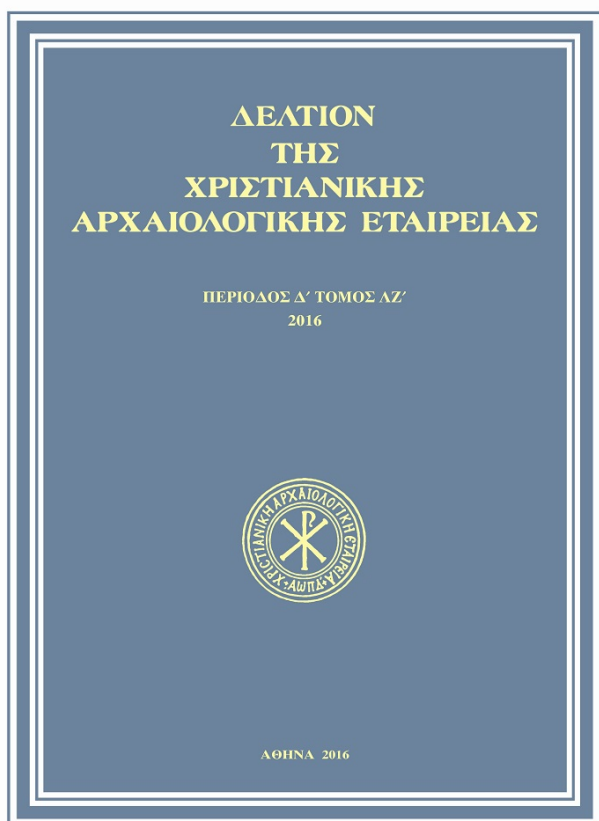


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Μεσοβυζαντινά αυτοθερμαινόμενα σκεύη απο την Αργολίδα.

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MIDDLE BYZANTINE CHAFING DISHES FROM ARGOLIS

Τα αυτοθερμαινόμενα σκεύη, γνωστά στην ελληνική βιβλιογραφία ως «σαλτσάρια», συνιστούν ένα σύνθετο σκεύος της μεσοβυζαντινής περιόδου. Εμφανίζονται τόσο σε λευκό όσο και σε ερυθρό πηλό, με κυρίαρχη την παράκτια και αστική διασπορά στο χώρο της κεντρικής και ανατολικής Μεσογείου. Στην Αργολίδα και κυρίως στο Άργος, έχουν έως τώρα καταγραφεί 53 δείγματα που στην πλειονότητά τους φέρουν ομοιότητες με αντίστοιχα δείγματα από την Κόρινθο, την Αθήνα και τη Θήβα και θα μπορούσαν να χρονολογηθούν, βάσει παραλλήλων, κυρίως στον 10ο-11ο αιώνα. Θα απευθύνονταν πιθανώς σε μέλη της τοπικής ελίτ, συνιστώντας μια μαρτυρία για πιο «εξελιγμένες» διατροφικές συνήθειες στη βυζαντινή περιφέρεια.

Chafing dishes constitute an elaborate type of clay vessel of the middle Byzantine period. They appear both in white and red fabric and were primarily distributed along the coast and in urban areas in the central and eastern Mediterranean. In Argolis, and in particular Argos, we have so far recorded 53 specimens, the majority of which bear a close resemblance to corresponding vessels from Corinth, Athens and Thebes and are datable on the basis of parallels mainly to the 10th-11th centuries. They would probably have been used by members of the local elite, attesting to the existence of a level of sophistication in the dining habits of the Byzantine periphery.

Λέξεις κλειδιά

Μεσοβυζαντινή εποχή, εφραλωμένη κεραμική, αυτοθερμαινόμενα σκεύη, «σαλτσάρια», διατροφικές συνήθειες, Αργολίδα, Άργος, Ναύπλιο.

Keywords

Middle Byzantine period, glazed pottery, chafing dishes, dining habits, Argolis, Argos, Nauplion.

The region of Argolis, located in the northeastern Peloponnese, preserves a vast number of archaeological remains dating back to prehistory (Fig. 1)¹. During

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ate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities Dr. Anastasia Panagiotopoulou and the archaeologists Georgios Tsekas and Christos Piteros for permission to study the present material. I owe special thanks to the Director of the Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies in Ancient Corinth Dr. Guy Sanders and to the Professor of the University of Salento Paul Arthur for their openness and generosity in communicating with me their valuable and in-depth knowledge of Byzantine pottery. I also thank my friend and colleague Dr. Susanne Metaxas for reading a draft of the present text as well as the two anonymous reviewers for their interesting remarks. I also thank Prof. Manuela De Giorgi and Dr. Marco Leo Imperiale for their valuable help during my short visit at the University of Salento.

¹ For an indicative presentation of the archaeological remains of Argolis and especially Argos, see M. Piérart – G. Touchais, *Argos*.

the middle Byzantine period Argolis formed part of the *theme* of the Peloponnese, while from the 11th century it formed part of the *theme* of Hellas until its capture by the Franks in 1211/2². The region's administrative and ecclesiastic center par excellence was Argos³, and Nauplion was its main harbor⁴. After the so-called «Transitional period», especially from the 10th century onwards, the region enjoyed a revival chiefly attested in its central and western parts and confirmed mostly by archaeological finds, including the present material⁵.

Une ville grecque de 6000 ans, Paris 1996. *Argos et l'Argolide. Topographie et urbanisme, Actes de la Table Ronde internationale (Athènes – Argos 28/4-1/5/1990)*, eds A. Pariente – G. Touchais, Athens 1998.

² For the Byzantine history of the region, see A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204*, Paris 1951. For a concise presentation of the Byzantine sites of Argolis with their monuments, see V. Konti, «Συμβολή στην ιστορική γεωγραφία του νομού Ἀργολίδας», *Σύμμεικτα* 5 (1983), 169-202.

³ Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos includes Argos among the most important cities of the Peloponnese, see *Costantino Porfirogenito, De Thematribus. Introduzione – Testo critico – Commento* (Studi e Testi 160), ed. A. Pertusi, Città del Vaticano 1952, 90, 3-6. For a brief presentation of the history and archaeology of Argos during this period, see Piérart – Touchais, op.cit. (n. 1), 92-94. G. Tsekas, «Το Ἀργος στην παλαιοχριστιανική και μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο (Μια πρώτη προσέγγιση στην τοπογραφία του βυζαντινού Ἀργους)», *Δαναός* 2 (2001), 89-102. A. Oikonomou-Laniado, «Το Ἀργος κατά τη μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο», *Μνήμη Τασούλας Οικονόμου (1998-2008)*, eds I. D. Varalis – G. A. Pikoulas, Volos 2009, 205-214. A. Vassiliou, «Argos from the Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries», *Heaven and Earth. Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*, eds J. Albani – E. Chalkia, Athens 2013, 217-220. For the bishopric of Argos, see V. Konti, «Το Ναύπλιο και οι σχέσεις του με την επισκοπή Ἀργους κατά τη μέση βυζαντινή περίοδο», *Σύμμεικτα* 15 (2002), 131-148 (with further bibliography).

⁴ For Nauplion during this period, see M. G. Lambrynidis, *Ἡ Ναυπλία ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς*, Nauplion 2001⁴ (1st ed. 1898), 18-38. *ODB* 2, «Nauplia», 1443 (T. E. Gregory). A. G. C. Savvides, «Nauplion in the Byzantine and Frankish Periods», *Πελοποννησιακά* 19 (1991-1992), 287-296. A. G. C. Savvides, «Τα προβλήματα σχετικά με το βυζαντινό Ναύπλιο», *Βυζαντινά* 14 (1994), 357-374. A. G. Yangaki, *Εφναλωμένη κεραμική από τη θέση «Ἀγιοι Θεόδωροι» στην Ακροναυπλία (11ος-17ος αι.)*, Athens 2012, 191-192 and elsewhere.

⁵ For a brief presentation, see Vassiliou, *Argos*, op.cit. (n. 3), 217-220 (with further bibliography). Especially for the pottery evidence, see A. Vassiliou, *Μεσοβυζαντινή εφναλωμένη κεραμική από την πόλη του Ἀργους (10ος – α' τέταρτο 13ου αι.)* (unpubl. PhD diss.), I, Athens 2014, 20-23, 315-323. Yangaki, op.cit. (n. 4), 191-192.

The present unpublished material⁶ emerged from rescue excavations from the 1970s down to the present, conducted mainly by the 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities under the direction of the late archaeologist Anastasia Oikonomou-Laniado⁷. The great majority of our specimens come from Argos, thus confirming once more the city's preeminence in the region during the middle Byzantine period⁸.

I. General remarks on chafing dishes and their function

Chafing dishes are rightly considered the most elaborate Byzantine clay vessels⁹. They appear from the 7th to the

⁶ The Argive specimens formed part of my dissertation at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, see Vassiliou, *Μεσοβυζαντινή εφναλωμένη κεραμική*, op.cit. (n. 5), I, 195-201, 206-208 and elsewhere, while the subject was presented at the 35th Symposium of the Christian Archaeological Society, see A. Vassiliou, «Πήλινα αυτοθερμαινόμενα σκεύη από τη μεσοβυζαντινή Ἀργολίδα», *35ο Συμπόσιο ΧΑΕ (Αθήνα 2015)*, 29-30.

⁷ Anastasia Oikonomou-Laniado's contribution to the discovery and study of the Byzantine remains of Argolis and especially of Argos was seminal. For her contribution to the study of the Argolic Byzantine pottery specifically, see P. Petridis, «Η Τασούλα Οικονόμου και η συμβολή της στη μελέτη της βυζαντινής κεραμικής της Ἀργολίδας», *Μνήμη Τασούλας Οικονόμου*, op.cit. (n. 3), 119-128.

⁸ For the importance of Argos during the Middle Byzantine period, see Vassiliou, *Μεσοβυζαντινή εφναλωμένη κεραμική*, op.cit. (n. 5), I, 325-327 and elsewhere.

⁹ Essential for the study of the vessel is the monograph of Ch. Bakirtzis, *Βυζαντινά τσουκαλοάγηννα. Συμβολή στη μελέτη ονομασιών, σχημάτων και χρήσεων πυρδιάμων μαγειρικών σκευών, μεταφορικών και αποθηκευτικών δοχείων*, Athens 2003² (1st ed. 1989), 55-65. See also Ch. H. Morgan, *The Byzantine Pottery* (Corinth XI), Cambridge, Mass. 1942, 37-40. G. D. R. Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery at Corinth to c. 1125* (PhD diss.), Birmingham 1995, 261-265, 278-280. J. Vroom, *After Antiquity. Ceramics and Society in the Aegean from the 7th to the 20th century A.C. A Case Study from Boeotia, Central Greece*, Leiden 2003, 147, 231. P. Arthur, «Form, Function and Technology in Pottery Production from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages», *Technology in Transition A.D. 300-650*, eds L. Lavan – E. Zanini – A. Sarantis, Leiden – Boston 2007, 179-180. N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, «Βυζαντινή κεραμική από την Ελεύθερνα: Η Στέρνα της Αγίας Άννας», Th. Kalpaxis – N. Poulou-Papadimitriou – A. G. Yangaki – M. Xanthopoulou – L. Mantalara – D. Mylona, *Ελεύθερνα: Τομέας II, 3. Βυζαντινό σπίτι στην Αγία Άννα, Rethymno* 2008, 67-68. N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, «Στιγμές από



Fig. 1. Map of Argolis.

την ιστορία του Ηρακλείου. Από την πρωτοβυζαντινή εποχή έως την περίοδο της οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας (7ος-19ος αι.), Α. Ioannidou-Karetsou – S. Markoulaki – N. Poulou-Papadimitriou – V. Penna, *Ηράκλειο. Η άγνωστη ιστορία της αρχαίας πόλης*, Heraklion 2008, 162-164. B. Böhlendorf-Arslan, «Die mittelbyzantinische Keramik aus Amorium», *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter*, eds F. Daim – J. Drauschke, 2.1, Mainz 2010, 345-346. V. François, «Cuisine et pots de terre à Byzance», *BCH* 134 (2010), 351-354. N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, «Τεκμήρια υλικού πολιτισμού στη βυζαντινή Κρήτη: από τον 7ο έως το τέλος του 12ου αιώνα», *Πεπραγμένα Γ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Χανιά, 1-8 Οκτωβρίου 2006)*, eds E. G. Kapsomenos – M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki – M. Andrianakis, I, Chania 2011, 422-423. J. Vroom, «From One Coast to Another: Early Medieval Ceramics in the Southern Adriatic Region», *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages, Proceedings of the International Conference (Comacchio, 27th-29th March 2009)*, eds S. Gelichi – R. Hodges, Turnhout 2012, 364-367. As for the vessel's name, the term «chafing dish» is attested in Britain from the 15th-16th c., see for example M. R. McCarthy – C. M. Brooks, *Medieval Pottery in Britain AD 900-1600*, Leicester University Press 1988, 115. For its application to Byzantine vessels, see A. Frantz, «Middle Byzantine Pottery in Athens», *Hesperia* 7 (1938), 434. In the Italian bibliography the vessel is named «scaldavivande», in French «réchaud de table» and in German «Warmhalteschüssel».

12th century at various sites in the Byzantine Empire and areas within its sphere of influence, thus reflecting common dining habits (a Byzantine *koiné*), as has already been noted by Paul Arthur¹⁰. They appear both in white and red fabric and combine elements of both open and closed forms. Their upper part, depending on its depth, resembles a dish or bowl¹¹ and is set on a conical stand, which on one side has a large opening for the placement of fuel and on the other carries small holes for the necessary ventilation¹². The upper part of the

¹⁰ P. Arthur, «Pots and Boundaries. On Cultural and Economic Areas between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages», *LRCW 2. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry*, eds M. Bonifay – J.-Ch. Tréglia, I, Oxford 2007, 15.

¹¹ When it is shallow it resembles a dish, when it is deeper it resembles a bowl. As a rule, the upper dish or bowl was glazed on its interior, as it contained the food. However, as we shall see below, in rare cases it was left unglazed.

¹² Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 64. From these holes and the separation of the walls of the inner bowl and the stand, one can usually identify the vessels when they are found in a fragmentary condition.

vessel was normally closed with a lid in order to keep the food warm¹³. In addition, it had two vertical handles, suggesting its portability¹⁴.

