



Publikationen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

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The bronze finds from the Late Geometric ›South Temple 6‹ at Kalapodi. Cult practices and local craft traditions in eastern Phocis

in: Sporn et al. - ANCIENT PHOKIS: New approaches to its history, archaeology and topography
International conference, DAI Athens, 30 March – 1 April 2017 421-438

<https://doi.org/10.34780/64w2-6676>

Herausgebende Institution / Publisher:
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

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Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0
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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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Titel/Title: Ancient Phokis. New approaches to its history, archaeology and topography

Reihe, Band/Series, Volume: Athenaia 13

Reihenherausgeber/Series Editor: Katja Sporn, Reinhard Senff, Oliver Pilz

Reihe, Band/Series, Volume: Études méditerranéennes 4

Reihenherausgeber/Series Editor: École française d'Athènes

Herausgebende Institution/Institutional Editor: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Umfang/Length: X, 526 Seiten/Pages mit/with 244 Abbildungen/Illustrations

Peer Review: Dieser Band wurde einem Peer-Review-Verfahren unterzogen./*The volume is peer reviewed.*

Verantwortliche Redaktion/Publishing Editor: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Redaktion des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Athen, Fidou 1, 10678 Athen, Griechenland, redaktion.athen@dainst.de

Redaktionelle Bearbeitung/Editing: Simon Hoffmann, Diana Wolf, Ulrike Schulz

Prepress: le-tex publishing services GmbH, Leipzig

Buchgestaltung und Coverkonzeption/Book Design and Cover Concept: hawemannundmosch, Berlin

Umschlagfoto/Cover Illustration: Blick von Elateia über die Kephissosebene auf den Parnassos

(D-DAI-ATH-2018-17152_2, Foto: Katja Sporn)

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Druckausgabe/Printed Edition

Erscheinungsjahr/Year of Publication: 2024

Druck und Vertrieb/Printing and Distribution: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden • www.reichert-verlag.de

Druck und Bindung in Deutschland/Printed and Bound in Germany

ISBN: 978-3-7520-0825-8 (Athenaia), 978-2-86958-624-6 (Études méditerranéennes)

Bibliographische Metadaten/Bibliographic Metadata: <https://zenon.dainst.org/Record/003063459>

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek: Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <https://dnb.de> abrufbar./*Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek: The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available online at https://dnb.de.*

Digitale Ausgabe/Digital Edition

Erscheinungsjahr/Year of Publication: 2024

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/xb69-ti55>

Bibliographische Metadaten/Bibliographic Metadata: <https://zenon.dainst.org/Record/003063459>

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The bronze finds from the Late Geometric ›South Temple 6‹ at Kalapodi

Cult practices and local craft traditions in eastern Phocis

Gudrun Klebinder-Gauß

Introduction

This paper¹ presents some preliminary results of the author's ongoing research on the bronze finds from the sanctuary near the modern village of Kalapodi. The objects under study come from the excavations in the area of the South Temple conducted between 2004 and 2013 by the German Archaeological Institute under the direction of Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier. Niemeier's excavations continued the fieldwork of Rainer C. S. Felsch in the 1970s and early 1980s, the first systematic exploration of the site, confirming its sacred nature and establishing the basic sequence of its chronology and architecture². These older excavations concentrated mainly on the area of the North Temple; at the South Temple, except for a few deep soundings, excavations stopped at the early Archaic level. Niemeier's work focused on the area of the South Temple, which was explored down to the prehistoric layers.

Both the earlier excavations by Felsch and the more recent ones by Niemeier revealed a remarkably large number of bronze finds particularly of Geometric and early Archaic dates. Felsch's seminal 2007 publication included about 2300 of the almost 5000 bronze finds from the early excavations³. The later excavations by Niemeier produced an additional ca. 2600 bronzes that are topic of the author's current research.

The sanctuary at Kalapodi is thus one of the most important sites for Geometric and Archaic bronze artefacts in Central Greece and beyond. In the Kephissos valley, so far only a few other sites have yielded a considerable number of bronze objects of the Geometric period; amongst those are the Athena Kranaia sanctuary in Elateia, a cemetery of the Late Geometric period at Palaiochorio/Paliovrysi, a grave in Dadi/Amphikleia, and a Geometric grave at Polydrosso⁴. In

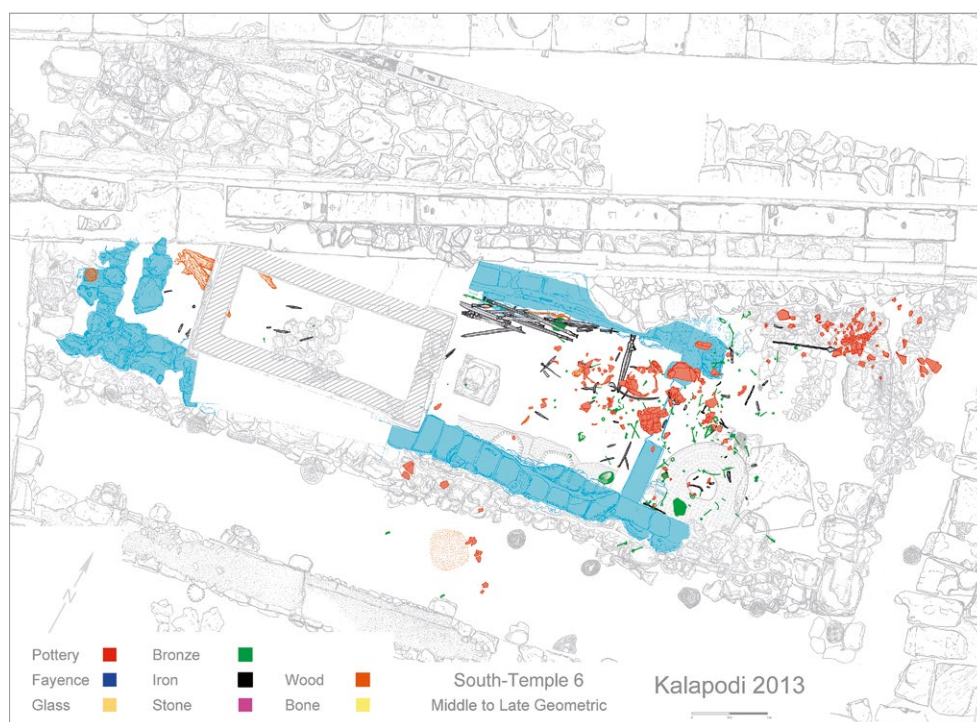
¹ For their support and help, I would like to thank Hans Birk, Walter Gauß, Eric Laufer and Jennifer Palinkas. Responsibility for the contents rests, of course, with the author alone.

