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A palette of bronze and silver: the monetary perspective of the archaeological site at Kalapodi

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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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A palette of bronze and silver: the monetary perspective of the archaeological site at Kalapodi

Hristina Ivanova-Anaplioti

Research on the coins from Kalapodi

One of the general questions constantly reappearing in every discussion about the site of Kalapodi is the one of identity. It does not consist only of a determined settlement name, but of properties that shape the character of the site. For instance on site production¹, the temple's modification, but also small trade activities seen in the numismatic evidence as they designate the nature of the sanctuary, once a mass of data can be evaluated.

In the 1980s Peter Robert Franke finished working on a catalogue of the coins from the excavation in Kalapodi². The manuscript of the catalogue consisted of 113 objects. Coins were added to the Kalapodi collection in the following years and the excavation has been in progress again since 2004, reaching double the artefact quantity today³. The coins come from different areas of the site and around half of the objects are found on the surface or handed over by the guards.

The few with a significant finding spot⁴ reveal not only the chronology of the contexts, but also connect to major phases in the temple's history. The excavated areas include the North Temple, the South Temple⁵ and areas north of the temple⁶. Quite distinctive are those areas with stratified coins. They cluster in different layers, but still in the area around the altar⁷ and under the east foundation wall of the Roman temple. The first cluster shows what kind of coinage was allowed during ritual and what the official currency at the temple of Kalapodi was. The second one provides information about the still partially researched Hellenistic phase of the site. Other excavated areas show an even and regular distribution of coins⁸.

The coins without a significant context or found randomly in the field can't be affiliated directly with the temple, but depict the range of coinage reaching the temple throughout antiquity.

¹ See Fuchs in this volume and Sporn et al. 2017, 204–206.

² Franke 1980. I'd like to express my gratitude to Katja Sporn and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier for permission to contribute to the catalogue.

³ In the summer campaign of 2017 the number reached 247. The coins considered here are the ones found until 2016.

⁴ Thanks to the additional information provided by R. C. S. Felsch we can complete contextual data and exclude some of the coins which were not found in Kalapodi itself, but in the surrounding areas.

⁵ For the North and South Temple, see Felsch 2007, for the continued investigation of the South Temple see Niemeier 2013.

⁶ Sporn et al. 2017.

⁷ When speaking of the altar in this paper it refers to the ›Kultbank‹ or ›Votivbank‹ in the provisorium of the North Temple; see Felsch 2007, 19.

⁸ A few examples from 2004 until 2013. From 2015 and 2016, see results in Sporn et al. 2017, 246–250.

Premonetary means and the coins in the late Archaic period

The earliest phases of the sanctuary are mainly known to us from the temple area. However limited the surface might be it provides an exclusive picture of votive offerings from the Mycenaean period onwards. One category of offerings are the bronze rings. The bronze rings published by Rainer C. S. Felsch number seven dated in the Bronze Age, 223 Geometric, and 515 in the Archaic and Classical periods, dated by stratigraphy. The latter would equal 70 % of the rings in total⁹. Unlike coins their origin is almost impossible to determine¹⁰. If their function as currency is to be accepted¹¹, then their circulation coincides with the first silver coinage, which is logical, and they were being slowly substituted. It is quite difficult to prove the continuity of bronze ring usage as money and their transformation to bronze coinage instead of the theory of a simple offering. But silver coins appear from the late Archaic period in the sanctuary, running parallel to the rings until the late Classical period. Both material groups were found in situ on the altar as offerings¹².

Circumstantial overview

During the Archaic period there were 24 active mint authorities in the vicinity of Kalapodi¹³. They all minted silver coinage and seldom electrum as in Athens and Chalcis. From the Phokian cities it is expected to find coins from Delphi and the disputable site of Neon, closest to Kalapodi, which issued Phokian coins, as well as the federal Phokian coinage. The Phokians in the Late Archaic period were already minting their federal coinage with a frontal bull's head, but Delphi had its own types, which is not un-

usual. It is said that Neon had minted archaic coinage, which nowadays tends to be dated in the Early Classical period or is even attributed to a completely different mint called Nikaia¹⁴. But the most numerous mint activities were in Boiotia. Orchomenos was the closest mint, followed by Thebes and six further mints. In Boiotia there are many mints always sharing the Boiotian shield, except for some cases like the smaller denomination in Orchomenos, where grain was shown on the obverse. In Thessaly, Larissa and Pherai were minting, usually showing the prancing horse as their symbol. Also the Thessalian island of Skopelos and further away Skyros were active. Some Peloponnesian mints were active too, like Philios and Aigai not far to the north. On Euboia Eretria, Chalkis, Karystos and Kyme were minting from even earlier in the Archaic period. The same was true of Corinth. Two further strong workshops were, of course, Athens and Aegina.

