

**CHLEMOUTSI CASTLE (*CLERMONT, CASTEL TORNESE*), PELOPONNESE: ITS
POTTERY AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WEST (13TH - EARLY 19TH C.)**

by

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Volume 1: Text

A thesis submitted to

The University of Birmingham

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman

& Modern Greek Studies

Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity

University of Birmingham

October 2009

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ABSTRACT

Chlemoutsi was the most important castle of the Principality established in the Peloponnese after the Fourth Crusade. The glazed pottery of the Frankish period (early 13th - early 15th c.) is almost exclusively Italian, reflecting the connections of the Principality of Achaea with Italy and illustrating the tastes of the Latin elite in ceramics. The pottery proves that the castle remained important after the end of the Frankish occupation and indicates its decline in the 18th c. The ceramic material of the Post-Byzantine period reflects the incorporation of the castle into the Ottoman Empire, the relations it developed with the rest of Greece, but, also, the continuation of its close connections with the West. Although a Turkish castle for most of the period between 1460 and the early 19th c., its imported pottery is mainly Italian, while the number of Islamic ceramics is small. The close political and economic relations with Italy developed after the Fourth Crusade, the Venetian interests in the Peloponnese, the constant Venetian occupation of the neighbouring Ionian Islands and the direct access to the Ionian Sea and Italy seem to have made the NW Peloponnese one of the most strongly Western-influenced areas of the Greek mainland.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the first place, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Archie Dunn, for all his advice, support and encouragement in the course of this research. His initial suggestions about the orientation of the thesis were very helpful, while his constructive comments were crucial for finally bringing this study into shape. Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Ruth Macrides for her help and valuable suggestions in an early stage of this research. In the University of Birmingham, I owe special thanks also to Dr. Rhoads Murphey for the translation of a Turkish inscription from Chlemoutsí.

I am greatly obliged to the former Director of the 6th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities Mrs. Myrto Georgopoulou-Verra for offering me the possibility to study the material from the excavations at Chlemoutsí. I would like to express my thanks also to the present Director the Ephorate Dr. Anastasia Koumoussi for facilitating my research. Many thanks are due to Dr. Demetrios Athanasoulis of the 6th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities for his encouragement and practical aid. I would like to thank most warmly my colleagues and all the archaeologists and staff in the castle. Their sense of responsibility and successful teamwork were essential for any research endeavour on the site.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. John Hayes, Dr. Guy Sanders and Dr. Joanita Vroom, who were so kind to see photographs of the pottery and provided me with their valuable comments. I would like to give my special thanks to the colleagues and friends Dr. Evi Dafi and Dr. Nikos Kontogiannis, who shared their views with me and gave me information on some pottery types. I owe thanks also to the mechanical engineer Georgios Maroulis for his assistance in the preparation of the sketch plans of the excavations and to Georgia Tsiota for the computer editing of the pottery drawings.

I would like to express my very warm and special thanks to my husband, Yannis Chatzipantazis, for his assistance in the computer editing and formatting of maps, tables and photographs and for preparing a database especially designed for the archaeological finds from Chlemoutsi. To him, all my dear family and my friends I owe particular thanks for their constant encouragement and understanding and for their emotional support through the ups and downs I experienced during the long adventure of this research.

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1. Abbreviations used in the Bibliography

AAA: *Archaiologika Analekta ex Athinon*

AM: *Archeologia Medievale*

ArchDelt: *Archaiologiko Deltio*

AthMitt: *Athenische Mitteilungen*

BCH: *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*

BSA: *Annual of the British School at Athens*

BZ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

DeltChristArchEt: *Deltion tis Christianikis Archaiologikis Etaireias*

ΔΙΕΕΕ: *Deltion tis Istorikis kai Ethnologikis Etaireias tis Ellados*

Ergo: *To Ergo tou Ypourgeiou Politismou ston tomea tis politistikis klironomias*

IEE: *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous (Ekdotikis Athinon)*

IEJ: *Israel Exploration Journal*

JIAN: *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique*

NE: *Neos Ellenomnimon*

PBSR: *Papers of the British School at Rome*

PP: *Peloponnisiaki Protochronia*

QDAP: *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*

RA: *Revue Archéologique*

RDAC: *Report of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus*

REB: *Revue des études byzantines*

2. Abbreviations used in the pottery catalogues

B.D.= diameter of base

D.= diameter

Dim.= dimensions

Est. = estimated

H.= height

L.= length

Pres.= maximum preserved

R.= rim

R.D.= diameter of rim

Th.= thickness of wall

W.= width

PART I: AIMS & ACADEMIC BACKGROUND.

**HISTORICAL & ARCHAEOLOGICAL
FRAMEWORK**

CHAPTER 1

AIMS & METHODOLOGY

1. Subject and aims and the thesis

Chlemoutsi is one of the most important castles of the Peloponnese and a rare example of Western military architecture in Greece. It is a Frankish castle, built in the 13th c., after the Fourth Crusade. It was occupied by the Ottomans in 1460 and remained Turkish until the Greek War of Independence in the early 19th c., except for about three decades in the late 17th-early 18th c (1687-1715), when Venice replaced the Turks as overlords of the Peloponnese.

The subject of the present thesis is the pottery that comes from the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Service at the castle, and its discussion and interpretation. More specifically, the material under study consists of:

- a) pottery coming from sporadic excavations at the castle, which were carried out between the early 1980's and 1996 (defined here as 'old excavations').
- b) pottery from the excavations of the period 1997-2000, which were carried out as part of a project for the restoration and enhancement of the castle ('Restoration – enhancement of Chlemoutsi castle', Operational Programme 'Tourism-Culture', 2nd European Support Framework 1994-2000).

Pottery from Chlemoutsi has never been published so far. My professional participation in the excavations and the restoration works of the period 1997-2000 (as member of the team hired for the works of the project, under the superintendence of the Director of the 6th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities M.Georgopoulou-Verra) gave me the opportunity to familiarize myself with the castle and the valuable archaeological finds produced during the works. Ceramics were the main finds of the excavations. Pottery from the 'old excavations'

had already been stored in one of the halls of the inner enclosure (A6), which, according to the project, would form the new, organized storehouse and conservation laboratory of the castle.

The ‘old excavations’ were carried out mainly in the inner enclosure (interior of halls and courtyard) and in parts of the outer enclosure, but no records or excavation notebooks were kept. The excavations of 1997-2000 were more careful. Information on each trench was kept in notebooks, which, however, did not include stratigraphic data. The excavated areas included a large part of the outer enclosure, the entrance gate of the inner enclosure (E2), part of the inner courtyard, as well as parts of two halls of the inner enclosure (A5, A6).

Although the excavations were not systematic (especially the ‘old excavations’), their pottery comes from several different parts of the castle and it is representative of the whole period it remained in use. The ceramic typology presented in this study can be considered as complete and representative, both stylistically and as far as quantities of wares are concerned. I had the opportunity to confirm this, by looking at the pottery from even older excavations (of the 1960’s and probably also the 1970’s), which was recently transferred to Chlemoutsi from the storehouses of the Ephorate of Olympia¹ (this pottery is not included in the subject of this thesis).

The ceramic material presented in this thesis is valuable for the study of the pottery used in Greece between the 13th and the 19th c. Furthermore, it provides information on the history of the castle, which has been proved particularly important for the periods following the Ottoman conquest (1460), since the history and significance of the castle after the end of

¹ Apparently, until the early 1980’s the finds from Chlemoutsi were kept in the storehouses of the Ephorate of Classical and Prehistoric Antiquities at Olympia (see: P.G. Papathanasopoulos, *ArchDelt* 23, 1968, *Chronika*, 162). No records are available today for these excavations and their finds. Much of the pottery was recently transferred to the storehouse of the 6th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities at Chlemoutsi, in order to include some of it in the material that will be displayed in the new Museums of Chlemoutsi and of nearby city of Pyrgos (under preparation).

its Frankish occupation is hardly known in the bibliography. What characterizes the pottery of Chlemoutsi is the significant presence of Italian pottery throughout its period of use. Thus, a large part of this thesis will deal with the Italian imported pottery, on which little is known today in Greece, with the exception of the 13th-14th- century material of the American excavations at Corinth. The present study is an attempt to:

- a) present a typology of a primary/original ceramic material from Chlemoutsi, which covers the period between the 13th and the early 19th c.;
- b) discuss the pottery of the Frankish castle in the general context of the Western pottery imported to the Crusader states in the Eastern Mediterranean;
- c) discuss the Post-Byzantine pottery of Chlemoutsi in the general context of the ceramics used in Greece after the Ottoman conquest in the 15th c.;
- d) investigate the particular character of ceramic use in Chlemoutsi during the Frankish/Late Byzantine and the Post-Byzantine periods, in comparison with the evidence provided by other Greek sites;
- e) investigate the role and significance of the castle, particularly in the periods following the end of its Frankish occupation, integrating the ceramic evidence with historical information and other original archaeological data produced during the excavations of 1997-2000.

2. Terminology and chronological boundaries

The castle appears with various names in written sources, which have been collected by Antoine Bon (1969, 326, nn.2-4, 327, n.1) and can be summarized as follows.

The Franks named the castle 'Clermont' (*Livre de la Conqueste*). The same name exists in a number of French, Italian, Latin and Aragonese versions, which include: 'Clarmont', 'Clarum Mons', 'Claramont', 'Claramonte', 'Chiaramonte', 'Claramont' (lists of

fiefs of 1377, 1391, 1467¹; Sanudo; *Libro de los Fechos*). In Greek the castle appears as ‘Χλομο□τσι’, ‘Χλομο□τζι’, ‘Χλουμο□τσι’, ‘Χλουμο□τζι’ (*To Chronikon tou Moreos*; Sphrantzes; Delatte 1947, 306). The name ‘Castel Tornese’ is the most recent and seems to have been the result of a confusion between the castle and the mint of the Frankish *deniers tournois*, in fact located in nearby city of Glarentza²; it first appears in the *Cronaca di Morea*, written in the 16th c. (see Jacoby 1968), and it is the most frequently used in portolans and travellers’ accounts until the early 19th c. (Pouqueville 1820-26; Leake 1830). The Turkish name ‘Hlomitch’, ‘Hlomoutch’, used by Evliya Çelebi, derives from the Greek one. In the early 19th c., the Greek name appears as ‘Χλουμούτσι’ (Kolokotronis) and ‘Khlemutzi’ (Leake 1830).

The French, Greek or Slavic provenance of the Greek name has long been debated. Bon considered it a corruption of the original Frankish name (Bon 1969, 326, n.3). However, it seems also very probable that it derives from a Greek family with the name ‘Χλομούτσης’ (Chatzis 1925). In the present study, I will use the name ‘Χλεμούτσι’, with which the castle is widely known today in Greece (written by non-Greek scholars as ‘Chlemoutsi’: e.g. Andrews 1953; Bon 1969; Molin 2001). In general, I will use the names by which the Frankish sites relevant to the subject of the thesis are known today. Thus, the Frankish ‘Clarence’ (for the versions of its name see: Bon 1969, 320-1, n.3), which is closely related to Chlemoutsi, will be found here as ‘Glarentza’ (‘Γλαρέντζα’).

Archaeologists and Byzantinists generally use the term ‘Late Byzantine’ to refer to the period between the 13th and the 15th c., while the period following the fall of

¹ These lists of fiefs have been published in: Hopf 1873, 206-7, 227-30; Sphekopoulos 1968, 37-8, 43-6; Bon 1969, 689-94.

² The *deniers tournois*, which, according to W. Leake (1830, II, 173), gave the name ‘Castel Tornese’ to the castle, remained the currency of the Frankish Morea between 1250 and 1333. Bon (1969, 322-4, 327) proved that the mint was actually located in nearby Glarentza. He suggested that the disappearance of the coinage in 1333 and the destruction of Glarentza in the early 15th c. created later a confusion concerning the location of the mint.

Constantinople to the Turks is designated as 'Post-Byzantine'. It should be noted that the term 'Medieval' has very rarely been used by pottery-specialists working in Greece, while no Greek version exists for the term 'Post-Medieval', its equivalent being 'Post-Byzantine'. The term 'Crusader', widely used in studies concerning with the Latin states of the Eastern Mediterranean, has never been used for the pottery of the period 13th-15th c. in Greece. Thus, this term will be used here only when it is necessary to put the discussion in the general context of the pottery used in the states created by the Crusaders in the East.

The term 'Frankish' may be misleading, since it has not been used only for the Latins of the Crusades (see Lock 1995, 34-36). However, this term has been established in the studies of Corinth (which have provided the only well-documented relevant ceramic material in Greece so far), and it is the most frequently used term for the pottery found in Greece during the 13th-15th c. (see Lock 1995, 435-6). Here, I will use the term 'Frankish/Late Byzantine', in order to cover both the Frankish and Palaeologan periods of the castle (1220-1428, 1418-1460) and to discuss the pottery in the general context of the Late Byzantine world. The term 'Post-Byzantine' will be used for the pottery dating from the period approximately between the later 15th c. and the early 19th c., since it seems the most appropriate for covering both the periods of the Ottoman (1460-1687, 1715-1828) and Venetian occupation (1687-1715) of the castle, as well as for discussing the pottery in the general historical context of this period of fragmented rule of Greece. In the discussion of pottery I will use the subdivisions of the Post-Byzantine period into 'Early Ottoman' and 'Late Ottoman' times, which correspond to the periods ca. 1453-1600 and 1600-early 19th c. respectively (see J.L. Bintliff in: Davies and Davis 2007, 222).

3. Methodology

The study and classification of pottery (**chapter 4**) is based on all the diagnostic wares. The ‘diagnostic’ material includes the ceramics, which: a) belong to pottery types known in the available bibliography, b) fall in distinctive groups, and/or c) allow a more precise chronological definition than ‘Frankish/Late Byzantine’ or ‘Post-Byzantine’. The chronological division into Frankish/Late Byzantine (13th-15th c.) and Post-Byzantine material (ca. later 15th-early 19th c.) is absolutely necessary for reasons of methodology, but it should be emphasized that the pottery of the two periods sometimes overlaps in the 15th c.

The present study will be concentrated upon the glazed pottery, which corresponds mostly to tablewares, since only these wares can be considered as diagnostic and representative of each of the two periods (Frankish/Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine). Unglazed wares, corresponding mainly to cooking and storage vessels, as well as glazed cooking wares, cannot be included, because they are too fragmentary and because of the absence of stratigraphic data, which are necessary for the study of these less known wares. Furthermore, the material coming from the ‘old excavations’ includes mainly decorated glazed sherds and only a small number of complete/almost complete unglazed ceramics, suggesting that small, badly preserved and monochrome or unglazed fragments were probably discarded during those excavations. However, unglazed wares have not been completely left out. Some distinctive types will be included in the discussion of the ceramic use in the castle in each of the two periods, while a selection of representative examples will be presented in an Appendix (**Appendix B**). Tobacco pipes are not included in the subject of this thesis. John Hayes has illustrated the importance of clay tobacco pipes as an indicator for dating pottery assemblages (Hayes 1980; 1992, 391-5). Thus, this material will be used here, along with some other finds from the excavations of 1997-2000 (such as coins and glass-vessels), as

additional chronological evidence for the find-group from each trench (**Appendix A**). The excavations of 1997-2000 yielded only three coins, all of the 17th c. Several other coins are kept in the storehouses of the 6th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities at Patras (unpublished), some of which may come from old sporadic excavations at Chlemoutsi, but this material is not included in the subject of this thesis.

Since the pottery is decorated, the wares will be presented according to techniques of decoration and not according to shape or fabric. Of course, shapes and fabrics are taken under account, since they offer evidence for dating, provenance and relations between pottery types. It should be underlined that identification and dating of pottery have often been proved particularly difficult. Much of the material belongs to Italian pottery types that are absent at Corinth, as well as to generally less known Post-Byzantine wares. In particular, the Post-Byzantine pottery of the Peloponnese remains almost unknown in the bibliography. However, the detailed study of the pottery led to the identification of 30 glazed wares (with some subtypes and subgroups) and enabled me to give to almost each sherd a dating in centuries, based on comparative material from other parts of Greece, as well as from Cyprus, Constantinople/Istanbul, Syria-Palestine (for the Frankish/Late Byzantine period) and from Italy. In Greece, comparative data are offered by published material coming from big systematic excavations, like those at Corinth, rescue excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service mainly at urban sites (such as Arta, Patras and Rhodes), from survey projects, such as the the British Academy's survey project in Boeotia, as well as from *bacini* immured in churches and from sporadic or isolated finds included in short reports of excavations, such as the *Chronica* of the *Archaialogiko Deltio*.

For the Italian pottery, which has been proved abundant in Chlemoutsi, the studies of the Greek finds, except for the 13th-14th – c. material from Corinth, have been proved

insufficient. Although access to every single work on Italian pottery relevant to the subject of this thesis was by no means possible, an effort has been made to include as many publications as possible, which are available in periodicals (such as: *PBSR*, *Faenza*, *Archeologia Medievale*, *Archeologia Veneta*), in proceedings of international congresses, as well as in books on Italian pottery, including museum collections, such as the Museum of Faenza ('Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche'), the Museum of Montelupo ('Museo Archeologico e della Ceramica di Montelupo'), the Victoria & Albert Museum and the Fitzwilliam Museum.

An overview of our current state of knowledge of the Frankish/Late Byzantine and the Post-Byzantine pottery (**chapter 2**) and the typological presentation of the ceramic material from Chlemoutsi will form the basis for the discussion and interpretation of the pottery of the castle, in a wider geographical and in historical context (**chapters 5 and 6**). It should be emphasized that primary research into written sources, such as Venetian original textual sources and Ottoman tax-registers, is beyond the aims of this thesis, the orientation of which is archaeological rather than historical. Information provided by written sources will be used to the extent they may supplement the ceramic evidence and mainly through secondary literature, in which these sources have been collected, summarized or discussed. For the Frankish castle, particularly important is the information included in the 'Chronicle of the Morea', especially the Greek version¹. Sources of the Ottoman and the Venetian periods, such as Grimani's plan of the castle (reproduced in: Andrews 1953, pl. XXXIII) and Celebi's and other travellers' accounts, in juxtaposition with the ceramic evidence and other archaeological data (produced by the excavations 1997-2000 or included in some older studies of the castle), throw important light on the almost unknown history of the castle after the end of its Frankish occupation.

¹ Greek version: *To Chronikon tou Moreos*; French version: *Livre de la Conquete*; Italian version: *Cronaca di Morea*; Aragonese version: *Libro de los Fechos*.

4. The value of the study of the pottery from Chlemoutsi

The contribution of this thesis can be summarized as follows:

- a) it will offer a typology of a primary/original ceramic material of the Frankish/Late Byzantine and the Post Byzantine periods;
- b) it will present pottery from a new site in the Peloponnese, offering comparative material for the study of the pottery of the Crusader states in the Eastern Mediterranean;
- c) it will present, for first time, pottery from a ‘purely’ Frankish site in Greece, isolating the pottery that corresponds to the Frankish demands and aesthetics;
- d) it will offer a case study of the pottery used in the Post-Byzantine Peloponnese;
- e) it will present, for first time, Italian pottery types imported to Greece in a complete chronological sequence from the 13th c. to the early 19th c.;
- f) it will illustrate the connection between the pottery and the various conquerors of the Peloponnese between the 13th and the 19th c.;
- g) it will provide new evidence for the history of Chlemoutsi, its changing role and function, paying, for first time, particular attention to the periods following the end of the Frankish Principality of Achaea;
- h) it will provide information concerning the development of the relations of the Peloponnese with other parts of Greece, with the East and, especially, with the West.

CHAPTER 2

THE CURRENT STATE OF KNOWLEDGE OF THE FRANKISH/LATE BYZANTINE AND POST-BYZANTINE POTTERY (13th-19th c.)

The aim of this chapter is to present our current state of knowledge of the pottery of the period 13th-19th c., which coincides with the period of use of Chlemoutsi. It seems appropriate to present first a brief history of research concerning Byzantine pottery, focusing on major works, which have been crucial for the development of the study of Byzantine pottery and led to a gradual recognition of the value of the pottery of the later periods, i.e. the Frankish/Late Byzantine and the Post-Byzantine.

A review of major studies of Frankish/Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine ceramics will be presented per period and per region. This will include areas that are connected historically or geographically with Chlemoutsi, with particular attention to the Peloponnese and those areas that offer comparable ceramic material. An attempt will be made to provide a general picture of the pottery used in each region or site. Only some important wares that are absent at Chlemoutsi will be described here in details (such the ‘Zeuxippus Ware’ and the ‘Aegean Ware’). Since Western pottery has a significant presence at Chlemoutsi, it is necessary to include here a discussion of our state of knowledge of the pottery imported from the West between the 13th and the 19th c.

1. Major studies of Byzantine pottery

The first publications of Byzantine pottery were made as early as the beginning of the 20th c. The British scholar Henry Wallis published pottery found at Constantinople, which was acquired by the South Kensington Museum in London (the later Victoria & Albert

Museum) and the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (Wallis 1907). Dawkins and Droop (1910-11) of the British School at Athens presented the Byzantine pottery found in several trial pits on and around the Acropolis of Sparta during excavations carried out by the British School at Athens. Glazed and some unglazed pieces were included in two main groups according to decoration style ('graffiato ware' and 'painted ware'), each divided in a number of classes. In David Talbot Rice's *Byzantine Glazed pottery* (1930) the Byzantine ceramics were divided into two principal classes, based on the colour of fabric ('faience', i.e. white wares, and 'earthenware', i.e. red wares), each divided into several groups and subgroups. This system devised by Talbot Rice laid the foundations for the study, analysis and dating of Byzantine ceramics.

In 1933, Andreas Xyngopoulos published some pottery from ancient Olynthos in Macedonia (most dated to the 14th c.), which he presented according to a classification system of decoration techniques. In the same year, Frederick Waagé offered one of the most detailed studies of Byzantine pottery, with his publication of the Byzantine material found during the American excavations at the ancient Agora at Athens (Waagé 1933). The author described wares of the period from the 1st c. B.C. to the 18th c., which included some 'Turkish' wares, thus offering the first archaeological study of Post-Byzantine pottery in Greece, for which he introduced the general terms 'Turkish Sgraffito Ware' and 'Turkish Painted Ware'. The subsequent work by Allison Frantz (1938) was a further study of the Middle-Byzantine ceramics from Athens, which she classified according to decoration techniques. The importance of her work lies in the fact that it established a firmer chronology, since the pottery came from closed deposits, and its dating (10th/11th to 13th c.) was based on numismatic evidence. A few years later, Frantz published some Turkish pottery from ten deposits in the Agora excavations (Frantz 1942). The dating of the material was generally

tentative, since the levels were too disturbed, but it was the first time that a study was concentrated to the pottery of the period following the Ottoman conquest.

A major contribution to the study of Byzantine ceramics was Charles Morgan's book on the pottery from the American excavations at Corinth (Morgan 1942). His material included pottery from sealed deposits, which enabled him to provide an improved classification and firmer chronology of the wares. He classified the material into four main groups, according to decoration technique (Plain-Glazed Wares, Painted Wares, Sgraffito Wares, Unglazed Wares), with several subtypes. He also established a terminology for shapes and decorative patterns. His book remained for decades a basic reference work, especially for the 11th-12th - century wares. However, the advances that have been made since his publication on the study of the Corinthian material have shown that his chronology and classification are under serious revision. All the contexts available to Morgan and several deposits excavated after his publication were recently reconsidered in detail and combined with historical and numismatic evidence, revealing that his book can no longer be considered reliable, especially in the sections dealing with glazed pottery of the period 9th-11th c. (Sanders 1995; 2000; 2003a; 2003b). Furthermore, the ceramics of the later periods (Frankish and Turkish) are not always well presented or dated (see especially: Stillwell-MacKay 1967; Sanders 1987).

A landmark in the study of Byzantine ceramics was Robert B.K. Stevenson's publication of the glazed pottery from the excavations in the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors at Constantinople (Stevenson 1947; followed by Talbot Rice's short article in 1958). The material came from datable deposits, enabling Stevenson to provide a much more refined chronology for the various groups of Byzantine glazed wares dating from the Late Roman period to ca. 1200. Another important contribution was Peter Megaw's review of

Byzantine glazed pottery, which was included in a volume entitled *World Ceramics* (Megaw 1968b). The author presented the main glazed pottery types throughout the Byzantine period and discussed, for first time, parallel techniques and possible influences from the Near East.

During the last few decades, archaeological investigations have largely been concentrated to questions of provenance, mainly by locating centres of pottery production, on the basis of the discovery of remains of kilns and refuse from the pottery-making process. Such information has derived from excavations at various sites, from Serres in Northern Greece (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1992) and Sparta in the Peloponnese (Sanders 1993) to Cyprus (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989b; 1996) and Asia Minor (Pergamon: Spieser 1996; Waksman and Spieser 1997; Iznik/Nicaea: François 1997b). Furthermore, modern technology has been used for locating areas of pottery production. The pioneer work in this field was Megaw's and Jones' chemical analysis of fabrics of Byzantine and allied pottery (Megaw and Jones 1983). This work produced important results concerning the origin of the wares, such as the doubting of the provenance of 'Zeuxippus Ware' from a single centre in the area of Constantinople and the re-attribution of the 'Protomaiolica' from Corinth to Apulia. The more recent *Materials Analysis of Byzantine Pottery* was a collection of nine articles (Maguire 1997), which presented new archaeometric methods for determining clay sources, glaze compositions and manufacturing technologies.

Coarse wares are always much more frequent in pottery assemblages than the finely decorated glazed wares. Charalambos Bakirtzis' study of the shapes, names and function of undecorated vessels (such as amphorae and cooking wares) of the period ca. 9th-15th c. laid the foundations for the study of coarse wares (Bakirtzis 1989). But it was Hayes' publication of the pottery from Saraçhane in Istanbul, which provided a firmer chronology for these wares in

stratigraphical context (Hayes 1992). However, coarse wares are still rarely included in publications.

Pottery is not found only in excavations. Important Byzantine ceramics have been found during the investigation of shipwrecks, such as those of Pelagonissos (Kritzas 1971; Ionnidaki-Dostoglou 1989), Skopelos (Armstrong 1991) and Kastellorizo in the Aegean Sea (Philotheou and Michailidou 1989). There has also been a growing recognition of the value of *bacini* (bowls immured in the walls of churches in both Greece and Italy since the 11th c.) as a potential source of information for the chronology of pottery, as well as for the relations between sites (Gelichi 1991; Berti and Gelichi 1993; Vroom 2007a). Important also has been the contribution of ceramic specialists working for regional survey projects in many parts of Greece since the 1980's, such as Laconia and the Argolid in the Peloponnese (Armstrong 1996; Hahn 1996), Eastern Phokis (Armstrong 1989) and Boeotia in Central Greece (Vroom 1996; 1998a; 2000a; 2003a; 2003b) and Malia in Crete (François 1994).

Hugo Blake has shown that pottery is an important indicator of wealth or impoverishment of settlements (Blake 1980b). His theory was based on the quantification of ceramic types found at various sites during a regional surface survey in Liguria, Northern Italy. Another important recent development is the connection between changes in pottery shapes and changing dining habits during the Byzantine and the Post-Byzantine periods (Vroom 2000b; 2003a; Vionis 2005).

The growing interest in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine ceramics is illustrated in the appearance of books presenting some important pottery types in the form of illustrated handbooks (Kalopisi-Verti 2003; Vroom 2005), as well as in the organization of some exhibitions dedicated to the Byzantine glazed finewares. The most important exhibitions were organized in 1999 by the Benaki Museum (Athens) and the Museum of Byzantine Culture

(Thessaloniki). The catalogue of the Benaki Museum (Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Mavrikiou, Bakirtzis 1999) offers a typological presentation of Middle and Late Byzantine finewares, divided into two large groups (whitewares and redwares). This catalogue is “sufficiently well illustrated and annotated to serve as work of reference” (Dunn 2000, 304). The catalogue of the second exhibition (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999) is dedicated to the pottery with incised decoration and its centres of manufacture all over Greece, covering the period between the 11th and the 17th c.

2. The pottery of the Frankish/Late Byzantine period (13th-15th c.)

CONSTANTINOPLE

Constantinople has been connected to one of the most important types of sgraffito pottery of the Frankish/Late Byzantine period, which has attracted major attention from scholars and has been for long debated regarding both its terminology and provenance. Zeuxippus Ware is a fine, thinly potted, red-bodied sgraffito ware, characterized by the high quality of its fabric and glaze. It was first identified by Talbot Rice in the excavations of the Baths of Zeuxippus at Constantinople and presented by him as ‘Shiny Olive Incised Ware’ (Talbot Rice 1928). The term ‘Zeuxippus Ware’ was introduced in 1968 by Megaw, who dated the ware in the late 12th-early 13th c. and distinguished two classes: Class I, monochrome (IA: with pale or colourless glaze; IB: with orange-brown glaze; IC: with green glaze) and Class II, in which the incision is enhanced with yellow-brown paint (Megaw 1968a; 1989). Zeuxippus Ware was thought at first to have been produced in the area of Constantinople, due to the large amount of examples discovered there. Later finds however

showed that the ware was manufactured in other places as well, such as Corinth, Cyprus, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and Northern Italy (François 1995, 92-96; Berti and Gelichi 1997). It is generally accepted today that 'Zeuxippus Ware' is a rather complicated family, which includes a number of imitations or derivatives. The complexity is reflected in the variety of terms that have been used so far. Theodora Stillwell-MacKay used the term 'Glossy Ware' for the Corinthian finds (Stillwell-MacKay 1967, 252-4). Guy Sanders suggested the term 'Late Sgraffito Ware' (Sanders 1993, 257), which however has not been generally accepted (see Vroom 2003a, 65; Dimopoulos 2007, 339). Other names that have been used include 'Imitation Zeuxippus', 'Zeuxippus Derivatives', 'Zeuxippus Influenced Ware', 'Zeuxippus Ware Subtypes', as well as 'Spirale Cerchio' for the Venetian imitation (Armstrong 1992; Stern and Waksman 2003; Vroom 2003a; Lazzarini 1987). The provenance of the ware remains today elusive. A possible place of manufacture is Asia Minor (see Papanikola-Bakirtzis 2003, 50; Dimopoulos 341). It has been suggested that all classes presented by Megaw were products of a single manufacturing centre, and formed the 'prototypes' for imitations produced in many production centres around the Mediterranean (Megaw, Armstrong and Hatcher 2003).

CYPRUS

Cyprus was an important commercial centre during the Frankish/Late Byzantine period, when it was a fief of the Lusignan family (1192-1489). The studies of its ceramic material are among the most important sources of information for the pottery of the period.

The excavations of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, the British School at Athens and the Dumbarton Oaks at the castle of Saranda Kolones near Paphos have provided important information on the glazed pottery of the Middle Byzantine period and the 13th c.

(Megaw 1971; 1972; 1982; 1984; Rosser 1985). It is particularly important that the destruction of the castle from the earthquake of 1222 provides a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of its pottery¹.

On the basis of its occurrence in the destruction fills from the 1222 earthquake at Saranda Kolones, Megaw dated the 'Aegean Ware' (first distinguished and named by him) to the early 13th c., and proposed an Aegean provenance of the ware (Megaw 1975). Aegean ware is a rather thickly potted, broad-gouged monochrome type of sgraffito pottery, which includes open vessels with a low ring base. According to excavation evidence, the ware is dated to the second half of the 12th and the first half of the 13th c. (Sanders 2000, 61). Other names that have been used include 'Incised Ware' (Morgan 1942, 162-66) and 'Champlevé Ware' (Sanders 1993, 260-1), but most scholars still use the term 'Aegean ware', although its provenance remains unclear (e.g. Armstrong 1991; Boas 1999, 148; Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 406). Cyprus is a possible place of manufacture, as the Neutron Activation Analysis by Boas has shown (Boas 1999, 148). Like Zeuxippus Ware, Aegean Ware was widely distributed in the Eastern Mediterranean and in Northern Italy (François and Spieser 2002, 593). The presence of a large number of examples of the ware in the cargo of the shipwreck at Kastellorizo provides evidence for the transportation of the ware in bulk and for its wide distribution through the maritime trade (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 143-4).

Recent investigations have shown that workshops of glazed pottery were active during the 13th and the 14th c. at Lemba and Kouklia in the Paphos district (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1996; 2003, 61; Von Wartburg 2003), at Enkomi (Papanokola-Bakirtzis 1989b), as well as, from the beginning of the 15th c., at Lapithos (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1996; 1998). The

¹ According to Von Wartburg (2003) the chronological framework based on the destruction of the castle in 1222 is open to discussion, since the written records do not bear out that the earthquake meant the definite end of castle's life. However, according to J.Rosser, however, coins, small finds and pottery support this destruction date (Rosser 2007).

catalogue of the ceramics in the Pieridis Foundation published in 1989 (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989a), provided a good picture of the local glazed Cypriot pottery, which consists mainly of sgraffito, slip-painted and plain glazed wares, with some distinctive features in shapes and decoration.

The export of ceramics, and perhaps trade in general, from Cyprus to the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem increased considerably once the island became a Frankish possession in 1191 and Cypriot pottery of the 13th c. has a notably significant presence there (Boas 1999, 148). On the other hand, imports to Cyprus include 13th- century 'Port St. Symeon Ware' and 14th- century Islamic pottery from Syria (Megaw 1951, 146, 148, A1-5; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1998, 12, figs.16-17). Apart from decorated glazed pottery, also cooking wares were traded between Cyprus and the Crusader Levant (Gabrieli 2007). In Greece, significant Cypriot imports are included only in the 14th-15th - century material of Rhodes (Michailidou 2000). The reported examples of Italian wares of the period before the fall of the island to the Venetians (1489) include a small number of Protomaïolica vessels from Apulia and Sicily (Mogabgab 1937-1939, 190, pl.XXXVI.2; Megaw 1972, 336, fig.30; Patitucci-Uggeri 1985, 385-386).

SYRIA – PALESTINE

The first report of the Italian pottery known as 'Protomaïolica' was given by C.N.Johns, who distinguished this group among the pottery found during the excavations of the 1930's at Pilgrim's castle at 'Athlit (Johns 1934). Shortly afterwards, Arthur Lane published some Protomaïolica found at Al-Mina, the port of Antioch (North Syria), and was the first who suggested that the ware may have been made by Italians (Lane 1937). Lane's publication is also important for the discussion of the ware, which is known as 'Port St.

Symeon Ware', after the place of its manufacture, which has been confirmed by the discovery of wasters (the port of Antioch was given the name *Portus Sancti Symeonis* by the Crusaders). The ware was produced from ca. 1200 until the fall of the port to the Mamluks in 1268. However, because there is evidence (kiln wasters) that the ware was also produced at some other sites in the Principality of Antioch and that it continued into the 14th c., the term 'Port St. Symeon ware family' has been proposed as an alternative (Vorderstrasse 2004, 246). This is a ware decorated in sgraffito with a variety of motifs (such as human figures, grotesque beasts, birds and crosses) highlighted by alternate yellow and green stains. The ware was distributed primarily on coastal sites in the Eastern Mediterranean (Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, Egypt, Turkey, Cyprus), and also in Italy. In Greece, it has been securely identified only in Thasos (François 1993, 318-9; 1995, 96-97). It has been suggested that its distribution indicates that Franks, Byzantines and Muslims purchased and used this ware (Vorderstrasse 2004, 249).

A major contribution to our knowledge of the pottery of the Crusader states in the East was Denys Pringle's studies of the 1980's, which included the publication of some more Protomaiolica from 'Athlit, as well as of finds from the Monastery of St. Mary of Carmel at Khirbat-at-Dair and from Caesarea (Pringle 1982; 1984a; 1985). Particularly important was his article of 1982, in which the distribution of the Protomaiolica in the Levant was for the first time discussed. Important are also the more recent publications of some more Protomaiolica and 'RMR' pottery from 'Athlit (Riavez 2000a; 2000b).

The main imports to the Crusader states in Syria-Palestine include Islamic wares, particularly from Syria and Egypt, pottery from Byzantium and Cyprus (Cypriot Sgraffito, Zeuxippus Ware and derivatives, Aegean Ware, Slip-Painted Ware), and Protomaiolica, which forms the only type of Western pottery imported in any quantity (Pringle 1982; Boas

1999, 148; Stern and Waksman 2003; Vorderstasse 2004). Most of the Protomaiolica vessels are products of Apulia (mainly from Brindisi) and some originate from Sicily (Patitucci-Uggeri 1985, 386-395; Riavez 2000a). Much less frequent are 'RMR' wares (Riavez 2000b), Archaic Maiolica (Pringle 1984a, 109, fig.9, no.87), and Venetian pottery, such as Spirale Cerchio and Veneto/Roulette Ware (Gelichi 1993, 27, n.87; Riavez 2000a, 448; Stern and Waksman 2003, 172). Western wares, such as 15th –c. Spanish pottery and North Italian sgraffito, occur also in Post-Crusader contexts (Pringle 1982, 109; 1984b).

PELOPONNESE

Corinth. Corinth and the Crusader sites of Cyprus and Syria-Palestine have in common the use of some wares in the earlier 13th c., particularly Aegean Ware, Zeuxippus Ware and Protomaiolica.

The name 'Protomaiolica' was first used by Waagé for a group of pottery from Corinth (Waagé 1934). MacKay was the first who used the term 'Frankish' for the 13th-14th - century pottery of Corinth (Stillwell-MacKay, 1967). Her work was concerned with the pottery found during the excavations of 1959-61, which came from closed deposits and undisturbed fills (*bothroi*), a fact that enabled her to correct Morgan's suggestions for some wares and their dating. MacKay's article contributed significantly to our knowledge of the chronology and the features of some typical Frankish wares, such as Protomaiolica, Metallic Ware and Roulette Ware. It was also innovating for the presentation of some unglazed domestic wares of the 10th-13th c., which were dated on the basis of coins and dated glazed wares.

A major contribution to our knowledge of the Frankish pottery in Greece was Sanders' publication of a group of pottery of the 13th – 14th c., which was found in a fill in association

with coins (Sanders 1987). The author described both local and imported finewares and also paid attention to coarsewares, giving details of their fabrics and distinctive features, as well as of their relative abundance, by using the method of quantification of sherds and weighing of individual wares. Important were Sanders' views on the chronology of some wares, such as Protomaiolica of the 'grid-iron' style, 'RMR' pottery and Zeuxippus Ware, which were presented in this article, as well as in his article on the *bacini* of three Peloponnesian churches (Sanders 1989). These views have for long been discussed, without having been accepted by all scholars (Gelichi 1991, 201; François 1995, 93; Berti and Gelichi 1997, 87).

Sanders' article was followed by annual reports of the American excavations at Corinth, which have revealed a number of buildings and a cemetery of the 13th-14th c. (Williams and Zervos 1988-1996; Williams 1993; Williams et al. 1997; 1998). The Corinth excavations offered well-stratified material, associated with numismatic evidence. The reports of these excavations have offered the only comprehensively studied ceramic material of the Frankish Principality of Achaëa and still form the basic reference work for the pottery used in Frankish Greece in the 13th-14th c. The reported material includes, apart from the glazed pottery, a large amount of unglazed wares, both decorated ('mat-painted' wares) and undecorated. Recently, the results of the Corinth excavations have been presented in a volume (Williams and Bookides 2003), which includes some overviews on Byzantine and Frankish Corinth and on the 13th-14th—c. Corinthian pottery, by Sanders, Williams and MacKay.

The Corinth excavations have shown that during the early years of the Frankish occupation the local potters continued to produce finewares decorated in local styles, such as sgraffito, incised, champlevé and late green and brown painted wares. Around the middle of the 13th c. local products include wares painted in murky green and brown, slip-painted wares and glaze-painted wares, which are generally more carelessly made and crudely potted than

the wares of the 12th c. (Williams and Zervos 1995, 18; Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 410). The influx of foreign ceramics, particularly from Italy, noted in the late 13th c., seems to have almost completely eliminated the local production of fine glazed wares by the first decades of the 14th c. (Williams and Zervos 1995, 21). According to Sanders, while in the early Frankish period, except for occasional Protomaiolica vessels, the imports, such as Zeuxippus Ware and Aegean Ware, were all Eastern Mediterranean or Aegean products, from the third quarter of the 13th c. the imported wares are almost entirely Italian, reflecting the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, the loss of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291 and the assertion and consolidation of Angevin power in the Peloponnese (Sanders 1987, 192). The main Italian imports to Corinth include Protomaiolica, 'RMR' pottery, Archaic Maiolica and Roulette/Veneto Ware. Most of the Protomaiolica originates from Southern Apulia ('Brindisi type'), while very rare are examples of Protomaiolica from Northern Apulia, from Sicily and (possibly) from Calabria (Patitucci-Uggeri 1985, 371-85; Riavez 2000a, 445). Both the local and the imported pottery reflects the decline of Corinth during the first half of the 14th c. (Stillwell-Macay 2003, 420).

Isthmia. The American excavations at Isthmia (Gregory 1989, 1993) have offered pottery from another site in the NE Peloponnese, which covers the period 12th-15th c. At the time when Corinth was declining, during the 14th c., nearby Isthmia seems to have gained its importance. Thus, its material is particularly important for some 14th-15th - century wares, which are absent in Corinth. In addition to some Protomaiolica, the Frankish/Late Byzantine pottery from Isthmia includes some later types of lead-glazed 'South Italian wares' (including 'Polychrome Ware otherwise known as RMR ware'), 'Northeastern Italian Painted Sgraffito

Ware', 'Spanish Ware' (with lustre decoration), as well as some local glazed pottery ('Local Ware A').

Argos. Argos formed part of the Duchy of Athens and its pottery reflects connections with the West. In 1993, Oikonomou-Laniado presented some Protomaiolica (including 'RMR' pottery) found during rescue excavations carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service since 1985. Italian imports to Argos include also Archaic Maiolica and Roulette/Veneto Ware (Oikonomou-Laniado 1993, 309; Bakourou et al. 2003, fig.5). The same scholar has offered a brief presentation of some coarse wares from Argos, such as cooking wares and amphorae, including examples with 'matt-painted' decoration (Oikonomou-Laniado 1997). According to a recent study (Bakourou et al. 2003), Argos must have been a production centre of high quality Byzantine glazed ceramics closely related to the Corinth centre. According to the same study, Argos and Sparta have in common in the late 12th and the 13th c. 'Late Sgraffito Ware', 'Green and Brown Painted Ware', 'Incised' and 'Plain Glazed Ware' and 'Late Slip Painted Ware', as well as 'matt-painted' pottery of the so-called 'protogeometric' style (jugs mainly of the second half of the 12th and the early 13th c. decorated with concentric semicircles beneath cross-hatched triangles), for which both sites are possible places of manufacture.

Sparta and Laconia. Long after Dawkins and Droop's first publication of the pottery from Sparta (Byzantine Lakedaimon), a detailed report of the glazed and unglazed pottery from the 1988-1991 excavations was published (Sanders 1993). The pottery comes from well-stratified levels and covers the period from the later 12th to the early 14th c. Sanders gave a presentation of the pottery types and their fabrics, offering a picture of the development of some glazed

pottery types in the Southern part of the Peloponnese (such as ‘Late Sgraffito Ware’, ‘Glaze Painted Ware’, ‘Champlevé Ware’, ‘Late Slip Painted Ware’ and ‘Plain Glazed Wares’). He also included some unglazed wares divided into decorated (such as pottery with incised or ‘matt-painted’ decoration) and undecorated types. The author had the opportunity to compare the pottery from Sparta with that of Corinth. As far as the Italian pottery is concerned, the author noted the presence of Archaic Maiolica and the absence of some other wares common in Corinth, i.e. Roulette Ware, Metallic Ware, Protomaiolica from Brindisi and ‘RMR’ pottery.

Recently, a study dedicated to the sgraffito pottery of Sparta has been published (Dimopoulos 2007). The stratigraphy of the site and the dating of the finds proved that the Sparta plain was not abandoned after the foundation of nearby Byzantine city of Mystras in 1262 (the future capital of the Byzantine Despotate of the Morea), but habitation continued long after this date. Occasional ‘South Italian Maiolica’ exists in the strata of the late 13th-early 14th c. The 13th – c. sgraffito pottery of Sparta presents common characteristics with the pottery of Athens and Corinth, indicating relations between these three centres. According to the author, there were two distinct axes in pottery production of the 13th c.: one Southern, that included the Peloponnese, Athens and probably Thebes, areas which had a strong Frankish presence and were more active during the first half of the 13th c.; and one which is slightly later and extended from Thessaloniki to Asia Minor, Bulgaria and the Black Sea, areas which remained under Byzantine control or kept close ties with the empire (Dimopoulos 2007, 341)

The very recent publication by Sanders of the glazed and unglazed pottery of Ayios Stephanos offered material from a rural settlement in Laconia, the bulk of which dates from the very late 13th or the early 14th c. Among the glazed wares there are examples of ‘Zexippus Ware’ (class Ib and other examples belonging to the ‘Zeuxippus Ware family’), ‘Late Green

and Brown Painted Ware', 'Metallic Ware', as well as an 'Archaic Maiolica' jug. The unglazed pottery includes some wares similar to those found in Sparta, such as 'matt-painted' pottery.

Rescue excavations at the lower town of Monemvasia, the port of the Greek Despotate of Mystras, have provided evidence for local pottery production (Kalamara 2003). Two local pottery types have been identified: an unglazed ware with white painted decoration, which presents similarities to the 'matt-painted' Peloponnesian pottery and has been dated to the 12th-13th c.; and a glazed tableware (yellow or green glazed) with simple linear incised decoration, dated to the 14th-15th c. Notably absent at Monemvasia are Protomaiolica and other Italian imports (Kalamara 2001, 59).

Northwestern Peloponnese. As a port in the hands of the Franks, Patras could provide interesting material for the study of the pottery imported to the Frankish Peloponnese. The publication of the excavation of a Byzantine church in the centre of the city includes a presentation of some vessels of the period from the 12th to the second half of the 15th c. The material consists of a few Byzantine sgraffito wares of the 12th - early 13th c., a bowl of 'Southern Italian Polychrome Ware' (or 'RMR'), an Archaic Maiolica jug and a few pieces of Renaissance Maiolica of the late 15th c. (Athanasoulis 2002).

In the absence of other reports of pottery from Patras, it is important that MacKay identified some Italian wares in some pictures included in a short report of old excavations in the Roman odeum (Mastrokostas 1960; pls.119a, 120). She dated this group of pottery in the later 14th-early 15th c. and identified some examples of 'Archaic Maiolica', 'RMR' pottery, 'Italian Sgraffito' and 'Apulian Double-Dipped Ware' (Stilwell-MacKay 1996, n.4; 2003, n.119).

Stella Patitucci-Uggeri reported a Protomaiolica bowl of the Brindisi type from Glarentza, the major port of the Principality of Achaea, which is located very close to Chlemoutsi (Patitucci-Uggeri 1985, 364, fig.6). A brief report of the glazed pottery of Glarentza is included in the guidebook for the archaeological site, which was published after the recent excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service (Athanasoulis 2005, 45-49). According to the authors, the pottery is dominated by Italian imports and includes 'Protomaiolica', 'Archaic Maiolica', lead-glazed 'Polychrome Italian Wares', 'Roulette/Veneto Ware', 'Metallic Ware', 'Green Painted Ware', 'matt-painted' pottery, as well as some Islamic imports.

A recent publication of some coarse wares found in a rubbish-pit at Kamenitsa, near Derveni (located close to Patras), added a production centre of unglazed pottery in the Peloponnese (on the basis of discovery of wasters and refuse from the pottery-making process), which, during the 13th and the 14th c., produced both undecorated wares and pottery with 'matt-painted' decoration (Varalexi 2000).

Bowls immured in churches (Argolid, Laconia, NW Peloponnese). The *bacini* immured in some Peloponnesian churches have been included in the discussion of some distinctive pottery types of the Frankish period. Megaw dated Panayia Katholiki at Gastouni (Elis, NW Peloponnese) and Panayia at Merbaka in the Argolid to the last quarter of the 12th c. and ca. 1200 respectively, noting that their *bacini* must be contemporary with the construction of the churches (Megaw 1931-32; 1964, 145-162). More recently, a dating in the late 13th c. has been proposed for both these churches. The dating of Merbaka and its Protomaiolica in the middle of the second half of the 13th c., proposed by Sanders, was based on the evidence for the dating of the Protomaiolica from the Corinth excavations, as well as on the connection of

the name 'Merbaka' with William of Meerbeke, bishop of Corinth in 1277-1286 (Sanders 1987; 1989). The dating proposed for Katholiki has been based on an inscription recently revealed in the frescos of its sanctuary apse (Athanasoulis 2003). Katholiki, apart from a Protomaïolica bowl of the Brindisi type (Patittucci-Uggeri 1985, 365-6), includes also some bowls with sgraffito decoration and a plain glazed bowl. Merbaka includes 11 Protomaïolica bowls, most of which belong to the 'Brindisi type' and one to the Sicilian production (Patittucci-Uggeri 1985, 367-71; Riavez 2000a, 445). There are also two monochrome turquoise bowls of Islamic provenance and a few examples of Zeuxippus Ware (class Ib/c). Bowls of the 'Zeuxippus Ware family' are also immured in Ayios Demetrios at Krokeai in Laconia, a church dated by inscription to 1286 (Sanders 1989, 195-196). An example exists also in Ayioi Theodoroi at Mystras (ca. 1296). It has been suggested that some of the bowls immured in these Peloponnesian churches, including Merbaka, belong in fact to the Venetian type 'Spirale Cerchio' (Gelichi 1993, 31; Berti and Gelichi 1997, 88-89; Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 417).

CENTRAL GREECE

Athens. Camilla MacKay has recently discussed some pottery of the Frankish/Late Byzantine period found during old excavations in the Agora at Athens (MacKay 2000; 2001), thus filling a gap of the older publications of pottery from Athens, in which material of this period was almost absent (Waagé 1933; Frantz 1938; Frantz 1942; Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou 1990). According to the author, the finewares used in Athens throughout the 13th and 14th c. were mostly locally manufactured. They are largely unvaried, consisting mainly of sgraffito and slip-painted wares. They are carelessly made and decorated, while variety in the colours of glazes diminished until pale yellow became the predominant colour. At some point in the

15th c., perhaps after the Ottoman conquest, new shapes and decorative styles of local glazed wares begun to appear. These are generally more carefully made than previously and include green and brown painted and monochrome sgraffito bowls. Imports to Athens come from the East and include some Zeuxippus and Aegean Ware examples. MacKay emptied dozens of boxes of pottery from the Agora excavations and found only one Protomaiolica plate of the second half of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th c., probably from Brindisi. However, she noted that the picture of ceramic use in Frankish Athens remains limited, today because material from medieval levels on the Acropolis (where the Western elite based themselves) excavated in the 19th c. was not saved (MacKay 2001, 179). More recently, Stillwell-MacKay reported the presence of very few sherds of Veneto Ware bowls in the material from the old excavations at the Agora (Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 420).

Boeotia and Eastern Phokis. The publications of the material collected during the survey projects in Eastern Phokis (Armstrong 1989; 1993) and Boeotia (Vroom 1998a; 2003a), as well as of that found during rescue excavations at Thebes (Armstrong 1993; Vroom 2003b), although they cover a long time-span, provide some picture of the pottery used in Central Greece during the Frankish/Late Byzantine period. Their material includes ‘Zeuxippus Ware’ and ‘Derivatives’, ‘Aegean Ware’, as well as various sgraffito, painted and slip-painted wares, some of which probably date from the Frankish/Late Byzantine period. One piece of Protomaiolica has been found at Thebes (Armstrong 1993, 304, no.51, fig.6, pl.31) and four pieces of ‘RMR’ pottery in Boeotia (Vroom 2003a, 167-169, figs.6.32 & 6.43: w22. 1-2). Among the pottery of Boeotia, Joanita Vroom identified ‘Monochrome Sgraffito’ from Corinth (Vroom 2003a, 165, fig. 6.26: w17.1-6) and from Thessaloniki, (Vroom 2003a, 165-6, figs.6.27 and 6.43:w18. 1-3, late 13th- 14th c.), as well as a sgraffito bowl probably from

Lapithos (Vroom 2003a, 167). Evidence for local village pottery production (a firing stilt with traces of glaze) comes from Valtesi in Eastern Phokis (Armstrong 1989, 46). The material from Thebes and the rest of Boeotia indicates that town and country especially prospered during the 12th and the 16th c. (Vroom 2003b).

EPEIROS

The first publication of pottery from the Greek Despotate of Epeiros was offered by Aggeliki Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou in 1984. In this article the author discussed some pottery found during rescue excavations at Arta. She concentrated mainly upon some 13th-14th- century wares (painted, plain glazed and unglazed wares), which she considered as local products, on the basis of some distinctive features, as well as of their fabric, which was probably taken from nearby river Arachthos (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984, 462). She identified also an example of Zeuxippus Ware and a piece of Protomaiolica.

Some later stratified excavations at Arta produced pottery datable, on numismatic evidence, to the 13th c. and no later than the second half of the century (Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993). The material includes 'Monochrome Ware', 'Green Painted Ware', 'Sgraffito Ware', 'Zeuxippus Ware', 'Slip-Painted Ware', 'Roulette Ware' and 'Protomaiolica'. The most important contribution of this publication was the evidence it provided for the predominance of Italian Wares at Arta during the 13th c., when it was still in Greek hands. Italian wares represent some 95%. Most of them are of Apulian origin and they include both Protomaiolica and 'RMR' pottery (Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993, 259: the 'RMR' pottery is mentioned but not presented). It has been suggested that the Protomaiolica published in this article originate from the Salento, which most probably belong to the production of Brindisi (Riavez 2000a, 444).

NORTHERN GREECE

Thessaloniki. As early as 1224 the territories of the Latin kingdom of Thessaloniki in Macedonia and Thessaly fell to the hands of the Despot of Epeiros (Ostrogorsky 1963, III, 110; Lock 1995, 106-112). Thessaloniki was one of the most important production centres of glazed ceramics during the 13th-14th c. No kilns have been located, but local production has been proved by the discovery of wasters and tripod stilts, as well as by a large number of vessels sharing common features in fabric, shapes and decoration (Bakirtzis and Papanikola Bakirtzis 1981; Papanikola Bakirtzis 1983). Most of the reported pottery of the 13th-14th c. is locally produced, as it is particularly indicated by the pottery from a cemetery, which was found during the excavations at the Hippodrome (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1989). Some 13th-14th– century pottery is also included in the material from the excavations at Ayios Nikolas Tranos, such as ‘Marbled Ware’ and various sgraffito wares (Evgenidou 1982). Characteristic products of Thessaloniki are some sgraffito bowls decorated with birds, rosettes or little spirals in square compartments. The exterior of bowls is often decorated with little arcs painted with slip (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 188-221). The archaeological data available today suggest that local production dates mainly from the second half of the 13th and the 14th c., while it continued in the 15th-16th c. (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 2003, 53-57). The pottery of Thessaloniki includes also Zeuxippus Ware class Ia (Bakirtzis and Papanikola Bakirtzis 1981, 428-9, fig.11), as well as locally made imitations of Zeuxippus Ware (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1989, 215, figs.12-14).

Thasos. Pottery of the 13th-15th c. came to light during the French excavations at the Ancient Agora of Thasos, at the Castle of the port and at Psatheri. The publication of this pottery by Veronique François included a detailed description of the pottery types, their shapes, fabrics,

glazes and manufacturing process (François 1993; 1995). François distinguished three phases, characterized by the presence of different pottery types. In the 13th c., the pottery includes types similar to those found in the Crusader states in Syria-Palestine, in Cyprus and in Egypt, such as 'Zeuxippus Ware' and 'Derivatives', 'Aegean Ware', 'Port St. Symeon Ware' and some Islamic Syrian pottery. The author assumes that Protomaiolica must have been present in Thasos, since an example of the Brindisi type exists in the neighbouring island of Samothrace. In the 14th c., the commercial relations of Thasos shifted towards the Black Sea and its pottery is similar to that found in Northern Greece (Thessaloniki, Olynthos), Turkey and Bulgaria. In the 15th c., under the Turkish threat, long-distance imports ceased and predominant are wares produced on nearby island of Lemnos, which, like Thasos, passed in this century to the hands of the Genoese family of Gattilusi.

Serres. Local production in Serres has been proved by the discovery of vessels sharing common characteristics in fabric, shapes and decoration, as well as by refuse from the pottery-making process (Papanikola Bakirtzis 1992; 1997). Its production includes mostly open forms with sgraffito decoration enriched with painted colours and often having on the exterior dots and small circles made of slip (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 222-42). Serres products have been found mainly in Thessaloniki and further north in the Balkans, as well as in Epeiros, Corinth and Venice. The pottery of Serres has been dated to the late 13th c.-early 14th c. (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 2003).

AEGEAN ISLANDS AND CRETE

Most of the pottery reported from these areas falls into the period that coincides with the

Ottoman occupation of the Greek mainland. The Latin rule in the Aegean Islands and Crete was continuous until the 16th c. or the 17th c. and their pottery cannot be in fact divided into two different periods. However, it is useful to distinguish some pottery types falling into the period 13th-15th c., since they offer evidence for the pottery imported to Latin-ruled Greek areas during the Frankish/Late Byzantine period.

Crete. The pottery of the survey project at Malia (François 1994) includes a group of 14th-15th- century sgraffito pottery of the Po valley ('graffitta arcaica padana'), which has been attributed to Bologna. Noteworthy also is the presence of some undecorated glazed wares, which seem to be made of the same fabric as the 'graffitta arcaica padana' ('céramique à glaçure monochrome'). Some pottery of the period under discussion has been reported from Herakleion (Stillwell-MacKay 1996). It includes Zeuxippus Ware, Protomaiolica (both mentioned with no further details), an example of Southern Italian 'RMR' Ware and a Spanish Lustre-Ware bowl.

Rhodes. Rhodes was a great economic and cultural centre during the period that the island was occupied by the knights of St. John (1309-1522). Pottery of the period 13th - 15th c. is included in two publications (Michailidou 1993; 2000). The material includes Syrian pottery of the 14th c., Spanish pottery of the 15th c. (from Paterna, Manisa and Valencia), Cypriot Sgraffito pottery of the 14th – 15th c., Protomaiolica and 'RMR' pottery from Southern Italy (mentioned without further details in: Michailidou 1993, 334), as well as Sgraffito pottery of the Po Valley dating from the 15th c., which has been attributed to the area of Venice. In contrast to the period 11th-13th c., the number of ceramics from Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine workshops is small during the period of the knights (Michailidou 2000, 417).

Cyclades. The publication of the excavations carried out in 1991-1996 by the University of Athens at the Venetian Castle of 'Kato Kastro' in Andros includes a catalogue of 143 selected potsherds of the period 13th-18th c. (Dori et al. 2003). The material that falls in the period 13th-15th c. includes mainly wares from Late Byzantine workshops ('Zeuxippus Ware' and 'Derivatives', 'Monochrome Sgraffito' from Thessaloniki and Lemnos, 'Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware', 'Slip-Painted Ware', 'Spatter Painted Ware' and 'Plain glazed Ware'). Imported wares are mostly Italian ('Protomaiolica' and 'Archaic Maiolica'), while Spanish pottery also exists.

The recent thesis by Athanasios Vionis on the built environment and domestic material culture in the Cyclades includes some pottery from Paros, Naxos and Melos (Vionis 2005). The pottery of the 13th-15th c. provides a picture very similar to that of Andros. Interesting is the identification of some 'Coloured Sgraffito Wares' as probable imitations of Italian pottery, which have been dated to as early as the 14th c. (Vionis 2005, 135, N.iv.5, N.iv.6).

3. The pottery of the Post-Byzantine period (later 15th-19th c.)

Despite the pioneering articles by Waagé and Frantz on the material found at the Athenian Agora (Waagé 1933; Frantz 1942), interest in Post-Byzantine pottery has grown very slowly in Greece. Post-Byzantine ceramics are rarely included in reports of excavations and it seems that they are still often discarded during excavations.

Among the best known imported ceramics of the Post-Byzantine period are some Islamic wares, particularly the famous ceramics produced at Iznik, Kütahya and Çanakkale, for which a richer literature is available (such as: Lane 1957; Aslanapa et al. 1989; Hayes

1992; Vroom 1996; Ginopoulos 1995; Korre-Zographou 1995; 2000; Psari 2005). The situation is much more difficult as far as the Western imported pottery is concerned. It has been noted that Italian pottery of the 15th through at least the mid-16th c. should be present in the Venetian outposts and colonies in the Greek mainland and on the islands (Stillwell-MacKay 1996, 127). However, the main contributions to our knowledge of the Italian pottery imported to Greece after the 14th c. remain today the publications of some 15th-16th – c. examples from Rhodes, Crete and Cyprus. Reports of Western pottery from other Greek sites are sporadic and they often do not include suggestions for identification of pottery types and for provenance or dating.

As far as the products of the Post-Byzantine workshops are concerned, more attention has been paid to the glazed wares with incised decoration. The most important information on the sgraffito pottery of the period 15th - 17th c. has been collected in a catalogue of a relatively recent exhibition (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999). The catalogue includes products of Thessaloniki (15th-16th c.), Veroia (15th-16th c.) and Trikala (16th-17th c.) in Northern Greece, as well as some vessels (both locally made and imported) found at Athens, Arta and Herakleion. According to Papanikola-Bakirtzis, the attribution of these wares to places of manufacture remains difficult, not only because of the lack of adequate publications, but also because of the common characteristics of the wares produced at several parts of Greece and the Balkans (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 23).

Hayes' book of 1992 on the pottery from Saraçhane at Istanbul offered a first basic reference work and a valuable dating tool for both the finewares and the coarsewares of the Post-Byzantine era. Vroom has recently offered a first typology of ceramics from the Greek mainland (mainly of glazed wares), based on the pottery of the Boeotia Survey project (Vroom 2003a). Both Hayes and Vroom distinguished some new shapes of pottery that

appeared in the Post-Byzantine world. Vroom connected the pottery shapes from Boeotia with dining habits in Post-Byzantine Greece and, by using some pictorial evidence (such as church frescos and religious icons) and some written sources, she compared the dining fashions in Ottoman-dominated parts of Greece with those in areas under Western rule, distinguishing an 'Eastern' and a 'Western model' (Vroom 2000b; 2003a, 335-57). Similar research on diet and dining habits has been included in the study of the Cyclades by Vionis (Vionis 2005).

A first volume exclusively dedicated to Post-Byzantine Greece has recently appeared (Davies and Davis ed., 2007). Although only one contribution is dedicated to pottery (Vroom 2007a), the book includes studies of various different regions (Peloponnese, Central Greece, Aegean Islands, Crete, Cyprus), which have been based on combined archaeological, historical and documentary information, thus illustrating the value of the multidisciplinary survey and providing a helpful background for the study of this period of fragmented rule of Greece.

Indicative of the growing interest in the Post-Byzantine pottery is the recent organization of some exhibitions dedicated to ceramics of this period. In May 2003, the Greek Archaeological Service organized a temporary exhibition at Chania, Crete, under the title *Discovering Castel Selino*, which was accompanied only by a little leaflet. The exhibition included some local and imported ceramics found during recent excavations at Castel Selino near Chania (both Italian and Islamic wares), most of which were dated to 16th-17th c. (Crete fell to the Turks in 1669, and, according to the leaflet, Castel Selino was abandoned during the second half of the 17th c.). In December 2006-February 2007 the Byzantine and Christian Museum at Athens organized another exhibition, under the title *Pilos & Chroma*, ['Clay and Colour'] which was accompanied by a fully illustrated catalogue (Moisidou 2006). The material includes some pottery of the period 15th-19th c., found during excavations all over

Greece (including some of the pottery displayed in 2003 at Chania), or borrowed from museums and private collections.

CONSTANTINOPLE/ISTANBUL

The finds of the excavations at Constantinople/Istanbul include mainly local pottery and pottery from the Islamic East. The excavations of the Bodrum Camii / Myrelaion Monastery (Hayes 1981) produced mainly Islamic and local wares of the 16th c., as well as some pottery of the 18th c. (which was dated on the basis of some fragments of Kütahya Ware). The excavations at Saraçhane / Agios Polyeuktos (Hayes 1992) yielded pottery of the period between the 5th c. and the end of the Ottoman era, with the exception of the Frankish/Late Byzantine period, which is not represented at all. The years 1700-1850 are poorly represented. Most of the Turkish material came from pit- and well- groups. Finewares include Miletus Ware, several types of Iznik Ware and derivatives, Chinese Porcelain, a few Kütahya and Çanakkale wares of the 18th – early 20th c. and very few Italian imports (Maiolica, North Italian Sgraffito and Marbled Ware). Most of the coarsewares have been considered as local products. New shapes appearing in the Turkish period include the unglazed high-stemmed drinking bowl (goblet), the spouted jug (the so-called *ibriq*) and the tall two-handled flagon. The book includes also a revision of the first typology of clay tobacco pipes established by Hayes in his publication of 1980.

NORTHERN GREECE

Workshops were active during the 15th-17th c. (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999) at Thessaloniki, Veroia (Macedonia) and Trikala (Thessaly). Local production of glazed wares continued in Thessaly until the 18th c., producing wares decorated in traditional Byzantine

techniques (with sgraffito and painted decoration), as well as various plain glazed and partly-glazed domestic wares (Gourgiotis 1981; 1983; 1984; 1989; 1991; 1994). The little imported pottery of the Post-Byzantine period that has been reported so far from Thessaloniki includes both Islamic and Western imports (Evgenidou 1982).

The products of Didymoteicho in Thrace are among the best-known ceramics of the Late Ottoman times. Local production was confirmed by the discovery of kilns, pottery tools and wasters in the area near the city walls (Bakirtzis 1980). The workshops of Didymoteicho produced wares decorated in traditional Byzantine techniques, such as sgraffito and slip-painted pottery, as well as monochrome glazed wares, unglazed domestic wares and glazed jugs with relief decoration. The pottery of Didymoteicho had a wide distribution during the 19th c. In particular, its marbled and slip-painted wares have been identified at several sites, from Constantinople (Hayes 1992, 276-277, *ware P*) to Crete (François 1994), Egypt (François 1999, 134-5) and Palestine (Vroom 2005, 187).

EPEIROS

In 1980-81 Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou reported some ceramic workshops located in Arta during excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological service in the 1970's. The author presented a number of vessels, classified according to technique of decoration (painted, sgraffito, and monochrome wares). Soon afterwards, Kostas Tsouris published a group of ceramics from the later 18th - century Ioannina, which was found in association with pottery kilns (Tsouris 1982). This publication forms a rare example of well-presented material of the Late Ottoman period. The pottery is classified according to shapes and decoration. It includes plain glazed monochrome bowls, vessels with slip-painted, polychrome painted or incised and painted decoration. Some distinctive features of these wares, such as the painted dots and the

spiral-like designs, enabled the author to compare them with the pottery from Arta and to distinguish the 18th- century production of Ioannina from the earlier 16th-17th- century products of Arta.

Çelebi's witness for the deserted town of Rogoi in 1670 provided a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the pottery excavated at the castle of Rogoi, near Arta (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1987). Most of the reported material belongs to the 16th-17th – c. production of Arta, while a few wares were attributed to Italian workshops of the 14th-16th c. (two pieces of 'Protomaiolica or Archaic Maiolica', a sgraffito bowl of the second half of the 15th c. from Venice and some 15th-16th - century Maiolica). More recently, some more pottery from Arta was published (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994), divided into painted, sgraffito, monochrome and unglazed wares. Some local characteristics were distinguished, such as a green band painted on the rim of bowls and defined by incised lines. The material includes also some Italian Maiolica, dated to the 16th-18th c., as well as an example of Grottaglie Ware from Apulia or Corfu.

Excavations at some other cities and castles of Epeiros have also proved the important presence of Italian ceramics during the Early Ottoman era (Kommatas 2003). The contemporary local sgraffito products of Epeiros show influences from Italian pottery (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 24). The 18th- 19th c. is characterized by the significant presence of wine jugs from Pesaro, as well as by local products imitating Italian wares (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1981-2; Charitonidou 1983; Kyriazopoulos and Charitonidou 1986).

CENTRAL GREECE

Athens. Among the pottery found at the Ancient Agora, Waagé and Frantz identified some 'Rhodian' jugs (i.e. 'Iznik III' type), as well as Kütahya Ware (Waagé 1933, 327, fig. 20;

Frantz 1942, 3). Particularly important was the presentation by Frantz of the tin-glazed ‘Blue and White Painted Ware’, which shows influences from Italian Maiolica (Frantz 1942, 1-4). Frantz dated the ware to the late 16th – first half of 17th c. and identified it as local (on the basis of examples found in association with two potter’s kilns, wasters and potter’s stilts). Frantz’s article remains today the main reference work for the local Greek pottery of the Post-Byzantine period imitating Italian tin-glazed wares. The ware is also found as ‘Local Maiolica’ (Armstrong 1989) or ‘Maiolica from Greece’ (Vroom 2003a; 2005).

In 1982 Aggeliki Charitonidou published a short article dedicated to the Post-Byzantine pottery of Athens and its workshops, which had been located at the Ancient and the Roman Agora and their surrounding area. The pottery of Athens includes, apart from the ‘Blue and White Painted Ware’, slip-painted, marbled, sgraffito and unglazed wares. The sgraffito pottery includes a distinctive group of bowls, which are decorated with incised and painted rosettes, spiral-like and other linear motifs applied on the centre of the cavity and on the wall (Charitonidou 1982, figs.1-7). Later, the same author published a selection of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine ceramics found during excavations of the Greek Archaeological Service in the area South of the Acropolis, which included some locally produced wares, both glazed and unglazed, dated to the 16th-17th c. (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1990). A characteristic of the Athenian production is the grooved exterior of the rims of bowls.

Eastern Phokis. The publication of the pottery collected from ten sites in Eastern Phokis (Armstrong 1989) included several potsherds dated to the Post-Byzantine period. The site of Bogdanos in particular provided “a good example of typical Ottoman Village pottery” (Armstrong 1989, 25). Its pottery includes both glazed and unglazed wares (‘Slip-Painted’,

‘Painted’, ‘Incised Sgraffito’, ‘Painted Incised’, ‘Monochrome Wares’, ‘Local Maiolica’, ‘Kütahya Ware’ and ‘Coarse Wares’). Evidence for local village production (an inscribed sherd) was located at the site of Zeli (Armstrong 1989, 46-47).

Thebes and rest of Boeotia. Most of the pottery found during the excavations at the central square of the city of Thebes in 1980 belongs to the Post-Byzantine period. The deposits V-IX (Armstrong 1993, 313-331) contained a variety of wares, such as plain glazed or unglazed spouted jugs, cooking pots, green or yellow monochrome bowls, painted wares, painted-incised wares and few Italian imports from Faenza and the Veneto. Pamela Armstrong’s suggestion for probable local production of glazed and unglazed tablewares in the city (Armstrong 1993, 333-334), was later supported by the discovery of rejected fragments of jugs, potter’s tools and tripod stilts during an excavation at Pelopidou street (Vroom 2003b). The same excavation unearthed some Iznik Ware, Kütahya Ware and Blue-and-White Porcelain.

The publication of the pottery from the survey project in Boeotia (Vroom 2003a) includes several wares dating from the period between the late 15th and the 19th c. (divided into ‘Turkish’ and ‘Early Modern’ material). It includes pottery from Post-Byzantine production centres (such as ‘Brown and Green Sgraffito’ wares, ‘Maiolica from Greece’, ‘Monochrome Glazed Ware’, ‘Painted Ware’, ‘Slip Painted Ware’), imports from the East (‘Iznik’, ‘Kütahya’ and ‘Çanakkale’ wares), from Italy (‘Monochrome’ and ‘Polychrome Sgraffito’ wares, Maiolica) and from France (‘Marbled Ware’ from Huveaune in Provence). The 19th- century material includes ‘Painted Ware from Grottaglie and/or Corfu’, and ‘Slip Painted Ware’ from Didymoteicho.

The pottery from both Thebes and the rest of Boeotia has provided evidence for the prosperity of this region during the Early Turkish times (Vroom 2003b, 766-768; Vroom 2007a).

PELOPONNESE

The Post-Byzantine pottery of the Peloponnese remains basically unknown in the bibliography. Morgan dedicated only a couple of pages to the Post-Byzantine pottery from Corinth, identifying a few fragments of 'Maiolica', some specimens of 'Rhodian' style (i.e. 'Iznik III' type) and 'Marbled' style, as well as Painted-Sgraffito wares. He also included drawings of some undecorated plain glazed wares, which were present in great abundance in the material (Morgan 1942, 171-174, figs.152-155).

A recently published guidebook for the city of Monemvasia includes a chapter dedicated to the pottery found during rescue excavations at the city, most of which belongs to the Post-Byzantine period (Kalamara 2001). A rather general presentation of the material is given, with a rough dating of the vessels, but it is accompanied by coloured pictures. Some pottery of Eastern origin was identified (Kütahya and Çanakkale), as well as some Italian Maiolica (one of them was attributed probably to Faenza and dated to the second half of 16th c.).

CYPRUS

Megaw's article on the pottery found in three closed deposits at Nicosia (Megaw 1951) remains today a rare example of thoroughly studied Italian imported ceramics. The publication includes some kitchenwares and tablewares of the period 14th-16th c., but most of the material belongs to the 16th c. The Italian wares include Maiolica from Faenza, Padua and

Venice, as well as Polychrome Sgraffito pottery from the area of Venice. There are also some imports from the East, such as Iznik Ware, Chinese Porcelain and painted bowls from Syria.

The studies by Dimitra Papanikola-Bakirtzis have shown that pottery continued to be locally produced in Cyprus after its fall to the Venetians in 1489. In the 16th c., the workshops of Lapithos produced wares decorated with carelessly executed stylised incised decoration enriched with green paint, as well as wares decorated only with simple painted lines (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989a; 1996; 1998). However, these products are of inferior quality compared to the earlier wares. This fact has been connected to the penetration of Italian wares in this period, which seem to have been preferred over local products by both the Venetians and the local wealthy classes (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989a, 36; 1998, 15, figs. 21b-24).

AEGEAN ISLANDS AND CRETE

Crete. The Venetian occupation of Crete lasted until as late as 1669. The pottery from the Greek-Swedish excavations at Chania comes from stratified deposits and closed pits (Hahn 1989). Most of it belongs to the period 15th-19th c. A deposit of the 15th-16th c. (group III) was rich in Italian Maiolica, and included also a perhaps locally produced sgraffito bowl, which shows influences from contemporary Italian wares. The deposit of the 16th-17th c. (group II) included an Iznik plate of the 17th c., as well as some wares identified as local (such as small jugs, plain glazed or decorated in simple sgraffito design with added green and yellow-brown). The deposit of the 18th-early 19th c. (group I) included Kütahya cups and Çanakkale bowls. At Malia, the pottery of the 18th-19th c. includes Çanakkale Ware, as well as Slip-Painted ware from Didymoteicho.

More recently MacKay published a group of pottery found during excavations at Herakleion, which she dated to the period from the mid-15th to the third quarter of the 16th c.

(Stillwell-MacKay 1996). The author suggested that this group represented the discards from a Venetian household. The group includes a Southern Italian 'RMR' bowl (which, according to the author, fits in badly with rest of the pottery), an example of Spanish Lustre-Ware of the end of the 15th c. The group was rich in Italian pottery from Northern Italy (Maiolica from Venice, Faenza and Montelupo; sgraffito pottery from the area of Venice and Florence) and included also some undecorated plain glazed and unglazed wares (cooking pots). In the same publication, MacKay reported some finds from excavations in Ayios Petros at Herakleion. Among these there are some Italian imports of the period from the mid-15th to the 17th c. and some Turkish wares dating from the 17th c. onwards (mentioned with no further details).

Rhodes. Maria Michailidou's publications of the pottery of the period of the knights (1309-1522) include some of the most comprehensive studies of Italian imported pottery of the 15th-16th c. (Michailidou 1993; 1998; 2000). Italian wares dominate the pottery imported to Rhodes in the period from the mid-15th c. to its fall to the Turks in 1522. The reported material includes some Sgraffito pottery from the area of Venice and some Maiolica from the area of the state of Florence. The author identified some distinctive decorative types (such as Renaissance Sgraffito bowls decorated with human busts and Maiolica decorated with the 'Persian palmette' and the 'peacock eye' motifs), giving references to comparative material from Italy. Her publication of 1998 was dedicated to the sgraffito bowls decorated with human busts and focused on the analysis of the iconographic details of their decoration.

Cyclades. Most of the Cyclades remained under Western rule until the 16th c. In the group of Post-Byzantine pottery reported from Andros (Dori et al. 2003), products of Post-Byzantine workshops form a relatively small proportion (6 out of 26 sherds). They include some 15th-

16th- century wares with incised and painted decoration, one of which has been attributed possibly to Cyprus. Most of the finds (15 out of 26 sherds of this period) are imports from the Islamic East (Miletus Ware, Iznik Ware and Çanakkale Ware). Italian imports include some 16th – c. Maiolica from Venice and Florence. Three fragments of ‘Marbled Ware’, which had been attributed to the 16th-17th – c. production of Pisa (Dori et al. 2003, 109, nos. 113-115), in the revised publication of the material were identified as products of an Ottoman workshop of the 17th-19th c., or of the 18th c. (Kontogiannis and Arvaniti 2007, 359).

The material reported from Paros, Naxos and Melos (Vionis 2005) includes Islamic imports of the period 15th-18th c. (‘Miletus Ware’, ‘Iznik Ware’, ‘Kutahya Ware’, ‘Çanakkale Ware’), ‘Coloured Sgraffito Ware’ and ‘Slip-Painted Ware’ of the 15th-16th c., ‘Painted Wares’ of the 15th-17th c., Italian Polychrome Sgraffito and Maiolica of the 15th – 16th c., Pisan ‘Marbled Ware’ of the 16th-17th c., 19th – c. ‘Grottaglie Ware’ and ‘Slip-Painted Ware’ from Didymoteicho, as well as some monochrome glazed wares and unglazed coarsewares.

4. Major contributions to our knowledge of the Western pottery imported to Greece between the 13th and the 19th c.

The name ‘Protomaiolica’ was first used by Waagé for a group of pottery excavated at Corinth, which he identified as the prototype of the Italian ‘Archaic Maiolica’ (Waagé 1934). Since Corinth and ‘Athlit were the only find-spots at that time, he suggested an Eastern Mediterranean provenance for the ware (Johns 1934; Waagé 1934). Later, Ch.Morgan divided the Protomaiolica of Corinth in four groups (Protomaiolica I, II, III and Later Protomaiolica) and assumed that the ware originated from a Southern Aegean site (Morgan 1942, 105-114, n.35, nos.789-945).

But early finds of the ware in Italy suggested its Italian origin (Ballardini 1938). Particularly important were the studies by David Whitehouse and Stella Patitucci Uggeri, which distinguished several styles connected to different regions in Italy (Whitehouse 1966; 1969; 1970; 1980a; 1980b; 1986; Patitucci-Uggeri 1979; 1985). Fundamental for the promotion of the study of the Southern Italian glazed pottery was Whitehouse's suggestion that the name Protomaiolica was inappropriate for a part of Morgan's group II (Morgan 1942, 108-111, nos. 883-884, 886-888, 892-896), which did not contain tin in a significant quantity (Whitehouse 1980b, 82-83). J. Buerger had used the term 'Split Ware' for this pottery, because of its common occurrence at Split in Croatia (Buerger 1979). Whitehouse named the new category 'RMR', which describes the colours used for its decoration (*ramina*, *manganese*, *rosso*, i.e. copper-green, manganese-brown, red). After these developments, as Sanders noted, the groups defined by Morgan, particularly his Group II, were proved "too broad and simplistic" (Sanders 1987, 167). The technical analyses by Dufournier, Flambard and Noyé (1986) showed that the 'RMR' Ware is a basically lead-glazed group of pottery with many variants, and identified some distinctive areas of production, most of which were in Apulia. It has become clear today that Protomaiolica, 'RMR' and Archaic Maiolica include several varieties produced at various centres in Italy. Some Apulian 'RMR' types and the Protomaiolica of Brindisi were introduced a little before 1200, the Archaic Maiolica of Pisa and the Protomaiolica of Liguria (Savona) and Sicily ('Gela Ware') appeared in the second quarter of the 13th c., while Archaic Maiolica started to be produced in Central Italy at some point during the first half of the 13th c. (Berti et al. 1997).

Pringle was the first scholar to discuss the distribution of Protomaiolica in the Eastern Mediterranean (Pringle 1982). He suggested that the ware was imported to the Levant during the 13th c. only for the use of the Westerners settled there, and also showed that the ware is

particularly associated with coastal sites. In 1985, Patitucci-Uggeri discussed all known examples of Protomaiolica from the Eastern Mediterranean (Syria-Palestine, Egypt, Greece, Cyprus) and connected them with production centres in Italy. Most of them were in Apulia, belonging mainly to the production of Brindisi, while some originated from Sicily. More recent studies have confirmed that most of the Protomaiolica imported to the Eastern Mediterranean during the 13th-14th c. comes from the Salento, in Southern Apulia, and is most probably the product of the workshops of Brindisi; much less frequent is the Protomaiolica originating from Northern Apulia (Tavoliere) and Sicily, while there is also a group of probable provenance from Calabria (Riavez 2000a; D' Amico 2006). Much of the 'RMR' pottery distributed to the Eastern Mediterranean seems to come from the Salento too (Riavez 2000b; Arthur 2007, 248).

'Metallic' and 'Roulette' wares were first described by Morgan (Morgan 1942, 62-3; 174), but it was MacKay who defined them as separate categories (Stillwell-MacKay 1967, 252, nos.1-6, pl.62, fig.1; 254-255, nos. 11-16). Sauro Gelichi proved that the so-called 'Roulette Ware' was a product of the area of Venice (Gelichi 1986a). He showed that the 'rouletting' on the exterior of bowls was not characteristic of a specific pottery type, but was used on a number of Venetian products. These Venetian products include the 'San Bartolo' pottery, which Gelichi distinguished as autonomous from the Sgraffito Pottery of the Po Valley, as well as the type 'Spirale Cerchio', which has been identified as a Venetian imitation of the Zeuxippus Ware class I b/c (Lazzarini 1987). According to Gelichi, also 'Metallic ware', or at least part of it, was produced at Venice (Gelichi 1991, 202; 1993, 16). However, the Aegean, South Italian or North Italian origin of this ware has for long been debated and the discussion remains still open today (Buerger 1979, 35; Sanders 1987, 175; Vroom 2005, 13; Arthur 2007, 242). Gelichi also noted that Southern Italian Wares

(Protomaiolica and ‘RMR’ pottery) and Venetian wares (Spirale Cerchio and Roulette Ware) occurred together at several sites in the Eastern Mediterranean, indicating that they were both distributed by Venetian merchants (Gelichi 1991, 204-205; 1993, 36-38).

More recently, François (1997a) offered a valuable study of the distribution of the Western pottery in Greece, expanding the discussion to the whole time span between the 13th and the 15th c. and to all types of imported Western pottery (Protomaiolica, ‘RMR’, Archaic Maiolica, Roulette/Vento Ware, Metallic Ware, Spirale Cerchio, Graffita Arcaica, Spanish pottery). By examining the Italian pottery reported from more than twenty Greek sites, she noted its presence only in regions occupied by the Franks or retaining close relations with Italy (Peloponnese, Central Greece, Epeiros, Greek islands). She also argued that Spanish pottery is particularly associated with sites occupied by the Catalans in the 14th c. Following Pringle’s view, she concluded that the Western pottery imported to Greece was limited to Latin consumption.

The Corinth excavations have provided the major part of the evidence for the pottery used in Frankish Greece and for its dating. As MacKay recently noted, “most of the pottery found elsewhere has to be dated with reference to the pottery found at Corinth” (Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 403). However, Corinth has not provided answers to all questions regarding the Italian pottery imported to Greece from the 13th c. onwards. According to Charles Kaufman Williams II, future investigation should try to compare the statistics for various types of pottery recovered from different areas within the city to help to answer questions such as: what differences may exist between the Greek quarter of a city and the trade quarters maintained by the Venetian traders in various cities of the Morea, or between the merchandise passing through Venetian ports like Methoni and Koroni, and a city like Corinth, which was not located on the direct sailing route from Venice to the Near Eastern ports; what differences

may exist between the pottery imported to Greece for private use by foreigners and special groups (such as monastic orders) and that sold commonly in the public market (Williams 2003, 428). Furthermore, Corinth has provided evidence only for the pottery of the 13th and the early 14th c. As far as the Greek mainland is concerned, the finds from nearby Isthmia, as well as sporadic reports of finds from various other sites, include wares that are absent at Corinth, such as Northern Italian sgraffito wares, Spanish pottery and Maiolica from Central/Northern Italy, thus providing some evidence for the Western pottery that was imported after the early 14th c. Vroom has recently noted that Italian ceramics of the Renaissance probably reached the Aegean in large quantities, but because of lack of publications we do not have insight into their distribution (Vroom 2007a, 79). Serious publications of Western pottery dating from later than the 14th c. are still rare today and they concern almost exclusively insular sites that remained continuously under Latin rule until the 16th or the 17th c. The studies of the material from Rhodes, Crete and Cyprus remain the most important contributions, since they include some well preserved examples of Italian Maiolica and Sgraffito pottery, which have been well identified and dated, on the basis of comparative material from Italy. The only well studied Western pottery from an Ottoman-dominated Greek area comes from the British Academy's survey project in Boeotia. Although the material is too fragmentary and includes only few identifiable pottery types, it is important that it provided evidence for a much more significant presence of Italian pottery than of Islamic imports.

Some more information is available today regarding the Western ceramics imported to Greece during the 18th-19th c. Most of it comes from Epeiros and the Aegean Islands and concerns ceramics included in private collections and in folk art collections of museums, such as the Benaki Museum, the Museum of Greek Folk Art at Athens and the exhibition entitled

‘Skyriano spiti’ (house of Skyros) in the Archaeological Museum of Skyros. The studies of these ceramics have largely focused on the recording of vessels as objects of art within a historical context, rather than on the analysis of pottery types (Charitonidou 1983; Kyriazopoulos and Charitonidou 1986; Korre-Zographou 1995; 2000). However, it is important that they have provided evidence for the types of Western and Islamic pottery imported to Greece during this period of growth for the Greek trade and navigation. The main Western ceramics recorded in these studies include jugs from Pesaro, Grottaglie Ware from Apulia or Corfu and industrial Transfer-printed Wares from England, France and the Netherlands.

CHAPTER 3

CHLEMOUTSI: HISTORICAL & ARCHAEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

A. THE CURRENT STATE OF KNOWLEDGE OF CHLEMOUTSI

1. Previous studies of Chlemoutsi

Our knowledge of the castle is still dependent almost exclusively on Antoine Bon's monograph on the Frankish Morea (Bon 1969) and Kevin Andrews' book on the castles of the Morea (Andrews 1953, revised in 1978 and 2006). Both these works included comprehensive studies on the history of the castle, making extensive use of written sources (such as the four versions of the Chronicle of the Morea, the Late Byzantine historian George Sphrantzes, Venetian documents and travellers' accounts). They also studied its architecture and distinguished its building phases. Bon made an exhaustive use of written sources and included detailed discussion on various issues, such as the names that have been used for the castle and their origin, the circumstances of the establishment of the castle and the function of its buildings. His book remains a basic reference work not only for Chlemoutsi, but also for the study of the general history, topography and archaeology of the Frankish Peloponnese. Andrews' work concentrated more on the architecture of the castle. He compared the present appearance of the castle with Grimani's plan of 1701 and also offered some valuable information concerning its morphological details (such as the original form of gates and windows). Andrews' and Bon's main conclusion was that Chlemoutsi preserves today the

original Frankish form of the time of its construction, in 1220-23. According to these scholars, although Chlemoutsi remained in use until the Greek War of Independence in the early 19th c., both its building phases and the written sources suggest that it lost much of its old importance after the end of the Frankish occupation and, definitely, by 1701, when the *Provveditor General dell' Armi in Morea* Francesco Grimani proposed its destruction (Andrews 1953, 148; Bon 1969, 327).

Apart from Andrews' and Bon's books, information on Chlemoutsi is included in several major or less important works on Frankish Greece and the Peloponnese. William Miller's book of the beginning of the 20th c. still retains its value today for the collection of information on the Latin occupation of Greece provided by various written sources (Miller 1908a, 133-134). A major recent contribution to the study of Frankish Greece was Peter Lock's book *The Franks in the Aegean*, in which the author investigated and discussed several aspects of the Frankish occupation of Greece (Lock 1995, 136-143). Some information on the castle has also been included in important studies concerned with the Crusades or the Crusader castles (Setton 1969-89; Molin 2001), as well as in the publication that followed a recent exhibition dedicated to the Crusades, which took place in Cyprus, Athens, Italy and Malta (Toumazis et al. 2005). Information on the castle can also be found in some studies concerned with the history of Elis, i.e. the prefecture to which Chlemoutsi today belongs (Papandreou 1924; Gritsopoulos 1998, 303-305), or with the history of the Frankish Peloponnese (Ilieva 1991; Lambropoulou and Panopolou 2000; Dourou-Iliopoulou 2000). Finally, the castle has been included in some more 'popular' books presenting the castles of the Peloponnese (Sphekopoulos 1968; Tarsouli 1971; Paradeisis 1983; Karpodini-Dimitriadi 1993, 202-217).

R.Traquair (1906-7) was the first modern scholar to study Chlemoutsi from an archaeological perspective. In his short article, he discussed three castles of the area of Elis: 'Clarentza' (the Frankish 'Clarence'), 'Katakolo' ('Pontiko', 'Beauvoir', 'Belvedere') and 'Castel Tornese' (Chlemoutsi). Traquair's main conclusion was that the real Chlemoutsi/Clermont/Castel Tornese was in fact a tower standing at the western part of the Frankish Glarentza, while the castle on the hill (known today as Chlemoutsi) was in fact a second castle, built probably by Constantine Palaiologos in the second quarter of the 15th c. His view was totally rejected by other scholars, including Andrews and Bon, as well as the Greek archaeologist George Sotiriou, who visited Chlemoutsi soon after Traquair's publication in order to examine his suggestions (Sotiriou 1916-7). Later, Sotiriou presented the results of his archaeological investigation in two articles (Sotiriou 1918-19, 1956). He discussed the castle from a historical and archaeological point of view and also made assumptions about the use of its various buildings. His main point was the identification of one of the halls of the inner enclosure (hall A3) as the Mint of the *deniers tournois*, the main currency of the Frankish Morea. Later, Bon proved that the mint was actually located in nearby city of Glarentza (Bon 1969, 322-4) and identified this hall of Chlemoutsi as the kitchen of the castle (Bon 1969, 612).

So far, the only publication of excavations carried out in Chlemoutsi has been offered by J.Servais (1964). The aim of these excavations was the location of traces of use of the site during Prehistoric times. The excavations by Servais showed that the Frankish castle was founded on Prehistoric remains, proving that the site had remained unoccupied since that time. In the presentation of the finds from a few trenches excavated in the outer courtyard and in the northeast area outside the castle, Servais mentioned the discovery of a few fragments of the 'Protomaiolica type' (Servais 1964, 18).

