Attic Kraters and Pelikai from Ancient Thrace

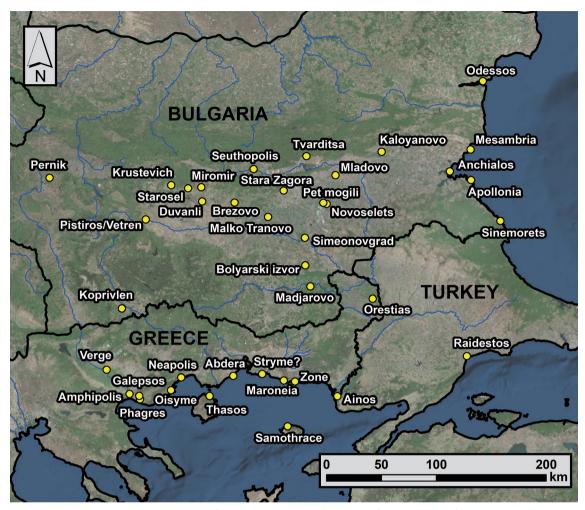
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This article stems from the research project *Attic Pottery in Thrace*, a collaboration between the Democritus University of Thrace and the Athena Research Center, which investigates the presence and diffusion of Attic vases between the sixth and fourth centuries in ancient Thrace, an ethnographically diverse area that expands over most of southeastern Balkans. We focus here on Attic painted kraters and pelikai from Aegean Thrace, the Black Sea coast, and the Thracian hinterland. These two shapes are well-represented in the above areas, covering the Archaic and Classical periods, and were discovered in various contexts (ritual, funerary, settlements), giving us the opportunity to examine their function in different settings, raise questions on local practices and preferences, and explore the complex mechanisms of their diffusion.²

The krater appears frequently among the shapes imported in ancient Thrace. Being closely connected with communal drinking and the Greek symposion, the discovery of kraters in settlements as well as ritual and funerary settings of the Archaic and Classical periods invites several questions and interpretations. When cross-examined with the pelike, a storage vessel that occurs less frequently in ancient Thrace and mainly in funerary and ritual context, we may observe differentiations in local practices and preferences.³ Even though new excavations and fresh publications may alter the preliminary results sketched out here, the current data from Aegean Thrace and the hinterland provide an adequate outline of the presence and role of those two shapes in the area.

Following a geographical order, we begin our exploration from the Black Sea littoral and the Attic painted pottery from Apollonia Pontica (Sozopol) (Map 1). According to our current data, the earliest example comes from the island of St Kirik: a black-figure column-krater by the Workshop of Sophilos (ca. 580). During the fifth century, Attic vases continue to be imported, including most types of red-figure kraters (e.g., a volute-krater perhaps by the Diogenes Painter, a bell-krater by the Group of Polygnotos, and a column-krater by the Nausicaa Painter). No pelikai or kraters have been identified yet from the deposits of the Sanctuary of Demeter at Skamni.

From the earliest necropolis of Apollonia, Harmanite, we know of at least two dozen red-figure kraters dating between 450–400 (e.g., the column-krater by the Circle of the Hephaistos Painter depicting a dionysiac thiasos) and around 360–340 (e.g., the products of the Circle of the Black Thyrsus Painter). Based on the published material, the famous necropolis of Kalfata has produced fewer kraters, most of which date to the fourth century and are again attributed to the Black Thyrsus Painter or his circle. It is important to point out that kraters are rarely used as cinerary urns not only in Apollonia but in ancient Thrace in general, as well as in Macedonia and the northern Aegean, as a whole. The most frequent iconographic themes on the kraters are dionysiac, sympotic, and occasionally departures of warriors. In the fourth century, bell-kraters appear also in the periphery of Apollonia, as an example from the settlement of Ravadinovo (Malkoto



Map 1: Map of sites mentioned in text (J. C. Donati).

