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FROM ONE SEA TO ANOTHER
TRADING PLACES IN THE EUROPEAN
AND MEDITERRANEAN EARLY MIDDLE AGES

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From One Coast to Another:

early medieval ceramics in the southern Adriatic region

Introduction

Since ancient times fish, seafood and octopus have been the chief catch in the southern Adriatic, as seen from the quite tasty assortment of fish painted on the upper surface of the famous red-figured fish-plates from Apulia. In this paper, however, I would like to discuss a slightly crunchier item retrieved from these parts of the Mediterranean. I mean, of course, early medieval ceramics. The aim of this contribution is not to provide recipes for seafood or octopus, but to present a general overview of various pottery finds in the southern Adriatic (fig. 1). Nevertheless, I will not shy away from cooking techniques and dining habits; I will discuss these pottery finds within the perspective of the culinary customs found in this part of the Mediterranean, and I will even try to understand them within the perspective of larger historical and socio-economic developments. In short, I will not only discuss early medieval ceramics in relation to early medieval patterns of trade and distribution, but also patterns of use and consumption in the southern Adriatic region.

First, I will focus on early medieval pottery excavated from sites on the Albanian coast, particularly the sites where I have worked, such as Butrint, Saranda and Durrës¹. These pottery finds include groups of fine wares (both glazed and painted), *amphorae* and coarse wares. Second, I will compare these pottery finds from Albania with similar wares from sites in southern Italy, especially from sites in the Salento region in southern Apulia. The striking similarities in early medieval ceramics on both sides of the south-

¹ I am indebted to Richard Hodges for his encouragement in the study of the Medieval and Post-Medieval pottery finds from Butrint. Thanks are also due to Lorenc Bejko, Kim Bowes and Oliver Gilkes for allowing me to study the early medieval ceramics from their excavations at Rembëc, Durrës and Saranda. Finally, I would like to thank all colleagues and excavators working at these projects, especially the Butrint Foundation in collaboration with the Packard Humanities Institute for supporting my research in Albania.



1. Map of the Adriatic Sea, with emphasis on the southern Adriatic region.

ern Adriatic are not particularly amazing, as the Albanian coast is not far from Southern Italy, and the Salento region and the port-town Otranto are particularly close².

Due to the specific historical circumstances of the late 7th and 10th centuries, there was a great deal of interaction between both Italian and Al-

² I would like to thank in particular Paul Arthur, Marco Leo Imperiale and Helen Patterson for sharing information with me on early medieval pottery finds from the Salento region. See also for the special relation between both coasts with respect to naval strategy, V. von Falkenhausen, «Tra Occidente e Oriente: Otranto in epoca bizantina», in *Otranto nel Medioevo: tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, ed. H. Houben, Galatina, 2007, p. 35 and note 83 pointing to the Muslim cartography of Ibn Hauqal.

banian shores. The Mediterranean was dominated by two major cultural units (or ‘superpowers’) outside Italy: Byzantium in the East and the Arabs in the South. Throughout the early medieval period, the Byzantine hegemony persisted at sea (despite territorial losses in Spain and North Africa), and remained supported by several Byzantine enclaves in the western Mediterranean (such as Ravenna, the bay of Naples and southern Italy). Despite the loss of Ravenna in 751 and diminishing Byzantine control due to Lombard and Arab expansion, a portion of Italy remained under Byzantine rule during the 8th and 9th centuries. The heart of this Byzantine presence was formed by the southern shores of the Adriatic, an area with an especially strong Byzantine cultural tradition. It is precisely this area that is part of the Adriatic region under review here.

Glazed White Ware I

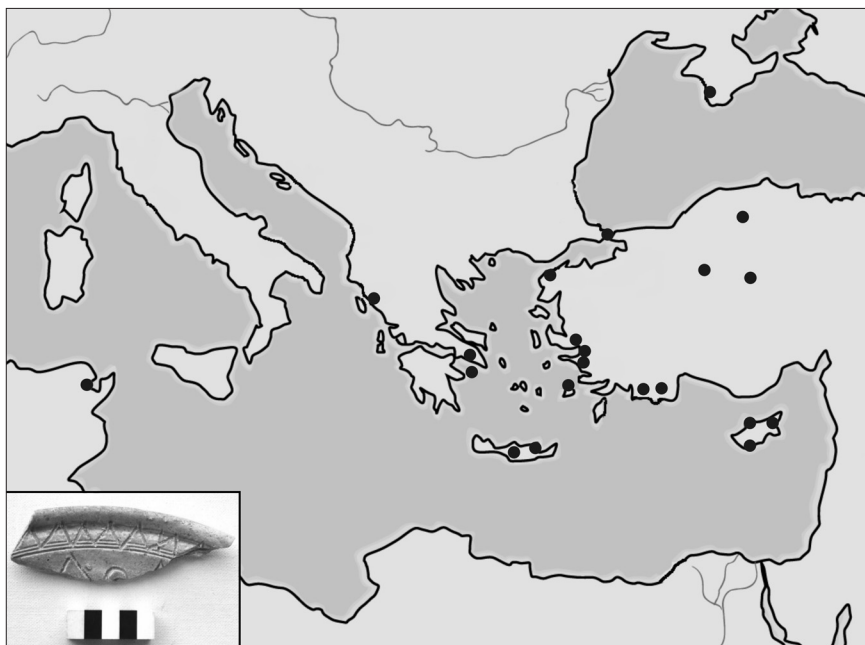
The Byzantine fine ware *par excellence* is a group of so-called ‘Glazed White Wares’ (GWW) in a whitish kaolinitic fabric, covered with a lead glaze³. The re-introduction of glazed pottery in the eastern Mediterranean marks a transition in ceramic production from Late Antiquity to Early Medieval times. The relatively easy technique of lead-oxide glazing had been practiced in some parts of the Roman Empire, but it was not until the 7th century that the earliest examples of lead-glazed coarse pottery, also known as Glazed White Ware I (or GWW I), were produced in and around Constantinople (modern Istanbul)⁴.

Although the high-lead glazes have more resemblance to Late Roman production from the Balkans and northern Italy than to Middle Eastern production, recent chemical analyses of the fabrics and glazes indicate that several sites in Constantinople are the probable places of provenance (e.g. the site of Tekfur Saray Palace and the site of Arnavatköy on the Bosphorus)⁵.

³ Glazed White Wares were first described in D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, Oxford, 1930, p. 19-28, 45-48 (his groups A 2-5 and B 4). Cf. for a current division of Glazed White Wares in five numerical groups, J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul. Vol. II: The Pottery*, Princeton, 1992, p. 12-34. See also J. Vroom, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery in the Aegean. An Introduction and Field Guide*, Utrecht, 2005, p. 62-63, 74-77; J. Vroom, «Some Byzantine pottery finds from Kaman-Kalehöyük. A first observation», *Anatolian Archaeological Studies*, 15 (2006), p. 163-169.

⁴ For general information on Glazed White Ware I see: J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, p. 15-18; J. Vroom, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery*, p. 62-63.

⁵ See A.H.S. Megaw, R.E. Jones, «Byzantine and allied pottery: A contribution by chemical analysis to problems of origin and distribution», *Annual of the British School*



2. Distribution map of Glazed White Ware I (GWW I) in the Mediterranean (map and photo: J. Vroom).

So, it appears the glazed technology was transmitted to the capital from production centres down the Danube (e.g. Pannonia), or through northern Italy (e.g. Carlino, Venice, Ravenna). This also shows that Middle Eastern ceramics with lead-alkali glazes do not seem to have been the main influence in the re-introduction of the glazing technique in Byzantium, though Middle Eastern influence became more prominent in the evolution of subsequent groups of Glazed White Wares (such as Glazed White Ware II)⁶.

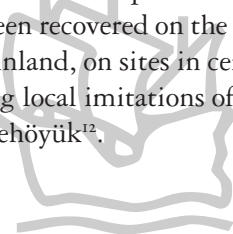
at Athens, 78 (1983), p. 258 and n. 56; J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, p. 12; F. Yenişehirlioğlu, «Istanbul – Tekfur Sarayı – Osmanlı dönemi çini fırınları ve Eyüp çömllekiler mahallesi yüzey araştırmaları», *XII Araştırma sonuçları toplantısı*, Ankara, 1995, p. 535-566; S.Y. Waksman, A. Bouquillon, N. Cantin, I. Katona, «The first Byzantine 'Glazed White Wares' in the Early Medieval technological context», in *Archaeometric and Archaeological Approaches to Ceramics*, ed. S.Y. Waksman, Oxford, 2007 (*BAR. I.S.* 1691), p. 129-135; S.Y. Waksman, A. Bouquillon, N. Cantin, I. Katona, «Approche archéométrique des premières «Byzantine Glazed White Wares» et de productions glaçurées romaines et romaines tardives», *Rei Cretariae Romanae Acta*, 40 (2008), p. 531-536.

⁶ See also S.Y. Waksman *et al.*, «Approche archéométrique», p. 536.

Glazed White Ware I (GWW I) has a thin, reddish-orange slip over the whole surface of the vessel – even under the glaze, and is therefore essentially a ‘Late Antique’ Red Slip Ware with a glazed cover⁷. This suggests that the only technological change by the Constantinopolitan potters in the 7th-8th centuries was the direct application of a lead compound to a high quality tableware.

The first examples of Glazed White Ware I are of undecorated utilitarian character, such as cooking jars⁸. It was only in the 8th century that lead glazes became more common on sparsely decorated vessels, among them glazed dishes and chafing dishes – vessels with a glazed bowl set on a hollow, ventilated stand. On these later products of Glazed White Ware I, one can distinguish incised scrollwork (imitating metalware) and wavy lines, occasionally varied by crosses, fishes and the introduction of (probably religious) inscriptions in Greek letters⁹.

Glazed White Ware I is not widely distributed; in fact, it is quite sparse in the western Mediterranean (fig. 2)¹⁰. Until now, Glazed White Ware I has only been found in Cyprus, in eastern Greece, on Crete, on the Crimea and at Carthage in North Africa¹¹. Apart from Constantinople, Glazed White Ware I has mostly been recovered on the western and south-western coasts of Turkey, and more inland, on sites in central Turkey. Among these sites are Amorion (including local imitations of Glazed White Ware I in a red fabric) and Kaman-Kalehöyük¹².



⁷ We can also distinguish such a red slip under a lead glaze on Late Antique glazed *mortaria* from the Danube region (e.g., Carnuntum).

⁸ E.g. J.W. Hayes, «A seventh-century pottery group», in R.M. Harrison, N. Firath, «Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul: Fifth preliminary report», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 22 (1968), fig. c, nos. 1-3; J. Vroom, *Byzantine Pottery*, p. 62, fig. EBYZ 17.3.

⁹ E.g. D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, colour plate II, nos. 2-3; J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, fig. 5; J. Vroom, *Byzantine Pottery*, p. 62, fig. EBYZ 17.4.

¹⁰ In this paper, I show you the find-spots of the discussed wares as dots on a map, even though we know that dots on a map have their limitations. As a result of this, the dots are meant to give just a rough and general indication of the major find-spots of these wares (especially in the southern Adriatic region).

¹¹ J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, p. 18; J. Vroom, *Byzantine Pottery*, p. 63.

¹² J. Vroom, «Some Byzantine pottery finds», p. 164-165 for Kaman-Kalehöyük. See also B. Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Glasierte byzantinische Keramik aus der Türkei*, Istanbul, 2004, p. 98; and S. Ladstätter, «Funde», in *Das Vediusgymnasium in Ephesos. Archäologie und Baubefund (Forschungen in Ephesos XIV.1)*, eds. M. Steskal and M. La Torre, Vienna, p. 115, pl. 297, K 239 for a find of GWWI in Ephesus.



