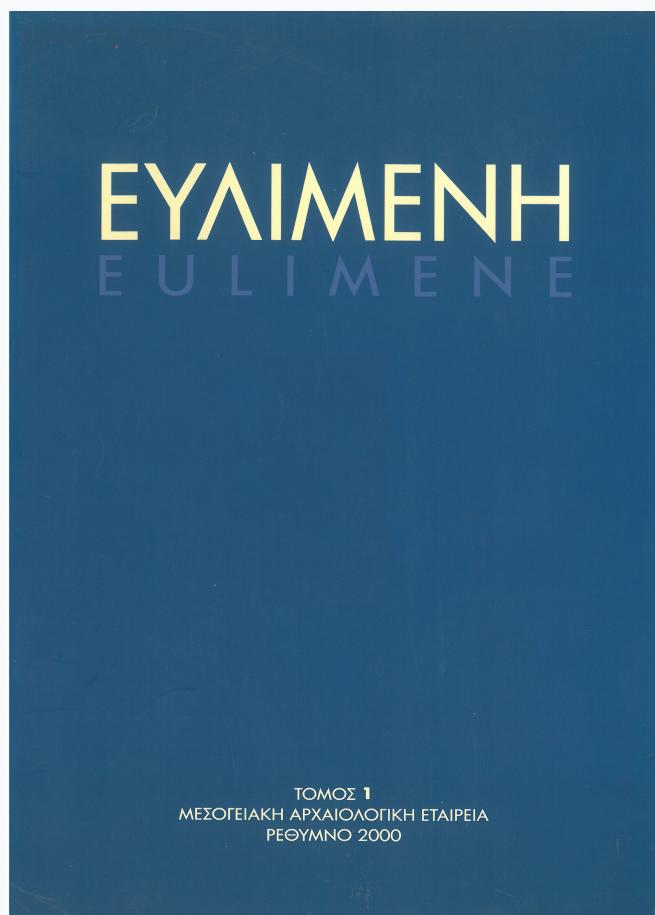


EULIMENE

Vol 1 (2000)

EULIMENE 1 (2000)



**Aspects of demography and palaeopathology
among the Hellenistic Abderetes in Thrace, Greece**

Anagnostis Agelarakis

doi: [10.12681/eul.32686](https://doi.org/10.12681/eul.32686)

ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗΝ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Τόμος 1
Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία
Ρέθυμνο 2000

ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ
ΜΕΣΟΓΕΙΑΚΗ
ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ
Π. Μανουσάκη 5 - Β. Χάλη 8
GR 741 00 - Ρέθυμνο

PUBLISHER
MEDITERRANEAN
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
P. Manousaki 5 - V. Chali 8
GR 741 00 - Rethymno

ΕΚΔΟΤΕΣ - ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΕΣ ΕΚΔΟΣΗΣ
Δρ. Νίκος Λίτινας (Ρέθυμνο)
Δρ. Μανόλης Ι. Στεφανάκης (Χανιά)

EDITORS
Dr. Nikos Litinas (Rethymno)
Dr. Manolis I. Stefanakis (Chania)

Η Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία και οι Εκδότες του περιοδικού
ευχαριστούν θερμά τους Δήμους Ρεθύμνου και Αρκαδίου για τις
χορηγίες τους στη δαπάνη της έκδοσης.

Mediterranean Archaeological Society and the Editors wish to thank the
Municipalities of Rethymnon and Arkadi for their sponsorship.

Επιστημονική Επιτροπή

Καθ. Πέτρος Θέμελης (Ρέθυμνο)
Καθ. Νίκος Σταμπολίδης (Ρέθυμνο)
Δρ. Charles V. Crowther (Οξφόρδη)
Δρ. Alan W. Johnston (Λονδίνο)
Καθ. Άγγελος Χανιώτης (Χαϊδελβέργη)
Δρ. Ιωάννης Τουράτσογλου (Αθήνα)
Καθ. Σοφία Καμπίτση (Ρέθυμνο)

Advisory Editorial Board

Prof. Nikos Stampolidis (Rethymno)
Prof. Petros Themelis (Rethymno)
Prof. Angelos Chaniotis (Heidelberg)
Dr. Charles V. Crowther (Oxford)
Dr. Alan W. Johnston (London)
Dr. Ioannis Touratsoglou (Athens)
Prof. Sofie Kambitsis (Rethymno)

Η ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ είναι μία επιστημονική περιοδική έκδοση που περιλαμβάνει μελέτες στην Κλασική Αρχαιολογία, την Επιγραφική, τη Νομισματική και την Παπυρολογία εστιάζοντας στον Ελληνικό και Ρωμαϊκό κόσμο της Μεσογείου από την Υστερομινωϊκή / Υπομινωϊκή / Μυκηναϊκή εποχή (12th / 11th αι. π.Χ.) έως και την ύστερη αρχαιότητα (5th / 6th αι. μ.Χ.).

Η ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ περιλαμβάνει επίσης μελέτες στην Ανθρωπολογία, Παλαιοδημογραφία, Παλαιοπεριβάλλον, Παλαιοβιτανολογία, Ζωοαρχαιολογία, Αρχαία Οικονομία και Ιστορία των Επιστημών, εφόσον αυτές εμπίπτουν στα προαναφερθέντα γεωγραφικά και χρονικά όρια. Ευρύτερες μελέτες στην Κλασική Φιλολογία και Αρχαία Ιστορία θα γίνονται δεκτές, εφόσον συνέδονται άμεσα με μία από τις παραπάνω επιστήμες.

Παρακαλούνται οι συγγραφείς να λαμβάνουν υπόψη τους τις παρακάτω οδηγίες:

1. Οι εργασίες υποβάλλονται στην Ελληνική, Αγγλική, Γερμανική, Γαλλική ή Ιταλική γλώσσα. Κάθε εργασία συνοδεύεται από μια περίληψη περίπου 250 λέξεων σε γλώσσα άλλη από εκείνη της εργασίας.
2. Συντομογραφίες δεκτές σύμφωνα με το *American Journal of Archaeology, Numismatic Literature*, J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, ASP*.
3. Τα γραμμικά σχέδια γίνονται με μαύρο μελάνι σε καλής ποιότητας χαρτί με ξεκάθαρους χαρακτήρες, ώστε να επιδέχονται ομήρυνση. Οι φωτογραφίες είναι ασπρόμαυρες, τυπωμένες σε γναλιστερό χαρτί. Όλα τα εικονογραφικά στοιχεία είναι αριθμημένα σε απλή σειρά.
4. Οι εργασίες στέλνονται σε δύο εκτυπωμένα αντίτυπα συνοδευόμενα από το κείμενο σε δισκέτα ηλεκτρονικού υπολογιστή.

Είναι υποχρέωση του κάθε συγγραφέα να εξασφαλίζει γραπτή άδεια για την αναπαραγωγή υλικού που έχει δημοσιευτεί αλλού ή είναι αδημοσίευτο.

Οι συγγραφείς θα λαμβάνουν δέκα ανάτυπα και έναν τόμο του περιοδικού. Επιπλέον ανάτυπα θα μπορούν να αγοραστούν.

Συνδρομές - Συνεργασίες - Πληροφορίες:

Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, Π. Μανουσάκη 5 - Β. Χάλη 8, GR 741 00 Ρέθυμνο

Δρ. Νίκος Λέτινας, Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης, Τμήμα Φιλολογίας, Ρέθυμνο - GR 74 100

Δρ. Μανόλης Ι. Στεφανάκης, Καλέβες- Αποκορώνου, Χανιά - GR 73003

EULIMENE is an academic periodical which contains studies in Classical Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, and Papyrology, with particular interest in the Greek and Roman Mediterranean world. The time span covered by EULIMENH runs from the Late Minoan / Sub Minoan / Mycenean period (12th / 11th cent. BC) through to the late Antiquity (5th / 6th cent. AD).

EULIMENE will also welcome studies on anthropology, palaeodemography, palaio-environmental, botanical and faunal archaeology, the ancient economy and the history of science, so long as they conform to the geographical and chronological boundaries noted. Broader studies on Classics or Ancient History will be welcome, though they should be strictly linked with one or more of the areas mentioned above.

It will be very much appreciated if contributors consider the following guidelines:

1. Contributions should be in either of the following languages: Greek, English, German, French or Italian. Each paper should be accompanied by a summary of about 250 words in one of the above languages, other than that of the paper.
2. Accepted abbreviations are those of *American Journal of Archaeology, Numismatic Literature*, J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, ASP*.
3. Line drawings should be in black ink on good quality paper with clear lettering, suitable for reduction. Photographs should be glossy black-and-white prints. All illustrations should be numbered in a single sequence.
4. Please send two hard copies of your text and one version on computer disc.

It is the author's responsibility to obtain written permission to quote or reproduce material which has appeared in another publication or is still unpublished.

Ten offprints of each paper, and a volume of the journal will be provided to the contributors free of charge. Additional offprints may be purchased.