² For annual reports on the excavations of Niemeier, see Niemeier 2005 to 2012/2013 and Niemeier 2014; for a summary on the older excavations conducted by Felsch, see Felsch 2007, 1–4.

The ongoing excavations since 2014, led by Katja Sporn, mainly include the area north of the North Temple.

³ Felsch 2007.

⁴ Athena Kranaia: Paris 1888; Palaiochorio/Paliovrysi: Dakoronia 2009b, 313 figs. 523. 532–537; Dadi/Amphikleia: Courbin 1954, 132; Polydrosso: Arapogianni-Mazokopaki 1982.



1 Distribution of finds at South Temple 6 (scale 1:100)

Opountian Locris, Geometric bronze objects are mainly known from graves⁵. Also in Epiknemidian Locris only few sites have yielded a significant number of bronze finds⁶. Hence, the study of the bronzes from the sanctuary of Kalapodi is challenging not only because of their quantity and quality, but also because of the possibilities permitted by sound contextual analysis. This latter aspect is of special importance: Even though large numbers of bronze artefacts are also known from other sanctuaries, such as Olympia, Argos, or Delphi, early excavations of these sites included little or no stratigraphic observations. Therefore, analysis of the objects was often limited to a stylistic evaluation of individual pieces or of entire classes. The detailed documentation of the stratigraphic sequence at Kalapodi thus offers the great opportunity to date the bronze finds with precision following the thorough ceramic sequence⁷. It also allows for a contextual analysis together with associated finds that

will provide a better understanding of the use and function of the objects and thus of ritual practices, votive traditions, beliefs, and values. Furthermore, this large assemblage of objects also allows new insights into the little understood category of metal craft in Central Greece, clearer understanding of its relationship to neighbouring landscapes, and perhaps will even identify new regional styles of metal craft.

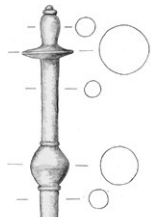
The vast majority of the bronze finds from the 2004 to 2013 excavations are Geometric and associated mostly with the successive buildings South Temple 5 and 6, currently dated Early to Middle Geometric and Middle to Late Geometric, respectively⁸. The general setting of the bronze artefacts (many found in the original position where they were deposited inside or in front of the temple), the range of shapes, and the great uniformity of a large number of bronzes, as well as their often extraordinary size, suggest that most bronze objects were votive offerings to the

⁵ E.g. a Subprotogeometric grave at Veryki/Megaplatanos near Atalanti (Δακοπώνια 1992, 293; on the date of this grave after mid-9th cent. B.C., see Felsch 2007, 106), a necropolis of the same date in Atalanti (Δακοπώνια 1992, 293), and a necropolis in Traganá (Onasoglou 1981).

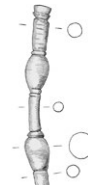
⁶ See especially Anavra with a Late Geometric find assemblage (Kilian 1975b, 26 f.) and Kainourgion with a Late Protogeometric to Subgeometric assemblage (Kilian 1975b, 27).

⁷ Studies of the various pottery classes are in progress. For preliminary results see Kaiser et al. 2011 and M. Stark in this volume.

⁸ Niemeier 2014, 28 f.



2 Pin no. 15959 KAL07.96.6 (scale 1:2)



3 Pin no. 13484 KAL07.64.8 (scale 1:2)

gods, rather than connected to the operation of the sanctuary or the performance of ritual activities⁹.

The emergence of metal votive offerings in the sanctuary of Kalapodi in the 9th century B.C. coincides with a marked redefining of ritual practices at this site: The preliminary analysis of the pottery record of this period suggests a shift from communal meals to drinking¹⁰. About the same time, in the middle or second half of the 9th century B.C., reorganization of the sanctuary, probably in connection with

the introduction of a new cult, occurred (indicated by the establishment of a hearth altar underneath the later North Temple)¹¹. A striking rise in the number of bronze, as well as iron, votive offerings in the Late Geometric period occurred not only in connection with South Temple 6, but also in the area underneath the later North Temple¹². A similar sudden increase in the number of mainly small offerings is also well attested at many other Greek sanctuaries of this period. It is generally attributed to the result of various political, social, or economic developments, such as the rise of the *polis*, population growth, the increased availability of metals, a greater significance and symbolic importance of religion, or a changed attitude towards society and the communal sanctuary that resulted in the donation of a larger part of one's property to the gods¹³.

⁹ In this paper the term ›votive offering‹ is used, following the definition proposed by Van Straten 1981, 66. 70, as durable objects offered to the gods as opposed to the term ›sacrifice‹ which refers to transient objects intended for consumption; see also Parker 2004, 270 s.v. Dedications who uses the term ›dedication‹ in the same sense. No differentiation is made in the present paper between ›votive offering‹ and ›dedication‹ as some scholars propose, depending on whether the object is given to the gods with or without a vow (see e.g. Haase 2002), because we usually have

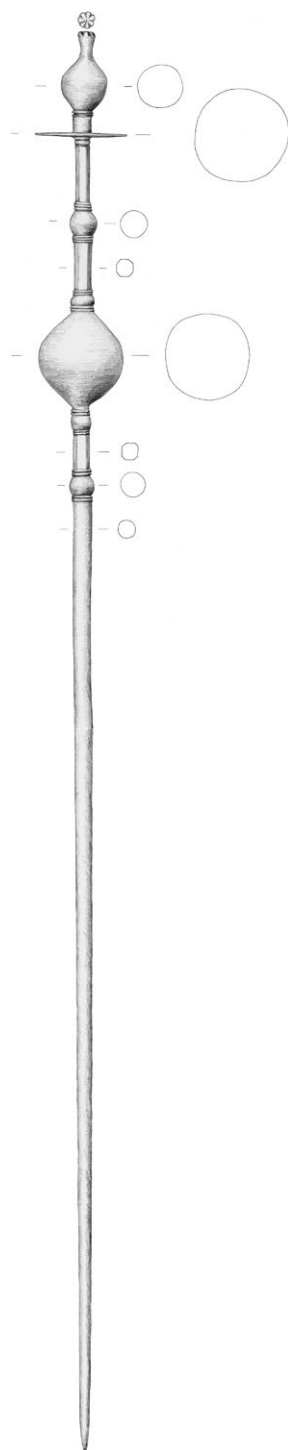
little evidence at our disposal to resolve this question. For this discussion see also Klebinder-Gauß 2015a, esp. 107–110 with further references. On objects found in sanctuaries that are non-votive in character, see Langdon 1997, 120.

¹⁰ Kaiser et al. 2011, 35 f.

