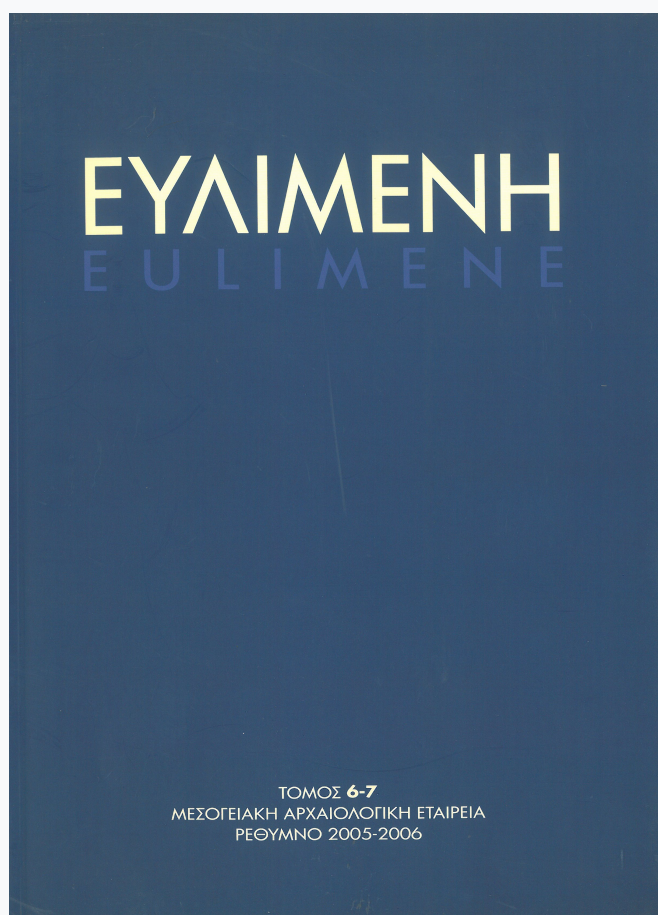


EULIMENE

Vol 6 (2006)

EULIMENE 6-7 (2005-2006)



**Cross-reading images iconographic «debates»
between Antigonids and Ptolemies during the third
and second centuries BC**

Katerina Panagopoulou

doi: [10.12681/eul.32843](https://doi.org/10.12681/eul.32843)

ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

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

Τόμος 6-7
Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία
Ρέθυμνο 2005-2006

ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ

ΜΕΣΟΓΕΙΑΚΗ

ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ

Π. Μανουσάκη 5 - Β. Χάλη 8

GR 741 00 - Ρέθυμνο

ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ-ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ ΕΚΔΟΣΗΣ

Δρ. Νίκος Λίτινας (Ρέθυμνο)

Δρ. Μανόλης Ι. Στεφανάκης (Ρόδος)

ΒΟΗΘΟΙ ΕΚΔΟΣΗΣ

Δρ. Δήμητρα Τσαγκάρη (Αθήνα)

Σταυρούλα Οικονόμου (Ρέθυμνο)

PUBLISHER

MEDITERRANEAN

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

P. Manousaki 5 - V. Chali 8

GR 741 00 - Rethymnon

PUBLISHING DIRECTORS**EDITORS-IN-CHIEF**

Dr. Nikos Litinas (Rethymnon)

Dr. Manolis I. Stefanakis (Rhodes)

ASSISTANTS TO THE EDITORS

Dr. Dimitra Tsangari (Athens)

Stavroula Oikonomou (Rethymnon)

ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ

Καθ. Πέτρος Θέμελης (Ρέθυμνο)
Καθ. Νίκος Σταμπολίδης (Ρέθυμνο)
Δρ. Alan W. Johnston (Λονδίνο)
Καθ. François Lefèvre (Παρίσι)
Καθ. Άγγελος Χανιώτης (Χαϊδελβέργη)
Δρ. Μανόλης Ι. Στεφανάκης (Ρόδος)
Δρ. Ιωάννης Τουράτσογλου (Αθήνα)
Δρ. Νίκος Λίτινας (Ρέθυμνο)
Καθ. Αναγνώστης Αγγελaráκης (Adelphi)
Καθ. Σταύρος Περεντίδης (Βόλος)

ADVISORY EDITORIAL BOARD

Prof. Petros Themelis (Rethymnon)
Prof. Nikos Stampolidis (Rethymnon)
Dr. Alan W. Johnston (London)
Prof. François Lefèvre (Paris)
Prof. Angelos Chaniotis (Heidelberg)
Dr. Manolis I. Stefanakis (Rhodes)
Dr. Ioannis Touratsoglou (Athens)
Dr. Nikos Litinas (Rethymnon)
Prof. Anagnostis Agelarakis (Adelphi)
Prof. Stavros Perentidis (Volos)

Η ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ είναι μία επιστημονική περιοδική έκδοση με κριτές 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 (12^{ος} / 11^{ος} αι. π.Χ.) έως και την ύστερη αρχαιότητα (5^{ος} / 6^{ος} αι. μ.Χ.).

Η ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ περιλαμβάνει επίσης μελέτες στην Ανθρωπολογία, Παλαιοδημογραφία, Παλαιοπεριβάλλον, Παλαιοβοτανολογία, 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 συνδέονται 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 *L' Année philologique*, *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 σμίκρυνση. Οι φωτογραφίες είναι ασπρόμαυρες, τυπωμένες σε γυαλιστερό 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 αντίτυπα και έναν τόμο του περιοδικού. Επιπλέον αντίτυπα θα μπορούν να αγοραστούν.

Συνδρομές – Συνεργασίες – Πληροφορίες:

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

Δρ. Νίκος Λιτinas, Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης, Τμήμα Φιλολογίας, Ρέθυμνο – GR 741 00

Δρ. Μανώλης Ι. Στεφανάκης, Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου, Τμήμα Μεσογειακών Σπουδών, Ρόδος – GR 851 00

EULIMENE is a refereed 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 EULIMENE runs from the Late Minoan / Sub Minoan / Mycenaean period (12th / 11th cent. BC) through to the late Antiquity (5th / 6th cent. AD).

EULIMENE will also welcome studies on anthropology, palaiodemography, palaeo-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 *L' Année philologique*, *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, Rethymno – GR 741 00

Dr. Nikos Litinas, University of Crete, Department of Philology, Rethymno – GR 741 00

Dr. Manolis I. Stefanakis, University of the Aegean, Department of Mediterranean Studies, Rhodes – GR 851 00

web: <http://www.eulimene.eu/>

mail: eulimene@mail.com

Περιεχόμενα
EYΛIMENH 6-7 (2005-2006)

List of Contents
EULIMENE 6-7 (2005-2006)

Περίληψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti	7
Ευρυδίκη Κεφαλίδου, Καταβάσεις και άνοδοι του Διονύσου: παρατηρήσεις στην αττική και κατωϊταλιωτική αγγειογραφία	13
Γιάννος Κουράγιος – Σοφία Δετοράτου, Κυβόλιθος, με παράσταση Απόλλωνα-Αρτέμιδος .	45
Δημήτρης Παλαιοθόδωρος, Η παρουσία και η διάδοση της πρώιμης αττικής ερυθρόμορφης κεραμικής στη Μαύρη Θάλασσα (525-480 π.Χ.)	55
Elpida Hadjidakis-Philip Betancourt, A Minoan shipwreck off Pseira Island, East Crete. Preliminary report	79
Nikos Panagiotakis, A vaulted fountain house in the Pediada region in Central Crete	97
Παύλος Τριανταφυλλίδης, Μετάλλινα αγγεία από την επανέκθεση του αρχαιολογικού μουσείου Ρόδου	119
Felice Costabile, Κατάδεσμοι από τον Κεραμεικό Αθηνών. Νέα στοιχεία στην ανάγνωση ...	139
Katerina Panagopoulou, Cross-reading images: iconographic «debates» between Antigonids and Ptolemies during the third and second centuries BC	163
Νικόλαος Χρ. Σταμπολίδης, Από την Ελεύθερνα και το Ιδαίον Άντρο: μια απόπειρα ερμηνείας χαμένων τελετουργιών	183

Περίληψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti

Ευρυδίκη Κεφαλίδου, Καταβάσεις και άνοδοι του Διονύσου: παρατηρήσεις στην αττική και κατωϊταλιωτική αγγειογραφία, *EYAIMENH* 6 -7 (2005-2006), 13-44

Dionysiac descents and anodoi in Attic and South-Italian Iconography. This paper examines three groups of Dionysiac iconography:

a) Depictions of Dionysos in the Underworld, such as on the well known south-italian crater by the Darius Painter

b) Depictions of Dionysos' head emerging from the earth (mainly, but not exclusively, on Attic vases of the late 6th-early 5th c. B.C.), and

c) Depictions of Dionysos in Eleusinian iconography, especially those cases (from the mid-4th c. B.C. onwards) where he is shown together with Herakles and the Dioskouroi, who were initiated into the Mysteries.

I suggest that in all cases Dionysos is shown as a prominent chthonic deity and that Dionysos, Herakles and the Dioskouroi had been connected with the Eleusinian Mysteries (each at a different time and possibly for a different reason) because they all went down to the Underworld, while still alive, and they successfully managed to come back.

Γιάννος Κουράγιος – Σοφία Δετοράτου, Κυβόλιθος, με παράσταση Απόλλωνα-Αρτέμιδος, *EYAIMENH* 6-7 (2005-2006), 45-54

Marble-block decorated with figures of Apollo and Artemis. A fragment of an archaic marble-block has been found in the area of the Asklepios sanctuary in Paroikia, Paros near the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios. The block is decorated with two incised human figures in profile, one on the main side and the other on the narrow side. On the fragmentary representation of a standing female figure turned to the right. She holds a bow in her hands. Her hair is held together with a ribbon and her garment is probably a chiton. A pair of diagonal incisions shown across the chest might indicate the strap of a quiver. In this case the figure represents the goddess Artemis, the sister of Apollo. The hair, the profile, a rosette that decorates «Artemis» belt seem to copy contemporary «Melian» vases, which are attributed to a parian workshop. The two figures on the block bring to mind the figure of a parian stele (archaeological museum of Paros, A 760) as well as the stelae of Prinias, Crete dating to the 7th century. The block is one of the earliest examples of carved marble reliefs in Paros as well as in Cyclades.

Δημήτρης Παλαιothόδωρος, Η παρουσία και η διάδοση της πρώιμης αττικής ερυθρόμορφης κεραμικής στη Μαύρη Θάλασσα (525-480 π.Χ.), *EYAIMENH* 6-7 (2005-2006), 55-78

The diffusion of early attic red-figured pottery in the Black Sea area (525-480 BC). This study presents a detailed discussion on the pattern of diffusion of early attic red-figured vases in the Black Sea Area. 80 vases are collected, mostly from Northern Black Sea sites. A representative series of vases is analyzed according to shape and iconography, and classified by painter and workshop. The output of major painters and workshops in the Black Sea is discussed (Psiax, Oltos, Epiktetos, Euphronios, the Pithos Painter, the Nicosthenes and Kachrylion workshops, etc.). The overall pattern of diffusion of early red-figured vases in the Black Sea area and in Etruria corresponds quite closely. It is argued that Aeginetan and Ionian sailors are responsible for the fact that vases from same workshops appear both in the Black Sea area and Thasos, as in Etruria, although these vases are used locally in different ways. After 490-480, the scheme changes: the Black Sea Region now belongs to commercial routes that link Athens with Asia Minor and the Levant as well.

