## ANTECEDENTS OF FIKELLURA

Robert M.Cook

Recent research, to which Ekrem Akurgal has contributed more perhaps than he himself realises, offers new evidence on some of the obscurities of the Wild Goat style of East Greek pottery. At present there seem to be three main systems of classifying it (1). The latest, that of Walter and Walter-Karydi, attempts to distinguish intuitively several local schools, which develop more or less concurrently. The other two are less ambitious, making a broadly similar division between the rather stilted reserving style familiar from finds in Rhodes and a generally coarser style, often using incision and rare among the Rhodian material. The first of these styles was called by Rumpf the Kamiros, the second the Euphorbos style (from which Schiering later detached a Vlastos style) while my names for them were respectively Middle and Late Wild Goat style. Where these two systems differ essentially is in the chronological relationship of the two (or three) styles: Rumpf and Schiering have them contemporary and I successive. None of these terminologies is now satisfactory, but till more is known it would be only confusing to invent another.

It has for some time been surmised that the coarser style is North Ionian and the other South Ionian, and this surmise is in general supported by the clay analyses of Dupont (2), though his location of the principal workshops was hardly expected - Clazomenae and some other place (possibly Teos) for the northern series and Miletus preeminently for the southern, Chios of course retaining its autonomy. He also concluded that the Fikellura style too was in the main Milesian. Dupont's arguments seem to me convincing, certainly much more so than any others that have been put forward.

This does not help problems of chronology directly, though here we can look forward to the full publication of Akurgal's finds at Old Smyrna and other sites he has excavated and of the Germans' finds at Miletus. But to judge by preliminary reports and what I have seen from these and other sites (3), the earliest stage of the Wild Goat style is represented, though sparsely, in Rhodes and presumably is Milesian, but does not occur in North Ionia; nor, I think, is there much evidence there for what I have

called the Middle I stage (4), and indeed some unpublished pieces from Old Smyrna suggest that Early Orientalising workshops in that region were experimenting in quite other directions. It seems then as if the Wild Goat style originated at Miletus, some time around the middle of the seventh century, and was adopted systematically only in the last quarter of that century by North Ionian workshops, where the outline style was coarsened and very soon a black-figure tehnique added in emulation of Corinthian. This modernised North Ionian ware was exported in some quantity to the Black Sea colonies and Naucratis, but does not seem to have had much currency in South Ionia (5) or Rhodes. At the same time, on my reckoning from about 600 B.C., Wild Goat pottery of Milesian style seems to have ceased to be exported overseas: I suppose that the examples from Naucratis are earlier than that date and that its rarity round the Black Sea may be because, though many of the colonies there were founded by Miletus, those of the western and northern coasts (which are archaeologically the best explored) were hardly established before the end of the seventh century.

Little information is available from Miletus itself, but it is reasonable to infer that some production of painted pottery went on. First, the Fikellura style is evidently more closely connected with my Middle than my Late Wild Goat style-and according to Dupont's analyses both the Middle Wild Goat style and Fikellura are dominantly Milesian (6), while the Late Wild Goat style is North Ionian - so that there should be a transition rather than an interruption at Miletus; yet, though datable contexts are insufficient, it is hard to suppose that the earliest Fikellura or rather the earliest familiar products of that style-in particular the Lion Group - can be appreciably earlier than the 560s (7). Secondly, there is now the evidence of a large batch of pots which have been coming onto the market since the early 1970s, most (if not all) through a single intermediary, and are rumoured to have been found in a cemetery not far from Miletus (8). These seem in the main to be versions, previously hardly recognised, of an unincising Wild Goat style and of Fikellura (though some pieces appear to be of pure Fikellura style) and, what is remarkable, there are several instances where elements of the two styles are combined.

This is particularly obvious on the two oinochoai (or olpai) of PLATES 1 and 2-3 (9), which have animals as part of their decoration (10). Here the goats, the heaviness of the filling ornament and, at least on PLATE 2, the inverted rays which flank the shoulder panel, recall the Middle Wild Goat style, while the dogs, dot rosettes, crescents and on PLATE 1 the boar are acceptable as Fikellura. The alleged provenance, the presence of Fikellura and the abstention from incision all argue that the

whole batch of pots is South Ionian. A first impression may be that they belong to a provincial school, with a strongly aberrant character of its own; but it is in our present ignorance worth considering whether they - or at least the majority of them - are not quite closely dependent on the products or even the genuine products of Miletus, itself in the early sixth century wholly or partly provincialised and groping its way to a new advanced style. It would be useful to have clay analyses of some of these pots.