Our knowledge of the vessel's function is limited and largely based on its morphology. It is certain that its lower part (namely the stand) served for the placement of the means of providing heating – possibly a piece of charcoal, a small candle or a small lamp, which would have kept the food in the upper bowl/dish warm. This is confirmed by the burn traces normally found on the vessel's inner walls¹⁵.

Our knowledge is equally limited as regards the kind of food prepared or served in chafing dishes. It is probable that they were used for warming and serving sauces, and for this reason Greek experts, following Charalambos Bakirtzis, have called them *σαλτσάρια* (salters)¹⁶, especially for the most «famous» Byzantine fish sauce, the *garum* or *γάρος*¹⁷. We know from written sources

that there were vessels named *γαράρια* or *γαρερά*, but it is not certain whether these can be identified with chafing dishes¹⁸. In any case, chafing dishes could have been used for the diluting, warming, and serving of *garum*¹⁹. Furthermore, they would have served for other kinds of food, such as soups, chopped meat, fish etc²⁰. The use of the fork (*περόνιον*) at the Byzantine table, especially the type with two long tines, has been connected with chafing dishes. Maria Parani and Charalambos Bakirtzis claim that it may have served as an actual fondue pot,

¹³ Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 57, 64. Generally, with the exception of Corinth, lids constitute a rare find, see for example J. W. Hayes, *Excavations at Sarachane in Istanbul, 2: The Pottery*, Princeton, N.J. 1992, 17. They were probably made from other material, such as metal or wood. There is also a possibility that some dishes could have served as lids, see François, op.cit. (n. 9), 340-342 (referring though to cooking pots).

¹⁴ Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 56. In rare cases, the vessels had one handle, as in Rome (op.cit., 63, pl. 13.6) or even three, as on Aegina, see *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο, Θεσσαλονίκη, Λευκός Πύργος, Οκτώβριος 2001 – Ιανουάριος 2002* (Exhibition catalogue), ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, Athens 2002, 328 cat. no. 362 (F. Felten).

¹⁵ It is not easy to conclude which material was used in each case; experimental archaeology would be very useful here.

¹⁶ Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 55, 64. The term *σαλτζάριον* or *σαλτζερών* is attested in Byzantine written sources, see Ph. Koukoules, «Γεύματα, δείπνα καὶ συμπόσια τῶν Βυζαντινῶν», *ΕΕΒΣ* 10 (1933), 113. Ph. Koukoules, «Βυζαντινῶν τροφαὶ καὶ ποτά», *ΕΕΒΣ* 17 (1941), 15 n. 5. Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, 5, Athens 1952, 154. However, we do not know whether the term *σαλτζάριον* refers to chafing dishes or to another type of vessel.

¹⁷ *Garum* or *γάρος* had deep roots in the Mediterranean extending back to Antiquity. It is a kind of sauce or condiment with many uses. As it is attested in *Geoponica*, it was made of the offal of large fish, and from smaller fish. Both were put in a vessel and with the addition of a large quantity of salt, they were set in the sun and left to ferment. Afterwards, with a basket (*κόφινος*), the sauce (*λικνούμεν*) was separated from the fish, see *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi scholastici de re rustica eclogae*, ed. H. Beckh, Stuttgart – Leipzig 1895, 528-529, 20:46 (*Γάρων ποίησις*). The relevant bibliography is extensive, see mostly Koukoules,

Βυζαντινῶν τροφαὶ καὶ ποτά, op.cit. (n. 16), 15-16. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, op.cit. (n. 16), 40-41. M. Chrone, *Ἡ πανίδα στὴν διατροφή καὶ στὴν ἰατρικὴ στὸ Βυζάντιο*, Athens 2012, 179-182. Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 55. P. Androudis, «Μαγειρίες για το αλάτι από το Βυζάντιο: αλίπαστα είδη και γάρων», *Το ελληνικό αλάτι, Ἡ Τριήμερο Εργασίας (Μυτιλήνη, 6-8 Νοεμβρίου 1998)*, Athens 2001, 106-108. A. Dalby, *Tastes of Byzantium. The Cuisine of a Legendary Empire*, London 2010² (1st ed. 2003), 67-69. A. Carannante – C. Giardino – U. Savarese, «In search of garum. The 'Colatura d'alici' from the Amalfitan Coast (Campagna, Italy): An Heir of the Ancient Mediterranean Fish Sauces», *Atti del 4o Convegno Nazionale di Etnoarcheologia (Roma, 17-19 maggio 2006)*, eds F. Lugli – A. A. Stoppiello – S. Biagetti, Oxford 2011, 69-79.

¹⁸ Furthermore, we do not know whether the *γαράρια* can be identified with the *σαλτζάρια* of the written sources. For *γαράρια*, see Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, op.cit. (n. 16), 41. Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 55. For a large two-handled deep pot with cylindrical walls that has been found in Morocco, dating to the Roman period and possibly connected with *garum* production, as well as for a similar vessel still in use in Cetara in Campania, see Carannante – Giardino – Savarese, op.cit. (n. 17), 74, 76-77, fig. 8. For a similar vessel from Thebes, see J. Vroom, «Byzantine Garbage and Ottoman Waste», E. Andrikou – V. L. Aravantinos – L. Godart – A. Sacconi – J. Vroom, *Thèbes. Fouilles de la Cadmie, II.2: Les tablettes en Linéaire B de la odos Pelopidou. Le contexte archéologique*, Pisa – Roma 2006, 193, 195, no. 11, fig. 58.

¹⁹ Various liquids (water, vinegar, wine, oil) were used to dilute *garum*; depending on the liquid, *garum* was named *ὕδρoγαρος*, *ὀξύγαρος*, *οἰνόγαρος*, *ἐλαιόγαρον* or *γαρέλαιον*, see Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, op.cit. (n. 16), 41. Androudis, op.cit. (n. 17), 107.

²⁰ P. Arthur, «Un gruppo di ceramiche alto medievale da Hierapolis (Pamukkale, Denizli), Turchia occidentale», *Archaeologia Medievale* 24 (1997), 538-539. Arthur, *Form, Function and Technology*, op.cit. (n. 9), 180. Vroom, *From One Coast to Another*, op.cit. (n. 9), 367. It has even been proposed that they were used in the preparation of aromatic wine, see Arthur, «Un gruppo di ceramiche», op.cit., 538. For the connection of chafing dishes with a metallic vessel, known as *ἀνθήσα*, see Br. Pitarakis, «Survivance d'un type de vaisselle antique à Byzance: les *authesae* en cuivre des Ve-VIIe siècles», *TM* 15 (2005), 686; see also Vroom, op.cit., 367. For further suggestions about the vessel's use, see *ibid*.

where someone would stick a piece of meat or bread on their fork and dip it into the warm sauce in the upper part²¹.

II. White Ware Chafing Dishes

According to John Hayes, the earliest white ware chafing dishes are attested in Constantinople around 700 or earlier²². On the basis of the published material, white ware specimens are found mostly in Constantinople, though not in large quantities: apart from St Polyeuktos (Saraçhane), they are attested at the Great Palace²³, the Hippodrome²⁴, Saint Eirini²⁵, Kalenderhane Camii²⁶

and at recent excavations²⁷. White Ware chafing dishes are also attested at Cherson²⁸, Thessaloniki²⁹, Corinth³⁰, Aegina (Kolona)³¹, and Athens³². An important specimen was found in a destruction level (probably dated to the 10th c.) of a Byzantine house at Thebes; this is a nearly intact example preserving its lid³³.

II.1. Finds from Argos

In Argolis only four white ware sherds have been found which we may suppose formed part of chafing dishes. All of them were discovered at Argos. No. 1³⁴ is the most interesting as it preserves most of its upper part; its interior is covered with the yellow-brown glaze typical

²¹ M. G. Parani, «Byzantine Cutlery: An Overview», *DChAE* 31 (2010), 160. For the use of forks in the Byzantine period, see Koukoulas, *Γεύματα, δείπνα και συμπόσια*, op.cit. (n. 16), 108-109. Koukoulas, *Βυζαντινόν βίος και πολιτισμός*, op.cit. (n. 16), 148-149. Parani, op.cit., 145-150, 155-162 (with further bibliography).

²² A few specimens found during the excavations of St Polyeuktos (Saraçhane) are attributed to Hayes's *Glazed White Ware* (GWW) I, see Hayes, op.cit. (n. 13), 17 and elsewhere. However, they are found mostly in GWW II, which are dated mainly to the 10th c. and should have served as a model for similar vessels made from red fabric, see Hayes, op.cit., 23. For another specimen from St Polyeuktos, see also R. M. Harrison – N. Firatlı, «Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul: Second and Third Preliminary Reports», *DOP* 20 (1966), 231 fig. D.6, 233.

²³ R. B. K. Stevenson, «The Pottery, 1936-7», *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Being a First Report on the Excavations Carried Out in Istanbul on Behalf of the Walker Trust (The University of St. Andrews), 1935-1938*, eds G. Brett – W. J. Macaulay – R. B. K. Stevenson, London 1947, 36, 39, 40, pls 15.12, 21.17 (Stages II-III, 8th-9th c.).

²⁴ D. Talbot Rice, «The Byzantine Pottery», *Second Report upon the Excavations Carried Out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928 on Behalf of the British Academy*, eds S. Casson – D. Talbot Rice – G. F. Hudson – B. Gray, London 1929, 27 figs 25, 26, 31; see also *Hippodrom / Atmeydanı. İstanbul'un Tarih Sahnesi* (Exhibition catalogue), ed. Br. Pitarakis, Istanbul 2010, 313 cat. no. 45 (A. Denker).

²⁵ U. Peschlow, «Byzantinische Keramik aus Istanbul. Ein Fundkomplex bei der Irenenkirche», *IstMitt* 27-28 (1977-1978), 398-399 (nos 76-85, fig. 10, pls 136.5-138.4), 406 (no. 104, fig. 16, pls 141.3-4). It should be noted that at Saint Eirini numerous specimens of chafing dishes were found, in contrast with other sites in Constantinople. For the dating of the pottery from Saint Eirini, see Hayes, op.cit. (n. 13), 13, who places it mostly in the 10th – early 11th c., with the latest specimens dated to the early 12th c.

²⁶ C. L. Striker – Y. D. Kuban, «Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul: Fifth Preliminary Report (1970-74)», *DOP* 29 (1975), 316, fig. 16.1. J. Herrin – A. Toydemir, «Byzantine Pottery», *Kalen-*

derhane in Istanbul. The Excavations, Final Reports on the Archaeological Exploration and Restoration at Kalenderhane Camii 1966-1978, eds C. L. Striker – Y. D. Kuban, Mainz am Rhein 2007, 70 (no. 19, fig. 45), 74 (no. 59, fig. 47), 76 (no. 75, fig. 47).

²⁷ *Gün Işığında: İstanbul'un 8000 Yılı. Marmaray, Metro, Sultanahmet Kazıları*, ed. B. Öztuncay, Istanbul 2007, 150 no. SC11 (Sultanahmet Eski Cezaevi), 280 no. Y45 (Yenikapı).

²⁸ See indicatively T. Yashaeva – E. Denisova – N. Ginkut – V. Zaleskaya – D. Zhuravlev, *The Legacy of Byzantine Cherson*, Sevastopol – Austin 2011, 631, no. 418.

²⁹ *Ex Thessalonica Lux, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, January 31 – May 4, 2014* (Exhibition catalogue), eds P. Kambanis – A. D. Tsilipakou, Thessaloniki 2014, 129 cat. no. 54 (I. O. Kanonidis).

³⁰ Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 192 (no. 146), 193 (nos 152-161, pl. VIII), 195 (no. 178), 198 (no. 206, fig. 174), 231 (no. 576, fig. 186). D. Athanasoulis – E. G. Manolassou, «Η μεσαιωνική Κορίνθος», *The Corinthia and the Northeast Peloponnese. Topography and History from Prehistoric Times until the End of Antiquity, Proceedings of the International Conference Organized by the Directorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, the 37th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and the German Archaeological Institute, Athens (Loutraki, March 26-29, 2009)*, eds K. Kissas – W.-D. Niemeier, Munich 2013, 537.

³¹ F. Felten, «Die christliche Siedlung», *Alt-Agina*, I.2, ed. H. Walter, Mainz 1975, 76, no. 158, fig. 20; see also Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 60-61.

³² Frantz, op.cit. (n. 9), 434, fig. 22; see also Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 60.

³³ AD 49 (1994), B1 Chronika, 119, pl. 49 b (Ch. Koilakou). *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, op.cit. (n. 14), 327-328, cat. no. 361 (Ch. Koilakou). Ch. Koilakou, «Κεραμική με λευκό πηλό από ανασκαφές στη Θήβα», *DChAE* 33 (2012), 310, no. 4, fig. 4. The lid is hemispherical in shape with a comb handle and has its interior decorated with an impressed eagle.

³⁴ Numbers correspond to the catalogue numbers employed in the present article, see pages 273-283.

of white wares³⁵ (Fig. 2 a, b). Unfortunately, we do not know the form of its lower part³⁶. As regards decoration, it preserves a tiny part of its central medallion and an incised line running beneath its lip³⁷. The other three sherds (nos 2-4, Figs 3-5) are small. We presume that they belong to chafing dishes, due to parallels from Corinth with similar decoration (plastic on the outer walls of the vessel)³⁸. Finally, there is a part of a handle (no. 5, Fig. 6), decorated with round clay pellets, which could have belonged to a chafing dish as well³⁹.

Our specimens' fabric seems rather uniform, medium fine, white (10R 8/1, 7.5 YR 8/1) to rose (7.5 YR 8.4), medium hard to very hard, with some pores and whitish-grey inclusions (Fabric 1)⁴⁰.

The dating of the Argive specimens is primarily based on well-dated assemblages from other regions, due to the lack of undisturbed strata from Argos dating between the medieval and modern period⁴¹. According to similarities with Sarāḡhane's *GWW II type 8*, no. 1 could be dated to the 10th century⁴². As for our specimens with plastic decoration, we may compare them to relevant specimens from Corinth, dated by Morgan to the 10th-11th centuries⁴³ and by Sanders to the first half of the 12th century⁴⁴. For the Argive specimens we suggest

a dating in the 11th-early 12th century, though not later, as their individual elements (fabric, glaze) seem early when compared to glazed pottery of the 12th century.

