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A bronze deposit excavated at Kalaureia in 2016

A statuette of the Herakles Chiaramonti type, a stand and a *thymiaterion*

Abstract

This article presents three bronzes found on the island of Poros in 2016, during excavations in Area L, the presumed area of Kalaureia's ancient settlement, c. 200 m to the south of the Sanctuary of Poseidon. The deposit included: 1. A statuette of the Herakles Chiaramonti type, here suggested to have been produced during the 2nd or 1st century BC; 2. A stand which may have functioned as a *thymiaterion* (incense burner) or a lamp stand. Judging from close parallels the stand was most likely produced during the 5th or 4th century BC; 3. A high-stemmed dish, which is interpreted as a *thymiaterion* contemporary with the stand. The items are tentatively suggested to have been used together, perhaps in religious veneration of Herakles. The bronzes are suggested to have been deposited either for what was intended to be temporary safe-keeping, or for religious reasons.*

Keywords: bronze, Classical, deposit, Hellenistic, Kalaureia, lamp stand, Poros, Roman, safety hoard, statuette, *thymiaterion*

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Introduction

Among Classical archaeologists the island of Kalaureia (today's Poros) is primarily known for its important Sanctuary of Poseidon, which was the focus of the Kalaurian Amphictyony, and as the place where the Athenian orator Demosthenes committed suicide in 322 BC.¹ Excavations at the site have

revealed much information regarding the sanctuary's Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic history, with occasional finds also pertaining to earlier and later periods (Figs 1–2).² Outside the sanctuary a multifunctional building has been excavated, labelled Building I.³ In the hope of gaining further insights into the settlement next to the large sanctuary, trenches were opened further south, in Area L (Fig. 1). Here excavations were carried out between 2015–2018, revealing a complex built environment dating from the Classical period and on into Imperial Roman times (Fig. 3).⁴ In 2016 three bronzes were discovered presumably buried in a pit cut into an extensive construction fill dated to the 1st century BC–1st century AD: a statuette of the Herakles Chiaramonti type, a stand and a high-stemmed dish that may both have been used as

poulous, are thanked for their assistance. Director Jenny Wallensten and the staff at the Swedish Institute at Athens generously provided help and lodging during a stay in Athens. Other travel expenses were kindly covered by Birgit och Gad Rausings stiftelse for humanistisk forskning. Athanasios Sideris supplied information—published and yet to be published—regarding Greek bronze *thymiateria*. It is with great gratitude that I acknowledge his generous and substantial contribution to this article. Heather F. Sharpe is thanked for many constructive comments and suggestions which have significantly enhanced the text. All remaining errors are my own. Regarding chronology it should be noted that I use the terms Classical (for the period 480–323 BC), Hellenistic (323–31 BC) and Imperial Roman (30 BC–AD 467), rather than speaking of an early Roman period in Greece beginning after the Battle of Corinth in 146 BC.

¹ OCD⁴ (2012), s.v. Calauria (D.G.J. Shipley).

² Wide & Kjellberg 1895. For reports from more recent excavations in the sanctuary, see Wells *et al.* 2003; 2005; 2006; Penttinen *et al.* 2009; Penttinen & Mylona 2019.

³ The results of these excavations are currently being prepared for publication. See Bonnier *et al.* 2021, 28.

⁴ Bonnier *et al.* 2021. Excavations were continued in 2021, and the findings of this season are being prepared for publication.

* I wish to thank Arto Penttinen, head of the Kalaureia Excavations, for entrusting the publication of this remarkable find to me, and for much needed help and encouragement along the way. Kalaureia team members Anton Bonnier, Therese Emanuelsson-Paulson and Patrik Klingborg are thanked for providing additional information regarding the excavation and for commenting on drafts of the text. The staff of the Poros Archaeological Museum, headed by Nektarios Sarantos



Fig. 1. Location of Kalaureia in Greece (top right corner) and of Area L in relation to the Sanctuary of Poseidon and Building I. Illustration: Anton Bonnier.

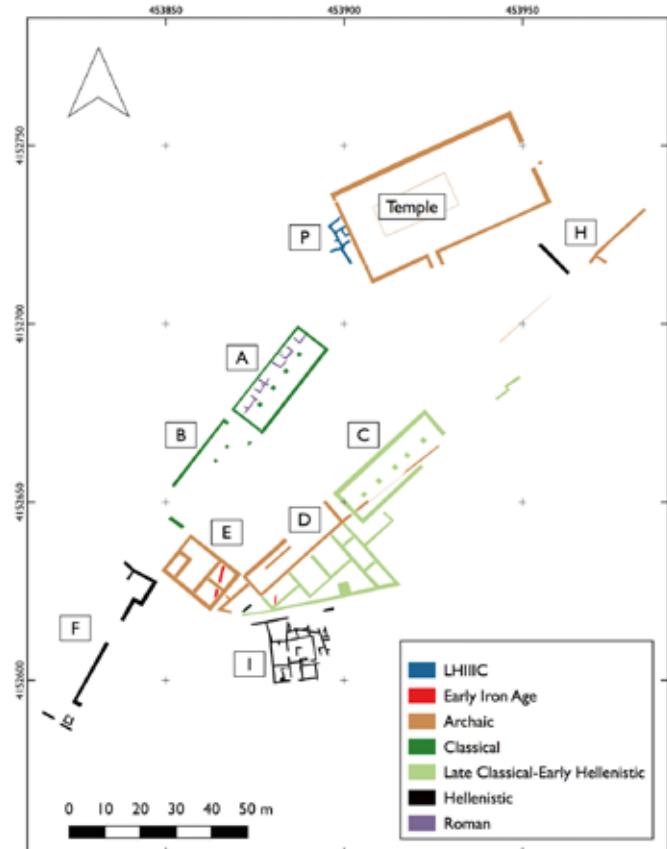


Fig. 2. Plan of the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia at the conclusion of excavations in 2012. Illustration: Robin Rönnlund.

thymiateria (incense burners, *Fig. 4*). The three bronzes are kept in the Archaeological Museum of Poros. In the following the three bronzes are first studied individually, then their find context is accounted for and put in relation to the general development at the site. Lastly possible reasons for depositing the bronzes are presented.

The finds

BRONZE STATUETTE OF THE HERAKLES CHIARAMONTI TYPE, INV. MPO 2477

Brief description: Herakles is depicted bearded and with short, wavy hair (*Figs 5–6*). The body is rather compact and muscular, with markedly broad neck and shoulders. Herakles stands upright with his weight placed on his right leg. The left leg is bent slightly at the knee and the left foot placed behind the right. The right hand is held outwards, away from the figure's hip. A lion skin is draped over the left lower arm and the

left hand holds the apples of the Hesperides. The statuette can be ascribed to the Herakles Chiaramonti type, as discussed below.

Condition: The figure of Herakles is very well preserved; only the front part of the left foot is missing. The club on which the hero presumably placed his right hand is also lost.⁵ There is a small rectangular hole below the right elbow. Nine small holes have been drilled along the fillet around the head: two at the back, two at the front, three on the right side of the head and two on the left (*Fig. 6*). These were possibly originally used to fasten a wreath around the hero's head. The statuette's surface has a light green patina and substantial patches are covered with thin brown corrosion, especially at the figure's back.

Measurements: Height 18.5 cm. Height of figure 15.6 cm. Width at shoulders 4.8 cm. Height, scalp to chin (below beard) 2.9 cm. Small rectangular hole below right elbow

⁵ See discussion of comparanda below.

