The cults of Kalydon

*Reassessing the miniaturised votive objects**

SIGNE BARFOED

The past 15 years has witnessed renewed and intensive archaeological fieldwork at the ancient Greek city of Kalydon in Aitolia. In the years 2001-5, Drs Søren Dietz and Maria Stavropoulou-Gatsi directed excavations in several areas of the city, and the results were published in two volumes in 2011.[1] In the period 2011-6, Drs Rune Frederiksen and Søren Handberg carried out excavations in collaboration with the Ephorate of Antiquities of Aetolia-Acarnania and Lefkada in Kalydon's Theatre, and on the Lower Acropolis plateau.[2] These renewed excavations have produced much new information about the ancient city, including its religious cults.

The purpose of this article is to cast further light on the religious cults of the city and Kalydonian ritual behaviour. The renewed excavations have produced a substantial amount of miniature votive pottery, and in drawing attention to this hitherto rather overlooked aspect of material culture, I will argue that it must play an important role in our understanding of religious practice in ancient Kalydon. Within the last decade miniature pottery has attracted considerable scholarly attention, which has produced insight that may be applied to the evidence from Kalydon. The author has been involved in the work at Kalydon since 2011 and has been able to study both published and unpublished miniature pottery found since 2001. Meticulous searches through the finds in the storerooms have led to the identification of more than 200 fragments of miniature pottery. Both published and unpublished miniature pottery is contextualized, and the cult related to the miniature votives is re-examined.[3] Kalydon's most famous cult is to Artemis Laphria, but two additional cults have been identified during the recent excavations: a shrine on the central Acropolis, and the cult in the Peristyle House in the Lower Town.

Research History

A brief research history of miniature pottery

The 7th century BC marks a considerable change in the use of miniature pottery in the ancient Greek world. From this period onwards miniatures were dedicated on a larger scale in Greek sanctuaries, and their introduction as a form of votive offering was a fundamental change in the material culture of the early Greek sanctuaries during the Archaic period.[4] It has been suggested that this change was caused by the fact that the authority to dedicate in the sanctuaries had been handed down from the aristocracy to the common people, and that the sanctuaries thus experienced a growth in clientele. The abundant miniature

* I would like to thank Drs Søren Dietz and Rune Frederiksen for kindly granting me permission to work with the pottery from their excavations. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions.

1 Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011.

2 The publication of Kalydon's theatre is currently underway. For a preliminary report, see Vikatou et al. 2014. For a preliminary report on the excavations on the Lower Acropolis, see Vikatou & Handberg, this volume.

3 Some of the Kalydon material is also discussed in the author's unpublished PhD dissertation, see Barfoed 2015b.

4 Gimatzidis 2011, 81; Foley 1988, 69.

Fig. 1. *Miniature bowls from Phlius (a-b) and from the Argive Heraion (c) (after: Biers 1971, nos. 49-50, pl. 90; Caskey & Amandry 1952, no. 262, pl. 57).*

pottery from the Archaic period onwards consequently reflects wide participation in the rituals.[5]

Miniature pottery is still a relatively neglected group within material studies, and in the past it was often disposed of in excavations and not recorded in any detail. In those cases where miniature pottery was recorded and published, for example, in the early excavations of the sites of Perachora and the Argive Heraion, it was generally described as useless, non-important and cheap.[6] Many scholars have accepted this interpretation, despite its simplicity.[7] Even in literature from the 1990s some scholars share this elementary idea of miniatures being a cheap, poorly produced product; one even calls them "decayed versions" of regular pottery or fancier votives.[8] Most frequently no interpretations or discussions are offered for miniature pottery, and when they are, it is considered as the offerings of people who could not afford dedications in metal or regular-sized pottery vessels.

However, some newer and more persuasive interpretations exist: Gunnel Ekroth has convincingly argued that since miniature pottery could be transported more easily than normal-sized pottery, it had value in itself, and perhaps it was more suited for foreign visitors making dedications when visiting different sanctuaries. In a deposit from Phlius in modern Corinthia, near Nemea, miniature bowls with particular handles are found, and examples of this local miniature type have also shown up at both Perachora and the Argive Heraion (Fig. 1).[9] Similarly, Corinthian miniature pottery has been discovered at many sanctuary sites throughout Greece – Nemea, Kalapodi, Olympia and Sane, to mention a few examples.[10] Another suggestion is that the small scale of the object demanded closer scrutiny compared to a larger object and, as Ekroth framed it, miniature pottery therefore expressed a more personal mode of dedication.[11]

Exactly how the miniature pottery was used in the rituals is still debated, but some miniature bowls from Corinth, the Argive Heraion, Tiryns and Tegea, for instance, have suspension holes near the rim, indicating that they could be hung, perhaps in the temple/ritual buildings within a sanctuary, or on a nearby tree or bush.[12] It is also possible that the suspension holes were used to attach one or two miniatures to one's belt when travelling, or perhaps for exhibition in suspension at sales booths (in the sanctuary). Miniature pottery is also found on and next to altars at Kalapodi, Nemea and the Artemis Altar in the Sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia, and must therefore have been used in the rituals performed around the altar.[13]

5 Gimatzidis 2011, 85-6; Kiernan 2009, 1.

6 Waldstein et al. 1905, 96; Payne et al. 1962, 290.

7 E.g. Caskey and Amandry 1952, 211; Payne et al. 1962, 290; Dickens 1906-7, 172; Foley 1988, 76, 165; Strøm 2009, 84-5.

8 Sparkes 1991, 78; see also Hammond (1998, 20) and Barfoed (2015b, 9-11, 44-55) for an evaluation of previous scholarship and terminology.

9 Ekroth 2003, 36.

10 Barfoed 2009; 2015a; Felsch & Jacob-Felsch 1996; Felsch et al. 1980; Gimatzidis 2011, 80-2.

11 Ekroth 2003, 36.

12 Hammond 1998, 218-9; Ekroth 2003, 36. For examples in Corinth see e.g. cat. nos 581, pl. 52, Pemberton et al. 1989, 176; and cat. nos 1916, 1923, 1927, 1936-7, pl. 71, Stillwell & Benson 1984, 328-30.

13 Felsch et al. 1980, 89-99, figs 71-89; Birge et al. 26, fig. 35; Heiden 2012.

Another interpretation is that miniature pottery served a commemorative function in rituals.[14] Miniature vessels may, for instance, be seen as commemorating ritual dining events when miniature cups and kraters are present – shapes that in a regular size are connected to dining. Thus, miniature pottery can be perceived to epitomize, in a dynamic manner, a ritual action in regular size.[15] Additionally, it must be kept in mind that despite the miniatures' sometimes very small size, the vessels were often still capable of containing a small quantity of offerings, for instance liquids that could be used for a 'mini' libation in the rituals.[16] Lastly, Gina Salapata has introduced the idea of votives being dedicated in sets, an idea that is certainly also applicable to miniature pottery.[17] One can imagine these small votives being piled up on the altar; perhaps some people dedicated them in sets for greater impact, believing that quantitative dedications mattered.