Coins minted in the Archaic period found in Kalapodi

There are only two coins dated before 480 B.C. found at the site of Kalapodi. The first one is the stater M47 from Aegina with a so-called 'Union Jack' incuse. It was dated by Franke to 530–520 B.C.¹⁵, but was not from an archaeological context or even the excavated area of the temples. It came from a neighbouring field.

The second one is the federal Phokian hemidrachm M64 of 2.81 g dated by Franke¹⁶ to 490–485 B.C., based on the publication of Roderick Williams¹⁷ (fig. 1). Felsch wrote in his addenda to the archaeological context of coins that it came from the cut

⁹ See Felsch 2007, 176 nos. 618–1335.

¹⁰ Other objects of the same periods like pins, fibulae and adornments also appear in hundreds in the sanctuary. Their origin is hard to determine as well, but they still show some shifts in the trade routes.

¹¹ For this theory specifically for Kalapodi, see Felsch et al. 1980, 81. 89 and Felsch 2007, 177. Also referring to Dakoronia 1989, 116 f. who states the same for rings found in Anavra.

¹² This phenomenon is well known and proven for bronze objects such as leaf or arrow money in the Black Sea area; cf. Stigl 2006. Finger rings and so-called κρικοί should be distinguished since their form might separate them in their function in the sanctuary. It can be assumed that only the κρικοί were of monetary character. But in fact they both appear in the same areas. In

the Archaic period they accumulate around the area east of the temple and in the Classical period also in the area where the provisional altar used to be, including on it. 17 finger rings and 13 κρικοί were positioned together with silver coins. For visualization, cf. Felsch 2007, 178–181 figs. 3–6.

¹³ That is, the Phokian league, Delphi, Neon (Tithorea), Orchomenos, Koroneia, Haliartos, Akraiphia, Thebes, Mykalessos, Pharai, Tanagra, Chalkis, Eretria, further on Larissa, Pherai, Athens, Aigina, Korinth, Aigai, Philios, Kyme, Karystos, Skyros and Peparethos. For their or any other mint's activities mentioned here see the particular mint in Head 1911.

¹⁴ See n. 40.

¹⁵ Franke 1980, no. 30.

¹⁶ Franke 1980, no. 1.

¹⁷ Williams 1972, 20.

for the inner column S 5. This foundation is dated to the 3rd quarter of the 5th century B.C. Silver could have circulated a longer time than we would like it to; therefore such incoherence is not unheard of.

Assuming Kalapodi was Abae or Hyampolis¹⁸, in any case a Phokian site, it would be presumable that coins expected at this site in the Archaic period, as rare as they are, would come from Phokis. Further, coinage of the very active mints in Boiotia could occasionally be expected, since both regions had the same initial coin standard of Aeginetic type. Close ties to Euboia from past periods would also suggest the possibilities of Euboian coinage in this area.

The Phokians, however, had already bad relations with the Boiotians and the Thessalians before the

Persian Wars as there had been an invasion by the Phokians into Boiotia in 560 B.C.¹⁹ The Phokians on the other hand built a wall against the Thessalians at Thermopylai²⁰, but they still invaded Phokis and installed reeves in the Phokian cities. Afterwards they were defeated when entering Boiotia in 540 B.C. and again by the Phokians under Daiphantos in Kleonai near Hyampolis²¹. This was the beginning of the Elaphebolia in Hyampolis²². Just before the Persians the Thessalians entered Phokis again in 485 B.C. and were beaten near Hyampolis. Neither Boiotian nor Thessalian coinage would be welcome in the early stage of monetized societies.

Classical period

Circumstantial overview

After the Persian Wars monetary properties in the region changed rapidly. Abundant production of bronze, silver and even gold coins expanded throughout the Greek-speaking world. This made the surroundings of the Phokian heartland of Kephissos valley and Kalapodi as well rich in mints. There appears to have been a clustering of mints in Thessaly and Peloponnese to a great extent, as remained the case in Boiotia.