Kale) attests. Pelikai were discovered in Apollonia mainly at the necropoleis, although there is at least one example by group G from St Kirik. The published examples from Kalfata date between 380–360; another fourth-century pelike was found at the near-by site of Morskata Gradina, while from Harmanite comes an earlier pelike dating from the end of the fifth century.⁵

To the south of Apollonia and near the borders with Turkey lies the coastal town of Sinemorets. The archaeological remains at its environs are probable traces of the location of a Thracian ruler or a trading post. In particular, the excavation at the Potamya inlet produced fragments of a column-krater along with other pottery, anchors, and metal ship components.⁶

Moving north, the wealthy colony of Mesambria lies underneath the modern city of Nesebar, rendering excavations extremely difficult. The ceramic finds include two types of kraters: fourth-century bell-kraters with dionysiac iconography and earlier columnkraters, dated to the third quarter of the sixth and the fifth century. The latter were found in disturbed strata, but still they are of significance as they attest to an early interest in the shape. Of note are two red-figure pelikai from the first half of the fourth century, one depicting a maenad mounted on a griffin and a satyr, and the other, two mantled youths, as well as a fifth-century example attributed to the Group of Polygnotos.⁷

At least two fifth-century kraters have been found at burials around Burgas (ancient Anchialos): a calyx-krater of ca 450–420 and a bell-krater by the Kadmos Painter, dated to 420–400 (Sladkite Kladenci). Of importance are the finds from settlements in the area, usually identified as trading posts that include a fragment of a black-figure krater and several fragments of fourth-century bell-kraters, thus offering valuable information about the use of this shape outside a funerary context.⁸

From the necropolis of Odessos (Varna), we know of nearly a dozen bell-kraters, most of which date to the fourth century and are attributed to the Circle of the Black Thyrsus Painter. Another bell-krater comes from a tomb at Balabanchevo, at the periphery of Odessos and has been recognized as the work of the Black Thyrsos Painter himself. Regarding the pelikai, so far, we have registered two red-figure pelikai of the first half of the fourth century.

A similar picture emerges for the area by the Tonzos River and its northern offshoots. For example, we note the fourth-century bell-kraters from the tumuli at Mladovo, Prilep, and Zlatinitsa to the south, and a few fifth-century vases, as for example the bell-krater from Tvarditsa, Sliven – the northwesternmost site of this cluster – depicting three wreathed, mantled youths carrying a flute, a lyre and a rod respectively. Further inland, along the Tonzos River and near the famous city of Seuthopolis (now at the bottom of the artificial lake Koprinka), Attic painted kraters and pelikai are rather rare finds. Our records so far include only a handful of examples from the tumuli of Shipka (two pelikai) and Maglizh (bell-krater) and possible fragments from the settlements of Seuthopolis and Vasil Levski. Of note are also a pelike from Golemanite tumulus near Veliko Tarnovo (probably by the Agrigento Painter), the pelike from the tumulus at Kaloyanovo, depicting Apollo and the Hyperboreans on one side and a satyr with maenads on the other, and the pelike from the tumulus at Zlatinitsa, both dating around 350.¹⁰

Moving to the south, Attic kraters appear in the area south-southwest of the Hebros River, while, so far, no pelike has been recorded. For example, there are mentions of fifth-century column-kraters from Bolarski Izvor (dating from around 450 and attributed to the Orchard Painter) but its context is unclear; from Madzarovo (fr. of two column-kraters within a late Iron Age layer, depicting a winged figure and a bearded, mantled man with a scepter, dating from 460–450); and from Bolyarovo (fr.). Two fourth-century bell-kraters have been discovered at the Golyana and Milkova tumuli at Mezek, attributed to the Black Thyrsus Painter and his circle. Also, of interest are one column- and at least four bell-kraters from Simeonovgrad, an important settlement with tumuli in its vicinity, located on the Hebros River, that has produced significant pottery assemblages, local and imported, throughout its lifespan. The column-krater dates around 440 and

was found in a tumulus, used as a cinerary urn. It is decorated with a pursuit scene (satyr and maenad) on side A, and a single mantled, wreathed youth on side B. Most of the bell-kraters come from the settlement and date to the first half of the fourth century.¹¹

Further inland, from the fertile valley between the rivers Tonzos and Hebros, there are several examples of kraters and occasionally pelikai, originating from tumuli and ritual pits at sites such as Novoselets (fr. of bell-krater, 425–400) and Stara Zagora (column- and bell-krater, 430–400), as well as other fourth-century burials at Venets, Troyanovo (bell-krater), Malka Detelina (bell-krater), Skalitsa (bell-krater), Gledachevo (bell-krater), Radnevo, Pet Mogili (bell-krater).¹²

