

## Panhellenes at Methone

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## **Volume 44**

# Panhellenes at Methone

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*Graphê* in Late Geometric and Protoarchaic Methone,  
Macedonia (ca 700 BCE)

Edited by Jenny Strauss Clay, Irad Malkin and  
Yannis Tzifopoulos

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# The Impact of Late Geometric Greek Inscriptions from Methone on Understanding the Development of Early Euboean Alphabet\*

**Abstract:** Late Geometric inscriptions from Methone are written in Euboean alphabet as it is shown by the comparison with contemporary similar inscriptions from Eretria and its colonies. The few dialectal features in the inscriptions of Methone may point to the Euboean dialect: aspiration (no. 1); lack of vowel compensatory lengthening after the presumably early loss of /w/ in the cluster –nw- (Methone Pierias I, no. 22); uncontracted genitive masculine in –eos (Methone Pierias I, no. 4).

1. According to a literary testimony (Plutarch, *Greek Questions* 293b), Methone in Pieria was a colony founded by Eretrians expelled from Corcyra, where they had attempted unsuccessfully to establish themselves on their way to the West. When they tried to go back home, they were chased, literally they were ‘driven away by the slings’ (ἀποσφενδόνητοι), by their own fellow-citizens. Subsequently, they were established on the western coast of the Thermaic Gulf,<sup>1</sup> in ca. 733 BC.<sup>2</sup> According to the excavations conducted in the area since 2003, already in the last quarter of the eighth century BC, this coastal settlement was a major production center and port town, and maintained extensive trade connections with the regions inland, other sites on the Thermaic Gulf, and northern, central

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\* It is my pleasure to congratulate the colleagues Yannis Tzifopoulos, Matthaïos Bessios, and Antonis Kotsonas to whom we owe an exemplary excavation, a thorough study, the publication without delay of the important material from Methone’s ‘Ypogeio’, and the organization of the international conference “Panhellenes at Methone” aiming at the dissemination of the results of their study and further discussion. I would like to thank the members of the organizing committee and the staff of the Centre for the Greek Language for the generous hospitality in difficult circumstances. I also express my gratitude to my colleague Mr. Eutychios Eutychiou for helping me with the elaboration of Table 2.

1 In fact, Euboeans settled at numerous sites on the Thermaic Gulf during the Late Geometric, Archaic and Classical Periods, where they founded colonies and *emporía*: see Soueref 2009, 348, note 6, with previous bibliography.

2 Tzifopoulos in *Methone Pierias I*, 19–20.

and eastern Aegean, as manifested through imported pottery. The excavations revealed the city center of Methone. Inscribed Late Geometric pottery was excavated in the 'Ypogeio', a large subterranean structure that remained unfinished, whose filling is dated in the period 740–690 BC.<sup>3</sup> Inscribed pottery was discovered in the 'Ypogeio'; 23 vases or sherds bear alphabetic inscriptions and marks dated to the above mentioned period, i.e. the early phases of the colony. Some 136 vessels and sherds of the same date bear non-alphabetic marks.

My starting-point for the examination of the local script was the tradition transmitted by Plutarch about the foundation of Methone by Eretrians, and the well-known close relation between a mother-city and her colonies, expressed normally by the use of the same alphabet and of the same dialect.<sup>4</sup> A comparison of the eighth/seventh century vase inscriptions on imported and locally made pottery from the 'Ypogeio' was attempted with contemporary inscriptions and marks on vases from Eretria (from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros or elsewhere),<sup>5</sup> or with inscribed pottery from the Euboean colonial area (either *apoikia* or *emporion*), from Pithekoussai,<sup>6</sup> settled by both Chalcidians and Eretrians, or from Cumae in Campania, a mid-eighth century foundation of Pithekoussai.<sup>7</sup>

2. Although the identification of the alphabet is not always conclusive, either because the *graffiti* incised after firing on vases are very short, or because they do not contain any or enough diagnostic letters, let us examine the Late Geometric inscribed material. Table 1 summarizes information about possible provenance of the vase, whether inscriptions were written before or after firing, direction of the script, kind of inscription, and some remarks on the content. Numbering of the inscribed vessels, provenance, and dating are given after Tzifopoulos 2012a, nos. 1–22. I left deliberately aside three inscribed sherds from the same find spot, which are dated in the seventh/sixth century BC or still later (nos. 23–25).

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3 Bessios in *Methone Pierias I*.