Most impressive are the many mints of the poleis and tribes in Thessaly: in total 30²³. The Thessalian League minted similar coins, which depicted the prancing horse. This is an image that occurs on civic coinage, for example in Skoutoussa, but on tribe coinage as well. Bronze coinage was also minted in the Late Classical period, when mints adapted the images to their mythology, for instance Hercules of Trachis and Oitaioi.

Phokian coinage itself was issued in Delphi, Elateia, Lilaia and Kirra, as far as the mint can be determined. But the market was dominated by the

Phokian federal coinage. In the Late Classical period the Amphictyony coinage also spreads²⁴. The development of Phokian and Delphian coinage does correlate to the constant urge of Phokis to be in control of Delphi, first during their partnership with Athens, then with Sparta during the Peloponnesian War.

The closest town to Kalapodi, Opous, starts minting bronze and silver, followed by two other East Lokrian mints: Thronion and Skarphaia. Euboia continued issuing coins in the same mints, but also as a confederation. To its eight mints Boiotia adds five more, which makes a total of 13 mints. They all share throughout the Classic period the Boiotian shield and add their own *parasemon* on the reverse. The oboloi of Orchomenos and Opous shared the Aeginetic incuse on their reverses. Aegina's coinage was a very powerful and popular currency²⁵ and many mints preferred the Aeginetic standard, Phokis and Boiotia included.

In the south many Peloponnesian mints were created after the Persian Wars, some of them in the North Peloponnese, but the most important of them was Si-

¹⁸ Both sites were tremendously important for the ethnos of the Phokeis. When reviewing Phokian history Abae is mentioned next to Delphi as the sanctuary for the dedication of war booty. See Hdt. 8, 33.

¹⁹ Schober 1941, 482.

²⁰ See Ephoros of Kyme and Demophilos. FHG II 86, FGrHist 70, frg. 93.

²¹ Paus. 10, 1, 5.

²² Plut. Mul. virt. 244 E.

²³ Head 1911, 290 f.

²⁴ Picard 2005, 63–65. It is with a commentary about the relation of the recently introduced coinage and the sanctuary.

²⁵ Psoma 2015, 95–98.

kyon. Megara also started producing coins. Korinth, Aigina and Athens continued their extensive coinage, the second also minting bronze, the first and last gold.

There were several major events concerning this area in this period and they had an impact on the Phokian coinage and the circulation of foreign coinage. During the Persian Wars the whole Kephissos valley, Abae and Hyampolis were devastated. They were destroyed during the Second and Third Sacred Wars, during the Theban War when Hyampolis was destroyed by Jason of Pherai and during the Fourth Sacred War²⁶.

Coins minted in the Classical period found in Kalapodi

The finds from the site are not as abundant as one may think, considering the prosperous minting activity in the period. Where the coins came to Kalapodi from and their quantity doesn't change, which points to the fact that the Late Archaic coinage found in Kalapodi was actually circulating next to the one minted after the Persian Wars. No Boiotian or Lokrian coinage appears in Kalapodi. The only foreign coins are again from Aegina. One of the three specimens was a small obolos²⁷ (M81, *fig. 2*), which has the oldest stratigraphic dating. According to Felsch its exact context was under the level of the provisional shrine (built in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C.) and over the Archaic North Temple. It determines the terminus post quem for the shrine. Apart from this Aeginetic coin from the Early Classical period there are only two further Aeginetic staters²⁸ and no other foreign currency. The first one, M47, weighs 11.73 g²⁹ and was found in the refill of the Sotiriades excavation; the second

stater³⁰, M48, of 12.12 g dated to 480–470 B.C. (*fig. 3*) originates however from a later stratum than the obolos. It derives from the fill of the cella, which was accumulated before the floor was built and the inner column pits were cut in the 2nd and 3rd quarter of the 5th century B.C.

The specimens from this period are followed by various Phokian coins. Following the Aeginetic obolos under the altar³¹ in the provisional shrine was the Phokian hemidrachm M63³² (*fig. 4*) with a frontal bull's head and Artemis' head, weighing 2.9 g and dated to 460–457 B.C.³³ On the other hand Felsch³⁴ has shown that the obolos M53³⁵ of the type with a boar on the reverse dated to 457–446 B.C. is relevant for the assumed ritual burial of the cult since it was found on the altar in the last ashes of the fire. It can be seen in the exhibition in Lamia, still lying on the altar in situ.

Connected to the construction of the first Classical temple is the obolos M96³⁶ from 478–460 B.C. which was found in the foundation of the peristasis.

