## Archaeological Evidence from Cassope. The Local Workshops of Mouldmade Bowls

## Konstantina Gravani

The first excavations of the Archaeological Society at Athens in Cassope were carried out by Professor S. Dakaris between 1951 and 1955. During this period, the large building in the centre of the city, identified as the public inn (Katagogion), as well as part of the North Stoa of the Agora were excavated (Fig. 1)1

From 1977 to 1983, excavations on a larger scale were carried out under the direction of S. Dakaris, in co-operation with W. Hoepfner and E.L.Schwandner, architects at the German Archaeological Institute-Berlin, and myself, on behalf of the University of Ioanina. During this most recent period of excavation, attention was focused mainly on private houses, ten of which were excavated, most of them near the centre of the city (houses 1-9 and 14).

At the same time, research in the Katagogion and the North Stoa was completed, bringing to light even older buildings under their foundations. Furthermore, excavations were carried out in the civic Agora, with the Prytaneum and the West Stoa, as well as in the roads surrounding the relevant building blocks<sup>2</sup>. (Fig. 1).

Conclusions reached on the basis of both periods of excavations<sup>3</sup> can be summarized as follows: The city was founded and settled before the middle of the 4th century BC, probably in the second quarter; great building activity and economic prosperity followed in the Middle Hellenistic Period, especially during the time of the Epirotic League (234/3 - 168 B C); there was a decline in the Late Hellenistic Period and finally the city was

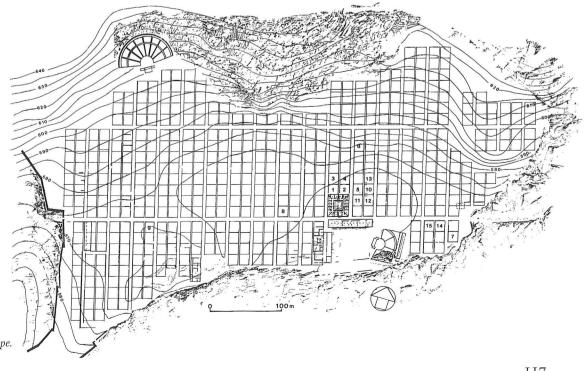


Fig. 1. Townplan of Cassope.

abandoned around the end of the  $1^{\text{st}}$  century BC.

The results of these excavations show that the following historical events played a decisive role in the rise and fall of Cassope during the Hellenistic period: the participation of the Cassopeans in the Epirotic League and their autonomy at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup>, beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, the Roman conquest of Epirus in 168 BC, the re-establishment of the Epirotic League after 148 BC and finally the founding of Roman Nikopolis by synoecism in 31 BC.

Thanks to systematic excavations, we have at our disposal reliable stratigraphical indications for the study of the numerous archaeological finds<sup>4</sup> brought to light, particularly, during the recent excavations. Among the mass of ceramics<sup>5</sup> found at Cassope, one distinct category consists of mouldmade relief bowls, most of which came from private houses. After conservation and restoration work, this rich collection of finds comprises 1981 recorded fragments and pieces of relief bowls, as well as a few whole vases. Nine fragments and parts of moulds were also recorded and together with the relief bowls were made the subject of a special study.6

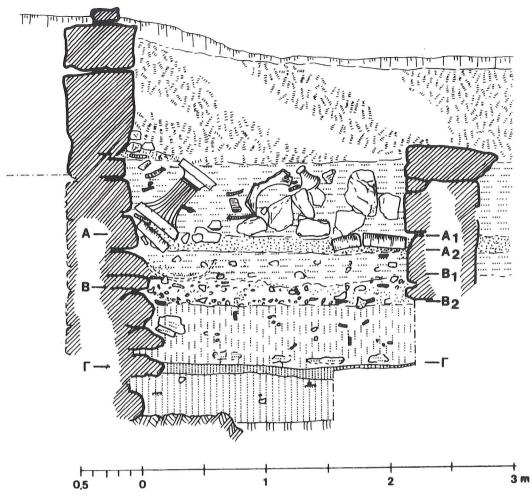
Stratigraphy was studied first<sup>7</sup>, so as to obtain a reliable basis for the study of the chronology of the archaeological finds. For the purposes of stratigraphy, the evidence of all datable finds, primarily 1.500 coins and a large number of ceramics, was considered. Their examination in the context of the historical events, led to a chronological sequence of excavation layers in each particular place and the recognition of specific construction phases, despite the disturbed stratigraphy in certain buildings. From a study of the geological and geomorphological aspects of the area, the formation of this stratigraphy was found to be due mainly to external reasons (inclination and erosion of the ground), as well as to the action of endogenous factors (earthquakes and landslides). There was also human intervention in the area (foundations laid on the rock transfer of debris).

As we have also discovered, the stratigraphy is not particularly enlightening in the case of buildings on sloping ground, usually in the higher part of the city. Houses 3, 6, 7 and 9, although placed on two or three different terraced levels, artificially formed by chiselling the rock, have suffered the consequences of erosion, which has not only carried away most of the later layers but in certain cases has damaged even the surface of the local limestone (houses 6 and 9). Even in those cases, however, where the rocky substratum has not come to the surface, very few traces of earlier construction phases remain. Most of the phases were destroyed by the deep foundations of later walls and the clearing of the natural rock, which in many places, due to difference in elevation, was used as a floor over a long period of time (houses 3 and 7). The latter practice, together with continuous habitation over three or more centuries, is the main reason that certain buildings, even those built on relatively even ground, do not show the expected stratigraphy (houses 2 and 4). At the same time, there is a group of buildings from which only a few layers survive, mainly because, even though they were inhabited for a long period of time, they were completely rebuilt (houses 8 and 14).

For the same reason, the public buildings in the Agora have a poor stratigraphy even though their foundations are on level ground in the lower part of the city (Prytaneum, West and North Stoa). On the contrary, the Katagogion presents an unexpected sequence of layers due to the sloping ground on its southern and eastern sides which was raised and levelled for the construction of the later building.

Buildings constructed on natural cavities (houses 1, 2 and 5), mainly in the lower parts of the city, present the best stratigraphy because they hold fast the various construction layers (artificial landfill – rubble) or those layers created either by the use of the area as a living space (living levels – floors) or by the destruction of previous construction phases. The lowest layers, however, even in these buildings

Fig. 2. House 5. Room e. Stratigraphy of the north side.

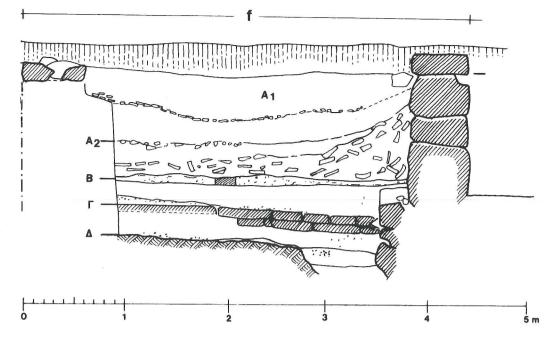


have sometimes been seriously damaged by the deep foundations and repairs of later times (house 1). This repeated practice probably reflects the desire of the Cassopeans for structural stability in case of earthquakes, which as shown by the stratigraphy of the Katagogion and central road (Figs. 4 - 5), were common in the area due to its endogenous mobility and Karst phenomena. The upper layers are also not always unmixed, mainly because the layers of houses on higher levels have been swept down by erosion. Finally, another characteristic of this group of buildings is the raising of the floors and doorsills in later construction phases in line with the raising of the road levels and drainage passageways.

The best example of the buildings that provide a clear, continuous stratigraphy is house 5, which was built on a natural cav-

ity, in one of the lowest parts of the city. The building retains its layers and shows all its phases of construction, from its foundation in the 4th century BC until its abandonment in the 1st century BC. The study of its stratigraphy has proved that it has undergone three changes of use during its six construction phases8 (Fig. 2). The three main stages in its life are shown clearly in stratigraphical sections, as well as the interim changes made to its interior layout, which play an important role in determining the buildings chronology due to their short duration. Of great importance for the study of ceramics is the fourth construction phase, which dates from the beginning of the second quarter of the 2nd century BC and is connected with the extension of the existing ceramic workshop into the surrounding rooms (floor B1). After 167 BC, during the fifth

Fig. 3. House 2. Room f. Stratigraphy of the south side.