4 Jeffery 1990, 18–19. A close parallel in the region is Potidaea, founded ca. 600 BC by Corinth. Potidaea not only used the same alphabet and dialect as Corinth, but was the promoter of its diffusion in the Thermaic Gulf during Late Archaic Period. In the aftermath of the Persian Wars, Potidaea joined the Delian League; and the new political development brought an end to the use of the Corinthian alphabet in the region: see Panayotou 1996, 133, 135, 143.

5 Kenzelmann Pfyffer/Theurillat/Verdan 2005.

6 Bartoněk/Buchner 1995.

7 Jeffery 1990, 235.



Table 1

	Locally made pottery	Imported pottery	Pottery of unknown provenance	Inscribed before firing	Incised after firing	Interpretation	Date (BC)
1		Lesbian drinking cup			✓	← Φιλίῳνος ἐμί. Owner's inscription	8/7
2		Euboean skyphos			✓	← Symptotic inscription of Ἀκέσσανδρος with proprietary formula plus a metric curse formula	8/7
3		Thermaic Gulf little skyphos			✓	← ΕΠΙΓΕ[ Fragmentary owner's inscription?	8/7
4		Lesbian amphora			✓	Ἄντεφύδεος → Owner's inscription	8/7
5			Amphora		✓	⊕Ε⊙ → Abbreviated name? Dedication?	8/7
6		Attic amphora			✓	← Fragmentary	8/7
7		Euboean skyphos			✓	← ]ΟΕΜ[ Fragmentary owner's inscription?	8/7
8		Euboean skyphos			✓	← ΠΙ[ Fragmentary	8/7
9	Amphora <sup>8</sup>				✓	← ΑΛ Abbreviation of the owner's name or a trademark? <sup>9</sup>	8/7

<sup>8</sup> For these locally produced amphorae see Κοτσώνας 2012, 150–154.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Johnston 2006, 50, mark no. 14A.

	Locally made pottery	Imported pottery	Pottery of unknown provenance	Inscribed before firing	Incised after firing	Interpretation	Date (BC)
10		Thermaic Gulf skyphos			✓	← FA Abbreviation of the owner's name or a trademark?	8/7
11		Thermaic Gulf skyphos			✓	← E[ Fragmentary. Trademark?	8/7
12		Thermaic Gulf skyphos			✓	← ΑΓ Abbreviation of the owner's name or a trademark?	8/7
13			Skyphos		✓	← Λ Abbreviation of the owner's name or a trademark?	8/7
14		Thermaic Gulf ewer				NE → Abbreviation of the owner's name?	8/7
15			Amphora		✓	← NE Abbreviation of the owner's name?	8/7
16		Samian amphora			✓	← EY Owner's mark or indication of the content? <sup>10</sup>	8/7
17		Samian amphora		✓ ← N	✓ (two isolated hasty and swallow letters), one of them being a	Potter's and owner's marks?	8/7

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**10** Cf. Johnston 2006, 50, mark no. 9B.

	Locally made pottery	Imported pottery	Pottery of unknown provenance	Inscribed before firing	Incised after firing	Interpretation	Date (BC)
					Euboean <i>chi</i>		
18		Samian amphora			✓	← N Owner's mark? <sup>11</sup>	8/7
19		Samian amphora			✓	← Γ![] Fragmentary	8/7
20	Amphora				✓	Owner's mark or indication of the content?	8/7
21		Chian amphora			✓	?]K → Owner's mark?	8/7
22		Thermaic Gulf sky-phos			✓	← ΣΧΕΝΙ (<XΣ>ΕΝΙ) Owner's inscription?	8/7

Trying to answer the question of whether an imported vessel is inscribed in the supposed place of its production or at the place where it was found, I shall apply, where possible, the criteria set up by Johnston (1975, 146–147) on (Rhodian) pottery inscriptions and marks. With the help of the data summarized on Table 1, we could make the following observations:

1. The inscriptions of some length or containing diagnostic letters are incised *after firing* in an alphabet different from that of the place where the vessels are imported from, according to stylistic criteria or their fabric. It is for example the case of nos. 1 and 4: the owners' inscriptions on a Lesbian drinking cup and a Lesbian amphora respectively, both inscribed in an alphabet which is not Lesbian. It is thus obvious that the imported pots bearing inscriptions were inscribed at Methone.
2. The same contemporary graffiti are attested on different kind of vessels (nos. 14 and 15), both inscribed after firing on different parts of the vase. It is likely then that the letters in question indicate an abbreviation of the owner's, not of the potter's, name.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Johnston 2006, 82, mark no. 14B.