Subscriptions - Contributions - Information:

Mediterranean Archaeological Society, P. Manousaki 5 - V. Chali 8, GR 741 00 Rethymno

Dr. Manolis I. Stefanakis, Kalives - Apokorounou, Chania, GR - 73003

Dr. Nikos Litinas, University of Crete, Dep. of Philology, Rethymno, GR - 74 100

web : <http://www.phl.uoc.gr/eulimene/>

mail : eulimene@mail.com

**Περιεχόμενα
ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000)**

**List of contents
EULIMENE 1 (2000)**

Περιλήψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti	6
Anagnostis Angelarakis , Aspects of demography and palaeopathology among the hellenistic Abderites in Thrace, Greece	13
Antonio Corso , Praxitelian Dionysi	25
Angelos Chaniotis , Hellenistic Lasaia (Crete): a dependent polis of Gortyn. New epigraphic evidence from the Asklepieion near Lasaia	55
Εύα Γροφματικάκη - Νίκος Λίτινας , Μαγικός κατάδεσμος	61
Nikos Metenidis , Zu den Denarbildern des CN. PLANCIUS	71
Manolis I. Stefanakis , Kydon the oikist or Zeus Cretagenes Kynotraphes? The problem of interpreting Cretan coin types	79
Ioannis Touratsoglou , The price of power: Drachms in the name of Alexander in Greece (On the occasion of the Thessaly/1993 confiscation)	91
Σελήνη Ψωμά , Σκάψα και Κίθας. Η νομισματική μαρτυρία	119
David Jordan , Ψήγματα κριτικής	127
Nikos Litinas , A private letter of the VI A.D.	133

Περιλήψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti

Anagnostis Angelarakis, Aspects of demography and palaeopathology among the hellenistic Abderites in Thrace, Greece, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 13-24

Η εργασία αυτή παρουσιάζει αποτελέσματα φυσικής ανθρωπολογικής έρευνας οστεολογικού υλικού των αρχαίων Αβδήρων, χρονολογούμενο στην Ελληνιστική εποχή.

Η καλή διατήρηση ενός σκελετικού δείγματος 48 ατόμων, αποτελούμενο από τα δύο γένη και από διαφορετικές ηλικίες, έδωσε τη δυνατότητα να πραγματοποιηθούν λεπτομερείς εργαστηριακές αναλύσεις σκελετικής βιολογίας, παλαιοπαθολογίας, και αρχαιομετρίας.

Τα επιστημονικά δεδομένα αυτής της έρευνας διαφωτίζουν πολλές πλευρές του δημογραφικού τομέα, του παλαιοπαθολογικού συνόλου, και των ιδιαιτεροτήτων των σκελετο-μυικών αναγλύφων μεταξύ ανδρών και γυναικών αυτής της εποχής στα Άβδηρα, δίνοντας έτοι την δυνατότητα να πραγματοποιηθούν ακριβέστερες διαχρονικές συγκρίσεις μεταξύ των πληθυσμών αυτού του χώρου από την Αρχαϊκή έως και τη ΜεταΒυζαντινή περίοδο.

Antonio Corso, Praxitelian Dionysi, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 25-53

Si percorre l'evoluzione dell'interpretazione statuaria di Dioniso nel Santuario di Dioniso Eleutereo ad Atene, dallo xoanon arcaico del dio alla statua criselefantina di Alcamene, ai tipi Hope, alcamenico, e Sardanapalo, cefisodoteo. Questa tradizione figurativa, e l'Ermete con Dioniso di Cefisodoto il Vecchio, stanno alla base della ridefinizione del dio operata da Prassitele. L'immagine di Dioniso accreditata nelle 'Baccanti' di Euripide ebbe pure un rilevante impatto nelle cultura figurativa tardoclassica. Alla bottega di Prassitele è riconducibile la base di monumento coregico, con Dioniso e due Vittorie, che si trova ad Atene, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, n. 1463. Il Dioniso di Prassitele ricordato da Plinio e descritto da Callistrato può esser riconosciuto, grazie alla descrizione di questi, nel tipo Sambon/Grimani. Il Dioniso d'Elide, pure di Prassitele, è raffigurato su monete di questa città e riconoscibile nel tipo Tauromorfo Vaticano/Albani. L'Ermete con Dioniso di Olimpia è forse un donario degli Elei del 343 A. C. ed è quasi certamente un'opera originale di Prassitele. Ai figli di Prassitele è ascrivibile il Dioniso WoburnAbbey/Castle Howard, rimeditazione del tipo Sambon/Grimani. Il tipo Richelieu/Prado pare dipendere da una variante protoellenistica del tipo Woburn Abbey/Castle Howard, il tipo Jacobsen sembra essere un adattamento dello stesso alla temperie barocca, il tipo Terme pare costituire una rimeditazione del medesimo in chiave Rococò. Il tipo Cirene offre una soluzione tardorepubblicana dello stesso schema compositivo, rispondente all'esigenza eclettica di valorizzare le soluzioni ritenute migliori di Prassitele, Policleto e Lisippo. Il tipo Borghese/Colonna sembra un adattamento del ritmo Woburn Abbey alla predilezione neoattica per ritmi frontali. Il

tipo Horti Lamiani/Holkham Hall pare un adattamento del tipo Woburn Abbey alla posizione di quinta architettonica destra di un ambiente. Il tipo Copenhagen/Valentini risponde al bisogno, tipico del classicismo romano, di dare movimento e vita alla creazione statuaria. Altri due Dionisi, che si trovano a Digione e a Cirene, sono variazioni del tipo Jacobsen. La documentazione raccolta dimostra che l'immagine del dio elaborata nella corrente prassitelica divenne quella consueta nella cultura iconografica di età ellenistica e imperiale.

Angelos Chaniotis, Hellenistic Lasaia (Crete): a dependent polis of Gortyn. New epigraphic evidence from the Asklepieion near Lasaia, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 55-60

Ziegelstempel, die 1987 im Tal von Agia Kyriake bei Lasaia (Kalo Limenes) gefunden wurden, nennen Zenas, Sohn des Apellonios. Dieser Mann war verantwortlich oder trug die Kosten für den Bau oder die Restaurierung eines dem Asklepios geweihten Bauwerkes (SEG XLII 804, spätes 2. Jh. v. Chr.). Er kann mit dem gortynischen Magistraten Zenas, Sohn des Apellonios, identifiziert werden, der in einer Inschrift aus dem Python von Gortyn genannt wird (I.Cret. IV 251, late 2nd cent. B.C.). Unabhängig davon, ob Zenas als gortynischer Beamter oder als Privatperson im Asklepieion bei Lasaia tätig war, deutet seine Tätigkeit darauf hin, daß dieses Heiligtum, genau wie das Asklepieion von Lebene, im Besitz der Gortynier war. Der neuer Fund unterstützt die Annahme, daß spätestens im späten 2. Jh. v. Chr. Lasaia eine abhängige Gemeinde von Gortyn war.

Εύα Γραμματικάκη - Νίκος Λίτινας, Μαγικός κατάδεσμος, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 61-69

Edition of a separation curse, inscribed in a soft stone (steatite). It was found in a robbed cist grave at the cite of the Venizelion Hospital (Knossos, North Cemetery). By the remaining evidence the grave can be dated from the last quarter of the first century B.C. to the third quarter of the first century A.D. Over this tomb and another cist grave, a large monument was erected. Evidence for cult of the dead in the monument, unique in this cemetery, may be connected with the curse.

This is the first inscribed separation curse in a steatite and the first separation curse found in Crete. The *defixiones* were thrown in graves of untimely persons or in chthonic sanctuaries. Precious or semi-precious gemstones were not used as *defixiones*, because of their cost and scarcity. However, steatite can be considered as a cheap and easy to find stone and in one case probably its colour effected its certain use. Someone is asking from one or more deities to separate a man and a woman, Preimogenes and Daphne. The inscription can be dated in the end of the first century A.D.-beginning of the second century A.D. because of the characteristic forms of the letters of that period, the names mentioned (esp. Preimogenes) and the dating of the grave in the Roman period. Translation of the text: «(Magic letters). Separate Preimogenes, whom Artemeis bore, from Daphne, whom Daphne bore».

Nikos Metenidis, Zu den Denarbildern des CN. PLANCIUS, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 71-77

Plancius' coin portrays on the obverse a female head wearing causia (the Macedonian hat). This attribute has been quickly recognized and its Macedonian connection would have been registered by any average Roman. The goat on the reverse is a species familiar to Crete. It is often represented on Cretan coins like the bow and arrow, which are also similar to Cretan forms.

Cn. Plancius selected types for his coins which illustrate events connected with his military and political career. He first served in Crete under the proconsul Q. Metellus 68-66 B.C., then in 62 B.C. as military tribune in the army of C. Antonius, in which province he was quaestor under the propraetor L. Appuleius.

Before entering his curule aedile office was accused of electoral corruption, but being defended by Cicero was acquitted. The summation of his own military service on his coin types anticipates the answer to the question that was raised by the prosecution at his trial. «You ask» said Cicero, «what military service has he seen? He was a soldier in Crete...and he was a military tribune in Macedonia».

This complementary summation of the two different types can also be moved into the mythological sphere of the Onomastic: Karanos for the Deductio-Heros of the Macedonians which is also the name for the wild goat called Karano by the Cretans.