Since the late 1960's, the Greek Archaeological Service has undertaken several works in the castle. These included mainly restoration works and works for the enhancement of the castle, which required some digging. These works have briefly been reported in the *Chronika* of the *Archaiologiko Deltio* of the period from 1967 until the present day (see below: excavated areas). Apart from these reports, only some computer-generated plans and images of Chlemoutsi have been published, which presented the castle as it appeared after the works of the period between the late 1960's and 1995 (Verras et al. 1995; 1997). More recently, a very brief review of the restoration works has been offered (Georgopoulou, Mylona, Rigakou 2007). Also, some observations regarding the architecture of the castle have recently been presented in the Symposium of the Greek Christian-Archaeological Society¹.

2. History and description of the castle [Plates 6, 7, 9]

Chlemoutsi is today in a good state of preservation. Apart from the damage caused with time, the castle has been basically damaged only by the earthquakes, which are common in the Northwestern Peloponnese. Moreover, various parts of the castle have been restored by the Greek Archaeological Service.

The castle consists of two enclosures. A hexagonal keep (inner enclosure) is built on the summit of the hill and encloses an inner courtyard. The outer enclosure extends north and west, round the side most exposed to attacks. The buildings of the inner enclosure are two-storeyed halls, covered with barrel-vaults. The outer enclosure includes a series of two-storeyed buildings built against its walls (but preserved in bad condition), which preserve, like the buildings of the inner enclosure, a large number of fireplaces. The outer entrance gate of

¹ Athanasoulis D., "Paratiriseis stin architektoniki tou kastrou Chloumoutzi/Clermont": paper given in the 27th Symposium of Byzantine and Post Byzantine Archaeology and Art, Christianiki Arxaiologiki Etaireia, Athens 2007, *Abstracts of papers*, pp. 13-4.

the castle (E1) is contained within a quadrilateral tower, located on the northwest side of the walls. Two posterns (E3, E4) are located close to the points of contact of the outer enclosure with the keep. The entrance to the inner enclosure (E2), on the north side of the hexagon, is a vaulted passageway between the halls. A small apse preserved east of the entrance, on the upper storey, belonged to the castle chapel, which, according to the local tradition, was dedicated to St. Sophia (Sotiriou 1916).

Because of their limited funds, the Franks often used already existing Byzantine castles, making little additions or extensions to them, such as Acrocorinth and Patras, and they also built some new castles, such as Mystras (see Bon 1969; Ilieva 2001, 196-204). Chlemoutsi stands out as the most remarkable fortification of the Frankish Peloponnese. It was the only Frankish castle built according to a strict architectural plan, of Western character, which gave it a quite different appearance to the typical Byzantine castle in Greece. Bon (1947; 1969, 619) showed that Chlemoutsi belongs to a series of castles of polygonal plan, of the late 12th and the 13th c., which includes examples in Syria (Crac des Chevaliers), Northern France (Fère-en-Tardenois, Boulogne-sur-mer) and Apulia (Castel del Monte). From its unique strategic position, on the summit of a hill of the westernmost promontory of the Peloponnese, dominating the surrounding plains and offering an extensive view to the Ionian Sea, the castle, located in equal distances from the Frankish capital Andravida and the major Frankish port in Glarentza, secured control of the most important area of the Principality of Achaea.

The circumstances under which Chlemoutsi was built in 1220-23 are well documented. In the Greek Chronicle of the Morea, more than 100 verses are dedicated to its establishment, which is connected with a serious conflict between the Prince Geoffrey Villehardouin and the Latin clergy of Achaea (*Chronikon tou Moreos*, vv. 2631-2720). The

juxtaposition of the information from the Chronicle with the evidence provided by the Papal correspondence (of Honorius III) proved that the castle was built by the first Prince of Achaea Geoffrey I and not by his son Geoffrey II (Longnon 1946; Andrews 1953, 146, n.2; Bon 1969, 94-6), as was believed by some scholars (such as: Miller 1908; Papandreou 1924; Sotiriou 1956). Considering the building of the new castle very important for the defence of the region, the Prince confiscated the church lands, which provided him the revenues to build an unusually impressive fortress, quite different from the rest of Frankish castles in Greece, intended to function as an important military strongpoint and as a royal residence (Bon 1969, 318-320; Lock 1995, 139).

In the beginning of the 15th c. Chlemoutsi, along with nearby Glarentza, passed to Charles I Tocco, Count Palatine of Cephalonia and Despot of Epeiros. In 1428 Constantine Palaiologos, Despot of Mystras, obtained both sites, after his marriage with Charles Tocco's niece. In 1430 he captured Patras, and put an end to Frankish Achaea. Except for a few Venetian colonies (Methoni, Koroni, Navarino, Argos, Nauplia), the entire Peloponnese was united under Greek rule. The Turkish conquest of the Peloponnese was largely accomplished by 1460 and Chlemoutsi became an Ottoman castle. Following the fate of the Peloponnese, the castle formed part of the short-lived Venetian *Regno di Morea* (1687-1715). With the Turkish re-conquest of the Peloponnese in 1715 and the peace of Passarowitz in 1718 it returned to the hands of the Turks (I.Chasiotis, in: *IEE* XI, 1975, 16-50). We know that the castle remained in use until the Greek War of Independence in the early 19th c., when Ibrahim Pasha destroyed one of its towers (Kalonaros 1936, 177).

Andrews and Bon concluded that the architectural plan of castle preserves today its original form, with little later additions. The Palaiologoi (1428-1460) and the Venetians (1687-1715) added nothing. Only during the First Ottoman period (1460-1687) were works

carried out in the castle, on its gates, towers and walls, which were intended mainly to its adjustment to the needs of artillery. The Turks gave to the outer gate (E1) its present appearance, with three successive arched gates, a quadrilateral vaulted chamber and a murder-hole. In the original Frankish construction, the entrance was a simple passageway leading to a single gate, which was reinforced with a portcullis. Turkish works included also the addition of a round tower on the western side of the walls of the outer enclosure (Π1), the alteration of the angles of the west part of the outer walls with the addition of terrepleined bastions (K6, K7, K9), the rebuilding of the parapets and the building of a mosque (K11) in the outer courtyard.

3. Conclusion: our current state of knowledge of Chlemoutsi

Andrews' and Bon's publications of Chlemoutsi are still valuable today for the study of the Frankish castle. Our knowledge of the history and the role of the castle after the end of the Frankish occupation remains limited, being mainly based on the distinction of the Turkish works by these two scholars. The archaeological investigations of the last few decades, which preceded the restoration of various parts of the castle, have produced important new data and valuable archaeological material, remaining still unpublished. The pottery forms a significant part of the new evidence. As an important indicator of dating, trade, aesthetics, life-styles, prosperity and decline, the pottery can add much to our knowledge of the Frankish castle and its later history.

B. EXCAVATED AREAS

1. ‘Old excavations’ [Plates 9, 10]

In the outer enclosure, Traquair’s plan of the beginning of the 20th c. (Traquair 1906-7, fig.5) shows, apart from the buildings on the perimeter of the outer walls, only the Turkish mosque (K11) and a few remains of buildings in the outer courtyard (buildings K3, K13, K14). No architectural remains are shown in the inner courtyard. The same, more or less, is shown in the plans given later by Andrews and Bon (Andrews 1953, fig.170; Bon 1969, pl.33: **see plate 8**). The remains of walls and buildings in the outer and the inner courtyard, as well as the vertical walls and pilasters shown on the ground-floor inside the halls of the inner enclosure in the plans of the of the 6th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities (produced before 1997¹), were unearthed during the excavations of the period from the late 1960’s to the early 1990’s, which have briefly been described in the *Chronika* of the *Archaiologiko Deltio* of the years 1967-1995². These plans will be used here for the description of the location of the excavated areas.

The pottery that was stored in the castle by 1997 (i.e. when a team, including myself, was hired for the project for the restoration and enhancement of the castle) comes from the excavations of the period **1980’s – 1996**. The brief reports of the works of this period in the

¹ Some of these plans have been presented in: Verras et al. 1995; 1997. The same plans have been used in a leaflet recently published by the Greek Archaeological Receipt Funds, as well as in the signs that have been placed in the castle for giving to the visitor information on the castle.

² Briefly reported in: P.G. Themelis, *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), *Chronika*, 208; P.G. Papathanasopoulos, *ArchDelt* 23 (1968), *Chronika*, 161-162, 164-165; Th.Karageorga, *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), *Chronika*, 270-271; Th.Karageorga-Stathakopoulou, *ArchDelt* 28 (1973), *Chronika*, 198-199, 229; N.Zias, *ArchDelt* 29 (1973-74), *Chronika*, 410-412; N.Zias and I.Kakoures, *ArchDelt* 30 (1975), *Chronika*, 122; M.Georgopoulou in: *ArchDelt* 35 (1980), *Chronika*, 204-205; *ArchDelt* 36 (1981), *Chronika*, 176-177; *ArchDelt* 37 (1982), *Chronika*, 155; M.Lazari, *ArchDelt* 39 (1984), *Chronika*, 109; M.Georgopoulou in: *ArchDelt* 41 (1986), *Chronika*, 45-46; *ArchDelt* 42 (1987), *Chronika*, 185; *ArchDelt* 43 (1988), *Chronika*, 184-185; *ArchDelt* 44 (1989), *Chronika*, 149; *ArchDelt* 45 (1990), *Chronika*, 146; *ArchDelt* 46 (1991), *Chronika*, 171; *ArchDelt* 47 (1992), *Chronika*, 160; *ArchDelt* 48 (1993), *Chronika*, 157; *ArchDelt* 49 (1994), *Chronika*, 257; *ArchDelt* 50 (1995), *Chronika*, 250.

Chronika of the *Archaiologiko Deltio* (of the years 1980-1995: see above) do not allow a precise location of the excavated areas. According to these reports, the works of this period included mainly rescue and restoration works on parts of buildings, which were in danger to collapse (particularly vaults and openings). They also included the removal of the earth, which was covering the interior of the halls of the inner enclosure and its courtyard. The filling of the halls of the inner enclosure reached the level of the floor of the upper storey (indicated by the square holes originally used for the joints supporting a wooden floor). Some works were also carried out in the outer courtyard and in some of its standing buildings, which, in 1987, included the excavation of the visible remains of the Turkish mosque (K11).

Like the pottery from the excavations of 1997-2000, the pottery coming from what is named here 'old excavations' belongs to the whole period of the use of the castle (13th-early 19th c.). It is important that much of this pottery comes from the filling of the halls of the inner enclosure and the inner courtyard, because only small parts of the inner enclosure were excavated during the works of 1997-2000.

2. The excavations of 1997-2000 [Plates 9-13]

The project of 1994-2000 for the enhancement and restoration of the castle included the general enhancement of the castle, the restoration of the hall A5 of the inner enclosure, the creation of a storehouse and conservation laboratory in hall A6 and the creation of new cobbled ways leading from the outer gate of the castle (E1) to hall A5 in the inner enclosure¹. The excavations were dictated by the needs of the restoration works. The time constraints and the financial needs of the project did not allow systematic excavation and digging at the depth or to the extent that was interesting according to purely archaeological criteria. Thus, the

¹ The works of this project have been briefly reported in: M.Georgopoulou, in: *ArchDelt* 52 (1997), *Chronika*, 345; *ArchDelt* 53 (1998), *Chronika*, 294; *ArchDelt* 54 (1999), *Chronika*, 287; *Ergo* 1997, 164; *Ergo* 1998, 190; *Ergo* 1999, 212; Verras et al. 1997; Georgopoulou-Verra et al. 2007.

complete plan of the unearthed architectural remains often remained unclear and some trenches were excavated at a small depth, only for revealing the preserved tops of walls, most of which were close to the modern surface level (the final depth ranges from ca. 0.30 to 1m.).

The excavations, the trenches and their finds are described in detail in **Appendix A**. During the period 1997-2000, excavations were carried out in the outer and the inner enclosures, in the entrance E2 and the area of the postern E3. The excavations produced pottery of both the Frankish/Late Byzantine and the Post-Byzantine period, but the majority belongs to the Post-Byzantine period. At several points, the excavations provided evidence for alterations or additions to the Frankish castle, which can be placed in the early Ottoman times (outer enclosure: areas A,B, C; entrance E2; hall A5; possibly also postern E3).

More specifically, the following areas were excavated:

- I. **Outer enclosure, area A:** this is the most extensive area of the excavations; it is located east of the Turkish mosque (K11) and includes trenches Z-ΛE.
- II. **Outer enclosure, area B:** this is the area west of the mosque, in which only three trenches were excavated (A, Δ, K14), producing very few finds.
- III. **Outer enclosure, area C:** two large trenches (B, E), located between the buildings K13 and K2.
- IV. **Outer enclosure, area D:** excavations carried out in some of the buildings on the perimeter of the outer enclosure; these included: removal of the earth, which was covering most of the height of the westernmost part of building K2, at its junction with the tower of the outer gate; small trenches into the building K1 and along the exterior of the NE wall of K3.
- V. **Entrance E2:** excavation in the areas between the three successive gates which form the entrance to the inner enclosure (areas E2.A and E.2B).

- VI. **Postern E3**: small trench in the area of the gate.
- VII. **Inner enclosure, courtyard**: trenches 1-5, in front of the entrance to hall A5 and the eastern edge of A4; excavation of wall $\sigma\tau$, which is parallel to the façade of A5.
- VIII. **Inner enclosure, hall A5**: trenches 5-8 (their boundaries are the walls of A5 and the low vertical walls α,β,γ) and removal of walls α,β,γ .
- IX. **Inner enclosure, hall A6**: trench 1, on the location of a large break of the wall of the façade.

Outer enclosure (areas A-D)

Some traces probably belonging to walls were visible in the outer courtyard, especially in area A, before the start of the excavations (walls 2,3,4,5,7,8,10,15). Thus, the main aim was to investigate possible building remains, since they should not be disturbed by the new cobbled way leading to the entrance gate of the inner enclosure (E2), which was included in the works of the project (**plate 7a**). The excavations were concentrated mainly upon area A, where the most important architectural remains were found. After the end of the excavations, area A was covered again with earth, except for a flight of steps revealed in trenches IB-IE, which was incorporated into the new cobbled way. Two areas of buildings (A1,A2) and two roads with direction approximately east-west (P1, P2) were located in area A. The information produced by the excavation was richer regarding the arrangement of area A1. It seems that this area included one large building, divided into at least two rooms (by wall 12). In area A2, the wall that forms the south boundary of the road P2 (wall 9) was built on a pre-existing wall (wall 9 α), which forms the only architectural remain unearthed in the outer enclosure that can be related to the Frankish period.

The unearthed architectural remains and most of the pottery and other finds of the outer enclosure belong to the Post-Byzantine period, reaching the early 19th c. Pottery mostly of the Frankish/Late Byzantine period comes only from the area of the road P2 (trenches KA, KB, KE), in which the excavation continued deeper than the level of the (Turkish) road P2, (indicated by some traces of floor located in trench KB). The construction of the walls excavated in the outer enclosure is different and less careful than that of the walls and buildings of the original Frankish castle, suggesting that they are later (Turkish) additions. The remains of buildings and roads are, more or less, in accordance with those shown in Grimani's plan of 1701 (**plate 14**). They also correspond to Çelebi's witness (Çelebi, 46) that 80 houses existed around the mosque built by the Sultan Bayezit (1481-1512). The buildings of the areas A1 and A2 and the position and direction of the roads P1 and P2 show an arrangement which takes into account the mosque, suggesting that they belong to the same period as the mosque. The pottery and other finds from Area A also suggest that these buildings were added in the outer courtyard of the Frankish castle soon after the Ottoman conquest. A Turkish inscription of 1536/7 found in trench Θ (see **Appendix C** and **plate 52.e**) may be connected to the completion of these works.

The discovery of some iron cannon balls and the location of some destruction levels in trenches B-E and K2, combined with the evidence of the pottery (a considerable part of which reaches the 18th-early 19th c.), possibly indicate a connection with the bombardment of the castle by Ibrahim Pasha in 1825, to which the destruction of tower II3 has also been connected (Kalonaros 1936, 177; Andrews 1953; Bon 1969, 611)¹.

¹ This tower has been restored. For the state of its preservation before the restoration see: Andrews 1953, fig.172.

Entrance E2

In area E2.B parts of an old cobbled way and its low sidewalls (walls 1,2) were visible before the start of the excavation. The aim was to locate further preserved remains, before restoring the passageway on the interior of the entrance, which leads to the inner courtyard.

Two vertical articulations and some traces of old crenellations that are visible on the wall of the façade of the entrance E2, indicate that the entrance originally included only two gates (II and III). This original entrance was flanked by two towers, which were later joined with a wall, to provide the uniform façade preserved today, which includes gate I. Bon discussed this alteration together with a number of other works made on the eastern sector of the north side of the hexagon of the keep, which he placed in a second phase of works during the Frankish period (Bon 1969, 617-619, pl.40c).

The excavation brought to light a cistern in the area E2.A and a grave in E2.B, which can both be dated to the Frankish period. The finds (the pottery, a coin and the contents of the filling of the cistern) suggest that alterations were made in the area of the entrance in the early Ottoman period. During the Turkish works, the Frankish cistern was filled with earth and then the 'old cobbled way' preserved today was built, which covered the Frankish grave. Possibly these works included also the addition of the gate I, which was considered by Bon as an addition of the Frankish period.

Postern E3

The main aim of the excavation was to locate a threshold or traces of the original level of the gate. The trench, although small (final depth: ca. 0.40-0.50m.), produced more than 200 sherds, including much of the 13th-14th – c. diagnostic glazed pottery of the excavations of 1997-2000. Very little of its pottery may date after the 15th c. The excavation revealed traces

of two phases (i.e. of two thresholds). On the basis of pottery, the first phase can be dated to the Frankish period; the second phase, during which a new threshold was made ca. 0.20 m. higher, can be placed late in the Frankish period or soon after the Ottoman conquest.

Inner enclosure, courtyard.

In accordance to Grimani's plan, parts of several buildings are visible today in the inner courtyard of the castle. These apparently were not visible in the beginning of the 20th c. and until the 1960's, since the plans by Traquair, Andrews, and Bon show the inner courtyard unoccupied. Obviously, they were unearthed during works carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service before 1997, when a new (restored) cobbled way was also built in the projection of the passageway of the entrance E2. Unfortunately, no detailed records were kept for these works, making the distinction between original Frankish construction, Turkish additions, and modern restoration too complicated. However, most of the walls that are visible today in the inner courtyard seem to be Turkish additions.

The excavations of 1997-2000 were carried out in the eastern sector of the courtyard. They uncovered traces of steps and worked bedrock related to the access to the entrance to hall A5, the level of which is much lower than that in front of hall A4 (which was located in trench 4). Some trenches produced pottery dating exclusively from the Frankish period (trenches 1,2 and 'excavation of wall στ'), while others produced pottery of both the Frankish and the early Ottoman periods (trenches 3, 4, 5). The stone frame of the entrance of A5 (which belongs to the original Frankish construction) had been restored long before the start of the excavations of 1997-2000. Thus, it seems probable that the upper layers of the area in front of the entrance to A5 were removed during these older works (i.e. the levels of 17th-early 19th c.).

Inner enclosure, halls A5, A6

In A5, the aim was to investigate the interior of the building, before its restoration (according to the project, hall A5 should be restored in order to be used in the future as museum; the exhibition is under preparation today). Older excavations (in the 1970's the whole ground-floor was covered with earth) had revealed three low vertical walls (α , β , γ), which were 'joining' the pilasters supporting the three reinforcing arches of the barrel vault of the hall. They had also revealed traces of two piers, originally supporting a longitudinal beam under a series of vertical beams, on which the wooden floor of the upper storey rested. Since the area had already been excavated in the past, the excavations of 1997-2000 removed a layer of only approximately 0.30m. Only trench 8 was excavated deeper, revealing a draining conduit under some traces of a floor (made of mortar). After the end of the excavation of the trenches 5-8, walls α , β and γ were removed for the creation of the new floor of the museum, bringing to light a third pier, as well as some pottery built into these walls. The excavations showed that the three piers, the traces of the floor and the conduit found in trench 8 belong to the original Frankish construction, while walls α, β, γ form additions of the early Turkish period (by ca. 1500), most probably related to the construction of a later, Turkish floor.

The entrance to hall A6 is not preserved today, but it was apparently located at the westernmost part of its façade, a large part of which is today broken. Trench 1 aimed to investigate this destroyed part of the wall, for locating traces of the original entrance. No such traces were discovered. However, the discovery of an iron cannon ball at a small depth provided an explanation for the destruction of the façade, while the dating of the pottery may relate it to the bombardment of the castle by Ibrahim in 1825.

PART II: THE MATERIAL

CHAPTER 4

THE POTTERY: A TYPOLOGICAL PRESENTATION

The pottery presented in this chapter has been divided into two periods: Frankish/Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine. A few pieces that cannot be included in the classification of pottery are presented separately ('miscellanea'). A catalogue of ceramics follows the presentation of each type or subgroup. Description of fabric and decoration is based on macroscopic examination supplemented by the use of hand-lens. Fabric colour is described according to the *Munsel Soil Color Charts* (1998 edition), used in natural light. The quantity and size of inclusions and voids (pores) is described as follows: occasional to rare= 1% or less, few to some= 2-5%, many= 5-10%; small= less than 1 mm., medium= 1-2 mm., large= 2-5 mm.

A. POTTERY OF THE FRANKISH/LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD (13TH-15TH C.)

I. POTTERY FROM LATE BYZANTINE WORKSHOPS

1. COLOURED SGRAFFITO WARE

The pottery with incised decoration associated with painted colours seems to have been the most common of all wares throughout the Eastern Mediterranean during the Frankish/Late Byzantine period. Megaw introduced the term 'Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware' for this pottery, in his publication of the finds from Nicosia (Megaw 1951). Recently,

the term 'Coloured Sgraffito Ware' has been proposed (Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Mavrikiou, Bakirtzis 1999, 149; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 2003; see also Kalopisi-Verti 2003, 44).

By the late 13th c., the ware became common in Greece, the Middle East, the Balkans and Italy. The 13th - century products of Cyprus were exported to other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean, such as the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, where they represent about 90% of the non-Islamic imported wares (Boas 1999, 149). By the late 13th c. the incised decoration enhanced with colours became prevalent also in Greece (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 2005, 126). A well-known production centre was Serres (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1992), the products of which were widely distributed in the Northern Balkans and have also been found at Corinth and in the Lagoon of Venice (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 223). It is hard to identify the centre where the ware originated and was developed. A hypothesis is that it was introduced by Levantine potters (Vroom 1998a, 526; 2003a, 167; Vionis 2005, 258). Similar wares were produced in Northern Italy since the 13th c. and especially during the 15th-and the 16th c. (see below, wares 9, 20). In Greece, the style continues in the Post-Byzantine period (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999; see also ware 14.A-B, below) and, at least in Epeiros, it was used until the 18th and the 19th c. (Korre-Zographou 1995, 124-5).

The Late Byzantine wares are characterized by a broad-line sgraffito decoration, which is mainly geometrical or vegetal, while animal figures are stylised and used as purely decorative patterns. Alternating green and brown colour is applied in strokes or splashes on the incised designs, under a yellow or colourless glaze, over a white slip. (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 2005).

In Chlemoutsi, the ware is represented by a rim fragment, which preserves small part of an incised stylised fish. The closest parallel for this decoration is a Coloured Sgraffito bowl from the Benaki Museum at Athens, which remains of unknown origin, but, according to

Papanikola-Bakirtzis, its decoration is similar to Cypriot examples of the 13th c. (Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Mavrikiou, Bakirtzis 1999, 149, 153, no.319). Also the shape of the small fragment from Chlemoutsi presents some similarities to Cypriot bowls (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989b, fig.1, nos.2,4,5; Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Mavrikiou, Bakirtzis 1999, 199, no.345). A provenance from Cyprus cannot be excluded, but it should be noted that Cypriot pottery is absent at nearby Frankish port of Glarentza (see Athanasoulis 2005, 45) and rare in Greece in general.

624a (Plates. 15, 36). Carinated bowl, rim fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: IB (IB.5)

Est.R.D: ca. 0.14, pres.H:0.036, Th.:0.005. Small. Vertical, concave, slightly inwardly thickened rim (lip missing). Fabric: fine, light red (10R 6/6), clean. Decoration: white slip and colourless glaze inside; part of an incised stylised fish enhanced by strokes of green and yellow-brown paint; exterior bare.

Date: 13th-14th c.

2. SLIP-PAINTED WARE

In the slip-painted technique the designs are painted with a thick solution of white slip directly onto the clay surface of the pot. The decorative effect is based on the contrast between the colours of clay and slip. The earliest examples of the ware come from Corinth and have been dated to the 11th c. (Morgan 1942, 95-103), but the ware flourished in the 12th c. (Sanders 1995, 240-2). MacKay described the Frankish examples from Corinth as careless and even unattractive (Stillwell-MacKay 1967, 262). The slip-painted technique seems to have flourished during the 13th –14th c. in several places, such as Cyprus (Taylor and Megaw 1937-9, 4; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989a; 1989b 219), Thessaloniki (Vavyloupoulou-

Charitonidou 1989, 219; Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Mavrikiou-Bakirtzis 1999, 53), Mikro Pisto in Thrace (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 243-244; Zekos 2003) and Arta (Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993, 245-248).

The material of Chlemoutsi includes only two pieces that can be dated to the 13th-14th c. Fabric and style of decoration suggest different places of manufacture. The decoration of the bowl no.25 is more carefully executed than that of some Post-Byzantine examples from Chlemoutsi (see ware 15, below). Its shape and decoration can be compared to an example from Sparta, found in a context of the second quarter of the 13th c. (Sanders 1993, 263, 284, fig.3, no.13), as well as to an example from Thebes, found in a deposit dated to the second half of the 12th c. (Armstrong 1993, 311-13, fig.9, no.140).

No.487ζ belongs to a type of closed vessel decorated on the exterior with vertical slip-painted lines ('tongues'). Examples of this type have been dated to the 13th-14th c. and come from Thasos (François 1995, 111, série IV, fig.72, c 416), Olynthos (Xygopoulos 1993, 288, pl.205, IV A2), Iznik/Nicaea (François 1997b, 427, nos. 82-83, fig.7) and Andros (Dori et al. 2003, 143-44, no.74, pl.VIa).

25 (Plates 15, 36). Bowl, base and body fragment. Old excavations

B.D.:0.07, pres.H.:0.03, Th.:0.007. About half of low ring foot and small part of flaring, slightly rounded lower body. Fabric: medium fine, pale brown to very pale brown (10YR 6/3 to 10YR 7/3), some small-to-medium voids, occasional small white and brown inclusions. Decoration: spiral at centre and on the wall, painted in thick white slip under pale green glaze (becoming light brownish-green on unslipped surfaces); exterior bare. Date: probably 13th c. (second quarter?).

487ζ (Plate 36). Closed form, body (or neck) fragment.

Inner enclosure, A5: removal of wall a

Pres.Dim.:0.026x0.021, Th.:0.004-0.005. Very small. Fabric: fine, red (10R 5/6), rare small voids. Decoration: parts of two vertical lines painted with thick slip under green glaze (becoming dark on the unslipped surface); interior bare. Date: 13th-14th c.

3. BROWN GLAZED (MONOCHROME) WARE

During the Late Byzantine period, the number of glazed ceramics seems to have increased significantly (Sanders 2000, 166; 2003a, 37; Vroom 2003a, 233; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 2005, 128). The Late Byzantine plain glazed wares (monochrome wares) are glazed in varied tones of yellow, brown or green. and they include both slipped and unslipped examples (François 1995, 110-11, série IIIa-c).

The two vessels from Chlemoutsi are covered with a dark brown glaze applied directly onto the clay. The closest parallel is an example found in Andros, which has been dated to the 13th-14th c. (Dori et al. 2003, 172, no. 143, pl.Xβ). Similar pottery has been found at Derveni/Kamenitsa, in Achaea (Kostas Papathanasiou, pers. comm.¹).

Both pieces: Date: 13th-14th c.

547η (Plates 15, 36). Bowl, rim fragment. Trench: E3

Est.R.D.:0.145, pres.H.:0.022, Th.:0.006. Very small part of flaring upper body and vertical rim with rounded lip (two mended pieces). Fabric: fine, hard, red (2.5YR 5/6), few small voids. Decoration: dark brown shiny glaze on both sides.

¹ Some unglazed pottery of the 13th-14th c. from the survey project in Derveni/Kamenitsa has been published in: Varalexi 2000.

653δ (Plates 15, 36). Goblet (?), rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KE

Est.R.D.:0.09, pres.H.:0.048, Th.:0.006. About 1/5 of body and rim (three mended pieces).

Flaring lower body, up-turned high wall, out-turned rim, squared lip. Fabric: fine, red (2.5YR 5/8), few small voids. Decoration: dark brown glaze on the interior, running down on the exterior; exterior bare.

II. POTTERY IMPORTED FROM THE WEST

4. ARCHAIC MAIOLICA

Archaic Maiolica is a tin-glazed earthenware. The tin-glaze technique has its origin in the 8th-9th – century Mesopotamia (Candy 1997, 111). From there it spread to the Maghreb and Southern Spain, when the Arabs conquered these areas. The name ‘Maiolica’ is probably a corruption of ‘Majorca’, first given in the 15th c. to the Spanish lusterware imported from Moorish Spain to Italy, through the island of Majorca (Rackham 1952, 2-3). However, the term may also derive from the Spanish name for lusterware ‘obra de malaga’, i.e, Malaga work (Carnegy 1993, 24; Poole 1997, 1).

The ‘archaic phase’ of Maiolica has been placed approximately between the early 13th and the mid-15th c. (Ward-Perkins et al. 1973). Archaic Maiolica was manufactured at several centres in Northern and Central Italy. The best-known type is that of Orvieto, in Southern Umbria. Because of its wide distribution, Orvieto ware became famous and almost every variety of Archaic Maiolica has often been described as ‘Orvieto Ware’ (see Whitehouse 1967, 71-79; 1976, 163). Important was also the Tuscan production, which started in Pisa as early as the first quarter of the 13th c. (Berti and Tongiorgi 1982; Berti et al. 1986; Berti et al. 1997).

The fabric of Archaic Maiolica varies from pink to red or light red. The visible surfaces are covered with a tin glaze, often greyish- or purple-white, while the reverse surface and lower exterior of closed forms are either lead-glazed or left unglazed. Open forms are less common. Some shapes, notably the *albarelli* and other drug-jars, derived from the Islamic tradition (Calopinto et al. 2002, 22), but new distinctive Italian forms also gradually emerged, such as the *panata* (a jug with a distinctive applied spout) and the pear-shaped pedestal jugs

(see Carnegy, pictures on p.25). Common on jugs is the decoration in panels containing figural, floral or abstract motifs and bounded by brown lines, the ends of which are at either side of the handle.

Morgan included the Archaic Maiolica from Corinth in his 'Later Protomaiolica' (Morgan 1942, 111-113, nos. 911-930). The Corinth excavations have shown that Archaic Maiolica, from the area north of Rome (probably from Orvieto or Viterbo), appeared in the last third of the 13th c. (Williams and Zervos 1995, 21; Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 413). The ware was still present in post-1312 levels (Williams and Zervos 1992, 163, no.33, pl.39).

The ware was exported to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Pringle 1984a, 109-110, no.87, fig.9). In Greece, apart from Corinth, Archaic Maiolica has been reported from Patras (Mastrokostas 1960, 140-1, pl.119a; Papapostolou 1976, 88, pl.73δ; Athanasoulis 2002, 345, n.63, pl.112γ), Glarentza (Athanasoulis 2005, 45), Sparta and Ayios Stephanos in Laconia (Sanders 1993, 256, n.12; 2008, 394-5, fig.7.2), Argos and the Argolid (Hahn 1996, 403, no.122; Bakourou et al. 2003, 234, fig.5), Methoni (see Stillwell-MacKay 1996, 132 n.4), Andros (Dori et al. 2003, 108, 157-158, nos.108-110) and Crete (Poulou-Papademetriou 2007). Some examples seem to exist also at Rogoi in Epeiros (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1987, 41 fig. 17: identified as Protomaiolica or Archaic Maiolica).

The material of Chlemoutsis includes only closed forms, which are rather fragmentary. There is a small rim fragment of a pinched or trefoil-mouth jug, decorated with brown lines (no.546β), which are common on Archaic Maiolica jugs. Handles are either strap (nos. 555η; 547στ) or oval in section (650β, 960) and they are decorated with brown stripes (e.g. Whitehouse 1967, fig. 10.4; 1980a, fig.10.4,5; Blake 1980a, fig.25.1). At least one of the larger body sherds, no.958 (and probably also the small upper body-sherd, no.182στ), seems to belong to a relatively narrow, nearly cylindrical body, which is often associated with

pedestal jugs (e.g. Poole 1997, 14-5, no.2; Blake 1980a, fig.12). Two vessels (nos. 554β, 555η) seem to belong to flat-based jugs with an ovoid body (e.g.: Pringle 1977, pl.XVII, no.121; Berti et al. 1986, table 2, nos.5-8, 10-14, 18; Gelichi 1986b, pl.XVII, no.1). The fabric is usually pink in colour (7.5YR 7/3-4), but there are also examples with light red (10R 6/6, 2.5YR 6/8) or light reddish brown (5YR 7/4) fabric.

Most pieces seem to have originally been decorated in green and brown. The interior is either lead-glazed or left unglazed, while the lower part of bodies and the bases are unglazed and undecorated. Most of the pieces preserve parts of motifs that are common on Archaic Maiolica jugs, such as panels with cross-hatched lines (e.g. Blake 1980a, fig.24; Mazzucato 1981b, 4, top left; Berti et al. 1986, pl.1), brown framing lines or groups of small lines as subsidiary motifs (for some Italian examples see: Whitehouse 1967, 73, fig.10.4; 1980a, fig.10.4; Blake 1980a, figs.5, 12, 25.1; Poole 1997, no.2, right; for examples from Corinth see: Williams and Zervos 1992, 150, no.13, pl.37; 1995, 26, no.12, pl.5.; 1996, 27, no.7, pl.7). Two small pieces (nos.88, 554γ) belong to the 'Blue Archaic Maiolica' type, on which the green decoration is replaced by blue (Buerger 1979, 40; Blake 1980a, 104-105; Maraconda et al. 1986, 523; Gelichi 1988; Bojani and Ravanelli Guidotti 1992, 21, no.2). Such wares were produced in both Central and Northern Italy from about the mid-14th c. onwards, but they are much less common than the Archaic Maiolica with green and brown decoration. The type went out of use by the end of the 14th c. in the area of Florence, superseded by Maiolica with decoration in relief blue ('zaffera a rilievo', see: Moore-Valeri 1984), while in Lazio it remained in use until the 15th c. (Poole 1997, 16).

In the absence of stratigraphic data, no secure suggestions can be made for the first appearance of the ware in Chlemoutsi. Comparative material from Italy covers the period between the early 13th and the early 15th c. In Greece, only the Corinth excavations have

provided absolute chronologies for the ware. No secure evidence exists so far for suggesting an earlier importation of the ware to the NW Peloponnese (where Chlemoutsi belongs). However, in nearby Glarentza, founded around the mid-13th c., examples are present in great quantity and variety (see Athanasoulis 2005, 47). *Terminus post quem* for the pottery of Chlemoutsi is the date of its establishment (1220-23) and the latest examples of Archaic Maiolica date from the later 14th or the early 15th c.

4.i. Archaic Maiolica with brown and green decoration

(All closed forms)

174α (Plate 36). Body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim: 0.071x0.055, Th.:0.005. Small, rounded. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/3), rare small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: pale brown glaze; part of floral motif in scroll; manganese brown outlines, green filling; yellow lead glaze inside. Date/origin: 14th c.? Central Italy?

- For similar decoration see: Mazzucato 1981b, 4, bottom right (14th c., attributed to Viterbo or Orvieto).

182στ (Plate 36). Body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.07x0.067, Th.: 0.004-0.005. Two mended pieces. Small cylindrical part of body. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), some small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: pale brown glaze; two vertical manganese brown lines; pale yellow-brown glaze inside. Date: 13th-14th c.

184α (Plate 36). Body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.09x0.085, Th.:0.008-0.009. Small, rounded. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/3), rare small-to-medium voids. Decoration: (badly preserved, partly peeled) part of brown panel enclosing brown cross-hatched lines; yellowish lead glaze inside. Date: 13th-14th c.

546β (Plate 36). Rim fragment. Trench: E3

Pres.Dim.:0.046x0.032, Th.:0.005. Small. Two mended pieces. Part of pinched or trefoil rim (lip missing). Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), rare small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: (preserved in bad condition) traces of white/pale brown glaze; two horizontal dark brown lines under rim; interior bare. Date: 13th- early-15th c.

547στ (Plate 36). Handle fragment. Trench: E3

Pres.L.0.05, W:0.025-0.028. Small. Upper part of strap handle. Fabric: fine, light red (10R 6/6), rare small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: (almost entirely peeled) traces of oblique brown lines. Date: 13th-14th c.

553γ (Plate 36). Body fragment. Trench: E3

Pres.Dim.:0.031x0.025, Th.:0.003-0.004. Small, rounded. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), rare small voids. Decoration: corroded glaze; dark brown cross-hatched motif and curved lines, traces of green paint; yellow glaze inside. Date/origin: late 13th– first half of 14th c. Probably Central Italy.

- Green and brown geometric or stylized vegetal motifs filled with brown cross-hatched or little parallel lines, associated with yellow lead glaze inside, are common on wares produced in Lazio during the end of the 13th and the first half of the 14th c. (Manacorda et al. 1986, 522-

523, pl. XIX, nos. 1,3). The fragment has also some similarity to a bowl from Urbino (Blake 1980a, fig. 25.1).

554β (Plate 36). Jug fragments (base, body, handle). Trench: E3

Est.B.D.:0.095, Pres.H.(base sherd):0.021, W.handle:0.028, Th.:0.005. Two mended pieces of flat base; two mended pieces of body (ovoid/nearly ovoid?); non-joining piece of upper part of strap handle. Fabric: fine, red to light red (2.5YR 5/8 to 6/8), many small voids, rare small-to-medium white inclusions. Decoration: totally corroded surfaces; traces of glaze, except for the lower part of body/base; trace of green on handle; traces of lead glaze inside. Date/origin: 14th c. Probably Northern Italy.

- The shape looks similar to: Berti et al. 1986, fig. I, nos.5-8 (Tuscany, 14th c.).

555η (Plates 15, 36). Body fragments. Trench: E3

Larger piece: pres.H.:0.088, W. handle:0.038, Th.:0.006-0.007. Three non-joining pieces: parts of ovoid body with lower (strap) handle attachment; small part of shoulder. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), rare small voids, occasional small white and brown inclusions. Decoration: pale brown glaze; brown side and bottom framing lines in groups of three; under the handle, a series of brown small bands flanked by two green blobs; lower body and interior bare. Date/origin: mid-14th - mid-15th c. Probably Northern Italy.

- The careless execution of the decoration suggests a rather late dating. For similar examples see: Pringle 1977, 130, pl.XVII, no.121 (from Genoa: mid-14th c., type Pisan-Ligurian); Gelichi 1986b, 149-152, pl.XVII, no.1 (from Rimini: first half of 15th c.).

650ß (Plates 15, 36). Handle and neck fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KE

Pres.H.:0.0036, pres.L.:0.065, Th.:0.004. Upper part of handle (oval section) very small part of neck. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), rare small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: pale brown glaze on handle and inside; brown stripes on handle; traces of brown vertical lines on neck. Date: 13th- early-15th c.

958 (Plate 36). Body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.H.:0.11, pres.D.:0.10, Th.:0.004-0.006. Part of almost cylindrical upper body. Fabric: fine, light reddish brown (5YR 7/4), rare small voids, rare small white and brown inclusions. Decoration: (partly peeled) white/greyish glaze; decoration in dark brown: top and side framing lines, vertical band with a repeating oblique S-motif; pale yellow lead glaze inside. Date/origin: 13th-14th c. Central Italy?

- For similar decoration see: Blake 1980a, fig. 25.1 (from Urbino, 13th-14th c.).

959 (Plate 36). Body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.065x0.046, Th.:0.006. Small. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/3), rare small voids and white inclusions. Decoration: (preserved in bad condition) part of brown panels enclosing cross-hatched lines; yellow lead glaze inside. Date: 13th-14th c.

960 (Plate 36). Handle and rim fragment. Old excavations

Pres.H.:0.003, pres.L.:0.085, W.handle: 0.023. Upper part of handle (oval section), very small part of vertical rim (lip missing). Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/3 to 5YR 7/4), rare small voids. Decoration: pale brown glaze in and out; brown oblique stripes on handle. Date: 13th-early-15th c.

4.ii. Blue Archaic Maiolica

88 (Plate 36). Body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.085x0.035, Th.:0.006. Small, rounded. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5 YR 7/3), some small voids. Decoration: white tin glaze; light blue band outlined in brown, brown cross-hatching; yellow lead glaze inside. Date/origin: later 14th c.(-early 15th c.). Northern Italy?

- The preserved decoration is close to an example from Tuscany (Blake 1980a, 93, pl. XIII.b: from Moltacino).

554γ (Plate 36). Body fragment. Trench: E3.

Pres.Dim.:0.032x0.025, Th.:0.005-0.006. Small. Fabric: fine, light red (10R 6/6), rare small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: white tin glaze; light blue band and small part of a brown design; brownish lead glaze inside. Date: later 14th c.(-early 15th c.).

5. PROTOMAIOLICA

Protomaiolica is the tin-glazed pottery of Southern Italy and Sicily. Since the early reports of finds at 'Athlit and Corinth (Johns 1934; Waagé 1934; Morgan 1942) the ware has been reported from several sites in the Eastern Mediterranean, reflecting its wide distribution during the 13th and the 14th c. Find spots include sites in Syria-Palestine, such as Al-Mina, 'Athlit, Khirbat-at-Dair, Caesarea and Acre (Pringe 1982; 1984; 1985; Riavez 2000a; Stern and Waksman 2003; Vorderstasse 2004, 256-7), Split in Croatia (Buerger 1979), Stari Bar in Montenegro (D' Amico. 2006), Durrës in Albania (Vroom 2007b, 322), Egypt (François 1999, 72-74, nos.154-163, figs.16-17, pl.7-8.) and Cyprus (Megaw 1972, 336, fig.30;

Patitucci-Uggeri 1985, 385-6). In Greece, the ware has been reported from the Peloponnese (Sparta: Dawkins and Droop 1910-11, 23-28; Patras: Mastrokostas 1960, 140; Argos: Oikonomou-Laniado 1993; Isthmia: Gregory 1993, 289; Vasilitsi in Southern Messenia: Kontogiannis 2008; see also Patitucci-Uggeri 1985, 361-385), Epeiros (Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993; Kommatas 2003), Central Greece (Thebes: Armstrong 1993, 304, fig. 6, no.51; Athens: MacKay 2001), Rhodes (mentioned in: Michailidou 1993, 334), Crete (Stillwell-MacKay 1996, 127) and the Cycladic islands (Dori et al. 2003, 152-157, nos.97-107, pl.VIII; Vionis 2005, 119, 140, nos.K.vi.1, M/Z.i.1). Very few examples are known from the Northern Aegean (François 1995, 129-30), Macedonia in Northern Greece (Archie Dunn, pers.comm.) and Constantinople (for the distribution of the ware see in general: Patitucci-Uggeri 1985; François 1997a, 395-9).

It has become clear today that Protomaiolica includes a variety of sub-types produced during the 13th c. and the 14th c. at a number of centres in Southern regions of Italy, which include Apulia, Campania, Calabria and Sicily, as well as at Savona in Liguria (Patitucci-Uggeri 1985; D' Angelo 1997; Berti et al. 1997, 392-395; Riavez 2000a). The products of Brindisi in the Salento (Southernmost Apulia) are the most widely distributed in the Eastern Mediterranean. These include exclusively open forms (bowls and plates) with ring base, made of a fine fabric, pale-yellow to beige in colour. The decoration is in manganese brown, blue and less frequently yellow. The Northern Apulian production (Tavoliere area) includes bowls of shapes similar to the Brindisi type, as well as closed forms, made of a darker fabric, orange to orange-red in colour. These products have green instead of blue and their glaze is generally thicker. The Sicilian wares are made of orange-beige to orange-red fabric and their decoration is either polychrome (brown, green, yellow) or monochrome (brown).

The material of Chlemoutsi includes only one fragment of a closed form (547δ). Most of the large pieces of open forms preserve the prevalent type of decoration of the Brindisi type, i.e. a grid-iron medallion and a chevron band on the wall (Patitucci-Uggeri 1979; 1985, 347-350; Riavez 2000a, 444-5). The grid-iron medallion is in brown or yellow-brown. The chevron band, which surrounds the central motif, is either in yellow-brown or in blue. The decoration, painted on a thin tin glaze (white to greyish in colour), occurs only on the interior, while the exterior is left unglazed and undecorated. The only bowl of complete profile (no.17) and the large fragments belong to the typical shape of bowl with hemispherical body, inwardly thickened rim and low ring foot, usually with a small pendant cone on the underside (Patitucci-Uggeri 1979, fig.1a; Sanders 1987, fig.3, no.4). Lips are slightly sloping and have black-manganese loops. The fabric is sandy, usually very pale brown in colour (10YR 8/2 to 8/3), with rare small white and sparkling inclusions (for the fabric of the 'Brindisi ware' see: Megaw and Jones 1983, 262; Sanders 1987, 167; Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 155-6). Among the Protomaiolica with other decoration, one small rim fragment (555γ) is made of a notably different fabric, clearly suggesting a different provenance.

Some early suggestions for possible importation of the ware to Corinth before 1204 (Morgan 1942, 107; Stillwell-MacKay 1967, 257-258) were later rejected (Coulson 1992; Williams and Zervos 1995, 19, n.23; Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 405). The discussion on the chronology of Protomaiolica has largely been based on some grid-iron bowls immured in the churches of Katholiki at Gastouni and Merbaka in the Argolid. Megaw dated the two churches to the last quarter of the 12th c. and ca. 1200 respectively (Megaw 1931-32; 1964, 145-162). Later, Bon proposed a dating soon after the Frankish conquest for Merbaka (Bon 1969, 495). Sanders, considering the fact that the typical grid-iron Protomaiolica becomes common in Corinth in later 13th- century levels and also connecting Merbaka with William of Meerbeke

(bishop of Corinth in 1277-1286), dated the church and its grid-iron bowls to the middle of the second half of the 13th c. (Sanders 1987, 169-170; 1989, 189-194). Recently, a dating in the late 13th c. has also been proposed for the church at Gastouni, on the basis of a date written on an inscription, which was revealed in its sanctuary apse (Athanasoulis 2003). However, it seems that the 'bacini' do not provide secure chronological evidence for pottery. According to V. François, the production of bowls used as ornamentation in walls of churches is not necessarily contemporary with the foundation of the churches, since the life of a bowl could be long, lasting at least fifty years (François 1995, 93).

The Corinth excavations have provided the only absolute chronologies for the Protomaiolica imported to the Peloponnese. In Corinth, the ware appeared around the 1220's, but it was not imported in quantity until the 1260's or 1270's (Williams and Zervos 1995, 19, 21; Williams et al. 1998, 261; Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 405). Grid-iron Protomaiolica first appears with coins of William of Villehardouin (Clarenza issue, 1250-1278) and increases with time (Sanders 1989, 194), being still present after the Catalan attack of 1312 (Williams and Zervos 1995, 22). By the end of the 13th c., the grid-iron bowls decorated in blue were replaced by examples in black and ochre (Williams 2003, 430).

Terminus post quem for the material of Chlemoutsi is the date of its establishment (1220-23). Studies of Italian finds have shown that the 'Brindisi ware' was already current in the first half of the 13th c. (Patitucci-Uggeri 1979; Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 155; Berti et al. 1997, 401). The chronologies given to the Protomaiolica found at various sites in the Eastern Mediterranean are varied and generally cover the period from the early 13th to approximately the mid-14th c. Corinth should not necessarily be taken as secure evidence for other Greek sites, which may have had a different history. Stratified excavations at Arta produced a large amount of Protomaiolica, including some grid-iron bowls, in contexts

datable, on numismatic evidence, to the 13th c. and no later than the second half of the century (Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993). On the other hand, the Corinth excavations have provided evidence for the decline of the city between 1200 and 1250, with a noticeable drop in the population, a lowering of the standards of living and a reduction in the size of the city (Williams 2003, 424-426, nn.6,9). As Williams pointed out, the five-year siege of Corinth by the Franks (starting in 1205) would not have promoted trade; the city did not recover until after the 1250's, when a quite remarkable rise in the standard of living is clearly attested, which lasted until 1312 (Williams 2003, 426). This would provide an explanation for the limited presence of Italian pottery in Corinth until the late 13th c.

It seems reasonable to assume that Protomaiolica arrived in Chlemoutsí soon after its establishment, in the second quarter of the 13th c., when it also first appeared in Corinth. Besides, Glarentza, the major port of the Franks for their contacts with the West (and the main supplier of Western goods for the Franks in Chlemoutsí) was established around the middle of the 13th c. (Sarandi-Mendelovici 1980-1). Protomaiolica, including examples of the grid-iron style, has been found in quantity at Glarentza, the glazed pottery of which, as that of Chlemoutsí, is dominated by Italian imports (Athanasoulis 2005, 47-49).

In Chlemoutsí, four pieces including blue in their decoration (nos.547 α , 547 δ , 653 β , 653 γ) seem to belong to the earliest imports of the ware (Buerger, 1979, 33, 35; Williams 2003, 430). According to recent studies, the production of Protomaiolica in the Salento (Brindisi type) probably ceased in the early 14th c. (Tagliente 2000; D' Amico. 2006, 75).

5.i. Protomaiolica with ‘grid-iron’ medallion and/or chevron band on the wall

17 (Plates 16, 36). Bowl. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.16, B.D.:0.06, H.:0.068, Th.:0.006. Two mended pieces. Complete profile. About 2/3 of low ring foot, with small pendant cone, hemispherical body. Slightly inwardly thickened rim, slightly concave lip. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/2 to 8/3), many small voids, rare small white and sparkling inclusions. Decoration: matt white/greyish glaze inside and around rim outside; yellow-brown grid-iron medallion defined by a black-manganese line; chevron band between two lines, all in yellow-brown; three brown/black-manganese lines below rim; traces of black-manganese loops on lip.

Date/origin: later 13th-early 14th c. Apulia (Brindisi).

- Similar bowls (in shape, decoration and colours) have been found in late 13th-early 14th-century contexts at Corinth (Sanders 1987, 167, no.4, fig.3 pl.22; Williams 1993, 265, n.4; Williams and Zervos 1995, 22, no.6, pl.4). Similar bowls exist also at Glarentza (Athanasoulis 2005, 47: bottom right picture).

Two bowls, base and body fragments. Old excavations

18 (Plate 36). B.D.:0.064, pres.H.:0.035, Th.:0.006-0.007. Entire foot and small part of lower body preserved (**shape as no.17**). Fabric: as no.17. Decoration: as no.17, but two black-manganese lines under the traces of a chevron band. **19 (Plate 36).** Est.B.D.:0.06, pres.H.:0.031, Th.:0.007. Small part of foot and of lower body (**shape as no.17**). Fabric and decoration as no.17. Date/origin: as no.17

193 (Plate 36). Bowl, base fragment. Old excavations

B.D.:0.055, pres.H.:0.028. Entire low ring foot (without pendant cone). Fabric: as no.17. Decoration: (badly preserved) grid-iron medallion in yellow-brown defined by three black-manganese lines. Date/origin: as no.17

555ε (Plate 36). Bowl, base fragment. Trench: E3

Est.B.D.: ca.0.06, pres.H.:0.017. Th.: 0.007. Small part of low ring foot, very small part of lower body. Fabric: as no. 17. Decoration: matt white/greyish glaze; brown grid-iron medallion defined by black-manganese line. Date/origin: as no.17

547α (Plates 16, 36). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Trench: E3

Est.R.D.:0.164, pres.H.:0.032, Th.:0.006. Small part of upper rounded wall, inwardly thickened rim, slightly concave lip. Fabric: as no.17. Decoration: (badly preserved) blue chevron band on upper wall, three black-manganese lines below rim, black-manganese loops on lip; traces of tin glaze outside. Date: 13th c. Origin: as no.17

- For similar shape and decoration see: Pringle 1984a, fig.9, no.83 (Khirbat-at-Dair); Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993, fig.1, no.17 (Arta).

653γ (Plate 36). Bowl, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KE

Pres.Dim: 0.06x0.08, Th.:0.007. Part of rounded lower body. Fabric: fine, pinkish white (7.5YR 8/2), many small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: (badly preserved) black-manganese line defining a central medallion and traces of probably grid-iron motif; blue chevron band between two blue lines on wall. Date: 13th c. Origin: as no.17?

5.ii. Protomaiolica with other decoration

547β (Plate 36). Bowl, rim fragment. Trench: E3

Pres.Dim.:0.04x0.02, Th.:0.005. Very small. In-curved rim (lip missing). Fabric: as no. 17.

Decoration: (peeled) thin white tin glaze; five parallel brown lines below rim; exterior bare.

Date/origin: probably as no.17 (on the basis of fabric and surface treatment).

547δ (Plate 36). Jug, body fragment. Trench: E3

Pres.dim.:0.055x0.033, Th.:0.005. Small. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/2), many small voids. Decoration: white glaze; two vertical brown lines and traces of light blue; interior bare. Date/origin: as no.653β (below).

555γ (Plate 36). Plate, rim fragment. Trench: E3

Est.R.D.:0.22, pres.L.:0.02, Th.:0.004. Small part of out-turned rim with rounded lip. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 8/3 to 7/3), rare small voids. Decoration: pale brownish glaze inside and just under rim outside; traces of intersecting arcades below two lines on rim, all in black-manganese. Exterior bare. Date: 13th - mid-14th c.

- The preserved decoration looks similar to some Protomaiolica from Corinth (Morgan 1942, no.789, pl.XXXIII), which has been attributed to the production of the Salento (Riavez 2000a, 445). However, the fabric probably suggests a different provenance. An example from Stari Bar, with similar decoration, shape and description of fabric, has been attributed to Northern Apulia (D' Amico 2006, 75, pls. 4.2.7, 4.2.8/3509-25). Sicily seems possible too (Whitehouse 1980b, 78-79; Patitucci-Uggeri 1985, 353-361).

653β (Plates 16, 36). Bowl, base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KE

B.D.:0.054, pres.H.:0.022. Entire low ring foot with pendant cone and very small part of lower body. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/2), many small voids, few small white inclusions. Decoration: white glaze; radiating linear motif in light blue and pale yellow, outlined in dark brown. Date/origin: 13th (second quarter of) 13th c. Apulia (Brindisi).

- For similar decoration see: Patitucci-Uggeri 1985, 247, pl.LXXXIII.b-c; Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 161, no.696, fig. 6:25 (but different colours); Vroom 20005, fig.10.1.

6. LEAD GLAZED POLYCHROME WARE (TYPE ‘RMR’)

This is a very common class of glazed tableware in Southern Italy. Morgan classified the finds from Corinth as ‘Protomaiolica II’ (Morgan 1942,108-111, nos.883-884, 886-888, 892-896). Since then, various designations have been used for this pottery, such as ‘Split Ware’ (Buerger 1979, 34), ‘Lead-glazed polychrome ware’ (Whitehouse 1986, 579), ‘Pottery with painted decoration, which includes red’ (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 148-154), ‘Southern Italian Polychrome Ware’ (Gregory 1993, 290-296) and ‘Lead-glazed polychrome ware - type RMR’ (Vroom 2003; D’ Amico. 2006, 75). The term ‘RMR’ (an acronym for *Ramina*, *Manganese*, *Rosso*, i.e. ‘copper-green, manganese-brown and red’), first used by Whitehouse (Whitehouse 1980b, 82-3), seems to remain today the most widely accepted (e.g. Williams and Zervos 1995, 22; François 1997a, 394, Berti et al. 1997, 401; Campanella 2000; Riavez 2000b; Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 412).

‘RMR’ pottery is common throughout Apulia, also in Basilicata, Campania and Calabria, while finds also exist elsewhere in Italy, including Sicily and Central Italy (Whitehouse 1986, 579). Technical analyses and recent studies have shown that the ‘RMR’

pottery is a large group of basically lead-glazed wares, which do not include always red in their decoration. They have also provided evidence for some distinctive areas of production, which include: Southern Apulia (in the province of Taranto and in the Salento); Northern Apulia (Tavoliere); an unidentified area, from which come the finds from Scribla, Northern Calabria; Central/Southern Calabria (Dufournier, Flambard, Noyé 1986; Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 148; Tagliente 2000; Riavez 2000b, 210, n.27; Capelli and Di Gangi 2000).

The pieces grouped here do not preserve always red in their decoration. Some of them may have originally been decorated only in green and brown (at least group iiib). The open forms are bowls, usually with low ring foot and with rims of varied shape. Closed forms occur in almost equal numbers with open forms, but they are very fragmentary. The fabric shows some variation, indicating different provenances. Some pieces are made of a fine, sandy fabric, very pale brown (10YR 8/2-4) to pink (7.5YR 7/3-4 to 7.5YR 8/4) in colour. This fabric seems close to that of the 'RMR' products of the Salento, and more specifically to the workshops of Brindisi, which also produced Protomaiolica (see Riavez 2000b, 209-10; Campanella 2000). Other pieces have a reddish yellow (5YR 7/6) or light red (light red, 2.5 YR 6/6) fabric, of varied coarseness. The decoration occurs on the interior of bowls and on the exterior of closed forms. The interior of the closed vessels is either lead-glazed or left unglazed. Most of the open forms are decorated with a small central motif surrounded by coloured circles or concentric bands of alternating colours. Closed forms have geometrical, vegetal or abstract motifs.

Terminus post quem for the material of Chlemoutsi is the date of its establishment (1220-23). Comparative material is offered by both Italian finds and finds outside Italy, including Greece, which have been dated between the mid-13th and the early 15th c. Stratified excavations in the Salento have provided the most important chronological evidence so far,

according to which ‘RMR’ pottery started to be produced in the area in the first half of the 13th c. and was mass-produced between the second half of the 13th and the end of the 14th c. (Patitucci-Uggeri 1977; Patterson and Whitehouse 1992; Tagliente 2000). Finds outside Italy are usually dated to the second half of the 13th c. or later (see Riavez 2000b, 215, n.65). In Stari Bar the ware is common from this period until the early 15th c. (D’ Amico. 2006, 75). In Corinth, MacKay noted the common presence of the ware in late 13th - early 14th- century contexts (Stillwell-MacKay 1967, 257-258: classified as ‘Protomaiolica II’). Later, Sanders, combining the evidence from the Corinth excavations with the absence of the ware in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and in the church at Merbaka (which he dated to the middle of the second half of the 13th c.: see above, discussion of ware 5), concluded that the ware probably belonged exclusively to the last third of the 13th c. and probably after 1290 (Sanders 1987, 170-171; 1989, 193-195, fig.4). More recently, MacKay suggested that ware was imported to Corinth, at least occasionally, before the late 13th c. (probably around the third quarter of the century); she also pointed out that the absence of examples at Merbaka may have been accidental or a matter of the decorator’s taste (Stillwell MacKay 2003, 412, nn.53, 97).

Apart from Split and Stari Bar, the ware has also been found in Albania, as well as in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (Riavez 2000b; Vroom 2005). In Greece, apart from Corinth, ‘RMR’ pottery has been reported from Isthmia (Gregory 1989, 204, fig.2, 1993, 290-296), Glarentza (Athanasoulis 2005, 47), Patras (Mastrokostas 1960, pl.120; Athanaoulis 2002, 345, pl.112a-b), Arta (mentioned, but not described in: Papadopoulou-Tsouris 1993, 259), Argos (Oikonomou-Laniado 1993), Boeotia (Vroom 2003a, 167-169, figs. 6.32 & 6.43: w22. 1-2), Rhodes (mentioned, without further details in: Michailidou1993, 334) and Crete (Stillwell-MacKay 1996, 128, no.1).

6.i. Bowls with a central motif surrounded by coloured bands

The type of decoration with coloured bands on the wall of bowls is common on the Apulian 'RMR' pottery. It appears already in the second/third quarter of the 13th c. and seems to remain common until the 15th c. (Lucera: Whitehouse 1966, 174, fig.28, no.2; 1980b, 82; Otranto: Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 149, for late examples see nos.659, 660, 663). Most of the fragments from Chlemoutsi fall into distinctive decorative groups, some of which can be paralleled with examples found elsewhere in the Peloponnese.

6.i.a. Bowls with central roundel and concentric bands of alternating colours

The interior of bowls is covered with concentric bands of alternating green, brown and red colour, which surround a red stylised floral motif (when the centre of the vessel is preserved). This decoration occurs in two groups of fabric. Group A has a fine, sandy fabric, very pale brown to pink in colour (10YR 8/3 to 7.5YR 7/3), which seems close to most of the Protomaiolica from Chlemoutsi. It includes 6 pieces, five of which preserve their lower body and/or a ring base. These fragments belong to hemispherical bowls (for shape see no.645ε). The only rim and upper body fragment (no.94) probably indicates a slightly different shape of body. It has flaring sides and vertical concave rim. Group B includes two lower parts of hemispherical bowls. These are more crudely potted (for shape see no.675α) and they are made of a darker and coarser fabric (light red: 2.5YR 6/6). The decoration of the body is identical to that of group A, but none of the fragments preserves the central motif.

The decoration of these bowls can be paralleled with some examples from Isthmia and Patras. It occurs (except for the central motif) on a hemispherical bowl from Isthmia, dated, on numismatic evidence, to the late 14th or the early 15th c. (Gregory 1989, 204, fig.2; 1993,

295-6, no.14, pls.5,6). Decoration identical to that of the bowls from Chlemoutsí (including the central motif) occurs on a bowl found during old excavations in the odeum at Patras (Mastrokostas 1960, 141, pl.120, middle shelf, middle bowl; the same: Toumazis et al. 2005, 203, no.93). MacKay compared this bowl with the above bowl from Isthmia and dated the whole group from Patras to the later 14th-early 15th c. (Stillwell-MacKay 1996, 132, n.4; 2003, 420, n.119)¹. Also identical is another bowl from Patras, found during the recent excavations of the Greek Archaeological Service at the castle of the city (unpublished²; **plate 52.b**).

The two bowls from Patras are made of fabric similar to group A from Chlemoutsí and their shape is similar to no.94. The bowl from Isthmia is hemispherical, a shape represented in both groups A and B, but the description of their fabric seems closer to that of group B.

Group A: **Fabric:** fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3) to pink (7.5YR 7/3), few-to-some small voids, rare small white and occasional red inclusions. **Decoration:** yellow glaze inside; probably thin white slip (clearly on nos.91,94); concentric circles in alternating brown, red and green colour around a red central floral motif (base and centre of no.94 missing); exterior bare. **Date:** later 14th-early 15th c.

Three base and body fragments. Old excavations (**shapes similar to no.645ε, below**)

91 (Plate 37). B.D.:0.075, pres.H.:0.045, Th.:0.006-0.007. About 2/3 of ring base and small part of flaring, slightly rounded lower body. **92 (Plate 37).** B.D.: 0.07. pres.H.:0.043, Th.:0.007-0.008. Most of ring base and very small part of lower body. **93 (Plate 37).** B.D.:0.065. pres.H.:0.02. Entire ring base and only trace of lower body.

¹ Some other 'RMR' bowls from Isthmia (Greogory 1993, 290-4) have recently been identified as products of Lecce (see Arthur 2007, n.248).

² For these excavations see: Georgopoulou, M., *ArchDelt* 52 (1997), *Chronika*, 341; *ArchDelt* 53 (1998); *ArchDelt* 54 (1999), *Chronika*, 285; *To Ergo* 1997, 164; 1998, 190; 1999, 212

94 (Plates 16, 37). Rim and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.155, pres.H.:0.048, Th.:0.007-0.008. Two mended pieces. Small part of flaring, slightly rounded upper body, about 1/4 of vertical concave rim, rounded lip.

645ε (Plates 16, 37). Base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KB

B.D.:0.062, pres.H.:0.045, Th.:0.005-0.006. About half of ring base and small part of lower body as no.91.

658γ (Plate 37). Base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KΘ

B.D.:0.065, pres.H.:0.037. Entire ring base and part of body (**shape similar to no.645ε, above**).

Group B: Fabric: medium fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), many small voids, few small-to-medium white and small sparkling inclusions. Decoration: yellow glaze inside (thin slip?); concentric circles of alternating colours (brown, red and green); exterior bare. Date: later 14th-early 15th c.

675α (Plates 16, 37). Base and lower body fragment. Inner enclosure, courtyard: excavation of wall στ.

Est.B.D.:0.07, pres.H.:0.042, Th.:0.007. About 1/3 of low ring base and small part of flaring, rounded lower body.

675γ. Lower body fragment. Inner enclosure, courtyard: excavation of wall στ. Pres.L.:0.075, pres.H:0.041, Th.:0.009. Small part of lower body (**shape similar to no. 675α, above**).

6.i.b. Bowls with central roundel containing a brown and red floral motif

The fabric is comparable to the above group i.a.A. A similar bowl is included in the group from the odeum at Patras (Mastrokostas 1960, 141, pl. 120, first shelf, first bowl; for the dating of this group see above group i.a). A similar-looking bowl is included in the material from Rogoi, Epeiros. It is shown in a picture together with some other Italian wares, which have roughly been dated to the 15th-16th c. (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1987, 42, fig.22η: with no description or further details).

Three base fragments. Old excavations

33 (Plates 17, 37). B.D.:0.056, pres.H.:0.019. **34 (Plate 37).** B.D.:0.05. Pres.H.:0.026.

35 (Plate 37). B.D.:0.047. Pres.H.:0.02. Th.:0.004-0.005. All preserve entire low ring foot and very small parts of rounded lower wall (**shapes as no.33**). Fabric: fine, ranging from very pale brown (10YR 8/3: no 34) to pink (7.5YR 7/3: nos. 33,35), rare small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: yellow glaze inside (thin slip?); one or two brown concentric circles enclose a central stylized floral motif, outlined in brown and filled with red (on no.35 the red filling has become a simple dash); exterior bare. Date: later 14th-early 15th c.

6.i.c. Bowls with other decoration

95 (Plate 37). Rim and body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim:0.043x0.055, Th.:0.006. Small part of upper body flaring to carination, trace of vertical rim (lip missing). Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4), few small voids, occasional red inclusions. Decoration: white/pale yellowish glaze inside, running outside; trace of a red band below rim; red band surrounding a central motif, of which only a trace of brown colour is preserved; exterior bare. Date: 13th (second half?)-14th c.

622ε (Plates 17, 37). Rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: IΘ.

Est.R.D.:0.165, pres.H.:0.047, Th.:0.006-0.007. Hemispherical body, preserved from rim to above base (about 1/3 of body). Vertical, slightly curved rim, rounded lip. Two thin grooves around rim outside. Fabric: very pale brown (10YR 8/4), many small-to-medium voids. Decoration: (in bad condition) yellowish/pale brown glaze inside, running downwards outside; red horizontal band on wall, traces of red on the centre of the cavity (probably circle defining a central roundel). Date: probably 14th c.

- For similar shape see: Whitehouse 1970, fig.15, no.6 (from Satriano, Basilicata); Dufournier, Flambard, Noyé 1986, fig.4, no.1 (from Scribla, Calabria); Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 148, no.658, fig.6:22 (from Otranto); Campanella 2000, 151, no.1 (from Ostuni, province of Brindisi).

6.ii. Bowl probably of the ‘type of Taranto’

The decoration preserved on the upper wall of this bowl is usually associated with the ‘motif of Taranto’ on the centre (the centre of no. 650a is missing), which is characteristic of the production of Taranto (Dufournier, Flambard, Noyé 1986, 259, 272, fig.6, no.7). The type is common on coastal sites of the area extending between Scribla in Northern Calabria and Ugento in the Lower Salento, Apulia (Tagliente 2000, 173, fig.4, no.15). The ‘motif of Taranto’ usually consists of a brown medallion divided into two sections by small vertical lines, each part containing a brown wavy line in the form of a ‘3’, but there are several variants. Examples have been found in several areas in Southern Italy, such as Apulia, Calabria, and Basilicata, while the type occurs also at Split and Malta (Whitehouse 1969, fig.18, nos.10-11; 1970, fig.15, no.3; Dufournier, Flambard, Noyé 1986, 272, figs.5,6; Bertelli 1997, Appendix by P.Tagliente). The examples from Greece have been dated between the late 13th and the later 14th-early 15th c. They come from Argos and the church at Merbaka in the Argolid (Oikonomou-Laniado 1993, 312-314, n.34, fig.6: late 13th c.), from Glarentza (Athanasoulis 2005, picture on p. 44, bottom right) and elsewhere in Elis (unpublished; **plate 52.a**¹) and Patras (Mastrokostas 1960, 141, pl.120, middle and lower shelves, third bowl: group from the odeum, see above, group i.a; Athanasoulis 2002, 344-345, fig.112a-b: late 13th c.). The absence of slip possibly provides a further evidence for the connection of the fragment from Chlemoutsi with the ‘type of Taranto’ (see Dufournier, Flambard, Noyé 1986, 272, and table II).

¹ A bowl similar to that published by Oikonomou-Laniado (1993, 312, fig.6), is stored in Chlemoutsi (inventoried no. 171); it comes from the area of Elis, near Chlemoutsi, but no further records have been kept.

650a (Plates 17, 37). Rim and body fragments. Outer enclosure, trench: KE

Est.R.D.:0.20, pres.H.:0.036, Th.:0.006. Two non-joining pieces. Part of rim and upper wall. Flaring body to carination, slightly outwardly thickened rim, flat lip. Fabric: fine, reddish yellow (5YR 7/6), many small voids. Decoration: pale yellowish glaze inside and around rim (corroded); no slip; a small oblique manganese brown dash on lip; brown repeating arcs and concentric bands in red and green. Date/origin: late 13th- 14th c. Probably area of Taranto.

- The shape is common. See: Bertelli 1997, pl.Ib (from Torre Marre, 13th-14th c.); D' Amico 2006, pl. 4.2.7, 3532/6 (from Stari Bar).

6.iii. Bowls decorated with cross

6.iii.a. Inscribed cross

The type of brown cross inscribed in an irregular square, often enriched with green dots between its arms, occurs on some bowls of the 13th-14th c. found in Calabria and Basilicata, which have been attributed to the production of Apulia, more specifically to the area of Tavoliere, Northern Apulia (Whitehouse 1969, 67, fig.18.5; Dufournier, Flambard, Noyé 1986, 259, 271, fig.9, no.3). Two examples of the type occur in Chlemoutsi. The absence of slip provides evidence for a possible connection with the production of Tavoliere (Dufournier, Flambard, Noyé 1986, 261, table II). A similar bowl is included in the group from the odeum at Patras (Mastrokostas 1960, 141, no.γ5, pl. 120): see above, group i.a.

Both pieces: Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/3), some small voids, rare small white inclusions. Decoration: glaze inside (no.21: brown glaze; no.601ε: pale brown/greenish glaze); no slip;

brown cross in brown square panel, green dots between its arms; exterior bare. Date/origin: probably later 14th c. Probably area of Tavoliere.

21 (Plates 17, 37). Base and body fragment. Old excavations

B.D.:0.07, pres.H.:0.03, Th.:0.007. Entire ring base and small part of flaring lower wall.

601ε (Plates 17, 37). Base fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K2.

B.D.:0.058, pres.H.:0.025, Th.:0.007-0.008. Almost half of ring base and very small part of lower body (preserved in bad condition).

6.iii.b. Cross with elongated bars

A group of bowls of similar fabric, decorated in green and brown with the same type of cross (including complete examples), as the bowl from Chlemoutsis, has been found during recent excavations at Clarenzta (stored in the castle; e.g. see: Athanasoulis 2005, picture on the middle of p.46, top right). This type of cross (bars elongated with a series of vertical parallel lines) has some similarities to finds in Campania (Dufournier, Flambar, Noyé 1986, 271; Rotili 2000, 104, fig.4, nos.4,6). The decoration also presents a general similarity to some bowls decorated with brown radiating motifs, often enhanced with green or red bands, which have been found at Scribla in Calabria, and Torre Mare in Basilicata (Dufournier, Flambar, Noyé 1986, 259, 276, fig.9, no.6: attributed to Tavoliere).

652γ (Plates 17, 37). Base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KE

B.D.:0.058, pres.H.:0.025, Th.:0.006-0.007. Entire ring base with small pendant cone, small part of flaring lower wall. Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 7/6), many small voids. Decoration:

pale yellowish glaze inside (corroded); no slip; brown cross with a little X at junction; at the end of one of the arms two brown vertical lines are preserved; groups of three parallel bands between the arms of the cross; exterior bare. Date: probably late 13th-14th c.

6.iv. Various bowls

84 (Plates 17, 37). Multi-handled bowl. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.20, est.B.D.: ca. 0.08, H. (of body):0.06, Th.:0.007-0.01. Two non-joining fragments. Complete profile. Flat base, flaring sides, flat lip. Three small handles attached to rim (originally four?). Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/3), many small voids, occasional small red inclusions. Decoration: thin pale brownish glaze inside and just under rim outside; no visible traces of slip; part of central motif with six small horizontal parallel lines in manganese and a small red arc preserved at the centre; red dashes on lip and a group of four small manganese lines on each of the handles; exterior bare. Date: first half of 15th c.

- The central motif is similar to that of some bowls from Corinth and Argos, but the shape is different (Waagé 1934, fig. 5/18; Morgan 1942, group II, 257, no.883, pl.XXXVIIb; Williams et al. 1998, pl.43d; Oikonomou Laniado 1993, 312, fig.4). Similar handled bowls occur in Otranto exclusively in 15th c.- levels (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 149, fig.6:22, no.661).

481η (Plate 17, 37). Rim and body fragment. Inner enclosure, A5, trench: 8

Est.R.D.:0.155, pres.H.:0.038, Th.:0.004-0.005. Small part of rim and upper body. Flaring upper wall curving to carination, vertical rim, slightly in-curved, with out-turned flat lip. Fabric: fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), some small voids. Decoration: pale yellowish glaze inside

and under rim outside (slip?); a manganese loop preserved on lip; exterior bare. Date: probably late 13th - early 14th c.

- Common shape of 'RMR' bowls. See: Sanders 1987, 171, fig.3, no.5 (from Corinth, context of the late 13th-early 14th c.).

554ia (Plate 37). Bowl, lower body fragment. Trench: E3

Pres.Dim.:0.041x0.033, Th.:0.008. Small, rounded. Fabric: very pale brown (10YR 8/2), many small voids. Decoration: (in bad condition) a series of (green?) dots between two concentric brown lines (surrounding a missing central motif). Date: (late) 13th- 14th c.

- Dots (usually green) often surround central motifs, such as the 'motif of Taranto' or the 'grid-iron motif' (see: Whitehouse 1969, fig.18, no.10; Dufournier, Flambard, Noyé 1986, fig.5, nos. 1-3, fig. 8, no.3; Bertelli 1997, pl.Ig).

665γ (Plates 17, 37). Small bowl, rim and body fragment. Inner enclosure, courtyard, trench: 3.

Est.R.D.:0.105, pres.H.:0.018, Th.:0.003-0.004. Small. Flaring upper body, vertical rim, rounded lip. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3), some small-to-medium voids. Decoration: thick, pale yellow, shiny glaze inside and around rim outside; no slip; red band on rim; exterior bare. Date: 14th-first half of 15th c.

- At Otranto and in the area of Tavoliere vessels with a thick shiny glaze (usually pale yellow), and bright colours do not appear until the end of 13th c. and they become common by the 15th c. (Whitehouse 1966; Patterson and Whitehouse 1992; Dufournier, Flambard, Noyé 1986, 254).

6.v. Closed forms with geometric or vegetal decoration

The handle and body fragments grouped here are uniform in decoration, fabric and surface treatment. The fabric is sandy and similar to most of the Protomaiolica from Chlemoutsi. The body sherds are decorated with geometrical or vegetal motifs in brown, green and red. The handles bear a vertical row of small oblique or S-like lines, flanked by vertical bands. A thin white slip is usually visible. The glaze is yellow to pale greenish in colour. The fragments are too small to provide evidence for the original shape of the vessels. The body fragments (at least nos.79β, 79γ) indicate globular or partly globular bodies, handles are oval in section and the preserved rims indicate wide-necked closed forms (**for shape see no. 77α**; e.g.: Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, fig.6:22, no.649). The handles are similar in shape, decoration and description of fabric to some examples from Otranto, found in levels of the mid-to-late 13th c. (or slightly earlier), which have been attributed to Southern Apulia (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 148-147, nos.647, 651, fig.6:22; Patterson 1993, 112).

All pieces: Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3), few small voids, occasional small white and brown inclusions. Date/origin: 13th c. (second half?). Probably Southern Apulia.

Three handle and rim fragments. Old excavations

77α (Plates 18, 37). Est.R.D.:0.10, W. handle:0.055. Small part of vertical rim with rounded lip and curved upper part of strap handle (oval section) from below rim. Decoration: white slip and greenish-yellow glaze all over; dark red band on rim (peeled); on the handle, a vertical row of dark brown S-motifs between two dark red bands. **77β (Plate 37).** Est.R.D.: ca. 0.10. W. handle:0.06. Small part of vertical rim (lip missing) and curved upper part of

strap handle (oval section) from below rim. Decoration: thick greenish-yellow glaze all over; brownish-red band on rim (peeled); on the handle, a vertical row of small oblique brown (diluted) lines between two brownish-red bands. **77γ (Plate 37)**. Est.R.D.:0.011, W. handle:0.058. Very small part of vertical rim with rounded (?) lip and curved upper part of upper part of strap handle (oval section) from below rim. Decoration: traces of decoration as no.77α.

78 (Plate 37). Handle fragment. Old excavations

W.handle:0.058. Vertical lower part of strap handle (oval section) with lower handle attachment. Decoration: thick greenish-yellow glaze on handle, diluted yellowish lead glaze on the interior of body; on the handle, a vertical row of small oblique brown (diluted) lines between two red bands.

Two body and shoulder fragments. Old excavations

79α (Plate 37). Pres.H.:0.055, pres.W.:0.053, Th.:0.007. Small part of shoulder and of tapering neck. Decoration: white slip and yellow glaze; small part of brown linear design, trace of green; diluted colourless glaze inside. **79β (Plate 37)**. Pres.H.:0.085, pres.W.:0.084, Th.:0.007-0.008. Small part of shoulder and globular body with trace of lower handle attachment. Decoration: white slip and yellow glaze; a brownish-red band below a floral motif, outlined in dark brown and filled with brownish-red colour; dark brown dashes on body, trace of green on shoulder; diluted yellow-greenish glaze inside.

Two body fragments. Old excavations

79γ (Plate 37). Pres.Dim:0.067x0.05, Th.:0.006. Small part of rounded (globular) body.

Decoration: white slip and yellow glaze, trace of brownish red motif; interior peeled.

79δ (Plate 37). Pres.Dim:0.068x0.07, Th.:0.006-0.007. Small part of rounded body.

Decoration: white slip, yellow glaze; part of a geometrical motif outlined in dark brown and filled with dark red and green; yellow glaze inside.

485ιγ (Plate 37). Body fragment. Inner enclosure, A5, trench: 8.

Pres.Dim.:0.04x0.033, Th.:0.007. Small. Decoration: white slip, yellow glaze; small part of geometrical motif outlined in dark brown and filled with dark red and green; yellow glaze inside.

500ιζ (Plate 37). Handle fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: A

Pres.L.:0.045. W.handle:0.035. Upper part of handle (oval section) and very small part of rim (lip missing). Decoration: (peeled) traces of white slip and yellow glaze; on the handle, traces of horizontal dark brown bands between vertical brownish-red bands.

512γ (Plate 37). Body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Θ (Θ.4)

Pres.Dim.:0.037x0.025, Th.:0.005-0.006. Small. Decoration: white slip, colourless glaze; trace of motif in red, dark brown and green; yellow glaze inside.

514α (Plate 37). Body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Θ (Θ.3)

Pres.Dim:0.04x0.025, Th.:0.005. Small. Decoration: white slip, pale yellow glaze; part of a red band; yellow glaze inside.

601δ (Plate 37). Handle fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

W. handle:0.055. Two mended pieces. Vertical lower part of strap handle (oval section).

Decoration: white slip and yellow glaze all over; a vertical row of dark brown oblique lines between two vertical red bands.

6.vi. Various small fragments of closed forms

96α (Plate 37). Neck fragment. Old excavations

Pres.H.:0.047, pres.W.:0.025, Th.:0.007. Small. Tapering (?) neck. Fabric: very pale brown (10YR 8/4), some small voids. Decoration: thin white slip, colourless glaze; series of brown S-motifs painted on alternating horizontal coloured bands, in brown, green and red. Interior bare. Date: 13th (second half?)-early 15thc.

96β (Plate 37). Body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.046x0.05, Th.:0.006-0.007. Small part of (globular or ovoid) body. Fabric: fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), few small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: pale yellowish glaze; part of geometric motif: a vertical brown framing line, two green squares containing red and brown oblique lines; interior bare. Date/origin: late 13th-14th c. Probably area of Taranto - Lower Salento.

- The decoration is common on costal sites in the area extending between the Northern Calabria (Scribla) and the Lower Salento (Ugento). See: Dufournier, Flambard, Noyé 1986, fig.4, no.5; Tagliente 2000, 173, fig.4, no.16.

174ß (Plate 37). Body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.H.:0.085, pres.W.: 0.079, Th.:0.007-0.009. Small part of rounded body. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3), some small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: thin white slip, pale yellow glaze; two brown bottom framing lines, a red horizontal band painted on a row of repeating arcs; interior bare. Date: 13th (second half?)-early 15th c.

- The decoration has some similarities to no.650α (see above, group ii).

7. DOUBLE-DIPPED WARE

The ware is represented in Chlemoutsi by two bowls of complete profile, made of the same fabric. The term ‘Double-Dipped Ware’ was first used by Buerger for a group of vessels from Split, decorated in “clear or white and green” (Buerger 1979, 36, 153-155). Buerger mentioned the presence of examples in Apulia (Canosa, Brindisi, Bari) and Basilicata (Melfi) and also noted that the ware appeared in the later Middle Ages, remaining in use until the present day in both Italy and North Africa.

The vessels made with the double-dip method (‘a doppio bagno’) are glazed in two colours, each covering half of the vessel. They are usually (small or large) bowls. Closed forms are very rare. The ware was made in Apulia, particularly in the Salento, from the end of 14th-beginning of the 15th c. onwards and it is common in contexts of the 15th c. (Tagliente 2000, 179). All examples from Otranto date from the 15th c., and more specifically before 1480 (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 147-148, fig.6:21; Patterson 1993, 114). Apulian ‘Double-Dipped Ware’ has also been found at Stari Bar, Montenegro, in levels of the late 14th-early 15th c. (D’ Amico. 2006, 73). The suggestion for the production of similar wares in

Venice has not been generally accepted (see Tagliente 2000, 179, n.29). A similar, but monochrome, ware has been found at Durrës, Albania (Vroom 2007b, 323). Recently MacKay identified an Apulian Double-Dipped Ware bowl in a group of pottery found during old excavations in the odeum at Patras (Stilwell-MacKay 2003, 420, n.119: group dated to the later 14th-early 15th c.; the bowl is illustrated in: Mastrokostas 1960, pl.120, upper right). The ware has also been found during recent excavations at Glarentza (stored in Chlemoutsi, unpublished), a Frankish site abandoned by the mid-15th c. (Sarandi-Mendelovici 1980-1; Schmitt 1995).

Both bowls: Fabric: fine, light red (10R 6/6), some small voids, rare small white inclusions.
Date: end of 14th-first half of 15th c.

52 (Plates 18, 38). Bowl. Old excavations

RD: 0.15, B.D.:0.06, H.:0.06, Th.:0.005-0.006. Several mended pieces. Complete profile (restored, small part of body and rim missing). Ring foot, hemispherical body to carination, vertical rim with external ridge at carination, squared lip. Decoration: green and brown glaze (overlapping) on both sides, including the underside of the base, each covering half of the bowl.

118 (Plates 18, 38). Bowl. Old excavations

Est.R.D:0.15, B.D.:0.071, est.H.:0.062, Th.:0.005-0.006. Two non-joining pieces. Complete profile (large part of body and rim missing). Ring foot, hemispherical body to carination, grooved rim, round lip. Decoration: green and brownish-yellow glaze, applied as on no.52.

8. VENETO WARE

Morgan was the first scholar to describe 'Roulette Ware', but he presented it with the Post-Byzantine pottery (Morgan 1942, 174, fig.156). Later, MacKay presented a variant category of unrouletted pieces and she dated the ware to the last decades of the 13th - first years of the 14th c. (Stillwell-MacKay 1967, 254-255, nos. 11-16, fig.1, pls.62-3). This dating was confirmed by later excavations at Corinth (Sanders 1987, 174, no.12). After the proof that the 'rouletting' occurs on the exterior of various pottery types produced in the area of Venice (Gelichi 1986a), the term 'Veneto Ware' has been used as more appropriate (e.g.: Williams and Zervos 1992, 151; Williams et al. 1997, 26, nos.24-26; Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 414-5).

In Chlemoutsi there is only one bowl, which is undecorated and without rouletting on the exterior. The material of Corinth includes carinated or, more rarely, hemispherical bowls. These are slipped or unslipped bowls, with a glaze applied in and out, usually yellowish-brown or green in colour. Sometimes there is an incised spiral on the centre of the cavity, or painted decoration (Williams and Zervos 1992, 151-6, figs. 6-9). The type that seems to have been imported after 1312 (in small quantities) is a more saucer-like shallow bowl (Williams and Zervos 1995, 22, nos.16-17, pl.6).

The ware has been reported from Chania and Herakleion in Crete (Hahn 1989, 232, fig.13; Poulou-Papademetriou 2007), Epeiros (see Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993, 248, fig.7 no.16), Glarentza (Athanasoulis 2005, 47) and Argos (Oikonomou-Laniado 1993, 309). Recently, MacKay identified some examples among the material from old excavations in the Agora at Athens (Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 420). The ware exists also at Stari Bar, in contexts of the end of the 13th-beginning of the 14th c. (D' Amico. 2006, 78, pl.4.2.8).

50 (Plate 38). Carinated bowl. Old excavations

R.D.:0.12, B.D.:0.05, H.:0.063, Th.:0.004-0.005. Two mended pieces. Complete profile (restored). Low tapering ring foot with small pendent cone, shallow lower body, high, slightly flaring rim, rounded lip. Fabric: medium fine, hard, light red (2.5YR 7/8), some small voids, some small sparkling and few medium brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip and colourless lead glaze on both sides, except inside the foot; marks of tripod stilt. Date: late 13th-early 14th c.

- Shape similar to: Gelichi 1986a, pl.IX, no.2; Williams and Zervos 1992, fig. 6, C-34-1224 (but rouletted).

9. SGRAFFITO FROM VENICE AND THE PO VALLEY

Sgraffito pottery enhanced with painted colours was produced in Northern Italy from the 13th c. Two main types have been distinguished (Whitehouse 1980a; Blake 1986): ‘graffita arcaica tirrenica’ [sgraffito pottery of the Tyrrhenian Sea] and ‘graffita arcaica padana’ [sgraffito pottery of the Po Valley]. In distinction to the light and sandy clay of Southern Italy, the Northern Italian Sgraffito pottery is made of a red or pink fabric. The incised decoration is usually highlighted with green and yellow-brown colours.

The fragments grouped here can be connected with the pottery produced in Venice and the Po Valley (‘graffita arcaica padana’) and most of them can be dated to the 15th c. They are mainly hemispherical bowls, usually with low ring foot. Most have polychrome, vegetal or geometric decoration, enhanced with yellow-brown, green and, in one case (no.506a), blue paint. One bowl fragment (no.510δ), which is green-glazed inside and decorated with a

rouletting outside, belong to the monochrome version of the ‘graffita arcaica padana’ (Berti et al. 1997).

The sgraffito pottery of the Po valley flourished in the 14th and the 15th c. (Blake 1986; Gelichi 1986a; 1986b). Workshops were active at various places, such as Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Bologna, Florence and Rimini, and only small differences are noted between their products. In the Veneto this pottery replaced the earlier type ‘San Bartolo’ (named after the examples included in the ‘bacini’ of the church of San Bartolo in Ferrara), which was produced at least from the later 13th c. onwards. Gelichi (1986a) noted that the rouletting, which decorates the exterior of many examples, is a characteristic of the Venetian production, deriving from the so-called ‘Roulette’ Ware. The type includes bowls with ring base, made of red or orange clay. The incised decoration is usually enriched with yellow-brown and green paint applied in stripes, or, sometimes, used as spots/blobs.

In Greece, all the reported examples of Italian sgraffito vessels of the 14th-16th c. have been identified as Sgraffito from Venice and its area. Find spots include Rhodes (Michailidou 1993; 2000, 422-423), Malia, Herakleion and Mochlos in Crete (François 1994; Stillwell-MacKay 1996; Soles and Davaras 1992 respectively), Athens (see Stillwell MacKay 1996, 132, n.4), Boeotia (Armstrong 1993, 322, 325, nos.253-254, pl.35; Vroom 1998a, 530-531; 2003a, 170-171), Isthmia (Gregory 1993, 299-302, nos.21-23), Kos (Kontogiannis 2002, 211, 227 nos.6,51), Paros (Vionis 2005, 121, K.vii.1) and Rogoi in Epeiros (Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou 19987, 41, fig.21, no.151). The ware occurs also at Glarentza (stored in Chlemoutsi, unpublished). A bowl included in the group of pottery from the odeum at Patras (Mastrokostas 1960, 141, pl.120, lower shelf, middle bowl) has recently been connected with the type ‘San Bartolo’(see Toumazis et al. 2005, 204, no.94). Italian polychrome sgraffito

pottery is very rare in Corinth (Williams and Zervos 1993, 17; Williams et al. 1997, 28, no.31, pl.8).

9.i. Monochrome (green-glazed) Sgraffito

510δ (Plate 39). Bowl, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench Θ.

Pres.Dim.:0.062x0.054, Th.:0.006. Small part of upper body. Impressed roller-stamping on the exterior. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), some small voids. Decoration: green glaze inside (peeled and corroded); exterior bare. Date: 14th-15th c.

- The 'rouletting' on its exterior connects this fragment with the Venetian production. Monochrome sgraffito pottery ('graffita monochroma') was produced in Northern Italy from ca. the mid-13th c. onwards (Mannoni 1968; Berti et al. 1997, 396).

9.ii. Polychrome Sgraffito

38 (Plates 19, 39). Bowl, base and body fragment. Old excavations

B.D.:0.056, pres.H.:0.027, Th:0.006-0.007. Entire low ring foot and part of hemispherical lower body. Fabric: medium fine, light red (2.5YR 7/6), some small voids, rare small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, yellowish glaze (badly preserved); incised radiating bands around small central disc; green and yellow-brown blobs of paint. Exterior bare.

Date: 14th-15th c.

- Its decoration presents some similarity to the Venetian type 'San Bartolo' (Saccardo 1993a, 221-30, 'motivo a bande radiali', figs.17, 18, 19, pl.VI.5).