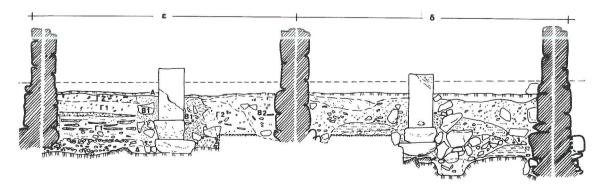
construction phase, house 5 stopped functioning as a workshop, as evidenced by the construction of a large room with a hearth in the centre (floor A2). The house remained as such, with some small changes in the layout (floor A1), until its abandonment in the 1st century BC.

The neighbouring house 2 gives a different picture, maintaining the same layout after 167 BC. Floor B (Fig. 3) was constructed at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and was in use after 148 BC, when the house was radically altered by the construction of a large peristyle court, probably at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

Only later construction phases remain

in the case of private houses built on sloping ground, whose floors, in constant use from their foundation in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC until their abandonment in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, are on different levels artificially formed by chiselling the rock, as previously mentioned.

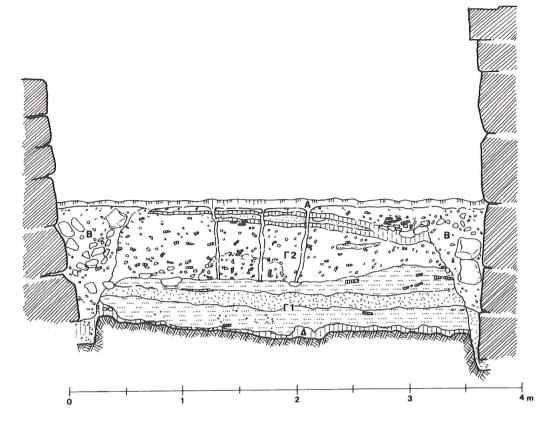
Typical of this phenomenon is the stratigraphy of house 6, where only the floor of later repairs, dated after 167 BC, remains. Equally characteristic is the stratigraphy of house 3, which extends to the property on the north side, and was probably abandoned after the Roman invasion. The floor laid during re-building after 148 BC survives in part, however,



0.5 0 1 2 3 4m

Fig. 4. Katagogion. Rooms e and d. Stratigraphy of the west side.

Fig. 5. Central road. Stratigraphy of the west side.



mainly under the contemporary peristyle.<sup>9</sup> In the other rooms the later layer was carried away by erosion, resulting in the exposure of natural rock under the surface layer (humus).

Of the public buildings in the Agora, only the Katagogion shows a continuous stratigraphy (Fig. 4). The archaeological layers, however, were disrupted by the strengthening of the internal walls and the central pilasters with materials and blockstones removed from elsewhere, at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. This was probably due to landslides, as it is attested by a crack, which was detected under the building during the excavations. The external walls of the Katagogion and the neighbouring northern stoa were also strengthened as is shown by the stratigraphy of the intervening main road (Fig. 5). Moreover, we can distinguish fissures in the road surfase due to earthquakes, which occurred after the final abandonment of the city by its inhabitants at the end of the 1st century BC, when they were forced to resettle in neighbouring Nikopolis.

From the study of the stratigraphy, it has been observed that most of the relief bowls were found within the layers of construction phases associated with the period of the Epirotic League (234/33-168 BC), whether dating form the beginning (house 3), from the middle (houses 1 and 2) or from the end of this period (house 5). During later phases of habitation, these layers were removed or mixed up with newer construction materials. This is indicated, in the case of the buildings rebuilt after 167 BC, by the discovery of sherds from the same vases in different rooms of the same house (house 5). As observed in the stratigraphy, more extensive interventions occurred during the rebuilding of the city after 148 BC. Rubble from the various layers must have been transferred from one building to another as attested by potsherds of different origins (houses 8 and 14), which fit together. This also explains, to a great extent, the poor condition of the material. So we are deprived - in stratigraphical terms - of the most valuable chronological terminus, i.e.

the destruction of Epirus by the Romans in 167 BC, an historical event attested by written sources<sup>10</sup>. The conquest of Epirus by the Romans and the subsequent Roman policies are documented archaeologically in the case of Cassope by the construction phases after 167 BC, the decline of the city during the later Hellenistic period and its partial rebuilding after 148 BC, which affected ownership, when the Epirotic League was re-established<sup>11</sup> under Roman control.

The study of ceramics sheds light on the nature of the changes mentioned above. Our knowledge of local relief bowl workshops in particularly sheds light on political, economic and social aspects of the history of Cassope during Hellenistic times and helps us to trace the cultural identity of the city as a production center.

Locally produced bowls represent approximately 80% of the total of this category of vases. The majority of them have an almost hemispherical or parabolic shape and an inwardly curved rim. The decorative layout on the bowls is uniform and usually occupies 3/4 of their height, up to the horizontal band(s) under the rim. The clay for the bowls comes from local deposits and is the same as that of their moulds (Pl. 18). As a rule it is yellowish - rose in colour and usually covered by black glaze. The surfaces of most of the bowls are worn. Many of the relief decorations look noticeable worn, an indication that a great many of them are produced in worn moulds. Apart from the use of worn moulds, the heavy wear observable on the surfaces of the bowls is due to the disturbance of the archaeological strata during the levelling of the ground for the construction of later buildings. In addition, as previously mentioned, a large number of bowls were not found in their original site, but in later layers together with rubble brought from elsewhere. This, among other factors, explains the poor condition of the bowls.

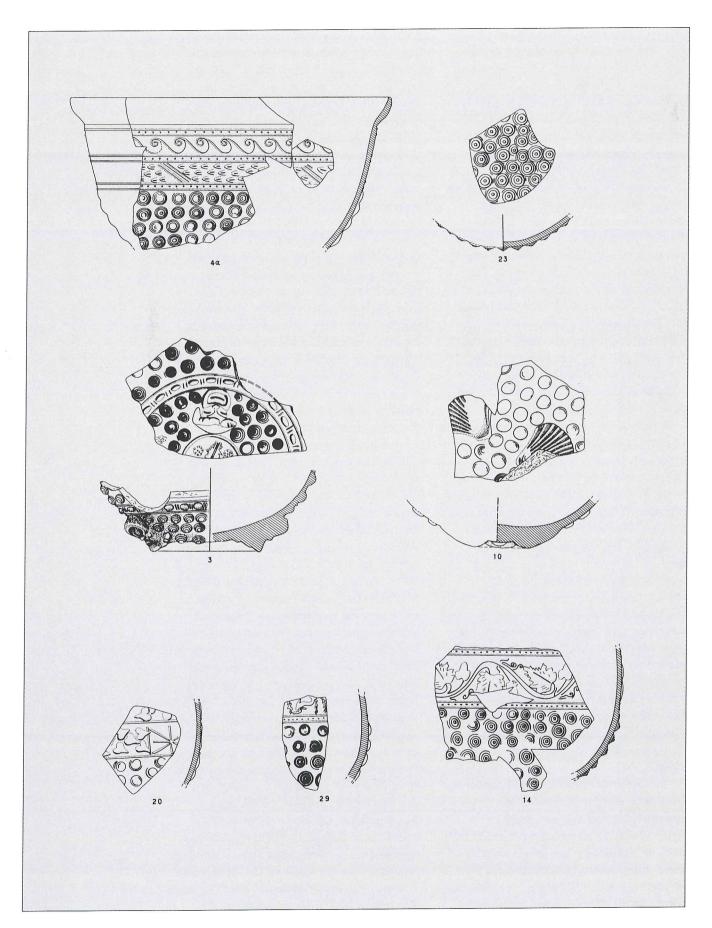
According to the exact or near similarity of the main decorative themes, the following categories of bowls (Pls.1-18)<sup>12</sup> were produced in local workshops:

- 1 Bowls with circular nodules, which are the most characteristic of local production and often have relief supports (Pls. 1-4).
- 2 Bowls with overlapping decoration, usually leaves and petals, which also have relief supports (Pl.5).
- 3 Bowls with a floral calyx, usually lotus, fern or acanthus, which are the most common. The floral calyx is either composed of leaves of the same type or of a combination of different leaves in several variations. (Pls. 6-13, 17, nos. 187, 344).
- 4 The fourth category also includes bowls with a floral calyx, in which the floral patterns alternate equally with figures (Pls.14–15). In a very few bowls, figures in the shape of calyx are the only decoration of the wall (Pl.16).
- 5 The fifth category consists of a small number of bowls which are decorated with animal and human figures usually above a short floral calyx (Pl.17, nos. 410, 188).
- 6 Here are included a few bowls, which are decorated with long petals (Pl.17, nos. 416  $\alpha$ -y).
- 7 One single potsherd hints at a seventh category, on which is barely recognizable the decoration of the type "Macedonian shield" (Pl.17, no. 415).