As for their origin, one possibility is Constantinople, generally accepted as the main site of white ware production⁴⁵. Another is neighboring Corinth, given the limited quantity of white ware sherds found at Argos, which are insufficient *per se* to support the hypothesis of a direct commercial link with the capital of the Byzantine Empire (without of course excluding it)⁴⁶. Moreover, nos 2-4 resemble specimens found at Corinth⁴⁷.

III. Red Ware Chafing Dishes

In the regions beyond Constantinople and its immediate sphere of influence, red ware chafing dishes are mostly found. Early examples, probably of local origin, have been found on Samos (first quarter of the 7th c.)⁴⁸, on the islet of Pseira (late 8th-early 9th c.)⁴⁹, in central

should be noted that white wares bearing plastic figures are mostly found at Corinth; oddly enough, they are rarely attested in Constantinople.

⁴⁵ See A. H. S. Megaw – R. E. Jones, «Byzantine and Allied Pottery: A Contribution by Chemical Analysis to Problems of Origin and Distribution», *BSA* 78 (1983), 236. Hayes, op.cit. (n. 13), 12. For a flawed white ware unglazed sherd from the Prosfhorion Harbour (Sirkeci area), see S. Y. Waksman – Ç. Girgin, «Les vestiges de production de céramiques des fouilles de Sirkeci (Istanbul). Premiers éléments de caractérisation», *Anatolia Antiqua* 16 (2008), 458, 467-468, no. IST 2, figs 25 b, 26.

⁴⁶ See Vassiliou, *Μεσοβυζαντινή εφραλωμένη κεραμική*, op.cit. (n. 5), I, 320-321.

⁴⁷ See indicative parallels in n. 38 of the present article.

⁴⁸ E. Gerousi, «Κεραμικά παλαιοχριστιανικών χρόνων από την περιοχή του "Επισκοπείου" της Σάμου», *AD* 47-48 (1992-1993), A, Meletes, 258-259, 266-267, figs 7, 8, pl. 50a. See also N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, «Βυζαντινή κεραμική από τον ελληνικό νησιωτικό χώρο και από την Πελοπόννησο (7ος-9ος αι.): Μια πρώτη προσέγγιση», *Οι Σκοτεινοί αιώνες του Βυζαντίου (7ος-9ος αι.)*, ed. E. Kountoura-Galaki, Athens 2001, 238. N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, «Η εφραλωμένη κεραμική. Νέα στοιχεία για την εμφάνιση της εφράλωσης στο Βυζάντιο», *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελευθέρα. Τομέας I*, ed. P. G. Themelis, I, Athens 2004, 212-213. The Samos chafing dish is the earliest red ware specimen identified to date. It was found in a closed deposit, dated to the first quarter of the 7th c., see Gerousi, op.cit., 266-267.

⁴⁹ Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Βυζαντινή κεραμική από τον νησιωτικό χώρο*, op.cit. (n. 48), 239, fig. 9 a-b. N. Poulou-Papadimitriou – E. Nodarou, «La céramique protobyzantine de Pseira: la

³⁵ When we refer to glaze in the present article, it is always lead-glaze.

³⁶ It should be noted that it bears traces of glaze in the outer part of its bottom. This feature is also attested in a white ware chafing dish from Athens, see Frantz, op.cit. (n. 9), 434 n. 2.

³⁷ Its central medallion preserves traces of dark brown strokes.

³⁸ See indicatively Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 193, no. 157, pl. VIII a; no. 158, pl. VIII d. Plastic decoration was sometimes applied separately to the vessel. Along with impressed, it constituted the main decorative technique of white ware chafing dishes. Other techniques were incision and painting with red pigment, sometimes in combination. In rare cases, attested at Constantinople, there were also polychrome chafing dishes, see Peschlow, op.cit. (n. 25), 406, no. 104, fig. 16, pls 141.3-4.

³⁹ As we shall see below, similar handles are also attested for red ware chafing dishes.

⁴⁰ Our fabric description (see the Catalogue below) is based on macroscopic and microscopic examination and not archaeometric. This is why we are referring to inclusions and not to temper.

⁴¹ To this we should also add the brief records of excavation journals, especially from past excavations. On this, see Vassiliou, *Μεσοβυζαντινή εφραλωμένη κεραμική*, op.cit. (n. 5), I, 38-39.

⁴² See Hayes, op.cit. (n. 13), 23, fig. 8.9 (type 8).

⁴³ Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 51.

⁴⁴ Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 258, 279. It

and southern Italy (8th-9th c.)⁵⁰, on Sicily (8th-9th c.)⁵¹, on Mallorca (8th-9th c.)⁵², at Amorium (late 8th-early 9th c.)⁵³ and at Corinth (late 8th-early 10th c.)⁵⁴.

During the 10th and 11th centuries the vessel is

found mostly in eastern mainland Greece (Thebes⁵⁵ and the wider Boeotian region⁵⁶, Athens⁵⁷) and the Peloponnese (Corinth⁵⁸, Malagari of Perachora⁵⁹, wider region of Sikyon⁶⁰, Nemea⁶¹, Argos, Nauplion, Chonika, Ano Epidaurus, Sparta⁶² and the wider Laconian region⁶³).

production locale et les importations, étude typologique et pétrographique», *LRCW* 2, op.cit. (n. 10), II, 758, 759, fig. 6.12. Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Στιγμές από την ιστορία του Ηρακλείου*, op.cit. (n. 9), 162-164, fig. 14. Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Βυζαντινή κεραμική από την Ελεύθερνα*, op.cit. (n. 9), 68. Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Τεκμήρια υλικού πολιτισμού*, op.cit. (n. 9), 392, fig. 8.

⁵⁰ See mainly L. Paroli, «La ceramica invetriata tardo-antica e medievale nell'Italia centro-meridionale», *La ceramica invetriata tardoantica e altomedievale in Italia, Atti del Seminario Certosa di Pontignano (Siena, 23-24 febbraio 1990)*, ed. L. Paroli, Florence 1992, 43-58. L. Paroli, «Ceramiche invetriate da un contesto dell'VIII secolo della Crypta Balbi – Roma», *La ceramica invetriata*, op.cit., 352-359 with further bibliography. D. Romei, «La ceramica a vetrina pesante altomedievale nella stratigrafia dell'esedra della Crypta Balbi», *La ceramica invetriata*, op.cit., 379-389, nos 2, 6-13, figs 1-9, with relevant bibliography. *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo. Archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi*, eds M. S. Arena – P. Delogu – L. Paroli – M. Ricci – L. Sagui – L. Venditelli, Milano 2012² (1st ed. 2001), 500 (nos IV.5.1-2), 515-516 (nos IV.6.1-2, 6). See also Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 63, pl. 13.6. E. Fentress – C. Goodson, «Villamagna (FR): L'eredità di una villa imperiale in epoca bizantina e medievale», *Archeologia Medievale* 39 (2012), 67-70, fig. 21.

⁵¹ See lately G. Cacciaguerra, «La ceramica a vetrina pesante altomedievale in Sicilia: nuovi dati e prospettive di ricerca», *Archeologia Medievale* 36 (2009), 291-293 and elsewhere with further bibliography. The chafing dishes found on Sicily are considered imports from workshops in central or southern Italy, see op.cit., 292 and elsewhere.

⁵² G. Rosselló-Bordoy, «El portaviandas medieval de Pollentia (Alcudia – Mallorca)», *Bolleti de la Societat Arqueològica Luliana* 39 (1982), 23-28. It is an intact chafing dish preserving its lid, decorated with petals, thus resembling the Italian *Forum Ware*, cf. Paroli, *La ceramica invetriata tardo-antica*, op.cit. (n. 50), 48, 49 n. 86.

⁵³ B. Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Glasierte byzantinische Keramik aus der Türkei*, Istanbul 2004, I, 109; II, 425-426, nos 400-404; III, pl. 104. Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die Keramik aus Amorium*, op.cit. (n. 9), 345-347, fig. 2. B. Böhlendorf-Arslan, «Pottery from the Destruction Contexts in the Enclosure», *Amorium Reports 3: The Lower City Enclosure. Finds Reports and Technical Studies*, eds C. S. Lightfoot – E. A. Ivison, Istanbul 2012, 154, 156 (no. 24, fig. 4.3), 157 (nos 43-44, figs 6.4-6.5), 158 (nos 54, 56, figs 7.7, 8.2), 159 (no. 59, fig. 8.5). There are also chafing dishes with later dating (10th-11th c.), see Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die Keramik aus Amorium*, op.cit. (n. 9), 347-350, fig. 3. Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Amorium* 3, op.cit., 161, 162 (no. 96, fig. 11.12).

⁵⁴ Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 37-38. Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 262 (Form I). As Sanders states, they are only a few sherds with uncertain dating.

⁵⁵ P. Armstrong, «Byzantine Thebes: Excavations on the Kadmeia, 1980», *BSA* 88 (1993), 305 (no. 68, pl. 31), 310 (no. 122, pl. 32). *AD* 50 (1995), B1 Chronika, 80 (pl. 36 α), 81 (fig. 16) (Ch. Koilakou).

⁵⁶ Vroom, *After Antiquity*, op.cit. (n. 9), 147, nos W7.1-14, figs 6.5-6.6.

⁵⁷ Frantz, op.cit. (n. 9), 434, 457 no. B1, figs 19, 23, 24; see also Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 60. N. Saraga, «Εργαστήρια κεραμικής βυζαντινών χρόνων στο οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη», *Αρχαιολογικά τεκμήρια βιοτεχνικών εγκαταστάσεων κατά τη βυζαντινή εποχή, 5ος-15ος αιώνας, Χριστιανική Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, Ειδικό Θέμα του 22ου Συμποσίου Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης (Αθήνα, 17-19 Μαΐου 2002)*, Athens 2004, 273. For an almost intact chafing dish of unknown provenance in the Byzantine and Christian Museum at Athens, see Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 60, pls 12.6, 38 a-b. *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, op.cit. (n. 14), 329 cat. no. 363 (M. Borboudaki).

⁵⁸ Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 38-39, 74. Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 263-264 (Forms II-III). *Διδακτική Συλλογή Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Κεραμικής – Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας, Μουσείο Αρχαιολογίας και Ιστορίας της Τέχνης*, ed. S. Kalopissi-Verti, Athens 2003, 59-60, nos A5-7. Athanasoulis – Manolossou, op.cit. (n. 30), 537, fig. 3. To these we should add six unpublished specimens found during recent excavations by the 25th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities under the direction of Dr. Demetrios Athanasoulis, two of which carry plastic decoration. For the dating of the Corinthian chafing dishes, see G. D. R. Sanders, «New Relative and Absolute Chronologies for 9th to 13th Century Glazed Wares at Corinth: Methodology and Social Conclusions», *Byzanz als Raum. Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes im Mittelalter*, eds Kl. Belke – Fr. Hild – J. Koder – P. Soustal, Wien 2000, 165.

⁵⁹ Unpublished plastic decorated chafing dish from the excavations of the 6th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in 1998, conducted by Dr. A. Mexia under the direction of K. Skarmoutsou.

⁶⁰ Y. A. Lolos, *Land of Sikyon. Archaeology and History of a Greek City-State* (Hesperia Suppl. 39), The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton 2011, 345, 346 fig. 5.58a, 350.

⁶¹ Unpublished fragmentary chafing dish from the restoration works of the 25th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities at the Monastery of the «Panagia tou Vrachou» near Nemea, under the direction of Dr. Demetrios Athanasoulis and Dr. Nikolaos Siomkos.

⁶² G. D. R. Sanders, «Excavations at Sparta: The Roman Stoa, 1988-91. Preliminary Report, Part 1, (c) Medieval Pottery», *BSA* 88 (1993), 268, no. 33. G. D. R. Sanders, «Pottery from Medieval Levels in the Orchestra and Lower Cavea», G. B. Waywell – J. J. Wilkes et al., «Excavations at the Ancient Theatre of Sparta 1992-4. Preliminary Report», *BSA* 90 (1995), 454.

⁶³ P. Armstrong, «The Byzantine and Ottoman Pottery», *Continuity*

Chafing dishes of various dating have also been found on Aegina (Kolona)⁶⁴, Crete (Heraklion⁶⁵, Eleutherna⁶⁶), Cyprus⁶⁷ (Paphos⁶⁸), in Asia Minor (Hierapolis⁶⁹, Aphrodisias⁷⁰, Sagalassos⁷¹), at Naples⁷², Otranto⁷³, Bur-

and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape. The Laconia Survey (BSA Suppl. 27), eds W. Cavanagh – J. Crouwel – R. W. V. Catling – G. Shipley, II, London 1996, 132, no. 24, fig. 17.5.

⁶⁴ Felten, op.cit. (n. 31), 74-75, nos 144-148, figs 17-19, pl. 28. AD 56-59 (2001-2004), B6 Chronika, 206, pl. 74 ζ (Ch. Pennas). *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, op.cit. (n. 14), 328 no. 362 (F. Felten). See also Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 60-61. Guy Sanders places Aegina's chafing dishes in his Form II, which he dates from the late 10th to the 11th c., see Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 264. Charalambos Pennas, on the other hand, dates a chafing dish found at the settlement of Kolona to the end of the 9th c., see AD 56-59, op.cit. For the important settlement of Kolona in the Byzantine period, see Ch. Pennas, *Η βυζαντινή Αίγινα*, Athens 2004, 11-18.

⁶⁵ In Heraklion a chafing dish has been found dating to the 11th c., see Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Στιγμές από την ιστορία του Ηρακλείου*, op.cit. (n. 9), 164, fig. 13. Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Τεκμήρια υλικού πολιτισμού*, op.cit. (n. 9), 423, fig. 51a-b, while in its wider area (at Voroi) an intact chafing dish dating to the 12th c. has been found, see Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Στιγμές από την ιστορία του Ηρακλείου*, op.cit. (n. 9), 164, fig. 15. Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Τεκμήρια υλικού πολιτισμού*, op.cit., 423, fig. 52 (with further bibliography); see also Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Βυζαντινή κεραμική από την Ελεύθερνα*, op.cit. (n. 9), 68.

⁶⁶ This is a late specimen, as it was found in a closed deposit of the late 12th or the early 13th c., see Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Βυζαντινή κεραμική από την Ελεύθερνα*, op.cit., (n. 9), 68, 78-79, 100 no. 64, pl. 14.

⁶⁷ Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 62, pls 13.5, 38 γ, for an intact chafing dish of unknown provenance, today in the Collection of Pierides Foundation in Larnaka.

