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Dimitris Grigoropoulos

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Katja Sporn | Alexandre Farnoux |
Eric Laufer
ANCIENT PHOKIS

Athenaia 13
Études méditerranéennes 4

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
Abteilung Athen

ATHENAIA 13

ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'ATHÈNES

**ÉTUDES
MÉDITERRANÉENNES 4**

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
Abteilung Athen

Katja Sporn | Alexandre Farnoux | Eric Laufer (eds.)

ANCIENT PHOKIS

New approaches to its history, archaeology
and topography

International Conference, DAI Athens, 30 March – 1 April 2017

REICHERT VERLAG

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Pagan twilight at Kalapodi: Two pottery assemblages of the third and fourth centuries A.D.

Dimitris Grigoropoulos

Introduction

During the 2015/2016 excavation at the sanctuary of Kalapodi/Abae by the DAI Athens, a series of trenches to the north of the Classical North Temple brought to light rich stratified sequences of Hellenistic and Roman deposits that shed new light on post-classical activity on the site¹. This paper presents the pottery from two well-stratified assemblages that provide important evidence about the sanctuary in the later 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. The discussion is based on a macroscopic study of the material and should be regarded as preliminary. The focus lies on a presentation of the main types, wares and fabrics of all functional categories of pottery (excluding lamps²) recorded in the two assemblages – with the exception of residual, mostly pre-Roman, mate-

rial. For the interest of economy, a full and detailed catalogue with precise descriptions has been omitted here in favour of a concise listing of wares and shapes. The pottery from each assemblage was fully quantified using both counts of rims, bases, handles and body sherds (RBHS) and calculated minimum number of vessels (MNV). These two sets of data, together with the recording of general sherd weights for the entire contexts are meant to provide an idea of the volume of pottery recovered. Although the identification and classification of several wares represented require further analytical study, these data should aid future comparison with other deposits in Kalapodi, as well as with other sites in the region.

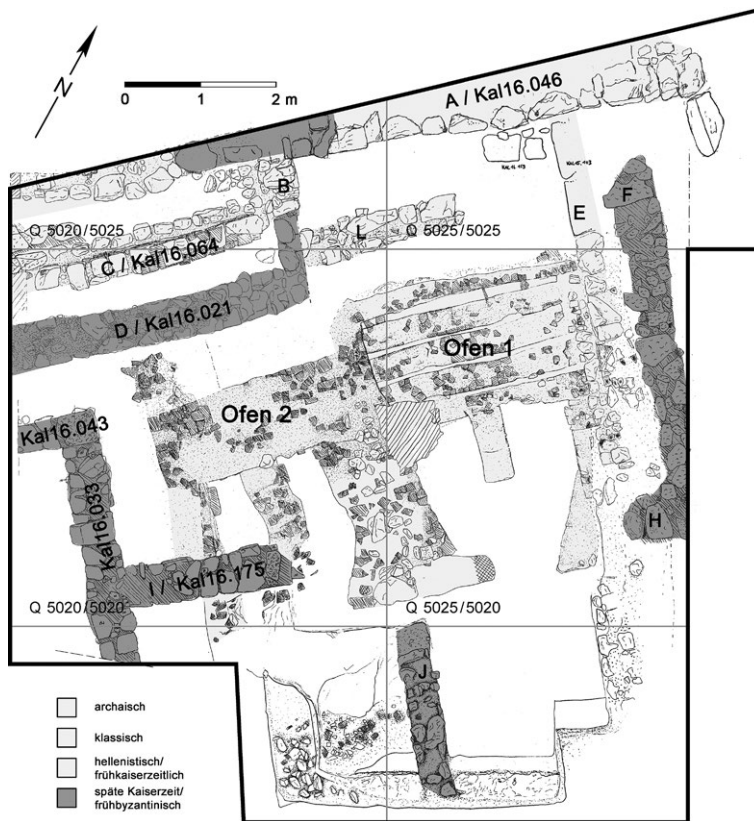
Assemblage 1: late occupation above the ›tile workshop‹

Assemblage 1 comes from the western part of a large trench that aimed to investigate the limits of the

sanctuary area and the possible existence of a temenos wall in the area of the so-called ›tile work-

¹ See Sporn 2017; Sporn 2016/2017, 194–199, 211–224. For the Roman pottery: D. Grigoropoulos in: Sporn 2016/2017, 233–246.

² For an interim report, see S. Zipprich in: Sporn 2016/2017, 255–258.



1 Plan of ›late‹ walls over area of ›tile workshop‹ (as of 2016; scale 1:100)

shop‹ (fig. 1)³. Excavation showed that this was a multi-period industrial complex that was founded almost flush to the Archaic northern terrace wall of the sanctuary and remained in use throughout the Hellenistic and Early Roman period. At a later stage, the kilns were backfilled and the area was used for building construction, of which a dense agglomeration of walls survives in the western part over kiln 2. These presumably belonged to one or more phases of buildings whose function remains unclear. The assemblage is made up by the amalgamation of the three successively excavated contexts KAL16.036, KAL16.045 and KAL16.077 that represent a fill of hard compacted earth immediately to the east of wall KAL16.033 and to the north of wall KAL16.175. Directly on this layer lay a burnt spot with a concentration of tile, loom-weights and two almost complete ceramic vessels (KAL16.031) – a part-coated flagon/table amphora and a plain ware funnel (figs. 3.5; 4.4). Cross-fits of these two vessels and of several other finds were discovered in the other three contexts, suggesting that they all belong to a single deposit.

A total of 537 RBHS with a total weight of 12580 g corresponding to ca. 61 MNV were recorded from all the above combined contexts (excluding residual materials; table 1). Despite the presence of a few almost complete vessels and others that yielded restorable shape profiles, most finds were very fragmented. The majority, based on MNV, belong to fine wares (41 %), followed by cooking wares (25 %), plain wares (20 %), part-coated utility wares (8 %) and transport amphorae (6 %). Unfortunately, the deposit did not yield any coins or other internal evidence to aid with absolute dating other than the pottery itself. Its northern segment was found underneath a close-packed concentration of stone rubble and tile (KAL16.042) that most probably represents the structural collapse of wall KAL16.033. KAL16.042, in turn, lay below another scatter of rubble and tile (KAL16.022), which is probably related to the destruction of wall KAL16.021. The latter deposit (KAL16.022) yielded pottery of mixed date ranging from the later 3rd/early 4th century to the 6th century A.D. and gives only a broad terminus ante quem for the dating of assemblage 1.

³ Ziegelwerkstatt, abbreviated as ZW. Sporn 2017, 59–61; K. Sporn and E. Laufer in: Sporn 2016/2017, 217–224.

	Provenance	Ware/shape	RBHS	MNV
Fine wares	Imported	Corinthian relief bowl	1	1
(residual: 62 RBHS, not included in count)	Local/regional	Flanged cup, black-slipped	2	2
		Dish, ›Elateia ware‹ Form 9A	2	2
		Dish, ›Elateia ware‹ Form 10A	14	4
		Dish, other/not identified	15	5
		Bowl, other/not identified	1	1
		Mug, one-handled	22	10
		Gouged ware, closed	1	0
		Total fine wares		
Part-coated utility wares	Local/regional	Table amphora	24	1
(residual: 3 RBHS, not included in count)		Crater	3	2
Basin		1	1	
Other, not identified		31	1	
Total part-coated utility wares			59	5
Plain wares	Local/regional	Jar, almond-shaped rim	1	1
(residual: 54 RBHS, not included in count)		Funnel	15	1
		Table amphora	1	1
		Basin	1	2
		Not identified, closed	20	7
		Not identified	298	0
Total plain wares			336	12
Cooking wares	Local/regional (Elateia fabric 2)	Elateia type 1 cooking pot	3	3
(residual: 12 RBHS, not included in count)		Elateia type 3 cooking pot	5	4
		ACW-style corrugated chytra	13	1
		ACW-style small cooking pot	1	1
		Cooking pot, other	8	2
		Casserole, ledge-rim	1	1
		Kettle or jug	3	1
		Frying pan, internal red-slip	1	1
		Other/Not identified	30	0
		Total cooking wares		
Transport amphorae	Imported	Zeest 80/Benghazi MR 5	5	1
		Kapitän 2/Benghazi MR7	1	0
		Other/Not identified	3	0
	Local/ regional	Elateia/Delphi 1?	1	1
		Other/Not identified	9	2
Total transport amphorae			19	4
Total			537	61

Table 1 Assemblage 1, overview of pottery

Fine wares

The fine wares consist almost exclusively of products of local or regional, Phokian/East Lokrian, manufacture. The only import is a fragment of a Corinthian relief bowl (Malfitana form 1 ›pyxis cup‹) with a simple base moulding preserving part of a pictorial

(battle?) scene (*fig. 2.1*). Such vessels belong to a distinctive class considered to be containers of cosmetics (ointments?) that enjoyed a wide distribution across the Mediterranean in the 3rd century A.D. While Corinth certainly was a production centre, recent studies have argued that they were also produced in Patras⁴. As regards Corinthian products,

⁴ For the base moulding, see Spitzer 1942, 165 fig. 3a; for recent treatments of such vessels, see Malfitana 2007 and Hayes 2008, 111 f.

these are generally dated from the middle of the 3rd century A.D., while they also occur into the early 4th century A.D.⁵ The specimen from Kalapodi is made in a fine pink fabric with white inclusions that is most probably of Corinthian origin⁶.

Amongst the local/regional fine wares there are two flanged cups with a groove below the rim covered by a matt brownish black slip (*fig. 2.2*). This popular shape, recalling Çandarlı form L19, was mass-produced by regional workshops in Greece throughout the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.⁷ The most common form is a dish with a flat base and a triangular overhanging rim (*fig. 2.3–6*). The form is that of Elateia ware type 10 dishes that occur in the contexts of the late 4th century A.D. at Elateia-Alonaki. At Kalapodi a dish of the same form occurs in a context with a terminus post quem of A.D. 244, while similar dishes are also common in contexts of ca. the middle and late 3rd century A.D. from the heptagonal building in Opous/Atalanti⁸. A similar date is suggested for two fragments of flat-based dishes with incurved rim (not illustrated; Elateia ware form 9)⁹. Several fragments belong to one-handled mugs similar to those produced at Elateia from the 2nd to 4th centuries A.D. (*fig. 2.9–13*).

These finds demonstrate various fabrics and surface treatments, suggesting different (regional/local or close-regional) places of manufacture. The majority of dishes and one-handled mugs (*figs. 2.2–3; 2.5; 2.9–13*) are made in a medium-hard, fine fabric with rare silver mica and tiny grey/dark inclusions and most demonstrate a (sometimes partial) mottled matt slip, which is typical of Elateian products¹⁰. Two dishes with overhanging rims (*fig. 2.4; 2.6*) and the bowl with incurved rim (*fig. 2.14*) are made in a softer fabric with no visible silver mica and have a partly applied thin streaky slip, which is reminiscent of the fabric of East Lokrian Painted Ware of the Early Roman period¹¹. A similar fabric also appears in the body sherd of a jug (?) with gouged leaf decoration (*fig. 2.8*). The bowl with convex underside (*fig. 2.7*) is made in a very fine, compact fabric, which is harder than that of the Elateian products and is possibly an import from another close regional production centre.