The precise definition of 'miniature pottery' remains to be firmly established.[18] Elizabeth G. Pemberton was probably the first to suggest an accurate definition in her publication of the Vrysoula deposit in Corinth from 1970. She states that miniatures are: "vases which reproduce a shape in reduced size without the original function, to serve as votive or funerary offerings".[19] Pemberton's definition is very applicable and also includes consideration of the function of miniatures. However, it must be kept in mind that miniatures other than scaled down models do exist; some miniatures do not have regular-sized equivalents.[20] One example is a miniature bowl with female protomes dating to the Archaic period which has been found exclusively in the Argolid.[21] Most common, however, are miniature vessels with a regular-sized pottery counterpart. The small size of the miniature pottery and the fact that it is sometimes found in children's graves have occasionally led to the conclusion that it was a children's toy. However, since this type of pottery is so extensively found in sanctuary contexts, and is also common in adult graves in, for instance, the North Cemetery at Corinth, it must have been deemed suitable for both funerary and dedicatory purposes, and could not exclusively have been the property of children.[22] Lastly, the definition of the votive offering is important to keep in mind when discussing miniatures. Votives can be defined as objects removed from the secular world, e.g. when they are found in funerary and/or ritual deposits.[23] Alternatively, they may be produced specifically for dedications; this category includes terracotta figurines and, in some cases, such as the discussion presented below, miniature pottery.[24]

Research history of the miniature pottery from Kalydon

The research history of Kalydon's miniature pottery is relatively short. Elizabeth Bollen, who published most of the ceramic finds from the 2001-5 excavations in 2011, also worked with the miniature pottery.[25] She presented the miniature pottery in a separate chapter, and 35 complete and fragmented vessels of different shapes were included in the publication (6 of them represented with drawings).[26] Photos of the miniature pottery were presented together with the remaining (regular-sized) pottery in the main pottery catalogue, containing the pottery from the Central Acropolis (11 photos in total).[27] Bollen showed that most miniatures were found in Area XI on the Central Acropolis. She also analysed the fabric and placed the prevailing part of the miniature pottery in two Archaic

14 Barfoed 2015a.
15 Barfoed 2015b, 56-9; Foxhall 2013, 151.
16 Barfoed 2015a, 174, 183-4.
17 Salapata 2011; Ekroth 2003, 36.
18 Barfoed 2015a, 9-11; Kiernan 2009, 1-2; Hammond 1998, 14-22.
19 Pemberton 1970, 293, n. 49.
20 Hammond 1998, 16; Ekroth 2013; Rice 1987, 452.
21 Ekroth 2013, fig. 7.
22 Barfoed 2015b, 9-11, 44-54; Luce 2011, 61; Blegen et al. 1964, 169-300.
23 Kiernan 2009, 1.
24 Osborne 2004, 2.
25 Bollen 2011b; 2011b.
26 Bollen 2011c, pl. 23.
27 Bollen 2011d, 455-518.

fabric groups, suggesting that some of the vessels were imported from Corinth.[28] Bollen does not provide any further interpretations related to the miniature pottery and how they were used in the rituals at Kalydon.

It is possible that miniature pottery was discovered in the early explorations of the city. The earliest organized excavations in Kalydon took place in 1926, 1928, 1932 and 1935 and were carried out by a Danish–Greek collaboration consisting of Frederik Poulsen (director of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek from 1926-43), the archaeologist Konstantinos Rhomaios and the architect Ejnar Dyggve. Four publications appeared as a result of these Danish–Greek explorations at Kalydon: a preliminary publication; a publication of the architecture and some of the architectonical terracottas of the Artemis Laphria sanctuary; a publication of the architecture of the so-called Hellenistic Heroon (located c. 250 m east of the sanctuary); and Rhomaios' study of architectural terracottas and tiles from the Artemis sanctuary.[29] Poulsen was supposed to publish the pottery from the excavations in a separate volume, but did not finish the work before his death in 1950.[30] In a few instances pottery is mentioned in the publications, but no catalogue or depictions (drawings and/or photos) of the pottery was included.[31] The only exception is a rim fragment of an Attic column krater with an inscription to Artemis (see below). Furthermore, there is no mention of miniature pottery in any of the publications from the early excavations.[32] These publications have provided valuable information about the Artemis Laphria sanctuary and the Heroon, but the unfortunate circumstances of a missing pottery publication are part of the reason that Kalydonian and Aitolian pottery production is relatively unknown and unexplored, although the publication from 2011 is a valuable contribution.[33]

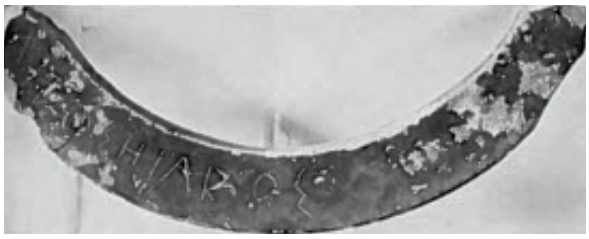


Fig. 2. *Rim fragment of Attic Column-Krater with Artemis inscription (after: Poulsen & Rhomaios 1927, fig. 3).*

The Cults of Kalydon

In the following section, the different cults in Kalydon will be presented and the votives (miniature pottery and figurines) will be used as an analytical tool in an attempt to enhance our knowledge of the different cults within and outside the city walls. I include solely the cults that are archaeologically attested, and none of the as-yet unidentified cults mentioned in inscriptions and literary sources.[34] The examination will be done chronologically, thus the starting point is the most ancient cult we know of in Kalydon, the cult of Artemis Laphria.

The extra-mural sanctuary of Artemis Laphria

The goddess Artemis Laphria is attested in inscriptions, as well as Pausanias' later account. One example of a preserved inscription is the graffito on the Attic column-krater rim fragment previously mentioned. It was found south of the Artemis Laphria temple, and carries a dedication to Artemis that Poulsen and Rhomaios dated to the 5th century BC on the basis of the style of the incised letters: [ΑΡΤΕ]ΜΙΔΟΣ ΗΙΑΡΟΣ (Fig. 2).[35]

28 Bollen 2011c, 355.

29 Poulsen & Rhomaios 1927; Poulsen et al. 1934; Dyggve & Poulsen 1948; Rhomaios 1951.

30 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 2.

31 A rhyton, a fragment of a Corinthian pinakion and a base fragment of a terra sigillata vase with an inscription are mentioned as "die wichtigeren Keramik" in a footnote, Poulsen & Rhomaios 1927, 43 n. 1. Additionally, "Roman lamps and coins" are said to have been found in the Artemis Laphria sanctuary, Poulsen & Rhomaios 1927, 42-3.

