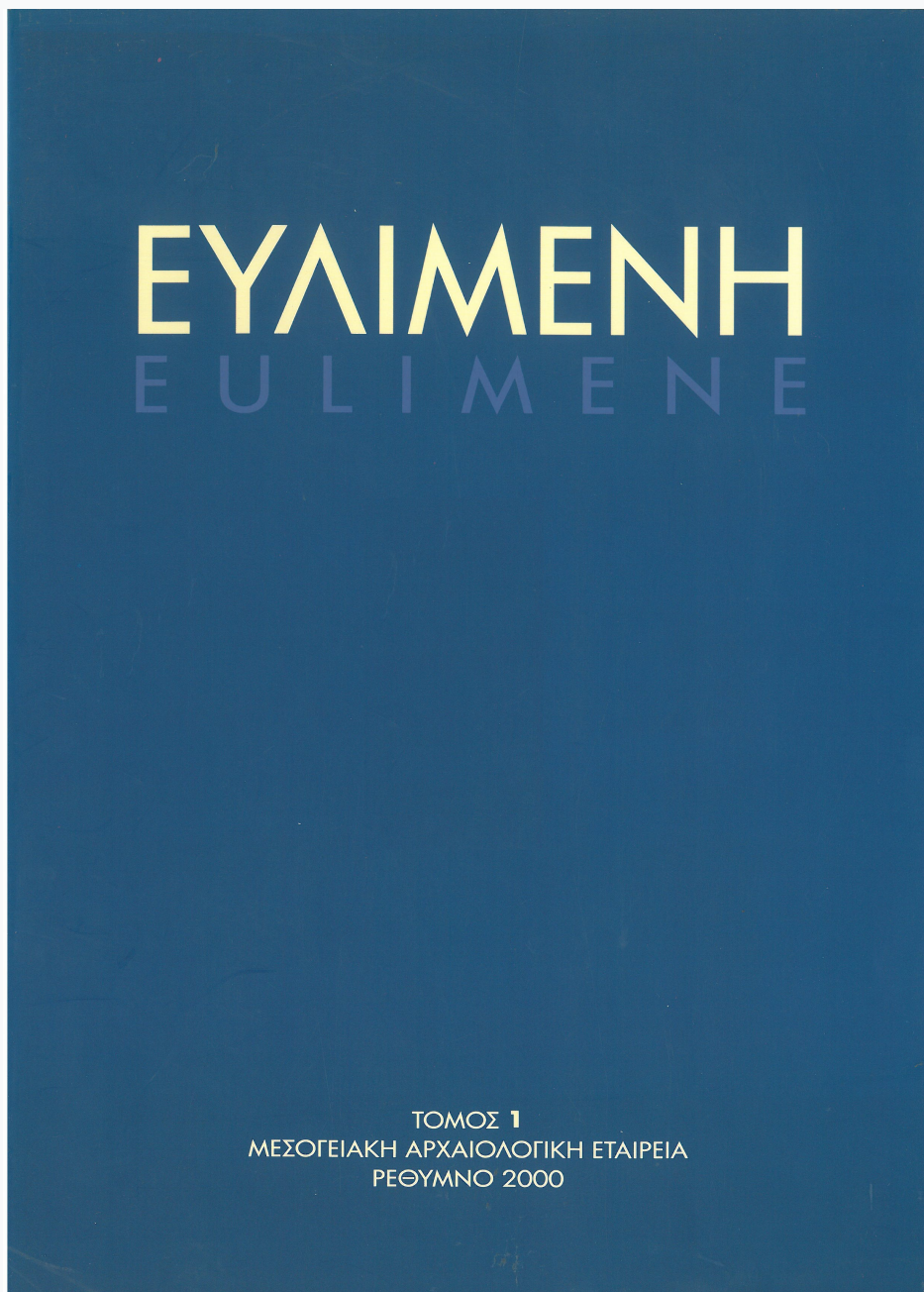


EULIMENE

Vol 1 (2000)

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ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

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

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Ρέθυμνο 2000

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EULIMENE will also welcome studies on anthropology, palaeodemography, 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.

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EYAIMENH 1 (2000)

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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 ιδιοτήτων 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'Ermete con Dioniso di Cefisodoto il Vecchio, stanno alla base della ridefinizione del dio operata da Prassitele. L'immagine di Dioniso accreditata nelle 'Baccanti' di Euripide ebbe pure un rilevante impatto 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'Ermete con Dioniso di Olimpia è forse un donario degli Elei del 343 A. C. ed è quasi certamente un'opera originale di Prassitele. Ai figli di Prassitele è ascrivibile il Dioniso WoburnAbbey/Castle Howard, rimeditazione del tipo Sambon/Grimani. Il tipo Richelieu/Prado pare dipendere da una variante protoellenistica del tipo Woburn Abbey/Castle Howard, il tipo Jacobsen sembra essere un adattamento dello stesso alla temperie barocca, il tipo Terme pare costituire una rimeditazione del medesimo in chiave Rococò. Il tipo Cirene offre una soluzione tardorepubblicana dello stesso schema compositivo, rispondente all'esigenza eclettica di valorizzare le soluzioni ritenute migliori di Prassitele, Policleto e Lisippo. Il tipo Borghese/Colonna sembra un adattamento del ritmo Woburn Abbey alla predilezione neoattica per ritmi frontali. Il

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

Angelos Chaniotis, Hellenistic Lasaia (Crete): a dependent polis of Gortyn. New epigraphic evidence from the Asklepieion near Lasaia, 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 Asklepieion bei Lasaia tätig war, deutet seine Tätigkeit darauf hin, daß dieses Heiligtum, genau wie das Asklepieion von Lebene, im Besitz der Gortynier war. Der neuer Fund unterstützt die Annahme, daß spätestens im späten 2. Jh. v. Chr. Lasaia eine abhängige Gemeinde von Gortyn war.

Εύα Γραμματικάκη - Νίκος Λίτινας, Μαγικός κατάδεσμος, 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 πιθανότα 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 Σκαψαί(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 Crousidae. 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, αἰδώνιαι, ἔγχωροι κατοικοῦσαι

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

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

Μετάφραση κειμένου

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

Ὅσον αφορά την υγεία μου, εἶμαι καλά με τη βοήθεια του Θεοῦ. Μην [... Θα ἤθελα να γνωρίζεις γι' αυτό που μου ἔστειλες] ὅτι το ἔλαβα και το στιχαροκαρρακάλλιον [...

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

[στείλε] μου [αμέσως;] ὅ,τι σου ἔγραψα [...

† Απολλώ[...]

Appendix

Τρόπος αναφοράς ενός αποστολέα στην προσωπική του υγεία και την ενημέρωση του παραλήπτη (ὅτι εἶναι 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 πληροφορεῖ τον αποδέκτη.

