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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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The sanctuary of Athena in Phocian Antikyra

Athanasios Sideris

To the memory of Claude Rolley

1. The site and the excavation

The ancient Phocian city of Antikyra was located on the northern shore of the Corinthian Gulf, in a naturally protected harbour, at the inlet of a smaller gulf, which, according to Plutarch, was named after the city¹. Although Antikyra had been inhabited at least since the Early Helladic period, its most important vestiges date from the Archaic to the Late Roman periods². No systematic excavations have ever been undertaken and everything we know about the ancient city is the result of rescue excavations, carried out since the 1950s, but more systematically from the early 1970s onwards, and only succinctly presented in the relevant volumes of the *Archaeologikon Deltion*.

The only excavated building of the Archaic period, in Antikyra, is a small temple *extra muros*, on the foothill of the Siros hill, in the area called by the locals Pelatia/Palatia (*fig. 1*). It is located 50 m to the south of the modern road connecting Antikyra with the village of Desfina. The spot was reported by a vil-

lager to the Ephoreia of Delphi in the early 1950s, and Euthymios Mastrokostas, then *epimelete* of antiquities there, started an excavation in 1954. The finds led Mastrokostas to identify the building with a temple of Athena, but unfortunately he did not leave any diary in the Ephorate of Delphi, and all we have is a brief account by Pierre Amandry from the following year³.

Of the temple itself we hear nothing from the ancient sources. Pausanias does not mention it in his otherwise detailed description of the city and its rural sanctuaries (Artemis Diktynna and Artemis Eleithya)⁴. And although an *argumentum ex silentio* has only limited value, one may infer that the temple no longer existed in the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D. This view is supported also by the finds, transferred then and kept until now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (hereafter NAM), which do not include anything later than Hellenistic.

I would like to thank Rosa Proskynitopoulou, former director of the Collection of Bronzes, and Giorgos Kavvadias, director of the Vases and Minor Arts Collection in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, as well as Rosina Kolonia, former director of the Ephoria of Phocis, for their permission to study and publish the temple and its finds.

¹ Plu., Ant. 68.

² For some overviews of the history and archaeology of the site see: Fossey 1986, 23–25; Μπαζιωτοπούλου-Βαλαβάνη 1988; McInerney 1999, 71–76. 323 f.; Σίδερης 2001; Oulhen 2004, 410; Sideris 2014.

³ Amandry 1955.

⁴ For the Diktynna temple: Paus. 10, 36, 5; IG IX 1, 2 nos. 4, 5; Sideris 2014, 122–124. For the Eleithya temple: Paus. 10, 38, 9; Lolling 1889, 229–232; Ντάσιος 2003, 450; Sideris 2014, 125–129.



1 The temple of Athena, view from north-west

2. The temple

2.1 The building's plan and history

The temple is a simple rectangular building of 5,08 m width and 10,50 m preserved length (*fig. 2*). The walls of the original building, preserved in one or two courses, are built in the polygonal system, common in Phocis from the early 6th century B.C. To the southern and western sides of the temple, at a distance of about half a metre, there is a retaining wall of rough stones, attaining one metre at the highest preserved point in its southwest corner. The temple itself has the usual east-west orientation with an entrance in its east side and, according to the excavator, a small *adyton* in its west end, of which no dividing wall is to be seen in situ anymore.

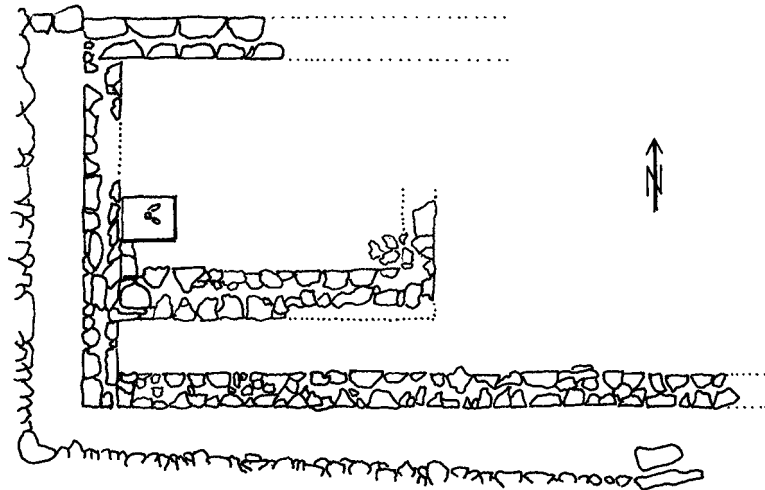
According to Mastrokostas, the Archaic temple was destroyed by fire in the second half of the 5th century and replaced by a smaller one during the early 4th century B.C. The Classical temple occupied only the north-western part of the original building and measured 3,85 m in width and 4,50 m in length. The new building reused the northern and western walls of the previous structure, but new walls were built on the southern and eastern sides. At its best preserved parts the new southern wall displays five to six courses reaching a height of one metre. Again according to the brief published report, in the eastern part of the

cella, just after the entrance, there was a small altar made of mudbricks and covered with plaster painted in a vivid red colour. Nothing remains today of the altar in situ, but a small fragment of plaster painted red has been recognized among the ceramic sherds kept in the National Archaeological Museum that without doubt comes from the altar (*fig. 3*). The Classical temple must have been destroyed before Pausanias' visit, and most probably during the sieges of the city in the Hellenistic period, in 210 or 198 B.C.⁵

2.2 The architectural terracottas and the dating of the temple

Several fragments from the roof tiles and from the clay architectural decoration of the temple are preserved. They comprise one hemi-cylindrical water-spout, at least seven fragments of tiles (both pan and cover tiles), some twenty-five fragments from the sima of the building, half of them with painted linear motifs or cable patterns (*fig. 4*), and most notably five almost entire (or restored) relief antefixes, plus smaller fragments from yet another twenty-six. The cable and linear motifs of the sima are painted in red and brown and were very common during the entire

5 Plb. 9, 37 and 9, 39, 2. 3; Liv. 26, 26, 1-3; Paus. 10, 36, 6.



2 Plan of the temple of Athena (M. 1 : 100)

6th century B.C.⁶ The Laconian type, but most probably Corinthianizing fabric antefixes, however, are less ordinary⁷.