41 (Plates 19, 39). Bowl, base and body fragment. Old excavations

B.D.:0.08, pres.H.:0.03, Th.:0.008-0.009. About 1/2 of low ring foot and of rounded lower wall. Fabric: medium fine, light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4), some small voids. Decoration: white slip, pale yellowish glaze; incised floral motif radiating from central circular motif (missing), enhanced with green and yellow-brown paint: leaves with undulating incision, the space between which is filled with small oblique lines; exterior bare. Date: first half of 15th c.

- Its decoration presents some similarity to the Venetian type 'San Bartolo' (Saccardo 1993a, 221, 'motivo a fiore con quattro o più petali', pls. V.1, VI.1-4, figs.14, 16), as well as to some later Venetian sgraffito wares (Michailidou 1993, 334-335, fig.1: Rhodes, first half of the 15th c.).

47 (Plate 39). Bowl, rim fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.035x0.035, Th.(rim): 0.006-0.008. Small part of out-turned rim (lip missing). Fabric: fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), some small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, colourless glaze; oblique lines enhanced with yellow-brown and green paint; exterior bare. Date: (later?) 15th c.

- For similar decoration on out-turned rims see: Gelichi 1986a, fig.38, no.11 (Bologna); Nepoti 1992, 325, fig.17, no.152 (Ferrara, second half of 15th c.) Michailidou 1993, fig.3 (Rhodes, later 15th c.).

500i0 (Plate 39). Bowl, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: A.

Pres.Dim.:0.005x0.004, Th.:0.007-0.008. Small. Rounded wall. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), some small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: part of incised multi-lobed leave with stem; traces of green glaze; exterior bare. Date: late 14th – first half of 15th c.

- Similar multi-lobed leaves are common on sgraffito bowls made in the Po valley (Gelichi 1986a, fig.39, nos.2,4, fig.40, no.1; 1986b, 146, fig.1, no.5; Nepoti 1992, fig.14, no.122).

506a (Plates 19, 39). Bowl, base fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: B.

B.D.:0.051, pres.H.:0.016, Th.:0.004. Entire low ring foot with little pendant cone, very small part of flaring lower wall. Fabric: fine, light reddish brown (2.5YR 6/4), few small voids, rare sparkling inclusions. Decoration: white slip, yellowish glaze; incised star with little spiral at centre, enhanced with green, yellowish-brown and blue paint; exterior bare. Date: 15th c.+

- Shape and decoration are similar to some bowls from Venice and Rimini, including examples of the type ‘San Bartolo’ (Gelichi 1986a, 380, pls.X.1, XI.2; Saccardo 1993a, 221, “motivo a stella”, fig.11, no.51, pl.V, nos. 3-6). However, because of the use of blue paint (see Siviero 1986, 30), this bowl should be dated to at least the 15th c. (or to the 16th c.).

Three bowls, base and body fragments.

643β-649α (Plates 19, 39). Outer enclosure, trenches: KA and KΔ.

Est.B.D.:0.11, pres.H.:0.048, Th.:0.007-0.009. Two mended pieces. About 1/3 of low ring foot, part of hemispherical lower wall. **645α (Plate 39).** Outer enclosure, trench: KB

Est.B.D.:0.11, pres.H.:0.035, Th.:0.007-0.008. About 1/4 of base and small part of lower wall.

Probably from the same vessel as no.643β-649α. **645β (Plates 19, 39).** Outer enclosure,

trench: KB. Est.B.D.:0.10, pres.H.:0.036, Th.:0.005-0.007. Small part of flat base and of flaring lower wall.

All three pieces: Fabric: medium fine, red (2.5YR 5/6), some small-to-medium voids, rare white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, yellowish glaze; incised floral motif enhanced with green and yellow-brown paint; marks of tripod stilt; exterior bare. Date: first half of 15th c.

- These three pieces (as well as the handle fragment 651α, below) are made of the same fabric. Their stylized floral decoration is characteristic of the area of Venice in the first half of the 15th c. See Michailidou 2000, 422-423, pl.166ε-στ (Rhodes).

651α (Plate 39). Closed form, handle-fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KE

Pres.H.:0.037, W.:0.035, Th.:0.006. Lower part of strap handle. Fabric: as nos. 643β-649α, 645α, 645β. Decoration: white slip, yellowish glaze; group of wavy incised lines enhanced with yellow-brown paint. Date: first half of 15th c.

652δ (Plates 19, 39). Bowl, rim fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KE

Est.R.D.:0.22, pres.H.: 0.029. Small part of vertical rim with round lip. Impressed roller-stamping under rim outside. Fabric: fine, light brown (7.5YR 6/4), some small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, traces of yellow glaze inside and around rim outside; two curved lines under a horizontal line, trace of green paint; exterior bare. Date: 15th c.

- For similar 'rouletting' on the exterior of sgraffito products of Venice see: Saccardo 1993a, 212-215, pl.II, no.3; François 1999, 74-75, nos.170-175, fig.17, pl.8 (Alexandria); Michailidou 1993, fig.2b (Rhodes, first half of 15th c.); Vroom 2003a, 170, w24.6, fig.6.28

(Boeotia, second half of 15th-first half of 16th c.). No. 652δ looks closer to the example from Rhodes.

10. SPANISH WARE

The golden age of Spanish pottery began in the mid-13th c., with the production of tin-glazed lustred pottery at Malaga (Carnegy 1993, 19). Other important pottery centres developed at Valencia and its area –Manises and Paterna- where potters from Malaga migrated in the 14th c. (Hurst et al. 1986, 40-44). During the 14th-15th c. the workshops of Valencia and its area produced wares decorated with a variety of geometric, heraldic and stylized floral motifs, painted in cobalt blue and/or lustre on a white tin glaze. These products include both open and closed forms (such as bowls with simple upright rim and low foot, dishes with concave bases, jugs and *albarelli*), made of a sandy fabric, ranging from buff-pink to red-brown in colour. This pottery of Christian Spain was widely distributed in Western Europe and throughout the Mediterranean, as far as Egypt (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 176-177; François 1997a, 401; 1999, 82-94).

In Greece, Spanish pottery has been reported from Isthmia (Gregory 1993, 302-304, pls.11-12), Athens (identified by: Stillwell-MacKay 1996, 130), Thasos (François 1995a, 113-115), Rhodes (Michailidou 2000, 421-22, nos. 9-11), the Cyclades (Andros: Dori et al. 2003, 108, 161-164, nos. 116-120; Paros and Naxos: Vionis 2005, 122, 136, K.ix.1-2, N.vi.1) and Herakleion (Stillwell-MacKay 1996, 130, no.14), while an example is included in the collection of the Byzantine and Christian Museum at Athens (see Moisidou 2006, 168, no.57).

The wares decorated solely in cobalt blue, like the bowl of Chlemoutsí, are dated to the late 14th-early 15th c. and are particularly associated with Paterna (Hurst et al. 1986, 40; François 1999, 84).

67 (Plates 18, 38). Hemispherical bowl, rim and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:148, pres.H.:0.046, Th.:0.005-0.008. About 1/4 of simple rim with rounded lip and small part of hemispherical body (base missing). Fabric: fine, pink (5YR 7/4), some small white and occasional small brown inclusions. Decoration: white ground on both sides; parts of two blue crowns under rim on the interior. Date: late 14th-early 15th c.

- Common shape (e.g.: Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, fig. 6:29, no.779; Michailidou 2000, pl. 165ε-στ, no. 9). For a bowl decorated with crowns (but different) see: Hurst et al. 1986, 45, fig. 18.39.

III. PLAIN GLAZED WARES OF UNCERTAIN ORIGIN

11. METALLIC WARE

Morgan distinguished among his 'Plain Glazed Wares' a group of bowls and jugs, made of very fine red clay, slightly sandy in texture, brownish or red-brown in tone after firing, without slip and with dark green or creamy white glaze. Because of the angular shapes and the vitreous, opaque glaze, which often has a metallic sheen, he supposed that the ware imitated bronze or silver models (Morgan 1942, 62-3, nos.285, 293-306, figs.45-6, 176).

It was MacKay who named the ware, adding brown to the range of glaze colour, and dated it to the late 13th-early 14th c. (Stillwell-MacKay 1967, 252, nos.1-6, pl.62, fig.1). Later studies of Corinthian finds confirmed this dating (Sanders 1987; Williams and Zervos 1995, 21,23). At Corinth, the fabric ranges from pink or light red to light brown in colour and from grainy to very fine in texture; it contains occasional grey and/or red, tiny sparkling inclusions and, sometimes, shell fragments (Sanders 1987, 176). Closed forms often have plastic cords and twisted handles; they include amphorae and pitchers with a trefoil or round mouth, as well as spouted or stemmed-pitchers; open forms are of varied shapes, including some multi-handled bowls (Williams and Zervos 1992, 156-158, figs.10-12; Williams 1993, 270-279, pls.2-3).

The provenance of the ware has for long been debated and still remains a problem today. Buerger, for the examples found at Split and Lucera, proposed a possible provenance from Greece or North Africa (Buerger 1979, 35, 67). Williams presented the ware as an Italian import to Corinth (Williams 1993, 270-76). According to Gelichi, 'Metallic Ware' ware is probably, at least in part, of Venetian production (Gelichi 1991, 202; 1993, 16).

Recently, Paul Arthur noted that possible forerunners of the ware exist in Southern Italy in the 12th c. and that ‘Metallic Ware’ may have been produced in the Salento, where it is frequently found (Arthur 2007, 242). For Vroom it remains unclear whether the ware was produced in Northern Italy, Southern Italy or the Peloponnese (Vroom 2005, 131). Sanders, noting the variety of shapes and range of fabric, supposed that ‘Metallic Ware’ might include a number of different wares and he underlined the need for further research (Sanders 1987, 175). For him, there are many possible areas of manufacture (Southern Italy, the Peloponnese, Corfu, probably also Albania) and a *koine* may have existed, with several centres producing similar wares (G.Sanders, pers.comm.). It seems to have been accepted today that there are Italian green-glazed wares similar to the ‘Metallic Ware’ of Corinth (Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 413, 417).

The pieces catalogued here (all small) belong to the ‘Metallic Ware’ found at Corinth. They include rim fragments, all of open forms, and some small body-fragments, which also seem to belong to open forms (dark green glaze covers both sides). Only one rim fragment has a pale brown glaze. The fabric is fine, hard, with occasional-to-few small white and sparkling inclusions. Its colour ranges from pink (7.5YR 8/3) to light red (10R 6/6) or light reddish brown (2.5YR 6/4).

In Greece, apart from Corinth, Metallic Ware has been reported so far only from Glarentza (Athanasoulis et al. 2002, 49) and Ayios Stephanos (Sanders 2008, 395). The lack of published examples from other Greek sites does not necessarily mean that the ware is rare, since undecorated pottery has rarely been included in publications.

All pieces: Date: late 13th-early 14th c.

545β (Plates 18, 38). Carinated bowl, rim fragment. Trench: E3

Est.R.D.:0.12, pres.H.:0.02. Small. Vertical slightly out-turned rim with ridge at junction with body, flat lip. Fabric: fine, light reddish brown (2.5YR 6/4) to light reddish yellow (5YR 6/4), few small voids, few small white inclusions. Decoration: dark green glaze on both sides.

- Shape similar to: Morgan 1942, fig.45, top; Sanders 1987, 176, no.13, fig.4

545δ (Plates 18, 38). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Trench: E3

Est.R.D.:0.125, pres.H.:0.04, Th.:0.005. Small part of rounded upper body terminating in simple rim with rounded lip. Fabric: fine, light red (10R 6/6) to light reddish brown (2.5YR 6/4), rare small voids, rare small white inclusions. Decoration: dark green glaze on both sides.

555στ (Plates 18, 38). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Trench: E3

Est.R.D.:0.135, pres.H.:0.036, Th.:0.005. Two mended pieces. Small part of flaring body, vertical rim with rounded lip. Fabric: as no.545δ. Decoration: dark green glaze on both sides.

- Shape as: Stillwell-MacKay 1967, fig.1, no.5

555ι (Plates 18, 38). Plate, rim and body fragment. Trench: E3

Est.R.D.:0.162, pres.H.:0.02, Th.:0.006-0.007. Small part of out-turned rim with rounded lip, very small part of flaring upper wall. Inside, two incised lines on rim (one at the edge of rim, one at junction with body). Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 8/3), few small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: Pale brown glaze in and out (corroded).

- Shape as: Williams and Zervos 1992, fig. 12, C-35-191

Small pieces belonging to the same ware were also found in:

Trench E3: **545γ**, **555ιδ**, **555ιε** (all body fragments)

12. 'IRIDESCENT GREEN GLAZED WARE'

The term is used here as a purely technical description of a ware presenting certain similarities to the 'Metallic Ware' of Corinth, but clearly differing in fabric and forms. The ware includes both closed and open forms. The main side is covered with an opaque green glaze (over a white slip), which is iridescent in appearance and very similar to that of the Metallic Ware.

The Corinthian material includes many green glazed vessels, which have been isolated from the Metallic Ware. Several examples are close to the Metallic Ware in many of their characteristics (Williams 1993, 279-281). Among these, there are examples with shapes similar to Archaic Maiolica and Protomaiolica, or examples of the same origin as the Archaic Maiolica (Sanders 1987, 177, nos.16-18, fig.5, pl.24).

Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou (1986, 468) has described a ware with similar 'iridescent' green glaze, which belongs to the local 13th-14th – c. production of Arta (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1986, 468). It should be noted that the fabric of the pieces from Chlemoutsí does not seem similar to that of Arta (on the basis of macroscopic comparison with the Post-Byzantine wares 14.A and 16.B).

A connection of the ware from Chlemoutsí with the Southern Italian green glazed wares seems probable. There is a general similarity in fabric to some of the Protomaiolica and the 'RMR' pottery. In addition, the best preserved example (no.639β) looks similar in shape and description of fabric with a green glazed bowl of the 15th c. from Otranto, which has been

considered as an Apulian product (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 130, fig.6:16, no.573). In Otranto, the monochrome green glazed wares are common particularly between the 13th and the 15th c. However, given the complexity of the green-glazed wares, which represent a simple, 'popular' type of pottery, no secure suggestions can be made for the origin of this ware from Chlemoutsí.

545a (Plate 38). Closed form, body fragment. Trench: E3

Pres.W.:0.11, pres.H.:0.07. Th.:0.003-0.004. Five mended pieces and one non-joining sherd. Small part of cylindrical body. Fabric: fine, very pale brown to pink (10YR 7/4 to 7.5YR 7/4), some small voids, rare small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and dark green glaze outside; diluted green glaze inside. Date: 13th-15th c.

639β (Plates 19, 38). Carinated bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: ΛB
Est.R.D.:0.185, pres.H.:0.062, Th. :0.007. Two mended pieces. Flaring, slightly curved body, vertical rim defined on the exterior by ridge, almost flat lip. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/4), rare small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and green glaze inside and around rim outside; exterior bare. Date: 15th c.

Another small piece belonging to the same ware was found in:

Trench E3: **552ε** (body fragment)

13. MONOCHROME SLIPPED AND GLAZED WARE

No.608β is a flat-based bowl with white slip and green lead glaze. Although similar plain glazed examples were produced in Late Byzantine workshops (François 1995, 110, série IIIb,1-2, fig.55, c 303, figs. 60-1), this bowl seems probably closer to Italian contemporary products. Similar monochrome white slipped and glazed bowls ('ingubbiata monochroma') were produced between the 13th and the 15th c. in both Northern and Southern Italy. In Northern Italy, there are flat- or ring-based hemispherical bowls, made of the same fabric and produced and distributed in the same areas with the sgraffito pottery of the Po valley (Gelichi 1986b, 139, pl.XIII; Nepoti 1992, 303, fig.6). In Greece, monochrome pottery probably of the same provenance as the 'graffita arcaica padana' has been identified at Malia, Crete (François 1994, 380-1, figs.1,4). No.608β seems closer to Southern Italian products, dated to the period between the 13th and the 15th c. (Fiorillo and Peduto 2000, 228, pl.III, no.10: from Calabria).

608β (Plates 18, 38). Bowl. Outer enclosure, trench: Z

Est.R.D.:0.10, B.D.:0.044, H.:0.04, Th.:0.004-0.005. Entire base and about 2/3 of body and rim. Complete profile (restored). Flat base, flaring lower body, vertical rim, rounded lip. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), some small-to-medium voids, few small-to-medium white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and pale green lead glaze on the interior and around rim on the exterior, running downwards. Date: 13th-15th c.

**B. POTTERY OF THE POST-BYZANTINE PERIOD (LATER 15TH-
EARLY 19TH C.)**

I. POTTERY FROM POST-BYZANTINE WORKSHOPS

14. SGRAFFITO WARES

The sgraffito decoration associated with painted colours, in the traditional Byzantine style, became very common during the Post-Byzantine period and was still used into the 19th c. (Korre-Zographou 1995). Certain features differentiate the Post-Byzantine examples from the sgraffito pottery of the Byzantine period, such as the broad, often uneven, incision, the decorated exterior of bowls and the variation of the glaze colour. The decoration is rendered freely and without symmetry on the vessel. Prevalent is the ‘aniconic’ style of decoration, with linear designs, such as spirals, repeated arcs, rosettes and wavy lines, while human and animal figures are rare (Charitonidou 1982, 61; Korre-Zographou 1995, 44-48).

Our knowledge of the Post-Byzantine sgraffito wares remains limited today. Attribution to places of manufacture is particular difficult, partly because the various sgraffito wares produced in Greece and the Balkans show little variation, and seem to share common characteristics in shapes and decoration (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 23-24). Exceptional is the 15th-16th c.- sgraffito pottery of Cyprus, which has been more thoroughly studied and often presents some distinctive features in shape and decoration (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989a; 1996; 1998).

The pieces catalogued here present the general features of the sgraffito pottery of the Post-Byzantine period. The material consists mainly of bowls decorated with incised linear designs, such as simple lines, spiral-like and curvilinear motifs, or stylised vegetal motifs,

enhanced with green, yellow-brown or brown paint. On one bowl, decorated with an animal figure (ware 14.B: no.44), blue is added to the usual combination of two colours. There is also a monochrome green glazed example (ware 14.C). The variation in fabric and decoration suggests various places of manufacture. Distinctive is a group of bowl-fragments attributable to the 16th-17th – c.- production of Arta (ware 14.A). At least the closed form no.39 (ware 14.B) is possibly product of Epeiros too.

The material seems to include some Italian-influenced examples (ware 14.B: nos.36, 645γ, 676α). Local Greek products showing influences from the Italian sgraffito pottery have been identified in Epeiros and these influences have been connected to the relations and proximity of the area to Italy (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 24, nos.124-9). In Venetian Crete, a workshop producing such wares was active at Chania during the 15th-16th c. and probably later (Hahn 1989, 232, group III, fig.10; Hahn 1991; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 24, no.117). Vroom has identified possible Italian influences on some sgraffito fragments found in Boeotia (Vroom 1998a, 528 nos.3.2-5, figs.9-10; 2003a, fig. 6.44, w.26.16). According to Camilla MacKay, the whole group of these fragments from Boeotia was made in Athens in the 15th c., and similar examples exist also in Corinth (MacKay 2001, 179, n.81).

14.A. COLOURED SGRAFFITO FROM ARTA

Fabric, shapes, decorative motifs and certain details of decoration connect the bowl fragments grouped here with the 16th-17th- century production of Arta (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1987; 1994). The Byzantine and Post-Byzantine products of Arta were made of the same clay (probably taken from the river Arachthos), which is described as fine and clear, light brick-red in colour, becoming darker or more pinkish on decorated wares, after their

second firing (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1981-1982, 9; 1984, 462). Sgraffito pottery did not start to be produced at Arta until the 16th c. The bowls are always either decorated on both sides or the exterior is covered with glaze. The decorative motifs include birds, fishes, human figures, stylised floral motifs, rosettes and other linear designs. Common on the exterior of bowls is the decoration with repeating arcs, as well as the moulding cordons on rim. Characteristic, particularly of the bowls of the 16th c., is the decoration of the rim with a painted band defined by incised lines.

42α-42β (Plates 21, 40: only 42α). Bowl, rim and lower body fragments. Old excavations Est.R.D.:0.21, pres.H. of rim sherd:0.05, pres.Dim of body sherd:0.045x0.032, Th.:0.006-0.009. Two non-joining fragments. Small part of rim and upper body, very small part of lower body. Deep bowl with flaring sides, round lip. Fabric: fine, light red to light reddish brown (2.5YR 6/6 to 5YR 6/4), rare small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and shiny colourless/pale yellow glaze on both sides; painted band defined by incised line in and out: green on lip and inside, yellow-brown outside; the body sherd preserves on the interior traces of green and brown paint (from the central motif); on the exterior, incised repeating arcs enhanced with green and yellow-brown paint. Date: 16th c.

- Preserved decoration, colours and shape are identical to a bowl from Arta, decorated on the centre interior (most of which is missing on no.42β from Chlemoutsi) with a horseman (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, pls.73, 90, no.61, photos 41-42; coloured picture in: Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 112, no.127).

43 (Plate 40). Bowl, body fragment. Old Excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.08x0.06, Th.:0.007. Small part of rounded body. Fabric: fine, light red (2.5YR 7/6), few small voids, rare small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and shiny pale yellow glaze on both sides; outside, part of an incised spiral-like incised design followed by green and yellow-brown paint. Date: 16th c.

- Preserved decoration, general surface treatment and shape are identical to a bowl stored in Chlemoutsi (unpublished, inventoried no.145, from uncertain find spot in Elis, close to Chlemoutsi: **plate 52.c**), which has decoration and shape similar to a bowl from Arta (see Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, pls.77,89, no.60, photo 53).

46 (Plates 21, 40). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.21, pres.H.:0.055, Th.:0.006. Small part of flaring upper wall, slightly incurved rim, rounded lip. Fabric: as no. 43. Decoration: white slip and shiny pale yellow glaze on both sides; green painted band defined by incised line in and out; outside, a green stripe painted on two vertical incised lines. Date: 16th c.

- Shape as: Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, pl.89, no.60.

48 (Plate 40). Bowl, body fragment. Old Excavations.

Pres.Dim.:0.07x0.04, Th.:0.007-0.009. Small, rounded (lower body). Fabric: fine, light red to reddish yellow (2.5YR 6/6 to 5YR 6/6), rare small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and shiny yellowish glaze on both sides (peeled on the exterior); outside, traces of linear incised decoration and green paint. Date: 16th-17th c.

83 (Plates 21, 40). Bowl. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.195, est.B.D.: ca. 0.105, H.:0.09, Th.:0.007-0.01. Three mended pieces, almost complete profile. About 1/4 of rim and body, very small part of base. Low squared ring foot, flaring rounded wall to carination, vertical rim with two moulding-cordons between incised lines on the exterior, round lip. Fabric: fine, red (10R 5/6), rare small voids and white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and colourless/pale brown shiny glaze on both sides (except for the underside of foot); outside, incised repeating arcs followed by brown paint in two tones (brown and light brown); inside (colours as outside), incised rhomboid motif filled with painted cross-hatching, part of a curved motif and two painted bands defined by incised and painted lines (just below rim and at junction with body). Date: 16th-17th c.

- Shape and decoration similar to: Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, pls.83-4, photos 71,74 (decoration of the exterior), pl.75, photo 47 (decoration of the interior), pl.89, no.55 (shape).

664a (Plate 40). Bowl, body fragment. Inner enclosure, courtyard, trench: 3. Pres.Dim.:0.075x0.068, Th.:0.006-0.009. From lower, rounded body. Fabric: medium fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6) to red (10R 5/6), rare small voids and small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and colourless glaze on both sides; incised vegetal designs in and out, followed by green and brown paint. Date: 16th-17th c.

- Decoration similar to: Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1987, fig.15, no.146; 1994, pls.69,76, photos 27, 50, nos.46,54. For similar colours and surface treatment see: Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 110, no.125 (from Arta).

14.B. VARIOUS COLOURED SGRAFFITO WARES

39 (Plate 40). Closed form, shoulder fragment. Old excavations

Pres.H.:0.075, pres.W.:0.075, Th. : 0.006-0.007. Preserved up to junction with neck. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/4), occasional small voids and white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and colourless shiny glaze; part of incised rectangular frame containing incised repeating arcs and small spirals, all followed by brown and green paint; interior bare. Date/origin: 16th-18th c. Epeiros?

- Similar repeating arcs are common on the 16th-17th – c. products of Arta (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, 105; see also ware 14.A, no.83 above). There are also some general similarities to later Epeirotic products, of the 18th-19th c. (Korre-Zographou 1995, figs. 202, 204-205), as well as to a jug found at Athens (Moisidou 2006, 130, no.23; dated to: 16th-17th c.?)

44 (Plates 21, 40). Bowl, base and body fragment. Old Excavations

Est.B.D.:0.06, pres.H.:0.021, Th.:0.006-0.008. Almost half of low ring foot and small part of flaring lower body. Fabric: fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), rare small sparkling and occasional medium brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip and pale yellow glaze on both sides; inside, part of an incised animal figure (scorpion?) and double incised (framing?) line enhanced with green, yellowish-brown and blue paint; mark of tripod stilt; trace of yellow-brown paint outside. Date: probably 16th -17th c.

45 (Plates 21, 40). Bowl, base fragment. Old excavations

B.D.:0.07, pres.H.:0.025, Th.:0.007-0.008. Almost half of low ring foot and very small part of lower body. Fabric: fine, reddish yellow (7.5YR 8/6 to 7.5YR 7/6), rare voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and pale yellow glaze on both sides (except for the underside of base); inside, part of a central yellow-brown roundel, a pointed and two curved incised linear motifs on the wall, enhanced with alternating green and yellow-brown paint; traces of incised decoration and of the same colours outside. Date: 15th-16th c.

- The decorative motif, inspired and developed from earlier wares of the Frankish/Late Byzantine period (e.g. François 1993, fig.1; 1995, 95-96, PC11, fig.84: Zeuxippus Ware, Class II), is very common on Post-Byzantine bowls, which are usually dated to the 15th-16th c. The bowl from Chlemoutsi is closer to the examples from Athens (Frantz 1942, fig. 13, no.5; Charitonidou 1982, 60-1, figs. 1-7; Moisidou 20006, 108-110, 113-117, nos.1-3, 6-10; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 97, no.112) or Epeiros (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, pl.76, no.41, photo 51), rather than to those from Northern Greece (Makropoulou 1995, 18, no.51; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 253, 256, nos.295,296: Thessaloniki and Veroia respectively).

190 (Plates 21, 40). Bowl, base fragment. Outer enclosure, 'cobbled way'

Est.B.D:0.082, pres.H.:0.03, Th.: 0.01. Almost half of low ring foot and very small part of lower body. Fabric: medium coarse, light red (2.5YR 6/6), many small-to-medium voids. Decoration: inside, white slip and pale yellow glaze; randomly incised lines, blobs of green and yellow-brown paint; pale brown wash on the exterior. Date: 16th-17th c.

- The decorative style of this bowl is common on wares of the 16th – 17th c. (Hayes 1992, 274, *ware D*; also, some similarity to: Armstrong 1989, Bogdanos, 27, pl.9b, no.21)

501στ (Plates 21, 40). Carinated bowl, rim fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Δ

Est.R.D.: ca. 0.13, pres.H.:0.032, Th.:0.005-0.006. Small part of vertical, outwardly concave rim (lip missing). Fabric: fine, light red to reddish yellow (2.5YR 7/6 to 5YR 7/6), few small voids. Decoration: white slip, colourless glaze on both sides; outside, groups of vertical, straight and wavy, incised lines followed by green and yellow-brown paint. Date/origin: 15th – 16th c. Cyprus?

- Shape and decoration seem close to Cypriot examples of the 15th-16th c. (Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Mavrikiou, Bakirtzis 1999, 161, 167-173, nos.344-354).

645γ (Plates 22, 40). Bowl, base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KB

Est.B.D.:0.08, pres.H.:0.056, Th.:0.007-0.009. Two mended pieces. About ¼ of low ring foot and part of hemispherical lower wall. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/3), few small voids. Decoration: on the interior, white slip, pale yellow shiny glaze; incised floral motif: leaves marked with groups of lines around central disc; mark of tripod stilt; exterior bare. Date: 15th c.-16th c.

- The motif is similar to some Northern Italian sgraffito examples (Gelichi 1986, fig.43, pl.XV, no.1; Saccardo 1993a, 221; Gregory 1993, pls.9-10, no.21). Since its fabric is very different to that of the Northern Italian wares (see wares 9 and 20), this bowl may be a local imitation.

669 (Plate 40). Bowl, body fragment. Inner enclosure, courtyard, trench: 3.

Pres.Dim.:0.042x0.037, Th.:0.006-0.007. Small, rounded. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), some small voids, rare white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, pale yellow glaze; incised lines enhanced with brown and yellow paint; exterior bare. Date: 15th - 16th c.?

- The incised decoration has some similarities to: Vroom 1998a, fig.11, no.4.2; the same in Vroom 2003a, fig. 6.29, w25.2 (from Boeotia: attributed to Veneto / Lower Po valley, second half of 15th - beginning of 16th c.). The colours and the general surface treatment of the fragment from Chlemoutsi indicate that, most probably, it is product of a Post-Byzantine workshop.

676a (Plate 40). Bowl, body fragment. Inner enclosure, trench 5

Pres.Dim:0.043x0.032, Th.:0.005-0.07. Small (lower body?). Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/4), rare small voids, occasional small white and sparkling inclusions. Decoration: inside, white slip and colourless glaze; incised floral(?) motif enhanced with green and brown paint; exterior bare. Date: 15th-16th c.

- Some similarity in decoration to a possibly Italian-influenced example from Boeotia (Vroom 1998, 528, fig.9, no.3.4; 2003a, fig. 6.44, no. w.26.16: 15th-16th c.), as well as to some examples from the Agora at Athens, (see Kalopisi-Verti 2003, 125, nos.Γ10-11: 14th-16th c).

6810 (Plate 40). Bowl, rim fragment. Inner enclosure, courtyard (surface collection)

Pres.Dim.:0.036x0.027, Th.:0.006. Small. Out-turned rim. Fabric: fine, light brown (7.5YR 6/4), many small voids, occasional small brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip, pale yellow glaze inside and just under rim outside; two parallel wavy lines, traces of brown and green paint. Date/origin: probably 16th-17th c. Arta?.

- Fabric (see ware 14.A above) and decoration indicate Arta as possible place of manufacture (for similar decoration see: Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, pl.75, photo 47, pl.83, photo 70).

14.C. MONOCHROME SGRAFFITO

36 (Plates 22, 40). Bowl, rim and body fragments. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.225, pres.H.:0.078, Th.:0.006-0.008. About 1/4 of rim and part of upper body preserved (base missing). Vertical flanged rim, grooved on the exterior, flaring, slightly rounded wall. Fabric: medium coarse, pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3), many small-to-medium voids, some white and brown inclusions. Decoration: dark green glaze inside, running on rim outside; linear incised decoration, including a stylized floral motif; pale brown wash outside. Date: 16th c.

- Some monochrome sgraffito bowls from Boeotia, including green glazed examples with grooved rim, have been identified as monochrome sgraffito from Italy or local imitations (see Vroom 2003, 170, fig.6.28, w.24.1-6; Vroom 1998a, fig7, 1.5-1.8). Fabric and execution of the incised designs indicate that, most probably, the bowl from Chlemoutsi is a Greek imitation of Italian pottery.

15. SLIP-PAINTED WARE

The slip-painted technique, well established in the Middle Byzantine period (see above, ware 2), remained in use throughout the Post-Byzantine period. It survived in the 19th c. (Didymoteicho: Bakirtzis 1980, figs.19, 27; Ganos: Armstrong and Günsenin 1995, 197, fig.15, nos. 77-79) and it is still practiced today in the folk-pottery in several parts of Greece (Korre-Zographou 1995; Vroom, 2005, 191). Because of their shapes and of the more carelessly painted designs, the bowls grouped here differ from the wares of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. The group includes thick-walled bowls, decorated with large

spirals, concentric circles, wavy lines and, sometimes, irregular blotches, painted directly onto the body with white slip, often applied very thickly. The interior and, when preserved, the upper exterior, are covered with green glaze of varied hue, which appears darker (dark green to brownish-green) on unslipped surfaces. The bowls are made of medium fine fabric, usually pale brown (10YR 6/3) or light brown (7.5YR 6/3) to pink (7.5YR 7/3) in colour, with white and, occasionally, brown inclusions. The base fragments have a squared ring foot of varied height and flat undersurface. Most of the pieces preserve part of a wide, almost horizontal, lower body. One of them (no. 102) has a broad out-turned rim with squared lip. These shapes are common in the Post-Byzantine pottery (Hayes 1992, types series *a*, 280-281, figs. 107-108). Two deep bowls have rounded sides and in-curved (no.29) or slightly out-curved rim (no.494ζ), which are also common Post-Byzantine forms (e.g. Hayes 1992, 282-3, 285-6, type series *b8* and *c*, figs. 104, 110; see also below, ware 16.B, no.63).

The decoration presents some similarities to vessels of the 15th c. (Makropoulou 1995, 12, no.7, pl.3), as well as to some wares of the period 16th-18th c. from Arta (Vavilopoulou-Charitonidou 1981-82, 14-15, no.20, fig.20; 1994, nos.52, 102, pl.80, photos 61-62), Ioannina (Tsouris 1982, 274, pls. 73ε, 77β, 78β, 80, 81a) and Athens (Charitonidou 1982, fig. 18). However, the closest parallels for the pieces from Chlemoutsi are some bowls from Boeotia, which have been dated to the later 15th-16th c. (Vroom 1998a, 525-6, nos. 2.1-2.4, fig.8; 2003a, 174-5, figs.6.35, 6.44, nos. w30.1-6). Some similar-looking pieces have also been found in Eastern Phokis, most of which have roughly been dated to the Post-Byzantine period (Armstrong 1989, 41-42, Bogdanos: p.25, nos.1-2, fig.15, pl.9, Sphakia: p.13, no.1, fig.10, pl.5).

22 (Plates 22, 41). Bowl, base fragment. Old excavations

B.D.:0.09, pres.H.:0.03. Th.:0.01. Entire low ring foot, very small part of flat lower body.

Fabric: medium fine, pale brown (10YR 6/3), some small voids and white inclusions.

Decoration: large spiral, pale green glaze; marks of tripod stilt; exterior bare (peeled). Date: later 15th-16th c.

23 (Plates 22, 41). Bowl, base fragment. Old excavations

B.D.:0.10, pres.H.:0.036. Entire, relatively high, ring foot. Fabric: medium fine, reddish yellow near surfaces (5YR 6/6), pink in core (7.5YR 7/4), some small voids, rare medium white and occasional brown inclusions Decoration: spiral (peeled), yellowish-green glaze; wash outside. Date: later 15th-16th c.

24 (Plates 22, 41). Bowl, base fragment. Old excavations

B.D.:0.096, pres.H.:0.028. Entire ring foot. Fabric: medium fine, light brown to pink (7.5YR 6/3 to 7.5YR 7/3), few small voids, few small-to-medium white inclusions. Decoration: spiral, light green glaze; wash outside. Date: later 15th-16th c.

26 (Plates 22, 41). Bowl, base and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.B.D.:0.115, pres.H.:0.03, Th.:0.007-0.008. About 1/5 of low ring foot, small part of broad, slightly rounded lower body. Fabric: medium fine, light brown to light reddish brown (7.5YR 6/3 to 5YR 6/4), some small voids and some small-to-medium white inclusions. Decoration: spiral or concentric circles at the centre, wavy and horizontal lines on wall, pale green glaze; traces of greenish glaze outside. Date: later 15th-16th c.

27 (Plates 22, 41). Bowl, base fragment. Old excavations

Est.B.D.:0.105, pres.H.:0.028, Th.:0.01. Almost half of ring foot, small part of flat lower body. Fabric: medium fine, pale brown (10YR 6/3), some small voids, rare small white inclusions. Decoration: concentric circles, pale green glaze becoming greyish-green on the slip; wash outside. Date: later 15th-16th c.

29 (Plates 23, 41). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.23, pres.H.:0.082, Th.:0.007-0.008. Three mended pieces. Small part of body and rim (most height of body preserved). Rounded body, in-curved rim, rounded lip. Fabric: medium fine, reddish yellow near surfaces (5YR 7/6), light reddish brown in core (5YR 6/4), some small voids, few small-to-medium white inclusions. Decoration: horizontal parallel lines on rim and on wall, wavy line, running downwards, carelessly painted on upper wall; light green glaze; white slip and dark green glaze on rim and upper wall outside. Date: probably 16th-early 17th c.

102 (Plates 23, 41). Bowl, rim and body fragments. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.29, pres.H.:0.058, Th.:0.009. Two non-joining pieces. About 1/3 of rim and small part of body (most height of body preserved). Broad out-turned rim with squared lip, flaring upper body, broad slightly rounded lower body. Fabric: medium fine, light brown to pink (7.5YR 6/4 to 7.5YR 7/4), few small voids, rare small white inclusions. Decoration: a wavy line on rim, three horizontal lines on wall, yellow-pale greenish glaze; wash outside. Date: probably 16th-17th c.

- Shape similar to: Hayes 1992, 280-1, type series *a* (especially *a6.2*, *11.1*, *12.3*).

491στ (Plates 23, 41). Bowl, base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Λ

Est.B.D.:0.06, pres.H.:0.003, Th.:0.005-0.006. Two mended pieces. Small part of low ring foot and of hemispherical lower body. Fabric: medium fine, light brown (7.5YR 6/4), few small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: spiral or concentric circles at centre, wavy line on wall, light green glaze; white slip and the same glaze outside. Date: later 15th-16th c.

494στ (Plate 41). Bowl, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Λ

Pres.Dim.:0.046x0.045, Th.:0.008-0.01. Small, rounded. Fabric: medium fine, light brown to pink (7.5YR 6/4 to 7.5YR 7/3), some small voids, few small white and occasional small brown inclusions. Decoration: wavy lines and 'drops', pale green glaze; wash outside. Date: later 15th-16th c.

494ζ (Plates 23, 41). Bowl, rim and body fragments. Outer enclosure, trench: Λ

Est.R.D.:0.21, pres.H.:0.066, Th.:0.005-0.006. Two non-joining pieces. About 1/6 of rim and body (most of height of body preserved). Flaring rounded wall, outwardly thickened rim, flattened lip. Fabric: medium fine, light brown (7.5YR 6/4), few small voids, some small-to-medium white and occasional medium brown inclusions. Decoration: alternating horizontal and wavy concentric lines, diluted dark green glaze; wash outside. Date: probably 16th-early 17th c.

- Shape similar to: Hayes 1992, type series *b8*, fig.110 (late 15th to early 17th c.); Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou 1994, pl.90, no.50; the same in: Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 114, no.129 (16th c.).

514δ (Plates 23, 41). Bowl, base fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Θ (Θ.3)

Est.B.D.:10, pres.H.:0.03. About 1/4 of low ling foot. Fabric: medium fine, reddish yellow near surfaces (5YR 6/6), light brown in core (7.5YR 6/4), some small voids, rare small white inclusions. Decoration: (in bad condition) traces of spiral or concentric lines (all peeled); dark green glaze preserved on unslipped surfaces; wash outside. Date: later 15th-16th c.

514ε (Plate 41). Bowl, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Θ (Θ.3)

Pres.Dim.:0.07x0.06, Th.:0.012. Small. Flat lower body curved towards the missing upper body. Fabric: medium fine, pale brown to pink (10YR 6/3 to 7.5YR 7/4), some small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: horizontal line, light green glaze; wash outside. Date: later 15th-16th c.

551η (Plate 41). Bowl, body fragment of body. Trench: E3

Pres.Dim.:0.035x0.02. Th.:0.007. Small, probably lower body (almost flat/slightly rounded). Fabric: medium fine, pale brown to very pale brown (10YR 6/3 to 10YR 7/3), some small voids. Decoration: (in bad condition) small part of curved line, green glaze; exterior bare. Date: later 15th-16th c.

16. PAINTED WARES

The general term ‘Painted Wares’ is used here for the pottery with coloured decoration painted under lead-glaze¹. In distinction to the tin-glazed Italian-influenced painted pottery of the Post-Byzantine period, this technique of decoration belongs to the Byzantine tradition (Korre-Zographou 1995, 85-106; Vroom 2007a, 75).

The Post-Byzantine painted pottery has hardly been studied so far, making dating and attribution to production centres difficult. A large part of the material from Chlemoutsi falls into distinctive groups of vessels sharing common characteristics in fabric, shapes and decoration. Distinctive are two groups that can be connected to the 16th-18th- century production of Epeiros (wares 16.B,C).

16.A. GREEN PAINTED WARE

This is the largest group of decorated pottery in Chlemoutsi. It includes 66 pieces in total, both open and closed forms (however, some sherds may be non-joining fragments of the same vessels). The pieces show some variety and, probably, they are not all of the same origin. For instance, no.608ζ is covered with a shiny glaze without slip and seems to belong to a relatively big pot with globular body and two handles (two handled jar?), while nos. 694ζ and 694η belong to smaller closed vessels and they are glazed over a thick white slip. Among the open forms, at least nos. 508γ, 647β look quite different to the rest of the pieces.

However, all pieces grouped here share certain distinctive features. The decoration consists of linear designs, such as spirals, semicircles, cross-hatched and wavy lines and dots, carelessly painted in green, which in two cases is combined with brown (no.82, as a well as a

¹ The term has already been used for the Post-Byzantine material from Boeotia (Vroom 2003a, 175; 2005, 155).

small rim fragment from trench B-E, not catalogued here). The main side is covered with a lead glaze, which is colourless/nearly colourless or pale yellow, and, rarely, greenish in colour. In many cases it is difficult to estimate by eye the presence or absence of slip and the thickness of glaze, especially when the decoration is badly preserved. However, some pieces are clearly covered with a shiny, almost glossy, lead glaze without or with very thin slip, while others have a white slip and a thin lead glaze. Sometimes, the green decoration stands out against the thin glaze. Open forms are glazed on the interior and under rim on the exterior, while the exterior remains unglazed. The decoration is usually applied only on the wall and the rim, and it consists of simple curved lines, spirals, concentric semicircles and cross-hatched designs. Common are repeating spirals or cross-hatched designs on the wall and simple oblique or wavy lines on the rim. A few examples have decoration also on the centre of the cavity, such as a spiral, curved lines accompanied by dots or, in one case, a small roundel containing a 'γ', probably an abstract fish (no. 647β). Closed forms are fragmentary. Some pieces, especially among those covered with thick white slip, indicate that parts of the pot, at least the lower body, was left unglazed and undecorated. Spirals occur, but more frequently there are cross-hatched, vertical, wavy or oblique lines, applied on the body and rim. All are glazed on the interior.

The fabric is fine, ranging from pale brown (10YR 7/3-4 to 8/2-4) to pink (7.5YR 7/3-4) in colour, usually soft, with rare white or, less frequently, brown and sparkling inclusions. The open vessels are thick-walled, deep bowls and their shapes show some variation. The preserved pieces allow two main forms to be distinguished: (1) bowls with an expanded out-turned rim, which is simple rounded or slightly down-curved; (2) carinated bowls. Most of the preserved fragments have ring bases, but flat bases also occur (at least no. 515γ). The fragments of closed vessels are small, providing little information on the original shape of the

vessels. Rim fragments are rare and they seem to belong to one-handled jugs. Three of them (nos. 105α, 694β and 191) are parts of pinched or trefoil mouths. Some pieces belong to cylindrical necks (509α, 622β). Body sherds are generally rounded (indicating globular or ovoid bodies).

Wares with painted decoration in green and brown, including linear designs, spirals and dots, were made since the Middle Byzantine period. Morgan introduced the term 'Green and Brown Painted Ware' in his book on the pottery from Corinth (found in earlier publications of material from Athens as 'Green and Black Painted Ware': Waagé 1933, 323; Frantz 1938, 442) and divided it into five groups according to fabric, decoration and date (Morgan 1942, 72-83). In Corinth, this pottery is present until the 13th-early 14th c. The later examples differ in the employment of coloured glaze motifs, usually in green, with or without a covering glaze (Morgan 80-83; Sanders 1993, 258; Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 409, 412-3). In the material from Eastern Phokis, Armstrong distinguished four decorative categories, corresponding to various periods from the 12th c. to the Post-Byzantine period (Armstrong 1989, 42): in the 12th c. the green and brown occupy equal roles in decoration or brown becomes subsidiary; the monochromatic applications of either colour occur in all periods; the Post-Byzantine examples are characterized by the random application of both or either colour, usually in the area of the rim. The glaze may be thin or thicker and glossy. Similar green and brown or green painted pottery exists in Italy, mainly between the late 11th c. and the 13th c., but examples are still present in the 15th c. (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 133-135, nos.582-594; Guarnieri and Librenti 1996, 296, fig. 19.1; Saccardo et al. 2003, 405).

The term 'Green Painted Ware' was first used for some Cypriot examples with carelessly painted linear decoration, dating from the period of Venetian occupation of the island, between 1489 and 1571 (Taylor and Megaw 1937-8, 10; Megaw 1951, 158;

Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1982, 236, fig.5; 1996, 169-194; 1998, 15, fig.26). The group from Chlemoutsi presents similarities in the decorative motifs with some bowls from Arta, also named 'Green Painted Ware', which have been divided into two groups, according to the presence or absence of slip (Papadopoulou-Tsouris 1993, 243-244, 248, figs.2,3,4,7, nos. 3-5, 13-15). A bowl with similar decoration, also dated to the Late Byzantine period, is included in the material of Monemvasia (Kalamara 2001, fig.74, no.519: with no further details).

Close parallels for the ware from Chlemoutsi come from the recent excavations at nearby Glarentza (stored in Chlemoutsi, unpublished; mentioned in: Athanasoulis 2005, 49). There, the ware seems to post-date the early 15th c.: a group of pottery found into a pit (the latest finds from this pit can be dated to the early 15th c. or possibly little later, see J.Baker, in: Athanasoulis 2005, 43) does not include examples of the ware (A. Ralli, pers. comm.). In Chlemoutsi, the ware seems to belong to the Post Byzantine period, or to the 15th c. the earliest¹. Some features of the vessels, such as the carelessly painted decoration, the thick walls of the bowls, as well as their large rim diameter, which reaches 0.30 m.², seem to support this dating.

The pieces catalogued below have been selected as representative of shapes and decoration.

All pieces: Date: 15th c. or later

¹ See Appendix A: except for one piece from the trench E3 (the diagnostic pottery of which cannot be dated later than the 15th c.), all the examples have been found in trenches that included mostly Post-Byzantine pottery, or pottery dating from the 15th c. onwards. Most of them come from the trenches B and E in area C, which produced diagnostic pottery dated to between the 15th (the earliest) and the 18th-early 19th c.

² For the diameter of the rim width of Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine bowls and dishes see Vroom 2003a, 235 and table 13.1

OPEN FORMS

BOWLS WITH EXPANDED OUT-TURNED RIM

The group is uniform, presenting little variation in the shape of rim, which is always terminating in a rounded lip, but it may be either simple or slightly down-turned.

*Bowls with simple expanded, out-turned rim (shape as no. 135):***82 (Plate 42). Bowl.** Old excavations

Est.B.D.:0.10, est.R.D.:0.30, H.:0.081, Th.:0.009-0.01. Complete profile: about 1/6 of rim, small part of body and base. Hemispherical body, ring base. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/3 to 8/3), many small-to-medium voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: (mostly peeled) traces of white slip and pale yellow glaze; on rim, two loops in matt brown accompanied by shiny green paint; traces of green on upper body.

135 (Plates 24, 42). Bowl. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.21, est.B.D.:0.08, H.:0.066, Th.:0.008-0.009. About 1/4 of body and small part of ring base and rim. Complete profile. Hemispherical body, ring base. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/2), many small-to-medium voids, occasional medium white inclusions. Decoration: yellow shiny glaze; no slip; green spirals and curved lines all over the body and rim.

647α (Plate 42). Bowl. Outer enclosure, trench: ΛΕ

Est.R.D.:0.29, est.B.D.:0.105, H.:0.08, Th.:0.009-0.01. Several mended pieces. Complete profile. Hemispherical body, ring base. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), some small voids. Decoration: (almost entirely peeled) traces of green paint and yellow glaze (slip?).

Three rim and upper body fragments. Outer enclosure, trench: Ε, area Ε.Β

694α, 694ιδ, 694ιε (Plate 42). Est.R.D.: ca. 0.22, pres.H.:0.026-0.045, Th.:0.007. Possibly from the same bowl. Only rim and very small part of upper body preserved. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), some small-to-medium voids, rare small brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip, pale yellow thin glaze; parts of green spirals, spiral-like motifs and lines.

Bowls with expanded out-turned, slightly down-curved rim (shape as no. 611δ):

611δ (Plates 24, 42). Bowl. Outer enclosure, trench: Ζ

Est.R.D.:0.315, est.B.D.:0.11, H.:0.092, Th.:0.009-0.0012. Three mended pieces and one non-joining fragment. Complete profile. Hemispherical body, ring base. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/3), many small-to-medium voids, rare medium white inclusions. Decoration: (partly peeled) yellowish glaze (no slip?); large concentric semicircles on rim - upper body, traces of a circular design at the centre.

620β (Plate 42). Rim and upper body fragments. Outer enclosure, trench: ΙΘ

Est.R.D.:ca. 0.26, pres.H.:0.038-0.042, Th.:0.008-0.009. Two non-joining fragments preserve part of rim and very small part of upper body. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/4 to

7/3), many small voids, rare small white and brown inclusions. Decoration: colourless/pale yellow shiny glaze (no slip); oblique lines on rim, trace of a green band on upper body (on the larger fragment).

CARINATED BOWLS

Three pieces provide evidence that belonged to carinated bowls. Among these, no.515α and a small non-catalogued sherd, have a moulding-cordon on the exterior, at the junction of rim with body.

515α (Plates 24, 42). Part of a bowl. Outer enclosure, trench: B

Est.R.D.:0.292, est.B.D.: ca. 0.09, est.H.:0.104, Th.:0.008-0.010. Several mended pieces. Complete profile. Part of rim and body, very small non-joining fragment of base. Ring base? Flaring wall, vertical rim with moulding-cordon at its junction with the body. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/4 to 7/3), few small-to-medium voids, rare small-to-large brown inclusions. Decoration: colourless/ pale yellow shiny glaze (no slip); a large circle enclosing cross-hatching preserved on the wall.

542δ (Plates 24, 42). Rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: E, area E.A

Est.R.D.:0.26, pres.H.:0.086, Th.:0.008-0.01. Two mended pieces. About 1/8 of flaring, slightly curved body, vertical rim grooved on the exterior. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/3), many small-to-medium voids. Decoration: white slip, yellow shiny glaze; spiral on the wall.

*VARIOUS BASE AND BODY FRAGMENTS***508γ (Plates 25, 42). Part of a bowl.** Outer enclosure, trench: Θ

B.D.:0.10, pres.H.:0.048, Th.:0.01. Two mended pieces. Entire ring base with pendant cone, hemispherical lower body. Fabric: fine, very pale brown to reddish yellow (10YR 7/4 to 7.5YR 7/6), rare small to large voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: thick white slip, colourless thin glaze; traces of three large spirals preserved on the wall (originally four).

515γ (Plates 25, 42). Base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: B

D.B.:0.078, pres.H.:0.035, Th.:0.008. About 1/3 of flat base, very small part of hemispherical lower body. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), rare small voids, rare small-to-medium white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, colourless/pale yellow glaze; parts of two spirals or circular motifs preserved on the wall (originally four?).

614α (Plates 25, 42). Part of a bowl. Outer enclosure, trench: ΙΑ

Est.B.D.: 0.112, pres.H.:0.07, Th.:0.012. Three mended pieces. About 1/3 of ring base, part of body and trace of rim (out-turned?). Groove under rim outside. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/4 to 8/4), many small-to-medium voids, occasional medium white inclusions. Decoration: colourless/pale yellow shiny glaze; no slip; green circular lines and spots at the centre, trace of green paint at the junction of the body with the rim.

622γ (Plates 25, 42). Base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: IΘ

Est.B.D.:0.084, pres.H.:0.04, Th.:0.008-0.009. Half of ring base and small part of hemispherical lower body. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/4 to 7/3), many small-to-medium voids, occasional small brown inclusions. Decoration: (partly peeled) pale yellow glaze (no slip); parts of two green spirals on the wall, standing out against the glaze.

647β (Plate 42). Base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: AE

B.D.:0.11, pres.H.:0.035, Th.:0.01. Entire ring base with pendant cone, small part of lower body (**shape as 508γ, above**). Fabric: fine, very pale brown to pink (10YR 8/3 to 7.5YR 7/3), some small voids. Decoration: thin colourless glaze (thin white slip?); circle enclosing a γ-like design at the centre (an abstract fish?).

694θ (Plates 25, 42). Base and lower body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: E, area E.B

Est.B.D.:0.082, pres.H.:0.067, Th.:0.006-0.008. Four mended pieces. About 1/3 of ring base, rounded lower body, flaring upper body (out-turned rim?). Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), many small voids. Decoration: (corroded) colourless/pale yellow thin glaze (probably no slip); part of a spiral on the wall.

CLOSED FORMS

105α (Plate 42). Rim fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.068x0.052, Th.:0.004-0.005. Two mended pieces. Small. Pinched or trefoil mouth. Lip missing. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/3 to 7/4), with rare small voids

and occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: colourless/pale yellow shiny glaze (probably no slip); vertical, wavy and cross-hatched lines; same glaze inside.

191 (Plate 42). Fragments of rim, body, shoulder. Outer enclosure, 'cobbled way'

Pres.Dim. of rim sherd:0.0px0.09, of larger body sherd: 0.10x0.07. Th.:0.005-0.006. Nine small non-joining fragments of the same vessel. Globular or ovoid body, pinched or trefoil mouth. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/3), many small voids. Decoration: (mostly peeled) colourless shiny glaze on both sides; traces of white slip and green paint outside.

509a (Plate 42). Rim and neck fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Θ

Est.R.D.:0.065, pres.H.:0.06, Th.:0.006-0.007. Small part of cylindrical neck with rim grooved on the exterior. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/3), rare small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: pale yellow shiny glaze; no slip; cross-hatched design; diluted green glaze inside.

608ζ (Plate 42). Shoulder and handle fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Z

Pres.H.:0.105, pres.L.:0.175, Th.:0.005-0.007. Part of shoulder (up to junction with neck), globular upper body, lower part of handle (oval section) attached on shoulder (two handled jar?). Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/2 to 8/3), many small-to-medium voids. Decoration: yellow/pale green shiny glaze (no slip); part of a large spiral on the shoulder; same glaze inside.

622β (Plate 42). Neck fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: IΘ

Pres.Dim.: 0.075x0.04, Th.:0.007-0.008. Part of lower cylindrical neck (up to junction with shoulder). Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/3 to 8/4), many small-to-medium voids. Decoration: thick white slip, colourless/pale yellow glaze; oblique and cross-hatched lines; same glaze inside.

694β (Plate 42). Rim and neck fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: E, area E.B.

Pres.H:0.065, pres.W.:0.057, Th.:0.005. Trefoil or pinched rim, grooved outside, rounded lip, small part of neck. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/3 to 7/4), some small voids, occasional small brown inclusions. Decoration: pale yellow shiny glaze (no slip); green lines running downwards; same glaze inside.

Two lower body fragments. Outer enclosure, trench: E, area E.B

694ζ (Plate 42). Pres.Dim:0.093x0.068, Th.:0.006-0.007. **694ιη (Plate 42).** Pres.Dim:0.08x0.055, Th.:0.006-0.007. Fabric: fine, pink (10YR 7/3), few small-to-medium voids, occasional small brown and sparkling inclusions. Decoration: thick white slip, pale yellow glaze (on no.694ζ it runs downwards on the undecorated lower part of the body); cross-hatched and/or vertical lines; unglazed and undecorated lower body; same glaze inside.

Total number of fragments by trench (including the above catalogued pieces):

B: 19; B-E: 2; E, area E.A: 6; E, area E.B.: 16; ΛE: 5; Z: 4; ΙΔ: 1; Θ: 2; Θ.3: 2; ΙΘ: 4; 'cobbled way': 1; E3: 1.

'Old excavations': 3

16.B. PAINTED WARE FROM ARTA

Two bowls can be connected to the 16th-17th- century production of Arta, on the basis of their similarities to the published material from excavations in the city (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994), as well as to the sgraffito ware 14.A (above).

63 (Plates 25, 43). Bowl. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.21, B.D.:0.072, H.:0.098, Th.: 0.005-0.006. Two non-joining pieces. Most of foot, large part of lower body and small part of upper body and rim preserved. Complete profile. High outwardly projecting ring foot, deep hemispherical body, out-curved rim, pointed lip. Fabric: fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), rare small voids. Decoration: white slip, colourless/pale yellow glaze on both sides (except for foot); inside, two small circles (green and yellow-brown) surround a green dot; outside, alternating green and yellow-brown spirals and oblique groups of lines; green band on rim. Date: 16th c.

- See: Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, 102, no.87, photo 58 (for the characteristic green band on rims of bowls of the 16th c. and for similar decoration on the exterior). The bowl has obvious similarities to another bowl stored in Chlemoutsi (unpublished, inventoried no.145; from an uncertain find spot in Elis, close to Chlemoutsi: **plate 52.c**).

74 (Plates 25, 43). Bowl, base fragment. Old excavations

B.D.:0.075, pres.H.:0.029, Th.:0.005. Only entire foot preserved, similar to that of no.63. Fabric: as no.63. Decoration: (partly peeled) slip and glaze as on no.63; inside an abstract green floral motif. Date: 16th-17th c.

- Decoration as: Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, 104, no.104, photo 44.

16.C. PAINTED WARE FROM IOANNINA

Two fragments from Chlemoutsi belong to the polychrome painted wares produced in Ioannina in the later 18th c. These Epeirotic jugs are decorated with linear designs (such as spirals, wavy lines and zig-zags) or stylized floral motifs, painted in dark brown. Green, yellow, and, more rarely, blue bands and dots either fill the outlines of the main motifs or are freely applied on the field. The main shape is that of the trefoil-mouthed ‘mastrapas’ (wine-jug), which forms an imitation of Italian imports (Kyriazopoulos and Charitonidou 1986; see also below, ware 21.C). The Epeirotic jugs have been dated to the later 18th c., on the basis of the dates that are sometimes written on their body. The earliest date (‘1766’) is that of a jug found in the Agora at Athens, and the latest (‘1792’) exists on an example found at Arta (see Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1981-2, 7, fig.5). Another example, displayed today in the Benaki Museum, Athens (see Korre-Zographou 1995, fig.200; Moisidou 2006, 147, no.38) bears the date ‘1791’, followed by the word ‘Demos’, which may be the name of the potter (Tsouris 1982, 276). These jugs were thought to have been products of Arta (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1981-2), but excavations at Ioannina proved that they were manufactured in this city (Tsouris 1982, 176-7).

Both pieces: Fabric: fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), few small voids and white inclusions.

Date: late 18th c.

2376 (Plate 43). Jug, shoulder fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.: 0.055x0.066, 0.035x0.046, Th.: ca. 0.008. Small part of shoulder, up to junction with neck. Decoration: white slip, colourless shiny glaze; dark brown spirals and curved lines; large green and yellow dots; traces of white slip and lead glaze inside.

- Decorative motifs similar to: Tsouris 1982, pls.70α, 72α; Korre-Zographou 1995, fig.200.

2377 (Plate 43). Jug, shoulder fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.: 0.035x0.046, Th.:0.006. Same part as no.2376, smaller. Decoration: slip and glaze as no.2376; stylized tree filled with yellow and green bands and dots; traces of white slip and lead glaze inside.

- Decorative motifs similar to: Tsouris 1982, pls.69β, 71α,; Korre-Zographou 1995, fig.201.

16.D. BROWN PAINTED WARE

The term is used here as a purely technical description of a ware with no close parallels in published pottery from other parts of Greece. The group includes bowls and only one fragment of closed vessel, which are decorated with linear designs (straight, curved, wavy lines, spirals) or naïf representations of fishes or scenes, drawn in brown. The hue of brown varies from dark (when it is thickly applied) to a more diluted light brown. The decoration is usually painted on white slip and covered with yellow glaze, sometimes having a greenish hue. The vessels are made of a medium fine fabric, ranging from pink (7.5YR 7/3-4) to light red (2.5YR 7/6-6/6) or light reddish brown (5YR 7/4-6/4) in colour, often appearing different near surfaces, and containing white and brown inclusions.

Open forms include large thick-walled bowls, which, except for one flat-based example, have high tapering foot or low foot with flattened resting surface. Lower bodies are generally wide, slightly rounded. Rims are broad and out-turned. These shapes are common especially between the 16th and the 18th c. on both plain glazed and painted or slip-painted wares (e.g. Saraçhane: Hayes 1992, Turkish types series *a*, 280-281, figs. 107-108; Boeotia: Armstrong 1993, 316, nos. 177-181, fig. 12; Vroom 1998a, figs. 8, 14, nos. 2.2, 7.1; 2003a, fig. 6.34; Corinth: Morgan 1942, fig. 155, top right and middle left; Williams and Zervos 1992, fig. 173, nos. 40, 42; Tsouris 1982, fig. 3). The style of decoration suggests a rather late dating for the ware from Chlemoutsi. The late 18th– c. products of Ioannina have similar linear designs in dark brown (Tsouris 1982: especially pls. 58, 59a, 82a). However, the Epeirotic painted wares that have been reported so far are polychrome and their decoration is characterized by the enhancement of the main motifs with coloured bands and dots that (see above, ware 16.C).

All pieces: Date: (late?) 18th c.

100 (Plates 26, 44). Bowl, base fragment. Old excavations

Est.B.D.:0.12, pres.H.0.03, Th.:0.007. About 1/5 of squared foot and very small part of slightly rounded lower body. Fabric: medium fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), some small-to-medium voids, some small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, yellow-pale greenish glaze; two spirals in diluted brown; exterior bare.

182α (Plate 44). Bowl, base and body fragment. Old excavations (shape as no.100)

Est.B.D. 0.07, pres.H.:0.022, Th.: 0.009-0.01. About 1/5 of squared foot and very small part of wide, slightly rounded lower body. Fabric: medium fine, pink (5YR 7/4), many small-to-medium voids, few small white and brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip, yellowish-pale greenish glaze; part of central linear motif (group of three lines, two curved and a wavy); exterior bare.

182ε (Plate 44). Bowl, base and body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.013x0.046, Th.:0.007-0.012. Small part of wide, slightly rounded lower body preserving traces of ring foot (missing). Fabric: medium fine, light reddish brown (2.5YR 6/4 to 5YR 6/4), many small voids, occasional small white and brown inclusions. Decoration: (partly peeled) white slip, yellow glaze; part of central linear motif (oblique and curved lines); dark green glaze outside.

506γ (Plate 44). Bowl fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: B.

Est.R.D.:0.19, est.B.D.: ca. 0.11, H.:0.048, Th.:0.006-0.008. Small. Complete profile. Flat base, flaring, slightly rounded wall, out-turned rim grooved on the interior, rounded lip. Fabric: as no.182α. Decoration: white slip, pale yellow glaze; part of central motif (curved lines); wash outside.

544στ (Plate 44). Bowl, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: B-E

Pres.Dim.:0.075x0.033, Th.:0.007-0.008. Small part of broad, slightly rounded lower body. Fabric: medium fine, light red (2.5YR 7/6 - 6/6), some small-to-medium voids, rare small

white inclusions. Decoration: (partly peeled) white slip, pale yellow-greenish glaze; part of circular central motif (traces of a curved and a wavy line); exterior bare.

601 ι β (Plates 26, 44). Bowl, foot. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

B.D.:0.118., pres.H.:0.056. Only high tapering foot preserved. Fabric: medium fine, pink (7.5YR 7/3 to 7/4), some medium voids, rare small white and small to large brown inclusions. Decoration: (partly peeled) white slip, pale yellow glaze; spirals and group of lines (curved and wavy); exterior bare.

602 γ (Plate 44). Closed form, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

Pres.Dim.:0.09x0.077, Th.: 0.005-0.007. Small. Rounded. Fabric: medium fine, pink (7.5YR 7/3), few small-to-medium voids, few small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, yellow glaze; brown spiral; interior bare.

604 δ (Plates 26, 44). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

Est.R.D.:0.26, pres.H.:0.048, Th.:0.008. About 1/5 – 1/6 of broad out-turned rim with squared lip projecting up and down, small part of rounded upper body. Fabric: medium fine, light red (2.5YR 7/6 to 6/6), some small-to-medium voids, rare small white and few medium brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip, yellow glaze; a group of small vertical lines between two horizontal wavy lines on the rim; exterior bare.

604 ι (Plate 44). Bowl, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

Pres.Dim.:0.052x0.04, Th.:0.007. Small. Rounded (lower?) wall. Fabric: medium fine, pink in core (5YR 7/4), reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) near external surfaces, few small-to-medium voids,

few small-to-medium white and brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip, yellow-pale green glaze; very small part of linear motif; outside, traces of running green glaze.

6041γ (Plate 44). Bowl, foot fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

Pres.L.:0.074, pres.H.:0.042. Small part of high, tapering foot (**similar to no. 6011β**). Fabric: medium fine, reddish yellow in core (5YR 7/6), pink near surface (7.5YR 8/4), many small voids, rare small white and medium brown inclusions. Decoration: (partly peeled) yellow glaze (no slip?); curved and wavy lines; exterior bare.

6041δ (Plates 26, 44). Bowl, base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

B.D.:0.125, pres.H.:0.031, Th.:0.004-0.006. Two mended pieces (partly restored). Most of low ring foot and small part of rounded lower body (large part of the centre of bowl missing). Fabric: as no.604δ. Decoration: no slip, colourless shiny glaze; representation of a ship(?) and a bird(?); glaze running on wall outside.

618α (Plates 26, 44). Bowl, base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K1

Pres.B.D.: ca. 0.074, pres.H.:0.05, Th.:0.009-0.012. Small part of (high?) ring foot, wide, slightly rounded lower body curved to almost vertical upper body. Fabric: medium fine, pink to light reddish brown (5YR 7/4 to 6/4), some small-to-large voids, few small-to-large white and rare small brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip, yellow glaze; part of a fish at the centre; wash outside.

618β (Plates 26, 44). Bowl, fragment of base. Outer enclosure, trench: K1

Est.B.D.: ca. 0.115, pres.H.:0.032, Th.:0.007-0.008. About 1/4 of low ring foot, very small part of broad, slightly rounded lower body. Fabric: as no.618α. Decoration: white slip, yellow glaze; part of a fish filled with cross-hatched lines; wash outside.

622δ (Plates 26, 44). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: IΘ

Est.R.D:0.267, pres. H:0.036, Th.:0.008-0.011. Small part of broad out-turned rim with two grooves on the interior, squared lip, part of broad, rounded upper body. Fabric: as no.182α. Decoration: white slip, shiny yellow glaze on the interior and just under rim on the exterior; V-shaped repeating motif on rim, traces of uncertain motif on upper wall; Exterior bare.

16.E. VARIOUS PAINTED WARES

Under this heading have been grouped various pieces with painted decoration in one or two colours. The variety in fabrics, forms and decoration suggests different provenances. Only two pieces provide evidence of common origin, since they present similarities in fabric, colours and general surface treatment (nos.498, 606ε).

Probably the earliest example in the group is the flat-based bowl no.81. Its decoration, consisting of alternating stripes in brown and green radiating from the centre, possibly forms a simplified version or development of the pottery with sgraffito and painted decoration of the Late Byzantine period (see Makropoulou 1995, 11, no.6). The rest of the pieces are thick-walled bowls of varied shapes and they can be dated between the 16th and the 18th c. They present some general characteristics of the Post-Byzantine pottery, such as green-glazed exterior, abstract or simple linear motifs and random application of colour (see: Hayes 1992,

‘Turkish coarse wares’, 271 ff.; Armstrong 1993, 332-3: ‘random painted wares’; Vroom 2003a, 234-6). Characteristic Post-Byzantine shapes, usually dated to the period 16th-early 18th c., are the bowls or dishes with broad out-turned rim, such as nos. 508β, 608ζ, the first of which has notches around its squared lip (e.g. Hayes 1981, 40-1, no.43, fig.83g; 1992, type series *a12-13*, fig.108; Vroom 2003a, 235; Armstrong 1993, 316, 321, nos.177-181, fig.12; Kontogiannis 2002, 225 no. 44, pl.XIII).

81 (Plates 27, 43). Bowl, base and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.B.D.:0.09, pres.H.:0.057, Th.:0.006-0.009. Small part of flat base and of lower body with flaring sides. Fabric: medium fine, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), many small-to-medium voids, small-to-medium white and occasional brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip and pale green glaze inside; alternating straight and wavy stripes in green and brown, radiating from centre; exterior bare. Date: 15th c.

- Bowls with similar decoration have been dated to the 15th c.: Makropoulou, 1995, 11, no.6; Dori et al. 2003, 134, pl.IV, no.55; Vionis 2005, 125, K.xii.1; Moisidou 2006, 118, no.11).

492ζ (Plate 43). Bowl, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench A

Pres.Dim.:0.135x0.07, Th.:0.009-0.01. Small part of broad, slightly rounded lower body up to junction with rim (**shape similar to no. 608α, below**). Fabric: medium fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), many small-to-large voids, rare small white and occasional small brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip and pale green glaze inside; green and brown radiating bands and dots on wall; exterior bare. Date: 16th-17th c.

- The decoration presents some similarity to no.81 above, but the shape and the carelessly painted decoration suggest a later date.

496α (Plates 27, 43). Bowl, rim fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: A

Est.R.D.:0.238, pres.H.:0.038, Th.: 0.006-0.007. Small part of rounded upper wall, outwardly thickened rim with flat lip. Fabric: fine, pink (5YR 7/4), occasional small voids. Decoration: white slip and pale yellow glaze inside; green band on rim; green outside. Date: probably 16th-17th c.

- The surface treatment and the green band on the rim seem similar to the 16th-17th – century products of Arta (see above, wares 14.A, 16.B).

498 (Plate 43). Bowl, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: IE

Pres.Dim.:0.085x0.067, Th.:0.01-0.011. Small part of flaring, slightly rounded lower body, very small part of rounded upper body, trace of base (base missing). Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), occasional small voids and small brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip and shiny pale green glaze inside; part of a central circular motif in dark brown; three oblique bands in the same colour and trace of green paint on the wall; green glaze outside. Date: 16th-18th c.

508β (Plates 27, 43). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench Θ

Est.R.D.:25, pres.H.:0.76, Th.:0.008-0.009. Three mended pieces. Small part of deep, rounded body and of out-turned rim with shallow grooves on the interior, squared lip with notches. Fabric: medium fine, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6 in core, 5YR 6/8 towards external surfaces), many small-to-large voids, some small-to-medium white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and pale green glaze inside; random yellow-brown and dark green bands on rim and on the wall; wash outside. Date: 16th –early 18th c.

516 (Plates 27, 43). Bowl, rim fragment. Outer enclosure, trench B

Est.R.D.:0.30, pres. H.:0.045, Th.: 0.006-0.007. Two mended pieces. Small part of broad, flaring body, in-curved rim. Fabric: medium fine, reddish yellow (5YR 7/6), some small-to-medium voids, rare small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and shiny yellow glaze inside, running under rim outside; yellow spiral on the wall; exterior bare. Date: 15th c. or later.

- Decoration and surface treatment similar to the 'Green Painted Ware' (see above, ware 16.A).

606ε (Plate 43). Bowl, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

Pres.Dim.:0.075x0.054, Th.:0.007-0.009. Small part of flaring, slightly rounded lower wall. Fabric: as no.498. Decoration: white slip and shiny pale yellow glaze inside; part of a green band on the wall, above which a dark brown circular radiating design, terminating in dots; green glaze outside. Date: 16th-18th c.

608δ (Plate 43). Bowl, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench Z

Pres.Dim.:0.082x0.065, Th.:0.007-0.008. Small part of flaring, slightly rounded lower body (**shape similar to no.508β, above**). Fabric: fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), many small voids, some small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and colourless shiny glaze inside; alternating green and orange wavy lines on the wall; blob of brown paint; exterior bare (traces of running pale greenish glaze. Date: late 15th-16th+

- The decoration presents some similarity to no.81 (above), but shape and colours of decoration suggest a later date.

6081α (Plates 27, 43)). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench Z

Est.R.D.:0.265, pres.H.:0.56, Th.:0.007-0.008. Small part of flaring upper body and of broad out-turned rim with round lip. Fabric: medium fine, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6 to 7/8), many small-to-medium voids, many small-to-large white and occasional small reddish inclusions. Decoration: white slip and yellow glaze inside and just under rim outside; two brown lines on the rim; wash outside. Date: 16th-early 18th c.

621γ (Plate 43). Bowl, base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench IΘ

B.D.:0.075, pres.H.:0.032, Th.: 0.007. Entire base and small part of lower body. Solid squared disc base, rounded lower body. Fabric: medium fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), some small-to-large voids, occasional small white and reddish-brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip and pale green glaze inside; small green motif at centre, consisting of two concentric circles with radiating lines between them; exterior bare. Date: mid-16th-18th c.

- Shape similar to: Tsouris 1982, fig.4δ (Ioannina production, later 18th c.). The decoration presents some general similarity to a bowl from Boeotia (Vroom 2003a, fig.6.45.w31.Ex; 2003b, fig.8; 2005, 154, fig.8.2: mid.16th-17th c.).

17. GREEK MAIOLICA

The local Greek pottery imitating Italian Maiolica presents a general similarity to the Italian wares in technique and designs of decoration, but it is distinguished for its poor quality of glaze, the hue and the combination of colours, as well as the decorative designs, which are painted in a crude and simplified way.

A type of locally made tin-glazed imitation of Italian maiolica was found during the Agora excavations at Athens, which was named by Alison Frantz 'Blue and White Painted Ware' (Frantz 1942, 1-2). A *terminus ante quem* for the manufacture of this ware, as well as evidence for its Athenian origin, were provided by the discovery of two potters' kilns under the pavement of the church of Vlassarou. Since this church was seen by J.Spon in 1676, the writer suggested that the latest possible 'floruit' of the ware must have been the first half of the 17th c. Similar wares have been reported from Thebes (Armstrong 1993, 319, 324, nos.201-3, 268, 271-72), Boeotia (Vroom 1998a, 534-535, fig.13, nos. 6.1-6.5; 2003a, 173, figs.6.33, 6.44, w28.1-7) and Eastern Phokis (Armstrong 1989, Bogdanos, 28-9, 42, nos.34,36,40,42, fig.17, pl.9). The most characteristic forms are small bowls, plates and trefoil-mouth pitchers. The decoration is painted on a white slip covered with a tin glaze, which often looks rather poor and dirty white. The reverse surface is sometimes left bare. The designs are painted in blue and accessory details are painted in various colours, which include red, yellow-brown, green and purple (Frantz 1942, 1; Vroom 2005, 149). The most frequent decorative motifs of the Athenian ware are birds, rosettes and cross-hatchings (Korre-Zographou 1995, fig.84; Moisidou 2006, 132-145, nos.25-36).

The material from Chlemoutsí includes mostly bowls. The colours used for decoration include blue, red and green, which often fuse into the glaze. The exterior is left bare or is covered with the same glaze as the interior. Most of the pieces fall into distinctive decorative

groups. The names given here to these groups are used as a purely technical description of their decoration.

17.A. WITH POLYCHROME DECORATION

This group includes some rim and upper body fragments of plates with out-turned rim. Fabric, shapes and decoration suggest a common origin. The fabric is fine, soft and pink in colour (7.5YR 7/4-8/3). Rims are decorated with wavy blue lines and green blobs, which are painted between blue, green or red horizontal bands. The exterior is bare. The rim decoration is reminiscent of some Protomaiolica of Sicily ('Gela Ware', see: Patitucci-Uggeri 1985, 353-361; Whitehouse 1980b, pl.III), as well as of some Renaissance Maiolica of the second half of 15th c. (Stillwell-MacKay 1996, 128, no.2, fig.1, pl.pl.2). A date earlier than that usually given to the imitations of Italian Maiolica (on the basis of the evidence from the Athenian Agora) seems possible. It should be noted that local pottery influenced by tin-glazed Italian wares (Protomaiolica) was produced in Arta, according to Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, probably before the 16th c. (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, 103, no.102: bowl decorated with a painted fish).

All pieces: Date: late 16th - first half of 17th c. (or earlier?)

70ζ (Plate 44). Plate, rim fragment. Old excavations

Est.R.D.: ca. 0.20, pres.Dim.:0.06x0.023, Th.(rim): 0.008. Small part of out-turned rim with rounded lip (**shape as no.89, below**). Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 8/3), many small voids. Decoration: (partly peeled) white slip, colourless glaze; decoration in blue, green and red; exterior bare.

72γ (Plate 44). Plate, rim and body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.095x0.05. Th.:0.007- 0.008. Small part of out-turned rim (lip missing) and of rounded upper body (**shape as no. 89, below**). Fabric: as. no.70ζ. Decoration: white slip, colourless glaze; decoration of rim in blue and green; blue concentric lines on upper wall; exterior bare.

89 (Plates 28, 44). Bowl, rim and body fragments. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.228, pres. H.:0.034, Th.:0.006. Two non-joining fragments. Part of out-turned rim with rounded lip, small part of rounded upper body. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), many small voids, rare small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, pale bluish glaze; decoration of rim in blue, red and green; traces of blue on upper wall; exterior bare.

90 (Plate 44). Bowl, rim and body fragments. Old excavations

Est.R.D.: 0.21, pres.H.:0.065, Th.:0.007. Five small non-joining fragments (**shape as no.89, above**). Fabric: fine, soft, pink (7.5YR 7/4 to 8/3), many small voids. Decoration: white slip, pale bluish glaze; on rim, decoration in blue and green; exterior bare.

17.B. WITH DECORATION IN RED AND BLUE

This group includes some bowl fragments decorated in blue and red. Fabric and decoration suggest a common origin. The fabric is fine and pink in colour (7.5YR 7/4-8/4 to 5YR 7/4). The group looks similar to some fragments of Greek Maiolica from Boeotia (Vroom 2005, fig.5.1, right; 2007a, fig.4.6: three sherds on bottom right) and from Niokastro

at Pylos (unpublished, found in a post-1570 context: N.Kontogiannis, pers.comm.). Close parallels for these bowls from Chlemoutsí (in colours, surface treatment and decorative motifs) exist in the material from the excavations at Castel Selino, Crete, which was abandoned during the second half of the 17th c. (unpublished, displayed in the exhibition ‘Discovering Castel Selino’ at Chania, 2003).

All pieces: Date: late 16th - first half of 17th c.

621α (Plates 28, 44). Bowl, base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: IΘ

Est.B.D.:0.10, pres.H.:0.044, Th.:0.006-0.009. Small part of low ring foot and of hemispherical body. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 8/4 to 7/4), some small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: (partly peeled) white slip and pale yellow glaze inside; uncertain design (floral motif?) in blue and red at centre, surrounded by red bands between blue lines; exterior bare.

621α (Plate 44). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: IΘ

Est.R.D.:0.14, pres.H.:0.035, Th.:0.004-0.005. Small part of rim and upper body (**shape similar to no.658β-621β, below**). Probably from the same bowl as no.621α (above). Fabric: as no. no.621α. Decoration: white slip and pale yellow glaze on the interior and below rim on the exterior; two blue lines around rim on the interior; traces of a curved blue line on upper wall; exterior bare.

6471α (Plate 44). Bowl, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: ΛΕ

Pres.Dim:0.065x0.029, Th.:0.009. Small (lower body). Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4 to 5YR 7/4), few small voids. Decoration: white slip and colourless glaze inside; part of a blue (geometric?) designs and traces of red paint; exterior bare.

658β-6211β (Plates 28, 44). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trenches: ΙΘ and ΚΘ. Est.R.D.:0.147, pres.H.:0.052, Th.:0.005-0.006. Three mended pieces. Small part of hemispherical body, almost vertical rim, rounded lip. Fabric: as no.6471α. Decoration: white slip and colourless glaze inside and on the upper wall outside (partly peeled); two blue lines around rim, part of central motif in blue and red: circular bands surrounded by radiating V-shaped lines.

17.C. WITH BLUE DECORATION

543δ (Plates 28, 44). Closed form (?), rim fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Β-Ε

Est.R.D.:0.126., pres. H.:0.042, Th.:0.005-0.006. Two mended pieces. Small part of flaring rim with rounded lip. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3), some small voids, occasional small-to-medium white inclusions. Decoration: outside, white slip colourless/pale blue glaze; linear designs in blue; interior bare. Date: late 16th - first half of 17th c.

- The decoration has some similarities to: Vroom 2003a, fig.6.33, w28.3 (the same in: Vroom 1998a, 535, no. 6.5).

18. MARBLED WARE

The term 'Marbled Ware' was first used by Talbot-Rice (Talbot Rice 1930, 48-9). The ware is characterized by its decoration, produced by slips of different colours, which were shaken on the body to produce a marble-like surface. Such wares were produced in the Late Byzantine period (e.g. Evgenidou 1982, 29, fig.4.b, nos.1-4; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1989, 219, fig.46), but they became common during the Post-Byzantine period and continued to be produced in the 19th c. An important production centre in the 19th c. was Didymoteicho in Thrace (Bakirtzis 1980, 151, fig. 28).

Marbled wares have been reported from several sites and regions, such as Corinth (Morgan 1942, 171, fig. 153), the Argolid (Daux 1968, 1003, fig.2; Hahn 1996, 434, nos.157-8, 167), Monemvasia (Kalamara 2001, 54, fig. 75), Athens (Frantz 1942, 3, 24, Group 6, nos.2-4, fig. 20,21), Boeotia (Vroom 2003a, 176-177, figs. 6.37, 6.45, w34.1-2; Moisidou 2006, 192-3, nos. 78-79), Thessaly (Korre-Zographou 1995, 72; Gourgiotis 1994, fig.74), Thessaloniki (Evgenidou 1982, 29, fig.4.b, nos.6-7), Ganos (Armstrong, Günsenin 1995, 185, nos.19-21), Kos (Kontogiannis 2002, pls.IX-XI,XIII, nos.26-32,46-47), Constantinople/Istanbul (Hayes 1992, 336, pl.51.b-c) and Cyprus (Von Wartburg 2001). Some of the reported examples have been considered as close imitations of Italian wares (Kontogiannis and Arvaniti 2007, 359: found in Andros). Some others, decorated with spots painted irregularly on the body of the vessel, have been considered as late variants of the Marbled Ware or the Spatter Ware of the 13th c., having survived until the 19th c. (Charitonidou 1982, fig. 19; Korre-Zographou 1995, 72: found at Athens). The fragment from Chlemoutsi belongs to a rather late variant.

104 (Plates 28, 44). Open form, rim and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.135, pres.H.:0.045, Th.:0.005-0.006. Two mended pieces. Flaring upper wall, rounded lip. Fabric: fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), many small voids. Decoration: white slip and colourless shiny glaze on both sides; marbling in green and brown outside; green horizontal lines and running green paint inside. Date: 18th-early 19th c.

- Decoration similar to: Kontogiannis 2002, 226, pl.XIII, no. 47 (found in Kos, 18th-early 19th c.)

19. PLAIN GLAZED WARE

Plain glazed pottery is present in great abundance at Chlemoutsí, but it is rather fragmentary. Here only vessels preserving a complete profile or a significant part of their shape are presented. The Post-Byzantine plain wares are little known in the bibliography. Thus, the vessels presented here can only roughly be dated. Hayes' book of 1992 on the pottery from Saraçhane at Istanbul offers a basic reference work for these wares. In Greece, comparable material is offered especially from Central Greece (Eastern Phokis: Armstrong 1989; Thebes: Armstrong 1993; Boeotia: Vroom 1998a; 2003a) and Epeiros (Arta: Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou 1981-82; Ioannina: Tsouris 1982).

The shapes and the general features of the ceramics are Post-Byzantine. The open vessels are thick-walled bowls and dishes made of fine or medium fine fabric and covered with yellow or green glaze on the interior. The rims often have incised horizontal lines on the interior and/or on the exterior. Closed forms include some representative shapes of the period. Among these, there is a spouted jug (543η), which is included in the common Post-Byzantine shapes (Hayes 1992, 233; Vroom 2003a, 234). The two-handled jar no.194 and the amphora

666 are representative of large utilitarian glazed vessels. Some shapes are very similar to unglazed or decorated examples from Chlemoutsi (particularly nos. 98, 493γ, 493ιγ). The bowls nos. 510α and 600ε are of the same date and origin, since they are very similar in shape and fabric.

OPEN FORMS

98 (Plate 45). Bowl, foot fragment. Old excavations

B.D.:0.11, pres.H.:0.056, Th.:0.007. Almost half of high narrow foot (**shape similar to ware 16.D, no. 601ιβ, above**). Fabric: medium fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), some small-to-large voids, some small-to- medium white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, yellow-green glaze with green dots; wash outside. Date: 16th-18th c.

- Shape as: ware 16.D, no.601ιβ (Brown Painted Ware); see Hayes 1992, 281, 283, figs. 109, 111: *b2.1, b10.1-2, b17.1, b19.1*.

493ιγ (Plates 28, 45). Bowl. Outer enclosure, trench: Α

Est.R.D.:0.186; B.D.:0.088, H.:0.069. Th.:0.006-0.009. Large part of body and rim missing. Flat base, flaring, slightly rounded wall, vertical flanged rim with rounded lip. Fabric: medium fine, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), many small-to-medium voids, some small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, pale yellow glaze inside and around rim outside (running downwards); wash outside. Date: 16th-17th c.?

- Some similarity in shape to: Vroom 1998a, 536 fig.14, no.7.2 (from Boeotia, 16th-17th c.). The material of Chlemoutsi includes an identical, but unglazed bowl, apparently of the same provenance (see Appedix B, no.107).

510α (Plates 29, 45). Deep Bowl. Outer enclosure, trench: Θ

Est.R.D.:0.22, B.D.:0.086, H.:0.09, Th.:0.007-0.012. Six mended pieces. Large part of body and rim missing. Flat base, flaring sides, in-curved rim grooved on the exterior. Fabric: medium fine, reddish yellow in core (5YR 7/6), light red near edges (2.5YR 6/8), many small-to-large voids, some small-to-large white inclusions. Decoration: diluted green glaze inside; wash outside. Date: later 18th c.?

- For monochrome bowls of similar shape see: Tsouris 1982, fig.4, especially fig.4δ, (Ioannina production, later 18th c.).

510ε (Plate 45). Dish, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench Θ

Est.R.D.:0.21, pres.H.:0.02, Th.:0.007-0.008. Small part of out-turned rim and very small part of shallow body (**shape similar to no. 600γ, below**). Two grooves on rim, squared lip. Fabric: medium fine, light red (2.5YR 7/8), many small voids, few small-to-medium white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and dark green glaze inside and around rim outside; wash outside. Date: 16th-18th c.

600γ (Plates 29, 45). Dish, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench K2

Est.R.D.:0.225, pres.H.:0.037, Th.:0.008-0.01. About 1/4 of rim and very small part of upper body preserved (Shape as no.510ε, above). Fabric: medium fine, light red (2.5YR 6/8), many

small-to-medium voids, few small-to-medium white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, dark green glaze inside, running outside; wash outside. Date: 16th-18th c.

- Shape similar to: Hayes 1992, 280, type series *a6*, *a8-9*, fig.107.

600ε (Plate 45). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

Est.R.D.:0.21, pres.H.:0.075, Th.:0.007-0.019. Small part of rim and body (**shape as no.510α, above**). Fabric: as no.510α, above. Decoration: white slip and yellow glaze inside, running outside; wash outside. Date: later 18th c.?

601β (Plates 29, 45). Bowl/shallow basin. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

Est.R.D.:0.31, est.B.D.:0.20, H.:0.07, Th.: 0.007-0.082. Two mended pieces and one non-joining fragment. Large part missing. Complete profile. Broad flat base, flaring slightly out-curved sides, rounded lip. Fabric: medium fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), many small-to-large voids, rare white inclusions. Decoration: yellow-green glaze inside (slip?); green glaze around rim outside. Date: 17th–18th c?

- For monochrome wares of similar shape see: Hayes 1992, 281, type series *a22*, fig.109, (Saraçhane, 17th c.); Tsouris 1982, fig.5η-θ (Ioannina production, later 18th c.)

608ε (Plates 29, 45). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench Z

Est.R.D.:0.26, pres.H.:0.048, Th.:0.007-0.008. Small part of out-turned rim with squared lip, very small part of rounded upper body. Fabric: fine, pink in core (7.5YR 7/4), light red near edges (2.5YR 6/6), many small-to-medium voids, rare small white and occasional medium brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip and shiny green glaze on both sides. Date: 16th-early 18th c.

- Large monochrome bowls with out-turned rim, yellow or, more frequently, green glazed, are usually dated to the 16th-early 18th c.: Hayes 1992, 280-1, type series *a12.1-3*, figs.107-108 (Saraçhane, 17th–early 18th c.); Armstrong 1993, 316, nos. 177-8, fig. 12 (Thebes, 17th-early 18th c.); Vroom 1998, 536, no.7.1; 2003a, 173-4, 234-5, fig. 6.34, w29.1-4, (Boeotia, 16th-17th c.); Armstrong 1989, 20, nos.59-60, fig.13 (Eastern Phokis); Morgan 1942, fig.155, top right (Corinth); Armstrong 1996, 129, fig. 17.4,8-10 (Laconia, 17th-early 18th c.).

611ε (Plates 29, 45). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench Z

Est.R.D.:0.27, pres.H.:0.044, Th.: 0.007-0.008. Two mended pieces. Part of shallow body and rounded rim, pointed towards inside, two grooves around rim on the exterior. Fabric: medium fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), many small-to-medium voids, small-to-medium white and occasional medium brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip and green glaze inside and around rim outside. Exterior bare. Date: 16th-18th c.

- Some similarity in shape to: Hayes 1992, 280, type series *a3.1*, fig.107.

CLOSED FORMS

194 (Plate 45). Two-handled jar. Outer enclosure, trench: Z

B.D.:0.16, R.D.:0.27, H.:0.305, Th.:0.009-0.011. Several mended pieces (restored). Complete profile. Small part of body, about ½ of rim, one handle missing (but lower handle attachment preserved). Flat base, high cylindrical, slightly flaring body, out-curved rim, pointed lip. Strap handles from rim to upper body. Fabric: medium coarse, pink to reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/4 to

7/6), many small-to-large voids, few small-to-medium white inclusions. Decoration: Yellow-pale green glaze inside; exterior bare. Date: 16th-17th c.

- Similar vessels (with internal glaze), have been found at Saraçhane in 16th – 17th- century deposits (Hayes 1992, 286, type series *d*, pls. 105, 115:). The example from Chlemoutsí looks closer to some vessels from Arta, which have been considered as pots used for personal ‘toilet’ during the night (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1981-2, 20, n.52, fig. 40, no.36: local production, 16th-17th c.).

493γ (Plate 45). Jug, part of body. Outer enclosure, trench: A

Pres.D. of belly: ca. 0.11, pres.H.:0.06, Th.:0.007-0.08. Two mended pieces. Part of globular body, lower handle-attachment on upper body (“rat tail”). Fabric: fine, light red (10R 6/6), with some small-to-medium voids. Decoration: pale yellow glaze outside; no slip; interior bare. Date: 16th-17th c.

