

1. INTRODUCTION

*“Tandis que les trouvailles de vases, cette fois encore, étaient peu importantes ...”*¹

Frederik Poulsen, 1929

Ancient Kalydon, Aitolia, is located about 1.5 km north-west of the modern village Evinochori and about 10 km east of Mesolonghi, with the archaeological site visible from the main road connecting Antirrio and Mesolonghi (**Fig. 1**). Most of the monuments discovered in the ancient city during archaeological excavations date back to the Hellenistic period, and little is known about the city’s earlier periods. The extra-mural sanctuary of Artemis Laphria is located on a natural plateau with a spectacular view of the Corinthian and Patras gulfs that is also known as the Laphrion Plateau (**Fig. 2**). The sanctuary is easily reached from the western part of the ancient city and there might also have been access points on the slopes of the natural (Laphrion) plateau that are yet to be discovered.

The preserved and visible foundations in the sanctuary date primarily from the Classical and Hellenistic periods, but the new excavation project “Re-Investigating Kalydon’s Laphrion Hill” aims to excavate and test the previously established chronology of several foundations in the sanctuary, which will undoubtedly change our understanding of both the sanctuary and the city of Kalydon.²

Greek-Danish explorations of Kalydon began with the friendship and collaboration of Greek archaeologist Konstantinos A. Rhomaios (1874–1966) and Danish philologist Frederik Poulsen (1876–1950), who first met in Berlin and then again in Thermon in 1923. In 1925, Rhomaios received permission from the then-named Ministry of Religion and Public Ed-

ucation to conduct a preliminary investigation of the terrain in Kalydon, as well as a small trial trench and cleaning of the standing foundations on the Laphrion plateau.³ These preliminary examinations led to a collaboration between the two scholars, which resulted in the first excavations in Kalydon in June 1926. This was the first Greek-Danish collaboration project (“synergasia”) carried out in Greece, and the second large Danish excavation project in Greece at the time.⁴

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This archaeological interest in Kalydon was strongly motivated by Homer’s evocative references to the city in the *Iliad*. These passages suggest Kalydon’s prominence in the Late Bronze Age or early Iron Age, particularly through its association with the famous Kalydonian boar-hunt and the participation of the Aitolian contingent in the Trojan War (*Il.* 2.636–640). The episode recounted by Phoenix to Achilles (*Il.* 9.529–580), in which he invokes the story of Meleagros, the son of Oineus, ruler of Kalydon, who withdraws from and ultimately returns to battle,⁵ underscores Kalydon’s elevated status within the heroic tradition and suggests the presence of a deep-rooted epic legacy.⁶ Recent scholarship, most notably Jan Bremmer’s insightful analysis, has demonstrated that Homer may have reworked

1. Poulsen 1929, 82.

2. For the first preliminary report of the 2022–23 work of this project, see Vikatou et al. *forthcoming*.

3. *Erster Bericht*, 3.

4. Barfoed and Handberg, *forthcoming*; The Rhodos project was the first Danish excavation project in Greece, but was not a *synergasia*, see Sørensen *forthcoming*.

5. Phoenix persuades Achilles to fight by recalling, “myself I bear in mind this deed of old days and not of yesterday,” (... μέμνημαι τόδε ἔργον ἐγὼ πάλαι οὐ τι νέον γε ὥς ἦν), *Il.* 9.528–30, trans. by A.T. Murray 1924.

6. The Kalydonian boar-hunt occurred prior to the war, as evidenced by *Il.* 2.635–45, which mentions the deaths of both King Oineus and his son Meleagros, Hainsworth 1993, 131.