The results of a comparative study of the finds from a typological and iconographical point of view, on the basis of which we traced the influences and detected variations and deviations of local character, cannot be set out here due to publication limits. For the same reason imported bowls are not presented although many of them can be assigned to large geographical areas, some even to local workshops. Therefore, we are, in fact, restricted to conclusions gained from examining the technique and style in the context of local workshops and their chronology.

On the basis of stratigraphical data and historical events, it is possible to put in chronological order locally produced bowls from Cassope.

Only the Katagogion provides evidence



for the appearance of relief bowls in Cassope and the beginning of their production in local workshops. The presence of fragments of moulds in the destruction layer of the oldest building ( $\Gamma$ 1) and the presence of potsherds in the rubble  $(\Gamma 2)$ used to construct the later Katagogion (Fig. 4) prove that relief bowls were known in Cassope before the end of the 3rd century BC. For the early phase of the production of relief bowls, evidence comes from the construction layers of floor B13 in houses 1 and 2 (Fig. 3) which was built in conjunction with the widening of the paved side road north of the Katogogion at the end of the 3rd century BC. The diffusion of these vases during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, before 167 BC, is shown by their presence in the construction layers as well as in those used for flooring B1 in house 5 (Fig. 2), which dates from the beginning of the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

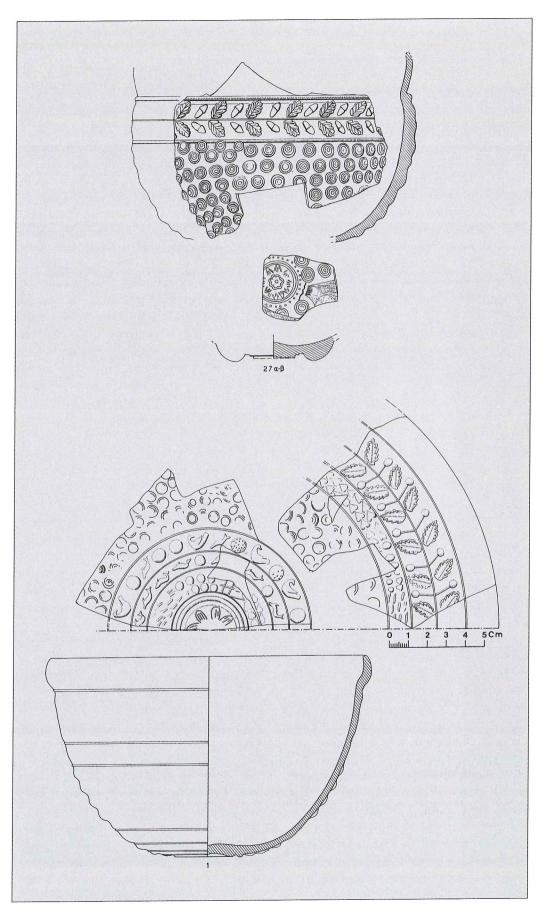
Relief bowls continued to be used after 167 BC as shown by their presence on floor A in house 5 (Fig. 2) and in the last building phase of house 6, which is dated to the first years of the Roman conquest of Epirus. Their significant diffusion in the first half of the 2nd century BC is evidenced by the large number of relief bowls found on floor B of house 2 (Fig. 3), which was not destroyed in 167 BC but instead sometime after 148 BC, possibly at the end of the 2nd century BC. A terminus ante quem is provided by their presence in the debris used to construct floor A in house 1, which dates from immediately after the reestablishment of the Epirotic League in 148 BC. Moreover, relief bowls are the main drinking vessels in Cassope as shown by the lack of cups in the layers of the first half of the 2nd century BC.

The presence of relief bowls under the later floor of houses 3 and 4, the Prytaneum and under the pavement of the roads, dating from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, provides very little evidence of their diffusion in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, since these were built on the layers of the previous construction

phase. Also of no significance is the finding of relief bowls in the later construction layers of the Katogogion (Fig.4) and the North Stoa, because they contain mainly older finds originating from the foundation ditches of the walls when they were strengthened later.

There is also a lack of accurate stratigraphical data for the 1st century BC, because most of the later floor levels with their derelict layer have been carried away by erosion. We can conclude indirectly, however, that relief bowls were not in fashion during this period. The presence of cups and bowls of local and imported red and gray ware<sup>14</sup> in the layers of the later Hellenistic period show that after the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC the steady replacement of relief bowls with other drinking vessels had begun. The decline of the local workshops is also evidenced by the increase in the importation of relief bowls to Cassope from other areas during the later Hellenistic period.

It is possible to attain a relative chronology for the local workshops and workshop-groups of Cassope by comparing excavation data with the results of the stylistic analysis, the study of technique and workshop classification. We run into difficulties obtaining an absolute chronology for relief bowls as isolated vases, which are related to the general problems of dating Hellenistic ceramics, but also to more specific problems associated with their mechanical reproduction using moulds and stamps<sup>15</sup>. In Cassope, the large number of bowls which came from the same moulds compels us to accept a narrower time limit for the life of the moulds than that of 25 to 30 years already estimated, from the data of antiquity.<sup>16</sup> However, the heavy wear shown by the bowls is consistent with the long-term use of the moulds, which could last a quarter of a century or more. Although we do not know the average rate of wear on the moulds and stamps, or the tempo of production in the workshops, the conclusions reached from the study of the stratigraphy confirm the above estimates resulting from the chronological classification of the



workshops and workshop-groups of Cassope.

Despite the difficulties arising from the lack of signatures on the vases, the fragmentary condition of the finds, their poor state of preservation and the derivation of the majority of them from worn moulds, it is possible to distinguish six groups<sup>17</sup> of relief bowls thanks to the detection of characteristic decorative patterns. Three of them point to the possible existence of three different workshops (A, B, C). The other three, because they do not represent the total production of one workshop, can be described as workshop-groups (1, 2, 3). It is possible that the bowls assigned to these groups were produced in workshops A and B.

Workshops A and B and workshop groups 1,2,3 draw their decorations from a common repertoire, formed initially in workshop A, enriched in workshop B and imitated by workshop groups 1, 2 and 3. Stylistic analysis has shown that workshop groups 1 and 3 copy the bowls of workshop A, while group 2 copy those of workshop B. The main decorative ornaments, encountered in bowls of the three groups, are created by mechanical stamping from the initials of workshops A and B, so we are in a position to distinguish three generations of stampings. The secondary ornaments, which are found in the band under the rim, the filling ornaments and the medallions are made with new stamps.