The hemidrachm M46³⁷ (*fig. 5*) weighing 2.6 g and dated to 445–420 B.C.³⁸, again depicting Artemis, joins the Aeginetic stater and suggests a later date of the Classical floor of the temple. Then again the obolos M49³⁹ (*fig. 6*) of the date 485–480 B.C., weighing 0.84 g and depicting a boar on the reverse⁴⁰, shows that the appearance of earlier types together with later ones was not an exception even with a span of half a century. The last silver piece, a hemiobol dated to 485–480⁴¹, is another proof of the apparent misplacement of silver coinage and its continuous usage or hoarding.

The overview of the coinage available from the 5th century B.C. reveals that besides Phokian only Aeginetic coinage was allowed into the temple area, exceptionally the staters. This is a logical choice, since throughout their whole Classical coinage the Phokians minted primarily hemidrachms, obols and hemiobols.

26 McInerney 1999, 197 f.

27 Franke 1980, no. 33. The spot where the obolos was found has not been exactly specified, but merely mentioned as a profile.

28 Minting of both dated before 480–470 B.C. in Franke's catalogue.

29 Franke 1980, no. 31.

30 Franke 1980, no. 32.

31 For a view of the bench, see Felsch 2013, 63, *fig. 15*.

32 Franke 1980, no. 5.

33 Williams 1972, 167 f.

34 Felsch et al. 1980, 87.

35 Franke 1980, no. 6.

36 Franke 1980, no. 4.

37 Franke 1980, no. 7.

38 Williams 1972, 245. 256.

39 Franke 1980, no. 2.

40 The coin M 49 depicts the typical style for Phokian coinage with a bull *en face* on the obverse and a protome of a boar to right on the reverse. It was identified by Franke and dated to the period 485–480 B.C., after R. T. Williams. This type is sometimes attributed to Neon or Nikaia, an already mentioned port close to Thermopylae, which was controlled by the Phokians. The first suggestions to attribute this type to Neon were from Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 150, no. 82. He also notes that the same type appears with the abbreviation EA and AE, respectively for Elateia and Ledon.

41 Williams 1972, 59–66. According to Franke the context speaks for the dating 420–400 B.C., concurring with Williams 1972, nos. 291–294.



1 M64: Phokian hemidrachm (scale 2:1)



2 M81: Aeginetic obolos (scale 2:1)



3 M48: Aeginetic stater (scale 2:1)



4 M63: Phokian hemidrachm (scale 2:1)



5 M46: Phokian hemidrachm (scale 2:1)



6 M49: Phokian obolos (scale 2:1)



7 M120: Hemidrachm of the Aitolian league (scale 2:1)



8 M160: Drachm of the Achaian league (Pallantion; scale 2:1)



9 M15: Bronze from Sikyon (scale 2:1)



10 M24: Bronze Phokian league (scale 2:1)



11 Bronze from Chalkis (scale 2:1)



12 KAL09.308: Opountian bronze (scale 2:1)



13 M30: Bronze from Elaiousa-Sebaste (scale 2:1)



14 M166: Sesterce of Marcus Aurelius (scale 1:1)



15 M172: Sesterce of Marcus Aurelius (scale 1:1)



16 M62: Sesterce of Gordian III (scale 1:1)

Franke also mentions three late Classical Phokian bronzes⁴² (table 2) and two bronze coins from Chalkis that could be dated as late Classical or early Hellenis-

tic⁴³. The latter show an openness towards foreign currency in this period.

Inv.	Franke 1980 no.	Reference	Weight (g)	Obv.	Rev.	Denomina- tion	Date	Chronology
M 64	1	Williams 1972, 20	2.81	frontal bull's head	head of Artemis to r. within an incuse	silver, hemi- drachm	18.09.1978	490–485 B.C.
M 49	2	Williams 1972, 55. 56	0.84	frontal bull's head Φ–O	boar's forepart to r. showing one leg	silver, obolos	18.08.1977	485–480 B.C.
M 80	3	Williams 1972, 59–66	0.47	bull's forepart to l.	Corinthian helmet to left in an incuse	silver, hemiobolos	06.10.1978	485–480 B.C.
M 96	4	Williams 1972, 88. 89	0.84	frontal bull's head	boar's forepart to right showing one leg, to left [ΦO]?	silver, obolos	21.09.1979	478–460 B.C.