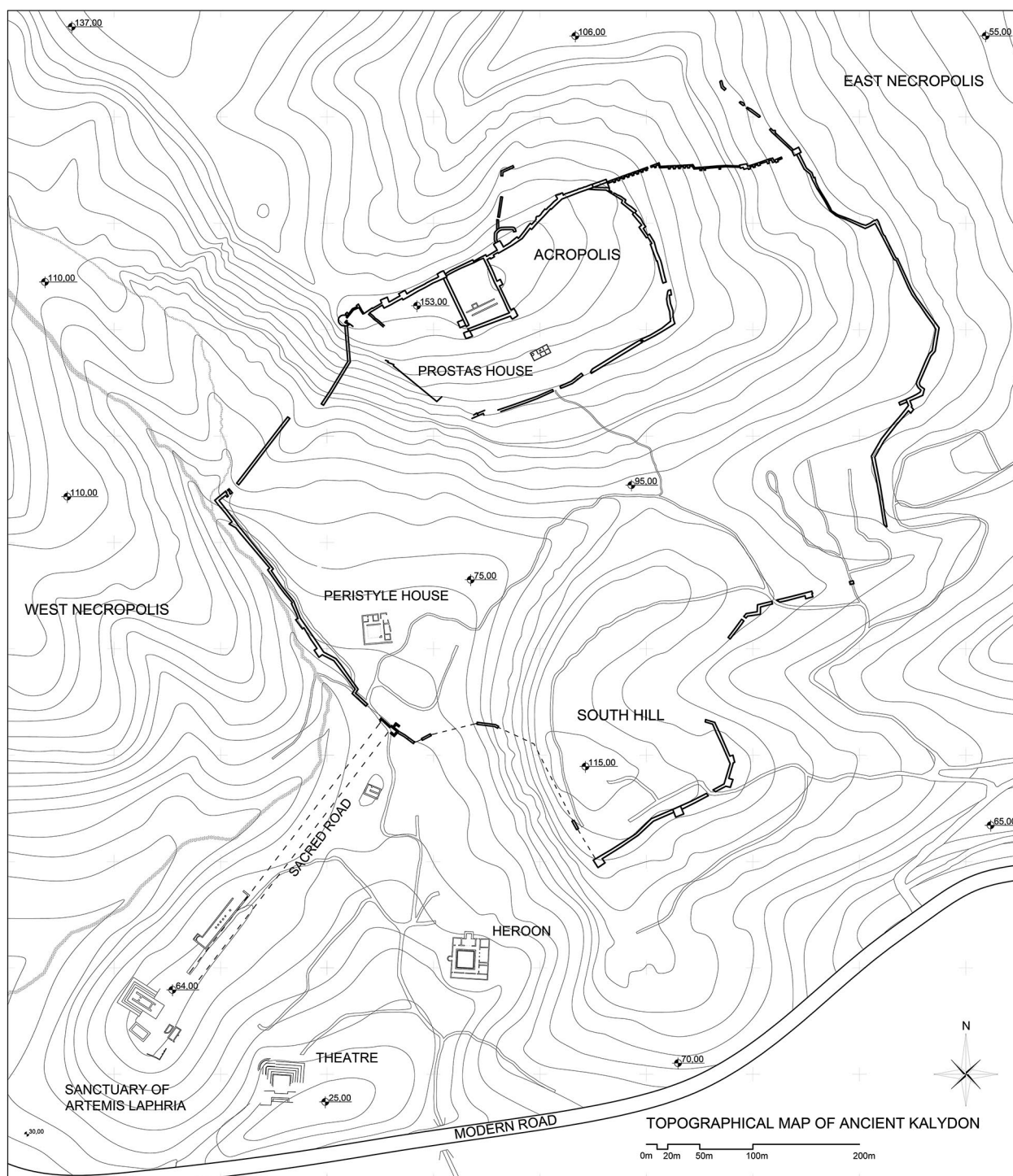


Fig. 1. Topographical plan of ancient Kalydon, by S. Handberg after Vikatou et al. 2019, fig. 1