¹¹ Felsch 1987, 5; Felsch 1998, 220. 224.

¹² Felsch 1987, 11 f.; Felsch 2007, 83.

¹³ On this discussion see e.g. Snodgrass 1980, 49–84 esp. 52; Snodgrass 1989/1990, 292 f.; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 11.



4 Pin no. 35648 KAL09.342.1 (scale 1:3)

The bronze objects from South Temple 6 – function and range of shapes

The Middle to Late Geometric South Temple 6 yielded an extraordinary number of bronze objects, among other finds. The large assemblage of bronze votive offerings deposited inside and in front of this temple (*fig. 1*) includes a rather limited range of shapes and a remarkable homogeneity in style. Dress fasteners and jewellery comprise the vast majority, whereas other categories such as vessels, weapons, or figurines appear in only small numbers.

Among dress fasteners, pins are particularly common at Kalapodi. The few prevalent types show variations in only some basic features, suggesting that the same workshop circle produced them. Most frequent are pins with a round- or tetragonal-sectioned shank and a head made with an oblong or biconical bead framed by up to three ridges on each side, followed by a long round- or tetragonal-sectioned intermediary, a small disk, and a moulded finial¹⁴. Pin *fig. 2* is an example of a type well known from Kalapodi beginning from Late Geometric I¹⁵. Pins with a head consisting of an intermediary between two identical beads and a simply or carefully moulded finial, such as *fig. 3*, are likewise common, although not as numerous as the above-mentioned class. These pins are most frequent in the Late Geometric period until the early 7th century B.C. and especially popular in eastern Phocis and eastern Locris¹⁶.

The average length of the bronze pins found with South Temple 6 ranges from 21 to 29 cm, a large size that seems not easily applicable to the common purpose of fastening textiles in everyday use. Long pins were found in occasionally large numbers both in sanctuaries and graves, especially on the Peloponnese. One may thus assume that they were produced for the specific purpose of being given as offerings, as objects of high value or with ritual character¹⁷. A unique example at Kalapodi is the completely preserved long (56 cm) pin *fig. 4* with elaborate decoration consisting of one big bead framed at each side by

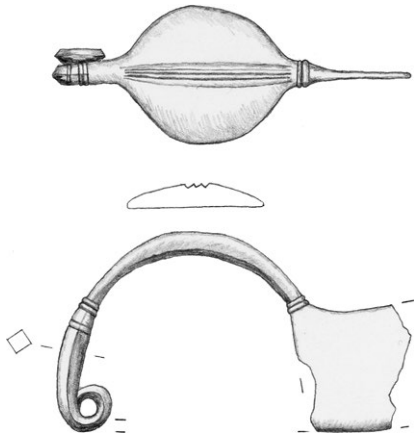
¹⁴ See Felsch 2007, 90–100 ›Typengruppe I‹.

¹⁵ Cf. Felsch 2007, 93 ›Form 4 d‹ nos. 261–272 pl. 24; Felsch 2007, 95 on the high popularity of his variant 4 among the large group of Geometric type I A pins at Kalapodi and 95–97 on chronology, development, and distribution of pins of type I A.

¹⁶ See Felsch 2007, 103–107 ›Typengruppe XVI‹. For the pin in *fig. 4*, cf. Felsch 2007, 104 f. ›Typ XVI B Variante 4‹ nos. 366–369 pl. 27 from Late Geometric IIa or later contexts; the less clear form of pin *fig. 3* corresponds to Felsch's generally later pins in his

›Typ B‹; on earlier finds of ›Typ XVI B‹, pins from sites in eastern Locris, see Felsch 2007, 106 and especially Δακορώνια 1992, 293 pl. 66b from a grave at Megaplatanos near Atalanti which is dated to the Subprotogeometric period; see also Felsch 2007, 106 on a date after the mid-9th cent. B.C.

¹⁷ On the discussion of function and use of oversized pins, see De Cou 1905, 300–323; Payne 1940, 72 f.; Jacobsthal 1956, 13–15. 114 f.; Strøm 1995, 83 f. 117 n. 313; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 162; Foley 1988, 82. 138.



5 Plate fibula no. 22942 KAL08.272.1 (scale 1:1)

two small beads and a pinhead that recalls a fruit or pistil. This pin was found next to the wall of South Temple 6 together with iron swords and spearheads, a bronze phalera, and the remains of a wooden bow – according to the excavator’s interpretation of an assemblage of objects carefully arranged as a ›*tropaion*‹ in front of the temple’s wall¹⁸. The size and weight of this pin indicates only a ritual or votive function, a conclusion supported also by its way of deposition. Type and style suggest it came from the same workshop circle as the above-mentioned examples¹⁹.

Fibulae from South Temple 6 – and from Geometric Kalapodi in general – are much less common than pins, a phenomenon already indicated by the older excavations at the site²⁰. Pins therefore appear to have played a more prominent role in the local votive

traditions than fibulae. However, this clear preference of pins over fibulae among the votive offerings in the sanctuary of Kalapodi may not reflect local dress traditions. Graves of this period in eastern Phocis and eastern Locris contain just as many fibulae as pins, thus indicating that the clothing accessories of the local dress included both fibulae and pins²¹. Further, dedications of clothing together with accessories such as fibulae and pins were found during the older excavations in the sanctuary of Kalapodi²². The problem of identifying regional traditions of dress on the basis of votive offerings at sanctuaries has already been addressed by Klaus Kilian²³. In the case of the Thessalian sanctuaries at Pherai and Philia, however, Kilian observed a correspondence between the finds of fibulae and pins from these sites and those from Thessalian and Central Greek graves. This association and the discovery of pairs of fibulae led Kilian to assume the dedication of complete sets of clothing accessories at Pherai and Philia, and also in Phocis.

Among fibulae from South Temple 6, small plate fibulae such as *fig. 5* are most numerous. *Fig. 5* belongs to a later phase of this type and dates to the Late Geometric to early Archaic period. Based on the only example of this kind from the older excavations, Felsch suggested a Thessalian rather than local origin²⁴. The excavations of 2004 to 2013 at the sanctuary at Kalapodi, however, yielded further fibulae of this type. Together with the example from the older excavations they form a stylistically quite homogeneous, possibly distinctive, group, thus indicating that these are local or regional versions of a type that is most popular in Thessaly²⁵. Plate fibulae such as *fig. 6*

¹⁸ For the context, see Niemeier 2009, 107 figs. 7. 8 and Niemeier 2013, 37 f. figs. 4. 5.