⁶⁸ J. Rosser, «Excavations at Saranda Kolones, Paphos, Cyprus, 1981-1983», *DOP* 39 (1985), 87 n. 21, figs H.17-19. A. H. S. Megaw, «Supplementary Excavations on a Castle Site at Paphos, Cyprus, 1970-1971», *DOP* 26 (1972), 342. For an intact chafing dish from the wider Paphos region, see A. H. S. Megaw, «Betwixt Greeks and Saracens», *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium «Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident»* (Nicosia, 8-14 September 1985), Nicosia 1986, 516, pl. LVII.4. Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 62, pl. 38 d. Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Βυζαντινή κεραμική από τον νησιωτικό χώρο*, op.cit. (n. 48), 239.

⁶⁹ Arthur, «Un gruppo di ceramiche», op.cit. (n. 20), 532 and elsewhere, nos 1-2, fig. 5.

⁷⁰ François, op.cit. (n. 9), 351, fig. 7.5.

⁷¹ A. K. Vionis – J. Poblome – B. de Cupere – M. Waelkens, «A Middle-Late Byzantine Pottery Assemblage from Sagalassos. Typo-Chronology and Sociocultural Interpretation», *Hesperia* 79 (2010), 455.

⁷² See P. Arthur, «From Italy to the Aegean and Back – Notes on the Archaeology of Byzantine Maritime Trade», *From One Sea to Another*, op.cit. (n. 9), 341-342, with further bibliography.

⁷³ H. Patterson – D. Whitehouse, «The Medieval Domestic Pot-

tint⁷⁴, and even in Rumania (Bucov⁷⁵), while only a few specimens seem to have been found in Constantinople⁷⁶. However, it should be mentioned that with the exception of Corinth, at the other sites chafing dishes account for only a limited number of examples⁷⁷.

Typologically, most specimens belong to the earliest version of Byzantine glazed pottery made from red fabric, known as *Brown Glazed Ware*⁷⁸, *Unslipped Glazed Red Ware*⁷⁹ or *Plain Glazed Ware in a Red and Grey Fabric*⁸⁰. Its basic characteristic is that it is not covered with a thick white slip and its basic form is the chafing dish⁸¹. Hayes includes this ware in *Saracene's Coarse Glazed Wares*⁸². In Italy this ware corresponds

tery», *Excavations at Otranto, II: The Finds*, eds F. d'Andria – D. Whitehouse, Galatina 1992, 162-163, nos 698-703, fig. 6.26. H. Patterson, «Contatti commerciali e culturali ad Otranto dal IX al XV secolo: L'evidenza della ceramica», *La ceramica nel mondo bizantino tra XI e XV secolo e i suoi rapporti con l'Italia*, *Atti del Seminario Certosa di Pontignano (Siena, 11-13 marzo 1991)*, ed. S. Gelichi, Firenze 1993, 104, 119 nos 7-9, fig. 3.

⁷⁴ R. Hodges – J. Vroom, «Late Antique and Early Medieval Ceramics from Butrint, Albania», *La circolazione delle ceramiche nell'Adriatico tra tarda antichità e altomedioevo*, *III Incontro di Studio Ceram. Is.*, eds S. Gelichi – Cl. Negrelli, Mantova 2007, 379. J. Vroom, «Dishing Up History. Early Medieval Ceramic Finds from the Triconch Palace in Butrint», *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge* 120-122 (2008), 294, fig. 5. S. Kamani, «Butrint in the Mid-Byzantine Period: A New Interpretation», *BMGS* 35 (2011), 124-125, figs 6-7. Vroom, *From One Coast to Another*, op.cit. (n. 9), 365, fig. 11.

⁷⁵ M. Comşa, «La céramique de type byzantin de Bucov-Ploieşti», *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines (Bucarest, 6-12 septembre 1971)*, Bucarest 1976, 296, figs 2.4, 5, 9. M. Comşa, «Die Keramik vom byzantinischen Typus aus den Siedlungen von Bucov-Ploieşti», *Dacia* 24 (1980), 323-335, figs 1-4, 6. See also Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 62, pl. 13.4. The case of Bucov is quite interesting, given its large number of chafing dishes and the fact that they are made from red fabric instead of white.

⁷⁶ Hayes, op.cit. (n. 13), Deposit 31: p. 106 no. 34 (?), Deposit 34: p. 109 no. 14 (?), Deposit 37: p. 115 no. 27, Deposit 47: p. 130 no. 8 (?).

⁷⁷ This may be partly due to the fact that this vessel has not been so far the object of systematic publication, as was the case of Argolis until now.

⁷⁸ Frantz, op.cit. (n. 9), 433. Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 36.

⁷⁹ Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 60-63, 236-239.

⁸⁰ Vroom, *After Antiquity*, op.cit. (n. 9), 147. J. Vroom, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery in the Aegean, 7th to 20th Century. An Introduction and Field Guide*, Utrecht 2005, 72-73.

⁸¹ For the specific category of pottery, see mostly Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 36-42. Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 60-62, 236-237. Vroom, *Byzantine Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 80), 72-73.

⁸² Hayes, op.cit. (n. 13), 41.

in part to the so-called *ceramica a vetrina pesante*, with its sub-group *Forum Ware*, which bears similarities to *Unslipped Glazed Red Ware* or *Brown Glazed Ware*⁸³.

III.1. Finds from Argos and other sites of Argolis

In Argolis we have to date recorded 48 pieces of chafing dishes, the great majority of which were found at Argos itself⁸⁴, whereas only a few specimens have been found at Nauplion⁸⁵, and at other sites of Argolis such as

⁸³ *Ceramica a vetrina pesante* and its sub-group *Forum Ware* were popular in central and southern Italy. The relevant bibliography is extensive, see indicatively D. Whitehouse, «The Medieval Glazed Pottery of Lazio», *Papers of the British School at Rome* 35 (1967), 48-53. Paroli, *La ceramica invetriata tardo-antica*, op.cit. (n. 50), 43-58. Paroli, *Ceramiche invetriate*, op.cit. (n. 50), 352-359. Romei, op.cit. (n. 50). For the similarities between *ceramica a vetrina pesante* and *Unslipped Glazed Red Ware*, see mainly Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 60, 237, 262, 265 and elsewhere.

⁸⁴ At Argos we have to date recorded 43 specimens, of which 36 are included in the catalogue. Nineteen specimens have been found in the ATE plot. Only seven were found in the OTE plot, and even fewer (one or two each) in the following plots: Demou – Provataki, Dini, Phlorou, Galetsi, Kechagia, Kontogianni, Kontogianni – Paraskevopoulou, Makrygianni, Moukiou, Skliris' Heirs, Tsitsou, Xakousti – Xixi, Xixi. One specimen (no. 29) is of unknown provenance and another (not included in the present catalogue) was found during the excavations of the French Archaeological School (I warmly thank Prof. Gilles Touchais, archaeologist Anna Philippa-Touchais and Prof. Ioannis Varalis for their willingness to show me this specimen). The majority of these plots are located in the medieval center of the city and were excavated by Anastasia Oikonomou-Laniado with the assistance of the archaeologists Chryssa Argyraki, Dr. Konstantina Gerolymou, Kalliopi Katri, and Dr. Evangelia Pappi, while the plot of Demou – Provataki was excavated by Dr. Anastasia Panagiotopoulou, the Kontogianni – Paraskevopoulou plot by Georgios Tsekas, the Skliris' Heirs plot by Dr. Alcestis Papadimitriou, the Tsitsou plot by Dr. Erofili-Iris Kolia, and the Xixi plot by Christos Piteros. For the location of the plots, see Vassiliou, *Argos*, op.cit. (n. 3), 218 fig. 191. Pariente – Touchais, op.cit. (n. 1), pl. XIV.

⁸⁵ Three specimens were found at the Akronauplia Castle, two of which are included in the catalogue (nos 7 and 31). They were found at the central enclosure of Akronauplia (known as the «Frankish Castle»): no. 7 is from the inner side of the eastern wall at the entrance of the «Frankish Castle» (excavation of the 25th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, conducted by archaeologist Maria Amilitou under the direction of Dr. Demetrios Athanasoulis) and no. 31 from the north-western part of the so-called «Traversa Gambello» in the middle part of the «Frankish Castle» (excavation of the 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, conducted by Dr. Konstantina Gerolymou under the direction of Anastasia Oikonomou-Laniado). For a plan of the Akronauplia Castle including the «Frankish Castle», see W. Schaefer, «Neue Untersuchungen über die Baugeschichte Nauplias im Mit-

Chonika⁸⁶ and Ano (Upper) Epidaurus (site Lalioteika)⁸⁷ (Fig. 1).

Shape

In most cases the fragmentary state of our specimens does not allow the secure deductions (only a small part of body and rim usually is preserved). Nevertheless, we can make some observations, such as the fact that most of the fragments come from large chafing dishes, with rim diameter of 17-24 cm and in some cases of 26-30 cm⁸⁸. There are also some mid-sized vessels with rim diameter of 14-16 cm⁸⁹.

The majority of our specimens have a double or grooved lip, with variations in its shaping; sometimes the groove is sharper, sometimes it is shallower, and sometimes it has an inward or an upward inclination⁹⁰. Beveled or simple (without a specific shaping) rims seldom appear⁹¹.

Handles are rarely preserved⁹². When they do, they are vertical and vary in cross-section (mostly strap or ellipsoid, in few cases cylindrical or oval). They are attached to the rim or slightly below, and conclude at the mid or the lower part of the vessel. Inverted handles, characteristic of many chafing dishes, are not attested (or possibly not preserved) in our material⁹³. In some

telalter», *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 76 (1961), 161-162 fig. 1 (site B).

⁸⁶ One specimen (no. 14) from the excavation conducted by A. Oikonomou-Laniado and Ch. Argyraki in 1993, at the outer area of the middle Byzantine church of the Dormition of the Virgin. For the latter, see Ch. Bouras – L. Boura, *Ἡ ἐλλαδική ναοδομία κατά τὸν 12ο αἰώνα*, Athens 2002, 325-328 with extensive bibliography.

⁸⁷ One small specimen (no. 44) from an excavation conducted by A. Oikonomou-Laniado. For the excavation, see A. D. Oikonomou, «Συμβολή στὴν τοπογραφία τῆς περιοχῆς Ἄνω Ἐπιδάουρου στοὺς μέσους χρόνους», *Πρακτικά τοῦ Β' Τοπικοῦ Συνεδρίου Ἀρχαολογικῶν Σπουδῶν* (Ἄργος, 30 Μαΐου – 1 Ἰουνίου 1986), Athens 1989, 303-307. During this excavation a basilica was found, dated by A. Oikonomou-Laniado to the 7th-10th c., see Oikonomou, op.cit., 303-309.

⁸⁸ For the latter case, see nos 18, 30.

⁸⁹ Nos 6, 17, 25, 43, 45.

⁹⁰ The double or grooved lip is connected with the placement of the lid, see indicatively Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 56.

⁹¹ Nos 6, 7, 29. Nos 26, 36, and 45 have such shallow corrugation that their lip seems beveled.

⁹² Nos 6, 7, 16, 17, 22, 28, 34.

⁹³ For the inverted handles, see indicatively Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 261.

cases, there is a protuberance on the upper part of the handle (as if 'pinched')⁹⁴, while there is an added piece of clay (like a projection) of unknown function on no. 18⁹⁵.

In some cases the bowl of the upper part is deep⁹⁶ and hemispherical; in others it is shallow⁹⁷, resembling a dish. In the rare instances where the upper bowl/dish's bottom is preserved, it is flat with visible circular traces of the instrument for the alignment of its outer surface⁹⁸.

The vessel's outer walls are either oblique or nearly vertical. Nos 30 (Fig. 31 a, b) and 31 (Fig. 32 a, b) are distinguished for the tapering in their lower part⁹⁹. Wall thickness normally ranges between 0.8 and 1.1 cm, though there are some vessels with thin walls¹⁰⁰. On the other hand, no. 41 (Fig. 42 a, b) is distinguished for its notably thick outer walls. The vessels' outer walls have triangular, round or even rectangular perforations on one side and a large hole on the other; the latter is usually horseshoe-shaped or semicircular¹⁰¹.

⁹⁴ Nos 16, 17, 22.

⁹⁵ It reminds us the projections of a related vessel, the brazier (φωκίον), where the rim projections served for the support of cooking vessels, see indicatively Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 67-69. G. Kapitän, «Three Terracotta Braziers from the Sea Off Sicily», *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 9 (1980), 127-131, esp. 130-131, fig. 5. A similar projection is probably attested on a chafing dish from Hierapolis, see Arthur, «Un gruppo di ceramiche», op.cit. (n. 20), 532, no. 2, fig. 5.2. This kind of projection (due to its shallowness) does not seem to be connected in our case with the «small bowls» mentioned by Morgan [*The Byzantine Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 39], which he presumed served for the placement of condiments.

⁹⁶ Nos 6, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 36.

⁹⁷ Nos 18, 23, 41, 45.

⁹⁸ Nos 6, 29.

⁹⁹ Guy Sanders describes it as follows: «In the mature form the dish sits upon rather than within the stand» [Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 261]. Sanders, revising Morgan's typology, proposed three forms (I-III) in the chafing dish evolution, focusing mostly on the rim formation and the depth of the upper bowl/dish, see Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 261-264. Sanders, *New Chronologies*, op.cit. (n. 58), 165, fig. 7. G. D. R. Sanders, «An Overview of the New Chronology for 9th to 13th Century Pottery at Corinth», *7ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Μεσαιωνικής Κεραμικής της Μεσογείου* (Θεσσαλονίκη, 11-16 Οκτωβρίου 1999), ed. Ch. Bakirtzis, Athens 2003, 40-41. In general, the majority of the Argolic specimens bear similarities with Form II in Sanders' typology (Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. [n. 9], 263-264). For Morgan's typology, see Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 37-40; cf. Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 56-59.

¹⁰⁰ Nos 32, 39.

¹⁰¹ Sometimes, as in the case of no. 29, there are also perforations at the part of the large hole.

Only two vessels preserve their base; no. 28 (Fig. 29 a, b) has a discoid base with diameter of 14.5 cm and no. 45 (Fig. 46 a, b) has a conical/divergent base with diameter of 10 cm.

There are only three lids in the recorded material from Argolis¹⁰². They have oblique walls and we assume that they belonged to chafing dishes. No. 38 (Fig. 39) may also belong to a lid, while no. 35 (Fig. 36 a, b) is a lid handle.