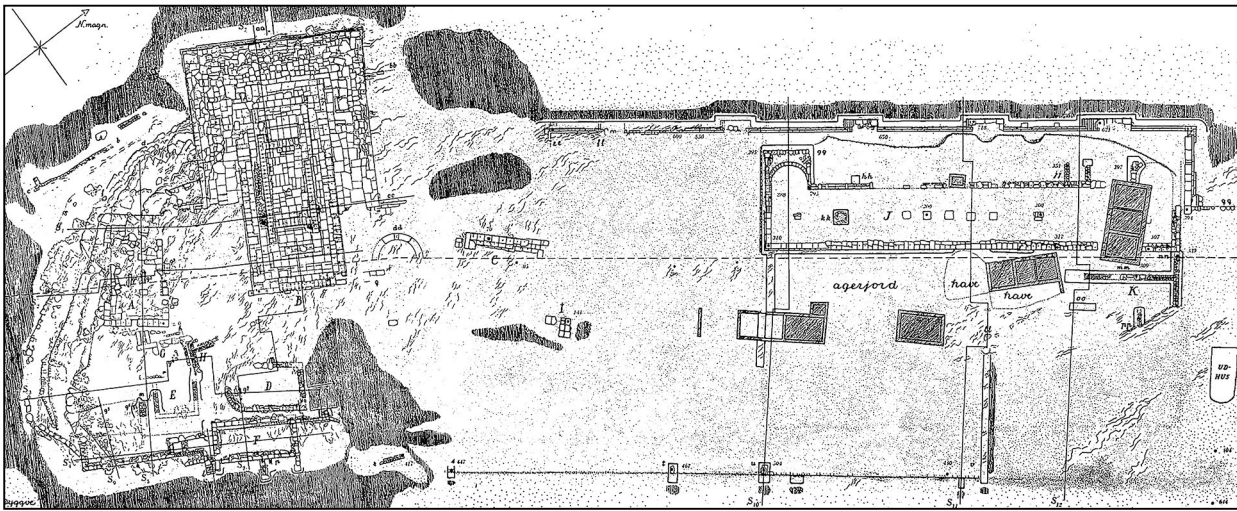


Fig. 2. Dyggve's 1935 topographical plan of the Artemis Laphria sanctuary, *Das Laphrion*, pl. I

older mythological material concerning Meleagros, drawing compelling analogies between Kalydonian heroes and elite Mycenaean warriors.⁷

The excavations, which began in June 1926, focused on the Artemis Laphria sanctuary and the so-called Heroon, a palaestra complex with a subterranean tomb, and continued at intervals until 1935.⁸ The topography and architecture of the 1920–30s excavations was subsequently published, in 1934 the Heroon⁹ and in 1948 the Laphria sanctuary.¹⁰ Furthermore, Frederik Poulsen's excavation notebooks from 1926, 1928, and 1932 have been preserved and are now housed in the Archives of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen. These notebooks were handwritten in German, possibly because that was the language he used to communicate with Rhomaïos, as evidenced by personal correspondence preserved in the Glyptotek's archives. The notebooks contain fascinating details about the excavations, though they read more like diaries than actual excavation notebooks due to a lack of measurements, stratigraphy, and precise geographical locations. They have, however, been

extremely useful in identifying the excavation sites, as well as the locations of individual pottery fragments and a sizable votive deposit (see Chapter 1.2.3).¹¹

Das Laphrion, the 1948 publication of the sanctuary excavations from the 1920s to the 1930s, includes the sanctuary's topography (for the main plan, see Fig. 2) and architectural elements in stone and terracotta studied and presented by architect Ejnar Dyggve. Frederik Poulsen contributed a chapter on the cult of Artemis Laphria, where he presented some of the votives discovered during the excavations.¹² For nearly a century, the small finds and pottery were unpublished and unstudied, except for a few votives and the occasional mention of pottery finds in the footnotes when describing walls or buildings. In 2016, nearly 90 years to the month after the first excavation in the Artemis sanctuary, I was granted permission by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports to study and publish the excavations' un-

7 Bremmer 2021.

8 Barfoed and Handberg, *forthcoming*.

9 *Das Heroon*.

10 *Das Laphrion*.

11. I am very grateful to the late Rune Frederiksen, Claus Grønne and Katja E. Vinther at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen for their help accessing the notebooks, letters, and other documentation from the 1920–30s excavations in Kalydon.

12. *Das Laphrion*, 335–54.

published finds.¹³ Because no storage facilities were available near the Kalydon site during the 1920s and 1930s excavations, the finds were transferred to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (NAM) for safekeeping. This monograph is the result of ten research campaigns conducted in the NAM store-room from 2016 to 2021.