A: Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε δ' ἡμῖν περι ὧν ἂν βούλη

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

Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε δ' ἡμῖν περι 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 εἶναι 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 υἰγαίνειν μετὰ τῶν σῶν πάντων κάγῶ γὰρ αὐτὸς υἰγαίνω

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: υἰγαίνω cὺν Θεῷ

Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: δηλώσέ μοι περί τῆς σῆς υἰείας

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sample size and preservation of skeletal remains

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

Mortality prevalence, and sexual morphometric dimorphism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dental pathologies, and aspects of dietary patterns

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

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

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

¹⁷ See n. 15 above.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²³ See n. 15 above.

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

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

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

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

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

²⁶ See n. 1 above.

²⁷ See n. 15 above.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Epilogue

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

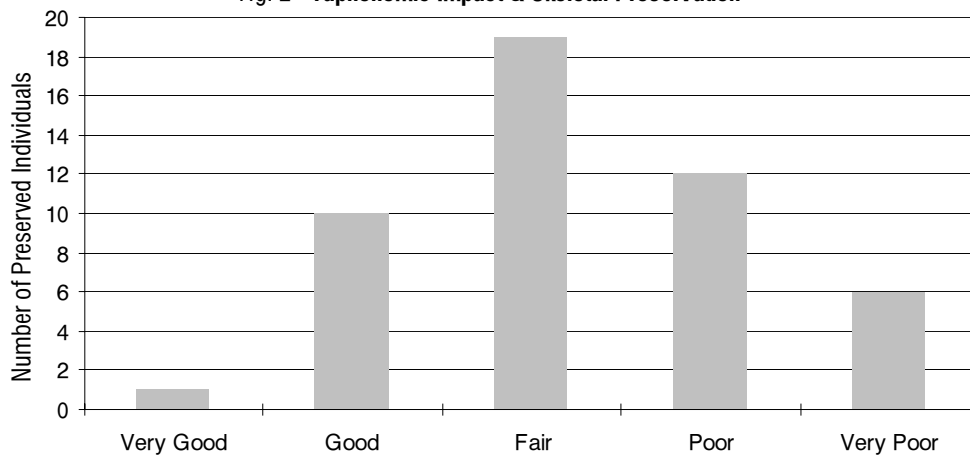
It is envisioned that within the next five years a comprehensive report would describe diachronic aspects of the palaeodemographic, palaeopathologic and palaeoenvironmental record, also reflecting on pivotal facets of the socio-economic organization and capacities, and ideational systems in ancient Abdera.

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Fig. 1 - Coastal Area of Western Macedonia and Thrace



Fig. 2 - Taphonomic Impact & Skeletal Preservation



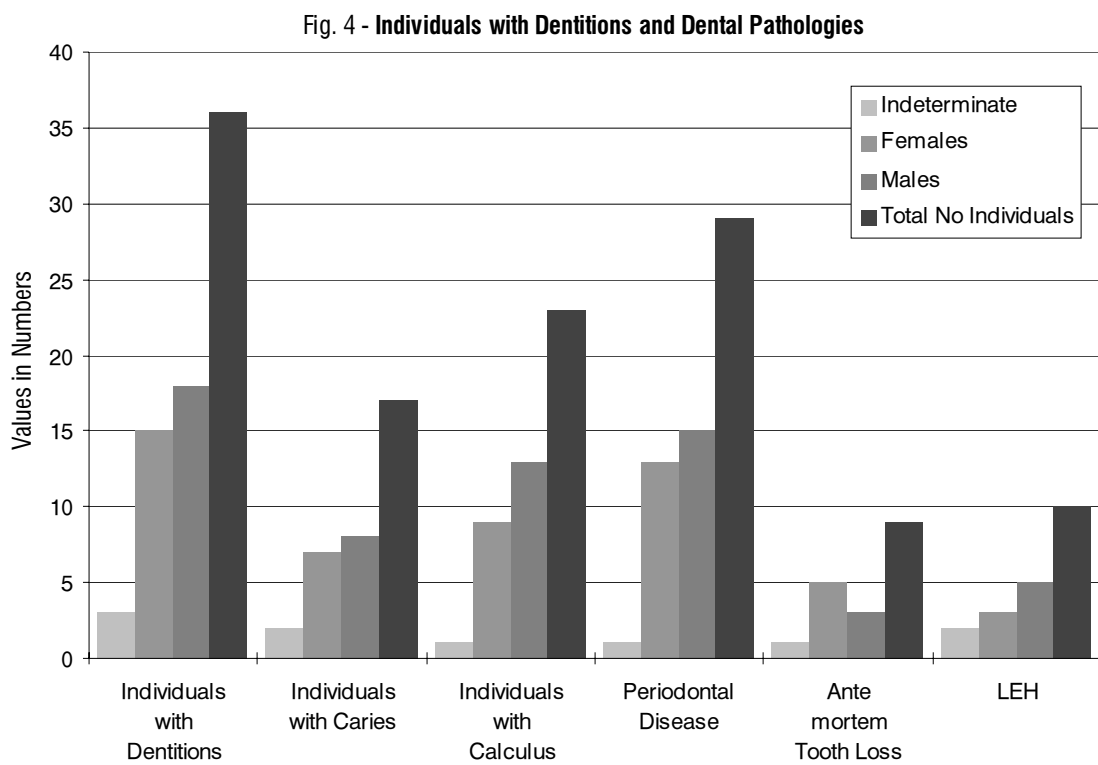
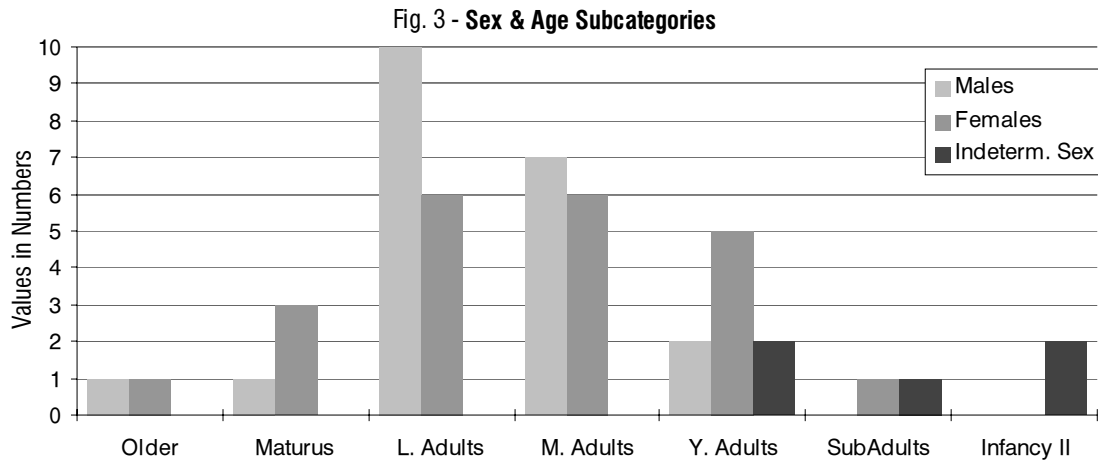