32 Poulsen & Rhomaios 1927, fig. 3; Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, fig. 308.

33 Permission to study the pottery and terracotta figurines from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary, which are being kept in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, has recently been obtained by the author. I am very grateful to the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sport and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Aetolia-Acarnania and Lefkada, as well as my collaborators in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens for being very accommodating, and for kindly granting me the permission.

34 For instance, Strabo mentioned a sanctuary to Apollo in Kalydon that remains to be discovered, Strabo, 10.22.

35 Poulsen & Rhomaios 1927, 9, fig. 3.

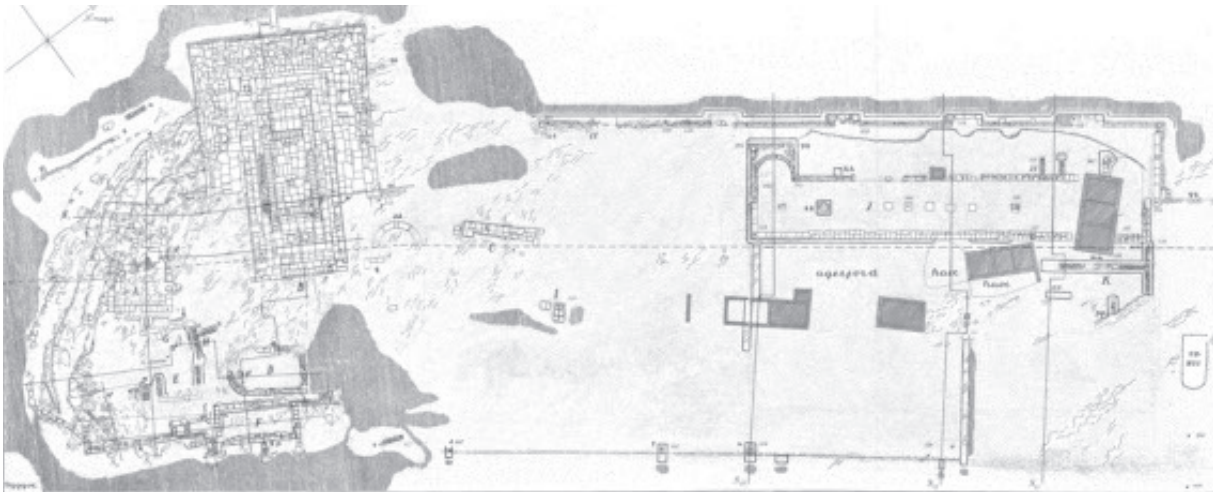


Fig. 3. *Plan of the Artemis Laphria sanctuary (after: Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, pl. 1; reproduced with courtesy of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters).*

Poulsen and Rhomaios also described an unpublished inscription on stone mentioning Artemis Laphria:]ΑΠΕΔΟΤΟ ΑΓΕΜΑΧΑ…]ΤΑΙ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΤΙ ΤΑΙ ΛΑΦΡΙΑΙ[…]ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΤΩ ΔΕ ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣ ΤΑΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΤΑΝ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΤΑΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙ ΛΑΦΡΙΑΙΟΙ[. It was found built into the stone altar of a church in the nearby village of Old-Bochori.[36] Poulsen and Rhomaios stated that the inscription was transferred to the museum in Thermos.[37] Despite the inscription not being found in situ, it most likely originated from the sanctuary. Concerning the ancient literary evidence, Homer mentions Kalydon and Artemis together, but does not specifically mention the epithet Laphria or any other specifics of her cult.[38] Pausanias is the only source to mention Artemis Laphria; he does so when he describes how the Emperor Augustus laid the land of Aitolia to waste, and moved the population to his new city Nikopolis. At that time the people of Patras "secured the image of Laphria".[39]

The Artemis Laphria sanctuary includes a temple to Artemis (Temple B), a smaller temple, perhaps to Dionysus (Temple A), and several auxiliary buildings; one is a large stoa located along the processional road leading to the temples (designated 'J' on the plan, Fig. 3).[40] The earliest phase of the two temples can be dated to the 7th century BC. These early temples were presumably made of wood, and had painted terracotta roof tiles and decorated pediments.[41] The best preserved architectural terracotta is the famous Kalydon sphinx, now on display in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.[42] Other remarkable examples are fragments of painted metopes with bordering dot rosettes and gorgons, and an example of a painted metope with a man and a wild boar, probably depicting the famous myth of the Kalydonian boar hunt.[43] The metopes have been compared to the extraordinary painted metopes from the Apollo Sanctuary in Thermon (about 50 km NE of Kalydon), and it is interesting that the gorgon metope also finds parallels at the island of

36 Modern-day Evinochori, the village closest to the site of Kalydon.

37 Poulsen & Rhomaios 1927, 8-9.

38 Homer called Artemis "golden throned", χρυσόθρονος Ἄρτεμις, Homer, *Il.* 9.530-5; Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 336.

39 Paus. 7.18.8-13 and 4.31.7; Dietz 2009.

40 The suggestion of Dionysus is mainly based on Pausanias, see Paus. 7.21.1; a boundary stone dating to the 6th century BCE attests to the undiscovered sanctuary of Apollo Laphrios, see Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 295-7, fig. 296; Freitag et al. 2004, 384.

41 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 138-212.

42 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 176-84, figs 182-5, 191-3, pls 22-3.

43 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 152-6, 160-1, fig. 164; Barringer 2001, 147-61.

Fig. 4. *'Artemis' terracotta figurine from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary, Kalydon (after: Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 342, fig. 310; reproduced with courtesy of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters).*

Kerkyra, in the Mon Repos sanctuary to Hera.[44] It is particularly interesting to note that Dyggve and Poulsen believed that a close connection to Corinth could be observed in the architectonical terracottas.[45] Temple A, possibly dedicated to Dionysus, has been reconstructed with a central running gorgon akroterion on its roof surrounded by lions, which Dyggve and Poulsen believed were also imported Corinthian terracottas. The architectural terracottas suggest a date in the early 6th century BC.[46] The first monumental temple to Artemis (Temple B) was enlarged in the 4th century BC to have 6 x 13 columns and a marble roof.[47] According to Pausanias, a chryselephantine statue of the huntress Artemis was on display inside the temple, but later the cult statue was moved to Patras.[48]

As mentioned above, miniature pottery is not referenced in the publications from the excavations of the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria and the Heroon. However, there is some comment on another type of votive: figurines in both terracotta and metal. Terracotta figurines depicting a standing female holding a bow and a deer are mentioned to be "zahlreiche" and interpreted as representing Artemis in her role as huntress (Fig. 4).[49]