Plain and part-coated utility wares

Several heavy-duty vessels used for performing everyday tasks are represented in the assemblage. These are either plain or have a partial matt slip-coating, applied in a manner similar to that of the local/regional fine wares. The best preserved is a narrow-necked flagon or table amphora (*fig. 4.3*), made in a fine light red fabric, whose form is paralleled by finds from Delion/Dilesi in Boeotia, dated 3rd/4th centuries A.D., and the Athenian Agora, dated variously between the late 2nd/early 3rd to early 4th centuries A.D.¹² Amongst the open shapes of the part-coated series, there are two types of basins or craters, the first with a simple flaring rim, flattened on top (*fig. 3a.1*), and the second with a flaring rim, which on some fragments is grooved on the exterior (*fig. 3a.2–3*). The first type occurs in contexts of the middle and later 3rd century A.D. at Opous/Atalanti, while the second is similar to Elateia ware crater type 1, which occurs at Elateia-Alonaki between the late 3rd and the late 4th centuries A.D.¹³ The forms and fabrics of these part-coated wares are comparable to those of the local/regional fine wares, indicating a similar provenance.

Plain wares account for a large part of the assemblage, although only a few finds yielded diagnostic fragments or restorable shapes. Two basic fabrics are represented. The basin with two grooves (*fig. 3a.4*) is made in a gritty fabric with frequent medium-sized purplish inclusions and its surface is covered by a greenish white scum. Such basins were common in Late Hellenistic times and in the Early Roman period and it cannot be excluded that this solitary fragment is residual. The second fabric is a slightly coarser version of the one in which the majority of fine wares attributed to Elateian production are made. Products in this fabric include the rim of a table (?) amphora with a tapering neck and short grooved rim (*fig. 4.1*), a jar with a short almond-shaped rim (*fig. 4.2*) and a dome-shaped funnel (*fig. 3a.5*). Similar table amphorae and jars occur in contexts of the mid-3rd century A.D. from Opous/Atalanti¹⁴.

⁵ See, e.g., Slane 1994, 134 no. 16; Malfitana 2007, 135–139.

⁶ Another fragment (KAL09.020.010) comes from the excavation west of the Archaic South Temple.

⁷ Robinson 1959, 97 no. M141; 76 no. L22; Grigoropoulos 2009, no. 51; Grigoropoulos 2011, fig. 11 nos. 64, 65.

⁸ D. Grigoropoulos in Sporn 2016/2017, fig. 30 no. rK15; Παπαγεωργίου – Γρηγορόπουλος forthcoming.

⁹ Zachos 2013, 232, regards this as a 4th cent. A.D. type imitating ARSW form 62 but it is more likely that it follows a common form produced in regional Greek workshops from the later 2nd cent. A.D. onwards; see Slane 1994, fig. 3 no. 8; Reynolds et al. 2008,

fig. 13 no. 45; fig. 14 no. 52; Grigoropoulos 2011, fig. 11 no. 68; fig. 17 no. 120; De Mitri 2013, figs. 10, 11; Bes – Poblome 2017, fig. 12.6c.

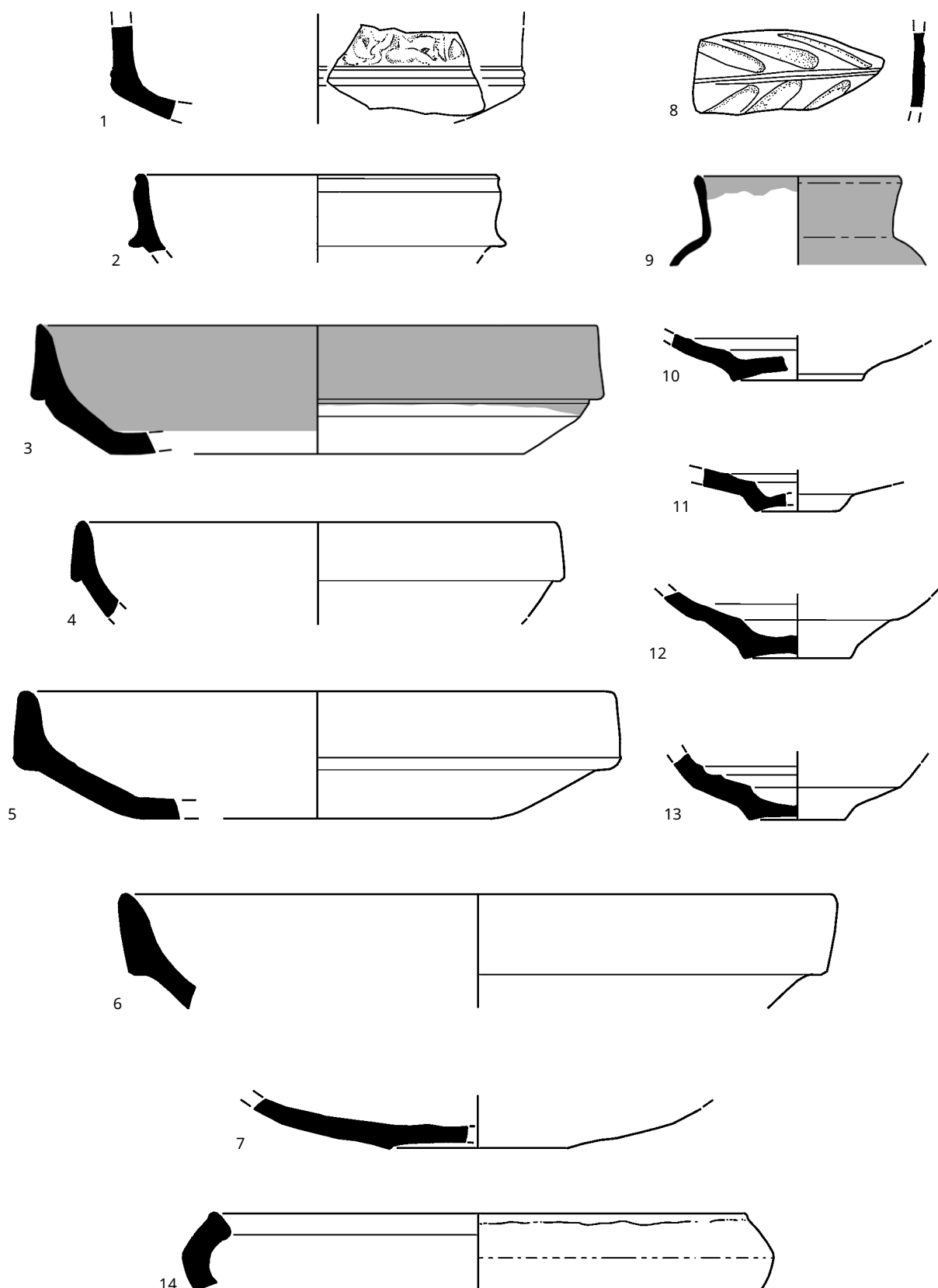
¹⁰ Referred to as »series 1«: Kouzeli – Zachos 2000, 556; Zachos 2013, 214 n. 616; 226 f.

¹¹ Raselli-Nydegger 2003.

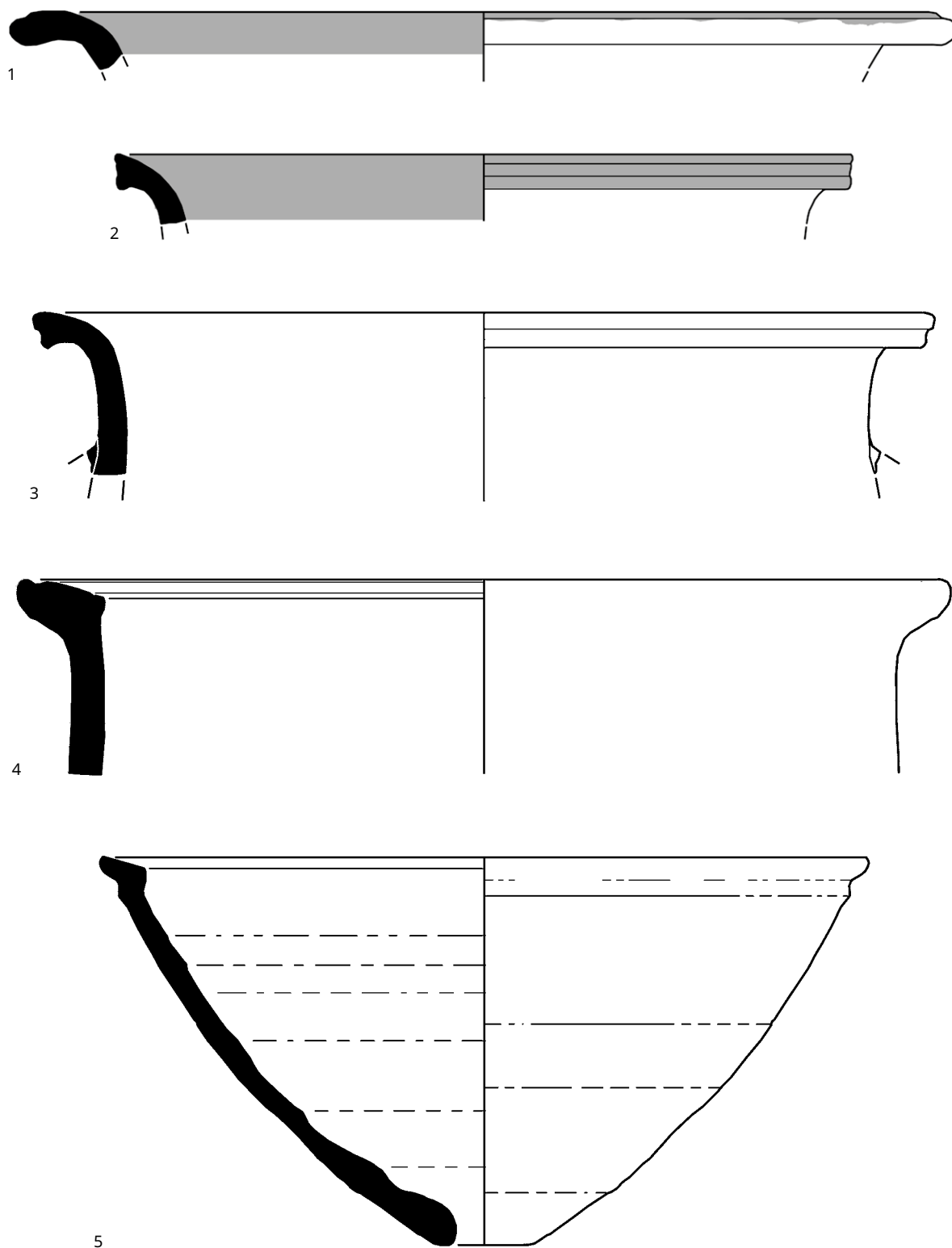
¹² Robinson 1959, pls. 10 no. J48; 13 no. K68; 16 no. L3; Χαμηλάκη 2010, 587 fig. 2 no. MEX 3456.

¹³ Zachos 2013, 234 f.