From a technical point of view the semi-circular plaques of the antefixes with their relief gorgons had been made separately in a mould, then affixed to their cover tiles, hemi-cylindrical in cross-section, and then baked together as one piece. A series of indentations were moulded on both the plaque's periphery and the tile's edge, so as to facilitate the mutual adhesion. The clay of both the plaques and the tiles is yellow with several dark brown to black inclusions. The cover tiles have their outer surface smoother than the inner one and painted in dark brown (*fig. 5*). The pan tiles are flat and have nail holes, and thus represent a hybrid model combining elements from both the Laconian and the Argive roofing systems⁸.

The semi-circular antefixes (13,5 × 27 cm) show a frontal gorgon head with a broad hexagonal face, large eyes, open mouth with visible teeth and pending tongue, and an almost conical hair tress on each side of the neck. A curving zig-zag line painted under her split chin must represent a necklace rather than the neckline of a garment. Almost all the details of the face, including the hair, eyes, eyebrows, ears, nostrils, mouth, and the tresses, are emphasized with brown colour. Also painted are the two S-shaped

»bearded« snakes with open mouth and split tongue, flanking the gorgon face. The field between the snakes' body curves is, on some exemplars, filled with swastikas or dotted motifs.

The date of the antefixes, which should be also the date of the Archaic temple, is variously set by several scholars between the second and the third quarters of the 6th century B.C.⁹ Gorgon faces occur often on antefixes of the Archaic period from all over the Greek world (Gela, Taras, Corfu, Kavala, Thasos, Eretria, Ionia, and a number of other sites), but they are more or less different than the ones from Antikyra, which are characterized by the absence of tusks and beard. The closest clay parallels, albeit fragmentary, come from the agora of Athens¹⁰. There are, however, Ionian marble parallels of the same shape from the oikos of the Naxians in Delos, and bearing comparable incised gorgons dated to 590–580 B.C.¹¹ Furthermore, this specific type of gorgon finds good analogies among the gorgon heads adorning the handle attachments of a series of bronze hydriae attributed to Corinth and dated between 560 and 480 B.C.¹² Nevertheless, the Antikyra gorgons should be placed earlier than their bronze counterparts, ca. 570–550 B.C., on account of their conical tresses, split chin, large painted snakes, and certain similarities to the Ionian antefixes.

6 E.g. Winter 1990, 17. 19 figs. 4–5b; 12. 13 pl. 1c.

7 Amandry 1955, 262 fig. 9; Sideris 2014, 68 figs. 50. 51.

8 Winter 1993, 149–170; Pfaff 2003, 109–111.

9 Amandry 1955, 262; Belson 1981, 13, GML, cat. p. 4; Krauskopf 1988, 292 no. 46; Winter 1993, 203.

10 Nicholis 1970, 138 pl. 38, F2. F3, dated to the third quarter of the 6th cent. B.C.

11 Although these gorgons have tusks and beard: Ohnesorg 1993, 9 f.; Glowacki 1998, 82–84.

12 See e.g. Payne 1931, pl. 46, 3; Comstock – Vermeule 1971, no. 413. Discussion of the series in Sowder 2009, 79–87, esp. cat. 7.1–7.14 and in Sideris 2019, 136–138 figs. 10. 12. 13. 18, presenting a new specimen from Sinope.



4 Sima decorated with cable pattern from the Athena temple (NAM Inv. 31008, M. 1 : 2)



3 Red painted plaster from the altar of the Athena temple (NAM Inv. 31009, M. 1 : 1)

2.3 The cult statue

In the middle of the west wall of the temple there is still visible a large rectangular base for the cult statue (77,5 × 55,5 × 46 cm – only 26 cm above cur-

rent ground level), made of local grey conglomerate limestone (*fig. 6*). Judging from the size of the sockets carved in the stone for the statue's feet (24,5 × 9,5 cm), the statue was made of bronze and approximately in life-size. A deep rectangular hole in the centre of the base (7,5 × 5,5 × 9 cm depth) indicates how the statue's stability was secured by a pole. Both the emplacement of the base and the size of the statue suggest that this was the original cult statue, for which the temple was built. The position of the feet indicates that it represented Athena probably in the Palladion variant, which stands with the feet close to each other, and was more popular before 525 B.C. The Palladion is usually thought to be of Peloponnesian or East Greek origin, while the Promachos, with its particularly aggressive and combative pose and its feet astride, is considered an Attic creation¹³.

3. Clay finds

The clay finds comprise two spools and fragments of twenty predominantly female figurines, which date from the Late Archaic to the Early Hellenistic periods. The pottery finds are very poor and they all seem to originate in Corinth. There are two Corinthian aryballoi of the ›quatrefoil‹ and ›warriors‹ types, datable to the first half of the 6th century B.C., seven miniature vases (including five kotylisks, one hydriisk and

one mug), and sherds of a Late Classical black glaze lekythos of a typically Corinthian shape. Furthermore there are a few sherds of actual vases, mostly kotylae, as well as sherds of seventeen miniature kotylisks. These miniature kotylisks occur in their thousands in the sanctuaries of neighbouring sites, such as the Korykian Cave and Kirrha¹⁴.

¹³ Hurwit 1999, 23 f. For the Palladion and Promachos types, see also: Niemeyer 1960, 56–64; Demargne 1984, 969–972; Shapiro 1989, 25; Robertson 1996, 430–438; Deacy – Villing 2001, 20.

¹⁴ Luce 2011b, 58 f. fig. 14.

4. Metal finds

The metal finds are essentially bronze fragments of various artefacts with the exception of three lead fragments. They comprise rings, some jewellery, vessels of which the most common shape is the phiale, and some armour elements. Comparable sets of finds are known from the Phocian, Locrian, and Aetolian shores of the Corinthian Gulf and their hinterland (Kirrha, Amphissa, Erochos, Chaleion, Oeanthea, Kalydon and Thermos)¹⁵.