3. Butrint, Triconch Palace: base fragment of GWW I
(photo: J. Vroom).

However, the distribution of Glazed White Ware I in the Adriatic is very limited (see fig. 2)¹³. Until now, I have only distinguished a few pieces of GWW I at the excavations in Butrint, among them a base fragment from the Triconch Palace and pieces of a small bowl's rim and stand from the Vrina Plain. Of particular interest is the flat-based fragment of an open, utilitarian vessel from the Triconch Palace in Butrint (fig. 3). The kaolinitic paste of this sherd shows that it is a product of the earliest Glazed White Ware series from Constantinople¹⁴. It can be generally dated between the 8th and late 9th-10th centuries. The robust and heavy flat base and thick walls suggest that this fragment might be a mortar (*mortarium*), which is a common Late Antique shape for lead-glazed vessels in northern Italy (cf. *mortaria* from the Lagoon of Venice)¹⁵. If this fragment

¹³ See also E. D'Amico, «Glazed White Ware in the Italian Peninsula: Proposals for a study», in *Çanak. Late Antique and Medieval Pottery and Tiles in Mediterranean Archaeological Contexts*, eds. B. Böhlendorf-Arslan, A. Osman Uysa, J. Witte-Orr, Istanbul, 2007 (*Byzas* 7), p. 219.

¹⁴ J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, p. 15-18; J. Vroom, *Byzantine Pottery*, p. 62-63.

¹⁵ See in general: G.P. Brogiolo, S. Gelichi, «La ceramica invetriata tardo-antica e medioevale nel nord Italia», in *La ceramica invetriata tardoantica e altomedievale in Italia*, ed. L. Paroli, Florence, 1992, p. 25 with further literature; and recently, E. Grandi, «Late Antique and Early Medieval (5th-7th cent. AD) fine pottery from archaeological contexts in Lagoon of Venice», in *Çanak. Late Antique and Medieval Pottery and Tiles in Mediterranean Archaeological Contexts*, eds. B. Böhlendorf-Arslan, A.O. Uysal, J. Witte-

is indeed a mortar, it is a unique piece in the Glazed White Ware repertoire from Constantinople¹⁶.

Glazed White Ware II

To show you the differences of distribution between GWW I and the subsequent group, Glazed White Ware II (GWWII), I would like to present finds of imported GWW II in the southern Adriatic (fig. 4).



4. Distribution map of Glazed White Ware II (GWW II) in the southern Adriatic region (map J. Vroom; drawing after Peschlow 1977-78, fig. 9, no. 74 and fig. 12, no. 90).

Orr, Istanbul, 2007 (*Byzas* 7), p. 6 and 8, pl. 1, no. 3, pl. 6, nos. 5-6 for lead glazed *mortaria* from the Lagoon of Venice.

¹⁶ Excavations at Saraçhane in Constantinople/Istanbul and in Corinth yielded lead glazed *mortaria* in different (non-kaolinitic) fabrics; cf. J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, p. 9-10; G.D.R. Sanders, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery at Corinth to c. 1125*, Birmingham (Ph.D. thesis), 1995, p. 265-266.

Glazed White Ware II is another type of lead-glazed pottery, but of a more whitish kaolinitic fabric than GWW I. It was produced at Constantinople between the late 9th and 12th centuries, and it was more widely distributed than its predecessor¹⁷. Until now, Glazed White Ware II has been found on various sites in the Aegean, Balkans, Turkey, Crimea, Albania, Italy and Sweden¹⁸.



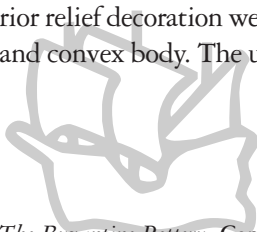
5. Butrint, Triconch Palace: foot fragment of Glazed White Ware II (GWW II) (photo: J. Vroom).

¹⁷ This wider distribution of Glazed White Ware II was perhaps due to a renewal of the Byzantine economy after AD 843, the end of Iconoclasm. See in general for Glazed White Ware II, J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraghane*, p. 18-29; J. Vroom, *Byzantine Pottery*, p. 74-77, and U. Peschlow, «Byzantinische Keramik aus Istanbul», *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 27-28 (1977-78), p. 381-402, figs. 3-12, pls. 127-139.

¹⁸ E.g. P. Armstrong, «From Constantinople to Lakedaimon: Impressed White Wares», in *Mosaic. Festschrift for A.H.S. Megaw*, eds. J. Herrin, M. Mullett, C. Otten-Froux, London, 2001, p. 57-68, fig. 6.1; M. Roslund, «Crumbs from the rich man's table. Byzantine finds in Lund and Sigtuna, c. 980-1250», in *Visions of the Past. Trends and Traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology*, eds. H. Andersson, P. Carelli, L. Ersgård, Lund/Stockholm, 1997, p. 239-297; B. Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Glasierte byzantinische Keramik*, p. 99-103.

A foot fragment from a Glazed White Ware II pedestal dish (fig. 5) was unearthed from excavations in Butrint. The foot fragment was once part of a so-called 'fruit stand,' and can be dated to the late 9th and early 10th century¹⁹. In southeastern Italy, Glazed White Ware II of the 10th and 11th centuries have been found primarily in Apulia at the sites of Otranto and Quattro Macine in the south, as well as at the Byzantine fortified *cittadella* Vaccarizza in the north²⁰. In Corinth, Glazed White Ware II starts to be imported from the last decades of the 10th century onwards²¹. Among the 11th-century Glazed White Ware II sherds found in Butrint are also a handle fragment of a cup and a base fragment of a pedestal dish with stamped decoration of an eagle in the centre (fig. 6, Colour Plates).

The shapes of table utensils depicted on dining scenes of the Middle Byzantine period, such as on the Last Supper fresco from San Pietro church in Otranto, show mostly large dishes with a high pedestal ring foot (fig. 7)²². This form looks quite similar to the aforementioned 'fruit stand,' a typical shape of Glazed White Ware II which was also found in the southern Adriatic. The 'fruit stands' with interior relief decoration were probably imitating metal prototypes, with a similar and convex body. The use of the glazed dishes with



¹⁹ C.H. Morgan, *Corinth XI: The Byzantine Pottery*, Cambridge, Mass., 1942, p. 42-49, especially figs. 30-31 and colour pl. V; J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, dish type I.

²⁰ E.g. H. Patterson, «Contatti commerciali e culturali ad Otranto dal IX al XV secolo: L'evidenza della ceramica», in *La ceramica nel mondo bizantino tra XI e XV secolo e i suoi rapporti con l'Italia*, ed. S. Gelichi, Florence, 1993, p. 104, fig. 2, nos. 3-6; H. Patterson, D. Whitehouse, «The Medieval domestic pottery», in *Excavations at Otranto, vol. II: The Finds*, eds. F. D'Andria and D. Whitehouse, Galatina (LE), 1992, p. 163-166, fig. 6:26, nos. 704-717; P. Arthur, «Le prime ceramiche invetriate monocrome in Terra d'Otranto», in *La ceramica invetriata tardomedievale dell'Italia centro-meridionale*, ed. S. Patitucci-Uggeri, Florence, 2000 (*Quaderni di Archaeologia Medievale* III), p. 161; *ibidem*, «Un saggio di scavo in Prop. Previtiero (1995), e la cronologia di ceramiche di età bizantina ad Otranto», *Studi di Antichità*, 10 (1997), p. 203-204, tav. III-IV; E. Cirelli, G. Noyé, «La cittadella bizantina e la motta castrale di Vaccarizza (scavi 1999-2002)», in *III Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale (Salerno, 2-5 ottobre 2003)*, eds. R. Fiorillo and P. Peduto, Florence, 2003, p. 481-486; E. D'Amico, «Glazed White Ware», p. 221-224 and figs. 2-4 and 9.

²¹ G.D.R. Sanders, «Corinth workshop production», in *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics. The Art of Sgraffito*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Athens, 1999, p. 159.

²² I would like to thank M. Leo Imperiale for drawing my attention to this fresco. See also L. Safran, *San Pietro at Otranto. Byzantine Art in South Italy*, Rome, 1992, p. 44-45, figs. 24-27.

a high pedestral ring foot suggests a more careful presentation or display of food on the table than in Late Antique and early medieval times, when vessels with broad, flat surfaces (or a low ring foot) held more prominence²³. This change is perhaps due to the change from reclining to sitting at the table.



7. Otranto, San Pietro church: fresco of Last Supper
(photo: M. Leo Imperiale).

Polychrome Ware

Another evident display on the table in this period is characterised by the so-called Polychrome Ware – a high quality fine ware in a whitish kaolinitic fabric, which was produced in Constantinople and Bulgaria from the late 10th to early 12th centuries²⁴. This type of pottery is very decorative

²³ 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, p. 309-321; J. Vroom, «The changing dining habits at Christ's table», in *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19) – Food and Wine in Byzantium*, eds. L. Brubaker and K. Linardou, Aldershot, 2007 (*Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications* 13), p. 193-200.

²⁴ E.g. D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, p. 10-19 (his group A 1); C.H. Morgan, *Corinth IX*, p. 64-70, figs. 47-49, pls. XIII-XVII; R.B.K. Stevenson, «The pottery, 1936-7», in *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, First Report*, eds. G. Brett, W.J. Macaulay, R.B.K. Stevenson, London, 1947, p. 44-47; U. Peschlow, «Byzantinische Keramik», p. 405-406, nos. 101-106, fig. 16, pl. 140, no. 6 and pl. 141; J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Sarayhane*, p. 35-37; G.D.R. Sanders, «Byzantine Polychrome Pottery», in *Mosaic. Festschrift for A.H.S. Megaw*, eds. J. Herrin, M. Mullett, C. Otten-Froux, London, 2001, p. 89-103; J. Vroom, *Byzantine Pottery*, p. 78-79. See for the Bulgarian production of architectural ceramics in Polychrome Ware, R. Kostova, «Polychrome

with various visual designs painted in many different colours. Shapes in Polychrome Ware include dishes, bowls, one-handled cups (fig. 8, Colour Plates) and even chafing dishes, which were probably exclusively for display and not used as a cooking utensil (see below)²⁵.

This new repertoire of decorative tableware may be a response to changes in dining practices, which by this time had developed into a ritual designed to demonstrate status. Cheaper than metal and glass, these products enabled groups of middle-class consumers to imitate the dining habits of their betters.

Until now, only a few pieces of Polychrome Ware have been found at the Triconch Palace excavations in Butrint. These excavations yielded, for example, a worn out Polychrome Ware cup with a quatrefoil rim, which can be

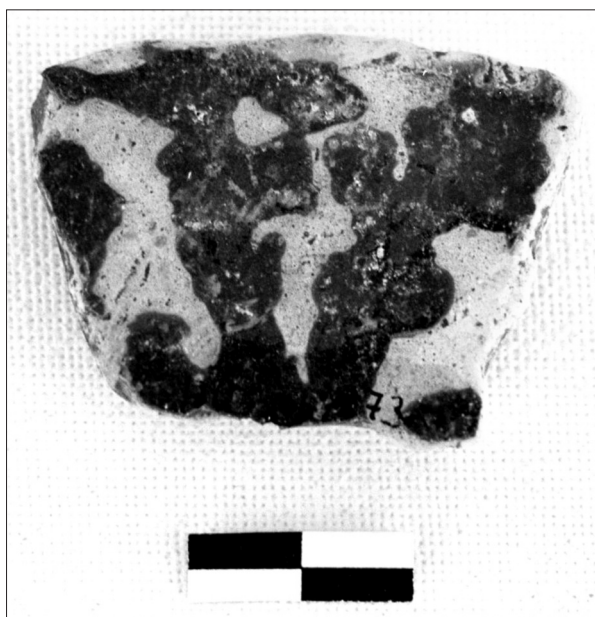


9. Butrint, Triconch Palace: fragments of Polychrome Ware cup (photo: J. Vroom).

ceramics in Pre-slav, 9th to 11th centuries: where were they produced and used?», in *Byzantine Trade 4th-12th centuries*, ed. M. Mundell Mango, Aldershot, 2009 (*Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications* 14), p. 97-117.

²⁵ C.H. Morgan, *Corinth* XI, p. 64-70, pls. XIV and XVI; colour pls. XIII and XVI; G.D.R. Sanders, «Byzantine Polychrome Pottery», figs. 10.1-10.8; J. Vroom, *Byzantine Pottery*, p. 78, fig. MBYZ 5.3. For a chafing dish in Polychrome Ware: U. Peschlow, «Byzantinische Keramik», p. 406, fig. 16, no. 104, pl. 141, nos. 3-4.

dated to the late 11th and early 12th centuries (fig. 9)²⁶. Also noteworthy is a rim fragment made of the typical Constantinopolitan kaolinitic paste with thick green glaze applied on the surface in *cuenda seca* style (fig. 10)²⁷. This kind of decoration often occurs on Polychrome Ware of the late 11th-12th centuries, but these are typically glazed in white, black, turquoise and blue.