The excavation and research history of Kalydon will be briefly discussed below. Next, the methodology and approach to the finds assemblage from the 1920–30s excavation in the Artemis Laphria sanctuary will be reviewed. Detailed readings of the 1948 monograph and notebooks have resulted in a better understanding of precisely where the team excavated, with five areas presented, and it has also been possible, thanks to careful reading and analyses of the pottery fragments, to place specific catalogue entries in the areas where they were excavated. This section will also show where specific pottery groups, such as those from the Bronze Age, have been excavated to aid in understanding where chronological patterns emerge in the sanctuary. Following this, the Bronze Age pottery and its catalogue are presented. Part II contains the texts and catalogues of the Geometric-Byzantine and later pottery and the terracotta lamps. The two Parts include various appendices, concordances, and an index.

1.1. EXCAVATION AND RESEARCH HISTORY

1.1.1. *Rediscovering Kalydon and the first documented excavations*

Several 19th-century travellers, the two most well-known of whom are likely William Martin Leake

(1777–1860) and William John Woodhouse (1866–1937), mentioned Kalydon in their travelogues. In 1805, Leake passed through Kalydon and briefly described how Pliny the Elder’s explanation of the ancient city’s location (*NH* 4.3.2) corresponds perfectly with the “Hellenic walls” of the village Kurtaga (also known as the Kastro of Kurtaga), and how these walls must correspond to ancient Kalydon. Leake said he arrived in the evening and did not have time to inspect the ruins.¹⁴ Woodhouse provided a fuller description and a brief outline of the history of Kalydon, and its location, and mentioned various myths associated with Kalydon nearly 90 years later (he travelled around Greece in 1892–93).¹⁵ Woodhouse agreed with Leake that the Kurtaga Kastro corresponded to the ancient Kalydon site.¹⁶ He described seeing the sanctuary plateau’s walls preserved in six courses, as well as what Woodhouse called the “main” road leading to the city’s main gate and the surrounding walls. Woodhouse also notes that only the temple foundations could be seen on the sanctuary plateau, and that “... the peasants have no tradition of anything having existed in the shape of columns or such like”.¹⁷ Although only a few column fragments were discovered during excavations in the 1920s and 1930s, it appears that by the 1890s, the area had already been stripped of columns and architectural elements, which were most likely used as material for constructions in nearby villages, as seen elsewhere in the Mediterranean.

The first archaeological excavations in Kalydon were conducted in 1908 by Giorgos Sotiriades, a Greek archaeologist who oversaw excavations in Thermon, north of Lake Trichonis. Sotiriades, like Leake and Woodhouse, referred to the site as the kastro of Kurtaga (“κάστρον Κούρταγα”). He published a brief report on his discoveries but without

13. Permission no. ΥΠΠΟΑ/ΓΔΑΠΚ/ΔΙΠΚΑ/ΤΕΕΑΕΙ; 32023/18423/1766/182. I am extremely grateful to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports for the permit to carry out this work.

14. Leake 1835, 106–13.

15. Woodhouse 1897, vii, 95–106.

16. Woodhouse 1897, 95.

17. Woodhouse 1897, 96.

photos, plans or drawings.¹⁸ Sotiriades explored two areas: the Laphrion plateau and the northwest corner of Kalydon's Acropolis. He discovered triglyphs, lithic tiles (kalypter), and fragments of Doric columns in the Laphria sanctuary. Poulsen wrote in his notebook on the first day of excavations in the sanctuary, March 10, 1926, that they discovered traces of Sotiriades' excavation in the rubble ("Schutt") on the northside.¹⁹ Sotiriades dug a trench in the uppermost north-western corner of the Kalydonian acropolis and reported the discovery of a structure he proposed was a "Mycenaean defensive tower" based on the presence of Mycenaean and Geometric sherds in the area.²⁰ Because no photos or drawings were included in his brief report, it is unclear what Sotiriades found. However, to support the later claim by Richard Hope Simpson and Oliver T.P.K. Dickinson that this was Kalydon's Mycenaean Acropolis, the vegetation must be cleared and excavations conducted in the area.²¹ Although recent surveys in the area indicate that Sotiriades' trenches can still be seen in the landscape, and Mycenaean pottery was discovered on the surface in the approximate area in 2018, determining the exact location of the structure mentioned by Sotiriades is difficult.²²