4.1 The earliest finds

Among the earliest finds are twelve bronze rings of circular cross-section and varying dimensions (fig. 7). They are often considered as proto-money, and at any rate they represent some form of value storage appearing frequently in sanctuaries, most often in Late Geometric context¹⁶. There is also an angular double grip handle with its ›Mycenaean shield-shaped‹ attachment coming from an early cup or small lekane shape (fig. 8), attested as well in Delphi and Perachora, but better known from entirely preserved exemplars found in Chaleion/Galaxidi and in Amphikleia¹⁷. Phialae of the ›Lotosphiale‹ type, according to Luschey's classification, occur both in regular size (fragmentary) and in miniature version. They date from the second half of the 6th century B.C.¹⁸

Among the jewellery the most noteworthy is a spectacle fibula made of wire, quadrangular/rhomboid in cross-section, which has lost its attachment needle (fig. 9). The type is well known from all around Greece and the Balkans, but our exemplar belongs to the ›Galaxidi‹ subtype, which is more widespread in Central and Southern Greece between the 10th and the 8th centuries B.C.¹⁹ There is also a pin with disk-head bearing a bead at its centre, and two more beads with vertical incisions just below the discoid head, dated to the second half of the 6th century B.C.²⁰



5 Partly preserved antefix with its cover tile from the Athena temple (NAM Inv. 30958)



6 The stone base of the cult statue in the temple of Athena

¹⁵ For an overview and further bibliography, see Βλαχόπουλος 2008.

¹⁶ Einzig 1966, 190 f. For similar rings in Phocis, see the contributions herein of E. Partida & A. Tsaroucha, and W.-D. Niemeier on the sanctuaries of Erochos and Kalapodi, respectively.

¹⁷ Perdrizet 1908, 72 nos. 274–280 figs. 236–238; Payne 1940, 165 pl. 66, 8. 9. The Chaleion/Galaxidi exemplar is at the British Museum, inv. 1878,1012.12; Ζυμή – Σίδερης 2003, 52 (referred to

as »small lekane«). The Amphikleia exemplar comes from the locality of Vrilia: <<https://www.depa.gr/parathyro-stin-istoria>> (last accessed on 29. 12. 2021). It is dated to the 5th cent. B. C., but this is the date of the grave in which it has been found, not necessarily its date of creation.

¹⁸ Luschey 1939, 121–124; Sideris 2008, 342, fig. 2.

¹⁹ Blinkenberg 1926, 256, fig. 303, type XIV 2; Pabst 2012, 41–43; Sideris 2014, 117 fig. 116; Romano – Trefný 2015, 201 fig. on p. 217.

²⁰ Jacobsthal 1956, 21 f. fig. 83 (from Olympia); Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 243 no. 4209; Sideris 2014, 117 fig. 117.



7 Bronze rings from the Athena temple (NAM Inv.X17138a-θ, X26789-26791, M. 1:2)

The armour includes half of a bronze greave and fragments of a relief plaque. The greave bears a spiral motif on the knee-cap and snakes along the sides of the leg. Its closest parallels come from Olympia and date to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.²¹ The bronze relief plaque only partly preserves its decoration, which shows two squatting lions facing each other (heads missing, *fig. 10*). In its original shape it was probably trapezoidal and decorated a shield strap, like similar plaques from Olympia, Isthmia and Aigai²².

4.2 The kore statuette

The first offering of special importance is a full cast bronze headless statuette of a kore (NAM, inv. 16769), of 9,3 cm preserved height, wearing a peplos without apoxygma, belted in the waist, and sandals on her feet²³. It is covered with dark green patina with a few lighter spots. The folds of the *kolpos* (*bouffant*) above

the belt are indicated with small incisions. The position of her hands is rather unusual: she has the left hand posed on her belly and with the right one holds the folds of her garment, close to the right thigh. The torso of our kore is slightly inclined to the left, showing a slight torsion movement, which would be followed by and would appear more intense in the now lost head. Her size and general type recall the well-known female figures serving as stands for mirrors, but all known Classical female figures from mirror stands hold the folds of their peplos with their left hand²⁴. These mirror »caryatids« are also either barefoot, or they wear boots or high slippers, but never sandals²⁵.

Our kore represents possibly the dedicator, or it comes from a small statuary group. In any case, it is an average quality work of a north-eastern Peloponnesian workshop. The large vertical and undifferentiated folds of her peplos are considered typical of the Argive style, and they are often present on the garment of the mirror caryatids attributed to the Argive group²⁶. A figurine of a »priestess« in Boston showing the same traits (massive folds on her peplos, somewhat clumpy hands, non-barefoot too) was however found in Corinth²⁷. Our kore should be dated to the same period as the Boston priestess, that is 460–450 B.C.

4.3 The inscribed base

The next find (NAM, inv. 16770) is an almost rectangular base covered with dark green patina and bearing four small lugs in the corners (*fig. 11*). It measures 8 × 7,9 cm without lugs or 9,6 × 7,9 cm with lugs, and 1,7 cm in height. The lugs would help to insert the base in the *tormos* (carving) of a larger stone base and secure it with lead²⁸. The need for a larger and more secure base indicates that the element standing on it was high and unstable. This might have been a lamp or censer holder, or something alike, with a central cylindrical part and a stabilizing element on it, as we may judge from the shape of the hole in the middle of the base (diameter of the hole 2 × 1,5 cm).

21 Kunze 1991, 105. 113 nos. 26. 27, pl. 29, 2; see also Christie's 2004, lot 62; Sideris 2014, 117 fig. 118.

22 Kunze – Schleif 1938, 78 f. figs. 50. 51. 59. 60 pls. 27–30 (Olympia); Broneer 1958, 35 pl. 11c (Isthmia). From Aigai come two plaques: Andronikos 1984, 136 fig. 92; Kottaridi 2013, fig. p. 144 (from iron shield) and p. 273 (from gold and ivory shield).

23 Sideris 2014, 76 fig. 76.

24 Keene Congdon 1981, 6–8. 81 f.

25 Keene Congdon 1981, 84.

26 Rolley 1983, 90; Βοκοτοπούλου 1997, 141. 255 no. 139; Keene Congdon 1981, pls. 35. 36. 40–42.

27 Of course the find-spot does not determine the workshop where the statuette was made, and mutual influence, especially between Argos and Corinth, sometimes renders the attributions only tentative. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. 98.668: Comstock – Vermeule 1971, 54 f.; Βοκοτοπούλου 1997, 255 no. 139.

