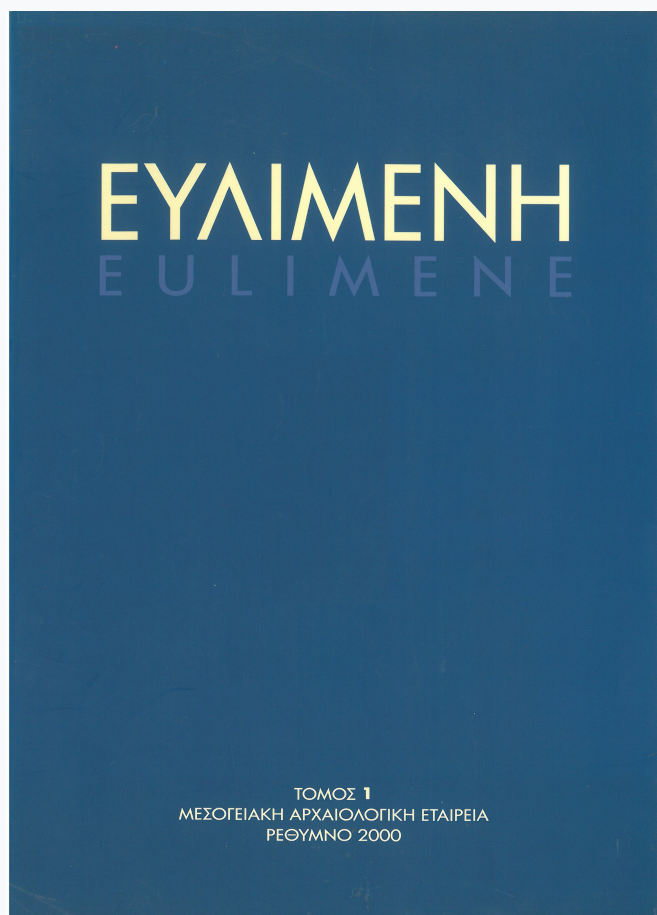


EULIMENE

Vol 1 (2000)

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**Kydon the oikist or Zeus Cretagenes Kynotraphes
The problem of interpreting Cretan coin types**

Manolis I. Stefanakis

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ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

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

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Περιεχόμενα
EYAIMENH 1 (2000)

List of contents
EULIMENE 1 (2000)

Περίληψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti	6
Anagnostis Angelarakis , Aspects of demography and palaeopathology among the hellenistic Abderetes 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 Γραμματικάκη - 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
Σελήγη 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 Abderetes in Thrace, Greece, EYΛIMENH 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 ιδιομορφιών των σκελετο-μυικών αναγλύφων μεταξύ ανδρών και γυναικών αυτής της εποχής στα Αβδηρα, δίνοντας έτσι 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, EYΛIMENH 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'Ermite 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 nella 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'Ermite 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 Woburn Abbey/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, Policlete 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 Asklepion near Lasaia, EYAIMENH 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 Pythion von Gortyn genannt wird (I.Cret. IV 251, late 2nd cent. B.C.). Unabhängig davon, ob Zenas als gortynischer Beamter oder als Privatperson im Asklepion bei Lasaia tätig war, deutet seine Tätigkeit darauf hin, daß dieses Heiligtum, genau wie das Asklepion 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, EYAIMENH 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 site 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 our 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, EYAIMENH 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 proprætor 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, EYAIMENH 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, τετρώβολα και τετράδραχμα της Κυδωνίας. Η παράσταση έχει πιθανότατα επηρεαστεί από ρωμαϊκά πρότυπα και ως εκ τούτου δεν θεωρείται πρωιμότερη 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 αδειά, 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), *EYΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 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 νομισματοκοπειών στον αιώνα που ακολούθησε το θάνατο του Αλεξάνδρου και αποδεικνύει για ακόμη μια φορά τον τοπικό χαρακτήρα όχι μόνον των περισσότερων 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 νομισματοκοπιών (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 αλεξάνδρειων 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 —εστεμμένων και μη καπήλων του αλεξάνδρειου οράματος— και των ταλαιπωρημένων βετεράνων της ασιατικής εκστρατείας.

Σελήνη Ψωμά, Σκάψα και Κίθας. Η νομισματική μαρτυρία, *EYΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 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 (tétroboles et tritétartémoria) au V^e siècle avec la légende ΚΑ- et de monnaies de bronze au IV^e siècle portant la légende ΣΚΑΨΑΪ(ΩΝ). Etant donné que les lettres σκ- 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 Crousie. Le didrachme de Berlin et les tétroboles 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, EYLIMENH 1 (2000), 127-131

Critical Trifles

1. α. At *PGM* XXXV 26 read τῷ φοροῦντι τὸ χαριτήσιν (for χαριτήσιον) τοῦ <το>.
- β. In the left-hand column of 31-40 read ³¹πά<ν>τα τὰ π'ν'εύ/³²ματα τῆς κοσμή/³³σεος <καί?> εὐκρα/³⁴σίας· ἐπικαλοῦ/³⁵μαι καὶ παρακαλῶ/³⁶καὶ ἐξορκίζω/³⁷ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μου ὑ/³⁸πακούσητε κ(αὶ) ἀπαραβάτους χά/³⁹[ριν δῶτ]ε τῷ φοροῦτι τὸ/⁴⁰[χ]αριτήσιν μου τοῦτο.
2. At *PGM* O 1.4 and 1.10 read not λαλήσεν (for λαλήσειν) but λαλήσε{ν} (for λαλήσαι {ν}).
3. Behind a puzzling phrase in *DTAud* 155-70 (Rome, IV-V A.D.) there probably stood the words: ὑμεῖς δέ, ἐφυδριάδες νύμφαι, αἰδώναι, ἔγχωροι κατοικοῦσαι

Nikos Litinas, A private letter of the VI A.D., EYLIMENH 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 στιχαροκαράκ[άλλιον 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 στιχαροκαράκ[άλλιον [...
] 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' ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλη

B: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ τᾶλλα σοι κατὰ γνώμην ἐστίν, εἴη ἂν ὥς ἡμεῖς θέλομεν· ὑγίαινον δὲ καὶ αὐτός

Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε δ' ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν 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 εκτεταμένη.

