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# A preliminary report on sculptures and figurative terracottas

found at the site of Vlochos, region of Karditsa, Thessaly

## Abstract

The existence of an ancient city at Thessalian Vlochos was first established by the discovery in 1964 of several inscribed *stelai* at a quarry at the site, which in turn prompted its declaration as a protected archaeological zone. A large spoil-heap with mixed soils and quarry debris had been left after the closure of the quarry, and this was examined and removed as part of the ongoing Greek-Swedish archaeological collaboration at the site. Apart from quarry debris and rubbish, the soils of the heap yielded considerable amounts of pottery and tile, and also architectural members, terracotta figurines, *stelai*, marble statuettes, and votives. The mixed nature of the soils made all finds *ex situ*, but the composition of the material provides a transect of the chronology of the site at Vlochos, as well as strong indications of cult, including evidence for the cult of the Thessalian goddess Ennodia.\*

*Keywords:* Aphrodite Kastnietis, Archaic, Classical, Ennodia, figurines, Hellenistic, Nymphs, Palamas, statuettes, terracottas, Thessaly, Vlochos

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## Introduction

As has been reported previously,<sup>1</sup> during the course of the *Vlochos Archaeological Project* (VLAP, 2016–2018) two large spoil-heaps were noted during fieldwork at the abandoned quarry at the Gkekas (Γκέκας) location within the bounds of the archaeological site at Vlochos (Βλοχός) in the region of Karditsa (*Fig. 1*). The heaps were located well within the area of the ancient city and were clearly the product of endeavours by the quarrymen to access the rock-face by removing the colluvial soils covering the rock-face, and had since been left at the site, some 40–50 m south of the quarry. Their size and position meant that they were obstacles to the project's geophysical prospection of the area, and it was consequently decided that they should be removed over the course of the successor programme, the *Palamas Archaeological Project* (2020–).

The eroding sides of the heaps revealed much pottery and tile, indicating that the quarrying activities had disturbed cultural layers. Rescue work at the time of the closure of the quarry in 1964 had revealed three inscribed votive statue and *stèle* bases,<sup>2</sup> suggesting that the area had possibly contained a sanctuary.<sup>3</sup> A machine sieve was used to ensure that artefacts were not overlooked.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vaiopoulou *et al.* 2021, 59–62.

<sup>2</sup> Liangouras 1965, 320–321; Decourt 1995, 2–4, nos. 2–5.

<sup>3</sup> The dedications are by Aristonoa, daughter of Simmargos (3rd century BC, *SEG XXIV*, 397; Liangouras 1965, 320, no. 1; Decourt 1995, 3, no. 4), Dikaios, son of Mnasimachos (3rd century BC, *SEG XXV*, 651; Liangouras 1965, 320, no. 3; Decourt 1995, 3–4, no. 5), and a female (?) name which is not preserved—Ἡρ...νία... (early 4th century BC, *SEG XXV*, 650; Liangouras 1965, 320, no. 2; Decourt 1995, 2, no. 3).

<sup>4</sup> The machine sieve was commissioned, designed, and made by Mr Athanasios Bolorizos of Markos, Palamas. The soils in the heaps were mixed with much quarry debris, including both larger and smaller stones, making manual sieving operations unviable. The sieve was operated by a small tractor, allowing for the quick separation of soil from stones and artefacts. One scoop of soil put on the sieve by a small skid-steer loader could

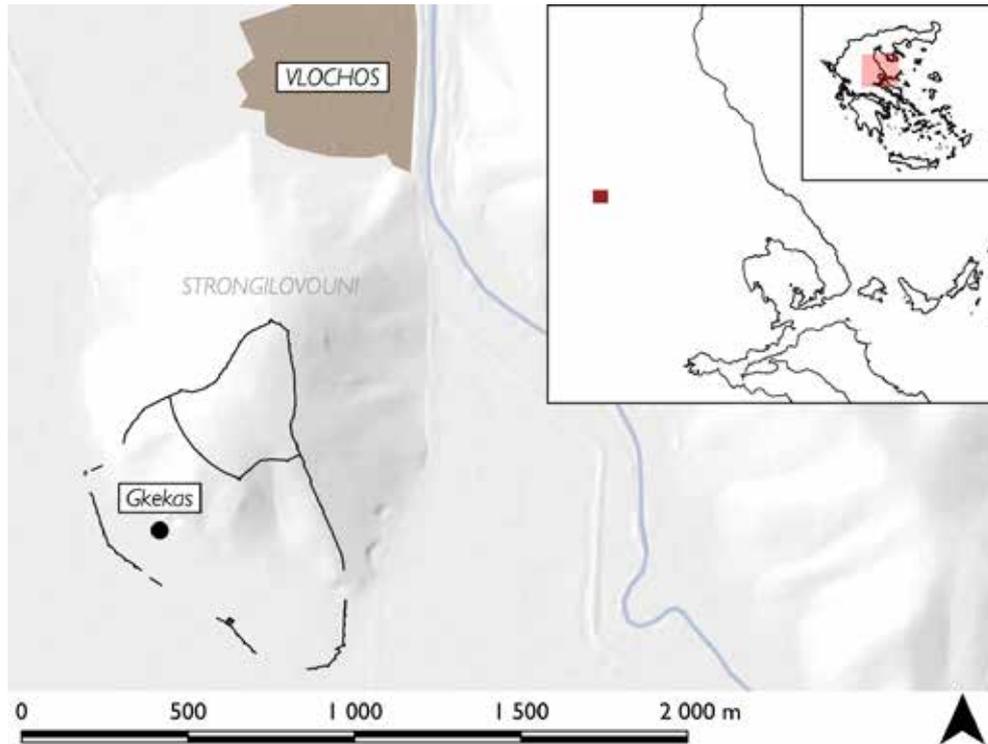


Fig. 1. Topographical sketch of the location of the Gkekas quarry within the archaeological site at Vlochos (with city walls of the Hellenistic period), as shown within Thessaly and Greece. Modern Vlochos is the shaded area to the north. Map by Robin Rönnlund.

The process produced very large quantities of pottery, as well as much tile of various types and chronologies.<sup>5</sup> The nature of the material is quite mixed, providing a transect of the history of the site, with sherds from the Archaic to the Early Byzantine periods. The sieving also produced small finds of other categories and materials.<sup>6</sup>

In this article we will present the sculptures and figurative terracottas that were found during the sieving process, combined with a preliminary presentation of the newly found inscriptions,<sup>7</sup> as they provide invaluable information about the site in antiquity. As we will argue, the finds have a clear votive function coming from a sanctuary at the site of the Gkekas quarry. The venerated deity was most likely Ennodia, worshipped in association with the Nymphs. These finds also help us better define the character of the goddess whose worship was until now poorly documented in western Thessaly.

be processed in *c.* 10–20 seconds, after which four to five archaeologists collected all the finds from the material remaining in the sieve.

<sup>5</sup> Some of the stamped roof tiles of the Late Roman period found in the larger spoil-heap (also including an African imitation lamp) have been published previously, see Väioπούλου *et al.* 2022, 91–92.

<sup>6</sup> The conservation of the material was conducted by conservators Margarita Tiliopoulou and Nikolaos Grigorakos at the laboratory of the Archaeological Museum of Karditsa.

<sup>7</sup> The Hellenistic inscriptions found in the larger spoil-heap will be published in more detail at a later stage.

## Description of finds

The larger spoil-heap yielded ten fragments of figural sculptures and 51 fragments of terracottas, all of various sizes and states of preservation.<sup>8</sup> The sculptures comprise seven statuettes and three votive reliefs.<sup>9</sup> Other stone votive material includes an inscribed statuette base and a small Ionic column. Adding to these, eight fragments of undecorated votive *stelai* and three fragments of bases (for statuettes, reliefs, or *stelai*) were found, regrettably too fragmentary and small to publish here. The terracotta material consists of a figurine depicting the goddess Ennodia, 20 protomes, 17 female figurines, two girl figurines, a *plangōn*, a boy figurine, a dwarf figurine, two bird figurines, a disc, two moulds, and three miscellaneous fragments.

Beginning with the sculptures, *No. 1* (for *Figs.*, see catalogue below) shows the Thessalian goddess Ennodia standing, holding a torch with her left arm. This schema is known from many other sites in Thessaly with closest parallels in examples from Echinon in Malis and Melitaia in Achaia Phthiotis, as

<sup>8</sup> A discussion on the manufacturing techniques of the finds will be given in the final publication of the *Palamas Archaeological Project*.

<sup>9</sup> Only two votive reliefs are included in this study, as we decided to exclude the third due to its small size and state of preservation.

well as a statuette of unknown provenance.<sup>10</sup> The draping of the *himation* finds many parallels in sculpture from the second half of the 4th century BC in the “Aristonoe-Rhamnous” portrait style, as conventionally named by Sheila Dillon.<sup>11</sup> The right arm, which is lowered to the side, possibly held a *phiale*.

The torch-bearing hand *No. 2* finds its closest parallel in the Sanctuary of Ennodia at Melitaia,<sup>12</sup> which can help identify the hand as belonging to a statuette of Ennodia. In our example the torch is held with the shaft supported between the index and the middle fingers.