Elpida Hadjidakis-Philip Betancourt, A Minoan shipwreck off Psira Island, East Crete. Preliminary report, *EYAIMENH* 6-7 (2005-2006), 79-96

Ένα Μινωικό ναυάγιο ανοικτά της νήσου Ψείρας, ανατολική Κρήτη. Κατά τη διάρκεια υποβρύχιων αρχαιολογικών και γεωφυσικών ερευνών στην ανατολική Κρήτη, εντοπίστηκε διάσπαρτο φορτίο αρχαίου ναυαγίου που χρονολογείται στη Μεσαιωνική ΙΙ περίοδο (1900 – 1700 π.Χ.).

Το πλοίο βυθίστηκε περίπου πριν από 4.000 χρόνια στον Όρμο Μιραμβέλλου, ανοικτά της νήσου Ψείρας του Νομού Λασιθίου Κρήτης, σε βάθος περίπου 50 μέτρων και αποτελεί ανέλπιστο λάφυρο για την ιστορία της Προϊστορικής ναυσιπλοΐας.

Τα μέχρι σήμερα τεκμήρια ύπαρξης των πλοίων της εποχής της Μινωικής θαλασσοκρατίας βρίσκονται κυρίως στην εικονογραφία, όπως απεικονίσεις σε σφραγιδολίθους, σε αγγεία και σε τοιχογραφίες. Παρόλο που δια μέσου των αιώνων χιλιάδες πλοία ναυάγησαν στις θάλασσες του Αιγαίου, του Κρητικού και του Λιβυκού Πελάγους, η αιτή ύπαρξη ενός Μινωικού ναυαγίου, αποτελούσε μακρινό όνειρο για κάθε μελετητή της αρχαίας ναυσιπλοΐας.

Η διάταξη του διασκορπισμένου φορτίου του ναυαγίου, το μεγάλο βάθος της θάλασσας στο σημείο αυτό, η μεγάλη απόσταση από την ακτή, καθώς και η εξαιρετική κατάσταση των αγγείων, που παρέμειναν χιλιάδες χρόνια στο βυθό, δίνουν ελπίδες για την ύπαρξη κάποιου τμήματος του σκελετού του πλοίου.

Μεταξύ των πρώτων επιφανειακών ευρημάτων του Μινωικού ναυαγίου συμπεριλαμβάνονται ακέραιοι αμφορείς, πιθαμορείς, ραμφόστομες πρόχοι, κομψά τροπιδοτά αγγεία, μόνωτα κύπελλα κ.α.

Το ασύνηθες μεγάλο μέγεθος των αγγείων είναι εντυπωσιακό, δεδομένου ότι, για πρώτη φορά οι αρχαιολόγοι πληροφορούνται το είδος των δοχείων που χρησιμοποιούσαν οι Μινωίτες στις θαλάσσιες μεταφορές των εμπορευμάτων τους.

Όσον αφορά στον ξύλινο σκελετό του πλοίου, εάν διασώζεται, θα αποτελέσει εύρημα-σταθμό στην ιστορία της αρχαίας ναυπηγικής και θα αναδείξει τον πρωτοπόρο ρόλο της Κρήτης στην εξέλιξη της ναυτικής τέχνης και στη διάδοση του πολιτισμού.

Νίκος Παναγιωτάκης, A vaulted fountain house in the Pediada region in Central Crete, EYAIMENH 6-7 (2005-2006), 97-118

Μια αφιδωτή κρήνη στην επαρχία Πεδιάδος στην κεντρική Κρήνη. Η επιφανειακή έρευνα που διενεργήθηκε από τον γράφοντα στην Επαρχία Πεδιάδος έφερε στο φως ικανό αριθμό κρηνών που ανήκουν, στην πλειοψηφία τους, στην ενετική περίοδο. Μία αφιδωτή κρήνη, όμως, που βρίσκεται σε σημαντικό αρχαιολογικό χώρο, στους βόρειους πρόποδες της Κεφάλας Αστριτσιού, μια άλλη επίσης σημαντική θέση, φαίνεται ότι ανήκει σε πολύ παλαιότερες εποχές.

Με βάση τα αρχιτεκτονικά στοιχεία της (ορθογώνια δεξαμενή και υδρομαστευτικές σήραγγες), η κρήνη θα μπορούσε να σχετίζεται με την αρχαϊκή ή την κλασική/ελληνιστική εγκατάσταση που απλωνόταν γύρω της. Στοιχεία, ωστόσο, όπως οι διακοσμητικές ταινίες από ερυθρά τουβλάκια και το πάτωμα από ερυθρές πλάκες, παραπέμπουν σε αντίστοιχες κρήνες και νυμφαία της ρωμαϊκής περιόδου.

Το αν ωστόσο η κρήνη κτίστηκε και κοσμήθηκε την ρωμαϊκή περίοδο από κάποιον ευγενή της περιοχής (υπάρχει επίσης στο χώρο εκτεταμένη ρωμαϊκή εγκατάσταση) ή απλά επισκευάστηκε και κοσμήθηκε κατά τα Ρωμαϊκά πρότυπα, παραμένει ανοιχτό.

Παύλος Τριανταφυλλίδης, Μετάλλινα αγγεία από την επανέκθεση του αρχαιολογικού μουσείου Ρόδου. EYAIMENH 6-7 (2005-2006), 119-137

Metal vessels in the new exhibition in the archaeological museum of Rhodes. The article presents an overview of the metallurgy of Rhodes from the late 9th to the 5th c. BC, with the first presentation of some metal artifacts, especially luxury vessels, previously scarcely published.

The vessels examined are mostly from the Italian excavations at the cemeteries of Ialysos and Kameiros and from the votive deposits of the sanctuaries at Lindos, Ialysos and Kameiros.

The development of metal ware during early historical times on Rhodes can be traced in a series of luxury vessels, undecorated bronze bowls and basins, and a small number of decorated bronze and silver bowls, imported to Rhodes from the Near East, especially from Phrygia, north Syria and Mesopotamia, lands with a long tradition in the art of metallurgy.

Among these imported vessels from Rhodes are bronze and silver omphalos bowls of the 8th and 7th c. B.C. and silver phialai with relief decoration cast in moulds, typical of Achaemenid art of the late 6th and 5th c. B.C. in the Near East and the Black Sea.

Bronze cinerary urns and oinochoai of the 7th-5th c. BC. are among the artefacts which were probably made in the West, in Etruria and South Italy; some, however, were probably made locally in South East Aegean or in Rhodes.

Felice Costabile, Κατάδεσμοι από τον Κεραμεικό Αθηνών. Νέα στοιχεία στην ανάγνωση, EYAIMENH 6-7 (2005-2006), 139-161

Defixiones scoperte nel Ceramico di Atene. Nuove letture. Si presenta una riedizione di due *defixiones* scoperte nel Ceramico di Atene e già più volte pubblicate. L'autopsia dei testi, corredata da macrofotografie che documentano le nuove letture, ha consentito all'autore di correggere diversi errori dei precedenti editori. Si recupera così il nuovo nome di *Eunomos* Peiraieus in una *defixio* della fine del IV secolo contro i generali macedoni e Demetrio Falereo, e diversi nuovi nomi (Menekles, Telestes, Pythodoros, Euthykleides, Timokrates, Epipheithes, Euthymos, Leptines) in un'altra *defixio*, databile alla fine del V sec. a.C., della quale si è –fra l'altro– recuperata la foto di un frammento mancante.

Κατερίνα Παναγοπούλου, Cross-reading images: iconographic «debates» between Antigonids and Ptolemies during the third and second centuries BC, EYAIMENH 6-7 (2005-2006), 163-181

Εικονογραφικές διαμάχες κατά τον τρίτο και δεύτερο αιώνα π.Χ. Αντικείμενο της παρούσας μελέτης αποτελεί η παρουσίαση των διεθνών πολιτικών αντιπαραθέσεων μεταξύ των Ελληνιστικών ηγεμόνων του τρίτου και δεύτερου π.Χ. αιώνα μέσα από τη συγχρονική μελέτη της εικονογραφίας των βασιλικών νομισματικών κοπών της Ελληνιστικής περιόδου. Υποστηρίζεται ότι τα δύο κύρια ιδεολογήματα που απαντούν όχι μόνο στην Αντιγονιδική αλλά και στην Πτολεμαϊκή νομισματική εικονογραφία και σε άλλες μορφές τέχνης της εποχής, η σωτηρία των Ελλήνων από την Γαλατική εισβολή στη δεκαετία του 270 π.Χ. και η θαλασσοκρατία, αποκαλύπτουν ότι, παράλληλα προς την πρακτική χρησιμότητα των χρυσών και αργυρών νομισμάτων για τη διεξαγωγή χρηματικών συναλλαγών, η κυκλοφορία τους διαμόρφωνε ένα διεθνές δίκτυο διάδοσης πολιτικών μηνυμάτων στην Ελληνιστική Μεσόγειο. Η απεικόνιση του Πανός στο κέντρο Μακεδονικής ασπίδας στην εμπρόσθια όψη των αργυρών τετραδράχμων των Αντιγονιδών όχι μόνο παραπέμπει στην πανελλήνιας εμβέλειας νίκη των Ελλήνων επί των Περσών στον Μαραθώνα (490 π.Χ.) αλλά και υπογραμμίζει τη συμμετοχή των Μακεδόνων στην αντίσταση των Ελλήνων προς τους βαρβάρους εισβολείς κατά τη δεκαετία του 270 π.Χ. στους Δελφούς. Από την τελευταία απουσίαζαν οι Πτολεμαίοι, φερόμενοι ως προστάτες της ελευθερίας των Ελλήνων. Από την άλλη πλευρά, η Γαλατική ασπίδα που απαντά ως σύμβολο στην πίσω όψη των Πτολεμαϊκών αργυρών τετραδράχμων προφανώς παραπέμπει στην ανεπιτυχή ανταρσία των Γαλατών μισθοφόρων του Πτολεμαίου Β΄ το 275 π.Χ. Το σύμβολο αυτό, καθώς επίσης και η αναφορά ότι ο Πτολεμαίος Β΄ μαχόταν στο πλευρό του Απόλλωνα εναντίον των Γαλατών στον τέταρτο ύμνο του Καλλιμάχου προς τη Δήλο, προδίδει ότι οι Πτολεμαίοι έσπευσαν να προβάλλουν (και ενδεχομένως να επινοήσουν) επεισόδια σχετιζόμενα με τις Γαλατικές εισβολές, προκειμένου να ανταποκριθούν στην πρόκληση των αντιπάλων τους. Με ανάλογους όρους, ο παραλληλισμός του Πτολεμαίου με τον Δία και του Γονατά με τον Ποσειδώνα, που επιχειρεί ο Σέξτος Εμπειρικός, αποτυπώνονται στις νομισματικές κοπές με την επιλογή του αετού ως συμβόλου στα Πτολεμαϊκά αργυρά τετράδραχμα και με την απεικόνιση της κεφαλής του Ποσειδώνα στην εμπρόσθια όψη του δεύτερου τύπου τετραδράχμων που έθεσε σε κυκλοφορία ο Αντίγονος Γονατάς μετά τη ναυτική του νίκη επί των Πτολεμαίων κοντά στην Άνδρο (246 π.Χ.). Αργότερα ο Μακεδόνας βασιλιάς Περσέας, επωφελούμενος από την

παρακμή του Πτολεμαϊκού βασιλείου κατά τον δεύτερο π.Χ. αιώνα, τολμά να συνδεθεί με τον Δία, επιλέγοντας τον αετό ως νέο σύμβολο για την πίσω όψη των νομισματικών του εκδόσεων. Η ανανέωση των εικονογραφικών συμβόλων την εποχή αυτή αντικατοπτρίζει αποτελεσματικά την αναδιάρθρωση της διεθνούς ισορροπίας δυνάμεων, μέχρι την κατάληψη των Ελληνιστικών κρατών από τη Ρώμη.

