OF SCENES OF POTTERS AT WORK	83
<i>Chapter 5</i>	
SCENES OF POTTERS AT WORK: ICONOGRAPHICAL AND EPIGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS	179
<i>Chapter 6</i>	
TECHNOLOGY, WORKFORCE, AND ORGANIZATION OF CERAMIC WORKSHOPS	227
<i>Chapter 7</i>	
INDUSTRIAL RELIGION AND POTTERS' ANXIETIES	279
<i>Chapter 8</i>	
CONCLUSIONS	301
<i>Appendix I</i>	
LIST OF PENTESKOUPHIA PINAKES IN ANCIENT CORINTH, BERLIN, AND PARIS	313
<i>Appendix II</i>	
DISTRIBUTION OF THEMES ON ONE- AND TWO-SIDED PENTESKOUPHIA PINAKES	351

<i>Appendix III</i> COMBINATION OF THEMES ON TWO-SIDED PENTESKOUPHIA PINAKES	359
<i>Appendix IV</i> CONCORDANCE OF INVENTORY AND CATALOGUE NUMBERS	365
<i>Appendix V</i> CONCORDANCE OF INSCRIBED CATALOGUED PINAKES WITH EPIGRAPHICAL CORPORA	369
<i>Appendix VI</i> CONCORDANCE OF INVENTORY NUMBERS WITH EPIGRAPHICAL CORPORA	371
<i>Appendix VII</i> CONCORDANCE OF IG IV ENTRIES AND INVENTORY NUMBERS	377
References	381
Indexes	
General Index	401
Index of Museums	413
Index of Ancient Sources	417

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

1.1. Region of Penteskouphia and Corinth	3
1.2. Select sites in the Corinthia	7
1.3. Pinakes from the Potters' Quarter of Corinth (Corinth KN-8, KN-18, KN-19)	8
1.4. Pinax from the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia (Isthmia Museum IM 1251)	8
1.5. Pinax from the Heraion at Perachora (Athens, NAM 16636)	8
1.6. Wooden votive pinax from Pitsa, near Sikyon (Athens, NAM 16464)	10
1.7. Pinax depicting seated Athena, from the Athenian Acropolis (Athens, NAM Akr. 1.2582)	10
1.8. Pinax depicting weavers, from the Athenian Acropolis (Athens, Acropolis Museum GL 2525)	10
1.9. Pinax depicting Hades and Persephone, from Locri Epizephyrii (Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 21016 + 60831)	11
1.10. Athenian red-figure bell krater (London, British Museum 1847,0806.54 [E 494])	12
1.11. Athenian red-figure calyx krater (Berlin, Antikensammlung V.I. 3974)	12
1.12. Detail drawing of a nestoris depicting pinakes in a sacred context at the Sanctuary of Artemis Hemera at Lusoi(?), Arcadia (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1760)	12
1.13. Detail of a South Italian red-figure calyx krater with a depiction of pinakes on the wall of a fountain house (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques 422)	12
1.14. African Red Slip ware jug depicting a potter working at a turntable (New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1984.79.2)	16

1.15.	Collection of 24 watercolor paintings showing potters at work at Chinese porcelain workshops (London, British Museum 1946,0713,0.1.1–24)	18
2.1.	Corinth and the western Corinthia	27
2.2.	Area west of Corinth	28
2.3.	Washburn's excavation log	29
2.4.	Hill's map locating the Penteskouphia excavation site	29
2.5.	"Theater-shaped nook" and excavation site	30
2.6.	Protocorinthian to Middle Corinthian silhouette-style pottery from lot 1233	33
2.7.	Pot-bellied figurine (Corinth MF-3456)	34
2.8.	Wheel ruts above the "main road"	38
2.9.	"Main road"	38
2.10.	Section of the Hadrianic aqueduct masonry	38
2.11.	Excavation site from the "beaten path" as it crosses the natural bridge to the south	40
2.12.	Wheel ruts in the "beaten path"	40
2.13.	Excavation site of the Penteskouphia pinakes	41
3.1.	Corinthian column krater with male and female figures (Paris, Louvre E 634)	47
3.2.	Corinthian column krater with warriors (Paris, Louvre E 627)	47
3.3.	Corinthian column krater with horseback riders (Paris, Louvre E 633)	47
3.4.	Handle plates of a Corinthian column krater (Paris, Louvre E 634)	48
3.5.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 761)	49
3.6.	Body proportions of a horse used as a guide to estimate the original sizes of Penteskouphia pinakes with equestrian iconography	49
3.7.	Example of the largest of the Penteskouphia pinakes (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 367 + F 372 + F 398 + F 399)	50
3.8.	Example of the smallest of the Penteskouphia pinakes (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 663 + F 730)	50
3.9.	Range of sizes among the Penteskouphia pinakes with scenes of potters at work (n = 97)	51
3.10.	Representative examples of the four basic sizes of Penteskouphia pinakes	51
3.11.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 493)	52
3.12.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 566)	52
3.13.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 665)	53
3.14.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 783)	53
3.15.	Handle plate from the Amphiaraios column krater (once Berlin, Antikensammlung F 1655, now lost)	57

3.16.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 460)	58
3.17.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 835)	58
3.18.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 899)	58
3.19.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 722)	59
3.20.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 671)	59
3.21.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 873)	59
3.22.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 769)	59
3.23.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 839)	60
3.24.	Penteskouphia pinax (Paris, Louvre MNB 2859)	60
3.25.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 595)	61
3.26.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 797)	61
3.27.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 848)	61
3.28.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 849)	61
3.29.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 855 + F 862)	62
3.30.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 860)	62
3.31.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 894)	63
3.32.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 921)	63
3.33.	Distribution of iconographical themes on one-sided and two-sided Penteskouphia pinakes	67
3.34.	Corinthian alphabet	75
3.35.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 368)	76
3.36.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 662)	76
3.37.	Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 422 + F 908)	76
4.1.	One-sided pinakes showing clay collection (A1–A3)	87
4.2.	One-sided pinax showing potters at the wheel (A4)	88
4.3.	One-sided pinax showing kiln firing (A5)	88
4.4.	One-sided pinax showing kiln firing (A6)	89
4.5.	One-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (A7, A8)	90
4.6.	One-sided pinax showing kiln firing (A9)	91
4.7.	One-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (A10, A11)	92
4.8.	One-sided pinax showing kiln firing (A12)	93
4.9.	One-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (A13, A14)	94
4.10.	One-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (A15–A17)	95
4.11.	One-sided pinax showing kiln firing (A18)	96
4.12.	One-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (A19–A21)	97
4.13.	One-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (A22, A23)	98
4.14.	One-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (A24–A26)	99
4.15.	One-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (A27, A28)	100
4.16.	One-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (A29, A30)	101
4.17.	One-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (A31, A32)	102

4.18. One-sided pinakes showing workshop-related scenes (A33, A34)	103
4.19. Two-sided pinax showing clay collection (B1)	105
4.20. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing and fuel collection (B2)	106
4.21. Two-sided pinax showing clay collection and kiln firing (B3)	107
4.22. Two-sided pinax showing clay collection (B4)	107
4.23. Two-sided pinax showing clay collection (B5)	108
4.24. Two-sided pinax showing fuel collection (B6)	110
4.25. Two-sided pinax showing clay collection (B7)	111
4.26. Two-sided pinax showing potter at the wheel (B8)	112
4.27. Two-sided pinax showing potter at the wheel (B9)	113
4.28. Two-sided pinax showing potter at the wheel (B10)	114
4.29. Two-sided pinax showing potter at the wheel (B11)	115
4.30. Two-sided pinax showing potter at the wheel (B12)	116
4.31. Two-sided pinakes showing potters at the wheel (B13, B14)	117
4.32. Two-sided pinax showing potter at the wheel and kiln firing (B15)	118
4.33. Two-sided pinax showing potter at the wheel (B16)	119
4.34. Two-sided pinax showing potter at the wheel and kiln firing (B17)	120
4.35. Two-sided pinax showing potters at the wheel and kiln firing(?) (B18)	121
4.36. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B19)	122
4.37. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B20)	123
4.38. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B21)	125
4.39. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B22)	126
4.40. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B23)	127
4.41. Two-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (B24, B25)	128
4.42. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B26)	129
4.43. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B27)	130
4.44. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B28)	131
4.45. Two-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (B29, B30)	132
4.46. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B31)	133
4.47. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B32)	134
4.48. Two-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (B33, B34)	135
4.49. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B35)	136
4.50. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B36)	137
4.51. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B37)	138
4.52. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B38)	139
4.53. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B39)	140
4.54. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B40)	141
4.55. Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B41)	142

4.56.	Side A of two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B42)	144
4.57.	Side B of two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B42)	145
4.58.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B43)	146
4.59.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B44)	147
4.60.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B45)	148
4.61.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B46)	148
4.62.	Two-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (B47, B48)	149
4.63.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B49)	150
4.64.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B50)	151
4.65.	Two-sided pinakes showing kiln firing (B51, B52)	152
4.66.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B53)	153
4.67.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B54)	154
4.68.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B55)	155
4.69.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B56)	156
4.70.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B57)	157
4.71.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B58)	158
4.72.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B59)	159
4.73.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B60)	160
4.74.	Two-sided pinax showing kiln firing (B61)	161
4.75.	Two-sided pinax showing a workshop-related scene (B62)	162
4.76.	Two-sided pinax showing a workshop-related scene (B63)	163
4.77.	Pinakes with ambiguous scenes (M1, M2)	164
4.78.	Pinakes with ambiguous scenes (M3–M8)	165
4.79.	Pinax with ambiguous scene (M9)	166
4.80.	Pinax with ambiguous scene (M10)	167
4.81.	Pinax with ambiguous scene (M11)	167
4.82.	Pinax with ambiguous scene (M12)	168
4.83.	Pinax with ambiguous scene (M13)	168
4.84.	Pinax with ambiguous scene (M14)	169
4.85.	Pinakes showing ambiguous scenes (M15, M16)	170
4.86.	Pinax showing ambiguous scene (M17)	171
4.87.	Pinax showing ambiguous scene (M18, side A)	171
4.88.	Pinakes showing ambiguous scenes (M19–M21)	173
4.89.	Pinax showing ambiguous scene (M22)	174
4.90.	Pinakes with disassociated scenes (M23–M25)	175
4.91.	Pinax with disassociated scene (M26)	176
4.92.	Pinakes with disassociated scenes (M27–M29)	177
4.93.	Pinax with disassociated scene (M30)	178
5.1.	Types of potter's wheels depicted on Athenian ceramics and on Penteskouphia pinakes A4, B8–B10	184
5.2.	Comparison of ceramic kilns and metallurgical furnaces	189

5.3.	Kiln parts depicted on the Penteskouphia pinakes	190
5.4.	Terracotta model of a potter's kiln (Corinth KN-181)	199
5.5.	Shoulder of an Athenian black-figure hydria (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1717)	200
5.6.	Fragment of an Athenian black-figure amphora(?) from the Athenian Acropolis (Athens, NAM Akr. 1.803)	200
5.7.	Fragment of an Athenian black-figure amphora(?) from the Athenian Acropolis (Athens, NAM Akr. 1.853)	200
5.8.	Details of an Athenian black-figure lip cup (Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 67/90)	200
5.9.	Fragments of an Athenian black-figure pinax from the Athenian Acropolis (Athens, NAM Akr. 1.2570)	201
5.10.	Fragments of a black-figure pinax from the Athenian Acropolis (Athens, NAM Akr. 1.2579)	201
5.11.	Tondo of an Athenian black-figure kylix (London, British Museum 1847,1125.18 [B 432])	201
5.12.	Boiotian black-figure skyphos from Abes cemetery in Eastern Locris Exarchos (Athens, NAM 1114-2624 [442])	202
5.13.	Fragments of an Athenian red-figure cup from the Athenian Acropolis (Athens, Acropolis Museum GL 166)	202
5.14.	Fragments of an Athenian red-figure skyphos from the Athenian Acropolis (Athens, NAM Akr. 2.470)	202
5.15.	Fragment of an Athenian red-figure amphora(?) from the Pnyx in Athens (Athens, Agora PNP 42)	203
5.16.	Athenian red-figure calyx krater (Caltagirone, Museo Regionale della Ceramica 1120)	203
5.17.	Fragments of an Athenian red-figure calyx krater from the Athenian Acropolis (Athens, NAM Akr. 2.739)	203
5.18.	Tondo of an Athenian red-figure stemless cup (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2542)	204
5.19.	Tondo of an Athenian red-figure kylix (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8073)	204
5.20.	Athenian red-figure bell krater (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908.G.287)	204
5.21.	Shoulder of an Athenian red-figure hydria (Caputi hydria) (Vicenza, Banca Intesa Sanpaolo Collection F.G-00002A-E/IS [C 278])	204
5.22.	Selection of inscriptions on the same side as a pottery scene	213
5.23.	Two-sided pinakes with inscriptions on both sides	214
5.24.	Selection of inscriptions on the reverse sides of pottery scenes	219
5.25.	Signatures of Timonidas on B42 and a Middle Corinthian bottle from Kleonai (Athens, NAM 277)	220
5.26.	Signature of Milonidas on a Penteskouphia pinax (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 511 / Paris, Louvre MNC 212)	220