*No. 3* presents a rare instance where a statuette can be joined with its inscribed base, which helps with its dating. The standing figure with the high-girdled *peplos* and the long overfold is comparable to sculptures dated to the second half of the 4th century BC and later.<sup>13</sup> The hair in two locks falling on either side of the neck can be seen in sculptures of the same period.<sup>14</sup> Regarding the inscription, the letters are orderly inscribed, indicating that the missing letters are three or four in the first line. The second line is easy enough to reconstruct as ἀνέθηκεν (dedicated). The name of the dedicant could be reconstructed as Μυσταλίνη (Mystaline). The name is previously unattested in Thessaly, but figures in a 3rd-century BC inscription from Ilion.<sup>15</sup> The letter shapes of the inscription can be dated between the second half of the 4th century and the early 3rd century BC,<sup>16</sup> which in turn allows for a more confident date of the statuette.

Ennodia is also present in the votive relief *No. 8*, shown next to a horse, and in front of an altar. The combination of the overfold-*kolpos* with the long veil is seen in sculpture from the mid-4th century BC.<sup>17</sup> The dress is also reminiscent of side B of the *amphiglyphon* from the Sanctuary of Ennodia at

Pherai, which stylistically is also dated by Pavlos Chrysostomou to the second half of the 4th century BC.<sup>18</sup>

The three figures in the relief *No. 9* are shown in various stances and dresses. From the viewer’s left, figure A is shown wearing the back of the overfold of the *peplos* as a veil, held with her left hand; figure B is holding up a *pyxis* with her right hand, while figure C is portrayed with her arms raised to the level of her head, probably tying a *tainia* on her hair,<sup>19</sup> in a slightly more intense movement than the other two figures who appear more static. The relief can be dated from the second quarter of the 4th century BC, based on stylistic parallels; the motif of the overfold as a veil worn by figure A appears on funerary *stelai* after the turn of the 5th century BC, such as the funerary *stèle* of Polyxena from Boeotia, now in Berlin.<sup>20</sup> Similar drapery of the *himation* of figure B can be seen in monuments of the second half of the 4th century BC.<sup>21</sup>

Turning to the terracottas, only one fragmentary figurine (*No. 12*) can securely be identified as representing a deity, in this case most probably Ennodia, shown with a dog or hound next to her. The goddess is known to be accompanied by dogs in other representations, such as the relief from Krannon (now in the British Museum),<sup>22</sup> a relief from Larisa,<sup>23</sup> and a statue from Pella.<sup>24</sup> The combination of *peplos* and long veil, very similar to *No. 8*, points to a date from the second half of the 4th century BC.<sup>25</sup>

The protome *No. 13* belongs to the neck-protome category. It preserves holes on both ears; they presumably functioned as holes for earrings, a practice which is rare, but is attested in a protome from Corinth.<sup>26</sup> The hairstyle is created with a cen-

<sup>10</sup> Metropoulou 1992, no. 22, pl. 76θ; Froussou 2010, fig. 8; Stavrogian-nis 2020, fig. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Dillon 2010, 75–78.

<sup>12</sup> Dakoronia 2001, fig. 4; Stavrogian-nis 2014, fig. 139.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Biesantz 1965, 30, no. L29, pl. 38, for an Artemis torso from Halos; Despina 2010, pl. 23 (Aristonike relief) c. 356 BC; Agora XXXVIII, nos. 13, 32–34, fig. 1, pl. 3, c. 325–320 BC, with collected bibliography.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Stamatopoulou 2014, figs. 18, 3rd century BC; Vikela 2015, no. 98, pl. 69; Agora XXXVIII, no. 58, pl. 17.

<sup>15</sup> *LGPV* 5.A (2010), 327.

<sup>16</sup> Heinz 1998, 162–167.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Kortaridi 2013, 208–209; 2018, 452–458, figs. 17–32, with previous bibliography. The statue, whose base identifies it as Queen Euridice, King Philip II’s mother, was found in the Sanctuary of Eukleia at Aigai, the temple of which belongs to Philip II’s monumentalization programme after his ascension to the throne in 359 BC. The statue can be dated between 359 and Euridice’s death in 340 BC. Morphologically, the relief is similar to a relief of Aphrodite (?) from Agios Georgios Larissas (near ancient Krannon), see: Metropoulou 1985, fig. 1; Heinz 1998, 356–357, no. 325, fig. 272; Vikela 2022, no. R8, pl. 18, second half of the 4th century BC. Heinz (1998, 357) challenged the figure’s identification as Aphrodite and instead compared it to Artemis reliefs.

<sup>18</sup> Chrysostomou identifies the figure on side B with Demeter, but in light of our find, it seems that Ennodia is also shown in the dress combination of *peplos* and long veil. Chrysostomou 1998, 165–169, pl. 19a–b. A relief from Pella, which according to Chrysostomou could be portraying Ennodia, also shows her in the same dress (*peplos* with overfold, *kolpos* and long veil), dated by Chrysostomou in the 2nd century BC. Chrysostomou 1998, 158–160, no. 5, pl. 16b.

<sup>19</sup> The same gesture of tying the *tainia* on the hair can be seen in sculpture on the second figure of the Xenokrateia Relief: Kaltsas 2002, 133, no. 257; Voutiras 2011; Vikela 2015, 201, no. Ap 3, pl. 2, with previous bibliography. Voutiras identified the figure as Artemis. He dates the relief in the period between 413 and 404 BC. Voutiras 2011, 50.

<sup>20</sup> Connelly 2007, 238, fig. 8.12, first quarter of 4th century BC. According to Hallof, the letter forms should be dated to the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th century BC: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1120875>.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Heinz 1998, 314–315, no. 254, fig. 195; Despina 2013, 133–135, figs. 80–83.

<sup>22</sup> Smith 1892, 374, no. 816; Biesantz 1965, 31, no. 55, pl. 39; Chrysostomou 1998, 152–153, no. 2; Heinz 1998, 270, no. 182, fig. 126.

<sup>23</sup> Chrysostomou 1994, 182, fig. 6; 1998, pl. 15γ; 2001, 15, fig. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Chrysostomou 1998, 162–163, pl. 17.

<sup>25</sup> See above *Notes 17–18*.

<sup>26</sup> *Corinth* XIV, 119, no. 2, pl. 30. In this case, the holes are much smaller than our example, but here too their function is presumed to be for hanging metal rings/earrings. Also cf. Jeammet 2015, 59, fig. 6a–b; Karipidou

tral braid in the middle of the head, a style worn by young, unmarried women.<sup>27</sup>

Five protomes date to the late Archaic period (*Nos. 14–18*). They survive in a very fragmentary state but can find close parallels to other known types from Thessaly and elsewhere,<sup>28</sup> with closest examples originating from Pharsalos.

Thirteen protomes date from the second half of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (*Nos. 13, 19–30*). These too are for the most part very fragmentary, but in some cases show similarities with products of the same period from Thessaly<sup>29</sup> and Macedonia.<sup>30</sup>

The protomes belong to various sizes, from life-size (*No. 32*), almost life-size (*No. 23*), to small (*Nos. 19, 27*). No secure indications for the identification of the protomes as deities exist in our sample. All the specimens which preserve traces of facial features or indications of age and/or status portray young, unmarried women (*Nos. 13, 19, 27*). They are shown in a variety of hairstyles, such as wavy hair (*Nos. 13, 16, 17*), the melon hairstyle (*No. 19*), the central braid (*No. 13*), the bow-bun (*No. 27*), wearing a veil (*Nos. 18, 24, 28*), *stephanē* (*Nos. 13, 27*), or *tainia* (*Nos. 17, 22*) on the head, earrings (*Nos. 18, 27*), and bracelets (*No. 28*).

Among the female figurines, only one dates to the late Archaic period (*No. 34*); it belongs to the seated female iconographic type.<sup>31</sup> Two female figurines date to the first half of the 5th century BC, in the early Classical style. *No. 34* belongs to the *peplophoros-korē* iconographic type, while only the chest

area survives of *No. 35*, making it difficult to identify it with an iconographic type.

The majority of female figurines dates to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (*Nos. 36–49*). Demetrias provides close parallels for *Nos. 36–37*, while *No. 40* belongs to an identifiable type from the city.<sup>32</sup> The two girl figurines *Nos. 50–51* most likely date to the 3rd century BC, also comparable to products from Demetrias.<sup>33</sup> The *plangōn* leg *No. 52* and the legs from a boy figurine *No. 53* should also be dated between the third quarter of the 4th to the early 3rd centuries BC.

*No. 54* is probably a fragment of a squatting dwarf figurine, as it can be compared to a figurine from the Cave of the Nymphs at Pharsalos (modern Farsala).<sup>34</sup> The cockerel *No. 55* finds its closest parallel in a similar figurine from the Sanctuary of Demeter at Proerna (modern Neo Monastiri),<sup>35</sup> its precise date unknown, as the sanctuary flourished over a long period, from the late 6th to the early 3rd centuries BC.<sup>36</sup> The bird's tail *No. 56* likely dates in the late Archaic–early Classical period, as compared with examples from Anavra, Karditsa.<sup>37</sup>

The two moulds *Nos. 58–59* probably date to the late 4th–early 3rd centuries BC. The motif on the relief disc mould *No. 58* has very close parallels from the wider western region of Thessaly. A similar relief disc mould with the same motif has been excavated at Sekliza/Kallithiro,<sup>38</sup> and coins from Metropolis,<sup>39</sup> attributed as belonging to the “Aphrodite Kastnietis” iconographic type,<sup>40</sup> depict virtually the same scene. The Pan mould *No. 59* finds a very close parallel in a figurine from the Melissane Cave on Cephalonia;<sup>41</sup> even though it is uncertain what the upper part of our example would look like, the lower part is very morphologically similar, showing the genitals and the hairy legs.

2021, 231, fig. 6, similar headdress, hairstyle, and face, but from different moulds.

<sup>27</sup> See Batziou 2017, with previous bibliography.