3. From the 158 alphabetic and non-alphabetic inscriptions and marks dated to the period 730–690 BC,<sup>12</sup> especially from the 22 alphabetic samples, we can assume that literacy was comparatively widespread in Methone among first- and second-generation settlers. However, the proportion of alphabetic inscriptions and marks compared to non-alphabetic ones (ca. 1:7) must warn us against overestimating literacy in Late Geometric Methone.
4. It has to be emphasized that some of the inscriptions, no. 1, no. 2 (the lengthiest of all), nos. 3, 4, 5, and 22 are due to well-trained hands.
5. On the Samian amphora no. 17 there is a retrograde nu carefully incised *before firing* on the shoulder, and two letters in a smaller size lightly scratched *after firing* on two different parts of the body of the vase, apparently without relation to each other. It is probable that the nu has a commercial significance and is not written in the same alphabet as the two others.

Table 2 presents a freehand drawing of letter-forms of inscriptions and marks, after the photos published in Tzifopoulos 2012b, nos. 1–23.

**Table 2**

	Α	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Φ	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ
1																						
2	Α		Ο	Σ		Η		Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο			Ρ	Σ	Τ		Φ	
3		Γ		Σ				Ι							Π			Σ	Τ			
4	Α		Δ	Ε								Ν		Ο		Ο		Σ	Τ	Υ		
5				Ε			Θ							Ο					Τ	Υ		
6	Γ											Ν		Ο								
7				Σ							Μ			Ο								
8								Ι									Ρ					
9	Α									Λ												
10	Α				Ζ																	
11				Σ																		
12	Α	Λ								Λ												
13																						
14				Ε								Ν										
15				Τ								Μ										
16				Τ															Υ			
17						Σ						Ν										
18												Ν										
19		Γ						Ι														
20																						Χ ?
21									Ε													→
22				Σ				Ι				Ν	Χ									←

Note 1: Letter inscribed after firing.

Note 2: Letter inscribed before firing on an imported Samian amphora, thus probably a Samian nu.

<sup>12</sup> Tzifopoulos in *Methone Pierias I*, nos. 1–23, 26–161.

Note 3: Letter inscribed after firing, not fully preserved.

Note 4: Euboean ('red') chi<sup>13</sup> written upside down on the handle of a locally made amphora.

The alpha and delta are curved on the side of the direction of writing (nos. 2, 4, 6, 9, 12 — a clue for defining the retrograde direction of the inscriptions— and nos. 2, 4 for the delta). The arrow alpha and delta are used in no. 2 (both of them) and in no. 4 (the delta).

The slopping gamma (nos. 3, 12, 19) is regular.

The epsilon is tilted (nos. 1–5, 7, 14–16, 22), once exaggerated forward (no. 11).

The closed heta marks the aspiration in the personal name in the genitive *Ἑκαεσάνδρῳ* (no. 2). This is the older form of the letter.<sup>14</sup> The first component of the personal name (<ἄκος “remedy”) presents the older example and a welcome confirmation of the initial aspiration, which persisted in later examples of the Archaic and Classical Periods, like *ἐφακεῖσθαι*, *ἀφακεῖσθαι*.<sup>15</sup> In the later cases, the aspiration may have been lexicalized, when compared to ἄκος, where the aspiration is lost.

A crossed theta (no. 5) occurs once.

The iota is always simplified (|) to avoid confusion with crooked sigma used in the same inscription throughout (particularly in nos. 1 and 22).

The tilted lambda (nos. 1, 9, 13) is the regular form.

The characteristically Eretrian five-stroked mu is used<sup>16</sup> (nos. 1, 2, perhaps also in 7).

A dotted omicron is attested in no. 5 (⊕E⊙); the dot in the middle is due to the compass, and the same holds for the preceding theta.<sup>17</sup> If the dot is deliberate, does this omicron render /o/ or /o:/ as in *ἐξ Θεῷ* on an imported Euboean krater from Pithekoussai dated in ca. 720 BC?<sup>18</sup>

A qoppa is used in *Ἀντεϙύδεος* (no. 4).<sup>19</sup>

13 Jeffery 1990, table on p. 79, no. 2.

14 Jeffery 1990, 28, but cf. her discussion on p. 79.

15 *DELG*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ἄκος; *Methone Pierias I*, 342.

16 Jeffery 1990, 80, 81–82.

17 Cf. *Methone Pierias I*, 347, no. 5.

18 Bartoněk/Buchner 1995, 177–178, no. 44. Cf. the isolated graffito on a sherd from the oldest period (“Géométrie Moyenne”) of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria: Kenzelmann Pfyffer/Theurillat/Verdan 2005, 66–67, no. 26.