28 Sharpe 2016.



8



9

8 Handle of a bronze vessel with attachment shaped as ›Boeotian shield‹; from the Athena temple (NAM Inv. 17074, M. 1:1)

9 Bronze spectacle fibula of the Galaxidi type from the Athena temple (NAM Inv. 17137, M. 1:1)

An incised dedicatory inscription runs along the two sides of the square. The incision is clean, made with a sharp straight chisel and the letters measure from 3,5 mm (O) to 9 mm (M), with most of them being around 6 mm. The script is Phocian late Archaic according to the form of the theta, still with a cross in the circle, a particularity abandoned in Phocis during the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., and this date is consequently the terminus ante quem for our base²⁹. The formula including the pronominal *με*, when the object is personified and becomes the enunciator of the dedicatory phrase, starts from the 8th and is gradually abandoned in the 6th century B.C., with a few cases continuing into the early 5th century B.C.³⁰ The inscription reads »ΔΙΟΝΔΑΙ ΜΑΝΕΘΕΚΑΝ ΤΑΘΑΝΑΙ« (Διόνδα μ' ἀνέθεκαν τ' Ἀθανᾶ), meaning: Diondai dedicated me to Athena. The name in plural is a hapax and we cannot tell if it is a male (Diondas) or a female one (Dionda).

Etymologically it seems to stem from the adjective *δῖος* (δῖος), which means a) originating from or belonging to Zeus, b) divine, heavenly, c) noblest, mar-

vellous, when applied to women. In the *Iliad* *dios* is used in reference to Athena and in the *Odyssey* in reference to Helen³¹. Although an interpretation of *Diondai* as a theophoric epithet of Athena in the dative case (with a hypothetic nominative: Athena *Dionda*) is grammatically possible, this would require supposing that the collective subject of the dedication is omitted. Such a hypothesis is however syntactically impossible, at least in connection to this type of formulaic dedicatory inscriptions³².

We cannot be sure who these *Diondai* were, but it seems quite possible that they were a family, or a tribe, or another civic subdivision of Antikyra³³. Collective dedications are well known in many Panhellenic, as well as in regional and local Greek sanctuaries, but they almost exclusively represent the entire civic body of a particular city. In a few cases we know of families, of the city council and other city officials, or of professional groups as dedicators, but tribes have not been recorded, hitherto, in dedicatory inscriptions³⁴.

²⁹ Amandry 1955, 257. For the script, see: Jeffery – Johnston 1990, 99–104, esp. fig. 30; see the comments on the script by Rousset 2012, 1671 f. fig. 5; Sideris 2014, 116 f. fig. 115. Rousset refers to the *Bronze Congress* publication as the »forthcoming editio princeps«, which finally came out as Sideris 2021, 335 f. figs. 36, 4–5.

³⁰ Lazzarini 1976, 74 f.

³¹ Hom. *Il.* 11, 290; Hom. *Od.* 4, 305. Liddell – Scott – Jones 358 f. s.v. *δῖος*.

³² Lazzarini 1976, 58–60; Depew 2000, 65–77; Sideris 2002, 177 f.

³³ Hansen 2004, 96 no. 11; Oulhen 2004, 410 no. 173.

³⁴ For dedications on small-scale artefacts, see the famous gold phiale in Boston dedicated by the Kypselidai family, and an obscure group of officials (*syndamiorgoi*) dedicating a bronze strainer in Chaleion/Galaxidi: Sideris 2002, 179 f. with earlier bibliography. For a dedication made by the deme of Sounieis, see: Lazzarini 1976, 152 f. 155 no. 908. On family dedications of monumental form see Löhr 2000.

4.4 The Athena statuette

The last and most interesting among the offerings excavated in the sanctuary of Athena is a relatively large bronze statuette of the goddess in the familiar type of *Promachos* (fig. 12)³⁵. This statuette actually was not found by Mastrokostas during the excavation, but by a villager of Antikyra, named Nikos Alexiou, who gave it to the Ephoreia and indicated the spot where it was found. Mastrokostas, however, found during his investigation the statuette's base and part of the missing right arm, thus confirming the credibility of the villager's account³⁶. The statuette remained unpublished for almost sixty years, but Semni Karouzou, in a guidebook of the National Archaeological Museum, suggested that it might be of Boeotian origin. We will see that this is highly improbable³⁷.

The statuette (NAM, inv. 16768) measures 35 cm in height without the base and 36,8 cm with its base, and it was cast in the lost wax technique. Its lower part is hollow, but no investigation of the interior was possible due to the base position³⁸. The entire surface is covered by an almost uniform, very dark green-brown patina with little and insignificant damage and a couple of rectangular repair patches. On the right shoulder there is a reddish brown spot probably caused by contact with an iron item. Some details were rendered with incrustation. The base, originally cast separately, is 15,7 cm long, 9 cm wide and 1,8 cm high, and it was also inserted in some larger stone base.

The goddess, barefoot, steps with the left foot forward. She held a shield, of which only the *ochanon* is preserved, in the left and a spear in the right hand, which is missing from the middle of the forearm. Both the shield and the spear were cast separately and soldered to the goddess's hands. She wears a long peplos wrapped in a complicated way with multiple folds and double long extremity (*apoptygma*), an aegis and an Attic helmet, the crest of which is now missing.

The peplos reproduces the typical Archaic stylized folds, but in a softer way, not following the strict symmetry and rigidity of the 6th century Archaic creations³⁹. It has of course no sleeves but on the upper arm one may observe a reversed ›V‹ creat-



10 Fragments of a bronze plaque with heraldic lions from a shield strap; from the Athena temple (NAM Inv. 17080, M. 1 : 1)