Females carrying hydriai or kana (trays; the so-called hydrophoren and kanephoren terracotta figurines) were also found, as well as terracotta animal figurines of lions, deer, horses, bulls, pigs, doves and even an example of a grasshopper.[50] Additionally, numerous terracotta protomes depicting women are known from the sanctuary and Dyggve and Poulsen stated that these could have been "for hanging on walls". Terracotta apples, a pomegranate and two fragmented figurines of naked females, one with a swollen abdomen, were also found.[51] The fruit cannot be so easily explained but the terracotta figurines and protomes show the cult's emphasis on women. Some of the metal votives mentioned in the publications are on display at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, including bronze figurines of a deer, goats and a cock, as well as some bronze fittings, probably for a wooden box.[52] In the publications fibulae, iron spear- and arrowheads are also briefly mentioned.[53] Other interesting votives are antlers, and teeth of boar and horses.[54] Despite the lack of a full publication, based on the existing publications, a preference for objects related to a cult of both women and hunting seems to prevail in the votives, which is indeed very suitable for Artemis, the huntress. The stoa northeast of the Artemis temple might have housed stalls for selling votives for dedication in the sanctuary, so the visitors did not need to bring dedications with them.[55] A deposit dating to the 3rd century BC from Corinth attests

44 Sapirstein 2012, 50.
45 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 201-2; Antonetti 1990, 253.
46 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 222-5.
47 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 123-34, for the marble tiles, see fig. 145; Rathje & Lund 1991, 40.
48 Paus. 7.18.9.
49 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 342, fig. 310.
50 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 344-5, 48.
51 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 345-8, figs 316-7.
52 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 344-5, figs 313-5. The metals are on display in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens' bronze collection, in a case named 'Aitolian Sanctuaries'.
53 Poulsen & Rhomaios 1927, 43; Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 345.
54 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 344-5.
55 Brandt 2012, 172; Bookidis & Stroud 1997, 201, 214.

to the practice of buying figurines at the South Stoa for dedications at the Demeter and Kore sanctuary.[56] Albeit publication of such deposits are rare, when stoas are found in sanctuaries they may have served as a convenient place to sell votives and other goods that the visitors/dedicators needed. When comparing the votives from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary to the votives from the Central Acropolis, some similarities in the preference for certain votive objects can be seen.

The Archaic shrine on the Central Acropolis

During the years 2002-4, excavations on the Central Acropolis (Areas X–XIII) yielded the remains of a possible shrine. A concentration of figurines and miniature pottery, predominantly coming from a votive deposit in the southern part of Area XI, attests to a late Archaic shrine located where the later Hellenistic wall foundations can be seen today (Fig. 5).[57] Through an examination of the pottery from the deposit which is kept in the excavation storerooms, many more fragments or complete examples of miniature pottery have been identified: in total 213 unpublished examples can be added to the 35 published examples (amounting to 248 in total). A large amount of the miniature pottery is of Corinthian production, which can be related to the possible Corinthian architectural terracottas from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary mentioned above. This presence of Corinthian miniature pottery and other Corinthian votives such as terracotta figurines can perhaps be explained by the ease of shipment by sea. Transporting vessels (and other items and goods) over long distances was not difficult, but it is noteworthy that such a large amount of Corinthian miniature pottery ended up in Kalydon. The remaining miniature pottery could not be assigned to any known production centre and it is therefore possible that it was locally produced in either Kalydon or elsewhere in the region. Both tile and pottery kilns have been attested in the city of Kalydon, thus it is possible that the locally produced miniature pottery was made within the city.[58]

Cups dominate the assemblage of miniature pottery in Kalydon: they comprise 152 out of 248 registered examples (Table 1). This count includes kotylai, skyphoi and kanthariskoi. The second largest shape group consists of krateriskoi with 49 examples (Fig. 6a), and the third largest shape group is bowls with 15 examples (Fig. 6c). Other shape groups are jugs, saucers, phialai, pyxis and a single exaleiptron (Fig. 6d–e). Only one miniature hydria fragment has so far been registered (Fig. 6b).

Fig. 5. *Plan of the Central Acropolis, Area XI (after: Dietz 2011e, 214, fig. 146; reproduced with courtesy of Aarhus University Press).*

Regarding the fabric, 112 examples are Corinthian and 125 are of presumed local manufacture (10 unknown and one possible Elean). The Corinthian and local clays can be difficult to discern from one another; a very light, slightly pinkish fabric is especially difficult to distinguish from Corinthian at first. However, Corinthian fabrics can have small black inclusions, whereas the possible local "Kaly-

56 Merker 2000, 326.

57 Dietz 2011f, 239-40. For the general stratigraphy of the excavated areas, see Dietz 2011b, 87-109; 2011e, 213-36.

58 Ljung 2011, 157-209.

Shapes	Amount	%
Cups (kotyle/skyphos/ kanthariskos)	152	61%
Krateriskoi	49	20%
Bowls	15	6%
Jugs	10	4%
Saucers	8	3%
Phialai	6	3%
Hydria	1	< 1%
Pyxis	1	< 1%
Exaleiptron	1	< 1%
Open vessel	1	< 1%
Closed vessel	1	< 1%
Unknown	3	1.5%
Total	**248**	**100%**

Table 1. *Shape distribution of published and unpublished miniature vessels from Kalydon.*

donian" fabric has some small white or reddish inclusions and often has the Munsell colour 10YR 7/4 (very pale brown) or 7.5YR 7/4 (pink). Despite the similar fabric, many examples stand out as certainly being Corinthian imports, which is interesting in that Corinthian regular-sized pottery was not found in large amounts at Kalydon. Most regular sized pottery is locally (or regionally) produced; Corinthian samples amount to just eight entries in the recent Kalydon publication, Attic to 11 entries, and Elean to two entries out of the 461 catalogue entries.[59] Overall, Corinth dominates the imports compared to Attic, Lakonian, Elean and pottery from other known production centres, which might explain the presence of the Corinthian miniatures, and no Attic miniatures have been found in Kalydon so far. However, Athens did not have the same extensive production of miniature pottery, at least not in the Archaic period, a fact that might explain the absence of these vessels (Chart 1).[60]

It is possible that the Corinthian votives were a source of inspiration for the Kalydonian votive production. This seems the most likely interpretation given the strong presence of Corinthian votives in Kalydon, but it is also possible that the preference for miniatures was related to the