A: Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε περί τῆς υἰείας σου

B: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: Συνήθως δεν υπάρχει άμεση απάντηση: σπάνια απαντά η φράση του τύπου: πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε υἰαίνειν μετὰ τῶν σῶν πάντων κάγῳ γὰρ αὐτὸς υἰαίνω

Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε περί τῆς υἰείας σου

Από τα τέλη του τρίτου αι. μ.Χ. έως 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 εξής 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: δηλώσέ μοι περί τῆς σῆς υἰείας

B: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: υἰαίνω cὺν Θεῳ

Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: δηλώσέ μοι περί τῆς σῆς υἰείας

A: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: ἔδεξάμην τὰ περί τῆς σῆς υἰείας

**KYDON THE OIKIST OR ZEUS
CRETAGENES KYNOTRAPHES?
THE PROBLEM OF INTERPRETING
CRETAN COIN TYPES¹**

The identification of coin types encounters many difficulties as interpretation often depends upon literary sources, and the problem becomes even greater when dealing with Cretan mythology. Cretan coinage is full of scenes of disputed identity narrative and non-narrative. A very good example comes from the coins of Kydonia, the major city of western Crete, located at the site of modern Chania (fig. 1). On the obverse of one particular series of Kydonia (fig. 2) there is an artistically excellent head of Dionysos facing left, wreathed with ivy leaves and a cluster of berries at the top, his long hair falling down his neck,² a type of Dionysos called «Kissos» in Attica (Paus. i 31, 6),³ and on the reverse a picturesque scene of a bitch standing left, affectionately turning her head backwards to look at an infant, whom she is suckling. There is a ground line, beneath which is the inscription KYΔΩΝ. The scene appears as the main type on the reverse of staters (fig. 2), drachms (fig. 3) and tetrobols (fig. 4), as well as a symbol on the Kydonian pseudo-Athenian tetradrachms (fig. 5).

Dulière,⁴ discussing the particular reverse type, has suggested that it influenced the first silver «Romano-Campanian» didrachms minted in Rome in 269/8 BC, depicting the she-wolf suckling the twin founders of Rome on the reverse (fig. 6),⁵ dating the Kydonian coin therefore to the early third century, following Le Rider's dating to the years 330-280/70 BC.⁶

Dulière's suggestion does not seem plausible since it is most likely that the choice of such a subject on the Roman coins was determined by the bronze group dedicated in

¹ My thanks to Dr. Ute Wartenberg and Miss Bridget Buxton for discussing this paper with me. Of the coins used to illustrate this paper only no 7 comes from Svoronos 1890, pl. IX, 26. The rest have been kindly supplied by the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum.

² For the type of the god see *LIMC* III, 122a-128c, 194-6, 201a-b; Svoronos 1890, 104, no 36 identified the head with Dionysus or a Dionysiac Nymph; Babelon 1914, no 1753, however, identified the head as Diktynna.

³ C. Kerenyi, *Dionysos: Archetypal image of Indestructible Life* (translated by R. Manheim), London 1977, 63. *Ibid.*, 62, the ivy wreath was more frequent than a vine wreath in representations of Dionysos, and ivy, unlike the vine, exists in Minoan art; however, A. Marangou-Lerat, *La vin et les amphores de Crète de l'époque classique à l'époque impériale* (*Études Crétoises* 30) Athens 1995, 32 takes Dionysos here to be wreathed with vine.

⁴ Dulière's theories (1969, 203-9) seem to be followed by Jurgeit 1980, 275 and Tasoulas 1994, 104.

⁵ For the type see Burnett 1986, 72; R. Thomsen, *Early Roman Coinage*, III, Copenhagen 1961, 119; Crawford 1974, 137, no 20, 714, pl. I, 20/1.

⁶ Le Rider 1966, 194.

Rome by the aediles Gnaeus and Quintus Ogulnius in 296 BC (Livy x 23, 12).⁷ Besides, there is no reason why Kydonia in particular should influence powerful Rome, especially since the latter's famous foundation myth dates at least to the fourth century BC,⁸ and the dedication of the statue had took place in 296 BC.⁹ In addition the Kydonian coin type cannot antedate 269 BC, when the Romano-Campanian coinage was first minted, since the type appears in neither the many coin hoards buried in Crete in the 270s, nor other coin hoards of the third century.

It is more probable that the Kydonians were influenced by the Romans. In fact, there exists evidence that the Kydonian type derived from that on the Romano-Campanian coins. Roman influence is evident on a Kydonian drachm issue (fig. 7), which depicts a helmeted female head on the obverse, while the reverse type imitates extremely closely the type of the she-wolf on the Romano-Campanian coinage of c. 269 BC. On this Kydonian issue the bitch stands to the right and the head is turned to the left, in a harsh and very rugged design, something that is avoided on the other dies. Together with the «Roman» reverse, the helmeted female bust was newly adopted for the obverse, a first departure from the traditional Bacchic iconography of Kydonian coinage.¹⁰ Although the image on the Kydonian coinage is very similar to Athena on the lifetime and posthumous coinage of Alexander, there is one feature that differentiates her from that classical type: the little wing on the side of the helmet, above the ear. The wing is a Roman element, found on the helmet of Roma.¹¹ It is worth comparing the Kydonian helmet with the later helmet of Roma on the tetradrachm of Metellus struck at Gortyna in c. 67 BC (Svoronos, 1890, pl. XVI, 29-30), where the wing is very elegant and notably smaller than in the normal depictions on Roman coinage of the beginning of the second century BC.