5.27.	Inscriptions mentioning ἀποποιεῖα (B53 , Berlin, Antikensammlung F 495 + F 513, Paris, Louvre MNC 209)	221
5.28.	Signature of Chares on a Late Corinthian pyxis (Paris, Louvre E 609)	223
5.29.	Penteskouphia pinakes with the name Φλέβων (A6 , Berlin, Antikensammlung F 530 + F 558, F 557)	224
6.1.	Map of Corinth with known ceramic production sites	230
6.2.	Plan of kilns from Greek Tile Works	231
6.3.	East kiln at Greek Tile Works	231
6.4.	Roman Tile Works	232
6.5.	Plan and sections of Roman Tile Works	232
6.6.	Roman Tile Works	233
6.7.	Roman Tile Works	233
6.8.	Kokkinovrysi kiln	233
6.9.	Kokkinovrysi kiln, overhead view	233
6.10.	Plan and section of kiln at Agora Northeast 1936	234
6.11.	Kiln at Agora Northeast 1936	234
6.12.	Plan of kiln at Agora South Central 1936	235
6.13.	Koutoumatza kiln-like feature	235
6.14.	Koutoumatza kiln-like feature	235
6.15.	Geological map of the region surrounding Ancient Corinth	236
6.16.	Potters' Quarter, as seen from Acrocorinth	237
6.17.	Clay deposit under a conglomerate shelf near the national highway to Tripolis	238
6.18.	Potter's tools from Figaretto, Corfu	245
6.19.	Ancient Greek kiln typology	247
6.20.	Geographical distribution of Archaic kilns in Greece	249
6.21.	Plan of Archaic pottery workshop at Prinias, Crete	250
6.22.	Plan of Archaic pottery kilns at Lato, Crete	250
6.23.	Plan of Archaic pottery kiln at Knossos, Crete	250
6.24.	Plan of Archaic pottery workshop at Phari, Thasos	251
6.25.	Sectional drawing of an experimental replica of an ancient Greek ceramic kiln	253
6.26.	Night firing at the experimental replica of an ancient Greek kiln	253
6.27.	Plans and section of perforated floor from a kiln at Gortys, Arcadia	258
6.28.	View, plan, and section of perforated floor from a Roman kiln at Istron, Crete	258
6.29.	Clay arms from perforated floors of kilns	259
6.30.	Kiln with a reused pithos serving as a pot-firing chamber, from an Early Roman pottery workshop at Paroikia, Paros	260
6.31.	Kiln furniture for stacking pots, from Athens and Corinth	264

6.32.	Reconstruction of the three-stage process in the firing of a handle plate of a black-figure Corinthian column krater (Paris, Louvre E 636)	268
6.33.	Kiln-firing equipment in Renaissance Italy	271
6.34.	Middle Corinthian bowl used as test piece, from the Potters' Quarter at Corinth (Corinth KP-1052)	272
6.35.	Middle Corinthian kotyle used as test piece, from the Potters' Quarter at Corinth (Corinth KP-1344)	272
7.1.	Detail of an Athenian red-figure cup (Berlin Foundry cup) (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2294)	284
7.2.	Stoneworkers' sanctuary at Flerio, Naxos	285
7.3.	Shallow bowl from the Nymphaeum at Kafizin, Cyprus (K 9)	286
7.4.	Display of wares at a modern pottery workshop at Margarites, Crete	287
7.5.	Trees with ceramics and votive glass eyes at a modern pottery workshop in Güvercinler Valley, Üçhisar, Cappadocia, Turkey	287
7.6.	Pottery factory in Kantianika (Nea Koroni), Messenia, after World War II	287
7.7.	Penteskouphia pinax showing Amphitrite and a smaller figure, possibly a suppliant (Berlin, Antikensammlung F 787)	289
7.8.	Stele shrine and altar from the Shrine of the Double Stele in the Corinthian Potters' Quarter	291
7.9.	Artist's rendition of a ceramic workshop in the Penteskouphia area	292
7.10.	Artist's rendition of road traffic in the Penteskouphia area	293
7.11.	Bronze plaque with Poseidon holding a dolphin (Isthmia Museum IM 3326)	295
8.1.	Corinthian plastic vase showing a figure holding a column krater (Paris, Louvre CA 454)	312

COLOR FIGURES *(following page 178)*

1. Selected pinakes (A1, A5, A7, A8, A10, A17)
2. Selected pinakes (A19–A21, A23, A25, A27, A30)
3. Selected pinakes (B1–B3)
4. Selected pinakes (B8, B10, B11, B17)
5. Selected pinakes (B19, B20)
6. Selected pinakes (B28, B29, B37, B38)
7. Selected pinakes (B47–B49)
8. Selected pinakes (B57, B60)

TABLES

1.1. Distribution of Terracotta Pinakes at Archaic Corinthian Sites	9
3.1. Sizes of Pinakes with Scenes of Potters at Work	51
3.2. Orientation Schemes on Two-Sided Pinakes with Scenes of Potters at Work	54
3.3. Distribution of Iconographical Themes on Penteskouphia Pinakes	66
3.4. Corinthian Chronology	78
5.1. Imagery on the Reverse of Pinakes with Scenes of Potters at Work	181
5.2. Iconography of Kiln-Firing Scenes	187
5.3. Athenian and Boiotian Scenes of Potters at Work	197
5.4. Comparison of Corinthian and Athenian/Boiotian Representations of Potters at Work	198
5.5. Inscriptions on Catalogued Penteskouphia Pinakes	210
5.6. Potters' and Painters' Signatures on Archaic and Classical Corinthian Ceramics	222
5.7. Personal Names on Penteskouphia Pinakes with Scenes of Potters at Work	224
6.1. Topography of Ceramic Production at Ancient Corinth	229

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Select pinakes from the Penteskouphia corpus have appeared in publications on ancient Greek industry, religion, ships and travel, and ceramic production. Several attempts have been made to proceed with the study and publication of the entire corpus, but all have ended, unfortunately, at a very early stage. At times, it seemed that this project would join the list of previous well-intentioned but aborted attempts; that it escaped this fate is the result of much support and patience from many quarters.

At the heart of this study lies the leading team at the excavations of Corinth: Director Christopher Pfaff, Director Emeritus Guy D. R. Sanders, Director Emeritus Charles K. Williams II, Associate Director Emerita Nancy Bookidis, who generously shared her expertise and encouraged the completion of this project, Associate Director Ioulia Tzonou, and Architect James Herbst. Ioulia and James welcomed me warmly at Corinth, joined me in adventurous field trips to the Penteskouphia area, and improved this book tremendously with their contribution on the nature of the deposit and the topography of the region. The Assistant to the Associate Director, Manolis Papadakis, diligently processed photographic requests at very short notice, and I thank him warmly.

At the Antikensammlung in Berlin, the museum's director, Andreas Scholl, and his predecessor, Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, have greatly facilitated my work through several requests. I benefited from the curatorial assistance of Ursula Kästner, who went beyond the call of duty, and the indefatigable and meticulous assistant curator, Hans Getter, who kindly extended his working days to accommodate my visits to Berlin. Subsequently, curators Agnes Schwarzmaier and Nina Zimmermann-Elseify aided significantly with remaining questions. Despite everyone's good intentions, the mounting system for some of the pinakes made it impossible to acquire all the desired photos or drawings. In the Louvre, curator Anne Coulié and her collaborators quickly answered many inquiries and ordered new photographs on short notice. I remain indebted to them.

My collaboration with the illustrators Jörg Denking and Yannis Nakas has been most rewarding, and I cannot express the extent of my gratitude for their superb skill in deciphering many of the pinakes. Nakas worked tirelessly and with immense skill and patience on multiple versions of the reconstructions.

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) has been my intellectual home since my graduate days as a student of archaeology. Its community shaped my life in more ways than one and I am grateful to them. ASCSA Director of Publications Carol Stein has seen the manuscript in various configurations and supported me with her unwavering faith. I would be amiss if I do not acknowledge her predecessors, Charles Watkinson, Andrew Reinhard, and Linny Schenck, who believed strongly in the importance of this work. The initial project editor for this book, Colin Whiting, undertook the Herculean task of preparing this manuscript for production. His organizational skills, astute input, and, quite frankly, his bright outlook on life made what would have been a struggle into a pleasant push to completion. I am fully appreciative of all his help. After Colin's departure from ASCSA Publications, Destini Price provided great assistance in the layout of the volume. In the long final stretch, Sarah Rous put her love, patience, and outstanding project management skills to work in harnessing all the moving parts and guiding the manuscript to press. I thank them all wholeheartedly. The diligence of copy editor Karen Donohue, as well as the insightful comments of the anonymous reviewers, saved me from several errors.

Closer to home, I would also like to thank warmly my unit directors Diane Austin and her predecessor Barbara Mills (School of Anthropology) and Karen Seat (Department of Religious Studies and Classics) at the University of Arizona for steadily helming the ship in sound directions at turbulent times and for their continuous support of this project.

Various institutions and colleagues generously provided photographs and permissions for this book: Maria Chidioglou (Athens, National Archaeological Museum), Costas Davaras, Stella Demesticha, Melanie Emerson, Manuel Flecker (Kiel), Thomas Kiely (London), Yannis Kourayos, Dimitris Kourkoumelis, Aggeliki Kouveli (Athens, Acropolis Museum), Kornelia Kressiser (Bonn), Vassilis Lambrinoudakis, Allard Mees (Mainz), Maria Chiara Monaco, Dario Palermo, John Papadopoulos, Jacques Perrault, Jean Perras (Isthmia), Alexandra Sfyroera, Ulrich Sinn, Bernhard Steinmann (Karlsruhe), Lea Stirling, and Ian Whitbread.

This work required extensive visual documentation. I am indebted to a number of institutions for providing vital financial assistance: a Franklin Research Grant from the American Philosophical Society, a Loeb Classical Library Foundation Fellowship, a grant from the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) Publication Subvention Program, and a grant from the Mellon Bank 1984 Foundation all assisted with the costs of traveling to view collections and ordering photos and drawings. Finally, the publication of color figures was made possible by awards through the Provost's Author Support Fund at the University of Arizona as well as a Kress Publication Fellowship through the ASCSA. Parts of this book were written while I was a Whiting Fellow at Bryn Mawr College and as a Margo Tytus Fellow at the University of Cincinnati. I finished the work as an Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and as a Senior Fellow at the Center for Hellenic Studies at Harvard University. I could not have asked for better learning environments and wonderful colleagues to complete this endeavor.