To the west of these sites, is another cluster of tumuli and ritual areas, where kraters and pelikai have been discovered. In addition to the famous pelike by the Epimedes Painter from Chevenkova Mogila and a column-krater from Valchova Mogila at Brezovo, finds from this area include a fragmentary bell-krater from a tumulus at Opalchenets (ca 425–400) and two more from Sarnevets (bell-krater, 425–400, Workshop of the P. of Munich 2335) and Zetovo (bell-krater) respectively.¹³

An important assemblage of Attic painted pottery was discovered at the pit sanctuary at Malko Tranovo (Chirpan), excavated by Milena Tonkova and Anelia Bozkova. The pits date to the fifth and fourth century and have produced large numbers of imported pottery, particularly Attic, often found in combination with bronze vessels. Among the former, amphoras and kraters come in considerable numbers: from the eastern sector, the excavators report that out of a hundred painted vessels at least thirty fragments belong to kraters (mainly column-kraters, fewer bell-kraters), dated predominantly between 475–450. From the western Sector come another twelve fragments of column-kraters of the same date and are the focus of a study by Slava Vasileva.¹⁴

Turning to the area of Duvanli and neighboring sites, we have so far assembled information on kraters and pelikai from burials, ritual pits and settlements. From the so-called royal settlement at Kozi Gramadi (north of Starosel), fragments of a fifth-century column-krater and fourth-century kraters (perhaps also a pelike) were discovered. A field survey at nearby Struma strengthens the indications of another settlement in the area: among the pottery collected there were fragments of a mid-fifth-century (or even earlier) column-krater. From Miromir, near Hisarya, there are fragments of possibly five column-kraters of a 475–425 date, although in a context mixed with later Attic painted pottery. Scholars identify these settings as ritual pits, similar to the ones at Malko Tranovo, or alternatively as an ash-structure as in Brezovo. Regarding finds from funerary context, the tumuli at Krastevich and Toros (former Lazar Stanevo, Lovech) were equipped with fourth-century Attic bell-kraters, while the ones at Starosel and Duvanli (Bashova) each contained a pelike.¹⁵

As for the western Bulgaria, based on our current data, no kraters or pelikai are known so far from the northern site of Pernik, located by an offshoot of river Strymon. This comes in contrast to the situation in Pistiros/Vetren on the river Hebros and Koprivlen on Nestos. The latter is a site with many Archaic finds including a column-krater

of a slightly earlier date than the examples found between Tonzos and Hebros. Attic painted pottery is abundant in Adziyska Vodenitsa (Vetren), a site usually identified with the Greek *emporion* of Pistiros. Among the shapes recognized by the excavators are kraters, column- and particularly fragments of bell-kraters, dating to the fifth and fourth century. These fragments were discovered in pits and other structures, thought to have a ritual function or associated with a form of habitation. According to the most recent study of Vyara Petrova on kraters from the site, Dionysos and his circle are the most prominent iconographic subjects, followed by typically Greek symposion scenes with reclining symposiasts, wine-pourers, komasts, musicians and even a kottabosplayer. Less frequent are other topics, such as a sacrifice scene.¹⁶

Turning to Aegean Thrace, between the area of Kavala and Mt Pangaion, kraters appear more frequently than pelikai. The earliest examples comprise black-figure column-kraters from ancient Neapolis, a trend that reflects the early Attic imports on the metropolis Thasos itself (e.g., sixth-century black-figure column- and calyx-kraters by the Antimenes Painter, Painter of Louvre F6, Exekias' workshop). Black-figure kraters were also found in burials at Oisyme (Nea Peramos), Galepsos (Karyane), and Phagres (Orphani), all dated in the second half of the sixth century, if not a bit later. Attic red-figure pottery continues to be imported to Thasos during the fifth century, including a few early examples (e.g., a calyx-krater of ca 500 and a column-krater by the Pan Painter) and several fragmentary kraters of the second half of the fifth century. A similar trend can be sketched out for the lifespan of pelikai on Thasos, albeit based on a smaller sample (for example, the pelike by the Kleophon Painter and fourth-century pelikai, usually attributed to Group G). As expected, Amphipolis has a large concentration of Attic pottery, including bell-kraters of the late fifth-early fourth century and fourthcentury pelikai, a phenomenon mirrored at the burial finds from inland sites in the Serres region, e.g., the pelike and bell-krater from Verge (Neos Skopos), the bell-krater from Krinida (Vitasta), and the pelike from Tragilos.¹⁷