Fabric

The fabric of our specimens is as a rule coarse, very hard, and reddish brown (10 R 5/6-5/8, 4/6) or red (2.5 YR 5/6-4/6). It contains white –mostly large– as well as sparkling inclusions. In some specimens there are also black and grey inclusions¹⁰³. This is Fabric 2.1, which characterizes the majority of our specimens¹⁰⁴. A common feature is the dark grey color of the walls' core¹⁰⁵, which was due to inadequate firing conditions, viz. a short firing duration and abrupt rise in firing temperature¹⁰⁶. There are also a few pieces of a similar, though more fine-grained fabric (Fabric 2.2)¹⁰⁷, whereas three pieces are differentiated by their intense orange-red color (2.5 YR 5/6, 4/8, 6/6) and many sparkling inclusions (Fabric 3)¹⁰⁸.

There are also some pieces with particular/individual fabric, such as nos 6 and 7, which as we shall see below seem to be earlier compared with the rest.

As time passed, technical expertise evolved and ceramicists processed their clay better and controlled firing conditions more effectively¹⁰⁹. As a result the ves-

¹⁰² Nos 39, 40, 42.

¹⁰³ It is possible that some of the inclusions were added as temper, but this can be attested only by archaeometric analysis.

¹⁰⁴ Nos 8-30, 32-38.

¹⁰⁵ Nos 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17-23, 25, 26, 29, 30, 32-40, 43, 45.

¹⁰⁶ See R. S. Gabrieli – B. McCall – J. R. Green, «Medieval Kitchen Ware from the Theatre Site at Nea Pafos», *RDAC* 2001, 338, 351: «... it is normal for Medieval vessels to have a thick dark core at least on part of the body, as a result of a quick rise in firing temperature which did not allow complete burning out of carbonaceous material. We seem to have shorter firing with less control over the firing conditions.» This constitutes a common characteristic of chafing dishes in general. See also Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 36. Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 236.

¹⁰⁷ Nos 39, 40.

¹⁰⁸ Nos 31, 41, 42; mostly no. 42.

¹⁰⁹ See indicatively Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 236.

sels' fabric became more uniform in texture and color, as is the case of nos 43 and 44.

Traces of fire

Many pieces bear traces of the heating material, which served for the warming of the food contained in the upper part. Most times, burn traces are detected on the bottom of the vessels' upper bowl¹¹⁰, on the inner side of the vessels' outer walls¹¹¹, and around the hole and perforations¹¹².

Wash – Glaze

One of the major features of this ware is the fact that it is not slip-covered. However, there are about 15 pieces whose exteriors were covered with a thin wash of varied color (mostly whitish or grey-white)¹¹³. This wash is completely different from the thick white slip, attested in glazed ceramics from the 12th century onwards¹¹⁴. One exception to this is partly no. 24, but mostly nos 44 and 45, whose surface is covered entirely by a thick layer of white slip¹¹⁵.

As for the glaze, this specific ware is characterized by a thick yellowish or greenish lead-glaze, which when applied directly to the vessels' surface (without the mediation of a white slip), acquired a dark brown or dark green color, respectively¹¹⁶. In our specimens olive-brown¹¹⁷ and dark brown¹¹⁸ glaze prevail, while green is rarely attested¹¹⁹. Moreover, the glaze of some pieces has a shiny/lustrous effect¹²⁰. On the simple ves-

sels with elementary incised decoration on their outer surface, the glazing covers only the inner surface of the upper bowl or dish, including the lip, whereas on more elaborately plastic decorated ones the outer surface is also glazed¹²¹. On certain specimens, small spots in a darker hue are observed¹²². These may be due to the pores on the vessel's surface¹²³.

Finally, it should be noted that two vessels (nos 6 and 45) are completely unglazed. On rare occasions this feature is also attested on chafing dishes from other regions, e.g. Amorium¹²⁴, Crotona¹²⁵, Butrint¹²⁶, and Laconia¹²⁷.

Decoration

The decoration of our specimens invariably covers the vessels' outer surface¹²⁸. There are two main decorative techniques, the incised and the plastic¹²⁹. More than half of our specimens are decorated with incised motifs, which we would characterize as elementary¹³⁰. They are mostly linear (cross-hatched, oblique, vertical, or wavy lines, herringbone etc.) and resemble the decoration on unglazed coarse wares (jugs, etc.)¹³¹.

would initially have had a shiny glaze, but it would have been corroded by its deposition in the soil.

¹²¹ In the first case the glaze was utilitarian while in the second, it was also decorative.

¹²² Nos 7, 8, 29, 33, 39, 40.

¹²³ See Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 60.

¹²⁴ Three pieces of early chafing dishes, locally made and dated to the late 8th-early 9th c., see Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Amorium 3*, op.cit. (n. 53), 157 nos 43-44, 158 no. 56.

¹²⁵ Cacciaguerra, op.cit. (n. 51), 291-292, with relevant bibliography.

¹²⁶ Kamani, op.cit. (n. 74), 124-125, figs 6, 7.

¹²⁷ Armstrong, *Byzantine Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 63), 132, no. 24.

¹²⁸ Nevertheless, there are chafing dishes known from other regions with incised decoration on the inner surface of their bowl or dish, see for example Gerousi, op.cit. (n. 48), 258, fig. 8. Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die Keramik aus Amorium*, op.cit. (n. 9), 346, fig. 3. Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 38, 178 no. 4, fig. 161.

¹²⁹ See indicatively Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 62-63.

¹³⁰ Nos 8-31, 44. Sanders names this kind of decoration «Incised Decoration», see Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 62-63, 239. However, we should not confuse chafing dishes' incised decoration with the so-called «Sgraffito Ware» of the 12th c.; the latter depends on the contrast that derives between the thick white slip and the red fabric of the vessel.

¹³¹ See for example an 11th c. jug from Thessaloniki in Καθημερινή

¹¹⁰ Nos 7, 25, 29.

¹¹¹ Nos 28, 31, 33, 41.

¹¹² Nos 6, 24, 28. No. 45 bears fire traces on the interior of its upper bowl, but this may be due to a much later use.

¹¹³ Nos 7, 13, 16, 17, 20-26, 28, 32, 41.

¹¹⁴ As Morgan remarks: «This is never sufficiently thick or regular to be considered a slip», see Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 38. See also Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 61.

¹¹⁵ The Paphos chafing dish is also covered with white slip on its inner bowl and outer surface, see Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 62, pl. 38 d.

¹¹⁶ Generally the color hue, apart from the glaze's chemical composition, depends on the fabric color, glaze thickness and firing conditions.

¹¹⁷ Nos 8, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21-23, 25, 33-37, 39, 40.

¹¹⁸ Nos 7-10, 12, 13, 19, 26, 29-31, 38, 41, 42.

¹¹⁹ Nos 11, 16, 20, 27, 32, 43, 44.

¹²⁰ Nos 8, 16, 17, 19-21, 32, 37, 41. We assume that many pieces

Plastic decoration is attested on fewer specimens¹³², including two lids¹³³ and one handle¹³⁴. Unfortunately, due to our specimens' fragmentary condition, it is almost impossible to identify the original composition. Human figures are probably rendered on nos 37 (face?) and 43 (hand?). Other specimens are decorated with animals¹³⁵ and in one case there may be a figural theme depicted¹³⁶. The difficulty in identifying these figures is owed not only to their fragmentary state but also to their unrealistic rendering. Based on published specimens from other parts of the Byzantine Empire we know that popular motifs were griffins and eagles, as well as grotesque figures of musicians, acrobats etc., which in some cases protrude like sculptures. The most relevant specimens are known from Corinth¹³⁷ and secondly from other regions such as Athens¹³⁸. Another popular simple decorative theme is plastic clay pellets, usually found on handles (no. 34), as on white wares¹³⁹. In the present material there is also one specimen (no. 42) decorated with small circles, possibly made by impression.

At Corinth there are also a few chafing dishes dec-

orated with the *Slip Painted*¹⁴⁰, the *Green and Brown Painted* (combined with plastic decoration)¹⁴¹ and the *Spatter Painted*¹⁴² technique. Finally, we should note that the present material also includes three undecorated vessels (nos 6, 7 and 45).

From all the above, we can deduce that among the specimens found at Argos and wider in the Argolid, a main group numbering nearly two-thirds of our specimens stands out¹⁴³. This group shares common characteristics of shape, fabric, firing, and decoration, which may be summarized as follows: coarse fabric with dark grey core, thick glaze – mostly olive-brown or dark brown – on the interior of the upper bowl/dish, whitish wash and elementary incised decoration (in fewer cases plastic) on the vessel's exterior. In our material the color of the glaze does not seem to affect our grouping¹⁴⁴. Furthermore, their shaping (particularly of the rim) and the depth of the bowl/dish of the upper part do not appear as standardized as one might have expected¹⁴⁵.

Apart from our main group, there are specimens which differ from one another to a greater or lesser extent. Nos 30 and 31 differ in shape, with tapering walls that resemble Sanders' Form II. Furthermore, no. 31 has a distinctive fabric, which along with nos 41 and 42 could be attributed to a different workshop (or workshops)¹⁴⁶. The unglazed chafing dish (no. 6), which has the basic characteristics of cooking ware, presents even sharper differences. As for the slipped unglazed chafing dish (no. 45), it seems that we have here an unfinished product,

ζωή στο Βυζάντιο, op.cit. (n. 14), 357 cat. no. 416 (P. Kambanis) and another one from Heraklion in Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Τεκμήρια υλικού πολιτισμού*, op.cit. (n. 9), 426, fig. 55.

¹³² Nos 32-34, 36-41, 43.

¹³³ Nos 39, 40.

¹³⁴ No. 34.

¹³⁵ Opposite quadrupeds at no. 36 and probably dragon at no. 38. More easily distinguishable are the birds (nos 39, 40). In fact, no. 39 may be a griffin, based on a similar fragment from Corinth, see Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 38, 179 no. 9, pl. IIAd, fig. 26.

¹³⁶ No. 41.

¹³⁷ Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 38. J. A. Notopoulos, «Akritan Iconography on Byzantine Pottery», *Hesperia* 33 (1964), 117 n. 38, pl. 22.6. Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 62, 238. Especially for acrobats in Byzantine art (including pottery), see the detailed study by V. Kepetzi, «Scenes of Performers in Byzantine Art, Iconography, Social and Cultural Milieu: The Case of Acrobats», *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, eds A. Öztürkmen – E. Birge Vitz, Turnhout 2014, 345-384, esp. 352-356.

¹³⁸ Frantz, op.cit. (n. 9), 434, fig. 24. A. K. Orlandos, «Ἐκθεσις περὶ τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν Βιβλιοθήκης Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ Ρωμαϊκῆς Ἀγορᾶς», *AE* 1964, Appendix, 57, fig. 107, no. 135. Similar plastic decoration with animals is also attested at Islamic closed vessels of the 7th-9th c., both glazed and unglazed, see indicatively O. Watson, *Ceramics from Islamic Lands*, London 2004, 96 (no. Aa.2), 98 (no. Aa.4), 161 (no. Bb.1).

¹³⁹ See no. 5.

¹⁴⁰ Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 246, nos 744-745. We do not know whether the brush of white slip on no. 16's outer surface is decorative or just random. In any case, it differs significantly from the *Slip Painted Ware*.

¹⁴¹ Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 74, fig. 53, 217 nos 429-432.

¹⁴² Ibid., 230 no. 571.

¹⁴³ Nos 8-30, 32-37.

¹⁴⁴ For instance, nos 10, 11 and 13 have similar fabric, shape and decoration, but their glazes differ.

¹⁴⁵ See also Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 37, who refers to «the independence of form» of some *Brown Glazed* pieces. See also Bakirtzis, op.cit. (n. 9), 56, for a similar observation concerning chafing dishes from different regions. For this reason, we believe that creating a typology of chafing dishes with interregional applications but without excluding important elements would be a rather difficult task.

¹⁴⁶ Another distinctive feature of no. 31 is its rouletting decoration combined with the typical incised.

given the cracked surface of its upper dish, as well as the fact that the thick layer of its white slip tends to crumble and seems unsuitable for warming food without a glaze covering.

Remarks on the Argolic vessels' dating and provenance

As it is already mentioned, the present material does not offer us dating evidence¹⁴⁷. That is why we base our chronologies on other well-dated assemblages, especially of Corinth¹⁴⁸. Our main group of Argolic chafing dishes displays similarities with chafing dishes from Corinth, Athens, and Thebes, which date to the 10th or early 11th centuries¹⁴⁹. Therefore, we suggest for our main group with coarse characteristics a similar dating¹⁵⁰, with an even earlier date for nos 6 and 7¹⁵¹.

As for some specimens with plastic decoration, based on parallels from Corinth, they could date to the 11th-early 12th century¹⁵². However, we should point out that at least from the macroscopic examination of our material, plastic decoration does not constitute *per*

se evidence for later dating, as there are plastic decorated specimens, such as no. 36 (Fig. 37 a, b), which do not differ in fabric and shape from other vessels in our «coarse» main group and which might thus have similar dating and even the same provenance.

For nos 43, 44 and 45 (Figs 44-46) we propose a later dating, possibly towards the end of the 11th-early 12th centuries, due to the fact that they have a different, more fine-grained fabric and more even shape. Moreover, nos 44 and 45 have a thick layer of white slip, while no. 44's glaze is thin; both would suggest a later dating, possibly as late as the first quarter of the 12th century (or even later for no. 45).

As for the identity of the workshop or workshops, we have little evidence at our disposal. At Argos and Argolis, no clearly-identifiable workshop remains which could be connected with the production of chafing dishes have been found to date, and our specimens do not include any flawed or misfired products, with the exception of no. 45, which should be an unfinished product¹⁵³. Given the resemblance of the majority of our specimens to Corinthian products¹⁵⁴ and taking into consideration the proximity of the two regions, we assume that some of our chafing dishes may have originated from Corinthian workshops, without excluding the possibility of local production given the homogeneity of our main group¹⁵⁵. As for the small number of specimens with orange-red fabric (Fabric 3), they seem to have been imported from a different workshop (or workshops)¹⁵⁶.

¹⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the same applies to Nauplion, Chonika, and Ano Epidaurus.

¹⁴⁸ See Sanders, *New Chronologies*, op.cit. (n. 58). Sanders, *An Overview*, op.cit. (n. 99).

¹⁴⁹ The Argolic specimens do not seem to resemble the earliest versions of the vessel as attested on Samos, Psira, Amorium, and Rome.