Η ιδιαίτερη σημασία που φαίνεται ότι δόθηκε στις κοπές αυτές στα πλαίσια του διεθνούς πολιτικού ανταγωνισμού μπορεί ενδεχομένως να αποδοθεί στο ότι η νομισματική εικονογραφία συνέβαλλε ως ένα βαθμό στη διαμόρφωση της *opinionis communis* σε αυτές ακριβώς τις νευραλγικές περιοχές.

Νικόλαος Χρ. Σταμπολίδης, Από την Ελεύθερνα και το Ιδαίον: μια απόπειρα ερμηνείας χαμένων τελετουργιών, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 6-7 (2005-2006), 183-205

From Eleutherna and the Idaean Cave: an attempt to reconstruct lost rituals. The material unearthed from the unlooted tomb A1/K1 in the necropolis of Orthi Petra at ancient Eleutherna which was in use between 880/60 and 680/60? B.C. offers a manifold contribution to the understanding of the Early Iron Age. Discussion here regards a bronze «shield» that was found inside the chamber of the tomb A1/K1 and its interpretation compared with other similar artifacts found in the Idaean Cave. To the find of Eleutherna is given a new interpretation as a “shield”-lid of an urn or primarily of a bronze cauldron which is also strengthened by the finds of similar cauldrons and shields from the Idaean Cave. Comparisons and interpretations of well known artifacts like the ceramic urnlids from Fortetsa and Ampelokipi as well as the mitra of Axos combined with the verses of the inscription of the Hymn to Zeus in Palaikastro may shed light to rituals at the Idaean Cave during the Early Iron Age.

**«CROSS-READING» IMAGES: ICONOGRAPHIC «DEBATES»
BETWEEN ANTIGONIDS AND PTOLEMIES DURING THE
THIRD AND SECOND CENTURIES BC¹**

As coins in antiquity facilitated exchange, the observation of their diffusion offers a useful window to the «networks of capital and commodities» in the ancient world.² Coins played an equally significant role as cultural commodities: their types and the accompanying legends embodied at some level the cultural identities of the issuing authorities. However, whether they, as flexible and easily transportable carriers of social and political messages, may be ranked (along with literary tradition, religion, the setup of monuments and imperial buildings) as effective promoters of the image of an issuing authority beyond the latter's territorial borders remains questionable.³

Attempts to determine the impact that numismatic iconography had on coin users have been made through the observation of the Roman (late Republican and Imperial) material, with only occasional references to the coinage of archaic and classical Greek states. To those who consider the choice of the late Republican and the emperor's coin types a conscious deed, addressing itself to a specific audience, are opposed those who believe that, just as in the case of archaic and classical Greek states, «typology served mainly to identify the issuing authority» and that the choice of coin types was not intentional.⁴ The documentary record fails indeed to offer clues to the degree to which coin types influenced their users or, even more so, to the identity of the readers of the visual language developing through coinage. As room should be left for misinterpretation of royal iconography by certain recipients, it appears reasonable to assume tentatively that «coin types might, on occasion, make an

¹ Particular thanks are due to Dr. Dimitra Tsangari, curator of the Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection, as well as Mrs D. Evgenidou, Director, and to Giannis Stogias, at the Numismatic Museum, for kindly providing me with photographs of coins found in the respective collections.

² Appadurai 1986, 38; Haugerud, Stone, Little 2000, 21.

³ For parallel themes in pictorial imagery and in poetry, cf., for instance, Wallace-Hadrill 1983.

⁴ Ehrhardt (1984) reinforced the view favouring the expression of royal ideology through coinage, which was put forward by H.B. Mattingly (1948); cf. Sutherland 1951; Mattingly 1951. On the other hand, Crawford supports Jones's doubts on the validity of coinage as carrier of numismatic propaganda: Crawford 1983, 47-64, esp. p. 47; cf. Jones 1956, 13-33, repr. in Jones 1974, 61-81, with fuller bibliography.

impact to their audiences».⁵ Literary evidence indicates that it was the obverses on the coins that were most likely to be noticed.⁶

It is remarkable that Hellenistic coins have been insufficiently integrated into the above-mentioned debate, even though it is in the Hellenistic period that commodity networks acquired an explicitly «global» dimension. Precious metal coinage, particularly the larger denominations, spread rapidly within these through various agents (primarily mercenaries and traders). Moreover, observing the promotion and spread of Hellenistic royal ideologies through the establishment of figured monuments and ruler cults, as well as through numismatic iconography, in order to offset the dearth of coherent literary narratives is an established practice in the study of the Hellenistic world.⁷ The thematic coincidences in the numismatic and monumental iconography of two conflicting Hellenistic dynasties, the Antigonids and the Ptolemies, challenge one to include numismatic iconography among the «tools» promoting their respective interests during the third and second centuries BC.

The rivalry between the Ptolemies, rulers of Egypt, and the Antigonids, rulers of Makedonia, goes back to the unaccomplished aims of two of Alexander's generals, Antigonos Monophthalmos and Ptolemy I, son of Lagos, after the division of Alexander's empire in late summer of 311 BC at Triparadeisos.⁸ Even though Monophthalmos then got the lion's share from the Makedonian Empire, primarily Asia Minor, he still aspired to expand on Makedonia. Similarly, Ptolemy I considered the satrapy of Phoenicia and Syria a most significant political and economic extension for the Egyptian realm. Prerequisite for the control both of Makedonia and of Phoenicia-Syria was gaining control of the Aegean, which inevitably emerged as a key theme in international politics: a Koinon of the Islanders (κοινὸν τῶν Νησιωτῶν) centered on Delos was instituted by Antigonos before 306 BC; the Islanders founded a cult in honour of Antigonos, including a new festival, entitled «Antigoneia».⁹ From c. 287 until around the mid-third century BC the Koinon fell in the hands of the Ptolemies, who do not appear to have conferred any significant institutional changes upon its form. The rivalry between the two kings for control over the Aegean culminated at the two critical naval victories of Gonatas over the Ptolemies, at Kos and at Andros (246/5 BC).¹⁰ Finally, firm Antigonid control over the Aegean must

⁵ Howgego 1995, 77 ff.: «At a minimum, it cannot be wrong to assert that coinage was one of the means by which imperial imagery penetrated into private contexts».

⁶ Euan-Smith 1977, 257-269; Crawford 1983, 49-64, esp. 54-7; Howgego 1995, 77 ff.

⁷ See, for instance, Smith 1988; Brown 1995; Fleischer 1996, 28-39. On the significance of images and of visual history in the reconstruction of ancient history, see Smith 1988.

⁸ For the terms of the peace, see Diod. XIX.105 ff. For a narrative of the events, cf., for instance, Billows 1990, 132-4; Shipley 2000, 42 ff.; Braund 2003, 24-33.

⁹ Buraselis (1982, 41-43, 60-67) dates the foundation of the Koinon to 313 BC rather than to 314 BC.

¹⁰ Battle at Kos: Athen. 5.209e; 8.334a = *FGH* 81 F 1; Plut. *Pelop.* 2.4, *Mor.* 545b, 183c; cf. Heinen 1979, 191-2. The dates for the battle of Kos range between 262/1 and 255 BC: Walbank 1982, 218-20; Buraselis 1982, 146-51; Walbank 1988a, 291-3; Hammond 1988, 595-600. Reger 1993, 155-77. Battle at Andros: *Trog. Prol.* 27; Plut. *Pelop.* 2; Plut. *Mor.* 183c, 545b; possibly, Athen. 593a-b; P.Haun. 6. Walbank 1988a, 291-3; Hammond 1998, 587-95.

have been a prerequisite for the undertaking of the expedition of Antigonos Doson in Karia (227-225 BC).¹¹

The move towards the formation of Hellenistic royal ideologies is reflected upon the gradual shift from the Alexander coin types into individual royal designs on Hellenistic precious metal royal coinage. This process was started in Ptolemaic Egypt: the head of a deified Alexander wearing an elephant scalp appeared on the obverse of the silver tetradrachms of Ptolemy I struck at Alexandria (321-319 BC) (**pl. 1.1**). The reverse types were subsequently replaced, initially by a transitional type and later by the figure of Athena Alkidemos of Pella (**pl. 1.2**). Finally, a reduced version of the Attic weight standard was introduced through the silver specimens struck at Egypt around 310 BC (**pl. 1.3**).¹² Ptolemy's improvisations and the rapid shift to individual portraits on the obverse of Ptolemaic tetradrachms set an example for other Hellenistic dynasts to follow: individual (primarily portrait) types soon replaced those of Alexander on most royal precious metal coin issues, particularly on the larger denominations.¹³ The Antigonids alone begged to differ.

It is remarkable that the Alexander precious metal coin tradition was retained in Makedonia longer than in other regions. The use and minting of Alexander coin types were continued long after the Antigonid individual tetradrachm types were introduced. Unlike other Hellenistic kings, who adopted portraits on the obverse of their precious metal coinage, Demetrios Poliorketes decorated the silver tetradrachm types he struck in Makedonia with the narrative themes he had introduced for his tetradrachm types at Ipsos: a winged Nike carrying a trumpet with the one hand (commemorating his victory at Salamis) and a mast with the other on a prow on the obverse; on the reverse, a striding Poseidon brandished a trident (**pl. 1.4**).¹⁴ The individual issues of Antigonos Gonatas followed the same line, but they made their Makedonian origin more explicit.¹⁵

The present article aims to explore the tripartite relationship among issuing authorities, artists and users of coinage by showing that the key political issues of the period are unpacked through a comparison between the narrative themes on Antigonid precious coinage and those on their contemporary counterparts from other regions. In the first place, I will compare the main themes of the Antigonid numismatic iconography, the Celtic invasion and thalassocracy, with related themes on Ptolemaic royal coinages and monuments. The recipients of the political messages on the respective coinages will then be identified through a comparison of the distribution patterns of the Antigonid and Ptolemaic precious metal coinages during the same period. This might ultimately enhance a (re)assessment of the impact of numismatic iconography on local audiences.