- For plain glazed jugs of similar shape see: Hayes 1992, 290-291, 294-295, type series *h14*, *k9-11*, figs.122, 128 (Saraçhane, contexts of the 16th c. to 1600: jugs with spout or with wide cylindrical neck); Hahn 1989, 229, fig.7 (Crete, 16th-17th- century deposit: jug with wide cylindrical neck). The unglazed wares of Chlemoutsí include similar globular jugs, both spouted and with wide cylindrical neck (see: **Appendix B**, nos.3, 8).

543η (Plate 45). Jug spout. Outer enclosure, trench: B-E

Pres.L.:0.9, pres.W.:0.7, Th.:0.008-0.01. Only spout and very small part of body preserved. Fabric: medium fine, light brown (7.5YR 6/4), few small voids, few small white and brown inclusions. Decoration: traces of dark green glaze on both sides. Date: 18th-early 19th c.

- Jugs with a tubular tapering spout set obliquely on shoulder opposite the handle, (both glazed and unglazed) were used in various parts of the Ottoman Empire, especially between the 16th-18th c. (Constantinople: Hayes 1992, 293-295, type series *k*, figs.106 and 127-8, 277-8, *Ware Y* fig.133.1-5; Central Greece: Armstrong 1993, 319, 324-5, nos. 199, 277-278, pl.35; Vroom 2003a, 179-180, fig. 6.46, w38.Ex2; 2003b, 767, fig.9; Arta: Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1981-82, 18, group 7, figs. 34,37; 1994, pl.63, nos.64, 69; Albania: Vroom 2007b, pl.7.c-f). Similar wares were made also in the 19th c. at Didymoteicho (Bakirtzis 1980, 148, fig.10, right). The glazing of spouted jugs becomes common from the 18th c. onwards (Hayes 1992, 233; see also: Gourgiotis 1981; Korre-Zographou 1995, 174, fig.314: 18th c., produced in Thessaly)

666 (Plate 45). Amphora. Outer enclosure, trench: K3

Pres.H.: 0.25. D. of belly.: ca. 0.20 Th.:0.009-0.01. Several mended pieces. Upper part of body, small part of neck and one handle preserved. Ovoid body, cylindrical, slightly tapering neck, originally two high strap handles from neck to upper body. Incised line at junction of body with neck. Fabric: medium fine, light brown (7.5YR 6/4), few small-to-large voids, some small-to-medium white inclusions. Decoration: dark green glaze inside; exterior bare. Date: probably 16th c.

- Flat-based amphorae/two-handled flagons of similar shape, but unglazed, have been found at Saraçhane in levels of the end of 15th-late 16th c. (Hayes 1992, 292, type series *jI*, fig. 124). The glazed interior suggests that this vessel was used for liquids (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, 101).

II. POTTERY IMPORTED FROM THE WEST

20. NORTHERN ITALIAN SGRAFFITO WARES

20.A. LATE SGRAFFITO FROM VENICE / PO VALLEY - RENAISSANCE SGRAFFITO

From about the mid-15th c. onwards the decorative repertory of the Northern Italian Sgraffito pottery was enriched with new floral designs, human and animal figures and heraldic motifs. The decoration was executed in fine and/or broad incision, while purple and cobalt blue were sometimes added to the usual green and yellow-brown paint.

The bowls grouped here belong to pottery types datable to the period between the mid-15th c. and ca. 1600¹ ('graffita rinascimentale' and 'post-rinascimentale'). The motif decorating nos. 485ιϵ, 497 and 596β is common on the sgraffito wares of Venice and its area. This motif usually consists of three leaves or fruits on one stem ('tre mele') almost always filled with painted or incised lines (Cozza 1985, 310-11, nos.6,7: from Venice; Nepoti 1992, 324-6, figs.16, 19, nos.145-7, 154: from Ferrara). Similar bowls have been found at Rhodes (Michailidou 1993, 337, fig.3; 2000, 423, pl.167α-β), Constantinople (Hayes 1992, pl.42b-c) and Thebes (Moisidou 2006, 125, no.18²). Similar motifs were used in other contemporary arts in Italy (Michailidou 2000, 423). On two of the fragments from Chlemoutsí the incised motif is enhanced with the typical yellow-brown and green colours, while one is monochrome, covered with green glaze (485ιϵ). Monochrome sgraffito wares ('graffita

¹ The presence of Northern Italian sgraffito pottery continues uninterrupted in Chlemoutsí after its Ottoman occupation. However, for reasons of methodology, it is necessary to roughly divide these wares in 'Frankish/late Byzantine' and 'Post Byzantine'. Here are grouped only those of the pieces that clearly belong to types dating from after the mid-15th c.

² Although this bowl has been presented with the local Greek pottery, it should be identified as Italian (for a similar example see: Nepoti 1992, 325, fig.16, no.147)

monochroma') were produced in Northern Italy in about the same period as the polychrome sgraffito wares (Mannoni 1968; Berti et al. 1997, 396). The Italian monochrome sgraffito wares reported from Greece have been dated to the 15th-early 16th c. and attributed to the workshops of the area of Venice (Michailidou 1993, 335, fig.1: from Rhodes; Vroom 2003a, 170, fig.6.28,w24.1-6: from Boeotia).

No.608γ belongs to the sgraffito bowls decorated with human busts. Bowls with human busts or animal figures in fine or broad incision are particularly associated with Venice and Ferrara and the centres of their influence. The figures are represented in profile and are usually surrounded by a landscape, which often includes the motif of the 'closed garden' or 'hortus conclusus' (Rackham 1977, 424 ff.; Saccardo 1990, 515, nos.566-568; Nepoti 1992, 330-338, figs.22-24; Michailidou 1998). On the example from Chlemoutsis, the painted decoration includes blue, which is particularly associated with the workshops of Venice (Siviero 1980, 185; 1986, 30). In Greece, bowls decorated with human or animal figures have been reported from Rhodes (Michailidou 1993, 337-339, figs. 4-6; 1998; 2000, 423, pls. 167γ-στ, nos.14-15: second half of 15th-16th c., Venice or centres of its influence), Herakleion (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 116, no.132: 15th-16th c.) and the Agora at Athens (Frantz 1942, 16-7, fig.37: see Stillwell-MacKay 1996, 132, n.4). Examples exist also in Cyprus (Megaw 1951, 157-158, figs. 13, 14, B30, B32: mid-16th c., Padua or Bologna) and Constantinople (Hayes 1992, pl. 42a: ca.1500, Veneto/Po valley), as well as in Jerusalem and Damascus (Pringle 1984b).

485ιε (Plate 39). Bowl, body fragment. Inner enclosure, A5, trench: 8.

Pres.Dim.:0.043x0.048, Th.:0.01. Small. Fabric: medium fine, red (2.5YR 5/6), some small voids, some white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, green glaze; part of an incised leaf filled

with cross-hatched lines and a series of curved lines preserved; exterior bare. Date: ca. mid-15th c. – 1500.

497 (Plates 20, 39). Bowl, base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: IE.

Est.B.D.:0.09, pres.H.:0.057, Th.:0.01-0.012. About 1/5 of low ring foot and part of hemispherical body. Fabric: fine, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6), few small voids. Decoration: white slip, pale yellow glaze; part of an incised leaf filled with cross-hatched lines and surrounded by curved lines, part of stem; yellow-brown and green paint follow the incised designs; mark of tripod stilt; exterior bare. Date: ca. mid-15th c. – 1500.

596β (Plate 39). Bowl, body fragment. Inner enclosure, A6, trench: 1

Pres.Dim.:0.044x0.032, Th.:0.01-0.012. Small. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), few small voids. Decoration: white slip, pale yellow glaze; incised cross-hatched lines surrounded by curved lines and enhanced with yellow-brown paint; exterior bare. Date: ca. mid-15th c. – 1500.

608γ (Plates 20, 39). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Z.

Est.R.D.:0.218, pres.H.:0.03, Th.:0.004-0.005. Large part missing, profile from rim to lower wall. Flaring, slightly rounded wall, rounded lip. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 8/4), some small voids, rare small white and brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip, colourless glaze on the interior and on upper wall on the exterior; incised medallion enclosing landscape and human figure in profile (only neck preserved); incised decoration enhanced with yellow-brown, green and greyish-blue paint. Date: second half of 16th c. – ca. 1600

20.B. 'GRAFFITA A PUNTA E A STECCA'

The decoration in broad incision (*a stecca*) was executed with a pointed instrument of iron or wood. Such wares were made during the 15th and the 16th c. in several production centres in Northern Italy, including Ferrara, Bologna, Venice, Padua and Pisa (Rackham 1952, 26-27; 1977, pls.210, 213; Berti and Tongiorgi 1982; 1986; Nepoti 1992, 315-6; Calopinto et al. 2002, 56).

The decorative motifs of no.51 from Chlemoutsí seem to have been common in various production centres (e.g. Bologna and Umbria: Rackham 1977, pls.210, 213, nos. 1341, 1342, 1373; Pisa: Berti and Tongiorgi 1982, 152-156, pl. III, figs. 6-7; Berti 1994, 372, fig.26; Ferrara: Nepoti 1992, fig.11, nos.103, 266). The use of blue colour probably suggests a provenance from Venice. The decoration has no close parallels in published pottery from other parts of Greece, but several bowls decorated in the same technique (including examples with human and animal figures) have been found in Rhodes, Cyprus, at Herakleion in Crete (see ware 20.A, above, as well as: Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 117, no.133; Megaw 1951, 157-158, figs. 13, 14, B30-330), as well as in Boeotia, (Vroom 1998a, 531, fig.10, no.4.6; the same in: 2003a, 171: mid-16th c., Pisa or Veneto-region).

51 (Plates 20, 39). Bowl. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.26, B.D.:0.09, pres.H.: 0.076, Th.:0.006. Three mended pieces and one non-joining fragment. Complete profile. Part of rim and body and entire base preserved. Out-turned rim, squared lip, flaring rounded wall. Fabric: fine, red to light red (2.5YR 5/8 to 6/8) with some voids, few brown and sparkling inclusions. Decoration: white slip and colourless shiny glaze inside and under rim outside; Decoration in thin and broad incision, enhanced with blue-and-

yellow paint: a six-foil panel on the centre enclosing a 'girandola' and surrounded by pyramid-like motifs; on the wall and rim horizontal bands containing S-like and other repeating geometric motifs; mark of tripod stilt; exterior bare. Date: second half of 16th c. – ca. 1600

20.C. LATE SGRAFFITO FROM PISA

Late Sgraffito ('graffita tarda') was produced in Pisa between 1550 and 1650 (Blake 1981, 103-5; Berti and Tongiorgi 1982; 1986; Hurst et al. 1986, 30-32; Berti 1994). These vessels are made of the distinctive Pisan hard, fine, red fabric, which was taken from the river Arno. Bowls and dishes are decorated with a central motif in fine incision (a single or double flowering stem or, less frequently, a bird, pear or heraldic motif) enriched with yellow and green paint and often surrounded by wreath-like or geometric bands. The interior has a characteristic lead straw-coloured glaze and the exterior is unslipped but glazed, with a glossy brown appearance. Along with the contemporary Pisan 'Marbled Ware' (see ware 22, below), it was widely distributed throughout the Mediterranean, from Egypt and Turkey to England and Palma of Majorca and even in America. Similar wares were produced in Montelupo, but these vessels are made of a different, pinker fabric (Blake 1981, 105; Berti 1998, 153-162).

In Greece, the ware has been identified at the Athenian Agora (Waagé 1933, 320-321, fig.16h: see Berti and Tongiorgi 1982, 163, n.11; 1986, 424) and in the *bacini* of the chapel of Panayia Faneromeni in Salamis (Nikolakopoulos 1988, 82, nos. 7,9, figs. 11, 13). It can also be identified among the material found at Castel Selino, Crete (unpublished, displayed in the Exhibition 'Discovering Castel Selino' at Chania, 2003). The ware has also been reported from Constantinople/Istanbul (Hayes 1992, 265) and Nazareth (Pringle 1984b).

The absence of geometric borders on both the examples from Chlemoutsi possibly suggests a dating in the first half of the 17th c. (see Hurst et al. 1986, 31).

Both pieces: Date: (late 16th -) first half of 17th c.

40 (Plates 20, 39). Dish, rim and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.295, pres.H.:0.04, Th.:0.007. Small. Profile from rim to lower body (only small trace of base preserved). Out-turned slightly concave rim, rounded lip, flaring slightly rounded wall. Fabric: fine, red (2.5YR 5/6), rare small voids. Decoration: white slip, pale yellow glaze; small part of incised central floral motif preserved, enhanced with green and yellow-brown paint. Three incised concentric lines on rim; colourless shiny glaze on the exterior.

- The preserved part of floral motif looks similar to: Berti and Tongiorgi 1982, pl.VI; Berti 1994, fig.18.b1. Shape similar to: Berti and Tongiorgi 1982, fig.11, no.2.

54 (Plate 39). Dish. Old excavations

R.D.:0.30, est.B.D.:0.14, H.:0.05, Th.: 0.007. Several mended pieces. Almost complete profile (restored). **Shape as no.40**, but it preserves small part of its ring base. Fabric: as no.40. Decoration: as no. 40, but different central motif: a wavy line preserved, brown and trace of orange-yellow paint.

- The central decoration may have been a heraldic motif (see Berti 1994, fig.19).

21. ITALIAN MAIOLICA

Maiolica is associated particularly with the Renaissance, when its colourful decoration was at its peak. The technique of Maiolica was described in the illustrated treatise ‘*Tre libri dell’ arte del vasaio*’, written in 1557 by Cipriano Piccolpasso, a native of Castel Durante (a major production centre of Maiolica). The technique can be summarized as follows: after the first firing, the ware was coated with a white glaze mixture (‘bianco’), which was composed of tin and lead oxides combined with silicate of potash (‘marzacotto’). Once it was dry, it could be passed on to the painter. Before the second and final firing, many wares received a coat of colourless lead glaze (‘coperta’), which gave a greater brilliance to the surface (Rackham 1952, 3-5; Poole 1997, 7-8).

Maiolica vessels of the period between the 15th and the 18th c. have been found at several Greek sites and regions. These include Corinth (Morgan 1942, 172, fig.152), Patras (Athanasoulis 2002, 346, pl.112δ; Papapostolou 1976, 88, pl.73γ), Monemvasia (Kalamara 2001, figs.65,79; Moisisdou 2006, 181, no.67), Thebes (Armstrong 1993, 328, 334, pl.36, no.327), Boeotia (Vroom 1998a, nos. 5.1-5.7, fig.12; the same in: Vroom 2003a, 172-173, fig.6.32, w27.1-7), Athens (Frantz 1942, fig.34, no.25¹; Moisisdou 2006, 173, no.61), Rhodes (Michaelidou 2000), Cyclades (Dori et al. 2003, 158-9, nos.111-2, pl.VIII; Vionis 2005, 119-121, K.vi, 135-136, N.v 15th-16th c.), Skyros (Korre-Zographou 1995, 187-206; Moisisdou 2006, 194, no.80), Crete (Hahn 1989, 232, fig.9; Stillwell MacKay 1996; Moisisdou 2006, 174-180, 183, 185-6, nos.62-66, 69, 71-72), Epeiros (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1987, nos. 176α-η, fig.22; 1994, nos. 90, 96, fig.77-78; Kommatas 2003) and Thessaloniki (Evgenidou 1982, 23-24, fig.1b). There are also some Maiolica bowls immured in churches, located in the

¹ The plate illustrated in the picture can be identified as an example of the ‘a peducci’ style of Faenza, 18th c. (see Bojani, Ravanelli Guidotti 1992, nos. 49, 51, 52; Poole 1997, 120, no.55; Bojani 2001, 32)

area close to Athens (Nikolakopoulos 1989), as well as at the Katholikon of Faneromeni in Salamis (Nikolakopoulos 1980; Korre-Zographou 1995, figs. 125-7). Maiolica were common in Cyprus during the period of Venetian rule of the island, after 1489 (Megaw 1951; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1998, 14, figs.21-24). The ware is poorly represented in Constantinople/Istanbul (Hayes 1992, 265, pl.39.4-10, pl.44a).

The Maiolica of Chlemoutsi, although fragmentary, are of great quantity and variety. They cover the period from the 15th c. to the late 18th-early 19th c. According to their chronology and features of decoration, they can be divided into at least three groups (see also ware 24, below).

21.A. EARLY RENAISSANCE MAIOLICA

The development of Archaic Maiolica led to the introduction of some new types of tin-glazed wares from about the mid-14th c. onwards. A succession of wares appeared first in Tuscany, in which new ornaments and colour schemes were combined, and yellow and blue were added to the standard brown and green decoration. The term ‘Stile Severo’, used by Gaetano Ballardini in 1938, described the simplicity of shapes and decoration and the limited palette of colours of this large group of pottery (see: Whitehouse 1975, 11-12).

The pieces grouped here belong only to closed forms. Certain features differentiate them from the Maiolica of group 21.B below, such as the lead-glazed or unglazed reverse surface and the limited colour palette used in decoration. Their features connect these fragments with some wares representing the ‘transition’ between the medieval and the fully developed Renaissance Maiolica, which have been dated to the period 15th c. to ca. 1500 (Whitehouse et al. 1972, 218-219; Ward-Perkins et al. 1973, 80-91). In this period, the

albarelli and other drug-jars are common forms, while the main new shape of jug has a trefoil-mouth, ovoid or globular body, strap handle and flat base.

21.A.i. Closed forms with blue decoration

Wares painted only in blue on white tin glaze were produced during the 15th c. in the area of Florence and in Faenza (Rackham 1977, 48-61, 103-4).

21.A.i.a. Decorated with cross-hatched lines

508ε (Plate 46). Body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Θ

Pres.Dim:0.05x0.042, Th.:0.006. Small, rounded. Fabric: medium fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/4), few small brown, small white and rare small dark inclusions. Decoration: white to blueish ground; cross-hatched lines in a (rectangular?) panel; interior bare. Date: 15th c.

- For similar decoration see: Rackham 1977, pl.12, nos.51-52 (Florence, 15th c.).

547ia (Plate 46). Body fragment. Trench: E3.

Pres.Dim.: 0.025x0.023, Th.:0.006. Small. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/3), few small voids. Decoration: white/light grayish ground; blue cross-hatched lines and dots; yellow lead glaze inside. Date: 15th c.

- The decoration has some similarities to: Athanasoulis 2002, 346, pl.112δ (found at Patras, dated to the second half of the 15th c.)

21.A.i.b. Jugs with decoration enclosed in ovoid contour panel

This is a group of jug sherds uniform in fabric, shapes, surface treatment and decoration. Only base and/or body fragments are preserved. The shape of the bases is close to that of some Archaic Maiolica jugs (Gelichi 1983, fig.6, nos.1-2) and is also found on Renaissance Maiolica (Mazzucato 1990, 20, fig.6). The blue contour panel is similar to that of some jugs of the group ii below, but all fragments presented here clearly had decoration only in blue. Their decoration presents some similarities to two small sherds reported from Paros (Vionis 2005, 120, K.vi.5: late 15th-16th c., probably Faenza) and Boeotia (Vroom 1998a, 533, no.5.2, fig.12; the same in: 2003a, 172-3, w27.1, fig.6.32: late 15th-early 16th c., probably Faenza).

All pieces: Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3 to 7/3), some small voids, rare small white inclusions. Decoration: (often badly preserved) white ground to above base; on nos. 66, 643α and 658α: contour panel consisting of a double line surrounded by small oblique lines; only small part of the main decorative (floral?) motif preserved on no.66. The small base fragments preserve only traces of the ground. Nos. 514η, 640α, 643α are unglazed on the interior, the rest preserve traces of a pale yellowish lead glaze. Date: 15th c.

66 (Plates 30, 46). Base and body fragment. Old excavations

B.D:0.098, pres.H:0.087, Th.:0.005-0.007. Entire flat projecting squared base and part of ovoid body preserved.

483ιβ (not illustrated). Base fragment. Inner enclosure, A5, trench: 6

Est.B.D.: 0.10, pres.H.: 0.03, Th.:0.006. Very small (**shape as no.66, above**).

514η (not illustrated). Base fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Θ (Θ.3)

Est.B.D.:0.09, pres.H.:0.09, Th.:0.006. Very small (**shape as no.66, above**).

640α (Plate 46). Base fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K

Est.B.D.:ca. 0.10, pres.H.: 0.038, Th.:0.005-0.008. Very small (**shape as no.66, above**).

643α (Plates 30, 46). Base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KA

Est.B.D.:0.095, pres.H.:0.062, Th.:0.006-0.007. About 1/3 of flat projecting base and small part of ovoid wall.

645δ (Plate 46). Base fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KB

Est.B.D.:0.105, pres.H.:0.04, Th.:0.006. Two mended pieces. About 1/3 of base and very small part of lower wall (**shape as no.66, above**).

658α (Plate 46). Body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KΘ

Pres.Dim.:0.068x0.066, Th.:0.006-0.007. Small part of rounded body.

21.A.ii. Jugs with polychrome decoration and/or blue ovoid contour panel

Some of the fragments grouped here preserve decoration only in blue, but, since they are too small, some of the vessels may originally have had polychrome decoration. Their features connect these fragments with some Maiolica of the period early 15th c. - ca. 1500 (Whitehouse et al. 1972, 218-219; Ward-Perkins et al. 1973, 80-91; Patitucci-Uggeri 1977,

238-240; Mazzucato 1981a, 114-117, figs.36-38; Carnegy 1993, 27-8). All pieces have an opaque white to light greyish ground and the interior is covered with a yellowish lead glaze or is sometimes left bare. The colours used for decoration include manganese brown, blue, green and yellow. Many pieces preserve part of a distinctive decoration, which appears in this period: it consists of a blue contour panel framing a principal theme at the centre front of jugs, below their trefoil mouth, and separating it from the subsidiary motifs of the background area. A frequent type of contour panel is the so-called 'ladder' border, but other borders also occur, such as simple ovoid bands surrounded by rays (see nos. 124β, 618γ).

Little of the Italian Maiolica vessels reported from Greece have been described in details. However, this early type of Renaissance Maiolica exists at least in Patras (Athanasoulis 2002, 346, pl.112δ), Boeotia (Vroom 1998a, 533-4, fig.12, nos. 5.3-5) and Crete (Hahn 1989, 232, fig.9; Stillwell MacKay 1996, 128, nos.2,3).

70α (Plates 30, 46). Base and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.B.D.:0.122, pres.H.:0.038. Th.:ca. 0.007. About 1/3 of flat base and small part of (ovoid) lower body. Fabric: fine, pale yellow (2.5Y 8/2), some small-to-medium voids. Decoration: off-white ground; contour panel consisting of brown double line filled with green paint and surrounded by small oblique brown lines; inside the panel, only a group of curved brown bands preserved; yellowish lead glaze inside. Date: 15th c.

- Similar decoration occurs on a polychrome Florentine example of the 15th c. (Rackham 1977, pl.12, no.77: it has the same contour panel and the oblique lines represent grass under a bird).

70β (Plate 46). Body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.065x0.05, Th.:0.008-0.009. Small. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3), few small voids. Decoration: white ground; blue small floral designs and part of a bird (?), trace of green; diluted colourless lead glaze inside. Date: 15th c.

- The decoration has some similarities to two examples in the Victoria & Albert Museum, (both decorated with birds and small floral designs): Rackham 1997, pl.10, no.57 (Florentine, 15th c., pl.27), pl.27, no.152A (Faenza, second half of 15thc).

Three body fragments. Old excavations

70γ, 70δ, 70ε, 70η (Plate 46). Pres.Dim.:0.04x0.036 the smallest (70γ), 0.06x0.06 the biggest (70δ). All small, rounded, belonging to at least two different closed vessels. Th.:0.005-0.007. Fabric: fine, pale yellow (2.5Y 8/2), few small voids. Decoration: off-white ground; small parts of floral designs and coloured bands, painted in blue, brown and green; yellowish lead glaze inside. Date: 15th c. – ca. 1500

124β (Plate 46). Body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.052x0.035, Th.:0.003-0.005. Small, rounded. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/4) to pink (7.5YR 7/3), rare small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: white ground; part of ovoid contour panel, outlined in blue and filled with yellow paint; yellowish lead glaze inside. Date: 15th c.

- For similar contour panels surrounded by rays see: Rackham 1977, pl.13, no.82, pl.17, no.78 (Florentine, 15th c.)

464a (Plate 46). Body fragment. Trench: E2.A

Pres.Dim.:0.035x0.04, Th.:0.005. Small. Fabric: fine, pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3), few small voids.

Decoration: white/light greyish ground; part of floral motif in blue and green; yellowish lead glaze inside. Date/origin: second half of 15th c. Faenza?

- The motif preserved on this fragment belongs probably to the decoration with scrolled 'split' leaves divided into two areas of colour ('gothic floral' style), which is particularly connected with the production of Faenza in the second half of the 15th- century (Rackham 1977, pl.20, nos.106-107; Bojani and Ravanelli Guidotti 1992, 7; Carnegy 1993, 26-27; Bojani 2001, 21-22). Similar motifs were used in some other production centres (e.g. Poole 1997, 24, no.7: probably Pesaro, late 15th c.). See also ware 21.B.i, no.2345, below.

Two rim and body fragments. Inner enclosure, A5: removal of wall β

488γ, 488δ (Plate 46). Pres.Dim.: 0.035x0.025, 0.05x0.025, Th.:0.005. Lower part of trefoil mouth (488γ) and small body fragment (probably from different jugs). Fabric: fine, pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3), rare small voids. Decoration: white/light greyish ground; blue vertical lines; green band on the rim fragment; yellowish lead glaze inside. Date: ca. mid-15th c. - 1500

618γ (Plate 46). Body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K1

Pres.Dim.:0.045x0.04, Th.:0.005-0.006. Small (probably upper body). Fabric: fine, pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3), many small voids. Decoration: white/light greyish ground; blue contour panel of double line, surrounded by blue rays; interior bare. Date: ca. mid-15th c. - 1500

- For a similar contour panel see: Bojani and Ravanelli Guidotti 1992, 26, no.11 (Faenza second half of the 15th c.); Rackham 1977, pl. 17, no.78 (Florentine, 15th c.).

618δ (Plate 46). Body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K1

Pres.Dim.:0.04x0.04, Th.:0.007-0.008. Small. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 8/3), few small brown inclusions. Decoration: white/light greyish ground; part of blue ribbon; pale yellow lead glaze inside. Date: ca. mid-15th c. - 1500

- Ribbons are often used a subsidiary motifs of the background area of jugs and *albarelli*: e.g. Ward-Perkins et al. 1973, 88, no.170 (from Tuscania, late 15th c.); Rackham 1977, pl.19, no.98, pl.85, no.540 (later 15th c.-early 16th c.).

626 (Plate 46). Body fragment. Surface collection.

Pres.Dim.:0.03x0.025, Th.:0.006-0.007. Small. Fabric: fine, pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3), some small voids. Decoration: white ground; two small blue floral motifs, part of contour panel of double blue line; interior bare.

Date: ca. mid-15th c. - 1500

639α (Plate 46). Body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: ΛB

Pres.Dim.:0.085x0.04, Th.:0.005. Small. Fabric: fine, pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3), few small voids. Decoration: white ground; part of blue contour panel ('ladder border?'), trace of green; yellow lead glaze inside. Date: ca. mid-15th c. - 1500

664β (Plate 46). Body fragment. Inner enclosure, courtyard, trench: 3.

Pres.Dim.:0.035x0.04, Th.:0.008. Small. Fabric: fine, pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3). Decoration: white ground; part of blue contour panel (oblique and horizontal lines); pale yellowish lead glaze inside. Date: ca. mid-15th c. – 1500

21.B. RENAISSANCE AND LATER MAIOLICA

Under this heading are grouped various fragments of open and closed forms datable to the period between the 15th c. and ca. 1700, or little later. They differ significantly from group 21.A above, because they have a thick ground on both sides, rich colour palette, brilliant colours and various decorative designs. Their decoration can be connected to well-known styles and to various production centres in Northern Italy, such as Faenza, Venice, Florence, Montelupo and Liguria.

Faenza developed into a leading centre of Maiolica production during the second half of the 15th c. Its mature style is characterized by a high-quality opaque and shiny glaze and an extended colour palette (Rackham 1952, 12-14; Carnegy 1993, 26-28; Bojani 2001; Bojani and Ravanelli Guidotti 1992).

Montelupo had become the major production centre of Maiolica in the area of Florence by the 16th c. Favoured by the local supplies of clay and the easy transport to Florence and the port of Pisa by the river Arno, Montelupo seems to have obtained in the 16th a near monopoly of the polychrome Maiolica trade throughout the Mediterranean as far as Egypt (see François 1999, 74,77, pl.8, no.16), westwards to Spain and across to America. Its period of prosperity was in the 15th-16th c., but its products continued to be of commercial value in the 18th c. (Blake 1981, 101-103; Hurst et al. 1986, 12-24; Berti 1998).

Venice developed into a Maiolica production centre in the 16th c. (Carnegy 1993, 33). As an important trading port, Venice was open to influences from the Middle and Far East, which are noted on its Maiolica with floral decoration. Venetian Maiolica is distinctive for its technique of glazing: whereas the mainstream Renaissance maiolica (as described by

Piccolpasso) employed a matt white base for painting ('bianco') and covered it with a transparent overglaze ('coperta'), Venetian potteries painted directly onto a single fusible tin glaze.

The Maiolica industry developed in Liguria in the 16th c. This area is associated with the production of Maiolica 'berettina', characterized by the use of blue ground in place of the usual white. The products of Genoa, Albisola and Savona share very similar characteristics and cannot be distinguished from each other. The general term 'Ligurian' is therefore used for these products, which were widely distributed in Europe and they even reached America (Blake 1981, 114; Hurst et al. 1986, 26-30; Chilosi 1995).

21.B.i. Polychrome Maiolica

Bowl(s), rim and body fragments.

87 (Plates 30, 47). Old excavations. **608a (plate 47).** Outer enclosure, trench: Z.

Est.R.D.:0.22, pres.H.:0.004-0.042, Th.:0.006-0.007. Both small, same shape and decoration (most probably from the same bowl). Bigger fragment (no. 87): two mended pieces, profile preserved from rim to edge of base. Flaring slightly curved wall, out-turned rim with rounded lip. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/4) with rare small voids. Decoration: white ground on both sides; inside, net pattern in two tones of blue filled with small linear motifs in brown, orange and light blue; a flower with four leaves on rim, filled alternatively with green and orange; a dense mass of black applied on one of the green leaves; yellow horizontal band on rim, partly covering two light blue horizontal lines; outside, three manganese-purple

horizontal lines around the wall. Date/origin: second half of 16th c.-beginning of the 17th c. Montelupo.

- The decoration is characteristic of the Maiolica of Montelupo of the late 16th- beginning of 17th c. (Blake 1981, 103; Hurst et al. 1986, 15, fig.2.3; Berti 1998, 192-194, pls.282, 284: 'genere 56.2', 'nodo orientale evoluto'). One can identify the type on examples from Nicosia, Cyprus (see Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1998, fig.22) and Skyros (Faltaitis 2006, picture on p. 148, upper left). For shape see: Blake 1981, fig.8.2, no. 132.

101 (Plates 30, 47). Bowl, rim fragments. Old excavations

Est.R.D:0.25, pres.H.:0.043, Th.:0.005-0.006. Two mended pieces and one non-joining fragment. Small part of flaring body terminating in grooved rim with round lip. Small hole on rim. Fabric: fine, light reddish brown (2.5Y 7/4), few small voids. Decoration: white ground inside and around rim outside; decoration on the interior peeled: a yellow circle marked with an orange 'X', composed of oblique parallel lines; trace of blue; exterior bare. Date/origin: 16th c. Florence or its district

- Same decoration as: two *bacini* immured in the west wall of the church of Panayia Faneroneni in Salamis (Nikolakopoulos 1980, 16, fig.34,37; Korre-Zographou 1995, 74, fig.125: 16th c., area of Florence); a bowl found at Castel Selino, Crete (Moisidou 2006, 176, no.63: 16th c.). The practice of tin-glazing only on the visible surfaces seems to have persisted in the 15th c. and, in some cases, also in the 16th c. (Carnegy 1993, 24; Poole 1997, 2).

124a (Plates 30, 47). Bowl, base and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.B.D.:0.10, pres.H.:0.021, Th.:0.006. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/4 to 10YR 7/4), rare small voids. Small part of ring base and rounded lower body. Decoration: white ground

on both sides; bands of small repeating geometric designs on the wall in dark blue and orange; traces of dark blue floral designs at the centre; mark of tripod stilt; blue concentric bands outside.. Date/origin: 16th c. Probably Faenza.

- Similar concentric bands on the exterior of bowls are typical in Faenza in the 16th c. (Megaw 1951, 152, fig.10, B4; Rackham 1952, 17).

467β (Plate 47). Bowl, body fragment. Trench: E2.B

Pres.Dim.:0.046x0.036, Th.:0.009-0.11. Small, slightly rounded. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/4), rare small voids, occasional small white inclusions. Decoration: inside, white ground, landscape in yellow, orange, light blue and grey-blue; outside, 'fruit and foliage' pattern in yellow, orange and white, on dark blue ground. Date/origin: (late) 16th -early 17th c. Montelupo (or Venice).

- Fruit and foliage patterns on dark blue ground are common in Venetian examples of the 16th c. _ (Poole 1997, 84, no.37; Calopinto et al. 2002, 248-251, 254-259, nos.111-112, 114-116).

Similar decoration on the interior of bowls, associated with landscape designs on the interior, are common in the late 16th-early 17th c. in Montelupo (Hurst et al. 1986, 18, figs.4.8 & 5.9; Berti 1998,194-195, pls. 292, 294: genere 57, 'fondale in blu graffito').

502η (Plate 47). Bowl, base(?) fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: B.

Pres.Dim.:0.042x0.039, Th.:0.01-0.013. Small, almost flat. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/3 to 10YR 8/4), rare small voids. Decoration: white/pale blue ground on both sides (peeled on exterior); fruit and foliage patterns in brown, green, and blue. Date/origin: 16th c. Possibly Venice or Padua.

- Similar polychrome fruit and foliage patterns, inspired by Islamic wares, are usually attributed to the 16th- century production of Venice or Padua (Megaw 1951, 153, 155-156, B4, pl.XLV,2: Padua, 16th c.; Rackham 1977, pl.128, no.812: first half of 16th c., probably Venice; Carnegy 1993, pl. in p. 35: early 16th c., probably Venice). Similar wares were produced later in Montelupo (Rackham 1977, pl.173, no.1072; Berti 1998, 196, pls.299-301: genere 59, 'foglia con frutta polichroma').

536 (Plate 47). Jug. Outer enclosure, trench: E, area E.B

B.D.:0.08, Pres.H.:0.18, D. of belly: ca. 0.15, Th.:0.006. Several mended pieces. Upper part of neck and most of rim missing. Trefoil mouth, wide cylindrical neck, globular body, low foot with disc base. Fabric: fine, pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3), few small voids. Decoration: white ground on both sides, except for the underside of base; repeating scale-pattern in light blue, orange and yellow filled with dark brown dots; blue, orange and yellow horizontal lines on lower body and foot. Date: ca. late 15th – early 16th c.

- Overall decoration with repeating patterns is common on jugs of the second half of the 15th c. and the first half of the 16th c. These include polychrome examples decorated with the 'peacock eye' (Calopinto et al. 2002, 110, no. 34, Siena or Deruta, late 15th c.), as well as lusterwares with scale-like patterns (Rackham 1952, pl.52B; 1977, pl.36, no.344; Poole 1997, 40, no.15). The type of decoration of no.536 is closer to a jug from Ferrara decorated with a

blue repeating scale-pattern (Reggi 1972, fig.321, early 16th c.). The rich orange colour appears already in the second half of the 15th c. on the wares of Turcany and Faenza (Rackham 1952, 10; Carnegy 1993, 28).

2345 (Plate 47). Jug, rim and body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.H:0.085, pres.W.:0.102, Th.:0.005. Two mended pieces. Small part of trefoil mouth, upper part of ovoid body. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3) to pale yellow (2.5YR 8/3), some small voids. Decoration: white ground on both sides; a zone with a series of blue small cross-hatched lines on rim; blue 'ladder' border on body surrounded by rays and containing a floral motif in green, yellow, orange and blue. Date/origin: second half of the 15th c. Faenza.

- 'Gothic floral' style (see: Carnegy 1993, 26-27; Bojani 2001, 21-22). Parallels for the main and the subsidiary motifs are offered by some jugs included in the collection of the Museum of Faenza (Bojani and Ravanelli Guidotti 1992, 26, no.11)¹.

21.B.ii. Dark Blue Maiolica

This group includes three handle fragments with a dark blue thick glaze. Several towns in Italy produced in the later 16th c. Maiolica with similar ground, sparsely decorated in white, white and yellow or in gold ('maiolica turchina'), such as Faenza, Padua and Castelli (Poole 1997, 96). Although small, the pieces from Chlemoutsi look closer to a monochrome

¹ Pictures are also available in the website of the museum: www.micfaenza.org and www.amyxart.com/MAJOLICA/source/cities/faenza-other/mus.coll.hist.html (downloaded: June 2002 and September 2007).

ware from Montelupo, which has been dated between 1480 and 1500 (Berti 1998, 91-92, pls.1-2: genere 15, 'bleu robbiano'). Similar wares have not been reported from Greece so far.

All pieces: Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/4) to pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3), some small voids. Decoration: handle, exterior and interior of vessel covered with blue ground.

Date/origin: Late 15th c. Montelupo?

Two small handle fragments. Old excavations

73α, 73β (Plate 47). Pres.L.:0.052, 0.04. W. of handles:0.017-0.019. Upper part of small handles (cylindrical in section). Probably from the same vessel. No. 73β preserves very small part of body.

604η (Plate 47). Small handle fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

Pres.L.:0.042. W. of handle: 0.017-0.019. Upper part of handle. Shape as nos.73α, 73β.

21.B.iii. Maiolica 'alla porcellana'

The blue and white decoration of the style termed by Piccolpasso 'alla porcellana' reveals the influence of the Chinese porcelain, conveyed through the medium of Turkish pottery (Rackham 1952, 20). The style started in Faenza in the late 15th c. (Bojani 2001, 25; Bojani and Ravanelli Guidotti, 1992, nos.20-22), but it is particularly associated with Venice (Carnegy 1993, 33). A range of varieties was produced in other centres as well, including Montelupo (Blake 1981, 103; Hurst et al. 1986, 21-22).

Maiolica 'alla porcellana' have been reported from Boeotia (Vroom 1998a, no.5.1; the same in: 2003a, 173, fig.6.32, w27.7), Rogoi in Epeiros (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1987,

fig.22β), Herakleion (Stillwell-MacKay 1996, 129, nos.5-6) and Cyprus (Megaw 1951, 162-3, 225, C1-10, fig. 18, and C51, fig. 25). The fragment from Chlemoutsi is similar to an example from Constantinople/Istanbul (Hayes 1992, 265, pl.39.4: Venice or Faenza, early 16th c.).

5001δ (Plate 47). Bowl, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: A

Pres.Dim.:0.048x0.003, Th.:0.006-0.007. Small, from lower body. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 7/4 to 10YR 8/4). Decoration: white ground and blue decoration on both sides. On the interior uncertain motif. On the exterior a floral motif and part of a round line preserved. Date/origin: early 16th c. Venice or Faenza.

21.B.iv. Maiolica of the ‘compediario’ style

By the middle of the 16th c., the polychrome decoration of Maiolica gave way to the new ‘compediario’ style, which is particularly associated with the production of Faenza between approximately the mid-16th and the mid-17th c. (Hurst et al. 1986, 24-26; Bojani and Ravanelli Guidotti 1992, 8-9, nos. 36-42; Poole 1997, 88; Bojani 2001, 27-29). Large areas of the vessel are left white and the decoration is painted in a rapid sketchy style, in a palette dominated by blue and yellow.

Bowls of the ‘compediario’ style are included in the ‘bacini’ of the churches of Panayia Faneromeni in Salamis and Ayios Athanasios Kouvaras in Attici (Korre-Zographou 1995, 74, figs. 126,-7: second half of 16th c.); Examples exist also at Monemvasia (Kalamara 2001, 55, fig. 79, no.528: second half of the 16th c.) and in Skyros (Korre-Zographou 1995, 200: ca.1600-1620).

670ζ (Plates 30, 47). Bowl fragments. Inner enclosure, courtyard, trench: 3.

Est.R.D.:0.17, est.B.D.: ca. 0.06, est.H.: ca. 0.06, Th.:0.006-0.007. Five small, non-joining fragments. Out-turned rim with rounded lip, round wall, ring base. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3), many small voids. Decoration: white ground on both sides; inside, floral decoration outlined in orange and filled with yellow and light blue paint. Date/origin: second half of 16th c. Faenza.

21.B.v. Maiolica ‘berettina’

Maiolica ‘berettina’ was produced from about the mid-16th c. onwards. The decoration of these vessels includes various designs (such as foliage, landscapes, birds and human busts) painted on a ‘berettino’ ground, i.e. a blue of varied tone, in place of the usual white. The exterior of bowls has blue linear designs, such as curving stems, sketchy foliage or crossed lines. The ‘fruit and foliage’ designs are particularly associated with Venice (Rackham 1977, pl.156, 158-9, nos. 970-971, 982-987; Poole 1997, 82), but similar wares were made in other centres too, including Faenza (Bojani 2001, 26; Bojani and Ravanelli Guidotti, 1992, nos. 33-35). The Ligurian examples produced between approximately the mid-16th c. and the 17th c. are characterized by abstract flowering foliage, rosettes, landscapes and birds. In the second half of the 17th c., when the production of Ligurian Maiolica was at its height, Italian pictorial styles prevailed, such as ‘history’ scenes copied from engravings or fresco paintings, and coats of arms supported by putti (Blake 1981, 114; Hurst et al. 1986, 26-30).

Examples of Maiolica ‘berettina’ have been reported from Cyprus (Megaw 1951, 153, fig.9, nos. B8-11,13,14: Venice, 16th c.; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1998, fig.21a,b: 16th c.), Crete (Stillwell-MacKay1996, 129, nos.7-9: Venice or Faenza, no later than 1550), Skyros (Korre-

Zographou 1995, 200: Albisola, Fabbrica Giovanni A. Pescio, 1648). Some examples are included in the *bacini* of the church of Panayia tis Mesoporitissas Elympou in Attiki, close to Athens (Nikolakopoulos 1989, 67-69, no.4, fig.8: Savona, 17th c.).

123 (Plates 30, 47). Bowl, base and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.B.D:0.08, pres.H.:0.015, Th.:ca. 0.007. Small part of ring base, very small part of flaring lower wall. Fabric: fine, pink (5YR 7/4), occasional small voids. Decoration: light blue ground on both sides, including the underside of base; inside, foliage outlined in dark blue and filled with green. Date/origin: second half of 16th c. – early 17th c. Venice or Padua.

- Decoration similar to: Poole 1997, 82, no.36 (second half of the 16th c., Venice or Padua).

184ε (Plate 47). Bowl, rim fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.032x0.027, Th.:0.005-0.006. Small part of rim with rounded lip. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 8/4), rare small voids. Decoration: light blue ground on both sides; inside, brown and white rosette painted on a green band defined by blue lines (subsidiary pattern); outside, part of a dark blue spiral; dark blue band on lip. Date/origin: mid-16th c. Faenza ?

- Decoration similar to: Bojani and Ravanelli Guidotti, 1992, no. 33 (mid-16th c., Faenza).

674ιστ (Plate 47). Bowl, body fragment. Inner enclosure, courtyard, trench: 4.

Pres.Dim.: 0.032x0.02, Th.:0.004. Small, from lower body. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3), many small voids. Decoration: light blue ground on both sides; part of dark blue lines preserved on the interior, trace of similar blue on the exterior. Date/origin: probably second half of 16th–early 17th c. Liguria ?

- For the fabric and decoration of the Ligurian Maiolica of this period see: Hurst et al 1986, 26, figs. 10.18, 10.19.

21.B.vi. Various later Maiolica

Here are grouped various Maiolica that can be dated to the period 17th c. – ca. 1700 or little later. Distinctive is a monochrome white dish with the initials *SMDC* painted in blue on its rim. Elegant whitewares decorated with coats of arms, crowns and initials are associated especially with the production of Faenza of the second half of the 16th and the 17th c. ('bianchi di Faenza'). An example has been found at Monemvasia (Kalamara 2001, 55, no.528, fig.79). However, the dish of Chlemoutsi represents a less elaborated type of Maiolica. For instance, it looks close to some undecorated Montelupo products of around the mid-18th c., which bear only simple dates and monograms on the interior (Blake 1998, 218, pl.382: genere 81, 'monogrammi e date'). But four dishes found at Castel Selino, Crete, offer close parallels for this dish from Chlemoutsi (unpublished, displayed in the Exhibition 'Discovering Castel Selino' at Chania, Crete, 2003). They are very similar in shape, fabric and surface treatment. The dishes from Crete bear coats of arms, sometimes associated with monograms. Castel Selino provides some chronological evidence, since it was abandoned during the second half of the 17th c. (according to the leaflet of the exhibition). Considering that the monogram on no.538 is in Latin, the bowl should be connected with the Venetian occupation of 1687-1815. The type of monogram of no.538, which is similar to that found on the above Montelupo products, as well as on some other Italian pottery types ('Tâches Noires' from Albisola: see Blake 1981, figs. 8.11), is usually connected to monasteries or military establishments (Berti 1998, 218; Vendura 1996, 378).

506στ (Plate 47). Jug, rim fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: B

Pres.H.:0.037, pres.W.:0.06, Th.(rim):0.005-0.006. Very small. From trefoil-mouth jug.

Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/4), few small voids. Decoration: white ground on both sides; Three brown horizontal lines below rim.

Date: 17th c. +

- Groups of parallel lines on trefoil-mouth Maiolica jugs are very common. This fragment from Chlemoutsi looks closer to wares dating from the 17th c. onwards (e.g. Rackham 1977, pl.154, no.954, pl. 206, no. 1288).

538 (Plates 31, 47). Dish. Outer enclosure, trench: E, area E.A.

Est.R.D.:0.25, B.D.:0.085, H.:0.052, Th.:0.006-0.007. Several mended pieces. Complete profile (restored). Ring base, hemispherical body, out-turned broad rim with round lip. Fabric: medium fine, pink (7.5YR 8/4-7/4), rare small voids. Decoration: white ground on both sides; on rim, S·M·D·C painted in blue.

Date/origin: late 17th -beginning of 18th c.

Two (?) bowls decorated in light blue and yellow.

614β (Plate 47). Body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: ΙΔ

Pres.Dim.:0.035x0.032, Th.:0.007. Small part of vertical upper wall.

619α (Plates 31, 47). Bowl fragments. Outer enclosure, trench: ΙΣΤ

Est.R.D.: ca. 0.28, est.B.D.:0.105, est.H.: ca. 0.098, Th.:0.006-0.007. Three small non-joining pieces of rim, body and base. Vertical upper wall, out-turned rim (lip missing), ring base.

620α (Plates 31, 47). Body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: ΙΘ

Pres.Dim:0.06x0.053. Th.:0.006-0.011. Small part of rounded lower body.

621δ (Plate 47). Small body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: IΘ

Pres.Dim.:0.041x0.033, Th.: 0.006-0.008. Very small, rounded.

Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3) to pink (7.5YR 8/4) with rare small voids.

Decoration: white ground on both sides. No.619α: inside, a wreath at the centre of the cavity, alternating blue and yellow stripes ending to blue dots on rim. No.614β: decoration on rim as no.619α (from the same bowl?); Nos. 620α and 621δ: probably from the same bowl; the first preserves on the interior part of a motif on the lower wall (stripes and dots) and traces of a blue band around the missing centre of the cavity; no.621δ: traces of two concentric blue bands preserved outside. Date: 17th c. (+?)

- Decoration with strips ending in dots was used on Maiolica since as early as the 15th c. (Florence: Rackham 1997, nos. 62-64: from Florence; Bojani 2001, 21; Bojani et al. 1997, 467, F5: from Faenza). However, the features of decoration (the large areas left undecorated, the careless style of the painted decoration and the limited colour palette) suggest a rather late dating for these fragments.

21.C. LATE POLYCHROME MAIOLICA

Here are grouped some pieces with polychrome decoration, which can be connected with the Italian production of the 18th-19th c. In Greece, similar wares are known particularly from Epeiros and the Aegean Islands (such as Rhodes and Skyros) and many of them are displayed in folk-art collections of Museums (Charitonidou 1983, 287-291; Kyriazopoulos and Charitonidou 1986; Korre-Zographou 1995; Moisidou 2006, 195-201, 203, nos.81-87,

89). The most well known examples are the wine-jugs of Pesaro. In Epeiros these jugs are often referred as ‘mastrapades’¹. These jugs arrived through the port of Ancona, where Greek traders, mainly from Epeiros, had been active since the 16th c. Trading activities became more intense in the 18th c., when an exhibition for European exchanges took place on a yearly basis at nearby Senighallia, in which Greek traders participated (Korre-Zographou 1995, 127).

The jugs of Pesaro are of varied size, but always of similar shape: footed, with disc base convex in profile, trefoil mouth and globular body. The foot is often decorated with coloured horizontal and wavy bands. The underside of the base often bears marks, indicating the workshop, the name of the potter, the place of manufacture or the number given to the decorative design. The main decorative area of the body, often defined by a contour panel, has polychrome decoration with birds, floral or architectural motifs. Common are also Greek themes, such as symbolic double-headed eagles and Greek verses, which reveal that these jugs were made for Greek customers and, probably, with the involvement of Greek potters (Kyriazopoulos and Charitonidou 1986; Korre-Zographou 1995, 126-132).

Apart from Epeiros and the Aegean Islands, Italian wine jugs of this type have been reported from Boeotia (Vroom 1998b, 138; 2003a, 177-178, fig.6.37, w35.1-7), Athens (Frantz 1942, fig.33, no.22), Corinth (see Vroom 2003a, 178) and the Ionian Islands (Korre-Zographou 1995, 19, 117).

¹ The Greek word ‘mastrapas’ is often used in 18th - century written sources from Epeiros. It refers to a jug used for drawing up (from a bigger pot) and serving water or wine (see Kyriazopoulos and Charitonidou 1986, 4, n.7).

CLOSED FORMS

85 (Plates 31, 48). Jug fragments (rim, shoulder, base). Old excavations

Rim fragment: pres.Dim.:0.004x0.003. Base fragment: est.B.D.:0.08, pres.H.:0.037, Th:0.009.

Shoulder fragment: pres.Dim.:0.095x0.07. Three non-joining fragments. Small part of trefoil mouth, of shoulder and of foot with projecting disk base. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3), few small voids. Decoration: white ground on both sides (except for the underside of base); parts of floral decoration in brown, light blue, yellow and orange.

Date: late 18th-early 19th c.

- Decoration similar to: Korre-Zographou 1995, figs.225, 367 (decorated with birds and floral motifs; dated to the late 18th-early 19th c.).

195 (Plates 31, 48). Jug, foot fragment. Old excavations

Est.B.D.:0.09, pres.H.:0.061, Th.:0.006-0.007. Only part of foot with disc base preserved.

Projecting base convex in profile. Fabric: fine, pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3), few small voids.

Decoration: white ground on both sides (including the underside of base); on the base, orange concentric lines painted on a broad yellow band; on the upper part of the foot, two light blue horizontal lines; a mark in purple painted on the underside of the base: an 'F' and an uncertain sign (an 'M' ?). Date: 18th-early 19th c.

- Jugs with similar decoration on the foot have been attributed to Pesaro or Urbino (Pesaro: Charitonidou 1983, pl.63; Korre-Zographou 1995, fig.359; Pesaro or Urbino: Moisidou 2006, 196-7, nos.82,83). The mark 'F M' is sometimes found on wares manufactured at Urbino (De Mauri 2002, 367).

491ε (Plate 48). Jug, body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Λ

Pres.Dim.:0.064x0.043, Th.:0.007-0.011. Small. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/4), some voids. Decoration: white ground on both sides; outside, part of a floral motif in light blue and dark brown and traces of orange paint. Date: late 18th c.

- Decoration similar to: Korre-Zographou 1995, fig.224 (decorated with birds and trees; dated to the late 18th c.)

598α (Plate 48). Jug, body fragment. Inner enclosure, A6, trench 1

Pres.Dim.:0.035x0.022, Th.:0.006. Small. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3), occasional brown inclusions. Decoration: white ground on both sides; part of floral designs in yellow and manganese-purple; trace of blue paint. Date: late 18th-early 19th c.

- Similar to: Korre-Zographou 1995, fig.362 (decorated with floral designs and a double-headed eagle; dated to the late 18th-early 19th c.).

601στ (Plate 48). Jug, foot fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

Est.B.D.:0.11, pres.H.:0.032. Th.:0.007. Small part of foot (**shape similar to no.195, above**). Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3), few small voids. Decoration: as on no.195, but different decoration on the upper part of the foot: a light blue horizontal line and trace of a wavy orange band. Date: 18th-early 19th c.

OPEN FORMS

184β (Plate 48). Bowl, base and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.B.D.:0.13, pres.H.:0.0045, Th.:0.008. Three mended pieces. Small part of ring base and part of hemispherical body preserved up to the junction with an out-turned rim (only trace of rim preserved). Fabric: fine, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6), many small voids, rare small white and brown inclusions. Decoration: white ground inside; central roundel enclosing a ship and surrounded by bands of colour and dots; similar bands and dots on rim (colours: blue, green, yellow); exterior bare. Date: late 18th-early 19th c.

- Similar representations of ships are common on Italian bowls of the late 18th–early 19th c. found in Skyros (see: Korre-Zographou 1995, figs. 356-358; Moisidou 2006, 203, no.89).

542γ (Plates 32, 48). Bowl. Outer enclosure, trench: E, area E.A.

Est.R.D.:0.305, est.B.D.: ca.0.195, H.:0.046, Th.:0.006-0.009. Two mended pieces. Complete profile (large part missing). Flat base, flaring wall, out-turned rim. Fabric: fine, light red (2.5YR 6/8), some small voids, occasional white inclusions. Decoration: white slip and colourless/pale yellow glaze on both sides, including the underside of the base; inside, an orange ribbon on rim between two yellow horizontal lines. Date: 18th c.

608ιστ (Plate 48). Bowl, base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Z

Est.B.D.:0.12, pres.H.:0.055, Th.:0.008. Small part of ring base and of hemispherical lower body. Fabric: fine, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6), many small-to-medium voids, occasional small brown and rare small white inclusions. Decoration: inside, white ground and part of a

circular central motif (only green dots painted on concentric blue lines preserved); exterior bare. Date: late 18th-early 19th c.

- Some similarities to no. 184β, above

651β (Plate 48). Bowl, rim fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: KE

Pres.Dim.:0.05x0.03,Th.:0.009. Very small part of broad out-turned rim (lip missing). Fabric: fine, pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3), may small voids. Decoration: white/pale pinkish ground on both sides; two horizontal manganese lines and traces of diluted blue paint on the interior.

Date: 18th-early 19th c.

22. NORTHERN ITALIAN MARBLED WARE

Marbled Wares (pottery with decoration imitating the veins of marble) were made at many centres in Northern Italy and Provence from the 16th c. onwards (Blake 1981, 105; Hurst et al. 1986, 33-37; Abel 1993). Pisa is the most well-known production centre in Northern Italy, but similar wares were made at several other places, such as Montelupo, the Po valley, Liguria and Lombardy. There are bichrome examples, usually in red and white, and polychrome examples, with added brown and green or, sometimes, black. These Northern Italian products were distributed throughout the Mediterranean, but also in North-Western Europe and America.

The material of Chlemoutsi includes two examples attributable to the Northern Italian production, one of which (no.621β) can be connected to the bichrome style of Pisa (Berti and Tongiorgi 1982; 1986; Berti 1994). The Pisan Marbled Ware dates from the period 1550 -

1650, and, as in Chlemoutsi, it has been found at several sites in association with its contemporary Late Sgraffito Ware (Berti and Tongiorgi 1982, 163, n.11), with which it shares the same distinctive characteristics (see above, warer 20.C). Predominant forms are dishes and bowls with simple, flanged, everted and overhanging rims, and globular jugs with trefoil mouth and constricted neck.

Most of the imported Marbled Wares reported from Greece have been attributed to Northern Italy and few of them to France. However, it has been suggested that these Western wares may be very similar in appearance with some wares made in Ottoman workshops, which are distinguishable only by the presence of a layer of slip under the ‘marbling’ (Kontogiannis and Arvaniti 2007, 359). Italian wares have been identified at Panagia Faneromeni in Salamis (Nikolakopoulos 1980, 16, nos.12-13, fig. 29-31: Pisa), Athens (Waagé 1933, 326-327, fig.20a-g: identified as Pisan products in: Berti and Tongiorgi 1986, 424), Boeotia (Vroom 2003a, 176-7, figs.6.37, 6.45, w34.1-2: second half of the 17th-18th c.), Kos (Kontogiannis 2002, nos. 35,36: Pisa and Northern Italy respectively), Paros (Vionis 2005, 126, Kxiii.1-2: Pisa) and Castel Selino in Crete (Moisidou 2006, 189-90, nos. 75-76), as well as at Constantinople/Istanbul (Hayes 1992, 265, 344, pl.51.f: Pisa). To French workshops have been attributed some bowls from the ‘La Thérèse’ shipreck, in the Dermata gulf close to Herakleion (Moisidou 2006, 187-8, nos. 73-74), as well as an example found in Boeotia (Vroom 2003a, 177).

514ζ (Plates 32, 49). Bowl, base fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Θ (Θ.3).

B.D.:0.05, pres.H.:0.015, Th.:0.006. About half of low ring foot. Fabric: fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), many small-to-medium voids, occasional small brown and many small sparkling

inclusions. Decoration: colourless glaze and marbling in white and green on both sides (including the underside of the base). Date: possibly 17th c.

- For similar decoration see: Armstrong 1993, 328, 330, 335, pl. 36, no.326 (found in Thebes, dated to the mid-17th c. and attributed possibly to the Veneto).

621β (Plates 32, 49). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: IΘ

Est.R.D.:0.17, pres.H.:0.03, Th.:0.005. Small. Profile from rim to lower body. Out-turned rim, hemispherical body. Fabric: fine, hard, red (2.5YR 5/6), rare small voids. Decoration: inside, marbling in white and brownish-red, colourless shiny glaze; colourless shiny glaze below rim, which runs down the wall. Date/origin: late 16th-first half of 17th c. Pisa

-Shape similar to: Berti and Tongiorgi 1982, fig.15, no.13.

23. 'TÂCHES NOIRES' FROM ALBISOLA

In the later 18th c., when the production of Maiolica in Liguria declined, the potters of Albisola expanded the production of simpler, less costly lead-glazed wares. The earliest of them was the ware known as 'Tâches Noires' or 'Black Band Ware', which was introduced sometime before 1760 (Blake 1981, 115-116, figs. 8.11-14; Chilosi 1995). The ware is characterized by a fine, hard, deep red fabric. Its decoration consists of simple wavy black bands under a brown glaze. It includes mainly plates, shallow bowls and kitchenware. By the end of the 18th c., most of the population of Albisola was engaged in the production of 'Tâches Noires'. In the early 19th c. this pottery was replaced by another type known as

‘terraglia nera’, a shiny black glazed pottery bearing simple relief decoration (Blake 1981, fig. 8.15).

The ‘Tâches Noires’ from Albisola were exported to the Western Mediterranean, particularly France and Spain, and across the Atlantic to French Canada (Hurst et al. 1986, 26). The material of Chlemoutsi includes three bowls of similar shape, which belong to the most frequent forms of the ware (Blake 1981, 117, fig. 8.11, 8.12; Vendura 1996, 381, fig.56, no.2). In Greece, the ware has also been found at Corinth (G.Sanders, pers.comm.).

All pieces: Fabric: fine, red (2.5YR 4/8), rare small white inclusions. Decoration: thin, dark-brown slip on both sides; shiny brown glaze inside, under rim and in parts of the exterior; inside, black bands on body and on rim. Date: later 18th–beginning of 19th c.

506β (Plate 49). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench B.

Pres.Dim.:0.04x0.55, Th.:0.005-0.006. Small (**shape as no.542ε, below**). Flaring rounded wall, out-turned rim, slightly thickened rounded lip.

542ε (Plates 32, 49). Bowl. Outer enclosure, trench E, E.A

Est.R.D.:0.178, est.B.D.:0.05, pres.H.:0.036, Th.:0.005-0.006. Two mended pieces. Complete profile. Large part missing. Flat base, body and rim as no.506β, above.

542θ (Plate 49). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench E, E.A.

Est.R.D.:0.19, pres.H.:0.028, Th.:0.004-0.006. Small part of rim and body (**shape as nos.506β, above**).

24. MONOCHROME WHITEWARE

This is a quite uniform large group of dishes, all found in the outer enclosure of the castle (see Appendix A). Most are small fragments and some of them may belong to the same vessels. The group includes shallow and deep dishes, made of fine, soft fabric, very pale brown (10YR 8/3-4) to pale yellow (2.5YR 8/3) in colour. They are covered on both sides with a thick tin-glaze, which ranges from white to pale brownish in colour. The preserved pieces belong to two shape groups, both with broad, out-turned rim: (a) flat-based shallow dishes, (b) deep dishes with ring base. The three pieces catalogued below are representative of these two shapes.

The monochrome dishes without decoration represent a ‘popular’, less costly, type of Maiolica. Such wares were made in Italy since the 15th c. (Bardaro 1984, 70, fig.141), but they were common particularly in the 18th c. (Berti 1998, 218, pls.376-8: genere 79, ‘monochromi bianchi’). Similar whitewares are included in the pottery production of Western Europe (French faience, Dutch and English delftware), which developed from the 17th c. onwards, after the diffusion of the technique of Maiolica from Italy (Carnegy 1993, 37-59).

All these dishes probably arrived in Chlemoutsi on the same occasion, probably during the short period of Venetian occupation of the castle (1687-1715) or slightly later. The group has no parallels in reported material from other parts of Greece, most probably because the undecorated pottery of the Post-Byzantine period remains generally neglected by excavators.

All pieces: Date/origin: probably 18th c. Most probably Italy.

FLAT-BASED SHALLOW DISHES WITH OUT-TURNED RIM

541α (Plates 32, 48). Outer enclosure, trench: E, area E.A.

Est.R.D.:0.238, est.B.D.: ca. 0.13, H.:0.02, Th.:0.006-0.008. Three mended pieces. Complete profile. Flat base, very shallow body, broad out-turned rim with rounded lip. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3), rare small voids. Decoration: pale brownish ground on both sides.

541β (Plate 48). Outer enclosure, trench: E, area E.A.

Est.R.D.:0.22, est.B.D.:0.13, H.:0.021, Th.:0.007-0.008. Two mended pieces. Complete profile (**shape as no. 541α, above**). Fabric: as no. 541α. Decoration: off-white ground on both sides (partly peeled).

DEEP DISHES WITH RING BASE

539 (Plates 32, 48). Outer enclosure, trench: E, area E.A

R.D.:0.238, est.B.D.:0.08. H.:0.05, Th.:0.005-0.007. Several mended pieces. Complete profile. Large parts missing. Ring base, deep flaring rounded body, wide out-turned rim with rounded lip. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/3), rare small voids. Decoration: off-white ground on both sides, partly peeled. Cross-hatched incised lines on the underside of the rim.

Total number of pieces by trench (including the above catalogued pieces):

B: 11; E, area E.A: 8; E, area E.B: 1; KE: 2; IΘ: 2; KA: 2; K2: 1; ΛB: 1; KΔ: 1

25. GERMAN STONEWARE

Stoneware is made of particularly dense, fine clay, which is fired to a high temperature until fused (Norman 1976, 34-35; Hurst et al. 1986, 176-221; Gaimster 1997a; 1997b). The resultant body is extremely hard and completely impervious to water, making it very suitable for jugs and drinking pots, which form the commonest shapes. Stoneware industries in Germany were located close to clay deposits suitable for firing to high temperatures. They required large wood supplies for firing and, from the 16th c. onwards, salt for glazing. Most of jugs and pots were intended to have metal lids (Norman 1976, 35).

Stoneware developed in the Rhineland by the beginning of the 14th c. After the introduction of applied relief ornaments in the 15th c., a wide variety of decorative designs developed, which were taken from contemporary pattern-books and engravings and included biblical, mythological, allegorical, armorial and political imagery (Gaimster 1997b, 126-130).

During the 16th c. and 17th c. the workshops of Cologne and Frechen produced very similar wares. It seems that they used the same potters or the same moulds (Gaimster 1997b, 209). Their products are made of grey fabrics, covered with brown salt glaze (sodium combined with silica and alumina) and decorated with applied relief ornaments, such as oak and rose leaves, bands of geometric ornaments and foliated scrolls. The relief facemasks, like those decorating the two pieces from Chlemoutsi, were among their most distinctive decorative motifs. These jugs are known as 'Bartmann' or 'Bellarmine' jugs and had a symbolic meaning (Hurst et al. 1986, 208-221; Gaimster 1997b, 208-223). It has been suggested (Gaimster 1997b, 209) that the bearded facemask possibly originated from the popular tradition of the Wild Man, a mythic creature thought to have lived in remote, mountainous and forested regions, who features prominently in the northern European folklore of the 14th-16th c. Its image was widely used as a secular motif in the late Medieval

and early Renaissance material culture, such as illuminated manuscripts, textiles, tapestries, metalwork, glass and architectural ornament. Popular tradition attributes the origin of the term 'Bellarmine' to Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621), a zealous opponent of Protestantism in the Low Countries and Northern Germany. The English imitations of the 'Bartmann' jugs, produced from the 17th c. onwards, were used as tablewares, as well as for magical purposes, i.e. they acted as a protective charm or antidote to witchcraft, as is indicated by some examples containing organic materials and personal items, which were found buried in houses (Gaimster 1997b, 139-140). The type of the bearded facemask decorating the two examples from Chlemoutsi, the shape of the best-preserved piece (no.64) and the stylized rosette on its belly, are features found on some German products of the later 17th c., especially from Frechen (Hurst et al. 1986, 214- 221, fig.106.335, pl.44).

No examples of Stoneware have been reported from Greece so far. German Stoneware had a wide distribution in Northern and Central Europe, and in the colonial world, as far as America and the Far East. It has been suggested that its rarity in Southern Europe could be explained by the little attention paid by scholars, due to lack of familiarity with the ware in this region (Gaimster 1997b, 51).

Germany is included in the European countries, which Greek scholars and traders visited (and probably settled there) already from the period of the Renaissance (N.Moschonas, in: *IEE* X, 1974, 245). But, it seems very probable that the ware was brought to Chlemoutsi by German mercenaries in the Venetian armies of 1687 (see Sathas 1869, II, 174).

Both pieces: Fabric: fine, light grey (2.5YR 6/1 to 7/1). Date: late 17th c.

64 (Plate 49). Jug. Old excavations

Est.B.D.:0.06, pres.H.:0.156, Th.:0.007-0.008. Several mended pieces. Profile preserved from base to neck (large part of body, neck and handle missing). Flat base, ovoid body with wide belly narrowing towards base and neck. Decoration: outside, dark brown glaze, except the underside of the base; lower part of a relief facemask on neck preserved, which is the same as that on no.2340 below; stylized relief rosette on belly; interior bare.

2340 (Plate 49). Jug, neck fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.083 x 0.068, Th.:0.007. Small part of narrow, tapering neck. Decoration: outside, dark brown glaze and almost entire facemask preserved.

26. TRANSFER-PRINTED WARE FROM ENGLAND

The transfer-printed technique grew rapidly in Europe after the Industrial Revolution. Several workshops producing transfer-printed wares were active by the end of the 18th c. in England, especially in Staffordshire, as well as in Shropshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire and South Wales (Coysh 1979, 7-8; Scott 1994, 13-31; Dawson 1997). The technique can be summarized as follows: an engraved copper plate was inked up with a special ink produced with a metallic oxide; the transfer paper was made wet and laid on the copper plate; the pattern was 'printed' by pressing the paper on the ceramic object; the print was 'fixed' by heating the ware in an oven; the pattern was then covered with a protective glaze and the ware received the final firing. The design of border of the plates was applied separately, usually in two or more pieces. Some firms employed their own engravers for the engraving of copper plates, but there were also outside engravers who sold copper plates to potters.

The decoration of the early wares was in blue and most of their patterns derived from designs on Chinese ceramics. In the early 19th c., the invention of the paper-making machine made possible the production of large quantities of transfer paper suitable for pottery printing, which enabled the engravers to do finer work. New themes appeared, such as scenes based on engravings in books about India and the Ottoman Empire, rural scenes with historical houses, abbeys and castles. Many plates and dishes had borders of garden flowers, echoing contemporary designs on fabrics and wallpapers. Multi-coloured prints were made from the 1840's onwards (Scott 1994, 19).

The export trade in English printed wares grew rapidly, especially after the Napoleonic Wars, and North America was the main market until the 1830's (Coysh 1979, 7). In Greece, printed ceramics from England, France and the Netherlands, were widely distributed in both the Greek mainland and the islands during the 19th c. and the early 20th c. (Thessaloniki: Evgenidou 1982, 23; Boeotia: Vroom 1998b, 138, 146; see also Vroom 2005, 189). In the Aegean islands, they were not used only as tablewares, but they were often arranged on wall-shelves and mantelshelf as ornamentation. There was a special category, decorated with Greek kings, ideological scenes and heroes of the War of Independence, which were ordered by Greek customers in Western Europe (see Korre-Zographou 1995, figs.342-345, 452-455, 474-479, 481-489, 515-517, 538-539, 545-547).

The two bowls from Chlemoutsí were most probably decorated with the same decorative pattern. This is the 'Lucano pattern', which shows the bridge of Lucano near Rome, over which a herd of cattle is being driven, while a number of birds are flying in the sky. The scene belongs to the Italian patterns, which were the most commercially successful of all the patterns produced by the British firm Spode in Staffordshire (Coysh 1979, 72-79, no.105). Spode's Blue Italian patterns, based on book engravings (such as Merigot's *Views of*

Rome and its Vicinity published in 1797-8) were produced between 1810 and 1830. Each of the Italian patterns carried a distinctive border. No.122 preserves parts of the main scene and of a distinctive border of the 'Lucano pattern'. This pattern consists of wheat ears, vine leaves and grapes, and olive branches. The rim fragment no.608η preserves part of the same type of border. The lack of mark on the fragments does not allow a secure attribution to Spode, since plates with the 'Lucano pattern' were produced during the early 19th c. by some other English firms too (Coysh 1979, 78).

Both pieces: Fabric: fine, hard, white (not included in the *Munsell Soil Color Charts*). Date: early 19th c.

122 (Plate 49). Plate, rim and body fragments. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.25, pres.Dim.:0.075x0.063, 0.072x0.032, 0.075x0.051, pres.H.: 0.017, Th.:0.004-0.005. Three non-joining pieces preserve small parts of the plate. Flat base, shallow rounded wall, out-turned indented rim. Decoration: inside, blue decoration on white ground: parts of the 'Lucano pattern' on the body (bridge, cattles, bird, clouds), wheat ears on rim.

608η (Plate 49). Plate, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Z

Est.R.D.:0.255, pres.H.:0.023, Th.:0.004. Small. Shape as no.122. Decoration: inside, vine leaves and grapes on white ground.

II. POTTERY IMPORTED FROM THE EAST

27. IZNIK WARE

Iznik Ware is the best known of the Turkish finewares. Investigations at Iznik (Nicaea) produced evidence for the local production of the ware at the city (Aslanapa et al. 1989), which was located southeast of Istanbul, across the Bosphorus. The body of the classic Iznik Ware is composed essentially of quartz-frit, it is hard, compact and normally pure white. The surface glaze (a lead-soda compound with a small addition of tin oxide) fuses completely with the body to form a continuous mass.

The classification of the ware in three phases has largely been based on the colour schemes of the decoration (Lane 1957, 45-60; Hayes 1992, 244-256): Iznik I (or ‘Abraham of Kütahya’), with blue-and-white patterns only (ca. 1480/90-1525/30); Iznik II (or ‘Damascus’ style), decorated in a variety of colours, excluding red (ca. 1525-1560); Iznik III (or ‘Rhodian’ style) decorated in red, green and blue with black outlines (ca. 1555-1700). The three phases correspond to basic changes in the colour scheme of the more ‘progressive’ pieces. Their chronology has been established on the basis of actual dated specimens, and tiles from dated buildings, with some supporting literary reference. According to Hayes (1992, 244-5), whereas the adoption of a new colour signals the beginning of a new phase, the old colour schemes are never entirely given up. Particularly, the blue-and-white decoration, under the persistent influence of Chinese porcelain, remains a constant element throughout.

Iznik vessels and tiles circulated widely throughout the Ottoman Empire and were also traded in NW Europe (Hurst et al. 1986, 12). In Greece, Iznik vessels of all three types have been reported from many sites, which include Corinth (Morgan 1942, fig. 153: upper two bowls; Williams and Zervos 1992, 172, nos. 39,41), Glarentza (mentioned in: Athanasoulis et.

al. 2005, 49), Athens (Waagé 1933, fig.20q; Moisidou 2006, 215, no.101), Faneromeni in Salamis (Korre-Zographou 1995, figs.119-128), Boeotia (Vroom 2003a, 175-176, fig. 6.37, w32.1-2; 2003b, 767), Thessaloniki (Evgenidou 1982, 24-5, fig.2; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1989, 225, fig.53), Crete (Hahn 1989, 229, fig.5) and various Aegean Islands, such as Skyros, Kos, the Cyclades and Rhodes (Korre-Zographou 1995, 187-206; Kontogiannis 2002, 216-8, nos.20-25; Dori et al. 2003, 166-8, nos.125-129; Vionis 2005, 140, M/Z.ii.1; Psari 2005; Moisidou 2006, 219-221, nos.105-107). In addition, many elegant examples, including vessels decorated with figured scenes, animals and ships, are included in various museum or private collections: (see: Korre-Zographou 1995, figs. 87-100; 2000, pls.57-59, 66-71, 73-74; Moisidou 2006, 210-18, 222-28, nos.96-104, 108-114). The ware exists also in Cyprus (Megaw 1951, 152, B2, fig.9).

The two pieces catalogued here represent two different types of the ware. The small body fragment no.121 is decorated in blue-and-white. According to the classification by Hayes, it belongs to the variant IB, dated to ca. 1500-1530 (Hayes 1992, 245). The type includes vessels decorated with formalized floral patterns and leaf scrollwork of traditional Islamic or Chinese-derived Persian style. The motifs are in dark blue, applied in two intensities (thick for outlines, thinned down for fillings).

The polychrome dish no.2353 belongs to the type III and more specifically to the variant IIIb, which has been dated by Hayes to the mid- to late 17th c. (Hayes 1992, 245). On the vessels of the type III large undulating plants with various flowers predominate, but other motifs also occur, such as architectural motifs, animal and human representations. Characteristic of the variant IIIb are the thin colours, which tend to run, and the rather sketchy painting with added colours tending to overlap outlines.

121 (Plate 49). Closed form (?), body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.Dim.:0.054x0.047, Th.:0.003-0.004. Small, rounded. Fabric: fine, hard, pinkish white (7.5YR 8/2). Decoration: white ground on both sides; outside, blue spiral floral pattern (outlined in dark blue). Date: ca. 1500-1530

- Decoration similar to: Hayes 1992, pl.31, nos.1, 29, 75.

2353 (Plates 32, 49). High-footed dish, foot and body fragment. Old excavations

Pres.B.D.:0.09, pres.H.:0.028, Th.: ca. 0.006. Small part of foot and of hemispherical lower body. Fabric: fine, hard, pinkish white (7.5YR 8/2). Decoration: white ground on both sides, except for the underside of foot; floral decoration on both sides (including the exterior of the foot), in blue, green and red, with black outlines. Date: ca. mid- to late 17th c.

- Shape probably similar to: Hayes 1992, 252, fig. 95, nos. 42, 45.

28. K ÜTAHYA WARE

Kütahya Ware is the chief Turkish quartz-frit ware of the 18th c. Evliya Çelebi recorded the production of ceramics at Kütahya already in the 17th c. (see Lane 1957, 63). The city was an important production centre of both tablewares and tiles. Fine ceramics were made there since the end of the 14th c. However, its heyday was in the 18th c., when Kütahya Ware travelled all over the Ottoman empire, from Jerusalem and Cairo in the East to Budapest in the West and Crimea in the North, while it has been found even in North America. A production of inferior quality continued into the 19th c. (Lane 1957, 63-65; Hayes 1992, 266-268).

Kütahya Ware is strongly influenced by Chinese porcelain. Common are small, thin-walled bowls, coffee-cups and jugs. The glaze is not of the same quality as that of Iznik Ware and tends to craze and flake-off. The decoration, usually geometrical, floral or figurative, is painted on a white slip under a colourless glaze. Often it is in a variety of colours, but simple blue-and-white and purple-and-white examples also occur. Figural representations include Christian subjects, such as saints, as well as human figures wearing contemporary Turkish costume. It has been suggested that many of the potters in Kütahya were probably Armenians or Greeks, because many vessels include inscriptions in these languages (Lane 1957, 64; Korre-Zographou 1995, 63-68). Textual evidence indicates that Kütahya Ware was used by rich and privileged persons (Vroom 1996, 17).

In Greece, Kütahya ware has been reported from several sites, but it seems to be present always in small numbers. Find spots include Athens (Waagé 1933, fig. 20h-p; Frantz 1942, fig.25.7, fig.35.1-3), Boeotia (Vroom 2003a, 178, fig. 6.38, w36.1-2; 2003b, 767, fig.7), Monemvasia (Kalamara 2001, fig.77; Moisidou 2006, 238-9, nos. 124-125), Thessaly (Korre-Zographou, 76, fig.131), Crete (Hahn 1989, 229) and several Aegean Islands, such as Skyros, Melos and Rhodes (Korre-Zographou 1995, 187-206; Vionis 2005, 140, M/Z.iii.1; Psari 2005; Moisidou 2006, nos. 117-120). Also, some nicely decorated vessels are included in museum and private collections (see: Korre-Zographou 1995, figs. 103-114; Moisidou 2006, 229-30, 235-7, nos. 115-116, 121-123). The ware is also present in Cyprus (Von Wartburg 2001).

The bowl from Chlemoutsí has blue-and-white floral decoration. Its shape indicates that it was probably a coffee-cup. The shapes of the Kütahya coffee-cups were probably taken from Chinese Porcelain or from Porcelain made at Vienna and Meissen in about 1730-1740 (Vroom 2003a, 354). Coffee and tobacco were new products in the Ottoman empire in the 15th c. During the 16th and the 17th c. coffee consumption was forbidden and re-authorized at

regular intervals by the authorities, because coffee houses were considered hotbeds of social and political unrest. In Europe coffee (together with tea) was introduced during the first half of the 17th c., but massive increases in imports occurred in the 18th c. Coffee consumption is related to the upper classes and wealthy households in the Ottoman empire. After the meal, the diners would drink a cup of coffee and smoke a pipe (see Vroom 1996; 2003a, 335-57).

According to Vroom (1996, 16), the scarcity of Kütahya Ware in Greece probably indicates that it was not a common import, although it is certain that during the 18th c. coffee was popular as a drink throughout the Ottoman Empire. This may indicate three things: the drinking of coffee in 18th- century Greece may have been far less widespread than in other parts of the Ottoman Empire; coffee may have been consumed in other types of vessels or mugs; the archaeologists working in Greece have until now paid very little attention to this type of pottery, or to any Post-Medieval pottery at all.

2339 (Plate 49). Cup. Old excavations

R.D.:0.063. B.D.:0.026, H.:0.045, Th.: ca. 0.009. Two mended pieces. Almost complete profile. Large parts missing (restored). Ring base, hemispherical body, rounded lip. Fabric: fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/2), few small voids. Decoration: white ground and decoration only in blue on both sides; inside, a central circle containing three small bands, a blue horizontal line under the rim; outside floral decoration.

Date: 18th c.

- For similar shape see: Hayes 1992, fig.100; Vroom 2003a, fig.6.38, w36.2.

29. ÇANAKKALE WARE

Çanakkale Ware was produced at Çanakkale on the Dardanelles, mainly during the 18th and the 19th c. The ware is of inferior quality compared to the earlier finewares of Iznik and Kütahya. The name of the city ('castle of ceramics' or 'bowl-shaped castle'), which by the end of the 18th c. replaced the old name 'Kale-i Sultaniye' ('Sultan castle'), indicates the important activity of ceramic production (Korre-Zographou 1995, 156; 2000, 22). At first, it was thought that the ware was not produced until the 19th c. (Lane 1957, 65-67). However, travellers' accounts provide evidence of pottery production at Çanakkale already in the late 17th c. and witness that in the 18th c. it was among the main activities of the local population (see Korre-Zographou 2000, 26).

In Saraçhane, Hayes classified the finds of the 18th and the 19th c. as 'Çanakkale I' and 'Çanakkale II' respectively (Hayes 1992, 268-270). More recently, Katerina Korre-Zographou (2000) dated the early phase of production to 1670-1800 and the late phase to 1800-1922. Its heyday was in the second half of the 18th - first half of the 19th c., while the industry declined in the end of the 19th c.

The ware is made of red fabric, covered with a white to ivory slip and a pale yellowish, light grey or greenish glaze. The painted decoration is mostly in purplish dark brown, orange-brown, yellow, blue, dark blue and white. A common feature is the coloured dots that surround a central theme on the interior of bowls. The early products are characterized by decoration painted under glaze, while on later examples there is partial over-glaze painting. The early products often have fairly elaborated floral patterns and varied rim decoration. Common on the later vessels are simple stylized floral patterns and rosettes. According to Korre-Zographou, the early phase (1670-1800) shows influences from the pottery of Iznik and Kütahya, both in the preference of the blue-and-white colour scheme and

in the use of elaborate floral motifs (Korre-Zographou, 2000, 72-73). Other motifs common on Çanakkale products include architectural motifs, ships and animal figures. The closed vessels of the late 19th c. include applied ornaments, such as moulded rosettes and floral motifs.

Çanakkale products were largely distributed throughout the Ottoman Empire and beyond, as is indicated by finds in Greece, Cyprus, Russia, Rumania, France, Turkey, Northern Syria, Jerusalem and Egypt (François 1999, 133-4 ; Korre-Zographou 2000, 13, 37-38; Vroom 2005, 183; Prag 2008). Find spots in Greece include Thessaloniki (Evgenidou 1982, 25), Crete (Hahn 1989, 227-29, fig. 1), Athens (Waagé 1933, fig.19i; Frantz 1942, fig.34, no.23; Charitonidou 1982, figs.14-15), Boeotia (Vroom 2003a, 180-182) and Monemvasia (Kalamara 2001, fig.78). In some Aegean islands, particularly in Skyros, Rhodes and Astypalaia, Çanakkale plates, known as *Kastriana* or *Kastelliana*, were placed on the walls as ornamentation (Korre-Zographou 2000, 53, figs.1-3). Many examples are also included in museum and private collections (Gourgiotis 1994; Korre-Zographou 1995, figs. 276-301, 313, 368-379; 2000; Psari 2005; Moissidou 2006, 240-63, nos. 126-147).

The two examples from Chlemoutsi are decorated in green and yellow, with a spiral or concentric circles surrounded by groups of small lines. Colours, surface treatment, fabric and shape are very similar to a bowl from Glarentza (stored in Chlemoutsi, illustrated in: Athanasoulis 2005, p.38), which is decorated with similar subsidiary motifs on the wall, but it has a bird at the centre. The decoration of the bowl from Glarentza is very similar to the Montelupo Maiolica type 'uccellino centrale' ['little central bird'] of the second half of the 18th c. (Berti 1998, 218, pl.379: 'genere 80'). The subsidiary designs of this type derived from the earlier type 'spirali verdi' ['green spirals'], which was produced between 1730 and 1760 (Blake 1981, 103; Berti 1998, 215-6, pl.366: 'genere 72'). But its decoration is also identical

to a bowl from Skyros, now in the Benaki Museum at Athens, which Korre-Zographou identified as an imitation of Italian (Apulian) pottery, and dated to the late 18th – early 19th c. (Korre-Zographou 1995, fig. 350; 2000, 246, A68). Like the bowls from Chlemoutsi and Glarentza, the example from Skyros has thick walls and is characterized by a fast execution of the design, which, according to Korre-Zographou, is distinctive of the Çanakkale products. Thus, the bowls from Chlemoutsi, Glarentza and Skyros seem to form imitations of 18th-century Montelupo Maiolica.

It is probably important that some original Montelupo Maiolica type ‘spiral verdi’ exist elsewhere in the Peloponnese. F.Berti has shown two examples at Mystras (Berti 1998, 216), while the type can also been recognized on a bowl from Corinth illustrated by Morgan (1942, 172, fig.152, bottom).

Both pieces: Date: late 18th-early 19th c.

134 (Plates 32, 49). Bowl. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.22, est.B.D.:0.11, H.:0.052, Th.:0.007. Complete profile (large part missing). Flat base, flaring wall, out-turned rim with rounded lip. Fabric: medium fine, light red (2.5YR 6/6), some small voids, occasional white and sparkling inclusions. Decoration: white slip, colourless/pale grey glaze inside and around rim outside; green spiral or concentric lines on the centre surrounded by alternating green and yellow groups of lines in V-shaped arrangement; exterior bare.

603γ (Plate 49). Bowl, base and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

Est.B.D.: ca. 0.125, pres.H.:0.03, Th.:0.006. Small part of simple flat base and flaring lower wall (**shape as no.134, above**). Fabric: medium fine, light red to pale red (2.5YR 6/6 to 10R 6/4), some small voids. Decoration: white slip and colourless/pale yellow glaze on both sides, including the underside of the base; inside, yellow and green circular lines at the centre (spiral or concentric lines); parts of two groups of yellow semicircles and trace of green on lower wall.

30. PORCELAIN

Porcelain, first made in China in the 10th c. (Harrison-Hall 1997), arrived in the Mediterranean during the medieval period, but there was no regular trade until the 16th c. (Hurst et al. 1986, 9; Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 179). The secret of its manufacture was discovered in Europe in the 18th c. Coffee cups were mass-produced for the Turkish market in Meissen (Germany) from the 18th c. onwards (Lane 1957, 65). In Saraçhane, Chinese porcelain is present only in post-1453 contexts and it does not become common until the late 16th-17th c. (Hayes 1992, 261). Porcelain was expensive. It was highly prized by the Sultans, but written sources indicate that it was also used by other important court officials of the Ottoman empire (Vroom 2003a, 176).

In Greece porcelain is rare. According to Morgan, an example of Chinese porcelain has been found in a Frankish context at Corinth (Morgan 1942, 171, fig.151a: found in an undisturbed fill of the 13th c.). Post-Byzantine examples have been reported from Thebes (Vroom 2007a, 82, fig.4.14: blue-and-white Ming Porcelain of the late 16th c. or good imitation manufactured in Turkey or Persia) and elsewhere in Boeotia (Vroom 2003a, 176, fig.

6.45, w33.1: attributed to China or Germany), as well as from Nicosia in Cyprus (Megaw 1951, 152, B1, fig.9: Ming period, 16th c.). The material of Chlemoutsi includes two small rim fragments, which preserve blue-and-white floral decoration on the exterior.

120α (Plates 32, 49). Cup, rim and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.10, pres.H.:0.042, Th.:0.002-0.003. Small part of hemispherical body and rim with rounded lip. Fabric: white porcelain (not included in the *Munsel soil colour charts*).

Decoration: outside, blue floral design on wall, small blue leaves between two blue horizontal lines under rim; inside, two blue horizontal lines on rim, trace of a blue circle at centre.

Date/origin: 16th-17th c.? China.

- Shape as: Hayes 1992, 261, 263, fig. 99, nos.7, 22 (late 16th-17th c.).

120β (Plate 49). Cup, rim and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.R.D.: 0.08, pres.H.:0.025, Th.:0.002. Very small (**shape similar to no. 120α, above**).

Fabric: as no.120α. Decoration: outside, blue floral scrolls on wall, two blue horizontal lines under rim; inside, similar lines under rim. Date/origin: 16th c.? China.

- Decoration similar to: Hayes 1992, 261, pl.40, no.6 (late 15th to early 16th c.); Vroom 2005, 162, fig.11.1.

C. MISCELLANEA

1. WITH INCISED & PAINTED DECORATION

This group includes two pieces of bowls of different shape, but with similar fabric and surface treatment.

Both pieces: Date: most probably Post-Byzantine period.

543γ (Plates 33, 50). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: B-E.

Est.R.D.:0.24, pres.H.:0.06, Th.:0.009-0.01. Three mended pieces. Hemispherical body, out-turned rim, rounded lip. Base missing. Fabric: fine, light red (2.5YR 7/6 to 6/6), many small voids, some small white and occasional small brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip, colourless lead glaze inside and under rim outside; groups of incised horizontal lines on the wall, enhanced by alternating light green and yellow-brown painted bands; similar painted bands on rim; exterior bare.

621στ (Plates 33, 50). Bowl, rim fragments. Outer enclosure, trench: IΘ.

Est.R.D.:0.186, pres.H.:0.027, Th.:0.005. Two non-joining pieces. Vertical rim, slightly pointed lip. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), few small voids, some small white and brown inclusions. Decoration: small part of decoration similar to that of no.543γ, above.

2. WITH PAINTED DECORATION

The terms used here form purely technical descriptions of the wares.

i. 'Green and Brown Painted Ware'

Closed form(s), two body fragments. Trench: E3

547ε, 547ιβ (Plate 50). Pres.Dim.:0.033x0.015, 0.027x0.025, Th.:0.006-0.007. Both small. Probably from the same vessel. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), some small voids. Decoration: outside, yellow shiny lead glaze (probably no slip); brown vertical and curved lines, green paint; interior bare. Date: Frankish/Late Byzantine period.

- They present some similarities to Southern Italian lead-glazed wares with brown and green decoration (in general: Whitehouse 1966, 171-2, 174; Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 135-136; see especially: Ebanista and Fusaro 2000, fig.2, no.20).

553ε (Plate 50). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Trench: E3.

Est.R.D.: ca. 0.11, Th.:0.005. Very small part of flaring upper body terminating in simple rim with slightly pointed lip. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), few small voids. Decoration: yellow shiny lead glaze inside and below rim outside; no slip; two small horizontal green lines on wall, brown vertical and oblique lines on rim. Date: most probably Frankish/Late Byzantine period.

- Similar fabric, colours and surface treatment as nos. 547ε and 547ιβ above.

ii. 'Red Painted Ware'

506δ (Plates 33, 50). Bowl, rim fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: B

Est.R.D.: ca. 0.265, pres. H.:0.031, Th.: ca. 0.007. Small part of out-turned rim and very small part of rounded upper body. Fabric: fine, light brown (7.5YR 6/4), some small voids.

Decoration: inside white slip, pale yellow glaze; red spiral-like design on rim; exterior bare.

Date: Post Byzantine period.

Other pieces belonging to the same ware were found in:

Trench B-E: **543β (Plates 33, 50)**: bowl, base fragment; flat base; decoration mostly peeled);

trench K1: **618ε (Plate 50)**: bowl, body fragment; partly peeled).

iii. 'Red and Green Painted Ware'

601γ (Plates 33, 50). Bowl. Outer enclosure, trench: K2

B.D.:0.096, pres.H.:0.11, Th.: 0.009-0.01. Four mended pieces. Almost complete profile.