19 This is one of the earliest examples of ϣ before an *upsilon* from the Euboean colonial area. The assumption shared by most scholars that ϣ was used as a doublet of K before a rounded vowel is refuted by examples like *Ἀντεϙύδεος*. The supposition that in Euboean /u(:)/ was maintained without fronting to /y(:)/, or that the fronting is a later phenomenon, is contra-

The examples of rho are legless (nos. 2, 8).

The sigma varies, from six-stroked in no. 1, to three- and four-stroked in the same inscription no. 2, to a cursive form, coming from the three-stroked sigma in no. 4; a zigzag lined sigma appears in no. 22.

Only the tailed epsilon occurs, in the older known form (nos. 4 and 16).

As J. Méndez Dosuna points out in this volume, the graphemic sequence {X in {XENI (no. 22) has to be a graphemic metathesis, sigma plus xi, corresponding to [k<sup>h</sup>s]. In fact, this must be the older form of Euboean xi, as was tentatively suggested by Jeffery.<sup>20</sup> The inscriber of this retrograde inscription first wrote the sigma instead of the xi; this common ‘error’ or usage<sup>21</sup> might be due to a tendency of the corresponding sounds to coalesce, presumably [k<sup>h</sup>s] changing into [ks].<sup>22</sup>

The comparison with letterforms from contemporary texts from Eretria<sup>23</sup> and its colonies<sup>24</sup> indicates an Euboean alphabet, which can be plausibly identified as Eretrian (Table 2). As in Eretria<sup>25</sup> and in Pithekoussai,<sup>26</sup> the direction of the script on contemporary inscriptions and trademarks from Methone is usually retrograde: out of 23 cases, 17 are retrograde and 4 dextrograde, and two are ambiguous (see above Tables 1 and 2). The retrograde direction is the usual one in early Euboean texts.<sup>27</sup>

The local alphabet (I use the singular deliberately) shows only slight differences, due to evolution over a span of more than a generation and the differences of the hands. It is obvious that the owner’s neatly inscribed graffito no. 1, another possibly owner’s inscription partially preserved (no. 3), and the lengthy Hakesandros’ inscription in particular (no. 2) were written locally: it makes no sense to incise on ordinary tableware after firing “I belong to Filion” and sell the vase overseas.

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dicted by the facts. As Méndez Dosuna (1993, 99 ff.) pointed out, the choice of  $\varphi$  or  $\chi$  is purely graphemic and cannot give an indication as to the exact value of the subsequent vowel represented by  $\eta$ . It is possible nevertheless that Euboean shared the fronting /u(:)/>/y(:)/ with the whole Ionic-Attic group.

**20** Jeffery 1990, 32, fig. 15, xi no. 4, cf. *ibid.* p. 347; Johnston 1975, 154, 156 on ‘red’ xi on Rhodes.

**21** See Johnston’s 1975, 155 discussion on earlier views on such pleonastic use of ‘red’ xi plus sigma in early Rhodian inscriptions.

**22** Cf. Teodorsson 1974, 228.

**23** Table in Kenzelmann Pfyffer/Theurillat/Verdan 2005, 77–78.

**24** Mainly at Pithekoussai, table in Bartoněk/Buchner 1995, 184.

**25** Kenzelmann Pfyffer/Theurillat/Verdan 2005, 77–78.

**26** Bartoněk/Buchner 1995, 184.

**27** Jeffery 1990, 80.

3. The inscribed material from Methone confirms or gives some clues as to where exactly the Euboean alphabet was created and how it was spread. First, as far as the oldest Euboean texts are known from Eretria and its colonies, it seems highly likely that Eretria was the place where the Euboean alphabet was developed and spread further to Boeotia, apparently via Chalcis, as Jeffery (1990, 82) inferred; Methone's contribution to the issue is connected with inscriptions attesting, among others, curved alpha and delta, five-stroked mu, tailed upsilon; new Late Geometric inscriptions from Eretria and its colonies show beyond doubt that Eretria was their origin. Secondly, it can be asserted that the Euboean alphabet was a fully developed alphabet of 26 letters transmitted to the colonies and through them to Etruscans *before* the mid-eighth century BC,<sup>28</sup> i.e., prior to the foundation of Methone and to contemporary western Euboean colonies: this is indicated by early Euboean abecedaria dated to the eighth and early seventh centuries which comprise a fossilized by that time (i.e. not used in texts and other abecedaria) form of xi (Ξ) with no longer a phonetic value: this letter appears only in abecedaria either from Eretria<sup>29</sup> or from Etruria, notably in the oldest known Etruscan abecedarium, from Marsiliana d'Albegna.<sup>30</sup> Thirdly, judging from the number, the content and the date of the inscriptions, and the marks found, the knowledge of the script was relatively widespread in early Eretrian settlements already in the last quarter of the eighth century BC. Moreover, it is conceivable that during this early period in Methone, as in Pithekoussai and Cumae, script had not only a commercial utility: it did not concern just basic literacy and trade activities; for an unknown proportion of the local population, writing was an elaborate, sophisticated vehicle, embedded in colonial social activities, as suggested among others by the content of Hakesandros' inscription.