THE CELTIC INVASION

A transformation of royal ideology is reflected on the individual coin types

¹¹ On the Karian expedition, see Plb. 20.5.11, P.Trog. *Prol.* 28. Cf., for instance, Le Bohec 1993, 327-61.

¹² Mørkholm 1991, 63-6.

¹³ Mørkholm 1991, 64-6 (Ptolemy I); 71 (Seleukos I); 81 (Lysimachos). Cf. 77-8 (Poliorketes).

¹⁴ Mørkholm 1991, 78-81.

¹⁵ On the coinage struck in Makedonia after Alexander III, see Mørkholm 1991, 77-82, 132-4.

launched by the Epigonoι subsequent to the Celtic invasions at the temple of Delphi, in 278/7 BC (pl. 1.5). In regard to the Antigonid individual types, which were introduced by the son of Poliorketes, Antigonos Gonatas, the combination of the Makedonian shield with Pan on the obverse of the new coinage came to constitute the personal emblem of Antigonos Gonatas. The horned head of Pan I. is depicted with a three-fold drapery round the neck and with a *pedum* at his shoulder. The allusions to Pan's cult in the iconography adopted for the reverse of Makedonian bronze coins of the second century BC were preceded by a rise in his popularity in Makedonia during the third century BC.¹⁶ This is suggested by the proliferation of literary references to this god: the epic hymn composed by Aratos in Makedonia; the references to Pan in the Suda; the analysis of the «panic fear» by the Cypriot peripatetic philosopher Klearchos of Soli;¹⁷ also, a recently published dedication to Pan at Beroia by Hippokles of an altar, thanking «Antigonos» for the renewal of the granted to his ancestors by Philip II,¹⁸ and the institution by Gonatas of festivals in honour of the same god.¹⁹

Pan's representation on the individual silver and bronze types of Gonatas has been related to the god's assumed epiphany at Gonatas' countering of the Celts at Lysimacheia,²⁰ but there are good reasons for not accepting this *a priori*. The first to attempt such an association was H. Usener, in his commentary on an epigram from Knidos mentioning an «Antigonos, son of Epigonos». He rejected Eckhel's initial relation of these coins to the Celtic attack at Delphi²¹ and associated the new tetradrachms with the king's personal victory over the Celts at Lysimacheia, to the successful outcome of which Pan had allegedly played a critical role. Usener even suggested the subsequent introduction of a particular cult in honour of Pan and that this cult and the above-mentioned literary references to Pan and to the «panic fear» orchestrated a response to his epiphany at Lysimacheia.²² It is on these grounds that

¹⁶ Pan occurs on the obverse coins from Amphipolis and Thessalonike carrying a type identical to that on the middle *akroterion* of the pediment above the entrance to the cave of Pan in Thasos. Pan may also be observed on bronze coins of Philip V. Usener 1874, 43-7, esp. 43; Gaebler 1935, 35.34, note, pl. 9.9, with earlier bibliography; 118.3, pl. 22.25, 191.12, note, pl. 35.2.

Doubts may be cast upon the alleged representation of Pan on silver coins of Amyntas II, as these coins do not carry horned heads: Gaebler 1935, 158.2-3, pl. 29.28-9; *BMC Macedonia*, 168, no. 2. On the assignation of coins with Pan to Amyntas II, see Head 1911, 221-2; Svenson 1995, 48; Nachtergaele 1977, 178, n. 231.

On bronze coinage struck at Pella under the Romans, see Gaebler 1935, 99.30, 33, pl. 19.23, 25; 100.36, pl. 9.24; Head 1911, 244; Tarn 1913, 174, n. 19.

¹⁷ Hymn of Aratos: *Vit. Ar.* 3.19, p. I, 86; Suda «ὑμνους εἰς Πᾶνα»; Klearchos of Soli: *Athen.* 9, p. 389 ff. Usener 1874, 43-7.

¹⁸ Παζαράς – Χατζόπουλος 1997, 71-77; Γουναροπούλου – Χατζόπουλος 1998, n. 37. Particular thanks are due to Prof. M. B. Hatzopoulos and to P. Paschides, for information and comments on this document.

¹⁹ The Basileia in Pella (*JG II*², 1367; Tarn 1913, 174, n. 18. Buraselis 1982, 145, n. 127) and the Paneia at Delos.

²⁰ Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 219; Tarn 1913, 174; Gaebler 1935, 186; Boehringer 1972, 99; Mørkholm 1991, 134; Gabbert 1997, 68, Walbank 1988, 255-8; Will 1979, 105-7, 109-10.

²¹ Eckhel 1794, 124.

²² Usener 1874, 43-7; certain of Usener's arguments are currently outdated, cf. Habicht 1970, 79; Nachtergaele 1977, 177-9, n. 231; Blümel 1992, 157j-8, no. 301.

Pan has since been interpreted as the protector god of Antigonos Gonatas,²³ presumably just as the hero Perseus was the protector of Philip V and Perseus.²⁴

Even though the «Antigonos, son of Epigonos» mentioned in the epigram from Knidos is no longer identified with Gonatas²⁵, the iconography of the Pans has since been interpreted as a deliberate reminder on the part of the king that Pan was not only present at Delphi, but also fought among the Makedonian ranks at Lysimacheia.²⁶ Yet Pan is absent from the surviving references to this battle. This omission has generally been justified by the chronological distance between the literary sources and the actual events.²⁷ However, the rise in the popularity of Pan during the third century BC does not suffice to support a particular connection of the god with Lysimacheia or with Gonatas. A dedication to Pan of an altar by Hippokles, thanking «Antigonos» for the renewal of the ἀτέλεια granted to his ancestors by Philip II, may suggest a relation of the god with Antigonos.²⁸ Associating, though, the preference of Gonatas for Pan with the god's critical intervention at Lysimacheia remains again highly speculative.

On numismatic criteria, downdating the introduction of the Pan head tetradrachms to 271 BC, R.W. Mathisen dissociated them from Lysimacheia and regarded them as bearers of a particular ideology rather than as *testimonia* of a contemporary military event.²⁹ In fact, there is no reference to Pan on the bronze coins of the shield/helmet type that were allegedly struck after Lysimacheia: one would expect some allusion to the god, Nachtergaele argues, on the coins issued immediately after his *epiphaneia*.³⁰ It is, after all, worth noting that the projection by Gonatas of Pan as his protector god at so early a stage of his reign would have been incompatible with his conscious efforts to relate himself to the Temenid dynasty, in order to gain the trust and recognition of the Makedonians.

In the absence of firm evidence relating Pan on the Pan head tetradrachms with Lysimacheia, the participation of Gonatas at Thermopylai and the suppression of the

²³ Tarn 1913, 174, n. 19; 226; Gabbert 1997, 68.

²⁴ MacKay 1968, 15-40; Boehringer 1972, 107-10, 116-8; Mettout 1986, 2; Mørkholm 1991, 135-6.

²⁵ Wilamowitz identified Antigonos with a rich Knidian, in honour of whom a gymnasium was erected in front of the gates of Knidos after his death: von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1924, 104-5. Blümel believes that he belonged to the same group of rich Knidians, who in 282 BC lent to the Milesians large amounts of silver: Blümel 1992, 158. Cf. Tarn 1910, esp. 214-5.

²⁶ Gaebler 1935, p. 186.2, note; Tarn 1913, 174, n. 20; Will 1979, 101-10. Liampi 1998, 108-11, with earlier bibliography. Only Imhoof-Blumer (1883, 129) diverges from this general belief, arguing that Gonatas did not issue coins before 265 BC, due to his engagement in activities against Pyrrhos. Cf. Pritchett 1979, 33, n. 93. Gabbert (1997, 68) points out the uncertainties in dating this coinage and considers Gonatas' victory over the Ptolemies in Kos as an equally possible starting point for his allegiance to the god Pan.

²⁷ Nachtergaele 1977, 82-7, 177-80. Pan is absent from the literary and epigraphic references to the battle of Lysimacheia. A sudden attack of Gonatas' troops is mentioned in Just. 25.2.3 (in silva taciti se occultarent), but there is no explicit reference to Pan in the text.

²⁸ See n. 17.

²⁹ Mathisen 1981, 79-124.

³⁰ See further discussion and bibliography in Nachtergaele 1977, 177-9; cf. Laubscher 1985, 340, n. 41. F.M. Heichelheim assigns the bronze Makedonian shield/helmet specimen, overstruck on a bronze coin of Lysimacheia (head of Athena r./ΑΥΣΙ MAXEΩΝ; lion r.), from the Fitzwilliam museum, to the financial needs raised after the battle: Heichelheim 1943, 332-3. The use, however, of bronze coins for military payments is highly unlikely.

Celtic mutineers at Megara during the Chremonidean war emerge as possible moments for the launching of the new coinage. Pan is not explicitly related to the latter incident.³¹ In fact, the only reference to Panic fear from this period survives in Pausanias' account of the Celtic attack of Delphi under Brennos, in 279 BC. In the prior unsuccessful attempt of the allied Greek forces to counter the Celts at Thermopylai, Gonatas, still a king without a kingdom, had supported the Greek ranks with five hundred mercenaries.³² The unprompted terror spread among the Celtic invaders at Delphi was assumed by Pausanias to be coming from the god Pan. It is a large body of Celts briskly retreating from Delphi that was allegedly destroyed by Gonatas at Lysimacheia.³³

Evoking the protection of Delphi from the Celts in 279 BC established a link with a major Panhellenic event of the third century, that of the Celtic invasion, whose memory was recalled many times during the third and the second centuries.³⁴ If Pausanias' account of the events is accurate,³⁵ the emphasis on the divine protection of the sanctuary on the new silver tetradrachms may have been meant to minimise the role of the Aitolians in that battle.³⁶ The selection of Pan rather than Apollo, whose intervention against the Celts is reported in the most contemporary sources,³⁷ is justified by the chronological distance of the documentation from this event. It also suggests the introduction of the new coin types at a time when the legends on the sack of Delphi were under development.³⁸

An indirect reference to the personal victory of Gonatas over the Celts may still be seen in the subsidiary projection of the divine protection of Delphi in 279 BC: as the Celts no longer constituted a threat for Greece after Lysimacheia, Gonatas presumably meant to underline that it was he who wrote the epilogue in the chapter of the Celtic threat to mainland Greece.