Manolis I. Stefanakis, Kydon the oikist or Zeus Cretagenes Kynotraphes? The problem of interpreting Cretan coin types, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 79-90

Η ερμηνεία των νομισματικών παραστάσεων είναι πολλές φορές δύσκολη και το φαινόμενο είναι ιδιαίτερα αισθητό στα κρητικά νομίσματα. Ανάμεσα στις άφθονες αφηγηματικές και μη παραστάσεις της κρητικής νομισματικής εικονογραφίας, για παράδειγμα, ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει το βρέφος που θηλάζεται από μια σκύλα στους ασημένιους στατήρες, δραχμές, τετράβολα και τετράδραχμα της Κυδωνίας. Η παράσταση έχει πιθανότα επηρεαστεί από ρωμαϊκά πρότυπα και ως εκ τούτου δεν θεωρείται πρωτότερη των αρχών του δευτέρου αι. π.Χ. Οι δύο σημαντικές ερμηνείες που έχουν προταθεί για το θηλαζόμενο βρέφος, ως Κύδων ο οικιστής ή ως Δίας κυνοτραφής, υποστηρίζονται από σωρεία επιχειρημάτων. Ανάλογη είναι η περίπτωση των ασημένιων στατήρων της Γόρτυνας του δευτέρου μισού του τετάρτου και του πρώτου μισού του τρίτου αι. π.Χ. όπου μια γυναικεία μορφή εικονίζεται καθισμένη στα κλαδιά ενός δέντρου σε διάφορες στιγμές. Η μορφή έχει ερμηνευτεί, μεταξύ άλλων, ως Βριτόμαρτυς και ως Ευρώπη.

Το πρόβλημα της ερμηνείας των παραπάνω παραστάσεων και εν γένει πολλών ακόμα αφηγηματικών σκηνών και μορφών στα κρητικά νομίσματα οφείλεται αφενός στην πληθώρα των μυθολογικών παραλλαγών που ξεπηδούν στα κλασσικά και ελληνιστικά χρόνια, ποιητική και γενικότερα καλλιτεχνική αδεία, και αφετέρου στην έλλειψη επιχωρίων πηγών για την κρητική μυθολογία. Οι υπάρχουσες πηγές βασίζονται σε εκδοχές των μύθων της κυρίως Ελλάδος οδηγώντας συχνά σε παρερμηνείες της Κρητικής νομισματικής εικονογραφίας. Ταυτόχρονα οι ελλαδίτικες επιρροές στην κρητική τέχνη, ή η από ελλαδίτικο χέρι εκτέλεση των νομισματικών σφραγίδων, περιπλέκουν ακόμα περισσότερο την κατάσταση καθώς η ιδιαιτερότητα της κρητικής

παράδοσης «μολύνεται» με ξένα στοιχεία, τα οποία απομακρύνουν ακόμα περισσότερο από την σωστή ερμηνεία των νομισματικών τύπων.

Ioannis Touratsoglou, The price of power: Drachms in the name of Alexander in Greece (On the occasion of the Thessaly/1993 confiscation), ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 91-118

Ο «θησαυρός» που κατεσχέθη από τις διωκτικές αρχές της Αττικής το 1993 και απαρτίζεται από τετράδραχμα Φιλίππου Β' (1 τεμ.), Αλεξάνδρου Γ' (3 τεμ.), Λυσιμάχου (1 τεμ.) και Αθηνών (2 τεμ.), δραχμές Αλεξάνδρου Γ' (37 τεμ.), Φιλίππου Γ' (6 τεμ.), Λυσιμάχου (2 τεμ.), Λαρίσης (3 τεμ.) και Φαρσάλου (1 τεμ.), ημίδραχμα Φαρσάλου (2 τεμ.), Οπουντίων Λοκρών (3 τεμ.) και Σικυώνος (1 τεμ.) καθώς και διώβολα Λαρίσης (1 τεμ.), αντιπαραβαλλόμενος προς άλλα «ευρήματα» της εποχής, επιβεβαιώνει ορισμένες παρατηρήσεις που είχαν διατυπωθεί κατά το παρελθόν σχετικά με την κυκλοφορία των νομισμάτων των μικρών, περιφερειακών νομισματοκοπείων στον αιώνα που ακολούθησε το θάνατο του Αλεξάνδρου και αποδεικνύει για ακόμη μια φορά τον τοπικό χαρακτήρα όχι μόνον των περισσοτέρων από αυτά, αλλά και άλλων με μεγαλύτερη παραγωγή. Επιπλέον, η μελέτη του νέου «θησαυρού» από το Θεσσαλικό, όπως εικάζεται, χώρο, πιστοποιεί τη δύναμη, αλλά και το εμβόλιμο, ορισμένων, βασιλικών στην πλειονότητά τους νομισματοκοπών (χωρίς να λησμονηθεί και η Αθήνα) με πανελλήνια εμβέλεια της παραγωγής τους.

Αφορμή και για μια γενικότερη επισκόπηση των νομισματικών πραγμάτων στην Ελλάδα κατά τους χρόνους των Διαδόχων και των αρχών που τα διείπαν, ο «θησαυρός» από τη Θεσσαλία, συμβάλλει στην κατάδειξη, κατά τρόπο παραστατικό, και του πρωταγωνιστικού ρόλου (ιδιαίτερα αυτού) των αλεξανδρειων δραχμών ως κατεξοχήν μέσου άσκησης μιας δια πυρός και σιδήρου πολιτικής επικράτησης και επιβολής, κατά τον αιώνα των μισθοφόρων και των τυχοδιωκτών, των ριψοκίνδυνων ανταπαιτητών της εξουσίας —εστεμένων και μη καπήλων του αλεξανδρειου οράματος— και των ταλαιπωρημένων βετεράνων της ασιατικής εκστρατείας.

Σελήνη Ψωμά, Σκάψα και Κίθας. Η νομισματική μαρτυρία, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 119-126

Dans le présent article, l'auteur a essayé de montrer que la cité de Skapsa est celle qui frappa des monnaies d'argent (téetroboles et tritéartémoria) au V^e siècle avec la légende Κα- et de monnaies de bronze au IV^e siècle portant la légende Σκαψαί(ων). Etant donné que les lettres οκ- peuvent alterner avec la lettre κ en grec ancien, les cités de Kapsa et de Skapsa, comme celles de Kithas et de Skithai, sont identiques. Les types avec lesquels le monnayage d'argent et de bronze de la cité de Skapsa est frappé, reproduisent ceux des autres cités de la région. La cité de Skapsa peut être localisée en Chalcidique occidentale, au sud de Potidée. Il est certain qu'elle participa à la Ligue Chalcidienne à partir de 357 av. J.-C. Il faut localiser la cité de Kithas dans la région à l'ouest d'Olynthe et au nord de Sinos et de Potidée. Il s'agissait très probablement d'une cité de la Crouside. Le didrachme de Berlin et les téetroboles de poids attique à la tête de lion au droit que Gaebler et Flensted-Jensen ont attribués aux Skithai, ont été frappés par la cité de Scionè.

David Jordan, Ψήγματα κριτικής, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 127-131

Critical Trifles

1. α. At *PGM XXXV* 26 read τῶ φοροῦντι τὸ χαριτήσον (for χαριτήσιον) τοῦ <το>.

β. In the left-hand column of 31-40 read ³¹πά<ν>τα τὰ π'εύ / ³²ματα τῆς κοσμή / ³³σεος <καὶ?> εὔκρα / ³⁴σίας· ἐπικαλοῦ / ³⁵μαι καὶ παρακαλῶ / ³⁶καὶ ἔξορκίζω / ³⁷ύμᾶς, ἵνα μου ὑ / ³⁸πακούσητε κ(αὶ) ἀπαραβάτους χά / ³⁹[ριν δῶτ]ε τῶ φοροῦτι τὸ / ⁴⁰[χ]αριτίσην μου τοῦτο.

2. At *PGM O* 1.4 and 1.10 read not λαλήσεν (for λαλήσειν) but λαλῆσε{ν} (for λαλῆσαι {ν}).

3. Behind a puzzling phrase in *DTAud* 155-70 (Rome, IV-V A.D.) there probably stood the words: ὑμεῖς δέ, ἐφυδριάδες νύμφαι, ἀιδώνιαι, ἔγχωροι κατοικοῦσαι

Nikos Litinas, A private letter of the VI A.D., ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 133-140

Ο πάπυρος είναι τμήμα μιας ιδιωτικής επιστολής, που χρονολογείται στον έκτο αι. μ.Χ. Το κείμενο μας παρέχει μία ακόμη μαρτυρία για τη λέξη μετριότης (βλ. στ. 2 σημ.) και για τις *formulae valetudinis* τον έκτο αι. μ.Χ. (βλ. στ. 2 σημ.). Πρβλ. επίσης τη λέξη στιχαροκαρακάλλιον στον στ. 5, η οποία μαρτυρείται για δεύτερη φορά έως σήμερα στους ελληνικούς παπύρους (βλ. στ. 4 σημ.).

Μετάφραση κειμένου

† Τις επιστολές σου κάθε τόσο, τις οποίες η μετριότητά μου [...] λαμβάνει ...