10. Butrint, Triconch Palace: rim fragment of Polychrome Ware (photo: J. Vroom).

Chafing dishes

Let us once again focus on ceramics of the 8th and 9th centuries. The Glazed White Ware chafing dishes (of which the first types appeared around 700 or even earlier) were soon imitated in the Mediterranean by lead-glazed examples of a reddish fabric²⁸. This red fabric is often coarse,

²⁶ C.H. Morgan, *Corinth XI*, p. 69-70, group III; J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, class 3; G.D.R. Sanders, «Byzantine Polychrome Pottery», type 3A.

²⁷ G.D.R. Sanders, «Polychrome Pottery», type 3.

²⁸ E.g. C.H. Morgan, *Corinth XI*, p. 36-42, pl. II; J. Vroom, *Byzantine Pottery*, p. 64-65, 72-73; L. Paroli, «Ceramiche invetriate da un contesto dell VIII secolo della Crypta Balbi – Roma», in *La ceramica invetriata tardoantica e altomedievale in Italia*, ed. L. Paroli,

sometimes with large lime or flint inclusions, and relatively porous. An upper bowl, glazed on the interior, is set on an unglazed hollow stand with ventilation holes in its walls. The lead glaze of the bowl is applied as a sealant directly on top of the coarse fabric for utilitarian reasons, resulting in a dark brownish or olive-green tone. These characteristics made this intricate vessel suitable as a cooking or heating utensil²⁹.



II. Butrint, Western Defences: glazed chafing dish
(photo: Butrint Foundation).

The fabrics of the glazed red-bodied chafing dishes found in Butrint show that most examples were made locally (fig. II). Only one was imported from another region, perhaps from Crete or from Otranto, just across the Adriatic. In Otranto, pottery production (of *amphorae*, coarse wares, and lead-glazed wares) took place in the early medieval period³⁰. In southern

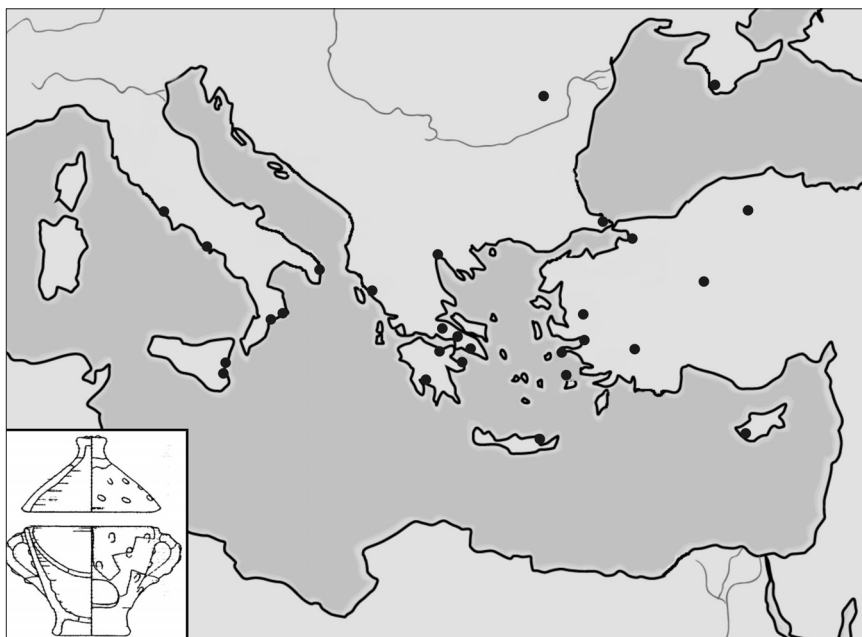
Florence, 1992 (*Quaderni del dipartimento di archeologia e storia delle arti. Sezione archeologica – Università di Siena* 28-29), fig. I, no. 2; D. Romei, «La ceramica a vetrina pesante altomedievale nella stratigrafia dell'edifizio della Crypta Balbi», in *La ceramica invetriata tardoantica e altomedievale in Italia*, ed. L. Paroli, Florence, 1992 (*Quaderni del dipartimento di archeologia e storia delle arti. Sezione archeologica – Università di Siena* 28-29), p. 378-393.

²⁹ For more information on chafing dishes as heating utensils: J. Vroom, «Dishing up history: Early Medieval ceramic finds from the Triconch Palace in Butrint», *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Moyen Âge*, 120:2 (2008), p. 294-295.

³⁰ Cf. H. Patterson, «La ceramica invetriata altomedievale e medievale di produzione italiana e bizantina da Otranto (Puglie)», in *La ceramica invetriata tardoantica e altome-*

Italy, urban centres such as Rome, Naples and Otranto, where professional potters were still operating and where there was a strong Byzantine influence, produced lead-glazed pottery during early medieval times. There was a simplification of fine wheel-turned ceramics during this period as well as a certain geographic continuity in pottery production technology.

It should be noted here that chafing dishes made with a lead glaze had the same shape in almost all parts of the Byzantine world. One can find



12. Distribution map of glazed chafing dishes in the Mediterranean (map J. Vroom; drawing after Romei 1992, figs. 1-2).

dievale in Italia, ed. L. Paroli, Florence, 1992 (*Quaderni del dipartimento di archeologia e storia delle arti. Sezione archeologica – Università di Siena* 28-29), p. 528, fig. 3; P. Arthur *et al.*, «Fornaci altomedievali ad Otranto. Nota preliminare», *Archeologia Medievale*, 19 (1992), p. 91-121; P. Arthur, «Le prime ceramiche invetriate», p. 160-161; *ibidem*, «Ceramica in Terra d'Otranto tra VIII e XI secolo», in *La ceramica altomedievale in Italia*, ed. S. Patitucci Uggeri, Florence, 2004 (*Quaderni di Archaeologia Medievale* VI), fig. 3, nos. 11-13; M. Leo Imperiale, «Struttura e tecnologia delle fornaci da vasaio di età bizantina ad Otranto (Le)», in *III Congresso nazionale di archeologia medievale*, eds. R. Fiorillo, P. Peduto, Florence, 2003, p. 674-677; *ibidem*, «Otranto, cantiere Mitello: un centro produttivo ne Mediterraneo bizantino», in *La ceramica altomedievale in Italia*, ed. S. Patitucci Uggeri, Florence, 2004 (*Quaderni di Archaeologia Medievale* VI), p. 327-342.

clear parallels in chafing dishes circulating in Greece, Turkey and the Black Sea region, as well as in Albania, southern Italy, Sicily and Malta (fig. 12). This raises the question whether chafing dishes were part of a so-called Byzantine cultural or culinary *koiné*, as has recently been suggested by Paul Arthur³¹. Did these lead-glazed vessels all have the same function, or were they used for a specific culinary custom in the Byzantine world?

According to some scholars, the main function of chafing dishes was to prepare and serve warm sauces and, in particular, warm fish-sauces (the so-called *garoi*)³². Other explanations for the function of the chafing dish include: the preparation of mulled wine, the burning of incense, the frying of meat etc³³. However, evidence for the use of the chafing dishes for the warming or preparing of specific foods directly on the table is still inconclusive as many Byzantine dining scenes from this period show no actual chafing dish on the table³⁴.

I will not go into much detail with respect to this discussion, but I have recently suggested that chafing dishes were placed next to or near to the table during meals as a multi-purpose portable brazier and cooking utensil in combination with a so-called *authepsa* (a hot water samovar), as shown by these Byzantine 11th-century miniatures³⁵. The function of the chafing dishes could have been either to heat food near a fire (within built structures such as towers, or out in the open while travelling), or to keep food hot near the table in a society where separate kitchens were not widely used. The theory that food was kept warm in the upper glazed bowl from beneath or from the side is confirmed by burnt parts in the fabric of various fragments.

³¹ P. Arthur, «Pots and boundaries. On cultural and economic areas between late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages», in *LRCW 2. Late Roman Coarse Wares. Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*, eds. M. Bonifay, J.-Ch. Treglia, Oxford, 2007 (*BAR I.S.* 1662.I), p. 15.

³² J. Vroom, *After Antiquity*, p. 231 for further literature.

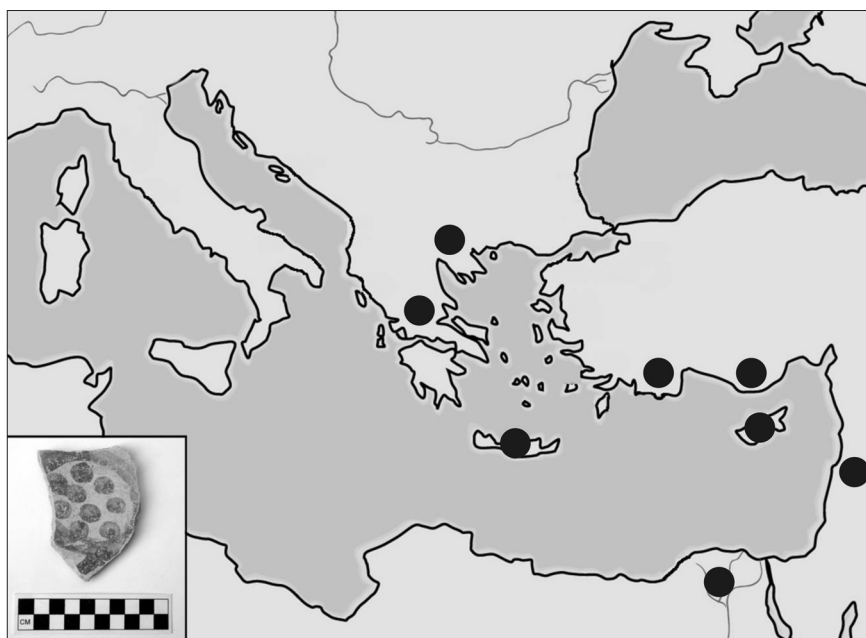
³³ P. Arthur, «Pots and boundaries», p. 15; *ibidem*, «Form, function and technology in pottery production from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages», in *Technology in Transition A.D. 300-650*, ed. L. Lavan, E. Zanini, A. Sarantis, Leiden and Boston, 2007 (*Late Antique Archaeology* 4), p. 179-180.

³⁴ J. Vroom, *After Antiquity*, p. 313-321, figs. 11.10-11.27; J. Vroom, «Changing dining habits», p. 191-205, figs. 17.5-12.

³⁵ J. Vroom, «The archaeology of late antique dining habits in the eastern Mediterranean: A preliminary study of the evidence», in *Objects in Context, Objects in Use. Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity*, eds. L. Lavan, E. Swift, T. Putzeys, Leiden, 2008 (*Late Antique Archaeology* 5), p. 339-342, fig. 8.1-8.2 for further literature; *ibidem*, «Dishing up history», p. 295-297.

Broad-line Painted Ware

Broad-line Painted Ware forms another homogenous and extensive group of early medieval pottery finds in the southern Adriatic. At Butrint, Broad-line Painted Ware consists of domestic vessels, such as large basins, jugs with narrow necks and storage jars, all with a painted decoration of simple vertical stripes, arcs and loops in red or brown (fig. 13, Colour Plates). Until now, Broad-line Painted Ware has been found on various sites in Apulia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicily, Campania, Central Italy and Albania (fig. 14, Colour Plates)³⁶. The ear-



15. Distribution map of the presence of painted wares in the Mediterranean (map and photo: J. Vroom).

³⁶ E.g. *Italy*: D. Whitehouse, «Medieval painted pottery in South and Central Italy», *Medieval Archaeology*, 10 (1966), p. 35-38, figs. 9-11; R. Hodges, G. Barker, K. Wade, «Excavations at D85 (Santa Maria in Cività): An Early Medieval hilltop settlement in Molise», *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 48 (1980), p. 86-87, fig. 10, nos. 9-16; M. Salvatore, «Un sepolcreto altomedievale in Agro di Rutigliano (Bari): notizie preliminari», *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 57 (1981), p. 127-160; *ibidem*, «La ceramica altomedievale nell'Italia meridionale: stato e prospettive della ricerca», *Archeologia Medievale*, 9 (1982), p. 47-66; P. Arthur, D. Whitehouse, «La ceramica dell'Italia meridionale: produzione e mercato tra V e X secolo», *Archeologia Medievale*, 9 (1982), p. 39-46; H. Patterson, «The pottery», in *San Vincenzo al Volturno III: The Finds from the*

liest examples may belong to the 6th or 7th century; others were still being made in the 9th and 10th centuries and remained in use until at least the 11th century³⁷.