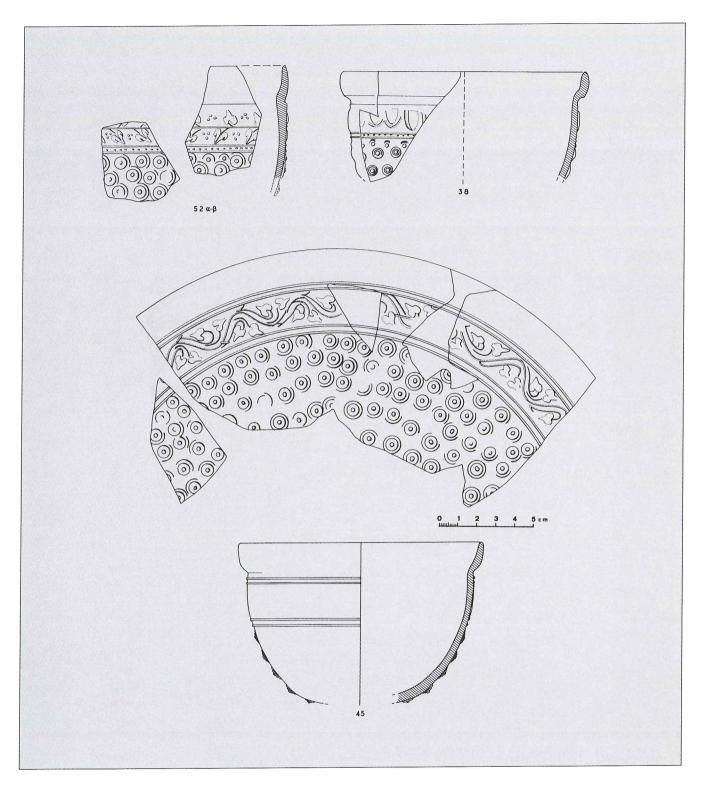
None of the stamps, which were used for decorating the moulds of local workshops (Pl. 18) has been found in the excavations. Thus, for types and range of stamps the only information we have is from their imprints on the bowls. All imprints of the stamps, which are on the fragments of seven of the moulds found, are recognized on locally produced bowls, except the bowls from workshop C. Two fragments of moulds, stamped with a natural pine-cone (Pl. 18, nos. 649-650) probably represent an experimental stage in the production of relief bowls, considering that no bowls were found in Cassope decorated with pine-cone scales.

Most probably, bowls with circular nodules from local workshops copied this natural decoration.

As established by the stratigraphy and the study of the material, the production in workshop A began at the end of the 3rd century BC. Bowls with round, conelike nodules (Pls. 1-2, 3, no 38), which often have masks and shells as relief supports, but occasionally have no medallions on their bases, are characteristic of Workshop A. Favourite decorations in the band under the rim are oak wreaths, scrolls with vine leaves and grapes, and rows of palmettes or leaves alternating with dolphins or birds. On those bowls decorated with floral decoration a preference is shown for large pleated acanthus leaves, straight and with their tops bent to one side (Pl.8), for the pointed lotus leaves, incised on the mould (Pl. 6, nos. 173-174), and for triangular fern leaves with eyelet shaped holes (Pl. 7, nos. 189, 197). Probably the pattern of floral motifs alternating with figures was introduced by Workshop A.

Research has also shown that Workshop B produced bowls from the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Typical of its production are bowls with disclike nodules on the wall, occasionally with relief support (Pl. 3, nos. 45, 52  $\alpha$ -6). The most popular of the decorations in the band under the rim are scrolls and wreaths of ivy. A large number of bowls are decorated with overlapping leaves on some of which relief supports are preserved (Pl. 5, nos. 109, 119). On a small number of bowls the overlapping leaves are combined with hanging semicircles (Pl. 5, nos. 128  $\alpha$ -6). In Workshop B there is a tendency towards the use of stamped oval lotus leaves (Pl. 6, nos. 160, 150  $\alpha$  – 6) rather than in– cised as in Workshop A, where however fern leaves (Pl. 7, no. 230) and acanthus with their tops bent to one side (Pl. 9, no. 286  $\alpha$ - $\gamma$ ) are freely copied. Also very popular are triangular tufted acanthus leaves (Pl. 11), as well as elongated tufted acanthus (Pl.15), alternating with female figures, and there are also distinctive medal-

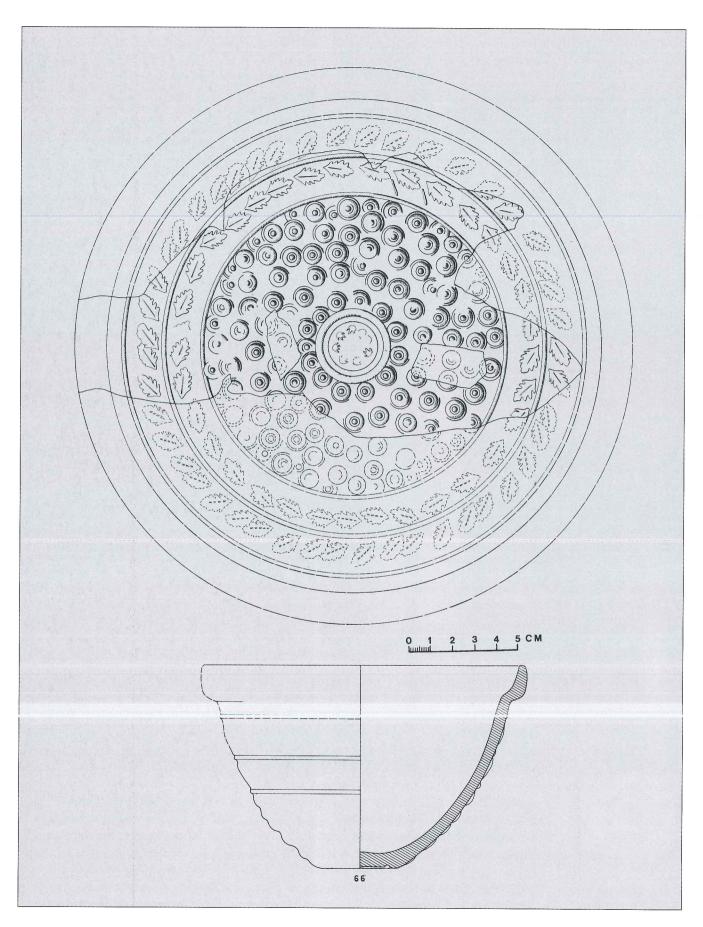
The appearance of relief bowls in Cas-

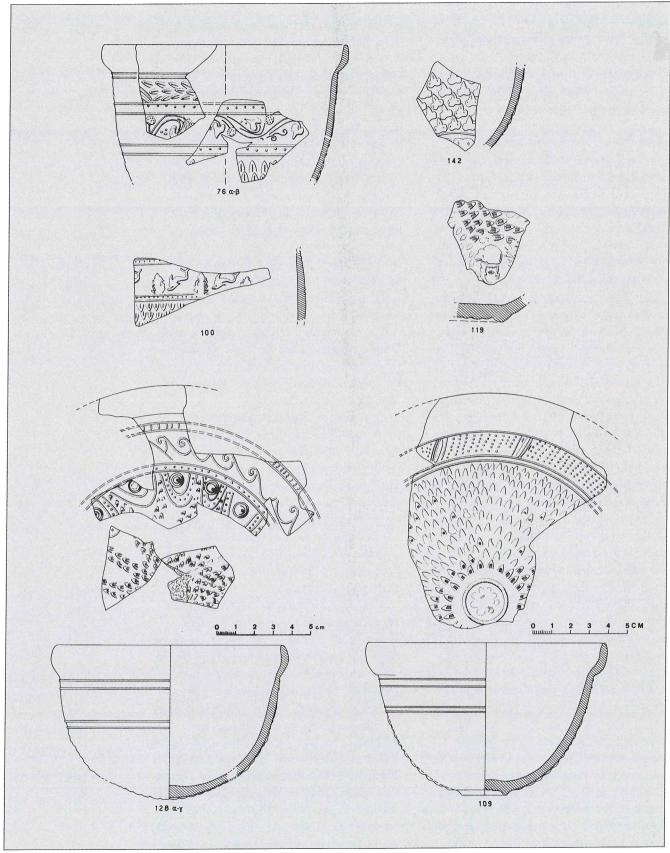


sope, in the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, coincides with their diffusion throughout the most important centres of the Hellenistic period, something to be expected, given Cassope's traditional relations with Attica and its contacts with Alexandria and Tarent.<sup>18</sup>

Pl. 3.