Όσον αφορά την υγεία μου, είμαι καλά με τη βοήθεια του Θεού. Μην [...] Θα ήθελα να γνωρίζεις γι' αυτό που μου έστειλες] ότι το έλαβα και το στιχαροκαρακάλλιον [...

] πως αυτή τη στιγμή και [δεν] έχω ακόμη το δακτυλίδι [...

[στείλε] μου [αμέσως;] ό,τι σου έγραψα [...

† Απολλώ[...]

Appendix

Τρόπος αναφοράς ενός αποστολέα στην προσωπική του υγεία και την ενημέρωση του παραλήπτη (ότι είναι δηλαδή καλά) στις ιδιωτικές επιστολές.

Μεταξύ δύο προσώπων (Α και Β) που αλληλογραφούσαν διακρίνουμε τους εξής λογότυπους:

Κατά την πτολεμαϊκή περίοδο ο αποστολέας απλά και μόνο πληροφορεί τον αποδέκτη.

A: Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε δ' ήμιν περὶ ὃν ἀν βούλη

B: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ τάλλα σοι κατὰ γνώμην ἐστίν, εἴη ἀν ὡς ήμεῖς θέλομεν· οὐγίαινον δὲ καὶ αὐτός

Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε δ' ήμιν περὶ ὃν ἀν βούλη

Κατά τη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο κυρίως μέχρι τον δεύτερο αι. μ.Χ., αλλά και σπανιότερα κατά τον τρίτο αι. μ.Χ. απαντάται στους παπύρους μία φρασεολογία παρόμοια με αυτή της πτολεμαϊκής περιόδου, αλλά η χρήση της δεν είναι εκτεταμμένη.

A: Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου

B: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: Συνήθως δεν υπάρχει ἀμεση απάντηση: σπάνια απαντά η φράση του τύπου: πρὸ μὲν πάντων εῦχομαι σε ὑγιαίνειν μετὰ τῶν σῶν πάντων κἀγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑγιαίνω

Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου

Από τα τέλη του τρίτου αι. μ.Χ. ἄως και τον πέμπτο αι. μ.Χ. ο αποστολέας δεν αναφέρει τίποτα απολύτως για την προσωπική του υγεία. Από το τέλος του πέμπτου αι. μ.Χ. και εξῆς η πρακτική αλλάζει. Η ευχή του αποστολέα να πληροφορηθεί για την υγεία του παραλήπτη επανεμφανίζεται στις ιδιωτικές επιστολές στο τέλος τους.

A: Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: δηλῶσέ μοι περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας

B: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: ὑγιαίνω εὐν Θεῷ

Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: δηλῶσέ μοι περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας

A: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: ἐδεξάμην τὰ περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας

ASPECTS OF DEMOGRAPHY AND PALAEOPATHOLOGY AMONG THE HELLENISTIC *ABDERETES* IN THRACE, GREECE*

Introduction

Systematic excavations at the multicomponent and often superstratified archaeological sites of ancient Abdera¹, located in coastal Thrace, Greece (Fig. 1), unearthed since the early 50s, a considerable number of architectural remains, such as roads and fortification walls strategically enhanced with many towers, the commercial and war-time harbors, the theater, the agora, temples, some public and many private buildings and activity areas, such as burial grounds and cemeteries, dating from the 7th c. B.C. to the 15th c. A.D.².

In addition, a plethora of cultural materials and artifacts were discovered, ranging from statues and statuettes³, epigraphic stelae⁴, luxury and utilitarian utensils in ceramic⁵

* I wish to thank Dr. Chaido Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, Ephor of Antiquities of Eastern Macedonia and Director of the Archaeological Museum in Kavala, excavator of the site, for her continued scholarly support, but especially for being a source of inspiration and a mentor during my pursuit in Archaeo-Anthropology. Further, I wish to recognize the Adelphi team of students, who worked with me in the field, for their commitment and efforts.

¹ Herodotus from Halicarnassus (c. 484 - 420 B.C.), History; Thucydides, (c. 460 - 455 B.C.), History of the War between Athens and Sparta, 431 - 404 B.C.; Diodorus Siculus (c. 60 - 30 B.C.), World History; Strabo of Amaseia (64/3 B.C. - A.D. 21 at least), Geography. Book 7: North and east Europe, North Balkans; Gaius Plinius Secundus (A.D. 23/24 - 79), Naturalis Historia, V: Geography. Books 3-6.

² Λαζαρίδης Δ., «Ανασκαφή εν Αβδήροις», *ΠΑΕ* 1950:293-302, 1952:260-278, 1954:160-172, 1955:160-164, 1956:139-140, 1966:59-66, 1971:63-71; Μπακιρτζής Χ., «Ανασκαφή Πολυστόλου Αβδήρων», *ΠΑΕ* 1892:18-26, 1983A:13-19; Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη Χ., «Ανασκαφικές Έρευνες στα Αρχαία Αβδήρα», *ΠΑΕ* 1982:1-17, 1983A:1-12, 1984A:1-11, 1987:177-185; Σκαρλατίδου Ε., «Επισκόπηση της ιστορίας των Αβδήρων με βάση τις φιλολογικές πηγές και τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα», *Θρακική Επετηρίδα*, 1984, 5:147-161; Σκαρλατίδου Ε., «The Archaic Cemetery of Abdera», *Thracia Pontica* III, 1985, 99-108; Κρανιώτη Λ., «Τύμβος από τη ΒΔ νεκρόπολη των Αβδήρων», *AEMθ* I, 1987, 431-435; Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη Χ., «Abdera and the Thracians», *Thracia Pontica* III, 1987, 82-98; Σαμίου Χ., «Το ελληνικό νεκροταφείο των Αβδήρων», *AEMθ*, 1988, 2:471-480; Καλλιντζή Κ., «Ανασκαφή Ταφικού Τύμβου στα Αβδήρα», *AEMθ* 4, 1990:561-568; Ψιλοβίκος Α. και Συρίδης Γ., «Η αρχαϊκή πόλη των Αβδήρων. Α. Γεωμορφολογικές Έρευνες», *Πρακτικά 2^{ου} Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Θρακικών Σπουδών, Αρχαία Θράκη*, 1997, 2: 707-714; Σκαρλατίδου Ε., «Οικισμοί και εγκαταστάσεις ιστορικών χρόνων μέσα στα όρια της «χώρας» των Αβδήρων», *Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη, Θεσσαλονίκη*, 1990, 611-618.

³ Μπόνιας Ζ., «Ανδρικός κορμός από τα Αβδήρα». Ανακοίνωση, 2^ο Διεθνές Συμπόσιο Θρακικών Σπουδών, *Αρχαία Θράκη*, 1992, Κομοτινή.

⁴ Σκαρλατίδου Ε., «Επιτύμβιο ανάγλυφο από τα Αβδήρα», *Πρακτικά 2^{ου} Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Θρακικών Σπουδών, Αρχαία Θράκη*, 1997, 2:775-788; Παπανικολάου Τ., «Νέα επιγραφή από τα Αβδήρα», *Πρακτικά 2^{ου} Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Θρακικών Σπουδών, Αρχαία Θράκη*, 1997, 2:841-847.

⁵ Κρανιώτη Λ., «Αβδήρα: Τόπος παραγωγής ελληνιστικής ανάγλυφης κεραμεικής», *Πρακτικά 2^{ου} Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Θρακικών Σπουδών, Αρχαία Θράκη*, 1997, 2:789-806.

silver and gold, jewelry, coins⁶, tools and weapons, assemblages of toys, and votive offerings, to mention a few, justifying the citations of the historical records which designated Abdera as one of the richest cities in Greece, in both material resources (with major contributions of funds to the Delean League), and intellectual vigor as with the geniuses of *Protagoras*, and *Demokritos* to mention a few⁷.

Despite the vast wealth of material remains, artifacts, and ecofacts, however, our knowledge concerning the human condition through empirical first hand archaeo-anthropological investigations was limited. The systematic proper excavation, recovery, documentation, and preservation of human skeletal remains was an exercise conducted by a select number of colleagues who interested in funerary customs and practices, as well as the nature of burial artifacts were enlightened by the then emerging theoretical and methodological challenges in the area of Archaeology, during the early seventies. These colleagues, in a process of pioneering efforts, extended collaborative invitations to archaeo-anthropologists for participating in excavations and subsequently for the undertaking of systematic analyses of the anthropological record, recovered during mitigations from the necropoleis of the ancients⁸. The universe of important data that kept pouring in from such integrated projects helped launch a new era in the sphere of Greek Archaeology preparing and ensuring among other things a better cross disciplinary environment of post-processual meta-archaeological goals for the younger generation of our colleagues.

Holding such a special place for the personal and professional becoming of some of us, the archaeological sites of Abdera have offered, since the seventies, a unique milieu for the excavations and subsequent studies of burial grounds and cemeteries dating from the Archaic period, 7th c. B.C., to the terminal Late Byzantine period, 15th c. A.D. The human skeletal collections recovered and analyzed so far from Abdera cover a well documented stratigraphic and diachronic continuum of more than 2000 years. Since the beginning of this ongoing process we have been privileged in studying aspects of the human condition during antiquity in Abdera through physical anthropology and palaeopathology, coupled by endeavors in the field of ethnography.