The allusion to Thermopylai is reinforced through other iconographic themes on the new coinage. A Makedonian shield, with seven embossed crescent and six/seven/eight rayed star units (henceforth: «star/crescents», «units») arranged

³¹ Just. 26.2.7; P. Trog. *Prol.* 26.

³² Paus. 10.20.4: βασιλέων δὲ ξενικὰ πεντακόσιοι τε ἐκ Μακεδονίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἴσοι σφίσιν ἀφίκοντο ἀριθμόν...

³³ Will 1984, 115, who considers the tradition relating to the sack of Delphi to be late and false.

³⁴ Plb. 2.35.7 (see chapter 2.4.2); 9.32.3-39.7. Hannestad 1993, 17; on the references to the Celtic attack by Polybios, see Champion 1996, 316-28, esp. 320. On the development of the legends of the battle, see Segré 1927, 18-42; Flacelière 1933, 327; Flacelière 1937, 111; Pritchett 1979, 31, n. 85.

³⁵ In 1979 Habicht suggested that Pausanias' sources are pro-Athenian: Habicht 1979, 102-7. More recently, he argued that Pausanias does not make serious errors in his historical accounts: Habicht 1998, 84-6, p. xv; 97-8; cf. idem 1997, 132-3. He suggested that Pausanias' source was reliable, presumably Hieronymos: Habicht 1998, 85, n. 72, 86, n. 79, 97. Cf. Hornblower 1981, 72-4.

³⁶ On the other hand, Polybios' recognition of the important role of the Aitolians in that battle, despite his general antipathy to them, confirms his objectivity: Champion, *ibid.*

³⁷ Epiphany of Apollo at Delphi: *Syll*³ 398, l. 1-6 (decree of Kos). Apollo's epiphany along with Artemis and Athena, Diod. 22.9.5; Just. 24.8.5-12; Suda, s.v. «ἐμοὶ μελήσει»; Cicero, *De Div.* 1.81; *FD* III.1.483, l.6. Dedications to Apollo from Delos: Dürrbach, 1926, 298A, l. 85-7; Dürrbach, 1929, 372B; Habicht 1997, 32-3. J.G. Fraser (1897, 345-6) argues that Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican represents the god repelling the Celts. Apollo's intervention at Delphi inspired Kallimachos' Hymn to Delos: Pritchett 1979, 30-2. Cf. Pomtow 1914/5, 265-320, esp. 278; Pomtow 1912, 54; Pfister 1927, 1223, s. v. «Soteria»; Champion 1996, 316-28.

³⁸ See note 32.

around a central emblem and with two or three circles on the edge frames the obverse. This type, also known from archaeological finds,³⁹ is introduced as the royal emblem of the Antigonid dynasty, in the same way as the eagle on thunderbolt, the anchor and the forepart of an attacking lion had occurred as symbols on the reverse of silver tetradrachms of Ptolemy I, Seleukos I and Lysimachos respectively.⁴⁰ Its initial occurrence on the reverse of bronze coins of Philip II and Alexander III establishes a link with the Temenid dynasty. This link with the Temenids is corroborated by the six/seven/eight-rayed stars (as a dynastic symbol of the Temenids or as a symbol of Makedonia at large), which was introduced by Gonatas as a decorative motif for his larger silver denominations.⁴¹ The frequent occurrence of Makedonian shields in religious contexts, primarily dedicatory or funerary, underlines the votive character of this symbol and echoes the customary dedication at sanctuaries of shields of the conquered or of distinguished warriors.⁴²

Distinguishing itself from the Celtic and Persian shields,⁴³ the Makedonian shield on the obverse of the new tetradrachms and bronzes refuted effectively any tentative parallelism of the Makedonians with barbarians, promoting instead Makedonia's role as a «shield» from the barbarians of the North (an idea which certainly exists in later literature).⁴⁴

The projection by the Antigonids of their role in countering the Celts may have prompted the Ptolemies to recall their role in similar circumstances. The use of the Makedonian shield as a dynastic symbol on the Antigonid tetradrachms may have prompted Ptolemy II to adopt a Celtic *θηρεὸς* as a symbol on his silver tetradrachms (pl. 1.6). The Celtic shield may have been meant to commemorate Ptolemy's effective resistance to the mutiny among the Celtic mercenaries in Alexandria in 275 BC, in the context of the rebellion of Magas, Ptolemaic representative at Kyrene.⁴⁵ This projection of even a minor Ptolemaic victory over the Celts and Kallimachos' reference to Ptolemy II fighting alongside Apollo against the Celts (*Hymn to Delos*, 171-8) might echo the significance attached to the Panhellenic resistance to the Celtic

³⁹ The closest archaeological parallel to this shield is the fragment of one of the shields that allegedly Pyrrhos, king of Epeiros (319-272 BC) dedicated at the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona in 273 BC, after his victory over Gonatas at the gorge of Aoos (Kleisoura). A second shield of this type has been unearthed in Vegora/Florina, in western Makedonia, and a third one more recently in Albania: Δάκαρης 1968, 58-9; Liampi 1990, 160, n. 14; Liampi 1998, 31, 52-5, pl. 1.2-3, 33.1. On the shield and its badge as bearers of political ideology, see Liampi 1990, 157-71; Liampi 1998, 25-41.

⁴⁰ Mørkholm 1991, 66, 71, 81.

⁴¹ Diverging from M. Andronikos' interpretation of the star as a dynastic symbol of the Temenids, H. W. Ritter (1981, 181-2, 184-8) regards the star as a symbol of Makedonia. Katerini Liampi reverts to Andronikos' suggestion, providing archaeological and numismatic argumentation: Liampi 1998, 54.

⁴² Liampi 1998, S 3, pl. 1.3; S 4-6, 14-15, 17-18, S 27. The few exceptions are: the shield from Vegora (ibid., S 3); the fresco from Boscoreale (ibid., S 7); the relief on the proxeny decree from Gonnoi (ibid., S 11); shields on architectural elements (ibid., S 17, 20-1, 30); miniatures (ibid., S 31-3) and girdles (ibid., S 34-6).

⁴³ Paus. 10.19.4: Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ (sc. ἀνέθεσαν) τὰ τε ὀπισθεν καὶ τὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Γαλατῶν δὴ ὅπλα: σχῆμα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἐγγυτάτω τῶν Περσικῶν γέρρων. The Makedonian shield is described by Asclepiodotos (*Takt.* 5.1) and Aelianus (*Takt.* 12) as ἀρίστη.

⁴⁴ Plb. 9.32.3-7; Champion 1996, 316-28, esp. 317.

⁴⁵ Paus. 1.7.1-2; Kallim., *Hymn to Delos*, 171-8. Nachtergaele 1977, 187-90; Voegtli 1973, 86-9; Ritter 1975, 2-3; Salzmann 1980, 33-9; Mørkholm 1991, 101, n. 2; Heinen 1984, 417.

attack of Delphi (279 BC). It might also have been meant to offset the absence of the Ptolemies from it and possibly to create a Ptolemaic victory over the Celts analogous to that of Gonatas at Lysimacheia.

Prior to Gonatas, events related to major sanctuaries had effectively promoted the political claims of Philip II in Greece: projecting his participation in the Olympic games in 356/5 BC and his role in the protection of Delphi from the Phokaians during the Third Sacred War (352 BC), Philip demonstrated his concern with the political affairs in Central Greece and legitimised his involvement in them. In drawing on themes from the history of Delphi, Gonatas explicitly reverted to the political track beaten by Philip II in order to appeal to the Greeks. The Makedonian international policy of the Antigonids was thus projected as a consistent continuation of that of the Temenids.

Military themes are continued on the reverse: an archaistic type of warrior Athena, striding, dressed in a high-girdled *chiton*, falling in fine folds with one heavy fall in the middle and with the hem ending in points, carries a thunderbolt on her l. arm, poised to strike.⁴⁶ She (r.) had been introduced as a symbol on the reverse of the royal lifetime tetradrachms of Alexander the Great struck in Makedonia and later in posthumous issues in Pella. She was utilised as a reverse type for the silver tetradrachms of Ptolemy I and she later appears, often in variations, on coins of Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, of Demetrios Poliorketes, on certain Italian issues of Pyrrhos, on gold and silver coins of the Seleukid usurper Achaïos (220-18 BC), on those of Bactrian and Indo-Parthian kings and on the silver tetradrachms of Philip V.⁴⁷ Her presence on the badge of Akarnanian staters has been interpreted as a Makedonian influence.⁴⁸

Spreading from Gonatas through to (at least) Doson, the Pans reveal a development both in the self-representation of the ruler during his reign and in the royal imagery from father to son, just as in other Hellenistic royal coinages.⁴⁹ The development in Pan's features from the beardless young ruler *à la mode de* Alexander III to royal portraits with divine through to realistic attributes confirms the role of the new type as a dynastic coinage in Antigonid Makedonia; the head of Pan was substituted by the head of Perseus in the last tetradrachm types of the Antigonid dynasty.⁵⁰

As for the Ptolemaic coinage, a number of issues with variations in types and weights ended with issues employing the same coin types for all denominations in gold and silver by 295 BC. These carried the head of Ptolemy I on the obverse; the reverse, bearing the inscription ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, carries an eagle standing

⁴⁶ This type of the warrior goddess has been identified by H. Gaebler with the statue of Athena Alkidemos worshipped at Pella: Liv. 42.51.2: «Ipse (i.e. king Perseus) centum hostiis sacrificio regaliter Minervae quam vocant Alcidemon facto». Gaebler 1935, 94, note to no. 4, 185.1; Kalléris 1954, 95, no. 21; Baldwin-Brett 1950, 57-8; Παπακωνσταντίνου-Διαμαντούρου 1971, 38, n. 2. Cf. Demargne 1984, 973, no. 164, with bibliography (but the goddess is not recognised as «Alkidemos»). On the iconography of Athena, see, for instance, Villing 1997; Deacy – Villing 2001.

⁴⁷ Baldwin-Brett 1950, 57-8.

⁴⁸ Liampi 1998, 34.

⁴⁹ *Contra* R. Fleischer (1996, 28), who excludes the Antigonids from this practice.