1.1.2. *The 1920–30s Danish-Greek excavations in Kalydon*

On September 1, 1925, Rhomaios, who was still ephor at the time, sent a brief telegram to the Ministry of Religion and Public Education. This telegram, which consisted of one long sentence, contained the original application for permission to work in Kalydon as well as the application to work in Chalkis: the

aim was to "to illuminate the interesting topographical questions, of the exact position of the temple of Laphria at Kalydon and the temple of Ortygia Artemis located on the mountain, which is now called Varasova, at Ancient Chalkis."²³ This telegram is today preserved at the Hellenic Ministry of Culture of Sports' Archive. Excavations began the following year, on March 10, 1926 (about 18 years after Sotiriades' brief exploration), under the supervision of Greek archaeologist Konstantinos A. Rhomaios and Frederik Poulsen, director of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen at the time.

In the years 1926, 1928, 1932, and 1935, excavations were carried out on the Artemis Laphria sanctuary plateau and in the years 1926, 1928, and 1932 in the so-called Heroon (a Hellenistic palaestra with a subterranean tomb).²⁴ A second Heroon was explored by Dyggve in 1935 and subsequently published.²⁵ The two Heroa are located in two different necropolis areas surrounding the city of Kalydon respectively to the south and the west; the city's necropoleis have been further discussed in a recent article.²⁶

Local labourers, women, and children were hired to work in the 1920–30s excavations; on the first day in 1926, 19 people took part, but the number increased

18. Sotiriades 1908, 99.

19. "Im Schutt der Nordseite entlang Rest von Sotiriadis Ausgrabung 1908 ..." Poulsen 1926a, 4 (March 10, 1926).

20. Sotiriades 1908, 99–100.

21. Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 103, no. B 100.

22. Vikatou et al. 2019, 181–2, fig. 20.

23. The telegram is today kept at the Department for the Management of Historical Archives of Antiquities and Restorations (T.D.I.A.A.A.), Directorate for the Management of the National Archives of Monuments, Documentation and Protection of Cultural Properties (D.D.E.A.M.T.P.A.), Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Box 675 Δ, Envelope A 1925. I am very grateful to Maria Chidioglou for directing me to the Archives and for Sophia Frangoulou for the kind hospitality and her help at the Archives.

24. A new research project is re-examining the Heroon sculpture, and trenches were once again opened in the Heroon in the summer of 2022 (during the new Laphrion excavation project) to hopefully achieve a better date for the Heroon complex, see Birk et al. *forthcoming*; for a brief overview of this work and life during the excavations, see Barfoed and Handberg, *forthcoming*. See also the main publication from 1934, *Das Heroon*.

25. Dyggve 1951.

26. Vikatou et al. 2019.



Fig. 3. Attic column krater rim with a dedication to Artemis (AT100), *Erster Bericht*, fig. 3

to 94 during the various campaigns that year.²⁷ The 1926 campaigns ran from March 10 to April 23, were interrupted by a travel and study trip taken by Poulsen, but resumed on May 20 and ran until June 11.²⁸ In 1926, the Danish architect Mogens Clemmensen and the Danish photographer Tage Christensen participated in the project, but Clemmensen was succeeded in 1932 by the architect Ejnar Dyggve, who also directed the excavations in the Heroon. Dyggve and Rhomaïos conducted smaller excavations on the Laphrion plateau in 1935, but the exact location is unknown,²⁹ while Dyggve's wife, Ingrid Dyggve, oversaw measuring and photographing the finds.³⁰ Finally, Dyggve conducted a final research campaign in 1938.

The majority of the work was later published: an extensive preliminary report written by Poulsen and Rhomaïos (*Erster Bericht*) was published in 1927,³¹

followed by a brief preliminary report by Rhomaïos published in 1929.³² *Erster Bericht*'s main goal was to present the preliminary results of the 1926 excavations, and the most important result was undeniably the confirmation that the sanctuary was the Artemis Laphria sanctuary of Kalydon as described in the written sources.³³ The first piece of evidence presented in *Erster Bericht*, by Poulsen, and Rhomaïos is an inscription found in Evinochori (then called Bochori) and used in a small church as an altar table, which was also mentioned by Sotiriades.³⁴ This inscription was believed to have been moved from the Laphrion plateau to the Thermon Museum.³⁵ The second piece of evidence used by Poulsen and Rhomaïos to argue for the sanctuary's goddess attribution is the krater rim, which has a dedicatory inscription to Artemis, AT100, but is not fully preserved and reads

27. *Erster Bericht*, 4.