4. I would like to stress one more point concerning the alphabet: The spread of the Euboean alphabet outside Methone, especially to Macedonia, remains puzzling, so long as we lack inscriptions of the Geometric and Early Archaic Periods from the neighboring sites. However, some archaic inscriptions from nearby

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28 Pace Jeffery 1990, 237–238 who asserts that the abecedarium of Marsiliana d'Albegna provides only a *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the Euboean alphabet in the West. Overall, it is difficult to assume that “Euboic traders” and “additional settlers” could be the teachers for the Etruscans of an alphabet comprising “dead letters”, i.e. letters without phonetic value, two or three generations after the first Euboean settlers were established in the West.

29 Kenzelmann Pfyffer/Theurillat/Verdan 2005, 57 and 60, no. 3; Wachter 2005.

30 See Lejeune's 1983, 10–12 and Wachter's 2005 discussion on the Marsiliana abecedarium and its indirect testimony on Euboean alphabet.

Aiane<sup>31</sup> or from sanctuaries and settlements on the Thermaic Gulf<sup>32</sup> must be cautiously reconsidered taking into account the fresh evidence from Methone.

5. The dialect of the Late Geometric inscriptions from Methone is more difficult to assess, as just a few clues are attested: aspiration (no. 1) is a feature which excludes the Eastern Ionic dialect; lack of vowel compensatory lengthening after the presumably early loss of /w/ in the cluster -nw- in  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\iota(-\epsilon\omega?, -\tilde{\alpha}?, -\tilde{o}?,$ <sup>33</sup> if it is a personal name in the genitive, or e.g.  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota(\text{ov})$ , if it is an adjective) (no. 22), compared to Eastern Ionic  $\xi\epsilon\iota\nu-$ , is another feature which excludes the Eastern Ionic dialect; uncontracted genitive masculine in -eos (no. 4) is a feature which excludes Attic.<sup>34</sup> Given the date of the examples, the conclusion from probability is that the extant material does not contradict the Euboean dialect.

6. The view I defended can be summarized as follows: Late Geometric inscriptions and marks from Methone are written in the Euboean alphabet as the comparison with contemporary similar inscriptions from Eretria and its colonies demonstrate. The conclusions drawn from the evidence of the alphabet are used in the discussion of the origin and the elaboration of the Euboean alphabet and the importance of Eretria in this process. Moreover, the few dialectal features in the inscriptions of Methone may point to the Euboean dialect.

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**31** For example the dextrograde text of the Late Archaic Period inscribed before firing on the rim of a pithos, Panayotou 1996, 149, no. 31, pl. 8/31.

**32** An inventory can be found in Panayotou 1996, 131, 135, 137; to be supplemented by new texts which have been published since, discussed in Panayotou 2011.

**33** In Euboean the genitive of a masculine name in - $\iota\eta\varsigma$  ought to be in - $\epsilon\omega$  (- $\epsilon\omega$ : <- $\alpha$ : $\alpha$ : $\alpha$ :), sometimes, under the influence of non-Ionian dialects in - $\alpha$  ( $\alpha$ :), or in - $\omega$  ( $\omega$ :), or in - $\alpha$  ( $\alpha$ :) under later Attic influence; see Panayotou 1990, 216 and del Barrio 1991, 29.

**34** Del Barrio 1991, 23–24 (aspiration), 16 (lack of third compensatory lengthening), 18, 30 §24 (uncontracted genitives of s- stems); Panayotou 2007, 411 (lack of third compensatory lengthening and uncontracted -eo- sequences, aspiration). Cf. Panayotou 1990, 211 §f, 214–215 (maintaining hiatus in the group -eo-), 218 (uncontracted genitives of s- stems), 221 §b for the West Ionic of Chalcidice.