⁵⁰ Mørkholm 1991, 135-7.

on a thunderbolt; the eagle-on-thunderbolt became the badge of the Ptolemaic coinage (pl. 1.7). The most common denominations were gold pentadrachms and silver tetradrachms, supplemented by bronze coinage.⁵¹

THALASSOCRACY

The dominant theme on the second Antigonid tetradrachm type is thalassocracy. The identification of the bearded god on the obverse of these tetradrachms with Poseidon rests primarily on the type of the wreath on his head. With the exception, perhaps, of a wreath of reeds on certain obverses, the «marine» plants used for the wreaths are not identifiable. The sea god was fairly alien to the Makedonian tradition and numismatic iconography until the time of Demetrios Poliorketes, who regarded Poseidon as his patron deity and protector of his fleet.⁵² Thus Poseidon, who first appeared on the reverse of the silver tetradrachms struck in the name of Poliorketes in the East after his defeat at Ipsos in 301 BC,⁵³ was transferred to the reverse of his silver coinage struck at Pella in 292 and in 290 BC and on his bronze issues. On the silver tetradrachms from Pella, Poseidon is initially seated, holding an *aphlaston* with his right hand, while his left hand rests on a trident (pl. 1.8). On a later issue, he is standing with his right foot on a rock, leaning on his trident. It has been argued that the head of Poseidon was copied on the silver tetradrachms of the first Makedonian region, with Poseidon/Artemis Tauropolos, which have been dated by Touratsoglou to the early second century BC.⁵⁴

The iconographic reference to a deity from a previous coin issue may be seen as a further expression of dynastic continuity, just as, for instance, Zeus Aetophoros on the reverse of the silver coinage of Alexander III recalls the head of Zeus on the gold staters of Philip II.⁵⁵ This creative adaptation of a previous coin type not only underlined the naval aspirations of the first two members of the Antigonid dynasty, notably of Demetrios Poliorketes, but also created an iconographic precedent for the obverse of the bronze coinage struck in Makedonia under Philip V⁵⁶ and, between 187 and 31 BC, at Amphipolis, Pella and Thessalonike, presumably in memory of the Antigonid naval achievements of the past.⁵⁷ The popularity of this type was also more widespread. It has been argued that the obverse type was copied on the coinage of Abdera.⁵⁸ A particular type with a wreath composed of many branches may have been copied by the silver pentobols struck at Kos in the early second century BC.⁵⁹ In addition, some contemporary allusions to the Antigonid claims for naval sovereignty

⁵¹ Mørkholm 1991, 66-7.

⁵² Poseidon Hippios only occurs on the silver coinage of Poteidaia, which was a Corinthian colony (end 6th c.-429 BC): Gaebler 1935, 191.10-11, pl. 34.23-4. On Poseidon as protector god of Demetrios, see Mørkholm 1991, 78.

⁵³ Mørkholm 1991, *ibid.*

⁵⁴ Touratsoglou 1993, 81.

⁵⁵ Price 1991, 30-1.

⁵⁶ Gaebler 1935, 191.10-11, pl. 34.23-4.

⁵⁷ Gaebler 1935, 2, 34.26-7, pl. 9.1-2 (Amphipolis); 94.5, pl. 18.29 (Pella); 121.22, pl. 23.13 (Thessalonike).

⁵⁸ von Fritze 1909, 28-9; Strack-Münzer 1912, 15, pl. 3, no. 33.

⁵⁹ Kroll 1964, 81-117, esp. p. 83-4. On Poseidon on other Greek coinages, see Simon 1994, 446-79.

under Gonatas may be speculated, as Gonatas is compared by Sextus Empiricus with Poseidon after the battle of Kos.⁶⁰ One might be tempted to speculate that this naval victory of Gonatas over the Ptolemies legitimised his deliberate emphasis on his descentance from Poliorketes via the projection of Poseidon and concomitantly on the renewal of the Antigonid naval tradition in the Aegean.

Unlike Poseidon, who was new to Makedonia, Apollo on the reverse of the new silver tetradrachms formed part of the iconographic repertory of cities, kings and dynasts in the area.⁶¹ His selection may have been meant to establish a connection between the new tetradrachms and the coinage of representatives of the Temenid dynasty, that is, Philip II, Alexander III and Philip III. The god's posture also recalls the Seleukid coinage starting from Antiochos I from Syria, with Apollo seated on an *omphalos*, holding an arrow in his left hand, while the left hand rests on his bow.⁶² If the Poseidons are to be assigned to Gonatas, one might be tempted to see in them Gonatas' political approximation to the Seleukids, who regarded Apollo as their patron god.⁶³

Finally, the naval allusion of the prow is also of particular significance. This theme echoes coins of Poliorketes, either his silver and bronze with Nike on prow/Poseidon and with prow/Poseidon respectively or his silver tetradrachms coming from an «uncertain» Makedonian mint, possibly Thessalonike or Kassandreia.⁶⁴ The prow has also encouraged the comparison of these coins to the octobols and tetrobols struck at Euboian Histiaia at the end of the fourth century⁶⁵ and it has been copied on the reverse of the coinage of the Akarnanian Confederacy and on the Roman *aes grave*, which is contemporary with the silver quadrigati.⁶⁶ The combination of this god with the prow on the new coinage deserves attention. The annual feasts organised in honour of Apollo at Delos in c. 253 and in c. 245 BC, in addition to the dedication to Apollo of his sacred trireme at Delos, in the Neorion or «Hall of Bulls»,⁶⁷ after Antigonos' victory over the Ptolemies near the island of Kos,⁶⁸

⁶⁰ Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos* I, 276. Buraselis 1982, 163, n. 182; 165-6. For the date of the battle of Kos, see chapter 3. For the existence of a cult of Poseidon under Doson, see Le Bohec 1993, 224.

⁶¹ Palagia 1984, 196-7, pl. 57-66; Westermark 1994, 149-54; Westermark 1989, 301-15; Westermark 1993, 17-30.

⁶² Babelon 1890, p. 43; Bikerman 1938, 380; Lacroix 1949, 169-74, pl. III-IV, esp. 158-76; Le Bohec 1993, 55, n. 1; Mørkholm 1991, 113. Cf., for instance, Newell 1978, p. 21, no. 239B.

⁶³ The first group of the Antigonid festivals at Delos, Antigoneia and Stratonikeia, have been dated to 253 BC; the second group, Paneia and Sotereia, took place in 245 BC, presumably after the battle of Andros. Both have been related to the intensified antagonism between the Ptolemies and the Antigonids for sovereignty over the Aegean: Buraselis 1982, 142-4. For the association of Gonatas with Apollo, cf. Mathisen 1985, 32.

⁶⁴ Newell 1927, 123-4, no. 138, pl. 14.5-8.

⁶⁵ Weil 1874, 189; Picard 1979, 176; Le Bohec 1993, 55, n. 2.

⁶⁶ Schwabacher 1979, 219-21, pl. 62 (Akarnanian coinage); Crawford 1975, 42, n. 2 (Roman coinage). Rather than favouring a later date for the Poseidons, the prow copied on the Akarnanian coinage of the late third century might reflect the adoption by the Akarnanians of an explicitly philomakedonian policy during the last quarter of the third century, to the detriment of the Aitolians: Will 1979, 351; Walbank 1988b, 333-6. For other parallels, see Le Bohec 1993, 225-6.

⁶⁷ Athen. 5.209c (Moschion): Παρέλιπον δ' ἐκὼν ἐγὼ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ἱεράν τριήρη, ἣ ἐνίκησε τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς περὶ Λεύκολλαν τῆς Κώας, ἐπειδὴ (Mss., ὅπου δὲ Meineke) καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν. Tarn 1910, 209; Mathisen 1985, 32, n. 28. The name of the Hall (of Bulls) might allude to

have been interpreted by Mathisen as clues to this association. To judge from the two mosaics from Thmuis in Egypt showing a bust of a woman, presumably Berenike II, perhaps as Agathe Tyche, in Hellenistic military attire, crowned with the prow of a ship, this was a theme of contemporary topicality.⁶⁹ The strong symbolism of sea power, victory, wealth, and abundance on these mosaics apparently constitutes the respondent in the political «debate» between Ptolemies and Antigonids for control of the Aegean, of which the Poseidons formed an integral part.

In regard to sovereignty and thalassocracy, aimed at by Ptolemies and Antigonids alike, the naval symbolism latent in the Poseidon head tetradrachms marks the complete reversal of the political situation after Demetrios' naval victory at Salamis and the concomitant official assumption of the royal title by the Antigonids in 306 BC: Demetrios was then called by revellers «king», but Ptolemy was still recognised as «nauarchos».⁷⁰ After all, the parallelism of Ptolemy with Zeus and of Gonatas with Poseidon by Sextus Empiricus (*Adversus Mathematicos*, I.276) is echoed in the eagle symbol on the Ptolemaic silver tetradrachms⁷¹ and in the head of Poseidon, which occurs on the obverse of the second tetradrachm type introduced by Antigonus Gonatas after his naval victory over the Ptolemies off Andros (246 BC).⁷² Later, the appropriation of the eagle symbol on the reverse of the individual tetradrachm type of Perseus is only legitimised by the decline of the Ptolemaic Empire during the second century BC. This change of iconographic symbols aligns itself with the new balance of powers in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, until its final take-over by Rome. It also demonstrates the significance both dynasties attached to numismatic iconography in the course of this vivid game of powerchase.

ICONOGRAPHY AND AUDIENCE

It may therefore be argued that the controversy between Antigonids and Ptolemies found in numismatic iconography an appropriate field of expression. Might one then identify its potential «readers» by drawing the range within which the coinage carrying the above iconography spread? The earliest individual Antigonid silver issues, for one thing, are distributed in Asia Minor, in the Middle and the Near East and occur in late, most often depositional, hoards. Antigonid tetradrachms are absent from Thracian hoards of between the mid-240s and the 220s. At the same time, hoards with Ptolemaic tetradrachms concentrate in areas as crucial to Egyptian politics as the coastal areas of Asia Minor and Syria.⁷³

Demetrios Poliorketes, the bull being the sacred animal of his patron deity and protector, Poseidon: Demetrios' earliest portrait with bull's horns and Poseidon with bull's horns occur on the smaller denominations issued at Ephesos, dated to c. 300-294 (Newell 1927, nos. 53-8). His portrait, with diadem and bull's horns, is also depicted on the obverse of a series of coins minted at Pella c. 292/1, with Poseidon on the reverse (Newell 1927, nos. 74-6).

⁶⁸ Mathisen 1985, 29-32.

⁶⁹ On the mosaics, see Koenen 1993, 27, figs. 2a-b, with earlier bibliography.

⁷⁰ Plut. *Dem.* 25.4.

⁷¹ Mørkholm 1991, 66, no. 97; 102-11.

⁷² Mørkholm 1991, 135, nos. 436-7; cf. Πασιδης 1998, 235-58.

⁷³ Panagopoulou 2000, 335-346. On the presence of Ptolemaic coins in Asia Minor and Cyprus, see Davesne 2002; on their representation in mainland Greece and in the Aegean, see Chrysanthaki 2002. On

An attempt to interpret this distribution pattern prompts us to examine more closely the methodological issues presented in the first part of this article.⁷⁴ For one thing, as the range of distribution of coins is determined primarily by economic factors, the ideological connotations on coinage came only second in importance to its practical use in economic transactions. Secondly, one might be tempted to argue that the presence of coins in the periphery of a kingdom might have flavoured, at least slightly, the public opinion at key border areas, such as Syria or Phoenicia. It may be argued that it is at the edges of a kingdom, rather than at its heart, that the impact of numismatic imagery was most significant.