East of Nestos, Attic painted pottery continues to appear but not as abundantly as on the Thasian coast. The necropolis of Abdera has produced several red-figure kraters and pelikai, while of note are some late-fifth/early fourth-century fragments of pelikai from its suburbs, as well as a bell-krater from Linos, discovered at a countryside sanctuary at the northern limits of the Maronitan chora. To the list one should add the fragment of a late fifth-century krater and the late fifth/early fourth-century pelike from Makri, and the earlier pelike from the tumuli of Molyvote/Stryme. From the residential area of the latter have come to light fragments of kraters, particularly red-figure, dated mostly to the fifth and fourth century. Among the earliest pottery of the site however, which is rather limited, there is a fragment from a black-figure krater dated after the middle of the sixth century.¹⁸

On the island of Samothrace, Attic vases occur primarily at the Sanctuary of the Great Gods and the two necropoleis and are currently being studied by An Jiang. The most prevalent shape appears to be the krater, both in the black- and the red-figure

technique, often represented by high-quality examples. Attic imports continue on Samothrace through the fourth century, as the volute-krater attributed to the Circle of the Pronomos Painter attests. Pelikai are also present on the island, especially late blackfigure examples.¹⁹

The recent publication of Zone, an important colony of Samothrace, includes various shapes of Attic pottery, discovered mainly at the sanctuary of Apollo. Among them there are at least twenty-five black- and five red-figure kraters, dated to the late sixth and primarily the fifth century, but no pelikai. Conversely, kraters are nearly absent from the necropolis, whereas several red-figure pelikai are registered in the finds. Noteworthy is an older find, a red-figure pelike, which may represent the Thracian king Tereus, an *unicum* so far in the repertory of Attic vases from ancient Thrace. Also from a funerary context comes a late fifth/early fourth century fragmentary pelike, forming part of the offerings to the earliest burial of the Ampelakia tumulus, near Orestias; it preserves the lower bodies of two mantled youths.²⁰

Further to the east, at the site of ancient Ainos (Enez), large quantities of Attic pottery, both from the acropolis and the necropolis, have come to light. Reyhan Şahin speaks of nearly a hundred kraters from the necropolis (mainly bell- and fewer calyxand volute-kraters) and of ca. thirty from the acropolis, excluding the Kerch examples, which, according to her graphs, amount to at least two dozen. The pelike is represented by only a few fifth-century samples, in contrast to the fourth century, when the shape becomes more popular.²¹

As we are currently in the process of collecting data for the area of eastern Thrace and Propontis, we do not have at the moment a clear picture of the Attic imports in that area. However, when discussing kraters from that region, one needs to highlight the red-figure column-krater from Raidestos/Bisanthe (Tekirdağ), a significant site on the Bosporus, depicting the sacrifice of Polyxena during Hektor's ransom and dating to the late sixth–early fifth century.²²

The most current data allows us to draw some preliminary conclusions regarding the presence of kraters and pelikai in ancient Thrace:

- a. Kraters from Aegean Thrace appear first at major centers and their colonies and are mostly of good quality. As a rule, the earliest examples are sanctuary dedications and soon after that (by the last quarter of the sixth century onwards), we encounter them in settlements and burials as well. Thasos, Neapolis, and Samothrace provide good examples of this phenomenon. The same distribution pattern occurs with Amphipolis and its territory in the second half of the fifth century. Pelikai are less frequently found in a non-funerary context, while their presence seems to peak during the first half of the fourth century.
- b. At the colonies of the Black Sea littoral and their immediate zone of interaction, kraters first appear during the sixth century, at Apollonia and Mesambria, as dedications to sanctuaries or occasional settlement finds; then, by the middle of the fifth century, they occur more frequently in settlements and mostly in burials. Their numbers in-

crease in the last decades of the fifth and through the third quarter the fourth century, when bell-kraters and, in particular, those by the Black Thyrsus Painter and his Circle, become popular grave offerings as well as household equipment. Pelikai come in fewer numbers and their peak can be placed in the first half of the fourth century, their primary function being funerary;