This paper presents aspects of the demographic and palaeopathological profiles⁹ of the population at Abdera during the Hellenistic period.

⁶ May J.M.F., *The Coinage of Abdera*, London, 1966; Picard O., «Χάλκινα Νομίσματα Αβδήρων», *Πρακτικά 2^{ου} Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Θρακικών Σπουδών, Αρχαία Θράκη*, 1997, 2: 685-690.

⁷ H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 2nd Edition, Weidman, 1906, Berlin.

⁸ Μπακιρτζής Χ. και Ζήκος Ν., «Ανασκαφή πολυστόλου Αβδήρων», *ΠΑΕ*, 1984:11-17; Σκαρλατίδου Ε., «Ανασκαφή στο αρχαϊκό νεκροταφείο των Αβδήρων», *AEMΘ* 1, 1987, 421-425; Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη Χ., «Ανασκαφές στα αρχαϊκά Αβδήρα», *AEMΘ*, 1987, 407-410; Καλλιντζή Κ., «Αρχαιολογικές εργασίες στα Αβδήρα», *AEMΘ* 5, 1991, 456-469; Καλλιντζή Κ., «Έθιμα ταφής στα Αβδήρα», *Πρακτικά 2^{ου} Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Θρακικών Σπουδών, Αρχαία Θράκη*, 1997, 2: 807-839; Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη Χ., «Η Αρχαϊκή Πόλη Αβδήρων. Β. Αρχαιολογικές Έρευνες», *Πρακτικά 2^{ου} Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Θρακικών Σπουδών, Αρχαία Θράκη*, 1997, 2:715-734; Τριαντάρυλλος Δ., «Σαρκοφάγος Κλαζομενικού Τύπου από τα Αβδήρα», *Πρακτικά 2^{ου} Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Θρακικών Σπουδών, Αρχαία Θράκη*, 1997, 2:741-774.

⁹ Stewart T.D., *Essentials of Forensic Anthropology*, C.C. Thomas, 1979, Springfield, Ill; Ortner D.J. - Putschar W.G.J., *Identification of Pathological Conditions in Human Skeletal Remains*, Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, 1981, No. 28. Smithsonian Inst. Press, City of Washington; Hassan F.A., *Demographic Archaeology*, 1981 Academic Press; Huss-Ashmore R., *Nutritional inference from paleopathology*, Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory, 1982, 5:395-474; Krogman W.M. - Iscan M.Y., *The Human Skeleton in Forensic Medicine*, 1986 C.C. Thomas, Springfield, Ill; Iscan M.Y. - Kennedy K.A.R. (Eds.), «Reconstruction of

Sample size and preservation of skeletal remains

Recovered from the internal peripheries of a northerly gate of the city, amidst large fortification walls and overlooking towers this segment of the Hellenistic population, a random sample of 48 individuals¹⁰, had been interred as primary single, and/or multiple, interments in rather plain ceramic or stone sarcophagi, pithos burials, and boxed graves constructed with marble slabs. These, had been placed at the vicinity of a Classical period temple. Whereas the majority of skeletal bodies were preserved in an excellent condition for both inspectional, mensurational and archaeometric analyses¹¹, some of the skeletal remains had undergone a variety of complex taphonomic impacts¹² (Fig. 2) relative to seasonal elevations of the water table, requiring lengthy consolidation and conservation efforts.

Mortality prevalence, and sexual morphometric dimorphism

The skeletal collection comprised both sex subcategories¹³ (Fig. 3) and most age subgroups¹⁴, with the exception of prenatal, perinatal and early Infancy I individuals as these according to burial customs should have been interred in infant cemeteries. Interestingly enough and in accord with chronological periods which both ante- and post-date the Hellenistic period —based on intra site skeletal studies¹⁵, females scored a

Life from the Skeleton», Alan R. Liss, Inc., 1989, New York; Ortner D.J. - Aufderheide A.C., *Human Paleopathology: Current Synthesis and Future Options*, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991, Washington.

¹⁰ Bernard H. R., *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 2nd Edition, 1994, Sage Publications, Inc., California; Bordens K.S. - Abbott B.B., *Research Design and Methods*, 2nd Edition, Mayfield Publishing Company, 1991, Toronto; DiBennardo R., in Kathleen J. Reichs, «Forensic Osteology: The Use and Interpretation of Common Computer Implementations of Discriminant Function Analysis» 1986:171, C.C. Thomas, Springfield, Ill.

¹¹ Agelarakis A., «Εγχειρίδιο φυσικής ανθρωπολογίας για αρχαιολόγους», *Αριάδνη*, 1996, 8:189-247; van Vark G.N. - W. Schaafsma, in S.R. Saunders and M.A. Katzenberg (eds.) «Skeletal Biology of Past Peoples: Advances in the Quantitative Analysis of Skeletal Morphology», Wiley-Liss, 1991: 225-257, New York.

¹² Shipman Pat, *Life History of a Fossil: An Introduction to Taphonomy and Paleoecology*, Harvard University Press, 1981, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

¹³ Sutherland D. L. - Suchey J.M., «Use of the Ventral Arch in Pubic Sex Determination», *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 1991, V:36, N,2, pp. 501-511; Rogan, K. P. - J.J. Salvo «Study of Nucleic Acids Isolated From Ancient Remains», *Year Book of Physical Anthropology*, 1990, V: 33, pp.195-214; Berry C. - Berry J., «Epigenetic variation in the human cranium», *Journal of Anatomy*, 1967, 101(2):370-390; Finnegan, M., «Non-metric variation of the Infracranial skeleton», *J.Anat.*, 1978, 125:23-37; Saunders S.R., in M.Y. Iscan - Kennedy, K.A.R. «Reconstruction of Life from the Skeleton: Nonmetric Skeletal Variation», 1989, 95-108, A.R.Liss, New York.

¹⁴ El-Nofely A. - Iscan M.Y., in M.Y. Iscan (ed.) «Age Markers in the Skeleton: Assessment of Age from the Dentition in Children», 1989, 237-254, C.C. Thomas, Springfield, Ill; Brooks S. and Suchey J.M., «Skeletal Age Determination based on the Os Pubis: A Comparison of the Ascadi-Nemeskeri and Suchey-Brooks Methods» *Human Evolution*, 1990, V:5, N,3, 227-238.

¹⁵ Agelarakis A. - Agelarakis Ar., «The Palaeopathological Evidence, Indicators of Stress and Dietary Evaluations from two Skeletal Populations, a Middle and a Late Byzantine, from Polystylon Abdera, Greece», *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 1989, V.(XIV), 9-26; Agelarakis A., «Social Hierarchy in a Classical Society at Abdera as Revealed by New Archaeological Perspectives of the Human Skeletal Record», *Πρακτικά 2ου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Θρακικών Σπουδών, Αρχαία Θράκη*, 1997, 2: 849-866; Bakirtzis Ch. - Agelarakis A., «Cemeteries of Polystylon—Abdera». Paper presentation, *First Symposium on Burial Customs and Practices in the Rhodopes*, 1996, Smolyan, Bulgaria; Agelarakis A., «Report on Anthropological Investigations in Classical Abdera: Cremated

higher mortality prevalence compared to males during: a) their terminal, Subadult and early Young Adulthood years, suggested to be relevant to the difficulties of the initial fertility years; and b) during the years of the Maturus and Senilis age subgroups, since they usually out-competed their male counterparts in longevity. Males, following a comparable diachronic pattern for Abdera, registered a higher prevalence of mortality during their Middle to Late Adulthood years. Analogous results, conforming to these of other time periods in Abdera were also retrieved from morphological studies of osseous structures, robustness, and evaluations of skeletal measurements revealing a discernible sexual dimorphism between males and females, with higher values among males (*ibid*).

Dental pathologies, and aspects of dietary patterns

Dental surfaces and their hard supporting tissues indicated clusters of pathologies¹⁶ (Fig. 4) comparable to these of the periods which both preceded and followed the Hellenistic era, these of the Classical, and Roman periods respectively¹⁷. Again, as usual for Abdera, males showed a nearly greater prevalence on all palaeopathological conditions compared to females. The majority of dental palaeopathological conditions were assessed to be of infectious and degenerative nature. Dental linear enamel hypoplastic defects (LEH), permanent markers of early life stress, were attributed to palaeopathological, and physical environment related causative agents¹⁸. Further, male jaws and teeth revealed under all circumstances (observation ratio 100%) a greater severity on all pathological manifestations compared to females of the same age subgroups with the exception of ante mortem tooth loss. It should be mentioned that no individuals younger than 18 years revealed cervical cariogenic lesions¹⁹, while the first osseous manifestations associated with periodontal disease were discerned among individuals as young as 25 years. With the exception of the two Infancy II individuals, both of whom manifested cribra orbitalia and porotic hyperostosis —symptoms relative to

and Dry Human Osseous Materials», *Archival Report*, Archaeological Museum of Abdera, 1996; Agelarakis A., «Excavations at Polystylon (Abdera) Greece: Aspects of Mortuary Practices and Skeletal Biology», *Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίο*, 1997, 47:293-308; Agelarakis A., «The Archaic Burial Grounds: Physical Anthropological Investigations», *Archival Reports*, Museum of Komotini, 1982, 45; 1984, 52; Agelarakis A., «The Roman Skeletal Collection from Abdera», Report in preparation.