42 Franke 1980, nos. 8–10.

43 Franke 1980, nos. 26. 27. For the first with a date 369–313 B.C.: SNG Copenhagen XIII (1944) 443–446.

Inv.	Franke 1980 no.	Reference	Weight (g)	Obv.	Rev.	Denomination	Date	Chronology
M 63	5	Williams 1972, 167. 168	2.90	frontal bull's head	head of Artemis to right within an incuse [ΦΟ]ΚΙ	silver, hemi-drachm	18.09.1978	460–457 B.C.
M 53	6	Williams 1972, 210–212	–	frontal bull's head	boar's forepart to right showing one leg, above olive branch	silver, obolos	1977	457–446 B.C.
M 46	7	Williams 1972, 245. 256	2,60	frontal bull's head	head of Artemis to right within an incuse [ΦΟ]ΚΙ	silver, hemi-drachm	12.08.1977	445–420 B.C.
M 83	8	SNG Copenhagen XIII (1944) 125. 126	–	three bull heads as triskelion ΦΩΚΕΩΝ	T in a laurel wreath	bronze, tri-chalkos	12.10.1977	356–346 B.C.
M 107	9	SNG Copenhagen XIII (1944) 127–129	3.10	frontal bull's head with fillets	ΦΩ in a laurel wreath ⁴⁴	bronze	23.10.1979	356–346 B.C.
M 110	10	as previous	4.00	as previous	as previous	bronze		as previous
M 24	11	SNG Copenhagen XIII (1944) 133–136	4.84	frontal bull's head with fillets	Apollo's head to r. ΦΩΚΕΩΝ	bronze	1974	339–beginning of 3 rd cent. B.C.
M 25	12	ibid.	–	as previous	as previous	bronze	03.09.1976	as previous
M 45	13	ibid.	4.71	as previous	as previous	bronze	04.08.1977	as previous
M 86	14	ibid.	4.28	as previous	as previous	bronze	21.09.1979	as previous

Table 2 Review of the Phokian coins found at Kalapodi (extract after Franke 1980)

The sanctuary of Kalapodi reconsidered as a financial institution

In 1987 Rainer Felsch and Peter Siewert published two inscriptions from the excavations proving economic activities in the sanctuary, as one should expect.⁴⁵

The first one is a lead plaque from 450–425 B.C. documenting the refund of a loan of 20 mines by a certain Gorgos to Menondas, whose interest of ten staters (monthly) was paid by the Hyampolitans. This implies that staters found at Kalapodi should also be valid for Hyampolis, which means that something

that could as well be geographically assumed is proven: at this period the city of Hyampolis and this sanctuary, whichever it was, used the same standards for their market, the Aeginetic⁴⁶.

The second inscription is on a bronze strap from the filling of the first Classical temple, dated 450 B.C. or earlier. It indicates 12 mines and 13 staters and it has been suggested that it might have been an application of a chest⁴⁷, whether as a votive to the sanctuary or as part of its banking function.

Sanctuaries such as Kalapodi should not be considered only as local shrines connected mostly to local festivities. As a strategical point on the way to Delphi it could have profited enormously from activities such as changing money into Phokian currency.

⁴⁴ A coin of the same type emerged in 2017.

⁴⁵ Felsch 1996, 273; Felsch – Siewert 1987, 681–687, nos. 1. 2.

⁴⁶ It is interesting that at the site of Exarchos, which was considered to be Abae and was excavated by Yorke, see Yorke 1896, two Aeginetic coins and three Phokian, but also three Opountian coins from the Classical period were found (no date or type men-

tioned), which differs from Kalapodi, where no classical Opountian coins have been documented so far. Svoronos 1897, 17 f. nos. 8–13. 31. 32.

⁴⁷ Felsch 2007 eventually decides that this stripe is actually a part of a tripod and marks its worth.

Hellenistic period

Circumstantial overview

During the Hellenistic period other powers come into play. Silver mints were rare following the centralization under Alexander. Silver was struck by the Attic standard henceforth; bronze coinage is the expected and more helpful resource for the chronology, except federal coinage, which would be represented by various confederations.

Aegina was still an active mint, but not as important as it was before. The first and most important federal coinage was that of the Aitolians, which played a big role in Phokian history from 279 B.C. until the Roman annexation⁴⁸. The Boiotian League also had its silver and bronze coinage. Euboia possessed its federal and civic coinage, as well as posthumous coin in the name of Alexander the Great, minted in Chalkis. The Lokrians also continued minting, while the Peloponnesians produced the very common Achaian

League coins next to some civic mints. To the north the Thessalians had their federal, but also some civic and tribal mints such as the Magnetes.