- c. At the sites around the Tonzos River, kraters (and occasionally pelikai) of the late fifth and mainly of the first half of the fourth century appear in tumuli; their numbers decrease as we move to the west. Between the Tonzos and Hebros Rivers, we have a similar chronological timeframe, only this time kraters (and less often pelikai) occur in ritual pits and burials, while at the area SW of Hebros, kraters appear at tumuli and settlements;
- d. Lastly, from Duvanli and its periphery, kraters and pelikai from the fifth and mainly the first half of the fourth century are found in burials (one vase per burial), in settlements and pits, while from Pistiros/Vetren, a good part of the kraters discovered at the site originates from negative spaces (i.e. pits, ritual or other).

The increase of imports in the Thracian hinterland during the second half of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century reflects the Athenian power at the time and its close relations with the Odrysians under the rule of Sitalkes and Kotys I, which apart from political alliances, facilitated commercial and cultural exchange. Local Thracian tribes, and particularly the elite, had become increasingly more familiar with Greek customs and Greek products. Thus, by the fifth century, Attic painted pots were readily dispersed from the Greek colonies to the heartland, reaching the Thracians as gifts (diplomatic, friendship, exotic, trendy), as consumption ware (drinking equipment) or for their content (wine, oil, perfume). By the middle of the fourth century, Attic vases were adopted by a larger social base and used as funerary gifts, household items, and ritual vessels.

In terms of local preferences and traditions, we observe some interesting trends: for example, fifth-century pelikai appear in elite Thracian burials (e.g., Brezovo) and probably functioned as status symbols, while in the Aegean necropoleis (e.g., Samothrace, Thasos), they were often used as cinerary urns. Kraters had a wider use; it is noteworthy that column-kraters appear to be the earliest type of the shape (imported already in the sixth century) and they predominantly occur in fifth-century sanctuaries and ritual contexts (e.g., Pistiros/Vetren, Neapolis, Zone). They come in fewer numbers compared to bell-kraters found in fifth- and primarily fourth-century funerary contexts (e.g., Apollonia), as well in settlements and ritual settings. The presence of calyx- and especially volute-kraters is limited. From the rough data in our disposal, it appears that Dionysos and his thiasos, sympotic scenes, and the female sphere are the most popular iconographic themes on kraters and pelikai, a familiar repertory for Attic vases found in ancient Thrace.

Lastly, one should stress the role of Greek colonies and emporia in the distribution process: it is no coincidence that there are considerable amounts of Attic pottery at Pistiros/Vetren mainly after the middle of the fifth century, since it is located at the end

of the mountain road that connects Amphipolis and the Strymon valley with central Bulgaria, on the bank of the River Hebros. Similarly, the affluent city of Ainos, a close ally of Athens, controlled the delta of the same river, a major water artery that provided access to the heartland of Thrace. Likewise, at the hospitable harbors of the Black Sea, imported pottery did not cater exclusively towards the needs of the colonies, but was eventually diffused to the interior, at sites in the central valley or near riverbanks, that were easy to access and open to acquiring Attic painted vessels, even though not always of premium quality.