¹⁶ Darling A.I., «Dental Caries», in R.J.Gorlin - Goldman H.M. (eds), *Thoma's Oral Pathology*, The C.V.Mosby Co., St. Louis, 1970, 239-307; Pindborg J.J., *Pathology of the Dental Hard Tissues*, W.B.Saunders Co., 1970, Philadelphia; Molnar S., «Human tooth wear, tooth function, and cultural variability», *AJPA*, 1971, 34:27-42; Rose J.C. K.W. Condon - Goodman A.H., «Diet and Dentition: Developmental Disturbances», in *The analysis of Prehistoric Diets*, J.Mielke and R.Gilbert (eds.), 1984, Academic Press, New York; Cate R.A. Ten, *Oral Histology, Development, Structure, and Function*, 4th Edition, 1994, Mosby, New York.

¹⁷ See n. 15 above.

¹⁸ Park E.A. «The imprinting of nutritional disturbances on the growing bone», *Pediatrics*, 1964, 38:815-862; Scrimshaw N. «Ecological Factors in Nutritional Disease», *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 1964, 14:112-122; Swärdstedt T., *Odontological aspects of a Medieval population in the province of Jamtland\ Mid-Sweden*, Tiden-Barnangen AB, 1966, Stockholm; Grahnén H., «Maternal diabetes and changes in the hard tissues of primary teeth, I. A clinical study», *Odont. Rev.*, 1967 18:257-162; Grahnén H., «Neonatal asphyxia and mineralization defects of the primary teeth», *Caries Res.*, 1969, 3:301-307; Rose J.C., G.J. Armelagos, and J. Lallo, «Histological Enamel Indicators of Childhood Stress in Prehistoric Skeletal Samples», *AJPA*, 1978, 49:511-516.

¹⁹ Darling A.I., «Dental Caries», in R.J.Gorlin - Goldman H.M. (eds), *Thoma's Oral Pathology*, The C.V.Mosby Co., St. Louis, 1970, 239-307.

anemias and/or metabolic disorders, all other individuals with LEH had survived till terminal Late Adulthood and the Maturus age subgroups. This kind of pattern appeared to have been typical in Abdera—as revealed through the dental record from the Classical to the later stages of the Middle Byzantine periods. During subsequent Byzantine periods, a significantly increased morbidity is reflected among individual with LEH none of which survived past the terminal stages of Middle Adulthood for a number of strongly suspected causative agents²⁰ which acted in a synergistic way with plausible pathogenetic causative agents.

Masticatory wear of dental surfaces²¹ indicated a rather well prepared dietary intake for the majority of individuals which showed a progressively heavier and less homogeneous loss of dental surfaces relative to processes of aging. Bone isotopic fractionation²² identified a baulk of a diet based on agricultural C3 plants (such as wheat and barley), supplemented by adequate inclusions of both terrestrial and marine protein intake measuring a volume of about 12%. Such dietary compositions were very similar to these of the ante-dating Classical and post-dating Roman periods but relatively higher, by about 3-4% on the protein component, when compared with the later periods of the Middle, and subsequent Late Byzantine periods²³.

Traumatic events, and implications of bodily activities allocated to markers of habitual and occupational stress

Periosteal osteoblastic reactions, and trauma²⁴ usually involved a range of well healed and anatomically aligned fractures, and in the process of healing traumatic events which hadn't caused fractures (Fig. 5). The proximal and distal ends of the tibio-fibular structures showed the greatest observation ratio of trauma and subsequent osteoblastic reactions. Nevertheless, there were also upper extremity traumatic manifestations which were usually associated with the sternoclavicular and scapulo-clavicular structures. From the few traumatic impacts which implicated crania one case must have involved surgical intervention, for the removal of a sharp penetrating object and at least of bone splinters,

²⁰ Decrease in quality of nutritious dietary intake as reflected through the skeletal record; Socio-economic changes aspects of which are detectable in the skeletal record; Suspected fragmentation of medical «networks» and reduced applications of medical practice, as Polystylon (Byzantine Abdera, see n. 2 above) loses gradually its provincial influentialness —as seen through the archaeological and anthropological record.

²¹ Molnar S., «Human tooth wear, tooth function, and cultural variability», *AJPA*, 1971, 34:27-42; Pindborg J.J., «Aetiology of Developmental Enamel Effects not related to fluorosis», *Int. Dent. J.* 1982 32 (2): 123-134; Agelarakis A., «The Chalcolithic Burial Cave in Ma'avarot, Israel, and its Paleoanthropological Implications», *International Journal of OsteoArchaeology*, 1998, 8: 431-443.

²² Krueger H.W. and C.H. Sullivan, «Models for Isotope Fractionation Between Diet and Bone», ACS Symposium Series, 1984, No. 258, *Stable Isotopes in Nutrition*, R. Turnland and P.E. Johnson (eds.). Am.Chem.Soc.; Krueger H. W., «Models for Carbon and Nitrogen Isotopes in Bone», Krueger Enterprises, Inc. 1985, Cambridge, Mass.

²³ See n. 15 above.

²⁴ Sognaes R.F. (ed.), «Mechanisms of Hard Tissue Destruction», *AAAS*, 1963, Publ. 75, Wash., D.C.; Zarek J. M., «Dynamic Considerations in Load Bearing Bones with Special Reference to Osteosynthesis and Articular Cartilage», in F.G. Evans (ed.), *Studies on the Anatomy and Function of Bones and Joints*, 1966, pp: 40-51. Springer Verlag, N.Y.; Agelarakis A., «The Shanidar Cave Proto-Neolithic Human Population: Aspects of Demography and Paleopathology», *Human Evolution*, 1993, 8, 4:235-253.

as revealed by the faint yet detectable linear and J-curve mechanical traces on the external periphery of the margins with sclerotic characteristics, of a nearly circular infectious free depression showing an incomplete, hiatus-like, inner surface of the endocranial table under active remodeling.

While it was revealed, palaeopathologically, that the availability of medical assistance must have been readily available at Abdera, also supported by the Hippocratic writings —especially the books on *Epidemics* I, and III, it was assessed that some of the traumatic events were not caused by random physiological, and/or pathological factors but rather because of habitual— culturally speaking, and occupational circumstances —relevant to the techno-economic capacities and organization²⁵ of the Hellenistic population. It is suggested for example that the knee joint tibiofibular traumatic events, mainly located at the lateral loci of these structures, and documented nearly exclusively among males, in addition to other plausible causative agents, might also represent the difficulties of horse riding while for example when pushing through the low-lying native oak thickets in such an econiche as that of the region of Abdera. Similar complaints were gathered ethnographically by the author from the so-called “older cohort of males” at the contemporary historic village of Abdera, who eagerly talk around coffee tables and sometimes even show these old wounds at their knees, and ankle joints, from their years of youth, when as they say “riding a fast horse was both pride and freedom”. And yet during the Hellenistic period, in rare instances, it was also possible to document, exclusively among males, osseous traumatic impacts caused by frictional contact —due to malicious intent, and/or warfare. Both historical and archaeological data verify that Abdera has been the theater of skirmishes and of more serious battle engagements during several periods of polemic activities in antiquity²⁶. Under any circumstances, males, in a comparable fashion with all other ancient time periods in Abdera, scored a higher prevalence of traumatism compared to any pertinent female age-subgroups (Fig. 6)²⁷. This however, wasn’t the case with osteoarthritis and spondyloarthropathies. Here females revealed a slightly greater observation ratio, if not equivalent to these of comparable male age subgroups (Fig. 7). These kinds of indications present an «anomaly» which reaches its apex, in the diachronic palaeopathological record of ancient Abdera, during the Hellenistic period. This data, combined with the otherwise high prevalence of hip-joint and distal tibio-fibular traumatic events might support an argument placing females at least in an equal productive mode with males at the gamut of food production activities, for example including but not limited to agriculture.

Further indications for an active participatory role of females in specialized daily activities is derived from the so-called «markers of habitual & occupational stress» or (MHOS)²⁸, which although sexually dimorphic compared to males, but usually only to the

²⁵ Agelarakis A., «Paleopathology and its Contributions to the Decipherment of the Human Condition in Antiquity: A Preliminary Report for the Case of two Skeletal Populations from Malloura in Cyprus», *Report of the Department of Antiquities*, Cyprus, 1997, 239-250; Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη, Χ. - Σγούρου Μ. - Α. Αγγελαράκης, «Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στη νεκρόπολη της Αρχαίας Θάσου 1979-1996», *AEMΘ* 10B, 1996, 770-794.

²⁶ See n. 1 above.

²⁷ See n. 15 above.