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## Notes on Contributors

**Matthaios Bessios** (matbesios@gmail.com), a graduate of Aristotle University, was employed from 1979 until 2014 in the 16th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (which in 2004 became the 27th Ephorate and finally the Ephorate of Pieria). He participated in excavations in the prefecture of Thessaloniki and Chalcidice, but his main area of responsibility was Northern Pieria, where he conducted rescue excavations, extensive surface surveys, and supervised large and small public and private constructions. During these years, he has excavated sites from all periods, among others, the Neolithic settlement at Makrygialos, the extensive cemeteries at Pydna, the Macedonian tombs in Pydna and Korinos, the settlement and cemeteries at Louloudia in Kitros, and ancient Methone. Results of his investigations are published in Greek and international journals or as chapters in volumes, of which the most recent are: *Πιερίδων στέφανος: Πύδνα, Μεθώνη και οι αρχαιότητες της βόρειας Πιερίας*, Katerini 2010, and *Methone Pierias I*.

**Xenia Charalambidou** (xenia.charalambidou@gmail.com) is Research Associate at the Fitch Laboratory of the British School at Athens; her research interests focus on the macroscopic and petrographic analysis of pottery. Amongst the projects she currently participates at the Fitch Laboratory is the interdisciplinary project: the “Ceramic Industry of Eretria”. She has carried out research and fieldwork in numerous sites in the Aegean with emphasis on Naxos and Euboea. Recent papers in journals and edited volumes are, for example, “Naxos and the Cyclades” (with A. Vlachopoulos) in I.S. Lemos and A. Kotsonas (eds.), *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean* (Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford) (forthcoming); and “Developments on Euboea and at Oropos at the end of the “Dark Ages” (ca. 700 to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BC)”, in A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.), *The “Dark Ages” Revisited, Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D.E. Coulson, University of Thessaly, Volos, 14–17 June 2007* (Volos 2011).

**Jenny Strauss Clay** (jsc2t@virginia.edu) is William R. Kenan Jr. Professor of Classics at the University of Virginia. She is the author of *The Wrath of Athena: Gods and Men in the Odyssey*; *The Politics of Olympus: Form and Meaning in the Longer Homeric Hymns*; *Hesiod’s Cosmos*; *Homer’s Trojan Theater*; and most recently, “Homer’s Epigraph” (*Philologus* 2016), in which she argues for Homer’s knowledge of writing.

**Francesca Dell’Oro** (francesca.delloro@unil.ch) is an associate researcher at the Institute of Archaeology and Sciences of Antiquity of the University of Lausanne. She studied Historical Linguistics and Classical Philology at the University of Milan (2004) and obtained a PhD in “Philology and Linguistics” from the University of Chieti-Pescara (2008). She has published a monograph about the history of the “Caland” notions, *Leggi, sistemi e leghe suffissali “di Caland”: Storia della questione “Caland” come problema teorico della linguistica indoeuropea* (Innsbruck, 2015). She is currently preparing a new edition of the lead tablets from Styra (Euboea) and is writing a new description of the Euboean dialect taking into consideration the development of colonial dialectal features.

**Richard Janko** (rjanko@umich.edu) is Gerald F. Else Distinguished University Professor of Classical Studies at the University of Michigan. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, he previously taught at St. Andrews, Columbia University, the University of California Los Angeles, and University College London. His numerous publications on Hellenic language and literature range from volume IV of the Cambridge commentary on Homer's *Iliad* to the papyri of Philodemus' *On Poems* from Herculaneum. He also brought out the site-report of the excavations at the Bronze Age settlement of Ayios Stephanos in Laconia. He is a Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the American Philosophical Society.

**Alan Johnston** (tcfaawj@ucl.ac.uk), MA., DPhil (Oxon), FSA is Emeritus Reader in Classical Archaeology, University College London. Publications include *Trademarks on Greek Vases*; Addenda to L.H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*; 'The Greek and Latin inscriptions' in *Gravisca; scavi nel santuario greco*, 15 *Le iscrizioni*; 'Ceramic Inscriptions' at [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online\\_research\\_catalogues/ng/naukratis\\_greeks\\_in\\_egypt/material\\_culture\\_of\\_naukratis/ceramic\\_inscriptions.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_research_catalogues/ng/naukratis_greeks_in_egypt/material_culture_of_naukratis/ceramic_inscriptions.aspx); as well as numerous articles on Greek epigraphy and ceramics.

**Evangelia Kiriati** (e.kiriati@bsa.ac.uk) is Director of the Fitch Laboratory for science-based archaeology of the British School at Athens and Honorary Senior Research Associate at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. She has published numerous papers in journals and edited volumes and a book on *Pottery Production and Supply at Bronze Age Kolonna, Aegina* (with Walter Gauss, 2011). She has also edited a volume on Human Mobility and Technological Transfer in the prehistoric Mediterranean (with Carl Knappett, in press). She carries out studies and fieldwork at numerous prehistoric sites across the Aegean, southern Balkans and Anatolia, and co-directs the Kythera Island Project (with Cyprian Broodbank), investigating the long-term cultural and environmental history of a Mediterranean island.