Notes

- ¹ All dates are BC unless otherwise noted.
- ² Our research project, "Attic Pottery in Thrace" (APT) has produced so far an e-textbook (Avramidou Tsiafaki 2015) and two articles (Avramidou Tsiafaki forthcoming; Tsiafaki Avramidou forthcoming). It has also generated a Post-Doctoral project on the "Athenian Presence in Thrace through the Diffusion of Attic Painted Pottery (6th–4th century BC)" [*AtticPOT* http://atticpot.ipet.gr]. This publication has received funding from the Hellenic Foundation for Research and Innovation (HFRI) and the General Secretariat of Research and Technology (GSRT), under grant agreement No 929, within the framework of the Action "1st Call for H.F.R.I. Research Projects for the support of Post-doctoral Researchers".
- ³ For an overview of Attic kraters and pelikai in Bulgarian Thrace, see Bozkova 2017, 39–43 with further discussion on context, iconography and diffusion, as well as an Appendix of the main pottery assemblages in the area between the Haimos and the Rhodope (179–188). Cf. Vasileva 2013 on the distribution of column-kraters in indigenous contexts. For column-kraters of various workshops in the Northern Aegean, see Manakidou forthcoming. On Attic imports in ancient Thrace, see Bouzek 1990; Reho 1990; Oppermann 2002; Lazarov 2003; Tiverios 2008 and 2012; Avramidou Tsiafaki forthcoming; Tsiafaki Avramidou forthcoming.
- ⁴ E.g., BAPD 350100, 24019, 45459, 202477, 214673.
- ⁵ BAPD 22724 (Hephaistos P.), 22725–22727, 41042, 41046, 41049, 260170, 275566 (Black Thyrsus' Workshop); Zaneva 1982; Reho 1990, 23–25. 32 f. 37–42. 79–139; Dimitrov 2004 with previous bibliography. Kalfata: Panayotova 1998, 2008; Hermary et al. 2010 with more bibliography and details on the ceramic finds: 179–192 (painted), 192–228 (black-glaze); Baralis 2013, esp. 271–273; Baralis et al. 2016; Vasileva 2017. St Kirik: Panayotova et al. 2015.
- ⁶ Reho 1992, 20; Gyuzelev 2008, 276; Vasileva 2013, 136. For the site and its environs, see Agre 2016 with previous bibliography.
- 7 BAPD 5411, 12943. 12944, 340124, 230275, 275444, 216153; Reho 1990, 78, no. 65 and 22 f. 31 f. 37 f. 77–79; Nessebre III [M. Reho] with previous bibliography and recently Nessebar IV. Bozkova 2017, 44 f.
- ⁸ BAPD 276125 (Kadmos P.); Reho 1990, 25 f. 33 f. 139–143 no. 71. 399 f.; Reho 1992, 20; Vasileva 2013, 139 (Table); Bozkova 2015, 235 f. with previous bibliography. Balabanov 2016 on Debelt and other Thracian sites southwest of Burgas, where Greek pottery was found. Cf. Gyuzelev 2008, esp. 187. 189–191 (mugtype krater). 198. 268.