A number of experts in various fields read earlier drafts or provided helpful advice: I warmly thank Diane Harris Cline, Matteo D'Acunto, George Davis, Jack Davis, David Dawson, Yannis Galanakis, Argyroula Intzesiloglou, Richard Jones, Andromache Karanika, Kyriaki Karoglou, Stella Katsarou, Despoina Kondopoulou, Theodora Kopestonsky, Antonios Kotsonas, Eleni Kotsou, Alexandros Laftsidis, Kenneth Lapatin, Carol Lawton, Albert Leonard, Yannis Lolos, Gloria London, Vassiliki Machaira, Nancy Odegaard, Andrej Petrovic, Seth Pevnick, Konstantinos Raptis, Molly Richardson, Brunilde Ridgway, Martha Risser, Betsey Robinson, David Gilman Romano, Irene Bald Romano, Susan Rotroff, Philip Sapirstein, Marco Serino, Francesca Silverstrelli, Tyler Jo Smith, Ronald Stroud, Robert Sutton, Peter van Alfen, Massimo Vidale, and Angela Ziskowski. Catherine Morgan, Gina Salapata, and Alan Shapiro have generously offered great advice in all stages of the project, and I am greatly indebted to them. My gracious hostess in Berlin, Elke Friedman, helped me with taking measurements of select pinakes. Particular thanks are due to Martin Bentz, who generously shared with me the color images from the Tonart exhibit in Bonn. Karim Arafat kindly allowed me to study, for comparative purposes, the Isthmia pinakes in August 2003. Thanks also to Sarah Bolmarcich and Georgina Muskett for allowing me to use their database of potters' and painters' signatures. I am indebted to Rudolf Wachter, who generously allowed me to reproduce his drawings of the Penteskouphia inscriptions. Heartfelt thanks also to Wendy Thomas, who kindly transferred to me the late Helen Geagan's archives in the fall of 2017. Geagan's archives contain meticulous notes and a number of new joins. Her work is simply outstanding. I owe Geagan a great debt, and I hope the present work would have pleased her. Asia Del Bonis-O'Donnell, Kendyl Bostic, Melissa Fuller, Grace Gegenheimer, Amber Kearns, Camilla MacKay, Stephanie Martin, Martha Payne, Amy Posch, and Martha Sowerwine diligently assisted with the preparation of the manuscript at various stages. Sasha Russon helped tremendously in the layout of the appendixes.

Through it all, my family and friends steadfastly believed in this project, even when I wavered. A tightly knit network of incredibly supportive friends in Tucson and elsewhere offered constant encouragement: John Bauschatz, Alison Futrell, Adam Geary, Steven Johnstone, Nassos Papalexandrou, and Mary Voyatzis. Bryan Burns always offered wise advice and the best sounding board, and I cannot thank him enough. My families in Athens and in Tucson provided a solid foundation of inspiration and love. My late mother, Maria, instilled in me her love of antiquity and education, and my late father, Tzonis, always served as a great model for creativity and hard work. They made great sacrifices to provide me with opportunities they never had. I love and miss them. In Tucson, I cherish my family-in-law: with Dara, Nathan, Natalie, and my late mother-in-law Louise, I have shared love and laughter during highs and lows over family meals on Sundays.

I dedicate this book to Alan Rodney May—a small token for his unwavering love and encouragement. Alan has walked through ridges around Penteskouphia, has seen and measured many pinakes with me, and has survived through the project on both sides of the Atlantic. I owe him more than words can say or pinakes can show. We both feel blessed to see

the smiles of our Elina Maria every single day and are filled with gratitude for everything in our lives. In my world of wanderings and wonderings, Alan and Elina effortlessly create a warm feeling of home wherever we are, while they wisely point to true north.

INTRODUCTION

Corinth was a major ceramic production center during the Archaic period (700–480 B.C.), creating goods that were traded within Greece and around the Mediterranean. Pottery workshops supplied households with their cosmetic, drinking, and storage items, while tile works manufactured roofing tiles for many civic and religious buildings. Corinthian potters shaped their local clays into small perfume bottles (aryballoi and alabastra) and drinking cups (kotylai), or into larger jugs, amphoras, and mixing bowls (kraters). The workshops experimented both technically, by introducing the black-figure technique, which required advanced firing skills, and artistically, by decorating their pots with distinctive animal and figural scenes.

Ancient sources, many from a much later date, often credit the Corinthian region with significant breakthroughs in the ceramic arts during the Archaic period. The Sikyonian potter Butades, apparently working at Corinth, was the first to model portraits from clay and to add terracotta masks to buildings (Plin. *HN* 35.151–152). The Corinthian Demaratos, along with other modelers in clay, introduced this art to Italy (Plin. *HN* 35.151–152; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.46; Polyb. 6.11.7; Livy 1.34, 4.3). The outline and silhouette techniques in painting were said to have been invented by two Corinthians, Kleantes and Ekphantos, respectively (Plin. *HN* 35.15–16). Pliny credits the Corinthian Hyperbius with the invention of the potter's wheel (Plin. *HN* 7.198), a distinction also claimed by the Athenians.¹ Finally, although it is not associated with a specific individual, Corinth is also considered the birthplace of the black-figure technique, a method of ceramic decoration that gained popularity in many regional production centers during the Archaic period.

Despite the excellent reputation of Corinthian potters in the ancient sources and the abundance of their products in the archaeological record, the locations of their workshops—especially during the Archaic period, the acme of Corinthian ceramics—remain frustratingly elusive. This dearth of excavated remains of pottery workshops at Corinth, however, is mitigated somewhat by the abundance of depictions of potters at work. At Penteskouphia, a relatively obscure site to the west of Corinth, a large group of Archaic terracotta pinakes (plaques) depicting potters at work provides us with a contemporary pictorial account of the technology and

1. Critias (*Elegies* 1.12–14) cites Athens as the birthplace of the wheel; an Athenian named Talos is specifically mentioned as its inventor by Diodorus Siculus (4.76).

organization of their workshops. About 100 pinakes show potters digging for clay, forming and decorating vessels on the wheel, and firing their kilns.

These pinakes were found with several hundred others at Penteskouphia, not all depicting potters at work. The total assemblage numbers about 1,000 pinakes consisting of 1,200 fragments (see Appendix I); their rich imagery also includes depictions of Poseidon, horseback riders, warriors, and animals. The pinakes are painted in black-figure technique and have images on one or both sides, accompanied by inscribed invocations of Poseidon, personal names, painters' signatures, and the unique labeling of a pottery kiln as κάμνος. The scenes and inscriptions are painted on very small surfaces measuring, on average, H. 7.2 × W. 10.0 × Th. 0.7 cm.² Many are pierced, suggesting that the pinakes were meant to be attached to something or suspended. The corpus is fairly uniform in its technical aspects, varying little in size, iconography, and manufacturing technique. Despite its large size, the Penteskouphia corpus has a very narrow chronological range, namely, the first half of the 6th century B.C.; this dating is based mostly on the iconographical style of some representations (figural and animal), filling ornaments, and epigraphical evidence. Overall, dating clues, both internal and external, are limited due to the lack of archaeological context.

THE SITE AND THE CORPUS

Penteskouphia is known chiefly for its substantial assemblage of Archaic terracotta pinakes; it is not mentioned in any ancient sources, and archaeological evidence from earlier or later periods is scant. The site is located to the west of Corinth (Fig. 1.1). It is bounded on the east by Penteskouphia hill (elevation ca. 400 m), which is known in modern times by a host of names; one of these, the *kastraki*, refers to a Frankish castle built there in the early 13th century A.D.³ To the west the site is bounded by the village of Penteskouphia, which is situated on a low plateau, and by the end of the 19th century was sparsely populated. It now consists of a single chapel dedicated to *Ayios Antonios*. To the north the plateau is terraced down to a ravine.⁴ The ancient *Phliasian* road passes on the east of Penteskouphia

2. For a comprehensive overview of votive pinakes, from their manufacture to their display and their disposal, see Salapata 2002. For a review of the ancient terminology, see Benndorf 1868, pp. 4–24, esp. p. 12, nn. 51–53; Boardman 1954, pp. 186–187; Salapata 2002, p. 21, n. 34; *TheoCRAI*, 2004, pp. 293–296, s.v. Pinakes (J. Boardman, T. Mannack, and C. Wagner); and more recently, Karoglou 2010, pp. 1–10. The ancient Greek term πίνᾶξ (pl. πίνᾶκες) was used for flat terracotta plaques, but it also had several more meanings. It is used in the Penteskouphia excavation reports, however, and thus has been adopted more widely in recent scholarship about the Penteskouphia pinakes

and others of the same type.

3. *Corinth* III.2, pp. 265–267, figs. 217, 218. The altitude cited for Penteskouphia hill varies in literature, from 322 m (Pritchett 1969, p. 75, fig. 9) to 473 m (Wiseman 1978, p. 83, fig. 105). The altitude of Acrocorinth is 575 m (Salmon 1984, p. 29). Variations of the name include Pente Skouphia, Penteskoufia, and Penteskoufi, or even Penteskuphi; these may have originated as a mispronunciation of the Frankish “Montesquieu,” in connection with the Frankish castle on the hill. It is difficult to establish any connection with similar terms appearing on Late Egyptian papyri, such as the epithet *κουφός* (empty, light; *POxy.* 14.1631.16, dated

to A.D. 280); *κουφά* (jars; e.g., the 2,400 *κουφά* mentioned in the rental of a potter's workshop: *PCair.Masp.* 1.67110, dated to A.D. 565); *κουφοκεραμεύς* (*POxy.* 16.1917; dated to A.D. 616–617; *POxy.* 58.3942, a potter's contract, dated to A.D. 606); or *κουφοκεραμουργός* (*SB* 1.4488, dated to A.D. 635). My thanks to Octavian Bounegru for bringing these papyri to my attention. For an extensive study of these Roman papyri concerning pottery workshops, see Mees 2002, pp. 209–316.

4. For the general location, see Wiseman 1978, p. 83, figs. 105, 107. For the (now rectified) misunderstanding that the pinakes were found in two ravines, see below, p. 32.

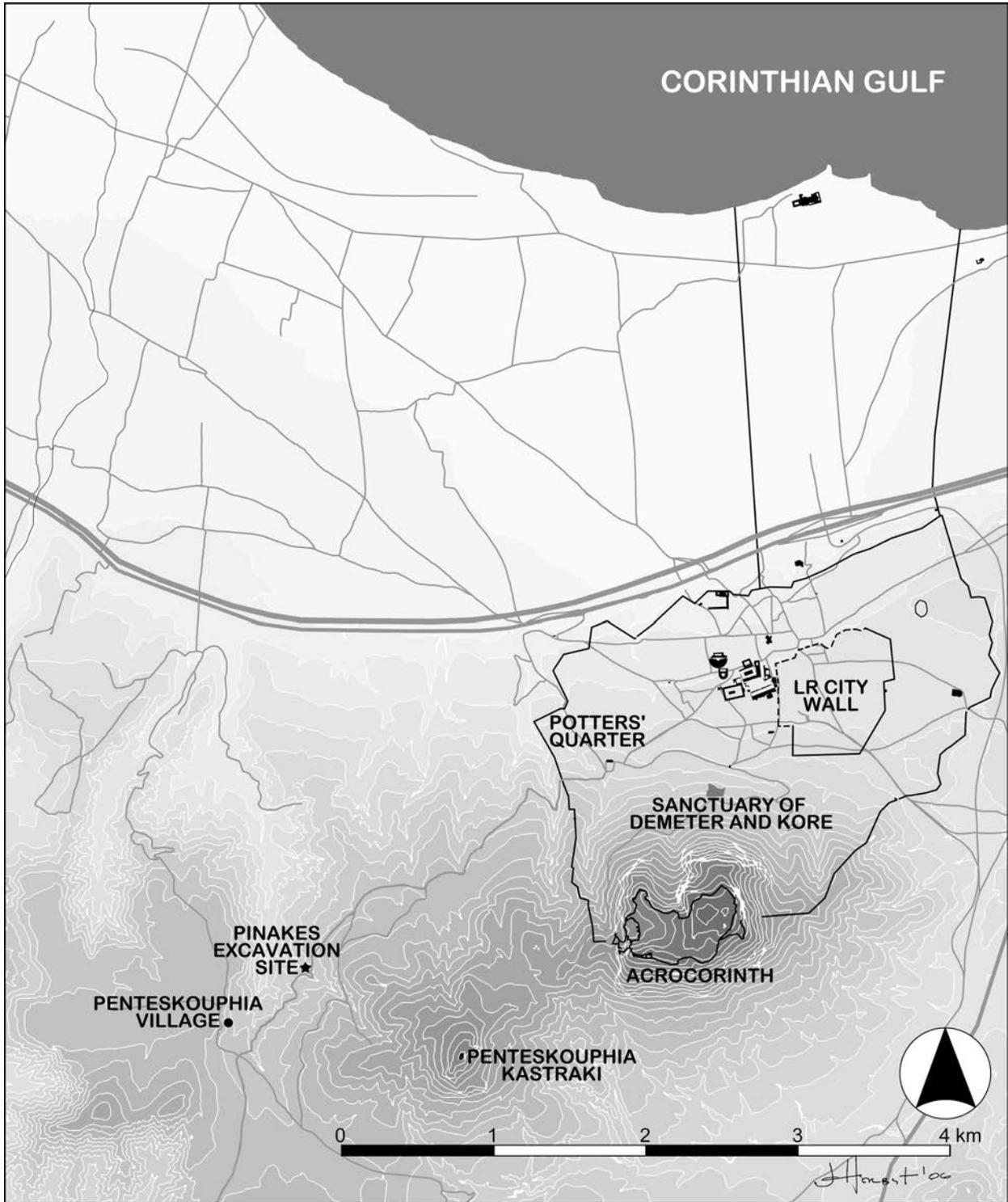


Figure 1.1. Region of Penteskouphia and Corinth. J. Herbst

village, leading to Phlious and Kleonai, as does a later Roman road built to service the long Hadrianic aqueduct that originally started at Lake Stymphalos and ended at Acrocorinth (see Figs. 2.1, 2.2).⁵ Remains of the aqueduct dot the Penteskouphia landscape at various points, especially to the west of Penteskouphia hill.