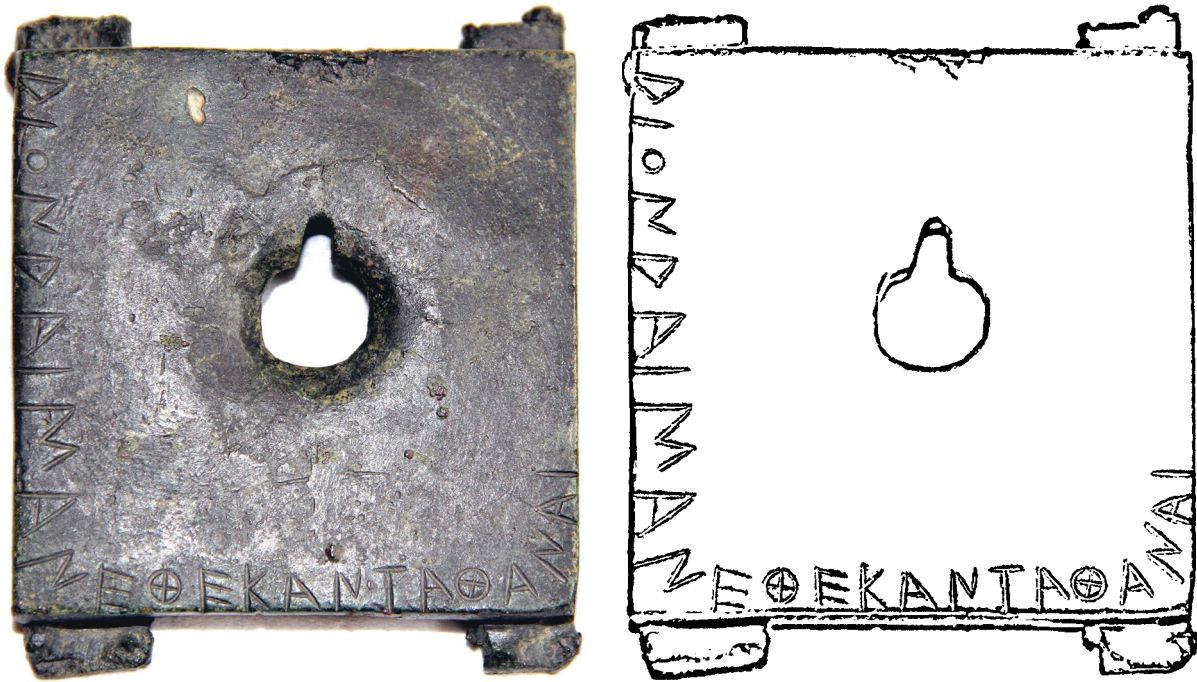
³⁵ Sideris 2014, 114–116 figs. 111–114; Sideris 2021, 336–342, figs. 36, 6–11; 36, 14; 36, 18.

³⁶ Amandry 1955, 257, and information collected from elder inhabitants of Antikyra.

³⁷ Καρούζου 1993, 112. Κάλτσας 2007, 249 left, provided a good photograph of the statuette, but he did not comment on it.

³⁸ The feet, which were originally soldered to the base, are now restored on it with the help of miniscule parts of plexiglas. In the lower visible part of the interior no remains of the clay core could be observed.

³⁹ Rolley 1994, figs. 165. 180. 181. 183; Stewart 1990, pls. 148–155.



11 Bronze base with dedicatory inscription (NAM Inv. 16770)

ed by the front and back parts of the garment⁴⁰. The apotygmata bears on one of its extremities (the other being broken just above the knee) a conical weight⁴¹. The aegis, which has the function and place of an *epiblema*, is very simple, follows the body lines and covers the entire back and the breasts of the goddess. It is decorated all over with a regular scaly motif coming from the wax model, but there is no gorgon. The same motif, more or less carefully executed, appears on several Promachos statuettes from the Acropolis⁴². From the wax model comes also the simplified Ionic kymation decorating the frontal edge of her Attic helmet (*fig. 13*)⁴³. On the top of the helmet there is a hole (1,9 cm diameter) indicating the place where was once fixed the support of the crest, originally cast separately and now lost. In all probability its front part ended in a *cheniskos*, that

is a water-bird head, as on the ›Meleso Athena‹ (NAM, inv. 6447) from the Acropolis of Athens and dated between 480 and 470 B.C.⁴⁴

The hair of the goddess is parted in the middle above the forehead, and a tongue-shaped lock falls in front of each temple⁴⁵. The details of the hair are rendered with fine wavy lines. On the back of the statuette the hair falls in a compact biconvex mass again with fine wavy lines, which look almost like chiseled, but they were already present on the wax model, possibly produced with the use of a very fine real wooden comb. A fine tracer was probably used to strengthen these lines in the finished cast bronze⁴⁶. This iconographical convention for the hair styling is typical for Athens of the early 5th century B.C., as we may see on the Acropolis korai 684 and 685⁴⁷. The same fine wavy lines appear also on the hair of a small

⁴⁰ This detail, in earlier dates, is usually shown with a different iconographical convention, which resembles the modern Greek letter λ: Βοκοτοπούλου 1997, nos. 74. 100. 101. 135.

⁴¹ Such weights were so much en vogue in the years 490–470 B.C. (but already from about 525 B.C. onwards) that they were also captured on vase painting. See, for instance, Athena on the name vase of the ›foundry painter‹ and an Athena of the ›Berlin painter‹: Rolley 1994, 68 fig. 61; Swan Hill 1987 no. 162. See also the weight on the apotygmata of a mirror caryatid from Sounion: Keene Congdon 1981, pl. 18 no. 20.

⁴² Niemeyer 1960, figs. 6. 7. 11. 12. 20. 21. 31; Niemeyer 1964, pls. 6. 7. 9–13.

⁴³ Similar or simpler incised motives appear on the helmets of other Acropolis statuettes too: Niemeyer 1964 pls. 5. 6. 10.

⁴⁴ Niemeyer 1964, 21 pls. 11. 34a; Barr-Sharrar 1990, 215 fig. 9; Βοκοτοπούλου 1997, 239 f. nos. 84. 85. A similar bronze crest from a statuette appeared recently on the antiquities market, Christie's 2009, lot 88, height 8,9 cm, late 6th to early 5th cent. B.C.

⁴⁵ Locks over the temples: Niemeyer 1964, 20 f. pls. 5a. 9a. 11a.

⁴⁶ Sideris 2014, 116 f. fig. 114; Rolley 1983, 19 cat. 204; Mattusch 1997, 197 f.

⁴⁷ For good hair pictures of both: Richter 1968, 100 f. figs. 573. 579 (dated respectively to the early 5th cent. and 500–490 B.C.).