¹⁹ Pin *fig. 4* should be classified within the ›*Typengruppe I*‹ after Felsch 2007, 90–100; however its elaborate decoration is so far attested at Kalapodi only by one other example, also very large, from the later excavations. See Felsch 2007, 97 on the rather big beads of pins of his type IA which he regarded as specifically characteristic of Phocis or even eastern Phocian metal art. For pins of approximately the same size and form see examples from Delphi (Perdrizet 1908, 115 no. 607 fig. 412), Olympia (Philipp 1981, 39 no. 14 pl. 1), and the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 110 no. 988 pl. 32; Voyatzis 1990, 205). The more or less abstract depiction of fruits at Kalapodi is attested among various Geometric pin types, although it is not very common: see e.g., Felsch 2007, 94 no. 278; 105 nos. 348. 368; generally for the widely attested motif of fruit-shaped pinheads, see Jacobsthal 1956, 37–39. 185–187 and Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 273.

²⁰ See Felsch 2007, 83.

²¹ A Geometric grave at Amphikleia-Dadi yielded seven fibulae, but no pins (Courbin 1954, 132); a Geometric grave in Amphissa yielded five fibulae and one pin (Κωνσταντίνου 1963, 130).

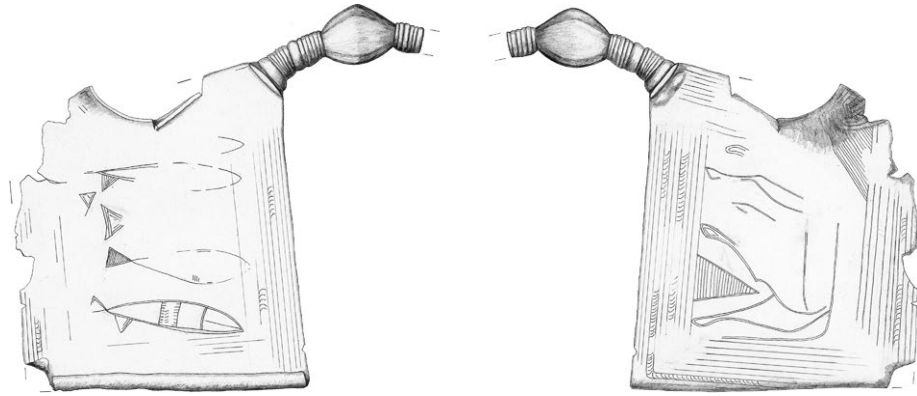
From Late Geometric graves at Palaiochori/Paliovrysi so far only a small selection of finds have been published, including pins (Dakoronia 2009b, 313). The grave at the museum at Delphi yielded two pairs of fibulae (Perdrizet 1908, 113 nos. 597. 598). A grave from the mid-8th cent. B.C. at Tragana included eight fibulae and four pairs of pins (Onasoglou 1981, 38–44). Some graves of late 10th to mid-9th cent. B.C. date at Atalanti yielded both pins and fibulae, whilst others included only pins or fibulae or else no dress fasteners at all (Δακωρώνια 2006, 487–493). The find assemblages from Anavra and Kainourgion, both probably from graves, included pins and fibulae (Kilian 1975b, 26 f.). See also Kilian 1975b, 27 on the assumption that the clothing accessories of the local dress in Thessaly and Boeotia included both fibulae and pins.

²² Felsch 2007, 138.

²³ On this discussion see Kilian 1975a, 166. 169 and Kilian 1975b, 105–120.

²⁴ Felsch 2007, 130 f. no. 475 pl. 29.

²⁵ See also Kilian 1975a, 106–109 ›*Plattenfibel AII b*‹; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 31 f.; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1995, 41 f. assumed several production centres for this type.



6 Plate fibula no. 15181 KAL07.63.2 (scale 1:2)

are also mainly attested in Thessaly, Phocis, and eastern Lokris²⁶. The decoration of its catch plate suggests an independent workshop circle that might be located in the area of southern Thessaly, Phocis, or eastern Lokris²⁷. Likewise popular among the dedications of fibulae at the sanctuary of Kalapodi are spectacle fibulae. Of this exceedingly widely-attested shape *fig. 7* illustrates a version with reduced wire at the beginning of the figure-eight loop that has been most common in Thessaly and Macedonia since the Late Geometric period²⁸. Moreover, among the spectacle fibulae from the older excavations this type is far more common and attested from the second half of the 8th cent. B.C. onwards²⁹. It is difficult to determine whether the examples found at Kalapodi are an import or the product of a local workshop.

Among jewellery found at South Temple 6 finger rings and bracelets of various kinds are quite numerous. Open finger-rings with a triangular cross-section, often with incised decoration along the edges, are prevalent (*fig. 8*); they are a characteristic product of central Greece that was especially popular in the second half of the 8th century B.C.³⁰ Bracelet *fig. 9* represents the plainer version of a type that has so far been attested at Kalapodi and at other sites in Phocis and Lokris only by a version with a torched bow³¹.

Pendants are frequent offerings at the sanctuary of Kalapodi; the range of shapes is basically limited to plain beads and a certain type of bird figurines. A completely preserved necklace was found in situ on the floor in front of South Temple 6 (*fig. 10*). It includes one very large solid bead in the centre and 27 small beads created from a bent triangular-sectioned strip of metal. While open beads like these small ones are very common finds in Late Geometric and Early Proto-Corinthian Kalapodi, and represent a shape indigenous to Central Greece and Boeotia, massive biconical beads such as the central one are rare at this site, but more common in Thessaly and Macedonia³². Complete necklaces of this kind found in graves affirm that they were part of the traditional dress of this region: An 8th century B.C. grave at Phocian Amphikleia yielded a necklace composed of nearly 350 bronze beads formed from a triangular-sectioned strip, a bead of amber, and three suspended bird-shaped pendants³³. Moreover, in a mid-8th cent. B.C. grave at Tragana in eastern Lokris a necklace with ca. 300 small- and medium-sized triangular-sectioned open beads was found³⁴. Also bird-shaped pendants with a vertical suspension hole or, such as *fig. 11*, with either bar-shaped feet or variously shaped stands are well attested in graves of this re-

²⁶ See the fundamental studies on plate fibulae from these regions by Kilian 1975a, 105–137, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, esp. 34–37 and Sens 2002.

²⁷ Klebinder-Gauß 2015b; for several fibulae of this kind from the older excavations, see Felsch 2007, 136 f. ›Plattenfibeln thessalischer Art‹.

²⁸ Cf. Kilian 1975a, 146–148 ›Brillenfibel B II Variante d‹.

²⁹ Felsch 2007, 138 f.

³⁰ See also Felsch 2007, 164–167, ›Typengruppe IV‹, esp. his variant IV B 1 known at this site since the Late Geometric period.