⁷ On the Capitoline wolf see, A. Alföldi, «La loupe du Capitole. Quelques remarques sur son mythe à Rome et chez les Étrusques», *Hommage à la mémoire Jérôme Carcopino*, Société archéologique de l' Aube, Paris 1977, 1-11; C. Dulière, *Lupa Romana: Recherches d' iconographie et essai d' interprétation*, Brussels-Rome 1979.

⁸ T.P. Wiseman, *Remus. A Roman myth*, Cambridge 1995, 158; Grant 1971, 99. The Romans seem to have adopted the myth after it appeared in the late fourth century in the Sicilian historian, Alcimius. On the suggestion of an early and indigenous origin for the myth see the arguments of T.J. Cornell, «Aeneas and the twins: The development of the Roman foundation legend», *ProcCambridgePhilSoc* 201, 1975, 1-32.

⁹ It is surely to be accepted that the «Romano-Campanian» issue depicting the nursing she-wolf and the twins followed the establishment of the statue to commemorate it, and from then on the scene became very popular appearing on coins and in other arts. The scene was reproduced in 137 BC on the coin issue of Sextus Pompeius in Rome, and again in 115/4 BC (Crawford 1974, 267-8, no 235, 719, pl. XXXVI and 302, no 287, 719, n. 5, 729, pl. XL, respectively). For other representations in art see *LIMC* VII, 639-644; Grant 1971, 103.

¹⁰ Svoronos 1890, 104, no 39, identified the helmeted head with Athena but the goddess is not known to have been a popular deity at Kydonia, despite the existence of her epithet «Κυδωνία» (Lycophron, 936). The ruins of Athena Kydonia's temple at the ancient city of Phrixa, in Elis, were visited by Pausanias (vi 21, 6), who reported that the temple was founded by Klymenos, a descendant of Idaean Heracles, originating from Kydonia, and that even Pelops sacrificed to Athena Kydonia before he embarked on his contest with Oenomaus.

¹¹ Throughout the second century BC the head of Roma, with long hair running down the back of the neck and an earring, wearing a non-crested, winged helmet featured on the coinage of Rome. M.H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic. Italy and the Mediterranean economy*, London 1985, 54-55. For the type of Athena-Roma on Roman coinage see Burnett 1986, 67-8 and n. 11. On the iconography of Roma in general see C.C. Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge 1959.

The selection of such a type is not surprising if one sees it within the frame of Roman influence in the city at the beginning of the second century BC.¹²

Iconography supplies no dating since the motive of an infant nursed by an animal appears in Minoan times and extends down to the Roman period.¹³ A pointer for dating the series to the beginning of the second century BC, the time of the first Roman involvement in Cretan affairs, is provided by the typological and stylistic similarities which the obverse type of the staters -head of Dionysos- share with the obverses of the better dated coins of the Chania, 1922, hoard (Svoronos, 1890, pl. IX, 17, 27-29), buried in the first half of the second century¹⁴ and the proliferation of the dog as a coin type of Kydonia at the same time on silver (Svoronos, 1890, pl. IX, 9) and bronze denominations (Svoronos, 1890, pl. IX, 10-12, 31-40).

The type survived in Kydonia after 67 BC, under the Romans, until well into the imperial period from Augustus (Svoronos, 1890, pl. X, 12-14) until Trajan (Svoronos, 1890, pl. X, 26).¹⁵

The animal is undoubtedly a female hound, presumably a Κυνοσοῦριδα (if we are to believe the Scholiast of Kallimachos, *Hymn to Artemis*, 94), a breed of Cretan hunting dog, very similar to those of Laconia¹⁶ and to those that escort the huntress Artemis, as

¹² S. Kreuter, «Die Beziehungen zwischen Rom und Kreta vom Beginn des zweiten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. bis zur Entwicklung der Römischen Provinz», in Ch. Schubert et al. (eds), *Rome und der griechische Osten, Festschrift für H.H. Schmitt zum 65 Geburtstag*, Stuttgart 1995, 135-6; S. Spyridakis, «The Roman involvement in Crete», *Cretica Selecta. Studies on Ancient Crete*, 1992, 132 [reprint from *Kretologia*, 1979].

¹³ The type of an animal nursing an infant is a popular theme in Greek mythology. On Crete itself the theme is attested from Minoan times (See Nilsson 1967, 321, pl. 26, 6, for a seal from Knossos depicting a goat nursing a «göttliche Kind»), and is depicted on the staters of Praisos of the third quarter of the fourth century BC (Le Rider 1966, 197), where a cow is suckling an infant (Svoronos 1890, pl. XXVII, 2). The cow is thought to be Io and the infant Zeus (Weber 1896, 19). The theme also occurs on the coins of Tegea of c. 370-240 BC, where Telephos is suckled by a hind (For other representations of Telephos suckled see C. Bauchhenss-Thueriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiker Bildkunst, (Beiträge zur Archäologie 3)* Würzburg 1971, 78ff.) on the reverse, while a helmeted head of Athena features on the obverse (*BMC Peloponnesus* 202, pl. XXXVII, 16-7, 21). The scene of a nursing animal is also popular on the coinages of Apollonia and Dyrrachium (*SNG Copenh.* 370-398 and 421-498) from the fifth to the first centuries BC, and on the fifth and fourth century coinage of Karystos (*BMC Central Greece* pl. XVIII, 5, 6, 11) where a cow suckles a calf (For representations of nursing animals on coins see also Svoronos 1893, 9-10 and pl. I, 17-25).