¹⁵⁰ Nos 8-30, 32-37. To these we may add no. 31. For the dating of the Corinthian specimens to the late 10th or early 11th c. (Form II), see Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 263. For the Athenian specimens, see Frantz, op.cit. (n. 9), 433, who states that *Brown Glazed Ware* has been found «almost invariably in early contexts».

¹⁵¹ No. 6 presents elements of an early date (similarities with Byzantine pottery of the 9th c.), while no. 7 was found with a small jug possibly dating to the 9th c. Moreover, its shape resembles a chafing dish from Amorium, which is dated to the late 8th-early 9th c., see Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die Keramik aus Amorium*, op.cit. (n. 9), 347, fig. 2.5. It also bears similarities to the Psira chafing dish (late 8th-early 9th c.), see n. 49 of the present article (I warmly thank the reviewer for the valuable remark).

¹⁵² Nos 38-40. For the dating of plastic decorated pottery in Corinth to the last decades of the 11th and the early years of the 12th c. see Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 238. To this dating we should add a chafing dish with plastic decoration from Thebes that was found with coins of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078-1081), see *AD* 50 (1995), B1 Chronika, 81 (Ch. Koilakou).

¹⁵³ However, we should remember that to date this is an individual (and perhaps later) product not connected with our main group.

¹⁵⁴ Nos 7, 8, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28-30, 34-39, 41-43, 45.

¹⁵⁵ At Corinth, thorough archaeometric analyses have shown that there was local production (further supported by a misfired piece), in addition to imported chafing dishes. See Sanders, *New Chronologies*, op.cit. (n. 58), 165. Sanders, *An Overview*, op.cit. (n. 99), 41. Morgan, op.cit. (n. 9), 42 (who refers to *Brown Glazed* wasters, although these were not chafing dishes). See also Vassiliou, *Μεσοβυζαντινή εφ'αλωμένη κεραμική*, op.cit. (n. 5), I, 280-282 (group A).

¹⁵⁶ This fabric bears a macroscopic resemblance to the fabric of Northern Italy («Protogeometric» Ware, Veneto Ware). I owe this remark to Dr. Guy Sanders. See Sanders, *New Chronologies*, op.cit. (n. 58), 165. Sanders, *An Overview*, op.cit. (n. 99), 41, for a related case from Corinth.

IV. Concluding Remarks

In Argolis (mostly Argos) we have recorded to date a rather large sample of chafing dishes, mostly red ware, with a few white ware specimens. Our main group appears relatively homogeneous in its general rendering, displaying similarities with vessels from Corinth, Athens, and Thebes and dating mostly to the 10th-11th centuries. Without excluding the possibility of local origin, there are some specimens which are definitely imports.

The exact function of the vessel remains hypothetical. It is certain that it was used for warming food and keeping it warm. However, it seems to have been used not only for liquids such as sauces or soups, but also for semi-liquid or even solid foods, given the presence of unglazed chafing dishes, as it is attested at Argos as well¹⁵⁷.

The present previously-unpublished material offers us valuable evidence for Argolis, if we consider the scarcity of written sources for the region during the Byzantine period. It confirms the close ties of the central-western Argolis mainly with Corinth, but also with the other centers of the theme of Hellas (Thebes, Athens), either through commerce (in the case of imports) or in the form of influences (in the case of local production)¹⁵⁸. At the same time it attests that Argos, besides being the centre of the Argolic region, followed the dining trends of the capital. As for the identity of the «followers», they could have been the members of the local elite (e.g. local administrative or ecclesiastical officials, large landowners), who would have resided in Argos and to a lesser extent, Nauplion¹⁵⁹. The discovery of a small number of

specimens in the vicinity of Byzantine churches (Chonika, Ano Epidaurus) is rather intriguing¹⁶⁰.

The gradual abandonment of the vessel from the early 12th century has been connected with changes in dining habits throughout the Byzantine Empire¹⁶¹. To this we should add the possibility that the workshops producing such vessels closed down, given the fact that glazed pottery changed radically from the beginning of the 12th century¹⁶².

In any case, research on chafing dishes still poses many unanswered questions concerning their function, the connection between white and red ware vessels (c.f. the similarities of the plastic decorated specimens), the identification of various workshops¹⁶³, and the vessel's «disappearance» (at least in clay form). Further study and publication of new material will contribute much to research and lead to a better understanding of this particular Byzantine vessel.

¹⁶⁰ Probably connected with a monastic foundation or a minor settlement?

¹⁶¹ Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, op.cit. (n. 9), 261. Pamela Armstrong does not exclude the possibility that it was replaced by vessels made from other material, see P. Armstrong, «The Byzantine and Later Pottery», *Kalapodi. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im Heiligtum der Artemis und des Apollon von Hyampolis in der antiken Phokis*, ed. R. C. S. Felsch, I, Mainz 1996, 357 n. 92.

¹⁶² Nevertheless, there are regions, like Albania, where the vessel survived, see Vroom, *Dishing Up History*, op.cit. (n. 74), 294 n. 8. In modern times, in the Aegean, another vessel, which resembles chafing dishes and more to *φωκία*/braziers, has survived, known as *φουφού*, see indicatively B. Psaropoulou, *Τελευταίοι τσουνκαλάδες του ανατολικού Αιγαίου*, Nauplion 1986, 105, 177. K. Korre-Zografou, *Τά κεραμικά του ελληνικού χώρου*, Athens 1995, 252 (fig. 459), 283 (fig. 526). S. Papadopoulos, *Παραδοσιακά αγχειοπλαστεία της Θάσου*, Athens 1999, 158 fig. 46.

¹⁶³ Indications of local production are attested (apart from Corinth) in central and southern Italy, Amorium, eastern Crete, and Athens, see respectively Paroli, *La ceramica invetriata tardo-antica*, op.cit. (n. 50), 43-58. Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Amorium 3*, op.cit. (n. 53), 162 and elsewhere. Poulou-Papadimitriou – Nodarou, op.cit. (n. 49) and Poulou-Papadimitriou, *Τεκμήρια υλικού πολιτισμού*, op.cit. (n. 9), 392. Saraga, op.cit. (n. 57), 273.

Provenance of Figures

All photos, drawings and the map are by the author.

¹⁵⁷ The evidence of no. 6 is important, as it bears clear traces of usage (traces of fire at its openings and at the upper bowl's bottom), making thus certain that it is not an unfinished or flawed product.

¹⁵⁸ According to the ceramic evidence, these ties will strengthen during the 12th c., see Vassiliou, *Μεσοβυζαντινή εφναλωμένη κεραμική*, op.cit. (n. 5), I, 311-312, 321-322 and elsewhere.

¹⁵⁹ The urban distribution of the vessel is attested elsewhere too, see indicatively François, op.cit. (n. 9), 353. For a map of the distribution of chafing dishes, see Arthur, *Pots and Boundaries*, op.cit. (n. 10), 22 fig. 1. Vroom, *From One Coast to Another*, op.cit. (n. 9), 366 fig. 12.

CATALOGUE*

Fabrics

1. Medium fine, white (10 YR 8/1, 7.5 YR 8/1) to rose (7.5 YR 8/4-7/4). Medium hard to hard. Few to frequent small to medium whitish-grey inclusions. Few to frequent small to medium pores.

2.1. Coarse/medium coarse, reddish brown (10 R 5/6-5/8, 4/6) to red (2.5 YR 5/6-4/6). Hard to very hard. Frequent to common medium to large white inclusions. Few to frequent small black and sparkling inclusions. Few to frequent small to medium pores.

2.2. Medium coarse to medium fine, hard to very hard. Red (10 R 5/6) to light red (2.5 YR 6/6). Few small/medium to large white inclusions and frequent small-few medium pores.

3. Coarse to medium coarse, hard to very hard, orange-red (2.5 YR 6/6, 5/6-4/8). Few medium to large white and frequent small to medium grey inclusions. Common sparkling inclusions and few to frequent small/medium to large pores.

White Ware Specimens (Cat. nos 1-5)

1. Chafing dish, upper body and rim fragment, White Ware, 10th c. (Fig. 2a, b).

Argos, Xakousti – Xixi plot.

Pres. H. 6.2, D. (rim) 27.6.

Fabric 1.

Oblique walls, rim internally thickened. White wash (?) all over.

Interior: Incised central medallion contains traces of thin dark brown strokes; thick yellow-brown glaze to over lip.

2. Chafing dish, small body fragment, White Ware, 11th – early 12th c. (Fig. 3).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. L. 3.9, pres. W. 4.2.

Fabric 1; few small to medium red inclusions.

Exterior: Plastic decoration (human face in front view and human hands?) with details in pin prick holes and impression (small circles); light olive green glaze, in places yellow-brown.



Fig. 2a, b.



Fig. 3.

* D.=diameter, dim.=dimensions, estim.= estimated, H.=height, L.=length, pres.= preserved, W.=width. All measurements are in centimeters.

Additional information is given, when it is not included in the general description of the fabrics.

3. Chafing dish, small body fragment, White Ware, 11th – early 12th c. (Fig. 4).

Argos, Papathanassiou plot.

Pres. L. 2.85, pres. W. 5.15.

Fabric 1.

Exterior: Plastic decoration (bent human hand?) enriched with short incisions; thin green glaze.



Fig. 4.

4. Chafing dish, small body fragment, White Ware, 11th – early 12th c. (Fig. 5).

Argos, OTE plot.

Max. dim. 4×2.2.

Fabric 1.

Exterior: Plastic motif, enriched with small circles; thick glossy green glaze.



Fig. 5.

5. Chafing dish, vertical cylindrical handle, White Ware, 11th – early 12th c. (Fig. 6)

Argos, Kechagia plot.

Pres. L. 4.7.

Fabric 1.

Exterior: Three plastic pellets with impressed concentric circles; thin yellow-green glaze.



Fig. 6.

Red Ware Specimens (Cat. nos 6-45)

6. Chafing dish, middle and upper part, Red Ware, unglazed, 9th c. (?) (Fig. 7a, b).

Argos, Moukiou plot.

Pres. H. 12.4, D (rim) 14.2.

Fabric red, 2.5 YR 5/6, with common medium to large white inclusions.

Cylindrical body with a large horseshoe-shaped opening and small circular hole opposite, deep upper bowl with flat bottom, two vertical strap handles. Traces of fire in various parts.



Fig. 7a, b.

7. Chafing dish, upper part, Red Ware, 9th c. (Fig. 8a, b).

Nauplion, Castle of Akronauplia.

Pres. H. 6.1, D. (rim) 20.

Fabric medium coarse, very hard, red, 10 R 5/8-4/8, with few medium to large white inclusions.

Beveled rim, oblique walls, beginning of vertical ellipsoid or strap handle below the rim.

Interior: Brown glaze to over lip outside.

Exterior: Burnt wash. Traces of fire on the upper bowl's bottom.

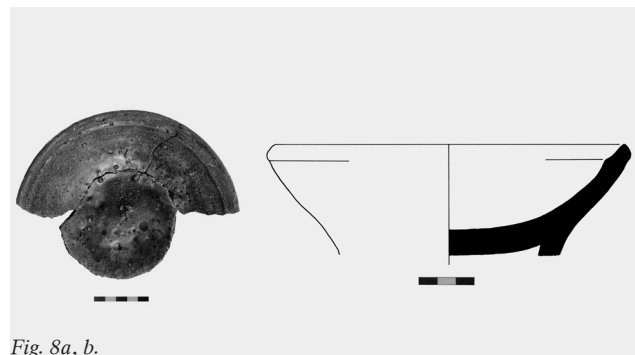


Fig. 8a, b.

- 8.** Chafing dish, small upper body and rim fragment,
Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 9a, b).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 3.4, D. (rim) 17.4.

Fabric 2.1; few small black inclusions.

Double rim.

Interior: Thick glossy dark olive-brown glaze to over lip
outside.

Exterior: Incised crosshatching.

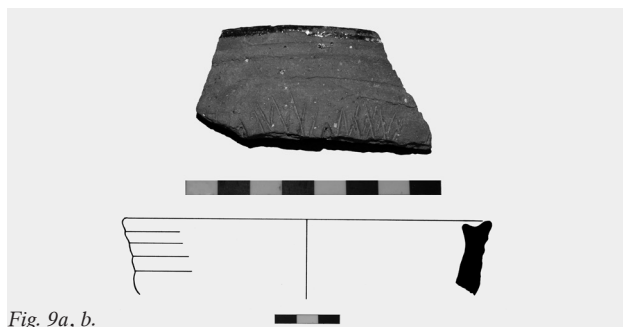


Fig. 9a, b.

- 9.** Chafing dish, small upper body and rim fragment,
Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 10).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 3.1, pres. W. 5.1.

Fabric 2.1.

Double rim.

Interior: Thick dark brown glaze with black spots to
over lip.



Fig. 10.

- 10.** Chafing dish, small upper body and rim fragment,
Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 11).

Argos, OTE plot.

Pres. H. 4.48, D. (rim) 19.

Fabric 2.1.

Slightly beveled rim, nearly vertical walls.

Interior: Slightly glossy brownish glaze to over lip.

Exterior: Incised wavy line below rim.



Fig. 11.

- 11.** Chafing dish, two rim fragments, Red Ware, 10th –
early 11th c. (Fig. 12).

Argos, Kontogianni plot.

Pres. H. 2.8, D. (rim) 20.

Fabric 2.1; light red, 2.5 YR 6/6.

Double rim.

Interior: Green glaze to over lip.



Fig. 12.

- 12.** Chafing dish, small upper body and rim fragment,
Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 13).

Argos, Kechagia plot.

Pres. H. 3.8, pres. W. 4.7.

Fabric 2.1; light red, 2.5 YR 6/6.

Double rim.

Interior: Dark brown glaze to over lip.

Exterior: Traces of oblique incisions.



Fig. 13.

- 13.** Chafing dish, small upper body and rim fragment,
Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 14).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 3.95, D. (rim) 19.7.

Fabric 2.1.

Double rim.

Interior: Dark brown glaze to over lip.

Exterior: Whitish wash (?); incised wavy line below lip,
traces of oblique incisions lower.



Fig. 14.

- 14.** Chafing dish, small upper body and rim fragment,
Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 15a, b).

Chonika, outer area of the Church of the Dormition of
the Virgin.

Pres. H. 4.65, D. (rim) 17.8.

Fabric 2.1.

Interior: Dark olive-brown glaze to over lip outside.