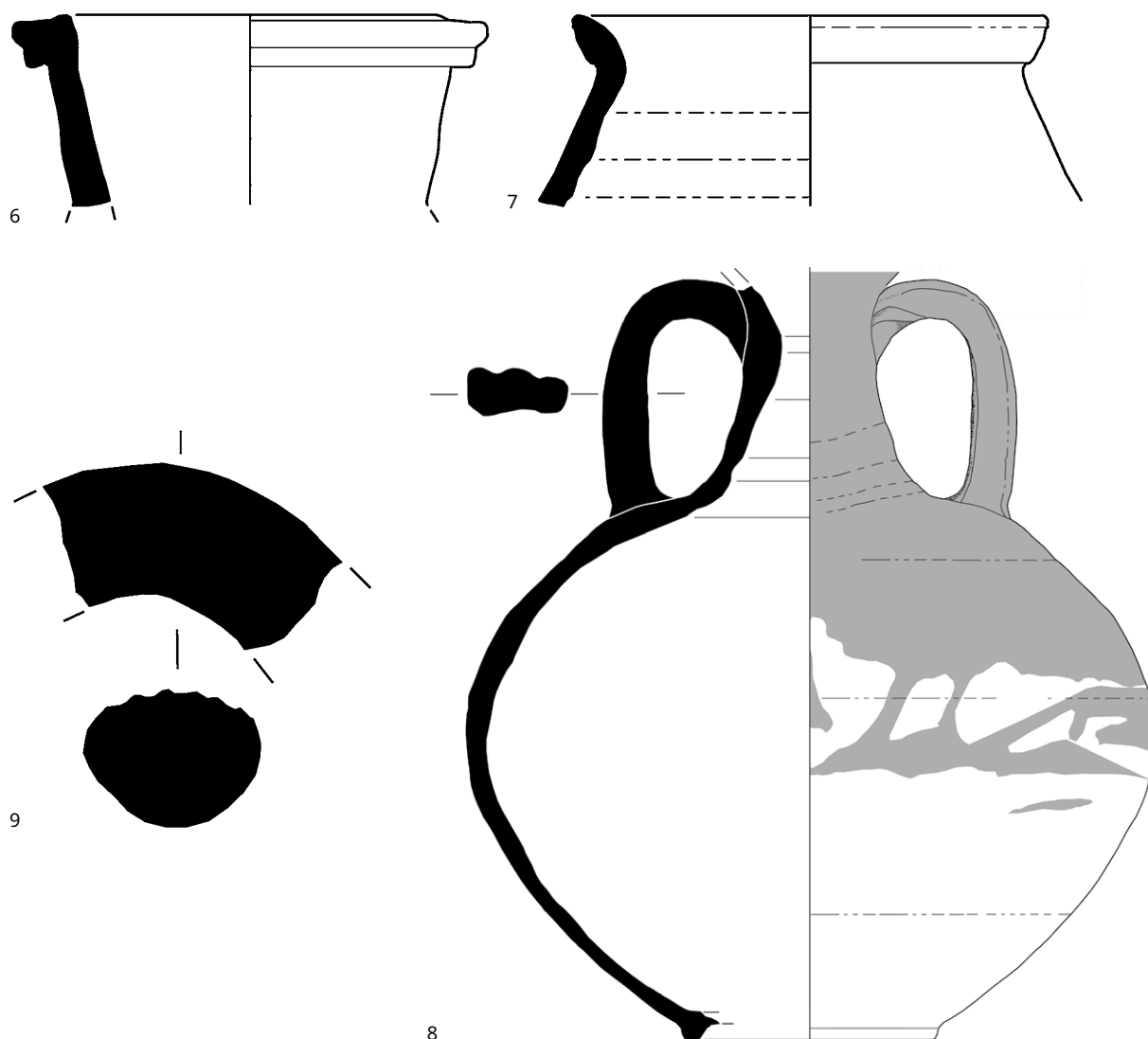
¹⁴ Παπαγεωργίου – Γρηγορόπουλος forthcoming.



2 Assemblage 1 (scale 1:2). Imported (1) and local/regional fine wares (2-14): 1. KAL16.045.014. – 2. KAL16.045.010. – 3. KAL16.77.002 (=KAL16.045.012). – 4. KAL16.045.013. – 5. KAL16.036.003. – 6. KAL16.036.004. – 7. KAL16.036.006. – 8. KAL16.077.003. – 9. KAL16.036.005. – 10. KAL16.077.006. – 11. KAL16.077.007. – 12. KAL16.077.008. – 13. KAL16.077.009. – 14. KAL16.045.011



3a Assemblage 1 (scale 1:2). Part-coated and plain utility wares (1–5): 1. KAL16.077.005. – 2. KAL16.077.004. – 3. KAL16.077.010. – 4. KAL16.045.028. – 5. KAL16.031.003



3b Assemblage 1 (scale 1:2). Part-coated and plain utility wares (6–8) and imported transport amphora (9): 6. KAL16.077.011. – 7. KAL16.036.008. – 8. KAL16.045.015 (M. 1:4). – 9. KAL16.045.025

Transport amphorae

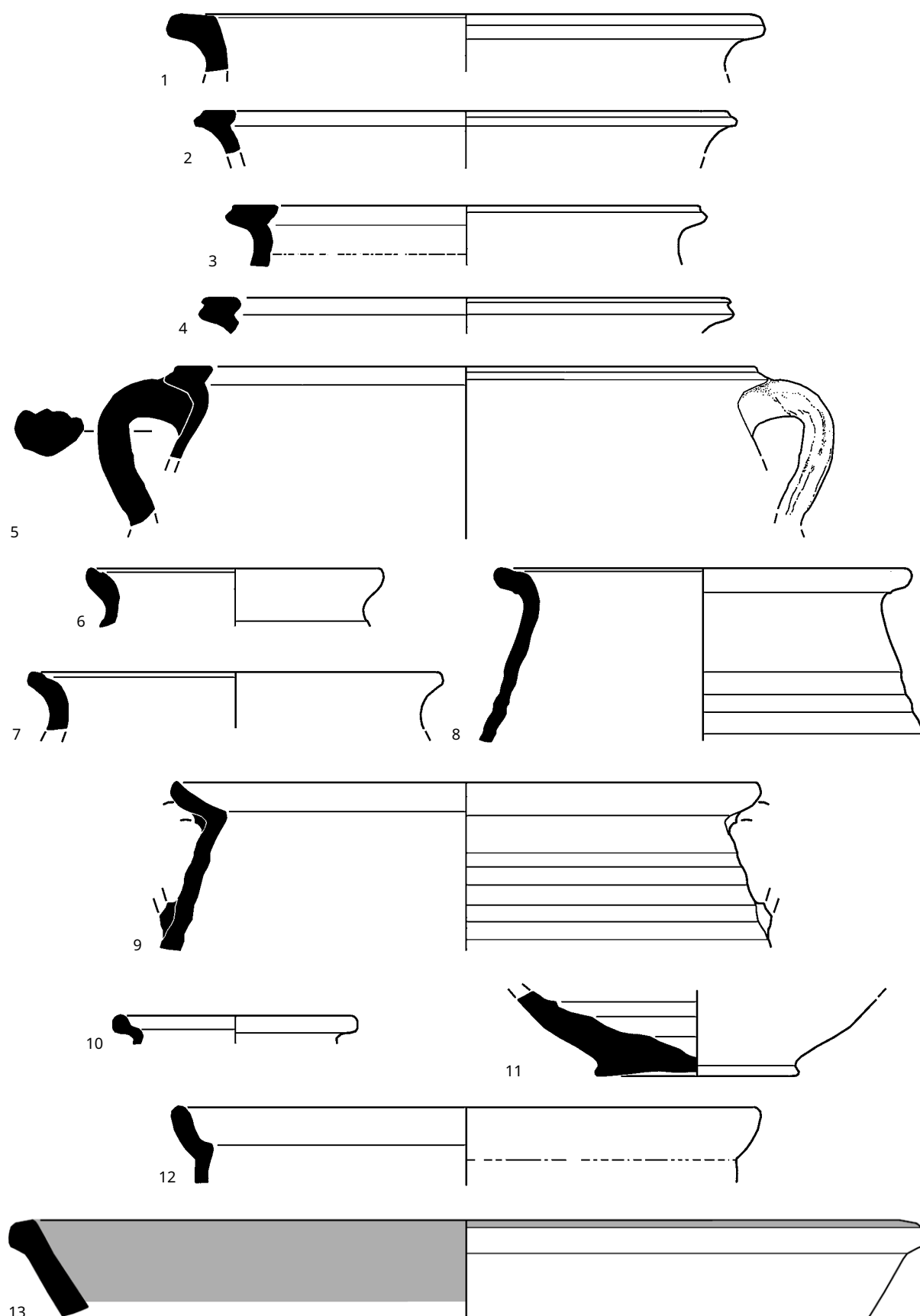
Assemblage 1 yielded a few fragments of transport amphorae, mostly body sherds, only a small part of which could be assigned to known types. Several fragments belong to the Zeest 80/Benghazi MR 5 type (fig. 4.4). This type, which occurs on mainland Greek sites between the later 2nd and the early 4th centuries A.D.¹⁵, is thought to have been produced somewhere in the Propontis area or the Black Sea region. Amongst

the rest of imported amphorae is a fragment of Kapitan 2/Benghazi MR 7, a type of similar date range considered to be either of North Aegean or Black Sea origin and imported to the Greek mainland, including Phokis and eastern Lokris, in significant numbers¹⁶. Finally, one fragment belongs to a regional amphora with bulging neck and moulded base that was produced at Delphi and Elateia in the later 4th century A.D.¹⁷ The type occurs in other 3rd century A.D. contexts at Kalapodi and at Opous/Atalanti. It is

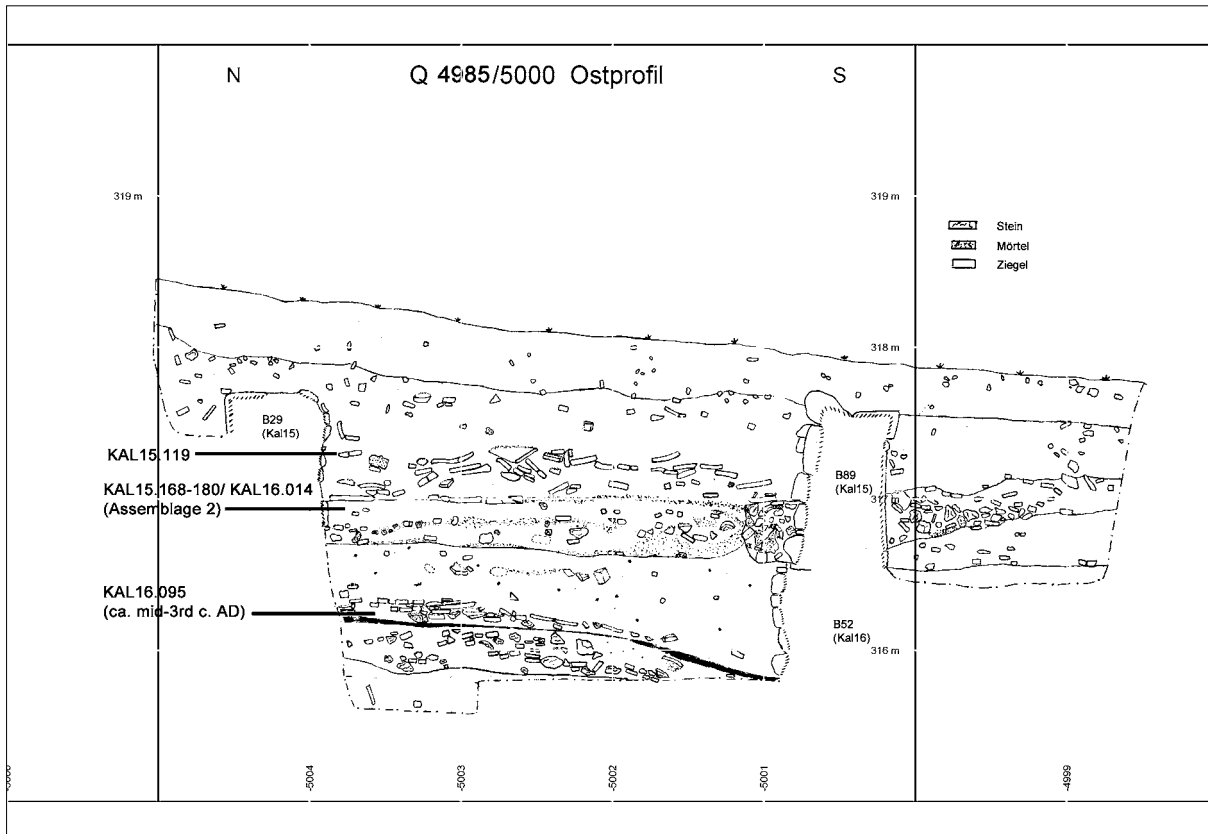
¹⁵ See e.g. Eiwanger 1981, pl. 60 nos. III.502–III.507; Fragoulis et al. 2014, fig. 7; Grigoropoulos 2009, 465 no. 122; Γρηγορόπουλος 2010, fig. 4,5.