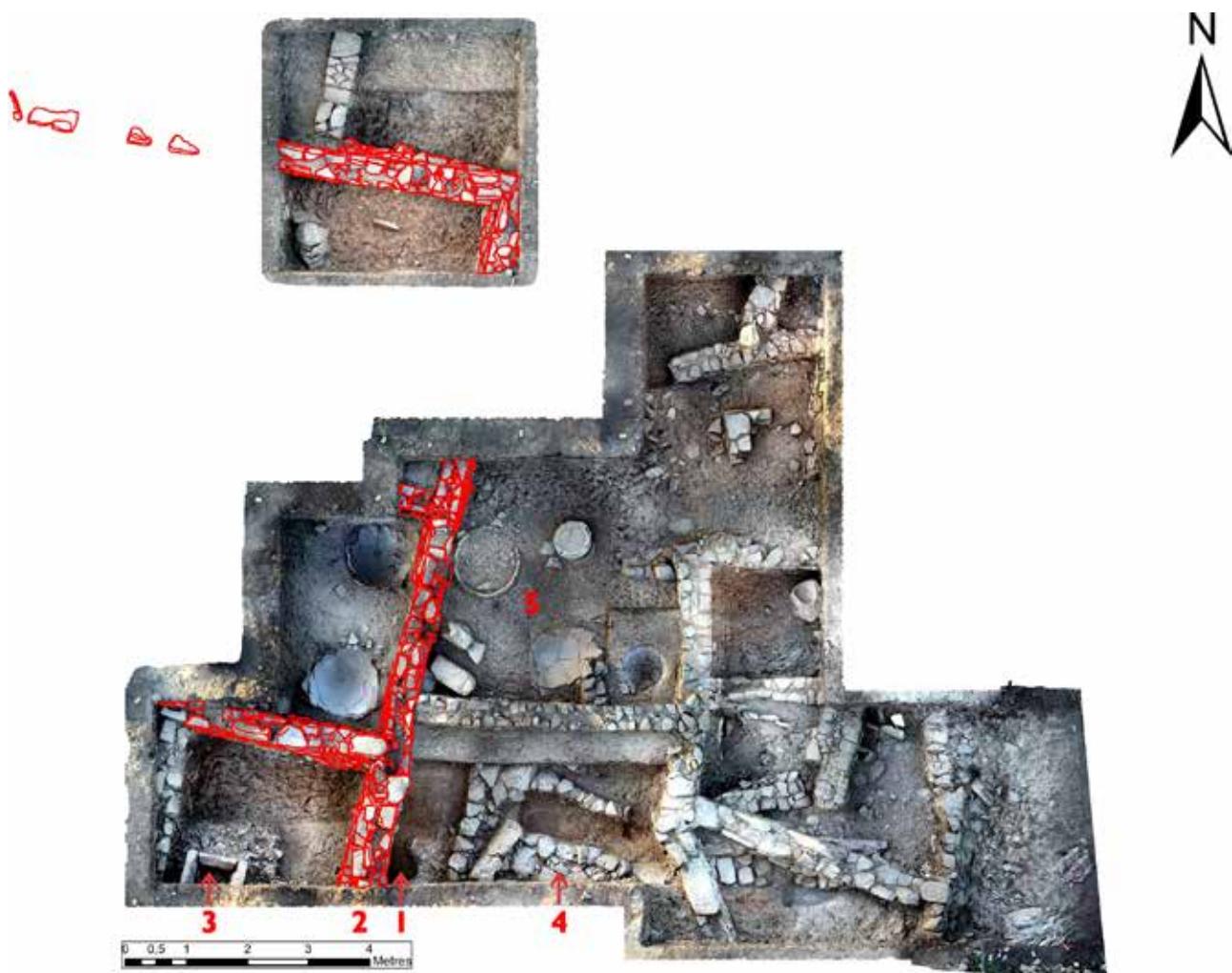


Fig. 3. Area L with the walls belonging to the Classical Building marked in red. Illustration: Anton Bonnier and Therese Emanuelsson-Paulson. Red numbers and arrows added by Julia Habetzeder. 1. Location of the bronze deposit; 2. Wall 206; 3. Hearth; 4. Feature 3; 5. Area with pithoi and press installation.



Fig. 4. The three bronzes during excavation in 2016, with Wall 206 in the background (see above, Fig. 3:1-2). View looking west. Photograph: Anton Bonnier.



Fig. 5. Bronze statuette of the Herakles Chiaramonti type, Archaeological Museum of Poros, inv. MPo 2477. Scale 2:3, scale bar in cm. Photographs: Craig Mauzy.

2 × 3 mm. The nine holes around the head are approximately 1.5–2 mm in diameter. Weight c. 950 g.

Production: Cast bronze, lost-wax process.⁶ The core is still inside. The small rectangular hole at the right elbow most likely constitutes the remains of a repair, possibly of a small casting flaw.⁷ The quality of the cast is high, rendering clearly even tiny details such as Herakles' fingernails.⁸

The human figure was most likely cast in one piece.⁹ The lion skin, and presumably also the club, were cast separately and then added. The lion skin has been soldered on to the arm. There are no visible remains of solder at the palm of the right hand, which suggests that the hero's club was fastened mechanically to the hand, that is by carefully bending the fingers around the club to hold it in place. The lower end of the club was probably fastened to the base, mechanically or by soldering. As already mentioned, the nine holes drilled around the head were likely used to fasten a wreath.¹⁰

Beneath the figure's right foot is a protrusion, c. 3 cm high, at the bottom of which the bronze infillings of two casting funnels can still be discerned. Left in place after casting, this protrusion was most likely used to fasten the statuette on to a base cast separately in bronze, or made of some other material. Bases made of stone are attested.¹¹

At the left eye traces of some form of polychromy may be discernible: the iris and pupil seem to be marked by a slightly darker, grey and reddish colour (Fig. 6). It is possible that another alloy—perhaps silver—was plated onto the surface of the statuette. There are no holes for attaching inlays. The colouring visible today may however be the same corrosion seen elsewhere on the sculpture. Technical analysis might bring clarity, and could also potentially show if other areas were

⁶ On the direct and indirect lost-wax processes, see for instance Matthusch 1990, 128–131, 138.

⁷ Regarding such repairs, see for instance Boucher 1990, 162; Giulia-Mair 2015, 176 & fig. 11.5.

⁸ It is possible that these details were added after casting, though I could not make out any traces indicating this.

⁹ There are no clear signs of, for instance, the limbs having been cast separately and then added mechanically or by soldering. Sharpe 2006, 167.

¹⁰ As will be discussed below, wreaths are rendered in other bronze statuettes depicting the Herakles Chiaramonti type. For a parallel for this kind of addition to the head of a bronze statuette see, for instance, the 1st-century AD statuette in the Musée du Louvre (inv. BR 183), which displays two indentions on the head. These were presumably used for inserting small wings, as the statuette depicts Mercury. Boucher 1990, 169–170 & fig. 13. See also a mid-2nd-century AD statuette depicting Tyche in the Agora Museum, inv. B 880. The statuette displays a small hole behind Tyche's diadem, supposedly used to insert some form of crowning element. Sharpe 2006, 202–203, cat. no. 27, figs 17–22.

¹¹ Sharpe 2006, 168–170.



Fig. 6. Detail of Herakles statuette showing possible trace of polychromy at the statuette's left eye, and holes drilled along the fillet around the head. Scale bar in cm. Photograph: Craig Mauzy.

visually enhanced in such a way.¹² Besides eyes, nipples and lips are other details on Hellenistic and—to a greater extent—Imperial Roman statuettes that were often enhanced in this manner.¹³

Comparanda: There are several closely related sculpture types¹⁴ depicting Herakles standing in nearly the same pose as seen in the Herakles Chiaramonti, which can make it difficult to distinguish between sculpture types—it is not always easy to establish which original masterpiece the sculpture studied was intended to replicate.¹⁵ This is especially true for bronze statuettes, which often include small deviations from their prototypes as known from larger sculptural representations. It seems that for bronze statuettes references to established sculpture types were in most cases “intended to ensure that a

¹² For instance through X-ray fluorescence, XRF: Tykot 2017.

¹³ Boucher 1990, 168–175; Sharpe 2006, 170–171. Though there is clear evidence for the use of inlays also in earlier Greek bronzes, see Hemingway & Abramitis 2017.

¹⁴ Sculptures that clearly replicate one and the same original sculpture or “masterpiece” are in scholarly discourse ascribed to a shared sculpture type. Thus, the Kalaureia Herakles and the Herakles Chiaramonti are here interpreted as replicating the same original sculpture (eventhough the craftpersons need not have had access to the actual original when producing their replicas, replicas were made from replicas etc.).

¹⁵ For sculpture types similar to the Herakles Chiaramonti type see, for instance, the Herakles Pitti type, also known as the Herakles Albertini type (*LIMC* IV [1988], 745–756, s.v. Herakles [J. Boardman]; <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1242234>) and the Herakles Lenbach type (*LIMC* IV [1988], 747–749, s.v. Herakles [J. Boardman]; <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1242525>).



Fig. 7. Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti, inv. 1771. Colossal marble replica of the Herakles Chiaramonti type, found in 1802 in the Bagni Apollinari, Oriolo Romano, c. 40 km north-west of Rome. Photograph: K. Anger, German Archaeological Institute, D-DAI-Rom 90Vat.578a.

bronze figure fitted into a visual vocabulary of motifs familiar to the buyer and any other beholder" rather than to replicate a large scale masterpiece.¹⁶

Even so, it is clear that the Kalaureia Herakles refers to the same late 4th-century BC prototype as the eponymous 2.33-m-high marble replica in the Vatican's Museo Chiaramonti. This colossal marble is dated to the 1st century BC–1st century AD (Fig. 7).¹⁷ Herakles' muscular build, with his

¹⁶ Regarding the phenomenon in general, see Stähli 2014, 136 (including quote); Barr-Sharrar 2017. For a list of bronze statuettes reminiscent of the Herakles Chiaramonti type, see *LIMC* IV (1988), 754, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman).

¹⁷ Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti, inv. 1771: Helbig *et al.* 1963, cat. no. 361; *LIMC* IV (1988), s.v. Herakles, cat. no. 461

broad neck and shoulders, is seen in both the Kalaureia bronze and the Chiaramonti marble. Also the rendering of the head corresponds well with Herakles' short wavy hair and beard, as well as with the full lips and broad nose. The differences in material and size do, most likely, account for some of the discrepancies in the depiction of the established motif, which can be illustrated in the rendering of the left arm and the lion skin.