The Broad-line Painted pottery from southern Italy and Albania show parallels in decoration-style with contemporary painted wares from other parts of the Mediterranean, including Crete and the Greek Mainland, the Balkans, the southern coast of Turkey, Cyprus, Syria, Jordan and Palestine, Coptic Egypt and the Maghreb (fig. 15)³⁸. These quite similar looking vessels were often decorated with geometric, floral and fitiformorphic designs of stylistic birds and fishes in a red/brown slip. Apparently, a certain uniformity in use of dec-

1980-86 Excavations, eds. J. Mitchell, I.L. Hansen, Spoleto, 2001, 314-317, figs. 10.87-121; see also for a production centre of Broad-line Painted Ware in Apulia, R. Cassano *et al.*, «Forme della circolazione e della produzione delle merci ad Egnatia in età tardoantica. Nuove indagini a prospettive di ricerca», *Rei Cretariae Romanae Acta*, 40 (2008), p. 419-422, figs. 4-8; *Albania*: S. Anamali, «Die Albaner, Nachkommen der Illyrer», in *Albanien. Schätze aus dem Land der Skipetaren*, Mainz, 1988, p. 148-155, 454, nos. 367-368 (no. 368 probably being a product from *Scolacium* in Calabria); A. Hoti, «Some features of the Early Medieval pottery in Albania (7th-11th centuries)», in *VIII Congrès international sur la céramique médiévale en Méditerranée*, ed. Ch. Bakirtzis, Athens, 2003, p. 237-240, fig. 1, with further literature; E. Nallbani, L. Buchet, «Lezha (*Lissus*) de l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen Âge», *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome – Moyen Âge*, 120:2 (2008), p. 254-255, fig. 12a.

³⁷ P. Arthur, H. Patterson, «Ceramics and early Medieval central and southern Italy: 'A potted history'», in *La storia dell'alto medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia*, eds. R. Francovich, G. Noyé, Florence, 1998, figs. 2-3, 5-8.

³⁸ E.g. *Greece and Crete*: J.W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, London, 1972, p. 413, pl. XXIIIb; P. Pétridis, «Delphes dans l'Antiquité tardive: première approche topographique et céramologique», *Bulletin du Correspondance Hellenique*, 121 (1997), p. 693, fig. 16 and n. 44; J. Vroom, *Byzantine Pottery*, p. 42-43; E. Vitale, *La ceramica sovradipinta bizantina di Gortina*, Padua, 2008 (*Studi di archeologia cretese VI*); *Balkans*: C. Scorpan, «Contribuții arheologice la problemele entice ale Dobrogei antice. III Vase pictate din sec. IX-X in Dobrogea», *Pontice*, 1 (1968), p. 367-377; *Turkey*: J. Vroom, «Late Antique pottery settlement and trade in the east Mediterranean: A preliminary comparison of ceramics from Limyra (Lycia) and Boeotia», in *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, eds. W. Bowden, L. Lavan, C. Machado, Leiden and Boston, 2004 (*Late Antique Archaeology* 2), p. 297-300, fig. 5 and notes 31-33; M.P.C. Jackson, «Local painted pottery trade in early Byzantine Isauria», in *Byzantine Trade 4th-12th centuries*, ed. M. Mundell Mango, Aldershot, 2009 (*Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications* 14), p. 137-143; *Cyprus*: R. S. Gabrieli, M. P. C. Jackson, A. Kaldelli, «Stumbling into the darkness: Trade and life in Post-Roman Cyprus», in *LRCW 2. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry, vol. II*, eds. M. Bonifay, J. Ch. Tréglia, Oxford, 2007 (*BAR I.S.* 1662 (II)), p. 794-795, fig. 6; *Near East*: A. Walmsley, «Tradition, innovation and imitation in the material culture of Islamic Jordan: The first four centuries», *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, 5 (1995), p. 661, fig. 6 (ware 8); *Egypt*: M. Egloff, *Kellia I-II: La potterie copte*, Geneva, 1977.

oration was achieved in the eastern Mediterranean, although these painted wares were manufactured in various unrelated workshops in various different fabrics and shapes³⁹.

Amphorae

Recent studies have extended the time span of certain Late Antique *amphora* types, particularly the so-called 'globular *amphorae*' or 'LRA 2/13 variants' produced in various parts of the Mediterranean, from the 7th century into the 8th and 9th centuries. These *amphorae* were often smaller in dimension, held less carrying capacity than the previous Late Antique *amphorae* and appear to represent the tail end of the large Late Roman ceramic industries⁴⁰.

In early medieval Italy the alleged cessation of imports of Oriental and African *amphorae* did not occur in the 7th century, as often supposed, but continued until the end of the 8th century (as shown by the presence of globular *amphorae* in Rome, Naples, southern Italy and in San Antonino di Pertini in Liguria). Furthermore, the recycling of Late Roman *amphorae*, as the ones found in the shipwreck of Yassi Ada, near Bodrum, suggests longer use of such vessels⁴¹. This reuse probably happened in a period when little could be discarded.

The excavations in Butrint yielded various groups of late 7th- to 8th-century and 8th- to 9th-century globular *amphorae*, which were sometimes incised with Greek graffiti. The first group mentioned here are globular *amphorae* with less carrying capacity, which were distributed in the Aegean and found on the islands of Aegina and Crete as well as at the Saraçhane

³⁹ Red-painted wares even existed in Spain and in north-western Europe during the Early Medieval period, as shown in J.G. Hurst (ed.), «Red-painted and glazed pottery in western Europe from the eight to the twelfth century», *Medieval Archaeology*, 13 (1969), p. 93-147.

⁴⁰ We also have to consider the gradual replacement of amphorae with wooden barrels during Early Medieval times. See for globular amphorae in general: P. Arthur, «Early Medieval amphorae, the Duchy of Naples and the food supply of Rome», in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 61 (1993), p. 231-243.; S. Bien, «Des niveaux du VII^e siècle sous le Music-Hall de l'Alcazar à Marseille», in *LRCW I. Late Roman Coarse Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean* (BAR. I.S. 1340), ed. J.M. Gurt i Esparraguera, J. Buxeda i Garrigós, M.A. Cau Ontiveros, Oxford, 2005, p. 287-288 (for mini-spatheia and globular amphorae found in Marseille); M. Bonifay, «Observations des amphores africaines de l'antiquité tardive», in *LRCW I. Late Roman Coarse Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean* (BAR. I.S. 1340), ed. J.M. Gurt i Esparraguera, J. Buxeda i Garrigós, M.A. Cau Ontiveros, Oxford, 2005, p. 457, fig. 18 (for globular amphorae); P. Reynolds, *Hispania and the Roman Mediterranean, AD 100-700*. Ceramics and Trade, London, 2010, figs. 25a-b, 26, 27g and J. Vroom, *Byzantine Pottery*, p. 60-61.

⁴¹ F.H. Van Doorninck Jr., «The cargo amphoras on the 7th century Yassi Ada and 11th century Serçe Limani shipwrecks: Two examples of a reuse of Byzantine amphoras as



16. Butrint, Western Defences: globular amphora
(photo: Butrint Foundation).

excavations in Istanbul (e.g. fig. 16)⁴². The lesser size of these globular *amphorae* was probably used for easy handling during transport on small low-status ships (such as the ships found at the recent Yenikapı excavations in Istanbul⁴³) and during loading and unloading in minor and less sophisticated coastal harbours (like the seaport of Butrint).

A second group of small globular *amphorae* from Butrint looks similar in shape to *amphorae* found at Chersonesos or in the eastern Crimea, on the

transport jars», in *Recherches sur la céramique Byzantine*, eds. V. Déroche, J.-M. Spieser, Athens, 1989 (*BCH Suppl.* 18), p. 247-257.

⁴² E.g. J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, amphora types 29 and (36-) 38.

⁴³ U. Kocabaş, I. Özsaıt Kocabaş, «Istanbul Üniversitesi, Yenikapı Bizans batıkları projesi kapsamındaki gemilerin yapım teknikleri ve özellikleri», in *Gün Işığında. İstanbul'un 8000 yılı. Marmaraya, Metro, Sultanahmet kazıları*, Istanbul, 2007, p. 196-201; C. Pulak, «Yenikapı Bizans batıkları», in *Gün Işığında. İstanbul'un 8000 yılı. Marmaraya, Metro, Sultanahmet kazıları*, Istanbul, 2007, p. 202-215.



17. Butrint, Western Defences: globular amphora (photo: Butrint Foundation).

northern shore of the Black Sea (fig. 17)⁴⁴. Similar examples were recovered at the 9th-century Bozburun shipwreck in Turkey (containing wine and olives), as well as at an Early Medieval shipwreck near Otranto (fig. 17)⁴⁵. Apparently, this *amphora* type was also distributed in the northern part of the Adriatic, because the same shapes have been found at excavations in Comacchio and in Venice⁴⁶. Its exact provenance is yet unknown. The Byzantine historian John Skylitzès mentions contact between the Black Sea region and the southern

⁴⁴ A.I. Romancuk, A.V. Sazanov, L.V. Sedikova, *Amfori iz kompleksov vizantijskogo Chersona* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1995, pl. 23, class 36.

⁴⁵ For the Bozburun shipwreck see: F.M. Hocker, «A ninth-century shipwreck near Bozburun, Turkey», *INA Quarterly*, 22:1 (1995), p. 12-14; for the Otranto shipwreck, R. Auriemma, E. Quiri, «La circolazione delle anfore in Adriatico tra V e VII sec. D.C.», in *La circolazione delle ceramiche nell'Adriatico tra tarda antichità e altomedioevo*, eds. S. Gelichi, C. Negrelli, Mantua, 2007 (*Documenti di Archeologia* 43), p. 42-43, fig. 4, nos. 3-4.

⁴⁶ A. Toniolo, «Anfore dall'area lagunare», in *La circolazione delle ceramiche nell'Adriatico tra tarda antichità e altomedioevo*, eds. S. Gelichi, C. Negrelli, Mantua, 2007 (*Documenti di Archeologia* 43), p. 102, pl. 5d (ex-cinema S. Marco); D. Calaon, S. Gelichi, C. Negrelli, «Tra VII e VIII secolo: i materiali ceramici da un emporio altomedievale / The ceramic from an Early Medieval emporium: 7th to 8th century», in *L'Isola del vescovo. Gli scavi archeologici intorno alla cattedrale di Comacchio/The Archaeological Excavations nearby the Comacchio Cathedral*, ed. S. Gelichi, Florence, 2009, p. 38, no. 1.

Adriatic. According to his chronicle, after the Arab attacks in AD 876, the Byzantine Emperor Basil I tried to repopulate southern Italy with immigrants from the city of Heraclea Pontica, located on the southern shore of the Black Sea. In particular, Basil I attempted to repopulate the newly founded city of Kallipolis (modern Gallipoli) in the western Salento region⁴⁷.