In order to assess whether coins were effective conveyers of political messages, one has to come to grips with identifying the audiences to which the respective numismatic issues were addressed. Despite the dearth of evidence confirming that numismatic iconography was noticed by the lay public, one may assume from the main motors for the distribution of royal issues around the Mediterranean in the Hellenistic period, military payments and larger-scale commercial transactions, that at least some users of Hellenistic royal coinages were familiar with royal ideologies: those involved in military activities (soldiers and mercenaries), administrative agents (not least those engaged in financial affairs) and larger-scale merchants. Common sense indicates that numismatic imagery, carrying a limited amount of text in the form of legends, was easier for them to read. It is more difficult to determine the readers' response to royal iconography, and some room must be allowed for misinterpretations or misunderstandings by locals.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

A comparison between Antigonid and Ptolemaic coin imagery shows how the synchronic examination of royal coinage iconography may help us to uncover the political controversies of a given period: the iconography on the two Antigonid tetradrachm types may be taken both as a negative and as a positive response to that of Ptolemaic coins. The countering of the Celtic invasion at Delphi, popular both in mainland Greece and in Asia Minor, where the Celts became a major threat during the third century BC, was appropriate to highlight the minimal involvement of the Ptolemies in key causes of the Greeks, such as the tackling of the Celtic invasions. Similarly, the bonds with the Makedonian tradition echoed in the shield on the Antigonid types might have prompted the audience to favour the direct descendants of Alexander, rather than the Ptolemies. At the same time, the defensive weapons on the obverse of the first Antigonid tetradrachm type came in sharp contrast with the idea of the *δορικήτος χώρα* that was developed after Alexander's death: it made explicit the divergence of the Antigonids from the mainstream ideology of the Diadochoi. The second theme, thalassocracy, advertised the Antigonid naval victory over the Ptolemies at Andros, while linking the Antigonid claims for naval supremacy with Classical precedents.

the Ptolemaic subsidies and donations to mainland Greek cities and cities around the Aegean, see Noeske 2000.

⁷⁴ See n. 4, 5, 6.

It may be argued that the Antigonids, alone from the Diadochoi and the Epigonoι, established through their numismatic iconography a firm connection with the major political debates of the Classical Greek states: the rhetoric of protection latent in the narratives that were unfolded on the obverse of the Pan head tetradrachm type, and the theme of thalassocracy on the Poseidon head tetradrachms, formed indeed an organic part of the canvas of political discussions that had been established in the Classical world. The Antigonids thus deliberately differentiated themselves from the Ptolemies' and the Seleukids' preference for royal portraits, combined with their respective royal symbols (i.e. eagle and Apollo-on-rock), on their numismatic precious metal imagery.

Some consideration, at least speculative, may be given to the response of Hellenistic users to the respective precious metal coinages. That the Greek states, for one thing, did not moderate their resistance to the Makedonians' claim to control Southern Greece might indicate that they were not convinced by the Antigonids' respect for Greek tradition that was proclaimed through their coinage. As for the Ptolemies, the limited number of hoards with Ptolemaic specimens in mainland Greece does not favour the extended use of Ptolemaic precious metal coinage in transactions in this area, not least as this would have required conformity to a weight standard lighter than the mainstream one of the Hellenistic period, the Attic. This need not be taken to imply, however, that residents of mainland Greece were not familiar with the iconography of the Ptolemaic coinages altogether. The numismatic argument built upon the political controversy between Antigonids and Ptolemies was more effective beyond the Greek mainland, i.e. at the islands and at Western Asia Minor and Syria: the impact of coinage as a transmitter of a royal ideology culminated at those regions which changed sides frequently.

Precious metal coinage, alongside contemporary literature and poetry, was largely controlled by Hellenistic kings and may thus be regarded as a product (or mirror) of the international political debates in the eastern Mediterranean. Admittedly the role of coinage in conveying political messages was supplementary rather than predominant, but it would be wrong to deny its importance as carrier of such messages altogether. At least some of the users of coinage, i.e. soldiers, mercenaries and people involved in administration, were familiar with royal ideologies. We hope to have shown how numismatic evidence may shed light on the dominant ideas in a given historical context and how it may contribute to the development of the language and methodology of what has been termed as «visual history». Being an integral part of visual history itself, numismatic iconography deserves revision: a comparative analysis of numismatic patterns on a synchronic level may reveal the ideological threads that found in coinage an appropriate, effective and eloquent *locus* for representation in a given period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Appadurai, A. (ed.) 1986. *The Social Life of Things, Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge University Press).
- Babelon, E. 1890. *Les Rois de Syrie, d' Arménie et de Commagène* (Paris).
- Baldwin-Brett, A. 1950. «Athena Ἀλκιδήμος of Pella», *ANSMN* 4, 57-8.
- Bikerman, E. 1938. «Sur les batailles navales de Cos et d'Andros», *REA* 40, 380.
- Billows, R.A. 1990. *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London).
- Blümel, W. 1992. *Die Inschriften von Knidos. Inschriften griechische Städte aus Kleinasien, Teil I* (Bonn).
- Boehringer, Chr. 1972. *Zur Chronologie mittelhellenistischen Münzserien, 220-160 v. Chr.* (Berlin).
- Braund, D. 2003. «The Emergence of the Hellenistic World, 323-281», in Erskine, A. (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (Oxford), 24-33.
- Brown, B.R. 1995. *Royal Portraits in Sculpture and Coins. Pyrrhos and the Successors of Alexander the Great*, *Hermeneutics of Art*, vol. 5 (N. York).
- Buraselis, K. 1982. *Das hellenistische Makedonien und die Ägäis, Forschungen zur Politik des Kassandros und der drei ersten Antigoniden im Ägäischen Meer und im Westkleinasien*, *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, Heft 73 (Munich).
- Champion, C. 1996. «Polybius, Aetolia and the Gallic Attack on Delphi (279 BC)», *Historia* 45, 316-28.
- Crawford, M.H. 1975. *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge).
- Crawford, M.H. 1983. «Roman Imperial Coin Types and the Formation of Public Opinion», in C.N.L. Brooke et al. (eds.), *Studies in Numismatic Method Presented to Philip Grierson* (Cambridge), 47-64.
- Chryssanthaki, K. 2002. «Les monnaies lagides en Égée», in F. Duyrat – O. Picard (eds.), *L'exception égyptienne? Production et échanges monétaires en Égypte hellénistique et romaine*, *Actes du Colloque d'Alexandrie*, 13-15 Avril 2002, *Études Alexandrines* 10 (2005) 159-175.
- Δάκαρης, Σ. 1968. «Ἀνασκαφή τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δώδωνος», *ΠΑΕ* [1970] 40-8.
- Davesne, A. 2002. «Les monnaies des premiers Ptolémées en Asie Mineure et à Chypre», in F. Duyrat – O. Picard (eds.), *L'exception égyptienne? Production et échanges monétaires en Égypte hellénistique et romaine*, *Actes du Colloque d'Alexandrie*, 13-15 avril 2002, *Études Alexandrines* 10 (2005) 177-85.
- Deacy, S. – A.Villing (eds.) 2001, *Athena in the Classical World* (Leiden).
- Demargne, P. 1984. «Athena», *LIMC* II.1, 973, no. 164.
- Dürnbach, F. 1926. *Inscriptions de Délos, Comptes des Hiéropes (nos 290-371)* (Paris).
- Dürnbach, F. 1929. *Inscriptions de Délos, Comptes des Hiéropes (nos 372-498)* (Paris).
- Eckhel, J. 1794. *Doctrina Nummorum Veterum*, pars 1.2² (Vindobonae).
- Ehrhardt, C. 1984. «Roman Imperial Coin Types and the Roman Republic», *JNG* 34, 41-54.
- Ellis, J.R. 1976. *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism* (London).
- Euan-Smith, D.H. 1977. «Obverse Portrait Propaganda», *Quaderni Ticinesi [di] Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* VI, 257-69.
- Flacelière, R. 1933. «La Chronologie du III^e Siècle av. J.-C. à Delphes», *REA* 35, 321-8.

- Flacelière, R. 1937. *Les Aitoliens a Delphes: contribution a l'histoire de la Grèce centrale au IIIème siècle av. J.-C.* (Paris).
- Fleischer, R. 1996. «Hellenistic Royal Iconography On Coins», in Per Bilde *et al.* (eds.), *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship, Studies in Hellenistic Civilisation* (Aarhus University Press) 28-39.
- Frazer, J.G. 1897. *Pausanias* (London).
- von Fritze, H. 1909. «Die autonomen Münzen von Abdera», *Nomisma* 3, 28-9.
- Gabbert, J.J. 1997. *Antigonos Gonatas. A Political Biography* (London–New York).
- Gaebler, H. 1906. *Die Antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, AMNG, vol. III.1 (Berlin).
- Gaebler, H. 1935. *Die Antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, AMNG, vol. III.2 (Berlin).
- Gesche, H. 1968. «Die Reiterstatuen der Aemilien und Marier», *JNG* 17, 25-42.
- Γουναρροπούλου, Λ. – Χατζόπουλος, Μ.Β. 1998. *Επιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας*, Τεύχος Α, Επιγραφές Βεροίας (Αθήνα).
- Habicht, Chr. 1970². *Gottmenschentum und griechische Stätte*, Zetemata 14 (Munich).
- Habicht, Chr. 1997. *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (transl. Deborah Lucas Schneider) (Cambridge Mass.–London).
- Habicht, Chr. 1998². *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley–London).
- Hammond, N.G.L. 1988. «Appendix 4: The Battles of Cos and Andros», in N.G.L. Hammond – F.W. Walbank. *A History of Macedonia*, vol. III (Oxford), 595-600.
- Hannestad, L., 1993. «Greeks and Celts: the Creation of a Myth», in Per Bilde *et al.* (eds), *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World*, Studies in Hellenistic Civilisation (Aarhus University Press), 15-38.
- Haugerud, A. – M. Priscilla Stone – P.D. Little (eds.) 2000, *Commodities and Globalization, Anthropological Perspectives* (New York–Oxford).
- Head, B.V. 1911. *Historia Numorum: a Manual of Greek Numismatics* (Oxford).
- Heichelheim, F.M. 1943. «Numismatic Evidence of the Battle of Lysimacheia», *AJPh* 64, 332-3.
- Heinen, H. 1979. *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr.* (Munich).
- Heinen, H. 1984. «The Syrian-Egyptian Wars and the New Kingdoms of Asia Minor», *CAH* VII.I², 417.
- Hölscher, T. 1980. «Die Geschichtsauffassung in der römischen Repräsentationskunst», *JDAI* 95, 265-321.
- Hornblower, J. 1981. *Hieronymus of Cardia* (Oxford–New York).
- Howgego, Chr. 1990. «Why did Ancient States strike Coins?», *NC* 150, 1-25.
- Howgego, Chr. 1995. *Ancient History from Coins* (London–N.York).
- Imhoof-Blumer, F. 1883. *Monnaies Grecques*, Académie Royale Néerlandaise des Sciences (Paris).
- Jenkins, G.K. 1967. «The Monetary Systems in Early Hellenistic Time with Special Regard to the Economic Policy of the Ptolemaic kings», in A. Kindler (ed.), *The Patterns of Monetary Development in Phoenicia and Palestine in Antiquity: International Numismatic Convention, Jerusalem 27-31 December 1963* (Jerusalem) 53-72.