The bronze statuette holds the left arm bent at a near 90° angle, which presumably made it easier to fasten the separately cast lion skin. In contrast, in the marble statue Herakles does not bend the left arm as much, but rather places it against the support needed to stabilize the colossal marble version. In the small bronze the lion skin is dynamically rendered as almost flowing out behind the figure, something surely facilitated by the fact that this detail was cast separately. Herakles' left hand is shown holding the apples of the Hesperides. In the colossal marble the lion skin appears more static, hanging in vertical folds over the left arm, hand and the statue's support.

These different modes of rendering can also be expressions tied to perceptions of chronological style. The statically rendered colossal marble adheres to Classical style—that is, the 1st century BC–1st century AD craftspersons took care to emphasize the sculpture type's link to a Classical-era masterpiece. The dynamic rendering of the Kalaureia bronze, on the other hand, rather pertains to the sculptural style typical of the later Hellenistic era.

There are many bronze statuettes depicting Herakles in this manner. It is quite clear that during the Imperial Roman era the motif was represented in this medium more or less throughout the empire.¹⁸ Due to the above-mentioned "ar-

(J. Boardman); <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1079773>. Regarding the sculpture type: *LIMC* IV (1988), 752–753, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman); <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1242235>.

¹⁸ Many of these bronze statuettes do not have a recorded find context. The following is a short list of bronze statuettes said to be from specific areas, though further information regarding the find context is not available. Presented west to east. Spain, Salamanca: Madrid, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 2849 (Thouvenot 1927, 12, cat. no. 13). Italy, Rimini: London, British Museum, inv. 1873,0820.35 (Walters 1899, cat. no. 1303; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1873-0820-35). Serbia, Sopot: Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. VI 3389 (Oberleitner 1973, 335, cat. no. 992. I thank Dr Georg Plattner for providing the reference; <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1090946>). Anatolia: Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard Art Museums, 1992.256.92 (<https://hvrd.art/o/304529>. I thank Monique Goodin for confirming that this statuette had in 2020 not yet been published in print). The fact that there are many ancient bronze statuettes depicting this motif is likely the reason it was also picked up by the Renaissance sculptor Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi (c. 1460–1528). As an adjustment to the Christian sense of propriety, the hero here wears his lion skin wrapped around his hips. Stone 1981, 99, fig. 10.

tistic licence" seen in bronze statuettes, and the ubiquity of the general motif within Greco-Roman culture, classifying a selection of statuettes as replicas of the Herakles Chiaramonti type, in order to discuss the presumed original masterpiece, is here not considered to be a fruitful undertaking. Instead the following brief discussion is focused around two aspects: first, the occurrence in Greece of bronze statuettes depicting the Herakles Chiaramonti type, and second, the presentation of a selection of statuettes of the Herakles Chiaramonti type with a recorded find context. These latter examples provide more information regarding the statuettes' dating and use, while also enabling some discussion regarding artistic style.

The occurrence in Greece: Many Archaic- and Classical-era bronze statuettes have been found in Greek sanctuaries. By contrast Hellenistic- and Imperial Roman-era bronze statuettes have proven to be comparatively rare finds within the area of modern-day Greece, seen in relation to other areas once under Roman cultural influence. Furthermore, the few examples recorded stem from domestic contexts rather than sanctuaries.¹⁹ To the best of my knowledge no other bronze statuette depicting the Herakles Chiaramonti type has so far been found during excavations in the area of modern-day Greece. Heather F. Sharpe's catalogue of Hellenistic and Imperial Roman bronze statuettes found in this area includes nine examples depicting Herakles, but none of these show the hero in the fashion discussed here.²⁰ As regards representations of established sculpture types known also from larger-scale sculptures, one can note the two examples of the Herakles Farnese type found at the Athenian Agora.²¹

Worth of notice, however, is a bronze statuette in the British Museum which is said to come from Athens (*Table 1:7*).²² Apparently unpublished, apart from the record in the museum's online catalogue, the figure is 13.6 cm high and preserves the full figure, save for the right arm with club. Judging from the available photographs, the lion skin appears to be cast together with the figure and Herakles' nipples seem to be marked out using a different alloy. Details do not appear to be as intricately rendered as they are on the Kalaureia Herakles. The statuette is, presumably on stylistic grounds, dated as early as 300–100 BC.

Selection of statuettes with recorded find contexts: For bronze statuettes with a well-documented provenance

we must turn to the Roman cultural sphere. At least two statuettes depicting Herakles in the discussed manner were found in Pompeii, which means that they must have been produced before the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79. Both were found in the atrium of their respective houses and are assumed to have been part of *lararia* assemblages (*Table 1:3–4*).²³ But most examples with a well-documented provenance come from the Roman Germanic *limes*, that is from the north-eastern border of the empire. This does not necessarily mean that the statuettes were more common there than elsewhere in the Roman Empire, but rather that many of them were hidden in safety hoards or simply left during times of unrest, to be found in modern times. A case in point are the two examples from the Roman settlement Augusta Raurica (in modern-day Switzerland), which were found in two adjacent buildings, both destroyed during a fire around AD 250 (*Table 1:5–6*). It has been suggested that these statuettes were originally part of *lararia* assemblages. Best known among the many bronze statuettes depicting this motif is surely the Herakles found in the large security hoard buried at Weißenburg, again sometime around AD 250 (*Fig. 8, Table 1:1*). The hoard has been interpreted as constituting valuables from a small temple, buried for safekeeping.

As can be seen in *Table 1*, the Kalaureia Herakles is similar in size to one of the examples from Pompeii, the Weißenburg Herakles and the statuette said to have been found in Athens (all between 13.6–16.5 cm high, *Table 1:1–3, 7*). The small size of one of the statuettes from Augusta Raurica—5.5 cm high—is surely explained by the fact that this statuette is made of silver (*Table 1:5*). However, bronzes could also be produced in smaller scale, around 10 cm high, as is the case for one example from Pompeii and one from Augusta Raurica (*Table 1:4, 6*).

The lion skin draped over the left arm is represented in all statuettes included in *Table 1*. The club, missing from the Kalaureia Herakles (*Table 1:2*), is preserved in one of the Pompeian statuettes, one from Augusta Raurica, and in the Weißenburg example (*Table 1:1, 3, 6*). Its fragility in the general composition is demonstrated by the fact that this detail is also missing from three other statuettes included in *Table 1* (*nos 4–5, 7*). The small silver statuette from Augusta Raurica and the Weißenburg bronze both show the hero wearing an elaborate wreath with ribbons running down over the shoulders (*Table 1:1, 5, Fig. 8*).²⁴ This may give us an impression of the adornment once fastened in the nine holes drilled around the Kalaureia Herakles' head. However, it is worth mention-

¹⁹ Sharpe 2014, 143–144, 161.

²⁰ Sharpe 2006, cat. nos 7, 50, 52, 57, 76, 82, 91, 95, 103. To this one should add the now-lost Herakles statuette from the so-called Paramythia hoard, see Sharpe 2017, 139, 141. See also Sharpe 2006, chart 3 on p. 320 for the occurrence of bronze statuettes depicting Herakles.

²¹ Sharpe 2006, cat. nos 91, 95.

²² Excellent photographs are available at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1928-0117-4.

²³ A Roman *lararium* is a small domestic shrine dedicated to the household gods.

²⁴ Also the above-mentioned Herakles from Rimini (*Note 18*) wears such a wreath.

Table 1. The Kalaureia Herakles, inv. MPo 2477, compared to statuettes discussed in the text. Taq = terminus ante quem.