- ⁹ BAPD 45457, 275567, 275563; Reho 1990, 22. 31 f. 37. 47 f. 63-77.
- ¹⁰ Prilep: Georgieva Momchilov 2007 and 2010, 12 f. fig. 7 (Painter of Ferrara T 463). Veliko Tarnovo: Tsurov 2008, 65–72 supporting the association of the pelike's dionysiac iconography with eschatological (orphic) Thracian beliefs. Kaloyanovo: Reho 1990, 146 no. 449; Kisyov 2005. Shipka: Dimitrova 2016, fig. 15. 16. Other tumuli: Reho 1990, 145–150. 152 f. Overviews: Avramidou Tsiafaki 2015, 127 f.; Bozkova 2017, 40–42.
- ¹¹ BAPD 260179 (Milkova), 27563 (Bolarski Izvor); Reho 1990, no. 437. For banquet sets from Thracian settlements (such as Simeonovgrad), see Bozkova 2016b; cf. her discussion on context, Bozkova 2017, 117–141. Krater from the Simeonovgrad tumulus: Reho 1990, 34 f.; Vasileva 2013, 137; Bozkova 2017, 165 fig. 1. On the commercial relations across the Rhodope and the presence of Attic painted and black-glaze pottery, see Nekhrizov Mikov 2000.
- ¹² Reho 1990, no. 442 (Novoselets); Kamisheva 2010, 192 pl. IX.7b (Stara Zagora); Vasileva 2013, 140.
- ¹³ Reho 1990, 145–150. 152 f. nos. 449. 451 (Brezovo). 447 (Opalchenets). 445 (Sarnevets); BAPD 213559.
- 14 Tonkova 2010, esp. 207 pl. XI.2; Vasileva 2013; Bozkova 2016 (discussing ritual pits) and 2017, 119–122; Bozkova Tonkova 2017.
- ¹⁵ Reho 1990, 145–150. 152 f. 156 no. 460 (Duvanli pelike). Vasileva 2013, 137. 140 f.
- ¹⁶ BAPD 9024550; Reho 1990, 148 f. 157–159; Archibald 1996, 2002; Bouzek Musil 2003; Vassileva 2013, 138. 141; Bozkova 2015, 235; Petrova forthcoming.
- ¹⁷ Thasos: Ghali-Kahil 1960; Bonias 1990; Maffre 2009, esp. 194f. fig. 15 n. 40; BAPD kraters 4231, 9915, 9917, 16991, 16993, 16994, 17013, 17014, 25703, 25704, 25711, 25837, 30678, 44605, 44609, 200123, 206406, 206407, 206747, 306515, 350358, 350391, 20008, 9031609; pelikai 4409, 4410, 9916, 24918, 230306. On three pelikai used as urns, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki et al. 1996, 771. 774 fig. 6. Kavala and Thasian peraia: Bakalakis 1936, 1937, 1938a, b; Lazaridis 1971; Mandala 1990, fig. 3; Nikolaidou - Patera 2005, figs. 13. 14; Nikolaidou-Patera 2017b; BAPD 9017979, 350359, 340118, 340120, 340122, 9017979. Oisyme: Giouri, Koukouli-Chrysanthaki - Papanikolaou 1990; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki - Papanikolaou 1990; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki -Maragkou 2012, esp. 328 f. (Archaic); Manakidou 2012; BAPD 9031484 (P. of Louvre F6). Galepsos: Malama - Milkaki 2007; Malama 2012; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2012, 195. Phagres: BAPD 25799, 25733, 24002, 29818; Nikolaidou-Patera 1996, 2017a; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2012, 193. Cf. Avramidou - Tsiafaki 2015, 117-119. Amphipolis and Serres region: Nikolaidou-Patera 1993 and 2011; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2000; Malama 2000, 64. 69 fig. 19 and 2001, 118 figs. 9. 12 (pelikai); Malamidou 2006; Peristeri - Garoufa 2007, fig. 25; Peristeri et al. 2011, fig. 1; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2012, 213-216; Rhomiopoulou 2017; Malama -Vasilikoudis 2019; BAPD 9026149 (Tragilos), 43617, 43618 (Verge), 3920 (Vitasta), 24973, 30363, 30560, 44597 (Amphipolis). For an overview of luxury pottery in the Archaic period in the Northern Aegean, see Tiverios 2012; cf. Giudice - Santagati 2019; for column-kraters of various Archaic workshops in the same region, see Manakidou forthcoming.
- Abdera and chora: Lazaridis 1971; Kallintzi 2012; Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolichroni 1997; BAPD 24972 (Linos). Makri: BAPD 42022; Kallintzi 1992; Eustratiou Kallintzi 1996, 901. 914 fig. 19; Molyvoti/Stryme: BAPD 276103; Bakalakis 1967; Triantafyllos 2000; Triantafyllos Terzopoulou 2017; Arrington Padgett 2019; 2021; Tsiafaki 2021.

- ¹⁹ BAPD 1726, 2345, 2346, 2655, 3630, 20021, 20027, 20028, 202274, 205912, 9017634, 9024726, 9031447;
 Moore 1975; Dinsmoor 1992; Dusenbury 1978 and 1998; Fritzilas 2012; Jiang 2019. Cf. Avramidou Tasaklaki 2019.
- E.g., BAPD 22909, 25750, 25768, 9031510; Tsatsopoulou 1997; Pardalidou 2012 and 2015; Iliopoulou 2015; Avramidou Tsiafaki 2015, 122–123. On Tereus: Tsiafaki 1998, 194 pl. 63a. Ampelakia: Triantafyllos 1994, 355 fig. 7. Cf. Bakalakis 1988, 200 on fourth-century kraters from Plate, Evros, NW of Orestias.
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- ²² BAPD 9022290 (Syleus P.); Tuna-Nörling 2001. On the Tekirdag Ganos Survey: Koçel-Erdem 2009. More information will be available after the publication of the proceedings of the Conference in Istanbul in 2017: Koçel-Erdem Şahin forthcoming. Cf. Stoyanov 2020.

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