Most of the pinakes were first unearthed by a farmer in 1879.⁶ The early publications mention that the farmer was from the village of Penteskouphia and that he subsequently sold the pinakes to someone in Nea Korinthos.⁷ Another large cache of pinakes was found in the same area during a three-day excavation conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) in 1905. No architectural remains contemporary with the pinakes were noted then, and none have since come to light. The specific site where the 1905 cache of pinakes was found is ca. 700 m northeast of the village of Penteskouphia, 2.5 km west of Acrocorinth, about 3.5 km southwest of the Temple of Apollo at Ancient Corinth, and about 3 km from the Corinthian Potters' Quarter.⁸ The pinakes found by the farmer in 1879 made their way into museum collections in Berlin and in Paris soon after their discovery, while those excavated in 1905 were taken to the Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth (hereafter, Corinth Museum), where they remain today. In this work it is argued that the farmer's 1879 looting site largely coincides with the 1905 excavation spot, as there are several joins between the two sets. Furthermore, I adopt the simplest working hypothesis that the ancient use context and deposition site largely coincided with the modern recovery site.⁹

5. *Corinth* I.1, pp. 88–89, 106; Wiseman 1978, p. 83, fig. 105; Lolos 1997, pp. 274–275, figs. 1, 2. For Kleonai and its surrounding region, see Marchand 2009.

6. The 1870s saw intense looting in the Corinthia (Andreades 2007, pp. 55–65). The local Athenian newspaper (ΑΣΤΥ, issue 4584, dated November 3, 1906) reported on Washburn's presentation, at an ASCSA meeting, of the School's excavation of the Penteskouphia pinakes. Washburn specifically mentions Pavlos Lambros, father of the university professor Spiros Lambros, as the person who originally collected them a few years ago. I thank Yannis Galanakis for bringing this source to my attention. I provide, with his permission, the relevant passages: "Πρώτος ώμίλησεν ό κ. Όλιβερ Ουώσμπορν, νεαρός έταίρος της σχολής, εύγλωττος και πολυμαθής, περι Κορινθιακών πινάκων ήτοι πηλίνων τετραγώνων μικρών πλινθίων, τὰ όποια φέρουν παραστάσεις γραπτὰς και έπιγραφάς. Οί πίνακες ούτοι είναι του 7–6 αιώνος π.Χ. και είναι σπανιώτατοι τόσοσν ώστε εν μόνον τεμάχιον αυτών έχει αξίαν 500 τουλάχιστον φράγκων. Την πρώτην συγκομιδήν πινάκων εκ

Κορίνθου έκαμε πρό έτων ό Παύλος Λάμπρος, πατήρ του καθηγητού του Πανεπιστημίου κ. Σπ. Λάμπρου: ταύτα εύρίσκονται σήμεραν εις τὸ μουσειον του Βερολίνου, όπου άπαρτίζουν την μόνην συλλογήν εις τὸ είδος της.

Ό κ. Ουώσμπορν όμως εύρεν εις τὰ όπισθεν του Άκροκορίνθου εις θέσιν Πεντεσκούφια πολλά τεμάχια τοιούτων πινάκων, όχι βεβαίως τόσοσν έντελών και σημαντικόν, όπως τὰ εν Βερολίνω, αλλά σπουδαιοτάτων δια τὰς παραστάσεις των.

Αί παραστάσεις αυτών είναι κατά τὸ πλείστον γνωσταί εκ των παλαιότερων εκείνων πινάκων, ούχ ήττον όμως πολλαί νέα παρουσιάζονται, μεταξύ των όποιων εξέχουσιν θέσιν κατέχουν αι παραστάσεις πλοίων και άλλων επαγγελματικόν σκηνών π.χ. άρτοποιείου κτλ.

Δια πολλών φωτεινών εικόνων του ώραιου άμερικανικού προβολέως της Σχολής έδειξεν ό κ. Ουώσμπορν τὰς παραστάσεις των συντριμμάτων τούτων, αι όποιαί θα καταλάβουν περιφανή θέσιν εις την Γραφικήν και την ιστορίαν του Έλληνικού πολιτισμού."

7. Rayet 1880, p. 102. This illicit excavation reportedly took place in the spring, although Geagan (1970, p. 31)

refers to "a summer night in 1879." Springtime rainfall and erosion may have conspired to expose the deposit.

8. *PECS*, s.v. "Penteskouphia" (R. Stroud); Salmon 1984, p. 4, fig. 2; Whitbread 1995, pp. 110, 264, 327, figs. 4.28, 5.3, 5.33.

9. In more complicated and not necessarily useful scenarios, one could postulate that the 1879/1905 site represents a secondary depositional context, with the ancient use site and primary deposition context in the vicinity, or that the 1905 site is a modern deposition context created by the farmer in 1879, with all ancient use and deposition contexts lying at unknown distances. At present, we cannot determine whether there are additional sites with deposits of pinakes near the 1879/1905 site.

In late 2020, Jack L. Davis kindly informed me of this entry in Bert H. Hill's diaries: "HDW and I to Corinth by 6.50. . . . Talk with Nikolaou who says shall be free to dig down in his land where sarcophagi were found. He says *he* sold the II. Σκουφ. tablets" (Hill 1888–1917, entry for March 24, 1908). Archival investigation must be undertaken to identify Nikolaou's land holdings at that time.

With so much uncertainty about their ancient deposition and modern recovery, though, one easily becomes skeptical about the usefulness of discussing whether the pinakes were deposited in a *bothros*,¹⁰ a *stips*, a *fossa*, or, as originally suggested by Furtwängler, a *favissa*.¹¹ In terms of spatial concentration, a group of 1,200 fragments of pinakes could have easily been gathered in antiquity and buried in an area of ca. 1 m³: either in a pit 1 m long × 1 m wide × 1 m deep, or in a shallower one 1.5 m long × 1.5 m wide.¹²

The largest collection of Penteskouphia pinakes is held by the Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung (formerly the Antiquarium der Königlichen Museen; hereafter, Antikensammlung) in Berlin.¹³ These pinakes, exceeding 700 in number, were inventoried by two scholars, Furtwängler in 1885 and Pernice in 1897. In modern scholarship, the pinakes inventoried by Furtwängler are cited with the prefix “F,” and those by Pernice with the prefix “I.” Furtwängler inventoried most of the pinakes in Berlin (F 347–F 955 and F 3920–F 3924), providing brief individual descriptions and defining groups based on similar iconography. In the introduction to his catalogue, he mentions “various pottery fragments and other antiquities” without further elaboration, and makes no reference to the circumstances of the initial recovery of the pinakes.¹⁴ A few years later, Pernice inventoried additional fragments (I 1–I 186), added some new joins, and offered correct reinterpretations of some scenes.¹⁵ The Antikensammlung in Berlin has about 60 pinakes on permanent display. Since the late 19th century, some pinakes have been on long-term loan to German university museums, such as a group of eight at the Akademisches Kunstmuseum in Bonn (F 369, F 377–F 379, F 478, F 531, F 679, F 825) and another group of eight in Göttingen (F 384, F 420, F 520, F 584, F 613 [A18], F 883, F 898, I 3).¹⁶ Between 1886 and 1901, about 190 pinakes from Berlin, mostly representations of Poseidon and potters at work, were briefly discussed by Fränkel and illustrated in *Antike Denkmäler*; these have been routinely reproduced in later discussions.¹⁷

10. For a useful survey of the term βόθρος in ancient Greek sources, see Ekroth 2002, pp. 60–74: “a *bothros* was a sacrificial pit, i.e., a hole in the ground into which libations were poured, the most prominent being the blood of the sacrificial victims. Sacrifices could also be burnt in the *bothros*” (p. 60). According to the LSJ, a βόθρος is a hole, trench, or pit dug in the ground; it can be translated as “hollow,” “grave,” or “ritual pit for offerings to the subterranean gods.” *Bothroi* are closely associated with cults of heroes, the deceased, the chthonian divinities, and the winds, appearing both in funerary and religious contexts; see also Patera 2012, pp. 193–248.

11. Furtwängler 1885, p. 47. Bouma (1996, pp. 30–55, esp. p. 51), provides a translation of the definitions from Hackens’s (1963) list of votive

depositions corresponding with ancient terms: “*favissae*, cavities near a temple, originally used as water reservoirs; *fossa*, a simple pit or hole dug in the soil; *bothros*, a pit containing the depositions of remains of a sacrifice, deposited immediately after its completion; *thysiae*, separate depositions of the remains of each single sacrifice; *stips*, an offering with the sacred character of money or of sacred material comprising money.” Osborne (2004) urges greater attention to the study of votive deposition as part of the “social life of things.”

12. In one experiment, 80 fragments of clay pinakes similar in size to the Penteskouphia pinakes could easily fit in a small banker’s box (L. 0.46 × W. 0.30 × H. 0.26 m). For comparison, pit A (of Classical date) at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on

Acrocorinth (1.70 long × 0.85 wide × 0.50 m deep, with an area of 0.72 m³) contained ca. 90 votives, mostly of miniature size (*Corinth* XVIII.3, p. 161).

13. Milchhöfer 1882. See below, p. 24, for a more detailed account of the years following the initial recovery of the pinakes.

14. Furtwängler 1885, pp. 47–105, 999–1000.

15. Pernice 1897.

16. *CVA*, Göttingen 2 [Germany 73], pls. 20, 21 [3663, 3664]. One pinax (F 390) at the Archäologisches Museum in Münster was lost during World War II.

17. *AntDenk* I [1886], pp. 3–4, pls. 7, 8; II [1893–1894], p. 8, pls. 23, 24; II [1895–1898], p. 6, pls. 29, 30; II [1899–1901], p. 3, pls. 39, 40.