Exterior: Incised wavy line below lip.



Fig. 15a, b.

- 15.** Chafing dish, small upper body and rim fragment,
Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 16).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. L. 4.2, pres. W. 4.71.

Fabric 2.1.

Double rim.

Interior: Olive-brown glaze to over lip.

Exterior: Incised crosshatching below lip.

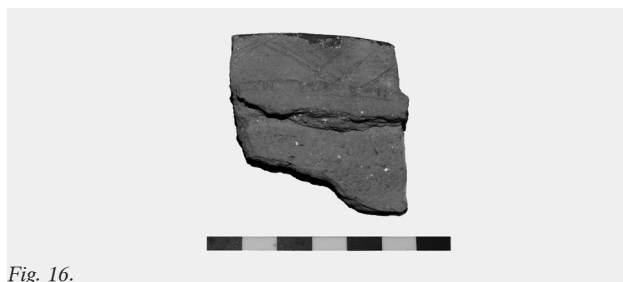


Fig. 16.

- 16.** Chafing dish, upper body, handle and rim fragment,
Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 17).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 3.1, estim. D. (rim) 23.4-25.8.

Fabric 2.1.

Double rim, vertical ellipsoid handle with protuberance
on its upper part.

Interior: Glossy dark olive glaze with black spots to over
lip and protuberance.

Exterior: Whitish wash; oblique incisions on the protu-
berance; brush stroke of white slip (possibly random).



Fig. 17.

17. Chafing dish, small upper body, handle and rim fragment, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 18a, b).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 3.3, estim. D. (rim) 14.3.

Fabric 2.1.

Double rim, vertical ellipsoid handle with protuberance on its upper part.

Interior: Thick glossy dark olive-brown glaze to over lip and protuberance.

Exterior: Whitish wash; traces of oblique incisions below lip.



Fig. 18a, b.

18. Chafing dish, large upper body and rim fragment, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 19a, b).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 3.95, estim. D. (rim) 30.4.

Fabric 2.1; few large black inclusions.

Double rim with projection.

Interior: Thick olive-brown glaze to over lip and projection.

Exterior: Incised crosshatching below lip.

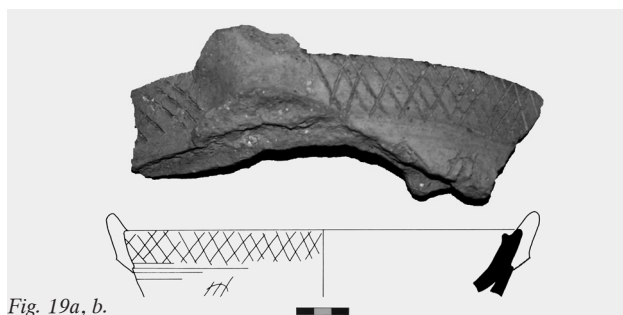


Fig. 19a, b.

19. Chafing dish, three upper body and rim fragments, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 20a, b).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 4.9, estim. D. (rim) 19.2.

Fabric 2.1; few large black and grey inclusions.

Double rim.

Interior: Glossy dark brown glaze with black spots to over lip outside.

Exterior: Incised crosshatching below lip.

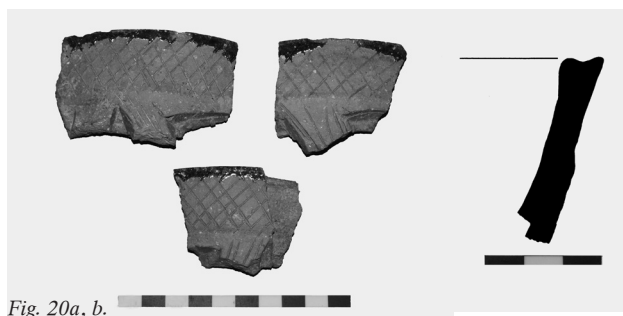


Fig. 20a, b.

20. Chafing dish, upper body, handle and rim fragment, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 21).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 7.75, pres. W. 5.4.

Fabric 2.1.

Double rim, nearly vertical external walls.

Bowl interior: Olive glaze to over lip.

Exterior: Whitish wash; incised crosshatching below lip and oblique lines lower.



Fig. 21.

21. Chafing dish, two middle/upper body and rim fragments, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 22a, b).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 11.8, D. (rim) 22.6.

Fabric 2.1; few medium black inclusions.

Double, almost beveled, rim, conical body.

Interior: Thick glossy olive-brown glaze with black spots to over lip.

Exterior: Whitish wash; incised crosshatching.

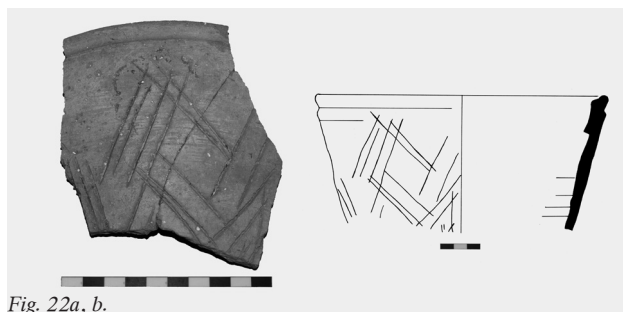


Fig. 22a, b.

22. Chafing dish, two middle/upper body, handle and rim fragments, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 23a, b).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 11.05, estim. D. (rim) 16.9.

Fabric 2.1.

Double rim, conical body, vertical strap handle with protuberance.

Interior: Glossy dark olive-brown glaze to over lip and protuberance.

Exterior: Whitish wash; vertical and oblique incisions, herringbone.

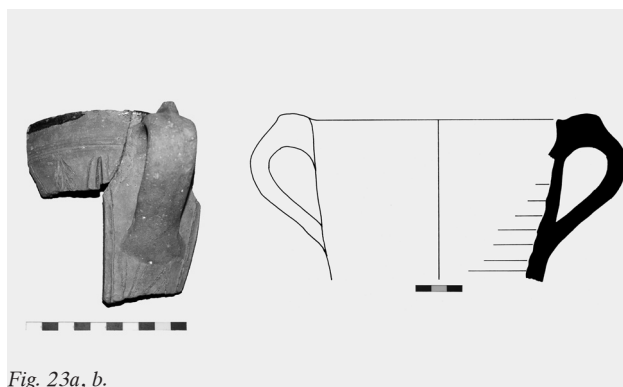


Fig. 23a, b.

23. Chafing dish, middle/upper body and rim fragments, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 24a, b).

Argos, Phlorou plot.

Pres. H. 7.35, D. (rim) 22.

Fabric 2.1; few large black inclusions.

Double rim, conical body. Interior: Olive-brown glaze to over lip. Exterior: White wash; horizontal grooves and incised crosshatching lower.

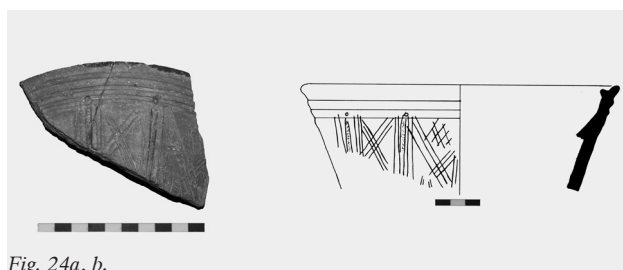


Fig. 24a, b.

24. Chafing dish, body fragment, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 25).

Argos, Makrygianni plot.

Pres. L. 8.3, pres. W. 9.2.

Fabric 2.1.

Upper part of large hole with traces of fire.

Exterior: White slip; incised crosshatching and zigzag line below.



Fig. 25.

25. Chafing dish, large upper body and rim fragment, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 26a, b).

Argos, Tsitsou plot.

Pres. H. 6.95, D. (rim) 15.4.

Fabric 2.1; frequent medium black inclusions.

Double rim, deep hemispherical bowl, beginning of handle.

Interior: Dark olive-brown glaze with many black spots to over lip outside.

Exterior: Whitish wash; incised wavy line below lip.

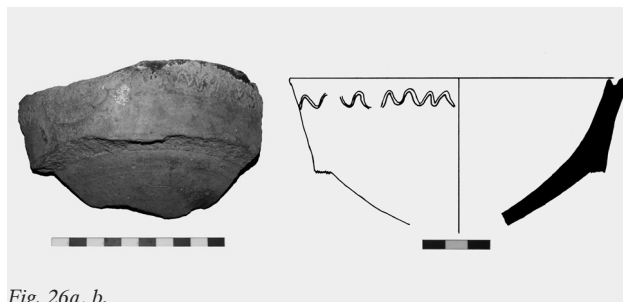


Fig. 26a, b.

26. Chafing dish, upper part, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 27a, b).

Argos, OTE plot.

Pres. H. 7.2, D. (rim) 22.

Fabric 2.1; frequent medium black inclusions.

Almost beveled rim, deep hemispherical upper bowl with wheel marks on its interior.

Interior: Thick, slightly glossy, brown glaze to over lip.

Exterior: Whitish wash; incised herringbones below lip.

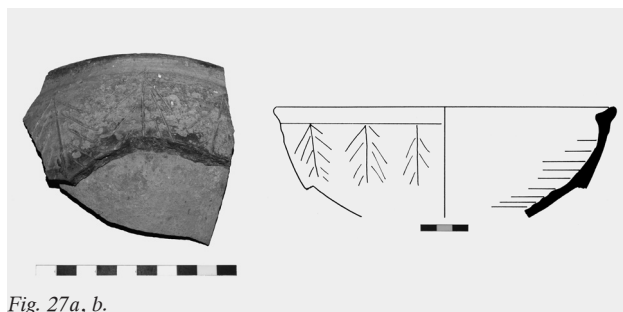


Fig. 27a, b.

27. Chafing dish, large upper body fragment, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 28).

Argos, Galetsi plot.

Pres. L. 9.1, pres. W. 13.2.

Fabric 2.1; light brown, 5 YR 6/6.

Oblique walls.

Interior: Green glaze.

Exterior: Vertical short cuts.



Fig. 28.

28. Chafing dish, base, body and handle fragment, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 29a, b).

Argos, OTE plot.

Pres. H. 8.4, D. (base) 14.5.

Fabric 2.1.

Discoid base, vertical ellipsoid handle, oblique walls with small triangular ventilation holes.

Exterior: Whitish wash; Oblique incisions alternating with deep grooves.

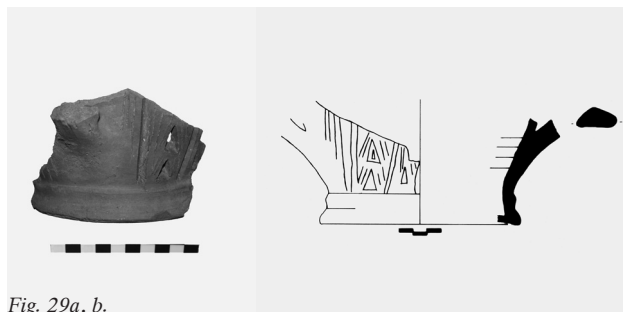


Fig. 29a, b.

29. Chafing dish, middle and upper part, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 30a, b).

Argos (without further indications).

Pres. H. 12.1, D (rim) 24.

Fabric 2.1; few small black inclusions.

Conical body, large upper dish with flat bottom, beginning of vertical oval handle, beveled lip. Large semi-circular hole and smaller triangular one on the same side of the stand.

Interior: Thick glossy dark brown glaze to over lip.

Exterior: Incised wavy line below lip. Traces of fire on the dish's bottom.



Fig. 30a, b.

30. Chafing dish, large body and rim fragment, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 31a, b).

Argos, Kontogianni – Paraskevopoulou plot.

Pres. H. 11.1, D. (rim) 26.

Fabric 2.1.

Double rim, tapering walls.

Interior: Dark brown glaze to over lip outside.

Exterior: Incised wavy line below lip.

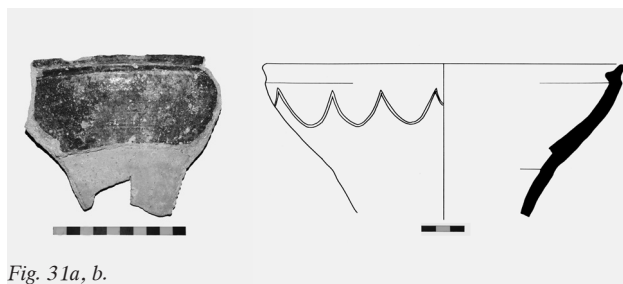


Fig. 31a, b.

31. Chafing dish, body and rim fragment, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 32a, b).

Nauplion, Castle of Akronauplia.

Pres. H. 6.85, D. (rim) 18.2.

Fabric 3.

Double rim, tapering walls.

Interior: Dark brown glaze to over lip.

Exterior: Incised crosshatching framed by horizontal incisions above and rouletting below. Traces of fire inside and outside.

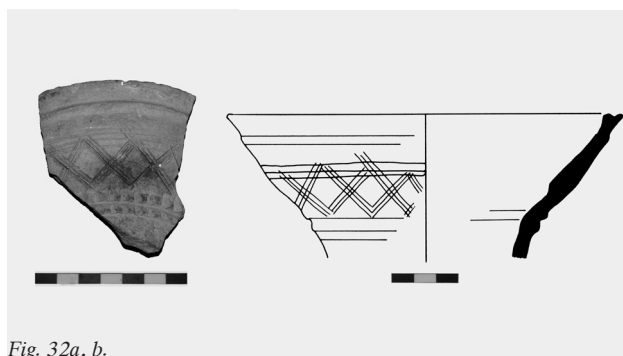


Fig. 32a, b.

32. Chafing dish, upper body and rim fragment, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 33).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 2.6, D. (rim) 18.2.

Fabric 2.1.

Double rim. Dark red wash and dark olive glaze all over.

Exterior: three plastic pellets below lip.



Fig. 33.

33. Chafing dish, base and body fragment, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 34a, b).

Argos, Makrygianni plot.

Pres. H. 6.05, D. (base) 11.4.

Fabric 2.1; few medium black inclusions.

Concave walls, discoid base.

Exterior: Plastic pellets with impressed small circles around the base; thick dark olive-brown glaze. Traces of fire on the interior.