Fig. 5 - Periosteal Reactions by Sex Subcategory

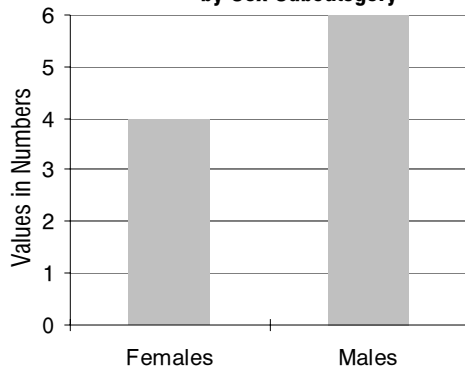


Fig. 6 - Prevalence of Trauma & Periostitis By Sex Subcategories

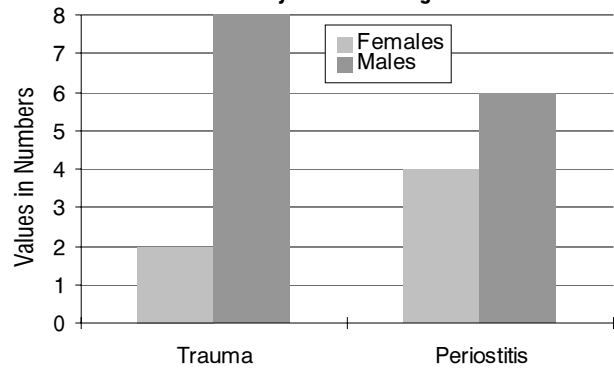


Fig. 7 - Prevalence of Osteoarthritic (OA) Manifestations By Sex Subcategory

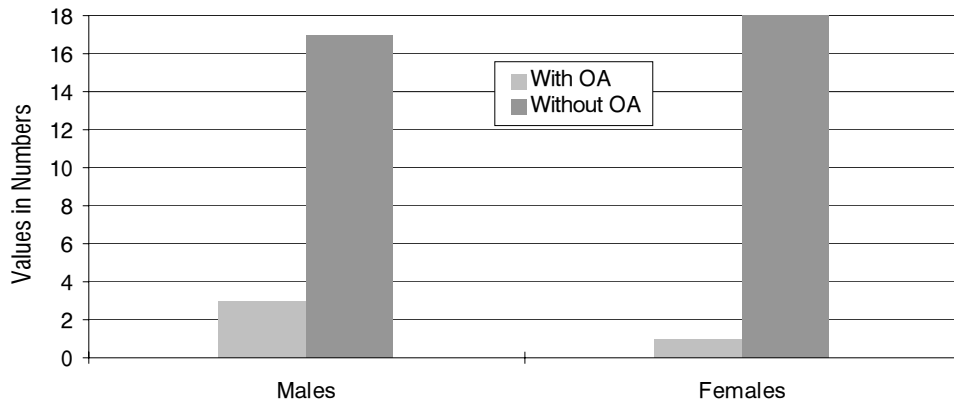
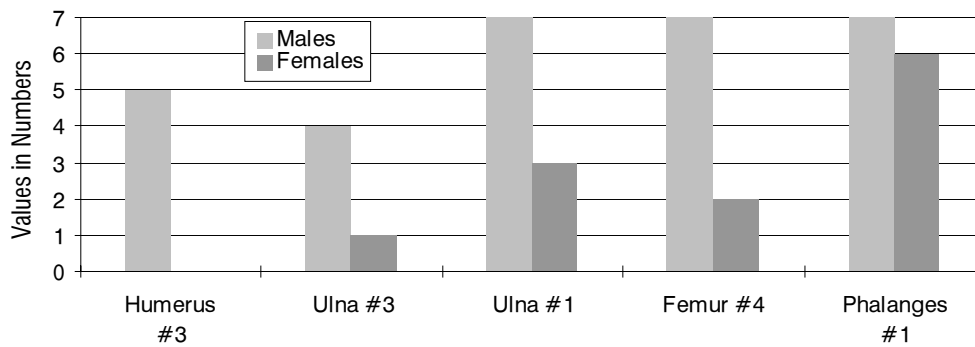
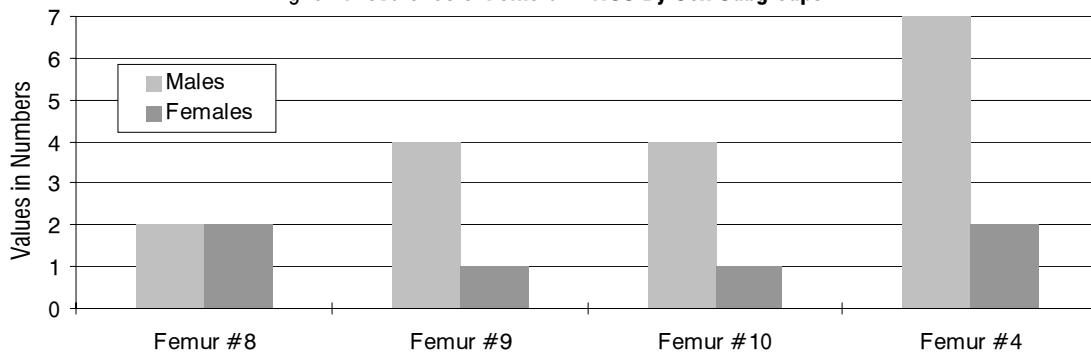


Fig. 8 - Prevalence of Selected MHOS Showing Sexual Dimorphisms



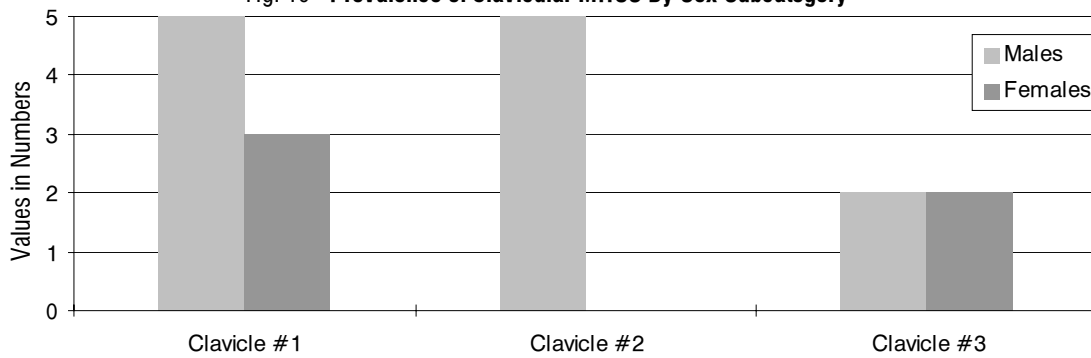
MHOS/Skeletal Manifestation	Associated Kinetics	Bodily Posture/Function
Phal.#1:Marked Flex. Ligam.palmar 1st Phal.	Firm Palmar Flexion	Firm Grasp
Fem.#4: "Poirier's Facet"	Flexion of knee, Extension of Hip Joint	Squatting Posture, Prolonged Standing/Walki
Ulna#1: Hypertrophy of Supi. Crest & Fossa	Supination,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