In Phokis there was essentially only bronze coinage in the early Hellenistic period, mostly identifiable as minted in Elateia.

Hellenistic coinage found in Kalapodi

As shown in the table below (*table 1*) there were four bronzes of local character (that is Phokis) and two Macedonian coins without context. One was of Cassander, which could be connected to his occupations of the area⁴⁹. The second one was of Demetrios Poliorketes, his rival in the matter of Central Greece.

Phokis	339–290 B.C.	4 bronzes ⁵⁰	
Macedon, Cassander	306–297 B.C.	1 bronze	
Macedon, Demetrios Poliorketes	306–283 B.C.	1 bronze	
Achaian League (Pallantium)	280–146 B.C.		1 drachm ⁵¹
Aitolian League	279–168 B.C.	6 bronzes	1 hemidrachm
Sikyon	251–146 B.C.	3 bronzes	1 earlier drachm
Boiotian League	244–197 B.C.	4 bronzes	1 drachm
Athamanes (Epiros)	220–185 B.C.	1 bronze	
Brettioi	216–214 B.C. ⁵²	1 bronze	
Chalkis	197–146 B.C.	3 bronzes	
Opous	2 nd cent. B.C.	1 bronze	

Table 1 Overview of the origin of the Hellenistic coinage found in Kalapodi

Furthermore there were coins found from the Achaian League and Sikyon, the Aitolian League, Boiotian League, the tribe Athamanes from Epiros, Chalkis, Opous and the Italic tribe Brettioi.

From 263/262 Phokis was completely Aitolian and struggling to become independent until Flamininus came to the area. Except the hemidrachm M120 (*fig. 7*) there were also six bronze coins of the Aitolian

League, one of them found in 2016, which shows that they were not minted in Thronion, Trachis, Elateia or Tithorea for example, but bore the legend ΑΙΤΟΛΩΝ⁵³.

In 224 Phokis joined the Achaian League and the Boiotian League against Aitolia. This would explain the drachm M160 from Pallantium (*fig. 8*), the drachm of the Boiotian League⁵⁴ and the coins from Sikyon (*fig. 9*). The Phokian bronze coins from the site,

⁴⁸ Funke 2016, 103–111.

⁴⁹ Paus. 10, 34, 3.

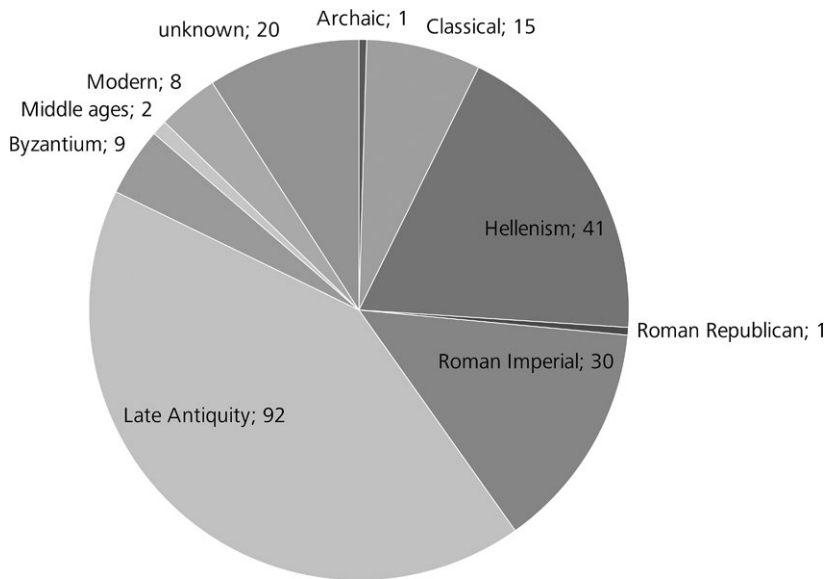
⁵⁰ A fifth bronze was found in 2017.

⁵¹ A hemidrachm of Elis was found in 2017.

⁵² For this dating I thank Y. Sotyias; see Rutter et al. 2001, 156. 159.

⁵³ Sporn et al. 2016/2017, 248. 249 fig. 34a.

⁵⁴ Sporn et al. 2016/2017, 248. 249 fig. 34b.