12 Bronze statuette of Athena Promachos from the Athena temple in Antikyra (NAM Inv. 16768)

bronze kouros/athlete (NAM, inv. 6445) and a kore statuette (NAM, inv. 6491), both from the Acropolis, as well as on some Athena statuettes⁴⁸.

The face of Athena is a gracious elongated oval (height 4,7 cm from chin to helmet front edge, *fig. 13*), strongly reminiscent of the Athena marble head from the east pediment of Aphaia, usually dated ca. 480 B.C.⁴⁹ The eye irises and pupils and the eyebrows on our exemplar, once inlaid with silver, are now lost. It is equally possible that the white of the eyes was inlaid with silver and the irises and pupils were inset with polished stones⁵⁰. The lips, which are remarkably small compared to anything we know on the Archaic korai, were inlaid with copper, also lost, intended to render their red colour. With these colourful accentuations the face of the goddess would gain in expressivity and impressiveness. An overzealous cleaning back in the 1950s did not leave any possibility to detect traces of the inlay⁵¹. It seems that our Athena is currently the earliest surviving evidence for inlaying with silver and copper on small-scale bronzes. For a long time it was generally accepted that inlaying, known on large bronzes through the entire Archaic period, did not start on small-scale bronzes before the Hellenistic period⁵². However, there are a few statuettes with inlays, dated a little before the middle of the 5th century B.C. These include an athlete and a Herakles figure in the Louvre (both with copper inlaid nipples and eyes possibly with silver or set with polished stones), dated ca. 460 B.C.⁵³ There is also an Aphrodite figure kept in the Berlin Antikensammlung and dated to the middle of the 5th century B.C. The Berlin goddess wears a himation, the hem of which bears a meander motif inlaid with copper⁵⁴.

The Athena of Antikyra is actually the best surviving example of a well-known Athenian series, mostly documented by bronzes from the Acropolis. Hans-Georg Niemeyer, in the 1960s, thoroughly analysed the series in two subsequent studies on Promachos and on Attic, small-scale bronzes⁵⁵. These figurines date from 530 to 475 B.C. approximately, and

48 For the bronze kouros dated ca. 500 B.C., see: Niemeyer 1964, 24 f. pls. 17–19. 33 b. c; Stewart 1990, 127 pl. 136; Rolley 1994, 287 f. fig. 291. For the kore, see Richter 1968, 84 fig. 435 (there dated 510–495 B.C., but in the context of all Acropolis bronzes it can be dated a decade later). Athena statuettes with similarly dressed hair: Niemeyer 1964, pls. 5c. 11c.

49 Richter 1968, 98 f. pl. 20a; Rolley 1994, 204 f. with earlier bibliography.

50 Mattusch 1997, 198.

51 The measurements, however, show that the sockets for the inlays do not exceed approx. 1 mm depth, with the exception, of course, of the irises/pupils, which may have been inlaid with stones.

52 Rolley 1994, 81. Nevertheless, Rolley 1983, 90 cat. 236 shows a small bronze head, considered to be Argive and dated to 460 B.C., with eyes inlaid with white enamel kept in place with gilded wire. For inlaying on large bronzes, see: Rolley 1983, 32; Mattusch 1986, 24–26; Boucher 1990, 168–170; Stewart 1990, 40 f.

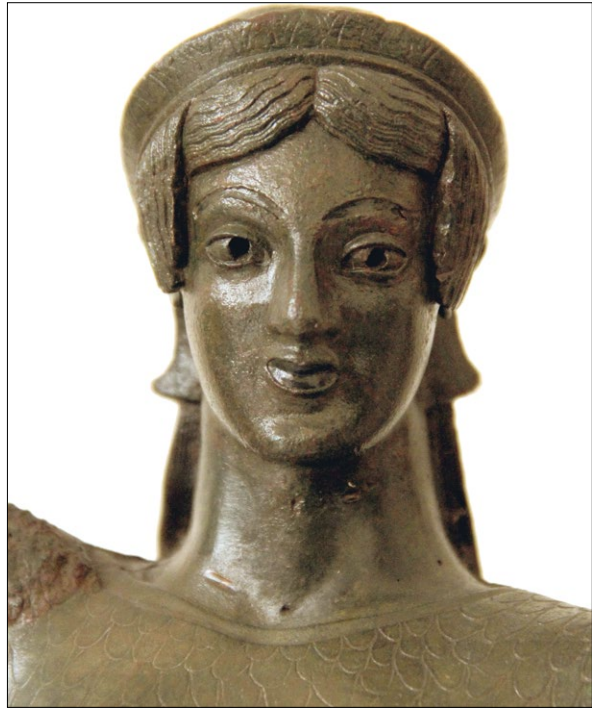
53 Buitron-Oliver 1993, 108–111, nos. 13. 14 with earlier bibliography on p. 163 (Louvre inv. Br 4236 and Br 4171).

54 I thank Norbert Franken, who brought this statuette to my attention. Franken 2010, 163 fig. 1 and no. 33, with earlier bibliography (inv. 8599).

55 Niemeyer 1960; Niemeyer 1964.

they are supposed to be more or less faithful copies of a large-scale bronze Athena erected on the Acropolis (possibly already during the era of Peisistratos) and destroyed in 480 B.C. by the Persians⁵⁶. Niemeyer identified four workshops, one of which produced small, roughly made statuettes of the goddess in the same general attitude, but with rudimentary details, like the examples in Paris (Cabinet de Médailles, inv. 149) and Boston (Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 54.145)⁵⁷. Related to them, but not from the same workshop, is a Promachos in the Berlin Antikensammlung (inv. Misc 6218, *fig. 14*), said to be from the Acropolis, but so poorly preserved that any detailed analysis is impossible⁵⁸.