<sup>28</sup> *No. 14*: cf. Croissant 1983, 164, no. 100 (G3/a) pl. 54; closer in size to no. 195, pl. 123 (from the Aphrodision of Argos). *No. 15*: cf. Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, no. ΦΑ 1, pl. 5, fig. 3; Croissant 1983, no. 238 (T4/c), pl. 140, from Pharsalos. *No. 16*: cf. Croissant 1983, no. 241, pl. 142. *No. 17*: cf. Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, no. ΦΑ 1, pl. 5, fig. 3; Croissant 1983, no. 237, pl. 139 from Pharsalos; Wagman 2016, figs. 52.11, 55.3. *No. 18*: cf. Croissant 1983, nos. 236–238, pls. 139–140, from Pharsalos. However, here the folds of the veil are visible next to the earring, which cannot be seen in the photographs of the Pharsalos examples.

<sup>29</sup> *No. 19*: Wagman 2016, fig. 54.11. *No. 26*: Nikolaou 2010, fig. 1, first half of 3rd century BC; Karapanou 2014, 428, fig. 10. *No. 27*: Vaiopoulou 2018, 115, no. 2 [L. Theogianni], from the site Bostanies/Ampelotopoi. Very similar to our example in the arrangement of the hair, the *stephanē*, and the earrings, but from a much-worn mould. From Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati & Akamatis 2014, no. 491, fig. 504.

<sup>30</sup> *No. 22*: cf. Adam-Veleni *et al.* 2017, 293–294, no. 266 [Adam-Veleni], from Sindos, 4th century BC; 339–340, no. 367 [Koukouvou], from Souroti, early 3rd century BC; Karipidou 2021, fig. 5. *Nos. 20–21*: cf. Lilimpaki-Akamati & Akamatis 2014, no. 138, fig. 174; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2016, figs. 3, 5–6; Karipidou 2021, fig. 4; Lilimpaki-Akamati & Akamatis 2022, no. 40, pl. 11; nos. 545, 547, pl. 116. *No. 24*: cf. Lilimpaki-Akamati & Akamatis 2014, no. 499, fig. 512; Karipidou 2021, 231, fig. 4.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Blinkenberg 1931, no. 2129, pl. 96; Misaclidou-Despotidou 2016, no. 470, fig. 580a–b, c. 500 BC.

## Iconography

Turning to iconography, we will examine a few aspects of representations of deities within our material.

<sup>32</sup> *Nos. 36–37*: Ieremias 2019, nos. 22–24, pl. 3. *No. 40*: cf. Ieremias 2019, no. 101, pl. 6.

<sup>33</sup> *No. 51*: cf. Ieremias 2019, no. 448, pl. 26, no. 563, pl. 46. *No. 50*: cf. Ieremias 2019, no. 564, pl. 46.

<sup>34</sup> Wagman 2016, fig. 52, no. 12, fig. 53, no. 10.

<sup>35</sup> Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, 72, no. 182, pl. 14, fig. 4.

<sup>36</sup> For the chronological span of the sanctuary, see Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, 25.

<sup>37</sup> Karagiannopoulos & Hatziangelakis 2015, 236, fig. 9.

<sup>38</sup> Intzesiloglou 1997, fig. 37.

<sup>39</sup> Indicatively: Rogers 1932, 133–134, no. 408, fig. 217; Moustaka 1983, 115, no. 79, table 6.

<sup>40</sup> See below in the iconography section.

<sup>41</sup> Dontas 1964, 32, no. 1807, fig. 6b.

## ENNODIA

The Thessalian goddess is portrayed in a variety of ways in our material, represented in four specimens (*Nos. 1, 2, 8, 12*). In two of these (*Nos. 8, 12*) she is shown wearing a *peplos* with overfold and *kolpos*, and with a long veil falling behind the back. Her dress in *No. 1* is the *chiton* and *himation* crossing between the breasts. Two specimens (*Nos. 1, 2*) are shown carrying a large torch, one of her most common attributes. The myrtle wreath which is worn by Ennodia in *No. 1* is also seen on a relief from Larisa dated to the 4th century BC.<sup>42</sup> The pose of the goddess, touching the horse's head, is very similar to a relief from Krannon.<sup>43</sup> Horses and/or dogs, such as on *No. 12*, are regarded as typical attributes of the goddess.<sup>44</sup>

## NYMPHS

The relief *No. 9* presents some interesting aspects and challenges in its iconographic analysis and interpretation. The figures are presented in the same size, occupying the whole height of the relief field—even extending slightly over the moulding—thus it is safe to assume that they represent deities. As three figures are depicted, it would be logical to search for groups of three deities, such as the Nymphs, the Charites, the Moirai, and the Horai. The latter symbolized the change of seasons, and by the Hellenistic period, their numbers, even though initially fluctuating between three and four, were eventually fixed to four. They are difficult to distinguish from other female triads, except for when they are depicted with agricultural produce.<sup>45</sup> The Horai can consequently be ruled out. Turning to the Moirai, the goddesses of fate, they present an equally difficult group to identify without inscriptions or attributes, such as the spindle,<sup>46</sup> something which also argues for their dismissal. In addition, they are very rare in Greek art, especially as votives. The iconography of Nymphs and Charites, however, was until the Hellenistic period often interchangeable,<sup>47</sup> as both were presented as dancing triads.<sup>48</sup> In the case of this relief, a similar example from Skotoussa provides close parallels for the identification of the figures.<sup>49</sup> The Skotoussa relief shows three female figures facing towards the viewer's right, towards Pan, who is seated on a rock. In the Skotoussa relief, the three female figures are shown dressed in similar garments, styles,

and stances as *No. 9*; in particular the middle figures in both reliefs have closely comparable postures, with the arm bent and resting on the hip inside the *himation*. The figure closest to Pan holds a *pyxis*, resembling figure B in the Vlochos relief. The presence of Pan helps identifying the three female figures as Nymphs, since they are very often portrayed together in Greek art.<sup>50</sup> Consequently, this helps identifying the figures in *No. 9* as Nymphs as well.

Another monument from Thessaly portraying three female figures is a votive poros stone slab with three female marble heads inserted in it, found by chance on the Sarlika hill (Σαρλικά) at Dilofo (Δίλοφο), some 23 km south-east of Larisa. Dimitris Theocharis struggled to identify the figures, but suggested that they might be the Charites.<sup>51</sup> However, triads of female heads in other media, for example, on terracotta plaques, are confidently recognized as Nymphs elsewhere,<sup>52</sup> from the Archaic period and on.

A terracotta *arula* from South Italy, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles, USA), displays, among other figures, a female figure wearing a *peplos* with the overfold worn as a veil. Her left breast is uncovered, similarly to our figure A, whose breast is almost uncovered. Gina Salapata interpreted the figure as a Nymph.<sup>53</sup>

Regarding the interpretation of the relief from Vlochos, we should consider the figures' stance and actions. Figure A is veiled with the back of the overfold of the *peplos*, holding the veil with her left hand. Figure B holds a *pyxis* with her raised right hand, linking her with jewellery, cosmetics, and beautification. Figure C ties a *tainia* around her head, another link to beautification. This iconography is reminiscent of nuptial iconography on red-figure vases of the 5th and 4th centuries BC. The veiling and unveiling of figure A are reminiscent of the bride's veil.<sup>54</sup> The offering of the *pyxis* recalls offerings of *pyxides* filled with gifts during the preparation of the bride before the wedding, or of the *epaulia*, the offering of gifts the day after the wedding night.<sup>55</sup> The tying of the *tainia* is evocative of

<sup>42</sup> See Note 23. For Ennodia wearing myrtle wreaths, see Chrysostomou 1998, 183–184.

<sup>43</sup> See Note 22. For the front half of a horse next to Ennodia, cf. Karapanou 2014, 427, fig. 8.

<sup>44</sup> See Notes 22–24. For the animals relating to Ennodia, see Chrysostomou 1998, 178–180.

<sup>45</sup> LIMC V (1990), 502–510, s.v. Horai, (V. Machaira).

<sup>46</sup> LIMC VI (1992), 636–648, s.v. Moirai (S. de Angeli).

<sup>47</sup> Salapata 2009, 330; Peppas-Papaioannou 2012, 85–91.

<sup>48</sup> Kopestonsky 2016, 714.

<sup>49</sup> Heinz 1998, 314–315, no. 254, fig. 195.

<sup>50</sup> Indicatively, with previous bibliography: Larson 2001, 259–264; Gaifman 2008, 93.

<sup>51</sup> Theocharis 1960, 183–184, pl. 151 (erroneously referencing pl. 156b); Miller 1974, 242, n. 38, pl. 3.2; Mili 2015, 43.

<sup>52</sup> Examples: From the so-called Sepulchral Building at New Halos, Thessaly, Reinders 1988, 306, no. 52.29, fig. 117. Two terracotta plaques with three female heads, below them Pan and Acheloos respectively, from Lokroi at Grotta Caruso, Larson 2001, 253–255, fig. 5.14–15. A terracotta plaque with three female heads between columns and pedimental crowning, from Kierion, Thessaly, Hatziangelakis 2011, 74, fig. 1. A terracotta plaque with three female heads from Lokroi at Grotta Caruso, van Rooijen 2021, 41, fig. 2.4. A terracotta plaque similar to the one from Kierion with three female heads and a pedimental crowning is displayed in the Diachronic Museum of Larisa (unpublished).

<sup>53</sup> Salapata 2001, 39–40, fig. 1h.

<sup>54</sup> Oakley & Sinos 1993, 25–26.