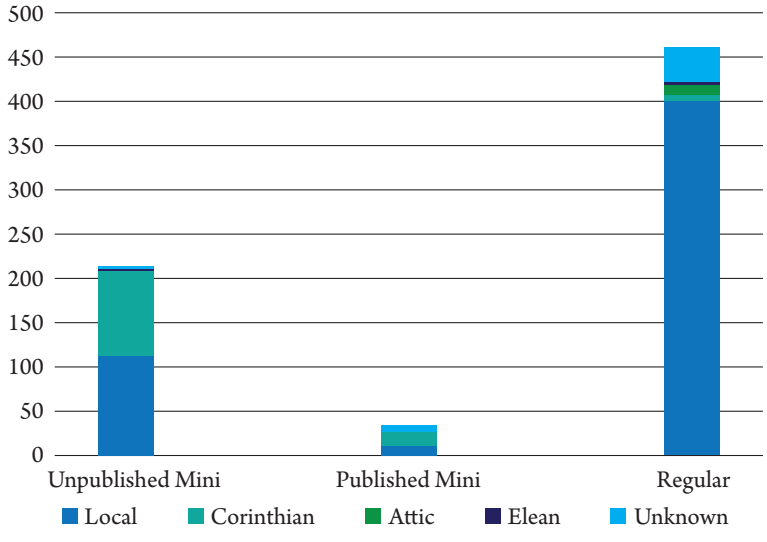
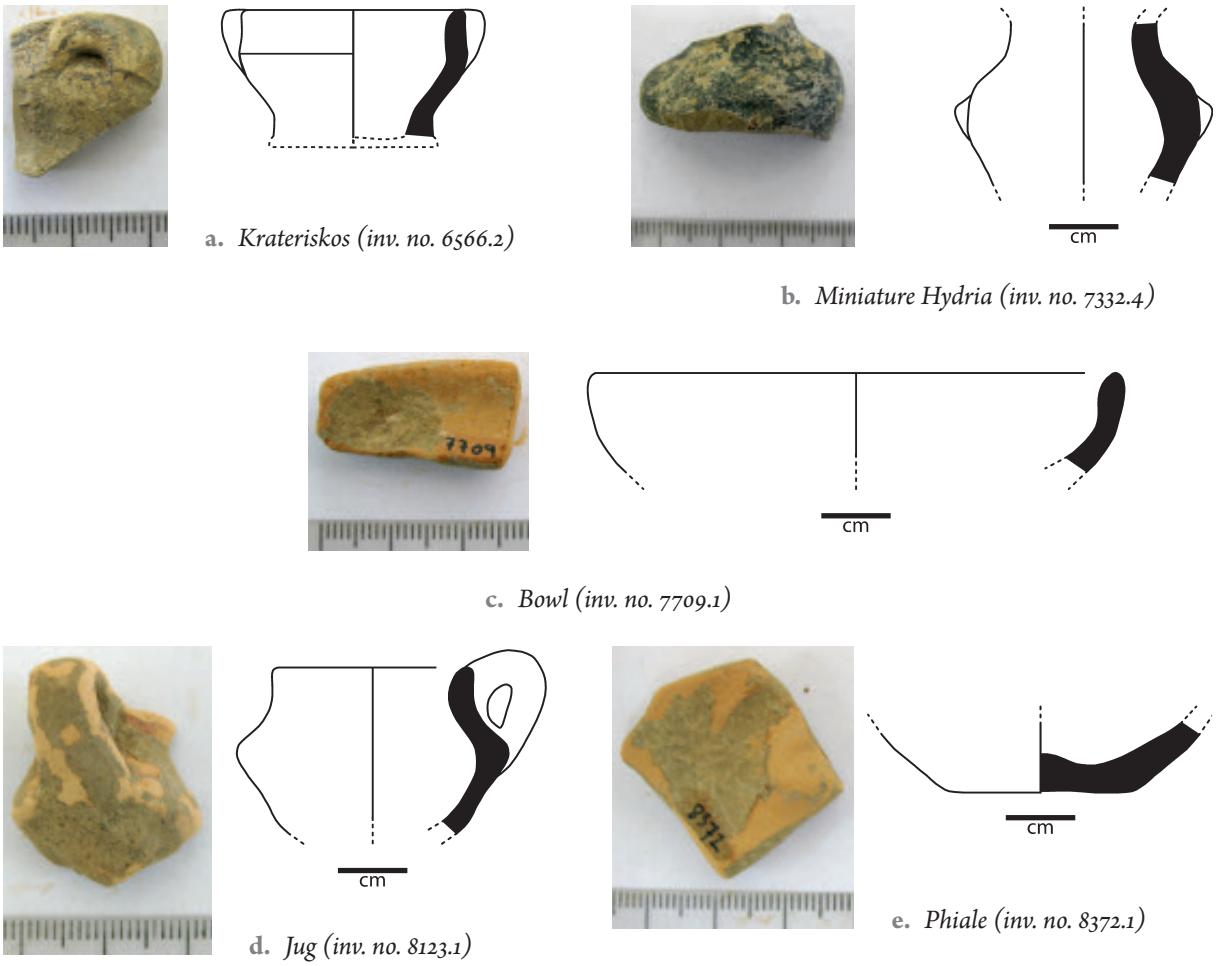


Table 2. *Published and unpublished miniatures and published regular-sized pottery from Kalydon by fabric group.*

59 Numbers are based on the catalogue in Bollen 2011b, 313-33.

60 From the Athenian Agora miniature pottery votives are mostly found in 4th- and 3rd-century BCE contexts, Sparkes & Talcott 1970, 185-6; Rotroff 1997, 206-10.