Another workshop created Athenas with much more elaborated and fine details, and now we can say, also with silver and copper inlaying⁵⁹. The NAM inv. 6455 statuette is a rather well preserved exemplar of this workshop, which shows the same scaly aegis, the same temple hair locks and the same biconvex massy hair with wavy lines as on the Athena from Antikyra. The NAM inv. 6458 Athena (*fig. 15*) has even more remarkable similarities, the curves forming the back of the goddess being the most striking ones, with only the hair being somewhat differently treated⁶⁰. Niemeyer believed that both statuettes come from the same workshop as the kouros/athlete NAM inv. 6445. All the more so, Claude Rolley extended this observation and attributed the entire group of Attic late Archaic small bronze athletes to this particular workshop⁶¹. Our Athena seems to have been an advanced creation of this workshop, but still somewhat earlier than the statuette dedicated by »Meleso«, and therefore it should be dated in the years 490–480 B.C., and rather in the later than in the earlier half of this decade⁶². It is an outstanding Attic work of small-scale bronze sculpture, initiating the passage towards the Early Classical style, and although it still shows several Archaic conventions, what we see on her face is not the Archaic smile, but the severe and serene expression of a new style, born in the tumultuous decade of the Persian wars.



13 Head of the Promachos statuette with kymation on the helmet edge, and with sockets for silver and copper inlays in the eyebrows, eyes, and lips

How this artwork reached the sanctuary of Athena in Antikyra we will not know. Was it a commission from a wealthy citizen of Antikyra, or the dedication of a pious traveller, who made a stop on his way to the neighbouring Delphi? We cannot tell for sure. What we can tell is that it marks a point in time after which the Athenian influence in the northern shores of the Corinthian Gulf in general, and in Phocis in particular, becomes much stronger and more evident. This is also the point of a decisive turn in the art of small-scale bronzes, when the Archaic trends recede and a new, more self-confident and idealistic style emerges.

⁵⁶ The date of the late Archaic Athena on the Acropolis is controversial, but the small bronzes series is clearly based on one or more large-scale models. Niemeyer 1960, 7–15; Rolley 1983, 106; Mattusch 1986, 194–197; Barr-Sharrar 1990, 215; Rolley 1994, 288 f.; see also above n. 13.

⁵⁷ Niemeyer 1960, 37–39 (Werkstatt I) pl. 2, 5–7.

⁵⁸ The crest, the hands with the shield and the spear, and the feet are missing. However, the posture, the peplos folds, the scaly aegis and the helmet type provide enough evidence to include it

safely within the Acropolis series. Neugebauer 1951, 47 f. no. 36 pl. 23; Niemeyer 1960, 27 no. 203; Tölle-Kastenbein 1980, 237 f. no. 42e pl. 166b.

⁵⁹ Niemeyer 1960, 45–51 (Werkstatt IV) pl. 3, 11, 12.

⁶⁰ Niemeyer 1964, 20 f. pls. 9, 10 dates them to ca. 510 and 495 B.C. respectively.

⁶¹ Niemeyer 1964, 13; Rolley 1983, 106.

⁶² Niemeyer 1964, 21 dates the Meleso Athena »in die Zeit bald nach 480 v. Chr.«; see also above n. 44.

5. The cult of Athena in Phocis

Athena seems to have had in the Phocian pantheon a relatively less prominent position than Apollo and Artemis. She had, however, some important sanctuaries: one in Delphi, where she was worshipped as Pronaia (sometimes intentionally and playfully spelled Pronoia), and another near Elateia, where she went under the epithet of Kranaia. The Pronaia sanctuary was, as indicated by its name, the entrance to the Delphic oracle, itself situated close to the borders of Phocis with the Ozolian Locris. The possibility for a continuity of cult in the Pronaia sanctuary from the Late Bronze Age is now ruled out and the cult is supposed to have started in the 8th or at the earliest in the late 9th centuries B.C.⁶³ The Athena Kranaia temple was situated in the northeast of the city of Elateia, almost on the borders with the Epiknemidian Locris and the cult is rather well established from the 8th century B.C.⁶⁴ According to Herodotus the epithet Kranaia relates to the Pelasgians of Athens⁶⁵.

Another Phocian temple of Athena, known only from Pausanias, has not been located thus far. According to the *periegete*, however, »at Daulis is a sanctuary of Athena with an ancient image. The wooden image, of an even earlier date, the Daulians say was brought from Athens by Procne«⁶⁶. Finally, the temple of Antikyra dates from the second quarter of the 6th century B.C., but the cult of Athena there must have been somewhat older, since at least some of the bronze ex-votos date back to the 8th century B.C. Actually all three sites with excavated temples to Athena may have functioned as cult places from the 8th century B.C. onwards, but their earliest surviving temple structures all date from the 6th century B.C. (Delphi: early 6th century⁶⁷; Antikyra: second quarter of the 6th century; Elateia: late 6th century).

These sanctuaries also share some more common characteristics. All three were situated not only close to the Phocian borders, but also at sites which were either direct entrance points to Phocis, or very close to such points. Kranaia was close to the road leading to and from Thermopylae, as well as to Boeotia and Eastern Locris; Pronaia was on the way to and from Amphissa and Ozolian Locris; and Athena of Antikyra was at the entrance to Phocis from the Corinthian Gulf, which was the main communication line with Corinth, the entire northern shore of the Peloponne-



14 Bronze Promachos statuette from the Acropolis (Berlin, Antikensammlung Inv. Misc. 6218)

sus, and eventually with Athens too (maritime route). Even the archaeologically undocumented temple of Athena in Daulis would have fit within this scheme, since it was situated at the entrance to Phocis from Chaeronea and Boeotia in general, and ultimately from Athens too (land route). Besides, a base with a dedication to Athena and Hera, copied in the 19th century and since lost, was then located in the modern village of Chrisso. Its original provenance cannot be securely established, although most probably it came from the site of the Archaic Krissa, which would mean again from the borders with the Ozolians⁶⁸.

In most of the above cases Athena with her temples and cult seems both to support (e.g. as Zosteria) and to challenge to a certain degree the dominance of

⁶³ Bommelaer 1997, 26.

⁶⁴ Paris 1892, 284–286. 291–295 figs. 22–25. 32–36.

⁶⁵ Hdt. 8, 44.

⁶⁶ Paus. 10, 4, 9 (translation by W. H. S. Jones; Jones 1918, 389).

⁶⁷ Bommelaer 1997, 45.

⁶⁸ Jeffery – Johnston 1990, 101 pl. 12, 1.