Very few other pinakes from the Berlin collection have been illustrated or published since then.¹⁸

In the 1880s, 16 pinakes were acquired by the Musée du Louvre in Paris (CA 452, MNB 2856–MNB 2859, MNC 206–MNC 216), and received brief treatments in early publications of the museum.¹⁹ They are now all on permanent display in the museum, and very good illustrations, along with dimensions, are also available on the museum website.²⁰

The third collection, comprising about 400 fragments, is held in the Corinth Museum (C-1963-100 to C-1963-452 and “ca. 112 (additional) fragments of no artistic value”).²¹ The Corinthian group consists of pinax fragments collected during the three-day excavation by the ASCSA at Penteskouphia in 1905, as well as stray finds recovered by later visitors to the site. Only a small number of the Corinthian fragments have been published, and none are on display in the Corinth Museum.²²

Over 130 years since their initial discovery, then, despite some isolated efforts, this extraordinary group of pinakes has not received comprehensive study or publication, either in its entirety or in any of its thematic subsets. In part this is due to the difficulty of studying an assemblage that is dispersed among three European museums. While there are three separate collections, unequal in the number and quality of preserved fragments, joining pieces of the same pinax are frequently found across them (examples in this study include **B6** and **B51**; see also Appendix I). Because a limited number of select pinakes have been repeatedly illustrated, the variation in size, subject, and quality of painting within the Penteskouphia corpus has never been fully appreciated. Fortunately, however, many of the inscriptions on the pinakes in Berlin and Paris were published in 1882 shortly after their discovery, later reappeared as part of Fränkel’s *IG IV* volume (1902), and more recently received a thorough treatment by Wachter (2001) as part of his seminal study on non-Attic vase inscriptions.²³

The absence of severe surface weathering on the Penteskouphia pinakes may be attributed to their short-term display in a protected area. If anything else was found with them, it was either ignored by the farmer or sold separately from the pinakes. In the contaminated pottery lot associated with the pinakes in the Corinth Museum, there were 42 sherds and two figurines. It is impossible to know whether the original assemblage consisted primarily of pinakes or contained additional artifacts apart from the pinakes that never came to light or lost their original association after being dug by the farmer.

PINAKES IN THE CORINTHIA

The assemblage of Penteskouphia pinakes occupies a prominent place in the history of Greek pinakes. Corinthian potters created an unusually large number of pinakes within a relatively short period of time and in a rather isolated area. In some cases they drew upon themes from their regular repertoire, but the scenes of Poseidon and of potters at work represent themes that are otherwise conspicuously absent from Corinthian vase painting. Numbering 1,023 pinakes, the Penteskouphia corpus is the largest group of painted, hand-formed terracotta pinakes ever recovered—not only from

18. For more recent photographs, see *LIMC* I, 1981, pp. 724–735, esp. nos. 1–4, 10–14, 25–27, pls. 576, 577, 579, 580, s.v. Amphitrite (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou) and *LIMC* VII, 1994, pp. 446–479, esp. pp. 456–468, nos. 103–117, pls. 359–361, s.v. Poseidon (E. Simon). See also Zimmer 1982a; Kiderlen and Strocka 2005; Bentz, Geominy, and Müller 2010. Palmieri’s 2016 discussion of 200 pinakes, only 25 of which are illustrated, emphasizes pinakes already presented in *Antike Denkmäler*, with only two dozen or so new additions, mostly from the collection in Corinth.

19. Rayet 1880; Collignon 1886.

20. See www.photo.rmn.fr. Coulié 2013, pp. 131–132.

21. Von Raits 1964, pp. 2–4; see also Washburn 1906; Geagan 1970.

22. Geagan 1970 (especially when fragments join those in Berlin and Paris); Palmieri 2016 catalogues nine fragments from Ancient Corinth: pp. 172, 187, 204–205, 218, 220–222, 225, nos. Cc3, Fc2, Ge25, Gg1, Od2, Oe4, Oe8, Of1, P7.

23. Röhl 1882; *IG IV*; Wachter 2001, pp. 119–155, nos. COP 1–97.



Figure 1.2. Select sites in the Corinthia. J. Herbst

24. All are in preparation for publication by E. Hasaki, K. Arafat, and E. Rompoti. For the Gotsi plot, see Protonotariou-Deilaki 1971. Two pinakes reportedly from the Gotsi plot are exhibited in the Corinth Museum: MK 9370, depicting a figure upside down in an acrobatic position drinking from a cup on the floor and resting his feet on a short table (tentatively identified in the museum label as Ippokleides, a candidate to marry the daughter of the Sikyonian tyrant Kleisthenes), and MK 9371, depicting a female figure to r. I thank Vassilios Tasinos of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Corinth for kindly providing this information.

25. Over one hundred moldmade pinakes and three-dimensional body parts, dated to the 4th century B.C., were recovered from the Asklepieion (*Corinth* XIV, pp. 114–128, pls. 29–46). A small number (20 in total) of unusually small, narrow, rectangular pinakes with carefully inscribed words, often names, were found in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and published by Stroud (*Corinth* XVIII.6, pp. 71–80). Both the function (theater tickets?) and the date (Early Hellenistic?) of these rare objects remain tentative.

the Corinthia, but from the entire Greek mainland. Although we cannot possibly know, without further exploration of the area, whether other similar assemblages exist, it seems that most of the Berlin–Paris–Ancient Corinth group has been recovered, especially since the Ancient Corinth material seems to have been presorted (see below, p. 72). The unusually large size of the group, coupled with the presence of unusual themes and a large number of inscriptions, justifies a close analysis of its overall character and of discernible distribution patterns.

Pinakes have been found in very small numbers at a few other Corinthian sites, including the Potters' Quarter and the nearby Gotsi plot at Ancient Corinth as well as at the sanctuaries at Isthmia and Perachora (Fig. 1.2; Table 1.1).²⁴ The unusual quantity and concentration of the Penteskouphia pinakes are especially impressive when compared to the paltry numbers recovered at the four other Corinthian locations, which have been extensively excavated: 38 from the Potters' Quarter (Fig. 1.3), 15 unpublished terracotta pinakes of Archaic date (depicting horses, warriors, ships, chariots, women, and centaurs), presumably from the Gotsi plot at Ancient Corinth, near the Potters' Quarter, 17 from the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia (Fig. 1.4) and the neighboring Rachi site, and 11 from the Heraion at Perachora (Fig. 1.5). In all, the pinakes from these four sites number 81. This sum excludes the moldmade pinakes from the Sanctuary of Asklepios and the ticket-like pinakes from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.²⁵ The Penteskouphia assemblage, then, in terms of numbers, surpasses by far all other sites in all periods in the Corinthia.

The 38 published pinakes from the Potters' Quarter date mainly to the Middle Corinthian and Late Corinthian periods (see Table 3.5 for Corinthian chronology). Less than half (15) are two-sided, with different themes on each side. The iconographical repertoire includes Herakles, males/figures, animals, and furniture/objects; inscriptions are



Figure 1.3. Pinakes from the Potters' Quarter of Corinth (Corinth KN-8, KN-18, KN-19). Scale 1:2. Photos courtesy Corinth Excavations

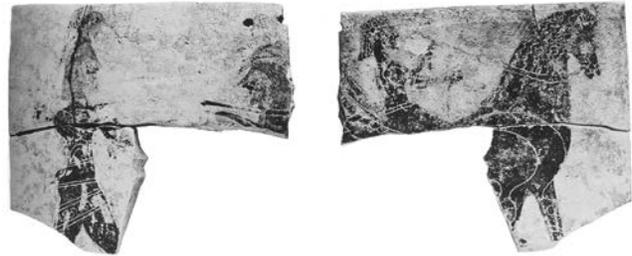


Figure 1.4 (left). Pinax from the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia (Isthmia Museum IM 1251). Scale 1:1. Photo courtesy Isthmia Excavations

rare.²⁶ Poseidon's sanctuary at Isthmia yielded 14 pinakes, mostly from the southeastern area.²⁷ All of these are small, one-sided, and mostly in fragmentary condition, dating to the Middle and Late Corinthian periods.²⁸ The iconographic themes include Poseidon, chiton-clad figures perhaps also depicting Poseidon, a sea creature, and a helmeted warrior. Only part of an inscription, possibly addressing Poseidon, survives. Three additional pinakes come from the neighboring site of Rachi: a mold for a horseback rider pinax (IM 457), a moldmade human face or mask (IM 967), and a

Figure 1.5 (right). Pinax from the Heraion at Perachora (Athens, NAM 16636). Scale 1:3. Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund

26. *Corinth XV.3*, pp. 239–245, nos. 1320–1357, pls. 55, 56, 112–114, 122. The 38 pinakes came from a large excavated area equivalent to ca. 6,000 m² (ca. 30 × 200 m, as estimated on the folded plan in *Corinth XV.3*). They were concentrated mainly in the Road Deposit (11 pieces) and well I (12 pieces). Dipinti are preserved on nos. 1335, 1344, 1355, and 1356. For no. 1344 (KN-8; Fig. 1.3), see also Wachter 2001, p. 134, no. COP 34. One pinax from the Potters' Quarter (Corinth KN-15; *Corinth XV.3*, pp. 239–240, no. 1320, pls. 55, 112; Amyx 1988, p. 29) measures 0.142 × 0.180 m, is decorated

in black-polychrome technique, dates to the Middle Protocorinthian period, and is attributed to the Aegina Bellerophon Painter. Another painter identified in association with these pinakes is the Chimaera Painter (Corinth KN-55; *Corinth XV.3*, p. 240, no. 1322, pls. 55, 112); one pinax may be by Timonidas (Corinth KN-46; *Corinth XV.3*, p. 245, no. 1356, pls. 56, 114, 122).

27. All kept at the Isthmia Archaeological Museum (hereafter, Isthmia Museum). The imagery includes Poseidon (IM 1251); chiton-clad figures possibly also representing Poseidon (IM 1100 + 1186, IM 2412, with a

partially preserved dipinto Π[οσειδων], IM 3067 + 1178, IM 3105, IM 3106, IM 7597, IM 8557); a sea creature (IM 2204a, b); a helmeted warrior (IM 7632a, b); and linear decoration (IM 5327, with stippled lines; non vidi). Jean Perras informs me of three other pinakes from the Isthmia sanctuary: IM 255, IM 2197a, b, and IP 9904. Karim Arafat kindly allowed me to illustrate IM 1251 here.

28. This fragmentary preservation may be due in part to the intense plundering that the Isthmia sanctuary suffered in the 1st century B.C. (Mylonopoulos 2003, p. 339).

TABLE 1.1. DISTRIBUTION OF TERRACOTTA PINAKES AT ARCHAIC CORINTHIAN SITES

<i>Sites</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Two-Sided</i>	<i>With Inscriptions</i>	<i>No. of Poseidon Scenes</i> ¹
Corinth, Penteskouphia	1,023	367	163	350
Corinth, Potters' Quarter	38	15	3	1
Corinth, Gotsi plot	15	5	1	–
Isthmia/Rachi	17	0	1	1
Perachora	11	5	1	–

Note: Data from *Corinth* XV.3, *Perachora* II, and personal study at the Corinth and Isthmia museums.

¹ Poseidon scenes appearing on both sides of a two-sided pinax are counted separately.

moldmade crouching sphinx (IM 1028). Among the 11 pinakes reported from the Heraion at Perachora, the themes include warriors, male and female figures, ships, sphinxes, and a single depiction of Bellerophon.²⁹

In technique, iconography, and general chronological range, the pinakes from these four sites closely resemble the Penteskouphia pinakes. There is also a similar relative frequency of two-sided pinakes and inscriptions at three of the four sites. But this is where the similarities end. Of the four other locations where pinakes are found, two (Isthmia and Perachora) housed well-established sanctuaries. The Potters' Quarter was primarily an industrial site, but there were a few pockets of religious activity at the stele shrines that dotted the surrounding landscape.³⁰ All were sites with long periods of occupation. Moreover, Isthmia and Perachora were adorned with impressive temples and other auxiliary buildings and experienced considerable regional traffic. The few pinakes at the sanctuaries were heavily outnumbered by the large quantities of votives in clay and other materials.

We are of course unable to gauge the quantity of wooden pinakes originally produced and dedicated in the Corinthia.³¹ The four preserved wooden pinakes from Pitsa, found in the Saftulis cave on the northern side of Mt. Chelydorea near Sikyon, are isolated examples of what must have been a popular type of dedication at sacred sites in the Corinthia and elsewhere (Fig. 1.6).³²

29. *Perachora* II, pp. 235–237, nos. 2267–2276, pls. 79, 80, 163, and p. 371, no. 4013, pl. 154). Five are two-sided. No. 2275 is tentatively interpreted as part of a clay decorative band. Six Perachora pinakes are exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (NAM): NAM 16631 (no. 2271); NAM 16633 (no. 2272); NAM 16634 (no. 2269); NAM 16635 (no. 2273); NAM 16636 (no. 2268, the Bellerophon pinax); NAM 16638 (no. 2267, Early Corinthian, with traces of an inscription [Lorber 1979, p. 30, no. 30; Wachter 2001, p. 119, n. 400]).