Close parallels of a third Butrint *amphora* group can be found in southern Italy (Apulia, Calabria and Campania). This *amphora* group includes the globular LRA 2/13 variants from the 7th and 8th centuries such as the ones produced at the kiln site of Fondo Mitello at Otranto (Tipo Mitello 1), as well as similar looking 8th-century LRA 2/13 variants found at the Crypta Balbi excavations in Rome and in the Bay of Naples (e.g. on the island of Ischia and near the *castrum* of Misenum where some types were locally produced)⁴⁸. On Malta,

⁴⁷ J. Skylitzès, *Empereurs de Constantinople*, translated by B. Flusin and annotated by J.C. Cheynet, Paris, 2003 (*Réalités byzantines* 8), p. 127. See also P. Arthur, «I Balcani e il Salento nel Medioevo», in *Archeologia del Adriatico dalla Preistoria al Medioevo, Atti del convegno internazionale Ravenna, 7-9 giugno 2001*, ed. F. Lenzi, Florence, 2003, p. 657, who mentions a repopulation from Heraclea Pontica at Ugento (south of Gallipoli in the western Salento region); *ibidem*, «Economic expansion in byzantine Apulia», in *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches*, eds. A. Jacob, J.-M. Martin, G. Noyé, Rome, 2006, p. 402, suggesting that this exportation of Pontic colonists perhaps lead to the foundation of modern Racale (in the territory of Gallipoli). In addition, Sicilian coins were circulating in the 8th and 9th centuries in the Adriatic and in the eastern Mediterranean, and were even found in the Black Sea region; see P. Papadopoulou's contribution in this volume as well as C. Morrison, «La Sicile byzantine: une lueur dans les siècles obscurs», *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche*, 27 (1998), p. 307-331, and M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce A.D. 300-900*, Cambridge, 2001, p. 361-369, and F. Curta, «Byzantium in Dark-Age Greece (the numismatic evidence in its Balkan context)», *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 29 (2003), p. 113-146 (especially p. 123).

⁴⁸ E.g. P. Arthur *et al.*, «Fornaci altomedievali», p. 103-110, figs. 8-II, no. 1; P. Arthur, H. Patterson, «Ceramics and early Medieval central and southern Italy», fig. 4.2-3 and fig. 5; P. Arthur, «Naples: notes on the economy of a Dark Age city», in *Papers in Italian Archaeology IV.4 Classical and Medieval Archaeology*, eds. C. Malone, S. Stoddart, Oxford, 1995 (*BAR I.S.* 246), fig. 16.2, no. 4; *ibidem*, «Aspects of Byzantine economy: an evaluation of amphora evidence», in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, eds. V. Déroche, J.-M. Spieser, Athens, 1989 (*BCH Supplément* 18), p. 87, figs. 7-8; *ibidem*, «Early Medieval amphorae, the Duchy of Naples and the food supply of Rome», *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 61 (1993), fig. 2.2-3; M. Leo Imperiale, «Otranto, cantiere Mitello», fig. 3, nos. 1-2; G. De Rossi, «Indicatori archeologici della produzione e diffusione del vino della Baia di Napoli in età altomedievale», in *Paesaggi e insediamenti rurali in Italia meridionale fra tardoantico e altomedioevo*, eds. G. Volpe, M. Turchiano, Bari, 2005, p. 541-549; C. Negrelli, «Produzione, circolazione e consumo», fig. 17.

large deposits of imported globular *amphorae* from the 8th and 9th centuries were recovered in commercial stocking zones like harbours (probably for storing and redistribution, maybe for the Byzantine fleet which was active in the Adriatic Sea at that time)⁴⁹. Because of their shape, these globular *amphorae* were perfect liquid containers for short-, medium- and long-distance transport on various means of transfer, and for local and regional distribution and consumption of wine⁵⁰. As we know from the written sources, the consumption of wine, mixed with hot water, was common to all social levels in the Byzantine world⁵¹. Apart from globular *amphorae*, excavations at Butrint and Saranda on the Albanian coast also yielded another group of *amphorae* with a painted decoration of broad stripes and loops in a red or brown slip on the exterior surface (fig. 18, Colour Plates)⁵². The fabric, shape and painted decoration of these vessels show many similarities to large painted *amphorae* and storage jars from southern Italy, especially the locally used products from the Mitello kiln site at Otranto (Tipo Mitello 2-3)⁵³. More analogous examples can be found on sites in the Salento region (among them, Supersano and Apigliano), in Calabria (Paleopoli, Tirolo and S. Maria del Mare), in Campania and in Rome at the excavations of Crypta Balbi⁵⁴.

⁴⁹ See N. Cutaja's contribution in this volume. Cf. for the presence of the Byzantine fleet in the Adriatic during the 8th to 10th centuries, V. Prigent, «Notes sur l'évolution de l'administration byzantine en Adriatique (VIIIe-IXe siècle)», *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome – Moyen Âge*, 120 (2008), p. 399-400, and F. Curta, «Byzantium in Dark-Age Greece», p. 123.

⁵⁰ Cf. P. Arthur, «Early Medieval amphorae», p. 237; *ibidem*, *Naples, From Roman Town to City-State. An Archaeological Perspective*, London, 2002 (*Arch. Monographs BSR no. 12*), p. 112; *ibidem*, «Economic expansion in Byzantine Apulia», p. 390, 397. See also M. Leo Imperiale's contribution in this volume about the discovery of *amphorae* at Otranto containing organic residue related to wine.

⁵¹ J. Koder, «Maritime trade and the food supply for Constantinople in the Middle Ages», in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, ed. R. Macrides, Aldershot, 2002 (*Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications 10*), p. 109-124; J. Vroom, «Late Antique dining habits», p. 342, n. 66.

⁵² See for painted amphorae from Saranda, K. Lako, «Enë bate nga qyteti I Onhezmi – Ankiarmit (Saranda) / Sixth- to seventh-century AD pottery from the city of Onchesmos (Saranda)», *Iliria*, 1-2 (2000-2001), Tab. I, but dated too early. Cf. J. Vroom, «The Early Medieval pottery finds from the Bashkia excavations at Saranda», *Annual of the British School at Athens*, forthcoming.

⁵³ M. Leo Imperiale, «Otranto, cantiere Mitello», fig. 3, nos. 3-4.

⁵⁴ E.g. P. Arthur, «Grubenhauser nella Puglia bizantina. A proposito di recenti scavi a Supersano», *Archeologia Medievale*, 26 (1999), p. 176, fig. 6. no. 4; *ibidem*, «Un *chôrion* bizantino?», in *Da Apigliano a Martano. Tre anni di archeologia medioevale (1997-1999)*, ed. P. Arthur, Galatina (LE), 1999, p. 18, fig. 10, no. 10; *ibidem*, «Un saggio di scavo in prop.

Coarse Wares

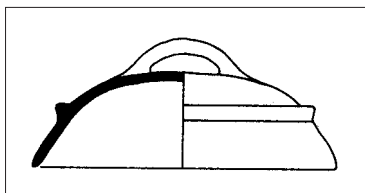
An indication of 'ruralisation' (or rather simplification) during Late Antique-early medieval times occurred on several Adriatic sites in the form of flanged lid fragments of a so-called *clibanus* or *testum*⁵⁵. The *clibanus/testum* (in Greek *klibanos*) is a portable ceramic oven or lid used for everything from the baking of simple bread loaves (usually unleavened, 'pita-style' *klibanites*) to the roasting of meat (fig. 19)⁵⁶. Once warmed, it could be placed on top of a flat stone, in an enclosed heated container such as a metal dish, or it could simply cover a loaf placed in the hot ashes. It was often used to complete or speed the process of baking bread, because, when covered with coals, the interior of the *clibanus/testum* was immediately hot. It has been suggested that its sudden appearance in Late Antique and early medieval contexts might indicate the yield of centralised commercial bakeries (*pistrina*) to homemade baking in many regions of rural Italy and parts of the Balkans⁵⁷. On the other hand, *clibani/testi* (*klibanoi* or *krivani*) were also used by Byzantine soldiers as

Previero (1995) e la cronologia di ceramiche di età bizantina ad Otranto», *Studi di Antichità*, 10 (1997), p. 213, fig. 9 (amphora from a tomb near Calimera); L. Paroli, «Ceramica acroma depurata, dipinta in rosso e invetriata», in M.T. Cipriano *et al.*, «La documentazione ceramica dell'Italia centro-meridionale nell'altomedioevo: quadri regionali e contesti campione», in *A ceramica medieval no Mediterraneo occidental*, Mértola, 1991, p. 109, fig. 5, nos. 5-6; *ibidem*, «Ceramiche invetriate da un contesto dell'VIII secolo della Crypta Balbi – Roma», fig. 4, nos. 16-17; C. Raimondo, «Aspetti di economia e società nella Calabria bizantina. Le produzioni ceramiche nel medio Ionio calabrese», in *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches*, eds. A. Jacob, J.-M. Martin, G. Noyé, Rome, 2006, fig. 10, no. 8, fig. 12, nos. 5-6 (Santa Maria del Mare).

⁵⁵ A.L. Cubberley, J.A. Loyd, P.C. Roberts, «*Testa* and *Clibani*: The baking covers of Classical Italy», *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 56 (1988), p. 98-119. See for complete *clibani/testi* found in Saranda (Albania), K. Lako 1984, «Kështjella e Onhezmit», *Iliria* 14 (2): 153-205, fig. VII.7 and figs. VII.8-9.

⁵⁶ E.g. F. Koukoules, *Byzantine Life and Civilisation* (in Modern Greek), Athens, 1947-1955; T. Kolias, «Essgewohnheiten und Verpflegung im Byzantinischen Heer», in *Byzantinos. Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Horander *et al.*, Vienna, 1984, p. 193-202; A.L. Cubberley, «Bread-baking in ancient Italy. *Clibanus* and sub *testu* in the Roman world: Further thoughts», in *Food in Antiquity*, eds. J. Wilkins, D. Harvey, M. Dobson, Exeter, 1995, p. 55-68; H. Marks, *Byzantine Cuisine*, Eugene, 2002.

⁵⁷ Cf. various articles in *La ceramica altomedievale in Italia*, ed. S. Patitucci Uggeri, Florence, 2004 (*Quaderni di Archaeologia Medievale* VI) for *clibani/testi* found in Italy. See also G. P. Brogiolo, S. Gelichi, «La ceramica grezza medievale nella pianura padana», in *La ceramica medievale nel Mediterraneo occidentale*, Florence, 1986, pl. III, no. 5; G. P. Brogiolo, S. Gelichi, *La ceramica comune in Italia settentrionale tra IV e VII secolo*, in L. Sagui (ed.), *Ceramica in Italia: VI-VII secolo, Atti del convegno in onore di John W. Hayes, I-II*, Florence, 1998, fig. 3.1, 4.9-10, 7.1; P. Arthur, *Naples, From Roman Town to*



19. Saranda: *clibanus/testum*
(after Lako 1984, fig. VII.7).

field ovens when on campaign⁵⁸. Fragments of *clibani/testi* found at Butrint were locally produced and were used until the 12th century. This extended duration of use is not unusual; in Naples, the shape survived until the end of the 10th century⁵⁹. The shapes of the Butrint fragments are similar to Late Antique and early medieval examples from the Cantiere Mitello excavations in Otranto (dated to the 8th and 9th centuries)⁶⁰, Naples, Benevento, Villa Badessa (Pescara), Shkodër in northern Albania and Caričin Grad in Serbia⁶¹. Medieval examples have been discovered from various sites in northern and central Italy (among them, Cremona, Brescia, Ravenna, Forlì, Rome and Colle Castellano in Molise), and are ascribed to the 10th-11th centuries⁶².

City-State: An Archaeological Perspective, London, 2002 (*Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome* 12), p. 55-56.

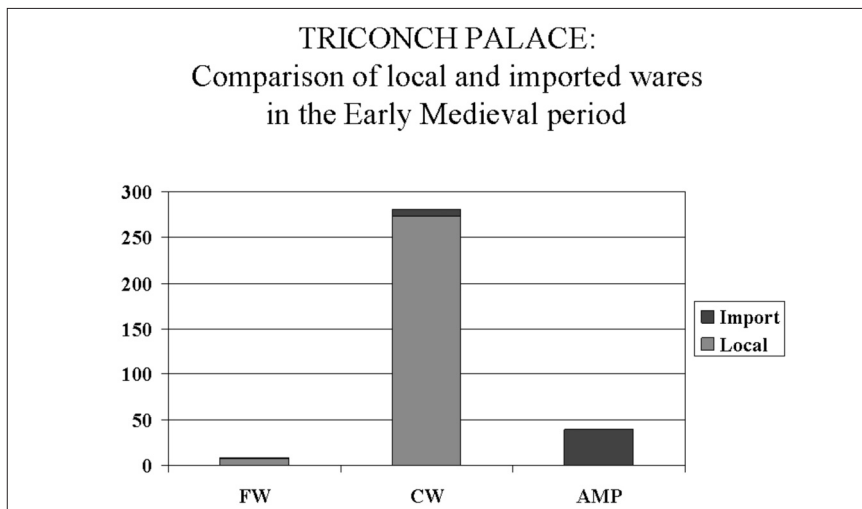
⁵⁸ T. Koliás, «Essgewohnheiten und Verpflegung», p. 193-202; J. Haldon, «Feeding the army: Food and transport in Byzantium, ca. 600-1100», in *Feast, Fast or Famine. Food and Drink in Byzantium*, eds. W. Mayer, S. Trzcionka, Brisbane, 2005 (*Byzantina Australiensia* 15), p. 87.