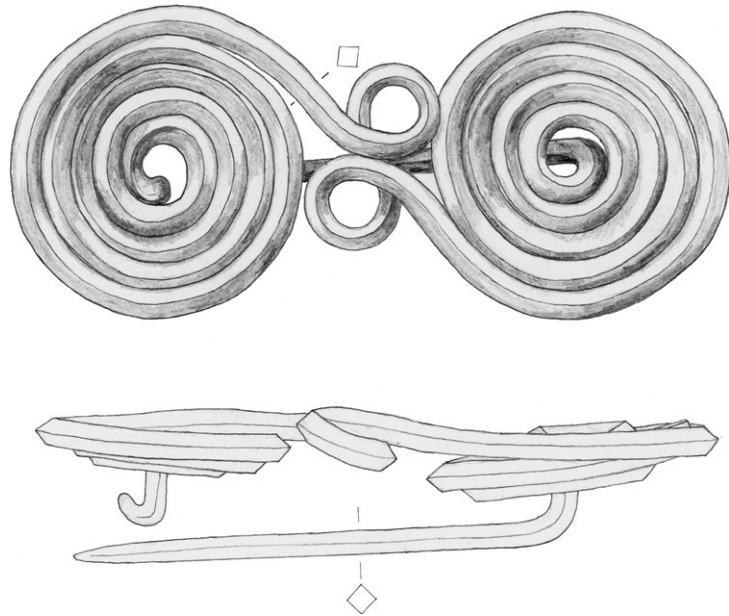
³¹ Cf. examples from Late Geometric Kalapodi (Felsch 2007, 146 f. esp. ›Typ II B Variante 3‹), from graves of the mid- or second

half of the 8th cent. B.C. at Tragana (Onasoglou 1981, 14 nos. 1. 2 pls. 8 a. b; 20. 21 nos. 43–46 pl. 19a), and from Delphi (Amandry 1938, 314 no. 17 pl. 33, 6).

³² See Felsch 2007, 185 ›Typ II B‹, 187 f. ›Typ A II‹; Felsch considered the few examples of type A II beads from Kalapodi to be imports from Thessaly.

³³ Courbin 1954, 132; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1978/1979, 128.

³⁴ Onasoglou 1981, 21 no. 56; 47 pl. 19, 5. For a necklace with beads of this type found at Atalanti, see Δακοπώνια 2000, 52 fig. 32. For necklaces with beads from late 10th to mid-9th cent. B.C. graves at Atalanti (one found deposited in a pyxis), see Δακοπώνια 2006, 495 fig. 26, 6; 498. 503.



7 Spectacle fibula no. 16806 KAL07.96.33
(scale 1:1)

gion, and in the above-mentioned grave at Amphikleia a bird-shaped pendant such as *fig. 11* even seems to have been attached to a necklace of bronze beads. In the sanctuary of Kalapodi no bird-shaped pendants were found near necklace *fig. 10*. The older excavations, however, revealed two examples together with a necklace consisting of small beads and other jewellery, and this assemblage was interpreted as a dedication associated with an ensemble of jewellery³⁵. The numerous new finds from the recent excavations at the Geometric sanctuary of Kalapodi support a Phocian/east Locrian origin for this type of bird-shaped pendant³⁶.

Among the bronze objects deposited on the floor inside and in front of South Temple 6 are also several tweezers, some elaborately decorated, such as *fig. 12*. Although tweezers are attested at many sanctuaries and graves in Late Geometric and early Archaic Greece, they are infrequent offerings or grave goods. The comparatively high number of examples at Kalapodi is therefore particularly remarkable³⁷. The

original function of these tweezers or their meaning as votive offering remain unknown: While Felsch considered the tweezers from the sanctuary of Kalapodi as accessory of the local dress, arguing that cosmetic accessories are otherwise completely absent among the bronze votives from this site, also a function of tweezers as women's cosmetic items, medical tools, or cult equipment has been considered³⁸.

The vast majority of the bronze objects found at the Middle to Late Geometric South Temple 6 belong to these types. Dress fasteners and jewellery dominate, while other classes such as vessels, implements, or figurines are rare or even absent. A bronze bowl, identified as a northern Syrian import of the late Hittite period, is an exceptional piece (*fig. 13*). In general, bronze vessels seem to have played no specific role in the cult of South Temple 6³⁹. Weapons dedicated to South Temple 6 are with very few exceptions made of iron, a distribution also attested by the older excavations⁴⁰. Remarkably, no examples of freestanding bronze figurines were uncovered in

³⁵ Felsch 2007, 68 f. nos. 148, 157; 192 no. 1877.

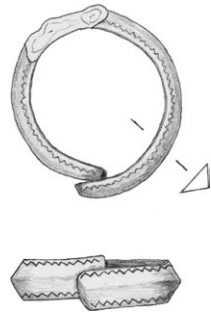
³⁶ Felsch 2007, 73–75 distinguished several workshops; for discussion on the origin of this type and its function, see also Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, esp. 150–158, 160 f. 164–167; for the style of the bird of *fig. 11*, cf. Felsch 2007, 75, 265 nos. 166–168 pl. 21. Felsch assigned them all to the same workshop. At Kalapodi pyramidal bases with a stem decorated like *fig. 11* are so far not attested with bird-shaped pendants of this type, but two examples come from Amphikleia (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, 164 f. nos. 977–979).

³⁷ See Felsch 2007, 206 f. on the current state of research on tweezers and on further examples from the sanctuary of Kalapodi.

³⁸ Felsch 2007, 207; Simon 1986, 344.

³⁹ For the bowl *fig. 13* see Niemeier 2008, 109 fig. 4 and Niemeier 2013, 38 figs. 6, 7; see also Felsch 2007, 231–241 on the rare number of vessels from this period.

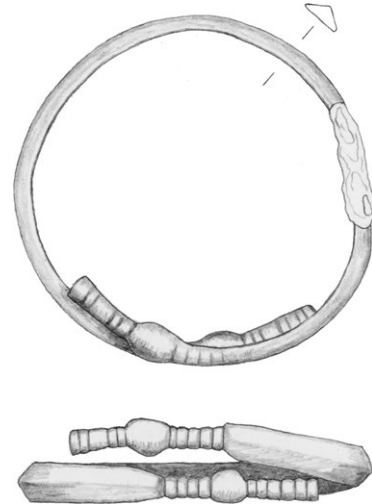
⁴⁰ Schmitt 2007, 421–551. For the dedication of several iron swords and spearheads together with the long bronze pin *fig. 4*, a bronze phalera, and the remains of a wooden bow in South Temple 6, see p. 425 with n. 18.