30. Williams 1978, 1981. For stele

shrines, see below, pp. 280, 290–291).

31. Isocrates' scorn (*Antid.* 2) of the painters of presumably wooden pinakes as opposed to painters of the caliber of Zeuxis or Parrhasios has been frequently cited (Boardman 1954, pp. 186–190; von Raits 1964, p. 18; Karoglou 2010, p. 5).

32. The wooden pinakes are in Athens (NAM 16464–16467). Pinakes 16464 and 16465 are both dated to 540–530 B.C., while 16466 is dated to 525–500 B.C., and 16467 to the third quarter or the end of the 6th century B.C. For the site, see Paus. 7.17; *PECS*, s.v. Pitsa (R. Stroud); Orlandos

1935; 1965, pp. 201–205, figs. 225–228 (with dates); Lorber 1979, p. 93, no. 154. Their inscriptions are also discussed more recently in Wachter 2001, pp. 156–157, no. COP APP. 1, and *SEG* XXIII 264a–c. In addition to wooden painted pinakes, there may have been wooden pinakes onto which lead cut-out figures were attached (as the Isthmia bronze cut-out figure of Poseidon, discussed in Chap. 7; see Fig. 7.11). For the famous cut-out bronze figures from the Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme Vianou, see Lembesi 1985.



Figure 1.6 (*above, left*). Wooden votive pinax from Pitsa, near Sikyon (Athens, NAM 16464). Scale 1:4. Photo G. Patrikianos, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund

Figure 1.7 (*above, right*). Pinax depicting seated Athena, from the Athenian Acropolis (Athens, NAM Akr. 1.2582). Scale ca. 2:3. Photo V. Tsiamis, © Acropolis Museum

Figure 1.8 (*left*). Pinax depicting weavers, from the Athenian Acropolis (Athens, Acropolis Museum GL 2525). Scale 1:1. Photo V. Tsiamis, © Acropolis Museum

Outside the Corinthia, the corpora of pinakes that have been found are simply not comparable, either in numbers or in production methods. For example, from a roughly contemporary context in Athens, there are about 100 painted pinakes from the 6th century B.C. from the Athenian Acropolis (Figs. 1.7, 1.8).³³ At the Spartan sanctuary of Agamemnon and Cassandra, about 2,200 moldmade terracotta pinakes have been recovered, dating between the late 6th and late 4th centuries B.C.³⁴ The largest known corpus of terracotta pinakes, over 5,000 in total, comes from Italy, from the Sanctuary of Persephone at Locri Epizephyrii in the 5th century B.C. (Fig. 1.9).³⁵ Both the Spartan and the Locri Epizephyrian pinakes were mass-produced with the use of molds, however, whereas the pinakes from Penteskouphia were formed by hand and feature hand-drawn compositions, often on both sides.

33. For the painted pinakes from the Athenian Acropolis, see Graef and Langlotz I, pp. 242–253, nos. 2493–2592, pls. 101–111; II, pp. 93–95, nos. 1037–1051, pls. 80–82; Schulze 2004; Karoglou 2010, pp. 16–31, nos. 1–117. For the nearly 160 Archaic relief pinakes from the Athenian Acropolis, most with themes of Athena, see Vlassopoulou 2003. Karoglou's study (2010) also includes pinakes from other Attic sites, including the Athenian Agora (pp. 97–101,

114–118, nos. 118–133, 187–204), Eleusis (pp. 101–110, nos. 134–168), the Sanctuary of the Nymphs (pp. 110–113, nos. 169–182) and Sounion (pp. 113–114, nos. 183–186). More recently, Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis (2015) presented 26 painted pinakes (pp. 202–211, nos. 147–172) from the Sanctuaries of Athena and Poseidon at Sounion.

34. Salapata 2014, p. 20; see pp. 46–62 for a technical analysis of the Spartan pinakes.

35. E.g., Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 21016 + 60831, measuring 27.0–27.7 × 21.8 × 0.9 cm and dating to 490–480 B.C. (Lissi-Caronna, Sabbione, and Vlad Borrelli 2007, pp. 427–428, pl. 134). For the Locri Epizephyrian pinakes, see Grillo, Rubinich, and Schenal Pileggi 2000–2003; Redfield 2003. A shorter introduction to the corpus, with impressive color photos, can be found in Schenal Pileggi 2011.



Figure 1.9. Pinax depicting Hades and Persephone, from Locri Epizephyrîi (Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 21016 + 60831). Scale 1:4. Photo courtesy Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo–Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria

Pinakes tend to have a rather localized consumption pattern, within the general area of their manufacture. Occasionally we hear of Corinthian pinakes being dedicated outside the Corinthia, such as the votive pinakes from the Athenian Acropolis and the Athena temenos adjacent to the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Cape Sounion.³⁶ These are called “Corinthian” because their lighter clay resembles that from Corinth; it is difficult to establish, however, whether the clay (not yet tested for its composition), the maker, or the dedicator had any connection with Corinth, or whether the pinakes were manufactured in Athenian or Corinthian workshops.

Interestingly, the craft scenes that appear on the Penteskouphia pinakes are absent from the vases that were the regular products of the Corinthian ceramic workshops. As the makers of the Penteskouphia pinakes signed the pinakes both as painter and as potter, and since artisans of different ages and skill levels in the workshop worked on pinakes, the generic term “potter” is used in the present study. Because men formed the core workforce of ancient Greek ceramic workshops, as evidenced in signatures, literary sources, and iconography, I use male pronouns to refer to the potters.³⁷

The visual evidence for the display contexts of pinakes in classical antiquity is well known. No pinakes, however, are depicted on Corinthian or Athenian black-figure vessels, either contemporary with the Penteskouphia pinakes or in later periods. All scenes of displayed pinakes on red-figure vases were produced in Athenian and South Italian workshops; these clearly suggest open-air shrines, with or without architectural features.³⁸ For example, an altar and a tree with hanging pinakes are depicted at a shrine to Chryse on an Athenian red-figure bell krater (Fig. 1.10).³⁹ Two pinakes are shown hanging from a tree near an altar on an Athenian red-figure calyx krater (Fig. 1.11).⁴⁰ Another depiction of pinakes in a ritual open-air setting, along with an altar, a cult statue of Artemis, and suppliants, appears on a South Italian red-figure nestoris (Fig. 1.12).⁴¹ And, finally, pinakes are shown attached to the walls of a fountain house on a South Italian red-figure calyx krater (Fig. 1.13).⁴²

36. Pinakes from the Acropolis Collection of the National Archaeological Museum (with inventory numbers prefaced by Akr.) believed to be Corinthian include NAM Akr. 1.2579 (Karoglou 2010, pp. 69–70, no. 11, fig. 88; see also below, p. 199, and Fig. 5.10). On NAM Akr. 1.2578 (Karoglou 2010, p. 70, no. 13) Wachter makes the attractive suggestion that it was made at Corinth by a Corinthian potter involved in exporting ceramics (2001, p. 33, no. PCO 6). For the Sounion pinax (Athens, NAM 14935/3588), see Staïs 1917, p. 209, fig. 19; Boardman 1954, p. 198; Karoglou 2010, p. 113, no. 183, fig. 125; Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis 2015, p. 202, no. 147.

37. Women must have assisted

in the making of moldmade objects (perhaps even working in their own residences), or with decoration in the workshop, as the Caputi hydria (see Fig. 5.21) strongly suggests.

38. See van Straten 2000 for discussion and illustrations. A survey of the vase paintings with depictions of pinakes can be found in Karoglou 2010, pp. 10–14, figs. 3–13; see also Kossatz-Deissmann 2005. Many red-figure vases depict pinakes set up near a herm, e.g. *LIMC* V, 1981, pp. 285–387, esp. p. 301, nos. 92–102, pls. 206–208, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert). For an example of a columnar shrine, see the marble votive relief from an Attic sanctuary of Herakles (Athens, NAM 2723; van Straten 2000, p. 211, fig. 17).

39. London, British Museum 1847,0806.54 (E 494); Hooker 1950; van Straten 2000, p. 207, fig. 15.

40. Berlin, Antikensammlung V.I. 3974. The krater, dating to the 4th century B.C., depicts Telephos and Orestes at an altar. *CVA*, Berlin 11 [Germany 86], pls. 34, 35 [4534, 4535], color pl. 2:2.

41. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1760. Sinn 1993, p. 89, fig. 5.2 (mistakenly listed as volute krater).

42. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques 422, dated to the 390s B.C., from Pistocci, by the Dolon Painter: Richter 1970, fig. 199; Larson 2001, p. 51, fig. 1.4.



Figure 1.10 (*left*). Athenian red-figure bell krater (London, British Museum 1847,0806.54 [E 494]). Scale 1:6. Photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 1.11 (*right*). Athenian red-figure calyx krater (Berlin, Antikensammlung V.I. 3974). Scale 1:5. Photo courtesy Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

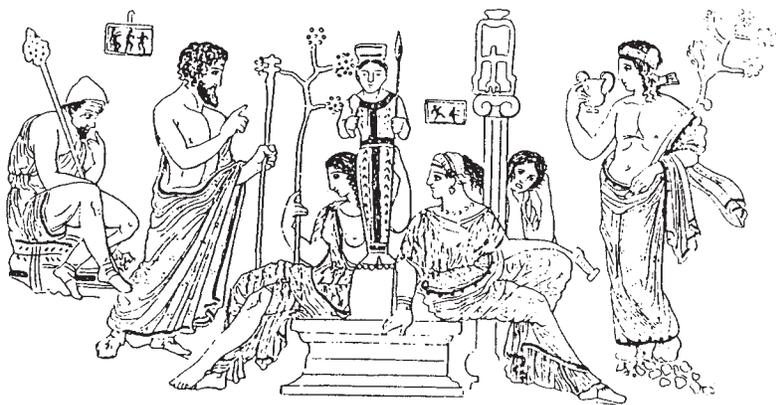


Figure 1.12. Detail drawing of a nestor depicting pinakes in a sacred context at the Sanctuary of Artemis Hemera at Lusoi(?), Arcadia, with daughters of Proitos (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1760). Not to scale. Sinn 1993, p. 89, fig. 5.2



Figure 1.13. Detail of a South Italian red-figure calyx krater with a depiction of pinakes on the wall of a fountain house (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques 422). Not to scale. Photo courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France

SCENES OF POTTERS AT WORK: A CONTEXTUALIZED APPROACH

Since the discovery of the pinakes, scholars have been fascinated by their iconography, but the formation processes behind the Penteskouphia deposit have largely gone unexplored. The frequent inclusion in scholarly works of a few Penteskouphia pinakes having iconography associated with Poseidon, pottery making, seafaring, and warfare lends this assemblage a deceptively familiar appearance. Key issues, however, such as the findspot of the pinakes, the character of the assemblage, the formal characteristics of the pinakes, and the distribution of the themes have not been addressed. Anyone who attempts to discuss any subset of the pinakes must be intimately familiar with the entire corpus, including details of manufacture, iconography, chronology, function, production site(s), display contexts, and final deposition, as well as postdepositional history. Stripped of archaeological context because of their haphazard and illicit collection in 1879, the pinakes raise more questions than they answer about their makers, their users, their function(s), and the circumstances of their deposition. Mysteries such as their sudden popularity in Corinth and their short use-life remain equally unaddressed, and therefore unresolved.

A contextualized approach to the Penteskouphia pinakes seems a useful way to start untangling their problematic aspects, ancient and modern. The present work aims to elucidate four contexts of the pinakes. First, Ioulia Tzonou and James A. Herbst examine the archaeological context of the pinakes in terms of findspot, relating artifacts, the formation processes of the assemblage, and the surrounding Penteskouphia landscape. Second is the pinakes' iconographical context, both within the Penteskouphia corpus and when compared with Corinthian vase painting and non-Corinthian (mainly Athenian) imagery of artisans. Third, I look at the technological and organizational context of the pinakes, namely, how the visual record corresponds with the archaeological record of the technology and organization of pottery workshops. Finally, the religious context of the pinakes leads us to explore why the Penteskouphia potters carried out such intense and short-lived production of these pinakes and decorated them with Poseidon or with workshop scenes, when their main production line was devoid of such themes.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Since this is the first systematic publication of a significant portion of the pinakes, a study of the archaeological context of their recovery and the topographical relationship of the findspot to the general Corinthian landscape, especially around the Penteskouphia region, is of the utmost importance for reconstructing the production and use(s) of these objects.