The best parallels to the moulds decorated with pine-cone scales are found in the earliest workshops of Attica. <sup>19</sup> To the influence of common prototypes are owed probably the decorations of circular nodules, overlapping leaves, calyx of lotus leaves, as well as certain decorative pat-





Pl. 5.

terns on the bands under the rims of bowls of workshop A.<sup>20</sup>

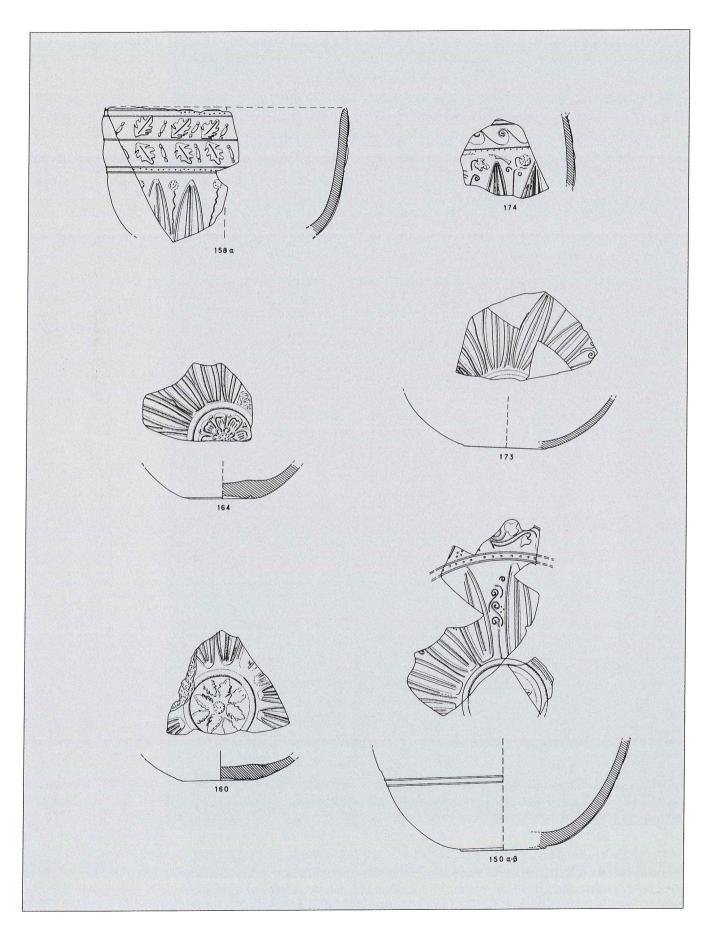
The shape of locally produced bowls points to Tarent.<sup>21</sup> Analogous shaping of the rim in bowls from Macedonia<sup>22</sup> indicates, up to a point, the cultural unity of northwestern Greece. At the same time, there is a difference in the layout of decoration in calyx between the bowls of Cassope and similar products from the Ionian workshops, with their familar layout of decoration in bands.<sup>23</sup> Bowls with floral decoration and figures from the two first workshops seem to have common prototypes with bowls from local workshops in the Peloponnese, which probably derive their art from Magna Grecia.<sup>24</sup>

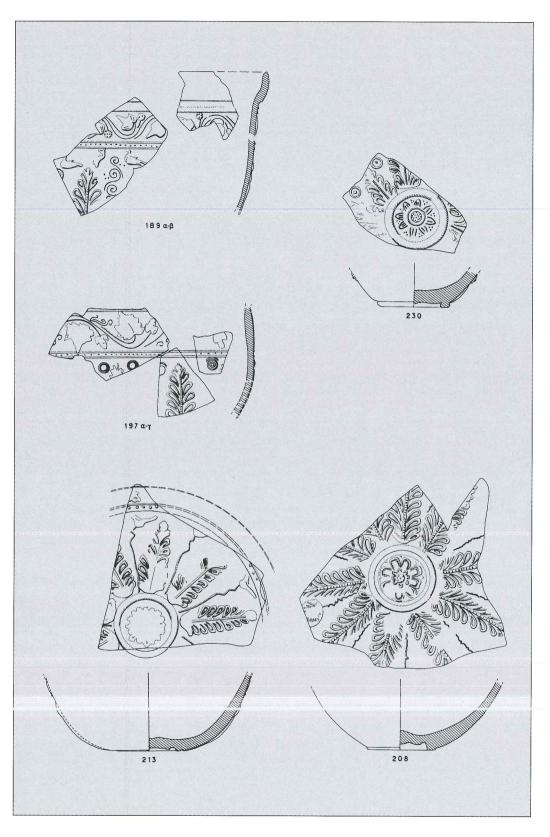
Bowls with a decoration of acanthus leaves from the same workshops point to works of art from Macedonia and Thessaly, where metal vessels with similar decoration were found.<sup>25</sup> This similarity strengthens the hypothesis that there existed unknown centres of metalwork in the northwestern wider area. Among them, in the region of ancient Epirus can be included Ambracia, originally a colony of Corinth, in whose art similar decorative compositions occur.<sup>26</sup> Apart from that, the Epirotic school of copperworking was located in Ambracia during the ancient and classical periods,27 and the city is known to have flourished during the Hellenistic period, especially after it was established as the capital of Epirus by Pyrrhos.28 Unfortunately, its destruction by the Romans did not allow the survival of its most important works of art, which were seized and taken to Rome.<sup>29</sup> It is possible that certain sculptural figures on the bowls of Cassope reflect its monumental art. The view has already been expressed that Ambracia was the centre where on ornate type of grave stele, common all over northwestern Greece and in Cassope,<sup>30</sup> was created. Many of the decorations on the grave stele are recognized on locally produced relief bowls and bear witness to local tradition.<sup>31</sup> Probably, this strong tradition in northwestern Greece is also the reason for the presence of equivalent decorations on relief bowls in Italy.32

The beginning of the production of relief bowls in Cassope in workshops A and B, at the end of the 3rd and at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC respectively, reflects the desire of a large part of the population to use decorated vessels with an 'air' of luxury, given that they are substitutes for bowls made of precious metal or glass.<sup>33</sup> Their appearance and diffusion coincides with the period when the Cassopeans were independent of the Epirotic League, an era<sup>34</sup> when the city was in its heyday. Cassope as an autonomous city minted silver coins and at the same time put into circulation a type of coin related to the Roman denaria in order to facilitate sea trade, which reached its peak at the time of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Punic war via already Roman-occupied Corfu.35 At the same time it maintained relations with the Hellenistic centres in the East, as is shown by its participation in the games in honour of the goddess Artemis held in Magnesia of Maiandros in 206 BC.36

Bowls from both workshops were found outside Cassope,<sup>37</sup> which allows us to assume that their production covered not only local needs but was also intended for export. The location of the city near the most important natural passes of Epirus and the unified monetary policy<sup>38</sup> of the Epirotic League favoured the development of regional trade, as the bowls imported from Cassope to the Dodona sanctuary show clearly. <sup>39</sup>

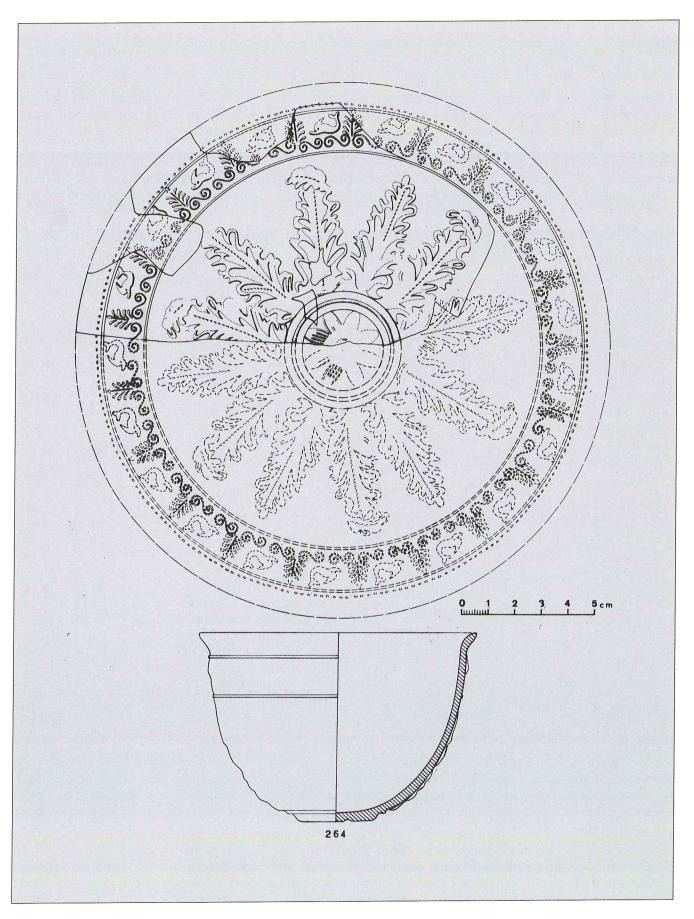
Relief bowls from the workshops of Cassope have not been found outside Epirus. However, the attempt to standarize their form and the existence of a series of vases with small variations show the rationalization of the workshops' industry, aimed at constant production, responding to the conditions of a wider market. Moreover in this era, apart from the circulation of Italian coins in Epirus and in Cassope,40 there was movement of people and distribution of goods within the areas of the Adriatic basin.<sup>41</sup> In the context of these relations, we can explain the decorations common to Italian bowls and those of Cassope, which are typical of the latter.42