Fig. 9 - Prevalence of Femoral MHOS By Sex Subgroups



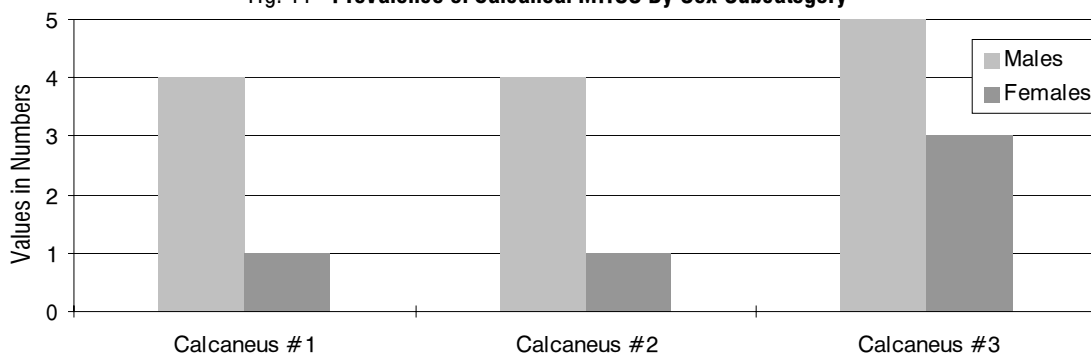
MHOS/Skeletal Manifestation	Associated Kinetics	Bodily Posture/Function
Femur # 4 = "Poirier's Facet"	Flexion of knee, Extension of hip joint	Squatting, Prolonged Standing/Walking
Femur # 10 = "Osteochondritic Imprint"	Flexion of knee, Extension of hip joint	Squatting Posture
Femur # 9 = "Tibial Imprint"	Flexion of knee, Extension of hip joint	Squatting Posture
Femur # 8 = "Charle's Facet"	Flexion of knee, Extension of hip joint	Squatting Posture

Fig. 10 - Prevalence of Clavicular MHOS By Sex Subcategory



MHOS/Skeletal Manifestation	Associated Kinetics	Bodily Posture/Function
Clav. #1: Robusticity of Lateral End	Strong Lateral Downward Direction	Carrying Loads on Extended Arms
Clav. #2: Robusticity Sternoclavicular Joint	DistoDorsal Lateral Stress	Dragging Heavy Loads
Clav. #3: Prominent Origin Pectoral. Major	Circumduction of Arms	Fishing from the Shore with Line

Fig. 11 - Prevalence of Calcaneal MHOS By Sex Subcategory



MHOS/Skeletal Manifestation	Associated Kinetics	Bodily Posture/Function
Calc. #3: Bursitis & Bony Spurs	Pull on Attachment of Plantar Fascia	Walking on Hard Pavement
Calc. #2: "Rider's Bone"	Repeated Impact of Heel on Ground	Dismounting fm. Horse, stress on Heel
Calc. #1: Achilles Tendon Exostosis	Plantar Enthesopathy: Adduct. Hallucis	Long Distance running/Hard Pavement

PRAXITELEAN DIONYSI¹

The aims of this study are to outline the series of dedications of sculptures representing Dionysus in the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens, to show how Praxiteles, who was linked very closely to the cultic and theatrical life of that sanctuary, developed his own interpretation of this god from the formal and stylistic teaching constituted by those sculptures, to try to individualize the representations of Dionysus carved in his workshop and finally to follow the developments and variations of Praxitelean Dionysi created in the Praxitelean legacy during Hellenistic and Roman times.

I. Statuary antecedents.

A. The most influential statues set up in the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens before Praxiteles.

1. The xoanon of Dionysus from Eleutherae.

The wooden image of Dionysus brought from Eleutherae to the Athenian sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus, probably at the time of the Pisistratids' rule in Athens, according to the scholiast to Aristophanes, *Ach.*, 243 a, is mentioned by Pausanias (1, 20, 3; 29, 2 and 38, 8), who informs also that this statue was set up usually in the archaic temple of the god in this sanctuary, that was brought in procession to the temple of Dionysus in the Academy, located along the road between Eleutherae and Athens, a ceremony which probably re-evoked the original journey of the statue to Athens, and that a copy had been set up in the temple of this god at Eleutherae.²

This statue is represented probably on two types of coins of Athens, minted respectively in 134 and in 98 BC³: Dionysus is represented bearded, standing, turning toward the left, with a long chiton, holding a thyrsus in a vertical position in his left arm, whilst his right arm is set forward and holds an object which is unclear in the first of these two types of coins and is clearly a cantharus in the second of them.

The iconography of Dionysus and in particular his characterization with the thyrsus and the cantharus must have qualified this god as Eleuthereus. Not by chance, Dionysus bearded in long chiton, with thyrsus and/or cantharus, is represented often in late-archaic and early-classical Attic imagery, especially in vase-painting.⁴

¹ A previous version of this article has been delivered as a lecture in the Institute of Classical Studies, London, in 22 October 1997. This research has been conducted thanks to grants of the Hellenic Foundation and the Leventis Foundation.

² See H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz am Rhein 1989), 84-100.

³ See C. Gasparri and A. Veneri, «Dionysos», *LIMC* (3, 1986), 429-431, nos. 62-63 and 85-86 (with previous bibliography).

⁴ The earliest evidence is collected by Shapiro (n. 2). These features appear also in images of Dionysus collected by Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 414-514, nos. 6-9; 21; 23; 43; 49-55; 149-151; 161-163; 180-182; 253-263; 281-314; 325-333; 348-353; 362-369; 382-401; 404-428; 435-456; 463-465; 467-470; 472;

2. The chryselephantine statue of Dionysus by Alcamenes.

Alcamenes made a chryselephantine statue of this god for the same sanctuary, probably sometime in the 20s' or 10s' of the V c. BC, destined to be set up in the most recent temple of the god, which is dated variously between 410 and 340 BC (Pausanias, 1, 20, 3).⁵ The statue is represented probably on a coin type of Athens, minted in 90 BC⁶: Dionysus is represented bearded with a long robe, seated on a throne and holding thyrsus and cantharus. The Lemnian artist, *aemulus* of Pheidias (Pliny, 34, 49), was inspired clearly by the Zeus of Olympia. The general idea of this creation may be suggested by the St. Petersburg Dionysus, because his configuration is the same as that of the image on the coins⁷ (fig. 1): this statuette shows the desire to reproduce as many peculiarities of the drapery as possible in a miniature representation and for this reason the richness of the drapery of the prototype is thus here probably emphasized. A more faithful derivation from that prototype is constituted probably for the head by a type of head of Dionysus in Vatican Museums, Galleria delle Carte Geografiche.⁸ This head is in fact very close to Alcamenes' Hermes Propylaeus, while the St. Petersburg statuette may be related, in the features of the drapery, and especially of its folds, to the Prochne with Itys and to the Aphrodite in the Gardens, as identified by Delivorrias.⁹

Alcamenes must thus have strengthened the identification of Dionysus Eleuthereus as a god with the attributes of the thyrsus and of the cantharus. Moreover, the interpretation of the god with a pathetic image and with a rendering of the surfaces (hair, face, beard and drapery) through play of light-and-shade, must have educated the Athenians to appreciate images of Dionysus in this style. The heritage of Alcamenes and in particular his chiaroscuro rendering were to be deepened by Praxiteles, according to a link already noted by Pausanias, 8, 9, 1.