Scenes very similar to that of Kydonia, with a bitch suckling an infant, appear apart from coins on Hellenistic gems (J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, London 1970, 319, 355, no 952), one from Cyrene, dated to the early third century (O. Rubensohn, *Elephantine-Papyri*, Berlin 1907, 15, no 22, pl. 2) while a similar theme, that of Telephos nourished by a hind, is depicted on a seal of the late first BC/early first AD century (M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet, The Hague*, The Hague 1978, 190, no 421). Also worth mentioning is a late-fifth-century Roman depiction of a lioness suckling the infant Caeculus, the founder of Praeneste, (Verg. *Aen.* vii, 681), studied and illustrated by Jurgeit 1980, 273-5, pl. 58, 2; 59, 1.

¹⁴ R.B. Seager, «A Cretan coin hoard», *NNM* 23, 1924.

¹⁵ The type with the suckling bitch appeared also on the coins of Claudius (*BMC Crete* 38), Nero (A. Burnett, M. Amandri, P.P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London 1992, 1019), Vespasian (*SNG Copenh.* 426) and Domitian (Svoronos 1890, pl. X, 21). But the representation lost its artistic elegance and became rough, with the bitch looking charmless and stiff, resembling more a wolf than a hound, but definitely not an ass, a transformation according to Dulière (1969, 209) made by the Kydonians in order to avoid confusion with the representation of the wolf, frequent on Roman Imperial coins.

¹⁶ O. Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt* I, Leipzig 1963, 117-8.

regularly depicted in Greek art.¹⁷ The characteristics of this breed are the long, lean and agile body, the strong hind legs, the protruding ribs, the low ridge that marks the abdominal muscles, the slightly curved tail, and the long face with short ears.

It is not until it comes to the identity of the infant that difficulties start. It has been identified:

- a) with Miletos, the brother of Kydon and founder of Ionian Miletos
- b) with Kydon the eponymous oikist of Kydonia
- c) with Zeus Cretagenes

Miletos, the mythical oikist of Ionian Miletos, has been suggested in the light of the myth that has him brought up by a she-wolf (Ant. Liberalis, *Metamorph.* 30, 1)¹⁸ but this can be easily discarded because Miletos is not connected with Kydonia, though a some time he was taken to be Kydon's brother, and because the animal of the depiction is clearly a hound, not a wolf.

Kydon, the eponymous oikist of Kydonia, has been suggested by many scholars despite the lack of relevant mythological evidence. Our knowledge of Kydon is scarce. According to the Arkadian version Kydon was the son of Tegeates, king of Arkadia, and as an infant came to Crete and founded Kydonia, exactly as his brothers were eponymous founders of Gortyna and Katre (Paus. viii 53, 2). But another, Cretan, tradition made him a son of Akakallis, daughter of Minos, and Hermes, and brother of Miletos, founder of the homonymous city in Asia Minor (Paus. viii 53, 2; S. Theokr. 7, 12; Alexander (S. Apoll. Rhod.) iv 1492; Alexander Polyhistor, *FGrH.* 273 F30); a variant, however, claimed that his father was not Hermes but Apollo (St. Byz. Kydonia; S. Hom., *Od.* xix 176). The only detail which we have about his «life» is that he wanted to marry his daughter Eulimene to king Apteras. She had been having a secret affair with a certain Lykastos, who revealed the secret when Kydon was preparing to sacrifice her, after an oracular instruction, in order to save the city from its enemies. Kydon proceeded to kill her and

¹⁷ LIMC II, Artemis, 224, 233. Other Kydonian coins also depict that animal. It escorts the archer on the reverse of some staters (Svoronos 1890, pl. IX, 2, 7-8), accompanies Diktynna on the reverse of the pseudo-Athenian coinage (Svoronos 1890, pl. X, 1), and is shown alone, seated, on the reverse of the silver trihemioibols (Svoronos 1890, pl. IX, 9) and the contemporary bronze denominations of the city (Svoronos 1890, pl. IX, 10-12, 31-40). The hound also escorts the huntress inscribed ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ on the imperial coinage of Kydonia: on the small bronze denominations of Vespasian (Svoronos 1890, pl. XXXIII, 7-8), on the tetradrachms and other small denominations of Domitian (Svoronos 1890, pl. XXXIII, 17), on the coins of Trajan (Svoronos 1890, pl. XXXIV 1, 10, 15) and on those of Hadrian (Svoronos 1890, pl. XXXV 12-3). It is also depicted on the coins of Phaistos (Svoronos 1890, pl. XXIV, 25-6) and on the first issues of Eleutherna, escorting Artemis on the obverse and Apollo on the reverse (Svoronos 1890, pl. XI, 4).

A good representation of such a dog can be seen in the greyhound in the Glyptothek in Munich, dated to the fourth century BC and in the hound made of serpentine in the Conservatori Palace, a Roman copy of an original also of the fourth century BC (Richter 1930, 32, pl. LIII, figs. 169, 168). A gem dated to 475-50 BC in Boston, depicts a dog of the same breed, turning its head like the bitch on the Kydonian coins, but this time to scratch it with its hind paw. A similar hound advancing to the right appears also on the coins of Segesta of around 450 BC (Richter 1930, pl. LII, figs., 162, 161). Earlier the same Cretan dog occurs in Minoan art, mainly on seals and gems (*Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegeln* 1, Berlin 1964, no. 415c, 420a, 480).

¹⁸ O. Dapper, *Ακριβής περιγραφή της Κρήτης*, translated and edited by M. Vernardos the Cretan, Herakleion 1835, 307-8; P. Gardner, *The types of Greek Coins*, Cambridge 1883, 167.

then ordered her belly to be opened with a knife. She was found to be pregnant (Asklepiades, *FGrH* 697 F1; Parthenius, *Erotica* 35).¹⁹

Two arguments have been used to support the identity of Kydon on the coins: first, the inscription KYΔΩΝ, and second, the assumption that he should have had a myth similar to that of his brother Miletos, who was suckled by a she-wolf,²⁰ since stories of infants nourished by animals are common in Greek mythology.²¹ Moreover, the Arkadian version of the myth narrates that Kydon came to Crete as an infant, (Paus. viii 53, 4) and it would not be surprising if he was thought to have been taken care of by an animal.