In Chapter 2, "Excavation Site of the Penteskouphia Pinakes," Tzonou and Herbst address the thorny and obscure aspect of the archaeological context of the Penteskouphia pinakes and provide the first systematic study of their findspot, as well as a detailed topographical exploration of the surrounding area. It was important to establish the locations of both

the farmer's looting in 1879 and the brief ASCSA excavation in 1905. The original discovery site was not marked, but it is assumed that the ASCSA excavation took place within or near the farmer's site since there are joins between the 1879 and 1905 groups. Through a careful reading of the excavation notebooks and associated ceramics, as well as in-depth topographical research, the authors identify a small area of 1,200 m² as the 1905 excavation spot and suggest that the Penteskouphia assemblage found in 1905 was part of the larger assemblage found by the farmer in 1879; further, it was coherent, concentrated, and close to the surface. Thanks to this new topographical documentation, the Penteskouphia landscape, once a barren land, is now better defined through its visible archaeological features, such as a Roman aqueduct and traces of the pre-Roman road that connected Corinth to Phlious and Kleonai. Interestingly, the Corinthian painter Timonidas signed both a Penteskouphia pinax and a bottle found at Kleonai, corroborating the association between these two sites. Once an untethered group of objects, the Penteskouphia pinakes are now anchored both to their findspot and to the wider landscape west of Corinth.

ICONOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

While this study focuses on the Penteskouphia pinakes with scenes of potters at work, any meaningful study of an iconographic subset of the corpus should first treat the parent assemblage, in this case, a total of 1,023 pinakes. Moreover, the Penteskouphia corpus itself invites further comparison with Corinthian and non-Corinthian vase painting in general. In three chapters I deal with each of these concentric comparative spheres.

Chapter 3, "Manufacture, Function, Iconography, Epigraphy, and Chronology," drawing on the entire corpus, begins with descriptions of the formal characteristics of the pinakes themselves, including the details of their manufacture, size range, features (pierced holes for suspension or attachment), and decoration. Technical considerations, in particular, have been overlooked in most earlier discussions. This panoramic view of the pinakes from Penteskouphia leads to a more nuanced discussion of their functions. The pinax, as a form, should be regarded as a dynamically evolving medium that might have filled a variety of functions during its lifetime. While many pinakes were made to serve as votives, I suggest that some Penteskouphia examples, mainly the two-sided ones, continue a tradition of clay tiles serving as informal sketch pads in workshops. Preliminary drawings made by potters, or even apprentices' sketches, might provide us with another insight into craft training, from apprenticeship to mastery.

In terms of decoration, the pinakes are painted on either one side (the one-sided pinakes), or both sides (the two-sided pinakes); they depict Poseidon, either alone or with Amphitrite, warriors and horseback riders, potters at work, and ships. A few animal and mythological scenes are also represented. The iconographical themes display different distribution patterns when one considers the entire group or the subgroups of one-

sided and two-sided pinakes separately. Chapter 3 concludes with a short overview of the epigraphy and of the dating criteria for the corpus. The majority of the dated pinakes (both in the catalogue of this study and of the entire corpus) date to the Middle and Late Corinthian periods, with filling ornaments and letter forms serving as dating clues.

The brief but encompassing overview of all Penteskouphia pinakes presented in Chapter 3 is augmented by seven appendixes placed at the end of the study. Appendix I is the first comprehensive list of all the Penteskouphia pinakes currently in the three major museum collections (Corinth, Berlin [with some on loan to German universities], and Paris). This list incorporates all joins that have been suggested by various scholars, and provides dimensions, epigraphic citations, and dates. Appendix II lists the major iconographical themes and shows their distribution on one-sided and two-sided pinakes. Appendix III presents the pairings of iconographical themes on two-sided pinakes. Appendix IV provides a concordance of museum inventory numbers and catalogued entries, while Appendixes V–VII supply concordances for the inscriptions on all Penteskouphia pinakes. A clear emphasis is placed on the percentages of certain themes, the presence of inscriptions, and the assigned dates. This statistical approach, always prone to change with new data or reinterpretation of scenes, helps to provide a balanced overview of the entire corpus.

SCENES OF POTTERS AT WORK

Statistical analysis of all iconographic themes on the Penteskouphia pinakes demonstrates that the pinakes with pottery-making scenes have been disproportionately prominent in scholarship, considering their modest overall presence in the corpus.

Chapter 4, “Catalogue of Scenes of Potters at Work,” the core of this study, discusses for the first time all of the pinakes that are believed, with various degrees of certainty, to represent potters at work, a total of 97 pinakes with 102 such scenes (**A1–A34**, **B1–B63**). This is the first comprehensive analysis based on autopsy of this thematically related but physically dispersed assemblage, drawing on the collections of all three museums. Select Penteskouphia pinakes with imagery of artisans have been frequently illustrated and discussed, but these discussions were not based on autopsy.⁴³ The scenes are presented according to the chronological sequence of production stages, from fuel and clay gathering to vessel forming and decorating, and finally, kiln firing. Additionally, a number of uncertain or misinterpreted scenes are placed at the end of the catalogue (**M1–M30**). The catalogue includes measurements and other formal characteristics of the pinakes, as well as discussion of the iconographical and epigraphical evidence.

THE IMAGERY OF ARTISANS

The scenes of potters at work from Penteskouphia constitute the largest set of depictions of any group of craftspeople at work from the ancient Greek world. The Corinthian potters placed snapshots of their daily routine on clay, the medium with which they were most familiar. Given the

43. General discussions of the Penteskouphia depictions of potters at work can be found in Wilisch 1892; Richter 1923, pp. 76–78; Hussong 1928, pp. 12–16, 27–30; Cloché 1931, pp. 40–52, pls. 18–20; Boardman 1954, 1956; Ziomecki 1958; Marwitz 1960; Cook 1961; Burford 1972, pp. 70–72; Duhamel 1978–1979; Zimmer 1982a; Cuomo di Caprio 1984, 2007, 2017; Scheibler 1995, pp. 71–120; Hasaki 2002, pp. 31–47, 434–452, pls. I.1–I.10; Stissi 2002, pp. 454–482, nos. C1–C104 (and some 20 more possible; see below, p. 83, n. 1); Vidale 2002, pp. 237–306; Greiveldinger 2003; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 9–16; Chatzidimitriou 2005, pp. 31–54, 205–212, nos. K1–K36; Williams 2009, 2016; Bentz, Geominy, and Müller 2010, pp. 112–122; Palmieri 2016, pp. 67–73, 187–206.

omnipresence of pottery and ceramics in the ancient world, the relative scarcity of scenes of potters at work and, in particular, of kiln remains is noteworthy. In the absence of a handbook on pottery from antiquity (if indeed one was even written), the visual compendium of daily life in a Corinthian pottery workshop preserved on the Penteskouphia pinakes deserves a separate treatment because nothing similar, in size or iconography, has been found in any other sanctuary or potters' community in the ancient Greek world—not even on the Athenian Acropolis or in the Athenian Kerameikos.

The Penteskouphia depictions do not find antecedents, parallels, or later comparanda in the Greek and Roman worlds. If only for that alone, they hold a special place in ancient representational art even beyond Greco-Roman antiquity. Only a few depictions of potters at work survive on Roman pots, such as a jug showing a potter working at a turntable (Fig. 1.14),⁴⁴ and on the renowned Italian maiolica ceramics of the Renaissance.⁴⁵ In other cultures within and beyond the Mediterranean, scenes of potters at work appear primarily on nonceramic objects and do not come from production contexts: Egyptian wooden models and wall paintings from funerary contexts,⁴⁶ Roman wall paintings in domestic contexts and



Figure 1.14. African Red Slip ware jug depicting a potter working at a turntable (New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1984.79.2). Scale 1:2. Photo courtesy Yale University Art Gallery

44. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1984.79.2; Mackensen 1993, pp. 64–67, fig. 12. The scene, an appliqué decoration, is on an African Red Slip ware jug (Salomonson type I/Hayes type 171) from the first half of the 3rd century A.D. A handful of schematic renderings of kilns/furnaces appear on Late Roman sigillata stamped plates that depict the biblical story of the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace. These furnaces look like open firings surrounded by a short wall to contain the fire, rather than potters' kilns, and therefore are not related in any way to the potters' world. Bejaoui (1997, p. 23) mentions a fragment in Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum O.039630 (p. 68, no. 20, fig. 20); a fragment in a private collection in Munich (p. 70, no. 21, fig. 21); and a fragment from Carthage (p. 70, fig. 21a). A fragment in the Museo Biscari in Catania (1040; Bejaoui 1997, p. 67, no. 19, fig. 19) is perhaps the closest to an actual representation of a kiln with its conical dome. Four more instances of similar iconography are noted in Salomonson 1979 and Garbsch and Overbeck 1989. Within the religious realm, it may be interest-

ing to note that despite the numerous references to pottery manufacture in Rabbinic literature, there is a dearth of visual representations of potters at work; see Johnston 1974; Vitto 1986.

45. Two maiolica plates at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (a) 1717–1855, a maiolica plate by Jacope showing a maiolica painter at work, from Cafaggiolo, Italy, dated to ca. A.D. 1510; Rackham [1940] 1977, p. 106, no. 307, pl. 5; Watson 2001, p. 51, fig. 3; (b) 659–1884, a plate showing a potter's kick wheel with a jug on it, possibly from Deruta, dated to ca. A.D. 1525, with inscription: QVI SE LAVORA DE PIGNIATE (here pottery is made); Rackham [1940] 1977, p. 247, no. 746, pl. 118.

46. More than two dozen ancient Egyptian representations of potters at work, mostly from the second millennium B.C., can be found primarily in tombs as low stone reliefs, wall paintings, and wooden models. The potters are shown wedging clay with their feet, working at the turntable, and firing kilns. See Holthoer 1977, pp. 5–44; Arnold, Bourriau, and Nordström 1993; Nicholson and Shaw 2000; Doherty 2015, pp. 23–38.

scenes on funerary monuments,⁴⁷ and in more recent times, 19th-century Chinese watercolor prints (Fig. 1.15).⁴⁸

Chapter 5, “Scenes of Potters at Work: Iconographical and Epigraphical Analysis,” provides the iconographic commentary for the catalogued pieces. Two-thirds of the Penteskouphia pinakes with pottery-making scenes carry imagery on both sides, with Poseidon or horseback riders commonly paired with a pottery scene. These scenes depict the most important stages of ceramic manufacture, from collecting clay and fuel, to forming a vessel, to tending the kiln. Each stage is reduced to its bare constituents, and is not combined with another stage in any one scene. The different stages of pottery manufacture are not distributed evenly among the depictions; rather, Corinthian potters demonstrated a clear preference for kiln firings, which account for three-quarters of all pottery-making scenes. Given that the black-figure technique of decoration, which relies so heavily on the control of the firing atmosphere inside the kiln, was first developed in Corinth, it is perhaps not surprising that Corinthian potters chose to emphasize the firing stage that distinguished their products among Mediterranean exports in the Middle and Late Corinthian periods.

Some steps in the manufacturing process are omitted (such as the purification of clay and the unloading of the kilns), or are only suggested (such as drying), perhaps because they did not lend themselves easily to visual depiction, were too devoid of action, or did not require much skill on the part of the potters. Even with these omissions, the Penteskouphia pinakes with pottery-making scenes provide a fairly complete visual guide to how a ceramic workshop operated—not only in Archaic Corinth, but in most Greek cities from antiquity through recent times. Ironically, however, there is not a single depiction of a potter making a pinax, or using one.