8 Ring no. 13551 KAL07.19.2 (scale 1:1)

South Temple 6⁴¹. Generally, the bronze objects found with South Temple 6 are mainly rather small simple offerings; monumental or prestigious offerings, such as the gigantic pin *fig. 4*, remain extremely rare.

In conclusion, the finds from Niemeier's excavations at the Geometric sanctuary of Kalapodi align to a great extent with the repertoire of shapes from the older excavations by Felsch⁴². There is, however, one striking exception: While tripods are almost completely absent from South Temple 6 (as well as the preceding and later phases of this building), a considerable number of fragments was found during the older excavations underneath as well as east and southeast of the later ›Nordbau‹⁴³. This distribution may indi-



9 Bracelet no. 15261 KAL07.237.1 (scale 1:1)

cate that dedications of precious and prestigious tripods were not of meaningful significance in the area of the Late Geometric South Temple 6 or in the ritual activities performed there respectively. As to the tripods found during the older excavations in the area of the later Nordbau, Felsch assumed that their dedication emerged with the formation of a new, second cult place in the mid-9th cent. B.C. that he associated with Apollo⁴⁴.

Local or regional craft traditions

The large number of bronze objects from the Geometric sanctuary at Kalapodi, their homogeneity in shapes and style, as well as the exchangeability of single elements among the various types, all indicate that most objects come from the same region. Felsch assumed that most of the bronze objects found during his excavations at this site were products of regional or local workshops, a conclusion clearly supported by the more recent excavations at South Temple 5 and 6⁴⁵. Moreover, the increasing – yet still small – num-

ber of bronze objects from various sites in Phocis and eastern Locris strongly indicates an independent tradition of metal craft in this region⁴⁶. As an intermediary between Thessaly in the north, Boeotia in the southeast, and the Peloponnese in the southwest, central Greece adopted ideas from these neighbouring regions. At the same time it also established or maintained its own traditions with regional features in the execution of certain details, such as in the drawing on the catch plate of fibula *fig. 6* or in the struc-

⁴¹ See Felsch 2007, 47–54 for the rare examples from the older excavations.

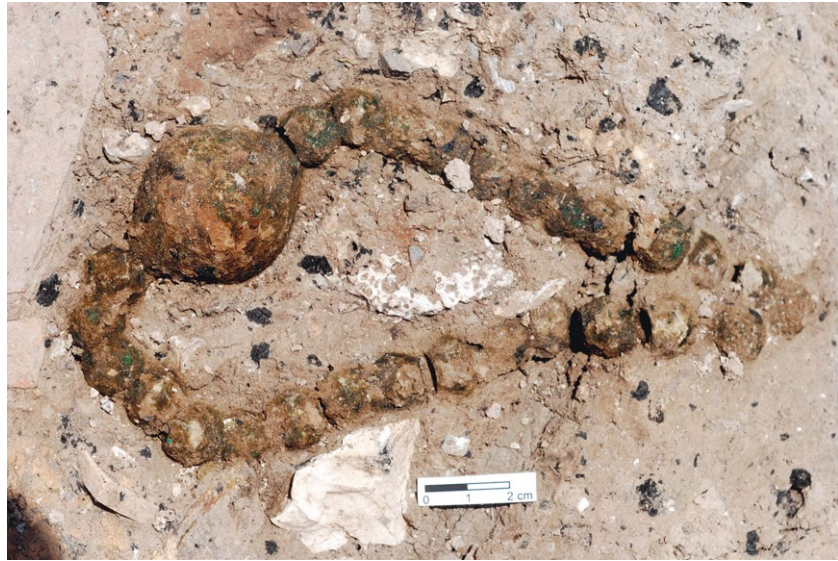
⁴² See Felsch 2007, esp. 28. 552.

⁴³ Felsch 1998, 222 f. and Felsch 2007, 30–41. Niemeier's excavations in the southern part of the sanctuary have yielded so far only one scattered small fragment of a tripod.

⁴⁴ Felsch 1998, 220. 222 f.; Felsch 2007, 39. 41.

⁴⁵ Felsch 1983, 129; Felsch 2007, 97. 103. 106.

⁴⁶ On a Phocian or eastern Locrian tradition of metal craft, see also among others Kilian 1975a, 4 f.; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 90; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1995, 44; Onasoglou 1981, 40–42; Δακρῶνια 2000, 53.



10 Necklace no. 23751
KAL08.300.4a-f

ture and details of pins *figs. 2–4*. The availability of copper from the neighbouring Sperchios valley might have strongly contributed to the emergence of local bronze production in this region⁴⁷.

It has so far not been possible to localize within eastern Phocis or eastern Locris the production site for the bronze objects dedicated at Kalapodi. It is entirely possible that such a workshop could even have been located in the immediate vicinity of the sanctuary, similar to other Geometric and Archaic sanctuaries where production on site is attested⁴⁸. In the area of Kalapodi unambiguous archaeological evidence for the local production of bronze artefacts in the Geometric period is so far lacking⁴⁹.

In contrast to the huge number of probably local or regional products, imports from foreign regions are extraordinary rare among the Geometric bronze

objects from Kalapodi⁵⁰. A few objects might be products from Thessalian, Boeotian, or Peloponnesian workshops, but imports from more distant regions, such as the late Hittite bowl *fig. 13*, are scarce. The bronze objects from the Geometric sanctuary at Kalapodi do not provide evidence for close contacts with distant regions or for large numbers of foreign visitors dedicating objects from their homeland. The late Hittite bowl *fig. 13* most likely reached Kalapodi via a Greek vendor, for example via Euboea that in this period maintained a far-reaching trade network within the eastern Mediterranean⁵¹. In fact, the bronze finds from Kalapodi indicate that in the Geometric period the sanctuary had a primarily local or regional character, yet the huge number of metal dedications suggests its importance within the region⁵².

⁴⁷ Δακωρώνια 2000, 51 f. n. 92; Dakoronia 2009a, 281 f.; Papanikolaou 2009, 318. See also Felsch 2007, 247 and Riederer 2007, 422 who argued that the copper used for the Geometric bronze objects from Kalapodi derived from a single source.

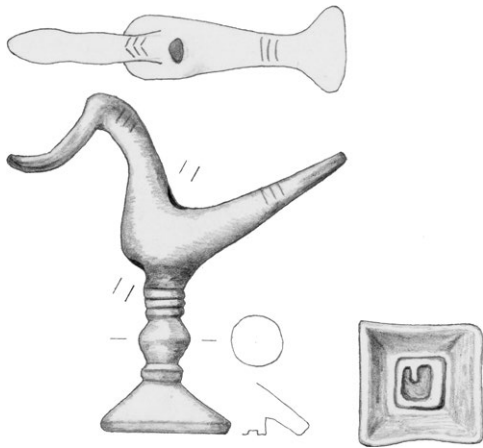
⁴⁸ Risberg 1997 with a summary of the research accomplished so far.