In 1893 Svoronos proposed that the infant was Zeus, basing his suggestion on meagre numismatic evidence: (1) the thunderbolt, symbol of Zeus, appearing on one drachm issue above the bitch, which could be a reference to the infant (Svoronos 1890, pl. X, 2); (2) the appearance of Zeus Cretagenes as a symbol on the pseudo-Athenian coinage of Kydonia, replaced later by the nursing bitch and the infant (Svoronos 1890, pl. X, 10-11); (3) the representation of Diktynna, the prime goddess of west Crete, on the imperial coinage of the territory as a divine nurse (Svoronos 1890, pl. XXXIII, 23-4); (4) the appearance of Zeus Cretagenes as an infant seated on a sphere with a hound guarding him, on the coinage of the Cretan Koinon (Svoronos 1890, pl. XXXV, 1). He combined the above with various fragmentary indications from ancient sources ranging from Homer to Thales the Milesian, Aratos of Soli, scholia on Kallimachos of Cyrene and Antoninus Liberalis, and argued that Zeus was nourished by a bitch, perhaps after a lost myth of Kydonia, one of a series of Cretan stories claiming that Zeus was reared by various animals on Crete.²² This interpretation has been accepted by several scholars.²³

Svoronos's arguments is puzzling and maybe overhasty in seeking a solution, but in the light of Zeus' epithet, Σκύλιος in Crete²⁴ and his relation to dogs in general,²⁵ it may

¹⁹ For a fuller account of the few details that are preserved of the myth of Kydon see *LIMC* VI, 152-154.

²⁰ *LIMC* VI, 152-154; Jurgeit 1980, 274; K. Davaras, *Guide to Cretan Antiquities*, Park Ridge 1976, 170; Dulière 1969, 203-9; *IC* II, X, 113-4; *RE* XI, 1922, 2304-5; Babelon 1914, 1023; Head 1911, 463-4; *BMC Crete* xxxiii; W. Wroth, «Cretan Coins», *NC* 1884, 26.

²¹ For Greek myths of infants suckled by animals see Jurgeit 1980, 274; Nilsson 1967, 320-21; G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskinders. Kyros und Romulus (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 10)* 1964, 78ff, 130ff, 136ff, 144ff; H.J. Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology*, London 1928, 289; E.S. McCartney, *Greek and Roman Lore of Animal-nursed Infants*, New York 1924.

²² Svoronos 1893, 1-7; id., «Νομισματικά», *Estia*, 1893, 31-2.

²³ Verbruggen 1981, 43; Th. Hadzisteliou-Price, *Kourotrophos, Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities*, Leiden 1978, 88-9; Nilsson 1967, 320-321; Willetts 1962, 276; P. Faure, «Nouvelles recherches de speleologie et de topographie crétoises», *BCH* 84, 1960, 210, n.2; K. Jannoulides, «Ζεῦ Δικταῖον ἀείσομεν ἢ Λυκαῖον oder Diktynna-Ida», *Πλάτων* 8, 1956, 80. Wroth, («Notices of recent numismatic publications: J.N. Svoronos, Τύποι αναφερόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ παιδοτροφίαν τοῦ Διὸς» *NC* 1893, 237-239), Lambros («Νομισματικά», *Estia*, 1893, 409-410) did not support Svoronos's theory because he believed that myths used to interpret an image should have been local and because he connected the hound escorting the young archer on the staters of the «Diktynna» series with the bitch nursing the infant. Since the archer could not be Zeus, then the infant was not Zeus either.

²⁴ K. Giannoulidou, «Ζεὺς Αἰκαλὸς - Ἀκακαλλίς - Σκύλλιον ὄρος» in *Πλάτων* 10, 1958, 113. Svoronos 1893, 8. St. Byz. Σκύλλιον; *IC* IV, (Gortyn), 174, 58.73, «Ττῆνα Σκύλιον», second century BC; I, XXIX, 1 (Rythion), 1.7, «Διὸς Σκυλίου», ca. AD 120; J. D. S Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete: An Introduction*, London 1967³, 373.

point towards the reconstruction of a lost myth of Zeus Cretagenes. Among the known versions of the Cretan myth regarding the upbringing of Zeus is one which claims that the Nymphs Kynosoura and Helike were his nurses on Mt. Ida. When Kronos pursued them, Zeus turned them into the constellations Ursa Minor and Ursa Major. The evidence of the Kydonian coins, taken with Svoronos' arguments, seems to imply that Zeus Cretagenes in his infancy was brought up in western Crete by a bitch, which was then turned into the constellation of the Little Bear. That bitch, a Kynosurida in breed, was probably related to, or better, identified with the Idaian Nurse, the nymph Kynosoura, and was metamorphosed like her. In this case then one should talk about a common conception for both Cretan myths. That in western Crete differs slightly from that on Ida with respect to the nature of the nurse, so that it becomes unique to the polis of Kydonia.

Svoronos's suggestion is very tempting and sounds persuasive enough. However in the absence of any direct evidence for an identification of the infant as Zeus, it can only remain plausible. Similarly plausible, given the silence from ancient sources is the case for Kydon. Neither of the two proposed identifications can be proven because no such animal-nursed infant is described by our literary sources.