17 Correlation of the coinage in Kalapodi according to chronology

like M24, were mostly the same type (*fig. 10*). Coin M57 is a bronze from Chalcis (*fig. 11*) and is common for the region. In the late Classical period there were some coins from Chalkis earlier on (see above), but a coin from Opous is a singular finding in Kalapodi. A bronze coin and of extremely rare type (*fig. 12*) from the context KAL09.308 is most probably a bronze of Lokri Opountii. The type is of Athena's head on the

obverse and a figure advancing right. It could also be attributed to Lamia with the legend *Maleion* from the end of the 4th century B.C., but the image of the figure kneeling forward is more similar to the Opountian type⁵⁵.

Two further rare types in the area are the coin M36 from Epirus⁵⁶ and the one from Southern Italy (M2), coming from the region of Bruttium⁵⁷.

Roman Imperial period

During the period just before and after the annexation of Phokis into the Roman Republic and until the time of Augustus, there were still a few mints active in the area, mostly minting bronze. In the Roman Empire there were still the so-called provincial mints, minting only bronze coinage.

Roman coinage in Kalapodi

The only coin from the 1st century B.C. is a bronze (M30⁵⁸) which is not local but from Elaeousa Sebaste

in Cilicia (*fig. 13*). Its poor quality doesn't allow us to read the inscription and recognize the monogram that Franke read, but the resemblance is clear.

The Roman Imperial coins found in Kalapodi range from Augustus to Gallienus⁵⁹. Most of them date to the Antonine, Severan and the Barracks emperors. It is mostly imperial coinage, with four cases of identified provincial coinage from Korinth, Megara, Patrai and Pellene⁶⁰. From the imperial mints there are some extraordinary examples of sesterces found at the site, attributed to Marcus Aurelius such as M166 (*fig. 14*) and M172⁶¹ (*fig. 15*), and to Gordian III such as M62⁶² (*fig. 16*) and the one found in 2016⁶³.

⁵⁵ Numismatica Ars Classica 2010, 200, no. 139.4.

⁵⁶ Franke 1980 no. 18.

⁵⁷ Franke 1980, no. 15.

⁵⁸ Franke 1980, no. 40.

⁵⁹ Franke 1980, nos. 47–54 until M163 of Gallienus, not included in the catalogue of Franke.

⁶⁰ For the provincial coinage, see Franke 1980, nos. 34. 35. 38. 39.

⁶¹ Both specimens not included in Franke's catalogue.

⁶² Franke 1980, no. 53.

⁶³ Sporn et al. 2016/2017, 248. 249 fig. 34h.

Late Antiquity in relation to other periods

Although it is said by some that this area slowly fell into decline during the Roman period, we see a sudden change in late antiquity. It is true that coinage was produced in masses during that period, but 92 out of a total of 219 coins is an impressive ratio for any period (see diagram, *fig. 17*). 28 of these coins were struck under Constantine II.

It seems that this area was intensely exploited in late antiquity. Not only coinage but other materials from the NW excavation area not connected to the temple or any of its activities during that period⁶⁴.

Summary

During the Late Archaic and the Classical periods Kalapodi was Phokian, but Aeginetic coinage was also accepted as it was almost everywhere and used for sacrificial rituals. Based on that, the Phokians shared the Aeginetic standard with other surrounding regions such as the Boiotians and Lokrians, even if they had complicated relations. The sanctuary of Kalapodi also functioned in these periods as a financial institution. During the Hellenistic period, the urge to be independent from the Aitolians resulted into non-stable economics and the occurrence of Achaian, Boiotian and other coinage. The occurrence of this coinage means that Kalapodi was involved in those East Phokian developments and clearly affiliated with Phokis, but was

not as strong and independent as earlier. Relations with Euboia and Lokris also flourished during this period. There are also surprising coinages which we saw in the coins of the Brettioi. During the Roman period mostly imperial coinages and some provincial ones from the Peloponnese occur, while late antiquity is very indicative for the activity in the sanctuary. It witnessed a second period of prosperity in the area, even if it might not have been connected to the temple. The new perspectives from the coins of the 2015–2016 excavation confirm the mass occurrence of late antique coinage and the potential of the site during all periods.

Athens

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⁶⁴ See Sporn et al. 2016/2017, 211–215.