²⁸ Agelarakis A., «The Archaeology of Human Bones: Prehistoric Copper Producing Peoples in the Khao Wong Prachan Valley, Central Thailand», *The Indo-Pacific Prehistory: The Chang Mai Papers*, IPAA Bulletin, P. Bellwood (ed.), 1996, 14, V:I, 133-139; Agelarakis A., «The Thasos/Kastri, Archaeo-

level of severity of the manifestations, weren't exclusive to males. Such determinations helped entail new roles to some traditionally held notions on the activities of females. The prevalence of a select set of MHOS (Fig. 8) might possibly readily exemplify this argument. Both females and males were involved in a number of such bodily activities which involved the phalanges of the hands, the femora, and the ulnae, only excluding females from kinetics associated with an MHOS designated here as «MHOS-humerus #3».

In a more detailed fashion, both females and males were involved in serious grasping activities. Such were also documented ethnographically in Abdera by the author to relate to: a) weaving, exclusively conducted by females; and b) a non-sexually discriminatory seasonal but very copious manual milking processes of a large number of ovicaprical domesticates —a condition which produces a quite painful swelling to the thumb and the first row of phalanges of the hands. Further, manifestations relative to the flexion of the knee joint and the extension of the hip joint (Fig. 9) indicated a non-exclusivity of this trait to males, revealing a participation of females in prolonged activities of walking and standing, coupled by a habitual squatting position as also documented among contemporary working women, in agricultural settings, at Abdera. Ulnar manifestations also indicated a sharing in the activities which involved the supination and hypertension of arms as also observed, however, sporadically in Thrace, during the 60-s and 70-s, during the seasonal reaping activities of cereals with the basic tool: the broad, unserrated and of small curvature sickle on a long shaft, the subsequent thrust-pounding of the harvested plants with long handle-sticks with attached batons for detaching the seeds, and then the now outdated daily routine of the manual dextrorotatory movement on the family's stone rotary quern for the production of flour. The indications for a lesser participation of the females compared to males in carrying heavy loads with their arms, (loads cradled between both arms) isn't as clear cut when we compare data between ulnar and clavicular MHOS (Fig. 10). The clavicular manifestations show strong indications of robustness in their lateral ends thus signifying strong lateral downward dragging forces as when carrying loads on extended arms for any number of activities, or as also characteristically observed by the author in the region, before the 70-s, when women profusely worked on a daily basis, on their large horizontally standing looms. Hence the fact remains, that females were also involved in activities which exerted skeletally recognizable load-bearing stressors on their upper arms and forearms.

The only MHOS which wasn't observed among the Hellenistic females of Abdera, when compared with their male counterparts, were the exostoses at the medial humeral epicondyles —manifestations designated as «MHOS-humerus #3». When present, the exostoses signify a hyperactivity of the pronator teres, flexor capri radii, palmaris longus, flexor digitorum superficialis, and flexor capri ulnaris, deciphered forensically to relate to a thrusting movement of the arms, suggested to be associated here with spear throwing; an activity which even through historical records is preferably attributed to males.

Anthropological Project», *Proceedings of the International Conference on Thasos: Matières premières et Technologie de la Préhistoire à nos jours*, (in press). Publications of the French Archaeological Institute in Greece; Levi L., *Stress and distress in response to physiological stimuli*, Pergamon Press, 1972, Oxford; Currey J., *The Mechanical Adaptations of Bones*, Princeton Univ.Press, 1984, Princeton N.J.

Finally, in the process of trying to elucidate some of the more esoteric facets of the palaeodemographic dynamics and palaeopathological profiles during Hellenistic times at Abdera, (Fig. 11) it was determined that a number of calcaneal markers of habitual & occupational stress —such as emphasized exostoses, and enthesophytes, (indicative of bursitis) usually associated with typical male roles and activities, i.e. extensive walking and running on hard pavements, coupled by repeated stress impact on the plantar surfaces with build up of enthesophytes and sclerotic bone, caused for example by frequent dismounting from horses, albeit with a higher prevalence among males, were also shared with the Hellenistic females.

Epilogue

Based on data derived from the skeletal collections, in addition to deriving basic physical anthropological assessments, it was possible to document and elucidate unknown aspects of the archaeo-anthropological and historical records in Abdera, hence claiming the Hellenistic period to have been one of liberal attitudes, one that saw the deconstruction of social conditions and pretexts of the more conservative ante-dating periods; conditions which bestowed new roles and expectations allowing for fresh opportunities between men and women, and possibly even new conferred understandings and anticipations between humans, gods and goddesses.

It is envisioned that within the next five years a comprehensive report would describe diachronic aspects of the palaeodemographic, palaeopathologic and palaeoenvironmental record, also reflecting on pivotal facets of the socio-economic organization and capacities, and ideational systems in ancient Abdera.

Anagnostis Agelarakis
Faculty of Anthropology
Adelphi University
Garden City
New York 11530 USA

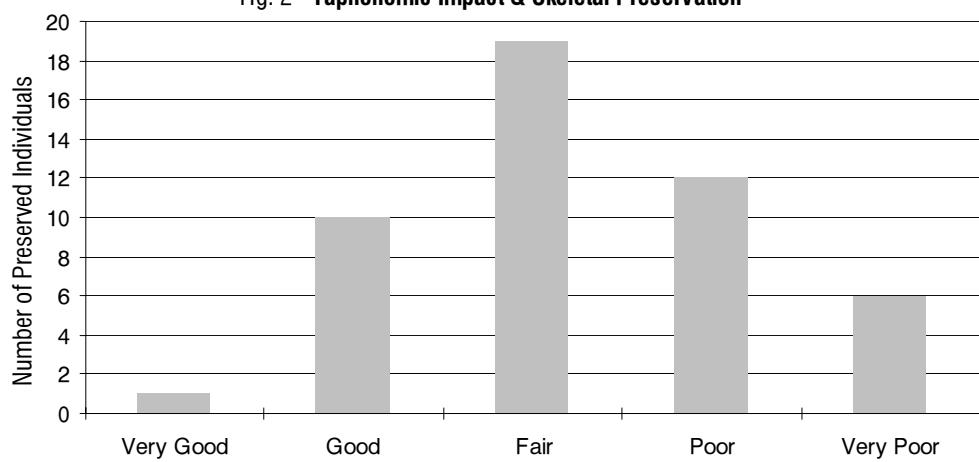
Fig. 1 - Coastal Area of Western Macedonia and Thrace**Fig. 2 - Taphonomic Impact & Skeletal Preservation**

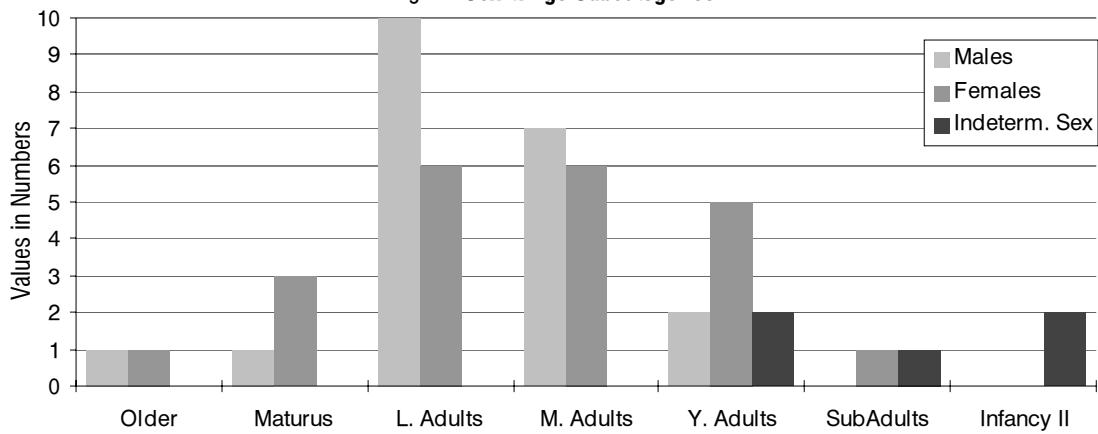
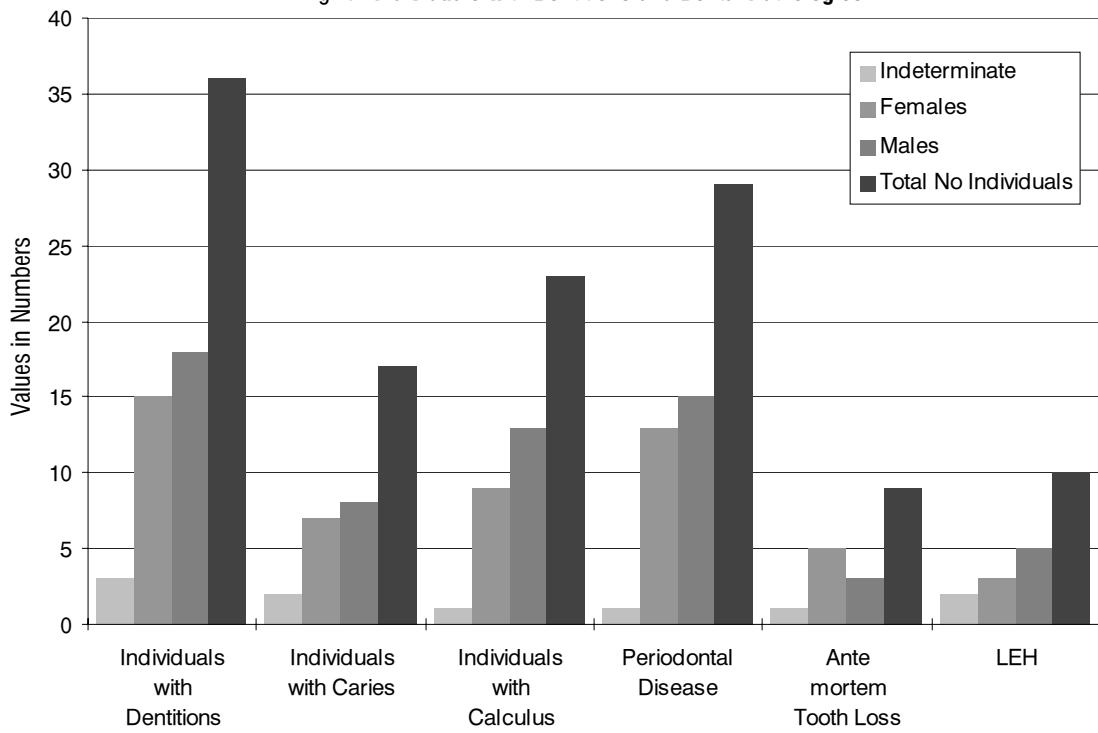
Fig. 3 - Sex & Age Subcategories**Fig. 4 - Individuals with Dentitions and Dental Pathologies**