Large part of body and most of rim missing. Ring base, hemispherical body, out-turned rim.

Fabric: medium fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4 to 7/5), many small-to-medium voids, rare small white inclusions. Decoration: white slip, colourless / pale yellowish glaze; inside alternating

brownish red and green concentric lines at the centre; a wavy green band at junction of rim with body; spiral-like red band under rim enhanced with green spots; exterior bare. Date:

Post-Byzantine period.

- Greek Maiolica?

Other pieces belonging to the same ware were found in:

Trench K2: **600στ (Plate 50)**: bowl, base fragment; shape as no.601γ), **601γ (Plate 50)**: bowl, body fragment).

iv. 'Polychrome Painted Ware'

698 (Plates 33, 50). Bowl. Outer enclosure, trench E, area E.B

Est.R.D.:0.184, B.D.:0.082, H.:0.068, Th.:0.006. Two mended pieces. Complete profile (large part missing). Fabric: fine, pink (5YR 7/4), some small voids, some small-to-medium white and occasional small brown inclusions. Ring base, hemispherical body terminating in simple vertical rim, rounded lip. Decoration: white glaze on both sides, including the underside of the base; two horizontal blue lines under rim on both sides; inside, three concentric blue circles and a green blob at the centre; groups of small bands and dots in green, yellow and brown on the wall. Date: Post-Byzantine period.

- Italian Maiolica or imitation.

Another piece belonging to the same ware was found in:

Trench B: **502ζ (Plate 50)**: bowl, rim and body fragment).

3. PLAIN GLAZED

485ιβ (Plates 34, 50). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Inner enclosure, A5, trench: 8

Est.R.D.: ca.0.208, pres.H.:0.028, Th.:0.008. Small part of upper rounded wall, inwardly thickened rim, concave lip. Fabric: fine, pink to light reddish brown (7.5YR 7/4 to 2.5YR 6/4), some small-to-medium voids, rare small white and brown inclusions. Decoration: white slip and colourless glaze inside and around rim outside. Date: most probably Frankish/Late Byzantine period.

- The shape has some similarities to Protomaiolica bowls (see ware 5, no.547α).

WARE		EXCAVATIONS 1997-2000	OLD EXCAVATIONS	TOTAL	%
A. POTTERY OF THE FRANKISH / LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD (13TH- 15TH C.)					
1.	COLOURED SGRAFFITO WARE	1	0	1	1,08
2.	SLIP-PAINTED WARE	1	1	2	2,15
3.	BROWN GLAZED (MONOCHROME) WARE	2	0	2	2,15
4.	ARCHAIC MAIOLICA	7	7	14	15,05
5.	PROTOMAIOLICA	7	4	11	11,83
6.	LEAD GLAZED POLYCHROME WARE (TYPE 'RMR')	16	21	37	39,78
7.	DOUBLE-DIPPED WARE	0	2	2	2,15
8.	VENETO WARE	0	1	1	1,08
9.	SGRAFFITO FROM VENICE / PO VALLEY	8	3	11	11,83
10.	SPANISH WARE	0	1	1	1,08
11.	METALLIC WARE	7	0	7	7,53
12.	'IRIDESCENT' GREEN GLAZED WARE'	3	0	3	3,23
13.	MONOCHROME SLIPPED AND GLAZED WARE	1	0	1	1,08
TOTAL FRANKISH/LATE BYZANTINE		53	40	93	
B. POTTERY OF THE POST-BYZANTINE PERIOD (LATER 15TH - EARLY 19TH C.)					
14.	SGRAFFITO WARES				
A.	COLOURED SGRAFFITO FROM ARTA	1	5	6	2,37
B.	VARIOUS COLOURED SGRAFFITO WARES	6	3	9	3,56
C.	MONOCHROME SGRAFFITO	0	1	1	0,40
15.	SLIP-PAINTED WARE	6	7	13	5,14
16.	PAINTED WARES				
A.	GREEN PAINTED WARE	63	3	66	26,09
B.	PAINTED WARE FROM ARTA	0	2	2	0,79
C.	PAINTED WARE FROM IOANNINA	0	2	2	0,79
D.	BROWN PAINTED WARE	11	3	14	5,53
E.	VARIOUS PAINTED WARES	9	1	10	3,95
17.	GREEK MAIOLICA				
A.	WITH POLYCHROME DECORATION	0	4	4	1,58
B.	WITH DECORATION IN RED & BLUE	4	0	4	1,58
C.	WITH BLUE DECORATION	1	0	1	0,40
18.	MARbled WARE	0	1	1	0,40
19.	PLAIN GLAZED WARE	12	1	13	5,14
20.	NORTHERN ITALIAN SGRAFFITO WARES				
A.	LATE SGRAFFITO FROM VENICE / PO VALLEY - RENAISSANCE SGRAFFITO	4	0	4	1,58
B.	'GRAFFITA A PUNTA E A STECCA'	0	1	1	0,40
C.	LATE SGRAFFITO FROM PISA	0	2	2	0,79
21.	ITALIAN MAIOLICA				
A.	EARLY RENAISSANCE MAIOLICA	16	8	24	9,49
B.	RENAISSANCE & LATER MAIOLICA	14	8	22	8,70
C.	LATE POLYCHROME MAIOLICA	6	3	9	3,56
22.	NORTHERN ITALIAN MARbled WARE	2	0	2	0,79
23.	'TÂCHES NOIRES' FROM ALBISOLA	3	0	3	1,19
24.	MONOCHROME WHITEWARE	29	0	29	11,46
25.	GERMAN STONEWARE	0	2	2	0,79
26.	TRANSFER-PRINTED WARE FROM ENGLAND	1	1	2	0,79
27.	IZNIK WARE	0	2	2	0,79
28.	KÜTAHYA WARE	0	1	1	0,40
29.	ÇANAKKALE WARE	1	1	2	0,79
30.	PORCELAIN	0	2	2	0,79
TOTAL POST-BYZANTINE		189	64	253	
C. MISCELLANEA					
	FRANKISH/LATE BYZANTINE	4	0	4	
	POST BYZANTINE	10	0	10	

Table 1. Wares, number of pieces and proportions (per period), according to the catalogue.

WARE	DATING
1. COLOURED SGRAFFITO WARE	13 th -14 th c.
2. SLIP-PAINTED WARE	13 th – 14 th c.
3. BROWN GLAZED (MONOCHROME) WARE	13 th - 14 th c.
4. ARCHAIC MAIOLICA i. With brown and green decoration ii. Blue Archaic Maiolica	13 th - early 15 th c.
5. PROTOMAIOLICA i. With 'grid-iron' medallion and/or chevron band on the wall ii. With other decoration	13 th – mid-14 th c.
6. LEAD GLAZED POLYCHROME WARE ('RMR') i. Bowls with a central motif surrounded by coloured bands a. With central roundel and concentric bands of alternating colours b. With central roundel containing a brown & red floral motif c. With other decoration ii. Bowl probably of the 'type of Taranto' iii. Bowls decorated with cross a. Inscribed cross b. Cross with elongated bars iv. Various bowls v. Closed forms with geometric or vegetal decoration vi. Various small fragments of closed forms	13 th – early 15 th c.
7. DOUBLE-DIPPED WARE	end of 14 th – first half of 15 th c.
8. VENETO WARE	late 13 th – early 14 th c.
9. SGRAFFITO FROM VENICE / PO VALLEY i. Monochrome (green-glazed) Sgraffito ii. Polychrome Sgraffito	14 th / 15 th c. – ca. 1500
10. SPANISH WARE	late 14 th – early 15 th c.
11. METALLIC WARE	late 13 th – early 14 th c.
12. 'IRIDESCENT GREEN GLAZED WARE'	13 th – 15 th c.
13. MONOCHROME SLIPPED & GLAZED WARE	13 th – 15 th c.
14.A. COLOURED SGRAFFITO FROM ARTA	16 th – 17 th c.
14.B. VARIOUS COLOURED SGRAFFITO WARES	15 th /16 th – 18 th c.
14.C. MONOCHROME SGRAFFITO	16 th c.
15. SLIP-PAINTED WARE	later 15 th – 17 th c.
16.A. GREEN PAINTED WARE	15 th c. or later
16.B. PAINTED WARE FROM ARTA	16 th – 17 th c.
16.C. PAINTED WARE FROM IOANNINA	late 18 th c.
16.D. BROWN PAINTED WARE	(late?) 18 th c.
16.E VARIOUS PAINTED WARES	15 th – 18 th c.
17.A. GREEK MAIOLICA WITH POLYCHROME DECORATION	late 16 th –first half of 17 th c. (or earlier?)
17.B. GREEK MAIOLICA WITH DECORATION IN RED & BLUE	late 16 th – first half of 17 th c.
17.C. GREEK MAIOLICA WITH BLUE DECORATION	late 16 th – first half of 17 th c.
18. MARBLED WARE	18 th – early 19 th c.
19. PLAIN GLAZED WARE	16 th – 18 th /early 19 th c.
20.A LATE SGRAFFITO FROM VENICE/PO VALLEY – RENAISSANCE SGRAFFITO	second half of 15 th c. – ca. 1600
20.B. 'GRAFFITA A PUNTA E A STECCA'	second half of 16 th c. – ca. 1600
20.C. LATE SGRAFFITO FROM PISA	(late 16 th -) first half of 17 th c.
21.A. EARLY RENAISSANCE MAIOLICA i. Closed forms with blue decoration a. Decorated with cross-hatched lines b. Jugs with decoration enclosed in ovoid contour panel ii. Jugs with polychrome decoration and/or blue ovoid contour panel	15 th c. – ca. 1500
21.B. RENAISSANCE & LATER MAIOLICA i. Polychrome Maiolica ii. Dark Blue Maiolica iii. Maiolica 'alla porcellana' iv. Maiolica of the 'compediario style' v. Maiolica 'berettina' vi. Various later Maiolica	second half of 15 th – ca. 1700 (+?)
21.C. LATE POLYCHROME MAIOLICA	18 th – early 19 th c.
22. NORTHERN ITALIAN MARBLED WARE	late 16 th – 17 th c.
23. TÂCHES NOIRES FROM ALBISOLA	later 18 th – early 19 th c.
24. MONOCHROME WHITEWARE	probably 18 th c.
25. GERMAN STONEWARE	late 17 th c.
26. TRANSFER-PRINTED WARE FROM ENGLAND	early 19 th c.
27. IZNIK WARE	16 th – 17 th c.
28. KÜTAHYA WARE	18 th c.
29. ÇANAKKALE WARE	late 18 th – early 19 th c.
30. PORCELAIN	16 th – 17 th c.?
MISCELLANEA 1. WITH INCISED & PAINTED DECORATION 2. WITH PAINTED DECORATION i. 'Green & Brown Painted Ware' ii. 'Red Painted Ware' iii. 'Red & Green Painted Ware' iv. 'Polychrome Painted Ware' 3. PLAIN GLAZED	probably Post-Byzantine Frankish/Late Byzantine Post-Byzantine Post-Byzantine Post-Byzantine probably Frankish/Late Byzantine

Table 2. Wares, subgroups and dating (according to the catalogue)

PART III: DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE MATERIAL

CHAPTER 5

THE CASTLE IN THE FRANKISH/LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD & ITS POTTERY (13TH - 15TH C.)

In this chapter, the 13th-15th – c. pottery of the castle (which is almost entirely Italian) will be discussed in the general context of the role and distribution of the Western pottery imported to the Eastern Mediterranean from the 13th c. onwards, with particular attention to Greece. Also, historical information regarding the relations of the Principality of Achaea with Italy, as well as the evidence provided by some Western pottery reported from other Peloponnesian sites will be used, in an attempt to illustrate the particular character of ceramic use in the Frankish castle. Particular attention will be paid to the comparison with the pottery of Corinth, which allows a discussion of the similarities or differences noted between Chlemoutsi and an urban Byzantine site under Frankish rule. Finally, this chapter includes a discussion of the evidence provided by the pottery of Chlemoutsi regarding the development of the relations with Italy after the end of the Frankish occupation of the Peloponnese.

A. THE CASTLE IN THE FRANKISH/LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD:

HISTORICAL & ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Kevin Andrews (1953, 146-58) and Antoine Bon (1969, 325-28, 608-29) have offered comprehensive studies of Chlemoutsi as a Frankish castle. Both scholars made extensive use of the available written sources and illustrated the role and importance of the castle in the Principality of Achaea. They distinguished its building phases and concluded that the castle

preserves today its original Frankish form, with few later additions. They also proved that the available historical data and the architectural style of the castle support the evidence provided by the *Chronikon tou Moreos* that the castle was established in 1220-23 (Andrews 1953, 158; Bon 1969, 628). The excavations of the early 1960's showed that the castle was built on a site unoccupied since antiquity (Servais 1964), thus supporting the date 1220-23 as *terminus post quem* for its pottery. Indeed, no pottery datable before the 13th c. can be identified in the material. The glazed pottery is dominated by Italian imports dating from the 13th c. onwards, the earliest of which include Protomaiolica, Archaic Maiolica and 'RMR' pottery. In addition, the stylistic features of the small number of vessels from Late Byzantine workshops do not allow a dating before the 13th c.

Frankish castles in Greece served as military bases, administrative centres, demonstrations of power and store-places for provisions (Lock 1995, 136-143). The *Chronikon tou Moreos* emphasizes the importance of Chlemoutsi for the defence of the Frankish territories and the control of nearby port in Glarentza¹. Scholars agree though that the main role of Chlemoutsi was to function as the residence of the Prince, close to the capital of the Principality, Andravida, since his palace could not have been located in this unfortified city (Bon 1969, 318-320; Ilieva 1991; Lock 1995, 139; Molin 2001, 214; Georgopoulou-Verra and Athanasoulis 2005). From the summit of a low hill, dominating the surrounding plains, Chlemoutsi, with its monumental character and its strong Western appearance, functioned as symbol of the authority and power of the Villehardouins. It was the only Frankish castle in Greece built following a strict architectural plan (Bon 1947; 1969, 619-20). It was carefully constructed and well-arranged: it had large, vaulted halls with many fireplaces, latrines, large double-arched windows with lateral benches; it included houses for

¹ "... ἔβαλεν κ' ἐχτίσασιν κάστρον ἐφ' ἑωρμένον, / ἃν φυλάττει τὸν γαλὸν καὶ τὸ Μορέως λιμὲνα. / Πολλάκις, ἃν ἐχάσασιν οἱ Φράγκοι τὸν Μορέαν, / μετὰ τὸ κάστρον ἐκείνο τὸν ἔθελαν κερδίσει." (*To Chronikon tou Moreos*, vv. 2671-4).

the garrison, stables, storehouses and many cisterns; the inner enclosure included the chambers of the Prince or the castellan (Hall A4: Bon 1969, 613, “salle E”), a large reception-hall associated with a chapel (Hall A1 and department N: Bon 1969, 609, “salles A-B-C”) and a kitchen¹. We know also that the Teutonic knights had a house in the castle in 1237 (see: Bon 1969, 327, n.2; Lock 1995, 382).

The time of the Villehardouins was a period of prosperity for the Principality. But in 1259, Michael VIII Palaiologos (who soon became emperor in Constantinople, having conquered the city in 1261) defeated William II Villehardouin at Pelagonia. The Prince himself was captured, and ultimately gained his freedom in 1262 by returning to the Greeks three castles in the Southern Peloponnese (Monemvasia, Mystras and Mani). The Prince, in an effort to ensure the safety of his Achaean realm, made a marital contract with Charles I of Anjou, which brought the Morea under the authority of the King of Naples, after William’s death in 1278 (in general: Miller 1908; Dourou-Iliopoulou 1987, 50-52; Lock 1995). Achaea was now under the rule of the Angevins, but the actual administration was carried out by various bailies. The 14th c. in the Peloponnese is characterized by the increasing power of the Palaiologoi and by disputes over the succession of the Principality between Catalans, Navarrese soldiers, knights of Rhodes and Western bankers. In the beginning of the 15th c., Glarentza and Chlemoutsi passed to Charles I Tocco, Count Palatine of Cephalonia and Despot of Epeiros. On 1st May 1428 Glarentza and Chlemoutsi were given to George Sphrantzes, in the name of Constantine Palaiologos, who had obtained them as dowry for his wife Theodora, Charles Tocco’s niece (Sphrantzes, II, §2, p.16). In 1460 Chlemoutsi became an Ottoman castle.

¹ Hall ‘A3’ (Bon’s “salle D”). Sotiriou identified this hall as the mint of *deniers tournois* (Sotiriou 1916; 479; 1918-19; 1956, 10), but A. Bon proved that the mint was at Glarentza (Bon 1969, 322-4) and identified this hall of Chlemoutsi as the kitchen of the castle (Bon 1969, 612).

The decline of the lower city of Corinth during the first half of the 14th c. is reflected in its local and imported pottery (Williams and Zervos 1995). The decline has been attributed to the Catalan sack in 1312, which was followed by an earthquake in ca. 1320 and by the arrival of the Black Death in 1348 (Sanders 2002, 652). According to MacKay, the pottery of nearby Isthmia, which includes some types of the 14th-15th c. not found at Corinth, perhaps indicates a shift of population centres (Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 420). The decline of pottery finds in Boeotia after the 13th c. has been explained as a possible result of an impoverishment of the Greek countryside, caused by depopulation, wars and the Black Death during the 14th c. (Vroom 2003a, 287). The Black Death seems to have inflicted serious demographic losses in the Peloponnese (Jacoby 2001, 203; Davis 1998, 226). However, the pottery of Chlemoutsi does not provide any signs of decline. Glazed pottery, dominated by Southern-Italian imports, shows an uninterrupted continuation. Its quality and variety reflects the prosperity of the castle throughout the Frankish/Late Byzantine period. It should be noted that the close relations of Glarentza (which apparently was the major supplier to Chlemoutsi) with Italy are well documented in the 14th c., while its pottery reaches the 15th c. (see below).

The pottery indicates that, despite the uneven circumstances of the 14th c., Chlemoutsi remained occupied during this century by a Latin elite, with Italian tastes and demands. We know that in the late 13th c. a certain John Ferreto was the castellan of Chlemoutsi¹, while a century later the castle was in the possession of Barthe Bonvin², an important personality in the Principality, who was included among the ambassadors sent to the Prince of Savoy in 1390 (Bon 1969, 277, n.8). The discovery of a lead seal of the Hospitallers during very recent excavations at Chlemoutsi (unpublished) can be connected to the presence of the knights of

¹ The information is given in: Hopf, C., *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit*, in Ersch and Gruber (eds.), *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Leipzig 1867-8, I, pp.317-8 (see Bon 1969, 155, n.8).

² His name is mentioned in the list of fiefs of 1391 (published in: Hopf 1873, 229-30; Sphekopoulos 1968, 37-8; Bon 1969, 691-2).

Rhodes in the Peloponnese in the 14th c. The knights got involved in the disputes over the succession of the Principality during this century, while between 1376 and 1381 they rented Achaea from Joan I, queen of Naples (Miller 1908, 373-375; Lock 1995, 227, 385).

Thus, the Latins settled in the castle throughout the period of its Frankish occupation consisted of special groups, mainly of administrative and military character. Although it is difficult to connect any pottery with the short period of the occupation of the castle by the Palaiologoi (1428-1460), it is particularly interesting that no interruption in the presence of Italian pottery can be traced during the Frankish/Late Byzantine period and the Early Ottoman times. The pottery seems to support the historical evidence that Chlemoutsí did not lose its strategic importance after the end of the Frankish occupation: it was used as a military base and as a residence for Constantine himself and his wife (Sphrantzes, II, §2, p.18, §3, p.24; see also: Andrews 1953, 147). It is also known that both the Franks and the Greeks used the castle as prison for important personalities¹. According to Sphrantzes, it was still a very strong castle when it fell to the Ottomans in 1460².

¹ In the castle were imprisoned (see: Bon 1969, 327): in 1264, Phylis (who died in the castle) and Makrinos, the two leaders of the Greek army, after the defeat in the battle at Makryplagi (Miller 1908, 174-5); until 1292 Thomas, son of the Despot of Epeiros Nikephorus (*Livre de la Conquête* §652); Princess Marguerite in 1315 (she died soon after her imprisonment), William II's younger daughter, after marrying her daughter to Ferdinand of Majorca (Miller 1908, 315-16); Giovanni Asan, son of the last Prince of Achaea Centurione II Zaccaria and brother of Thomas Palaiologos' wife, was imprisoned by Thomas in 1454 (Sphrantzes, IV, §14, p.110). Sotiriou (1916, 478; 1956, 10) placed the prison of the castle in hall A6 (Bon's salle G). However, according to Traquair and Bon this hall was used as storehouse or stables (Traquair 1906-7, 274; Bon 1969, 615).

² "... καὶ τό □σχυρότατον Χλομούτζην...": Sphrantzes, IV, §19, 144)

B. THE POTTERY OF THE FRANKISH/LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD: DISCUSSION*

1. The pottery of the Frankish/Late Byzantine period in Greece and Chlemoutsi:

some general remarks

The Frankish/Late Byzantine period is characterized by a decentralization of ceramic production, with local provincial workshops springing up and starting mass-production of wares with their own distinctive characteristics (in general: Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999; 2003). Workshops of glazed pottery active during this period have been located at several sites throughout Greece, from Thessaloniki and Mikro Pisto in Northern Greece (Bakirtzis and Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1981; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1983; 1999, 243-248), to Sparta, Argos and Monemvasia in the Peloponnese (Sanders 1993; Bakourou et al. 2003; Kalamara 2003). The mass-production of glazed pottery was facilitated by the technological innovation of using tripod stilts in the firing process of the glazed wares, which was introduced after 1200 and increased substantially the capacity of ceramic kilns (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 21).

Recent studies have confirmed the significant increase in the proportion of glazed wares compared to unglazed wares during the Frankish/Late Byzantine period. In Corinth, glazed pottery rises to 20% (by weight) in the mid-13th c., compared to some 6% in the mid-12th c. (Sanders 2000, 166; 2003a, 37). In Boeotia, glazed wares in sites occupied during the Frankish/Late Byzantine – Early Turkish period rise to 24%-32% (by number of sherds), compared to some 15% in Middle Byzantine sites (Vroom 2003a, 233). In Chlemoutsi, in two trenches with diagnostic pottery of the period 13th-15th c. (trench E3; inner courtyard, ‘excavation of wall στ’) glazed wares represent ca. 19% and 20,5% respectively.

* Consult the Table of Contents to locate each discussed ware in the catalogues of ceramics in chapter 4; see also table 2 (p.231).

Exportation of glazed Byzantine pottery to Italy, including Corinthian products, was significant during the 11th-12th c., while in the 13th c. these Byzantine wares influenced the local Italian production (Gelichi 1991; 1993; Saccardo 1993b; Patterson 1993; Arthur 2007). But the situation changed in the course of the 13th c., when ceramics from Italy started to be imported in bulk, as a result of the Fourth Crusade and the close relations developed between the West and the Latin states created on Byzantine soil. By the late 13th c. the glazed pottery of Corinth was dominated by Italian imports, which gradually eliminated the local production of fine glazed wares (Williams and Zervos 1995; Stillwell-MacKay 2003).

The economic penetration of the Italian cities in Byzantium started already in the Comnenian period (11th-12th c.), during which big naval powers, mainly Venice, Genoa and Pisa, acquired trading privileges in several Byzantine cities and ports (Ostrogorsky 1963, III, 22-32, 85-86; A.Laiou, in *IEE*, IX, 1979, 61-66). After the Fourth Crusade, although the Franks settled in the Aegean formed a comparatively small population group, their presence and the strengthening of the commercial exchanges with Italy probably had ultimately a significant economic, technological and cultural impact in Greece (Lock 1995, 387-492; Jacoby 2001).

The prevalent shape of glazed open vessel of the period is the deep small bowl with low ring foot (average rim width: 17-20 cm.), which replaced the relatively large and shallow dish of the Middle-Byzantine period (average rim width: 24-30 cm.). On the basis of the archaeological evidence from Boeotia and of pictorial evidence of the Palaeologan era (such as frescos, icons and miniatures depicting dining scenes), it has been suggested that this shape of bowl may be connected to a trend towards more watery dishes, shared by less people on the table (Vroom 2003a, 321-331, table 11.1). Scholars seem to agree that some changes noted in the shapes of tablewares and cooking pots of the Frankish/Late Byzantine period reflect

changes in diet and cooking habits, which occurred under the influence of the Latins (Vroom 2003a, 329-331; Williams 2003, 432-3; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 2005, 122; Vionis 2005, 296-301). According to Vionis, some places which were under Western domination between the 13th and the 16th c. or the 17th c., such as the Cyclades and Crete, must have been influenced (at least the upper classes) from Western cooking and saucy or watery dishes, such as fish and meat cooked in their juice (i.e. stews), which were particularly favoured in Venice during the late medieval era (Vionis 2005, 283, 300).

In Chlemoutsi, glazed open vessels attributable to Late Byzantine workshops are very few and fragmentary (**wares 1-3**), but their ring bases and small size indicate that they belong to the prevalent shape of bowl of the period. Their size is sometimes comparable to that of the contemporary Western bowls or of the plain glazed bowls of uncertain origin (**wares 5-13**: rim width usually between 15 and 20 cm.), as well as to that of some Western bowls of the Post-Byzantine period (**see next chapter**). As far as decoration is concerned, they bear the main features of the Late Byzantine pottery production (in general: Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999; 2005). The glaze is usually thick. The Slip-Painted and Sgraffito wares show the continuation of the techniques of the Middle Byzantine period, but decorative themes are more stylized and less carefully executed (**wares 1,2**). The incised decoration is enriched with brown and green paint, which produces a quite colourful effect (**ware 1**).

The relation between local Greek and Italian pottery during the Frankish/Late Byzantine period has not become clear yet. Pottery with incised decoration enhanced with painted colours was produced by the late 13th c. in both Greece and Italy, but this style was common throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and the place of its origin has not become clear yet (**see discussion of ware 1**). Late 13th-early 14th- pottery of this type produced at Serres in Northern Greece has been found in the Lagoon of Venice (Papanikola-Bakirtzis

1999, 223). One cannot avoid noting similarities in some floral motifs found on sgraffito products of Thessaloniki (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1989, fig.21) and some sgraffito pottery reported from Athens (Waagé 1933, fig.13b) to Italian examples of about the same period (see **ware 9, nos. 38, 41**). But, at least in Northern Greece, Italian imports seem to have been very rare (François 1997a). The Byzantine sgraffito pottery influenced some painted and incised pottery produced in Apulia since the later 15th c. (Arthur 2007, 249). On the other hand, the Italian sgraffito pottery had an influence on some local ceramics produced in Venetian Crete and in Epeiros since the 15th-16th c. (see **discussion of ware 14**). Furthermore, it has been suggested that some painted pottery produced in Arta probably before the 16th c., shows the influence of Protomaiolica (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, 103, no.102). Things are more complicated as far as plain glazed wares are concerned, such as the Metallic Ware, the origin of which, or the possible production of similar wares in both Greece and Italy, is still under debate (see **ware 11**; also **ware 12**). Possibly, the similarities noted between various pottery styles indicate a ceramic *koine* in the Mediterranean.

a. Pottery from Late Byzantine workshops and imported/Western pottery

<i>Provenance</i>	<i>nr. of pieces</i>	<i>% of total (93)</i>
Late Byzantine workshops	5	5.38
West	77	82.80
Uncertain (plain glazed)	11	11.83

b. Imported (Western) pottery

<i>Provenance</i>	<i>nr. of pieces</i>	<i>% of total (93)</i>	<i>% of imported (77)</i>
Italy	76	81.72	98.70
Spain	1	1.08	1.30

c. Italian pottery

<i>Provenance</i>	<i>nr. of pieces</i>	<i>% of total (93)</i>	<i>% of Italian (76)</i>
South Italy	50	53.76	65.79
Venice / Po Valley	12	12.90	15.79
N/C. Italy (Archaic Maiolica)	14	15.05	18.42

Table 3: Glazed pottery of the Frankish/Late Byzantine period (13th-15th c.): proportions of diagnostic Byzantine and imported pottery

The most important characteristic of the glazed pottery of Chlemoutsi in the period between the 13th and the 15th c. is the almost exclusive presence of Italian wares. The pottery of the Frankish castle is connected to the Western ceramics imported to the Eastern Mediterranean from the 13th c. onwards and it should be discussed in the general context of the distribution of these ceramics in the East and their relation to the Latin population settled in the Crusader states. Corinth has offered the only thoroughly studied Frankish pottery in Greece so far, which belongs to the period 13th-early 14th. Chlemoutsi provides information on the pottery used in a 'purely' Frankish site, which remained constantly occupied throughout the Frankish/Late Byzantine period (and far beyond).

2. Western pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean and Greece: role and distribution

In the 13th c. Protomaiolica from Southern Italy arrived in the Eastern Mediterranean as a result of a continuous movement of armies, pilgrims and traders, which connected the West with the Latin states in the East (see Pringle 1982; Riavez 2000a, 444). It has been proved that most of the Protomaiolica and probably much of the 'RMR' pottery originates from Apulia and more specifically from the Salento, in the Southernmost Apulia (Patitucci-Uggeri 1985; Riavez 2000a; 2000b). It seems that this pottery was widely distributed in the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly on coastal sites, and usually co-exists with Venetian wares, because it was included in the Venetian commerce (Gelichi 1991; 1993; François 1997a; D' Amico 2006). The fact that Protomaiolica from other Southern regions of Italy (Northern Apulia, Sicily, probably also Calabria) is much less frequent suggests that these products were not included in the organized commercial network; possibly, they had

been obtained in the Apulian or Sicilian ports, by Westerners travelling to the East (Riavez 2000a).

Italian wares were imported to the Eastern Mediterranean for covering the needs and demands of the Latin population. According to Pringle (1982), evidence is provided by the large quantities of Protomaiolica in sites that were not of any commercial consequence in the 13th c., such as 'Athlit and Caesarea. The distribution of Protomaiolica in the Eastern Mediterranean as a whole seems to reflect an "essentially colonial trading pattern", which can be compared to the Mediterranean pottery imported by Italian merchants in 15th- century Southampton, the 16th- century Ligurian Maiolica excavated in Mexico city and the English wares found on 17th- century plantation sites in North America (Pringle 1982, 112). For François (1997a), the direct connection between Italian ceramics and Latin population is particularly evident in their uneven distribution in Byzantium. Italian wares have been found exclusively in areas occupied by the Franks or retaining close relations with Italy: they form the main imports to the Peloponnese, Central Greece, Epeiros and the Greek islands, while they are rare at Constantinople and almost absent in Northern Greece, the North Aegean Islands, Turkey and the Black Sea. According to François, the finds from Corinth seem to confirm this phenomenon, since Italian pottery appears there in quantity with the rise of the Latin population during the second half of the 13th c. She observed an identical phenomenon in the distribution of the Spanish pottery, noting that this pottery is present mainly at sites occupied by the Catalans in the 14th c. It seems that, as the Frankish elite and clergy settled in the East imported textiles for their garments, so the Westerners introduced and traded in Byzantium the vessels that were in use in their homes (François 1997a, 402).

The Corinth excavations have shown that the importation of Italian ceramics to the Peloponnese is connected to political conditions. Protomaiolica did not appear in Corinth

before the Frankish conquest, as once thought (see discussion of **ware 5**). The first Protomaiolica appears around the 1220's (Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 405), but their style of decoration (shield-devices or scallop-shell decoration) suggests that they were designed for the pilgrim trade or for other special uses (Williams and Zervos 1995, 19; Williams 2003, 430). The ware was not imported in bulk until the late 13th c., followed by a variety of Italian wares, such as Southern Italian polychrome pottery - type 'RMR', 'Veneto (Roulette) Ware' and Archaic Maiolica from the area north of Rome (Williams and Zervos 1995, 21-22; Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 413-17). The importation of Italian pottery as a mass-commodity from the 1260's or 1270's onwards has been connected to the allegiance made by the Prince of the Morea to Charles I of Anjou, king of Naples, after the loss of Latin Constantinople in 1261, political developments, which strengthened the existing commercial relations with Italy (Sanders 1987, 192; Williams and Zervos 1995, 21; Williams et al. 1998, 262).

As far as the Greek mainland is concerned, significant Italian imports have been reported so far from the Peloponnese and Epeiros. The presence of Italian pottery in the Peloponnese is connected with the Latin occupation of the peninsula. The Frankish rule reached its peak in 1249, when Monemvasia, the last Byzantine stronghold in the Peloponnese, fell to William II Villehardouin. Methoni and Koroni were in the possession of the Venetians. The Peloponnese returned gradually to Greek hands, starting from its Southeastern part, after the foundation of the Byzantine city of Mystras in 1262, the future capital of the Despotate of the Morea (see **plate 4**). In 1430 Constantine Paliologos captured Patras, and put an end to Frankish Achaea. Examples of the main 13th-14th- century Italian wares known from Corinth (Protomaiolica, 'RMR', Archaic Maiolica, Veneto/Roulette Ware) are included in the ceramic material of several Peloponnesian sites. These include Argos and the church at Merbaka in the Argolid, Sparta, Tripi and Ayios Stephanos in Laconia, also

Patras, Glarentza and the church of Katholiki in the NW Peloponnese (see: Patitucci-Uggeri 1985; Francois 1997a; for Ayios Stephanos: Sanders 2008), as well as Methoni and Vasilitsi on the coasts of Messenia in the Southern Peloponnese (Archaic Maiolica from Methoni: Stillwell-MacKay 1996, 132, n.4; Protomaiolica from nearby Vasilitsi: Kontogiannis 2008). But the pottery of Epeiros clearly demonstrates that the political situation is not necessarily an indicator for ceramic use. In Arta, Protomaiolica was imported in quantity already in the 13th c., when Epeiros was still under Greek control (Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993, 259). The Despotate of Epeiros retained close diplomatic and commercial relations with Italy, favoured by its access to the Ionian Sea, and most of its trade until the 14th c. was done with Venice (Nicol 1984, 227-230).

One would expect to find a similar pattern of ceramic use in the Principality of Achaea and in the Duchy of Athens. But, according to Camilla MacKay, very little Italian pottery seems to have been imported to the Greek mainland apart from the Peloponnese and Epeiros (MacKay 2000; 2001). Indeed, the ceramic finds reported so far from Athens and Boeotia include very few Italian wares in the Frankish/Late Byzantine period. The Agora of Athens includes only one piece of Protomaiolica (MacKay 2001) and very few sherds of Veneto Ware (unpublished, mentioned in: Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 420). One piece of Protomaiolica has been found at Thebes (Armstrong 1993, 304, no.51, fig.6, pl.31) and four pieces of 'RMR' pottery at other sites in Boeotia (Vroom 2003a, 167-169, figs.6.32 & 6.43: w22. 1-2). According to MacKay, the fact that the pottery available in the 13th- century Athens and Boeotia is markedly different to that in Frankish towns in the Peloponnese, probably reflects the uneasy association of the Duchy of Athens with the Principality of Achaea in this period and its independence from the Frankish tastes and customs of the Morea (MacKay 2001, 179). However, at least as far as Thebes is concerned, the wealth of the city, particularly from its

silk industry (see Dunn 1995), as well as the presence and trading activities of Venetians and Genoese (Jacoby 2001, 210), would justify significant Italian imports. In fact, the extent to which Italian pottery was imported to Central Greece does not seem to have become quite clear yet. Material from medieval levels excavated in the 19th c. on the Acropolis of Athens, where the Western elite based themselves, was not saved (MacKay 2001, 179). On the other hand, the Boeotia Survey project showed a general decline of the amount of glazed ceramics during the 14th-15th c., while Italian imports appear in quantity in the late 15th c.-16th c., when the area experienced important demographic and economic growth (see Vroom 2003a; 2003b).

Italian pottery was introduced in Greece as a result of the Frankish occupation and the subsequent strengthening of the commercial relations with Italy. It seems that its role, at least initially, was to cover the needs and satisfy the tastes of the conquerors in ceramics. Apart from the political conditions, geography seems to have played an important role in the distribution of Western pottery in Greece, since it determined the connection of each region to the Mediterranean commercial network. Chlemoutsi was a Frankish castle and, in addition, it was located very close to the Ionian Sea. Nearby Glarentza, the major port of the Franks for their communication with the West, apparently was its main supplier of Western goods. Present at the castle are the wares that the Franks chose to use among those that were available by the trade of the Principality of Achaea with the West.

3. Western pottery in Corinth and Chlemoutsi

Corinth offers valuable comparative material for Chlemoutsi, not only as another part of the Principality of Achaea, but, mainly, because it forms the only Greek site with well-stratified and thoroughly studied Frankish pottery.

Ceramic use in Corinth and Chlemoutsi is not expected to be without differences. First, the pottery of Chlemoutsi covers a much longer time span. Second, Corinth was an urban site with mixed population and the pottery used by each group of people has not become clear yet (Williams 2003, 428). Chlemoutsi was a castle where the Frankish elite was settled and its pottery reflects exclusively their demands and aesthetics. Third, before the coming of the Franks Chlemoutsi did not exist, while Corinth was already an important Byzantine city, with a long local ceramic tradition and an important role in the Mediterranean trading network (in general: Ahrweiler 1994; François and Spieser 2002). Thus, much of the pottery found at Frankish Corinth is locally made, continuing the local styles (Williams and Zervos 1995). In the beginning of the Frankish period, except for occasional Italian Protomaiolica, the imports were all Eastern Mediterranean or Aegean products, such as Zeuxippus Ware and Aegean Ware (Sanders 1987, 192; Williams and Zervos 1995, 18-19). The pottery pattern changed markedly only in the later 13th c., when, except for a couple of kinds of glazed ware and most of the unglazed wares, the glazed pottery was almost exclusively imported from Italy (Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 413). On the contrary, the glazed pottery of Chlemoutsi is dominated by Italian imports in the whole period between its establishment and the 15th c.

However, the Italian pottery found at Corinth and Chlemoutsi provides a more or less similar picture. The proportions of the earliest classes of Italian pottery from Chlemoutsi

(Protomaiolica, RMR, Archaic Maiolica) can be compared with those given by Sanders, in his article of 1987:

	<u>Corinth (late 13th-early 14th c.)</u>	<u>Chlemoutsi (13th- early 15th c.)</u>
‘RMR’:	over 31%	59.68%
Grid Iron Protomaiolica:	28%	11.29%
Other Protomaiolica:	30%	6.45%
Archaic Maiolica:	11%	22.58%

Southern Italian wares (Protomaiolica, ‘RMR’) are predominant in both sites, indicating that they remained predominant during the whole period, from the first appearance of Italian imports until the end of the Principality of Achaea in the early 15th c. Protomaiolica is of smaller percentage in Chlemoutsi, while Archaic Maiolica and ‘RMR’ make a larger proportion. But the differences in the proportions of the wares can largely be explained by the different time span covered by the pottery of the two sites. The production of Protomaiolica of the Salento seems to have ceased in the early 14th c. (Tagliente 2000; D’ Amico. 2006, 75), when Corinth declined. On the contrary, ‘RMR’ pottery and Archaic Maiolica continued to be produced (and, apparently, to be exported to the Principality) until the early 15th c.

Like in Corinth, Venetian pottery appears later in Chlemoutsi than the Southern Italian ceramics. But Roulette/Veneto Ware, although of small proportion compared to the Southern Italian pottery (Sanders 1987, 174), is present in great variety in Corinth, while Chlemoutsi includes only one example (see discussion of **ware 8**). Venetian pottery becomes common in Chlemoutsi later than in Corinth. Most of the sgraffito pottery from Venice and its area belongs to the 15th and the 16th c. (see **wares 9, 20.A**).

Similarly to Corinth, the problematic ‘Metallic ware’ of the late 13th-early 14th c. is less frequent than the above Italian wares (for Corinth see Sanders 1987, 175-6). Both the green- and brown-glazed versions known from Corinth are represented in Chlemoutsi, in similar shapes (**ware 11**). The Corinthian material includes a variety of other monochrome wares, which are of great complexity and often of uncertain origin (see discussion of **wares 11,12**). The monochrome glazed pottery of Chlemoutsi includes also a flat-based white slipped bowl (**ware 13**), as well as a ware presenting certain similarities to the ‘Metallic Ware’, named here ‘Iridescent Green-Glazed Ware’ (**ware 12**). All these wares may be Italian or similar to Italian ceramics. The evidence is that Corinth also includes some monochrome wares of Italian origin or of Italian shapes (Sanders 1987, 177-9, nos.16-18).

The *terminus post quem* for dating the pottery of Chlemoutsi is the establishment of the castle in 1220-23. The lack of stratigraphic data does not allow any secure suggestions for the common occurrence of the earliest Italian wares. On the contrary, the well-stratified material of Corinth has provided absolute chronologies for the importation of Italian wares to the Peloponnese. There, Italian pottery appears in quantity long after the Frankish conquest in 1210. In the middle third of the 13th c., the proportion of Protomaiolica and Archaic Maiolica remains low (between 1,8 and 3,9% of the glazed wares, by weight), while it rises significantly (to 31.8%) later in the century (Williams et al. 1998, 261). No secure evidence exists so far that Italian pottery may have become common earlier in the NW Peloponnese (where Chlemoutsi is located). However, it is probably important that Corinth did not include only Latin residents. Furthermore, its history, i.e. the decline of the city during the first half of the 13th c. and its recovery only after the middle of the century (see Williams 2003, 424-426, nn.6,9) would provide an explanation for the limited presence of Italian pottery until the later 13th c. Thus, no secure evidence seems to exist for dating the Italian pottery of Chlemoutsi

much later than its establishment in 1220-23. Some of the pottery unearthed in the castle should have covered the needs of the Franks during the long period between 1220-23 and the late 13th c. This pottery should be included in the Italian wares, given the rarity of glazed wares from Late Byzantine workshops throughout the Frankish/Late Byzantine period. Italian pottery may have been common in Chlemoutsi since the second quarter of the 13th c. (when it also first appears in Corinth), and, especially, when Glarentza was established, around the middle of the 13th c., to facilitate contacts with Italy (see also discussion of Protomaiolica: **ware 5**).

The absence at Corinth of some types of 'RMR' pottery that are present at Chlemoutsi (such as: **ware 6 i.a, i.b, iii.a**) should be explained by the dating of these wares in the later 14th-early 15th c. The Double-Dipped Ware and Spanish pottery are absent at Corinth for the same reason, while the sgraffito pottery from Venice / Po valley is rare (only two pieces: Williams and Zervos 1993, 17; Williams et al. 1997, 28, no.31, pl.8). However, evidence for the Italian pottery used in the NE Peloponnese after the decline of Corinth, is provided by nearby Isthmia, which includes in its 14th-15th- century material wares comparable to those of Chlemoutsi, i.e. 'RMR' pottery (of types absent in Corinth), Northern Italian Sgraffito and Spanish pottery (Gregory 1989; 1993; see **wares 6, 9, 10**).

The rarity or absence at Chlemoutsi of some Italian pottery types that are present at Corinth (such as the Roulette/Veneto Ware and the 'White Slipped Ware' from Pisa) will be discussed below, together with the evidence provided by finds from other Peloponnesian sites and in the general context of the ceramic use in the castle.

4. Ceramic use in Chlemoutsi. Relations of the Peloponnese with the West

The notably significant presence of Italian wares in the glazed pottery from a Frankish castle like Chlemoutsi is in accordance with the evidence provided by many excavations in the Eastern Mediterranean, that the Frankish tastes in ceramics were largely Italian. As far as Greece is concerned, the picture of ceramic use in Chlemoutsi is comparable to that in Corinth and Arta, which remain today the main known sites in the Greek mainland with substantial imports from Italy. But Corinth and Arta represent urban sites and they were, or were previously, Byzantine cities. Both include locally produced pottery, as well as some Eastern Mediterranean imports, such as Zeuxippus Ware (for Arta see: Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou 1984; Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993). In the Frankish castle, glazed wares from Late Byzantine workshops are rare, although such wares were produced at several places in the Peloponnese in this period, such as Corinth, Argos and Sparta (Stillwell-MacKay 2003; Sanders 1993; Bakourou et al. 2003). Only one piece in the material provides evidence for relations with the pottery of the Peloponnese or its neighbouring area of Central Greece ('Slip-Painted Ware': **ware 2**, no.25). Notably absent in the 13th- century material are examples of the 'Zeuxippus Ware family', similar to those found elsewhere in the Peloponnese until the late 13th c. (Corinth: Sanders 2003a, 36-37; Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 415-417; Argolid: Hahn 1996, no.49, fig.28; Merbaka and Krokeai: Sanders 1989, 189-191, 195-196; Sparta: Armstrong 1992; Bakourou et. al 2003, 234; Dimopoulos 2007; church of Ayioi Theodoroi at Mystras: see Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 417; Ayios Stephanos: Sanders 2008, 391).

But, taking into account that Italian pottery was imported to the Eastern Mediterranean for the use of the Latins, it would be rather interesting to find any locally produced glazed

tablewares in a Frankish castle. The plain glazed wares classified here as pottery of uncertain origin (**wares 11,12,13**), as well as a few sherds included in the ‘miscellanea’ (**‘Miscellanea’, 2.i and 3**), are possibly Italian or similar to Italian wares. In addition, the unglazed ‘matt-painted’ pottery seems to include occasional Italian tablewares (see **Appendix B: no.7**). The groups of the Latin elite settled in Chlemoutsi clearly preferred the fine ceramics imported from the West for tablewares, along with which some plain glazed and unglazed wares also arrived (possibly only tablewares). But the unglazed wares of the period include few examples of bowls, which belong to the local Peloponnesian production of the 13th-14th c. (see **Appendix B: ‘Matt-Painted Ware’ and ‘Flared bowls’**). Thus, it seems that local wares were used in Chlemoutsi, but, except for few or occasional tablewares, their use was restricted to everyday needs, like storage, as is indicated by the discovery of a considerable number of unglazed ‘matt-painted’ amphora sherds.

The geographical and functional closeness to Glarentza suggests that this port was a major supplier of Western goods for the Franks in Chlemoutsi. According to the brief report of the recent excavations at Glarentza, its glazed pottery, similarly to Chlemoutsi’s, is characterized by the predominance of Italian imports and the absence of pottery from Late Byzantine production centres (Athanasoulis 2005, 45-9). Along with the supplies arriving from Italy at Glarentza, such as arms, foodstuffs and silver from South Italy and textiles and metals from Venice (Bon 1969, 321, n.4; Sarandi-Mendelovici 1980-81, 64), the Franks in Chlemoutsi could easily supply themselves with the tablewares that were current in these regions in Italy.

Glarentza was established at the natural port of St. Zacharias, on the site of Ancient Kyllini (Servais 1961; Bon 1946), probably in the middle of the 13th c. by William II Villehardouin (Sarandi-Mendelovici 1980-1). Chlemoutsi and Glarentza, located at a distance

of only an hour by foot, were both founded by the Franks close to their capital Andravida, the first to be used for the defence of the region and as royal residence and the second to serve the communication with the West. The easy access of Glarentza to the Southern Italian ports is repeatedly mentioned in the *Chronikon tou Moreos* (vv. 5843, 6555, 7165). Glarentza became an important commercial centre and soon obtained an equal administrative importance with Andravida. Written sources, such as Pegolotti's *La Pratica della Mercatura* of the first half of the 14th c. (a book of description of countries and measures of merchandise), provide evidence that its port was involved in export, import and transit trade in the Mediterranean and witness commercial exchanges with Apulia, Naples, Venice, Florence and Ancona. Venetian, Genoese, Pisan, Sienese and Florentine merchants and bankers were active in the city (Jacoby 1994, 46-48; 2001, 224-227; Sarandi-Mendelovici 1980-81; Schmitt 1995). Its commercial importance explains the existence of its own system of measures and coinage. According to the Venetian historian of the 14th c., Marino Sanudo Torsello, the permit for the issue of the *deniers tournois* was given to Prince William II Villehardouin by the king of France Louis IX, in 1249, while he was in Cyprus (Sanudo, 2, § 15, p. 107). The *deniers tournois* of Glarentza remained the currency of the Frankish Peloponnese until ca. 1333 (Bon 1969, 86). According to Sarandi-Mendelovici, the fate of Glarentza was so closely connected to the history of the Principality that, as its establishment was intended to facilitate its contacts with the West, the city declined and lost its importance with the end of the Frankish Principality, in the early 15th c. (Sarandi-Mendelovici 1980-81, 68).

The Latins settled in the Crusader states in the East formed a major market for the Italian pottery, which would have been much more costly for the local population or for non-Italian traders (Pringle 1982). The Venetians acquired a primary role in the trade of the Principality of Achaea (Jacoby 2001). They obtained privileges already in 1209, according to

which they had full tax exemptions and were allowed to maintain a trading quarter (which would include a church and courts) in any town of their choice in the Morea (Setton 1978, 36-39). These privileges were renewed in 1262 (Dourou-Iliopoulou 155-6). Written sources witness the close relations of Glarentza with Apulia and the primary role of Venice in its trade¹. In 1340 Venice bought land in the city to build a church of St. Mark (Bon 1969, 322; Sarandi-Mendelovici 1980-81, 64-65, n.17). In 1388 Venetians were present in the annual fair of St. Demetrius near Glarentza (Thiriet 1958-61, I, no.8), which was the most important fair in the Peloponnese during the Frankish/Late Byzantine period (Lambropoulou 1989, 300; Jacoby 2001, 215-16, 228).

During the period of Frankish occupation, Glarentza and Patras were the two Frankish ports of the NW Peloponnese. Patras had been an important commercial centre since the Middle Byzantine period (Georgopoulou-Verra 1997). The city was less well situated than Glarentza for the communication with Italy and, like Corinth, it was not located on the main trading route between Venice and the East, which included the circumnavigation of the Peloponnese. Patras' port seems to have been used only by small ships circulating between the Adriatic, the Ionian Sea and the Corinthian gulf. The circumnavigation of the Peloponnese was used by Venetian ships travelling to the East, because they preferred the ports under their domination, like Methoni, and because of the technical difficulty of transshipping through the isthmus (Sarandi 1975, 14-15; Sarandi-Mendelovici 1980, 223-5)². The Venetians had a primary role in the trade of Patras already in the 13th c. Among the Italian immigrants settled

¹ For the relations of Glarentza with Apulia see: Pegolotti, 168, 171; Bon 1969, 321-22; for Venetians in regular trade between Glarentza and Apulia, see: Chrysostomidou 1995, 33 (in 1381); Jacoby 2001, n.163. For the activities of the Venetians in Glarentza, see also: Thiriet 1958-61, I, nos. 50, 81, 116, 125, 131, 209, 263, 271, 282, 301, 316, 365, 421; Thiriet 1959, pp. 343-45, 349; Pegolotti, p.149; Zakythinos 1932, I, 161.

² The main route used by the large Venetian ships from the 11th c. onwards was as follows: they hugged the east coast of the Adriatic (Venice, Zara, Split, Ragusa) to Dyrrachion and then the chain of the islands and ports in the Ionian Sea (Corfu, Nikopolis, Leukas, Cephalonia, Zakynthos); they sailed around the western and southern coasts of the Peloponnese, calling at Methoni and Koroni, before passing through the Cyclades to Asia Minor and Constantinople (Avramea 2002, 87).

in the city after 1205, only the Venetians were traders (Sarandi-Mendlovici 1980, 231, n.68). The Venetian silk trade in Patras was expanded around the middle of the 14th c. (Jacoby 1994, 61; Jacoby 2001, 228), while in 1375 the Archbishop of Patras was a Venetian (Sarandi-Mendlovici 1980, 221, n.11). In the years 1408-1413 and 1417-19 the city was under Venetian occupation. According to Schmitt, commercial prosperity or decline of the two Frankish ports of the NW Peloponnese largely depended on Venice: Patras' commerce showed a particular prosperity between ca. 1375 and 1425, as a result of the decision of the Venetians to transfer their interests there, a fact that marked the beginning of the decline of Glarentza (Schmitt 1995, 126-134).

Venice retained intense relations with Apulia in the 13th c. and used its ports, such as Brindisi and Otranto, as ports of call for its ships travelling to the Eastern Mediterranean (Gelichi 1991, 205; 1993; 36-38; François 1997a, 399). In accordance with the evidence provided by other sites in the Eastern Mediterranean, Southern Italian pottery is predominant in Chlemoutsi and it is dominated by Apulian wares (such as the Protomaïolica from Brindisi, the 'RMR' wares with parallels in Otranto and the Double-Dipped Ware), while Venetian pottery appears later than the Southern Italian products. The predominance of Southern Italian wares supports the evidence provided by the pottery of Corinth, as well as by the historical information on the trade of Glarentza, for the close relations of the Principality of Achaea with Apulia. But the pottery of Chlemoutsi also shows that these relations remained constant until the end of the Frankish occupation. At least Otranto, a major port for the commercial relations between the Southern Italy and the Peloponnese since the Middle Byzantine period, was used by the Venetian ships until 1480 (Patterson 1993; Arthur 2007). Late Apulian products that are present at Chlemoutsi, such as the Double-Dipped Ware of the end of 14th - 15th c., seem to have been included in the Venetian trade (Tagliente 2000, 179). In the

Peloponnese, comparable material for the 14th-15th- century Southern Italian pottery of Chlemoutsi is provided by Isthmia, Glarentza and Patras. As far as the 'RMR' is concerned, a type is found also at Isthmia (**ware 6.i.a**), another at Glarentza (**ware 6.iii.b**), while some important parallels can be identified in the material of Patras (**ware 6.i.a, i.b, iii.a**). Double-Dipped Ware exists in both Glarentza and Patras (**ware 7**).

It has been suggested that the Apulian wares were included in the maritime trade some 50 years earlier than the Venetian pottery and had a wider distribution, because they were, at least initially, more readily available (D' Amico 2006, 79). In Chlemoutsi, the pottery connected to Venice and its area appears in the late 13th-early 14th c. (Veneto Ware: **ware 8**), but it becomes common later. Most of the sgraffito wares from Venice / Po valley can be dated to the period between the 15th c. and ca. 1600 (wares 9, 20.A). Similarly to Chlemoutsi, sgraffito pottery from Venice / Po valley is present during the 14th and the 15th c., together with Southern Italian wares, at Isthmia, Glarentza and Patras (see **ware 9**).

But Venetian pottery seems to have become common in the Peloponnese earlier than in Chlemoutsi. 'Spirale cerchio' of the second half of the 13th c. is probably included in the *bacini* of the churches at Merbaka in the Argolid, Ayios Demetrios at Krokeai in Laconia and Ayioi Theodoroi at Mystra (Gelichi 1993, 28, 31; Berti and Gelichi 1997, 88-89; Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 417). In Chlemoutsi, the late-13th-early 14th - century Veneto Ware is poorly represented (only one bowl), although this ware is present in some quantity at both Corinth and Glarentza (see **ware 8**). If this monochrome pottery, probably found in a fragmentary condition (as was much of the pottery from the castle), was not simply discarded during the 'old excavations' or just did not happen to exist in the limited levels of the Frankish period excavated during 1997-2000, the explanation could possibly be related to the tastes and aesthetics of the Franks. The Franks in Chlemoutsi may have preferred decorated tablewares,

such as the tin- and lead-glazed polychrome Southern Italian wares and the Venetian pottery with sgraffito decoration. Or, more probably, they may have shown initially an adherence to the Southern Italian pottery, which was common before the appearance of the Venetian pottery in the market. In Stari Bar, notable differences in the amounts of Apulian and Venetian pottery are noted among the different contexts of pottery within the same city, probably reflecting the rich diversity of people, culture, tradition and ethnicity: Apulian products, which were more readily available in the maritime trade, are predominant, while more use of Venetian pottery was probably made by the Venetians themselves (D' Amico 2006, 78-9).

In general, not every type or sub-type of Italian pottery known from Corinth is present at Chlemoutsi. The decoration preserved on the Protomaiolica of the castle does not seem to present the variety found elsewhere in the Peloponnese and in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. There are no bowl fragments preserving figural representations, ships and vegetal motifs (e.g. Corinth: Morgan 1942, pls. XXXIII-XXXVI; Williams and Zervos 1992, pl.43, C-35-195; 1993, pl.11, nos.14, 40; Merbaka: Megaw 1964, fig.6; Syria-Palestine: Pringle 1982, pls.IX-XI; 1984, fig.no.85; Riavez 2000a, pls.I-II). It seems important though, that most of the Protomaiolica bowls from Chlemoutsi are fragmentary. It should be added that, despite the considerable proportion of the 'grid-iron' style, absent in the excavated material is the 'early variant' of the type, identified by Sanders in Merbaka, Corinth and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and dated to about the mid-13th c. (Sanders 1989, 191, 193).

Absent also is the 'White Slipped Maiolica Ware' from Pisa (or 'Maiolica bianca'), which has been found at Corinth (Williams and Zervos 1995, 22, cat. nos.20-23, pl.7; Williams et al. 1997, 26-28, figs.7-8). The ware can also be identified in the reported material from Glarentza (a bowl is illustrated in: Athanasoulis, 49, upper left picture). If the little

variety of Protomaiolica or the rarity of Veneto Ware may be accidental, the reason for the absence of this Pisan product seems clearer. The appearance of the ware in Corinth in the early 14th c. has been connected to the activities of Tuscan bankers, perhaps the Acciaiuoli (Williams and Zervos 1995, 22). Pisans traded in the Frankish Morea since at least the 1270's and some of them were settled in Glarentza in the early 14th c., while the Florentine family of Acciaiuoli had a bank in the city since 1331 (Lock 1995, 37; Jacoby 2001, 224,227). The role of Chlemoutsi seems to provide a convincing explanation for the absence of the ware. It was not a city with population of various ethnicities or a cosmopolitan port and commercial centre, like Corinth and Glarentza. Thus, its pottery is not expected to present the variety of imports found at these two cities. For the same reason, it is not surprising that also Islamic imports are absent in the material, such as the *albarelli* and other drug-pots from Syria and Egypt found at Corinth (Williams and Zervos 1994, 16-22, pls.5-6; Stillwell-MacKay 2003, 417) and Glarentza (unpublished; mentioned in: Athanasoulis 2005, 49).

Spanish pottery is also uncommon in the castle (only one bowl of the late 14th-early 15th c.: **ware 10**), although several examples of about the same period have been found at Isthmia (Gregory 1993, 303-304, pls.11-12). The presence of the ware at Isthmia has been considered as a consequence of the descent of the Catalans into the Corinthia, or of the activity of Spanish traders (Gregory 1993, 304). The Catalans showed commercial interests in the Eastern Mediterranean already in the late 13th c. and they acquired an important role in the trade of the Aegean after the conquest of Central Greece in the 14th c. (Lock 1995, 197-218). Spanish pottery was included in the Italian commerce with the Eastern Mediterranean (Hurst et al. 1986, 26; D' Amico 2006, 79). But the single example of the ware in the material of Chlemoutsi does not provide a convincing evidence of regular trade. This Spanish bowl may have arrived either through commerce or as a result of the presence of the Catalans in the area

during the 14th and the early 15th c. The Catalans were involved in the dispute over the succession to the Principality, which arose in 1313, when Marguerite, William II Villehardouin's younger daughter, married her daughter to Ferdinand of Majorca, one of the leaders of the Catalan Grand Company. Ferdinand claimed the Morea in his wife's name; in 1314 he landed with Catalan troops in Glarentza and, for a short period, captured Chlemoutsi, but he was soon defeated (and killed), at the battle of Manolada¹. Marguerite was imprisoned in Chlemoutsi and died soon afterwards (Miller 1908, 313-18; Lock 1995, 219-23, 484-5). The attacks of the Catalans to the Northern Peloponnese became intense in the early 15th c. and they conquered Glarentza for a few months in 1430 (Lock 1995, 221-2; Schmitt 1995, 116-117).

In general, the notable presence of Italian pottery in the Frankish castle can be connected to a number of factors: the close political and commercial relations between the Principality of Achaea and Italy; the location of Chlemoutsi in the most important area of the territories of the Prince of Achaea, characterized by its easy access to Italy through Glarentza; the needs and demands of the special groups of Latins settled in the castle.

Chlemoutsi reveals that after the end of the Frankish domination and the subsequent fall of the Peloponnese to the Greeks (by 1430) and then to the Ottomans (by ca. 1460), the importation of Southern Italian wares ceased. These political developments led also to the decline of Glarentza during the first half of the 15th c. (Sarandi Mendelovici 1980-81). Constantine Palaiologos, who took Glarentza from Charles I Tocco in 1428, decided to destroy its walls after the danger it suffered from the attack of the Catalans in 1430 (Sphrantzes, II, §9, pp. 51-53). According to Schmitt (1995, 126-135), some commercial activity and life in the city continued until the middle of the 15th c. By the early 15th c.

¹ Ferdinand was defeated at the battle of Manolada (1316) by the joined forces of Louis of Burgundy (who had married William II Villehardouin's grand-daughter Mahault, daughter of Isabelle and widow of Guy de la Roche), the barons of Achaea and an army of Greeks from Mystras, (Miller 1908, 317).

the Venetians decided to cease their trading activities in Glarentza, but the period ca. 1425-1450 showed the growth of the trade of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in the city, which, though, was limited to the export of some agricultural products. However, in the early 15th c., when Glarentza was declining, Patras' trade was at its peak, as for some years after 1408 the city remained under Venetian occupation.

The importation of Southern Italian pottery ceased in the early 15th c., but pottery from further north in Italy shows an uninterrupted presence at Chlemoutsi, throughout the 15th c. and into the Early Ottoman times. Some material reported from Patras supports this evidence. The sgraffito pottery (polychrome and monochrome) from Venice and the Po valley shows such an uninterrupted continuation in Chlemoutsi that a clear distinction between Frankish/Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine material is impossible. A small number of pieces from Venetian glass goblets has been found at the castle (see **Appendix A, trenches B, IB, K14**: inventoried nos.Y1,Y2, Y3), which, like most of the Venetian pottery, can generally be dated between the late 14th and the 16th c. (Gelichi 1993, 38; Ward-Perkins et al. 1973, 126-130, nos.43-45, 51, figs.35,36). These glasses have close parallels in Patras (Y3: Petsas 1971, pl.153c; Y1: Athanasoulis 2002, 343, no.YA2, drawing no.6- dated to the late 14th-16th c.). Archaic Maiolica is present at Chlemoutsi until the later 14th or the early 15th c., as it is in Patras (see **ware 4.ii: 'Blue Archaic Maiolica'**). But, similarly to the Venetian pottery, no obvious interruption can be traced in the importation of the tin-glazed pottery from Central and Northern Italy: Chlemoutsi includes a large number of pieces belonging to early types of Renaissance Maiolica, datable to the period 15th c. to ca. 1500 (**ware 21.A**), some of which exist also at Patras (**ware 21.A.i, no.547ia; 21.A.ii**). Italian Maiolica pottery continues to have a notable presence at Chlemoutsi throughout the 16th c. and beyond.

It has been suggested that the uninterrupted presence of Italian imports in Patras after the end of the Frankish domination of the Peloponnese, throughout the period of the Palaiologoi and during the Early Ottoman times, was facilitated by the continuation of the Venetian activities in certain parts of the Peloponnese (see Athanasoulis 2002, 347, n.70). It is not surprising to find similar Italian imported pottery in Chlemoutsi and Patras, given their geographical proximity, their connection by land¹ and their direct access to the Ionian Sea. It seems logical to suppose that Patras may have played a role in the arrival of Western goods in Chlemoutsi, at least after the decline of Glarentza.

Particularly important for the continuation of the relations of the NW Peloponnese with the West after the end of the Frankish domination seems to have been the commercial importance of Patras (see next chapter), as well as the proximity to the Ionian Islands, which remained Venetian until 1797 (Miller 1908, 587-838; Ch.Maltezou, in: IEE IX, 1979, 258-261, 274-5; Athanasoulis 2001, 36). Cephalonia and Zakynthos, the closest islands to the NW Peloponnese, were under the Orsini between the late 12th and the mid-14th c., the Tocchi between the mid-14th c. and the late 15th c. (who also obtained Chlemoutsi and Glarentza for a few years between 1407 and 1428) and under the Venetians from the late 15th c. onwards (Cephalonia: Rigakou 2001; Zakynthos: Mylona 2003). Pottery from the Ionian Islands has not been published so far, but the ceramic material reported from Rhodes, Crete and Cyprus provides a picture of the pottery used in sites that remained under Venetian or Western occupation until the 16th or the 17th c. Their material offers some close parallels for the Italian pottery of Chlemoutsi dating from the 15th c. and the Early Ottoman period (see **wares 9, 20, 21, 22**).

¹ The road leading from Vostitsa and Corinth to Glarentza-Chlemoutsi-Andravida passed through Patras. This road was used by Constantine Palaiologos and Georgios Sphrantzes in 1429 for going from Patras to Chlemoutsi ('... διερχόμενοι τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς Πάτρας πρὸς Βοστίτζης, ὅπου εἴς τὴν Γλαρέντζαν καὶ τὸ Χλομούτζιον ἐπέλθωμεν ...': Sphrantzes, II, §3, p.24)

The Latin occupation in the 13th c. led to the strengthening of the position of the Italian naval powers in the trade of the Byzantine empire and to the enhancement of the commercial relations with Italy. Venice acquired a primary role in the commerce between the Principality of Achaea and Italy, which included the distribution of ceramic products, initially only from South Italy and later from its own area as well. After the end of the Principality in the early 15th c., Venice's commercial power was not immediately dramatically affected (**see next chapter**). The Italian wares of Chlemoutsi reflect the needs and aesthetics of the Franks who built and used the castle. Chlemoutsi proves that the pottery from South Italy remained predominant until the end of the Principality, while the importation of ceramics from further north in Italy continued uninterrupted long after the early 15th c. Chlemoutsi shows an adherence to the Italian pottery, which remained available in the area long after the end of the Frankish occupation.

CHAPTER 6

THE OTTOMAN AND VENETIAN CASTLE & ITS POTTERY (LATER 15TH- EARLY 19TH C.)

In this chapter the pottery of the Ottoman and Venetian periods of Chlemoutsí will be discussed as indicator of prosperity or decline, in juxtaposition with other archaeological evidence, historical information and travellers' accounts, in order to throw some light to the almost unknown Post-Byzantine period of the castle. Also, the pottery will be discussed in the general context of the pottery used in Post-Byzantine Greece. Large parts of this chapter will deal with the pottery imported from the West, which is abundant in Chlemoutsí, although it was an Ottoman castle for most of the period under discussion. The Western pottery from Chlemoutsí will be compared with the available material from other parts of Greece, in an attempt to investigate the role and distribution of this pottery in Ottoman- and Western-dominated areas. Finally, the discussion will focus on the role that political conditions, commercial relations and geography may have played in the development of the close relations of the Northwestern Peloponnese with the West, which are reflected in the Italian and Italian-influenced pottery of Chlemoutsí.

**A. THE OTTOMAN AND VENETIAN CASTLE: HISTORICAL
& ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE ***

Chlemoutsi is a well-known Frankish castle, but its later history has hardly attracted scholar's attention so far. Andrews' and Bon's books included little discussion of the Ottoman and Venetian periods of the castle. Both scholars concluded that the castle had lost its old importance after the Ottoman conquest, on the basis that little additions were made to the original Frankish construction and that some written sources of the late 17th c. indicate that the castle was not important for the Venetians (Andrews 1953, 158; Bon 1969, 327). The pottery of the castle and the archaeological evidence produced during the excavations of 1997-2000, combined with the evidence provided by some written sources, allow today a closer approach to the history and the role of the castle during the Ottoman (1460-1687, 1715-1828) and the Venetian (1687-1715) periods of occupation.

The small number of ceramic finds of the 15th-16th c. yielded during regional surveys in other parts of the Peloponnese, such as the Laconia Survey (Armstrong 1996) and the Berbati-Limnes Survey in the Argolid (Hahn 1996), indicated that the Early Ottoman times was a period of decline for these areas. However, it has been pointed out that relying exclusively on datable surface pottery may be dangerous, if the evidence is not combined with written sources (Vroom 1998b; 2007a, 88-9; Forsén 2007, 238). It has been suggested that the later 15th and the 16th c. were a period of demographic growth for the Peloponnese, as well as for most of Greece (Panayiotopoulos 1985, 111-123; Bintliff 2007). As far as Chlemoutsi is concerned, the historical and archaeological data provide no signs of decline in the First Ottoman period (1460-1687).

* Consult the Table of Contents to locate each discussed ware in the catalogues of ceramics in chapter 4; see also table 2 (p.231).

After its fall to the Ottomans in 1460, the castle was still important enough to be soon claimed by the Venetians, who took possession of it, along with Patras, for a short period in 1471, during the First Turco-Venetian War (1463-1479)¹. But the castle was significant for the Ottomans too. A marble Turkish inscription found (fallen and broken) during the excavations of 1997-2000 (see **Appendix A: trench Θ**; **Appendix C; plate 52.e**) compares the castle with the Rampart of Alexander the Great in Caucasus and includes a chronogram and a date with the year 943 after Hijra (1536/7 A.D.). This date may connect the inscription either with the start of the Third Turco-Venetian War (1537-1540) or with the end of the Turkish works in the castle, or with both. Its elegant floral decoration and its careful execution suggest that it was once placed in a quite visible position. Chlemoutsi, once symbol of the power of the Franks in the Peloponnese, seems to have had a similar meaning and strategic importance for the new conquerors.

Further evidence for the significance of the castle for the Ottomans is provided by the works they undertook in the castle. According to Andrews and Bon, these works were made during the first period of Ottoman occupation and were intended mainly to reinforce its defences and to adjust it to the needs of artillery. The main works distinguished by the two scholars included the strengthening of the main entrance gate of the castle (E1), the addition of a round tower and the alteration of the angles of the western part of the outer enclosure (Π1, K6, K7, K9), as well as the rebuilding of the parapets of the castle.

The excavations of 1997-2000 provided evidence for some more Turkish works (see: **Appendix A** and **plates 11-13**). The Turks made some alterations in the entrance gate of the inner enclosure (E2) and possibly also in the postern E3. They seem to have respected a Frankish grave, located on the interior of E2, under the Frankish chapel (N), since, they only

¹ Chlemoutsi and Patras appear in the list of Venetian possessions of 1471 (published in: Buchon 1875, I, p.lxv; Sphekopoulos 1968, 49-51; Bon 1969, 694).

removed some of its covering plaques, when they added a cobbled way in the area. The Turks also undertook some works in the halls of the inner enclosure (see excavation of hall A5). They also added many buildings in the courtyard of the outer enclosure (outer enclosure, Areas A, B, C), as well as a Turkish mosque (K11). The excavations of hall A5 (inner enclosure) provided evidence that its ground-floor was altered by ca. 1500. The buildings and roads excavated in the area east of the Turkish mosque (outer enclosure, area A: buildings in areas A1, A2 and roads P1, P2) belong to a single phase and their arrangement suggests that they are contemporary to the mosque, which, according to Evliya Çelebi, was built at the time of the Sultan Bayezit, i.e. between 1481 and 1512 (Çelebi, 46). The buildings correspond to Grimani's plan of 1701 (see **plate 14**), as well as to Çelebi's witness (late 17th c.) that 80 houses existed around the mosque. Finds related to a flight of steps unearthed in trenches IB-IE (outer enclosure, Area A1), as well as to the level of a floor located in trench KB (indicating the level of the Turkish road P2), strongly support this dating. Soon after the Turkish conquest, also the Frankish chapel (N) was apparently destroyed, the apse of which is still visible today on the upper storey of the northern gallery of the inner enclosure. Parts of Frankish rib-vaulting stones, such as those found (reused as building material) in trenches B and IB (outer enclosure, Areas A, C), may have come from this chapel or from the area of the reception hall next to it (inner enclosure, hall A1). It could be suggested that the works started soon after the Ottoman conquest and, at least most of them, were completed by the time the inscription was placed in the castle (1536/7).

Thus, it seems that, apart from the strengthening of walls, gates and towers, a number of other works were undertaken in the castle, which included the alteration of the existing buildings and the addition of buildings in the free space of the outer enclosure, in order to provide enough houses for the new conquerors. It seems also very probable that the village on

the slope of the hill outside the walls of the castle, which existed by the late 17th c. (it is shown in Grimani's plan and mentioned by Çelebi)¹ and still exists today, developed during the late 15th-16th c., when a demographic growth and appearance of new settlements are noted in the Peloponnese (see Panayiotopoulos 1985, 123).

In the First Ottoman period, Chlemoutsi gave its name to one of the 22 *kâzas* of the Peloponnese, which was among the biggest in population, as a Turkish document witnesses in 1668/9, i.e. two decades before the Venetian conquest (published by: Panayiotopoulos 1985, 160, table 19). In the same period, Evliya Çelebi witnesses the rich agricultural production of the area (Çelebi, 45-6, 52). The *kâzas* of Chlemoutsi belonged to the lands (*hâs*²) of the pasha of the Morea (settled in Patras). Its *kâdî* (administrative official of the *kâzas*) lived in nearby city of Gastouni (3 hours away by foot). In Chlemoutsi there was a garrison and a force of *yeniçeri* with their commanders (*kethüdâyeri* and *serdar*), as well as officials responsible for the collection of taxes (*haraç*), for commercial issues (*muhteşib ağa*, *kethüdâ*) and for building works (*mimar ağa*). The inner enclosure included only the house of the commander of the garrison, store-places for ammunition and supplies, cisterns and a central courtyard.

Chlemoutsi seems to have remained constantly occupied, despite the dramatic effects, which the wars, the plagues³ and possibly also the climatic conditions of the 17th c. may have had on the population of the Peloponnese (Panayiotopoulos 1985, 123-34). When the Venetians conquered the castle, on 3 August 1687, there were 34 cannons and a large

¹ According to Çelebi, in the end of the 17th c. the village included 200 houses (Çelebi, 46). The village is also mentioned in Grimani's report, (Panayiotopoulos 1985, Appendix III, p.275: "Borgo Castel Tornese" with 351 inhabitants) and Randolph's report (Randolph 1689, 4). In the early 19th c., it was a considerable village (see: Pouqueville 1820-26, 139; Leake 1830, II, 170).

² The Turkish words mentioned here and their meaning are based on the glossary given in: the Greek edition of Çelebi (see: Çelebi); Inalcik 1973.

³ Serious plagues are witnessed in the Peloponnese in 1615-6, 1621, 1661, 1670 and 1688 (Panayiotopoulos 1985, 132-3). According to Çelebi's witness, because of a plague, all the Turkish officials left Gastouni and moved to the mountains (Çelebi, 51). It seems that the worse plague was that of the first years of the Venetian occupation (reported in a document of 1688), which we know that reached Chlemoutsi (Sathas 1869, III, 38-40, 168, n.16).

garrison¹. During the Venetian period (1687-1715) the population of the Peloponnese increased significantly, as a result of Venice's colonization policy, which encouraged massive immigration of people from various Greek areas to the new colony (Malliaris 2007). The Venetians also promoted local agriculture and animal production, as well as trade with the West, contributing significantly to the economic growth of the Peloponnese (A.Vakalopoulos, in: *IEE* XI, 1975, 206-9; Panitsas 2003; 2003-2005). Chlemoutsi (*Castel Tornese*) was included in the *territorio* of Gastouni, which belonged to the province of Achaea (*provincia d' Accaia*) and was among the biggest *territorii* of the Peloponnese, as some Venetian reports of the late 17th c. reveal².

As Andrews and Bon have already noted, there are written sources indicating that Chlemoutsi had lost its old importance by the Venetian period. In the report by *provveditore Generale* Giacomo Corner of 1690 the castle appears as small in size and hardly inhabited (Lambros 1885-9, II, 308; 1886-1900; 1886-190, V, 231; see also Andrews 1953, 148). In the same period, the British traveller Bernard Randolph mentions that it was well built, but "much out of repair" and that it had no more than twenty guns (Randolph 1689, 4). Apparently, no restoration works had been undertaken for long time, and the castle looked old-fashioned for the highly developed military technology of the Venetians. Notably, Grimani in 1701 proposed that Castel Tornese should be destroyed, since a lot of money should be invested to add to its defences; it should be replaced by a new castle, on the site of the old Frankish city of Glarentza, which was more convenient for the maritime and commercial purposes of the Venetians (the quotation is given in: Andrews 1953, 148-9).

¹ The garrison was evacuated to Smyrna, but 150 Turks remained back and were baptized. This information is given by K.Andrews (1953, 146) and it is based on A.Locatelli's witness (*Racconto storico della Veneta Guerra in Levante*, Cologne 1691) and on the *Regno della Morea sotto I Veneti descritto da D.G.P.B.* (Venice 1688).

² For an anonymous report of the late 17th c. see: Loukatos 1987-8. For Grimani's report of 1701 see: Lambros 1885-9, 533-61; Panayiotopoulos 1985, 168, 231-89.

Although it is impossible to isolate all the wares that may belong to the short period of Venetian occupation (however, see: **ware 21.B.vi, no.538**; **ware 25**; possibly also **ware 24**), the uninterrupted presence of pottery until the early 19th c. proves that the castle remained in use during the Venetian and the Second Ottoman periods. Apparently, the castle was never destroyed, despite Grimani's proposal. It seems that the Venetians used Chlemoutsi, which in fact was not too far from the sea and still strong. They did not undertake works on its walls, as Andrews and Bon have proved, but Grimani's plan reveals that they converted the mosque into a church (marked with the letter B: 'Chiesa con Cisterna'). They also settled a considerable garrison in the castle: according to Grimani, this garrison would suffice for the new castle that he proposed to be built in Glarentza (see quotation in: Andrews, 148). Chlemoutsi has been included in several Venetian plans and representations of the main castles of the Peloponnese¹, suggesting that it still retained some significance and reputation. The use of the castle during the Venetian period is also indicated by the discovery of two Venetian copper coins of the late 17th c. (**Appendix A: trench ΑΓ**, inventoried numbers: HN 2 and 4; **plate 52.g**). Also, by the discovery of a dish with a monogram in Latin, which should be connected with the presence of a Venetian military force or of Latin clergy in the castle (see discussion of **ware 21.B.vi, no.538**).

In the Second Ottoman period (1715-early 19th c.) the castle remained in use, but it had lost its old importance, as the available historical information and the pottery of the castle indicate. It was probably due to its strong construction and its unique strategic position that Chlemoutsi remained in use until the early 19th c. Pouqueville and Leake (Pouqueville 1820-

¹ E.g.: a Venetian map of the Peloponnese and the Ionian Islands, accompanied by representations of 10 castles of the Peloponnese, which is kept in the Gennadios Library, Athens (reproduced in: Karpodini-Dimitriadi 1993; Athanasoulis 2001); a plan and representation of the castle by V. Coronelli (*Description géographique et historique de la Morée*, Paris 1687), reproduced in: Karpodini-Dimitriadi 1993, fig.165 (representation); Sphekopoulos 1968 (plan); some other Venetian representations of the castle are reproduced in: Paradeisis 1983, figs.103, 104.

26, 138-9; Leake 1830, II, 170-3)¹ underlined the important strategic position of the castle and the remarkable view it offered to the surrounding plains and the Ionian Sea. Although they both described its walls as ruined, Pouqueville mentioned that they were still high, while Leake thought that the castle would be “an important military station in any other hands than those of the Turks”, as well as that it was in a “very repairable state” (Leake 1830, II, 172). Taking under account the good state of preservation of the castle today, it seems that it was not actually in ruins in the early 19th c., but it just looked old and out of repair. According to Pouqueville, Chlemoutsi had about 50 cannons. There was no commander in the castle, but the Turks kept permanently a garrison, because they were very concerned about the control of the area, which was too close to the (Venetian) islands of Zakynthos and Cephalonia.

Also, the castle was still strong enough to play some role during the Greek War of independence in the early 19th c. Greek written sources of the period witness that, in 1825, during the expedition of Ibrahim Pasha for restraining the Revolution in the Peloponnese, Greeks from the surrounding area took shelter in Chlemoutsi (Kolokotronis, pp.141-2; Loukatos 1980). The destruction of one of the towers of the inner enclosure (II3) has been connected with the bombardment of the castle made by Ibrahim Pasha (Kalonaros 1937, 177; Andrews 1953, 153; Bon 1969, 611)². The excavations of 1997-2000 unearthed a number of iron cannon balls (**Appendix A: trenches K2, B-E, E3, A6**), some of which can be connected to broken parts of walls in the building K2 (outer enclosure) and in hall A6 (inner enclosure). The pottery found in these areas, which reaches the early 19th c., may indicate that the destruction to these buildings is connected to the same historical event.

¹ Both Leake and Pouqueville visited the area in the first years of the 19th c. (Giannaropoulos 1980; Phinopoulos and Tolias 1994).

² The tower has been restored by the Greek Archaeological Service. For its state of preservation before its restoration see Andrews 1953, fig.172.

Neither Pouqueville nor Leake mention the mosque in the outer enclosure. Notably, Leake refers to the Venetian plan by Coronelli, which shows a minaret, and concludes that there was a Turkish mosque in the castle before the Venetian conquest (Leake 1830, II, 173). Thus, the mosque was not standing in the early 19th c. Indeed, in the early 20th c. the archaeologists Traquair (1906-7, 275, fig.5) and Sotirou (1916, 478; 1956, fig.2) saw only few remains of the mosque, while its complete plan and the standing parts of its walls (preserved in small height) were unearthed during relatively recent excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service (M.Georgopoulou-Verra, *ArchDelt* 42, 1987, *Chronika*, 185). Apparently, the Venetian church was destroyed after the Turkish reconquest in the 18th c. and, probably it was not converted back into a mosque during the second period of Ottoman occupation.

The rough dating of much of the pottery of the Post-Byzantine period does not allow a clear distinction of the number of pieces falling into each of the periods of occupation of the castle (First Turkish period: 1460-1687; Venetian period: 1687-1715; Second Turkish period: 1715-1828). However, most of the diagnostic glazed pottery dates from the period 15th-17th c., while the number of sherds shows a significant decrease in the period 18th-early 19th c. This fact becomes quite clear (see **table 5**), if we try to divide the material as follows: (a) pieces clearly falling into the period 15th-17th c., (b) pieces dating from the late 17th-early 18th c. or roughly dated to the 16th-18th c. (as are isolated in **table 4.a**), (c) pieces that more clearly fall into the period between after the beginning of the 18th c. and the early 19th c. (as are isolated in **table 4.b**). It could be suggested that the pottery provides the following picture: the majority belongs to the first period of Ottoman occupation, i.e. to the period of prosperity of the castle; there is a possible decrease during the Venetian period, when the castle started to

lose its importance; the number of pieces decreases dramatically during the second period of Ottoman occupation, when the castle declined.

WARE	cat. nos.	pieces
<i>a. Number of pieces of the late 17th- early 18th c. or roughly dated to the 16th-18th c.</i>		
14.B. VARIOUS COLOURED SGRAFFITO WARES	39	1
16.E. VARIOUS PAINTED WARES	498, 508β, 606ε, 608α, 621γ	5
19. PLAIN GLAZED WARES	98, 510ε, 600γ, 601β, 608ε, 611ε	6
21.B.vi. VARIOUS LATER MAIOLICA	all	6
24. MONOCHROME WHITEWARES	all	29
25. GERMAN STONEWARE	all	2
<i>total:</i>		49
<i>b. Number of pieces datable to after the beginning of the 18th c.</i>		
16.C. PAINTED WARE FROM IOANNINA	all	2
16.D. BROWN PAINTED WARE	all	14
18. MARBLED WARE	all	1
19. PLAIN GLAZED WARES	510α, 600ε, 543η	3
21.C. LATE POLYCHROME MAIOLICA	all	9
23. TÂCHES NOIRES FROM ALBISOLA	all	3
26. TRANSFER-PRINTED WARE FROM ENGLAND	all	2
28. KÜTAHYA WARE	all	1
29. ÇANAKKALE WARE	all	2
<i>total:</i>		37

Table 4. Wares of the late 17th-early 19th c. or roughly dated to the 16th-18th c., isolated from the 15th-17th – century material

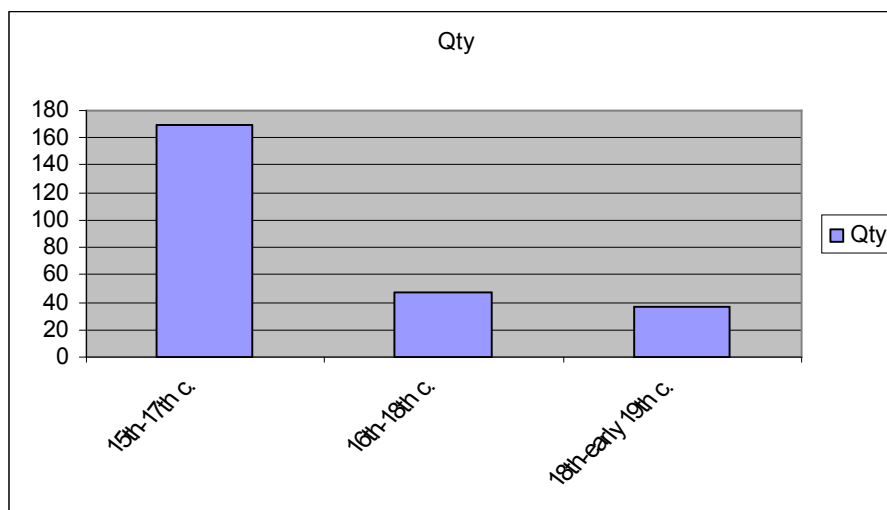


Table 5. Decrease of the number of sherds in the 18th – early 19th c. (on the basis of table 4)

The quantity, quality and variety of both Greek and imported glazed wares dating from the period 15th-17th c. reveal the prosperity of the castle during the first period of Ottoman occupation, in accordance with the evidence provided by the written sources and the archaeological data discussed above. Italian wares form the main imports of the period. They include tin- and lead-glazed wares of various types and from major production centres in Italy. The later pottery of the castle, despite the decrease in the number of sherds, shows also variety as far as origin is concerned. It includes decorated wares from Ioannina in Epeiros, from Pesaro and Albisola in Italy, from England, from Çanakkale, as well as an example of Kütahya Ware, which is included in the rare types of high quality wares found in Greece during the 18th c. (see Vroom 1996, 16-17). Western pottery, particularly Italian, continues to be predominant among the imported wares of the 18th –early 19th c., while in the same period there are only two Çanakkale vessels and one Kütahya cup. The latest pottery of the castle does not date after the early 19th c., reflecting the abandonment of the castle after the Greek War of Independence. Distinctive wares of the 19th c. are absent, such as the products of Didymoteicho in Thrace and the Grottaglie Ware from Apulia or Corfu, which are very common all over Greece (see Vroom 2005, 185, 187).

B. THE POTTERY OF THE POST-BYZANTINE PERIOD: DISCUSSION*

1. Pottery in Post-Byzantine Greece. Ceramic use in Chlemoutsi

The ceramic use in Chlemoutsi during the Post-Byzantine period differs markedly from that of the Frankish castle. Predominant are wares from workshops of the former

* Consult the Table of Contents to locate each discussed ware in the catalogues of ceramics in chapter 4; see also table 2 (p.231).

Byzantine empire, while imports come from both the East and the West. However, Italian glazed wares continue to have a notably significant presence. This pattern of ceramic use reflects the incorporation of the castle into the Ottoman Empire, the development of relations with the rest of Greece after the end of Frankish occupation, but, also, the continuation of the close relations with the West.

Pottery is an important indicator of prosperity or decline (Blake 1980b). The glazed pottery of Chlemoutsi, with its quantity, quality and variety, reveals the material wealth and the favourable economic conditions in the castle. Many of the imported wares, such as the decorated Italian Maiolica, the wares from Iznik and Kütahya, and the Porcelain, have generally been connected to the upper classes and well-to-do households (Stillwell-MacKay 1996; Vroom 1996; 2003a, 356-7; Vionis 2005, 296). In addition to the cost of the long-distance trade, these wares were expensive because of the raw materials used in their production, particularly the tin and the colouring pigments, which had to be transferred from considerable distances (Vroom 2003a, 293-8). The tin used by the Italian potters was brought from England, Flanders, Bohemia and Bavaria, while the production of decorated Maiolica required also the collaboration of skilled painters (Thorton 1997).

Italian and Islamic tin-glazed wares co-exist in Post-Byzantine Greece and they share sometimes some decorative features, such as the influence or inspiration from the Chinese porcelain (see Iznik and Kütahya Ware: **wares 27, 28**; Maiolica “alla porcelana”: **ware 21.B.iii**). Despite their cost, such wares have been found at both urban centres (such as Athens, Corinth, Thebes and Thessaloniki), and rural sites (in Boeotia and Eastern Phokis). According to Vroom, this fact suggests that access to luxury wares increased significantly in Post-Byzantine Greece, as it did in the Western European world, as an increasing number of

people had the opportunity and the purchasing power to obtain objects made available by the long-distance trade, which once only the elite could afford (Vroom 2003a, 300).

Chlemoutsi was no longer used as a royal residence, but it retained much of its importance. Officials and military forces still lived inside its walls (Ottomans, and in 1687-1715 possibly also Venetians). Also, Chlemoutsi was associated with a settlement in this period. Many people lived inside the castle (as is indicated by the addition of many buildings in the outer enclosure), as well as in the village that developed on the slope of the hill, outside its walls. Apparently many of them had the funds to obtain the fine ceramics available through the international trade. Italian wares form the main imports, indicating the preference of the people of the castle for Western products or the greater availability of these wares in the area. The castle also developed relations with the rest of Greece, reflected in the abundance and variety of glazed wares from Post-Byzantine workshops. It has been suggested that the abundance of the locally produced colourful lead-glazed wares indicate the greater availability of decorated ceramics for the lower classes (Vionis 2005, 299).

Recent studies have provided evidence that glazing gradually became common on tablewares, cooking pots and storage vessels during the Post-Byzantine period. In Sarachane, the proportions of glazed wares rise to around 30-40% in Early Ottoman contexts, as a result of the total disappearance of the large commercial amphorae and the replacement of the unglazed cooking pots by simple lead-glazed types; a further rise to 60-80% is noted in the 18th/19th c., when glazed wares become predominant, a fact largely explained by the part-glazing of spouted jugs (Hayes 1992, 233). In Boeotia, the rise of glazed pottery is less dramatic: in sites with occupation during the Ottoman and the Early Modern periods (late 15th-early 20th c.) it comprises some 32-34%, compared to some 24%-32% in sites occupied during the Frankish/Late Byzantine and the Early Turkish periods (Vroom 2003a, 235). In

Chlemoutsi, in three trenches, which produced diagnostic pottery exclusively of the Post-Byzantine period (including a considerable number of sherds of the 18th-early 19th c.), the number of glazed sherds represents between ca. 45% (trenches B,E) and 54% (trench K1). Two examples, the two-handled jar no.194 and the amphora no.666 (datable to the 16th-17th c.: see **ware 19**) are representative for the frequent application of glazing on Post-Byzantine common wares.

All the main new shapes of the Post-Byzantine period are represented in Chlemoutsi (Hayes 1992, 233; Vroom 2003a, 234-5). Spouted jugs occur in both plain glazed (**ware 19, no.543η**) and unglazed wares (**Appendix B**). Trefoil-mouth jugs are included especially in the Italian Maiolica (**ware 21**), but also in some products of Greek workshops, which include both decorated glazed wares (**wares: 14.B, no.39; 16.A; 16.C**) and unglazed, undecorated examples (**Appendix B**). The large flanged dish with expanded out-turned rim (sometimes with notches around rim) occurs especially in decorated wares (Slip-Painted Ware: **ware 15, no.102**; Brown Painted Ware: **ware 16.D, nos.604δ, 622δ**; Various Painted Wares: **ware 16.E, nos.508β, 608α**), but also in plain glazed examples (**ware 19, no.608ε**).