⁴⁹ Felsch 1983, 123 f. and Felsch 2007, 38 f. no. 57 on itinerant Argive craftsmen producing tripods in the sanctuary of Kalapodi.

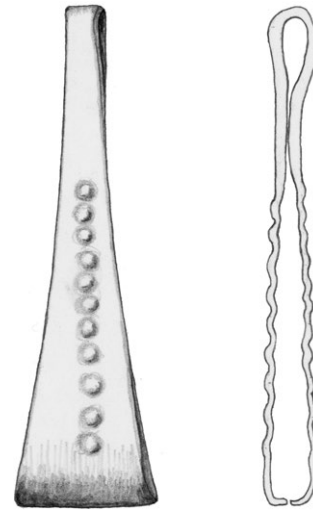
⁵⁰ See also the conclusions drawn by Felsch 1998, 223 and Felsch 2007, 227. 552 f.

⁵¹ On Euboea's role as major trade power in this period, see Boardman 1981, 43–46.

⁵² See also Felsch 2007, 553.



11 Pendant, bird-shaped no. 16807 KAL07.96.34 (scale 1:1)



12 Tweezer no. 13532 KAL07.96.49 (scale 1:1)

Ritual practices in Late Geometric South Temple 6

The excavations in South Temple 6 allow enlightening insights into ritual activities and votive practices conducted in the Late Geometric sanctuary. Especially interesting is the entrance area where numerous objects – mainly dress fasteners and jewellery made of bronze, but also iron swords, knives, spearheads, and obeloi, as well as fayence pearls – were found scattered in an ashy layer on the floor and in the mudbrick collapse covering it. It seems that most of these objects had been deposited on the floor. Others had clearly been suspended from the wall, such as a fibula (fig. 6) found in the mudbrick collapse immediately above the ashy layer. The fibula may even have been attached to a robe dedicated to the sanctuary and hung on a hook at the wall⁵³. The tradition of dedicating clothing together with its accessories such as pins, fibulae, necklaces, and pendants is well report-

ed in later written sources. It possibly was also common in the Geometric sanctuary at Kalapodi; there Felsch assumed the dedication of a dress together with its associated set of accessories in the area of the later North Temple in Late Geometric I⁵⁴. The excavator Niemeier supposed that South Temple 6 suffered deliberate destruction and that numerous votive gifts were deposited on the floor and exposed to fire before the mudbrick walls were knocked down⁵⁵. The fact that the bronze objects found in the entrance area of South Temple 6 date to the same period supports the theory that they were deposited in a single act or in ritual activities that occurred within a rather short time span. If correct, this ensemble of votive offerings in a primary context provides a unique insight into the range of votive shapes present in the temple at this specific moment.

⁵³ A votive relief from ca. 300 B.C. depicting Artemis, worshippers, and hanging clothing attests this custom for later periods: Dakoronia – Gounaropoulou 1992, 222 f. pls. 57, 1; 60, 2.

⁵⁴ Felsch 2007, 10. 205; see also Kilian 1975b, 105 f. for the dedication of robes together with their complete adornments in the

sanctuary of Artemis Enodia at Pherai. Generally on dedications of clothing and clothing accessories in Greek sanctuaries: Boardman 2004, 296 s.v. Dedications; Brøns 2017, 21–165.

⁵⁵ Niemeier 2013, 38.



13 Bowl no. 20618 KAL08.103.1

Aspects of cult: identifying dedicators and deities

An especially important aspect in any study of votive material from a sanctuary is its association to the venerated deity and its cult⁵⁶. Particularly in the Geometric period when relevant written sources are rare, the votive offerings provide one of our most important sources of information on the nature of the cult at a sanctuary.

There is growing evidence from later inscriptions that the sanctuary at Kalapodi housed the oracle of Apollo of Abae mentioned by Pausanias. Simultaneous worship of Artemis is possible, but not proven⁵⁷. For evidence of whether the Geometric sanctuary at Kalapodi was dedicated to Apollo (and also to Artemis?), analysis of the bronzes, as the largest group of votive offerings, is thus important. However, results have not been very conclusive. Dress fasteners and jewellery, the vast majority of the bronze finds, are

very common offerings in most Greek sanctuaries without association to a particular deity. In Geometric Central Greece and Thessaly the dedication of dress fasteners and jewellery is well attested, primarily from the sanctuaries of Athena Kranaia in Elateia, Athena Itone in Philia, and Artemis Enodia in Pherai, and the range of types from these sanctuaries (also including Kalapodi) is very similar, with some local peculiarities in style. Dress fasteners and jewellery are generally, though not exclusively, known from sanctuaries dedicated to female deities. Moreover, they are usually viewed as part of women's costume and in the context of dedication to female recipients or dedicators⁵⁸. However, it seems that dress fasteners and jewellery are appropriate votive offerings to many deities, rather than to one specific deity. Preferences for pins over fibulae, or the reverse, usu-

⁵⁶ Discussion on this topic is extensive; see among others Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 202–229; Klebinder-Gauß 2015a.

⁵⁷ For the identification of the sanctuary at Kalapodi as that of Apollo of Abae, see Niemeier 2013, 34 with n. 10, and Prignitz 2014; for the earlier theory as a sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos

of Hyampolis with simultaneous worship of Apollo, see Felsch 1980, 38–42, Felsch 1998, 219 f., and Felsch 2007, 553.

⁵⁸ See among others Simon 1986, 199; Philipp 1981, 19. 21–23; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 221 f.; Brøns 2017, 428.

ally reflect local votive traditions and/or fashion customs⁵⁹. Likewise it is rather difficult to draw conclusions about the dedicators from the dress fasteners and jewellery. To simply assume that women predominantly made offerings at Geometric Kalapodi and many other sanctuaries of this period seems highly problematic. It is unlikely that in the Geometric period a strict gender-specific association of votive offerings occurred⁶⁰.

Dress fasteners and jewellery come from all areas of the Geometric sanctuary at Kalapodi, without a particular distribution of specific types. Therefore, these bronze objects do not distinguish one part of the sanctuary from another or identify specific characteristics for the cult, beyond a possible female component. Only tripods can provide some information on the nature of the cult performed at this site, in that they appeared exclusively in context with the area underneath the North Temple. Felsch considered the tripods as evidence for a cult of Apollo, thus supporting his theory of two different cults at the sanctuary of Kalapodi⁶¹. However, the dedication of tripods is not connected to a specific male or female deity⁶².