3. The Hope Dionysus.

The Hope type of Dionysus must now be considered. The archetype of this series of sculptures was set up at Athens, as Dionysus with this iconography is represented on a coin type of this city minted before Sulla.¹⁰ Dionysus on that coin shows the slightly sinuous configuration, the relation of his body with the two attributes, a thyrsus, held in his left hand, and a cantharus, held in his right hand, and the clothes, short chiton and boots, which characterize the Hope type. The original statue would be dated perhaps around 420 BC, because a Dionysus with the same configuration as the Hope type is painted on an Attic oinochoe of those years,¹¹ nor can that prototype be earlier, because of the theatrical conception of its image, of its sinuous rhythm, of the light-and-shade

474-480; 494-507; 509-519; 552-583; 585-595; 598; 603-605; 609-621; 625-628; 640-649; 708-717; 756-776; 785-790; 803-833; 839; 845-849; 859-862; 869-871.

⁵ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 446, no. 214.

⁶ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 437, no. 133.

⁷ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 438, no. 136.

⁸ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 443, no. 184.

⁹ See A. Delivorrias, «Alcamenes», *EAA* (Suppl. 2, 1, 1994), 172-179, with previous bibliography.

¹⁰ See E. H. Bunbury, «On some unpublished Coins of Athens and one of Eleusis», *NumChron* (3, 1, 1881), 73-90.

¹¹ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 430, no. 80.

rendering of its surfaces and drapery and of the anatomy of its face, which cannot be earlier than the so-called rich style and the development by Alcamenes of a style revealing a theatrical inspiration.

That statue was probably set up in the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus, because the god of this type is represented on a relief from the area of the theatre dated around 390 BC¹² as well as on the Hadrianic relief re-used in the bema of Phaedrus in the theatre.¹³ Derivations are known, as are copies¹⁴ (fig. 2) and variations.¹⁵ The prototype must have remained at Athens during the Roman times, because it is represented in that city still in the Hadrianic age, on the bema relief and also because derivations come from other Greek cities.¹⁶ However, the Athenian workshops making copies or variations derived from this prototype must have worked pre-eminently for the Roman market, because most of the known examples come from that area.

The representation of Dionysus according to the Hope configuration in the context of his visit to Icarius on the relief of Phaedrus' bema, suggests that the god of the original statue was also shown as going to be received by this Attic hero, in travelling clothes, as the short chiton and the boots are: this journey was one of many made by Dionysus around the earth, in order to bring the gift of the vine to humans. It is not fortuitous that Dionysus is also represented young, with short chiton, himatium, pardalis, boots and thyrsus in his left hand in another Attic representation of his visit to Icarius, of early Hellenistic times.¹⁷ It is thus possible to suggest that the original statue of the Hope type, set up in the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus around 420 BC, was a votive offering related to a dramatic representation of that mythical episode: the visit to Icarius is in fact known in Attic imagery from the times of Pisistratus¹⁸ and is narrated by writers (Apollodorus, Hyginus and Athenaeus are the most important),¹⁹ who usually take evidence from theatrical writings. Moreover, that episode, since it is related to the introduction of the cult of Dionysus in Attica, is pertinent to the world of the theatre and we may think for these reasons that this myth was probably re-evoked in theatrical performances at Athens during the V c. BC.

¹² See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 494-495, no. 853. This relief has been also dated to later periods. See D. Bonanome, *Il rilievo da Mondragone nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples 1995), 182-3.

¹³ See C. Gasparri, «Dionysos/Bacchus», *LIMC* (3, 1986), 559, no. 254.

¹⁴ Lists of copies and bibliography in Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 436-437, no. 128, and in G. B. Waywell, *The Lever and Hope Sculptures* (Berlin 1986), 72-73, no. 6. The torso in Vatican Museums, Mus. Greg. Prof., no. 4, 349 (Pigna's Garden) = Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 431, no. 83, and 437, no. 128 e, is thought usually to be derived from an Alcamenean prototype, identified sometimes with the chryselephantine statue of Alcamenes (Langlotz and Delivorrias: see n. 9).

¹⁵ See Gasparri (n. 13), 543, no. 17; Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 434, no. 108.

¹⁶ From Corinth (Gasparri (n. 13), 543, no. 17) and from Argos (Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 437, no. 128 f).

¹⁷ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 495, no. 855.

¹⁸ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 490, nos. 803-805 (see also 495, nos. 856-858). In these images, Dionysus is represented bearded and wrapped in a himation, according to the oldest iconographical interpretation of the god in this visit.

¹⁹ See W. H. Roscher, «Ikarios», *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* (2, Leipzig 1890), 111-112.

The original of the Hope type may have been created perhaps in the stylistic current of Alcamenes: the slightly sinuous rhythm, the left arm resting on a vertical support set to one side, the forward position of the right forearm, the rendering of the drapery with effects of light-and-shade, the inclined head, the features given to the face and the stage-like character of the image, disclosed to the viewer with an ample breadth, relate this creation to the mature production of the Lemnian sculptor: the closest comparanda for general conception of the image, rhythm and style, are the Aphrodite in the Gardens, as identified by Delivorrias, the Procne and the Cherchel type Athena.²⁰ Moreover, the position of the two arms, one raised and the other brought down and forward recall the analogous positions of the arms of the Hope/Farnese type of Athena and, also if reversed, of the Velletri and Louvre/Naples («Frejus») types. The two corkscrew locks falling down on the shoulders are again very similar to the analogous ones of the Hope/Farnese Athena. The mantle falling down on a side and creating saw-like folds, is very close to the analogous feature of the Aphrodite in the Gardens (Smyrna/Gortys/Borghese type). It is thus possible that the style of the workshop of Alcamenes was frequented by patrons of sculptures dedicated in the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus, as his chryselephantine Dionysus indicates, and that the workshop charged with this important dedication felt obliged to make it according to the style of the Lemnian master.

The Hope type of Dionysus would thus be put at the beginning of the diffusion of the interpretation of this god as young and beardless, with his head crowned with ivy-leaves, with a sinuous body, with his left arm holding a thyrsus, with his right arm down with his forearm projecting slightly, in order to stretch out a cantharus, the surfaces interpreted through play of light-and-shade. This statue will be, as I shall show, the starting point of the re-definition of the god made by Praxiteles. The common opinion that the Hope type Dionysus should be dated around 370 BC and reflect the artistic environment of Cephisodotus the Elder²¹ seems contradicted, in my judgment, by the vase painting of around 420 and by the relief perhaps of around 390 mentioned above, in which Dionysus is represented already according to this iconography, as well as by the stylistic features indicated above.