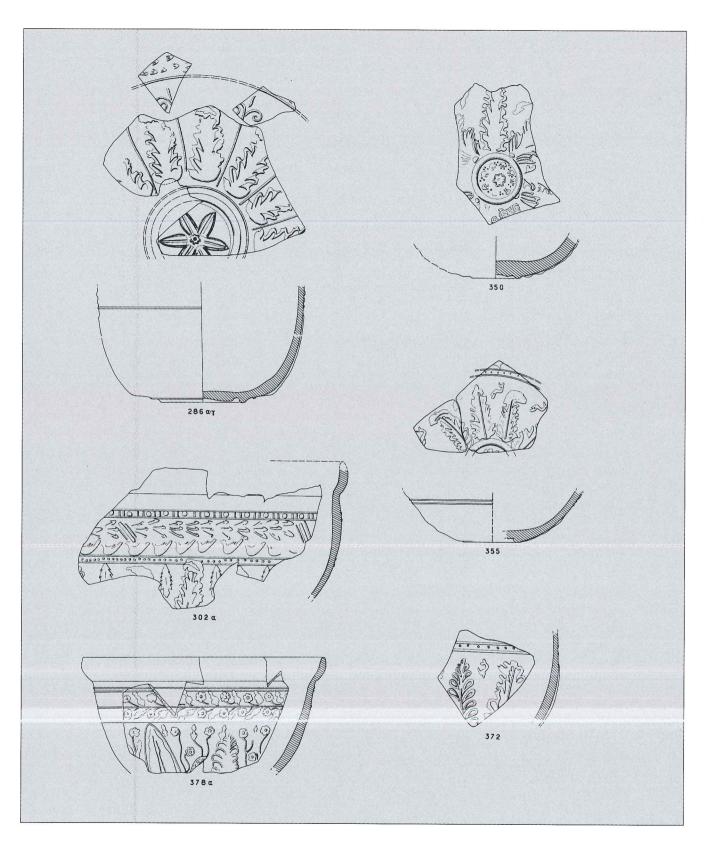




As established by the stratigraphy and the study of the material, the production peak of workshops A and B is dated before the Roman destruction of 167 BC. In

the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, workshop-groups 1, 2, and 3 began their production, which continued until about the middle of the century. Relief bowls of



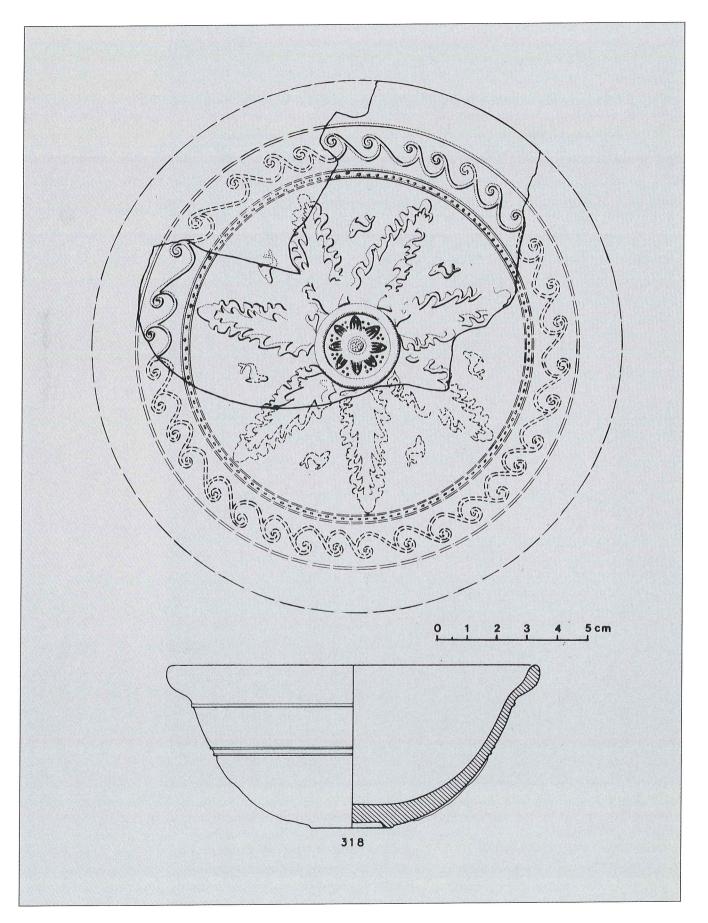


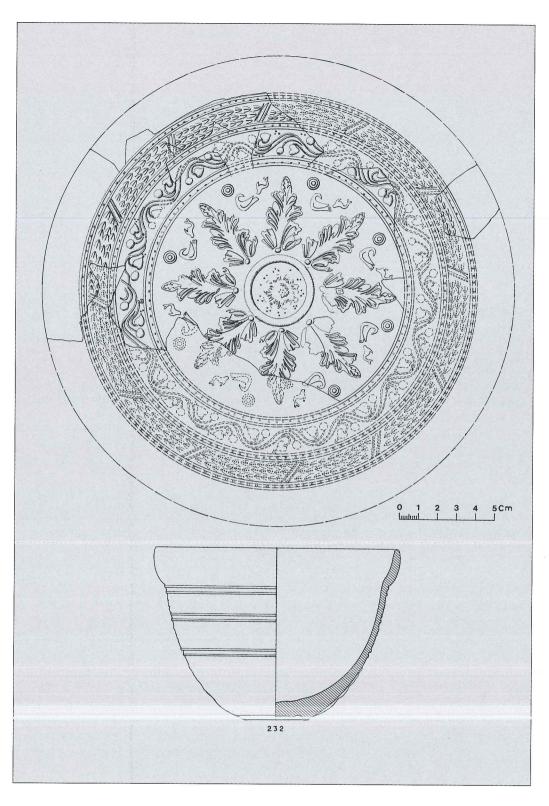
workshop A are badly copied by workshop group 1, as can be seen mainly on bowls with shield-shaped circular nodules (Pl. 4), as well as on bowls with various

floral decorations from the same group (Pl. 13). On these bowls characteristic decorations of workshop A can be recognized also on the band under the rim, for

Pl. 9.

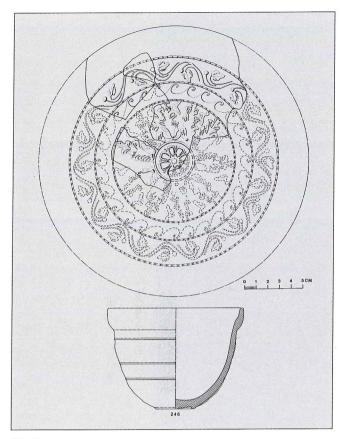
Pl. 10.