28. The dates Poulsen mentioned in *Erster Bericht*, cited here, do not correspond completely to the dates mentioned in Poulsen's excavation notebooks (see below) but that is probably because he filled up one book and had to start a new one.

29. We do not know if Dyggve kept any excavation notebooks, and in the personal letters sent between Dyggve and Poulsen during the excavation campaign in 1935, it is not specified where exactly they excavated.

30. *Das Laphrion*, 6.

31. *Erster Bericht*.

32. Rhomaïos 1929.

33. The first excavation campaign in 1926 was also documented by Rhomaïos 1929, and in *Archaeological News* by the ASCSA; see Heffner et al. 1927, 124–6.

34. Sotiriades 1908, 99.

35. This inscription has never been fully translated except from a few lines in *Erster Bericht*; see *Erster Bericht*, 8–9. The inscription probably corresponds to IG IX,1² 1:137, which has been dated to c. 143–120 BCE. See also Vikatou and Handberg 2023.

[APTE]ΜΙΔΟΣΙΑΠΟΣ (Fig. 3).³⁶ Poulsen, a philologist by training, included a brief discussion of the epithet Laphria/Laphrios and its origin in *Erster Bericht*, but concluded that the origin was unknown.³⁷ He expanded the discussion in *Das Laphrion* to include the most recent research at the time, but the word's origin is still uncertain today, and the discussion will not be expanded or repeated here.³⁸

As mentioned above, the topography of the Artemis Laphria sanctuary and its architecture was published in 1948, but this publication did not contain pottery or small finds.³⁹ When describing the first two years of excavating the sanctuary in a 1929 article, Poulsen wrote, “*Tandis que les trouvailles de vases, cette fois encore, étaient peu importantes ...*”, indicating that he did not think highly of the excavated pottery.⁴⁰ As seen in his chapter in *Das Laphrion*, he was more fascinated by the various votives and their implications for the cult of Artemis Laphria.⁴¹ Rhomaïos published an in-depth study of architectural terracottas a few years after the publication of *Das Laphrion*. Christos Lefakis provided illustrations for the book. Poulsen died in 1950, and the book was published the following year; thus, it is highly unlikely that he ever saw the finished work by Rhomaïos.⁴² Furthermore, Poulsen was supposed

to publish the pottery, votives, and small finds from the sanctuary excavations; however, he was unable to finish this work, probably because of his demanding job at the Glyptotek and the interruption of WWII.

Transfer of the finds to the National Archaeological Museum, Athens

During the 1920s and 1930s campaigns, Kalydon and Evinochori lacked storage facilities for newly excavated archaeological finds. Most of the Artemis Laphria sanctuary finds were therefore relocated to Athens' National Archaeological Museum, where they have remained secure. The pottery, small finds, terracotta figurines, and protomes from the Laphrion assemblage are kept in 37 wooden boxes in the museum's storeroom. Some architectural fragments, such as marble tile fragments, were transferred to the Thermon Museum; however, they have yet to be rediscovered.⁴³

The first record of the finds' transfer to Athens is Rhomaïos' letter to the Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religion's Archaeology Department, dated June 28, 1928.⁴⁴ Twenty of Rhomaïos' 25 boxes for Athens contained small, fragmented, or intact offerings. Two boxes contained roof tiles, while three boxes contained 60 terracotta metope fragments.⁴⁵ A small box of metal votives, snake-head bracelets, coins, and bronze plaques was also sent, some of

36. *Erster Bericht*, 8–9.

37. *Erster Bericht*, 7–8.

38. *Das Laphrion*, 335–41; for a recent discussion, see Batisti 2022.

39. *Das Laphrion*.

40. “While the vase finds, this time again, were not very important ...”, Poulsen 1929, 82.