- Jones, A.H.M. 1956. «Numismatics and History», in R.A.C. Carson – C.H.V. Sutherland, (eds.) *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly* (London) 13-33.
- Jones, A.H.M. 1974. *The Roman Economy, Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History* (ed. P.A. Brunt) (Oxford).
- Kalléris, I. 1954. *Les anciens Macédoniens, étude linguistique et historique*, Vol I (Athens).
- Kalléris, I. 1976. *Les anciens Macédoniens, étude linguistique et historique*, Vol II.1 (Athens).
- Koenen, I. 1993. «The Ptolemaic King As A Religious Figure», in A. Bulloch – E.S. Gruen – A.A. Long – A. Stewart (eds.), *Images and Ideologies: self-definition in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley).
- Kroll, J. 1964. «The late Hellenistic Tetrobols at Kos», *ANSMN* 11, 81-117.
- Lacroix, L. 1949. «Copies des statues sur les monnaies Séleucides», *BCH* 73, 169-74.
- Laubscher, H.P. 1985. «Hellenistische Herrscher und Pan», *MDAI* (Ath) 100, 340, n. 41.
- Le Bohec, S. 1993. *Antigone Dôsôn, roi de Macédoine* (Nancy).
- Le Rider, G. 1996. «Monnayage et Finances de Philippe II, Un État de la Question», *Meletemata* 23 (Athens).
- Le Rider, G. 1977. *Le Monnayage d'Argent et d'Or de Philippe II frappé en Macédoine de 359 à 94* (Paris).
- Le Rider, G. 1996. «La date des premiers statères d'or de Philippe II», in *Χαρακτήρ: Αφιέρωμα στη Μάντω Οικονομίδου* (Athens) 261-9.
- Liampi, K. 1990. «Der makedonische Schild als propagandisches Mittel in der hellenistischen Zeit», *Meletemata* 10, 157-71.
- Liampi, K. 1998. *Der makedonische Schild*, *MDAI* (Ath) (Athens).
- MacKay, P.A. 1968. «Macedonian tetradrachms of 148-147 BC», *ANSMN* 14, 15-40.
- Mannspurger, D. 1974. «ROM ET AVG. Die Selbstdarstellung des Kaisertums in der römischen Reichsprägung», *ANRW* II-i, 919-996.
- Manson, M. 1975. «La Pietas et le sentiment de l'enfance à Rome d'après les monnaies», *RBNS* 71, 21-80.
- Mathisen, R.W. 1981. «Antigonos Gonatas and the Silver Coinages of Macedonia circa 280-270 B.C.», *ANSMN* 26, 79-124.
- Mathisen, R.W. 1985. «Pan heads and Poseidon heads: Two Third-Century Macedonian Tetradrachm Types», *SAN* 16, 29-35.
- Mattingly, H.B. 1948. *The Emperor and His Clients*, Todd Memorial Lecture II (Sydney).
- Mattingly, H.B. 1951. «The President's Annual Address», *NC* XI, Proceedings, 6-20.
- Mettout, S. 1986. *Le Monnayage de Persée, Dernier Roi des Macédoniens (179-168 av. J.-C.)*, Mémoire de maîtrise préparé sous la direction de A. Laronde (Juin).
- Mørkholm, O. 1991. *Early Hellenistic Coinage: from the Accession of Alexander the Great to the Peace of Apamea (336-188 B.C.)*, P. Grierson – U. Westermark (eds.) (Cambridge-N. York).
- Nachtergaele, G. 1977. *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtéria de Delphes: Recherches d'histoire et d'épigraphie hellénistiques* (Bruxelles).
- Newell, E.T. 1978 (repr.). *The coinage of the western Seleucid mints from Seleucus I to Antigonos III*, *ANS Numismatic Studies* No. 4 (New York).

- Noeske, H.-C., 2000. Numismatischen Beitrag in Ameling, W., Bringmann, K., von Steuben, H (eds.), *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer. Band II: Historische und archäologische Auswertung, Teil I: Historische Auswertung*, Berlin, 4ff.
- Παζαράς, Θ. – Χατζόπουλος Μ.Β. 1997. «Επίγραμμα από τη Βέροια των Αντιγονιδών», *Τεκμήρια* 3, 71-7.
- Palagia, O. 1984. «Apollo allein bewaffnet», *LIMC* II.1, 196-7, pl. 57-66.
- Panagoroulou, K. 2000. «The Antigonids: Patterns of a Royal Economy», in Z. Archibald *et al.*, (eds.) *Hellenistic economies* (London) 313-64.
- Παπακωνσταντίνου-Διαμαντούρου, Δ. 1971. *Πέλλα* I.
- Πασχίδης, Π. 1998. «Ποσειδώνες και Αντίγονοι. Παρατηρήσεις στη νομισματική μαρτυρία για τη ναυτική δύναμη του Αντίγονου Γονατά και του Αντίγονου Δώσωνα», *Αρχαιογνωσία* 9, 233-57.
- Picard, O. 1979. *Chalcis et la confédération eubéenne: étude de numismatique et d'histoire, IVe – Ier siècle*, Athènes: EFA (Paris).
- Pfister, F. 1927. *RE* III.A, 1223, s.v. «Soteria».
- Pomtow, H. 1912. «Die Kultstätten der anderer Götter von Delphi», *Philologus* 71, 54 ff.
- Pomtow, H. 1914/15. «Delphische Neufunde, zur delphischen Archontentafel des III. Jhdts. (Neue Soterien- und Amphiktyonentexte)», *Klio* 14, 265-320.
- Price, M.J. 1991. *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus* (London–Zurich).
- Pritchett, W.K., *The Greek State at War* III (Berkeley–London) 1971.
- Reger, G. 1993. «The Date of the Battle of Kos», *AJAH* 10 (1985), 155-77.
- Ritter, A.-W. 1975. «Zum Schild auf den Münzen des Philadelphos», *SM* 25, Heft 97, 2-3.
- Ritter, H.W. 1981. «Zur Sternsymbolik im Antigonidischen und Argeadischen Makedonien», *Αρχαιογνωσία* 2, 159-205.
- Salzmann, D. 1980. «Überlegungen zum Schild auf den Münzen des Ptolemaios Philadelphos und verwandten Denkmälern», *SM* 30, 33-9.
- Schwabacher, W. 1968. «Some Unknown Federal Coins of the Akarnanians», in C.M. Kraay – G.K. Jenkins, *Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson* (Oxford), 219-21.
- Segré, M. 1927. «La più antica tradizione sull'invasione gallica in Macedonia e in Grecia (280 / 79 a.Chr.)», *Historia* 1.4, 18-42.
- Shipley, G. 2000. *The Greek World after Alexander, 323-30 BC* (London–N.York).
- Simon, E. 1994. «Poseidon», *LIMC* VII.1, 446-79.
- Smith, R.R.R. 1988. *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford–New York).
- Strack, M.L., Münzer, F.L. 1912. *Die antiken Münzen von Thrakien* (Berlin).
- Svenson, D. 1995. *Darstellungen hellenistischer Könige mit Götterattributen*, Archäologische Studien, vol. 10 (Frankfurt am Main).
- Sutherland, C.H.V. 1951. *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* (London).
- Sutherland, C.H.V. 1959. «The Intelligibility of Roman Imperial Coin Types», *JRS* 49, 46-55.
- Sutherland, C.H.V. 1976. *The Emperor and the Coinage* (London) 96-101.
- Tarn, W.W. 1910. «The Dedicated Ship of Antigonus Gonatas», *JHS* 30, 209-22 (esp. 214-5).

- Tarn, W.W. 1913. *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford).
- Touratsoglou, Y. 1993. *Disjecta Membra. Two New Hellenistic Hoards from Greece* (Athens).
- Trillmich, W. 1978. *Familienpropaganda der Kaiser Caligula and Claudius*, Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine VIII (Berlin).
- Usener, H. 1874. «Ein Epigramm von Knidos», *Rheinisches Museum N. F.* 29, 43-7.
- Villing, A.C. 1997. *The Iconography of Athena in Mainland Greece and the East Greek World in the 5th and 4th Centuries BC* (DPhil.) (Oxford).
- Voegtli, H. 1973. «Der Schild des Philadelphos», *SM* 23, 86-9.
- Walbank, F.W. 1982. «Sea Power and the Antigonids», in W.L. Adams – E.N. Borza (eds), *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage* (Washington) 218-20.
- Walbank, F.W. 1988. «The Years of Chaos», in N.G.L. Hammond – F.W. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia*, vol. III (Oxford University Press), 255-8.
- Walbank, F.W. 1988a. «Antigonos Gonatas: The Naval Situation (261-251 B.C.)», in N.G.L. Hammond – F.W. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia*, vol. III (Oxford University Press), 291-3.
- Walbank, F.W. 1988b. «Demetrius II (239-229 B.C.)», in Hammond, N.G.L. – Walbank, F.W., *A History of Macedonia*, vol. III (Oxford University Press), 333-6.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1983. «Ut pictura poesis?», *JRS* 73, 180-3 [review of J. M. Croisille, *Poésie et art figuré de Neron aux Flaviens, Recherches sur l'iconographie et la correspondance des arts à l'époque impériale* (coll. Latomus CLXXIX), Brussels, 1982, 2 vols.].
- Weil, R. 1874. «Histiaea-Oreos», *ZfN* 1, 189.
- Westermarck, U. 1989. «Remarks on Regal Macedonian Coinage», in Le Rider *et al.* (eds), *Kraay-Mørkholm Essays: Numismatic Studies in memory of C.M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Supérieur d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art, Séminaire de Numismatique Marcel Hoc, 1989), 301-15, pl. LXIX-LXX.
- Westermarck, U. 1993. «The Staters of Archelaus. A die Study», in M.J. Price – A. Barnett – R. Bland (eds), *Essays in honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins* (London) 17-30.
- Westermarck, U. 1994. «Apollo in Macedonia», in *Opus Mixtum: Essays in Ancient Art and Society*, Acta Istituti Romani Regni Sueciae (Stockholm).
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U. von. 1924. *Hellenistische Dichtung* II (Berlin) 104-5.
- Will, Ed. 1979-1982. *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*, Annales de l'Est (Nancy 1979; 1982).
- Will, Ed. 1984. «The Formation of the Hellenistic Kingdoms», in *CAH* VII.I², 115.

Katerina Panagopoulou
 Department of History & Archaeology
 University of Crete
 Gallos Campus
 GR – 741 00 Rethymnon
 Crete / Greece
 e-mail: panagop@phl.uoc.gr



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8