Recent studies have connected pottery shapes with dining habits in Post-Byzantine Greece (Vroom 2000b; 2003a; Vionis 2005). In areas under Ottoman rule, as was Chlemoutsi for most of the period under discussion, the large glazed dish seems to have been used as a communal dish centrally placed on a low round table. It has been suggested that these large bowls were used for substances containing a lot of liquid like soup, in the 16th c. one of the commonest dishes in the Ottoman Empire; the spouted and trefoil-mouth jugs were perhaps used for serving or pouring water, diluted yoghurt, or 'sherbets' made of fruit juices, the traditional drinks in Ottoman times; the spouted jug may have also been used during the ceremony of hand-washing before and after a meal (Vroom 2000b, 205; 2003a, 234-5). Cups,

similar to the examples of Kütahya Ware and Porcelain from Chlemoutsi, were used by the Ottoman elite for drinking coffee after dinner, often in association with smoking tobacco pipes (Vroom 1996; 2003a, 356). The excavations at Chlemoutsi yielded several examples of tobacco pipes (those of the excavations 1997-2000 are mentioned in **Appendix A**; see **plate 52.f**). Pictorial evidence from the Aegean and the Ionian Islands (such as church frescos and religious icons dating from the 16th c. onwards) indicates a more individual and luxurious way of eating in areas under strong Western influence. Diners were sitting around a high table on wooden stools, in some sort of separate dining room, and used several bowls and dishes (which often seem to be Italian imports), and elegant glass vessels. It has been suggested that the Western dining fashions were preferred in the Aegean and Ionian islands not only by the Latins, but also by the Greek local aristocracy (Vionis 2005, 299). According to Papanikola-Bakirtzis (1998, 14), after the fall of Cyprus to the Venetians in 1489, large quantities of Maiolica arrived in the island, which seem to have been preferred by the local wealthy classes over the locally produced wares.

According to Vroom (2003, 350-352, tables 11.1, 12.6), the ‘Western model’ of dining habits corresponds to ceramic finds such as Maiolica and relatively small bowls, of sizes comparable to those of the Frankish/Late Byzantine period. However, the relation between Eastern and Western dining habits on the one hand and pottery on the other hand has not become quite clear yet, especially in areas forming part of the Ottoman empire. Similarly to Chlemoutsi, Italian pottery has a significant presence in Boeotia, while there is also a notable variation between smaller and larger rim shapes of open forms (17-20 cm. and 24-31 cm.: see Vroom 2003a, 357, tables 12.6, 13.1). The pottery of the castle includes bowls with rim shapes comparable to those of the Frankish/Late Byzantine period (ca. 20 cm. or less), as well as notably larger examples (between 24 and 30 cm.). The quantity and variety of the tin- and

lead-glazed Italian wares reveal that Western influence was strong in Chlemoutsi. Italian wares form the main imports and little of them can be connected to the short period of Venetian occupation of the castle in the late 17th-early 18th c. Especially the Italian imports that can be connected to the First Ottoman period (dated to between the 15th and the 17th c.) show a notable quantity and variety. It seems that the Ottomans themselves used these ceramics. It should be noted that, apart from the presence of Ottoman officials and military forces, Çelebi mentions that non-Muslims were not allowed into the castle (Çelebi, 46).

Chlemoutsi includes all known decorated types produced in Post-Byzantine ceramic workshops (Sgraffito, Painted, Slip-painted, Marbled Ware, Greek Maiolica). In general, the decorated local ceramics of the Post-Byzantine period have been divided into two main types: (1) painted (including slip-painted) and sgraffito wares in the traditional Byzantine techniques, and (2) imitations of Italian Maiolica, which belong to the innovations of the period (Vroom 2007a, 72-75). Predominant by far among the decorated ceramics of Chlemoutsi are the lead-glazed painted wares, most of which fall into distinctive decorative groups (**wares 16.A-D**). Imitations of the tin-glazed Italian Maiolica are present in some quantity and some of them fall into distinctive decorative groups (**wares 17.A,B,C**; see also: **‘Miscellanea’, 2.iii,iv**).

Attribution to places of manufacture within the former Byzantine Empire is particularly difficult, largely because of the limited publications, as well as being due to the common characteristics of the wares produced in several parts of Greece and the Balkans (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 23-24). Products of Epeiros (Arta and Ioannina) can be identified in the material of Chlemoutsi among sgraffito, painted and, possibly, also plain glazed wares (**wares 14.A and 16.B-C**; possibly also at least: **ware 14.B, nos.39, 6810; ware 16.E, no.496a; ware 19, nos.510a, 600ε**), attesting relations with Epeiros between the 16th and the

18th c. A relationship, at least stylistic, also exists with the pottery of Central Greece, which does not seem surprising, given the geographical proximity of the two regions. Similarities are evident particularly in part of the Slip-Painted pottery, which has close parallels in Boeotia (see **ware 15**), as well as in the presence of Greek Maiolica, which are common in Central Greece and some types were produced at Athens (Frantz 1942; Vroom 2005, 149). Also, some sgraffito and plain glazed wares look close to examples from Athens, Boeotia and Eastern Phokis (**wares: 14.B, no.45; 14.C; 19, nos.493v, 608ε**). Finally, it is important that a group of Greek Maiolica has close parallels at Castel Selino, in Venetian Crete (**ware 17.B**).

Much of the pottery attributable to Post-Byzantine workshops remains without close parallels in the bibliography. It seems logical to suppose that it must include wares locally produced in the Peloponnese. Local Peloponnesian wares, especially unglazed wares, were in use in the Frankish castle (see previous chapter). The predominance of Greek pottery in the Post-Byzantine material, as well as the general increase of glazed wares during the Post-Byzantine period, suggest that local Peloponnesian pottery, although totally unknown in the bibliography, must be included among both the glazed and the unglazed pottery of Chlemoutsi. It should be noted that the excavations have not provided evidence for pottery production in the castle, which does not seem surprising for a monument of military character.

Western wares form the main imports throughout the Post-Byzantine period. The pottery of the 15th-17th c. includes ceramics of several types and various origins in Italy. In the same period there are only two pieces of Iznik Ware. Both Western and Islamic imports continue in the 18th-early 19th c., the Western wares remaining predominant. Wares from the Islamic world, mainly from the workshops of Iznik, Kütahya and Çanakkale, have been reported from several Greek sites (see **wares 27-29**). On the other hand, little is known about

the Italian imported pottery and its distribution, although it has been suggested that Italian Renaissance ceramics probably reached the Aegean in quantities (Vroom 2007a, 79). Our knowledge today is still largely based on some Northern Italian sgraffito pottery and Maiolica reported from Cyprus (Megaw 1951; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1998), Rhodes (Michailidou 1993, 1998, 2000) and Crete (Hahn 1989; Stillwell-MacKay 1996). Only occasional Italian wares have been included in reports of pottery from other parts of Greece, such as the Cyclades (Dori et al. 2003; Vionis 2005) and the Peloponnese (Monemvasia: Kalamara 2001; Patras: Athanasoulis 2002). Although the Italian Maiolica found in Boeotia consists mainly of small fragments, it is important that, similarly to Chlemoutsi, the Boeotian material has provided evidence for a much more significant presence of Italian pottery than of imports from the East in an area that formed part of the Ottoman empire (Vroom 2003a, 299, table 6.2).

The imported pottery of the 18th-early 19th c. includes Eastern imports (Kütahya, Çanakkale Ware), Italian pottery (Late Polychrome Maiolica; Tâches Noires) and industrial Transfer-Printed Ware from England, thus providing a picture more or less similar to that known from other parts of the Greek mainland and the islands (Korre-Zographou 1995; Vroom 1998b). The penetration of Eastern and Western wares in the Greek household during the Late Ottoman times has been connected to the involvement of the Western European mercantile powers in the commerce of the Eastern Mediterranean from the 17th c. onwards and, especially, to the increasing role of the Greek traders in the commerce of the Ottoman Empire (Korre-Zographou 2000, 19-20; Borboudaki M. in: Moisidou 2006, 83-102). Greek trade and navigation was already growing by the mid-18th c. and showed a further growth in the late 18th c., favoured by some of treaties, especially that of Küçük Kainartzi in 1774 (Kremmydas 1972, 298-318, 309-13; A. Vakalopoulos in: *IEE* XI, 1975, 83-85; S. Asdrachas in: *IEE* XI, 1975, 182-184). These foreign vessels were used in the Greek household for

serving food, and, at least in prosperous regions, such as the Aegean Islands, they also functioned as objects of ornamentation and display of the status of the family (Korre-Zographou 1995, 187-206; Vroom 2003a, 236).

The most important characteristic of the pottery of Chlemoutsi is the continuous presence of Western wares throughout its history. In uninterrupted continuation of the Italian wares of the period 13th-15th c., Chlemoutsi provides a rich typology of Italian pottery of the Post-Byzantine period, during which Chlemoutsi remained basically an Ottoman castle, except for a short period of Venetian occupation in the late 17th-early 18th c. It seems essential to further investigate this continuing presence of Italian pottery in the castle after the end of the Frankish occupation, in comparison with the available material from other parts of Greece, as well as in relation to the changing political conditions in the Peloponnese.

a. Pottery from Post-Byzantine workshops and imported pottery

<i>Provenance</i>	<i>nr. of pieces</i>	<i>% of total (253)</i>
Post-Byzantine workshops	146	57.71
West	100	39.53
East	7	2.77

b. Imported pottery

<i>Provenance</i>	<i>nr. of pieces</i>	<i>% of imported (107)</i>
West	100	93.46
East	7	6.54

c. Western pottery

<i>Provenance</i>	<i>nr. of pieces</i>	<i>% of total (253)</i>	<i>% of imported (107)</i>	<i>% of Western (100)</i>
Italy	96	37.94	89.72	96.00
Germany	2	0.79	3.74	2.00
England	2	0.79	3.74	2.00

Table 6: Glazed pottery of the Post-Byzantine period (later 15th – early 19th c.): proportions of diagnostic Greek and imported pottery

2. Western pottery in Post-Byzantine Greece and in Chlemoutsi: a comparative study

The material of Chlemoutsi includes a variety of tin-glazed and lead-glazed Italian pottery types. Several pieces can be connected to major production centres in Italy with widely diffused pottery, such as Venice, Faenza, Montelupo, Pisa, Liguria and Pesaro. An observation of the Italian ceramics found at other Greek sites (published or occasionally reported Italian ceramics, pottery available in published pictures or displayed in exhibitions) reveals that comparable material exists both in Latin- and Ottoman- dominated areas, and that these ceramics come, more or less, from the same production centres as the wares of Chlemoutsi.

The pottery from Venice and its area continues uninterrupted in Chlemoutsi after the Ottoman conquest, so that a clear distinction in pre- and post- 1460 material seems impossible. The pottery of the period between the second half of the 15th and ca. 1600 includes both sgraffito wares from the area of Venice (**ware 20.A**; possibly also **20.B**), as well as some Maiolica that may originate from Venice or Padua (see especially: Polychrome Maiolica: **ware 21.B.i, no.502η**; ‘berettina’: **ware 21.B.v, no.123**; also probably ‘alla porcellana’: **ware 21.B.iii, no.500ιδ**). Much of the Italian pottery of the 15th-16th c. found at other sites seems to belong to sgraffito wares or Maiolica from Venice and its neighbouring area, such as Bologna, Ferrara and Padua. Find spots of sgraffito wares include mainly Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, Epeiros, Athens, Thebes and other sites in Boeotia, as well as Constantinople/Istanbul (see **wares 20.A,B**; also **ware 9**). Maiolica from Venice and Padua has been identified in Cyprus (Megaw 1951, 153, 155-5, B4-23), while products of Venice may also be included in the Maiolica ‘alla porcellana’ found at various sites and regions, such as Boeotia, Epeiros, Herakleion, Cyprus and Constantinople/Istanbul (see **ware 21.B.iii**).

Maiolica is the most frequently reported Italian pottery from Post-Byzantine Greece, perhaps because they are more easily identifiable. Apart from the Aegean Islands, Crete and Cyprus, finds have been reported from the Peloponnese (Corinth, Patras, Monemvasia), Central Greece (Athens, Thebes, other sites in Boeotia,), and Epeiros, while some examples are also included in reports of pottery from Thessaloniki and Constantinople/Istanbul (see **ware 21**). Early types of Renaissance Maiolica similar to those of Chlemoutsi are present in Crete, as well as in some Ottoman-dominated sites, such as Patras and Boeotia (see **ware 21.A**). Similarly to Chlemoutsi, the Renaissance Maiolica of Herakleion in Crete includes products of important Italian production, such as Venice, Faenza and Montelupo (Stillwell-MacKay 1996, 128-130, nos.2-13).

Several Maiolica fragments from Chlemoutsi are probably connected to Faenza. Its products can be identified at least between the second half of the 15th ('gothic floral style': **ware 21.B.i, no.2345**; probably also ware **21.A.ii, no.464α**) and the second half of the 16th c. ('compediario' style: **ware 21.B.iv, no.670ζ**; probably also 'Polychrome Maiolica': **ware 21.B.i, no.124α**; Maiolica 'berettina': **21.B.v, no.184ε**). Maiolica from Faenza of about the same period has been identified among the *bacini* of Faneromeni in Salamis (Korre-Zographou 1995, 74, figs. 126-7: second half of 16th c.), in Skyros (Korre-Zographou 1995, 200: 16th-early 17th c.), at Thebes (Armstrong 1993, pl.36, no.327: ca. mid 15th c.), Monemvasia (Kalamara 2001, 55, fig.79, no.528: second half of 16th c.), possibly in Paros (Vionis 2005, 119-121, nos. K.vi.2-6, 10-11: late 15th-16th c.), as well as in Cyprus (Mogabgab 1937-1939, 190: 16th c.; Megaw 1951, 152, 155, pl. XLV.2, no.B3: mid-16th c.). The material of Cyprus includes an elegant example from mid-16th - century Faenza with moulded walls, decorated with a bust of Attila (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1998, fig.24).

Another product of Faenza, dating from the first half of the 16th c., seems to be a plate found during old excavations in Elis, close to Chlemoutsi (unpublished, stored in Chlemoutsi; **plate 52.d**¹). A plate from the Athenian Agora published by Frantz can also be identified as a product of Faenza, dating from the first half of the 18th c. and belonging to the ‘a peducci’ style (see Bojani and Ravanelli Guidotti 1992, nos.49,51,52; Bojani 2001, 32; Poole 1997, 120, no.55).

Products of Montelupo and the Florentine area are present at Chlemoutsi probably from as early as the 15th c. (see particularly: **wares 21.A.i, 21.B.ii**). The closest parallels for the polychrome examples of the 16th-17th c. can be recognized in the material of Crete, Faneromeni in Salamis and Skyros (see **ware 21.B.i, nos.101, 87, 608a**). By the late 15th c., Montelupo, located on the navigable river Arno between Florence and Pisa, had become the most important production centre of Maiolica in the area. Along with the lead-glazed wares of Pisa (‘Marbled Ware’ and ‘Late Sgraffito Ware’), the Arno area formed the largest producer of Italian pottery traded in the 16th-17th c. throughout the Mediterranean and as far as America, which was distributed through the port of Pisa (Hurst et al 1986, 12, 30). It is clear that at least the two lead glazed types of Pisa were imported together to Greece. Apart from Chlemoutsi, these two types seem to occur together at least at Athens, Faneromeni in Salamis, Crete, as well as at Constantinople/Istanbul (see **wares 20.C., 22**). In Chlemoutsi, these two Pisan types occur in association with contemporary Montelupo products (**ware 21.B.i: nos.87,608a** and, probably, **no.467β**). Products from Montelupo and Pisa occur together also in Cyprus, after the Ottoman occupation of the island in 1571 (Mogabgab 1937-1939, 190; Von Wartburg 2001). Montelupo Polychrome Maiolica of the 16th-17th c. have been identified

¹ This plate comes from an excavation in the district of Elis and is stored in the castle without further records (inventoried number: no.148). The motif on its centre is common on the Maiolica of Faenza of the first half of the 16th c. (Rackham 1977, 75, nos.239, 240, pls.32,39; a similar example from the Faenza Museum is available in the website: <http://micfaenza.org/mai/n14790i.htm> (downloaded: April 2003).

in some Aegean Islands (Rhodes: Michailidou 2000, p.424, pl.168α-ε: early 16th c.; Skyros: Moisidou 2006, 194, no.80: 17th c.).

Apart from Chlemoutsi, some other sites provide evidence for the presence of products of Montelupo in the Peloponnese between the late 15th–early 16th c. and the 18th c. Stillwell-MacKay (1996, n.4) considered one of the Maiolica pieces illustrated by Morgan (Morgan 1942, fig. 152) as an import of the Venetian occupation of the late 17th - early 18th c. (bottom of picture) and the other two as imports of the Turks in the 16th c. (top of picture). In fact, at least two of these Maiolica from Corinth can be identified as products of Montelupo: the upper right one belongs to the type ‘ovali e rombi’ of the late 15th - early 16th c. (Berti 1998, 121-122, pls. 74-81, ‘genere 26’; Hurst et al. 1986, 12-20, colour pl.I), while the plate at the bottom of the picture is of the 18th- century type ‘spirali verdi’ (Berti 1998, 215-216, pl.366, ‘genere 72’: dated between 1730 and 1760). The type ‘spirali verdi’ of Montelupo has also been identified by F.Berti in two bowls found and displayed at Mystras (Berti 1998, 216). It should be added that the material of Chlemoutsi, as that of Skyros and Glarentza, includes Çanakkale bowls, which seem to form close imitations of the type ‘spirali verdi’ or its later version, type ‘uccellino centrale’ (see **ware 29**).

Ligurian products seem to be represented in Chlemoutsi by both Maiolica and lead-glazed pottery. Maiolica ‘berettina’ of the later 16th and the 17th c. from Liguria exists also on the island of Skyros, as well as among the bowls immured in the church of Panayia tis Mesoporitissas Elympou, near Athens (see **ware 21.B.v**). The lead-glazed ‘Tâches Noires’ from Albisola (later 18th c. – beginning of 19th c.), exist also at Corinth (G.Sanders, pers.comm.).

The latest Italian material of Chlemoutsi includes also some Late Polychrome Maiolica, at least some of which are products of Pesaro. Similar pottery exists in Epeiros, the

Aegean and the Ionian Islands, the Peloponnese (Corinth) and Central Greece (see **ware 21.C**). Grottaglie Ware from Apulia has been reported, more or less, from the same Greek areas: the Peloponnese (Monemvasia: Kalamara 2001, 55, no.580; Moisidou 2006, 207, no.95; Kalamata: Moisidou 2006 205-6, nos.91-94; Corinth: G.Sanders, pers.comm.), Central Greece (Boeotia: Vroom 1998b, 146; 2003a, 182; Eastern Phokis: Armstrong 1989, 13, no.69 and 16, no.14), the Aegean Islands (Moisidou 2006, 202, no.88; Korre-Zographou 1995, fig.521; 2000, fig.29; Vionis 2005, K.xiv.1, M/K.iv.1), the Ionian Islands (Korre-Zographou 1995, figs.182-191) and Arta (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, no.76). Its absence in Chlemoutsi is not surprising, since the ware became common in Greece during the 19th c. and the castle was abandoned early in this century.

Despite the important presence of Italian Maiolica in Greece, the most luxurious types of the High Renaissance, i.e. the 'istoriato maiolica' and the Maiolica with lustre decoration, do not seem to have been traded in Greece, at least not in quantity. The most important producers of the first type were Urbino and Castel Durante, while the second type is particularly associated with Deruta and Gubbio (Rackham 1977, 547-76, 816-913; Carnegie 1993, 30-31, 32-33). A plate from Urbino has been reported from Skyros (mentioned in: Korre-Zographou, 200; signed by the Patanazzi brothers, with date 1550).

The absence of parallels for some of the Italian pottery of Chlemoutsi can, at least in part, be explained by the limited publications of pottery of the period. For instance, close parallels for the Maiolica plate no.538 with initials in Latin could be identified only in the material displayed in a temporary, unpublished exhibition of finds from Castel Selino in Crete (**ware 21.B.vi**). Similarly, the absence of reported material similar to the large group of monochrome whiteware dishes (**ware 24**) could probably be explained by the lack of interest in the pottery of the later periods, especially in undecorated ceramics.

Western pottery other than Italian appears in Chlemoutsi in the 17th c. It is represented by two examples of German Stoneware, which is for the first time identified in Greek material. The ware is probably connected with the Venetian conquest of the Peloponnese in 1687 (see **ware 25**). Western European pottery appears in Greece in about the same period, i.e. in the 17th c. A small piece of porcelain from Boeotia has been identified either as Chinese or as an 18th- century product of Meissen in Germany (Vroom 2003a, 176, fig. 6.45, w33.1). Some French Marbled Ware pottery of the 17th and the 18th c. has been reported from the ‘La Thérèse’ shipreck, in the Dermata gulf close to Herakleion, Crete (Moisidou 2006, 91-92, nos. 73-74), as well as from Boeotia (Vroom 2003a, 177). European Transfer-Printed Ware, represented in Chlemoutsi by two English plates of the early 19th c., appears in Greece in about this period and becomes common during the 19th and the early 20th c. (**ware 26**).

3. Western pottery and influences in Chlemoutsi and Greece: discussion

As becomes evident from the discussion of the wares in chapter 4 and the comparative study above, parallels for the Italian pottery of Chlemoutsi are offered from sites that remained for long under Latin or Venetian rule, such as Rhodes (until 1522), Cyprus (until 1571) and Crete (until 1669), but comparable material also exists in Ottoman-dominated areas, such as Boeotia and Epeiros. Also, some Peloponnesian sites include Italian pottery dating from the period of Ottoman occupation, such as Patras and Corinth¹. Chlemoutsi and Boeotia provide evidence for a much more significant presence of Italian and Italian-influenced pottery than imports from the East, in areas belonging to the Ottoman empire.

¹ Although evidence for Corinth is provided only by a few examples of Maiolica and Tâches Noires (mentioned above), it should be noted that the period ca. 1350-1750 is not well-represented in the Corinthian collection (G.Sanders, pers.comm.).

Furthermore, it is important that the Italian pottery, especially Maiolica, influenced the local pottery production in Post-Byzantine Greece.

According to Vroom (2003a, 291-3, 299), the much more significant presence of Western imports and influences in Boeotia than of imports from the East indicates that the emerging city-states in Italy had a bigger economic impact in the area than Istanbul. Furthermore, it shows the impact of the capitalist world economy, which emerged in Western Europe after ca. 1450 and seems to have gradually absorbed the Ottoman empire. For her, “the Ottoman economy may have been ‘westernizing’ through imports without changing immediately towards capitalism itself” (Vroom 2003a, 299). In the absence of adequate reported ceramics from Post-Byzantine Greece, particularly of Italian wares, it seems that no general conclusions can be drawn yet regarding the relation between the Western pottery found at various Greek sites and the rise of capitalism in Europe. However, it can be observed that a number of factors may have favoured imports and influences from the West (at least in some parts of Greece). First, there are some differences between the organization of the Ottoman and Italian production. In contrast to the tight control of production and distribution of the tin-glazed pottery by the Ottoman state, which did not encourage innovations and promotion of sales, the Maiolica production in Italy flourished under various mercantile city-states, encouraging decentralization of production and improvements in technology (Inalcik 1973, 259-79; Vroom 2003a, 293-9). Second, the Greek population apparently felt closer to the Christian West than to the conquerors from the East. But, probably, one of the most important factor was the involvement of the Western mercantile powers in the trade of the Ottoman empire.

The Latin occupation had opened the way to the economic penetration of the Italian naval powers in Byzantium. Italian ceramics, particularly with Venetian mediation, arrived in

bulk from the 13th c. onwards to the customer communities in the Latin states created on Byzantine soil. Despite the Ottoman expansion in the 15th c., the trade largely remained in the hands of Western naval powers. The Ottomans had no tradition in trade and navigation (I.Giannopoloulos in: *IEE* XI, 1975, 100). Venice managed to remain the major commercial force during the early Ottoman times, and retained some important outposts and colonies on coastal and insular sites (such as Methoni, Koroni, Nauplia, Euboea, Crete, Cyprus, the Ionian Islands and some Aegean Islands). The Dalmatian city of Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik) was the major trading partner of the Ottomans until the late 16th c. The Ottomans considered good policy to make commercial agreements (capitulations) with the Italian naval forces, such as Venice, Genoa and Florence, and later, with other Western European powers (such as France and England), offering them special trading privileges in the territories of the Ottoman Empire (Inalcik 1973, 231-40). The Italian mercantile powers did not distribute only their own pottery, but also acted as intermediaries in the trade and distribution of Ottoman ceramics, such as the products of Iznik and Kütahya (Vroom 2003a, 298). Some Islamic wares reached Italy in the 16th-17th c. (Pringle 1977, 150-4; Arthur 2007, 249), while they also inspired the decoration of some Maiolica, such as the Maiolica ‘alla porcellana’ (Rackham 1952, 20; Carnegie 1993, 33). From the 17th c. onwards, the commerce of the Ottoman Empire was more dependent on some other European mercantile powers, particularly France, England and the Netherlands. As a result, wares other than Italian appeared in Greece in the 17th c. In the same period the new Western European commercial powers got involved in the distribution of the Italian Maiolica (Vroom 2003a, 295), while the Venetian occupation of some Greek islands continued until well into the 18th c. (Ionian Islands and Kythera).

The Venetian and Ottoman powers co-existed in Post-Byzantine Greece and their relations were not always hostile. As has already been suggested, Venice’s interests were

commercial rather than territorial and, during some long periods of peace (between 1480-1645 the Ottomans and the Venetians were not at war for more than 9 years), the Ottomans accepted that Venetian merchants lived and traded in their lands (Forsén 2007). In fact, areas remaining under Latin rule and parts of Greece belonging to the Ottoman Empire were not two different worlds without relations between each other. The Post-Byzantine period is characterized by a continuous mobility of population. Under the Ottoman threat in the 15th c., a large number of people immigrated to the Venetian territories in Greece and to Italy, a phenomenon that continued after the fall of the last Venetian possessions in the Peloponnese during the early 16th c. (A.Vakalopoulos in: *IEE* X, 1974, 73-77; Panayiotopoulos 1985, 105-111). The most important Greek community in Italy developed in Venice, the Greek population of which increased significantly during the second half of the 15th c., while many Greeks, including traders from Epeiros, were settled in the ports of Ancona and Leghorn (Livorno) already in the 16th c. (N.Moschonas in: *IEE* X, 1974, 235-244; Korre-Zographou 1995, 15, 19). The Fifth Turco-Venetian War (1645-1669) and the fall of Crete to the Turks led to a significant immigration of people from Crete, especially to the Venetian Ionian Islands and Italy (I.Chasiotis, in: *IEE* IX, 1975, 10). After 1687, inhabitants from several parts of Greece, including areas under Ottoman domination, came to the new Venetian colony in the Peloponnese, looking for a better life (Malliaris 2007, 98).

That there were similarities in the pottery used in Latin- and Ottoman-dominated areas is illustrated in the distribution of the Italian pottery in Post-Byzantine Greece. Clear evidence is provided by the parallels for some pottery from Chlemoutsi offered by the material from Rhodes, Cyprus and Crete. Particularly indicative are the close parallels for some Italian and Italian-influenced pottery of the 16th-17th c. that can be found at Castel Selino, Crete (see **wares 21.B.i: no.101; 21.B.vi: no.538; 17.B; 20.C; 22**), as well as the discovery in the castle

of a Venetian copper coin of the early 17th c. from Crete (**Appendix A, E2**, inventoried number: HN 9; **plate 52.h**).

Italian and Islamic wares co-existed in Post-Byzantine Greece. In some Ottoman-dominated areas, the balance clearly weighted in favour of Italian imports, as the material of Boeotia and Chlemoutsi indicate. Indirect but strong evidence for the significance of the Italian pottery in Post-Byzantine Greece is provided by the local imitations of Italian Maiolica and sgraffito wares. We know that workshops of such wares existed in Venetian Crete (Hahn 1989, 232; 1991; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 24, no.117), but also at Athens, in Central Greece (Franz 1942) and in Epeiros, in Western Greece (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 24; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1981-82, 8-10), which both belonged to the Ottoman empire. The material of Chlemoutsi includes various Greek Maiolica (**ware 17**; see also: **'Miscellanea', 2.iii,iv**) and some Italian-influenced sgraffito bowls (**wares: 14.B, nos. 645γ, 676α; 14.C**), datable to the period 15th/16th c.-early 17th c. In addition, there are some Çanakkale imitations of 18th- century Italian Maiolica, which can be compared with finds in Glarentza and Skyros (see **ware 29**). It should be added that in the 19th c. the Apulian Grottaglie Ware was closely imitated in Corfu, in Kythera and probably also at Patras (Charitonidou 1983, n.16; Korre-Zographou 1995, 113; Vroom 2005, 185).

The find spots of Italian tin- and lead-glazed wares known so far, as well as those of Italian-influenced wares (sgraffito wares, Greek Maiolica, Çanakkale imitations of Italian Maiolica, and imitations of Grottaglie Ware) include, apart from the Greek islands, sites especially in the Peloponnese (such as: Chlemoutsi, Glarentza, Patras, Niokastro in Pylos, Corinth, Monemvasia), Central Greece (such as: Athens, Thebes, rest of Boeotia, Eastern Phokis) and Epeiros (see **wares: 9; 17; 20-23; 29**). Italian wares are rare in Constantinople/Istanbul (Hayes 1981, 37, 40; Hayes 1992, 265). Little imported pottery has

been reported from Thessaloniki so far (Evgenidou 1982). However, the available material from this urban site in Northern Greece does not provide any evidence for predominance of Italian and Italian-influenced ceramics over Islamic imports, like Boeotia or Chlemoutsi. On the contrary, similarly to the period 13th-15th c., it seems to include little Western imports. Although the lack of adequate publications should be taken into account, one tends to note that this picture is quite similar to that provided by the distribution of the Italian pottery in Greece during the 13th-15th c. (see previous chapter).

According to Vroom (2003a, 299), the pottery of Boeotia shows that the emerging city-states in Italy had a bigger economic impact in the area than Istanbul had, and perhaps this has to do with the dynamics of distribution of pottery, in which Central Greece was, since the 12th-13th c., part of an Italian marketing area. The 13th-14th- century ceramic finds in the Peloponnese and Epeiros indicate that these two regions had become the most important Italian-dominated markets on the Greek mainland during the Frankish/Late Byzantine period (see MacKay 2001). Chlemoutsi, although an Ottoman castle for most of the Post-Byzantine period, seems to have remained strongly Western- or Italian- 'orientated', a fact that can be related to a number of factors, such as its Frankish past, the continuation of the Venetian presence in its neighbouring areas, the Venetian occupation of the Peloponnese between 1687 and 1715, and its geographical location.

The Peloponnese was included in the areas where the Venetians managed to keep some important colonies after the Ottoman conquest, which included Methoni, Koroni, Old Navarino, Argos and Nauplia. The last Peloponnesian possessions, Monemvasia and Nauplia, were not lost until 1540 (Miller 1908, 535-583; Lock 1995, 261-270; Davis 1998; Papathanasopoulos and Papathanasopoulos 2000). As has already been noted above, the NW Peloponnese, an ideal area for communication with the West, was included in their interests

and they managed to temporarily occupy Chlemoutsi and Patras in 1471. The Venetians participated in the Holy League, created in 1684 by the Hapsburgs, fifteen years after the loss of Crete, in the hope of restoring part of their old maritime empire. Rather unexpectedly, they conquered the Peloponnese, where they established the short-lived *Regno di Morea* (Liata and Tsiknakis 1998; Athanasoulis 2001). With the peace of Passarowitz in 1718, Venice lost the Peloponnese, but kept the Ionian Islands and Kythera and also obtained some tax reductions for its commercial activities in Ottoman lands (I.Chasiotis, in: *IEE* XI, 1975, 16-50).

The Ionian Islands, favoured by their geographical location between the West and the Ottoman Empire, replaced, after 1500, Methoni and Koroni in the Venetian commerce with the East and became important centres of transit trade (Ch.Maltezou, in: *IEE* X, 1974, 226-227; Athanasoulis 2001, 36). Zakynthos, the closest island to the NW Peloponnese, developed into an important commercial centre. Several European commercial powers maintained their consuls there, including England, Genoa, Malta, France and the Netherlands. In the 16th c., the island was the meeting-place of raisin-traders from England, Cephalonia and the Peloponnese (Ch.Maltezou, in: *IEE* X, 1974, 227; Simopoulos 1973, II, 342-4). The Ionian Islands form the only Greek region that was (almost) never included in the Ottoman empire. They remained constantly Venetian until the end of the Republic in 1797 and then they passed successively under French, Russian and British protection (Mylona 2003; N.Morchonas, in: *IEE* XI, 382-402). The constant relations with the West led to the development of a strongly Western-influenced culture in the Ionian Islands, which differentiated them substantially from the Ottoman-dominated Greek mainland (Ch.Maltezou and M.Chatzipidakis in: *IEE* IX, 217-8, 263-6).

Patras remained the most important commercial centre of the NW Peloponnese throughout the Post-Byzantine period. Written sources witness its big population (Spon 1678,

II, 298), the presence and the activities of traders and European consuls in the city (Çelebi, 39-40), as well as its important export trade, which included silk, wool, raisins and leather (report by Thomas Dallam, end of 16th c., in: Simopoulos 1970, I, 437; also: Wheeler 1682, 298). During the Venetian period (1687-1715) Patras attracted many immigrants and merchants from Italy and from other parts of Greece, including the Ionian Islands (mainly Cephalonia and Zakynthos) and Central Greece (Malliaris 2007). The economic and commercial importance of the city grew significantly during this period and its relations with the Ionian Islands and the West became closer (Panitsas 2003-2005). In the 18th c. major European powers maintained their consuls or had commercial activities in its port, such as Venice, Genoa, France, England, Austria, the Netherlands and Spain (Kremmydas 1972, 50-2, 140, 269-92). Western goods were arriving at its port and then distributed to neighbouring areas in Southern Greece. In the mid-18th c., a report by the Venetian consul Anastasios Messalas witnesses the transportation of goods, including ceramics, from Venice and Leghorn through Corfu to Patras, which were then distributed in other cities of the Peloponnese and its neighbouring parts of Central Greece (Sathas 1957, 289; Simopoulos 1973, II, 645-6). The proximity to the Ionian Islands and the constant relations with the West through commerce did not leave the city untouched. It does not seem a coincidence that the new town-planning, proposed in 1829 by the architect S.Voulgaris (originating from Corfu), included some features based on Italian models (Tsonakas 1997); or that the today famous carnival of the city, which seems to have developed after the important immigration of population from the Ionian Islands to Patras in the 19th c., shows significant influences from Italian customs (Magnis 1997).

The close relations between the Ionian Islands and the NW Peloponnese were favoured by their geographical proximity. Patras and Kyllini (located on the site of the

Frankish Glarentza) remain today the main ports for travelling from Southern Greece to the Ionian Islands and Italy. Travellers frequently referred to the clear view offered from Chlemoutsi to Zakynthos and Cephalonia, as well as to the maritime communication between these islands and the area of Chlemoutsi (Çelebi, 46, 47, 50; Pouqueville 1820-26, 137-9; Leake 1830, II, 171, 175).

Gastouni remained the administrative and commercial centre of the area of Chlemoutsi throughout the Post-Byzantine period (Papandreou 1924, 347; S.Asdrachas, in: *IEE* XI, 1975, 173). The economic and commercial importance of the city is indicated by its annual fair, which is documented in the Venetian period, but probably existed before 1687 (Lambros 1905, 618; Gritsopoulos 1998, 390). The area of Gastouni retained close relations with both Patras and the Ionian Islands. In 1605, a certain Lambrino Pazzo from Gastouni addressed a letter to the French consul in Zakynthos, to report his travel to Patras, where he met the British consul to discuss commercial issues (see Gritsopoulos 1998, 388). The Venetian occupation of the Peloponnese between 1687 and 1715 strengthened the relations of the area with the Ionian Islands and the West. During this period the region of Gastouni participated in the production and exportation of raisins and other agricultural and animal products to Europe, including Italy (A.Vakalopoulos, in: *IEE* XI, 1975, 209; Slot 1980; Katsouleas 1980, 195). The discovery in Chlemoutsi of two Venetian copper coins (**Appendix A, trench ΑΓ**: inventoried numbers HN 2,4; **plate 52.g**) from the Ionian Islands and Dalmatia respectively (see Chatziotis, 1976, 74-75) not only proves the use of the castle during the Venetian period, but also attests the relation of the area with the Venetian commerce in the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic.

Trading activities in the coastal area of Gastouni are documented already before the period of Venetian occupation (1687-1715) and they must have included Glarentza¹. Although written sources provide clear evidence that the old famous city was abandoned soon after the end of the Frankish occupation², its port seems to have remained in some use during the Post-Byzantine period, at least for the communication with the Ionian Islands, especially Zakynthos (Gritsopoulos 1998, 383). It was considered a ‘good anchorage’ for ships, as a portolan of the late 16th c. mentions (Delatte 1947, 212: “Η Γλαρέντζα έχει καλό ράξιμο”). In the late 17th c. Evliya Çelebi mentions two ports in Glarentza (Çelebi 1668-1671, 44; see also Bon 1969, 324). Along with Patras, it was the only port in the NW Peloponnese used by the ships of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) during the 18th c. (Aristeidou 1987-8, n.31). That the site of Glarentza remained in some use throughout the Post-Byzantine period is also indicated by the discovery during recent excavations of some pottery (Iznik and Çanakkale wares, mentioned in: Athanasoulis 2005, 49; see also picture in p.38) and some Venetian coins (*soldini* and *gazzete*, see J.Baker, in: Athanasoulis 2005, 43).

Epeiros, another area open to the Ionian Sea, retained close relations with Italy since the 13th c. (Nicol 1984) and throughout the Post-Byzantine period (see discussion of **ware 21.C**). Similarly to Chlemoutsi, Italian pottery had an important presence in the 16th-18th-century pottery of Epeiros (Charitonidou 1983; Kyriazopoulos and Charitonidou 1986; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1987, 41-42, figs.21-2; 1994, 106, figs.75-80; Kommatas 2003), while Italian influence on its local pottery is noted probably before the 16th c. (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, 103, no.102). The significance of the trading route linking Epeiros – the

¹ These are two letters of the years 1624 and 1672, included in the Venetian documents known as “Codex of Mertzios”. The first mentions some trade taking place in the anchorages of the area of Gastouni; the second witnesses the trading activities of an Ottoman official from Gastouni at nearby anchorage of Palouki (see Gritsopoulos 1998, 388, n.29).

² The city is not included in the list of Peloponnesean castles of 1467 (published in: Hopf 1873, 206-7; Sphekoloulos 1968, 43-46; Bon 1969, 693-4; MacLeod 1972). From the 16th c. onwards, all the written sources describe the city as ruined and deserted (see Bon 1969, 324, n.1).

SW coast of Central Greece (Messolongi) - Patras in the Post-Byzantine period (Kremmydas 1972, 313) seems to provide an explanation for the connections of the NW Peloponnese with Epeiros, indicated by the presence of Epeirotic ceramics in Chlemoutsí. It is therefore not a coincidence that Epeiros was among the Ottoman-dominated areas from which people emigrated to the Peloponnese, when in 1687 it fell to the Venetians (Malliaris 2007, 98), or that traders from Ioannina settled in the Peloponnese in 1731 (Kremmydas 1972, 299).

Geography apparently played an important role in the connections between Epeiros, the Ionian Islands, the Peloponnese and Italy. The Epeirotic products of the period 16th-18th c. that are present at Chlemoutsí, and the significant presence of Italian and Italian-influenced pottery in both regions, reflect a common 'language' and significant Western influences, through the Ionian Sea. The pottery of the Ionian Islands remains basically unknown in the bibliography, but it must have included a lot of Italian wares, like that of the Aegean Islands. Church frescos and religious icons of the 17th-18th c. from the Ionian and the Aegean Islands indicate common Western-influenced dining habits (Vionis 2005, 293-4). Furthermore, according to Korre-Zographou (2000, 44-5), the potters of Çanakkale imitated Italian wares, in order to correspond to the tastes of their customers in the Aegean islands. It seems probable that they did the same for their customers in the Peloponnese, as indicated by the Çanakkale imitations of Italian Maiolica that are present at Chlemoutsí and Glarentza (and Skyros).

In the 18th-19th c. Epeiros, the Ionian Islands, and the Peloponnese have in common at least the pottery from Pesaro and the Grottaglie Ware. In 1530 a Venetian family established pottery workshops in Corfu, while pottery produced in Corfu, sometimes together with jugs from Pesaro, are found in the walls or the foundations of Epeirotic churches of the 18th and the first half of the 19th c. (Charitonidou 1983, 291, n.10). In the 18th c., ceramics produced in Zakynthos were transferred in bulk to the ports of Epeiros, the Peloponnese and its

neighbouring parts of Central Greece (Charitonidou 1983, 294; Korre-Zographou 1995, 198). Besides, as has already been mentioned, the Apulian Grottaglie Ware was imitated in Corfu, in Kythera (an island located directly south of the Peloponnese), and probably also at Patras.

The available ceramic evidence and historical information suggest that Italian influence remained significant at least in some Southern and Western parts of the Greek mainland and in the islands, which had become Italian marketing areas since the Frankish/Late Byzantine period, even if some of these areas became part of the Ottoman Empire as early as the 15th c. (Peloponnese, Epeiros, Central Greece). At least as far as Chlemoutsi is concerned, the comparable ceramic material offered by Rhodes, Cyprus and Crete, does not seem to be only due to the absence of adequate publications from other Greek sites. The Italian pottery of Chlemoutsi, with its quantity and variety throughout the life of the castle, reveals a significant Western influence, which is comparable to that noted in sites under long and direct Latin rule. Indicative is the similarity to some 16th-17th c.- Italian and Italian-influenced pottery from Crete, which, apart from the Ionian Islands, was the longest-lived Venetian colony. If the West had a much stronger economic impact than the East in Boeotia (located in the eastern part of Central Greece), it does not seem unsafe to conclude that Chlemoutsi was located in one of the most strongly Western-influenced areas in Post-Byzantine Greece. The Peloponnese had close political and commercial relations with Italy during the period of its Frankish occupation, while the Venetians dominated parts of the Peloponnese until the 16th c. As far as the NW Peloponnese is concerned, it is important that the area offered easy access to the Venetian Ionian Islands and Italy, as well as that the commercial traffic in the Ionian Sea remained intense throughout the Post-Byzantine period. It seems that the NW Peloponnese remained for centuries open to Western, particularly Italian, influences through the Ionian Sea, which are reflected in the pottery of Chlemoutsi.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The pottery from the excavations at Chlemoutsi supports the evidence provided by the written sources that the castle was built by the Franks in the second quarter of the 13th c. and that it remained in use until the Greek War of Independence in the early 19th c. The most important characteristic of the pottery of the castle is the continuous and significant presence of Italian wares throughout its life.

The influx of Italian pottery into the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13th c. is connected to the close relations developed between Italy and the Crusader states in the East and the presence of Latin population there. Italian ceramics, dominated by Southern Italian products, are particularly associated with coastal sites and were distributed mainly through the Venetian commerce. As far as Greece is concerned, the distribution of Italian ceramics during the 13th-15th c. seems to be related to a combination of political, commercial and geographical factors, as well as to local tastes and traditions. The ceramic evidence that is available today suggests that some Southern regions of the Greek mainland (at least the Peloponnese), Epeiros and the Greek Islands formed the most important markets for the Italian ceramics.

Clermont functioned as a residence of the Prince of Achaea and as symbol of the Frankish power and authority. From its strategic position it secured control over the most important area of the Principality of Achaea and was physically and functionally connected to Glarentza (*Clarence*), its major port for the communication with the West. The glazed pottery of the Frankish castle is almost entirely Italian¹. Clearly, the groups of the Latins settled in Chlemoutsi preferred to use as tablewares the fine ceramics imported from Italy. Present are

¹ It should be noted that the wares of uncertain origin are plain glazed wares of Italian origin or similar to Italian wares.

the wares that the Franks chose to use among those that were available by the trade of the Principality of Achaea with the West. Local pottery was in use in the Frankish castle, but it consisted mainly of unglazed wares, most of which covered every-day needs, like storage.

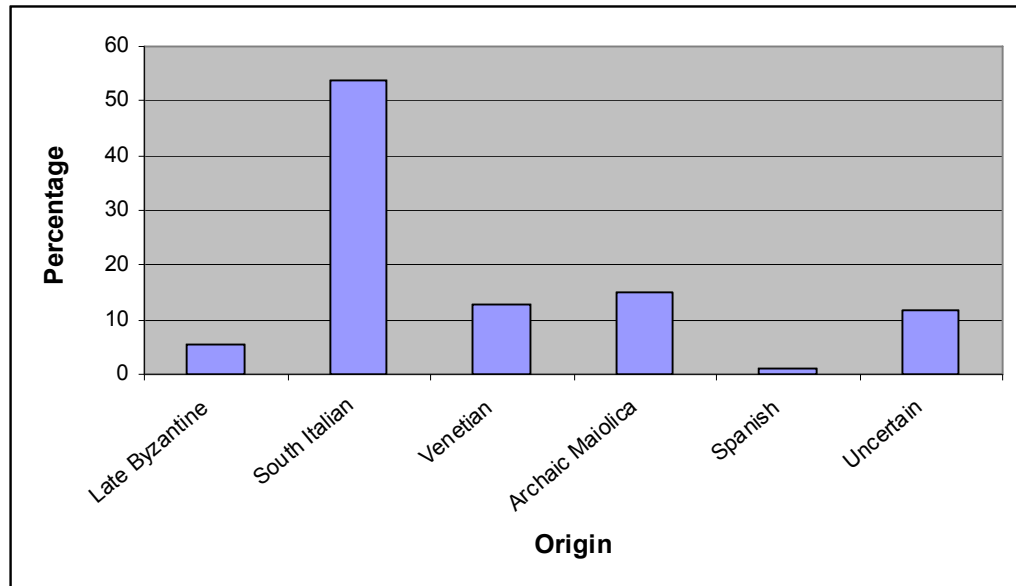


Table 7. Diagnostic glazed pottery of the Frankish/Late Byzantine period (13th-15th c.): origin and proportions of wares

The general picture provided by the Italian pottery from Chlemoutsi is similar to that of the 13th-14th– century material known from Frankish Corinth, although Corinth represents an urban site with mixed population. It includes Southern Italian wares, Archaic Maiolica and pottery from Venice and its area; Southern Italian pottery is predominant and appears earlier than Venetian pottery. But there are some differences -such as the larger quantities of ‘RMR’ pottery and of Archaic Maiolica, the presence of some Southern Italian types that are absent at Corinth and the common occurrence of Venetian wares later than in Corinth- which can be connected to the longer time span covered by the material of Chlemoutsi, as well as to the particular tastes and aesthetics of the Latin elite settled in the castle.

The ceramic material from Chlemoutsi reveals that Southern Italian pottery remained predominant until the end of the Principality of Achaea in the early 15th c., a fact supported by

a few comparable examples that can be identified at Isthmia, Patras and Glarentza. Venetian pottery seems to have become common in Chlemoutsi later than elsewhere in the Peloponnese. Chlemoutsi shows that the importation of sgraffito pottery from Venice and its area, as well as of Maiolica from Central and Northern Italy continued well after the end of the Frankish occupation and the Ottoman conquest in 1460. Little pottery of the period following the end of the Principality has been reported so far from the Peloponnese. One must assume that, similarly to the insular sites that remained under Western or Venetian rule (such as Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, Cyclades), a lot of Italian pottery continued to arrive in the Venetian outposts on the coasts of the Peloponnese (such as Methoni, Koroni, Argos, Nauplia and Monemvasia) and in Euboea until their fall to the Turks in the late 15th or the early 16th c. But, the pottery reported from Patras, although limited, supports the evidence provided by Chlemoutsi that Italian goods continued to arrive also in the NW Peloponnese, despite the end of the Frankish domination in the area in the early 15th c. and the Turkish conquest in 1460. It should be noted that Patras developed into the most important port and commercial centre of the NW Peloponnese in this period.

The pottery and the building phases of the castle, as well as some other archaeological data produced by the recent excavations, combined with the evidence provided by written sources, prove that Chlemoutsi retained much of its importance after the Ottoman conquest in 1460. The Turkish castle prospered in the early Ottoman times. Many buildings were altered or added in the castle, in order to provide enough houses for the new conquerors, while a village developed on the slope of the hill, outside its walls. Chlemoutsi / *Castel Tornese* remained constantly occupied during the period of the Venetian *Regno di Morea* (1687-1715) and the second period of Ottoman occupation (1715-early 19th c.). The pottery reflects the decline of the castle in the 18th c. and its abandonment in the early 19th c.

After the end of the Frankish occupation Chlemoutsi developed close relations with other parts of Greece, as is indicated by the ceramics from Post-Byzantine workshops, which are predominant in its material. The pottery indicates relations with Epeiros and Central Greece and must also include local Peloponnesian wares (which remain unknown in the bibliography). Although it was an Ottoman castle for most of the period between 1460 and the early 19th c., the imported pottery of the castle includes mainly Western wares, particularly Italian, while the number of Islamic ceramics is small. The Italian pottery includes both tin- and lead-glazed types from major production centres in Italy, such as Venice, Faenza, Pisa, Montelupo, Liguria and Pesaro.

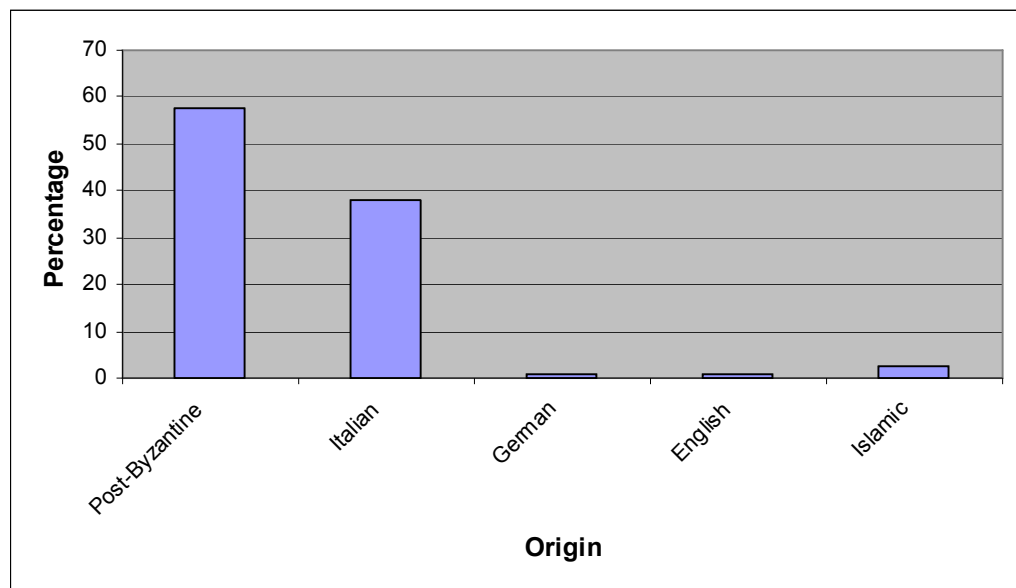


Table 8. Diagnostic glazed pottery of the Post-Byzantine period (later 15th-early 19th c.): origin and proportions of wares

The Fourth Crusade had opened the way to the economic penetration of the West in Byzantium. The Venetians acquired a primary role in the distribution of the products of the Italian pottery industry to the customer communities created in the East. Despite the Ottoman expansion in the 15th c., the trade largely remained in the hands of Western naval powers. Venice remained a major commercial force in the early Ottoman times. It retained various

outposts and colonies on coastal and insular sites, among which sites in Southern Greece and on the Greek islands. Ottoman- and Western-ruled Greek areas were not two different worlds without relations between each other. People often emigrated to Italy and to Italian colonies. The Venetian and Ottoman powers co-existed in Post-Byzantine Greece and during some long periods of peace the Ottomans accepted Venetian merchants living and trading in their territories. It is important that some Italian and Italian-influenced pottery from Chlemoutsi, as well as some numismatic evidence, indicate relations with the Venetian Crete in the 16th-17th c.

The limited reports of pottery from Post-Byzantine Greece should be taken into account. However, it cannot be a coincidence that Italian and Italian-influenced ceramics have been reported so far mainly from areas that included substantial Italian imports during the 13th-15th c.: the islands, the Peloponnese, Central Greece and Epeiros. Workshops producing wares imitating Italian ceramics were active in Venetian Crete, but also in Central Greece (Athens) and Epeiros, areas that belonged to the Ottoman Empire.

Tin-glazed wares, such as Italian Maiolica and products from Iznik and Kütahya, co-existed in Post-Byzantine Greece, corresponding to the demands of the wealthy classes for high quality imported ceramics. The studies of pottery that are available today have shown that Italian pottery is abundant in regions that experienced a long-term Western or Venetian rule (Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, Cyclades). Furthermore, according to the studies of the pottery from Cyprus and of some pictorial evidence from the Aegean and the Ionian Islands and from Crete, Italian pottery seems to have been used by both Latin and Greek upper classes. The ceramic evidence that is available today suggests also that in some Western and Southern Greek sites or regions belonging to the Ottoman empire Western and Western-influenced ceramics were more available or preferred than Islamic wares. These include Patras, Epeiros,

Boeotia and, of course, Chlemoutsi. Along with Islamic and local Greek ceramics, Western vessels were used as tablewares by the Ottomans who were settled in Chlemoutsi. The pottery from Patras and Epeiros (Arta and Ioannina) represents urban sites, while the evidence from Boeotia includes both rural and tower sites. Chlemoutsi seems to represent a 'purely' Turkish site, especially if we believe Çelebi that non-Muslims were not allowed into the castle.

The ceramic material of Chlemoutsi demonstrates that at least some of the areas that had become Italian-dominated markets during the period of Frankish/Latin domination, remained open to Western trade and influences, even if they fell to the Ottomans as early as the 15th c. Of course, the picture of ceramic use in Chlemoutsi is quite different to that provided by the pottery of Istanbul, where Islamic pottery is abundant, while Western pottery is limited. But Chlemoutsi represents a region of the *periphery*, located far from the centre of the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul and very close to Venetian interests and influences.

At least the NW Peloponnese seems to have had close connections with the West, through its coasts, throughout the Post-Byzantine period, which are reflected in the pottery of Chlemoutsi. The Western and Western-influenced pottery of the castle, with its quantity and variety, is comparable to that reported from sites that remained for long under strong and direct Latin/Venetian influence. Particularly important for the relations of the area with the West was the role of the port of Patras, as well as the proximity of the area to the Ionian Islands, which remained Venetian until 1797 and never became part of the Ottoman empire. The available historical information indicates that the connections of the NW Peloponnese with the West and the Ionian Islands were close before, during and after the short period of the *Regno di Morea*. Patras remained the main port and commercial centre of the area throughout the Post-Byzantine period, in which Western goods were arriving and then distributed to the Peloponnese and the neighbouring parts of Central Greece. The pottery of

Chlemoutsi indicates also connections with Epeiros, another area open to the Ionian Sea, which retained relations with Italy since the 13th c. and throughout the period of its Ottoman occupation. The presence of Epeirotic products in Chlemoutsi and the significant presence of Italian and Italian-influenced pottery in the Post-Byzantine period in both Chlemoutsi and Epeiros, reflect a common culture, as well as significant Western influences, through the Ionian Sea. It is also interesting that in the 19th c. the Apulian Grottaglie Ware was imitated in the Ionian Islands (Corfu) and in or close to the Peloponnese (in Kythera and possibly also in Patras).

The close political and economic relations with Italy developed during the Frankish period, the Venetian interests in the Peloponnese, the continuous Venetian domination of the Ionian Islands, and the direct access to the Ionian Sea and Italy, seem to have made the NW Peloponnese one of the most strongly Western-influenced areas of the Greek mainland.

Of course various issues discussed in this thesis require further research. The typology of the pottery from Chlemoutsi may prove useful for the study of pottery from other sites, particularly of the Western ceramics imported to Greece between the 13th and the 19th c. and of the Post-Byzantine pottery of the Peloponnese. One must in the future try to isolate the pottery used by the local Greek population and compare it with that used by the Franks themselves. More publications of ceramics of the Post-Byzantine period from various parts of Greece are necessary. Differences in ceramic use between Latin- and Ottoman-dominated regions, urban and rural areas, coastal and non-coastal sites need to be further explored. More publications of pottery from sites with continuous use in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods, like Thessaloniki in the north and Patras in the south, may prove valuable for further

investigating the economic, technological and cultural impact of the West in Greece from the 13th c. onwards.

**CHLEMOUTSI CASTLE (*CLERMONT, CASTEL TORNESE*), PELOPONNESE: ITS
POTTERY AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WEST (13TH - EARLY 19TH C.)**

by

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Volume 2: Appendices, Bibliography & Plates

A thesis submitted to

The University of Birmingham

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman

& Modern Greek Studies

Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity

University of Birmingham

October 2009

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1997-2000

[Plates 7, 9-13, 52.e-h]

Depth was taken from the modern surface level. The catalogued pieces are in bold letters*. For the unglazed wares mentioned here ('matt-painted' pottery, 'flared bowls', 'spouted jugs') see **Appendix B**.

I. OUTER ENCLOSURE, AREA A

1. Location description

Area A (trenches Z-ΛE) is located east of the Turkish mosque (K11). The area is sloping, becoming higher towards the inner enclosure, which stands on the highest point of the hill. The digging reached a depth ranging from ca. 0.40 to ca. 1m. The complete plan of the buildings did not become clear, since large areas remained unexcavated and some trenches were excavated at a small depth. At several points, however, the excavation reached the (quite uneven and sloping) bedrock, proving that most of the walls were founded on it.

The excavation revealed:

a) Road P1, between area A1 and wall 6; it is located on the extension of an old cobbled way in front of the mosque, which was visible before the start of the excavation (apparently it was excavated or cleaned during some older works). P1 was excavated into trenches H and Θ, but no further traces of the cobbled way were found.

b) Area A1: between roads P1 and P2. Walls 3, 4, 8 and 10 seem to define a large building, which included at least two levels. A vertical wall (wall 12) indicates that there were at least two rooms. A flight of steps (built of worked stones and re-used material) unearthed in trench IB leads to the first level of the west 'room' (indicated also by the discovery of a floor in this area). A second level is indicated by another, higher, step, found further north (into trench IE),

* Consult the Table of Contents to locate each discussed ware in the catalogues of ceramics in chapter 4.

as well as by the traces of a floor found into trench KΔ, and by two structures ('walls' 11 and 14), which originally were most probably related to the construction of floors. The function of the rectangular structure found in trench Θ did not become clear (since the area south of this trench was not excavated), but it seems possible that it was related to the access to the east 'room'.

c) Road P2, between A1 and A2, excavated in trenches ΣΤ, ΙΔ, ΙΑ, ΚΑ, ΚΒ, ΚΕ. It is bounded by walls 8 and 9. Its original level is indicated by the remains of a floor found into trench ΚΒ (on the NW corner), which is approximately at the same level as the traces of a floor located into trench ΚΔ (in area A1).

d) Area A2: between wall(s) 7-9 and wall 1. Wall 1 belongs to the original Frankish construction. It is parallel to the north side of the hexagon of the inner enclosure and supports a restored cobbled way leading to its entrance (E2). Only small part of Area A2 was excavated, thus the arrangement of the buildings did not become quite clear. All walls and floors are founded on the bedrock, which was found ca. 0.80-1m. deeper than the foundation of the retaining wall 1 (also founded on the bedrock). A building (or a series of buildings) is defined by the wall(s) 7-9, wall 9 and wall 19. The north wall of the building(s), wall 9, has been built on a pre-existing (Frankish?) wall (9α). The level of the east area of the building/s is indicated by several traces of floors located in the trenches ΙΘ, ΚΖ, ΛΑ and ΛΓ (all approximately at the same level). An entrance exists on the east side of A2 (wall 9), indicated by a threshold (trench ΚΖ). Further south, in front of the Frankish wall 1, some small parts of buildings were located (walls 5,20,17,21,15,16), the relation of which between each other and to the north part of area A2 remained unclear. Their construction, which is different to that of wall 1, as well as the pottery and other finds of the trenches (Λ, ΛΓ, ΛΕ, Ζ), indicate that these walls form later (Turkish) additions.

2. Dating

The pottery and the other finds belong mainly to the Post-Byzantine period, reaching the late 18th-early 19th c. Walls and floors are built directly on the bedrock. Except for wall 9a, the construction and arrangement of the walls suggest that the excavated buildings belong to a single phase. Most probably they are contemporary to the Turkish mosque, which, according to Çelebi was built by the Sultan Bayezit (1481-1512). The pottery and the other finds from the area A strongly support this dating. The most important chronological evidence is provided by: (a) a re-used part of a Frankish rib-vaulting and a Venetian glass goblet, which were built into one of the sidewalls of the flight of steps (wall 13, trench IB); (b) an Italian Sgraffito sherd (ware 20.A, no.497: ca. mid-15th c. – 1500) found on the floor of the upper stair (trench IE); (c) trench KB, which produced pottery of the period 13th c. to 15th-16th c. at the level of a floor (indicating the original level of the Turkish road) and deeper; (d) the discovery of a fallen and broken Turkish marble inscription with the date 1536/7 in trench Θ, which probably provides a *terminus ante quem* for the Turkish works in the castle (see **Appendix C; chapter 6.A; plate 52.e**).

3. Trenches and finds

The trenches are described from north to south, i.e. from the road P1 and the area A1 to the road P2 and the area A2. Depth was taken from modern surface level, which, following the formation of the hill, was sloping. The lowest level is on the south of wall 6 and the highest level in front of wall 1 (i.e. in front of the inner enclosure).

a) Road P1 ('cobbled way' and trenches H, Θ)

The works included the cleaning of the traces of an old (Turksih) cobbled way (O), which were preserved in front of the Turkish mosque (K11). The area had already been excavated in the past. Trench H is located in the area east of the preserved old cobbled way (this area had not been excavated in the past). The aim was to discover possible further remains of the cobbled way. Wall 4 forms the south boundary of road P1. Traces of this wall were visible before the start of the excavation. The excavation did not reach the foundation of the wall. Trench Θ was the continuation of trench H towards the east. The excavation unearthed: wall 6 (preserved top of the wall was on modern surface level); a flat, low rectangular structure with a floor (made of earth and small stones) surrounded by small stones and re-used material; a worked bedrock, which forms the first of a flight of steps, later discovered in trench IB. Final depth: 0.70-0.90 m. (sloping surface from north to south). **Θ.3**: small trench on the NW corner of the trench (north of wall 6), excavated 0.30 m. deeper than the rest of the trench. **Θ.4**: small trench dug up into the floor of Θ4 (at a depth ca. 0.20m.).

- **'Cobbled way'**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: Green Painted Ware (**ware 16.A: 191**); Post-Byzantine Coloured Sgraffito (**ware 14.B: 190**). Other pottery: matt-painted sherd; some ancient sherds. Other finds: part of a Turkish colonette (with turban). Date: 15th-17th c. (ancient sherds and the matt-painted sherd found in the filling between the stones).
- **Trench H**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: none. Other pottery: unglazed spouted jug-sherd. Date: 16th-17th c.
- **Θ (except for the small trenches Θ.3, Θ.4)**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: Italian Sgraffito (**ware 9: 510δ**); Green Painted Ware (**ware 16.A: 508γ, 509α**); Early

Renaissance Maiolica (**ware 21.A: 508ε**); Post-Byzantine Painted Ware (**ware 16.E: 508β**); Post-Byzantine Plain Glazed Ware (**ware 19: 510α, 510ε**). Other pottery: ten matt-painted sherds. Other finds: fallen and broken part of Turkish marble inscription, with date 1536/7 (see **Appendix C**). Date: 13th to 18th c.

- **Θ.3:** Diagnostic glazed pottery: ‘RMR’ (**ware 6: 514α**); Green Painted Ware (**ware 16.A**: total number of pieces: 2, none catalogued); Early Renaissance Maiolica (**ware 21.A: 514η**); Post-Byzantine Slip-Painted Ware (**ware 15: 514δ, 514ε**); Northern Italian Marbled Ware (**ware 22: 514ζ**). Other pottery: unglazed spouted jug sherd. Date: 13th to 16th-17th c.
- **Θ.4:** Diagnostic glazed pottery: ‘RMR’ (**ware 6: 512γ**). Other pottery: matt-painted sherd. Date: 13th-14th c.

b) Area A1

Trenches IB, IE

Discovery, near the modern surface, of a **flight of steps** (three steps), leading to a **floor** (earth, mortar and worked stones). The flight of steps and its west sidewall (wall 13) are built with stones and re-used material, which include: part of a marble plaque with moulded borders built on the upper stair and part of a Frankish rib-vaulting built into wall 13. The discovery of the sherd no.497 (mid-15th c.–1500) on the floor provides important evidence for the dating of the remains found in the trenches IB-IE. Discovery of another, higher, step (built with stones and re-used material) into trench IE, in considerable distance from the flight of steps of the trench IB (this step includes two worked stones). Wall 13 (west sidewall of the flight of steps)

forms a corner with wall 4 (traces of wall 4, which forms the north boundary of the road P1, were visible before the start of the excavation). The part of wall 13 into trench IE, as well as the area between the walls 13 and 3, were not excavated, thus the relation between wall 13 and 'wall' 14 (located south of wall 13), did not become clear ('wall' 14, which was found later into trench ΣT, seems to have formed in fact a structure supporting a floor: see below). East of the flight of steps, the sidewall 12 does not reach road P1, but forms a corner with wall 23 (not excavated, but there are visible traces). Final depth: ca. 0.30 (floor level); into the small area **IB5**, east of the stairs: ca. 0.55m.

- **IB, flight of steps**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: no pottery found. Other finds: foot of glass goblet, built in wall 13 (inventoried no.Y2: the glass is dated to the 15th-16th c., see: Ward-Perkins et al. 1973, 126-130, fig.35, nos.49-50). Date: 15th-16th c.
- **IE, floor**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: Italian Sgraffito (**ware 20.A: 497**); Post-Byzantine Painted Ware (**ware 16.E: 498**). Date: mid-15th to 16th-18th c.
- **IB5**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: Late Byzantine Coloured Sgraffito (**ware 1: 624α**). Date: 13th -14th c.

Trenches ΙΣΤ, K

Discovery of the continuation of wall 12. Discovery of part of wall 8 (on surface level). Immediately north of this wall most of the excavated level included rubble, broken tiles and mortar (**destruction level**). Final depth: 0.60-0.90 m. (sloping surface).

- **K**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: Early Renaissance Maiolica (**ware 21.A: 640α**).
- **ΙΣΤ**: Renaissance and later Maiolica (**ware 21.B: 619α**).

Date: 15th c. to 17th c. (+?).

Trench ΣΤ

The preserved top of wall 8 was on the modern surface level. The excavation revealed, slightly deeper than wall 8, a structure, here named 'wall 14', which, most probably, supported originally a floor, the level of which was the same as that of the step found in trench IE (for a similar arrangement see trenches ΚΔ and ΛΓ, below). Final depth: ca. 0.40m.

Diagnostic glazed pottery: no pottery recorded.

Trenches ΚΓ, ΚΔ, ΚΘ

Between walls 12 and 10, north of wall 8. Traces of wall 10 were visible before the start of the excavation. The excavation showed that it was founded on the bedrock. Discovery of wall 11 at a small depth (ca. 0.40m.), at a level similar to that of the step into trench IE. North of wall 8, into the trench ΚΔ, remains of a **floor** were found (small stones and mortar), which seems to have been supported by 'wall' 11. On the corner of walls 8 and 10 a pilaster was located, built with stones ('wall 18'). Final depth: ca. 0.70-0.80 m.

- **ΚΓ**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: none. Other pottery: two matt-painted sherds; unglazed flared bowl.
- **ΚΔ**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: Italian Sgraffito (**ware 9: 643β-649α***); Monochrome Whiteware (total number of pieces: 1, not catalogued).
- **ΚΘ**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: 'RMR' (**ware 6: 658γ**). Early Renaissance Maiolica (**ware 21.A: 658α**); Greek Maiolica (**658β-621ιβ****). Other pottery: four matt-painted sherds; two unglazed flared bowls.

Date: 13th-14th c. to 18th c.

* 649α mended with 643β from trench KA **658β mended with 621ιβ from trench ΙΘ.

c) Road P2

Trench IΔ

Small trench, south of wall 8. Final depth: ca. 0.70 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Green Painted Ware (**ware 16.A: 614α**); Renaissance and later Maiolica (**ware 21.B: 614β**). Date: 15th c. or later to 17th c. (+?)

Trench IA

The top of wall 8 is here 0.30 m. deeper than in trenches K and ΣT. Final depth: ca. 0.70 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: no finds recorded.

Trench KA

The top of wall 9 was found near the surface level. Probably, it is the same wall as wall 7 (not excavated, but visible remains exist). As in trench KB (below), the discovery of rubble and broken tiles near the modern surface, up to a depth of ca. 0.60 indicate a **destruction level**. Final depth: ca. 1 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Monochrome Whiteware (**ware 24**: total number of pieces: 2, none catalogued). *Deeper*: Italian Sgraffito (**ware 9: 643β-649α***); Early Renaissance Maiolica (**ware 21.A: 643α**). Other pottery: two matt-painted sherds. Date: 13th to 15th c. and 18th c.

*643β mended with 649α from trench KΔ

Trench KB

Excavation of wall 8 and of the area on its south (road P2). The preserved top of wall 8 was found at modern surface level. As in trench KA, the existence of a **destruction level** is indicated by the presence of rubble and broken tiles, found here up to a depth ca. 0.40m. Deeper (at a depth ca. 0.60 m.), on the NW corner of the trench, next to wall 8, a small part of an earthen **floor** (containing some mortar and small stones) was located, indicating the original level of the (Turkish) road. All diagnostic pottery comes from the level of the floor or deeper (to the final depth of the trench). Final depth: ca. 1m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: ‘RMR’ (**ware 6: 645ε**); Italian Sgraffito (**ware 9: 645α, 645β**); Early Renaissance Maiolica (**ware 21.A: 645δ**); Post Byzantine Coloured Sgraffito (**ware 14.B: 645γ**). Other pottery: matt-painted sherd. Date: 13th to 15th-16th c.

Trench KE

Excavation of road P2 and walls 8 and 22. Wall 22, on the SE corner of the trench (its top was near the modern surface level; no foundation located) ends in a rectangular pilaster (only its lower part preserved). Final depth: ca. 1.10 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Brown Glazed (Monochrome) Ware (**ware 3: 653δ**); Protomaiolica (**ware 5: 653β, 653γ**); Archaic Maiolica (**ware 4: 650β**); ‘RMR’ (**650α, 652γ**); Italian Sgraffito (**ware 9: 651α; 652δ**); Monochrome Whiteware (**ware 24:** total number of pieces: 2, none catalogued); Late Polychrome Maiolica (**ware 21.C: 651β**). Other pottery: four matt-painted sherds; unglazed flared bowl. Date: 13th to 15th c. and 18th –early 19th c.

d) Area A2

Trench IH

Excavation of wall 9. Its preserved top was near surface level, as in trench KA (above, P2).

Final depth: ca. 0.60. Diagnostic glazed pottery: no finds recorded.

Trench IO

Excavation of wall 9α. In this trench, the preserved top of this wall is almost flat and ca. 0.30m. lower than wall 9 in trenches IH-KA. It seems that 9α belongs to an earlier phase (Frankish): its east end is covered by a (later - Turkish) **floor** made of small stones and mortar (found at a depth ca. 0.50-0.60 m.), the level of which corresponds to some parts of floors found later in trenches KZ, ΛA, ΛΓ. It seems that (the Turkish) wall 9 was built on the remains of the pre-existing (Frankish) wall 9α. Final depth: 0.90-1 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: 'RMR' (**ware 6: 622ε**); Green Painted Ware (**ware 16.A: total number of pieces: 4, including the catalogued pieces nos. 620β, 622β, 622γ**); Greek Maiolica (**ware 17.B: 658β-621ιβ*, 621α, 621ια**); Post-Byzantine Painted Ware (**ware 16.E: 621γ**); Northern Italian Marbled Ware (**ware 22: 621β**); Renaissance and later Maiolica (**ware 21.B: 620α, 621δ**); Monochrome Whiteware (**ware 22: total number of pieces: 2, none catalogued**); Brown Painted Ware (**ware 16.D: 622δ**); Miscellanea (**1: 621στ**); Other pottery: threematt-painted sherds; unglazed spouted jug- sherd. Date: 13th to 18th c.

* 621ιβ mended with 658β from trench KΘ

Trench KZ

Excavation of wall 19 (its preserved top was found at a small depth). The wall is interrupted by an opening with a threshold, which is made of worked rectangular stones. At about the same level the rest of the trench is covered by a **floor** (small stones and mortar), which, apparently is the same as that found on the east end of trench IΘ. Final depth: ca. 0.80 (floor).

Diagnostic glazed pottery: none.

Trenches ΛA, ΛB, KΣT

The whole area of trench ΛA was originally covered by a **floor** (at the same level / same floor as in trenches IΘ, KZ). The floor rests on the bedrock. In trenches KΣT and ΛB only bedrock was located. Final depth: 0.80-0.90

- **ΛA**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: none.
- **KΣT**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: none
- **ΛB**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: Monochrome Whiteware (**ware 24**: total number of pieces: 1, not catalogued). *Deeper*: Iridescent Green Glazed Ware (**ware 12: 639β**); Early Renaissance Maiolica (**ware 21.A: 639α**). Other pottery: matt-painted sherd.

Date: (13th -) 15th to 18th c.

Trench ΔΓ

On its NW corner, traces of a **floor** (same level / same floor as in KZ, ΛA) were discovered, resting on 'wall 21' ('wall' supporting the floor). Final depth: ca. 1m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: none. Other pottery: small pieces of two tobacco pipes¹. Other finds: two Venetian

¹ Thirteen pieces of tobacco pipes were found during the excavations 1997-2000. A considerable number is also included in the material of the 'old excavations'. The pieces found in trench ΔΓ are too small, and their original

copper coins of the late 17th c. (gazzete), one from the Ionian Islands (inventoried number: HN 2; **plate 52.g**) and one from Dalmatia (inventoried number: HN 4)¹, both found in the filling of the trench, at a depth ca. 0.60 m; iron scissors. Date: late 17th to 18th-early 19th c.

Trenches Λ, ΛΕ

Excavation of walls 5, 20 and 17. Their preserved top is on the modern surface level. They are founded on the bedrock. Final depth: 0.90 - 1 m. (bedrock).

- **Λ**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: Post-Byzantine Slip-Painted Ware (**ware 15: 491στ, 494στ, 494ζ**); Post-Byzantine Painted Ware (**ware 16.E: 492ζ, 496α**); Post-Byzantine Plain Glazed Ware (**ware 19: 493γ, 493ιγ**). Late Polychrome Maiolica (**ware 21.C: 491ε**). Other pottery: unglazed flared bowl. Other finds: small part of an iron knife.
- **ΛΕ**: Diagnostic glazed pottery: Green Painted Ware (**ware 16.A**: total number of pieces: 5, including the catalogued pieces nos. **647α, 647β**); Greek Maiolica (**ware 17.B: 647ια**).

Date: 13th-14th (only one unglazed flared bowl: residual?), 15th c. or later - late 18th c.

Trench Z

Excavation of walls 15, 16. The preserved top of these walls is on the modern surface level.

The Frankish wall 1 is founded on the bedrock, which is little deeper than the modern surface level at this point. Bedrock becomes much lower in front (north) of wall 1, thus the walls 15

form is uncertain, but they are made of red clay, as most of the examples from Chlemoutsi. According to the typology established by Hayes, the white (fired grey) ware for pipes was replaced by red in the course of the 18th c. (Hays 1980, 4; 1992, 391). Robinson, on the other hand, argues that this change occurred before the end of the 17th c. (Robinson 1985, 153).

¹ These coins were struck, from 1686 onwards, for covering the needs of the Venetian fleet (Chatziotis, 1976, 74-75). On one side they bear the lion of St. Marc with the inscription ·S·MARC VEN·II·. The inscription of the other side depends on the geographical region in which the Venetian fleet was active. The first of the coins from trench ΛΓ bears the inscription of the gazzetes of the Ionian Islands: ISOLE ET ARMATA. The other coin: (D)ALMA, for Dalmatia.

and 16 are founded on the bedrock, which is found here ca. 0.70 m. deeper. Finds come from the 'room' defined by the walls 1, 15, 16. The filling of the 'room' included many broken roof tiles and stones (**destruction level**). Final depth: ca. 0.70 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Monochrome Slipped and Glazed Ware (**ware 13: 608β**); Green Painted Ware (**ware 16.A: 608ζ, 611δ**); Italian Sgraffito (**ware 20.A: 608γ**); Renaissance and later Maiolica (**ware 21.B: 608α**); Late Polychrome Maiolica (**ware 21.C: 608ι στ**); Post-Byzantine Painted Ware (**ware 16.E: 608δ, 608ια**); Post-Byzantine Plain Glazed Ware (**ware 19: 194, 608ε, 611ε**); Transfer-Printed Ware from England (**ware 26: 608η**). Other pottery: unglazed spouted jug- sherd; tobacco pipe, made of grey clay (see comments on the tobacco pipes in: trench ΔΓ, above). Date: 13th –15th c. (only no. 608β: residual?), 15th c. or later - early 19th c.

II. OUTER ENCLOSURE, AREA B

1. Location Description

Area B is located west of the Turkish mosque. It includes trenches A, Δ and K14. The trenches were excavated at final depth ca. 0.30 to 0.50 m. In large parts of the trenches A and Δ the uneven bedrock is at the level of the modern surface. Little remains of walls were located, which basically formed the foundations of walls on the bedrock. The remains excavated in trenches A and Δ belong to two buildings (traces of that of the trench A were visible before the excavation, since the area had probably been excavated in the past). Trench K14, along the exterior of NE corner of the building K14, revealed remains of a room with a floor (of rectangular clay tiles), most probably contemporary to the building K14.

2. Dating

The building K14 (its remains were shown in the plans by Traquair, Andrews and Bon) and the walls unearthed in trenches A, Δ and K14 form Turkish additions, as is indicated by their construction, which is different to that of the Frankish castle. The diagnostic pottery and the other finds indicate a dating in the Post-Byzantine period for K14. The pottery of the trenches A and Δ are in fact surface finds. In general, the building remains excavated in area B are Turkish works, most probably contemporary to the mosque and the buildings of area A.

3. Trenches and finds

Trench A

The trench is very close to the west wall of the mosque, where traces of two walls forming the NW corner of a building were visible before the start of excavation (walls 32, 33). No further architectural remains were located. Final depth: 0.50 m., only in parts of the trench (the bedrock reaches the modern surface, in most of the trench). Diagnostic glazed pottery: ‘RMR’ (**ware 6: 500ιζ**); Italian Sgraffito (**ware 9: 500ιθ**). Renaissance and later Maiolica (**ware 21.B: 500ιδ**). Other pottery: unglazed spouted jug- sherd. Date: (surface collection: 13th to 16th-17th c.)

Trench Δ

The NW corner of a building was revealed, of which only the foundations of two walls are preserved (24, 25). Both walls are founded on the bedrock. Final depth: 0.30-0.50 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Post Byzantine Coloured Sgraffito (**ware 14.B: 501στ**). Date: 15th - 16th c.

Trench K14

Along the exterior of the NE corner of building K14. Remains of two parallel walls were discovered (34, 35), built against one of the walls of K14, vertically to it. Between them (at a depth of 0.50m.), remains of a floor were located, made of rectangular clay tiles. Final depth: 0.50 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: none. Other pottery: part of tobacco pipe, made of grey clay (see comments on the tobacco pipes in: trench ΑΓ, above). Other finds: foot of glass goblet (inventoried no.Y3), 14th-16th c. (see Ward-Perkins et al. 1973, no. 51, fig.36; Petsas 1971, pl.153c). Date: 15th to 18th c.

III. OUTER ENCLOSURE, AREA C

1. Location description

Area C is located south of wall 31, which belongs to the original Frankish construction, forming part of the buildings K2. The excavation included two trenches (B,E) and revealed two rooms, built against wall 31. Parts of wall 31 are preserved in considerable height, but its part in the area of trench B is broken, indicating destruction at this part of the castle. This can probably be connected to the destruction level located in trench B (which included human bones, re-used Frankish building material and cannon balls).

2. Dating

All the pottery dates from the Post-Byzantine period and includes some of the latest wares found in the castle (Çanakkale Ware, Tâches Noires from Albisola). The area shows a notable accumulation of Monochrome Whiteware (probably 18th c.) and Green Painted Ware

(15th c. or later). The construction of the walls unearthed in trenches B and E suggests that they form Turkish additions to the Frankish building K2. The discovery of two iron cannon balls and the dating of the latest pottery of the trenches possibly indicate that the brakes in wall 31 (and probably also the destruction of the buildings excavated in trenches B and E) occurred in the early 19th c., in accordance to the historical information for the bombardment of the castle by Ibrahim in 1825.

3. Trenches and finds

The area is sloping towards the east.

Trench B

Between building K13 and wall 31. Discovery of walls 27 and 28, found close to the modern surface (depth: 0.20-0.30). The (almost flat) top of wall 26 was visible before the excavation; it probably bounded the old (Turkish?) cobbled way, which is preserved on its west and leads from the outer gate of the castle (E1) to the area of the mosque. In front of wall 31 part of a **floor** (made of large stones) was revealed. Large part of the trench included rubble, tiles and some bones; among these there were a part of a Frankish rib-vaulting stone and a part of a door or window stone frame (**destruction level**). Final depth: 0.60-0.70 m.

Diagnostic glazed pottery: Italian Sgraffito (**ware 9: 506α**); Green Painted Ware (**ware 16.A: total number of pieces: 19, including the catalogued pieces nos. 515α, 515γ**); Post-Byzantine Painted Ware (**ware 16.E: 516**); Renaissance and later Maiolica (**ware 21.B: 502η, 506στ**); Brown Painted Ware (**ware 16.D: 506γ**); Monochrome Whiteware (**ware 24: total number of pieces: 11, none catalogued**); ‘Tâches Noires’ from Albisola (**ware 23: 506β**). Miscellanea

(**2.iv: 502ζ; 2.ii: 506δ**). Other pottery: Seven parts of tobacco pipes (**plate 52.f**)¹. Other finds: conical base of a glass goblet (inventoried no.Y1); part of a stone ball; many metallic objects (such as iron keys, nails, tools and dress accessories, also three hanging lamps² and two bronze handles³). Date: 15th or later to later 18th – beginning of 19th c. (for the dating of the glass in the 15th-16th c. see: Ward-Perkins et al. 1973, 126-8, nos. 43-45, fig. 35; Athanasoulis 2002, 343, no. YA2, drawing no. 6)

Trench E

Projection of trench B towards the east. Excavation of walls 27, 29 and 30 (their preserved tops were found at a depth of ca. 0.30). Area E.A was defined by the walls 27, 29, 30, 31. Area E.B is the rest of the trench, outside 'room' E.A. (i.e. the area south of wall 29 and the area east of wall 30. Some bones were found in both E.A and E.B. Final depth: 0.70-0.80m.

- **Area.A: Diagnostic glazed pottery**: Green Painted Ware (**ware 16.A**: total number of pieces: 6, including the catalogued piece no. **542δ**); Renaissance and later Maiolica (**ware 21.B: 538**); Monochrome Whiteware (**ware 24**: total number of pieces: 8, including the catalogued pieces nos. **539, 541α, 541β**). Late Polychrome Maiolica (**ware 21.C: 542γ**); 'Tâches Noires' from Albisola (**ware 23: 542ε, 542θ**). Other pottery: unglazed spouted jug- sherd; two parts of tobacco pipes (**plate 52.f**)⁴. Other

¹ One of them is made of grey clay and is similar to examples from Athens (Robinson 1983, 274, pl. 52, no. 8, late 17th to early 18th c.; Robinson 1985, 172, pl. 61, A1, late 17th c.). The rest are made of red clay. One is similar to examples from Thebes, considered as local and dated to the 18th – 19th c. (Armstrong 1993, 331, 335, figs. 19-2-, nos. 332, 333). See also comments on the tobacco pipes in: trench ΛΓ, above.

² A number of examples of this type of hanging lamp have been found in Chlemoutsi, but they do not provide chronological evidence. The type exists since the Byzantine period (Davidson, 1952, 76, pl. 53, no. 580) and it is common also in the Post-Byzantine period, until the 20th c. (Kalamara 2001, 46, fig. 56, nos. 609,610).

³ These bronze handles are of a type common since the Byzantine times (Davidson 1952, 75, pl.52, no. 565).

⁴ Both are made of red clay. One is similar to an example from Kerameikos (Robinson 1983, 273, pl. 52, no.2, possibly 17th c.). The other is similar to examples from Thebes, considered as local and dated to the 18th – 19th c. (Armstrong 1993, 331, 335, figs. 19-2-, nos. 332, 333). See also comments on the tobacco pipes in: trench ΛΓ, above.

finds: metallic objects (such as iron nails, scissors, part of small copper vessel or lamp); stone ball. Date: 15th c. (or later) to later 18th –early 19th c.

- **Area E.B:** Diagnostic glazed pottery: Green Painted Ware (**ware 16.A**: total number of pieces: 16, including the catalogued pieces nos. **694a**, **694b**, **694z**, **6940**, **694ıδ**, **694ıε**, **694ıη**); Renaissance and later Maiolica (**ware 21.B: 536**), found in the area between the walls 28, 29, 30, near surface level); Monochrome Whiteware, 18th c. (**ware 24**: total number of pieces: 1, not catalogued); Çanakkale Ware, 18th c. (**ware 29: 694ı**); Miscellanea (**2.iv: 698**). Date: 15th c. (or later) to 18th c.

‘Trench’ B-E

Excavation of the easternmost part of trench B together with the westernmost part of trench E (i.e. excavation of part of wall 27). Final depth: ca. 0.50 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Green Painted Ware (**ware 16.A**: total number of pieces: 2, none catalogued); Brown Painted Ware (**ware 16.D: 544στ**); Post-Byzantine Plain Glazed Ware (**ware 19: 543η**); Greek Maiolica (**ware 17.C: 543δ**); Miscellanea (**2.ii.: 543β**; **1:543γ**). Other finds: two iron and one stone balls. Date: 15th c. (or later) to 18th c.

IV. OUTER ENCLOSURE, AREA D (K1,2,3)

1. Location description

Removal of the earth that was covering the westernmost part of the building K2; small trench inside the south-east room of the building K1; small trench along the exterior of the northeast wall of the building K3. The excavated parts of the building did not locate architectural remains remains.

2. Dating

All three buildings belong to the original Frankish construction (see Bon 1969, 623-5), but basically Post-Byzantine levels were excavated. The finds are mainly Post-Byzantine, reaching the late 18th-early 19th c. In K1 and K3 the diagnostic pottery is exclusively Post-Byzantine. Only in K2 the excavation apparently reached Frankish levels, as is indicated by a few sherds of this period. The entire parts of fallen masonry and the iron cannon ball found in K2, may be connected to the same historical event of the early 19th c. as the destruction in area C (see above).

1. Trenches and finds

Trench K1

Small trench inside the southeast room of building K1. The building was two-storeyed, as is indicated by the position of a series of square holes originally used for the beams supporting a wooden floor (similar holes are preserved in many buildings of the Frankish castle, including the halls of the inner enclosure). The modern surface reached approximately the middle of the height of the lower storey. Thus, the layers that were removed belong to the Post-Byzantine period, as the pottery indicates. Final depth: 1 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Early Renaissance Maiolica (**ware 21.A: 618γ, 618δ**); Brown Painted Ware (**ware 16.D: 618α, 618β**); Miscellanea (**2.ii.: 618ε**). Other pottery: unglazed spouted jug- sherd. Date: mid-15th to 18th c.

Trench K2

Removal of the earth that was covering the westernmost part of building K2 (on the corner of the curtain with the tower of the outer gate E1), at a height of ca. 1.70 m. (taken from the modern surface level in the surrounding area). The filling included entire parts of **fallen masonry**.

Diagnostic glazed pottery: ‘RMR’ (**ware 6: 601δ, 601ε**); Renaissance and later Maiolica (**ware 21.B: 604η**); Post-Byzantine Painted Ware (**ware 16.E: 606ε**); Brown Painted Ware (**ware 16.D: 601ιβ, 602γ, 604δ, 604ι, 604ιγ, 604ιδ**); Post-Byzantine Plain Glazed Ware (**ware 19: 600γ, 600ε, 601β**); Monochrome Whiteware (**ware 24**: total number of pieces: 1, not catalogued); Late Polychrome Maiolica (**ware 21.C: 601στ**); Çanakkale Ware (**ware 29: 603γ**); Miscellanea (**2.iii.: 600στ, 601γ, 601ιγ**). Other pottery: matt-painted sherd. Other finds: iron cannon ball; metallic objects (undiagnostic), including part of a hanging lamp (for comments on these lamps see trench B, above). Date: 13th-14th to late 18th-early 19th c.

Trench K3

Small area excavated along the exterior of the northeastern wall of building K3. No architectural remains were located. Final depth: 0.50 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Post-Byzantine Plain Glazed Ware (**ware 19: 666**). Date: 16th c.

V. ENTRANCE E2

1. Location Description

The entrance to the inner enclosure is a vaulted passageway, which includes three successive arched gates (GI-III) and interrupts the lower storey of the north gallery (hall A1).

Above this passageway, on the upper storey, there is the Frankish chapel (N), indicated by a small apse that is preserved on the east wall of the north gallery of the keep.

The interior of the entrance is divided into two areas:

- a) Area E2.A: a rectangular area between gates GI and GII. Before the start of the excavation the area was covered with earth. The stone frame of Gate I was already restored. Traces of the threshold of Gate II were visible.
- b) Area E2.B: a passageway between gates GII and GIII. Before the start of the excavation several stones of an old cobbled way were visible in the area, as well as its two low sidewalls (walls 1, 2).

The excavation provided evidence that the interior of the entrance was altered, during the early Ottoman period, when a cistern found in E2.A and a grave found in E2.B were covered for the construction of a new cobbled way. The excavation revealed all the preserved remains of the Turkish cobbled way in E2.B and some of its traces in E2.A.

1. Dating

A Venetian coin of the early 17th c. was found during the cleaning of the top wall 1, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the cobbled way and its low sidewalls (E2.B, walls 1,2). The discovery of a grave under wall 1, the covering plaques of which were removed when the cobbled way was built, suggests a dating for the cobbled way and its low sidewalls in the Turkish period. The location of the grave (on the ground floor under the Frankish chapel), suggests that the grave belongs to a period when the chapel was still in use, i.e. the Frankish period.