**Antonis Kotsonas** (akotsonas@yahoo.com) is Assistant Professor of Classical Archaeologist at the University of Cincinnati and specializes in Early Iron Age and Archaic Greece and the Mediterranean. His research interests focus on material culture and socio-cultural history. He has active study projects in Crete and Macedonia, and his comparative studies take him across the Aegean and from Italy to Cyprus. He is one of the co-authors of *Methone Pierias I* (2012), and has published a book on pottery from Eleutherna, Crete (2008) and edited a volume on ceramic standardization and variation (2014).

**Nota Kourou** (nkourou@arch.uoa.gr) started her studies at Athens University, where she got her BA, having Nikolaos M. Kontoleon as her main teacher. She continued her studies at Oxford University and obtained her PhD under the supervision of Sir John Boardman. She became Professor of Early Iron Age Archaeology at the University of Athens, where she taught for many years. She has been short-term Visiting Professor at a number of Australian and American Universities and at the Université Libre de Bruxelles. She has given lectures in several European Universities. She is now Professor Emerita and director of the excavations of the University of Athens at Xobourgo on Tenos. She is the author of over 95 articles and over 30 review articles in established archaeological journals. Her books include: *Το Νότιο Νεκροταφείο της Νάξου κατά τη Γεωμετρική περίοδο*, Athens 1999; *CVA Greece 8, Athens, National Museum 5. Attic and Atticizing amphorae of the Protogeometric and Geometric Periods*, Athens 2002; *Limestone Statuettes of Cypriote type found in the Aegean. Provenance Studies* (with V. Karageorghis),



Nicosia 2002; *Terracotta Statues and Figurines of Cypriote Type found in the Aegean. Provenance Studies* (in collaboration with V. and J. Karageorghis, B. Κιλικογλου, Π. Μαραντίδου, M. Glascock), Nicosia 2009; *Η Αρχαία Τήνος*, (with Roland Etienne and E. Simantoni-Bournia), Tenos 2013.

**Irad Malkin** (malkin.irad@gmail.com) is Professor of Greek History and the *Cummings Chair for Mediterranean History and Cultures* at Tel Aviv University, formerly the Chair of the Department of History. He is co-Founder (1986) and co-Editor of the *Mediterranean Historical Review*. His research interests include ancient colonization, religion, myth, ethnicity, and network theory. He is the Laureate of the *Israel Prize for History*, 2014. His major publications include: *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Brill: Leiden, 1987); *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge UP: Cambridge, 1994; Paperback edition, Cambridge UP, 2003, French translation 1999); *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity* (University of California Press, 1998; Italian translation 2004; Hebrew translation 2004); *Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Greece* (in Hebrew, Tel Aviv 2003); (ed.), *Ancient perceptions of Greek ethnicity* (Center for Hellenic Studies and Harvard University Press, Washington, DC, 2001); (ed.), *Mediterranean Paradigms and Classical Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2005 = Special issue of the *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18, 2003); and *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford University Press: Oxford and New York 2011).

**Julián Méndez Dosuna** (PhD 1983) (mendo@usal.es) is Professor of Greek Linguistics at the University of Salamanca. He has published a substantial number of articles on different issues of Greek linguistics. His current research concerns the study of the ancient dialects, especially those of the oracular lamellae of Dodona, and double entendres in Aristophanes. He is editor of the journal *Minos*.

**Noémi Müller** (noemi.mueller@bsa.ac.uk) is Scientific Research Officer at the Fitch Laboratory for science-based archaeology of the British School at Athens, responsible for chemical analyses and their implementation in the laboratory's projects. She has collaborated in a range of integrated projects, her research examining production and circulation, but also material properties and use of archaeological ceramics from the Aegean and beyond. Recent publications span from integrated case studies e.g. "Home-made recipes: Tradition and Innovation in Bronze Age cooking pots from Akrotiri, Thera" with V. Kilikoglou and P. Day in *Ceramics Cuisine and Culture, the Archaeology and Science of Kitchen Pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxbow Books 2015), to basic research, e.g. summarized in "Mechanical and thermal properties" to be published in *The Oxford Handbook of Ceramic Analysis* (in press).