¹⁶ Eiwanger 1981, pl. 60 no. III.508; Ντίνα 2010, fig. 11; Πέτρίδης 2010, pl. 40 no. 214; Zachos 2013, pl. 22 1–1a; Heimberg 1982, pl. 41 no. 695; Γρηγορόπουλος 2010, fig. 4,3; Παπαγεωργίου – Γρηγορόπουλος forthcoming.

¹⁷ Πέτρίδης 2010, 47–49; Zachos 2013, 237.



4 Assemblage 1 (scale 1:2). Cooking wares, various forms: 1. KAL16.077.013. – 2. KAL16.045.017. – 3. KAL16.077.014. – 4. KAL16.045.018. – 5. KAL16.045.016. – 6. KAL16.045.022. – 7. KAL16.077.012. – 8. KAL16.045.020. – 9. KAL16.045.019. – 10. KAL16.045.021. – 11. KAL16.077.015. – 12. KAL16.045.023. – 13. KAL16.045.024



5 NW1, east face. Stratigraphic sequence (as of 2016; adapted from Sporn et al. 2016/2017, 213 fig.22)

reported as early as the later 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. on other southern Greek sites¹⁸.

Cooking wares

With 15 MNV and 65 RBHS, cooking wares make up the second-largest group in the assemblage. They are all made in a medium-coarse gritty fabric with diverse sand-sized white, translucent grey and (less frequent) black and red inclusions, fired from bright red to dark reddish brown. The surfaces of the vessels are smoothed and fired in most cases to the colour of the body clay, though in some cases a grey patina covers the exterior. The fabric and morphological characteristics of the vessels suggest close similarities to Elateian products. The range of shapes is quite extensive, the most frequent being small to medium-sized cooking pots, of which several types are represented (fig. 4). The

most common is a medium-sized cooking pot with ribbed handles, flaring rim and a hammerhead-shaped lip with a deep groove on its exterior (fig. 4.2–5), which resembles closely type 3 chytrai from Elateia-Alonaki and shows affinities to type 1 cooking pots of Illyrian Cooking Ware of the 2nd to 4th centuries A.D.¹⁹ Other small and medium-sized cooking pots, related to an unclassified type from Elateia-Alonaki, have short flaring rims with a single groove on the interior (fig. 4.6–8). In addition to these regional types, other vessels, such as corrugated cooking pots with sliced handles (fig. 4.9) and small globular cooking pots with bead rims (fig. 4.10), recall shapes of the more widespread Aegean Cooking Ware. Other shapes, such as the foot of a kettle/cooking jug (fig. 4.11) and a casserole with ledge rim (fig. 4.12), occur as solitary finds. Of interest is also the presence of a frying pan with internal red slip made in the same fabric (fig. 4.13); even if residual, it indicates that such vessels were also produced by workshops in the region.

¹⁸ See discussion by D. Grigoropoulos in: Sporn 2016/2017, 239 with n. 142; for Opous/Atalanti, see Raselli-Nydegger 1996, fig. 21 no. 288 and Παπαγεωργίου – Γρηγορόπουλος forthcoming.

¹⁹ Reynolds et al. 2008, fig. 10 nos. 31, 32; Shehi 2016, fig. 1.

Assemblage 2: upper destruction deposit in NW 1

This assemblage represents the material from contexts KAL15.180, KAL15.168 and KAL16.014 in trench NW1 (*fig. 5*)²⁰, which correspond to a hard-packed dark brown fill between walls KAL15.029, KAL15.080 and KAL15.181. The deposit lay directly below a ca. 35 cm thick concentration of rubble, large stone blocks and more than one ton of roof tile broken in large fragments (KAL15.119), and a layer with charred wood and mud brick (KAL15.166) that indicate the building's final structural collapse. Assemblage 1 provides thus evidence for the dating of this event, for which an upper chronological limit in the 5th/early 6th centuries A.D. is furnished by the finds in the fills and the ›Schwemmschicht‹ that overlie the deposit of roof tile and rubble. A general terminus post quem, in turn, is provided by deeper lying deposit KAL16.095, associated with an earlier destruction attested in the area and dated by a coin of Gordian III of A.D. 244 and pottery of ca. the mid-3rd century A.D.²¹

Assemblage 2 yielded a total of 34260 g of pottery. During study a total of 680 RBHS were counted, corresponding to 198 MNVs (*table 2*). The material also included a small amount of residual pottery of pre-Roman to Early/Middle Roman date²² and a handful of 5th/6th century A.D. sherds that are clearly intrusive from the Late Roman deposits in direct contact above the destruction layer KAL15.119²³. Most finds belong to fine wares (34 %), followed by part-coated utility wares (23 %), plain wares (16 %), cooking wares (15 %), other coarse wares (mainly large storage pithoi: 7 %) and transport amphorae (5 %). The pottery was generally in a fragmentary state and only one or two vessels could be restored to their full shape but it should be stressed here that the deposit continued to the unexcavated area further east. Other finds include one unidentifiable bronze coin, the fragment of a terracotta statuette and several fragments of plain Broneer XXVII/XXVIII lamps, both imported and of local/regional manufacture²⁴.

	Provenance	Ware/shape	RBHS	MNV
Fine wares (residual: 70 RBHS, not included in count)	Imported	Çandarlı, late, Form 4	2	1
		ARSW Form 50B	4	2
		North Aegean(?) thin-walled mug	1	1
	Local/regional	›Elateia ware‹ Form 1	6	6
		›Elateia ware‹ Form 2	2	2
		›Elateia ware‹ Form 6B	2	2
		›Elateia ware‹ Form 7B	1	1
		›Elateia ware‹ Form 9	9	9
		›Elateia ware‹ Form 10	4	4
		Dish, not identified	46	24
		Bowl, other	6	5
		Other/Not identified	20	1
		One-handled mug	6	6
	Close-regional	›Elateia ware‹ Form 9A similis	1	1
		Delphi ware? Cup	5	1
		Flat-based dish (Boeotian?)	1	1
Total fine wares			116	67

²⁰ Sporn 2017, 61 f.; K. Sporn and A. Ferretti in Sporn 2016/2017, 211–215.

²¹ K. Sporn and A. Ferretti in Sporn 2016/2017, 214 with n. 67.

²² As e.g. Grigoropoulos in: Sporn 2016/2017, fig. 32 no. rR75.

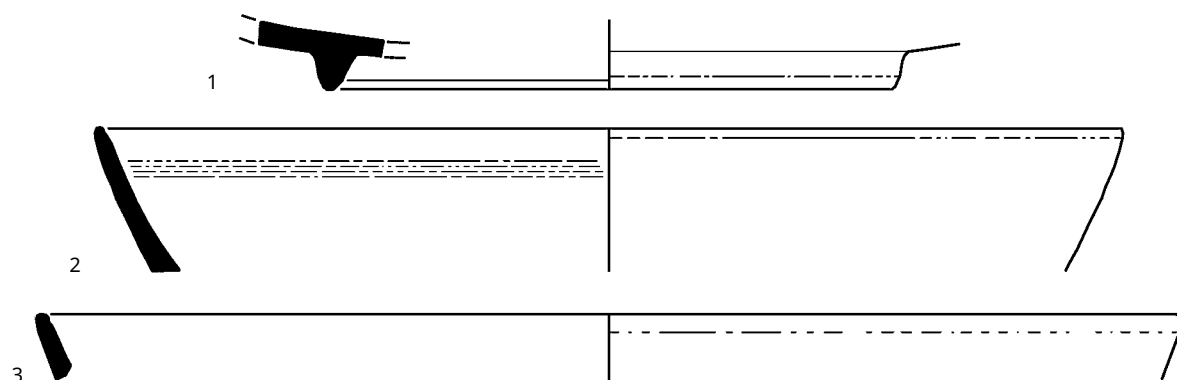
²³ These include a handle fragment of an imitation North African lamp (not inventoried) and a few rim fragments of Late Roman gritty grey ware cooking pots.

²⁴ For the coin, see Ivanova in: Sporn 2016/2017, 249 no. M16. For a lamp fragment from KAL16.014, see Zipprich in: Sporn 2016/2017, fig. 37d (dated to the 4th cent. A.D.).

ASSEMBLAGE 2: UPPER DESTRUCTION DEPOSIT IN NW 1

	Provenance	Ware/shape	RBHS	MNV
Part-coated utility wares (residual: 28RBHS, not included in count)	Local/regional	Crater Elateia Form 1A	3	3
		Crater, other types	4	2
		Basin, various forms	7	7
		Bowls, various forms	3	3
		Jar	1	1
		Table amphorae, various forms	4	3
		Jugs, various forms	27	9
		Gougged ware jug	2	0
		Open, not identified	40	4
		Closed, not identified	42	13
Total part-coated utility wares			133	45
plain wares (residual: 35RBHS, not included in count)	Local/regional	Basins/Craters, various forms	16	7
		Jug/Table amphora	9	6
		Jar	1	1
		Open, not identified	9	5
		Closed, not identified	20	13
		Not identified	140	0
Total plain wares			195	32
Cooking wares (residual: 1 RBHS, not included in count)	Imported	ACW small cooking pot	1	1
	Local/regional	Elateia cooking pot Form 3	1	1
		Elateia cooking pot Form 5	3	3
		Elateia cooking pot Form 6A/B	2	2
		Elateia cooking pot Form 6B	2	2
		Elateia cooking pot Form 6Γ	1	1
		Corrugated cooking pot, other	10	2
		Large jar	2	2
		Casserole	2	2
		Kettle, cooking jug	2	2
		Cooking pot, other	76	12
	Total cooking wares			102
Transport amphorae (residual: 14RBHS, not included in count)	Imported	Kapitän 2/Benghazi MR 7	7	1
		LR 2	13	0
		LR 3	1	0
		Not identified	8	0
	Local/regional	Elateia/Delphi 1	19	10
		Not identified	70	0
Total Transport amphorae			118	11
Other coarse wares	Local/regional	Dolium/pithos	5	5
		Jar	1	1
		Basin	3	3
		Stand	1	1
		Other, not identified	6	3
Total other coarse wares			16	13
Total			680	198

Table 2 Assemblage 2, overview of pottery



6a Assemblage 2 (scale 1:2). Imported fine wares (1–3): 1. KAL15.180.061. – 2. KAL15.180.005. – 3. KAL15.180.060

Fine wares

Assemblage 2 yielded only a handful of imported fine wares, consisting in two (residual?) fragments of late Çandarlı form 4 (*fig. 6a.1*) and four fragments of African Red Slip Ware form 50B (*fig. 6a.2.3*). Most finds are products of regional workshops, particularly that of Elateia, and hitherto unidentified production centres that should be sought either locally or in close proximity to Kalapodi. The forms match closely the material from Elateia-Alonaki and can be paralleled with products of other regional Greek workshops of the Middle Roman period²⁵. Several fragments include deep cups/bowls with oblique walls and squared or bevelled rims (Elateia ware type 1: *fig. 6b.1–3*), dishes with flaring walls and flat bases (Elateia ware type 2: *fig. 6b.4*), shallow bowls with a short squared rim (Elateia ware type 6B: *fig. 6b.5–6*) and bowls with a thickened grooved rim (Elateia ware type 7: *fig. 6b.7*)²⁶. Along with bowls of Elateia type 1, the most common form is the flat-based dish with incurved rim (Elateia type 9: *figs. 6b.8–9; 7.1–3*). Dishes with overhanging rim (Elateia ware type 10: *fig. 7.4–5*) are less frequent, with only two recorded fragments. Other open forms (not in the published series from Elateia-Alonaki) include a small dish with rouletting on the rim (*fig. 7.6*) and a crater-like bowl with everted rim (*fig. 7.7*). In addition, there are several fragments of one-handled mugs or dipper jugs that also find parallels amongst the material published from Elateia (*fig. 7.8–11*). Finally, a number of finds can be identified on the basis of form and/

or fabric as imports from other close-regional sources. This includes a cup with downturned rim (*fig. 7.12*), a common form of the later 3rd to 4th century A.D., whose form and fabric match finds dated to the second half of the 4th century A.D. from Delphi²⁷, and a dish with incurved rim in a fine light pinkish brown fabric and shiny light brown slip of a hitherto unidentified ware (*fig. 7.13*).