One thing seems fairly clear, that in the early sixth century - between the Middle Wild Goat style and Fikellura - Miletus was not exporting pottery in any quantity or anyhow not beyond its own neighbourhood. Dupont has suggested that this was a consequence of the 'stasis', which Herodotus (V 28-29) says persisted for two generations, though he gives no precise date. Another possibility is some connection with the colonising activity of the Milesians, which judging by finds round the Black Sea I suppose to have been at its peak around 600 B.C.: with agriculture as the basic occupation a reduced population may have had less recourse to manufacture and trade.

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## NOTES

- These references should be sufficient. A.Rumpf, JdI 48 (1933, 55-83; W.Schiering, Werkstäten orientalisierender Keramik aus Rhodos (1957); C.Kardara, Rodiaki Angeiographia (1963); R.M. Cook, Greek Painted Pottery2 (1972), 117-25 and also Gnomon 37 (1965), 502-7; H.Walter, Samos v (1968); E.Walter-Karydi, Samos vi. 1 (1973).
- P.Dupont, Histria v, 63-169; and with wider conclusion Dacia xvii, 19-43 an excellent study-which says much of what I say here.
- 3). E.Akurgal generously showed me much of his material, but unfortunately when I visited Miletus W.Voigtländer was not empowered to let me look at the pottery he was studying, though I have seen sketches of some of the finds made before World War I as well as photos of a few later finds.
- I wonder if such pieces as E.Akurgal, Alt-Smyrna i, pl. 36c and 38-9 may not be imports from Chios
  or South Ionia; here clay analyses would be informative.
- I have been told that no incising Wild Goat pottery has been found at Miletus, but cannot vouch for this.
- 6). Further, the range of shapes of Fikellura seems to be wider at Miletus than elsewhere.
- In BSA xxxiv, 7-8 I suggested an initial date of 560 B.C. for the Lion Group, but now think this too high rather than too low.
- 8). I give an incomplete list. Amsterdam 9367 oinochoe; 9422 oinochoe; 10189 cup. Berne, Hist.Mus. inv. X 74-173, amphora (Jb. Bern. Hist. Mus. liii-iv, 43-56). Beverly Hills, Summa Galleries; 10 oinochoai (one PLATE 1). Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Art Mus. 72.144.1, amphora; 72.144.2, oinochoe; 72.144.3, amphora; 72.144.4, oinochoe (W.G. Moon and L.Berge, Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections, no. 18: PLATES 2-3). Bonn 2719, amphora; 2917, oinochoe. Christchurch (N.Z.), Canterbury Univ. 153/73, amphora (PLATE 4). Columbia, Univ. of Missouri 71.113, oinochoe Moon and Berge, op, cit., no. 11). Freiburg, Galerie Günter Puhze, 2 oinochoai (Katalog 1981 'Kunst der Antike', nos. 118-9). Kassel, Sammlung Paul Dierichs, 3 amphoras, 29 oinochoai, 1 dinos, 1 kotyle, 1 cup (P.Gercke, Funde aus der Antike, nos. 1-35). Münster 761, oinochoe (Boreas i, 176-7, pl. 23); 752, cup (ib. 180-2, pl. 25). Oxford 1972.8, oinochoe. St Louis 6.65, oinochoe (Expedition xii, 14 fig. 38). Utrecht, Arch. 595, cup (BABesch. lvi, 33 fig. e; Arch. Trajectina xiv, 74-9, pl. 17 a); 3 oinochoai (ib., pls. 15 a-b, 15 c-d, 16 a-b); amphora (ib., pl. 17 b-c). At one time I thought these pots might be fakes, but A. Calinescu and J.M. Hemelrijk, using different laboratories, kindly had fluorescence tests made on the four specimens in Bloomington and two in Amsterdam: the verdict was that they were all ancient. Though I am not convinced that expert forgers cannot cheat these tests, it seems unlikely that so much trouble would have been taken with these pots.
- PLATE 1 Beverly Hills, Summa Galleries (who kindly supplied this photo and permitted its publication). PLATES 2-3 - Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum 72.144.4 (published by courtesy of the Museum: photos by Ken Strothman and Harvey Osterhoudt): W.G. Moon has already described this pot as 'early Fikellura c. 580 B.C.' (Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections, no. 18)
- 10). The Christchurch amphora fits in here too (PLATE 4; the photo and permission to publish it kindly given by the University). Another Summa oinochoe has reserving goats on the shoulder and crescents below. Other candidates for this transitional phase are a fragment in Vathy, Samos (BSA xxxiv, Pl.14 b) and my group R of Fikellura (ib. 37-9).



Plate 1. Beverly Hills, Summa Galleries.