Sources of Illustrations: *Fig. 1:* D-DAI-ATH-1978-0969. – 0971 (G. Hellner). – *Fig. 2:* D-DAI-ATH-1978-0975. – 0976 (G. Hellner). – *Fig. 3:* D-DAI-ATH-1977-1820. – 1821 (G. Hellner). – *Fig. 4:* D-DAI-ATH-1978-0973. – 0974 (G. Hellner). – *Fig. 5:* D-DAI-ATH-1977-1822. – 1823 (G. Hellner). – *Fig. 6:* D-DAI-ATH-1977-1824. – 1825 (G. Hellner).

– *Fig. 7:* D-DAI-ATH-1986-0788. – 0789 (A. Tsimas). – *Fig. 8:* D-DAI-ATH-1986-0841. – 0842 (A. Tsimas). – *Fig. 9:* D-DAI-ATH-1977-1832. – 1833 (G. Hellner). – *Fig. 10–12.* 16. 17: Hr. Ivanova-Anaplioti. – *Fig. 13:* D-DAI-ATH-1977-1847. – 1848 (G. Hellner). – *Fig. 14:* D-DAI-ATH-1986-0858. – 0859 (A. Tsimas). – *Fig. 15:* D-DAI-ATH-1986-0876. – 0877 (A. Tsimas).

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Zusammenfassung – Abstract – Περίληψη

Eine Palette an Bronze und Silber: die monetäre Perspektive des archäologischen Fundortes von Kalapodi

Zusammenfassung Das numismatische Material aus dem Heiligtum von Kalapodi lässt seine Vernetzung und Zugehörigkeit zu unterschiedlichen Regionen ab der Zeit der Einführung der Münzprägung in Griechenland erkennen. Im folgenden Beitrag wird diese Thematik in Fortsetzung der Arbeiten von Peter Franke und Rainer Felsch im Zusammenhang neuer und alter archäologischer Kontexte untersucht. Der wirtschaftliche und politische Einfluss auf das Heiligtum von Kalapodi war instabil und wirft die Frage auf, inwieweit es durch die ganzen Antike hindurch als phokisch bezeichnet werden kann. In dieser Hinsicht dürfte eine konkrete Übersicht der phokischen Münzen bessere Einblicke in die Entwicklungsmuster geben. Zu diesem Zweck werden diejenigen Fundmünzen ausgewertet, welche die Chronologie der Aktivitäten im Heiligtum abbilden.

Schlagwörter Kalapodi, Münzen, Phokis, sakraler Kontext, Zugehörigkeit

A palette of bronze and silver: the monetary perspective of the archaeological site at Kalapodi

Abstract The numismatic materials from the sanctuary of Kalapodi illustrate an affiliation to various regions and a network right from the monetization of Greece. The current paper assesses the issues of this topic in the light of new and old archaeological contexts following the work by Peter Franke and Rainer Felsch. Economic and political influence on the sanctuary of Kalapodi was not stable and raises the question as to the extent to which it may be described as Phocian throughout antiquity. With this regard, a concrete overview of Phocian coins is expected to provide better insight into development patterns. For this purpose, the coins depicting the chronology of activities in the sanctuary are evaluated.

Keywords Kalapodi, coins, Phocis, sacred context, affiliation

Μια παλέτα χαλκού και αργύρου: η νομισματική προοπτική του αρχαιολογικού χώρου Καλαποδίου

Περίληψη Το νομισματικό υλικό από το Καλαπόδι αποκαλύπτει τη διασύνδεση του ιερού με διάφορες περιοχές και τη δικτύωσή του από την εποχή της εισαγωγής του νομίσματος στην Ελλάδα. Στο άρθρο που ακολουθεί, το πρόβλημα αυτό εξετάζεται με βάση το έργο των Peter Franke και Rainer Felsch στο πλαίσιο νέων και παλαιών αρχαιολογικών συμφραζομένων. Η οικονομική και πολιτική επιρροή στο ιερό του Καλαποδίου ήταν ασταθής και εγείρει το ερώτημα σε ποιο βαθμό θα μπορούσε να χαρακτηριστεί το ιερό ως φωκικό σε όλη την αρχαιότητα. Από αυτή την άποψη, μια συγκεκριμένη επισκόπηση των νομισμάτων της Φωκίδας θα δώσει καλύτερη εικόνα των προτύπων ανάπτυξης. Για το σκοπό αυτό, από τα νομίσματα που βρέθηκαν, αναλύονται εκείνα που υποδεικνύουν τη χρονολόγηση των δραστηριοτήτων στο ιερό.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Καλαπόδι, νομίσματα, Φωκίδα, ιερό πλαίσιο, σύνδεση