Next I consider the iconography of the Penteskouphia scenes of potters at work within the larger context of images of artisans and craftspeople at

47. Potters at the wheel are depicted on two frescoes from Pompeii: the first at *Officina Vasaria di Nicanor* (II.3.7/9), showing a potter at the wheel in the presence of Vulcan, and a second at *Hospitium dei Pulcinella* (I.8.10), showing four potters and a female assistant. For the most recent discussion of these two Pompeian frescoes, see Peña and McCallum 2009, pp. 59–63, figs. 3, 4; Cuomo di Caprio 2017, pp. 131–162. See also Kollig 1988, p. 369, fig. 3. Zimmer (1982b, pp. 199–201, nos. 143–146) discusses the Pompeian fresco of the potter at the wheel and Vulcan, a funerary relief of unknown provenance (Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 60.2)

showing a man decorating a pot in the presence of a woman, and a funerary altar carrying the inscription of a Lucius Aurelius Sabinus Doliarius and depicting three dolia (the altar is now lost; originally from the Via Appia; dated to the 1st–2nd century A.D.). Even with the inclusion of two more scenes from funerary stelai with indirect references to pottery, the corpus is very slim and the absence of any depiction of kiln firings is striking, especially if we consider the impressive size, capacity, and operation of Roman kilns for terra sigillata. For sigillata kilns, see Vernhet 1981; Cuomo di Caprio 2017, pp. 346–365.

48. Porcelain manufacturing

processes are shown on 24 watercolors in the British Museum in London (1946,0713,0.1.1–24; bequest by Miss W. M. Giles; average dimensions 39.5 × 51.0 cm). See Clunas 1984, pp. 27–32; Harrison-Hall 2001, pp. 21–23, fig. 3; Rawson 2007, pp. 212–214, fig. 156. For a comparative analysis of these 19th-century export paintings and the Penteskouphia pinakes, see Hasaki, forthcoming. Also created by a non-potter is the 1774 Chinese treatise *The Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain* compiled by the learned Chu Yen (translated into English by Bushell [1910]). See also Allan 1973 for a 14th-century Persian treatise on ceramics that deals primarily with recipes for glazes.



Figure 1.15. Collection of 24 water-color paintings showing potters at work at Chinese porcelain workshops (London, British Museum 1946,0713,0.1.1-24). Not to scale. Harrison-Hall 2001, p. 23, fig. 3; courtesy Trustees of the British Museum

work, both from the Corinthia and beyond. A synthesis of Corinthian and Athenian depictions in handbooks of pottery and art is helpful for filling out the spectrum of the stages of pottery production, since neither set of depictions is complete. The drawback to this approach, however, is that it masks some of the significant differences between the two iconographical sets. The Corinthian set provides not only the most numerous, but so far also the oldest representations of potters at work from Greco-Roman antiquity; the Athenian (and Boiotian) depictions are much fewer, mostly of later date, and are placed mainly on pots and not pinakes.

There are iconographic differences as well, even within the pottery-production scenes. The Penteskouphia plaques emphasize the careful collection of clay and control of the firing, stages that were essential to the distinct yellow color of Corinthian ceramics and to the black-figure technique, an invention of the Corinthian workshops. This promotion of the humble and banal—but ultimately fundamental—aspects of the potters' craft was not adopted in the Athenian depictions. These focused instead, perhaps expectedly, on the Athenians' strengths, the mastery of wheel-throwing and the delicacy of vase painting, thereby privileging the artistic aspirations of their craft. Images from Athenian pottery workshops occasionally display the interaction between potters and customers, while the workshops depicted on Penteskouphia are less crowded places. Moreover, Athenian potters often depict practitioners of other crafts on their pots, while Corinthian pinakes carry depictions of potters exclusively; the prevalence of different stages of production and the indifference to other craft depictions on the part of the Corinthian potters may be attributed to the specific circumstances that led to the creation of these images (Chapter 7). Corinthian and Athenian scenes of potters at work also differ in their depiction of the involvement of deities in their endeavors. The goddess Athena, protector of the city and its craft communities, was frequently shown visiting the Athenian pottery workshops. In contrast, Corinth's major deity, Poseidon, although often shown and invoked, was never depicted with Corinthian potters on the same side of a Penteskouphia pinax. All in all, it is clear that Athens and Corinth were quite distinct not only in their clay deposits and styles of decoration, but also in their imagery of artisans at work and the incentives for their production.

At the end of Chapter 5, a separate section is reserved for the inscriptions, mostly dipinti, that are preserved on 29 catalogued pinakes with pottery-production scenes. They include appellations to Poseidon, personal names of dedicators, painters' signatures, the unique label *κῶμινος* for a kiln, partial dedicatory formulas, and nonsense inscriptions.

TECHNOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT

As no Archaic pottery workshops have been excavated in Corinth, one must turn to the Penteskouphia pinakes to fill this gap in the archaeological record. After the iconographical analysis, the next task is to reexamine the scenes showing wheels, tools, and kilns as visual translations or renderings of the ceramic technology available to Archaic Corinthian potters.

Chapter 6, “Technology, Workforce, and Organization of Ceramic Workshops” examines all the production stages depicted on the Penteskouphia pinakes, in light of archaeological, archaeometric, ethnoarchaeological, and experimental evidence, to complement the iconographic analysis presented in Chapter 5 and to provide a comprehensive understanding of how ancient potters really worked.

I discuss the availability and composition of clay deposits in the areas surrounding Corinth as well as the archaeological and experimental evidence for the ancient potter’s wheel and its use. I place special emphasis on ancient Greek kilns, as 75% of all Penteskouphia scenes with potters at work show kiln firings. No Corinthian pottery kilns contemporary with the pinakes have been excavated, which underscores the value of the Penteskouphia depictions. The eight kilns that have been recovered in Corinth—most of which are now backfilled—range in date from the Late Archaic period to Byzantine times. The rectangular plan of half of them offers little help in understanding the Penteskouphia depictions.

The Penteskouphia scenes of kiln firings invite a more technical analysis of the construction and function of the ancient Greek ceramic kiln. The kilns, rendered schematically, yet accurately, on the Penteskouphia pinakes, remained unchanged in their basic design throughout Greek antiquity. They belong to the most common type in the ancient Greek world: an updraft, two-chambered, wood-firing kiln of circular plan. Here I provide archaeological, ethnographic, and experimental data to make the Penteskouphia kiln firings come alive in the reader’s mind, while emphasizing the technical expertise that was necessary to control a firing and guarantee a successfully fired load. This discussion firmly establishes the identification of ceramic kilns on the Penteskouphia pinakes and should discourage the few, but tenacious, lingering misinterpretations of these structures as metallurgical furnaces.

Fortunately, the dearth of physical evidence for Archaic kilns and workshops at Corinth is offset by evidence elsewhere in Greece. The archaeology of pottery workshops can help us address questions about the technical equipment used in workshops and issues relating to the organizational structure of ceramic production. The depiction of small teams of potters at work on the Penteskouphia pinakes reinforces the archaeological data suggesting that pottery workshops in ancient Greece were small in size, operated on a full-time scale, and were family run. This data, the signatures of potters emphasizing family connections, the imagery, and ethnographic evidence combine to produce a coherent picture of small enterprises operating full time and year-round.

RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

In Chapter 7, “Industrial Religion and Potters’ Anxieties,” I move beyond the iconographical and technological issues to address the most elusive aspects of the Penteskouphia pinakes: why they were made and how they were used. Special consideration is given to the unique aspects of the form, some deviations from the standard Corinthian iconographical repertoire, the relative lack of Poseidon cult locations in the Corinthia, and the limited

chronological scope of the pinakes. In terms of form, pinakes are generally absent, at least in large numbers, in expected contexts, such as potters' quarters and the highly visited sanctuaries at Isthmia and Perachora in the greater Corinthia. In terms of iconography, the ubiquitous presence of Poseidon (through depictions or invocations) and an emphasis on pottery-making scenes are unparalleled in the history of Corinthian vase painting. What prompted the Penteskouphia potters to make this radical change, and why is it limited to pinakes? Finally, why is this atypical ritual and artistic behavior so short-lived and locally confined? It is very likely that both the sudden appearance of the ceramic workshop as a theme and the numerous representations and invocations to Poseidon are linked to the severe crisis caused when the Athenian pottery industry disrupted the trading networks that had been established by Corinthian potters, whose products had dominated Mediterranean ports for centuries. From 550 B.C. on, Corinthian pottery exports declined steeply, both in numbers and in quality. Thus the pinakes from Penteskouphia do not merely depict potters at work, but also potters in distress.

Herodotus's claim (2.167) that the Corinthians had less contempt for their artisans than other cities did may be substantiated by the considerable pride that the Penteskouphia pinax makers clearly took in their craft. Free of the stigma propagated by the Athenian philosophers in their discussions of the status of βάνανσοι and τεχνῖται, the Corinthian potters on the slopes of Penteskouphia proudly depicted the technical intricacies—and not just the artistic side—of potting. The pinakes depicting potters at work were made by potters, carried their names, and captured moments of their hard work—as well as, possibly, their business anxiety.

This invaluable pictorial commentary on the everyday life of Corinthian potters provides a direct link to the ancient craftsmen themselves. Most importantly, though, the intensive ritual use of the pinakes by the Penteskouphia potters is quite atypical within and outside potters' communities. Some of the pinakes may have been personalized "responses to specific circumstances," which Karoglou suggests as one of the main functions of votive pinakes in general.⁴⁹ These "specific circumstances" may have been the adverse times that the Corinthian potters faced when they lost their dominance in the trade markets. At about the same time, we should remember, the Corinthians began to imitate Athenian vases, covering their formerly prized yellow clay with a red slip to simulate the iron-rich Athenian clay.⁵⁰ Although the increased ceramic activity in Athens sparked the decline of the Corinthian export business and ultimately dominated consumer markets both at home and abroad, the Corinthian potters left a lasting legacy of their craft by painting scenes of their daily lives.

CONTRIBUTION OF THIS STUDY

The subset of Penteskouphia pinakes with scenes at potters at work have a dedicated following among pottery specialists—including scholars of Greek iconography and the archaeology of production, scholars of ancient pottery in other Mediterranean cultures, scholars of the ethnoarchaeology

49. Karoglou 2010, p. 3.

50. Payne 1931, pp. 104–113.

of traditional potters, and modern studio potters. The modern artisans often discover that they have much in common—in methods, technical equipment, and anxieties—with the potters of Corinth.

This work adopts a multidimensional approach, using the methods of archaeology, archaeometry, ethnoarchaeology, experimental archaeology, and the studio arts. All of these different lines of evidence paint a coherent larger picture of the organization and technology of ceramic production in ancient Greece and, in some ways, provide the “thousand words” to accompany these invaluable Corinthian pictures of and by ancient potters at work. Extensive typological, stylistic, and archaeometric analyses of Corinthian ceramics (although not yet of the Penteskouphia pinakes) have already been published.⁵¹ The Penteskouphia pinakes, as a corpus, can contribute significantly to the study of a wide range of topics, such as iconography, the imagery of artisans, Corinthian topography in general and the topography of ceramic production in particular, the cult of Poseidon, votive pinakes, and the religious practices of craftspeople, whether long-standing traditions or responses to specific adverse conditions.

Future studies of the pinakes—either of subgroups or, ideally, of the entire corpus—will, it is hoped, expand on the variety of topics touched on in this study. The expertise of many scholars will ensure that the wealth of information encoded in the pinakes is carefully mined and contextualized within appropriate frameworks. An example is Wachter’s seminal study (2001) of the inscriptions on the Penteskouphia pinakes, which shed new light on them within the context of hundreds of other non-Attic vase inscriptions. Ultimately, it is hoped that such thematic studies, such as the present one on scenes of potters at work, far from fragmenting the information, will expedite a comprehensive publication of the entire corpus. A digital reunification of the three collections in one virtual location will capture some of their original integrity as a corpus and will contribute significantly to reducing the Herculean task of studying the hundreds of objects in their separate collections. Photographic collage, after all, was what allowed von Raits, who noticed joins between fragments in different collections in the 1960s, to recreate the original appearance of some pieces.

Along these lines, the present study should serve as a reminder of the importance of a well-excavated and well-recorded context for any group of artifacts. The early looting of most of the Penteskouphia pinakes has considerably impeded both their study and our understanding of their makers and users.

51. Amyx 1988; Whitbread 1995.