15 Bronze Promachos statuette from the Acropolis (NAM Inv. 6458)

Artemis and her brother Apollo over Phocis⁶⁹. There is a mention by Pausanias that one of the temples in the Pronaia precinct has been dedicated to Artemis, and modern research adopts this view⁷⁰. In any case Athena's temple in Delphi stood at the entrance to the Apollo sanctuary. Kranaia did not share a cult with Artemis, but her temple was situated in relative proximity to the two important sanctuaries of Artemis

Elaphebolos in Hyampolis and of Apollo in Abae⁷¹. Similarly Athena's temple in Antikyra occupied a site between the temples of Artemis Eleithya and Artemis Diktynna⁷².

This network of borderline Athena temples closely flanked by equally or more important sanctuaries of Apollo and Artemis, may have reflected some shift in the territory control patterns, from those related to the power structure and the population of Phocis before the arrival of the Phocians, to those representing the Phocians who were considered mostly as Dorians. It is significant that at least some of the communities overseeing the Athena temples claimed connections either to pre-Dorian populations, or directly to Athens⁷³. These earlier ›Pelasgian‹ and Ionian-related structures, still kept in place through the Athena cult network, continued to assure some control over the extremely powerful and influential Delphic sanctuary. Moreover, Athena retained enough of her ancestral importance in order for her statue to figure next to those of Zeus and Hera in the Phokikon, the assembly of the Phocians⁷⁴.

It is probably not just a coincidence that the Athena cult of Antikyra emerged during the century when Delphi started to significantly rise in both power and wealth, eclipsing definitively any potential rival. In any case the sanctuary of Antikyra was one of the earliest cult places in southern Phocis, no doubt in connection with the importance of the harbour for trade and communication. Its establishment, evolution, and dedications illustrate the commutation of such powers as Corinth and Athens, in their struggle for influence and control over Phocis, and especially over Delphi. Catherine Morgan has discussed the decline of Medeon, in the gulf of Antikyra, in connection with the assertion of Delphi as a Panhellenic sanctuary⁷⁵. Her suggestion has been since further discussed and developed⁷⁶. Antikyra seems to have replaced Medeon before the end of the 8th century B.C., and became an important node on the strengthening link between Corinth and Delphi. Its Athena sanctuary, no doubt related to that of Pronaia in Delphi, could be seen as both the cause and the reflection of this special connection.

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69 For the role of Artemis in the Phocian pantheon, see Ellinger 1993.

70 Paus. 10, 8, 6. Bommelaer 1997, 35. 79 f. 86.

71 The temple excavated in Kalapodi is believed to have housed the cult of both Artemis and Apollo: Niemeier 2013.

72 Sideris 2014, 115–128 fig. 2.

73 McInerney 1999, 108. 132 f.

74 Paus. 10, 5, 2.

75 Morgan 1990, 125 and Morgan 2003, 121–125.

76 McInerney 1999, 72 f.; Luce 2011a, 59–63; Λιβιεράτου 2012, 1063 f.; Scott 2014, 46–49.

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Zusammenfassung – Abstract – Περίληψη

Das Heiligtum der Athena im phokischen Antikyra

Zusammenfassung Ein archaischer Tempel der Athena wurde in der Stadt Antikyra im südlichen Phokis ausgegraben, blieb jedoch mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert lang unveröffentlicht, während die Funde im Nationalen Archäologischen Museum von Athen aufbewahrt werden. Hier werden der Plan und die Überreste des Gebäudes mit seinen architektonischen Terrakotten, die eine Datierung vor die Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zulassen, kurz dargestellt. Die Ton- und vor allem die Metallfunde zeugen von einem Kult, der möglicherweise bis ins 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zurückreicht. Unter den späteren Widmungen werden zwei Statuetten und ein beschrifteter Sockel ausführlicher besprochen. Schließlich wird der Tempel als Teil eines Grenznetzwerks von Athena-Heiligtümern gesehen, das sowohl Verschiebungen als auch Kontinuität in der religiösen Praxis in Phokis dokumentiert und Antikyra mit Delphi und Elateia verbindet.

Schlagwörter Antikyra, Athena, Tempel, Archaische Zeit, Bronzen

The sanctuary of Athena in phocian Antikyra

Abstract An Archaic temple of Athena was excavated in the city of Antikyra in southern Phocis, but remained unpublished for more than half a century, while the finds are kept in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. In this contribution the plan and the remnants of the building with its architectural terracottas that allow a dating before the middle of the 6th century B.C. are briefly presented. The clay and especially the metal finds testify to a cult which may reach back to as early as the 8th century B.C. Among the later dedications, two statuettes and an inscribed base are discussed more thoroughly. Finally, the temple is seen as part of a borderline network of Athena sanctuaries, which documents both shifts and continuity in the religious practice in Phocis and connects Antikyra with Delphi and Elateia.

Keywords Antikyra, Athena, temple, Archaic period, bronzes

Το ιερό της Αθηνάς στη φωκική Αντίκυρα

Περίληψη Ένας αρχαϊκός ναός της Αθηνάς ανασκάφηκε στην πόλη της Αντίκυρας στη νότια Φωκίδα, αλλά έμεινε αδημοσίευτος για περισσότερο από μισό αιώνα, ενώ τα ευρήματα φυλάσσονται στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο της Αθήνας. Εδώ παρουσιάζεται συνοπτικά η κάτοψη και τα ανεσκαμμένα κατάλοιπα του κτηρίου με τα πήλινα αρχιτεκτονικά του μέλη, που επιτρέπουν τη χρονολόγησή του πριν από τα μέσα του 6ου αιώνα π.Χ. Τα πήλινα και ιδιαίτερα τα μεταλλικά ευρήματα μαρτυρούν μια λατρεία, η οποία μπορεί να χρονολογείται ήδη από τον 8ο αιώνα π.Χ. Μεταξύ των μεταγενέστερων αναθημάτων εξετάζονται ενδελεχώς δύο αγαλματίδια και μία ενεπίγραφη βάση. Τέλος, ο ναός θεωρείται μέρος ενός συνοριακού δικτύου ιερών της Αθηνάς, το οποίο τεκμηριώνει τόσο τις αλλαγές όσο και τη συνέχεια στη θρησκευτική πρακτική στη Φωκίδα και συνδέει την Αντίκυρα με τους Δελφούς και την Ελάτεια.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Αντίκυρα, Αθηνά, ναός, Αρχαϊκή περίοδος, χάλκινα