**Niki Oikonomaki** (niki.ikon@gmail.com) is Research Fellow at the Centre for the Greek Language, Division of Linguistics (Thessaloniki). She is co-author (with Y.Z. Tzifopoulos) of an introductory book on Greek Epigraphy (*Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική επιγραφική. Από τον 8ο αιώνα π.Χ. ως την ύστερη αρχαιότητα*), and contributor to *Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. She has written articles in the field of epigraphy and ancient literacy, and her current work is on a monograph on local alphabets in Archaic and Classical Crete and on the publication of the inscriptions of North Pieria, Macedonia.

**Anna Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou** (panayotou.anna@ucy.ac.cy) is Professor of Linguistics in the University of Cyprus. Her research interests include ancient Greek dialectology and re-

lated scripts, koiné Greek, epigraphy, onomastics and language contact during ancient and medieval period, especially in Macedonia and Cyprus.

**John K. Papadopoulos** (JKP@humnet.ucla.edu) is Professor of Archaeology and Classics at the University of California at Los Angeles. His research and teaching interests include the Aegean, as well as the eastern and central Mediterranean in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age into the Classical and later periods, Greek colonization, the topography of Athens, and the integration of literary evidence with the material record in the study of the past. He has excavated or conducted fieldwork widely in Greece, Italy, Albania, and Australia. He is the author or editor of 12 books, over 90 articles, and some 40 book reviews.

**Alexandra Pappas** (apappas@sfsu.edu) is Raoul Bertrand Chair in Classics at San Francisco State University. She publishes broadly on the Greek symposium and the aesthetics of Greek writing, including pieces on Archilochus, inscriptions in Greek vase painting and rock-cut inscriptions, the representation of letters and words on the classical Athenian stage, and the Hellenistic pattern poems called *technopaignia*.

**Maria Roumpou** (mrumpou@gmail.com) is Research Associate at the Harokopio University of Athens, Dept. of Dietetics & Nutritional Science & at the Fitch Laboratory, British School at Athens. Her research allies natural and physical sciences to archaeology. She has worked for a range of projects studying archaeological ceramic materials from a range of sites in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. Recent publications include “An interdisciplinary approach to the study of cooking vessels from Bronze Age Akrotiri, Thera”, with N.S. Müller, N. Kalogeropoulou, P. Day, V. Kilikoglou and I. Nikolakopoulou in *Subsistence, Economy and Society in the Greek World. Improving the Integration of Archaeology and Science*, (Peeters, 2013); and “Food storage technologies and the politics of storage practices: examples from prehistoric northern Greece” with D. Margomenou, in *Tracing social networks through studying technologies: a diachronical perspective from the Aegean* (Routledge, 2011).

**Christina Skelton** (cskelton@fas.harvard.edu) received her Ph.D. in Indo-European Studies from UCLA in 2014 and is currently a Junior Fellow in the Harvard Society of Fellows. Her research interests include the historical linguistics of Greek and Indo-European, the Aegean Bronze Age, and computational historical linguistics.

**Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos** (tzif@lit.auth.gr) is Professor of Greek and Epigraphy at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He has published *Paradise Earned* (Center for Hellenic Studies and Harvard University Press, Washington, DC, 2010), articles on inscriptions of the Rethymno Prefecture, and co-authored (with Matthaïos Bessios and Antonis Kotsonas) *Methone Pierias I*.

**Samuel Verdan** (Samuel.Verdan@unil.ch) is a member of the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece, and an associate researcher at the Institute of Archaeology in the University of Lausanne. His research encompasses different aspects of the Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Greek world. He has published two monographs, one on Euboean Geometric pottery, and the other on the Geometric phases of the Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria.

**Marek Węcowski** (m.wecowski@uw.edu.pl), educated at the University of Warsaw and at the École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris, teaches ancient history and classical

culture at the Department of Ancient History, University of Warsaw. His recent publications include *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet* (Oxford University Press, 2014), commented editions of several authors for the Brill's New Jacoby online project (BNJ 6, 9, 263), and articles on archaic and classical Greek history, historiography, and archaic Greek poetry. He is currently working on a monograph on the origins of the Athenian ostracism.

**Roger D. Woodard** (rwoodard@acsu.buffalo.edu) is the Andrew v. V. Raymond Professor of the Classics and Chair of the Department of Classics at the University of Buffalo (The State University of New York). His most recent books are *The Textualization of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge, 2014) and *Myth, Ritual and the Warrior in Roman and Indo-European Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2013). Current projects include a monograph on the spread of knowledge, especially religious knowledge, and dialect from Anatolia to Hellas in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, and a volume on *Ancient Greek* in the Cambridge series *Linguistic Introductions*.