⁵⁹ P. Arthur, *From Roman Town to City-state*, p. 56; A.L. Cubberley, «Bread-baking», p. 61-62, note 10. According to Paul Arthur, the shape may have survived because of the tasks of families or of institutions, such as monasteries and *diaconiae*.

⁶⁰ M. Leo Imperiale, «Otranto, cantiere Mitello», fig. 5, nos. 18-19.

⁶¹ E.g. C. de Pompeis, «Cocchetto di Villa Badessa (Prov. Di Pescara). Indagini archeologiche di interesse postclassico», *Archeologie Medievale*, 7 (1980), p. 462, figs. 3-4; G. Hoxha, «Céramique culinaire lissée à la brosse, provenant du territoire des provinces de Praevalis et de Dardanie», *Rei Cretariae Romanae Acta*, 40 (2008), p. 92, pl. III, 2-3 (Shkodër); L. Bjelajac, «La céramique et les lampes», in *Caričin Grad II. Le quartier sud-ouest de la ville haute*, eds. B. Bavant, V. Kondić, J.-M. Spieser, Belgrade and Rome, 1990, pl. XI, IX/2, pl. XII, IX/1 and IX/3, pl. XXI, nos. 10-12;

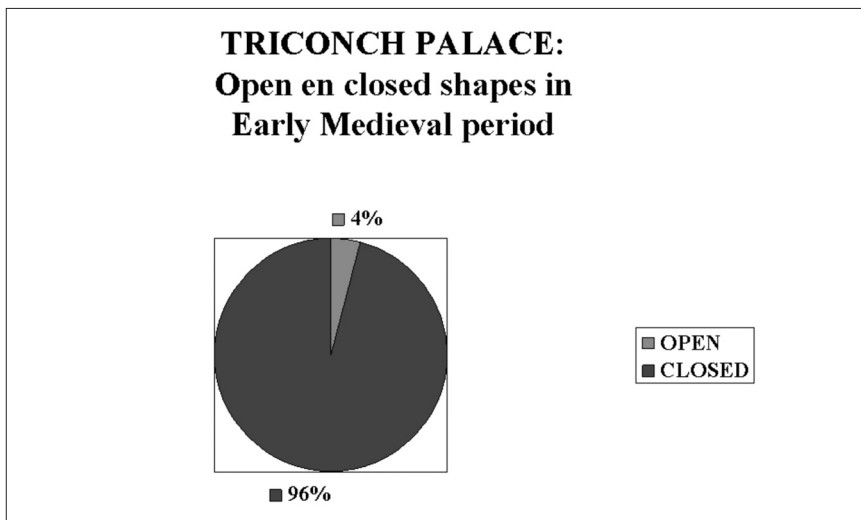
⁶² P. Arthur, H. Patterson, «Ceramics and early Medieval Central and Southern Italy: A 'potted' history», in *La storia dell' Alto Medioevo Italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell' archeologia*, Florence, 1998, fig. 2.6-8; cf. also G. P. Brogiolo, S. Gelichi, «La ceramica grezza medievale», pl. VII, for Medieval examples from Brescia. See also J. Vroom, «Dishing up history», p. 303-305.



20. Butrint, Triconch Palace: comparison of local and imported wares in the early medieval period (J. Vroom).

But let's have a closer look at the consumption patterns of the ceramic finds from Butrint. In this graph, fine wares in the early medieval levels of the Triconch Palace excavations seem to decline rapidly compared to Late Antique times, giving way to small amounts of coarse wares and *amphorae* (fig. 20). Furthermore, one can distinguish in the early medieval levels of the Triconch Palace the disappearance of typical Late Antique open-shaped vessels (such as casseroles, plates, bowls, cups etc.). In fact, there are hardly any open vessels on the site during early medieval times; 96% of the vessels have closed shapes (fig. 21). Perhaps the open vessels from Late Antique times were replaced by dishes made of wood or other materials, as was the case in early medieval Italy⁶³. During the early medieval period, the range of pottery shapes is rather

⁶³ See for the find of an Early Medieval wooden bowl in the Abruzzi: A.R. Staffa, «Le produzioni ceramiche in Abruzzo nell'altomedioevo», in *La ceramica altomedievale in Italia*, ed. S. Patitucci Uggeri, Florence, 2004 (*Quaderni di Archaeologia Medievale* VI), p. 217, fig. 14; P. Arthur, *From Roman Town to City-state*, p. 124; W. Bowden, *Epirus Vetus. The Archaeology of a Late Antique Province*, London, 2003, p. 212; see also for Byzantine wooden bowls and objects recently found at the Yenikapı excavations in Istanbul, G. Baran Çelik, «Yenikapı'da günlük yaşam», in *Gün Işığında. İstanbul'un 8000 yılı. Marmarayı, Metro, Sultanahmet kazıları*, Istanbul, 2007, p. 226-227, fig. 22. Cf. for more examples of vessels made in alternative materials in certain regions during Roman, Medieval and Post-Medieval times, J. Vroom, «Early modern archaeology in Central Greece: The contrast of artefact-rich and sherdless sites», *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, II:2 (1998), p. 151-154.



21. Butrint, Triconch Palace: open and closed shapes in the early medieval period (J. Vroom).

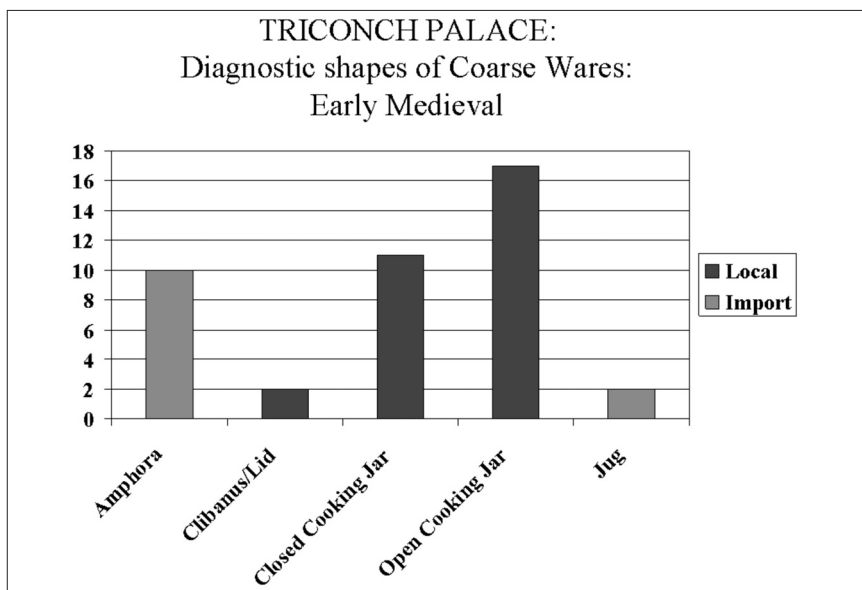
limited in Butrint, and the bulk of the material seems to be coarse ware of local production (fig. 22). The most common vessel in the kitchen repertoire is an unglazed pot or jar of gritty fabric, which was used either for storage, for the processing and preparing of food, or for heating water.

Cooking pots/jars

In the Triconch Palace assemblage at Butrint, there are two types of unglazed pots/jars: a large, wide cooking pot with a sagging or rounded base, and a small jar with a flat base. The first type is a wide-bodied, wheel-made pot with two handles and a wide rim that is slightly flanged on the inside for receiving a lid (fig. 23). Evidence of sooting on the exterior and burnt residues on the interior suggests that this type of pot/jar was used on the fire or for cooking.

The shape of this wide-bodied, wheel-made pot, also known as a *pentola tipo Corinto/Apigliano*, is strikingly similar to 8th-9th-century cooking pot forms found at excavations in Cantiere Mitello, Otranto and other sites in the Salento region⁶⁴. Close parallels of this open cooking pot were also discovered on the island of Aegina, at Argos and Corinth, Athens, Delphi,

⁶⁴ The term is from P. Arthur, C. De Mitri, E. Lapadula, «Nuovi appunti sulla circolazione della ceramica nella Puglia meridionale tra tarda antichità ed altomedievale», in *La circolazione delle ceramiche nell'Adriatico tra tarda antichità e altomedioevo*, eds. S.



22. Butrint, Triconch Palace: diagnostic shapes of Coarse Wares in the early medieval period (J. Vroom).

Samos and Chios (fig. 24)⁶⁵. According to Paul Arthur, cooking pots found at the site of Supersano in the Salento region have a similar, though not identical fabric⁶⁶. Apparently, these kinds of cooking pots were not produced in the area above Lecce in northern Apulia or in central Italy.

Gelichi, C. Negrelli, Mantua, 2007 (*Documenti di Archeologia* 43), p. 334, tav. 2. For more examples from the Salento region see: P. Arthur *et al.*, «Fornaci altomedievali», fig. 11, no. 2, fig. 12, no. 1; P. Arthur, «Un *chôrion* bizantino?», fig. 9, nos. 1-2; *ibidem*, «Ceramica in Terra d'Otranto», fig. 2, nos. 1-3; M. Leo Imperiale, «Otranto, cantiere Mitello», fig. 4.

⁶⁵ M. A. Frantz, «Middle Byzantine pottery in Athens», *Hesperia*, 7, 1938, fig. 20; T. S. MacKay, «More Byzantine and Frankish pottery from Corinth», *Hesperia*, 36, 1967, fig. 2, no. 93; J. Boardman, «The finds», in *Excavations in Chios 1952-1955*, eds. M. Bal-lance, J. Boardman, S. Corbett, S. Hood, Oxford, 1989 (*BSAA suppl.* 20), fig. 35, nos. 221, 285; F. Felten, «Die christliche Siedlung», in *Alt-Ägina vol. 1.2*, ed. H. Walter, Mainz, 1975, fig. 13; M. Piérart, J.P. Thalmann, «Céramique romaine et médiévale», in *Études argiennes*, Paris, 1980 (*BCH Suppl.* VI), pl. IV, A'5, pl. IX, B 45 and pl. X, D7; B. Wille, «Die byzantinische Keramik aus einem Ziegelschacht in Ägina Kolonna», in *Çanak. Late Antique and Medieval Pottery and Tiles in Mediterranean Archaeological Contexts*, eds. B. Böhlendorf-Arslan, A. O. Uysal, J. Witte-Orr, Istanbul, 2007 (*Byzas* 7), fig. 7.

⁶⁶ P. Arthur, «Grubenhauser», fig. 6, no. 3; *ibidem*, «Ceramica in Terra d'Otranto», fig. 2, no. 1.



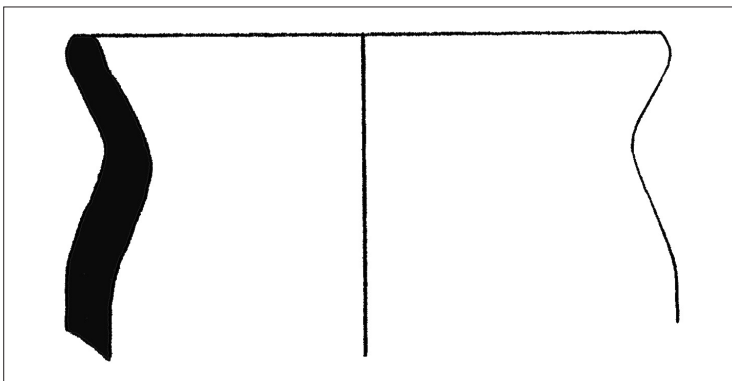
23. Butrint, Triconch Palace:
fragments of open cooking form
(photo: J. Vroom).