The finds of the area belong to the period between the second half of 15th c. and the early 17th c. There is no evidence for dating the cistern found in E2.A after the original

Frankish construction. It is located next to one of the towers that flanked the original Frankish entrance. The finds from the lower layers of the interior of the cistern (plaster, mortar, bones, ancient sherds, sherds on pieces of mortar) suggest that the cistern was later filled, most probably during the early Turkish period, as is indicated by the discovery of the sherd no. 464a (second half of the 15th c.), which was found deep in the filling of the cistern. It seems that the works on the interior of the entrance E2 were carried out soon after the Turkish conquest.

3. Trenches and finds

E2.A

On the eastern sector of the area a few stones belonging to a cobbled way were found at a depth ca. 0.30. On the western sector, a deep cistern was revealed (ca. 0.90-1m. deep), divided into two parts by a vertical wall. The filling of the cistern included glazed and unglazed sherds stuck on pieces of mortar, pieces of plaster, broken tiles and a few bones. Final depth: the pottery comes only from the deeper level of this filling: ca. 0.50 to 1m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Early Renaissance Maiolica (**ware 21.A: 464a**). Date: second half of 15th c.

E2.B

The excavation revealed all the preserved remains of the cobbled way. The preserved height of the low sidewalls (walls 1 and 2) ranges from 0.30 to 0.45 m. (from the level of the cobbled way). A grave was discovered under the preserved stones of the cobbled way and its east sidewall (wall 1). Its direction was east-west, i.e. vertically to wall 1. It was built with worked stones, its interior was plastered and it was covered with rectangular plaques. The covering plaques of the western part of the grave, under the cobbled way, were missing. Apparently,

they were removed during the construction of the cobbled way. The grave included two skeletons, one of which was found almost intact. The skeletons lay on their back, with the heads on the West, facing upwards. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Renaissance and later Maiolica (**ware 21.B: 467β**). Other pottery: some ancient sherds. Other finds: Venetian copper coin from Crete (2 ½ soldini), early 17th c.¹, found in the filling above the eastern part of wall 1 (inventoried number HN 9; **plate 52.h**); two small copper fragments found inside the grave (dressing accessories?). Date: (late 16th) – early 17th c.

VI. POSTERN E3

1. Location description

E3 is a postern located at the junction of the outer enclosure with the inner enclosure, next to some stairs leading to the *chemin de ronde* of the outer enclosure. The excavation included a small area inside and outside the postern.

Traces of two threshold were found, the older one located ca. 0.20m. deeper than that of the second phase.

2. Dating

The excavation produced much of the 13th-14th century- diagnostic glazed pottery unearthed during the excavations of 1997-2000. Above the level of the threshold of the second phase, only two sherds may date as late as the later 15th or later (Slip-Painted ware: ware 15, no.551η; Green painted Ware). Thus, the first phase can be dated to the Frankish

¹ These copper coins of 2 ½ soldini – 10 tornesi were struck for Crete after 1610. On one side it bears the lion of St Marc and the mark T·10 and on the other the inscription SOLDINI 2 ½ (Chatziotis 1974, 43-44, fig.4).

period, and the second phase either in the late Frankish period or very soon after the Turkish occupation.

3. Trench E3 and finds

Part of a lintel, as well as some porous stones from the frame of the gate were uncovered near the modern surface level. Part of the threshold of the older phase was found *in situ*, at a depth of ca. 0.40 m. Large stones and mortar found also *in situ* at a depth of ca. 0.20 m. indicate the level of the threshold of the second phase. Final depth: ca. 0.40-0.50 m.

Diagnostic glazed pottery: Protomaiolica (ware 5: 547 α , 547 β , 547 δ , 555 ϵ , 555 γ); Archaic Maiolica (ware 4: 546 β , 547 $\sigma\tau$, 553 γ , 554 β , 554 γ , 555 η); ‘RMR’ (ware 6: 554 $\iota\alpha$); Metallic Ware, (ware 11: 545 β , 545 γ , 545 δ , 555 $\sigma\tau$, 555 ι , 555 $\iota\delta$, 555 $\iota\epsilon$); ‘Iridescent Green Glazed Ware’ (ware 12: 545 α , 552 ϵ); Brown Glazed (Monochrome) ware (ware 3: 547 η); Miscellanea (2.i.: 547 ϵ , 547 $\iota\beta$, 553 ϵ); Early Renaissance Maiolica (ware 21.A: 547 $\iota\alpha$); Post-Byzantine Slip-Painted Ware (ware 15: 551 η); Green Painted Ware (ware 16.A: total number of pieces: 1, not catalogued). Other pottery: many matt-painted sherds; three unglazed flared bowls. Other finds: part of an iron cannon ball (found in the area outside the gate); parts of metal hanging lamps (for comments on these lamps see trench B, above); nails and other metallic objects related to the door-adjustment; few bones. Date: 13th to 15th (-16th c. or later).

VII. INNER ENCLOSURE, COURTYARD

1. Location description

Five trenches were excavated in the area extending between the entrance to hall A5 and the eastern edge of hall A4 (1-5). Also, wall $\sigma\tau$ was excavated (parallel to the façade of A5), traces of which were visible before the start of the excavations. Trench 4 revealed the

original Frankish level of the courtyard in front of hall A4, which is higher than that in front of the entrance to A5, apparently following the formation of the hill. Thus, the area excavated in trenches 1,2,3,5 is quite sloping towards the entrance to A5. The excavation revealed traces of steps and worked bedrock, related to the access to the hall A5.

2. Dating

Hall A5 and its entrance belong to the original Frankish construction. Exclusively Frankish levels were excavated in front of the entrance, in trenches 1,2 and in the area of wall στ. The finds suggest that wall στ probably belongs to the Frankish period. The pottery produced during the excavations reaches the 17th c. It seems probable that the upper levels of the area (17th-early 19th c.) were excavated in the past (apparently the area of the entrance to A5 was investigated in the past, since its frame had been restored before the start of the excavations).

3. Trenches and finds

Trenches 1, 2

In front of the entrance to of A5. Traces of a floor (mortar) and parts of worked bedrock discovered immediately in front of the threshold of the gate of A5 (trench 1). Final depth: ca. 0.30-0.40m. (0.15 m. deeper than the threshold). Diagnostic glazed pottery: none. Other pottery: ten matt-painted sherds; unglazed flared bowl. Date: 13th-14th c.

Excavation of wall στ

The wall is built on the bedrock (max. pres. height: 0.40 m.). It does not continue towards the west: apparently, there was an opening corresponding to the entrance to hall A5. Final depth:

ca. 0.40 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: 'RMR' (**ware 6:675a, 675v**). Other pottery: six matt-painted sherds. Date: 13th to later 14th – early 15th c.

Trench 3

Located on the area of the opening between wall στ and wall δ. Discovery of worked bedrock and of traces of steps built with relatively large stones. Final depth: ca. 0.50 (but uneven bedrock). Diagnostic glazed pottery: 'RMR' (**ware 6: 665γ**); Early Renaissance Maiolica (**ware 21.A: 664β**); Renaissance and later Maiolica (**ware 21.B: 670ζ**). Post-Byzantine Coloured Sgraffito (**ware 14.A: 664α; 14.B: 669**). Other pottery: many matt-painted sherds. Date: 13th-14th to 16th-17th c.

Trench 4

Small trench, in front of the lowest of the flight of steps leading to the upper storey of hall A4. The aim was to locate traces of the original level of the courtyard in this area. A lower step was discovered at a depth ca. 0.15 m., 0.25 m. deeper than the first of the steps that were already visible. Final depth: ca. 0.40 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Renaissance and later Maiolica (**ware 21.A:674ιστ**). Other pottery: six matt-painted sherds. Date: 13th-14th to second half of 16th–early 17th c.

Trench 5

Projection of trench 3 towards the central area of the courtyard. No structures located. Final depth: ca. 0.20 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Post-Byzantine Coloured Sgraffito (**ware 14.B: 676α**). Other pottery: six matt-painted sherds. Date: 13th to 15th-16th c.

Surface collection

Post Byzantine Sgraffito (**ware 14.B: 6810**), found in the area east of wall δ . Date: probably 16th-17th c

VIII. INNER ENCLOSURE, HALL A5

1. Location description

The low vertical walls α , β , γ are built between the pilasters, which supported the three reinforcing arches of the barrel vault of the gallery. These walls, as well as traces of two (Frankish) piers, had been unearthed during older excavations. The excavations of 1997-2000 included:

- a. Trenches 5-8: their boundaries were the walls of hall A5 and the walls α, β, γ .
- b. Removal of walls α , β , γ .

Since the hall had already been excavated, the excavation generally reached a depth of ca. 0.20-0.30. It revealed the bedrock at several parts of the hall, as well as the foundations of walls α, β, γ and of the two piers. The removal of wall α uncovered a third pier. Traces of a floor (made of mortar) were located in trench 8 and, deeper, part of a draining conduit directed towards the exterior of the castle.

2. Dating

The discovery, during the removal of wall α , of a third pier, proved that the low vertical walls α , β , γ do not belong to the original Frankish construction. They were quite carelessly built (of small stones and mud). The tops of these walls were preserved ca. 0.20-0.30 m. higher than the traces of floor found in trench 8. The pottery, including the fragments

that were built into walls α, β (wall γ was preserved in very bad condition), belong to the period 13th c. to mid-15th-ca. 1500, indicating that the walls are additions of the early Turkish period. The small height, the careless construction and the absence of openings suggest that these walls did not divide the lower storey of the building into rooms. They may have been built in order to enable the construction of a new Turkish floor, at a level higher than the original Frankish one (located in trench 8?). It can be supposed that the possible traces of this Turkish floor had been removed during older excavations (walls α, β, γ were visible in most of their height before the start of the excavations of 1997-2000).

3. Trenches and finds

Trenches 5,6,7

Trench 5: between the north wall of hall A5 and wall γ . Trench 6: between walls β and γ . Trench 7: Between walls α and β . The foundations of the walls and the piers were found. The filling included few ancient sherds. Final depth: ca. 0.20-0.30 m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Early Renaissance Maiolica (**ware 21.A: 483ιβ**), found in trench 6. Other pottery: many matt-painted sherds; two unglazed flared bowls, found in trench 7. Other finds: two metallic objects (undiagnostic). Date: 13th to 15th c.

Trench 8

Between the south wall of hall A5 and wall α . Discovery of traces of a floor made of mortar (depth: ca. 0.30m.) and beneath it, a conduit built with small stones. Final depth: ca. 0.70m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: 'RMR' (**485ιγ, 481η**); Italian Sgraffito (**ware 20.A: 485ιε**); Miscellanea (**3.: 485ιβ**). Other pottery: many matt-painted sherds; two unglazed flared bowls. Date: 13th to mid-15th-ca. 1500.

Removal of walls α, β, γ

The removal of wall α revealed traces of a pier, corresponding to two other piers, which were already visible in the area of trenches 5 and 7. Pottery and few bones built in the walls. Final depth: ca. 0.30m. Diagnostic glazed pottery: Late Byzantine Slip painted ware (**ware 2: 487ζ**), found in wall α ; Early Renaissance Maiolica (**488γ, 488δ**), found in wall β . Other pottery: ten matt-painted sherds. Date: 13th to mid-15th-ca. 1500.

IX. INNER ENCLOSURE, HALL A6

1. Location description

Hall A6 forms the only one-storeyed and the most problematic hall of the inner enclosure. Inside the hall, the modern surface level is not the original, since only half of the height of the fireplace is visible today. A trench that had been excavated during older excavations (probably during the ‘old excavations’ of the 1980’s - 1996) at the eastern part of the building revealed, at a depth more than 1 m. from the modern surface level, some low vertical walls, similar to those of the ground floor of hall A5 (it should be noted that similar walls have also been revealed during some older excavations into hall A4).

Trench 1 is located at the westernmost part of the façade of the hall, where there was a large break. No entrance to hall A6 exists today and the excavation aimed to discover possible traces of an entrance on the location of the brake. The excavation did not produce any evidence regarding the location or the morphology of the entrance. The discovery of an iron cannon ball at a small depth (ca. 0.20-0.30) towards the interior of the building provided an explanation for the destruction of this part of the façade.

2. Dating

The discovery of the sherd 598α, (dated to the late 18th-early 19th c.) deep in the trench (deeper than the cannon ball, almost at the final depth of the trench), indicates that the destruction occurred during the latest period of the life of the castle, probably during the bombardment by Ibrahim in 1825.

3. Trench 1 and finds

The excavation located only traces of the wall of the façade, under the modern surface level. No traces of threshold or porous stones from the frame of the gate were found. Parts of the wall of the façade are built on the bedrock, which apparently is quite steep at this point, since towards the interior of the hall only earth was found. All the pottery was found deeper than the cannon ball, together with broken tiles and few bones. Final depth: ca. 0.80-90m.

Diagnostic glazed pottery: (found all at a depth: 0.60 to 0.80-90) Italian sgraffito (**ware 20.A: 596β**); Late Polychrome Maiolica (**ware 21.C:598α**), found at a depth ca.0.80-0.90, towards the interior of the hall. Other finds: part of a iron cannon ball, found at a depth ca. 0.20-0.30 m., towards the interior. Date: mid-15th c. – 1500 to late 18th – early 19th c.

APPENDIX B:

UNGLAZED WARES, SOME REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES

A. FRANKISH/LATE BYZANTINE UNGLAZED WARES

1. MATT-PAINTED WARE

The term ‘matt-painted’ (Robinson and Weinberg 1960, 234) is used for a class of unglazed vessels on which designs are executed in a dull thin clay slip. The slip is usually darker than the fabric, but in some cases it can also be white. Common is the decoration with loops, spirals and cross-hatched lines.

In Corinth, matt-painted wares are present between the mid-11th and the 14th c. (see especially: Stillwell-Mackay 1967, 279-288; William and Zervos 1992; 1995, 28-33). Towards the end of the 13th c., the Corinthians developed a marked taste for matt-decorated open and closed vessels. Until this time, the open bowls were of simple shapes and exclusively undecorated, while pitchers, jugs and small amphorae, although infrequently decorated, when they were, were decorated with tight, well-painted designs (Sanders 1987, 183). The later 11th - early 12th- century designs are generally geometric. The later 12th – early 13th- century motifs are more curvilinear, but still neatly drawn. The vessels of the later 13th c. are decorated more profusely with clumsy spirals (Stillwell-Mackay 1967, 280).

The production centres that have been located so far include, apart from Corinth, Sparta (Dawkins & Droop 1910-11; Sanders 1993), Argos (Oikonomou-Laniado 1993, 308; 1997) and Derveni/Kamenitsa in Achaia (Varalexí 2000). Examples have also been found

elsewhere in the Peloponnese, such as at Ayios Stephanos (Sanders 2008), Glarentza (Athanasoulis et al. 2005, 45) and Patras (Petsas 1971, pl.153b; Athanasoulis 2002, 343).

The Peloponnesian matt-painted pottery is closely related in shapes and decoration with a pottery common in Central and Southern Italy from the 9th until at least the 15th c. (Bakirtzis 1989, 92). Common on the Italian wares of the 13th c. is the decoration with simple spirals and loops, while the later examples have more elaborated designs, including bird motifs (Patitucci-Uggeri 1977; Whitehouse 1980a, 67-8; 1986, 576; Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 112-3).

Matt-painted pottery is present at Chlemoutsi in great abundance, but the vessels are rather fragmentary and complete/almost complete examples are rare. The majority of the pieces belong to closed forms, mainly amphorae, but smaller closed vessels also occur. A small number of open forms is included. The variation in fabrics and forms suggests different provenances. Most of the pieces present the features of the Peloponnesian production of the 13th-14th c. The decoration is always in red. Closed forms are usually decorated with spirals and cross-hatched lines on the shoulder and have horizontal bands or undulating vertical stripes on their strap handles. On the basis of the evidence from Corinth, the examples with carelessly painted decoration, such as the amphora no.16 and the bowls nos. 188, 481δ and 2214α, can be dated to the later 13th c.-14th c. As elsewhere in the Peloponnese (Sanders 1987, 183-185; Varalexi 2000), the shapes are sometimes comparable to those of the undecorated vessels (see no.2214α). The jug no.7 is exceptional in shape, fabric and decoration and can most probably be considered as Italian import.

CLOSED FORMS

7 (Plate 51). Jug. Old excavations

B.D.:0.07, pres.H.:0.129, Th.:0.006. Preserved from base to neck (upper neck and handle missing). Flat base, biconical body, cylindrical lower neck. Lower handle attachment preserved below the maximum diameter of body. Fabric: medium fine, light brown to reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/4 to 7.5YR 6/6), some small-to-medium white and small brown inclusions. Decoration: red wavy band around the shoulder. Date: 13th c.

- The shape and the painted design suggest a probable Southern Italian origin. At Otranto, jugs and jars with biconical bodies and tall necks are common in 13th- c. contexts (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 113, 116, fig. 6:9, nos. 501, 502, 505).

16 (Plates 34, 51). Amphora. Old excavations

Est.R.D.:0.066, H.:0.42. D. of belly: 0.246, Th.0.009-0.01. Almost complete (part of neck, rim and one handle missing). Restored. Ovoid wheel-ridged body, round bottom with button, low cylindrical neck, rounded lip, strap handle from lower shoulder to below rim. Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), some small voids and small-to-large white inclusions. Decoration: double row of red spirals on shoulder, wavy lines on handle running on lower body. Date: late 13th c.-early 14th c.

- Decoration similar to: Sanders 1987, no. 31, 187, pl.2; Williams and Zervos 1995, 28-9, pl.9, no.28 (from Corinth, late 13th-early 14th c.). Shape similar to: Sanders 1989, 198, fig.6 (but flat-based; from Ayios Stephanos, early 14th c. context).

511α (Plate 51). Closed form (amphora?), shoulder fragment. Outer enclosure, trench: Θ
 Pres.Dim:0.055x0.048, Th.:0.006-0.008. Small. Fabric: fine, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) to pink (7.5YR 7/4) towards internal surface, many small voids, many small-to-large white inclusions. Decoration: red cross-hatched lines. Date: 13th c.

- Decoration similar to: Williams and Zervos 1992, 146, pl. 36 (from Corinth, 13th c.).

OPEN FORMS

188 (plates 35, 51). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Outer enclosure, 'cobbled-way'
 Est.R.D.:0.168, pres. H.:0.028, Th :0.006. Part of out-turned rim and of rounded upper body.
Fabric: fine, pink (7.5YR 7/4), few small voids, few small white and brown inclusions.
Decoration: pale brown wash on both sides; red stripes on rim, part of a circular design preserved on wall. Date: later 13th c.

- The circular motif on the wall is similar to: Stilwell-Mackay 1967, 301, pl.69, no.139 (from Corinth, later 13th c.)

481δ (plates 35, 51). Bowl, rim and body fragment. Inner enclosure, A5, trench: 4
 Est.R.D.:0.255, pres. H.:0.046, Th.:0.008. Part of rim and upper body. Hemispherical body, in-curved rim with small flange outside. Fabric: medium fine, light brown (ca. 7.5YR 6/4), many small-to-medium voids, some small-to-medium white, few brown and sparkling inclusions. Decoration: pale brownish wash on both sides; outside, a row of thin red dashes on rim. Date: later 13th-14th c.

- The decoration with simple dashes on rim is comparable to some examples from Derveni in Achaia, dated to the later 13th-the 14th c. (Varalexi 2000, 168, fig. 6a). Similar shapes and decoration occur on Southern Italian examples (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, fig.6:15, nos.547-8).

2214a (plates 35, 51). Bowl, base and body fragment. Old excavations

Est.B.D.:0.092, pres.H.:0.028, Th.:0.008-0.0.009. Small part of simple flat base and flaring lower body. Fabric: fine, reddish brown (5YR 5/3), some small-to-medium voids, rare small white inclusions. Decoration: pale brownish wash on both sides; parts of large red spirals on wall. Date: late 13th- early 14th c.

- Decoration similar to: Sanders 1987, 184, pl.24, no.26 (from Corinth, late 13th-early 14th c.). The shape is similar to some undecorated flared bowls from Chlemoutsi (see below).

2. FLARED BOWLS

This group includes 7 complete/almost complete bowls from the ‘old excavations’ and 14 from the excavations 1997-2000 (and possibly some small pieces). The bowls are crudely potted. They have flat bases, simple flaring sides and rounded lip. The fabric seems quite uniform: medium fine, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6 to 7.5YR 6/6-7/6) to light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4), with many small voids and with white and brown/reddish inclusions.

In the excavations 1997-2000 these bowls have been found in association with matt-painted pottery or with diagnostic glazed pottery of the 13th-15th c. (see **Appendix A**). Similar undecorated bowls produced in the Peloponnese during the 13th-14th c. support a dating in the Frankish/Late Byzantine period (Corinth: Stillwell-Mackay 1967, 300-1, nos. 136-138, pl.69;

Williams and Zervos 1995, 31-32, nos. 33-36, especially nos. 35-36; Sparta: Sanders 1993, 276-277, nos. 52, 53, 55; Derveni in Achaea: Varalexi 2000, 169, fig.9).

660β (plates 35, 51). Bowl. Outer enclosure, trench: KΘ

Est.R.D.:0.145, B.D.:0.05, H.:0.06, Th.: ca 0.007. Four mended pieces and 1 non-joining fragment. Complete profile: small part of rim, most part of body and almost entire base preserved. Simple flat base, flaring sides, rounded lip. Pale brownish wash on both sides. Fabric: medium fine, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), many small-to-medium voids, few small-to-large white and rare brown/reddish inclusions. Date: 13th-14th c.

B. POST-BYZANTINE UNGLAZED WARES

OPEN FORM

107 (Plate 51). Bowl. Old excavations

Est.R.D.: 0.17, B.D.: 0.09, H.:0.07, Th.: 0.006-0.01. About 1/3 of body and large part of rim missing (restored). **Shape as: ware 19, no.493γ (plate 28).** Flat base, flaring, slightly rounded wall, vertical flanged rim with rounded lip. Pale yellowish wash on both sides. Fabric: medium fine, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), many small-to-large voids, some small-to-medium white inclusions.

Date: 16th-17th c.?

- This bowl differs from the plain glazed bowl no. 493γ (ware 19) only in the absence of glaze.

CLOSED FORMS

The material of Chlemoutsí includes nine spouted and trefoil-mouthed jugs of almost complete profile, as well as several spouted jug- sherds. All have one handle and flat base. Their body is globular or ovoid / near ovoid. Usually, they have small cylindrical handles, but strap handles also occur, at least on trefoil-mouth vessels (no.1). The jug with strainer in the neck and decoration with incised and stippled patterns (no.49) is unique in Chlemoutsí.

The spouted and trefoil mouth jugs are common shapes of the Post-Byzantine period. They were popular in unglazed, plain glazed and decorated form (Vroom 2000b, 205; 2003a, 234). The porous fabric of the unglazed examples enabled the liquid to remain cool (Vavvylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, 101).

For the spouted jugs see also discussion in: **ware 19, no.543η**. For a plain glazed jug with globular body similar to nos.3 and 8 see: **ware 19, no.493γ**.

1 (Plate 51). Trefoil-mouthed jug. Old excavations

B.D.:0.082, pres.H.:0.18, Th.:0.006-0.007. Almost complete profile. Rim and most of upper neck missing. Flat base, slightly flaring ridged body, strap handle, low wide neck, trefoil mouth. Wash outside. Interior bare. Fabric: fine, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), rare small voids, few small-to-large white and rare small brown inclusions.

Date: 16th-17th c.

- For jugs of similar shape see: Hayes 1992, 291, type series *h24-26*, fig.123 (Saraçhane, end of 15th to mid-16th c.); Vavlopoulou-Charitonidou 1990, 138, pl.48c (Athens, 16th-17th c.); Vavvylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, 102, pl.63, no.17 (Arta, 16th-17th c.).

3 (Plate 51). Globular spouted jug. Old excavations

B.D.:0.102, pres.H.:0.205, Th.: ca. 0.006. Handle and rim missing. Flat splayed base, globular body, narrow tapering neck with small moulding at junction with shoulder. Oblique tubular spout on shoulder. Lower handle attachment preserved (“rat-tail”). Pale brownish wash outside. Interior bare. Fabric: fine, light reddish brown (10YR 6/4), some small voids, some small-to- large white inclusions. Date: 16th c.

- For similar spouted jugs with globular body see: Hayes 1992, 294-295, type series *k9-11*, fig.128 (Saraçhane, 16th c.)

8 (Plate 51). Globular jug. Old excavations

B.D.:0.08, pres. H:0.13,Th.: ca. 0.006. Handle, upper neck and rim missing. Flat, slightly offset base, globular body, wide cylindrical neck, lower handle attachment (“rat-tail”). Pale brownish wash outside. Interior bare. Fabric: Fine, light reddish brown (10YR 6/4), many small voids, rare small-to-large white inclusions. Date: 16th- 17th c.

- Shape similar to: Hayes 1992, 290-291, type series *h14*, fig. 122 (Saraçhane, 16th- 1600+); Gourgiotis 1981, *type B*; Korre-Zographou 1995, 174, fig.175 (Thessaly, 16th-17th c.); Hahn 1989, 229, fig.7 (Crete, 15th – 17th c.); Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1994, pl.62, nos. 70 and 107 (Arta, 16th-17th c.- but with two handles).

6180 (Plates 35, 51). Spouted jug. Outer enclosure, trench: K1

Est.B.D:0.09, pres. H.:0.166. Th.:0.006-0.009. Three mended pieces preserve lower part of body and almost half of base. A non-joining fragment preserves an oblique tubular spout. Flat

base, slightly flaring body. Pale yellowish slip outside. Interior bare. Fabric: fine, pink (c. 7.5YR 7/4) to reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) towards external surface, many small-to-medium voids, rare small-to-large white inclusions.

Date: 16th-17th c.

- Shape similar to: Hayes 1992, , 293-294, types series *k1-k4*, figs. 106, 127 (Saraçhane, end of 15th to early 17th c.); Vroom 2003a, 179-80, fig. 6.46, w38.Ex2; Vroom 2003b, 767, fig. 9 (Boeotia); Vroom 2007b, 323-4, pl.7C-F (Durrës, Albania, 16th c.).

49 (Plate 51). Jug with strainer. Old Excavations

Pres.H.:0.095, D. of belly: 0.11, Th.:0.005-0.006. Four mended pieces. About half of globular body preserved. Lower handle attachment on shoulder (“rat-tail”). Neck, handle and base missing. Strainer on shoulder. Fabric: fine, reddish yellow (7.5 YR 8/6), clean. Decoration: incised and stippled patterns outside. Interior bare. Date: 16th c.

- Jugs with similar incised and stippled decoration, including examples with strainers in the neck, have been found at Saraçhane in deposits of the period late 15th - late 16th c. The type derives from the Islamic tradition (Hayes 1992, 276, 289, type series *h1.1*, *2.1*, pl.48f-g).

APPENDIX C: A TURKISH INSCRIPTION OF THE 16TH C.

HL 59 (Plate 52.e). Marble inscription. Outer enclosure, trench: ☉

Pres.Dim: 0.43x0.25, Th.:0.12. White marble. Broken (upper part missing). Preserved in good condition. Relief decoration and inscription: floral motifs framing an inscription in two lines, followed by a date in numerals.

Transcription:

Ona tarih demiştir, der nesr kılındı
sınar ber-kendi dur-i sedd-i Skender

Translation:

They gave to it a chronogram constructed in prose*

The equal** of it*** (is) the far Rampart of Alexander****

* to distinguish it from the lines in verse, which are above it, in the missing part of the inscription

** *sınar* can mean *like, equal, thing reminding one of something else, resembling something else*

*** the castle

**** the Rampart of Alexander the Great, in the far off Caucasus; said in poetic language and hyperbolic prose to refer to any feat of military engineering or construction

The chronogram gives the date 943, which is also written in numerals at the bottom: 943 A.H (after Hijra) = 1536-7 A.D.

Transcription, translation, comments: Dr. R.Murphey, University of Birmingham.

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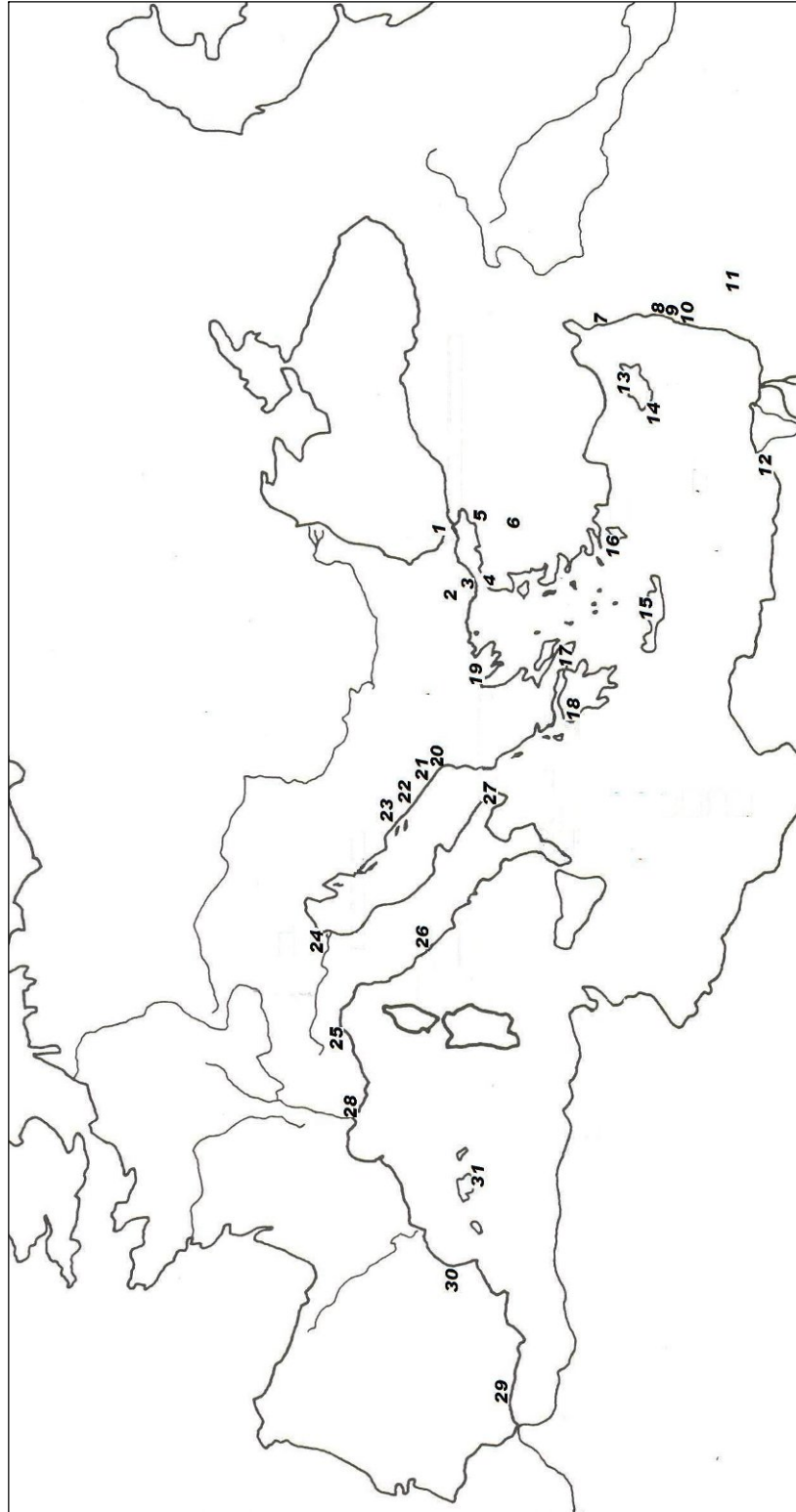
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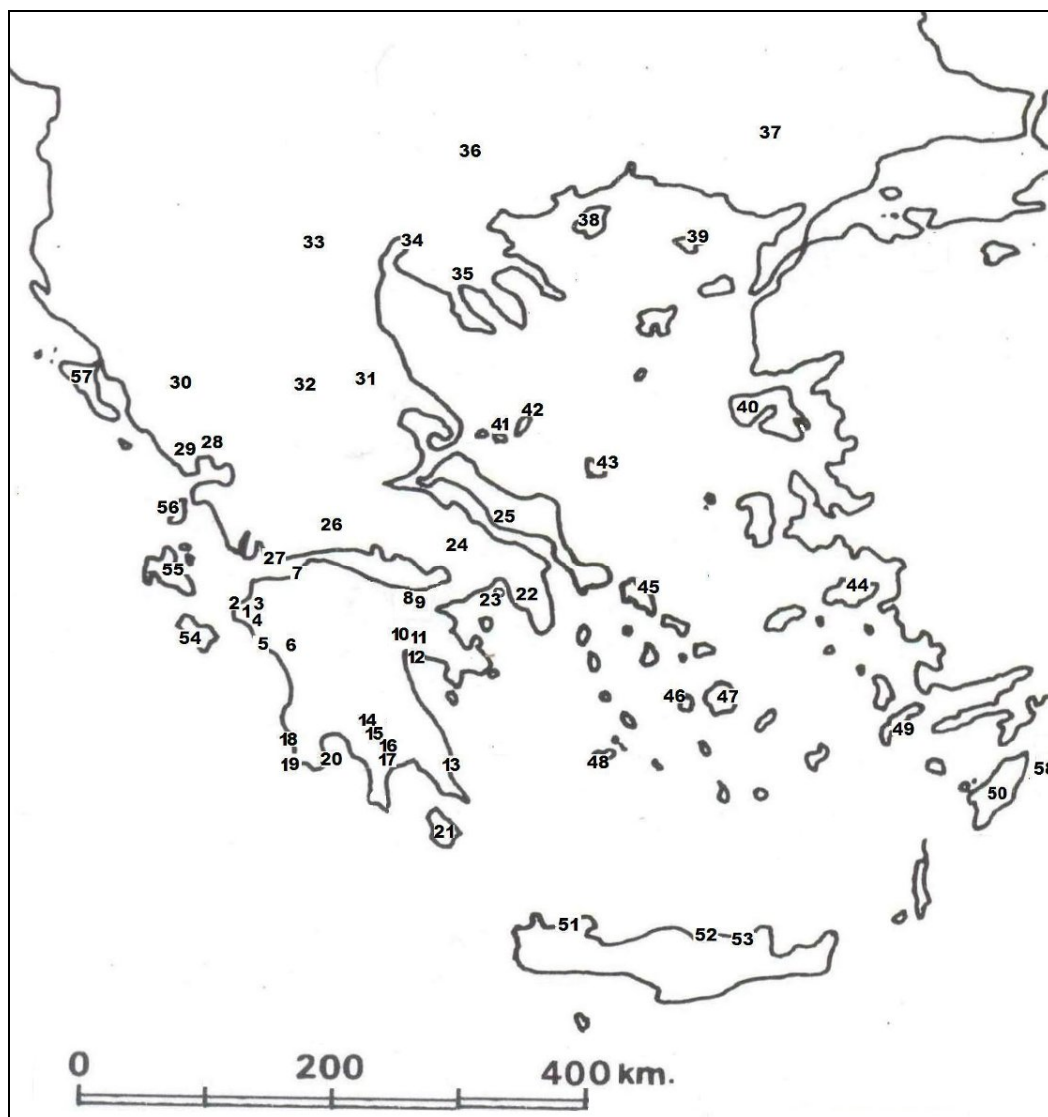
PLATES

Plate 1



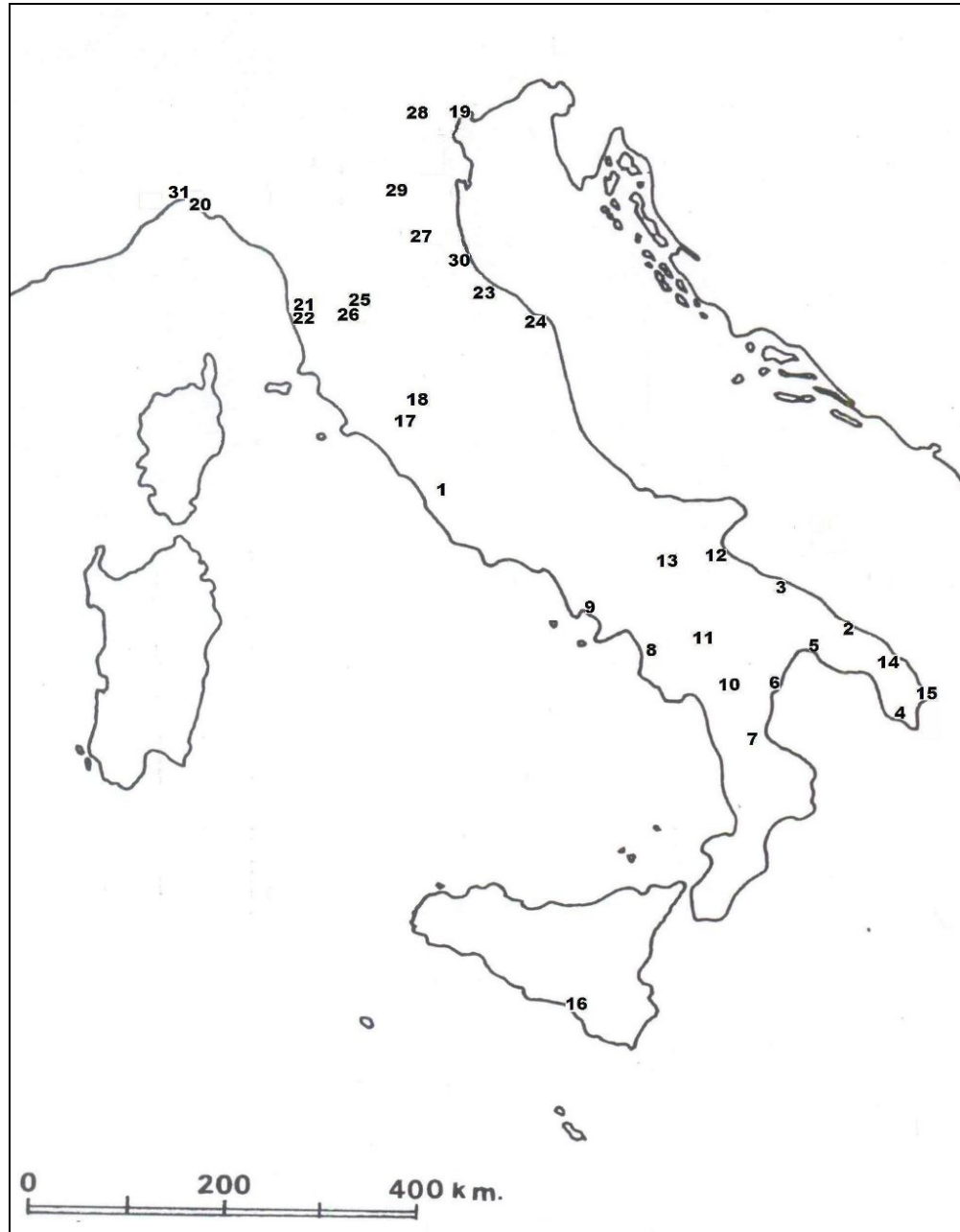
Map of the Mediterranean, showing location of the main sites mentioned in the text: **1.**Constantinople/Istanbul; **2.**Didymoteicho; **3.**Ganos; **4.**Çanakkale; **5.**Iznik/Nicaea; **6.**Kütahya; **7.**Antioch; **8.**Acre; **9.**Athlit; **10.**Caesarea; **11.**Alexandria; **12.**Lapithos; **13.**Paphos; **14.**Herakleion; **15.**Rhodes; **16.**Athens; **17.**Thessaloniki; **18.**Chlemoutsi; **19.**Stari Bar; **20.**Durrës; **21.**Stari Bar; **22.**Ragusa/Dubrovnik; **23.**Split; **24.**Venice; **25.**Genoa; **26.**Rome; **27.**Otranto; **28.**Marseilles; **29.**Malaga; **30.**Valencia; **31.**Majorca.

Plate 2



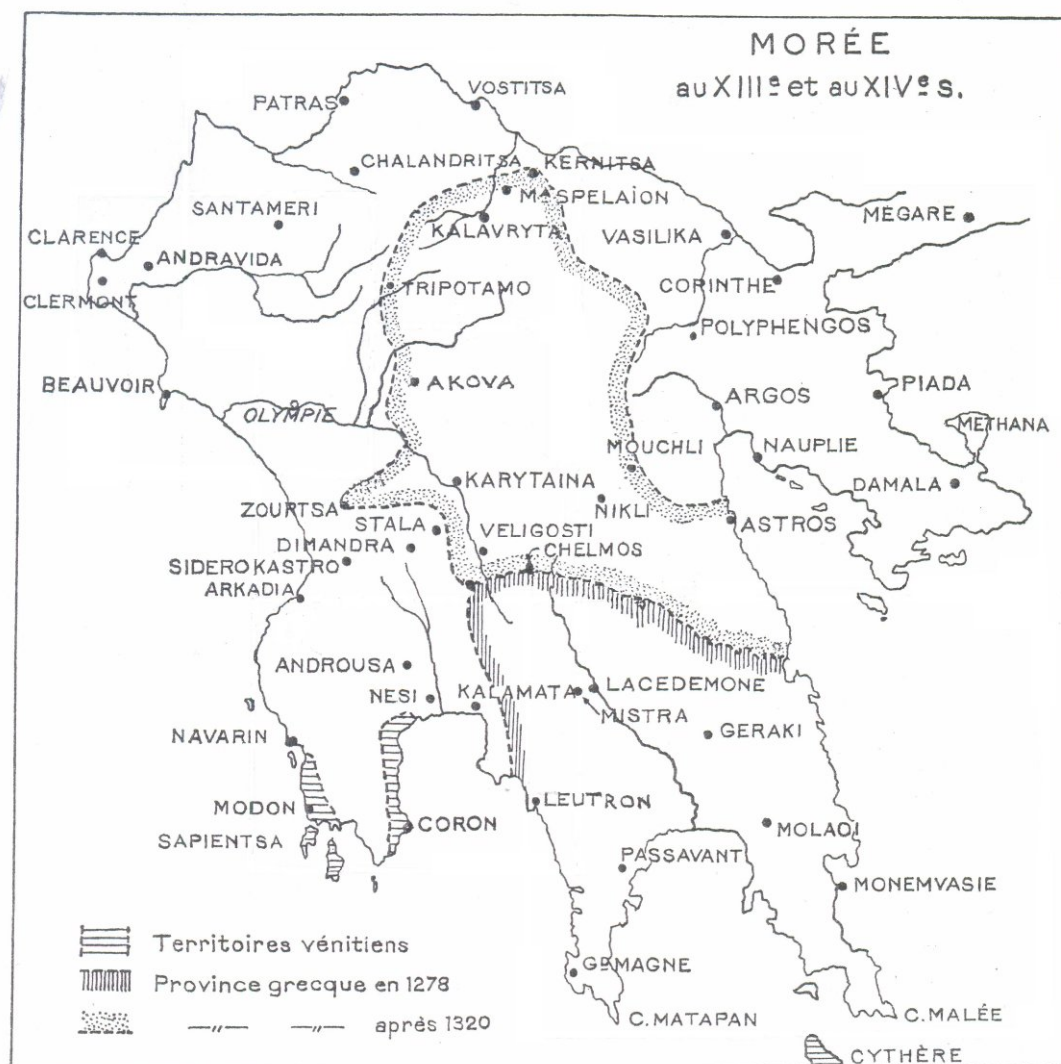
Map of Greece, showing location of the main sites mentioned in the text: 1.Chlemouts; 2.Glarentza; 3.Andravida; 4.Gastouni; 5.Pontiko/Beauvoir/Belvedere; 6.Olympia; 7.Patras; 8.Corinth; 9.Isthmia; 10.Argos; 11.Merbaka; 12.Nauplia; 13.Monemvasia; 14.Sparta; 15.Mystras; 16.Krokeai. 17.Ayios Stephanos; 18.Pylos/Old Navarino; 19.Methoni; 20.Koroni; 21.Kythera; 22.Athens; 23.Salamis; 24.Thebes; 25.Chalkis; 26.Amphissa; 27. Messolongi; 28.Arta; 29.Rogoi; 30.Ioannina; 31.Larissa; 32.Trikala; 33.Veroia; 34.Thessaloniki; 35.Olynthos; 36.Serres; 37.Didymoteicho; 38.Thasos; 39.Samothrace; 40.Lesvos; 41.Skopelos; 42.Alonnesos; 43.Skyros; 44.Samos; 45.Andros; 46.Paros; 47.Naxos; 48.Melos; 49.Kos; 50.Rhodes; 51.Chania; 52.Herakleion; 53.Malia; 54.Zakynthos; 55.Cephalonia; 56.Lefkas; 57.Corfu; 58. Kastellorizo.

Plate 3



Map of Italy, showing location of the main sites mentioned in the text: 1.Rome; 2.Brindisi; 3.Bari; 4.Ugento; 5.Taranto; 6.Torre Mare; 7.Scribla; 8.Capaccio; 9.Naples; 10.Anglona; 11.Satriano; 12.Salpi; 13.Lucera; 14.Lecce; 15.Otranto; 16.Gela. 17.Tuscania; 18.Orvieto; 19.Venice; 20.Genoa; 21.Pisa; 22.Leghorn; 23.Pesaro; 24.Ancona; 25.Florence; 26.Montelupo; 27.Faenza; 28.Padua; 29.Ferrara; 30.Rimini; 31.Albisola.

Plate 4



Map of the Peloponnese in the 13th-14th c.: major Frankish sites, Venetian and Greek territories (Bon 1969, pl.1)

Plate 5



Ottoman expansion in Greece, 15th-17th c. (Davies and Davis eds., 2007, 26, fig.1.1.)

Plate 6

**a.****b.****c.**

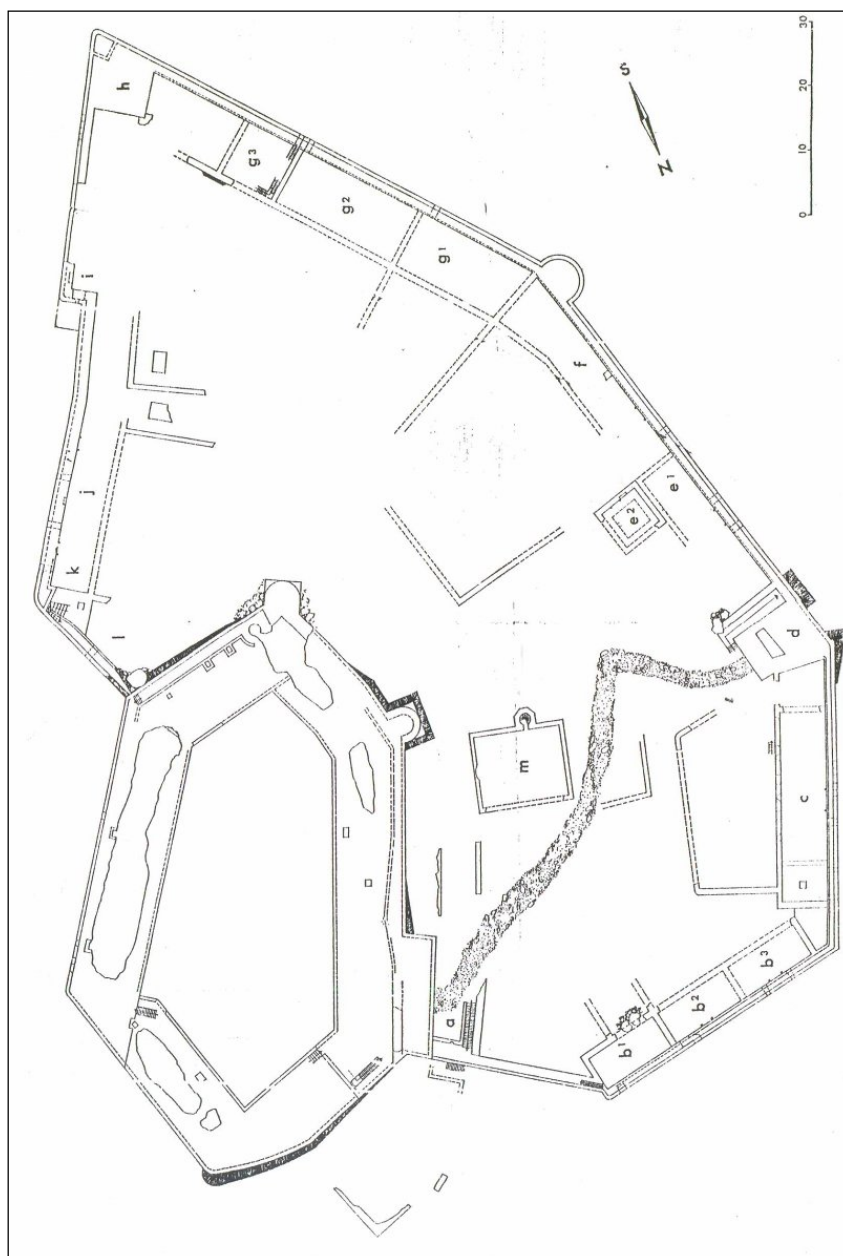
a. The castle, air view. **b.** The castle from the northwest. **c.** Outer enclosure, interior view: the northwest curtain and the tower of the outer gate (E1).

Plate 7

a.**b.****c.**

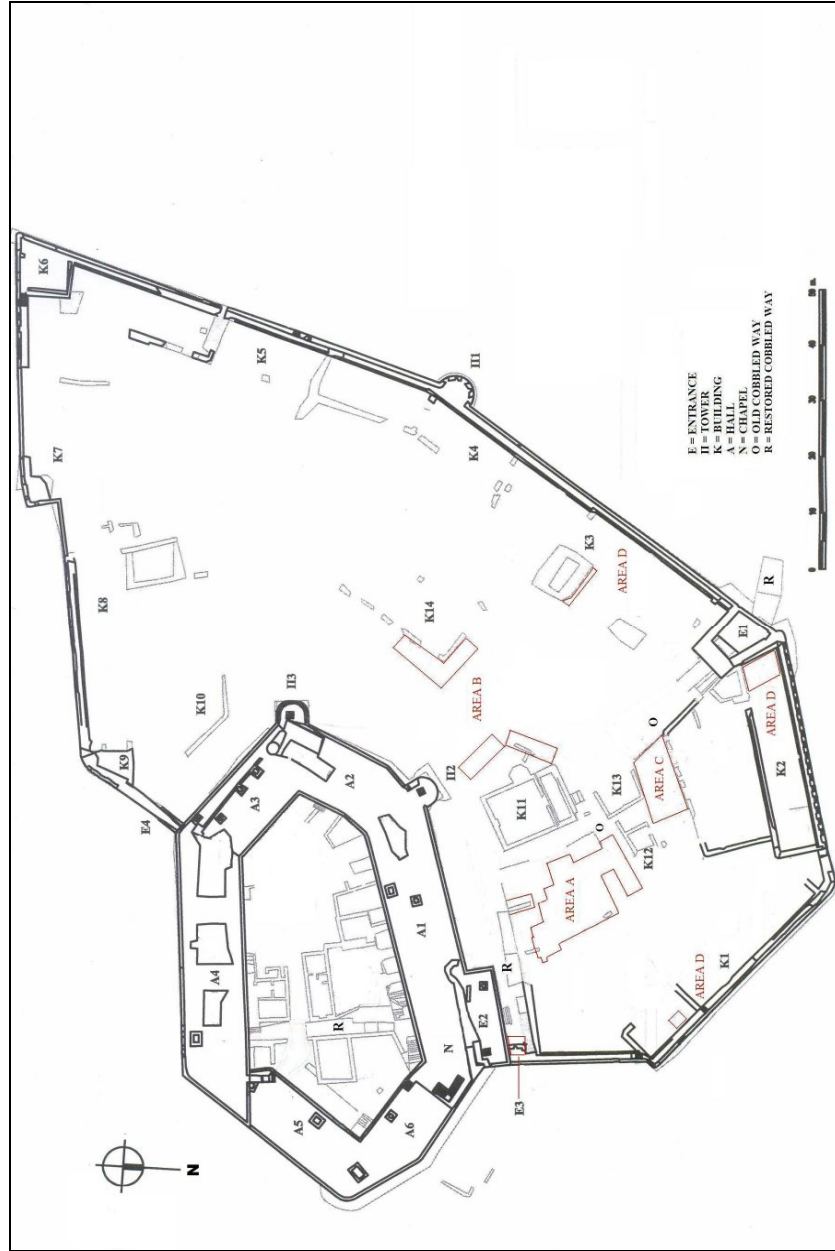
The castle after the end of the works of 1997-2000: **a.** Outer enclosure, courtyard, Area A: the new cobbled way created after the end of the excavations; on the right, the ruins of the mosque (K11). **b.** Entrance to the inner enclosure (E2): the restored cobbled way. **c.** Inner enclosure, façade of hall A5 (restored).

Plate 8



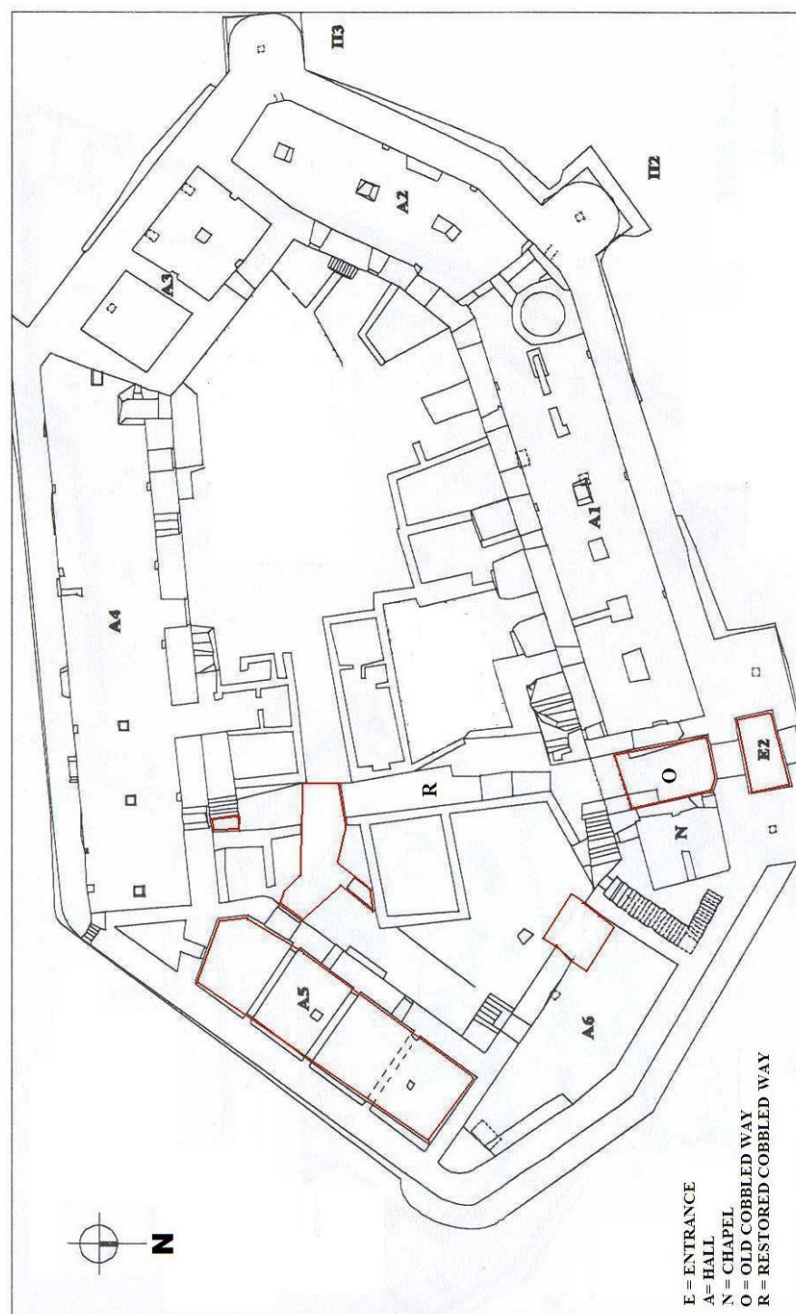
Plan of the castle by A.Bon (1969, pl.33): **d**: outer gate (=E1); **a, l**: posterns (=E3, E4); **m**: mosque (=K11); **b, c, e-k**: buildings on the perimeter of the outer enclosure (**b**= K1, **c**= K2, **e**= K3). The north point given by Bon is wrong.

Plate 9

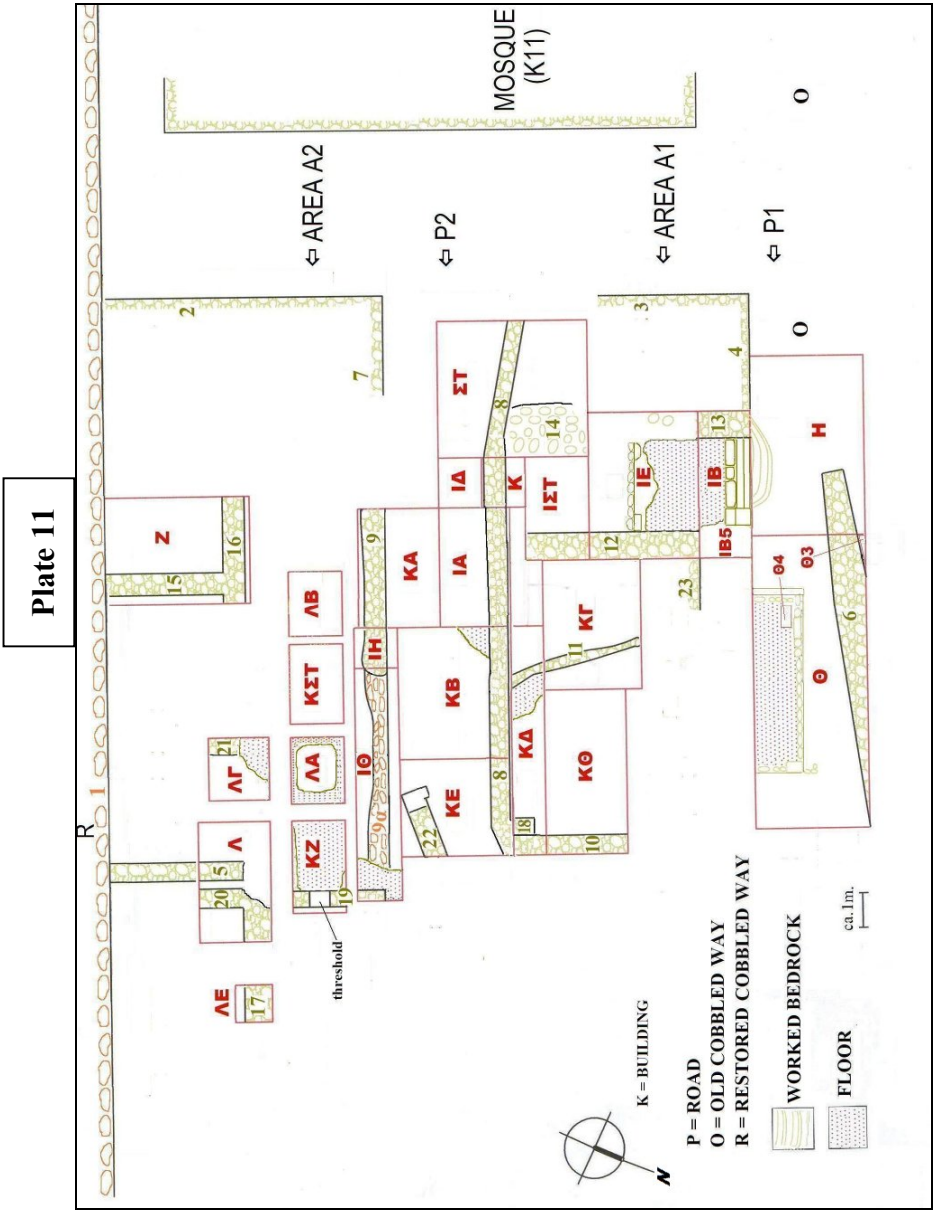


Plan of the castle (before 1997). Areas excavated during 1997-2000 in the outer enclosure and the postern E3 (marked with red)

Plate 10

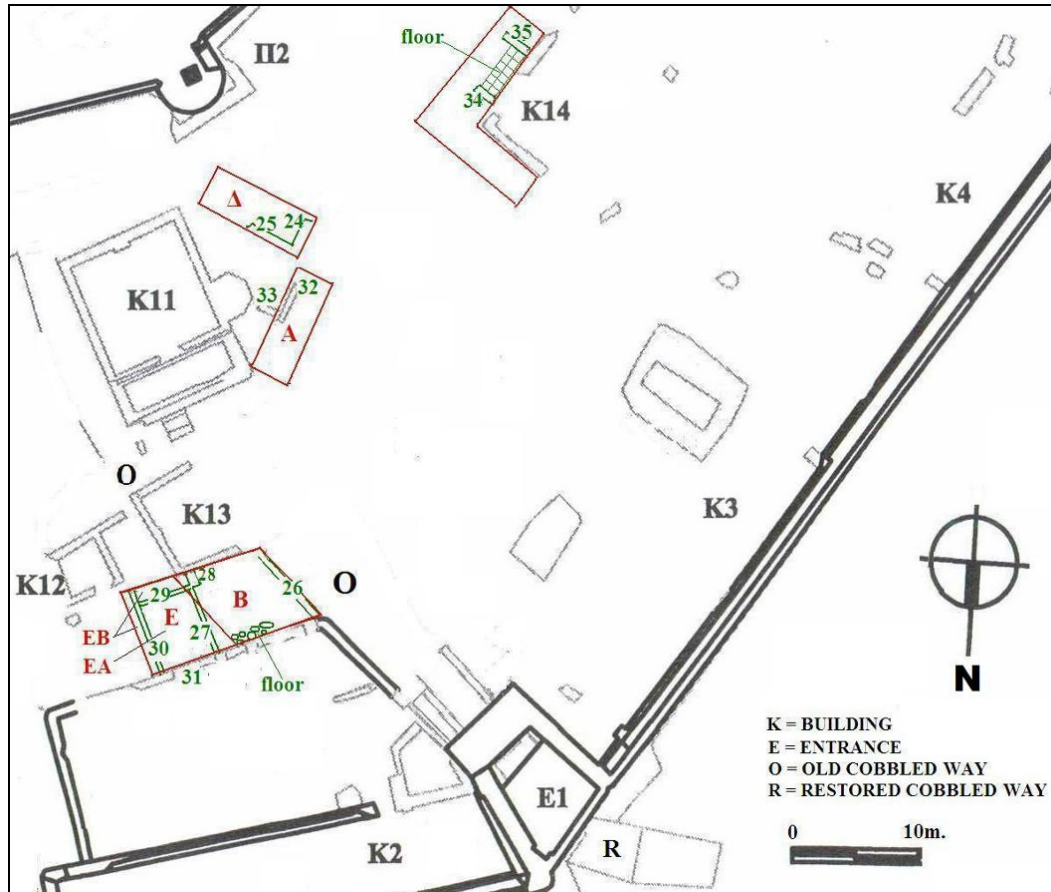


Plan of the inner enclosure (ground floor) before 1997. Excavations 1997-2000: areas excavated in the inner courtyard, the halls A5-A6 and the entrance E2 (marked with red)



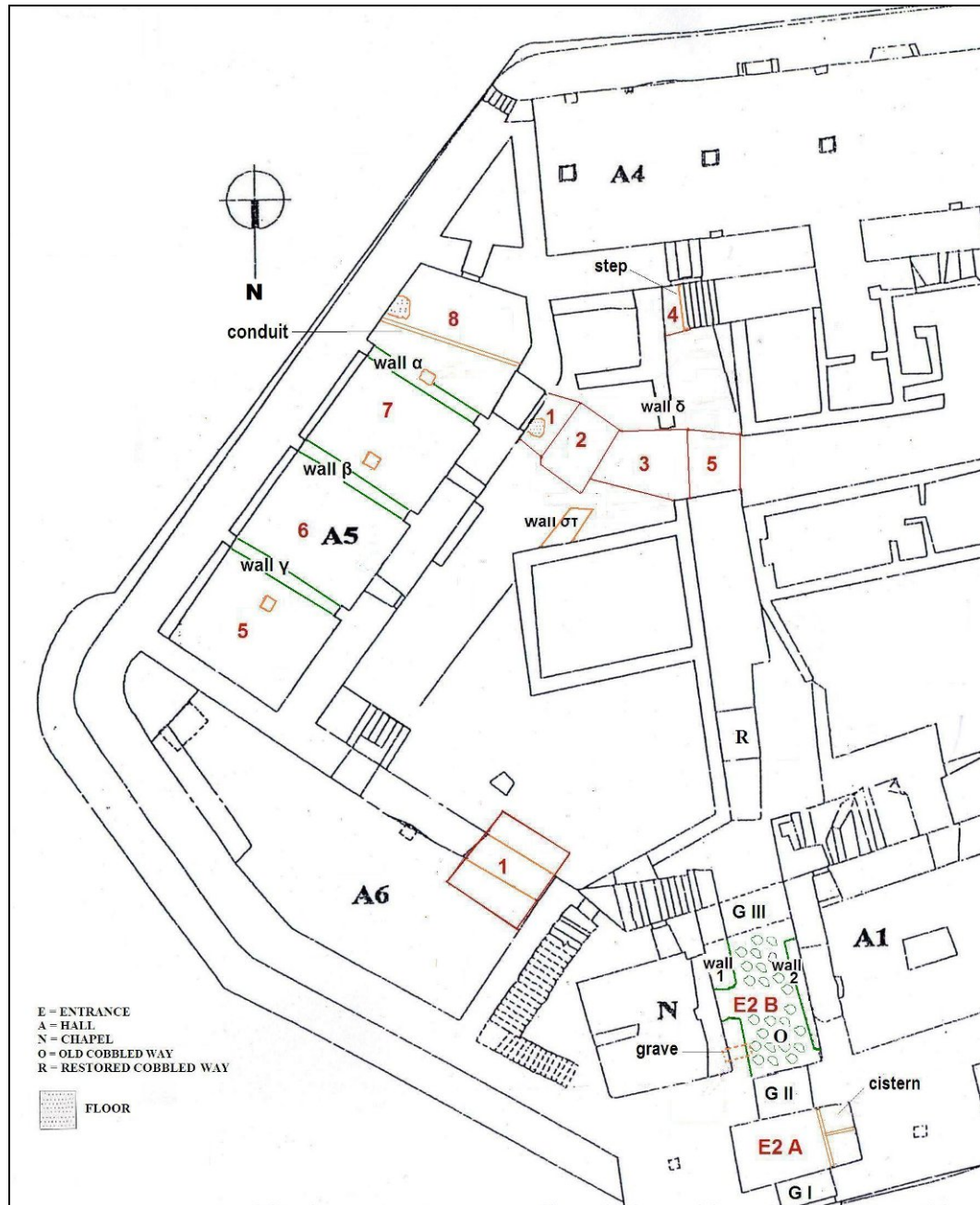
Excavations of 1997-2000 in the outer enclosure, Area A: sketch plan (red = trenches; brown = excavated structures dated to the Frankish period; green = excavated structures dated to the Turkish period)

Plate 12



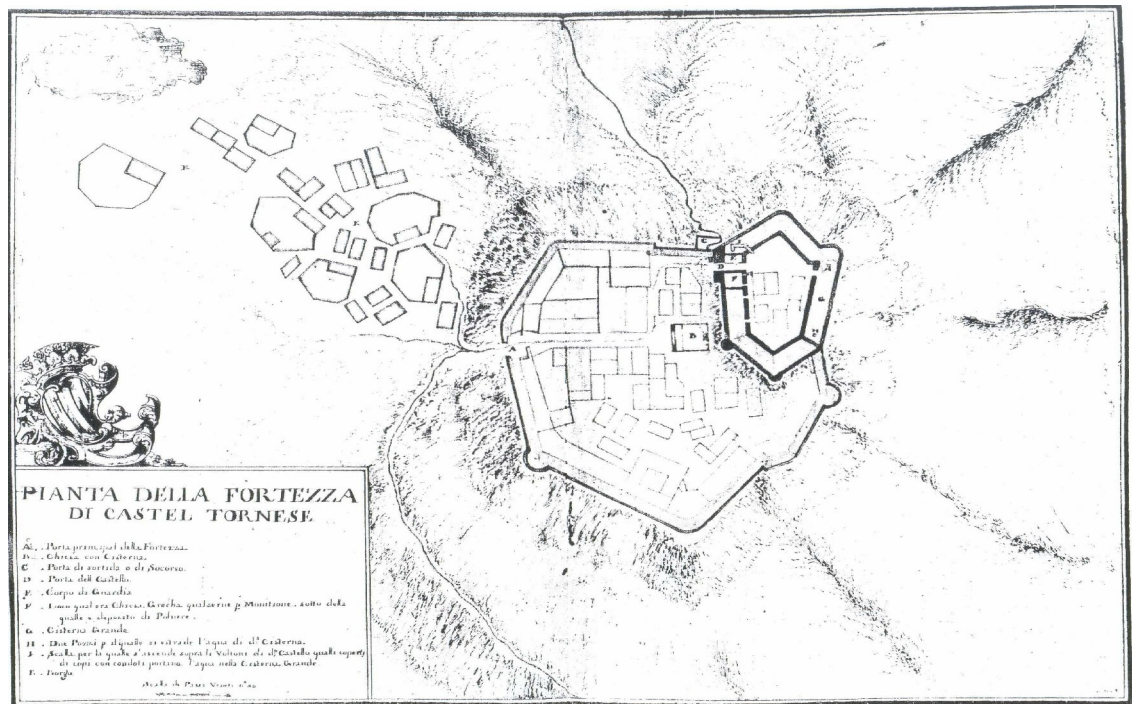
Excavations of 1997-2000 in the outer enclosure, Areas B and C: sketch plan
 (red = trenches; green = excavated structures dated to the Turkish period)

Plate 13

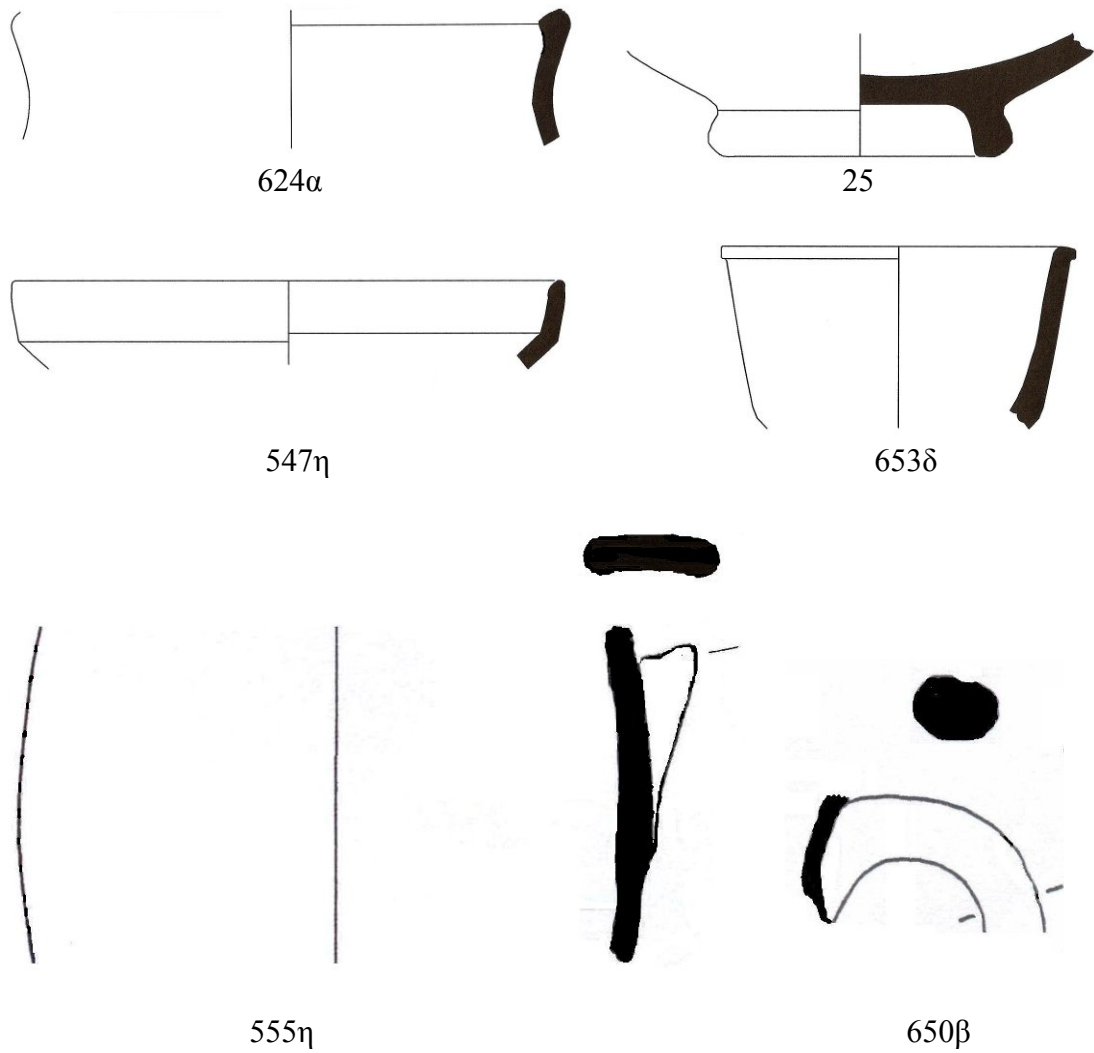


Excavations of 1997-2000 in the inner enclosure and the entrance E2: sketch plan
 (red = trenches; brown = excavated structures dated to the Frankish period;
 green = excavated structures dated to the Turkish period)

Plate 14

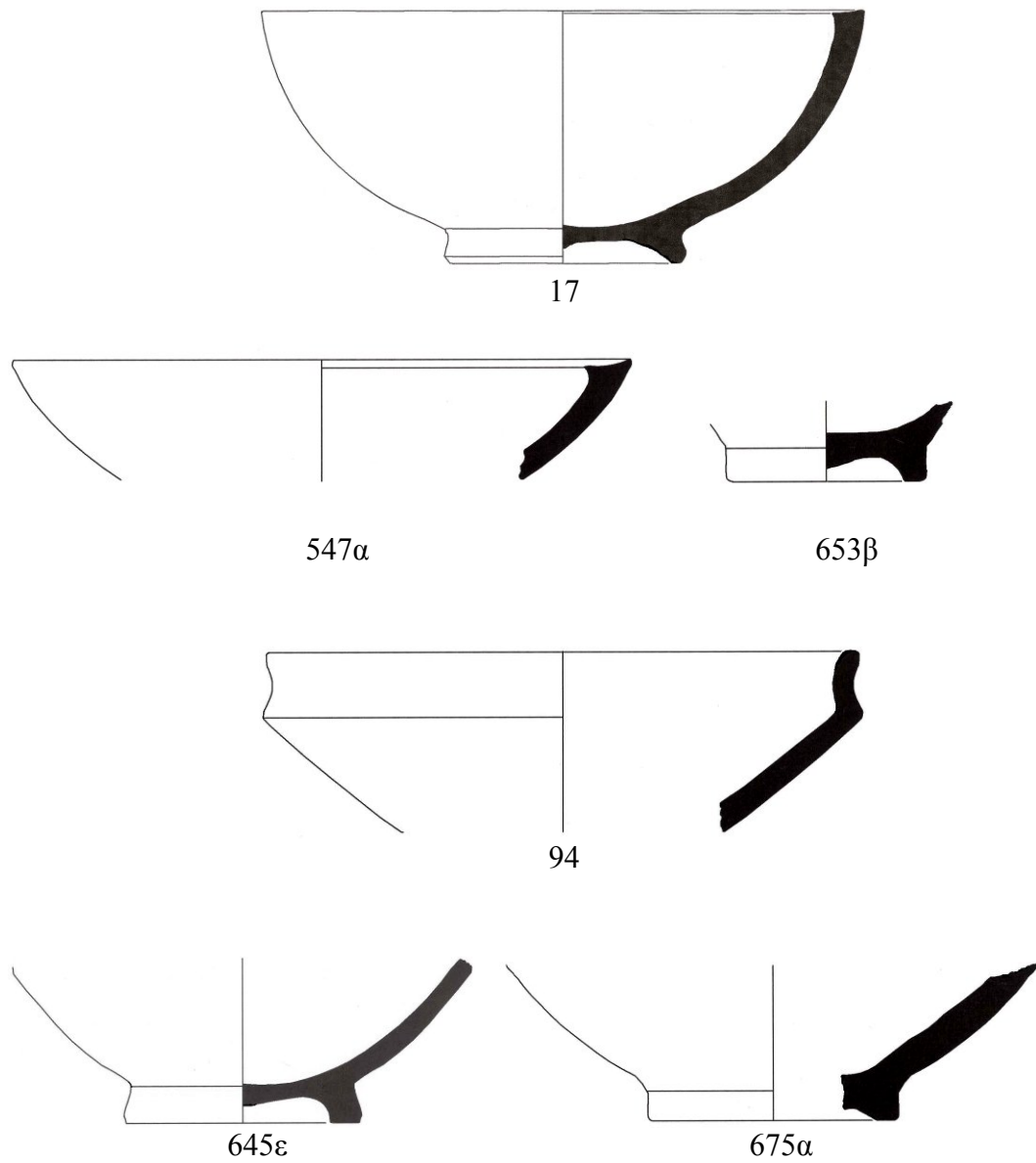


Plan of the castle by Francesco Grimani, 1701
 (Andrews 1953, pl.XXXIII)

Plate 15

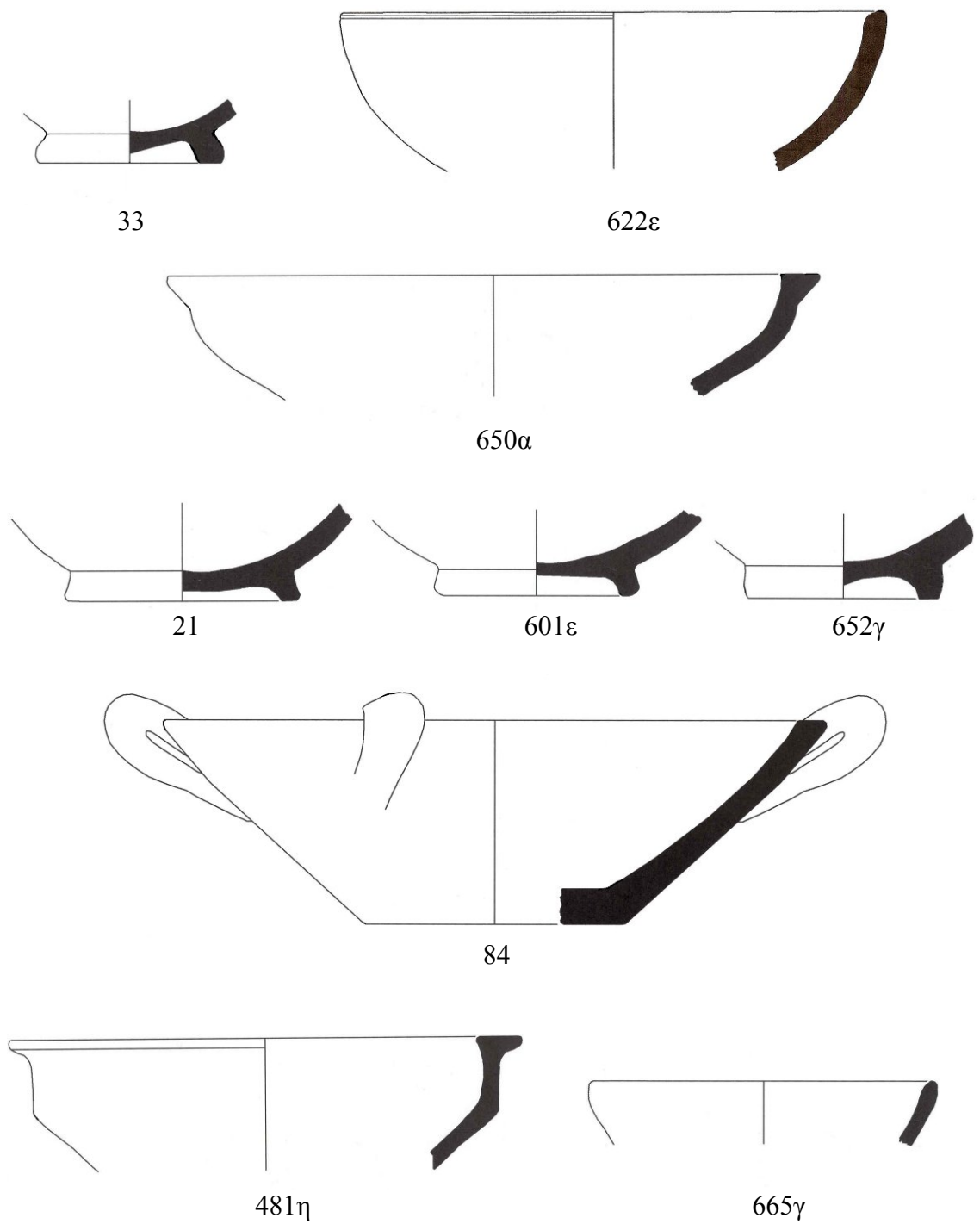
[scale 1:2]

Coroured Sgraffito ware (ware 1): 624α. Slip-Painted Ware (ware 2): 25. Brown Glazed -Monochrome- Ware (ware 3): 547η, 653δ. Archaic Maiolica (ware 4.i): 555η, 650β.

Plate 16

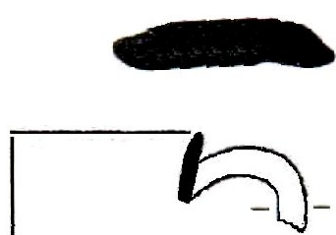
[scale 1:2]

Protomaiolica (ware 5.i): 17, 547α; **(ware 5.ii):** 653β.
‘RMR’ (ware 6.i.a): 94, 645ε, 675α.

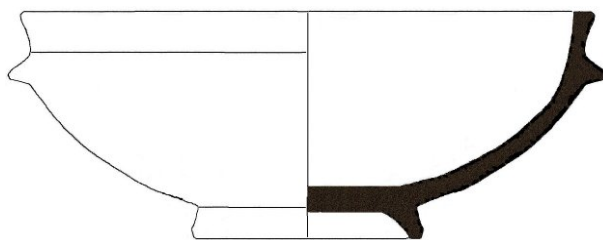
Plate 17

[scale 1:2]

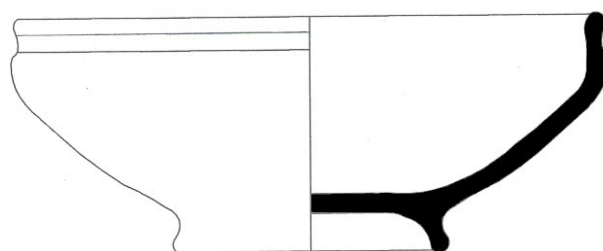
‘RMR’ (ware 6.i.b): 33; **(ware 6.i.c):** 622ε; **(ware 6.ii):** 650α; **(ware 6.iii):** 21, 601ε, 652γ; **(ware 6.iv):** 84, 481η, 665γ.

Plate 18

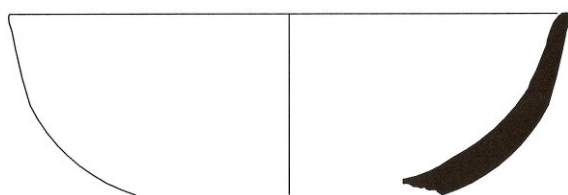
77α



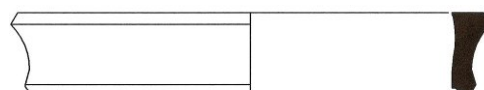
52



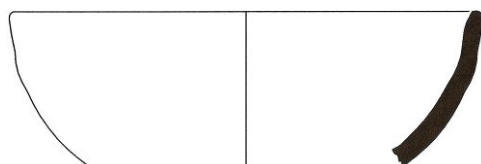
118



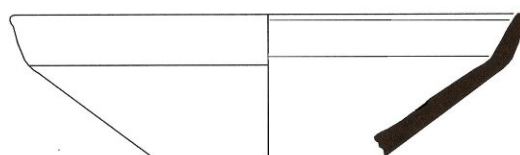
67



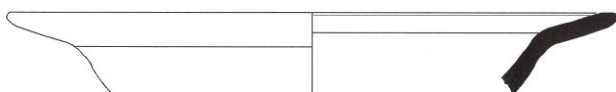
545β



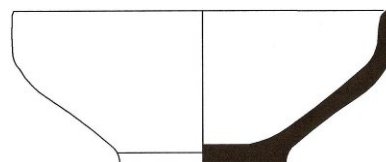
545δ



555στ



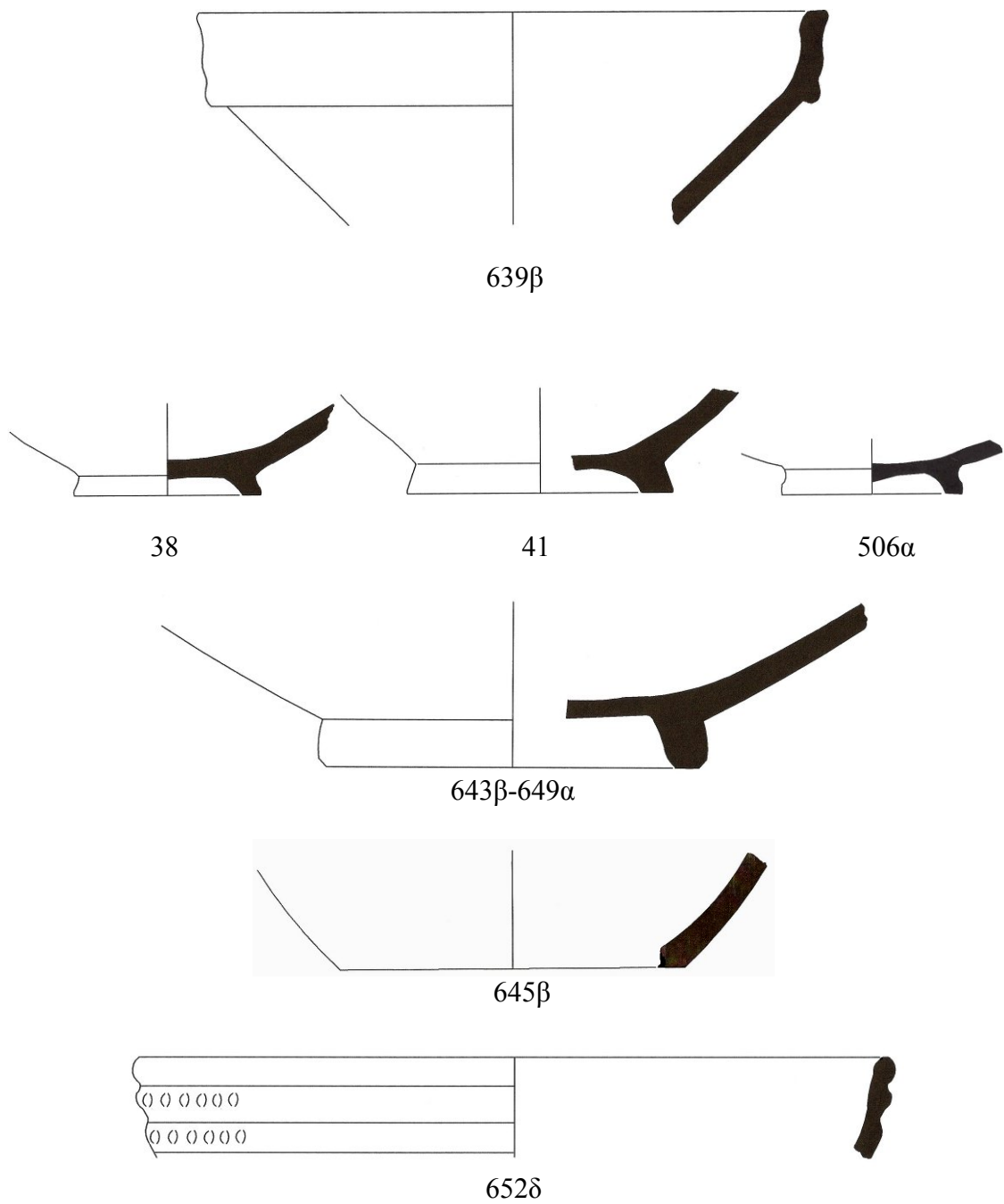
555ι



608β

[scale 1:2]

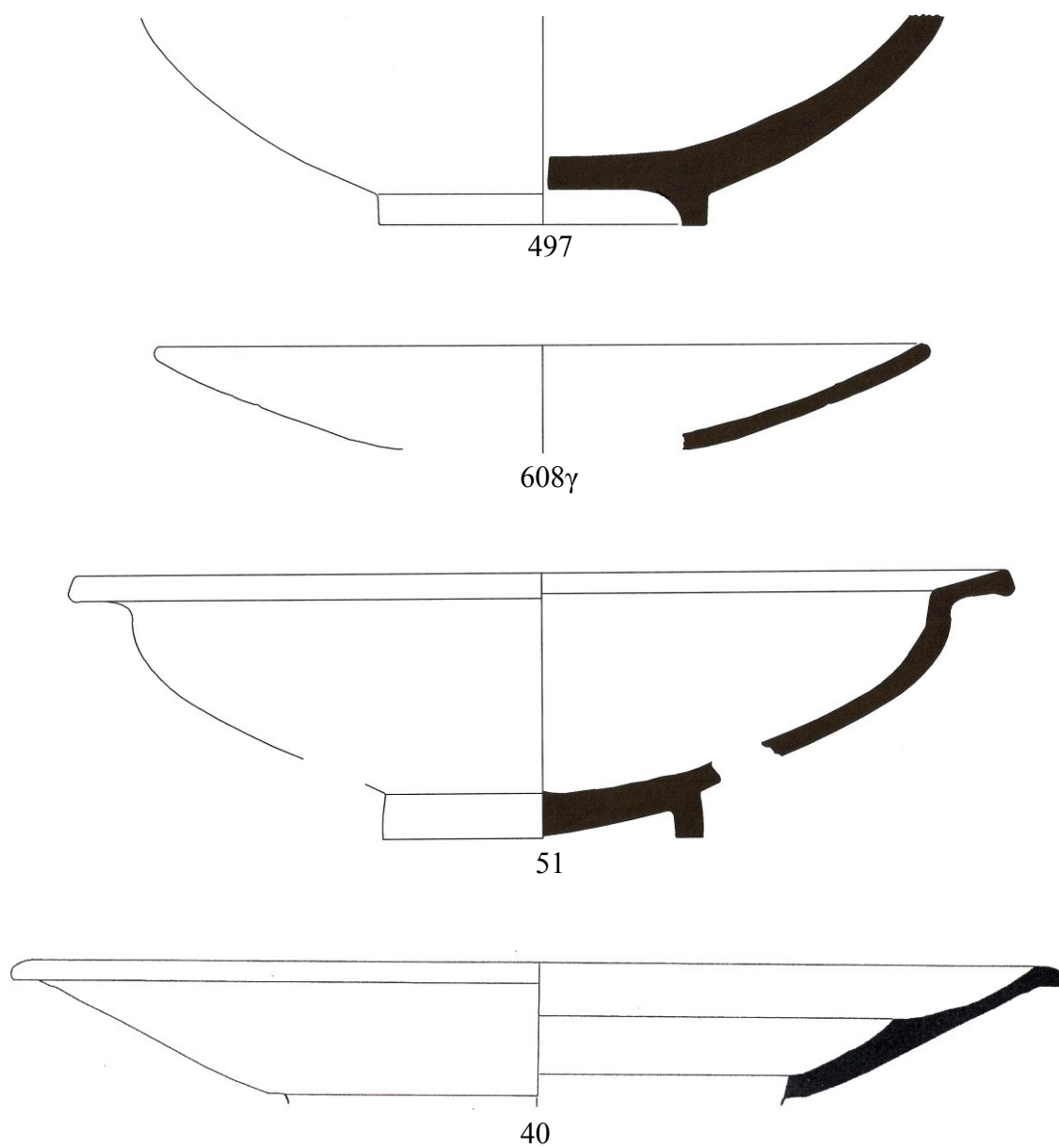
‘RMR’ (ware 6.v): 77α. Double-Dipped Ware (ware 7): 52, 118. Spanish Ware (ware 10): 67. Metallic Ware (ware 11): 545β, 545δ, 555στ, 555ι. Monochrome Slipped & Glazed Ware (ware 13): 608β.