Part-coated and plain utility wares

Utility wares from assemblage 2 comprise open and closed vessels made in similar fabrics to those attested in assemblage 1. In addition to craters of Elateia ware type 1 (*fig. 8a.1*) that continue from the 3rd century A.D., a form with a shorter flaring rim seems to represent a new development (*fig. 8a.2*). As suggested by parallels from Elateia and Opous/Atalanti, such vessels had horizontal ribbed handles and they are probably associated with high-footed bases (*fig. 8a.3–4*)²⁸. Amongst the basins, there are examples with incised wavy decoration on the rim (*fig. 8a.5*), similar to that found on utility vessels at Elateia-Alonaki²⁹. Another form, which may be residual, has a squarish rim with multiple grooves on top of the lip and can be compared to similar vessels from Opous/Atalanti (*fig. 8a.6*)³⁰. The handled bowl with the short overhanging rim has a parallel from Elateia-Alonaki dated to the end of the 4th century A.D. (*fig. 8a.7*). Another bowl or dish with thickened

²⁵ Zachos 2013, 226–233; Pétridis 2010, 81 *fig. 104* nos. CT 30. 31; cf. Grigoropoulos 2009, 461 no. 84; Bes – Poblome 2017, 325 *fig. 12.2c*.

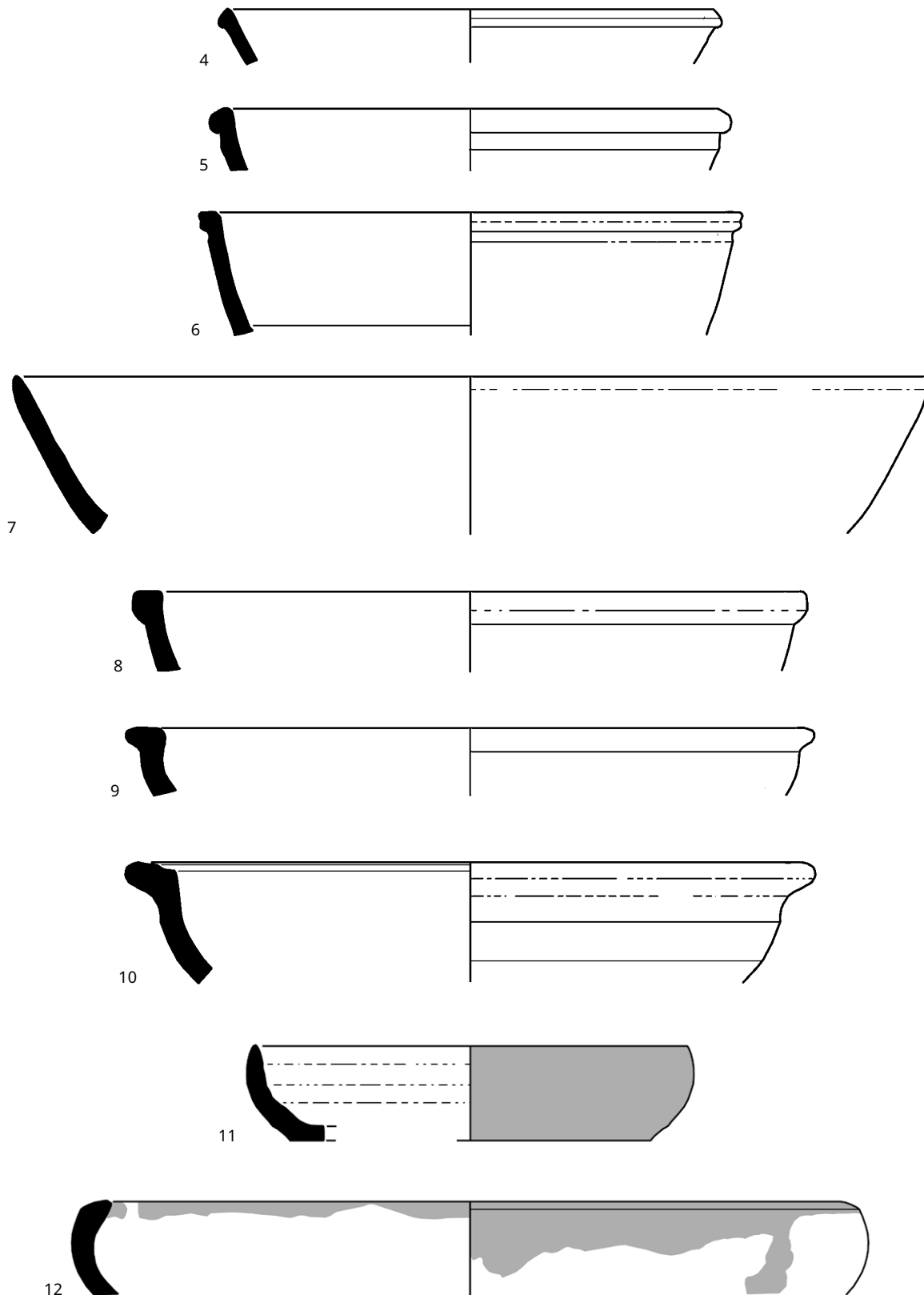
²⁶ The Elateian type series is presented in Zachos 2013, 226–233.

²⁷ Pétridis 2010, 81 *f. fig. 106* nos. CT 33. 34; for the form, cf. also Χρυσστόμου 2010, 512 no. 39 *fig. 20*; Τζαναβάρη 2010, *fig. 10*.

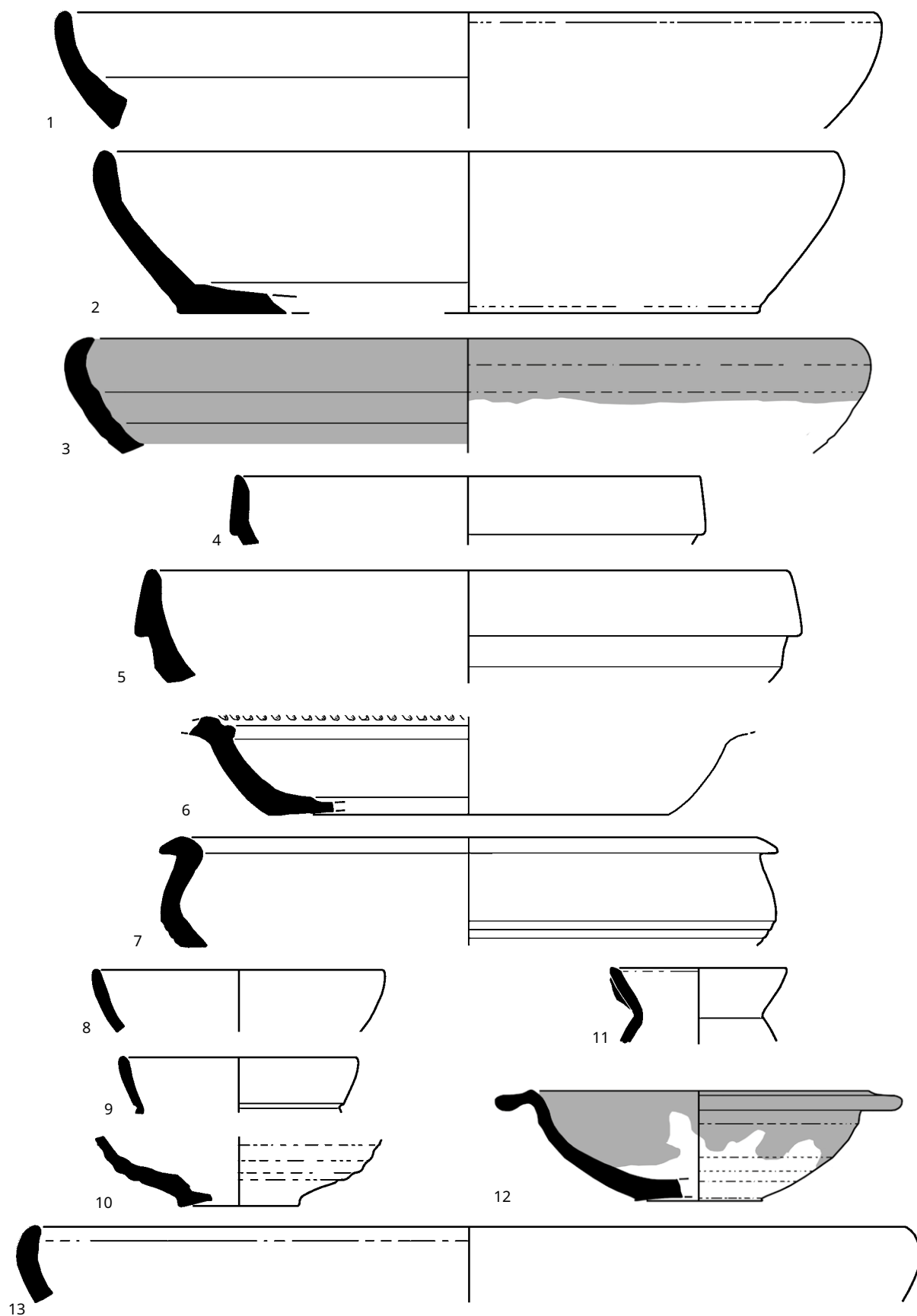
²⁸ Zachos 2013, pls. 11 no. 26; 12 no. 13; 13 nos. 15. 18; Παπαγεωργίου – Γρηγορόπουλος forthcoming.

²⁹ Zachos 2013, pl. 12 no. 3.

³⁰ Raselli-Nydegger 1996, *fig. 13* no. 116; *fig. 22* no. 299 (contexts dated late 1st cent. A.D. but also containing later material).