<sup>55</sup> Oakley & Sinos 1993, 38–39.

women in wedding scenes during the bridal preparation, usually by the bride.<sup>56</sup> It is thus evident that the relief has a strong bridal iconography. This is not coincidental, as the Nymphs were protectors of important life stages of women, and many brides-to-be or recently wedded women made offerings to them for fertility and the protection of their marriage.<sup>57</sup> It is also no coincidence that the ancient Greek word *nymphē* was the same word both for the “bride” and the “nature deity”.<sup>58</sup> To our knowledge, no other votive relief shows such strong bridal/wedding iconography as the one from Vlochos.

## APHRODITE KASTNIETIS

Aphrodite Kastnietis is mentioned by Strabo as a deity worshipped in Thessalian Metropolis (modern Mitropoli).<sup>59</sup> The iconography of Aphrodite Kastnia/Kastnietis is mostly known from depictions of the goddess from Aspendos in Pamphylia, where she is shown in the Anatolian Aphrodite tradition, similar to the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias or the Ephesian Artemis.<sup>60</sup> It is not known for certain how the Aphrodite Kastnietis of Metropolis was depicted in antiquity. The coinage of the city often shows a female figure holding a dove in the outstretched palm of her right hand, with a small Eros below her (facing either left or right) stretching up, holding a wreath.<sup>61</sup> This is precisely the same iconographic type shown on the relief disc mould *No. 58* from Vlochos. Evidently, this iconographic type is quite different from that of the Aphrodite Kastnietis of Aspendos, but we should not expect the Aspendos and Metropolis Kastnietis to share the same iconography. The Aphrodite Kastnietis of Aspendos as known from coins of the city, is rightly presumed to display the deity’s original cult statue. Whether the Aphrodite-dove-Eros iconographic type can be identified with the Thessalian Aphrodite Kastnietis

should remain open for debate, as it is only known from coins and the two relief disc moulds from Kallithiro and Vlochos.<sup>62</sup> Additionally, an Attic *calyx krater* in Munich, dated to the third or last quarter of the 4th century BC, shows Aphrodite holding a dove and an Eros on her left side with his arms raised upwards.<sup>63</sup> Currently, it is impossible to discern whether the imagery on the coins of Metropolis depicted a cult statue, as suggested by Hagen Biesantz.<sup>64</sup> So far, no published sculptures are known from the area depicting this iconographic type, nor has her sanctuary been located or securely identified at the archaeological site of ancient Metropolis.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, the existence of this iconographic type across several different media does certainly point to a common origin.

It is also interesting to note the spread of this iconographic type outside of Metropolis in the wider western Thessaly. Whether it meant that Aphrodite Kastnietis was worshipped at Kallithiro and Vlochos is currently impossible to ascertain, especially given the manufacturing character of the moulds, given that they can be mechanically duplicated through the process of derivative production.

## “Bread stamps” or votive discs?

*No. 58* serves as an opportunity to discuss the function of round moulds and relief round discs. Similar moulds have often been interpreted as bread stamps, used for decorating sacred breads or cakes which would be used in cultic practices.<sup>66</sup> The evidential basis of this interpretation, however, is somewhat spurious, as no ancient literary source mentions bread stamping in ancient Greece.<sup>67</sup> This interpretation should con-

<sup>56</sup> Muller 2019, fig. 17.4, with previous bibliography. See also Hebe on the famous *epinetron* from Eretria by the Eretria painter (Athens National Museum, inv. no. 1629): Beazley 1963, 1250.34, 1688; Boardman 1989, fig. 235; Blundell & Rabinowitz 2008, fig. 5a.

<sup>57</sup> Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997; Larson 2001; Dalmon 2011, with collected previous bibliography.

<sup>58</sup> Larson 2001, 21.

<sup>59</sup> Str. 9.5.17: “Now, in his iambs, Callimachus says that ‘of all Aphrodites (for there was not just one goddess with that name), Aphrodite Kastnietis surpasses all in her wisdom, as she is the only one to accept the sacrifice of swine’ [...] and among these was the Aphrodite in Metropolis”. [Καλλιμάχος μὲν οὖν φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις τὰς Ἀφροδίτας ἢ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία τὴν Καστινήτιν ὑπερβάλλεσθαι πάσας τῶν φρονεῖν, ὅτι μόνη παραδέχεται τὴν τῶν ὠν ὕψισαν [...] ὧν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Μητροπόλει.]

<sup>60</sup> For the Aphrodite Kastnietis of Aspendos, see *LIMC* II (1984), 154, s.v. *Aphroditai Kastnietides* (R. Fleischer); Şahin 2018. For the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias and the relation to Aphrodite Kastnietis and the Ephesian Artemis, see Brody 1999, 77.

<sup>61</sup> For a discussion of the Aphrodite Kastnietis on coins of Thessalian Metropolis, see Moustaka 1983, 39.

<sup>62</sup> For the Kallithiro mould, see *Note* 38. For the coins, see *Note* 39.

<sup>63</sup> Munich, Antikensammlungen inv. no. 2755 (previously 6043), side A; *LIMC* II (1984), 33, s.v. *Aphrodite*, no. 214, pl. 24 (A. Delivorrias); Robertson 1992, 293, fig. 297.

<sup>64</sup> Biesantz 1965, 144.

<sup>65</sup> Leake and Ussing both noted traces of monumental architecture at the so-called *İç Kale* (“inner fortress”) at modern Palaiokastro/Mitropoli, close to the church of Agios Giorgios, which they interpreted as the remains of the temple of Aphrodite Kastnietis. Leake 1835, 506–507; Ussing 1847, 254–255. Arvanitopoulos later excavated a building in the same village, which he identified with the temple of the goddess. However, none of the finds (lamps with relief decoration, fragments of relief bowls, black-glaze pottery, and fragments of bronze finds) securely suggest that this is the goddess’ sanctuary in any way, and their location is unknown so they cannot be re-examined. Arvanitopoulos 1911, 342–343. See also Moustaka 1983, 39.

<sup>66</sup> For example, Deonna 1919; Szczepkowska 1995; Stavrogiannis 2018, 367. Most of the examples that Deonna provides of ancient bread stamps (non-Christian) have already been proven not to be bread stamps, see *RealLexAC* II (1954), 630–631 s.v. *Brotstempel* (F. Eckstein & T. Klausner).

<sup>67</sup> Not to confuse with Roman bread stamping, which is attested archaeologically, but in different forms. The excavators of Kastro Kallithea interpret three terracotta objects of irregular shape, with incised images of

sequently be regarded as derived from Christian Orthodox practices.

Instead, the existence of several of these round moulds and of clay products—round clay relief discs—should be seen as proof of a class of votive plaques, round rather than the more common rectangular shape. Clay relief votive plaques/discs are rarely—if ever—included in discussions of votive plaques/*pinakes* of antiquity.<sup>68</sup> Thessaly has yielded a significant amount of relief discs and moulds for their production, although most remain unpublished or are only known from brief excavation reports. Apart from Vlochos and the above-mentioned mould from Kallithiro,<sup>69</sup> further sites such as Peirasia (modern Ermitsi),<sup>70</sup> Orthos (modern Kedros),<sup>71</sup> Metropolis,<sup>72</sup> Episkopi (ancient Gomphoi?),<sup>73</sup> Krannon,<sup>74</sup> New Halos,<sup>75</sup> Phthiotic Thebes, Demetrias,<sup>76</sup> and Melitaia,<sup>77</sup> have produced examples. Many of the products preserve suspension hole(s), another suggestion that they were used as votives or in shrines. Sonia Klinger has argued that the round relief plaques functioned as *oscilla*, decorative roundels, which would also be dedicated to sanctuaries and possibly hang from trees.<sup>78</sup> Outside Thessaly, clay relief discs and moulds for their production are known from Athens,<sup>79</sup> Corinth,<sup>80</sup> Cephalonia,<sup>81</sup> Ithaka,<sup>82</sup> and Olynthus.<sup>83</sup> Several moulds were discovered in pottery and coroplastic workshops, which adds to our argument that these objects functioned as moulds for ceramic products, rather than bread stamps.<sup>84</sup>

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a leaf, lightning bolt, and barley found in a domestic setting as terracotta bread/cake stamps. Haagsma *et al.* 2019, 304–305, fig. 16.

<sup>68</sup> Salapata 2002 does not include round plaques in her important overview of Greek plaques. Similarly, *ThesCRA I* (2004), 293–296 *s.v.* ‘pinakes (plaques), figurative’ (J. Boardman, T. Mannack & C. Wagner), only discusses painted plaques. For painted votive plaques, see also: Karoglou 2010; Hasaki 2021. For rectangular relief plaques, see: Peppa-Papaioannou 2012; Salapata 2014.

<sup>69</sup> Two more relief clay discs were found at Kallithiro on the hill of Agios Athanasios from an unknown context, one representing in relief a female figure, probably the goddess Athena, and another with floral decoration. See Karagiannopoulos 2006, 751.

<sup>70</sup> Hatziangelakis 1993, 244, pl. 83b.

<sup>71</sup> Hatziangelakis 2007, 52; 2011, 78.

<sup>72</sup> Rondiri 1996, pl. 94b.

<sup>73</sup> Hatziangelakis 1998, 448, pl. 172b.

<sup>74</sup> Zaouri & Katakouta 2006, 58, pl. 12.

<sup>75</sup> Reinders 1988, 125, fig. 81.

<sup>76</sup> The specimens are under study for publication by S. Ieremias.

<sup>77</sup> Stavrogiannis 2018, fig. 18.

<sup>78</sup> *Corinth* XVIII:8, 15 n. 102, 47–48, with previous bibliography.