To sum up, the bronze votive offerings at Geometric Kalapodi do not constitute evidence for definitive conclusions about a specific deity or particularities of the cult performed at this site. Perhaps the site included a certain female component in its cult traditions with a different aspect in the area where the tripods were dedicated. Like most other sanctuaries in the Geometric period, the bronze votives from Kalapodi do not indicate any specific deities. Furthermore, along with rather general ideas of what is an appropriate gift to the deity, the objects confirm a regional preference in the choice of the votive: the bronze votive objects clearly reflect local characteristics of craftwork and dress traditions⁶³.

The comprehensive study of the bronze finds from Kalapodi can therefore greatly contribute to the understanding of ancient Phocian and eastern Locrian votive practices. Above all, it sheds new light on an increasingly better understood landscape of metal craft.

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⁵⁹ Brøns 2017, 428; see also above p. 425 and n. 21–23.

⁶⁰ See also Philipp 1981, 19; Boardman 2004, 296 s.v. Dedications.

⁶¹ See above, p. 428 n. 44.

⁶² Generally on the dedication of tripods: J. Boardman 2004, 302–305 s.v. Dedications and Kiderlen 2010.

⁶³ For these aspects, see among others Simon 1986, 410–412, 418 f.; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 214.

Sources of illustrations: *Fig. 1:* Plan DAI Athen (H. Birk, N. Hellner). – *Figs. 2–9. 11. 12:* G. Klebinder-Gauß. – *Fig. 10:* DAI Athen, Kalapodi-archive, neg. no. Kal08_08-06-30_019 (W.-D. Niemeier). – *Fig. 13:* DAI Athen, Kalapodi-archive, neg. no. Kal08_08-11-20_001 (W.-D. Niemeier).

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Zusammenfassung – Abstract – Περίληψη

Die Bronzefunde aus dem spätgeometrischen ›Südtempel 6‹ in Kalapodi. Kultpraktiken und lokale Handwerkstraditionen im östlichen Phokis

Zusammenfassung Das Heiligtum von Kalapodi brachte eine bemerkenswerte Anzahl von Bronzefunden aus der geometrischen Zeit hervor. Diese zeichnen sich durch einen gleichbleibend hohen technischen Standard und eine auffallende Homogenität in ihrer Formen- und Stilvielfalt aus. Die Bronzen aus dem geometrischen Heiligtum von Kalapodi bilden eine der bedeutendsten Fundzusammenhänge dieser Art in den Regionen des antiken Phokis und der östlichen Lokris, wo die Forschung nur beschränkte Kenntnis vom Metallhandwerk hat. Dieser Beitrag diskutiert die Bronzen in ihren regionalen und interregionalen Kontexten, wobei auch Fragen der regionalen metallurgischen Stile und die Möglichkeit eines eigenständigen ostphokischen und ost-lokrischen Werkstattkreises berücksichtigt werden. Darüber hinaus betont er die Bedeutung der Analyse der Bronzeopfer aus diesem Heiligtum in ihrem stratigraphischen Kontext, um die vor Ort durchgeführten Votiv- und Ritualpraktiken zu rekonstruieren. Abschließend werden die Funde aus den bronzenen Votivgaben im Hinblick auf die Identität der verehrten Gottheit und der Kultteilnehmer selbst diskutiert.

Schlagwörter Kalapodi, Bronzen, Widmung, rituelle Praktiken, Metallhandwerk

The bronze finds from the Late Geometric ›South Temple 6‹ at Kalapodi. Cult practices and local craft traditions in eastern Phocis

Abstract The sanctuary of Kalapodi yielded a remarkable number of bronze finds from the Geometric period. These show a consistently high technical standard and a striking homogeneity with regard to their range of shapes and styles. The bronzes from the Geometric sanctuary at Kalapodi form one of the most important assemblages of this kind in the regions of ancient Phocis and eastern Locris, where our understanding of metal craftsmanship is limited. The present paper discusses the bronzes in their regional and interregional contexts, whilst also considering issues of regional metallurgical styles and the possibility of an independent, eastern Phocian and eastern Locrian workshop circle. It furthermore stresses the significance of the analysis of the bronze offerings from this sanctuary within their stratigraphic context so as to reconstruct the votive and ritual practices conducted at the site. Finally, it discusses the findings from the bronze votive offerings with regard to the identity of the venerated deity and the worshippers themselves.

Keywords Kalapodi, bronzes, dedication, ritual practices, metal craft

Τα χάλκινα ευρήματα από τον υστερογεωμετρικό «Νότιο Ναό 6» στο Καλαπόδι. Λατρευτικές πρακτικές και τοπικές βιοτεχνικές παραδόσεις στην ανατολική Φωκίδα

Περίληψη Στο ιερό του Καλαποδίου βρέθηκε αξιοσημείωτος αριθμός χάλκινων ευρημάτων της Γεωμετρικής περιόδου. Αυτά παρουσιάζουν σταθερά υψηλό τεχνικό επίπεδο και εντυπωσιακή ομοιογένεια όσον αφορά την ποικιλία των σχημάτων και των τεχνοτροπιών. Τα χάλκινα από το γεωμετρικό ιερό στο Καλαπόδι αποτελούν ένα από τα πιο σημαντικά σύνολα αυτού του είδους στις περιοχές της αρχαίας Φωκίδας και ανατολικής Λοκρίδας, όπου η γνώση μας για τη μεταλλοτεχνία είναι περιορισμένη. Η παρούσα εργασία πραγματεύεται τα χάλκινα ευρήματα στα περιφερειακά και διαπεριφερειακά πλαίσιά τους, ενώ εξετάζονται επίσης ζητήματα περιφερειακών μεταλλουργικών τεχνοτροπιών και η πιθανότητα ύπαρξης ενός ανεξάρτητου κύκλου εργαστηρίων στην ανατολική Φωκίδα και στην ανατολική Λοκρίδα. Επιπροσθέτως υπογραμμίζεται η σημασία της ανάλυσης των χάλκινων αναθημάτων από αυτό το ιερό μέσα στα στρωματογραφικά τους συμφραζόμενα, προκειμένου να

αναπαραστήσουμε τις αναθηματικές και τελετουργικές πρακτικές που πραγματοποιούνταν στη θέση. Τέλος, τα ευρήματα από τα χάλκινα αναθήματα μελετώνται σε σχέση με την ταυτότητα της τιμώμενης θεότητας και των ίδιων των πιστών.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Καλαπόδι, χάλκινα, αφιέρωση, τελετουργικές πρακτικές, μεταλλοτεχνία