a. *Krateriskos (inv. no. 6566.2)*

b. *Miniature Hydria (inv. no. 7332.4)*

c. *Bowl (inv. no. 7709.1)*

d. *Jug (inv. no. 8123.1)*

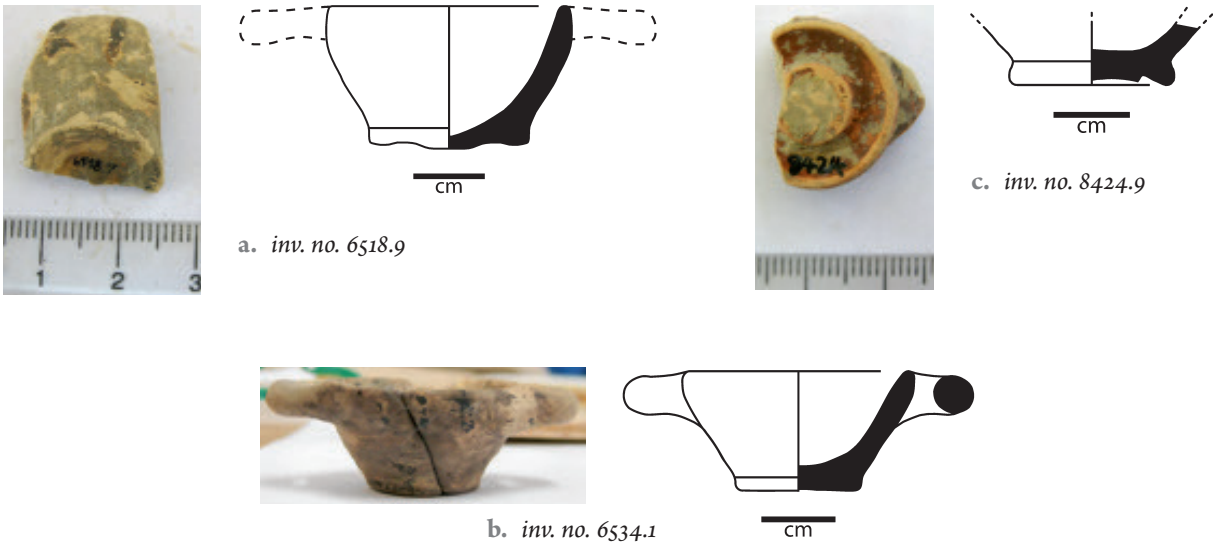
e. *Phiale (inv. no. 8372.1)*

Fig. 6. *Unpublished miniature pottery from Area XI (Signe Barfoed).*

rituals themselves. Many of the Kalydonian miniatures are indeed very small, but the open shapes (e.g. cups, krateriskoi and bowls) could certainly still have contained a tiny offering, such as seeds, a lock of hair or incense or liquids. The closed shapes like the jugs and hydriai could have held a tiny portion of scented oil or other liquids for a 'mini' libation.

The Corinthian miniature pottery shape repertoire differs from the regular-sized Corinthian pottery. The total Corinthian miniature shape distribution (both published and unpublished miniatures) is dominated by cups at 68%, krateriskoi are at 25% and there is a large jump down to number three, jugs, at just 2%. The remaining shape groups (phiale, bowls, saucers, hydria, open vessel) constitute 1% each. The shape distribution of the sparse Corinthian regular-sized vessels in (all of) Kalydon, amounting to eight catalogue entries, consists of kotylai (two examples) and oinochoai (also two examples). Other shapes are an aryballos, an echinus bowl, a pyxis and a fragment of an undetermined shape.[61] The most popular miniature cup type is the kotyle. It has a flat base, two horizontal handles, typically with vertical black bands in the handle zones, and broader horizontal bands on the lower body (Fig. 7). However, a marked difference is that in Kalydon regular-sized kraters (of any production) are not as popular as the miniature kraters. It appears

61 All of the Corinthian pottery has been determined as belonging to the fabric group called 'AR1', Bollen 2011b, 338. The Corinthian pottery is not separated in the publication. The Corinthian regular-sized fragments have the following cat. nos: 224, 232, 234, 247, 254, 268, 318 and 437, see Bollen 2011d, 459-60, 462, 464, 470, 472, 481, 504.



a. *inv. no. 6518.9*

c. *inv. no. 8424.9*

b. *inv. no. 6534.1*

Fig. 7a, b, c. *Unpublished miniature kotylai from Area XI (Signe Barfoed).*

that there was a form of conspicuous consumption of Corinthian miniature vessels, since the substantial interest in miniature cups is not reflected in the regular-sized Corinthian pottery.

Apart from miniature pottery, fragments of terracotta figurines were also found in Kalydon. Area XI on the Central Acropolis yielded 53 examples of females, children and animals.[62] Especially interesting are the several examples of the Corinthian 'standing kore' type, which dates to the early 5th century BC. This type of mould-made terracotta figurine is especially common in Corinth, but most of the examples from Kalydon appear to be locally produced (Fig. 8).[63]

Gloria Merker suggested that the figurine represents either Aphrodite or Kore, and that it is a lingering Archaic type, which is a convincing interpretation.[64] In addition to the Corinthian miniature pottery, these terracotta figurines emphasize the connection between Corinth and Kalydon. This type of mould-made figurine was a standing female wearing a *peplos* and a *polos* on her head. The goddess is typically standing on some sort of platform and holds different objects in her hands: fruits or flowers.[65] A similar type of standing female carrying a bow on one arm was found in the Laphria excavations, commonly interpreted as representing Artemis the huntress (see above).[66] As mentioned above, the number of examples they recovered in the excavations is unclear. Poulsen suggested they were of Corinthian production.[67] This type is especially popular in Kalydon and was also locally produced (imitated) as mentioned above.

This type of figurine does not necessarily represent a specific goddess, but seems to be a generic type that could have been dedicated to various female deities, an idea also emphasized by Bollen.[68] A characteristic seated female type figurine found throughout the northeast Peloponnese mirrors this idea. The type appears to have been a selected dedication for Hera, but at a time during the late Archaic period began to be used in sanctuaries to other deities.[69] Additionally, Merker argues that by the Classical period the 'standing kore' type of figurine de-

62 Mayerhofer Hemmi & Dietz 2011, 531-43.
63 Mayerhofer Hemmi & Dietz 2011, 531.
64 Merker 2000, 23-37, 326.
65 Mayerhofer Hemmi & Dietz 2011, 530-5.
66 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 342, fig. 310.
67 Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 343.
68 Mayerhofer Hemmi & Dietz 2011, 530-1; Barfoed 2013.
69 Barfoed 2013, 97-100.

Fig. 8. *Terracotta figurine of 'the Standing Kore' type, from Area XI (after: Mayerhofer Hemmi & Dietz 2011, no. 26, 529, fig. 264).*