6b Assemblage 2 (scale 1:2). Local/regional fine wares (4-12): 4. KAL15.180.028. – 5. KAL15.180.030. – 6. KAL15.180.008. – 7. KAL15.180.041. – 8. KAL15.180.007. – 9. KAL15.180.029. – 10. KAL15.180.032. – 11. KAL15.180.036. – 12. KAL15.180.002



7 Assemblage 2 (scale 1:2). Local/regional (1–11) and other (close-regional?) (12–13) fine wares: 1. KAL15.180.009. – 2. KAL15.168.046. – 3. KAL15.180.034. – 4. KAL15.180.047. – 5. KAL15.180.003. – 6. KAL15.180.049. – 7. KAL15.180.052. – 8. KAL15.180.020. – 9. KAL15.180.019. – 10. KAL15.180.023. – 11. KAL15.180.024. – 12. KAL15.180.051. – 13. KAL15.168.006

lip (*fig. 8a.8*) may be a smaller plain ware version of a table ware shape, recalling ARSW form 61A.

Closed vessels are amply represented amongst the finds of this group but few fragments are well-preserved enough to provide details regarding their shape and function. Two types of medium-sized neckless jars occur. The first is plain and has a triangular projecting rim and an ovoid body (*fig. 8b.9*); its shape recalls that of larger coarse ware dolia, though its fabric is the standard (Elateian?) medium-fine plain ware fabric. The second is colour-coated, it has a globular body and a rim grooved on the exterior (*fig. 8b.10*). A form which seems to have been particularly popular is table amphorae. A fragment with a tapering neck and a square overhanging rim probably belongs to a table amphora of Elateia ware type 1, dated to the later part of the 4th century A.D. (*fig. 8b.11*)³¹. A similar date is suggested for wide-necked jugs or flagons with downturned rim (*fig. 8b.12*).

Cooking wares

The vast majority of cooking wares in assemblage 2 are made in the same gritty red cooking fabric as those in assemblage 1 and many show close morphological resemblance to the products of Elateia. Most belong to various types of small, medium-sized and large pots or cooking jars. The cooking pots with flat grooved rim (Elateia type 3), which are common in assemblage 1, are here represented by only one fragment (*fig. 9a.1*), which might be residual. Two medium-sized vessels with short ledge rim might be 4th century variants of the same type (*fig. 9a.5–6*). More common are small and medium-sized examples of Elateia type 5 (*fig. 9a.3–4*) as well as several form variants of Elateia type 6³². The latter include small cooking pots with simple everted rims (*fig. 9a.2*), deep corrugated cooking pots with thick walls (*fig. 9a.8*) and large thick-walled cook-

ing jars with handles attached to the rim (*fig. 9b.10–11*). The latter form shows morphological similarities to deep cooking jars from Delphi dated to the second half of the 4th century A.D. and Buthrotum dated to the 5th century A.D.³³ A thin-walled cooking pot with an everted, slightly flaring rim (*fig. 9a.7*) matches in form and fabric an imported find at Corinth³⁴. Other cooking vessel forms include a rim fragment that could belong to either a small cooking pot or a jug/kettle (*fig. 9a.9*) and casseroles with everted rims, straight walls with one or two grooves on the body and vertical ovoid handles (*fig. 9b.12–13*). It is striking that, with the exception of a small cooking pot rim fragment that could belong to Aegean Cooking Ware³⁵, no imports occur in the assemblage.

Transport amphorae

Assemblage 2 yielded a small amount of amphora fragments, of which only a few types and fabrics could be identified with certainty. The majority of the identified material belongs to the regional Elateia/Delphi type 1. Several diagnostic fragments, including rims, necks, handles and moulded bases are attested (*fig. 10.1–3*). This was an amphora type that was produced in Phokis (and possibly also East Lokris) and that enjoyed a distribution mainly in its production area and neighbouring regions. Its contents are not known but wine is considered as a possibility³⁶. A fragment of a cup-shaped rim amphora (*fig. 10.4*) is made in a fabric that also suggests a local/regional origin. In contrast, imports from other production areas are rare. With the exception of an Agora M54/‘pseudo-Cos en cloche’ handle fragment³⁷, which is clearly residual, the only imports identified consist in fragments of LR 2, one possible body sherd of a ‘micaceous water jar’/Benghazi MR/LR 3 and a handful of sherds that belong to Kapitän 2/Benghazi MR 7 (*fig. 10.5*)³⁸.

31 Zachos 2013, 240, pl. 17 nos. 4, 5.

32 For the types, see Zachos 2013, 245 f.

33 Pétridis 2010, fig. 54 no. CC09; Reynolds et al. 2008, fig. 8 (bottom left).

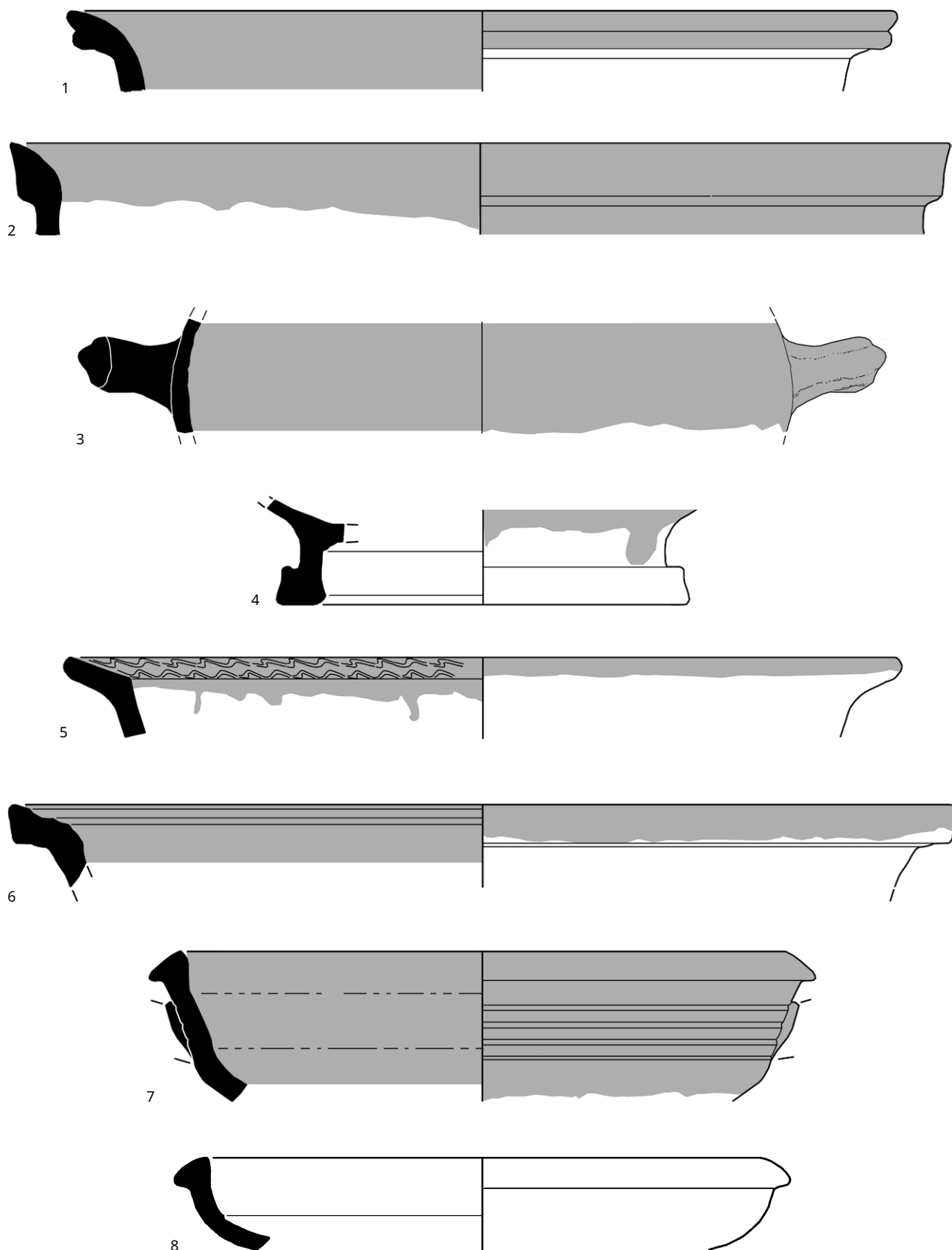
34 Slane 1994, fig. 8 no. 37 (context of ca. A.D. 300).

35 Grigoropoulos in: Sporn 2016/2017, fig. 33 no. rK94.

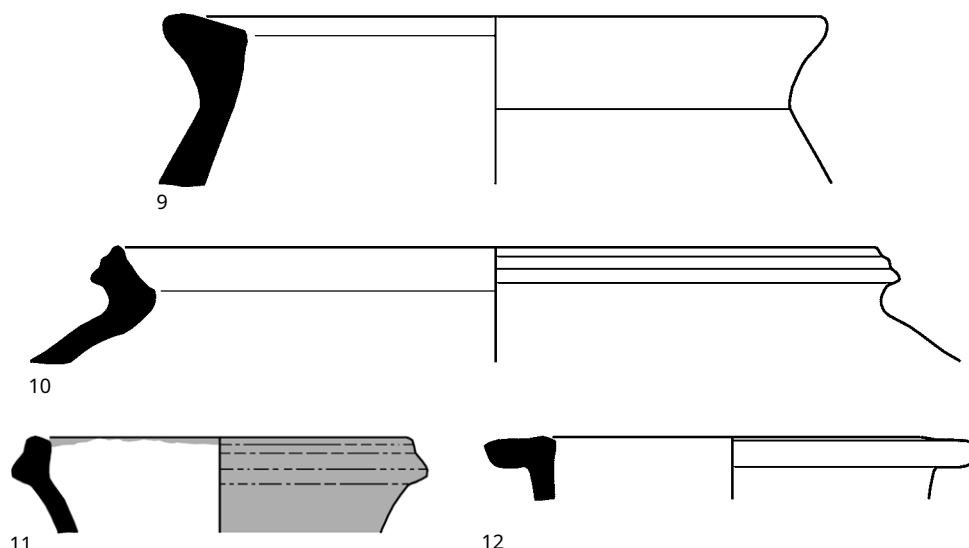
36 For the type, see Pétridis 2010, 47–49; Zachos 2013, 237; Grigoropoulos in: Sporn 2016/2017, 239 with further references.

37 Grigoropoulos in: Sporn 2016/2017, fig. 32 no. rK75.

38 For the latter type, see Grigoropoulos in: Sporn 2016/2017, 242 n. 147.



8a Assemblage 2. Part-coated and plain utility wares (1. 2. 4–8: scale 1 : 2; 3: scale 1 : 3): 1. KAL15.180.081. – 2. KAL15.180.083. – 3. KAL15.180.084. – 4. KAL15.180.085. – 5. KAL15.180.033. – 6. KAL15.180.077. – 7. KAL15.168.008. – 8. KAL15.180.090



8b Assemblage 2. Part-coated and plain utility wares (scale 1:2): 9. KAL15.180.095. – 10. KAL15.180.094. – 11. KAL15.168.007. – 12. KAL15.180.027

Discussion

In the absence of other relevant material, the pottery provides the best type of evidence for establishing the date range of the assemblages. For assemblage 1, a good chronological index is provided by the fragment of the Corinthian relief bowl, a class of vessels that occurs mainly in contexts of the middle and later 3rd to the beginning of the 4th century A.D.³⁹ The only relevant lamp find is a punch-marked handle of a (regional/Elateian?) Broneer XXVII-type lamp⁴⁰. Such punch-marking is a common feature of post-A.D. 267 Athenian lamps⁴¹. Dishes with overhanging rim⁴², which is the commonest form in the assemblage, are also common in many parts of the Greek mainland throughout the later 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. At Kalapodi they occur by the mid-3rd century A.D. at the latest⁴³, while they also make up a significant part of the fine ware assemblage of the same date from the heptagonal building at Opous/Atalanti⁴⁴. It is noteworthy that such dishes are extremely rare in assemblage 2 and could represent a residual type. The same seems to be the case with Elateia ware type 3 cooking pots, which, whilst being the commonest type in as-

semblage 1, only occur sporadically in assemblage 2. A closing date in the later part and perhaps towards the end of the 3rd century A.D. is plausible, and this would also seem to be in line with the date range of the rest of the associated coarse and plain wares.