24. Distribution map of open cooking form in the Mediterranean
(map: J. Vroom; drawing after M. Leo Imperiale 2004, fig. 4, no. 7).



25a. Butrint, Triconch Palace: rim fragment of closed cooking form (photo and drawing: J. Vroom).



25b. Butrint, Triconch Palace: rim fragment of closed cooking form (photo and drawing: J. Vroom).

The second type of cooking vessel found in the Triconch Palace area is a smaller jar with a flat base, everted rim and short neck (fig. 25a-b). Some of these vessels have sooting traces. In Butrint these jars are not a homogeneous group; they are made with different fabrics, in different shapes, with different decoration styles and in different potting techniques (e.g. some are handmade, others are made on either a slow-turning wheel, called a *tournette*, or faster wheel). Their shapes are limited in range, but are similar to ubiquitous vessels found over a vast geographical area: including central Greece, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, northeastern Italy, Austria and even the Lower Danube region (fig. 26)⁶⁷. The decoration of straight and wavy lines incised on the outside of these vessels parallels the 9th- to 11th-century decorative styles of the Lower Danube region in northeastern Serbia, southern Romania and northern Bulgaria in particular⁶⁸. Subsequently, the exterior, wavy incised decoration style on one pot from Otranto may have been influenced by the opposite shores of the southern Adriatic⁶⁹.

The latest view is that similar jars, often dubiously termed 'Slavic' or 'Avaro-Slavic' Wares, were manufactured in the household for domestic use and not in large-scale urban production centres for export purposes⁷⁰. This kind of production did not require a specific space or a reserve of complex potter's tools, and the jars could have been fired in a simple open pit or bonfire kiln. Their presence in the Triconch Palace may indicate a local 'ruralisation' and shifting parameters of life in Butrint from the 8th century onwards rather than the immigration of foreign ethnic groups bringing their own pots from far away⁷¹. As Florin Curta has remarked

⁶⁷ E.g. J. Vroom, *Byzantine Pottery*, p. 48-49; see also *ibidem*, *The Medieval and Post-Medieval Ceramic Finds from the Triconch Palace in Butrint*, Oxford, forthcoming.

⁶⁸ E.g. M. Comşa, «La civilisation balkano-danubienne (IX^e-XI^e siècles) sur le territoire de la R.P. Roumaine», *Dacia*, 7 (1963), p. 413-438; M. Janković, «The ceramic ware of the Lower-Danube Basin culture in the 9th-11th century in the territory of Timočka Krajina», *Balcanoslavica*, 3 (1974), p. 75-87; U. Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern des 6. bis 9. Jahrhunderts an der unteren Donau*, Bonn, 1992.

⁶⁹ For a locally made vessel from Otranto with wavy incised lines see: M. Leo Imperiale, «Otranto, cantiere Mitello», fig. 5, no. 15.

⁷⁰ D.P.S. Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World. An Ethnoarchaeological Approach*, London, 1982. See also M. Rautman, «Hand-made pottery and social change: The view from Late Roman Cyprus», *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 11 (1998), p. 81-104.

⁷¹ E.g. F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500-700*, Cambridge, 2001, p. 227-310; *ibidem*, «Pots, Slavs and 'imagined communities': Slavic archaeologies and the history of the Early Slavs», *European Journal of Archaeology*, 4:3 (2001), p. 367-384; W. Bowden, *Epirus Vetus*, p. 210-211; J. Vroom, *After Antiquity*, p. 141-143. According to F. Curta in *The Making of the Slavs*, p. 308, assem-



26. Distribution map of closed cooking form in the Aegean (map: J. Vroom; drawing after Lako 2001-2002, fig. 3, no. 23).

correctly, pot shapes were determined by vessel use and not by 'ethnic traditions'⁷².

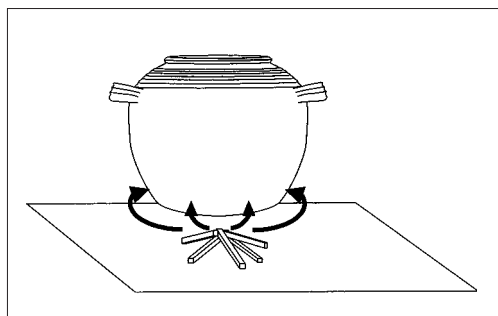
The appearance of such small handmade vessels in Mainland Greece, Sicily, Turkey and Cyprus probably suggests that pottery making gradually shifted in certain areas of the Mediterranean from large professional workshops (*fabricae*) to small, localised production and distribution centres⁷³. These early medieval coarse wares were probably made at the household or village level for domestic use only. It is highly likely that most rural communities, and thus the majority of the population in these areas, did not have access to pottery supplies from outside of centres of production, so they manufactured their own handmade and wheel-turned pots for cooking and other domestic functions. Recent research on cooking wares from

blages from Early Medieval Greece and Albania 'have nothing in common with the 'Slavic culture' north of the Danube River'.

⁷² F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500-700*, Cambridge, 2001, p. 289; *ibidem*, «The «Prague Type»: A critical approach to pottery classification», in *Hoi skoteinoi aiones tou Byzantinou (705-905 ai.) / The Dark Centuries of Byzantium*, ed. E. Kountoura-Galake, Athens, 2001, p. 182.

⁷³ J. Haldon, «Production, distribution and demand in the Byzantine World, c. 660-840», in *The Long Eighth Century. Production, Distribution and Demand*, eds. I.L. Hansen, C. Wickham, Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2000, p. 250.

Cyprus seems to suggest that the potter's wheel was largely if not completely abandoned for the manufacture of coarse wares from the 8th until the 12th centuries⁷⁴. However, it is rather simplistic to compare the shapes and surface treatments of these handmade Cypriot cooking pots directly to contemporary handmade products from the Balkans (such as the so-called 'Slavic Wares'), because both groups belong to very different and completely unrelated production areas and potting traditions⁷⁵.



27. Cooking technique for open cooking form
(after Pellegrino 2007, fig. 3a).

Different cooking techniques



Pots with sagging or rounded bases are usually placed on hot embers or charcoal above an open fire on a support or a stand (trivet, or in Greek *pyrostates*) or hanging from above (fig. 27)⁷⁶. In fact, most fragments of this type of cooking pot have blackened or burnt exteriors from open fire cooking; some sherds even have crusted food remains on their interior.


⁷⁴ R. S. Gabrieli *et al.*, «Stumbling into the darkness», p. 796, mentioning that by the 12th-century 'coarse ware seems to be exclusively made by hand or on a slow turntable'.

⁷⁵ This tenuous (and I think erroneous) comparison between Cypriot cooking pots and Slavic Wares has, for instance, been made in A.K. Vionis, J. Poblome and M. Waelkens, «The hidden material culture of the Dark Ages. Early medieval ceramics at Sagalassos (Turkey): new evidence (ca AD 650-800)», *Anatolian Studies*, 59 (2009), p. 152-153.

⁷⁶ E. Pellegrino, «Présentation des céramiques à pâte rouge orangé sableuses de Xanthos. Une production de céramique culinaire locale sur le long terme», in *Céramiques antiques en Lycie (VIIe S. a.C.-VIIe S. p.C.). Les produits et les marchés*, ed. S. Lemaître, Bordeaux, 2007 (*Études* 16), fig. 3a.

On pictures from medieval manuscripts, one often notices a wide, round-bodied cooking pot above a fire on a metal stand or trivet, ensuring a more equal and gentle distribution of the heat from the open fire⁷⁷. This distribution of heat makes these wide pots ideal for the slow boiling of large portions of food or semi-liquids (e.g. soups, broth and pottage) or other dishes for long stewing (e.g. grain porridge) (fig. 28)⁷⁸. Also, the soaking or boiling of salted and preserved meat, fish or mussels could have taken place in these large jars. Furthermore, the wide rim allows easy access for stirring with a ladle or spoon.

In general, flat-based and closed cooking vessels were well-suited for being placed next to a fire, on a flat surface, within an hearth, in an oven or even on a flat stone/tile near the fire (fig. 29)⁷⁹. Heat was distributed through these vessels from one side, and so their walls were made thinner than their bases. Pictures from medieval manuscripts show that flat-based cooking jars were often put next to the fire or near the fire, presupposing the more formal kitchen architecture and stability of cooking areas, such as fixed hearths or ovens⁸⁰. The contents of such jars had to be stirred up



Open cooking form	<p>Large portions of food</p> <p>Slow boiling of liquids and semi-liquids on open fire</p> <p>Long stewing (e.g. grain porridge)</p> <p>Soaking/boiling of salted meat/fish</p>
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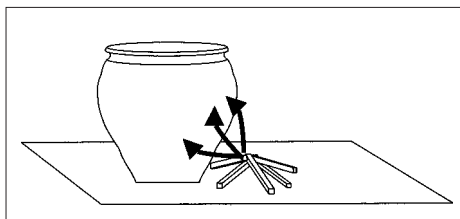
28. Butrint: a proposition for the function of open cooking forms (J. Vroom).

⁷⁷ E.g. D. Alexandre-Bidon, *Une archéologie du goût. Céramique et consommation (Moyen âge – Temps modernes)*, Paris, 2005, colour plate II.

⁷⁸ An experiment on 3-liter cooking pots from the Early Medieval site at Březno (near Prague) also showed that they were most suitable for cooking soups and porridge, while smaller 1-liter cooking pots served as containers of milk and for manipulation; cf. I. Pleinerová, «Březno: experiments with building Old Slavic houses and living in them», *Parnatky Archeologické*, 77 (1986), p. 104-176; F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs*, p. 286, n. 65; *ibidem*, «The Prague Type», p. 180, n. 29.

⁷⁹ E. Pellegrino, «Présentation des céramiques», fig. 3b.

⁸⁰ E.g. D. Alexandre-Bidon, *Une archéologie du goût*, colour plate XII. However, until now no fireplaces, hearths or ovens of Early Medieval times have been identified on the site of Butrint. Because of this lack of fixed-built cooking areas, the flat-based pots in the Early Medieval period were placed on a flat stone or on a flat tile near the fire.



29. Cooking technique for closed cooking form (after Pellegrino 2007, fig. 3b).

regularly because only half of the vessel was usually exposed to the heat of the fire⁸¹. Moving the cooking jar to the edge of the heat (away from the smoke) was often suitable for delicate dishes that required slow cooking (e.g. for the stewing or warming up of legumes, or vegetable dishes) (fig. 30). This cooking jar could have been used for cooking, warming up, storage, short-distance transfer of small quantities of food, or for the drawing

Closed cooking form	Small portions of food
	Stewing of liquids and semi-liquids near open fire
	Slow cooking of delicate dishes (e.g. legumes, vegetables)

30. Butrint: a proposition for the function of closed cooking forms (J. Vroom).

of water from wells. In Late Antiquity, these smaller and closed cooking jars seem to replace the larger casseroles with a wider rim diameter for stewing liquid and semi-liquid dishes.

A distribution map of open and closed cooking forms across the Mediterranean and Europe compared with regional faunal areas was published in a recent article, «Pots and Boundaries», by Paul Arthur⁸². In this publication, Arthur suggests that the use of open cooking pots (or casseroles) matches the distribution areas of sheep/goat dominated faunal assemblages fairly closely, whereas the distribution of closed and rather small cooking jars seems to match the distribution of pig- and cattle-dominated faunal

⁸¹ As shown by the Březno experiment in F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs*, p. 289; *ibidem*, «The Prague Type», p. 182; see also note 76.

⁸² P. Arthur, «Pots and boundaries», fig. 9.

assemblages in northern and central Europe during Late Antique-early medieval times. Thus, according to Arthur, environmental, and consequently, economic factors appear to define boundaries between different types of ceramic cooking vessels⁸³.

Nevertheless, this observation does not coincide entirely with the two different cooking pot types, both closed and open, and the two different cooking techniques in the Triconch Palace assemblage of the early medieval period. In addition, the faunal assemblages from the Triconch Palace, which were studied by Adrienne Powell, show a constant predominance of sheep/goat assemblages from the 6th century on⁸⁴.