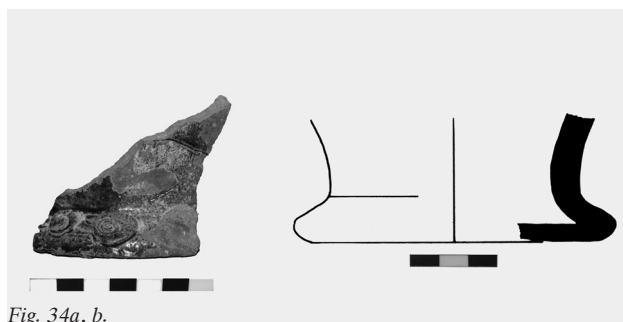


Fig. 34a, b.

34. Chafing dish, handle, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 35).

Argos, OTE plot.

Pres. L. 7.1.

Fabric 2.1; light reddish-brown, 2.5 YR 6/4, few small black inclusions.

Vertical cylindrical handle.

Exterior: Plastic pellets with impressed small circles; olive-brown glaze.



Fig. 35.

35. Chafing dish, lid handle, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 36a, b).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 5.2, pres. W. 3.55.

Fabric 2.1; light red, 2.5 YR 6/4.

Exterior: Olive-brown glaze.

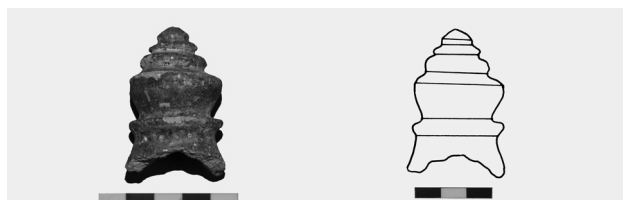


Fig. 36a, b.

36. Chafing dish, two upper body and rim fragments, Red Ware, 10th – early 11th c. (Fig. 37a, b).

Argos, Xixi plot.

Pres. H. 6.1, D. (rim) 19.5.

Fabric. 2.1.

Almost beveled rim, deep bowl. Dark olive-brown glaze all over.

Exterior: Plastically rendered opposing quadrupeds, incised zigzag lines.



Fig. 37a, b.

37. Chafing dish, small upper body and rim fragment, Red Ware, 10th – 11th c. (Fig. 38).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 3.6, pres. W. 4.6.

Possibly fabric 2.1 (grey-black, due to overheating).

Double rim. Thick glossy very dark olive-brown (almost black) glaze all over.

Exterior: Plastic decoration, human head in profile (?) below lip.



Fig. 38.

38. Chafing dish, small (lid?) fragment, Red Ware, 11th – early 12th c. (Fig. 39).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. L. 5.2, pres. W. 5.5.

Fabric 2.1 (?); light reddish brown, 2.5 YR 6/4, with few small to medium black and frequent medium grey inclusions.

Exterior: Plastically rendered long-necked animal (?); thick, glossy, dark brown glaze.



Fig. 39.

39. Chafing dish, small lid fragment, Red Ware, 11th – early 12th c. (Fig. 40).

Argos, Demou – Provataki plot.

Pres. L. 6, pres. W. 4.

Fabric 2.2.

Very thin walls. Glossy olive-brown glaze all over.

Exterior: Plastically rendered bird (griffin?) in profile.



Fig. 40.

40. Chafing dish, two lid fragments, Red Ware, 11th – early 12th c. (Fig. 41a, b).

Argos, Dini plot.

Pres. H. 5.5, D. (rim) 15.2.

Fabric 2.2.

Oblique walls.

Interior: Traces of burn.

Exterior: Plastically rendered bird in profile and possibly traces of the wing of another bird; glossy olive-brown glaze.

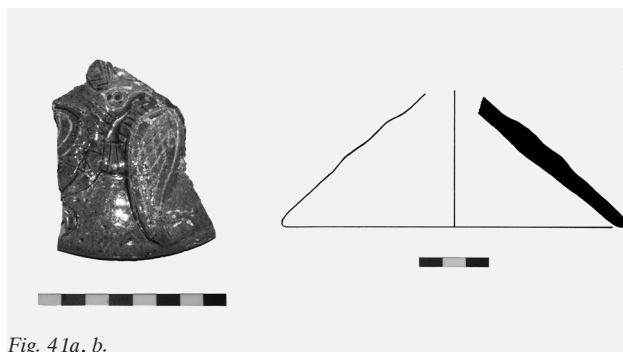


Fig. 41a, b.

41. Chafing dish, large body and rim fragment, Red Ware, 11th – early 12th c. (Fig. 42a, b).

Argos, OTE plot.

Pres. H. 8.5, D. (rim) 16.6.

Fabric 3. Few medium to large black and dark red inclusions.

Double rim with jagged finish, slightly oblique walls.

Interior: Greyish wash.

Exterior: Plastically rendered indeterminate figural theme. Thick glossy dark brown glaze inside and outside and on part of the stand's inner walls.



Fig. 42a, b.

42. Chafing dish, small lid fragment, Red Ware, 11th – early 12th c. (Fig. 43).

Argos, OTE plot.

Pres. L. 5.4, pres. W. 5.6.

Fabric 3.

Exterior: Incised circular motifs (possibly impressed), traces of rouletting decoration; brown glaze.



Fig. 43.

43. Chafing dish, upper body and rim fragment, Red Ware, late 11th – first quarter of the 12th c. (?) (Fig. 44a, b).

Argos, ATE plot.

Pres. H. 3.7, D. (rim) 15.7.

Fabric medium orange-brown, 2.5 YR 6/8, very hard, with frequent small and few medium white, few small black, and sparkling inclusions.

Double rim, thin oblique walls. Olive glaze all over.

Exterior: Plastic decoration (hand?).

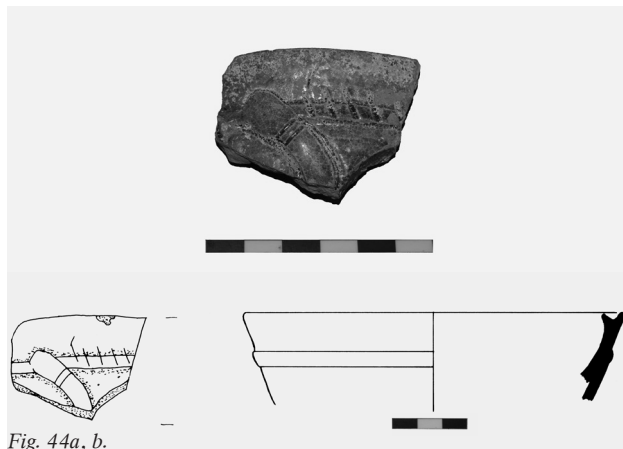


Fig. 44a, b.

44. Chafing dish, small fragment of perforated walls, Red Ware, late 11th – first quarter of the 12th c. (Fig. 45).

Ano (Upper) Epidaurus, site Lalioteika.

Pres. dim. 5.3×2.5.

Fabric medium to fine, light red, 2.5 YR 6/6-6/8.

Small triangular hole and traces of others. White slip and thin light green glaze all over. Exterior: Oblique incisions between the perforations.



Fig. 45.

45. Chafing dish, almost intact, Red Ware, late 11th – 12th c. (or even later) (Fig. 46 a, b).

Argos, Skliris' Heirs plot.

H. 13, D. (rim) 15.7, D. (base) 10.

Fabric reddish-brown 2.5 YR 5/6, with frequent small/medium to large white inclusions.

Bell-shaped vessel, slightly corrugated lip, shallow upper dish, beginning of two vertical oval handles, two opposite openings (one horseshoe-shaped and one small rectangular), conical base. Thick white slip all over. Traces of fire and cracks on the interior of the dish. Possibly unfinished product.



Fig. 46a, b.

Αναστασία Βασιλείου

ΜΕΣΟΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ ΑΥΤΟΘΕΡΜΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΑ ΣΚΕΥΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΓΟΛΙΔΑ

Το άγνωστο μέχρι πρόσφατα παρόν υλικό προέρχεται από σωστικές ανασκαφές της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας από τη δεκαετία του 1970 έως σήμερα, οι οποίες έφεραν στο φως ένα αντιπροσωπευτικό δείγμα πήλινων αυτοθερμαινόμενων σκευών κυρίως από το Άργος και δευτερευόντως από άλλες περιοχές της Αργολίδας (Ναύπλιο, Χώνικα, Άνω Επίδαυρος).

Τα αυτοθερμαινόμενα σκεύη, γνωστά στην ελληνόγλωσση βιβλιογραφία ως «σαλτσάρια», εμφανίζονται από τον 7ο έως τον 12ο αιώνα σε διάφορες περιοχές της βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας και στη σφαίρα επιρροής της. Συνιστούν ένα σύνθετο σκεύος, όπου συνδυάζονται στοιχεία τόσο των ανοιχτών όσο και των κλειστών αγγείων. Το άνω τμήμα τους διαμορφώνεται

ως κούπα ή πινάκιο (ανάλογα με το βάθος του), που εγκλείεται μέσω εξωτερικών τοιχωμάτων σε ενός είδους βάση (stand). Τα εξωτερικά αυτά τοιχώματα φέρουν ένα μεγάλο άνοιγμα στη μία πλευρά για την τοποθέτηση της θερμαντικής ύλης και μικρότερες οπές αντικριστά, απαραίτητες για τη διατήρηση της πυράς ή της φλόγας.

Η χρήση των σκευών δεν έχει πλήρως διευκρινιστεί. Ενδέχεται να χρησιμοποιούνταν για το ζέσταμα των *περιχινιάτων* / *σαλτσών* και μάλιστα για τον περίφημο *γάρο*. Το πιθανότερο είναι να χρησιμοποιούνταν και για άλλα φαγητά, ενώ δεν αποκλείεται να λειτουργούσαν επιπρόσθετα σαν το σημερινό «fondue».

Στο Άργος έχουν βρεθεί με τα έως τώρα δεδομένα λιγοστά δείγματα κεραμικής από λευκό πηλό, που πιθανολογούμε ότι προέρχονται από το συγκεκριμένο σκεύος. Χρονολογούνται, βάσει παραλλήλων, στον 10ο-11ο αιώνα, και δεν αποκλείεται να προέρχονται από την Κωνσταντινούπολη. Λόγω όμως του μικρού τους αριθμού, είναι πιθανό να έχουν έρθει στο Άργος από τη γειτονική Κόρινθο, όπου έχουν βρεθεί παρόμοια δείγματα σε σαφώς μεγαλύτερη ποσότητα.

Τα αυτοθερμαινόμενα σκεύη από ερυθρό πηλό, αντιθέτως, επιχωριάζουν στην Αργολίδα. Ιδίως στο Άργος έχει βρεθεί ένας αρκετά υψηλός αριθμός (σε σύγκριση πάντοτε με άλλες περιοχές), με ελάχιστα δείγματα από το Ναύπλιο, το Χώνικα και την Άνω Επίδαυρο. Ξεχωρίζει μία ευρεία ομάδα με κύρια χαρακτηριστικά τον χονδρόκοκκο, αδρά επεξεργασμένο, πηλό, που είναι συχνά παραψημένος, τη στοιχειώδη εγχάρακτη διακόσμηση (ενίοτε και έξεργη ανάγλυφη), καθώς και το παχύ στρώμα εφυάλωσης. Η συγκεκριμένη ομάδα παρουσιάζει ομοιότητες με αντίστοιχα σκεύη από την Κόρινθο, την Αθήνα και τη Θήβα, που χρονολογούνται κυρίως στον 10ο-11ο αιώνα. Ορισμένα σκεύη με πιο λεπτόκοκκο πηλό και έξεργη ανάγλυφη διακόσμηση θα μπορούσαν να χρονολογηθούν, βάσει παραλλήλων, στον 11ο – αρχές του 12ου αιώνα. Υπάρχουν και λίγα δείγματα (αριθ. 43-45) που παρα-

πέμπουν σε πιο όψιμη χρονολόγηση από τα τέλη του 11ου έως το α' τέταρτο του 12ου αιώνα (το αριθ. 45 ίσως και αργότερα).

Όσον αφορά την προέλευσή τους, δεν έχουν έως τώρα βρεθεί βάσιμα στοιχεία τοπικής παραγωγής στο Άργος ή στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της Αργολίδας. Ωστόσο, η ύπαρξη μιας αντιπροσωπευτικής ομάδας με αρκετά δείγματα, καθώς και ενός ημιτελούς σκεύους, δεν μας επιτρέπουν να αποκλείσουμε αυτό το ενδεχόμενο. Από την άλλη πλευρά, οι ομοιότητες που παρουσιάζει η συγκεκριμένη ομάδα με σκεύη από την Κόρινθο αφήνει ανοιχτό το ενδεχόμενο της εισαγωγής τους από τη γείτονα πόλη. Παράλληλα, υπάρχουν και σκεύη με διαφορετικό πηλό, που παραπέμπουν με βεβαιότητα σε διαφορετικά εργαστήρια.

Όπως και να έχει, το παρόν υλικό αποτελεί μια σημαντική μαρτυρία για τις στενές σχέσεις που διατηρούσε η κεντρική και δυτική Αργολίδα με τα άλλα γειτονικά κέντρα της εποχής (Κόρινθος, Αθήνα, Θήβα). Παράλληλα, μας δείχνει μια κοινωνία «ανοιχτή» στις επιρροές της πρωτεύουσας, καθώς και την ύπαρξη μιας μερίδας ανθρώπων που ως μέλη της τοπικής ελίτ, θα χρησιμοποιούσαν αυτά τα σύνθετα σκεύη.

Η σταδιακή εγκατάλειψη των αυτοθερμαινόμενων σκευών από τις αρχές του 12ου αιώνα έχει συνδεθεί με αλλαγές στις διατροφικές συνήθειες ή στην αντικατάστασή τους με σκεύη από διαφορετικό υλικό. Δεν αποκλείεται, όμως, να οφείλεται και σε θεμελιώδεις αλλαγές που αφορούν τα εργαστήρια που τα παρήγαν, δεδομένου ότι από τις αρχές του 12ου αιώνα η βυζαντινή εφυαλωμένη κεραμική αλλάζει ριζικά.

Όπως και να έχει, η περαιτέρω έρευνα, επικουρούμενη από τη δημοσίευση νέων δειγμάτων, θα μας βοηθήσει να εμβαθύνουμε τις γνώσεις μας γύρω από αυτό το ιδιαίτερο και συνάμα ενδιαφέρον σύνθετο μεσοβυζαντινό σκεύος.

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