<sup>79</sup> Nicholls 1995, 64–66, pl. 112.

<sup>80</sup> *Corinth* XVIII:8, 43–52, with collected previous bibliography on round clay plaques from Corinth.

<sup>81</sup> Dontas 1964, pl. 6a.

<sup>82</sup> Benton 1938, 45, nos. 65–67, fig. 20; Kopestonsky 2016, fig. 1.

<sup>83</sup> *Olynthus* VII, 93, no. 372, pl. 45.

<sup>84</sup> The authors will expand this topic in more detail in a forthcoming article.

## The original context of the artefacts

The material from the larger spoil-heap contains finds ranging from the late Archaic period to the 6th century AD, mirroring the main phases of habitation at the site of Vlochos.<sup>85</sup> However, the majority of the finds described in this article belong distinctly to the Phase 2A/2B at Vlochos, covering the second half of the 4th century to approximately the end of the 3rd century BC.

Many fragments of architectural elements have been found in and around the spoil-heaps, probably originating in the area where the soils were excavated, some 50 m to the north-west. Several large *euthynteria* slabs, two fragments of a Doric capital, and many fragmentary pieces of other unidentifiable elements have been found among the soils of the larger spoil-heap, all speaking for the existence of at least one monumental building in the area. Combined with the presence of dedicatory inscriptions, sculptures, terracotta artefacts, and large quantities of fine-ware pottery, we see the architectural evidence as indicating the existence of a monumentalized sanctuary in the area from where the soils were extracted.<sup>86</sup>

As mentioned, the heap yielded four representations of Ennodia, three in sculpture and one terracotta figurine. It is thus reasonable to assume that Ennodia was the venerated deity in the sanctuary. The existence of the Nymphs relief (*No.* 9) could further indicate that the Nymphs were also worshipped in the sanctuary. Nymphs were worshipped as secondary deities in several shrines of Artemis around Greece, often together with Pan.<sup>87</sup> The similarities between Ennodia and Artemis, as well as parallels between their cults, are well attested in both archaeology and ancient sources.<sup>88</sup>

The name of the city at Vlochos remains unknown, but an assessment of preserved sources and ancient topography have allowed for a tentative identification of it as being Phakion (Φάκιον), known to have existed in the vicinity.<sup>89</sup> If this suggestion is correct, then there is indirect epigraphic evidence that Ennodia was worshipped in the city. A Thessalian named Lysanias, son of Korilos from Phakion, offered an inscribed votive base to Ennodia from spoils of war at the ancient city Oreon (modern Oreoi) on the north coast of Euboea.<sup>90</sup> The dedication to Ennodia by a Thessalian in Euboea after a battle has been interpreted to signify that he dedicated to a goddess who was important in his place of origin,<sup>91</sup> thus indirectly hinting at the existence of a sanctuary of Ennodia in Phakion.

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<sup>85</sup> Vaiopoulou *et al.* 2020, 22; 2022, 78, table 1.

<sup>86</sup> Liangouras (1965) tentatively suggested this upon discovery of the three inscriptions, but had proposed Athena as the venerated deity.

<sup>87</sup> Larson 2001, 109–110; Zampiti 2013, 309, with previous bibliography.

<sup>88</sup> Chrysostomou 1998, 187–207.

<sup>89</sup> Vaiopoulou *et al.* 2020, 63.

<sup>90</sup> *IG* XII.9, 1193; Chrysostomou 1998, 85–87; Mili 2015, 154.

<sup>91</sup> Chrysostomou 1998, 87.

The votives show a strong female presence. Combining the inscriptions found in 1964 and the recent finds, there are four (or five) dedications by women and only one by a man. The majority of the sculptural and coroplastic votives represent female figures, primarily young women. The majority of the sculptures are female, with the exception of the young male statuette fragment (*No. 5*). The coroplastic material relating to the female sphere consists of 19 female protomes, 17 female figurines, two girl figurines, and one *plangōn*. Perhaps Ennodia protected young women in important life transitions, as did Pasikrata and Artemis Ennodia at Demetrias.<sup>92</sup> This would fit well with the capacity of the Nymphs—who might have also been worshipped at the Vlochos sanctuary—to protect young women, brides, and children.<sup>93</sup> Pan, depicted in the mould *No. 59*, is also in accordance with the Nymphs as they are regular companions.

Notably, the sanctuary—if located at the Gkekas quarry—was well within the city walls, at least during the main Phase 2A/B of habitation. This is an uncommon factor compared to the other known Ennodia sanctuaries in eastern and southern Thessaly, which are found outside city walls or in the countryside. Nevertheless, we know from inscriptions of Ennodia as Polias and Astikē, which attests her function as protector of the city.<sup>94</sup> Whether the Ennodia sanctuary at Vlochos played a similar poliadic role is impossible to discern based on our current knowledge, nor do the finds provide much more information on this matter.

The location of the sanctuary, in turn, casts doubt on the traditional understanding of the chthonic character of the cult of Ennodia. Most of the known sanctuaries of the goddess elsewhere in Thessaly were in the proximity of cemeteries. Nikolaos Papachatzis proposed that the goddess Pasikrata at Demetrias was a chthonic deity, in whose sanctuary Artemis Ennodia was also worshipped.<sup>95</sup> Consequently, a theory formed that Ennodia was a dark deity whose cult was connected with chthonic rites, the dead, and the underworld.<sup>96</sup> However, the recent re-examination of the finds from the Pasikrata Sanctuary and the re-evaluation of the epigraphic and archaeological data on the cult of Ennodia have shown that she was a primordial goddess of the land, fertility, protector of women and children, and of life-passages, and in some cases (as mentioned above) a protector of cities.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Stamatopoulou 2014, 217–218; Kravaritou 2018, 391.

<sup>93</sup> See *Note 57*.

<sup>94</sup> Polias: *SEG XXXVII*, 494; Helly 1993, 174. Astikē: *IG IX 2*, 575; Chrysostomou 1998, 53, no. 1; Mili 2015, 157.

<sup>95</sup> Papachatzis 1958.

<sup>96</sup> Chrysostomou 1998. See also Mili 2015, 268–269 for an overview of the theories.

<sup>97</sup> Stamatopoulou 2014, 231–232; Mili 2015, 268–274. On the coroplastic evidence from the Sanctuary of Pasikrata see also: Jeremias 2019, 23–41.

The presence of two moulds (*Nos. 58–59*) from the sanctuary could be interpreted in some alternative ways: a) as indicative of the existence of a workshop in, or in the immediate vicinity of the sanctuary. Workshops within sanctuaries are known, for example, from the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite at Pella, where a sculpture (and terracotta?) workshop has been identified within the sanctuary grounds,<sup>98</sup> or b) the dedication of moulds to the deity. This is a rare but known practice in a few Greek sanctuaries, such as inside the “Small Temple” or Sanctuary of Parthenos at Gitana, Thesprotia,<sup>99</sup> the Argive Heraion,<sup>100</sup> the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth,<sup>101</sup> the Sanctuary of Demeter,<sup>102</sup> and possibly the Sanctuary of Pasikrata, the last two both at Demetrias.<sup>103</sup> The moulds, or at least the disc mould *No. 58*, belongs to a category of appropriate dedications to the sanctuary, as we also know of the existence of at least one votive relief disc, *No. 57*.

## Conclusions

As an ensemble, the inscriptions, sculptures, and the coroplastic finds have a strong votive character, probably belonging to a sanctuary. It is likely a sanctuary of Ennodia, since we have four representations of the goddess. The inscriptions—at present—do not provide any more concrete evidence for this identification. If our suggestion is correct, then it is the first sanctuary of the goddess to be identified in western Thessaly.<sup>104</sup> Perhaps the Nymphs were also worshipped alongside Ennodia. As is evident from the coroplastic finds, the sanctuary predates the fortified city in the Patoma area at the site. The majority of the finds date from the second half of the 4th century BC, coinciding with the extensive fortification, the monumentalization, and the flourishing of the city at Vlochos.

We hope that future geophysical prospection and survey at the area around the quarry, as well as the investigation of a second adjacent spoil-heap will clarify any further questions that

<sup>98</sup> Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, 37.

<sup>99</sup> Preka-Alexandri 1989, 306–308; Kanta-Kitsou *et al.* 2008, 71.1; Kanta-Kitsou 2008, 54; Preka-Alexandri & Nakasis 2018, 749, fig. 18.

<sup>100</sup> Waldstein & Chase 1905, 43, fig. 84.

<sup>101</sup> *Corinth XVIII:4*, 276–277, nos. V44–46, pl. 64; *Corinth XVIII:8*, 14, 50, no. 48, pl. 11, 123–124, no. 155, pl. 23.

<sup>102</sup> Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 184, fig. 5; Jeremias 2019, 55, 58, 396, no. 279, pl. 18.

<sup>103</sup> Jeremias 2019, 251. Stamatopoulou also suggests that they might belong to workshops around the sanctuary grounds, Stamatopoulou 2014, 212–213.

<sup>104</sup> Her cult is known by an inscription from the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Filia: *SEG XXXVII*, 494; Helly 1993, 174. However, no material remains or other finds were known from western Thessaly until now.



Fig. 2. No. 1. Marble statuette of Ennodia. Scale 1:2. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.

arise from the fragmentary state of the finds, but will perhaps also provide new finds that could add more information about the character of the sanctuary, the venerated deity/deities, and its worshippers.



Fig. 3. No. 2. Fragment of the hand of a marble statuette of Ennodia, holding a torch. Scale 1:2. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.