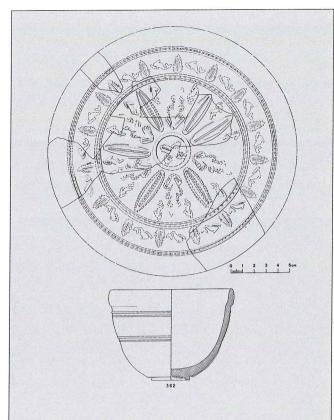




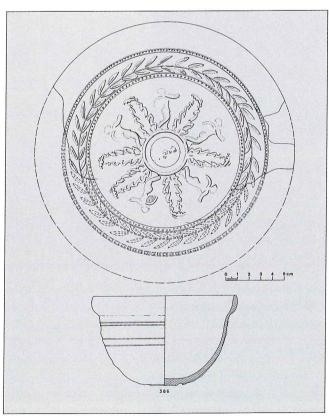
example the oak wreath and dolphins alternating with leaves.

In the case of the relief bowls from workshop-group 3, the triangular fern leaves with eyelet shaped holes were derived by stamping the original decorations of workshop A onto the vase. That is why these decorative patterns are smaller in size and less lively than the originals (Pl. 7, no. 213). The same method was used for the pleated acanthus, with straight and bent tops (Pl.9, no.  $302\alpha$ , Pl. 10) as well as

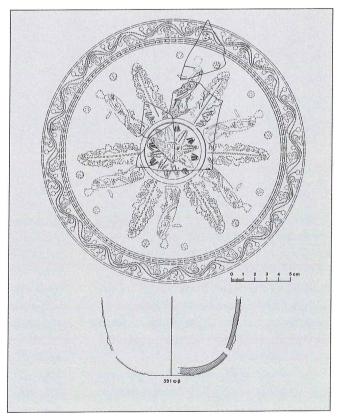




Pl. 12.

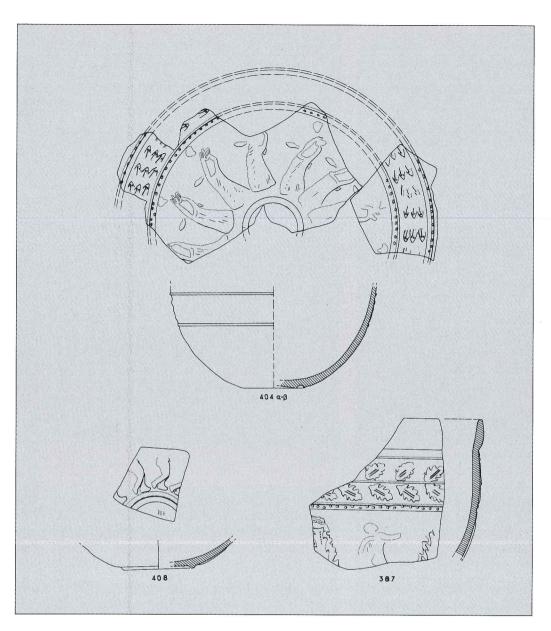


Pl. 13.



Pl. 14.

Pl. 15.

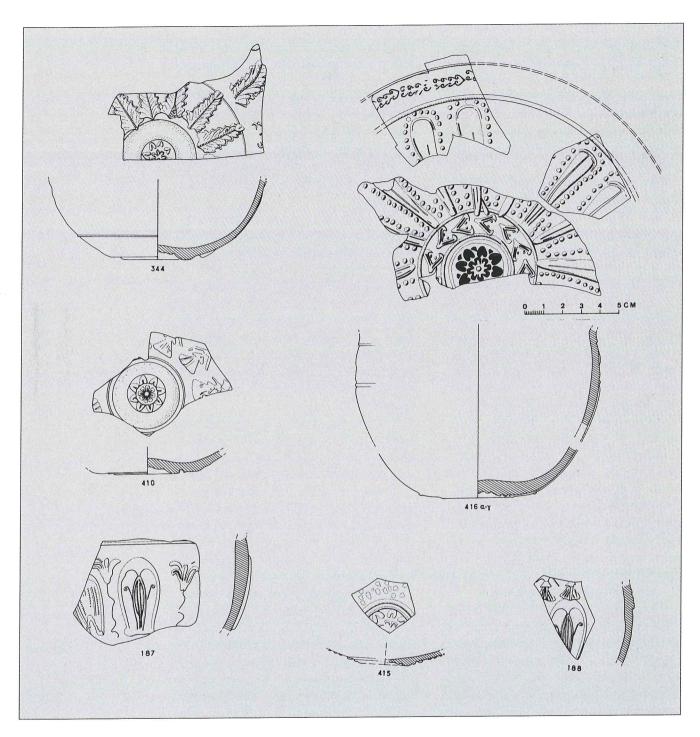


for the figures on the walls of the bowls (Pl.14), while the minor decorations under the rim are made from new stamps.

The floral decorations on the walls of the bowls of workshop-group 2 are even smaller in size and hardly discernible, because they were made with the same method of stamping from already worn stamps from workshop B, while the medallions and the decorations under the rim are made from new stamps (Pls. 12, 16, nos.  $404 \alpha - 6$ ).

As observed, the outcome of this process is that gradually the decorations on the bowls reflect the trivialization of the prototypes and the ineptitude of the arti-

sans. The beginning of activity by workshop-groups 1,2, and 3 is associated with an increase in production of bowls, but at the same time a decline in their quality. Undoubtedly the difference in quality of the bowls corresponds with their market value and reflects the social distinction between poor and well-off users. This phenomenon can be interpreted better, however, if we associate it with historical events in Epirus before the Roman conquest of 168 BC. During the 3rd Macedonian war, with the break-up of the Epirotic League, 43 170 - 168 BC, it is reasonable that inhabitants of unwalled settlements in Cassopaia should seek refuge in fortified



Pl. 17.

Cassope for protection against the Roman advance. The result of this increase in the population of Cassope was the enlargement of the market for ceramic products.

The enlargement of the ceramic workshop in house 5 during its fourth construction phase, dated at the beginning of the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, reveals the increase in demand for storage vessels, needed to safeguard goods in case

of siege or blockade. This is indicated as well by the discovery of quite a few amphorae and large jars (Fig. 2) on floor B1. At the same time, during this period, production of relief bowls was increased at the expense of quality in order to meet the demands of new consumers.

The Roman conquest of 167 BC<sup>44</sup> proved to be a determining factor in the activity of local workshops. Workshop A

ceases to be active, while workshop B and workshop-groups 1, 2, and 3 continue to make relief bowls after 167 BC from already worn moulds, which explains the heavy wear on the bowls. From then on workshops declined, since they renew neither their equipment nor their repertoire and reproduced the same themes to the point of satiety.

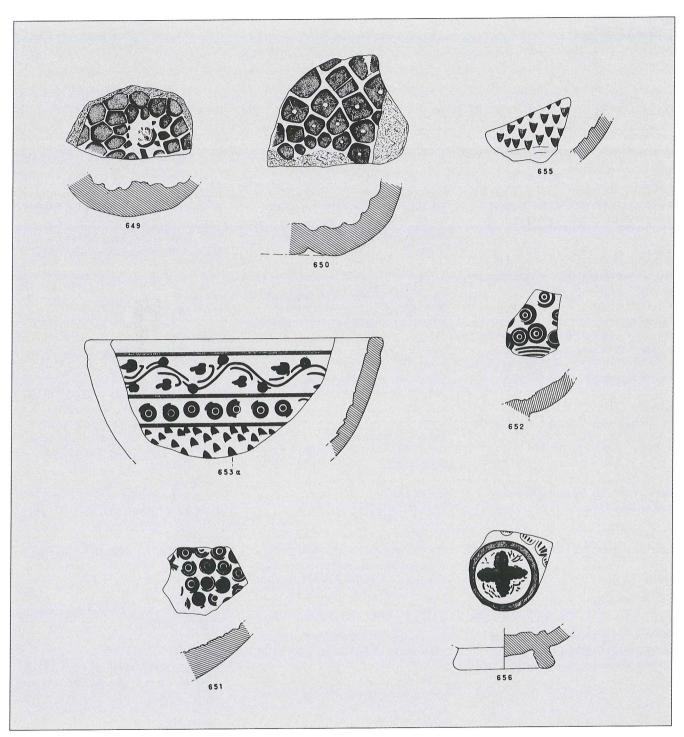
The beginning of the activity of workshop C is dated after 167 BC. Workshop C has a different repertoire. It manufactures floral bowls in which we do not recognize any of the decorations of the previous workshops. Moreover, it produces categories of bowls, which are not part of the repertoire of the previous workshops. such as relief bowls with short calyx and figures, with figures and living creatures, with 'Macedonian' decoration and long petals (Pl. 17). The decorations of workshop C are not copied or stamped, which indicates the mediocre quality of the workshop and the short duration of its production, which does not seem to extend beyond the end of the 2nd century BC. From the stratigraphy and decorations on the bowls of workshop C it is clear that its production is contemporary with later series of bowls from workshop B. Based on the available evidence, we can interpret the activity of workshop C as an attempt at the re-establishing of workshop B by renewing its repertoire.