41. “Artemis Laphria von Kalydon und ihr Kult” in *Das Laphrion*, 335–54.

42. Rhomaïos 1951. The architectural terracottas were published first by Dyggve in *Das Laphrion* in 1948, and it might appear as if Rhomaïos had initially intended to fully publish them (Rhomaïos 1951, 2–3). Despite the fact that the architectural terracottas are the most thoroughly treated material from Kalydon, a complete restudy and publication in colour is wished for. Payne (1931) treated the Kalydon metopes and the sphinx, today on display in the Vase Collection of the NAM, in his *Necrocorinthia*. Furthermore, some of the architectural terracottas are today on display at the Xenokrateion museum in Mesolonghi.

43. *Das Laphrion*, 125. In 2022 archaeologist Chrysanthi Tsouli at the NAM rediscovered six architectural marble fragments, which is now being prepared for a restudy by the author. I am extremely grateful to dr Tsouli for her kind and invaluable help. As this project progresses it is the hope that more fragments will appear, and it will also be scrutinised whether fragments are still in the storerooms of the museum in Thermon.

44. I am very grateful to Sophia Frangouloupoulos, who kindly assisted me in the Historical Archives section under the Ministry in 2017, and showed me all the preserved correspondence pertaining to Kalydon written by K.A. Rhomaïos.

45. The architectural terracottas are in the storerooms of the NAM.



Fig. 4. Oinochoe (EW5) wrapped in newspaper.
Photo © S. Barfoed

which are now on display in the NAM's Bronze Collection.⁴⁶ Later reorganisation of the finds resulted in 37 boxes containing pottery, terracotta figurines, protomes and other small finds. An almost complete oinochoe (EW5) was discovered in one of the boxes in 2017, wrapped in newspaper, confirming Rhomaïos' letter and the date of the finds' transfer to Athens (**Fig. 4**). The newspaper was meticulously cleaned and photographed in the NAM's conservator laboratory, and careful reading revealed that it was published on Saturday, May 19, 1928. According to Poulsen's excavation notebook from 1928, the team finished digging in the Laphrion hill on Wednesday, June 13, 1928.⁴⁷ Rhomaïos' letter and newspaper pages confirm that the material was delivered to Athens around June 28, 1928. Handwritten labels reading "ΚΑΛΥΔΩΝΟΣ 1928" found in most NAM storeroom boxes further support this date (**Fig. 5**).



Fig. 5. Photo of one of the labels found in the NAM boxes (Box 1928/5) that reads "ΚΑΛΥΔΩΝΟΣ 1928."
Photo © S. Barfoed

The arrival of the boxes from Kalydon at the NAM is otherwise undocumented because floods destroyed the archives.⁴⁸ The pottery shown here indicates that the NAM in Athens also received finds from the year 1932 (for more on this, see Chapter 1.1).

The 1926 campaign finds were stored in a shed near the farmers' houses on the Laphrion plateau. Dyggve depicted these houses on his 1935 topographical plan in *Das Laphrion* from 1948, thus they must still have been standing in 1935.⁴⁹ We have no record of the 1935 campaign finds being transferred to Athens, and it is possible that they were left on the site. There was no 1935 excavation notebook because Poulsen did not participate in the 1935 campaigns.⁵⁰ Only Ejnar Dyggve, Ingrid Dyggve, and, briefly, Konstantinos Rhomaïos worked there. We can assume that the 1935 discoveries were also taken to the NAM in Athens, though some may still be in Thermon, where some fragmented inscriptions were transferred at the

46. The small finds will be published in a future volume by the author. In 1930, Poulsen published the bronze plaque mentioned in the letter by Rhomaïos. It described a dispute between two Aitolian families around 300 BCE, Poulsen 1930. This bronze plaque is today exhibited at the Archaeological Museum (Xenokrateion) in Mesolonghi.

47. Poulsen 1928, 46–8.

48. I am grateful to Giorgos Kavvadias for sharing this information with me (personal communication).

49. *Das Laphrion*, 10, fig. 2. Notice the outhouse ("udhus") but also the other houses pencilled in on *Das Laphrion*, pl. 1.

50. *Das Laphrion*, 6.