No.	Current whereabouts	Find context	Date	Height of figure	Comments	References
1	Germany, Weißenburg, Römermuseum	Germany, Weißenburg, Kastellvicus. Part of a large deposit, possibly valuables from a temple, which were buried in times of unrest	Context <i>taq</i> c. AD 250. Date of production AD 150–200	14.9 cm	See <i>Fig. 8</i> . Preserved: club, lion skin, base. Herakles wears wreath with ribbons running down over the shoulders and is depicted together with a wild boar	Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 276–277, cat. no. GF66; https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/2169439
2	Greece, Poros, Archaeological Museum, inv. MPo 2477	Greece, Kalaureia, Area L	Context <i>taq</i> 100 BC–AD 100. Date of production 2nd or 1st century BC.	15.6 cm	See <i>Figs 4–6</i> . Preserved: lion skin	Bonnier <i>et al.</i> 2021, 41–42, figs 19–20 and present article
3	Italy, Naples, National Archaeological Museum (?)	Italy, Pompeii, I 13, 11. From <i>lararium</i> ?	Context <i>taq</i> AD 79	16.5 cm	Preserved: club, lion skin, base	Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 215, cat. no. GFV11
4	Italy, Naples, National Archaeological Museum	Italy, Pompeii, VII 15, 3. From <i>lararium</i> ?	Context <i>taq</i> AD 79	11 cm	Preserved: lion skin, base	Boyce 1937, 72, cat. no. 329:4; Adamo-Muscettola 1984, 24–25; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 222, cat. no. GFV35
5	Switzerland, Augst, Museum Augusta Raurica, inv. 1983.17139	Switzerland, Kaiser-augst, Regio 17, E. Building destroyed in fire. From <i>lararium</i> ?	Context <i>taq</i> c. AD 250. Date of production 2nd century AD	5.5 cm	Preserved: lion skin, base. Made of silver. Herakles wears wreath with ribbons running down over the shoulders and is depicted together with a wild boar. Statuette suggested to have been produced in Italy	Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 130, cat. no. Ag1
6	Switzerland, Augst, Museum Augusta Raurica, inv. 1984.26901	Switzerland, Kaiser-augst, Regio 17, E. Building destroyed in fire. From <i>lararium</i> ?	Context <i>taq</i> c. AD 250. Date of production late 1st–2nd centuries AD	9.7 cm	Preserved: club, lion skin, base. Statuette suggested to have been produced locally	Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 130, cat. no. S25
7	United Kingdom, London, British Museum, inv. 1928.0117.4	Allegedly Greece, Athens	Date of production 300–100 BC	13.6 cm	Preserved: lion skin	https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1928-0117-4

ing that in the other statuettes the wreath has been cast along with the main figure—I know of no example besides the Kalaureia Herakles where such a wreath was made separately. Perhaps the Kalaureia Herakles' wreath was made of another material, possibly silver or gold.

Suggested date of manufacture: In the Greco-Roman cultural sphere the practice of precise serial replication of earlier prototypes can be traced back to the 2nd century BC, and the phenomenon became well established during the following century.²⁵ This provides a general *terminus post quem* for the Kalaureia representation of the Herakles Chiaromonti type. The fact that the statuette is quite heavy may be due

to the bronze being cast thickly, which could hint at a Hellenistic, rather than Imperial Roman date of manufacture.²⁶ When it comes to stylistic traits the surface of the Kalaureia Herakles is softly modelled (*Figs 5–6*), which would suggest a somewhat earlier date. It can be contrasted with, for instance, the Weißenburg Herakles which is believed to have been cast during the 2nd century AD (*Fig. 8*), where details such as eyelids and locks of hair are more pronounced and rendered with sharp edges. A Hellenistic date is also suggested by the use of the filling of the statuette's casting funnel as a tang for attaching the figure's right foot to a base. In Greece, this practice is primarily observed in Classical–Hellenistic bronze

²⁵ Anguissola 2015, 244–246, with further references. See also Sharpe 2006, 173–174.

²⁶ Mattusch 1990, 138; Sharpe 2006, 163–164; Giumlia-Mair 2015, 172. However, it is possible that the core, which is still inside, is heavy.

statuettes.²⁷ The addition of details produced separately and then fastened either mechanically (for the Kalaureia Herakles, presumably club and wreath) or using solder (here the lion skin) are well attested for bronze statuettes during the Late Hellenistic era, but become more common during Imperial Roman times. Among the statuettes listed in *Table 1* the two examples including wreaths (*nos 1, 5*) are both dated to the 2nd century AD.

Bearing in mind that it is notoriously difficult to distinguish between Late Hellenistic and Imperial Roman bronze statuettes,²⁸ a production date of the 2nd or 1st century BC is suggested for the Kalaureia Herakles.

BRONZE STAND, INV. MPo 2478

Brief description: Stand with round, conical base. Decorated with engraved lines around the base. Shoulder with convex moulding, apart from a shallow concave fillet placed at the point where the primarily horizontal base turns into a vertical shaft. Roughly two thirds up is a marked collar (*Fig. 9*). Judging from the comparanda presented below it is likely that the stand originally carried a shallow dish and was used as a *thymiaterion*.

Condition: Well preserved, apart from the fact that the item presumably once placed on top of the stand has not been recovered. Surface with light green patina and small patches covered with thin brown corrosion. Cast (i.e., intentionally made) triangular dent at base.

Measurements: Total height 12.2 cm. Diameter of foot 8.6 cm. Diameter at top 0.7 cm. Maximum diameter of collar 1.6 cm, placed 3.7 cm from the top.

Production: Cast bronze, lost-wax process.

Comparanda: The items discussed at length below are also compared in *Fig. 10* and *Table 2*, which includes bibliographical references.

Four bronze stands of similar shape and approximate size are known to have supported shallow dishes with ledge rims—much like the dish on Kalaureia inv. MPo 2479 discussed below—and are primarily believed to have functioned as *thymiateria* (*Table 2:1, 5–7*).

Two such *thymiateria* have been found in 5th-century BC grave contexts, though in different parts of the Mediterranean. One was found in Rutigliano, Apulia (*Table 2:6, Figs 10:6, 11*). Its bronze stand is practically identical to the piece found at Kalaureia, in terms of both size and shape: the two stands display



Fig. 8. Weißenburg, Römermuseum. Bronze statuette depicting the Herakles Chiaramonti type, from the Weißenburg treasure buried around AD 250. © M. Eberlein, Archäologische Staatssammlung, Munich.

the same kind of engraved lines on their bases, concave fillets and collars. The other *thymiaterion* from a 5th-century BC grave context was found in Golemanite, Bulgaria. Here the concave fillet moulding is left out, but a similar collar and the same kind of engraved lines are represented (*Table 2:1, Fig. 10:1*). The *thymiaterion* found in Golemanite is somewhat smaller than the Kalaureia bronze stand.

A third example was excavated in House ESH 6 at Olynthus, on the eastern slope of the North Hill, and likely has 348 BC as *terminus ante quem* (*Table 2:5, Fig. 10:5*).²⁹ The fillet moulding seen on the Kalaureia stand is not repeated here, but the engraved lines on the base are included, as is the collar. The latter is however less pronounced on the Olynthus *thymiaterion*. Just like the Golemanite *thymiaterion*, that found

²⁷ Sharpe 2006 notes three statuettes where this can be observed, cat. nos 64, 75 and 79, dated to the 3rd, 4th and 1st centuries BC respectively. I thank Heather F. Sharpe for kindly drawing my attention to this.

²⁸ Sharpe 2006, 4, 19, 176; Barr-Sharrar 2017, 112.

²⁹ Olynthus was looted and destroyed by the troops of Philip of Macedon in 348 BC. Cahill 2002, 24–25, but see also pp. 48–61 regarding later activities at the site.