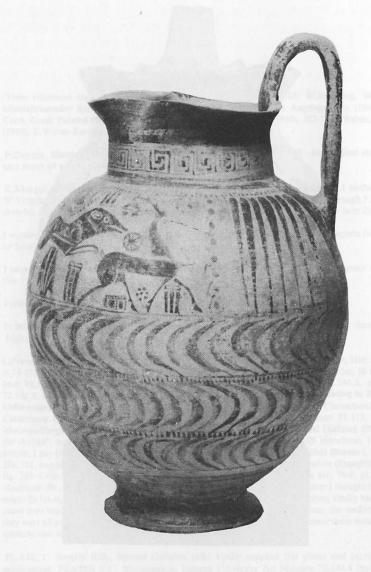
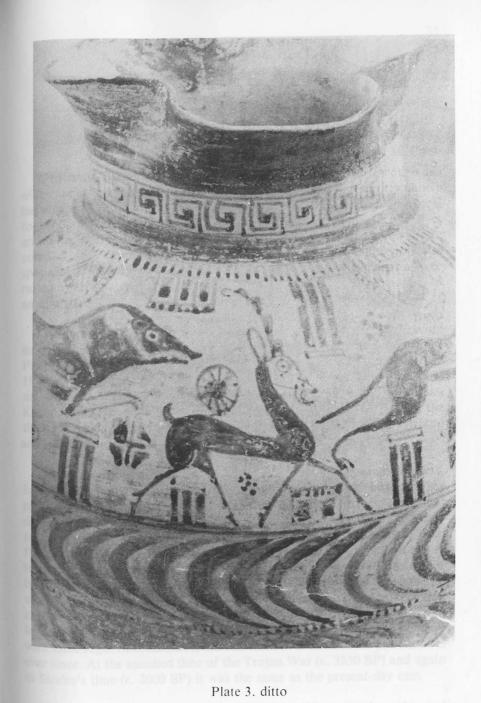


Plate 2. Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum 72.144.4.



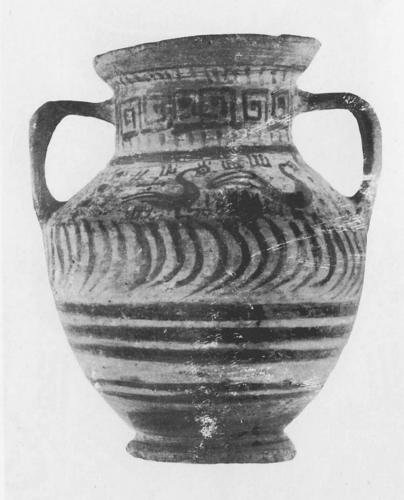


Plate 4. Christchurch (N.Z.), Canterbury University 153.73.

VINDOAN BERARIES

Professor Ekrem Akurgal has achieved fame above all through his wide-ranging scholarly work in western Asia Minor. No part of the country has escaped his attention, and of course no place there has a greater appeal for scholars and the wider public than Troy. It would be a pleasure to offer an authoritative essay to this volume. But the issues here involved are complex ones depending on scientific techniques which require uptodate specialist knowledge. So this little contribution consists rather of a query raised by an amateur which will perhaps be regarded as nothing more than an abortive rearguard action.

The prevailing assumptions about the relationship of Troy to the sea have been transformed by new palaeogeographic reconstructions of the Plain of Troy which are based initially on a number of cores drilled in 1977. After a preliminary exposition in **Science**, 15 August 1980 (vol. 209, no. 4458, pp. 776-82), the three scholars concerned, John C.Kraft, Ilhan Kayan, and Oğuz Erol, set their findings out fully in Part 1 of **Troy**, the the **Archaeological Geography**, Supplementary Monograph 4 (ed. G.Rapp and J.A.Gifford) published in 1982.

This Troy Monograph is an important step forward in various respects. In its geomorphology it seems soundly based; what is questioned here is the precise application of the time scale. The general picture that results is that during the last 7000 years the Scamander plain, which had become submerged by a rapid rise in sea level (marine transgression), has been filling up (progradation, with aggradation of the alluvium deposited). A tentative sea level curve for the region in the last 35,000 years, constructed by Erol, is given in Monograph Fig. 4. This is used as a scale for the series of palaeogeographic reconstructions of what we call the Plain of Troy and is therefore essential to their dating. According to Erol sea level from before 6000 BP had risen to 2 metres higher than its present-day level and, with some slight fluctuations, it has remained at or around the present level ever since. At the assumed time of the Trojan War (c. 3250 BP) and again in Strabo's time (c. 2000 BP) it was the same as the present-day one.

That the coast at the north end of the Plain of Troy was less advanced