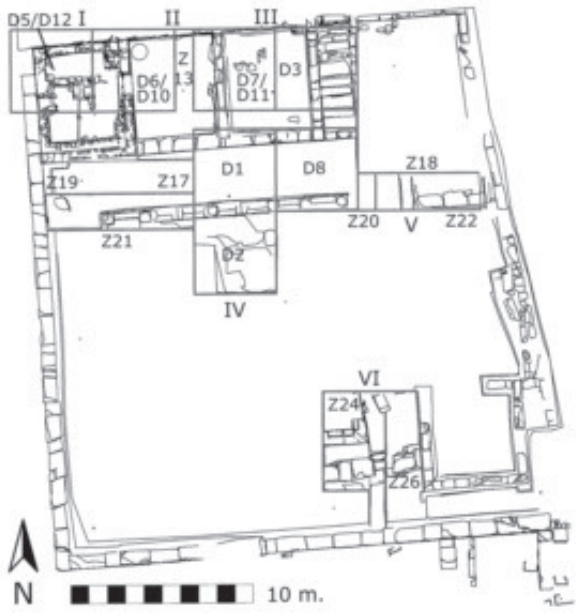


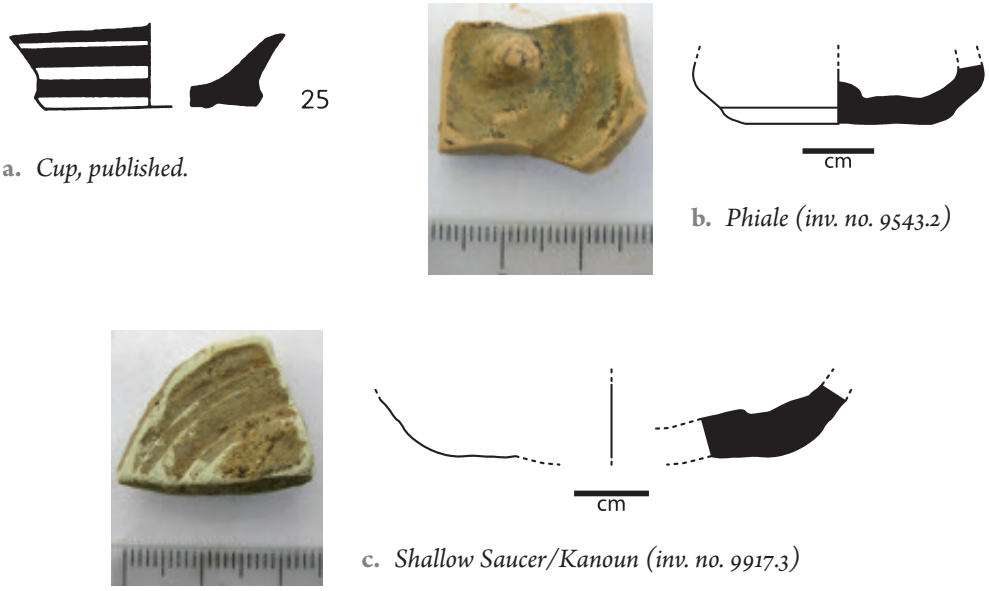
Fig. 9. *Plan of the Peristyle House, Kalydon (after: Dietz 2011b, 86, fig. 56).*

picted mortal subjects and represented votaries carrying offerings to the goddess.[70]

Other types of figurines were found in Area XI, for instance the very popular type of Classical Corinthian figurine recognized by its hairstyle, called 'melon-coiffure'. This type dates to the 4th century BC.[71] Moreover, Hellenistic terracotta figurines were discovered in Area XI. Dating to the late 3rd century BC, or a little later, are two female terracotta heads depicting a veiled lady.[72] An example of a female terracotta figurine head with the so-called 'Knidian' hairstyle dates to the 3rd century BC.[73] Four fragmented pieces of terracotta figurines have also been roughly dated to the Hellenistic period. The latest published examples of terracotta figurines from Kalydon's Area XI are thus from the late 3rd century BC.[74] Metal votive offerings from the 2001-5 excavations, such as figurines, pins and jewellery, were not found in great numbers, and only two bronze figurines are published: a bird and the head of a wolf.[75] The sparse metal objects do not add much to our interpretations.

To summarize, no inscriptions or graffiti/dipinti attest to the name of the deity of the Archaic-Classical shrine on the Central Acropolis. As Dietz stated, the deposit and the architectural terracottas support the idea of a shrine in the area.[76] The suggestion that the shrine was for a female deity is mainly based on the presence of the many female terracotta figurines. Some of the 'standing kore' figurines are similar to the examples from the Artemis Laphria sanctuary discussed above, some are Corinthian and some are presumably local imitations. Similarly, the miniature pottery was both imported and imitated at the presumed local/regional (Kalydonian?) production centre. It is possible that further excavation in the area may clarify the situation in Area XI, but the architectural remains from the Hellenistic period would in that case have to be removed, which would be difficult.

70 Merker 2000, 24.
71 E.g. nos H215-H228, Merker 2000, 163-6, pl. 43.
72 Mayerhofer Hemmi & Dietz 2011, 537, cat. nos 46-7, fig. 266.
73 Mayerhofer Hemmi & Dietz 2011, 537-8, cat. nos 52, 54, 64-6, fig. 267-8.
74 Mayerhofer Hemmi & Dietz 2011, 530-45.
75 Mayerhofer Hemmi & Dietz 2011, 545, cat. nos 76-7, fig. 269.
76 Dietz 2011f, 240.



a. *Cup, published.*

b. *Phiale (inv. no. 9543.2)*

c. *Shallow Saucer/Kanoun (inv. no. 9917.3)*

Fig. 10. *Miniature pottery from the Peristyle House, Kalydon: a: miniature cup (published; after: Bollen 2011b, 356, no. 25, pl. 23; reproduced with courtesy of Aarhus University Press); b-c: phiale, and shallow bowl/kanoun (unpublished) (Signe Barfoed).*

Kybele and Artemis in the Peristyle House in the Lower Town

The excavation in 2003-5 in the Lower Town revealed a Hellenistic-Roman peristyle house destroyed sometime in the course of the 1st century BC (Fig. 9).[77] The house consists of six rooms with plastered walls, and a stylobate with traces of a pebble floor.[78] In the different rooms of the house significant discoveries were made, for instance, of a larger than life-size acrolith statue of Kybele. A herm, a small altar, and a reused sundial are also notable finds, as well as a fragmented marble offering-table.[79] Additionally, there was a small inscribed altar with Artemis' name dating to the 2nd century BC found in the so-called 'cult room' (Room 1).[80] Dietz suggested that, based on the mixed evidence of cults to both Kybele and Artemis and the building's layout, the Peristyle House was a private and not public property, possibly a clubhouse.[81] Only four miniature vessels were found in the excavations of the Peristyle House: a cup (published, Fig. 10a),[82] a phiale, a shallow bowl or kanoun (unpublished, Fig. 10b–c)[83] and one additional unpublished miniature vessel of unknown (open) shape.[84] Some uncertainties exist about the date of the miniature pottery from the Peristyle House. The cup (Fig. 10a) was found in context DS2a/1 in Room 1, which, among other finds, yielded a kernos, a thin-walled pot in Hellenistic/Roman ware (no. 28), a plate with grooved rim (no. 24) and a lamp with red glaze (no. 29), all of which, according to the authors, can be dated to the Hellenistic period.[85] Even so, the particular decoration of reserved bands on the lower wall and in the central zone

77 Dietz 2011b, 85.
78 Dietz, Mayerhofer Hemmi & Lund Pedersen 2011, 111-25.
79 The offering table has the find number F03-2230.
80 See e.g. Dyggve & Poulsen 1948, 295-6, fig. 275; the altar was found in a public building inside the city walls, see Mejer 2009, 80-1.
81 Dietz 2011d, 153.
82 Bollen 2011c, no. 25, pl. 23.
83 Barfoed 2015b, 236-7, 241, nos KA45, KA59, pls 6, 8.
84 Bag. no. 9953. The open shape remains unpublished but was examined by the author in the storeroom.
85 Bollen & Eiring 2011, 400, 405-6, pl. 33.

of the underside the cup led the authors to date it to the Archaic period, and Bollen suggested that it should be regarded as a residual find that originally belonged to an Archaic deposit in a well that was found below the Hellenistic house.[86] The unpublished phiale and the shallow bowl/kanoun (Fig. 10b–c) were found in Room 3, in contexts that can be dated to the Hellenistic period on the basis of the pottery: two hemiobols of the Aitolian League dating to 220-205 BC and a tribol of the Achaean League dating to the 2nd century BC.[87] The last miniature vessels found in the Peristyle House (the unpublished miniature vessels of an open shape) was found in context DS5/5, also in Room 3, which contained pottery from the Classical-Roman period, and a coin, hemiobol, of the Aitolian League dating to 220-205 BC. Thus, based on this contextual reevaluation, it appears that at least three of the four miniature vessels from the Peristyle House can securely be dated to the Hellenistic period.