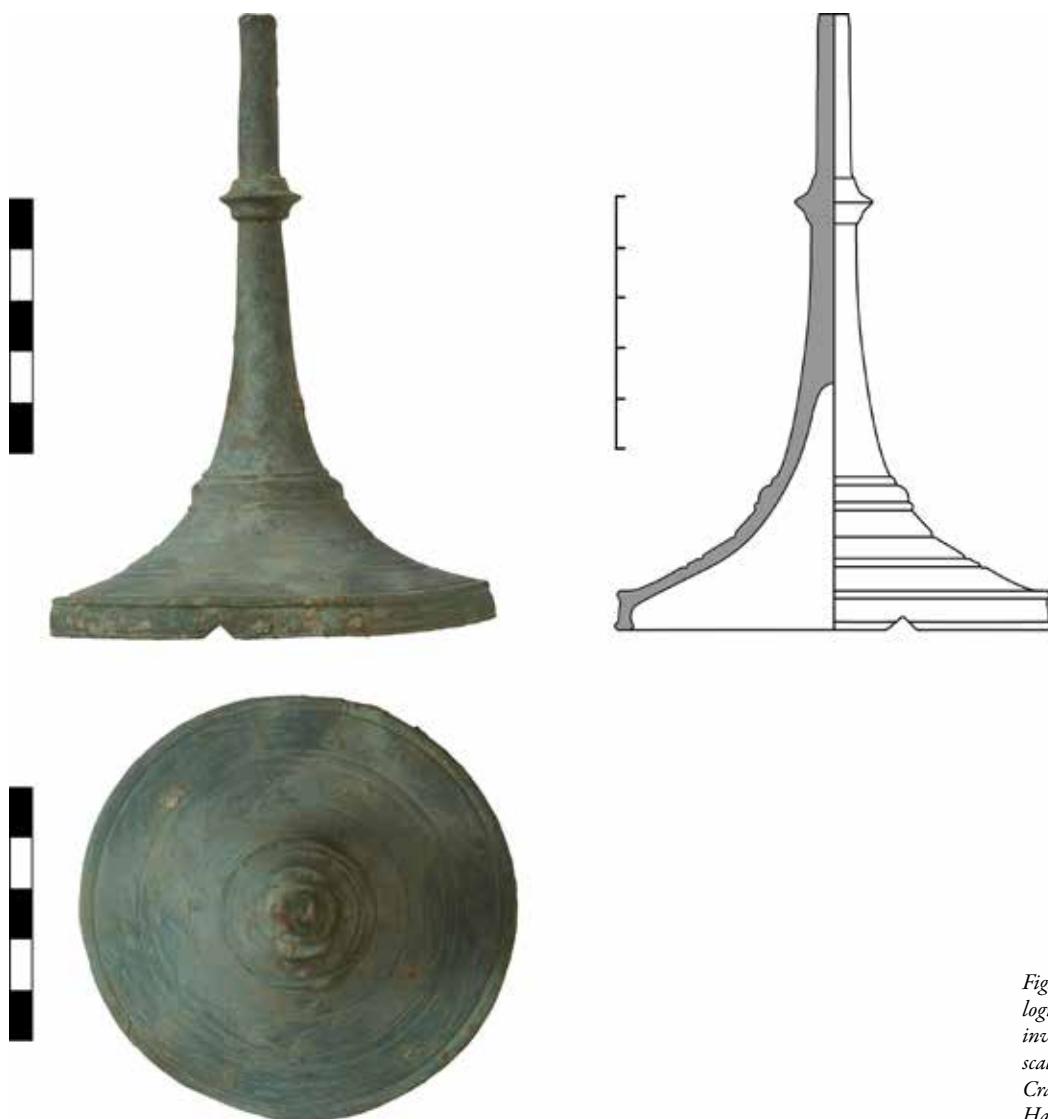


Fig. 9. Bronze stand, Archaeological Museum of Poros, inv. MPo 2478. Scale 2:3, scale bar in cm. Photographs by Craig Mauzy. Drawing by Julia Habetzeder.

in Olynthus is somewhat smaller than the Kalaureia bronze stand.

A fourth *thymiaterion* of this kind was found in Greek- or Roman-era strata at Troy: its precise context was unfortunately not recorded (Table 2:7, Fig. 10:7). Again the engraved lines and collar are represented while the concave fillet around the base is left out. This specimen is interesting in that also a domed perforated lid is preserved.³⁰ Again, this *thymiaterion* is somewhat smaller than the Kalaureia bronze stand.

To these four examples one can add a stand found at the Argive Heraeum, which has been interpreted as a *thymiaterion* even though the dish is not preserved (Table 2:2, Fig. 10:2). This stand, dated to the mid-5th century BC, is also somewhat smaller than the Kalaureia example, and its decoration is slightly different: the concave fillet is replaced by additional engraved lines and the collar, here with a round profile, does not protrude as much from the shaft. A 5th-century BC bronze stand from the Temple of Zeus at Dodona diverges even more in shape, with a more pronounced disc-shaped collar and clearly marked indentations running up the shaft (Table 2:3, Fig. 10:3). The Dodona stand is higher than that found in Kalaureia, yet its base has a smaller diameter.

Noting the wide geographical distribution of the first four examples listed above (Table 2:1, 5–7), marked by their similarity, Athanasios Sideris suggests that these *thymiateria* were

³⁰ The lid is not depicted in Fig. 10. See Dörpfeld 1905, 412–413, figs 426–427.



Fig. 10. Photomontage of items included in Table 2, set to the same approximate scale. Photographs from: No. 1. Tšurov 2008, fig. 37 (reproduced with permission); No. 2. Waldstein 1905, pl. CXXXIV, no. 2767; No. 3. Carapanos 1878, pl. XXV; No. 4. See above, Fig. 9. Photograph by Craig Mauzy; No. 5. Outline by Julia Habetzeder, for a photograph see front cover of Cahill 2002; No. 6. Tarditi 1996, cat. no. 267 (reproduced with permission); No. 7. Dörpfeld 1905, fig. 426. Montage by Julia Habetzeder.

Table 2. The bronze stand inv. MPo 2478 compared to bronze stands and thymiateria of similar shape. See also Fig. 10. n/a = not applicable. Taq = terminus ante quem.

No.	Current whereabouts	Find context	Date	Height	Ø base	Ø dish	Comment	References
1	Bulgaria, Veliko Tarnovo, Regional Museum of History	Bulgaria, Golemanite	Context <i>taq</i> 5th century BC	10.4 cm (including dish)	7.1 cm	8.9 cm	Stand and dish joint with pin	Tšurov 2008, 54–55, fig. 37
2	Greece, Argos, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2757	Greece, Argos, Argive Heraion	Mid-5th century BC	10.2 cm (excluding dish)	6.8 cm	n/a	–	Waldstein 1905, 326 cat. no. 2757, pl. CXXXIV; Zaccagnino 1998, 187, cat. no. CT 115
3	Greece, Athens, National Archaeological Museum	Greece, Dodona, Temple of Zeus	5th century BC	c. 14 cm (excluding dish)	–	n/a	–	Carapanos 1878, 47, cat. no. 18, pl. XXV; Zaccagnino 1998, 186–187, cat. no. CT 114
4	Greece, Poros, Archaeological Museum, inv. MPo 2478	Greece, Kalaureia, Area L	Context <i>taq</i> 1st century BC–1st century AD	12.2 cm (excluding dish)	8.6 cm	n/a	<i>Fig. 9</i>	Bonnier <i>et al.</i> 2021, 41–42, figs 19–20 and present article
5	Greece, Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. 31.233	Greece, Olynthus, House ESH 6, room a	Context <i>taq</i> 348 BC	11.8 cm (including dish)	7.1 cm	9.6 cm	–	Robinson 1941, 185, cat. no. 574, pl. 44; Zaccagnino 1998, 188, cat. no. CT 128; Cahill 2002, 189–190, fig. 43
6	Italy, Taranto, Soprintendenza nazionale per il patrimonio culturale subacqueo, inv. 138584	Italy, Apulia, Rutigliano, Purgatoria, Tomb 16	Context <i>taq</i> 5th century BC	14.7 cm (including dish)	–	11.5 cm	<i>Fig. 11</i>	Tarditi 1996, 118 (cat. no. 267), 184–185
7	Turkey, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1427 (perforated lid possibly belonging to this piece inv. 1428)	Turkey, Hisarlik (ancient Troy)	Greco-Roman	10.3 cm (including dish, excluding perforated lid)	c. 7 cm	c. 8.5 cm	–	Dörpfeld 1905, 412–413, figs 426–427; Zaccagnino 1998, 189, cat. no. CT 139

produced by a well-established toreutic centre of production with a strong commercial network. Probable candidates are likely to have been situated in Corinth or Athens.³¹ Based on

the close resemblance between the Rutigliano *thymiaterion* (*Fig. 11*) and the Kalaureia stand at least these two should be ascribed to the same workshop. By comparison with the 6th-century BC bronze stand found at the Athenian Acropolis

³¹ Pers. comm. See also Sideris forthcoming.



Fig. 11. Taranto, Soprintendenza nazionale per il patrimonio culturale subacqueo, inv. 138584. Thymiaterion found in a grave together with late 5th-century BC ceramics. Table 2:6 and Fig. 10:6. Tarditi 1996, cat. no. 267. Reproduced with permission.

(see below) Chiara Tarditi has suggested that the Rutigliano *thymiaterion* was produced in Athens.³²

Thymiateria of this general shape are classified as type P in Cristiana Zaccagnino's extensive catalogue of Greek *thymiateria*.³³ As examples of terracotta *thymiateria* of similar shape and date, one can mention examples from the Athenian Agora.³⁴ Of the same basic shape, though less slender, are Classical-era examples from Corinth.³⁵ Depictions of similar *thymiateria* can be seen on so-called *Totenmahl* (funeral meal) reliefs of the Classical and Hellenistic eras. These depict a hero or a deceased person reclining on a couch next to a table, on which an elaborate banquet is laid out. At the foot of the couch sits a female figure holding a box with incense in her left hand and with her right adding incense to a burner placed on the table (see below, Fig. 14).³⁶

Interpretation and suggested date of manufacture: Judging from the close similarity between the Kalaureia stand and

the bronze stands and *thymiateria* presented above, it is reasonable to suggest that the Kalaureia specimen was produced during the same era—that is the 5th–4th centuries BC.³⁷ In brief, earlier bronze *thymiateria* appear to have less decorated stands, as seen in an early 6th-century BC example in the Lewis M. Dubroff Collection³⁸ and possibly also in a stand found on the Athenian Acropolis.³⁹ Later Hellenistic examples tend to be more ornate, for instance, with the addition of rectangular plinths underneath the stands' round bases. This can be seen in the late 2nd-century BC *thymiateria* found in the Artyoukhovski kurgan in South Russia.⁴⁰ The bronze stand found at Kalaureia may very well have functioned as a *thymiaterion*. The piece may also have functioned as a lamp stand or perhaps an—admittedly very small—*kottabos* stand.⁴¹ If either of these last two interpretations is accurate the item the stand once supported need not have been permanently fastened to the stand. That the seemingly almost-identical piece found in Rutigliano was used as a *thymiaterion* would support such an interpretation for the Kalaureia stand as well, but it should be kept in mind that the workshop may have used stands of the same type for different kinds of items.