It may be wiser to prefer an identification of the infant as Kydon for the time being though, mainly because of the inscription underneath the scene. Given the obscurity of the scene depicted the inscription can be taken as a direct indication of the identity of the infant, otherwise difficult to identify, despite the fact that an abbreviated form of the ethnic epithet KYΔΩNIATAN (fig. 4-5) cannot be ruled out. In addition, the scene of an animal-nursed hero or oikist became very popular during the third and second century BC and there is no reason to rule out a decision of the Kydonian authorities to depict a similar scene on their coinage.

Of course this is only one case out of a series of disputed identifications of Cretan coin types. Extremely interesting is the problem of interpretation of the female figure sitting in a tree on the coins of Gortyna (fig. 8-12), who has been called Europa, Britomartis, Hellotis, Velchane or a Cretan tree-nymph.²⁶ The first two identifications with Europa and Britomartis, seem to be most plausible and this time the difficulty of deciding is even greater because both interpretations are based on known myths. Kallimachos in the first half of the third century praising Artemis (189-193) stated:

²⁵ Zeus is related to dogs in other ways. Apart from the golden hound, which guarded the nymph Aega while she was nursing the infant and which Pandareus stole from Crete (Ant. Lib., *Metam.* 36, 1-2; S. Hom., *Od.* xx 66), Hephaistos is also said to have donated a bronze dog to Zeus (Pollux v 39). In addition Aeschylus and Sophocles, mention the dog(s) of Zeus, which are in some cases winged or even combined with an eagle (Aesch., *Prometh.* 803-4: «...ὀξυστόμους γὰρ Ζητὸς ἀκραγεῖς κύνας γρυῖπας ...» ; 1021-25: «...Διὸς δέ τοι πτηνὸς κύων, δαφνοῖδός αἰετὸς ...»; Soph. *Frg.* 884: «...ὁ σκηπτροβάμων αἰετὸς κύων Διὸς ...»). The giant Talos, a gift of Hephaistos or Daidalos to Minos or of Zeus to Europa, was later identified with Zeus and lent the god the epithet Ταλαῖος. His cult was established on Mount Ida (Willets 1962, 248-249), as well as in the towns of Dreros, Lato, Lyttos and Olous (*IC* I, IX, 1A.18; XVI, 3.19, 4A.14, 5.48,73; XVIII, 9C.4; XXII, 4C.59). At Phaistos he was accompanied by a hound, as represented on the staters of the town (Le Rider 1966, pl. III, 5-12; XX, 27-9; XXI, 1-4). On a bronze issue of the same town Talos is presented on the obverse hurling a stone and the hound is placed separately on the reverse (Svoronos 1890, pl. XXIV, 25-6). This is also evidence that Zeus was associated with the hound not only in the west but also in the east of Crete.

²⁶ See Le Rider 1966, 14, n.1 for the whole scholarly debate on the figure's identification.

ἐξοχα δ' ἀλλάων Γορτυνίδα φίλαο νύμφην,
 ἐλλοφόνον Βριτόμαρτιν εὐσκοπον. ἥς ποτε Μίνως
 πτοιοθὲς ὑπ' ἔρωτι κατέδραμεν οὔρεα Κρήτης.
 ἥ δ' ὅτε μὲν λασίησιν ὑπὸ δρυσὶ κρύπτετο νύμφη,
 ἄλλοτε δ' εἵαμενῇσιν

(«and beyond others thou lovest the nymph of Gortyn, Britomartis, slayer of stags, the goodly archer; for love of whom was Minos of old distraught and roamed the hills of Crete; and the nymph would hide herself now under the shaggy oaks and anon in the low meadows». [Transl. A. W. Mair, *Loeb*]). On the other hand Theophrastos, presumably in the second half of the fourth century wrote (*Hist. Plant.* i 9.5): «ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ λέγεται πλάτανόν τινα εἶναι ἐν τῇ Γορτυναίᾳ πρὸς πηγῇ τινὶ ἣ οὐ φυλλοβολεῖ· μυθολογοῦσι δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ ταύτῃ ἐμίγη τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὁ Ζεὺς» («it is said that in Crete in the district of Gortyna there is a plane near a certain spring, which does not lose its leaves; indeed the story is that it was under this tree that Zeus lay with Europa» [Transl. A. Hort, *Loeb*]). The bull represented on the reverse of the coins can refer equally to Zeus or Minos, since both are strongly associated with that animal and is virtually of no help towards the identification. The version of Theophrastos however seems to be the most plausible since the nymph on the Gortynian coins eventually couple an eagle (Svoronos 1890, pl. XV, 1-2) who must be Zeus, while Britomartis, we hear, preferred to throw herself into the sea than to lose her chastity to Minos (Kall., *Artemis* 195-196). It is probable then that we have a version of Europa's myth unique to the territory of Gortyna, that associates the nymph with a tree and Zeus metamorphosed into an eagle, a myth that is not known from our preserved literary sources. Thus Buxton, discussing the identity of the figure on the Gortynian coins suggested that the nymph is likely to be Hellotis, a local nymph of Gortyna identical with Europa, who probably had a story similar to that of Britomartis, including flight and hiding in a tree after being pursued by a suitor with a bull association. She also underlined the possibility that we may be dealing with different local names and titles of a single Cretan Goddess.²⁷

Moreover, if the Gortynian issues of the fourth and third centuries depicting the nymph in the tree have been correctly dated²⁸ we encounter a unique phenomenon in the history of Greek coinage, that of a carefully planned iconographical programme to tell a local story in parts over a certain period of time. On an early issue, dated to the years 350-330 BC the nymph is sitting in the tree resting her chin on her hand, looking very sceptical (fig. 8) (Le Rider 1960, pl. XI, 20-26; XII-XIII). On the next issues of 322-300 BC the nymph is accompanied by an eagle who sits on the branch of the tree beside her (fig. 9) (Le Rider 1960, pl. XVI, 15-19) or whose head forms part of the tree-trunk (fig. 10) (Le Rider 1960, pl. XVIII, 14-18). Later on an issue of 300-280/70 BC the nymph is reveals herself by removing her veil, in a gesture of sacred marriage while she is united with the eagle-Zeus (fig. 11) (Le Rider 1960, pl. XVIII, 19-24), in a manner that recalls the mid-fourth century BC statue of Leda by Timotheos. (*LIMC* VI, 6) and on other coins of the same period she is shown as Hera, wearing a stephane (polos on Hera) and holding a bird-topped sceptre (cuckoo sceptre for Hera), with the Zeus-eagle still

²⁷ Buxton 1995, 71-79.