Plate 19

[scale 1:2]

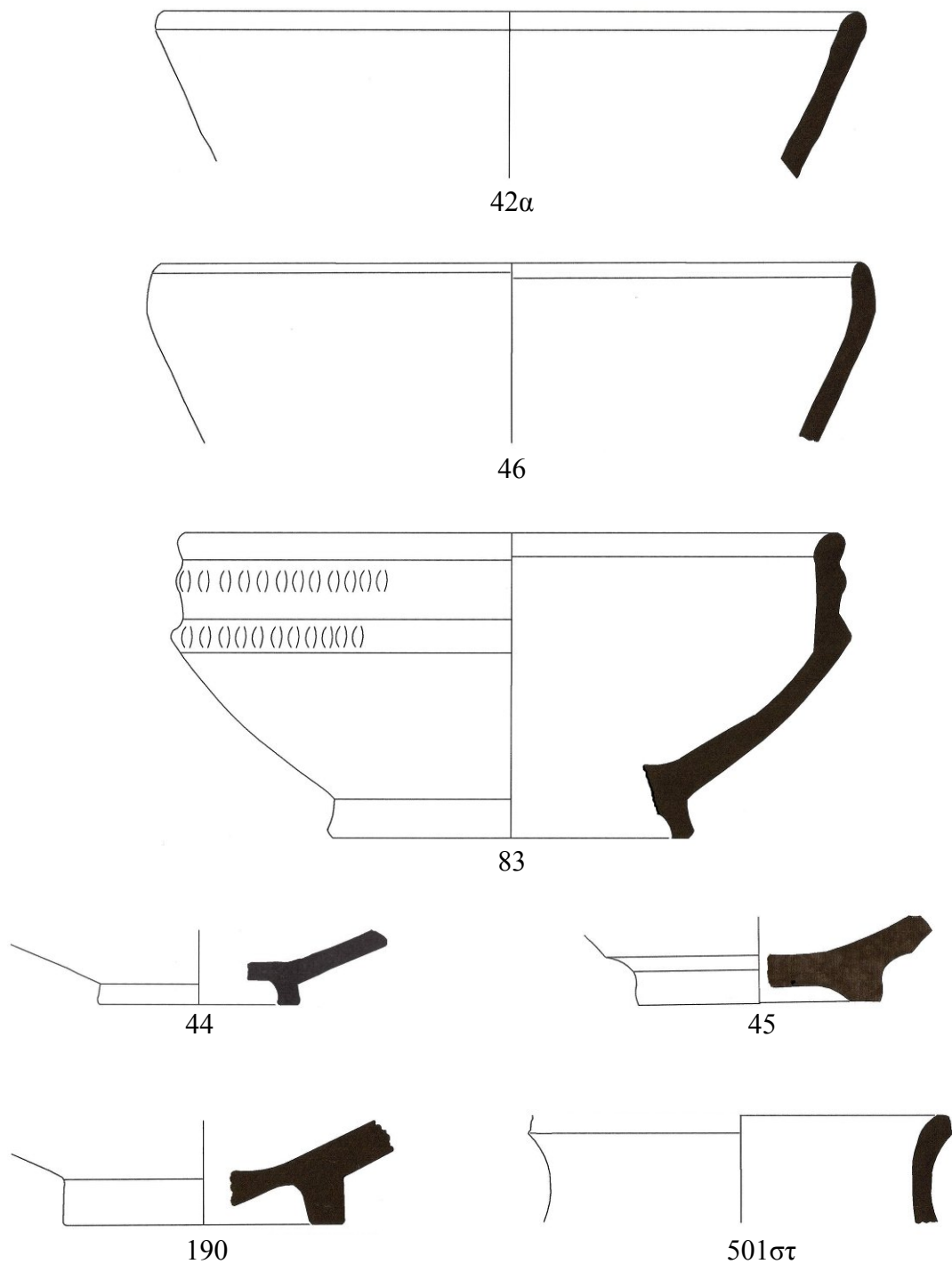
‘Iridescent Green Glazed Ware’ (ware 12): 639β. **Sgraffito from Venice / Po valley (ware 9.ii):** 38, 41, 506α, 643β-649α, 645β, 652δ.

Plate 20



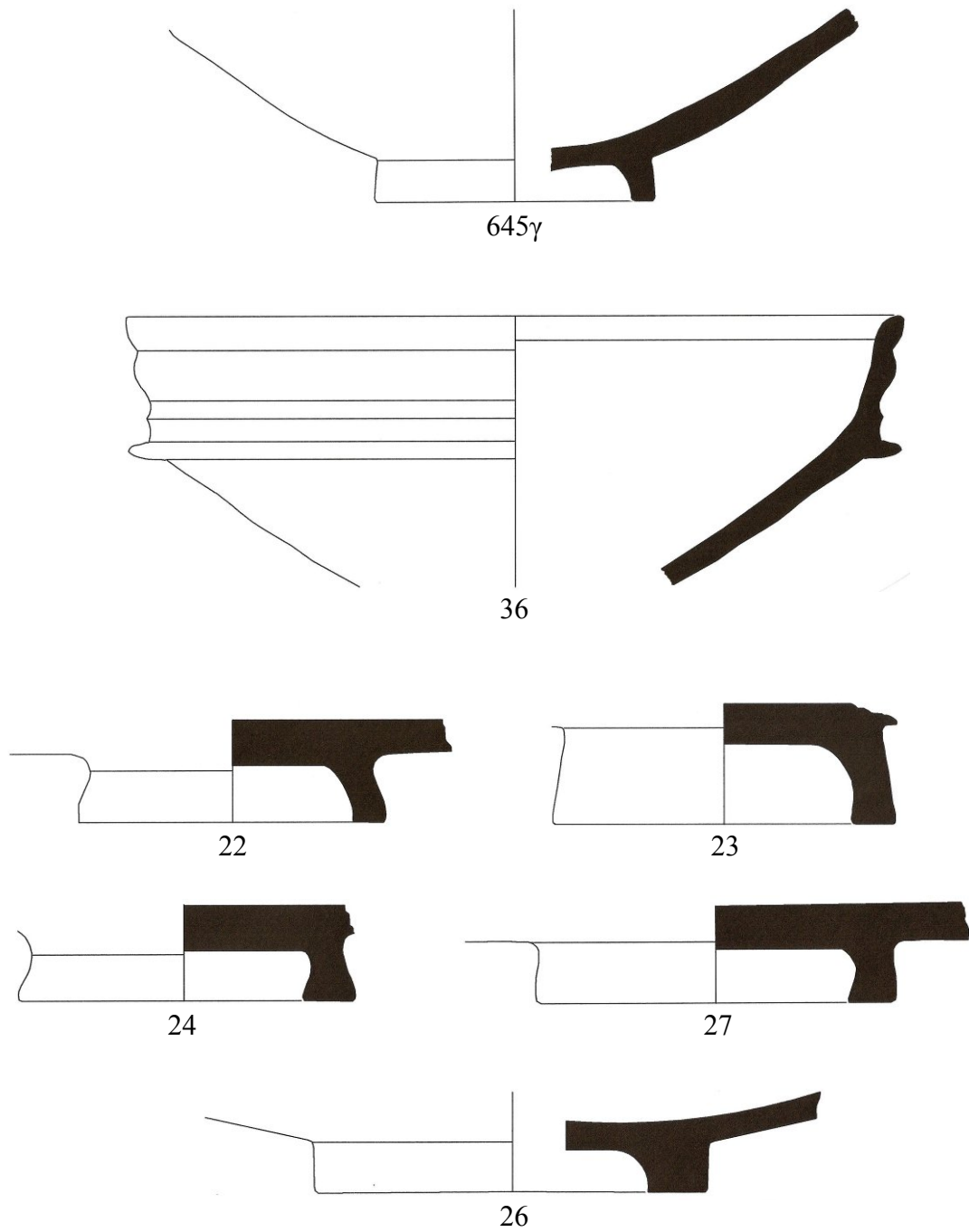
[scale 1:2]

Northern Italian Sgraffito (ware 20.A): 497, 608γ; (ware 20.B): 51; (ware 20.C): 40.

Plate 21

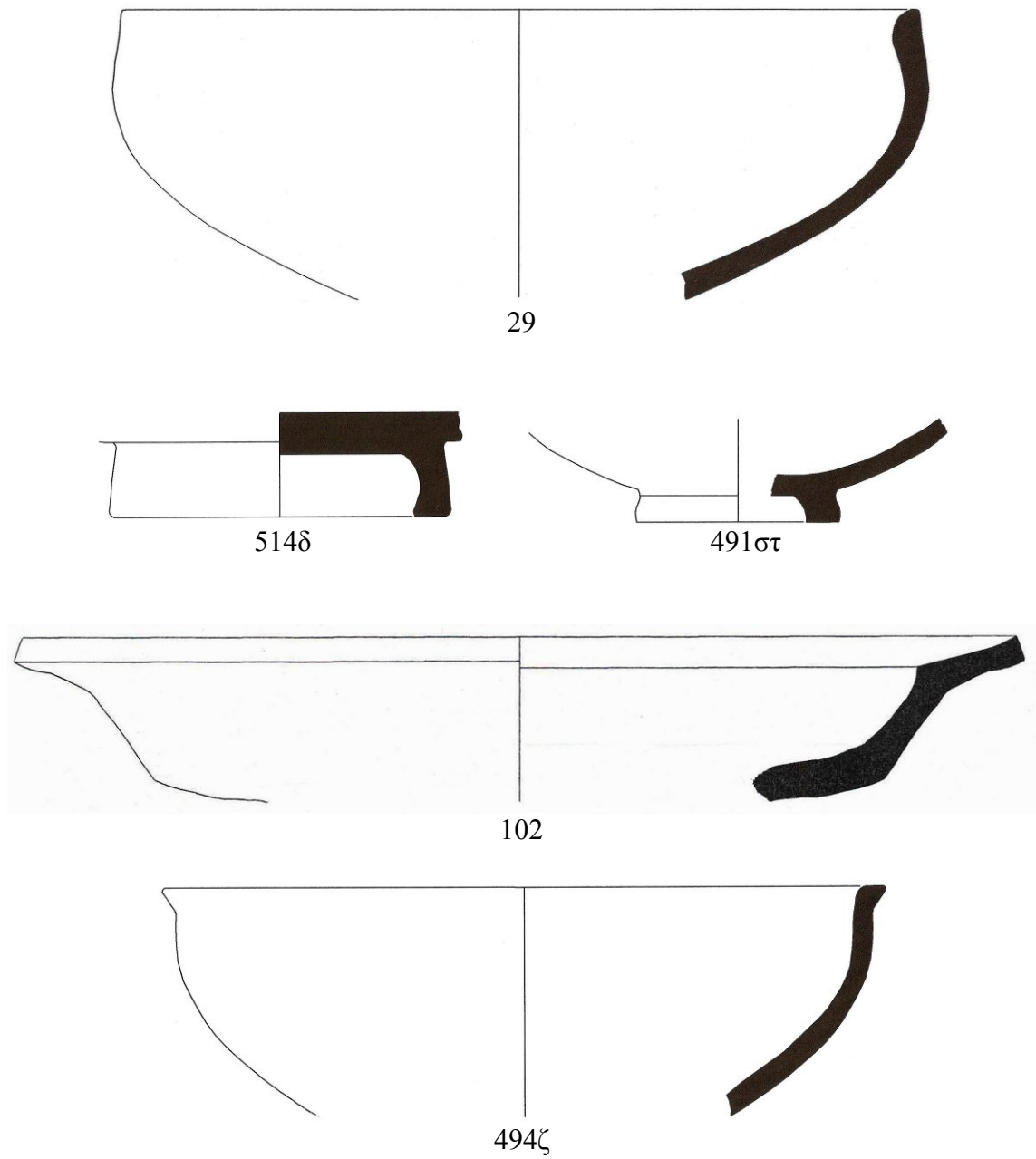
[scale 1:2]

Coloured Sgraffito from Arta (ware 14.A): 42α, 46, 83. Various Coloured Sgraffito Wares (ware 14.B): 44, 45, 190, 501σ.

Plate 22

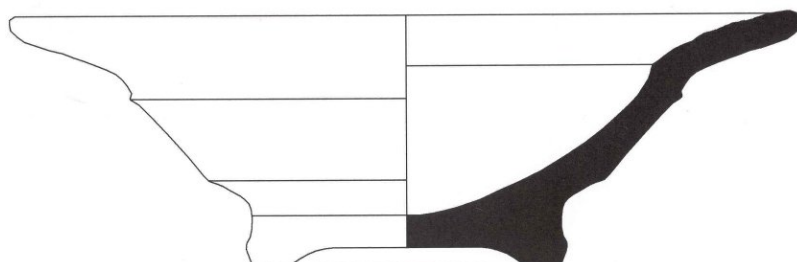
[scale 1:2]

Various Coloured Sgraffito Wares (ware 14.B): 645 γ . **Monochrome Sgraffito (ware 14.C):** 36. **Slip-Painted Ware (ware 15):** 22, 23, 24, 27, 26.

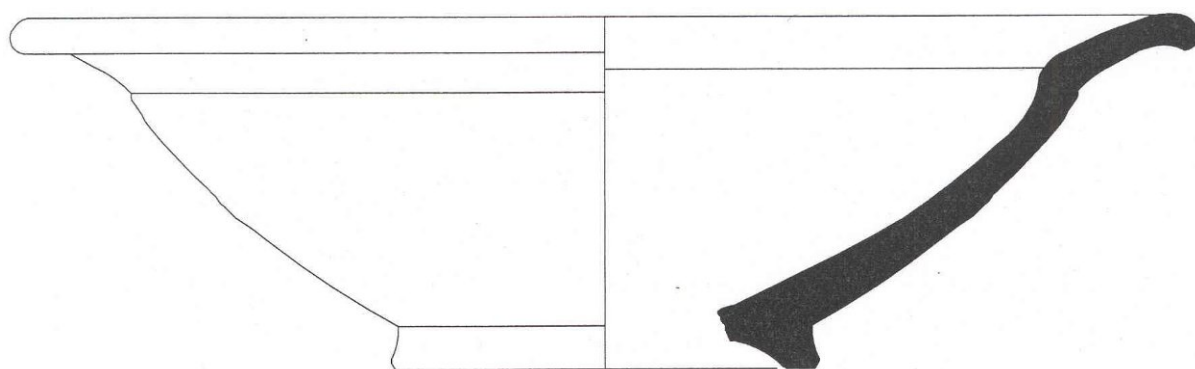
Plate 23

[scale 1:2]

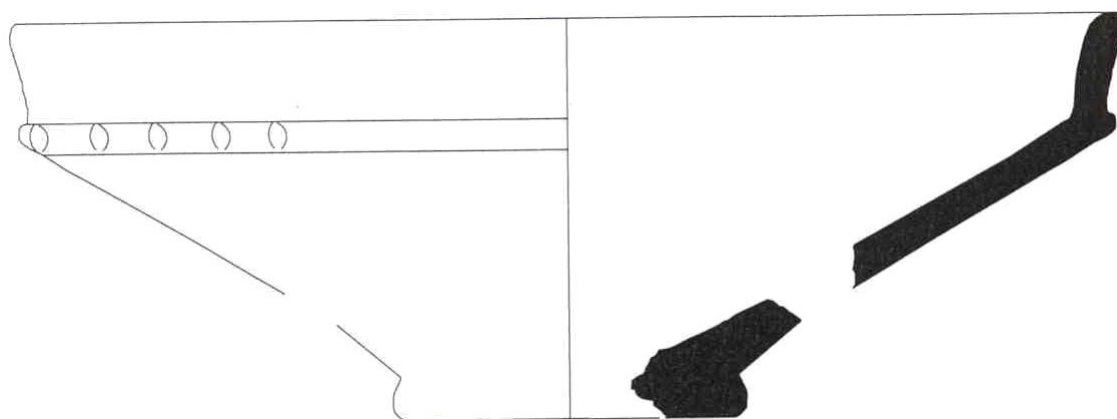
Slip-Painted Ware (ware 15): 29, 514δ, 491στ, 102, 494ζ.

Plate 24

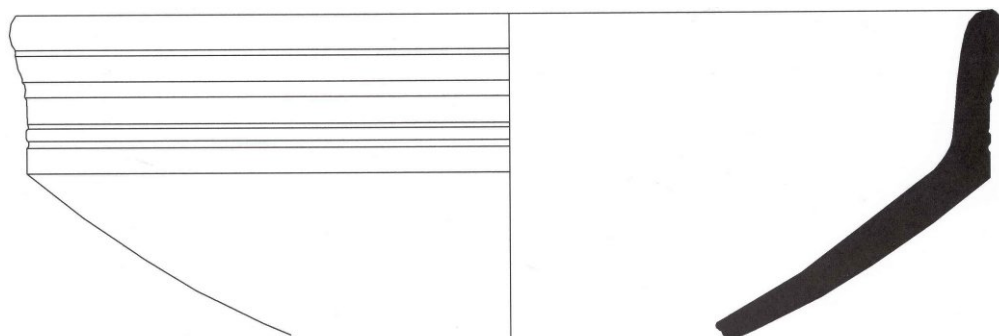
135



611δ



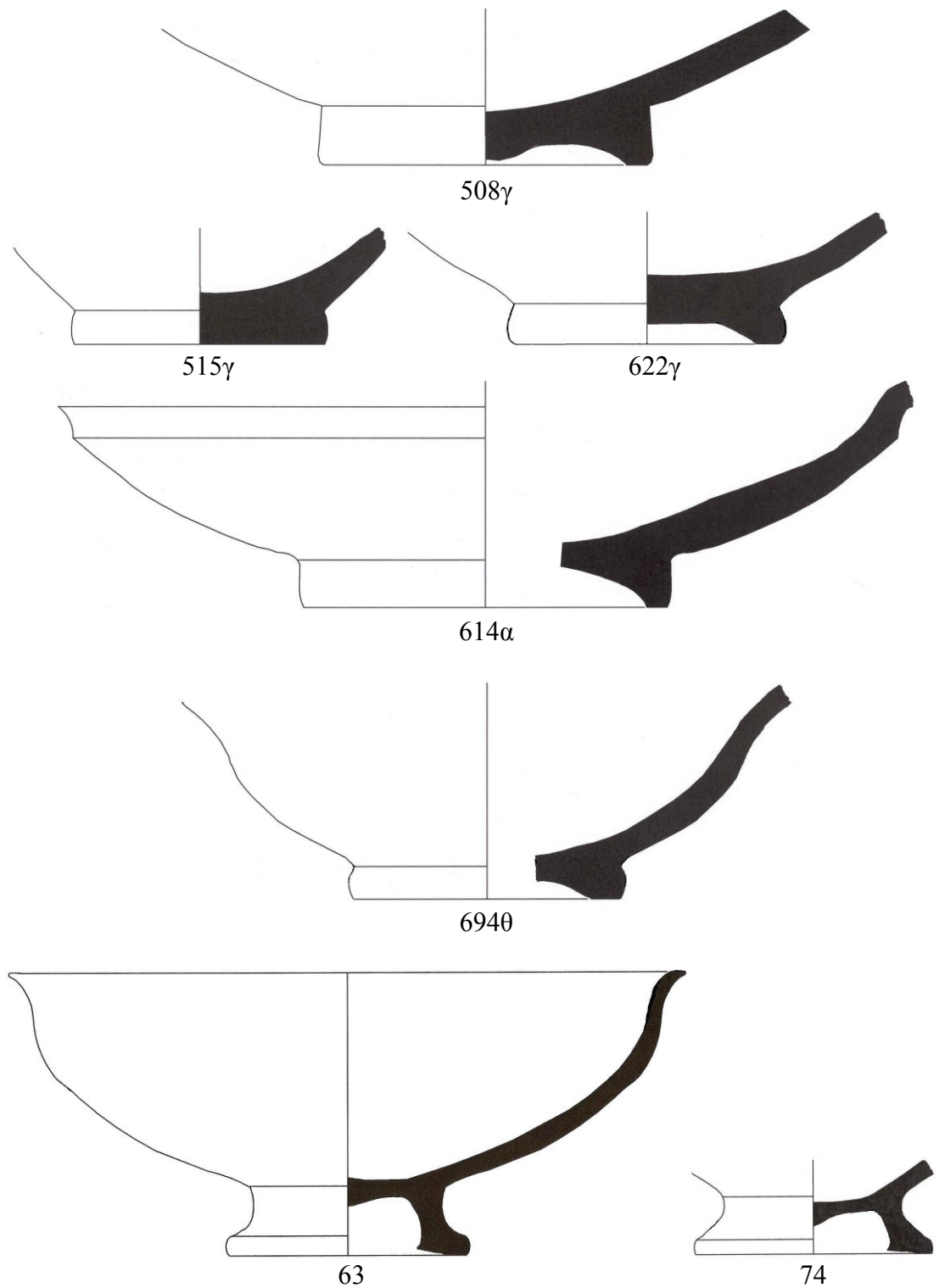
515α



542δ

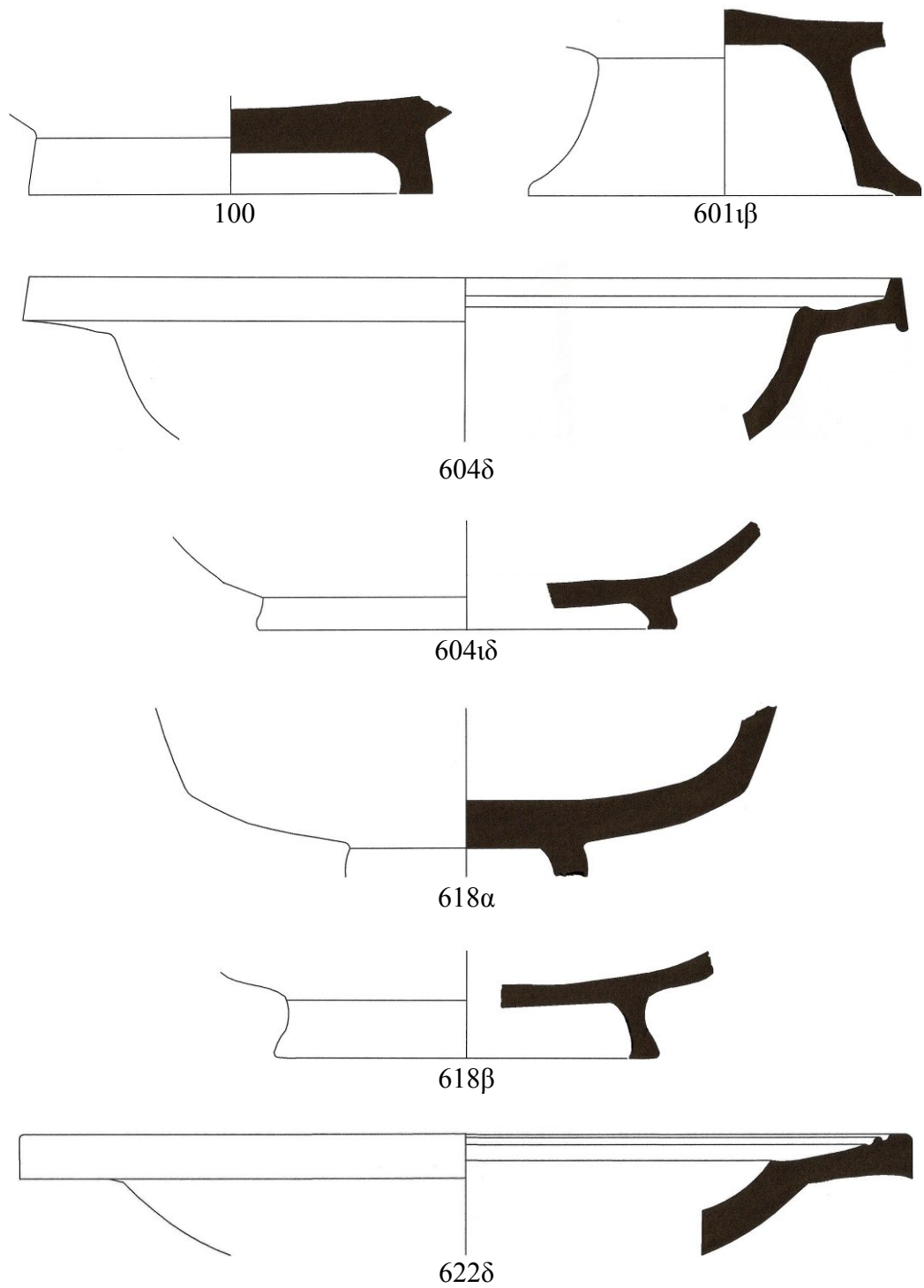
[scale 1:2]

Green Painted Ware (ware 16.A): 135, 611δ, 515α, 542δ.

Plate 25

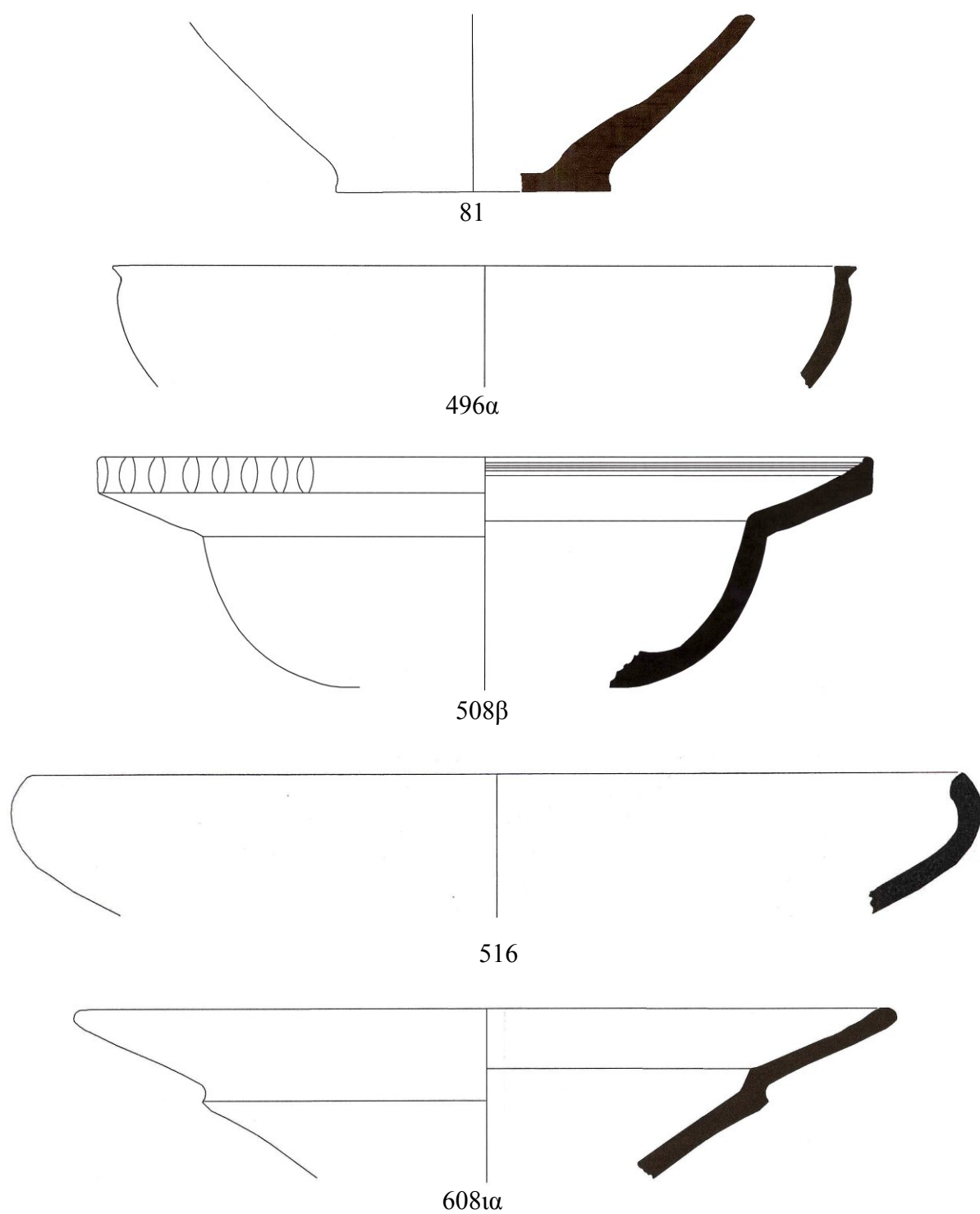
[scale 1:2]

Green Painted Ware (ware 16.A): 508 γ , 515 γ , 622 γ , 614 α , 6940. **Painted Ware from Arta (ware 16.B):** 63, 74.

Plate 26

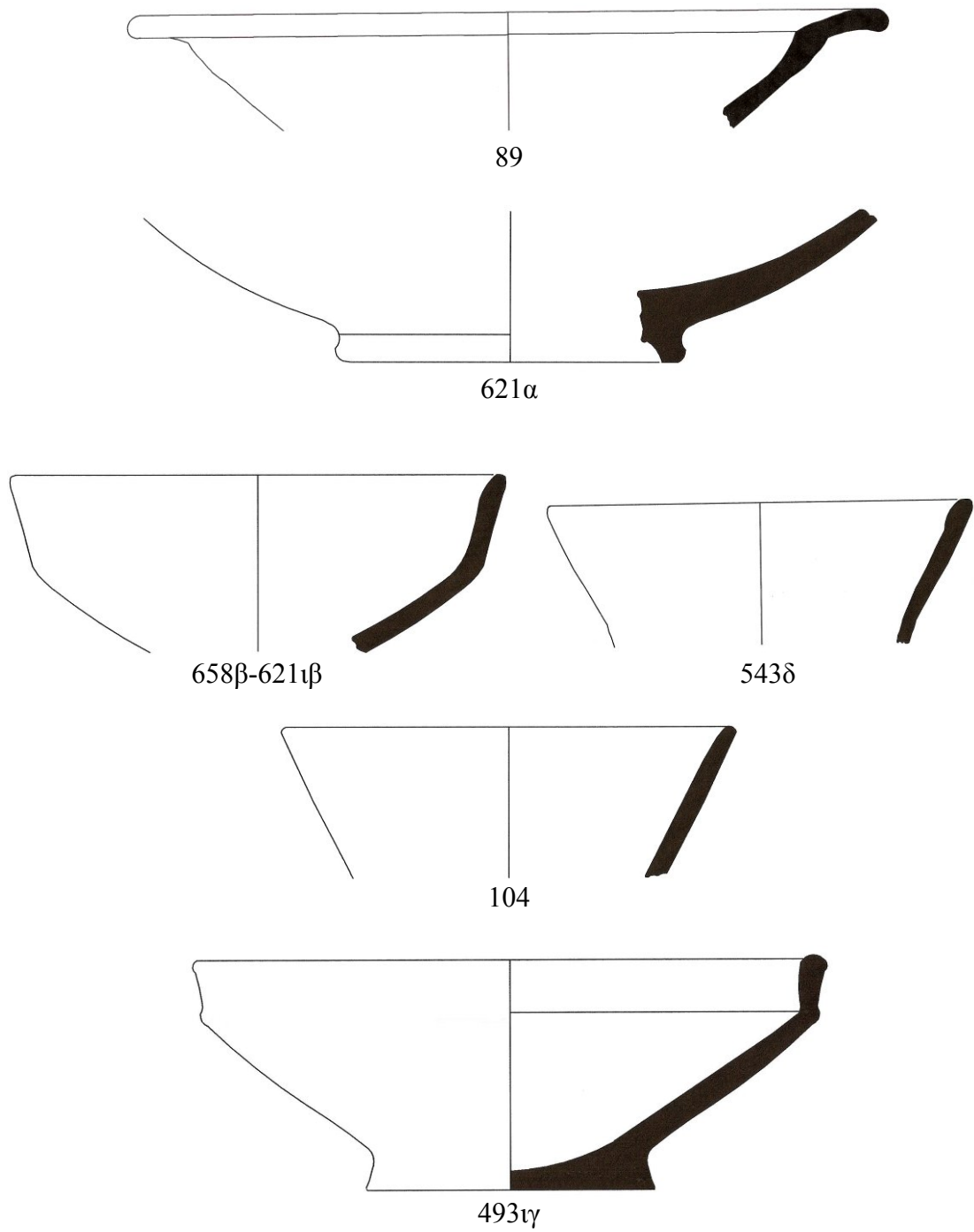
[scale 1:2]

Brown Painted Ware (ware 16.D): 100, 601ιβ, 604δ, 604ιδ, 618α, 618β, 622δ.

Plate 27

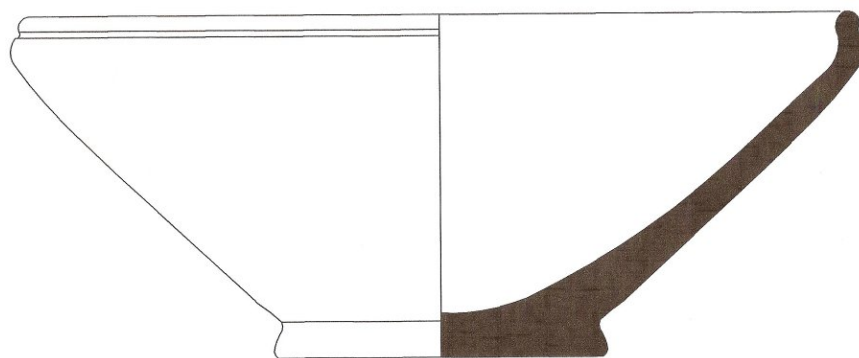
[scale 1:2]

Various Painted Wares (ware 16.E): 81, 496α, 508β, 516, 6081α.

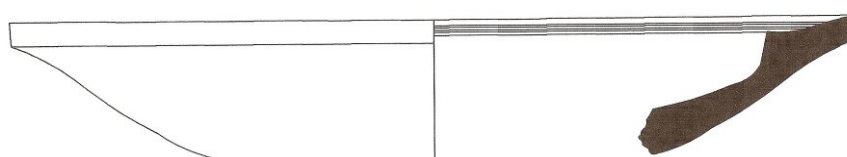
Plate 28

[scale 1:2]

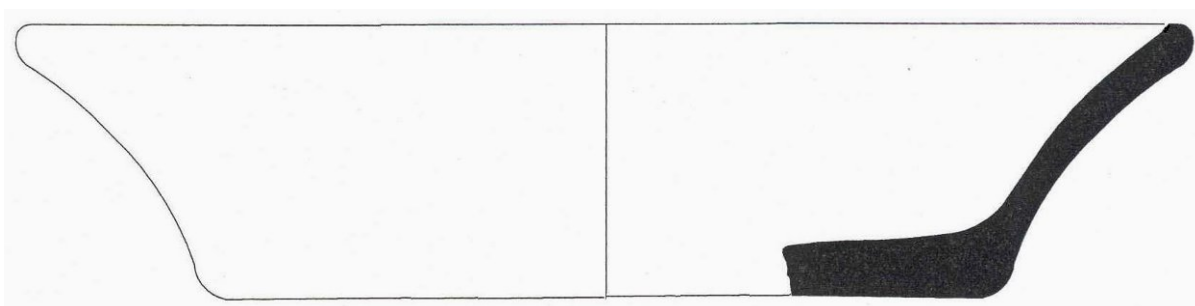
Greek Maiolica (ware 17.A): 89; **(ware 17.B):** 621α, 658β-621ιβ; **(ware 17.C):** 543δ.
Marbled Ware (ware 18): 104. **Plain Glazed Ware (ware 19):** 493ιγ.

Plate 29

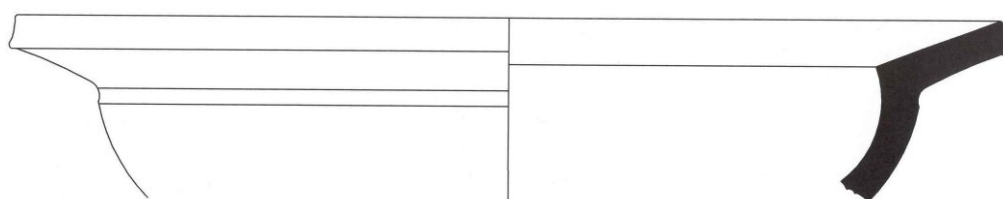
510α



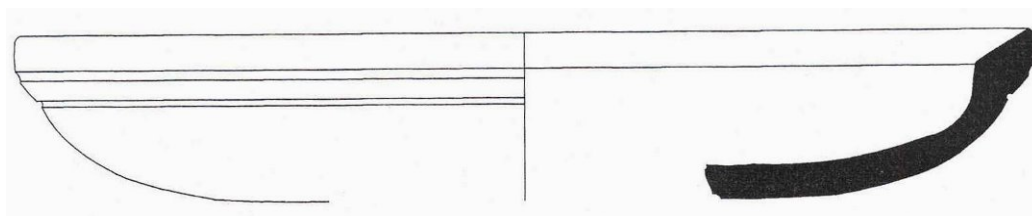
600γ



601β



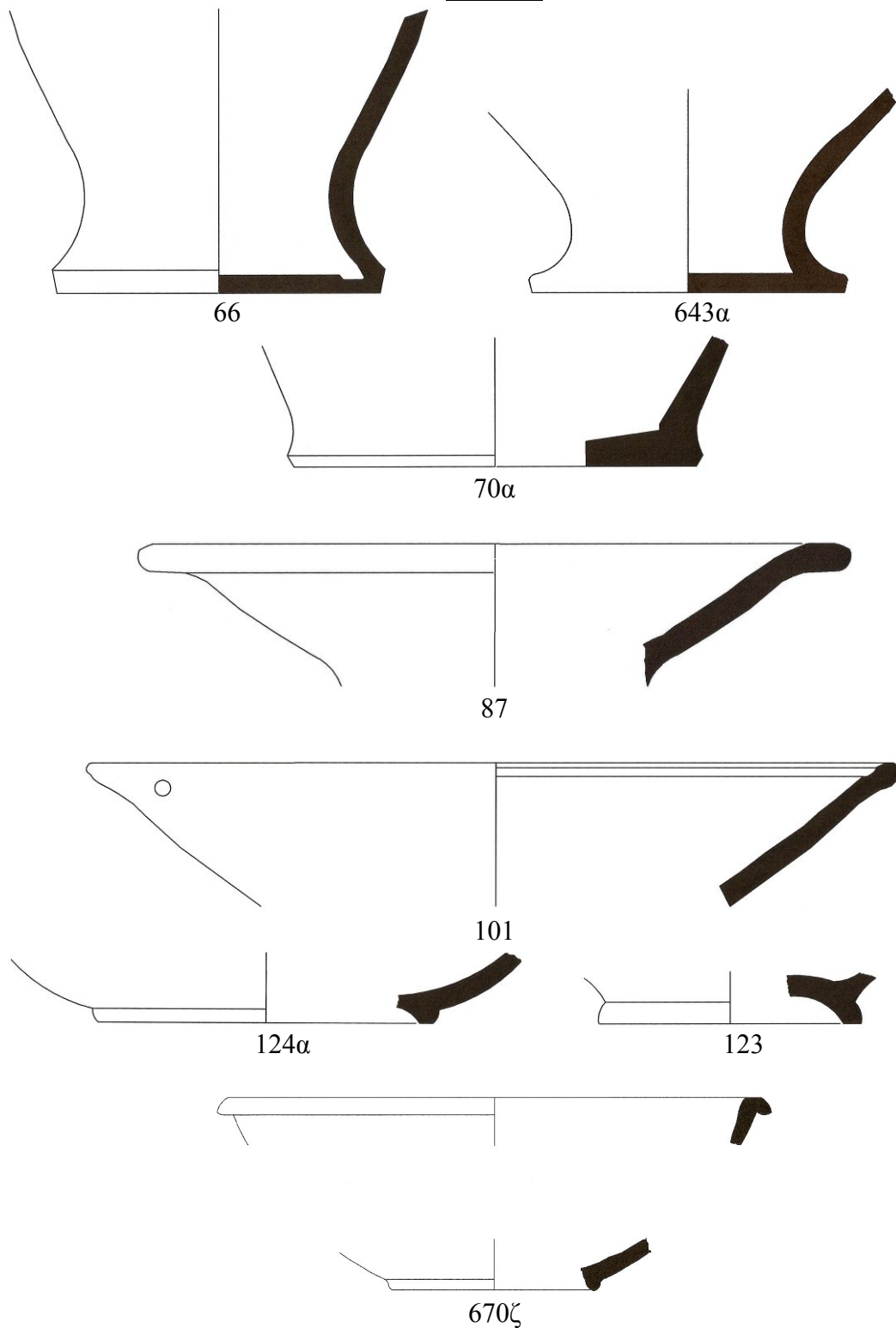
608ε



611ε

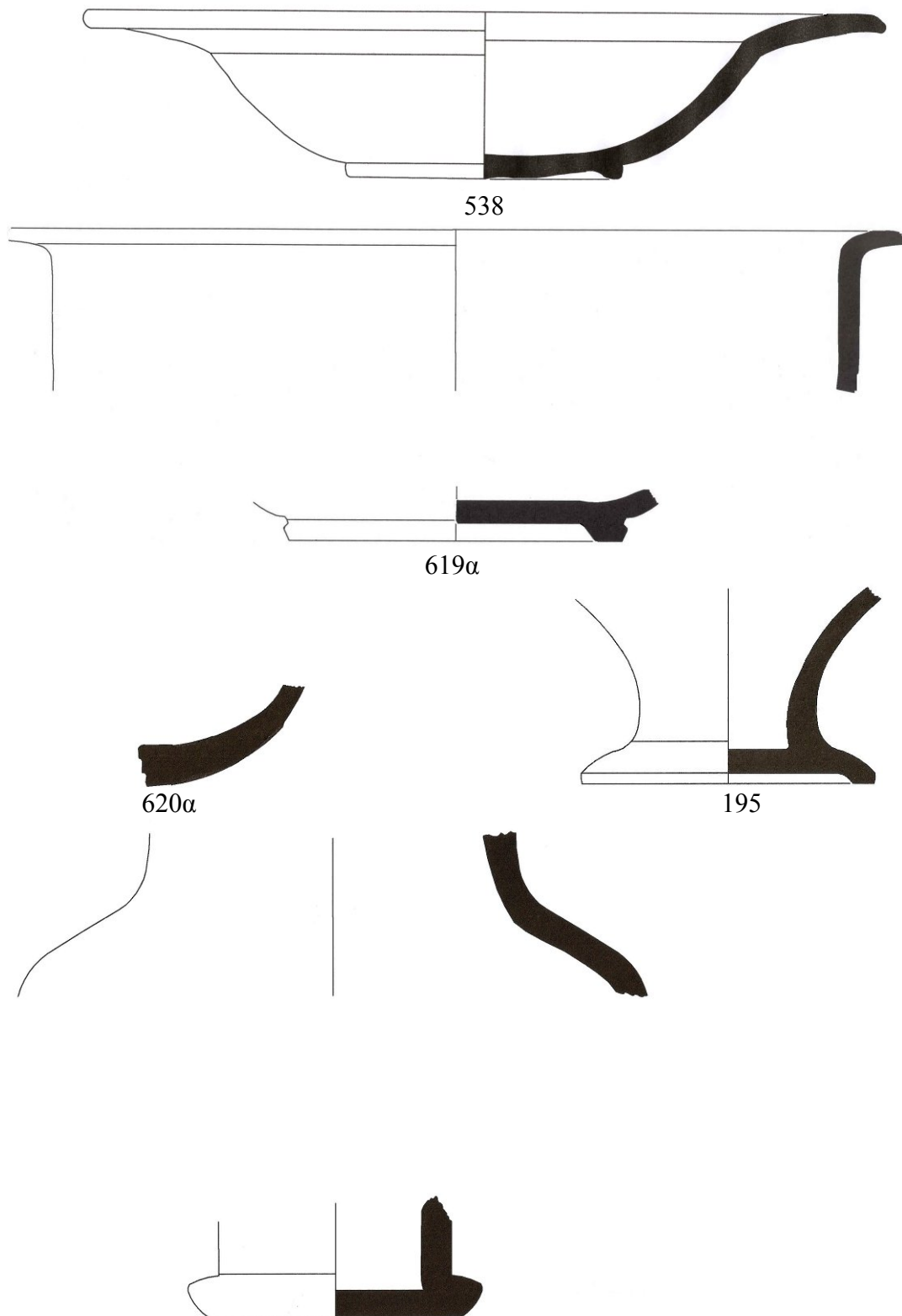
[scale 1:2]

Plain Glazed Ware (ware 19): 510α, 600γ, 601β, 608ε, 611ε.

Plate 30

[scale 1:2]

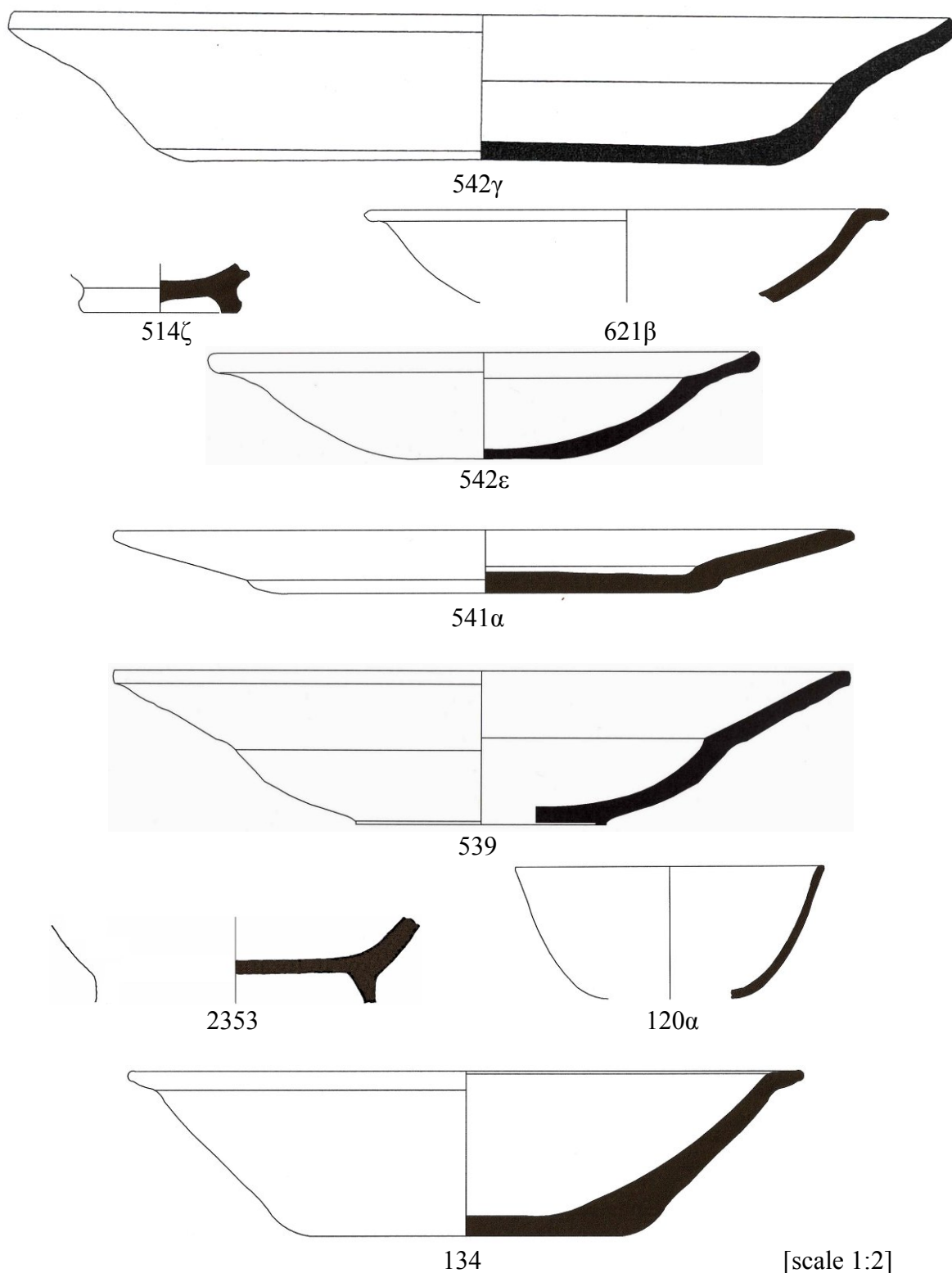
Early Renaissance Maiolica (ware 21.A.i.b): 66, 643α; **(ware 21.A.ii):** 70α.
Renaissance & Later Maiolica (ware 21.B.i): 87, 101, 124α; **(ware 21.B.v):** 123;
(ware 21.B.iv): 670ζ.

Plate 31

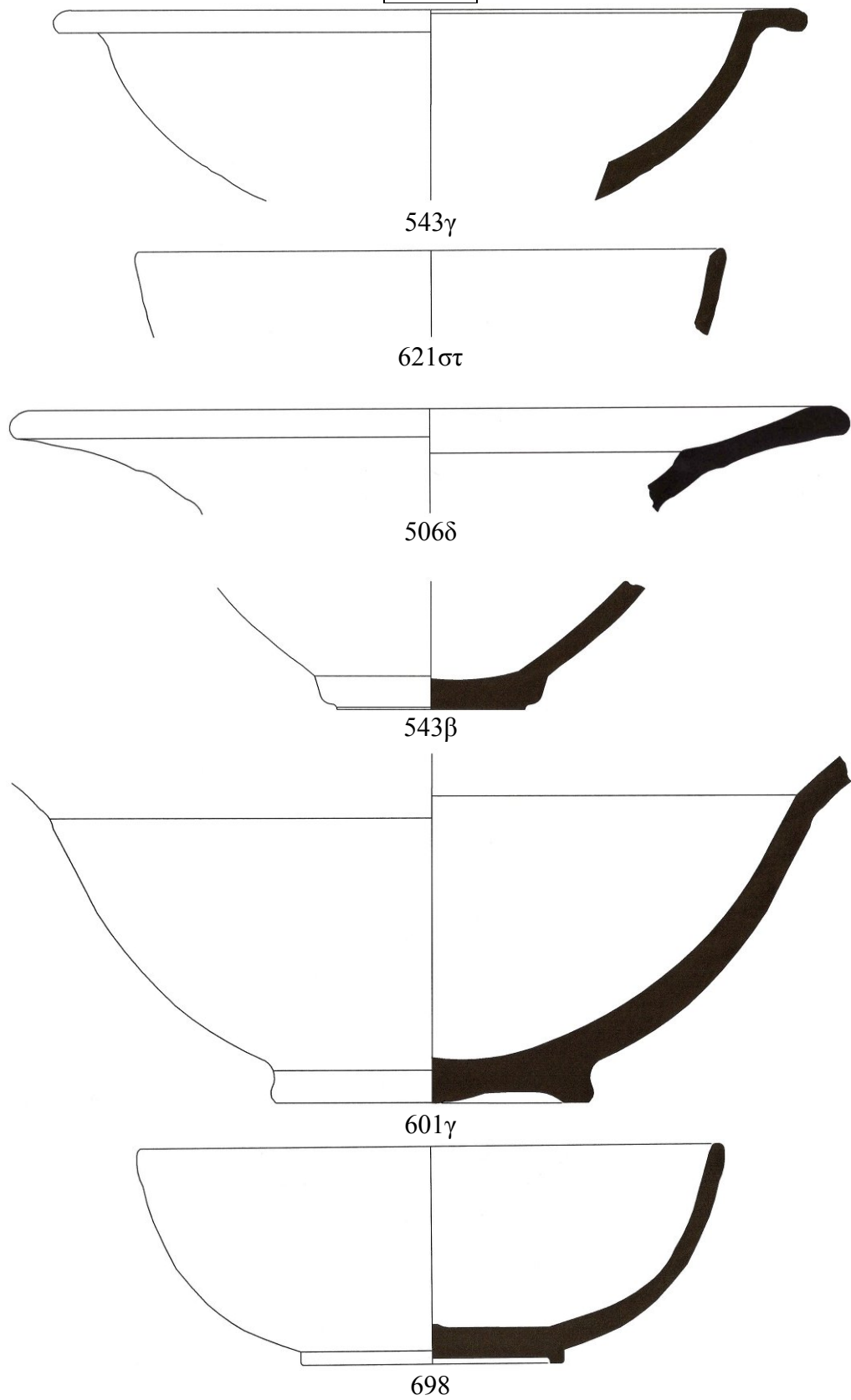
85 (foot and shoulder fragments)

[scale 1:2]

Renaissance & Later Maiolica (ware 21.B.vi.): 538, 619α, 620α.
Late Polychrome Maiolica (ware 21.C): 195, 85 (closed forms).

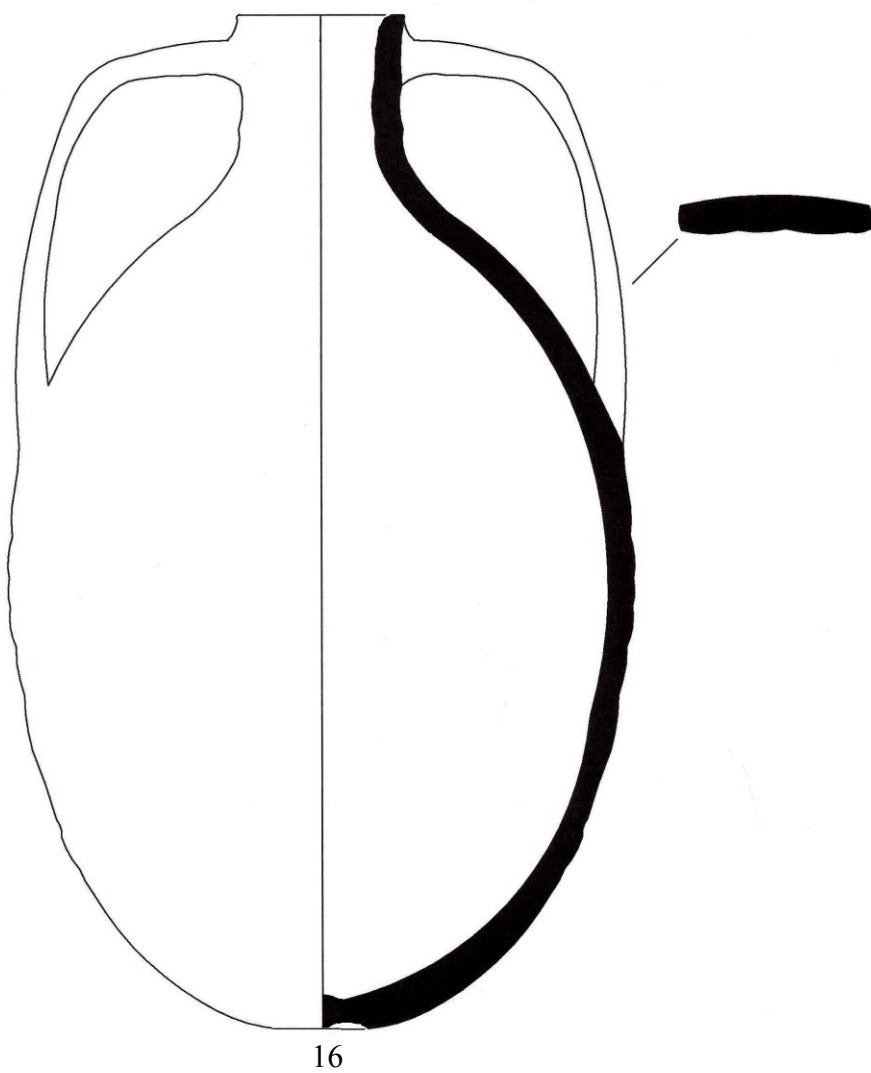
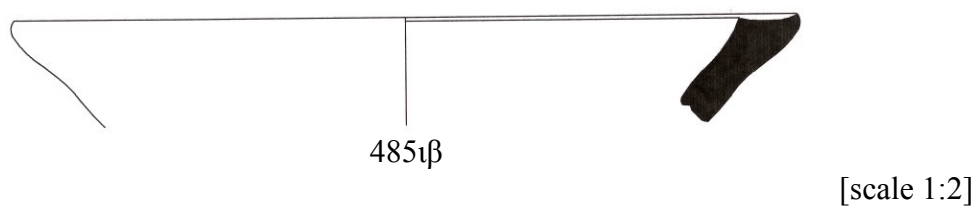
Plate 32

Late Polychrome Maiolica (ware 21.C): 542γ (open form). **Northern Italian Marbled Ware (ware 22):** 514ζ, 621β. **Tâches Noires from Albisola (ware 23):** 542ε. **Monochrome Whiteware (ware 24):** 541α, 539. **Iznik Ware (ware 27):** 2353. **Porcelain (ware 30):** 120α. **Çanakkale Ware (ware 29):** 134.

Plate 33

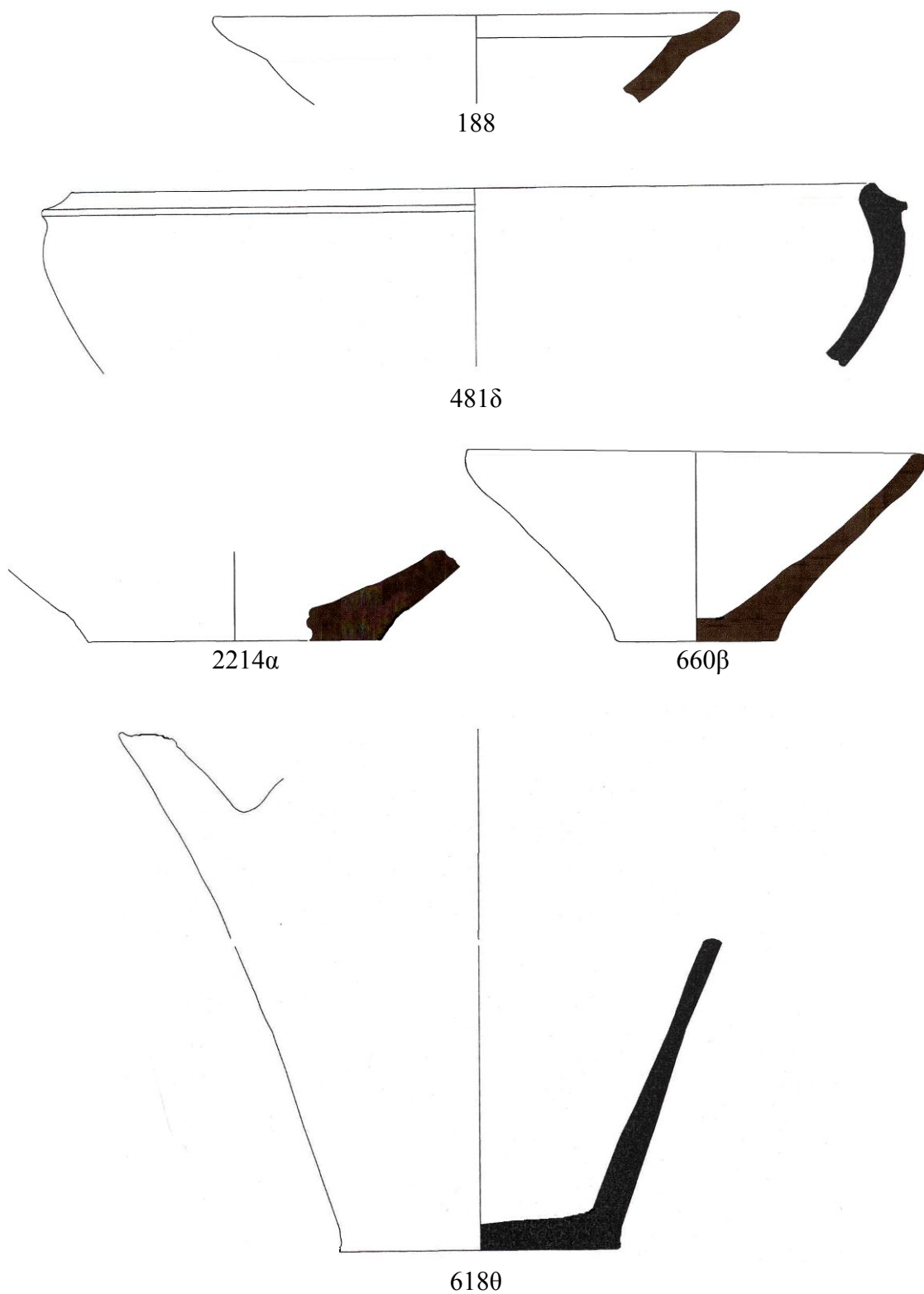
[scale 1:2]

Miscellanea (1): 543γ, 621στ; **(2.ii):** 506δ, 543β; **(2.iii):** 601γ; **(2.iv):** 698.

Plate 34

Miscallenea (3): 4851β.

Unglazed Wares (Appendix B): Matt-Painted Ware, closed forms (16).

Plate 35

[scale 1:2]

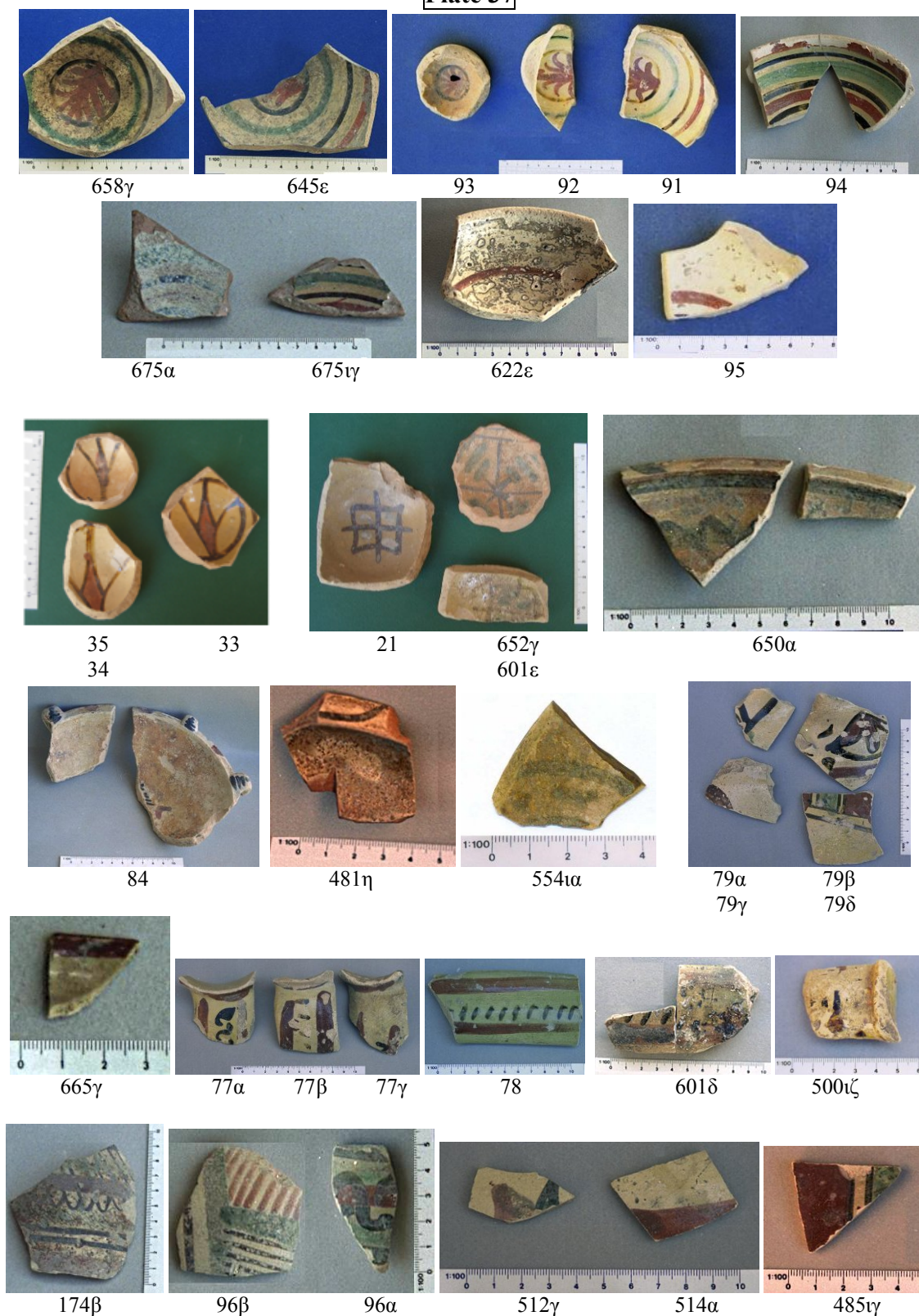
Unglazed Wares (Appendix B): Matt-Painted Ware (188, 481δ, 2214α); Flared Bowls (660β). Post-Byzantine Unglazed Wares (6180).

Plate 36

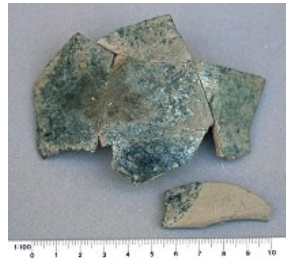


Coloured Sgraffito (ware 1): 624α. **Slip-Painted Ware (ware 2):** 487ζ, 25. **Brown Glazed Ware (ware 3):** 653δ, 547η. **Archaic Maiolica (ware 4.i):** 546β, 553γ, 554β, 184α, 960, 650β, 547στ, 958, 959, 555η, 182στ, 174α; **(ware 4.ii):** 554γ, 88. **Protomaiolica (ware 5.i):** 18, 19, 555ε, 547α, 555γ, 17, 193; **(ware 5.ii):** 653β, 555γ, 547β, 547δ.

Plate 37



‘RMR’ (ware 6.i.a): 658γ, 645ε, 93, 92, 91, 94, 675α, 675γ; (ware 6.i.c): 622ε, 95; (ware 6.i.b): 35, 34, 33; (ware 6.iii): 21, 652γ, 601ε; (ware 6.ii): 650α; (ware 6.iv): 84, 481η, 554ια, 665γ; (ware 6.v): 79α, 79β, 79γ, 79δ, 77α, 77β, 77γ, 78, 601δ, 500ιζ, 512γ, 514α, 485γ; (ware 6.vi): 174β, 96β, 96α.

Plate 38545β
555στ555ι
545δ

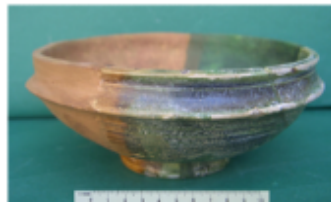
545α



639β



608β



52



118



50



67

Metallic Ware (ware 11): 545β, 555ι, 555στ, 545δ. **'Iridescent Green Glazed Ware' (ware 12):** 545α, 639β. **Monochrome Slipped & Glazed Ware (ware 13):** 608β. **Double-Dipped Ware (ware 7):** 52, 118. **Veneto Ware (ware 8):** 50. **Spanish Ware (ware 10):** 67.

Plate 39

Sgraffito from Venice / Po valley (ware 9.i): 510δ; **(ware 9.ii):** 47, 500ιθ, 643β-649α, 645α, 645β, 651α, 652δ, 506α, 38, 41. **Northern Italian Sgraffito (ware 20.A):** 497, 596β, 485ιε, 608γ; **(ware 20.B):** 51; **(ware 20.C):** 40, 54.

Plate 40

Coloured Sgraffito from Arta (ware 14.A): 46, 48, 83, 42 α , 43, 664 α . **Various Coloured Sgraffito Wares (ware 14.B):** 45, 44, 190, 39, 501 σ , 676 α , 669, 6810, 645 γ . **Monochrome Sgraffito (ware 14.C):** 36.

Plate 41

22

24

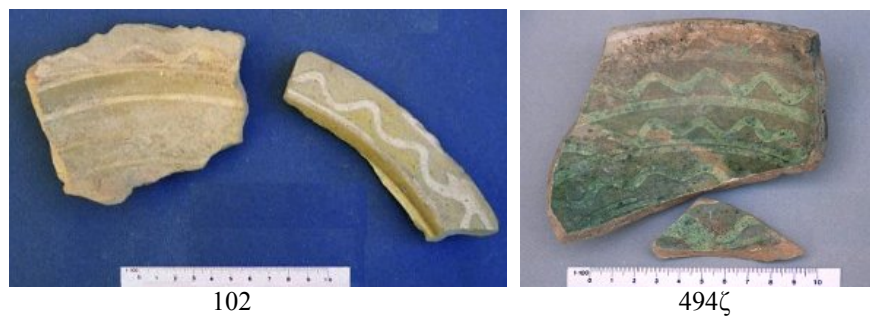
23



26

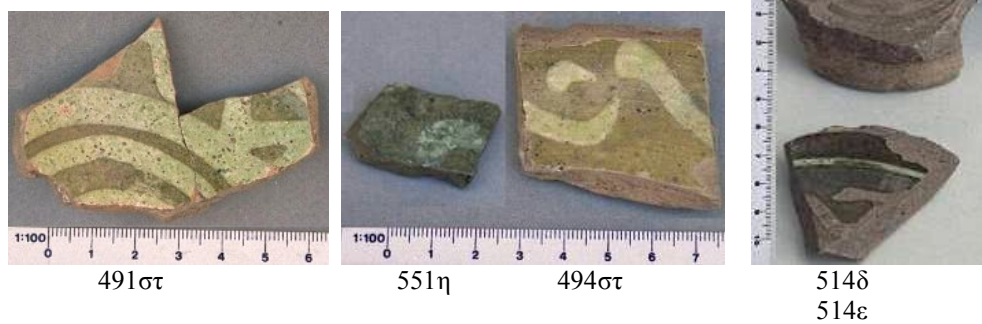
27

29



102

494ζ

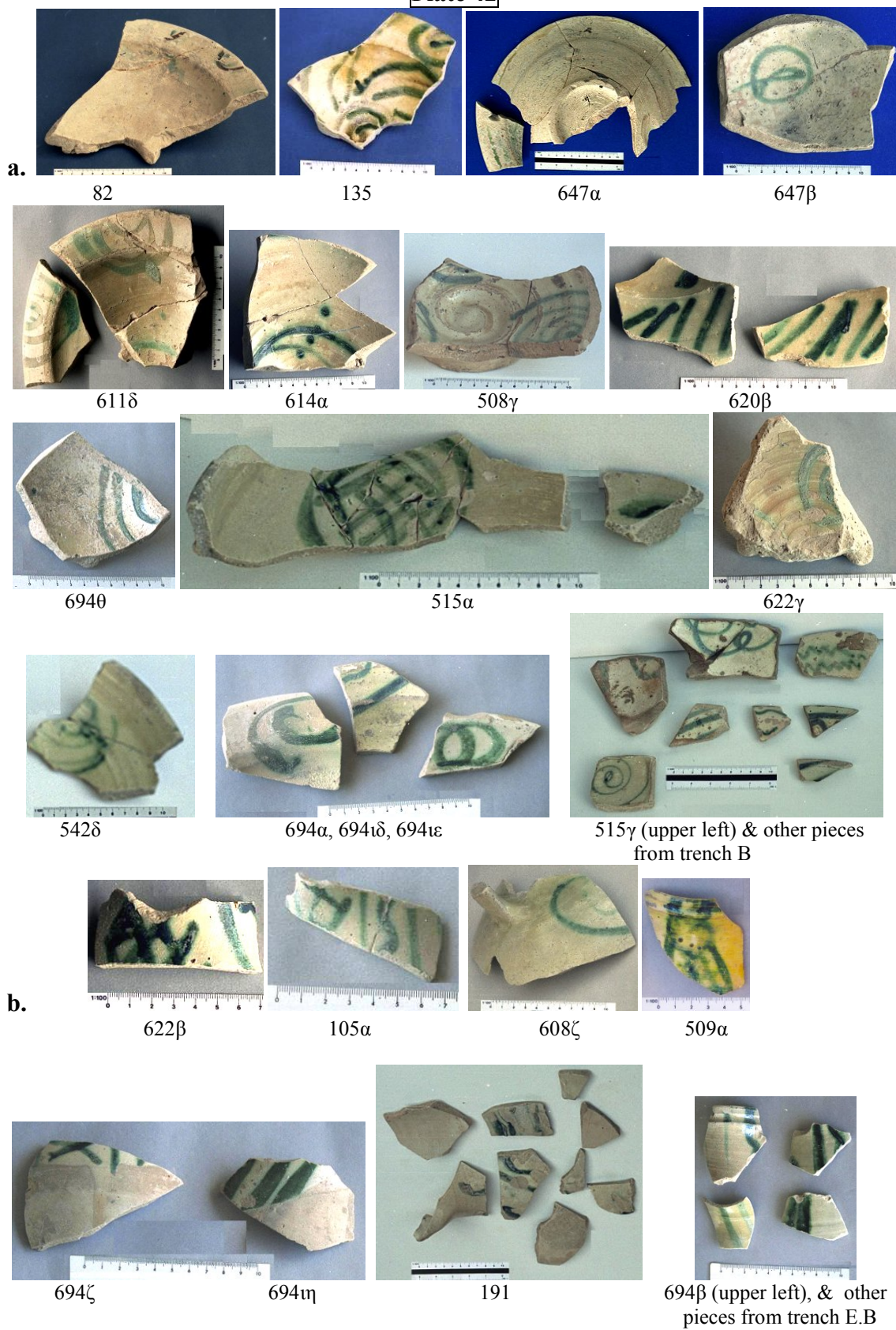


491στ

551η

494στ

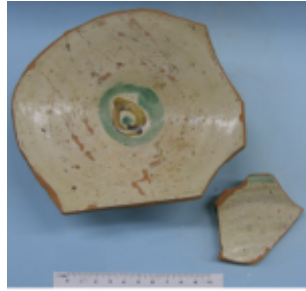
514δ
514ε**Slip-Painted Ware (ware 15).**

Plate 42

Green Painted Ware (ware 16.A): a. open forms; b. closed forms.

Plate 43

74



63 (int.)



63 (ext.)



2376

2377



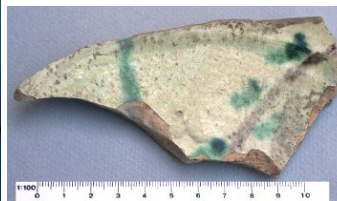
621γ



606ε



81



492ζ



496α



498



608δ



608ια

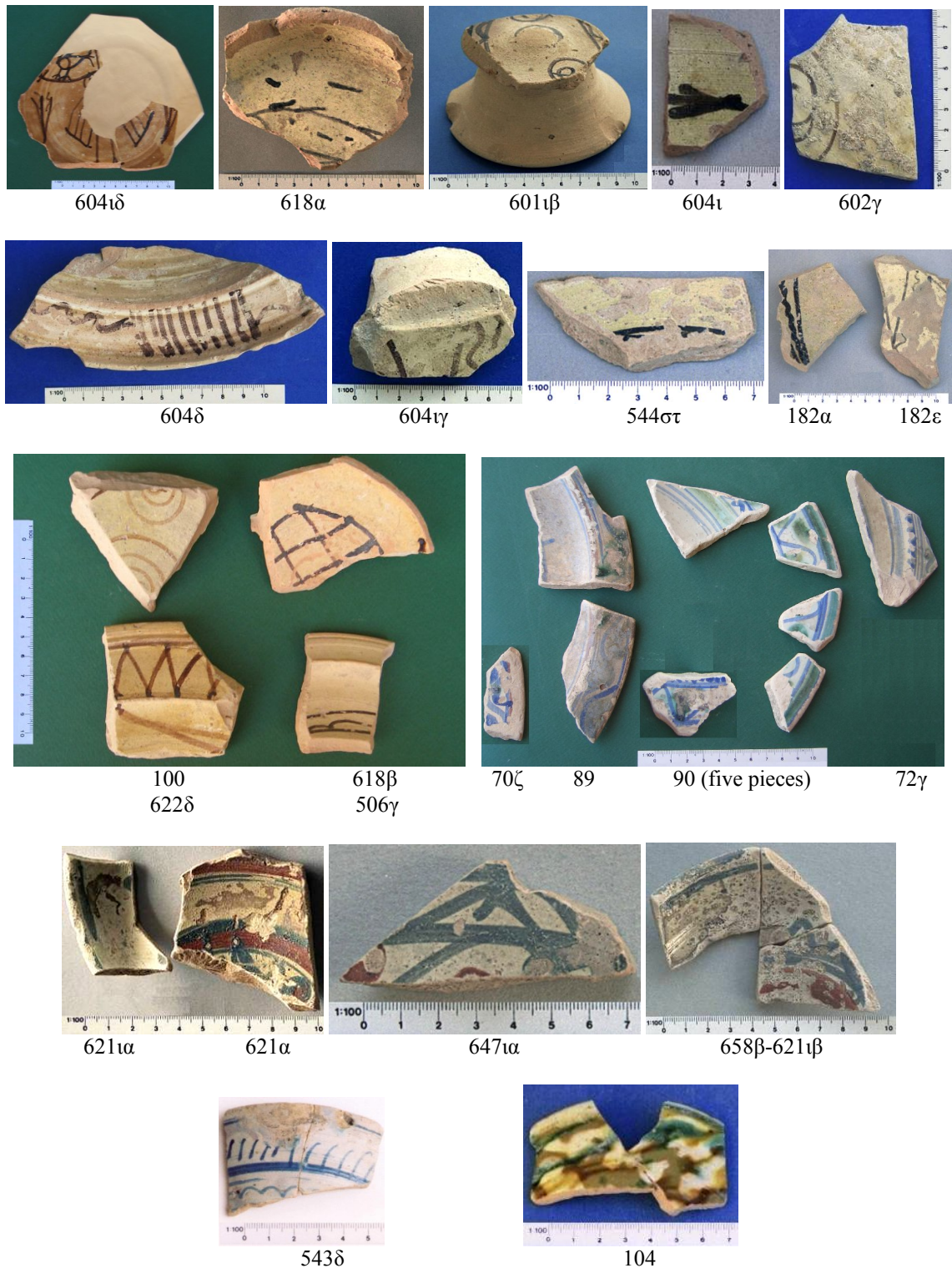


508β



516

Painted Ware from Arta (ware 16.B): 74, 63. **Painted Ware from Ioannina (ware 16.C):** 2376, 2377. **Various Painted Wares (ware 16.E):** 621γ, 606ε, 81, 492ζ, 496α, 498, 608δ, 608ια, 508β, 516.

Plate 44

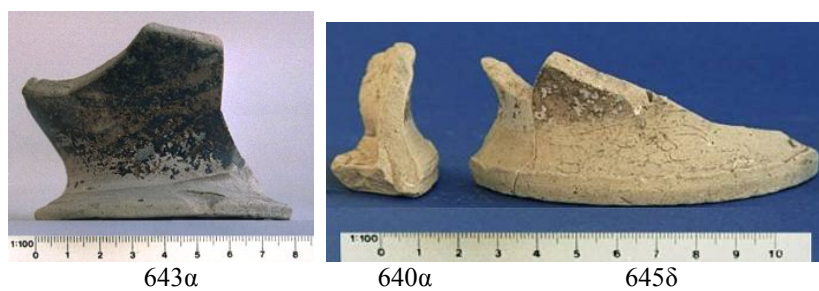
Brown Painted Ware (ware 16.D): 604ιδ, 618α, 601ιβ, 604ι, 602γ, 604δ, 604ιγ, 544στ, 182α, 182ε, 100, 618β, 622δ, 506γ. **Greek Maiolica (ware 17.A):** 70ζ, 89, 90, 72γ; **(ware 17.B):** 621α, 621α, 647ια, 658β-621ιβ. **(ware 17.C):** 543δ; **Marbled Ware (ware 18):** 104.

A photograph of a fragment of a painted wooden tablet. The fragment is roughly rectangular with irregular edges. The upper portion is painted a solid green color, while the lower portion is a light, off-white or cream color. A stylized white figure, possibly a bird or a deity, is painted on the light-colored section. Above the fragment, a ruler is placed horizontally for scale, showing markings from 1 to 10 centimeters. The fragment is set against a blue background.

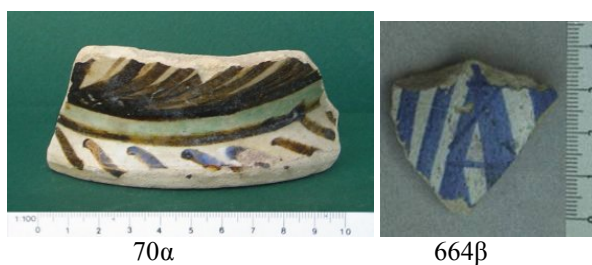
A photograph of a fragment of a reddish-brown ceramic vessel, likely a bowl or jar, showing a curved rim and a crack. The fragment is positioned in the upper right area of the page.



Plain Glazed Ware (ware 19): a. open forms; **b.** closed forms.

Plate 46

488γ 639α 618δ
 488δ 618γ 70γ
 70δ 626 464α
 70η 124β 70ε
 70β



Early Renaissance Maiolica (ware 21.A.i.a.): 508ε, 547ια; **(ware 21.A.i.b.):** 66, 658α, 643α, 640α, 645δ; **(ware 21.A.ii):** 488γ, 488δ, 70δ, 70η, 70β, 639α, 618γ, 626, 124β, 618δ, 70γ, 464α, 70ε, 70α, 664β.

Plate 47

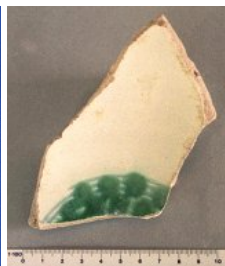
Renaissance & Later Maiolica (ware 21.B.i): 467β, 502η, 124α, 536, 608α, 87, 101, 2345;
(ware 21.B.ii): 73α, 73β, 604η; **(ware 21.B.iii):** 500ιδ; **(ware 21.B.iv):** 670ζ; **(ware 21.B.v):**
 674ιστ, 123, 184ε; **(ware 21.B.vi):** 538, 619α, 614β, 621δ, 620α, 506στ.

Plate 48

85 (three pieces)

601στ
195598α
491ε
651β

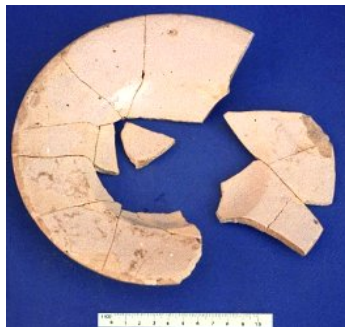
184β



608ιστ



542γ



539 (int.)

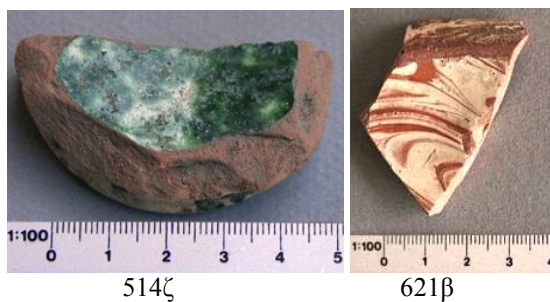


541α (int.)



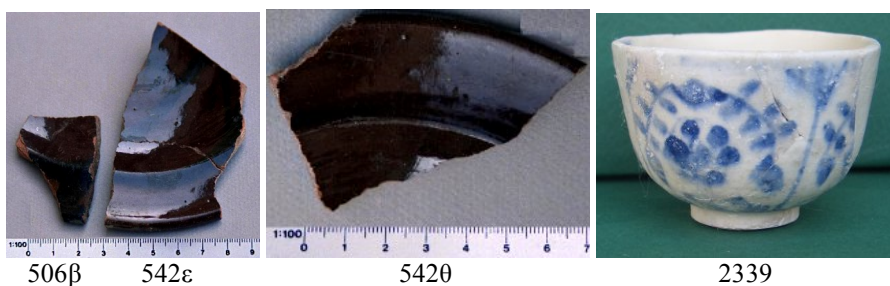
541β (ext.)

Late Polychrome Maiolica (ware 21.C): 85, 601στ, 195, 598α, 491ε (closed forms); 651β, 184β, 608ιστ, 542γ (open forms). **Monochrome Whiteware (ware 24):** 539, 541α, 541β.

Plate 49

514ζ

621β

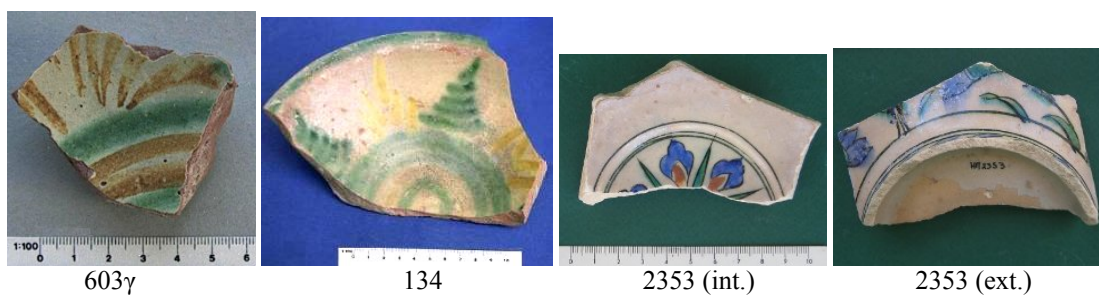


506β

542ε

542θ

2339

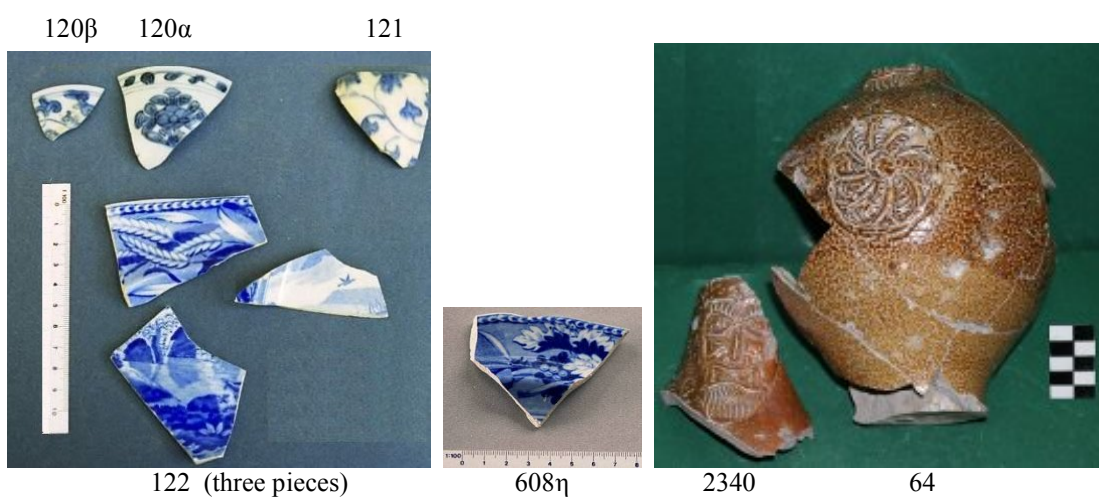


603γ

134

2353 (int.)

2353 (ext.)



120β

120α

121

122 (three pieces)

608η

2340

64

Northern Italian Marbled Ware (ware 22): 514ζ, 621β. **Tâches Noires' from Albisola (ware 23):** 506β, 542ε, 542θ. **Kütahya Ware (ware 28):** 2339. **Çanakkale Ware (ware 29):** 603γ, 134. **Iznik Ware (ware 27):** 2353, 121. **Porcelain (ware 30):** 120β, 120α. **Transfer-Printed Ware from England (ware 26):** 122, 608η. **German Stoneware (ware 25):** 2340, 64.

Plate 50

543γ



621στ



547ε

547ιβ



553ε



543β



506δ



618ε



601γ



600στ



601ιγ



502ζ



698



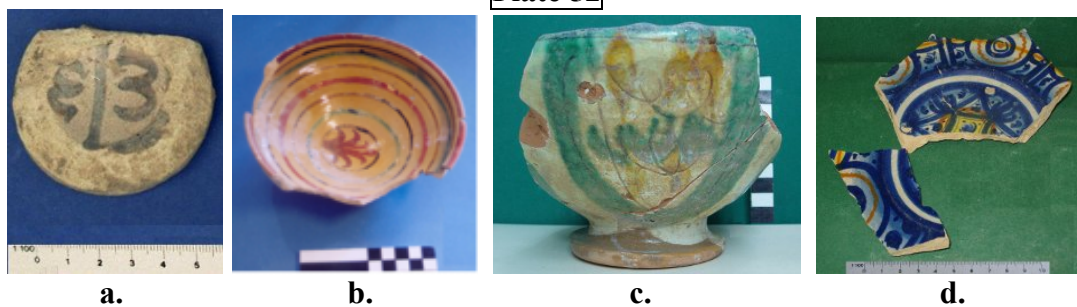
485ιβ

Miscellanea (1): 543γ, 621στ; **(2.i):** 547ε, 547ιβ, 553ε; **(2.ii):** 543β, 506δ, 618ε; **(2.iii):** 601γ, 600στ, 601ιγ; **(2.iv):** 502ζ, 698; **(3):** 485ιβ.

Plate 51

Unglazed wares (Appendix B): a. Frankish/Late Byzantine (Matt-Painted Ware, Flared bowls)
b. Post-Byzantine (open form, closed forms).

Plate 52



HN 2



g.

HN 9



h.

a. 'RMR' bowl with the 'motif of Taranto' found in Elis (see ware 6.ii). **b.** 'RMR' bowl found in the castle of Patras (see ware 6.i.a). **c.** Coloured Sgraffito bowl found in Elis (see ware 14.A, no.43). **d.** Faenza bowl found in Elis (see chapter 6.B.2). **e.** Turkish inscription (Appendix C). **f.** Tobacco pipes from trenches B and E.A (Appendix A). **g.** Venetian copper coin from the Ionian Islands (Appendix A, trench ΛΓ). **h.** Venetian copper coin from Crete (Appendix A, trench E2.B).