The new decorative repertoire of the relief bowls from workshop C allows us to assume that its activity is probably connected with the settling of new inhabitants in Cassope after 167 BC. Evidence which strengthens this assumption is the privileged treatment given by the Romans to those of the indigenous population

friendly to them and to the former colonists, a policy<sup>45</sup> which became official with the re-establishment of the Epirotic League in 148 BC under Roman control. Apart from the change in the makeup of the population, Roman policy in Epirus after 167 BC probably is associated with the change in ownership status, which we discovered in some of the houses in Cassope, as well as with repairs in the public buildings.

The production of most of the relief bowls of workshop C from new moulds allows us to conclude that its activity was of short duration and that this activity was suddenly interrupted. The mobilization of the Cassopeans by the Romans to suppress the revolution of Aristonikos in Asia Minor, 133 – 129 BC, is an event<sup>46</sup> which can explain significant social and economic upheavals in Cassope and its surrounding area at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

The greatest number of imported relief bowls date from this period. Their presence in Cassope is not only an indication that production of relief bowls in local workshops ceased but also that the local economy was too weak to protect itself from expensive imports. These vases were probably meant for the privileged few, to whom the house with the peristyle court, built on the site of the original houses with a living room and courtyard in the centre, must have belonged. Moreover, the construction of large houses with peristyle courts, next to abandoned properties and poorly repaired houses which are of the original type of house,47 provides an example of social inequality and shows the decline of Cassope in the late Hellenistic period.



Pl. 18.

## Notes

NOTE 1

S. Dakaris, ΠΑΕ 1952, σ. 326-362; 1953, 164-174; 1954, 201-209; 1955, 181-186.

NOTE 2

S. Dakaris, *IIAE* 1977, 141-148; 1978, 96-106; 1979, 114-118; 1980, 21-32; 1981, 72-77; 1982, 97-84; 1983, 87-80.

NOTE 3

See Dakaris 1971, Dakaris1989, Hoepfner, Schwandner, Dakaris, Gravani, Tsingas 1994, 114–161. See also Hoepfner, Dakaris, Gravani, Schwandner 1999, 368–383.

NOTE 4

For examples, see Gravani 1994, 162-172, Oikonomidou – Karamesini 1994, 172-174, Boessneck 1994, 175-179.

NOTE 5

For examples, see Gravani 1988/89, 89-132, Gravani,1994.

NOTE 6

Gravani 1996, with catalogue of 657 finds.

NOTE 7

Gravani 1996.

NOTE 8

For the various construction phases of house 5, see. Hoepfner, Schwandner, Dakaris, Gravani, Tsingas 1994, 157, fig. 151.

NOTE 9

For the extension of house 3, see Hoepfner, Schwandner, Dakaris, Gravani, Tsingas 1994, 159, fig.155.

NOTE 10

Strab. 7. 7. 3, Polyb. 30. 15. 1, Liv. 45. 34, 1–6. Plut., *Aem.Paul.* 29, 1–3, *App.Illyr.* IX 10,9. Plin. *HN*, IV. 39.

NOTE 11

See Franke 1961, 218-237, Dakaris 1971, 97-98, 157-161.

**NOTE** 12

The drawings of vases (Pls. 1-17) and moulds (Pl. 18) are the work of Mr. I. Diamandopoulos, designer of the University of Ioannina.

NOTE 13

For the plan of house 1, to which belongs floor B, see Hoepfner, Schwandner, Dakaris, Gravani, Tsingas 1994 151, fig. 141.

NOTE 14

See Gravani 1994, 172, Gravani 1988/89, 124.

NOTE 15

See in general, Drougou 1983, 7-12. Gravani, 1989, 3-18. See especially Siebert 1980, 55-83.

NOTE 16 Rotroff 1982, 32.

NOTE 17

For the method of assigning relief bowls to workshops (on theoretical and technical ground), see Siebert 1980, A. Laumonier, 1977, Rotroff 1982, Akamatis 1994.

NOTE 18

See Dakaris 1971, 35, 128-129. Gravani 1988/89, 127-129, Gravani 1997, 81-93.

NOTE 19

Cf. e.g. Rotroff 1982, 16, pl. 1-3.

NOTE 20

Cf. e.g. Rotroff 1982, pl.12, no. 68, pl.3, no. 18, pl. 50, nos. 248, 252, pl. 9, nos. 55–56, pl. 98.

NOTE 21

See Wuilleumier 1932, pl. XXII.

NOTE 22

See e.g. Drougou – Touratsoglou 1980, 149-150, pl. 51, no. Π 1438, Π 1438, Ελληνιστική Κεραμική από τη Μακεδονία, Θεσσαλονίκη 1991, 127, 133, 167.

NOTE 23

See e.g. Laumonier, 1977.

NOTE 24

See Siebert 1978, 138, pls. 19, 56.

NOTE 25

See e.g. Arvanitopoulos 1912, 73–118,  $\pi$ (v. I–VII, Kakavogiannis 1980, 282, Andronikos 1984, fig. 135–136, 156, 157, Pfrommer 1987, 263, Kbk 114, pl. 28b–e, 102, 104, 123, 177, note 744, 1264,

NOTE 26

See e.g. Fraser – Ronne 1971, 64-67, 74, pl. 70, fig. 27, Ambr. 11

NOTE 27

See Vokotopoulou 1975, Walter-Karydi, 1981, 14-48.

NOTE 28

See Leveque 1957, 228-232, Tzouvara-Souli 1992, 45-50.

NOTE 29

Polyb. 21. 27. 30. 35–36. Plin. HN, 34. 66. For the written sources see Tzouvara-Souli 1992.

NOTE 30

Frazer – Ronne 1957, 111 ff., Frazer – Ronne 1971, note 26.

**NOTE 31** 

Gravani 1994, 170.

NOTE 32

Gravani 1994, 170 and Hausmann, 1994, 275-282.

NOTE 33

For the origins of mouldmade bowls, see Rotroff 1982, 6-13.

NOTE 34

See Hammond 1967, 646-648. Dakaris 1971, 66.

**NOTE 35** 

See Franke 1961, 63, Dakaris 1989, 65.

NOTE 36

See Franke 1961, 53-54. Hammond 1967, 656.

NOTE 37

See Gravani, 1997a, 336-337, pls.239-241, 243-245.

NOTE 38

See Oikonomidou-Karamesini 1990, 264-272.

NOTE 39

Gravani, art.cit. in note 37.

NOTE 40

See Dakaris 1989, 66-67. Hoepfner, Schwandner, Dakaris, Gravani, Tsingas 1994, 118, fig. 93.

NOTE 41

See Lamboley 1987, 195-202.

NOTE 42

Cf. Marabini-Moevs 1980, 146-225.

**NOTE 43** 

See Franke 1961, 81–84. Hammond 1967, 641–642. Dakaris 1971, 67, 87, Dakaris 1989, 65–66

**NOTE 44** 

See supra (note 10).

NOTE 45

See Dakaris 1987, 11-21.

NOTE 46

Dakaris 1987, 16-18, Dakaris 1989, 25-27.

NOTE 47

For the type of houses, see Dakaris 1989, 38-58. Hoepfner, Schwandner, Dakaris, Gravani, Tsingas 1994, 145-158.

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