Representations of the Olympians as young adolescent figures had been created already in the Attic world during the second half of V c. BC: see, e. g., the girlish Athena with Marsyas by Myron and the girlish Artemis represented by Strongylion for the Megarians. Dionysus is represented as a young beardless god from around 460 BC and this iconography became popular after its adoption in the Dionysus of the E pediment of the Parthenon and especially during the rich style, characterized by representations of deities and heroes as gentle beings.²² Moreover, the chiasmus shown by the configuration of this Dionysus suggests he be placed still under the influence of the Polyclitan *quadratio* and before its modifications by the followers of the Argive master.

²⁰ See n. 9.

²¹ See e. g., L. Todisco, *Scultura greca del IV secolo* (Milan 1993), 248, no. 100.

²² Artemis of Strongylion: see P. Moreno, «Strongylion», *EAA* (7, 1966), 518-519. V c. BC representations of Dionysus as young and beardless: see Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 434-495, nos. 111; 115; 138; 141; 157; 189; 193; 198-199; 315-318; 334-335; 343; 371-372; 493; 543-544; 560; 629-630; 660; 719-720; 738; 801; 834-838; 841 and 863.

Finally, the copy which preserves more the classical style of the prototype, the Vatican torso (see n. 14), seems still close to the Parthenon's heritage and particularly to the spirit of the frieze and of the E pediment, as well as to the Alcamenean works mentioned above, as has been stressed especially by Langlotz and Delivorrias (n. 14).

4. The Sardanapallus type of Dionysus.

Another statue which was probably also in the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus as a votive offering can be attributed to the workshop of Cephisodotus the Elder: the original of the «Sardanapallus» type of Dionysus (fig. 3). The god is represented standing, old and bearded, with a fat body, wrapped in a long chiton with thin folds and by a heavy himation wound on the left arm brought to his left hip, while the right arm was brought forward and holding an attribute, probably a cantharus, as I shall argue below. The metallic rendering of the surfaces, appreciable particularly in the folds of the drapery, suggests that the original statue was made in bronze. As the best copy, still of I c. BC, comes from the area near the theatre of Dionysus,²³ and as the oldest variation of this type is constituted by the Dionysus in relief on the triangular base of a choregic monument found near the Street of the Tripods, which can be attributed to the workshop of Praxiteles,²⁴ it is logical to suppose that the original statue was set up also in the area of this sanctuary or nearby. It is possible that the statue was moved to Rome, perhaps at the time of Sulla, and substituted by the copy found in that area, which seems in fact to be dated to I c. BC, since copies of Roman Imperial times seem to depend from an original placed in Rome.²⁵ The fact that Dionysus in the earliest variation known, from the street of the Tripods, holds a cantharus in his right hand suggests that the original statue was also characterized by that attribute.

The re-use of that type on a Praxitelean relief, its close relation with the iconographical schemes of the Mantinean Muses,²⁶ of the Uffizi type of Kore²⁷ and of the Arretium type of Athena,²⁸ and especially the close analogy of this creation with the Eirene of Cephisodotus the Elder in the scheme of the figures, in the rendering of the drapery, still enveloping the body, in the anatomy of face and in the hair, suggest an attribution of this Dionysus to Cephisodotus the Elder. The same Mantinean Muses may perhaps have been conceived in my judgment by Cephisodotus the Elder for his group of Muses on Mt. Helicon²⁹ and only re-made for the Praxitelean relief of the base of the Apollinean triad at Mantinea,³⁰ because of the relation between drapery and body, which

²³ On this type, see Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 431-432, no. 89; Gasparri (n. 13), 545, no. 37; Todisco (n. 21), 444, no. 296; and W. R. Megow, «Sardanapallos», *LIMC* (8, 1997), 1075-1077; P. Zanker, *Ein Kunst für die Sinne* (Berlin 1998), 17-22.

²⁴ It is the base Athens, National Museum, no. 1463: see Todisco (n. 21), 435, no. 288. Its attribution to the workshop of Praxiteles is based on *IG*, II², 3089 (see my book *Praxiteles* (1, Rome 1988), 25-27, no. 13).

²⁵ See Gasparri and Veneri, cited in n. 23.

²⁶ See Todisco (n. 21), 436-437, no. 289.

²⁷ See Todisco (n. 21), 433-434, nos. 286-287.

²⁸ See my article «Praxiteles», *EAA* (Suppl. 2, 1, 1996), 460-462.

²⁹ See Pausanias, 9, 30, 1.

³⁰ See Pausanias, 8, 9, 1. The original pertinence of the Mantinean slabs to the base of the Praxitelean Apollinean triad has been demonstrated with conclusive argumentations by W. Amelung, *Die Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantinea* (München 1895). One type from Mantinean Muses, the so-called «Urania», adopted

is basically the same as that of the Cephisodotan Eirene. Moreover, both the Eirene and the Sardanapallus seem to express the same pious and conservative Athens, characterized by belief in gods conceived as wise beings, taking care of the city protected by them and in a religious and devote city, destined to be for this reason also prosperous. However, the specific reason motivating the creation of the Sardanapallus is of course unknown.

B. The Cephisodotan Hermes carrying Dionysus.

I have to consider also a bronze group, which was one of the main creations of Cephisodotus the Elder, according to Pliny, 34, 87: the bronze group of Hermes holding the baby Dionysus on his left arm, identified with the group known through the copies of Madrid, Prado Museum, of Rome, from the Palatine, in the Roman National Museum, and of Athens, in the Agora Museum, which can be dated to 380-370 BC, whose rhythm seems close to the Cephisodotan Eirene³¹ (fig. 4) and which is also reproduced on Roman coins of Pautalia and Anchialus, echoing probably copies from this prototype.³² It would be stressed that this mythical episode was popular in Spartan imagery from late archaic times, as it had been represented by Bathykles of Magnesia on the throne of Amyclae,³³ that the workshop of Praxiteles was characterized by an oligarchical orientation,³⁴ that relations of patronage between Sparta and this workshop are known otherwise,³⁵ that the group Prado/Palatine/ Athens represents Hermes on a hermaic pillar, which was adopted often in order to mark borders of agorai³⁶ and that Cephisodotus must have been particularly renowned for statues set up in agorai, as can be deduced from the Eirene carrying Plutus in the Athenian agora.

All these observations support in my judgment the identification of Cephisodotus' Hermes carrying the baby Dionysus with the *Hermes Agoraios Dionyson pheron paida* seen by Pausanias, 3, 11, 11, in the agora of Sparta.³⁷

The baby Dionysus can be appreciated partially thanks to the fragment belonging to a copy of this group from the Palatine, in which the child is almost completely

also for the representation of Kore, appears already on Panathenaic Amphoras dated to the 350s' or 340s' BC: see N. Eschbach, *Statuen auf Panathenäischen Preisamphoren des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Mainz am Rhein 1986), 71-80, nos. 47-48 and pls. 20-21 and M. Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren* (Basel 1998), 174-175.