²⁸ For the dating of the different issues of Gortyna see Le Rider 1966, 194-195.

seated beside her, implying that the sacred marriage has been completed (fig. 12) (Le Rider 1960, pl. XIX, 3-4).²⁹

Puzzling too is the scene on the coins of Aptera (fig. 13) where the warrior inscribed Πτολίωκος has been interpreted as Apteras (or Pteras) the eponymous hero and founder of Aptera who worships a sacred tree.³⁰ Deleppierre, on the other hand supports an idea of the representation of the Trojan Aineas worshipping myrtle.³¹ The figure has been also tentatively interpreted as Apollo³² or a Kouretes.³³ We do not know who the person called Welchanos³⁴ (fig. 14) on the coins of Phaistos was thought to be, while it is debatable whether the cow of Praisos (fig. 15) is suckling a local hero or again Zeus Cretagenes,³⁵ to mention only a few of the other problematic Cretan types.

From this paper two major conclusions can be drawn.

First, that myth proliferates in the Classical and Hellenistic periods; old myths mutate and new ones are created either out of vivid artistic imagination, or political need or simply because of human mistake. Jenny March, examining the development of myth in poetry from the eighth to the fifth century BC concludes that poets very often «made adaptations and innovations to a ‘given’ myth to a larger extent than has perhaps been generally realised and that the literary form or the needs of the occasion for which a piece of poetry was produced often influenced to a high degree the poet’s particular use of inherited mythological material».³⁶ In visual art things get even more complicated. Carpenter, who examined the development of various myths illustrated on artifacts created between 700 and 323 BC made clear that a story is often shown for which no literary source survives, sometimes the details of the story shown are quite different from these in any literary version and sometimes we have a story known only in a late and abbreviated form.³⁷ Shapiro, asking how the painter went about the task of translating a story he had heard or read, concludes that painters, viewing the world from a different angle from the poet conveyed things to the viewer in a different way and with different details, often imaginary, from those that the poet passed to his audience.³⁸ This multiplication of myth and the creation of dozens of variations, -most of which we, no doubt, know nothing today- poses a severe obstacle for secure identification.

²⁹ For similar depictions of Hera see *LIMC* IV, 154 and 168.

³⁰ W.Wroth, *BMC Crete*, xxx; Head 1911, 387; *RE* II.1, 1895, 287; Ch. Seltman, *Greek coins*, London 1955², 172; Le Rider 1966, 36.

³¹ M. Deleppiere, «Enee en Crete», *RN* 1972, 7-20.

³² Hofer, *Myth. Lex.* 3, 3260; *RE* XXIII.2, 1959, 1487.

³³ Babelon 1914, 886.

³⁴ See *LIMC* VIII, *Felchanos*, 299-300.

³⁵ Weber 1896, 19; Svoronos 1893, 10-12, based on literary indications that the constellation of Ursa Minor, the metamorphosed *trophos* of Zeus, was conceived by some Greeks as the depiction of a bull one the sky. On this matter see also G.L. Huxley, «An astronomical graffito from Pithekoussai», *PP* 1996, 223-4.

³⁶ See J.R. March, *The creative poet* (*BICS* suppl. 49) 1987, xi. The study examines the development of the myths of Peleus and Achilles, Meleager and the Kalydonian Boar, Deianeira and the death of Herakles, Klytaimnestra and the Oresteia myth, and Oidipous.

³⁷ T.H. Carpenter, *Art and myth in ancient Greece*, London 1991.

³⁸ H.A. Shapiro, *Myth into art. Poet and painter in Classical Greece*, London 1994, shows through the study of various myths that the latter are depicted by painters quite differently from what they were said to be by epic, lyric and tragic poets.

The Kallimachan Hymn to Zeus (4-8), composed in the first half of the third century poses the problem of myth proliferation in a rather poetic way:

πῶς καὶ νιν, Δικταῖον αἰέσομεν ἢ Λυκαῖον;
 ἐν δοιῇ μάλα θυμός, ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφήριστον.
 Ζεῦ, σὲ μὲν Ἰδαίοισιν ἐν οὔρεσιν φασι γενέσθαι,
 Ζεῦ, σὲ δ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ. πότεροι, πάτερ, ἐφεύσαντο;
 Κρήτες αἰὲ ψεύσται

(«How should we call him? As lord of Dikte or of Lykaeum? My soul is all in doubt since debated is his birth. O Zeus some say that thou wert born on the hills of Ida; others, o Zeus, in Arkadia. Did these or those, father, lie? Cretans are ever liars» [Transl. A. W. Mair, *Loeb*]). The numerous uninterpreted numismatic types from the Hellenistic times are enough to verify Kallimachos' report.

So in the light of the situation existing already in the early hellenistic period and returning to our original question do we have «Kydon the oikist or Zeus Cretagenes Kynotraphes?» Both Zeus and Kydon have to remain strong candidates. There could have been a myth where Zeus was nursed by a bitch because, although there were two myth versions of his birth, on Crete alone he is said to have been nursed by five different animals: the goat Amaltheia³⁹ (Kall., *Zeus* 47-8; Apoll. i 5; S. Hom., *Il.* xv, 229; Diod. v 70, 30), doves (Hom., *Od.* xii, 62-63; Athen. xi 79 b; xi 82, 22-23), bees (Kall., *Zeus* 48-49; Athen. xi 80, 34-5; Diod. v 70, 5; Ant. Liber. xix 2, 2-3), an eagle (Athen. xi 80, 38) and a sow (Neuantes Cyz. *FHG* iii 8; Agathocles Bab. *FHG* iv 289; Athen. ix 18, 3-10). Similarly there could have been a version with Kydon's animal nursing or simply his Arkadian myth, according to which the hero came to found Kydonia as an infant, could have challenged the imagination of an artist.