## Catalogue of finds

### SCULPTURES

**1. AMK 18608 + AMK 18607.** Statuette of Ennodia. *Fig. 2.* Marble. Height 30 cm, width 12 cm, depth 4.50 cm. Standing female figure. Joined from two fragments. Parts of the head missing, the left arm is broken, while the hand is preserved on the right thigh. The upper part of the torch and the right part of the plinth are broken. The right arm is lowered to the side. The left arm holds a large torch. She wears a *chiton* and a *himation* which covers most of the figure. The hair is arranged in the melon hairstyle, and she wears a myrtle (?) wreath which is mostly broken. Date: second half of the 4th century BC or later.

**2. AE 18.** Hand of Ennodia with torch. *Fig. 3.* Marble. Height: 7 cm, width: 3.30 cm, depth: 3.30 cm. Broken below the wrist. The left hand of a torch-bearing figure, seemingly raised upwards. The index and middle fingers are parted and support the shaft of the torch between them. Date: second half of the 4th century BC or later.

**3. AMK 18647.** Statuette of a female figure with base. *Figs. 4–5.* Marble. Height (with base) 32 cm, width 8.30 cm, depth 5.40 cm. Base: Height 4.10 cm, width 12.90 cm, depth 11 cm. Joined from two fragments, broken at the middle of the torso. Missing the head and the arms, break at the bottom side of the *peplos*. Standing female figure wearing a high-girded *peplos* with overfold, which falls to the beginning of the hips. The left foot is visible from the hem and wears high sandals. Two locks of hair fall diagonally from the shoulders to the sides of the breasts, while at the back a large braid falls behind the neck. The base is almost intact. The inscription is arranged in two lines (*Fig. 5*).



Fig. 4. No. 3. Marble statuette of female figure with base bearing dedicatory inscription. Scale 1:2. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.

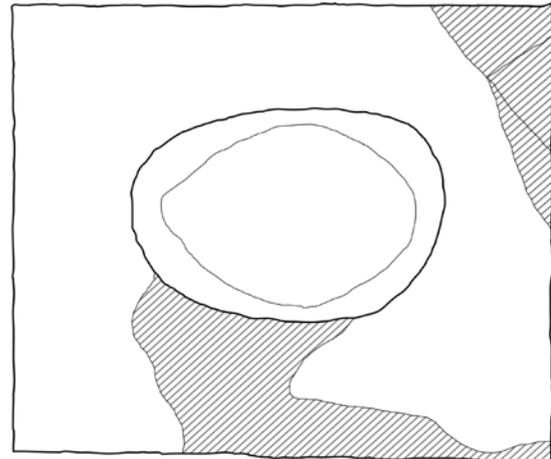
Inscription:

ΜΥΣΤ[... ]Η  
ΑΝΕ[.]Η[.]ΕΝ

Μυστ[αλί]νη  
ἀνέ[θ]η[κ]ε

The letters are orderly inscribed. The letter height is 0,5 cm, with a letter spacing of 0,5 cm.

Date: second half of 4th–early 3rd centuries BC.



10 cm

Fig. 5. Drawing of the inscribed base of No. 3. Scale 1:2. Drawing by Robin Rönnlund.

**4. AE 127.** Arm of a statuette. Fig. 6.

Marble. Height 6.20 cm, width 3.40 cm, depth 2.10 cm.

The right arm and forearm of a small statuette. The arm is bent and the wrist rests on the body. The arm is not dressed. Perhaps belonging to a female figure.

Date: second half of the 4th century BC or later.

**5. AE 19.** Thigh and shin of a young male statuette. Fig. 7.

Marble. Height 12 cm, width 3.50 cm, depth 4.30 cm.

Fragment of the right thigh and part of the shin survives. The leg is nude, and the musculature is thin but tight, which implies that it pertains to a young male statuette.

Date: second half of the 4th century BC or later.

**6. AE 35.** Thigh and knee of a statuette of a seated figure. Fig. 8.

Marble. Height 5.80 cm, width 4.60 cm at the thigh, depth 10.9 cm.

The left thigh, knee, and start of the shin. Broken below the knee and at the connection with the hips. The leg bends at the knee. The figure is dressed, as a fold of a garment is visible below the knee. It is not clear if it is a female or male figure.

Date: second half of the 4th century BC (?) or later.



Fig. 6. No. 4. Fragment of the right arm of a marble statuette. Scale 1:2. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.



Fig. 7. No. 5. Fragment of the thigh and shin of a young male marble statuette. Scale 1:2. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.



Fig. 8. No. 6. Fragment of seated marble statuette. Scale 1:2. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.

**7. AE 48.** Folds from a statuette of a female figure.

Marble. Height 3.20 cm, width 5.30 cm, depth 1.60 cm.

Fragment of folds from a dressed female figure. It has been detached from the main body.

Date: second half of the 4th century BC or later.

**8. AE 34.** Votive relief depicting Ennodia with horse, in front of an altar. Fig. 9.

Marble. Height 42 cm, width 31 cm, depth 5 cm.

Joined from three fragments. The pedimental crowning is significantly broken at the central and left part. Worn surface.

Pedimental crowning at the top. There is a rectangular tenon at the bottom of the relief for insertion to its base. A standing female figure is shown in three-quarter view. The left arm is relaxed to the side holding a *phiale*. The right arm is raised and rests on the horse's head. She wears a *peplos* with overfold and *kolpos*, and a long veil at the head which falls behind the back to the level of the knees. To the right and behind the figure, the front half of a horse is shown facing to the viewer's left. At the relief's bottom right corner there is a stepped altar with barriers in three-quarter view.

Date: second half of the 4th century BC or later.

**9. AE 36.** Votive relief depicting three female figures (Nymphs). Fig. 10.

Marble. Height 25.3 cm, width 43 cm, depth 6 cm.

The upper half of the *stèle* survives. Joined from three fragments. The figures are broken approximately below their hips. The upper part of the *stèle* is crowned with an architrave and *ovolo* moulding. Three standing figures are shown. From the viewer's left. Figure A: the face is shown in profile, while the body is in three-quarter view to the viewer's right. The right

arm is lowered to the side. The left hand is bent at the elbow. She wears a *peplos*, pinned at the right shoulder, but at the left shoulder the garment has slipped and the pinned part falls to the middle of the upper arm, leaving the left breast exposed above the nipple. The back of the *peplos* overfold is worn behind the back as a veil on the head, while the right arm holds part of this overfold. The hair is pulled back and is held with two *tainiai* on the top of the head. Figure B: shown in profile moving towards the viewer's left. The right arm is raised, bent at the elbow, holding a *pyxis* on her upturned palm. She looks towards figure A. She wears a thin, sleeved *chiton* and *himation*, which only leaves the right breast and shoulder uncovered, as well as a *sakkos* on the head. Figure C: shown in three-quarter view with an intense tilt of the head to the left. The left leg supports the weight. The arms are raised, bent at the elbows with the hands raised to head height. She wears a *peplos* pinned at the shoulders and a *himation*, which is loosely draped around the thighs. The hair is pulled to the back with a central braid in the middle of the head and held with a thin *tainia*. The raised arms seem to be tying the *tainia* on the head. Date: second quarter of the 4th century BC or later.

#### OTHER STONE VOTIVE MATERIAL

**10. AMK 18707.** Inscribed statuette base. Fig. 11.

Marble. Height 22.70 cm, width 20 cm, depth 7.5 cm.

Joining from three fragments. The top half of the base survives. At the top there is a rectangular depression for the insertion of the statuette plinth. Almost-square dowel hole at the front for insertion of a metal object. Almost-square dowel hole at the back with a metal rod inserted with lead as the bonding material.



*Fig. 9. No. 8. Marble votive relief portraying Ennodia with a horse in front of an altar. Scale 1:3. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.*



*Fig. 10. No. 9. Marble votive relief showing three female figures (Nymphs?). Scale 1:3. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.*



The inscription is arranged in two lines. The first two letters of the first line are destroyed from the break.

[..]ΠΑ ἀν-  
έθηκεν

Date: 4th–3rd centuries BC.

**11. AE 63 + AE 64 + AE 67.** Small, Ionic, votive column. *Fig. 12.* Marble. Height 44 cm, width 11 cm, depth 9 cm. Joining from four fragments. Survives almost intact apart from several small breaks and chips on the surface. The column is not completely circular; its back is flattened which might indicate that it was intended to stand against a wall. Possibly a support for a votive. Its small size and small base rules out its identification as a structural architectural element. Ionic architectural elements are rare in western Thessaly, and we have not found any close parallels to the votive column.

Date: 4th–3rd centuries BC.

## FIGURATIVE TERRACOTTAS

### Ennodia

**12. AMK 18606 + AMK 18646 (AE 8 + AE 39).** Ennodia figurine with dog. *Fig. 13.*

Clay. Ennodia: Height 7.80 cm, width 4.70 cm. Dog: Height 10 cm, width 4.20 cm, depth 3.30 cm.

The right, middle part (the area of the hips) of the figure survives. It joins with the figure of a large dog or hound. The front part of the dog survives.

Ennodia is shown as a *peplophoros* figure, wearing a *peplos* with overfold and *kolpos*. She also wears a veil which falls (probably from the head) over the back to the level of the hips. The dog's head turns upwards and to its right.

Date: second half of the 4th century BC or later.

### Protomes

**13. AE 95.** Female neck-protome. *Fig. 14.*

Clay. Height 13.90 cm, width 9.40 cm, depth 6.20 cm.

Broken: the left part of the *stephanē*. Broken below the neck.

Female protome belonging to the neck-protome category, which were created only down to the neck. She faces frontally and slightly upwards. The hair frames the face in waves, pulled back, with a central braid at the top of the head. She wears a *stephanē*. Each ear has a hole. They are executed extending outwards prominently. The holes at the ears might have been used for suspension of earrings.