³¹ See G. Siebert, «Hermes», *LIMC* (5, 1990), 321, no. 393, and Todisco (n. 21), 240, nos. 90-91.

³² See G. E. Rizzo, *Prassitele* (Milan 1932), 7-10 and pl. iv, figs. nos. 3-4.

³³ See Siebert (n. 31), 319-320, no. 375.

³⁴ See H. Lauter, «Zur Wirtschaftlichen Position der Praxiteles-Familie im spätklassischen Athen», *AA* (1980), 525-532; H. P. Müller, «Praxiteles und Kephisodot der Jüngere, zwei Griechische Bildhauer aus hohen Gesellschaftsschichten?», *Klio* (70, 1988), 346-377.

³⁵ See Choricus, *Declamationes*, 8.

³⁶ See H. Wrede, *Die antike Herme* (Mainz am Rhein 1986), 8-12 and 63-67 and J. M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora* (London 1992), 74-77.

³⁷ It is possible that representations of Hermes holding the baby Dionysus on Spartan coins of III c. AD (see F. W. Imhoof-Blumer, P. Gardner and A. N. Oikonomides, *Ancient Coins illustrating lost Masterpieces of Greek Art* (Chicago 1964)), 55 and pl. N, nos. V-VII) are derived from the Cephisodotan group, as the relationship between Hermes and Dionysus is the same and as the staff held by the mature god in his right arm may be a bunch of grapes, which would be in keeping with Pliny's description of Cephisodotan group. However, the representations on the coins are not faithful miniature copies of a statuary group, as the running rhythm of the Hermes and his chlamys brought behind, very far from his body, are not plausible for a group of sculpture and should be thus considered rather free interpretations of the same iconography.

preserved³⁸ and moreover to the most faithful fragmentary copy from the Athenian agora, in which the lower part of Dionysus is preserved.

He seems close, as to regard iconography, rhythm and style, to the Plutus of Cephisodotus as well as the antecedent of the baby Dionysus carried by the Hermes of Olympia.

The chlamys thrown over the Hermaic pillar is also the clear antecedent of the chlamys on the three-trunk of the Hermes of Olympia.

The hermaic pillar seems an imitation of the Hermes Propylaeus of Alcamenes,³⁹ which emphasizes the continuity from Alcamenes to the late-classical Praxitelean workshop, expressed also by Pausanias, 8, 9, 1.

That group shows the research by Cephisodotus to give ample breadths to his sculptures. Moreover, the probable representation of the bunch of grapes held by Hermes in his hands, as may be argued by the numismatic evidence (see n. 37), by the definition of this group by Pliny, 34, 87, as *Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriens*, as well as by the later representation of the same episode by Praxiteles, suggests to the viewer that this episode happens outside the city in the countryside, in keeping with the legend that Hermes had brought the baby Dionysus to the Nymphs of Nysa through remote lands, in order to save him from the vengeance of Hera.⁴⁰

The hermaic pillar, on the contrary, would probably allude to the actual setting of the statue, perhaps, as I have suggested, in the agora of Sparta.

In any case, the «Spartan» and oligarchical meaning of this group must have been clear, since this episode was represented at Sparta on a monument as famous as the throne of Amyclae (see n. 33), and must consequentially have involved the adoption of this iconography by Peloponnesian oligarchic states: in fact the oligarchs of the Arcadian city of Pheneus represented Hermes carrying the baby Arcas with the same iconography on their coins in 362-330 BC⁴¹ and the oligarchs of Elis, where Dionysus was worshipped more than any other deity, after the restoration of their rule, due to the help of the Arcadians, whose most important god was Hermes, in 343 BC, dedicated probably an allusive group of Hermes carrying Dionysus made by Praxiteles, an up-dated re-creation of Cephisodotus' work, in the most conservative and traditional temple of Olympia, the temple of Hera.⁴²

II. Literary antecedents: Dionysus represented by Euripides in the «Bacchae».

The conception and the iconographic definitions of Dionysus in late-classical Athens cannot be understood without focusing on the very influential image of this god defined by Euripides in the «Bacchae», presented in Athens for the first time around 406 BC.⁴³

³⁸ The best photo can be found in Rizzo (n. 32), pl. XIII, fig. no. 2.

³⁹ See Delivorrias (n. 9), with previous bibliography.

⁴⁰ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 417 and 478-488, nos. 664-695.

⁴¹ See Siebert (n. 31), 320, no. 389.

⁴² See my article «The Hermes of Praxiteles», *NumAntCl* (25, 1996), 131-153.

⁴³ On the last tragedy of Euripides, see H. Gregoire, J. Meunier and J. Irigoien, *Euripide, 6, Les Bacchantes* (Paris 1993), with previous bibliography.

The god in this tragedy is represented as spreading desire of love through his eyes (vv. 236 and 459). His hair is curly, full of locks (vv. 455-456 and 493-494) and he carries a wreath of ivy-leaves as do his followers (vv. 81; 106; 177; 253; 313; 324; 341-342; 363; 376; 384; 531-532; 702-703; 1054-1055). He is smiling (v. 439). The colour of his facial skin is reddish (vv. 236 and especially 438), showing his passionate temperament and his wine-drinking habit. He wears a nebris (vv. 136-137) and holds a thyrsus (vv. 495-496). The gaze of the god is a central feature of the Euripidean Dionysus: he is «wine-flushed, Love's witching graces in his eyes» (v. 236) and characterized by «Bacchic frenzy» and «ecstasy» (vv. 298-299).⁴⁴ The god is moreover represented as drinking wine often (vv. 279-285; 378-385; 421-423; 651; 707; 771-774), associated thus with vases, like the cantharus, devoted to this function. He is depicted, in a long passage of the tragedy, in the grove of Cithaeron, in the context of the Dionysian revels celebrated by the Maenads on the mountain (vv. 1043-1052).

Another salient feature of the Euripidean Dionysus is his association with the bull. It characterizes the god already in Aeschylus.⁴⁵ Euripides defines him «a god bull-horned» (v. 100), thus giving emphasis to his wild and animalist nature and this is in keeping with the habit of addressing this god at Argos and Elis as «Dionysus bull».⁴⁶

The image given by Euripides to Dionysus, with emphasis on the expression of a sentiment felt in his soul and on his gaze, and related iconographic features are destined to condition his later imagery and particularly the re-definition put forward by Praxiteles.

III. Dionysi by Praxiteles.

From his early days Praxiteles' work is closely linked with performances in the theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus.