The dating of assemblage 2 presents somewhat less difficulties, since it includes more material that is comparable to other published pottery from the region, above all Elateia and Delphi. With regard to imported and regional fine wares, the occurrence of ARSW form 50B, dated between A.D. 350 and A.D. 400⁴⁵, is particularly relevant, as is also the fact that no other (late 4th century) forms of the same ware, such as 58, 59, 61A and 67, some of which occur at Elateia-Alonaki in contexts of that period⁴⁶, are attested. Also important in this respect is the imported small bowl with downturned rim that occurs in the destruction deposits attributed to the earthquake of A.D. 365 at Delphi. A further indicator is the presence of Elateia ware type 2 dishes that are considered to imitate ARSW form 50B and whose production at Elateia-Alonaki is placed between ca. the middle and

³⁹ Malfitana 2007, 135; Hayes 2008, 111 f.

⁴⁰ Inv. no. KAL16.045.003.

⁴¹ Karivieri 1996, 74.

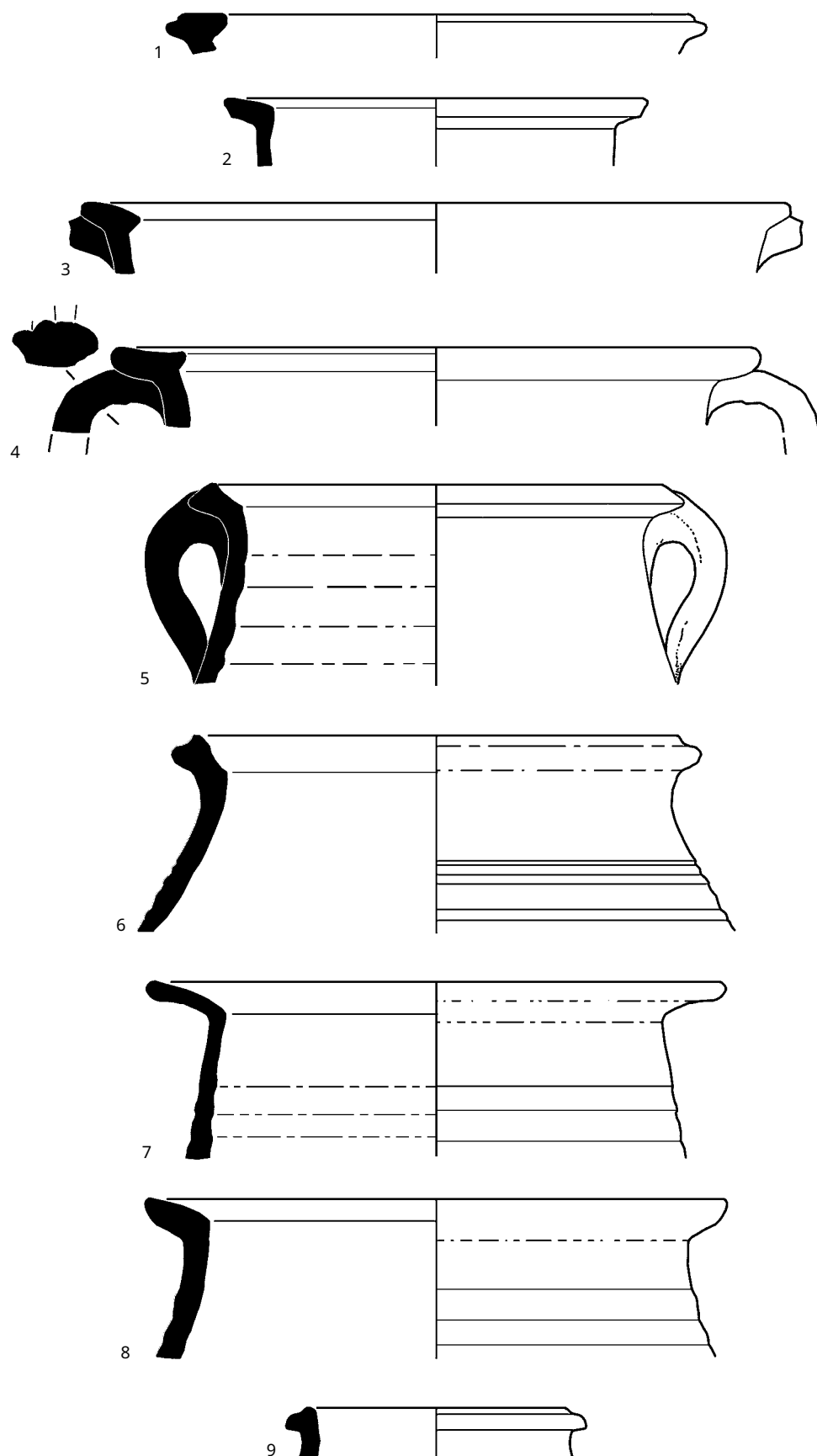
⁴² Elateia ware type 10A.

⁴³ Context KAL16.095, inv. no. KAL16.095.013; see above, p. 494.

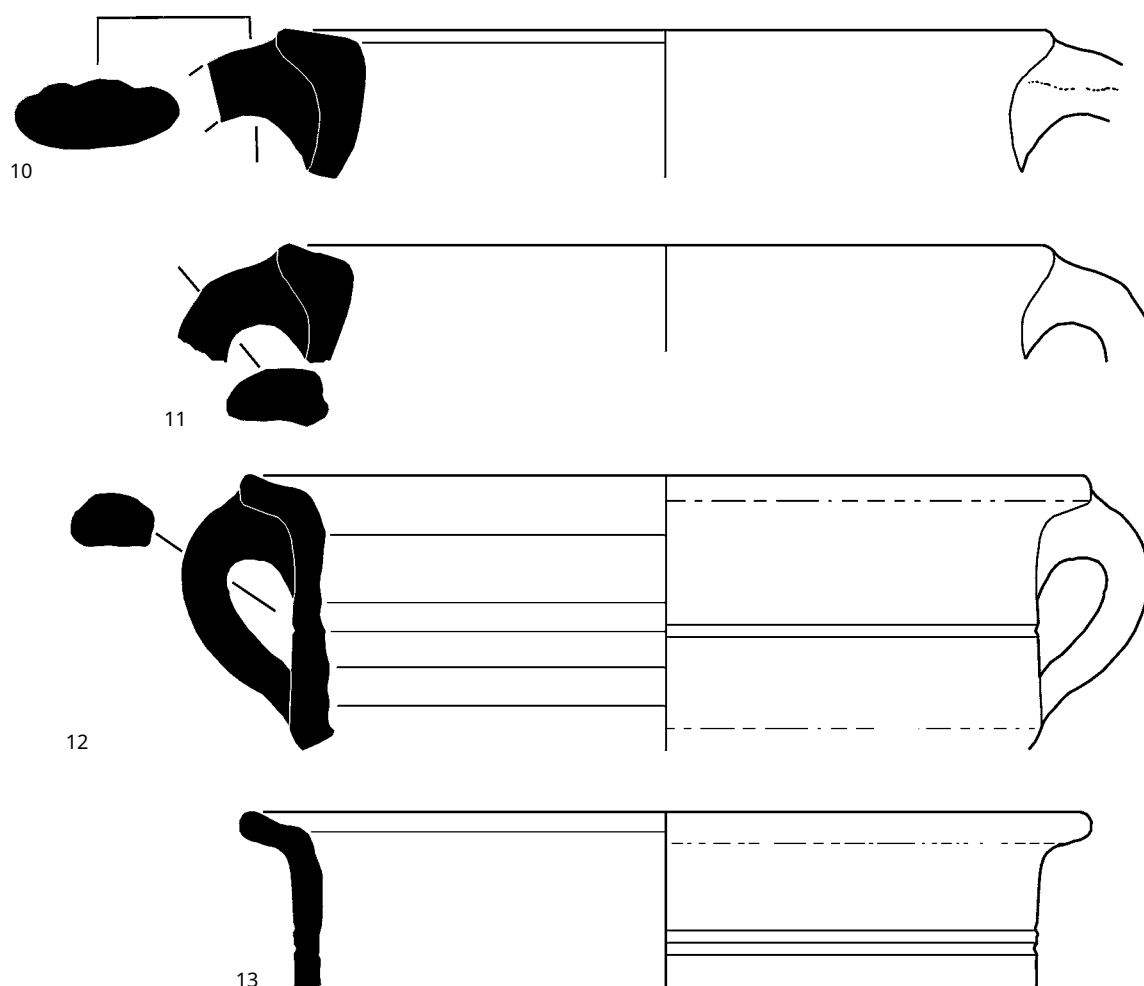
⁴⁴ Παπαγεωργίου – Γρηγορόπουλος forthcoming; see above, p. 494.

⁴⁵ Hayes 1972, 69–73.

⁴⁶ ARSW form 67 occurs in tomb LI and in the destruction deposits of building K4/XCII (dated to the end of the 4th cent. A.D.): Zachos 2013, 154 no. 53; 177.



9a Assemblage 2 (scale 1:2). Cooking wares: 1. KAL15.180.067. – 2. KAL15.180.011. – 3. KAL15.180.068. – 4. KAL15.180.014. – 5. KAL15.180.013. – 6. KAL15.180.004. – 7. KAL15.180.071. – 8. KAL15.180.001. – 9. KAL15.180.063



9b Assemblage 2 (scale 1:2). Cooking wares: 10. KAL15.180.076. – 11. KAL15.180.107. – 12. KAL15.180.015. – 13. KAL15.180.072

the end of the 4th century A.D.⁴⁷ At Delphi local imitations of the same form are also dated to the second half of the 4th century A.D.⁴⁸ The absence of Late Roman C forms 1 and 2, which are attested from other contexts in Kalapodi and occur in the deposits lying above assemblage 2, also helps to narrow the time frame to the period before the last quarter of the 4th to early 5th century A.D.⁴⁹ Taking the above evidence into consideration, assemblage 2 can be dated to the second half of the 4th century A.D., and most probably within its third quarter (A.D. 350–375).