Date: 4th century BC.



*Fig. 11.* No. 10. Fragment of inscribed statue base, marble. Scale 1:4. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.



*Fig. 12.* No. 11. Small, Ionic, votive column, marble. Scale 1:4. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.



Fig. 13. No. 12. Fragment of terracotta figurine showing Enmodia with a dog. Scale 1:2. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.

Fig. 14. No. 13. Female neck-protome. Scale 1:2. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.

**14. AE 50.** Small female protome. *Fig. 15.*  
Clay. Height 3.80 cm, width 4.80 cm, depth 3.70 cm.  
Fragment of the left cheek, mouth, and chin of female protome.  
Very few traces of white slip around the mouth.  
Date: 540–510 BC.

**15. AMK 18694.** Eye of female protome. *Fig. 16.*  
Clay. Height 3.70 cm, width 4.20 cm.  
Only the left eye survives, with part of the lower eyebrow.  
Date: c. 490–480 BC.

**16. AE 40.** Part of female protome. *Fig. 17.*  
Clay. Height 7.20 cm, width 5.20 cm.  
The left side of a female protome. The left top of the forehead, wavy hair, left earring, and part of the side survive.  
Date: c. 500–480 BC.

**17. AE 66.** Hair of female protome.  
Clay. Height 2.80 cm, width 2.90 cm, depth 1.30 cm.  
The wavy hair of female protome.  
Date: c. 490–480 BC.

**18. AE 60.** Part of female protome. *Fig. 18.*  
Clay. Height 2.90 cm, width 5.70 cm.  
The right side of a protome with part of the veil and earrings surviving. The earring is shown with dots in relief.  
Date: c. 500–480 BC.

**19. AMK 18642.** Fragment of small female protome. *Fig. 19.*  
Clay. Height 3.20 cm, width 4.50 cm, depth 4.40 cm.

Very fragmentary. Only the top, front, right part of the head survives with part of the forehead and the hair, which is arranged in the melon hairstyle.  
Date: late 4th or early 3rd century BC.

**20. AE 21.** Hand of female protome. *Fig. 20.*  
Clay. Height 4.85 cm, width 3.20 cm, depth 1.90 cm.  
The left hand of a female protome with part of the wrist also surviving. She seems to have held an object between her thumb and index finger, perhaps a bud.  
Date: late 4th century BC. Very similar to *No. 21.*

**21. AE 10.** Hand of female protome-bust. *Fig. 21.*  
Clay. Height 3.50 cm, width 3.60 cm, depth 1.60 cm.  
The right hand survives, holding a rounded object between the thumb and index fingers, perhaps a flower bud or fruit.  
Date: late 4th century BC. Very similar to *No. 20.*

**22. AE 11 + AE 16.** Fragment of female protome. *Fig. 22.*  
Clay. Height 10 cm, width 10 cm, depth 5.30 cm.  
Two joining fragments. The first fragment comes from the top left part of the head. The second fragment is from the back of the head. Only the left part of the hair survives. At the top of the head there is a cylindrical object, perhaps indicating a band. At the left side of the head black core indicating that the band was detached but continued around the head.  
Date: 3rd century BC.

**23. AE 28.** Breast of almost life-size female protome or clay statue. *Fig. 23.*  
Clay. Height 6.10 cm, width 8.70 cm, depth 3.20 cm.



*Fig. 15. No. 14.*



*Fig. 16. No. 15.*



*Fig. 17. No. 16.*



*Fig. 18. No. 18.*



*Fig. 19. No. 19.*



*Fig. 20. No. 20.*



*Fig. 21. No. 21.*



*Fig. 22. No. 22.*

*Figs. 15–22. Nos. 14–16, 18–22. Fragments of female protomes. Scale 1:1. Photographs by Stelios Ieremias.*

The right breast of an almost life-size female protome. She wears a thin *chiton* which clings to her breast creating thin folds.  
Date: first third of 3rd century BC.

**24. AE 34.** Drapery of female protome. *Fig. 24.*  
Clay. Height 4.50 cm, width 5.70 cm, depth 2.50 cm.  
Very fragmentary. The left side survives, probably from the veil.  
Date: second half of 4th–early 3rd centuries BC.

**25. AE 26.** Part of female protome.  
Clay. Height 7.80 cm, width 6.60 cm, depth 6.70 cm.  
The right side of the head of a female protome. Only the hair, a tiny part of the forehead, and the right earring are preserved. She seems to be wearing a tall *stephanē*; only its back right side survives.  
Date: 4th century BC (?).

**26. AMK 18601.** Part of female protome. *Fig. 25.*  
Clay. Height 5.50 cm, width 5.20 cm, depth 5.10 cm.  
The right shoulder and the upper part of the arm of the protome survive. She wears a sleeved *chiton* and two necklaces which are visible falling from the shoulders.  
Date: late 4th–3rd centuries BC.

**27. AMK 18690.** Head of small female protome. *Fig. 26.*  
Clay. Height 7 cm, width 3 cm.  
The right part of the head survives. She wears a *stephanē* behind the bow-bun and earrings.  
Preserves the white slip (preparation) and dark red colour at the hair.  
Date: 4th century BC.

**28. AE 136.** Part of female protome-bust.  
Clay. Height 6.9 cm, width 4 cm, depth 1.5 cm.  
Very fragmentary. Only the right forearm and hand survive. She wears a bracelet at the wrist. Drapery is visible behind the hand, indicating that she wore a veil.  
Date: late 4th–early 3rd centuries BC.

**29. AE 108.** Part of female protome.  
Clay. Height 5.50 cm, width 5 cm.  
Very fragmentary. Part of the left arm with the sleeve of the *chiton* survives.  
Date: second half of 4th–early 3rd centuries (?) BC.

**30. AE 17.** Part of female protome.  
Clay. Height 5 cm, width 4.10 cm, depth 2.90 cm.  
Small fragment of the left shoulder of female protome. Seems to be wearing a necklace.  
Reminiscent in style of *No. 26*, but smaller in size.  
Date: late 4th–early 3rd centuries (?) BC.

**31. AMK 18612 (AE 14).** Part of female protome.  
Clay. Height 10.80 cm, width 10 cm.  
Back of a large protome. Only a small part of it survives probably from the back of the neck.  
Date: unknown.

**32. AE 24.** Nose of life-size protome. *Fig. 27.*  
Clay. Height 5.70 cm, width 2.95 cm, depth 3.20 cm.  
Part of nose from life-size protome.  
Date: unknown.

### Female figurines

**33. AMK 18620 (AE 18).** Head of female figurine. *Fig. 28.*  
Clay. Height 2.90 cm, width 2 cm, depth 1.50 cm.  
Broken below the neck.  
Head of female figurine, possibly of a seated figure. She wears a veil.  
Date: 500–480 BC.

**34. AE 11 + AE 15.** Kore figurine. *Fig. 29.*  
Clay. Height 5.20 cm, width 3.60 cm, depth 2 cm.  
Broken above the waist and below the feet area. The back and part of the right side is broken and missing.  
The arms are lowered to the side and the hands are placed at the front of the thighs. She wears a *peplos* with overfold.  
Date: first half of 5th century BC.

**35. AMK 18688 (AE 81).** Female figurine. *Fig. 30.*  
Clay. Height 3.20 cm, width 4 cm, depth 1.40 cm.  
The chest and beginning of the neck of figure, perhaps female. Broken at the neck, the right arm, and the left side of the chest. She wears a *chiton*.  
Date: first half of 5th century BC.

**36. AMK 18613 (AE 15).** Head of female figurine. *Fig. 31.*  
Clay. Height 3.70 cm, width 2.70 cm, depth 2.80 cm.  
Intact head, broken below the neck.  
Female head. The hair is intricately rendered in the melon hairstyle, pulled back, creating a large fishtail braid wrapped to a large bun. She wears earrings.  
Date: late 4th–3rd centuries BC. See also *No. 37*.

**37. AE 1.** Head of female figurine. *Fig. 32.*  
Clay. Height 5.20 cm, width 2.70 cm, depth 2.90 cm.  
Intact head. Preserves the tang for insertion to the body. The left earring has been detached.  
For description see *No. 36*, from the same mould.  
Date: late 4th–3rd centuries BC.



Fig. 23. No. 23.

Fig. 24. No. 24.



Fig. 25. No. 26.

Fig. 26. No. 27.

Fig. 27. No. 32.

Figs. 23–27. Nos. 23–24, 26–27, 32. Fragments of female protomes. Scale 1:1. Photographs by Stelios Ieremias.

**38. AE 84.** Female figurine. Fig. 33.  
Clay. Height 5.20 cm, width 4.30 cm, depth 2.80 cm.  
The right side of a female figurine. Only the part of the right thigh and the knee survive. She wears a *chiton* and a *himation*.  
Probably from a large figurine.  
Date: second half of 4th century BC.

**39. AMK 18695 (AE 88).** Female figurine.  
Clay. Height 4.60 cm, width 3.30 cm.  
The drapery of a female figurine, probably from the area around the thighs. She wears a *chiton* and a *himation* over it, which is draped diagonally.  
Date: second half of the 4th century BC or later.

**40. AE 7.** Female figurine. Fig. 34.  
Clay. Height 6 cm, width 3 cm, depth 2.40 cm.  
The right side of the torso, arm, hip, and part of the thigh survive. The right hand is broken.  
She stands wrapped in a *himation*. The right arm, inside the *himation*, is bent at the elbow and rests behind the back.  
Date: last quarter of 4th–3rd centuries BC.