Secondly, with regard to Cretan religious beliefs and local mythology, our understanding of Cretan cult has been overly dependent on «Greek» (i.e. non-Cretan) literary mythology, even when the archaeological, epigraphic, topographic and numismatic evidence from the island itself contradicts that mythology. It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate the full implications for Cretan religion, but the identification of the heroes/deities on the coins needs further consideration. Too often the identification of local Cretan with «Greek» deities is taken for granted, not allowing for the fact that—for all their superficial similarities— native Cretan conceptions of gods such as Zeus, Dionysos and Artemis were very different from those figures in mainstream Greek mythology.

Along with this suggestion it should be added that Cretan engravers were probably inspired by well-established artistic motifs in the wider Greek world when they designed their dies.⁴⁰ They thus perhaps often portrayed their own deities in a manner which suggests to the modern observer the iconography of a better-known Greek equivalent, even though the meaning this image conveyed to the Cretan audience may have been very different.

³⁹ On Amaltheia see *LIMC* I, 582-584.

⁴⁰ See, for example, S. Lattimore, «Lysippan sculpture on Greek coins», *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 5, 1972, 147-152 for the type of Hercules killing the Hydra on the coinage of Phaistos copying a prototype sculptural group of Lysippos, and J. Svoronos, «Britomartis. La soi-disant Europa sur le platane de Gortyne», *RBN* 1894, 144-45, for the type of Argive Hera reproduced on the coins of Tylissos.

Finally the case of travelling, foreign, artists must not be neglected. If so, being strangers to Cretan culture, cult and mythology, those engravers probably did not understand the local peculiarities of myth and tradition, and may not have depicted Cretan mythological scenes in all their local and individual purity.

To approach the problem of identification of mythical characters on Cretan art and in our case coinage, a deeper study and understanding of Cretan cult and myth is needed.⁴¹ A successful attempt to understand the nature and function of Diktynna has been recently made by Miss. Bridget Buxton but the way is still long and difficult.⁴²

The following abbreviations have been used:

- Babelon 1914: E. Babelon, *Traite des monnaies Grecques et Romanes*, vol. III: *Comprenant les monnaies de la Grèce centrale et méridionale aux Ve et IVeme siècles avant J.-C.*, Paris 1914.
- BMC Crete*: W. Wroth, *BMC 9, Crete and the Aegean islands*, London 1886.
- Burnett 1986: A. Burnett, «Iconography of Roman coin types in the third century BC», *NC* 1986, 67-75.
- Buxton 1995: B.A. Buxton, *Diktynna. Myth and Cult*, MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington 1995.
- Crawford 1974: M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republic Coinage*, Cambridge 1974.
- Dulière 1969: C. Dulière, «À propos de monnaies de Kydonia représentant un enfant nourri par un animal», *Hommage à M. Renard*, III, coll. *Latomus* 103, 1969, 203-9.
- Grant 1971: M. Grant, *Roman Myths*, London 1971.
- Head 1911: B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum, a Manual of Greek Numismatics*, Oxford 1911.
- IC*: M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, I-IV, Rome 1935-1950.
- Jurget 1980: F. Jurget, «Aussetzung des Caeculus. Entrückung der Ariadne», in H. Cahn and E. Simon (eds), *Tainia, Festschrift für R. Hampe*, Mainz 1980, 269-279.
- Le Rider 1966: G. Le Rider, *Monnaies Crétoises du Ve au Ier siècle av. J-C*, (...cole Française d'Athènes, *Études Crétoises* 15) Paris 1966.
- LIMC*: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich and München 1981-1997.
- Nilsson 1967: M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion I*, (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 5.2.1) München 1967.

⁴¹ The recent attempt of Tasoulas (1994) to produce a modern version of Svoronos 1890 adds very little to our knowledge for mythology on Cretan coins.

⁴² Buxton 1995. From the rest of the Cretan Pantheon only Zeus Cretagenes has engaged scholars such as Verbruggen (1981) and E. Neustadt, (*De Iove Cretico*, Berlin 1906). The remaining Cretan deities, and especially those unique and outstanding in the Cretan cult and culture such as Dionysos-Zagreus, Ariadne, Pan-Tityros, to mention a few, have hardly ever been touched.

- RE*: *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1894-.
- Richter 1930: G. Richter, *Animals in Greek sculpture*, Oxford 1930.
- SNG Copenh.*: *SNG (Danish series 1) The Royal collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum 17, Argolis-Aegean Islands*, Copenhagen 1944.
- Svoronos 1890: J. Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*, Mâcon 1890.
- Svoronos 1893: J. Svoronos, «Τύποι αναφερόμενοι εις την εν Κρήτη παιδοτροφίαν του Διός», *Arch.Ephemeris* 1893, 1-7.
- Tasoulas 1994: G. Tasoulas, *Μυθολογικές παραστάσεις στα κρητικά νομίσματα των κλασσικών και ελληνοιστικών χρόνων*, MA thesis, Rethymnon 1994.
- Verbruggen 1981: H. Verbruggen, *Le Zeus Crétois*, Paris 1981.
- Weber 1896: H. Weber, «On some unpublished or rare Greek coins», *NC* 1896, 1-33.
- Willetts 1962: R.F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals*, London 1962.

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