As noted above, due to their wide distribution stands and *thymiateria* of the type found at Kalaureia seem to have been produced in a toreutic workshop with a wide commercial network, likely one situated in Athens or Corinth.

BRONZE THYMIATERION, INV. MPO 2479

Brief description: Shallow dish on high flaring stem. Ledge rim on dish. Engraved lines around stem and on outside of dish (Fig. 12).

Condition: Well preserved, apart from a break, c. 4 cm wide, along the rim of the dish. The missing fragments were not recovered during excavation. The surface has light green patina and patches are covered with thin brown corrosion. The dent at the base seen in the photograph (Fig. 12) is not cast, but rather a later damage or adjustment.

Measurements: Total height 7.6 cm. Height of dish 2 cm, diameter of dish 11.4 cm. Height of foot 5.6 cm, diameter of foot 9.2 cm.

³⁷ The chronology of Greek bronze *thymiateria* is to be discussed by Athanasios Sideris in a forthcoming volume. I thank him for sharing with me his as yet unpublished notes on this matter.

³⁸ Sideris 2021, 98, fig. 204a.

³⁹ de Ridder 1896, 128–129, fig. 81, cat. no. 385; Zaccagnino 1998, 186, cat. no. CT 113.

⁴⁰ Maksimova 1979, 85–86, fig. 23, nos 11–12.

⁴¹ Ambrosini 2013, 15–17, 21–24. *Kottabos* was a game played primarily as entertainment during banquets. In one version of the game wine-lees (sediment) was flung at a target. The target could be a plate balancing on a stick. In such case the aim was to knock the plate over.

³² Tarditi 1996, 185.

³³ Zaccagnino 1998, 164–167 (depictions of *thymiateria*), 186–190 (*thymiateria*).

³⁴ Sparkes *et al.* 1970, 182–183, 331, pl. 44. See for instance cat. no. 1351.

³⁵ Pemberton 1970, 290, cat. nos 66–69, pl. 71.

³⁶ *Thymiateria* of C. Zaccagnino's type P depicted on *Totenmahl* reliefs are listed in Zaccagnino 1998, 165–167.



Fig. 12. Thymiaterion, Archaeological Museum of Poros, inv. MPo 2479. Scale 2:3, scale bar in cm. Photographs by Craig Mauzy. Drawing by Julia Habetzeder. Note that it has not been possible to measure the diameter of the pin that holds dish and stem together—the dotted lines are estimates.

Production: Cast bronze, lost-wax process. Foot and dish cast separately and joined mechanically, using a bronze pin.

Comparanda: A bronze *thymiaterion* of similar shape has been found in Thebes: it displays the same shallow dish with ledge rim, as well as a similar flared foot (Fig. 13). This *thymiaterion* differs in that it has two ring handles hanging under the rim of the dish. Unfortunately this *thymiaterion* was found in a disturbed context that contained an assemblage of material dating from Archaic to Roman times.⁴²

In Zaccagnino's typology of Greek *thymiateria* the *thymiaterion* Kalaureia inv. MPo 2479 would be classified as type P,

just as the stand Kalaureia inv. MPo 2478.⁴³ Terracotta examples with a low conical base and shallow dish—though also including domed lids—and dated to 5th century BC have been found, for instance, in Corinth.⁴⁴ It is however worth noting that similarly shaped terracotta *thymiateria* are known in Greece also from Hellenistic and Roman contexts.⁴⁵ *Thymiateria* of this shape are also represented on the so-called *Totemwahl* reliefs described briefly above. One example, depicting a *thymiaterion* similar to Kalaureia inv. MPo 2479 and

⁴² Touloupa 1966, 196–197, pl. 200β.

⁴³ Zaccagnino 1998, 164–167 (depictions of *thymiateria*), 186–190 (*thymiateria*).

⁴⁴ Stillwell et al. 1984, 196 & 356, cat. nos 1038 & 2250, pls 45 & 78.

⁴⁵ Sackett 1992, 189 & 201, cat. nos A2,86 & C1,68–74; Themos et al. 2009, 264, fig. 27:7; Lazarova 2016, 63–67, type V b, pl. 3:3–4.



Fig. 13. Bronze thymiaterion found at Thebes. Touloupa 1966, pl. 200B. Published with permission from the Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development (H.O.C.R.E.D.).



Fig. 14. So-called Totenmahl relief, where the female figure seated on the couch adds incense to a small thymiaterion with a low flared foot and a broad shallow dish, c. 350 BC. Athens, inv. 1532. © National Archaeological Museum. Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

dated to the mid-4th century BC was found at Megara in Attica (Fig. 14).⁴⁶

Interpretation and suggested date of manufacture: For this piece the dish has been fastened mechanically, using a bronze pin. This indicates that the item was used as a *thymiaterion*: the incense would cover the rather inelegant pin inside the dish and the joint between dish and stand would not have to be waterproof. Turning to Kalaureia inv. MPo 2478, it should be noted that if a dish was attached to this stand, then the dish would have to have been soldered in place. The reason for these differences between the Kalaureia stand and *thymiaterion* deposited together cannot be securely established. As noted above, it is possible that the stand was used to support a lamp or perhaps, tentatively, as a *kottabos* stand.

The stand and *thymiaterion* found together in Kalaureia in 2016 are similar to one another in terms of production and decoration. It seems likely that they were made in the same workshop during the same time period. Therefore this *thymiaterion* is also suggested to have been manufactured during the 5th–4th centuries BC, plausibly in an Athenian or Corinthian workshop.

Interpretation of the deposit

As noted above, the three bronzes were presumably placed in a pit dug into a construction fill dated to the 1st century BC–1st century AD. This gives us a rough *terminus post quem* for when the deposition was made and a *terminus ante quem* for the production of the bronzes. Before venturing to suggest what might have motivated the deposition of the three bronzes in this particular place at this approximate time it is necessary to very briefly summarize what little we know about the Sanctuary of Poseidon and the settlement at Kalaureia during the Late Hellenistic and Imperial Roman periods.

KALAUREIA IN THE LATE HELLENISTIC AND IMPERIAL ROMAN PERIODS

During the Archaic era the Kalaureian Sanctuary of Poseidon saw a large building programme, and the sanctuary seems to have flourished through the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods (Fig. 2). It is tempting to hypothesize that the (still mainly unexcavated) nearby settlement also flourished during these periods. The settlement at Kalaureia does seem to have held *polis* status in the late 4th century BC.⁴⁷

Less is known about Kalaureia's Late Hellenistic and Imperial Roman history. Within the presumed area of the sanctuary, which has seen more archaeological fieldwork than the adjacent area of the settlement, a general scarcity of archaeo-

⁴⁶ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 1532. Zaccagnino 1998, 165 cat. no. RT 482; Kaltsas 2002, cat. no. 482.

⁴⁷ Figueira 2004, 622–623 (inv. no. 360).

logical finds of the Late Hellenistic and Imperial Roman periods has been noted in an excavation report.⁴⁸ Building I, which is located south of the sanctuary, seems to have been used for both domestic and commercial purposes from the 2nd century BC to the 2nd century AD (Fig. 2).⁴⁹ This indicates that there was a continuous use of the area from Late Hellenistic times and on into the Imperial Roman era. But even so, it is clear that there were disruptions during these later periods.⁵⁰ Archaeological finds indicating this include the following: —An octagonal column once belonging to the Late Archaic South Propylon at the temple's *peribolos* was found in Area L. The column seems to have been taken from the sanctuary to the area of the settlement, where it was reused in a press installation (probably for production of olive oil). The entire press installation was eventually covered by the above-mentioned construction fill of the 1st century BC–1st century AD (see above, Fig. 3:5).⁵¹ —The large Classical-era Stoa A (located south-west of the Temple of Poseidon) seems to have fallen out of use during the 2nd century BC, its roof collapsing. Nevertheless, during the 1st century AD simple sheds were raised above the collapsed roof and against the building's still-standing rear wall. These sheds seem to have served commercial purposes (Fig. 2).⁵² —Parts of the material deposited in a cistern system comprising Cisterns F03 and F04, located in Stoa D and just south of Building E, suggests cultic activity at the site during the 1st century AD, but also dining and the removal of refuse. The finds indicate that this water supply system had gone out of use during the 1st century BC (Fig. 2).⁵³