**41. AE 75.** Head of female figurine.  
Clay. Height 4.80 cm, width 3.10 cm, depth 2.20 cm.  
The top left side of a female head. Missing most of the face.  
She wears a *stephanē*.  
Date: second half of 4th century BC or later.



*Fig. 28. No. 33.*



*Fig. 29. No. 34.*



*Fig. 30. No. 35.*



*Fig. 31. No. 36.*



*Fig. 32. No. 37.*



*Fig. 33. No. 38.*



*Fig. 34. No. 39.*



*Fig. 35. No. 42.*



*Fig. 36. No. 43.*



*Fig. 37. No. 46.*

*Figs. 28–37. Nos. 33–39, 42–43, 46. Fragments of female terracotta figurines. Scale 1:1. Photographs by Stelios Ieremias.*

**42. AMK 18692.** Leg of seated female figurine. *Fig. 35.*  
Clay. Height 6.20 cm, width 3.20 cm, depth 3.20 cm.  
Fragment of the right knee, shin, foot, and part of the rectangular base of a seated female figurine. Only the front and part of the side of the figurine survives.

Date: last quarter of 4th–3rd centuries BC.

**43. AE 105.** Female figurine. *Fig. 36.*  
Clay. Height 6.50 cm, width 4.70 cm, depth 2.80 cm.  
Broken above the hips and below the shins.  
The figure stands with her left leg supporting the weight, her right is bent at the knee and brought forward. To her right there is a rectangular object with something that seems to be a head on top. Probably a herm on which she leans.  
Date: second half of 4th century BC or later.

**44. AE 109.** Head of female figurine.  
Clay. Height 4.50 cm, width 4 cm.  
The back of the head. Only the hair survives.  
Date: last quarter of 4th–3rd centuries BC.

**45. AE 83.** Female figurine.  
Clay. Height 6.30 cm, width 3.70 cm, depth 3.90 cm.  
The figurine's lower front side survives. Only the drapery is visible.  
Date: last quarter of 4th–3rd centuries BC.

**46. AMK 18654.** Female figurine. *Fig. 37.*  
Clay. Height 5.50 cm, width 2.40 cm, depth 2.70 cm.  
The shin, part of the knee, and part of the right side of the figurine survive.  
She wears a thin *chiton* and a *himation*, part of the drapery visible at the side next to the knee. There is a vertical object next to the shin onto which the figure is seated, its surface is rough, perhaps a rock. Nymph?  
Date: last quarter of 4th–3rd centuries BC.

**47. AMK 18696.** Head of female figurine.  
Clay. Height 3.20 cm, width 2.50 cm, depth 2.90 cm.  
Only part of the top right part of the head survives, the hair and part of the back.  
Date: 3rd century BC (?).

**48. AE 85.** Female figurine.  
Clay. Height 2.80 cm, width 2.90 cm.  
Very small fragment of the drapery of a female figurine. Uncertain from which part of the figurine it comes.  
Date: late 4th–3rd centuries BC.

**49. AE 53.** Female figurine.  
Clay. Height 2.90 cm, width 2.90 cm.

Very fragmentary, only part of the *chiton* drapery survives, unclear from which part of the body, probably below the hips.  
Date: late 4th–3rd centuries (?) BC.

#### Figurines depicting girls

**50. AMK 18629 (AE 26).** Head of girl figurine. *Fig. 38.*  
Clay. Height 2.80 cm, width 2.30 cm, depth 1.80 cm.  
Fragmentary. The surface is damaged. Large hole at the left lower cheek.  
Date: last quarter of 4th–3rd centuries BC.

**51. AE 43.** Girl figurine. *Fig. 39.*  
Clay. Height 2.80 cm, width 3.90 cm, depth 2 cm.  
Only the upper part of the torso survives, along with the shoulders and arms to the elbows.  
Date: 3rd century BC.

#### Plangōn

**52. AMK 18708 (AE 101).** *Plangōn* leg. *Fig. 40.*  
Clay. Height 5.60 cm, width 0.80 cm, depth 1 cm.  
The left leg of a *plangōn* with moving legs.  
Date: 4th century BC.

#### Boy figurine

**53. AE 29.** Boy figurine. *Fig. 41.*  
Clay. Height 4.50 cm, width 2.80 cm, depth 1.90 cm.  
Two legs of a figurine. Only the shins survive. The legs are small and nude, possibly belonging to a boy figurine.  
Date: third quarter of the 4th–3rd centuries BC.

#### Dwarf

**54. AE 55.** Squatting dwarf. *Fig. 42.*  
Clay. Height 5.30 cm, width 4.50 cm, depth 2.70 cm.  
The bottom left side of a seated figurine. The bottom end survives, the left leg, which is bent at the knee, and the foot, as well as the right foot.  
Date: c. 500–460 BC.

#### Birds

**55. AE 53.** Cockerel figurine. *Fig. 43.*  
Clay. Height 7 cm, width 9 cm, depth 3.60 cm.  
Almost intact. The back of the comb and the tip of the beak are broken off.  
To the viewer's right side. The neck turns to its right. Two small holes at the bottom of the figurine. Perhaps a rattle?  
Date: early 5th–mid-4th centuries BC.



Fig. 38. No. 50.

Fig. 39. No. 51.

Fig. 40. No. 52.

Fig. 41. No. 53.

Fig. 42. No. 54.

Fig. 43. No. 55.

Fig. 44. No. 56.

Figs. 38–44: Figs. 38–39, Nos. 50–51. Fragments of girl terracotta figurines. Fig. 40. No. 52. Fragment of terracotta plangōn. Fig. 41. No. 53. Fragment of boy terracotta figurine. Fig. 42. No. 54. Fragment of squatting dwarf terracotta figurine. Fig. 43. No. 55. Terracotta cockerel figurine. Fig. 44. No. 56. Fragment of terracotta bird figurine. Scale 1:1. Photographs by Stelios Ieremias.

#### 56. AE 9. Bird figurine. Fig. 44.

Clay. Height 4.50 cm, width 1 cm.

The long tail of a bird figurine survives.

Date: Archaic?

#### DISC

#### 57. AE 73 + AE 74. Relief disc. Fig. 45.

Clay. Diameter 14 cm, width 1.50 cm.

Survives in two non-joining fragments belonging to the bottom left and the top right.

The figural scene is framed by an intricate guilloche. At the bottom left part, the bottom half of a female figure who wears a *chiton* and a *himation*. Around her there are relief objects, probably plants. To her left we see at the bottom a patch of

grass. Above it there seems to be a bulbous plant with tendrils coming out of its bottom part. The stalk is created with three vertical relief lines. To the right of the figure there are two more plants. The closest to her consists of two bulbous parts, their leaves spread out. The second seems to have a straight stalk. The right fragment only preserves the top of a plant. Its stalk is wavy, with two smaller stalks or leaves emerging. Perhaps a riverine scene?

Date: last quarter of the 4th century BC or later.

#### MOULDS

58. AE 134. Mould for relief disc showing Aphrodite holding a dove, and an Eros. Fig. 46.

Clay. Diameter 12 cm, width 0.70–1.00 cm.



Fig. 45. No. 57. Fragments of votive terracotta relief disc. Scale 1:1. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.

The right half survives. Two figures are shown in relief, one large and one smaller, winged. The small figure survives in full, except for the feet. The large female figure survives only half. The female figure is shown standing almost frontally and dressed. She wears a *chiton* and a *himation*, which is wrapped around her waist and arm, and drapes from her elbow. Her right arm is bent at the elbow, the forearm is raised, and she holds a dove in her hand. The small figure is shown standing in profile turning towards the female figure. He raises his arms upwards to the female figure, stretching his body, thus creating a curve. In his raised hands he holds a wreath. Relief line around the disc. The figures can safely be identified as Aphrodite and Eros.

Date: last quarter of the 4th century BC or later.

**59. AE 130.** Mould for Pan figurine. Fig. 47.

Clay. Height 8 cm, width 4.50 cm, depth 2.80 cm.

The lower left part of a figurine mould. The left corner survives. The relief shows the left leg of a standing (?) figure, the testicles, erect penis, and pubic area. The testicles are saggy, the penis is turned to the right side. The pubic area is very hairy. The leg also seems to be hairy. Another impression is created diagonally in the middle of the preserved scene, but it is unclear what it shows. The figure is probably Pan.

Date: Hellenistic.

#### MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

**60. AE 152.** Drapery fragment of a female figurine.

Clay. Height 3 cm, width 2.70 cm.

Very fragmentary part of a plaque (the back of the fragment is completely flat). It shows two folds, probably from the dress of a female figure.

Date: 4th–3rd centuries BC.



Fig. 46. No. 58. Fragment of mould for creating votive terracotta discs, showing Aphrodite holding a bird, and an Eros. Scale 1:1. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.

Fig. 47. No. 59. Fragment of mould for creating Pan figurines. Scale 1:1. Photograph by Stelios Ieremias.

**61. AE 159.** Drapery fragment of a female figurine. Clay. Height 4.80 cm, width 3.30 cm. Small fragment of flat terracotta, plaque, or protome, preserving folds of a garment. Date: 4th–3rd centuries BC.

**62. AE 44.** Rectangular base. Clay. Height 4 cm, width 3.70 cm, depth 3.70 cm. The corner of a figurine base, perhaps from the left side. The bottom part is broken. Date: 4th–3rd centuries BC.

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## Abbreviations

*ThesCRA* = *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*,  
 Los Angeles, 2005–

*RealLexAC* = *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt*, Stuttgart, 1950–2016.

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