When comparing the miniatures from the Peristyle House to the assemblage on the Central Acropolis, there is certainly not a large amount. The scarcity of miniature vessels in the Peristyle House compared to the Central Acropolis area may be explained by the chronological distinction. In the Archaic and into the Classical period miniature pottery was a very popular type of dedication. In the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary at Acrocorinth the shift is especially clear; in the Archaic period miniature pottery was dedicated in the thousands, but this trend phased out in the 4th century BC, when terracotta figurines became the preferred dedication of choice.[88] In the Hellenistic period miniature pottery is no longer being dedicated in the sanctuary on Acrocorinth.[89]

In the Sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis in Kombothekra (in the region of Elis) a similar shift in dedicatory practices can be observed. The life of the sanctuary spans the Geometric to the Hellenistic period, and 113 restored examples of miniature pottery have been found dating to the Archaic-Classical period.[90] However, the shift seen in the assemblage from Kombothekra is most clearly seen in the type of figurines: in the Geometric period terracotta animal figurines were most popular (83 out of 117 examples); in the Archaic period it shifted to human figurines, mostly female terracotta figurines and protomes (26 out of 36 examples); the number went down again in the Classical period (16 examples, 14 female and 2 male figurines), and in the Hellenistic period mould-made bowls become the preferred dedication at the Artemis Limnatis sanctuary; finally, the production of terracotta figurines come to a halt and miniature pottery ceased to be dedicated at Kombothekra in the Hellenistic period.[91] Perhaps the scarcity of miniature pottery in the Peristyle House in Kalydon is due a general shift in dedicatory practice throughout Greece? At the time when the Peristyle House was in use the preferred votive offering was certainly not miniature pottery.

The six published terracotta figurines found in the 'cult room' are varied: one is an Eros playing a lyre, and four are fragments of females.[92] One example is a fragment of a hand holding a tympanon; based on a parallel from the Louvre of a terracotta figurine of a seated Kybele on a throne holding a patera and a tympanon, a date of c. 350 BC may be suggested.[93] Additional terracotta objects are: a fragment of a throne, a fragmented terracotta mask, and a fragment of a relief plate.[94] Furthermore, seven terracotta lamps and eight thymiateria were also discovered in the room, which also supports the idea of it being a 'cult room'.[95]

If the Peristyle House indeed was a clubhouse and a forum where the public and private spheres intermingled, then perhaps the civic setting meant that miniature pot-

86 Bollen 2011c, 355; Bollen & Eiring 2011, 406.

87 Contexts DS7/2, Z11 and DS5/4. For the Aitolian coins, see Alexopoulou & Sidiropoulos 2011, no. 7, 551-2, pl. 54 and no. 53, 556-7, pl. 56; for the Achaean coin, see Alexopoulou & Sidiropoulos 2011, no. 6, 551, pl. 54.

88 Merker 2000, 3.

89 Edwards 1975, 2.

90 Unpublished, but see Barfoed 2015b, 101-1.

91 Barfoed 2015b, 81-3; Sinn 1981, 64-9; Gregarek 1998, 76, 100-1.

92 Mayerhofer Hemmi & Dietz 2011, 521-4, cat. nos 1, 2, 5-7.

93 Mayerhofer Hemmi & Dietz 2011, 524-6, cat. no. 10. Musée du Louvre, Accession Number: CA 1797.

94 Mayerhofer Hemmi & Dietz 2011, 524-6, cat. nos 8, 9 and 11.

95 Dietz 2011c, 134.

tery and terracotta figurines were not suitable offerings. A cult room in a clubhouse must have been intended to impress its visitors, and the civic nature of the cult perhaps called for a different dedicatory behaviour. A similar idea is expressed regarding the civic nature of the Pan-Hellenic cult at Olympia, where very few miniature vessels were found compared to metal offerings of weaponry and figurines.[96] It is likely that the preferences seen for certain votive offerings is a combination of the Peristyle House's civic nature and the fact that in the Hellenistic period dedicatory patterns had changed since the Archaic-Classical period.

Concluding Remarks

The aim of this article has been two-fold: to cast further light on the cults in Kalydon and to discuss the miniaturised votives in the hope of expanding our knowledge of Kalydonian cult and ritual behaviour. In sum, three sanctuary sites have been identified in the ancient city of Kalydon: the extramural sanctuary of Artemis Laphria, which was in use from the Geometric to the Roman period; the Archaic-Classical shrine to a female goddess at the Central Acropolis; and a 'cult room' in the Peristyle House in the Lower Town, where both Kybele and Artemis were worshipped during the Hellenistic period.

The votives showed that rituals connected to women and hunting were the focus of the main sanctuary in the city, that of Artemis Laphria. It is possible that the miniature pottery from the Central Acropolis was meant to commemorate ritual dining in or near the shrine, or had an active role in the rituals devoted to a female deity. Additionally, the idea that miniature pottery was suitable for trade is supported by the large amount of Corinthian miniature pottery from the Central Acropolis. A shift in dedicatory practice seen elsewhere in the Greek world can also been seen in Kalydon: first in the Archaic period, when the popularity of miniature pottery votives appears to have been connected to a greater influx of dedications made by the 'common' people; and second in the Hellenistic period, when miniature pottery was no longer the preferred votive as it was in the Archaic period, following the patterns seen at sites in the northern Peloponnese. The fact that around half of all the miniature vessels found in Kalydon are Corinthian imports suggests that there were close ties to Corinth. Such close ties are furthermore traceable in the import and imitation of Corinthian terracotta figurines, a trend that continued after the disappearance of the miniature pottery.

The tentative interpretations presented here have also intended to prove that miniature pottery is an important material group that can be used to differentiate between different religious practices, and should therefore not be overlooked. This material can occasionally provide new interpretations, especially in contextual and comparative analyses, which in this case show us that religious practice in Kalydon can more easily be compared to that at Corinth than was previously believed. Future studies and publications of the Hellenistic theatre and the excavations on the Lower Acropolis will without doubt cast further light on Kalydon's cultural history, and add to the tentative interpretations presented in this article.

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