The political history of the area of today's Greece was turbulent during the last two centuries BC, with numerous armed conflicts ultimately resulting in a growing Roman interest and presence in the area. This was followed by the *Pax Romana*, ushered in during the reign of the first Roman emperor Augustus (reigned 27 BC–AD 14) and lasting until the Herulian invasion of AD 267.⁵⁴ As regards Kalaureia in particular one can note that Plutarch includes the Sanctuary of Poseidon in

a list of Greek sanctuaries attacked and plundered by Cilician pirates.⁵⁵ If there is any truth in this claim, these raids are likely to have taken place in the decades before Pompey's campaign against the pirates in 67–66 BC.⁵⁶ Of the 18 inscriptions that constitute the Kalaureian epigraphical corpus there is no inscription securely dated to the last century and a half BC. However, four inscriptions belong—or are likely to belong—to the Imperial Roman era.⁵⁷ Pausanias (c. AD 110–180) does mention the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia. However, his account of the sanctuary as a contemporary place of worship is very brief: "At any rate, there is a holy Sanctuary of Poseidon here, and it is served by a maiden priestess until she reaches an age fit for marriage. Within the enclosure is also the tomb of Demosthenes. [...] So Demosthenes is honoured in many parts of Greece, and especially by the dwellers in Calaurea."⁵⁸ Intriguingly, to date no trace of Demosthenes' tomb has been found in the area of the sanctuary. In sum, the Late Hellenistic and Imperial Roman periods at Kalaureia are not yet clearly understood. But as we shall see the disruptions evidenced in the sanctuary seem also to have affected life in the neighbouring settlement.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT AND CHRONOLOGY

As noted initially, the three bronzes were found in 2016, the second year of excavation in Area L (Fig. 1). The first preliminary report gives an account of the excavations carried out 2015–2018.⁵⁹ In the present article only a few aspects of particular interest for the interpretation of the bronze deposit are highlighted. Although carefully excavated and documented, the interpretation of the archaeological context in Kalaureia's Area L is currently impaired by the fact that the full extent of the structural environment has not yet been excavated: of the many structures uncovered in the different strata of Area L, no complete perimeter of any one building has so far been revealed.⁶⁰

The three bronzes were discovered in the southern part of Area L, in block L007: 13 (Fig. 3:1), seemingly carefully placed together in a pit dug on the eastern side of Wall 206

⁴⁸ Wells *et al.* 2006, 114.

⁴⁹ Bonnier *et al.* 2021, 28.

⁵⁰ Wells *et al.* 2006, 114.

⁵¹ Bonnier *et al.* 2021, 48–49. The Late Archaic South Propylon was located at the south entrance to the Archaic *peribolos* wall around the temple seen in Fig. 2.

⁵² Klingborg 2012; Penttinen 2014, 54–56.

⁵³ Penttinen & Mylona 2019, 169–170. Further research on the deposit in this cistern system, focusing on the remains found in Cistern F04, just south of Building E, is currently being prepared for publication. I thank Patrik Klingborg for kindly sharing information on this matter.

⁵⁴ For a concise political history of Roman Greece, see Alcock 1993, 8–24.

⁵⁵ Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 24.5.

⁵⁶ OCD⁴ (2012), s.v. Pompeius (RE 31) Magnus (1), Gnaeus (Pompey) (G.E. Farquhar Chilver & R.J. Seager).

⁵⁷ Papazarkadas & Wallensten 2020, table 1. The exceptions would be IG IV 845 ("Hellenistic") or IG IV 850 of unspecified date.

⁵⁸ Paus. 2.33.2–5. Transl. Jones 1918. ἔστι δ' οὖν Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα ἄγιον, ἱερᾶται δὲ αὐτῷ παρθένος, ἔστ' ἄν ἐς ὥραν προέλθῃ γάμου. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς καὶ τὸ Δημοσθένους μνῆμά ἔστι. [...] Δημοσθένει μὲν οὖν τιμαὶ καὶ ἐτέρωσι τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ παρὰ τῶν Καλαυρείας εἰσὶ οἰκητόρων.

⁵⁹ Bonnier *et al.* 2021.

⁶⁰ Bonnier *et al.* 2021, 52–53.

(Fig. 3:2).⁶¹ This wall is part of a large Classical Building, which was probably first constructed during the 4th century BC and then used during successive building phases.⁶² The building seems to have seen several different uses during its long life span, and it is possible that the structure had temporarily fallen out of use in between phases visible in the archaeological record.⁶³

Among the earlier features discovered in Area L are two constructions interpreted as used for the preparation of food and thus likely connected to dining. Inside the Classical Building, west of Wall 206, a hearth was exposed, which was in use during the 4th–2nd centuries BC (Fig. 3:3).⁶⁴ East of Wall 206 a dense stone-packed construction was uncovered, called Feature 3. This feature was surrounded by extensive amounts of ash, charcoal and bones (Fig. 3:4), and seems to have been in use during the 3rd century BC.⁶⁵ During that same century a doorway was constructed in Wall 206, placed between the hearth and Feature 3. This opening was, however, closed again after a comparatively short period of use.⁶⁶ Feature 3 was covered by a construction fill by the end of the 2nd century BC.⁶⁷

During the 2nd century BC the Classical Building was expanded to the east. This extension was used for production and storage, judging from the remains of large *pithoi* and a press stone (Fig. 3:5). The above-mentioned octagonal column had been reused in this press installation. Archaeobotanical remains suggest that the installation was used for the production of olive oil. This production seemingly continued into the 1st century BC–1st century AD.⁶⁸

The layout of the area must have seen significant structural change during the 1st century BC–1st century AD, when it was covered by a construction fill. It should be noted that this construction fill is presently not interpreted as directly linked to the early 1st-century BC pirate attacks on Kalaureria mentioned by Plutarch. Preliminary studies of the material excavated indicate that the construction fill significantly post-dates these raids (if the attacks are a historical fact). The fill covered the above-mentioned hearth in the south-western part of the area, inside the Classical Building (Fig. 3:3). Furthermore, the period saw repairs and additions made on the walls belonging to the Classical Building. In general the finds in this construction fill have the characteristics of dis-

turbed refuse.⁶⁹ By contrast, the three bronzes appear to have been carefully placed together by Wall 206, presumably in a pit dug after the construction fill was in place (Figs 3:1–2).⁷⁰

THE COLLECTION OF ITEMS AND THEIR USE

As we have seen, the Kalaureia bronze deposit includes two seemingly Classical bronzes, a stand and a *thymiaterion*, as well as a presumably Late Hellenistic bronze statuette. During Greco-Roman antiquity metal vases and utensils often had a long life span, especially compared to pottery. Therefore they often significantly antedate the context within which they are found.⁷¹ As we have seen, the area where the bronzes were excavated has remains of a substantial built environment from at least the 4th century BC and most likely on into the Imperial Roman era. It is therefore possible that the stand and *thymiaterion* had been kept and used in this same area for centuries, before being buried together with the, by comparison, less ancient bronze statuette. Unfortunately the precise functions of the surrounding buildings at all points of their long history are not yet securely established. The following discussion must therefore be based on the notion that the bronzes were deposited in the area of Kalaureia's settlement, and not inside the large nearby Sanctuary of Poseidon. Although we are dealing with items buried in a settlement area, we currently do not know whether the nearby buildings were put to domestic, industrial, religious or other uses. Surely the presence of the large sanctuary nearby must have affected life in this particular settlement throughout antiquity.

The three bronzes found at Kalaureia can be compared to the collection of bronzes excavated at Olynthus, in House ESH 6, including the *thymiaterion* discussed above (Table 2:5, Fig. 10:5).⁷² From the same small house comes a bronze dish, a bronze bowl on a wide stand⁷³ and a bronze statuette depicting a comic actor holding two small lidded dishes, one in each hand. Along with other finds from this house the four bronzes have been interpreted as tied to banqueting.⁷⁴ Only few bronze items were found at Olynthus, suggesting that such belongings had been carried off, either by their fleeing owners or by the invading Macedonian troops of 348 BC. Nicholas

⁶¹ Bonnier et al. 2021, 41.

⁶² Bonnier et al. 2021, 29, 53.

⁶³ Pers. comm. Arto Penttinen.

⁶⁴ Bonnier et al. 2021, 33–39, 53.

⁶⁵ Bonnier et al. 2021, 42–46, 53.

⁶⁶ Bonnier et al. 2021, 33–34.

⁶⁷ Bonnier et al. 2021, 43–44, 53.

⁶⁸ Bonnier et al. 2021, 48–50, 53.

⁶⁹ Bonnier et al. 2021, 30, 32, 39–42, 47–48, 50, 53.

⁷⁰ Bonnier et al. 2021, 41.

⁷¹ Sideris 2000, 28–29.

⁷² N. Cahill describes the item as either a *thymiaterion* or a goblet. Cahill 2002, 189. For a photograph of the *thymiaterion*, see the front cover of Cahill 2002.

⁷³ Interestingly this piece has recently been reinterpreted as a *thymiaterion*. See <https://www.amth.gr/en/exhibitions/temporary/new-entries-new-approaches-0> (viewed 14 August 2024).

⁷⁴ Cahill 2002, 189–190; Sharpe 2006, 42–46.