Notwithstanding differences in the volume of material and despite being separated by many decades from each other, the two assemblages present a broad-

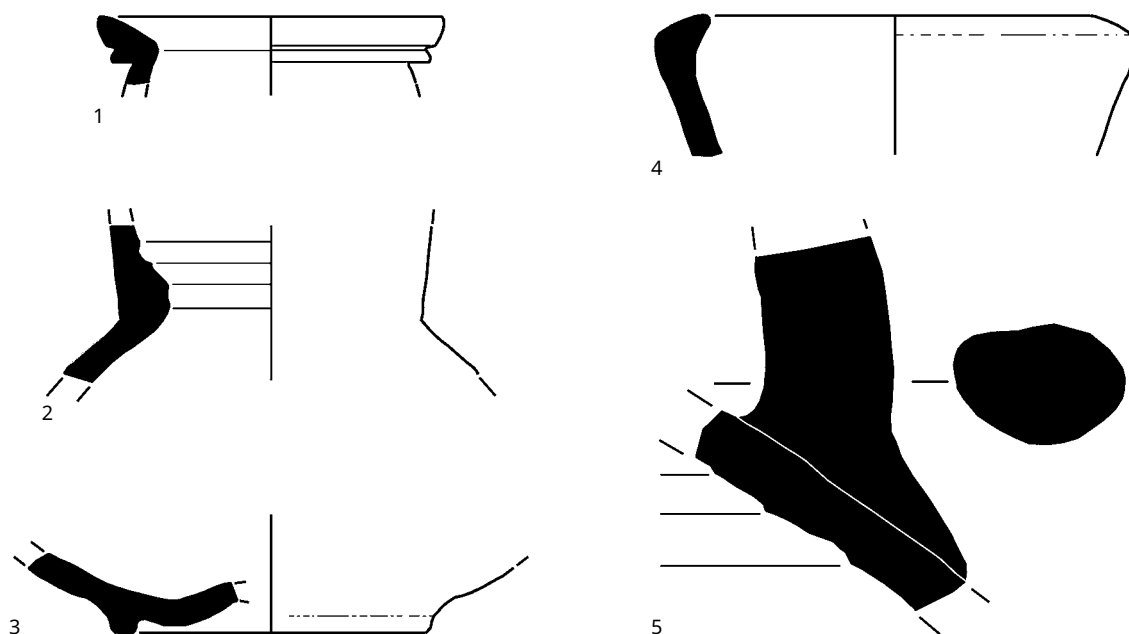
ly uniform picture with regard to their composition. Fine wares for table use constitute the largest single functional group in both, whereas transport amphorae represent only a small part of the material (cf. *tables 1 and 2*). Differences in the actual ratios of cooking wares and the rest of pottery for everyday use between the two assemblages may, in turn, indicate functional variation in depositional practices that could result from how these two areas of the sanctuary were used. As mentioned earlier, the precise nature of the buildings with which the two assemblages were associated is not clear and the pottery can only give a general idea. The large number of cooking wares from assemblage 1 could indicate the nearby

⁴⁷ Zachos 2013, 227 f.

⁴⁸ Pétridis 2010, 81, fig. 104 nos. CT 30. CT 31.

⁴⁹ Grigoropoulos in: Sporn 2016/2017, fig. 29 no. rK7; cf. also inv. nos. KAL16.057.003 and KAL17.029.005 (from ZW); coin finds

from these horizons in NW 1 include two bronze issues of Constantius II (A.D. 348–351) and possibly Arcadius or Honorius (end of 4th/beginning 5th cent. A.D.); see Ivanova in: Sporn 2016/2017, 248 f. nos. M13. M14.



10 Assemblage 2 (scale 1:2). Transport amphorae: 1. KAL15.180.100. – 2. KAL15.180.101. – 3. KAL15.180.096. – 4. KAL15.180.106. – 5. KAL15.180.098

presence of a location for food preparation and maybe consumption, whereas the larger amount of plain, part-coated and coarse utility vessels attested in assemblage 2 may be due to the use of the associated building(s) for storage or other everyday usage.

In addition, the assemblages are revealing as regards the site's pottery supply. The picture here too is more or less uniform for both, consisting in the prevalence of local/regional wares and the scarcity of imported material. It is noteworthy that especially fine wares and amphorae that were widely circulating in Southern Greece during the period under study make up only a tiny fraction of the material, the vast majority of the finds being of local/regional manufacture. The same seems to be the case for cooking wares, with the otherwise ubiquitous imported Aegean Cooking Ware represented here only by single finds. Amongst the amphora imports, one may note a small but significant presence of Aegean types such as the Kapitän II/Benghazi MR 7 and the LR2 as well as the Zeest 80/Benghazi MR 5 from the Propontis/Black Sea. It is here to be noted that imports of near-contemporary date from other overseas sources, such as North Africa⁵⁰, are attested in other contexts at Kalapodi but their occurrence is limited. Still, the presence of

these imports suggests that the site, while firmly anchored within regional supply networks, participated in the long-distance trade of the time.

That this picture is not confined to Kalapodi but probably reflects a more general pattern for East Phokis/East Lokris is indicated by the finds from other sites in the vicinity. Although no quantitative data are available, near-contemporary contexts at Elateia-Alonaki are dominated by locally produced pottery, while identified imported material (mostly fine wares and amphorae) is scarce⁵¹. Interestingly, certain common imported fine wares that occur at Kalapodi, such as late Çandarlı and Corinthian relief bowls, do not appear amongst the material from Elateia-Alonaki. Work in progress on the finds from the excavation of the heptagon building at Opous/Atalanti, which was the largest urban centre near the sanctuary of Kalapodi lying close to the coast, also suggests that there too products of local and/or regional manufacture were predominant⁵². On all these sites, in addition to imports of Aegean and close-regional origin, a sprinkle of imported fine wares, amphorae and even other cooking and coarse wares from more distant sources⁵³ is present but the quantities involved are small. In contrast, Delphi appears to

⁵⁰ Grigoropoulos in: Sporn 2016/2017, 242; fig. 32 no. rK79.

⁵¹ See general remarks in Zachos 2013, 131. 213–215.

⁵² Παπαγεωργίου – Γρηγορόπουλος forthcoming.

⁵³ For example Italy, Black Sea, Eastern Mediterranean, North Africa.

have received a proportionately larger amount of imports and from various sources, while locally pro-

duced pottery remained comparatively low until the 6th century A.D.⁵⁴

Conclusion

Even if not of a strictly ›cultural‹ nature, the two assemblages presented above provide compelling evidence for the sanctuary's continued function through the later 3rd and until the third quarter of the 4th century A.D. The results of the recent excavations suggest that this was a time of intensive activity and building construction on the site. This also falls within the main period of use of a large building complex ca. 1 km to the east of the DAI excavation area, which has been tentatively interpreted as a hostel or roadside inn⁵⁵. It is tempting to posit that this activity provided the context for the dedication of the statue base of Constantine by the people of Abae⁵⁶. Since only part of the areas under investigation has been excavated, the function of these buildings remains unclear, though variation in the functional composition of the associated pottery may

give a general idea. Meanwhile, the evidence for extensive damage associated with assemblage 2 makes one wonder if this was caused by a natural catastrophe, such as the earthquake of A.D. 365 that according to Petridis was responsible for destructions at Delphi⁵⁷. Whether this was the case or not, a more pertinent question is whether this destruction also marks the end of the sanctuary, and, by implication, of pagan cult on the site. Several strands of archaeological evidence indicate significant changes in the nature of activity and use of space in the sanctuary during the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.⁵⁸ A revisiting of these open questions must await future excavation and study of the finds from the rest of the areas investigated.

Athens

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⁵⁴ Pétridis 2010, 41.

⁵⁵ Sporn 2017, 61 f.; Γιαλούρη 2012.

⁵⁶ Prignitz 2014, 143.

⁵⁷ Petridis 2010, 25. For an earthquake that may have hit Elateia ca. A.D. 300., see Zachos 2013, 177. The final destruction of the buildings at Elateia-Alonaki at the end of the 4th cent. A.D. is associated by Ζάχος 2013, 131 with the raids by the Goths.

⁵⁸ Felsch 2007, 24 f.; Sporn 2016/2017, 269 f.; Grigoropoulos in: Sporn 2016/2017, 246; Grigoropoulos, forthcoming.

Sources of Illustrations: *Fig. 1:* DAI Athen (KAL15-ZW_Z001+Z002, KAL16-ZW_Z001-Z006; Montage H. Birk). – *Fig. 6:* Adapted from Sporn 2016/2017, 213 fig. 12 (KAL16-NW1_Z017; Zeichnung A. Ferretti, Montage H. Birk). – *Fig. 2–5, 7–14:* Pottery drawings: D. Grigoropoulos.

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Zusammenfassung – Abstract – Περίληψη

Götterdämmerung in Kalapodi: Zwei keramische Fundkomplexe des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.

Zusammenfassung Im vorliegenden Beitrag werden zwei Fundkeramikkomplexe aus den 2015 und 2016 durchgeführten Grabungskampagnen des DAI Athen im Heiligtum von Kalapodi/Abai in Ost-Phokis vorgelegt. Bei Fundkomplex 1 handelt es sich um Material der zweiten Hälfte bzw. des späten 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aus der Nutzung der Bauten über den hellenistisch-frührömischen Töpferöfen (Areal ZW). Fundkomplex 2 stammt aus einem Zerstörungshorizont unter einem massiven Stein- und Ziegelversturz im Areal NW1, wo während der Grabung eine dichte, bis in die hellenistische Zeit zurückreichende Schichtabfolge dokumentiert wurde. Die stratigraphischen Daten in Kombination mit den Keramik- und Münzfunden legen eine Datierung dieses Fundensembles ins 3. Viertel des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. nahe. Beide Keramikkomplexe geben Auskunft über die Art und den Umfang der Keramik des Heiligtums während einer wichtigen, aber bisher wenig erforschten, Phase seiner Nutzungsgeschichte.

Schlagwörter Kalapodi, Kaiserzeit, Spätantike, Keramik, Keramikbelieferung

Pagan twilight at Kalapodi: Two pottery assemblages of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.

Abstract This paper presents two pottery assemblages from the 2015–2016 excavations carried out by the DAI Athens at the sanctuary of Kalapodi/Abae in eastern Phocis. Assemblage 1 represents material of the middle to later part of the 3rd century A.D. from contexts related to the use of the buildings constructed above the Hellenistic/Early Roman tile kilns (trench ZW). Assemblage 2 represents a deposit recovered from underneath a layer of collapsed masonry and roof tiles in trench NW1, where the excavations brought evidence of several phases reaching back to the Hellenistic period. The pottery finds, combined with the stratigraphic and numismatic evidence, suggest a closing date for the deposit in the third quarter of the 4th century A.D. The two assemblages provide information about the range of pottery wares at the sanctuary during an important, but little known period of its functional history.

Keywords Kalapodi, Roman Imperial period, Late antiquity, pottery, supply patterns

Το λυκόφως της αρχαίας λατρείας στο Καλαπόδι: Δύο σύνολα κεραμικής του 3ου και του 4ου αι. μ.Χ.

Περίληψη Κατά τη διάρκεια της αρχαιολογικής έρευνας στο αρχαίο ιερό που βρίσκεται στα βορειοανατολικά του χωριού Καλαπόδι και το οποίο πιθανόν ταυτίζεται με το μαντείο του Απόλλωνα στις Άβες αποκαλύφθηκε μια σειρά από λάκκους χύτευσης και άλλες εγκαταστάσεις, διάφορα όστρακα τεχνικής κεραμικής (καλούπια και χοάνες τήξης), καθώς και μεγάλες ποσότητες χάλκινων σταγονιδίων και σκωριών, που τεκμηριώνουν την ύπαρξη εκεί ενός χυτηρίου χαλκού. Το εργαστήριο αυτό ασχολήθηκε με την κατασκευή χάλκινων αγαλμάτων μεγάλου μεγέθους χρησιμοποιώντας την τεχνική του χαμένου κεριού με έμμεση χύτευση. Βρέθηκε δυτικά του αρχαϊκού Νότιου Ναού και σύμφωνα με τα προκαταρκτικά αποτελέσματα της έρευνας λειτουργούσε στο τέλος του 5ου αι. π.Χ.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά χυτήριο χαλκού, τεχνική κεραμική, Καλαπόδι, ελληνικό ιερό, εργαστήριο