Fig. 5 - Periosteal Reactions by Sex Subcategory

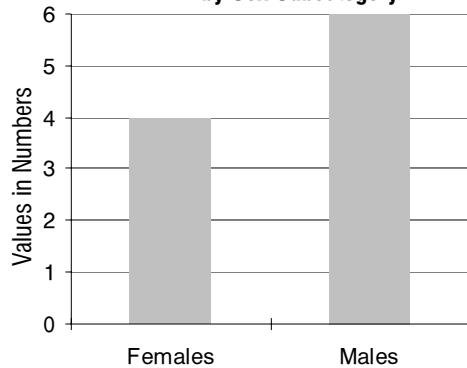


Fig. 6 - Prevalence of Trauma & Periostitis By Sex Subcategories

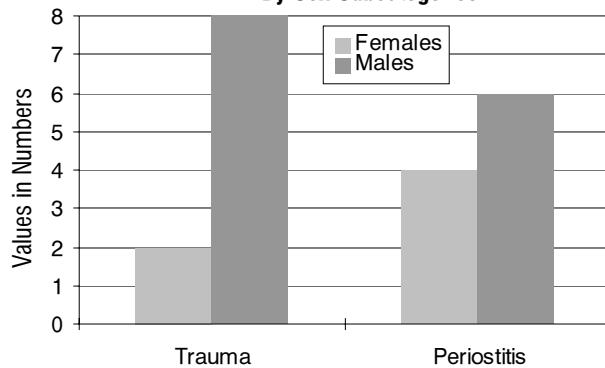


Fig. 7 - Prevalence of Osteoarthritic (OA) Manifestations By Sex Subcategory

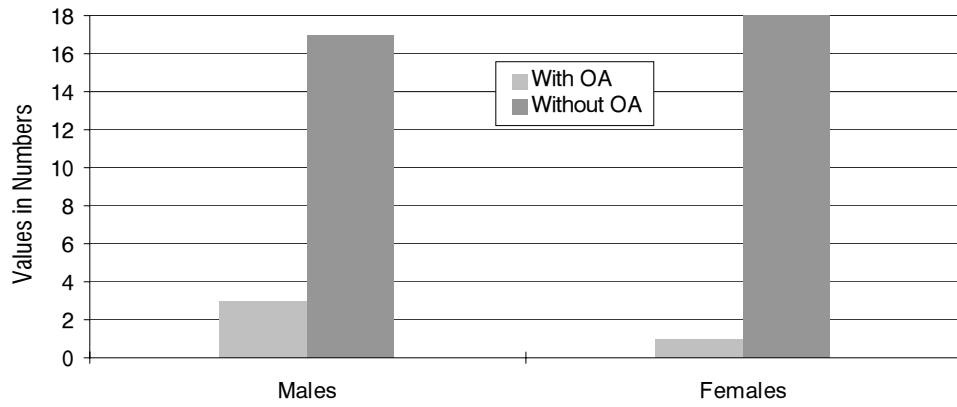
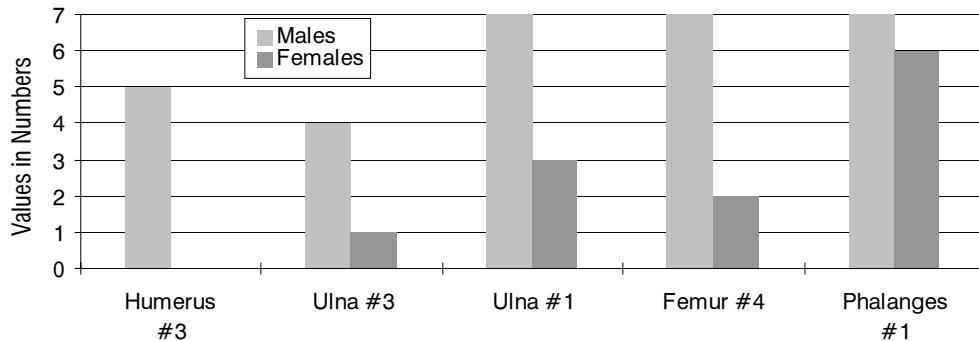
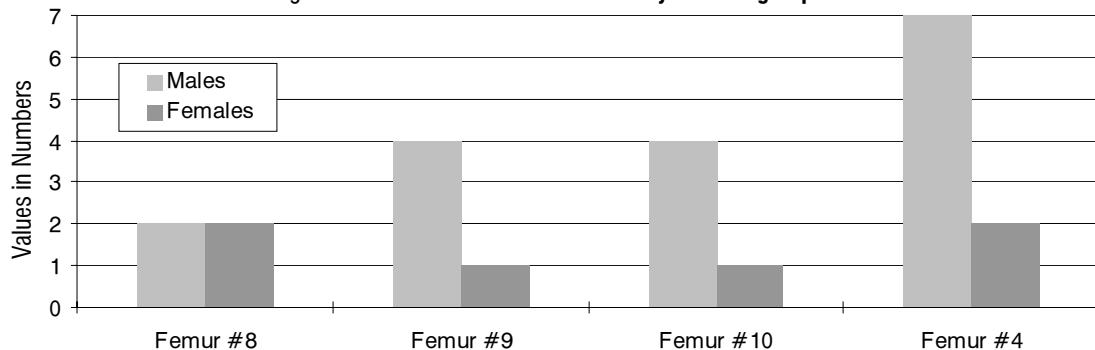
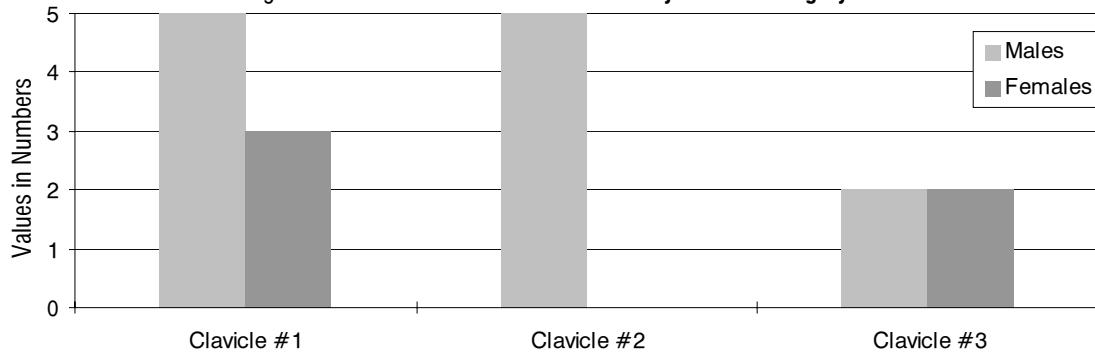


Fig. 8 - Prevalence of Selected MHOS Showing Sexual Dimorphisms



MHOS/Skeletal Manifestation	Associated Kinetics	Bodily Posture/Function
Phal.#1:Marked Flex. Ligam.palmar 1st Phal.	Firm Palmar Flexion	Firm Grasp
Fem.#4: "Poirier's Facet"	Flexion of knee, Extension of Hip Joint	Squatting Posture, Prolonged Standing/Walki
Ulna#1: Hypertrophy of Supi. Crest & Fossa	Supination, Hypertension of Arm	Spear throwing, Use Sling, Pitch Missiles
Ulna#3: Elevation of Anconeus Ridge	Extension of Humeroulnar Joint	Carrying Heavy Objects Cradled in Arms
Hum.#3: Exostosis of Medial Epicondyle	Hyperactivity of: Pron.teres, Flex. Capri Rad.,	Thrust Movement of Arm (Javelin Thr.)

Fig. 9 - Prevalence of Femoral MHOS By Sex Subgroups**Fig. 10 - Prevalence of Clavicular MHOS By Sex Subcategory****Fig. 11 - Prevalence of Calcaneal MHOS By Sex Subcategory**