Cahill suggests that the modest size and appearance of House ESH 6 might have spared the dwelling from plunder.⁷⁵

Like the Kalaureia deposit, the finds from Olynthus House ESH 6 include a bronze *thymiaterion* (Table 2:5, Fig. 10:5). In Classical and Hellenistic Greece, *thymiateria* were typically used at banquets and symposia (Fig. 14).⁷⁶ It is noteworthy that, with its *terminus ante quem* of 348 BC, the comic actor from Olynthus is the earliest known free-standing bronze statuette excavated from a domestic context in Greece. Sharpe interprets the statuette as an appropriate decorative item for a dining chamber.⁷⁷ She also points out that bronze statuettes are rarely found in sanctuaries during the Hellenistic and Imperial Roman era, but were increasingly used in domestic contexts.⁷⁸ The 2nd- or 1st-century BC bronze statuette found at Kalaureia may well have been displayed at banquets. Though the nature of the Classical Building is at present difficult to define, Anton Bonnier *et al.* emphasize its connection to food preparation and dining during the 4th–2nd centuries BC, as outlined above. However, the fact that it is, in the Kalaureia case, a depiction of the hero Herakles that has been deposited together with a *thymiaterion* and a stand does of course warrant the question of whether the three bronzes had been used in the hero's cult. Herakles did feature in Greek domestic cult. For instance, in Diogenes Laertius (*fl.* 3rd century AD), it is noted that:

Some one lately wed had set up on his door the notice:
The son of Zeus, victorious Heracles,
Dwells here; let nothing evil enter in.⁷⁹

Thus, in domestic contexts Herakles is believed to have had an apotropaic function.⁸⁰ Discussions of Herakles' apotropaic qualities have generally centred on depictions of the hero and/or his attributes found on Delos.⁸¹ A number of Herakles statuettes were also excavated in private houses on Delos,⁸² as was a marble *thymiaterion* with the inscribed names of Zeus Pa-

sios, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis and Herakles.⁸³ Perhaps the Kalaureia bronzes can be counted among the rare archaeological testaments to private devotion towards this evidently very popular Greek hero.

POSSIBLE CAUSES FOR DEPOSITING THE THREE BRONZES

With the upper strata of Area L disturbed by later agricultural activities⁸⁴ the circumstances in which the three bronzes were deposited cannot be reconstructed with any certainty. Given that the bronzes were presumably buried into the extensive 1st century BC–1st century AD construction fill it is tempting to link the deposition of the items with whichever activities or events caused the area to be levelled.

Building- or foundation sacrifices are a well-known phenomenon in ancient Greece, albeit one that is not easily discerned in the archaeological record.⁸⁵ In Greece, the practice of making building sacrifices seems to have seen much variation both geographically and chronologically.⁸⁶ The collection of items found at Kalaureia finds no clear parallel among other ancient Greek deposits currently interpreted as building- or foundation sacrifices.⁸⁷ Therefore this does not seem to be the most probable interpretation of the discussed deposit.

Another interpretation linked with the construction fill would be that the three bronzes were buried near the area where they had once been used, because the architectural changes prohibited their continued use there. Perhaps this could tentatively be connected to the 1st century BC–1st century AD construction fill causing the hearth in the Classical Building to go out of use (Fig. 3:3). The rationale behind such an act would be that the items were perceived to be religiously tied to the area, and should therefore remain there indeterminately, even if the area was put to different use. Similar deposits are well known from Greek sanctuaries where votive objects, as property of the gods, were required to remain within the boundary of the sanctuary.⁸⁸ Even though I presently do not know any unambiguous close parallel that would attest such a practice in a settlement area rather than a sanctuary, the

⁷⁵ Cahill 2002, 189–190.

⁷⁶ Ambrosini 2013, 15–17.

⁷⁷ Sharpe 2006, 42–46, 80, cat. no. 1.

⁷⁸ Sharpe 2006, 161.

⁷⁹ νεογάμου ἐπιγράψαντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, | ὁ τοῦ Διός παῖς καλ-
λίνικος Ἡρακλῆς | ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ. μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακόν· Diog. Laert.
6.2.50. Transl. Hicks 1925, 50–53.

⁸⁰ Person 2012, 41–43, 45–46.

⁸¹ Bruneau 1964; Harward 1982, 129–131; Person 2012, 122–149.

⁸² Kreeb 1988. For Delian marble statuettes depicting Herakles, see cat. nos S 1.3, S. 49.5 (both of the Herakles Epitrapezios type), S 24.22, S [26].5 (both of the Herakles Farnese type) and S. 9.2 (of the Herakles Lenbach type). For a bronze statuette possibly from a domestic setting see Kreeb 1988, cat. no. S 3.3 (Herakles herm). For this last bronze statuette, see also Sharpe 2006, cat. no. 7. For further

bronze statuettes depicting Herakles found in Greek domestic contexts, see Sharpe 2006, cat. nos 50 and 52.

⁸³ Person 2012, 139 and fig. 100.

⁸⁴ Bonnier *et al.* 2021, 53.

⁸⁵ See, for instance, Weikart 2002, 14–15; Hunt 2006, 18–20. As an example of the problems of identification, see also Rotroff 2013, 56–66.

⁸⁶ Weikart 2002, 150.

⁸⁷ It should be noted, however, that the phenomenon has not been systematically traced into Imperial Roman times in Greece. Müller Zeis 1994; Weikart 2002; Hunt 2006.

⁸⁸ Donderer 1991–1992, 203–204, 208; Hunt 2006, 212–217.

beliefs and events that motivated irreversible depositions are known to have been many and varied.⁸⁹

If the intent was to keep the three bronzes hidden for a while and then ultimately to retrieve them, the seemingly random placement of the deposit alongside the perimeter of Wall 206 (Fig. 3:1–2) would have been an advantage. Such safety hoards are a well-known phenomenon of Greek archaeology.⁹⁰ If a historical fact, the pirate raids mentioned by Plutarch presumably took place in the decades around 100 BC. They are thus too early to account for hiding the three bronzes in Area L. Roman military officials and settlers are known to have plundered artefacts from Greece from the 2nd century BC and well into the 1st century AD.⁹¹ Thus a fear that the three bronzes might be stolen could well have motivated their deposition.⁹² However, inhabitants of the settlement on Kalaureia may naturally have had reason to hide valuables at the site, even if such acts cannot be tied to events known from written accounts. As we have seen, the archaeological evidence indicates that life at Kalaureia changed significantly during the Late Hellenistic and Imperial Roman periods, seemingly not for the better.

Though remarkably well preserved, the three bronzes were not in pristine condition when buried. Whether *thymiaterion*, lamp stand or *kottabos* stand, inv. MPo 2478 would with certainty once have carried some kind of item which seems not to have been buried along with the stand. On the *thymiaterion* inv. MPo 2479 a part of the rim is missing, and its pieces were not recovered during excavation. Thus, the *thymiaterion* seems to have been broken before deposition. However, one would hardly expect the items to be in pristine condition after centuries of use.

More puzzling, perhaps, are the parts missing from the statuette: the wreath that Herakles most probably once wore, the club that he once held in his right hand, the front part of his left foot, and the statuette's base. It would seem that the statuette was hurriedly or violently removed from its base. If the club and left foot were soldered onto the base, this might have caused the club to become detached from the statuette and the left foot to break.⁹³ It can be noted that the patch of solder used to fasten the lion skin to the left arm still holds fast. As there are no visible remains of solder or damage on the protrusion below Herakles' right foot, one would have to assume that another kind of fix-

⁸⁹ For a wealth of examples, see Donderer 1991–1992; Treister 1996, 369–370.

⁹⁰ Hunt 2006, 217–231. Most of the Greco-Roman bronze statuettes found in Greece were discovered in security hoards of the turbulent 3rd and 4th centuries AD, see Sharpe 2006, 129.

⁹¹ Donderer 1991–1992, 209; Treister 1996, 367–369. For the initial phases of the phenomenon, see Galsterer 1994.

⁹² Donderer 1991–1992, 211.

⁹³ Sharpe 2006, 169.

ing agent was used there. As regards the wreath, this was most probably fastened mechanically and may thus have been easy to remove, whether this was done before or in connection with the deposition of the statuette. If made of a more valuable metal, such as silver or gold, it might have been tempting to remove this small detail before deposition. If the statuette was hastily or violently removed from its base in order to be buried, the interpretation of the deposit as a safety hoard seems the most likely. Yet one should not rule out the possible parallel between the Kalaureia bronze deposit and the practices evidenced for votive deposits found in Greek sanctuaries: there are well-recorded examples where votive offerings displayed in sanctuaries had been damaged, and that they were subsequently—because of the damage—deposited inside the confines of the sanctuary. There is also evidence that votives were damaged on purpose before deposition.⁹⁴ Perhaps a similar scenario could explain the deposition of the three bronzes in the settlement at Kalaureia.

Hopefully future excavations will help bring further clarity regarding life at Kalaureia during the Late Hellenistic and Imperial Roman periods in general, and regarding this intriguing find group in particular. It is, however, quite clear that these items constitute a very important contribution to the corpus of Greek Classical and Hellenistic bronzes with recorded find contexts.

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⁹⁴ Donderer 1991–1992, 201–203; Hunt 2006, 212–217.

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