I would suggest, rather, that the relation between changing pottery shapes and changing eating habits is not so clear-cut and needs further study. The changing pottery shapes probably do not reflect a sudden change, but a period of transition and gradual adaptation of cooking techniques – a transition, which will be different for every region in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, one must keep in mind that for at least one-third of the year, by order of the Church, all meat was banned from the medieval table and replaced by fish, cereals or a legume dish. The link between ceramic shapes and culinary customs in this period is probably more complicated, especially because written sources tell us that grain and soup were the basis of everyday food in most Byzantine households⁸⁵. Unfortunately, there is not much information about archaeobotanical and archaeozoological samples from this part of the Adriatic; but I hope to get some samples of cooking pots with food residue from Butrint analysed in the near future.

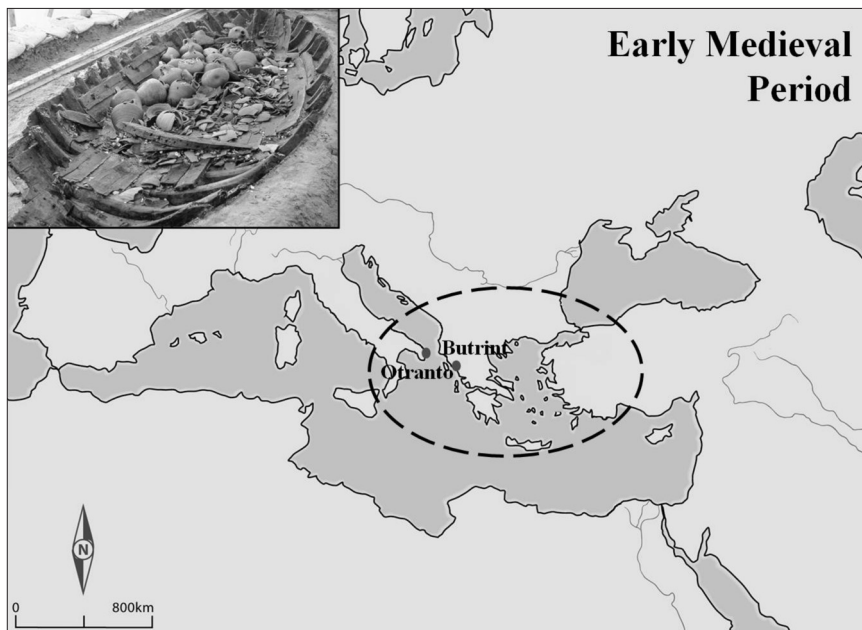
Conclusion

During the early medieval period, the southern Adriatic was linked politically, culturally and commercially with the Byzantine world (fig. 31). The pottery finds on both shores have many similarities and also share clear connections with ceramics from Calabria, Basilicata and Campania (e.g. Naples, Rome) in the West, mainland Greece (e.g. Sparta, Corinth and

⁸³ P. Arthur, «Pots and boundaries», p. 18.

⁸⁴ A. Powell, D. Mylona, «The faunal remains», in *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Survey 1994-99*, eds. R. Hodges, W. Bowden, K. Lako, London, 2004, p. 305-320.

⁸⁵ J. Koder, «Stew and salted meat – opulent normality in the diet of every day?», in *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19) – Food and Wine in Byzantium*, eds. L. Brubaker, K. Linardou, Aldershot, 2007 (*Society for the promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications* 13), p. 59-72.



31. Distribution map of ceramics found in Butrint and Otranto in the early medieval period (map J. Vroom; photo after Kocabaş and Özait Kocabaş 2007, fig. 5).

Aegina) and Constantinople in the East. For instance, in Butrint most local ceramic products and most imports were not only influenced and supplied by the eastern parts of the Byzantine Empire, but also to a substantial degree by the western parts. During the 8th and 9th centuries, long-distance voyages on small, low-status ships (such as the ones found at the recent Yenikapı excavations in Istanbul) in the Mediterranean and Adriatic appear to be more prevalent than previously known⁸⁶. And these voyages were not just restricted to the southern Adriatic; excavations in the northwestern Adriatic at Comacchio, Venice and Classe also yielded imports of 7th- and 8th-century globular *amphorae* from the Byzantine World⁸⁷.

⁸⁶ C. Pulak, «Yenikapı Bizans batıkları», p. 202-215.

⁸⁷ See note 45. In addition, the port of Classe (near Ravenna) also yielded 8th-century globular amphorae from southern Italy and the eastern Mediterranean; cf. E. Cirelli, «Anfore globulari a Classe nell'alto medioevo», in *V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, eds. G. Volpe, P. Favia, Florence, 2009, p. 563-568, especially fig. 4; A. Augenti, E. Cirelli, «From suburb to port: The rise (and fall) of Classe as a centre of trade and re-distribution», in *Port Networks in the Roman Mediterranean*, ed. S. Keay, Rome, forthcoming.

Nevertheless, there is currently no ceramic evidence in the southern Adriatic for long-distance movements of substantial quantities of wares and goods from further away than the Adriatic or the Aegean. For example, there is no evidence of imports from pottery producing regions such as Spain or the Near East. Butrint and other sites on the Albanian coast seem to have been part of a self-sufficient regional economic system. This regional system encompassed both coastal zones of the Adriatic. For instance, transactions between Butrint and the Salento region probably occurred in a system in which an agricultural surplus may have been used as an exchange commodity. An absence of coinage suggests that during early medieval times, between the early 7th and early 9th centuries, Butrint and its hinterland did not have a money-based economy⁸⁸.

In the early medieval ceramic assemblage from Butrint, there are both innovatively and intricately manufactured products (e.g. chafing dishes) as well as wide, wheel-made cooking pots produced from local materials. This range of pottery seems to indicate production of an urban character (perhaps for locally-based Byzantine garrisons or officials). At the same time, a kind of 'ruralisation' (or simplification) in the pottery finds from Butrint and other Albanian sites occurs during early medieval times with the appearance of vessels in coarser fabrics⁸⁹. These types of pottery were either hand-made, made on a slow potter's wheel (a *tournette*) or a faster potter's wheel, and were often associated with ceramics found in the Balkans by similarity in shapes and decoration styles; these ceramics included locally and regionally produced closed vessels with conservative, basic shapes, such as small jars, which could have been easily fired in open pits.

It is obvious that the material culture of the 8th century is still significantly more obscure and less recognisable than that of the 7th century in most areas of the Mediterranean (with the 7th century still being part of the 'Late Antique commonwealth')⁹⁰. The amounts of pottery in use appear

⁸⁸ V. Popović, «Les témoins archéologiques des invasions avaro-slaves dans l'Illyricum byzantin», *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité*, 87 (1975), p. 145-504; see also P. Papadopoulou's contribution in this volume.

⁸⁹ This situation is described as 'urban and rural market production' by S. Gelichi, «Ceramic production and distribution in the Early Medieval Mediterranean basin (seventh to tenth centuries AD): Between town and countryside», in *Towns and their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds. G.P. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier, N. Christie, Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2000 (*The Transformation of the Roman World* 9), p. 136.

⁹⁰ A. Harris, *Byzantium, Britain and the West. The Archaeology of Cultural Identity AD 400-650*, Stroud, 2003.

to be less; the familiar, mass-produced fine wares and cooking wares of late antique manufacture seem to have become rare; and the standard types of Late Roman *amphorae* were apparently replaced by wooden barrels or superseded by variants made in southern Italy, the Crimea or the Aegean. For instance, Crete, Kos and Cyprus were producing globular LRA 2/13 variants for export during the 7th-8th centuries. Imports of African Red Slip Ware from North Africa and Phocaeen Red Slip Ware from western Turkey ceased. Open Red Slip Ware plates, bowls and dishes – a cheaper alternative to contemporary shapes in gold, silver and bronze – became less common, and may have been replaced by wooden alternatives.

On the other hand, in the Mediterranean as a whole, the production and use of *amphorae* remained strong because of economic necessity⁹¹. Additionally, there was a slight increase in the regional production and use of fine wares with a slipped surface or with elaborate painted decoration in those parts of the Mediterranean where Byzantine influence was strong. This could mean that some skilled potters of late antique workshops remained active in their craft, probably manufacturing innovative products for new markets. The quality of their products was not poor, but the volume of their production and the repertoire of forms declined. As a result of this (and as a result of our limited ability to recognise the wares), only a few ceramic types have been definitely and archaeologically identified (particularly in field surveys) to the 8th and 9th centuries.

From the 7th century onwards, new fine wares began to dominate production in the Aegean. For the first time, Constantinople was manufacturing its own products (Glazed White Ware I – at first a glazed Red Slip Ware-variant) for export. This export only reached a modest level, but it constituted a clear difference from the 7th century, when various unglazed Red Slip Wares were steadily imported into Constantinople as tableware. Due to a large consumers market in the capital, the quality of urban pottery production remained steady. This suggests that in this part of the Aegean, pottery technology and distribution was characterised by continuity and stable developments into early medieval times. Besides distribution in the region around Constantinople, specifically the northern and western Turkish coasts, the locally produced Glazed White Ware I also reached southern Albania, northern Africa and central Turkey (e.g. Amorion, Kalehöyük)⁹². In addition, there was a huge increase in the distribution of Constantinopolitan table-

⁹¹ See J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, p. 8, who mentions that 85% of the finds in the 8th century include *amphorae*.

⁹² These last finds perhaps occur because routes from the Capital into Asia Minor were regularly travelled by military and non-military personnel.

wares, specifically Glazed White Ware II and Polychrome Ware, into even more remote regions after the 9th century and after the period of Iconoclasm.

Judging from the archaeological material, an intra-regional, long-distance or cabotage movement of fine wares and small globular *amphorae* certainly existed in the eastern Mediterranean during early medieval times. These smaller *amphorae* had less carrying capacity, but facilitated easy handling during short-, medium- and long-distance transport on various means of transfer, and during loading and unloading in minor and less sophisticated coastal harbours, such as Butrint. Furthermore, there existed an active inter-regional exchange between shipping zones, such as between Constantinople and the Black Sea region; between the southern coast of Turkey, Crete/Cyprus and Egypt; and between some sites in central Greece (e.g. Athens, Corinth, Aegina) and the southern Adriatic (in particular Otranto and Butrint)⁹³. Coastal regions in particular were getting ceramic products from other parts of the Mediterranean (perhaps due to the presence of the Byzantine fleet in those areas). In short, we are dealing with a number of overlapping networks of production and distribution, which was essentially Aegean-centred, but stretched beyond this area⁹⁴.

Regarding 8th- and 9th-century production, there were gradual but evident changes in pottery shapes and technology compared to late antique times. They included the manufacture of Glazed White Wares in Constantinople and imitations in different (often red-bodied) fabrics on other sites (e.g. Amorium and Corinth). Finally, we notice the production of small-shaped LRA 2/13 variants (globular *amphorae*) in the Aegean (on Crete, Kos and Cyprus), on the Crimea and in southern Italy, as well as the appearance of new cooking pot shapes and different cooking techniques – as was the case in Butrint and Otranto on both sides of the southern Adriatic. These changes were already ‘looking forward to the material culture of the Middle Byzantine period’⁹⁵.

⁹³ E.g. P. Horden, N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History*, London, 2000, p. 123-172; M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 537-547; C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2005.

⁹⁴ The Aegean-southern Adriatic connection is further confirmed by the find of volcanic millstones from Melos in Apulia and in Butrint; cf. P. Arthur, «Riflessioni intorno ad alcune produzioni di anfore tra la Calabria e la Puglia in età medievale», in *Atti del XXX Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica (Albisola, 1997)*, (1998), p. 11 and note 10; T. Gerke, S.R. Stocker, J.L. Davis, B. Maynard, G. Dietsch, «Sourcing volcanic millstones from Greco-Roman sites in Albania», *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 3 (2006), p. 137-146.

⁹⁵ G.D.R. Sanders, «An overview of the new chronology for 9th to 13th century pottery at Corinth», in *VII^e Congrès international sur la céramique médiévale en Méditerranée*, ed. Ch. Bakirtzis, Athens, 2003, p. 39.