His Pouring Satyr, a work of his youth, was set up in the Street of the Tripods and was the central statue in a choregic naiskos, according to Pausanias, 1, 20, 1-2 (see also Athenaeus, 13, 591 b). It is possible that his group of Methe (*Ebrietas*) with the Periboetos (Very famous) Satyr, included by Pliny, 36, 69 among his bronze works, also belonged to a choregic monument. The Satyr defined «Very famous» would be thus identified with the most frequent Satyr in the copyist production, i. e. the Resting Satyr, whose Praxitelean style has been stressed by generations of scholars.⁴⁷ The iconography of Dionysus who receives his drinking cup from one of his servants was defined and elucidated by our sculptor throughout his long activity.

He portrayed the figure of the servant, leaving the completion of this figure with the representation of Dionysus to the imagination of the viewer, with his Pouring Satyr. The association of this iconography to the representation of the master served by this figure is made apparent in late/classical reliefs, in which the Pouring Satyr is represented from the back, having in front his master, usually reclining, and ready to drink.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Transl. Loeb.

⁴⁵ See Gregoire, Meunier and Irigoien (n. 43), 26-28.

⁴⁶ See V. Mitsopoulos-Leon, «Zur Verehrung der Dionysos in Elis», *AM* (99, 1984), 275-290, and Gregoire, Meunier and Irigoien (n. 43), 30-32.

⁴⁷ See P. Gercke, *Satyrn des Praxiteles* (Hamburg 1968); Todisco (n. 21), 65-79 and 249-250, nos. 101-102, and 283-284, nos. 135-136; and my article «Praxiteles» (n. 28), 456-462.

⁴⁸ See J. -M. Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché* (Rome 1982), 325-326; A. Ajootian, «Praxiteles», *Yale Classical Studies* (30, 1996), 110-113 (this latter article should be used with great care).

A. The base of a choregic monument, Athens, National Museum, no. 1463.

As Praxiteles was one of the 300 or so wealthy Athenians who were charged with *leitourgiai*,⁴⁹ he also commissioned at least one choregic monument. We know from an inscription written on the base of a choregic monument found in the theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus (*IG*, II², 3089), that Praxiteles set up a monument supporting two tripods (and thus related to two choregic victories), and bearing the representation of the god Dionysus, as Bromius, and of Nike. As the victories were two, as well as the tripods, it is probable that two Nikai were represented. The monument can therefore be recognized in the base from the Street of the Tripods, now Athens, National Museum, no. 1463⁵⁰ (fig. 5, a, b and c), of which a Roman copy is preserved,⁵¹ which demonstrates the success of the original, as well as a high appreciation of its master.

The figures are represented, one on each of the three sides of the base. Dionysus is represented according to the Sardanapallus type, created probably by the father of Praxiteles, in a three-quarter position, holding a thyrsus in his left hand and stretching out a cantharus in his right. On the other two sides, two Nikai are carved. One is holding an oinochoe and is about to pour wine into the cantharus of the god, to whom she turns, while the other holds a phiale. The iconography of both Nikai is derived from figures of girls of the Parthenon frieze.⁵²

Rhythm, style, the quiet attitude of the figures, details of drapery and especially the folds falling down from the right arm of the three figures can be compared individually with the Eirene holding Plutus, the Sardanapallus, the Mantinean Muses, the Arretium type of Athena, the Uffizi type of Kore, i. e. Cephisodotan formal presentation and its continuity in the Praxitelean workshop. However, the consistence of the bodies under the draperies is also apparent and reveals a new approach.

For these reasons, I think that this monument should be placed in the mature youth of Praxiteles, when he was still very indebted to the Cephisodotan heritage, yet having initiated a more personal approach to art (around the 360s').

As there is a considerable gap between the conception of the three figures, which reveals a very talented sculptor, and their actual manufacture, which is not so good, I think that this relief was conceived by Praxiteles, but physically produced by assistants in his workshop.

B. The Sambon/Grimani type of Dionysus.

The neo-sophist Callistratus, in his ekphrastic book *De statuīs*, described, in ekphrasis no. 8, a bronze Dionysus by Praxiteles. This long description is reported here in the Loeb translation:

«1. Daedalus, if one is to place credence in the Cretan marvel, had the power to construct statues endowed with motion and to compel gold to feel human sensations, but in truth the hands of Praxiteles wrought works of art that were altogether alive.

⁴⁹ See n. 34.

⁵⁰ See n. 24.

⁵¹ See E. Berger, «Dreiseitiges Relief mit *Dionysos* und *Niken*», *AK* (26, 1983), 114-116 and P. Zancher (ed.), *Dionysos*, (München 1997), 69-70.

⁵² See E. Berger and M. Gisler-Huwiler (ed.), *Der Parthenon in Basel. Documentation zum Fries* (Mainz am Rhein 1996), pls. 130 and 139 (= east side of the frieze, slabs 3, fig. 11, and 7, fig. 60).

2. There was a grove, and in it stood Dionysus in the form of a young man, so delicate that the bronze was transformed into flesh, with a body so supple and relaxed that it seemed to consist of some different material instead of bronze: for though it was really bronze, it nevertheless blushed, and though it had no part in life, it sought to show the appearance of life and would yield to the very finger-tip if you touched it, for though it was really compact bronze, it was so softened into flesh by art that it shrank from the contact of the hand.

3. It had the bloom of youth, it was full of daintiness, it melted with desire, as indeed Euripides represented him when he fashioned his image in the «Bacchae». A wreath of ivy encircled the head - since the bronze was in truth ivy, bent as it was into sprays and holding up the curly locks which fell in profusion from his forehead. And it was full of laughter, nay, it wholly passed the bounds of wonder in that the material gave out evidence of joy and the bronze feigned to represent the emotions.

4. A fawn-skin clothed the statue, not such as Dionysus was accustomed to wear, but the bronze was transformed to imitate the pelt; and he stood resting his left hand on a thyrsus, and the thyrsus deceived the beholder's vision; for while it was wrought of bronze it seemed to glisten with the greenness of young growth, as though it were actually transformed into the plant itself.

5. The eye was gleaming with fire, in appearance the eye of a man in a frenzy; for the bronze exhibited the Bacchic madness and seemed to be divinely inspired, just as, I think, Praxiteles had the power to infuse into the statue also the Bacchic ecstasy».

Callistratus wrote his «Descriptions» probably in Athens during the so-called Pagan Renaissance, around 340-370 AD. He was probably a rhetor and wrote his book for his Athenian pupils,⁵³ probably not only in order to give them examples of good rhetorical style, but also to defend pagan images from the Christian opinion that they had only material value, stressing on the contrary that they dwelt within the souls of gods represented through their magical epiphany.⁵⁴

As Callistratus seems not to specify the location of any statue which was set up in Athens (see n. 53), Praxiteles' Dionysus probably stood there. The likelihood that the other two Praxitelean statues described by Callistratus in his *ekphraseis* (nos 3 and 11) were also set up, the first probably, the second certainly, in the city, strengthens that possibility.

The theatrical theme illustrated by Praxiteles with this statue according to Callistratus (see par. 3), i.e. Dionysus in Euripides «Bacchae», leads to the possible conclusion that the *alsos* (grove) in which this Dionysus, according to Callistratus (see par. 2), was standing was the grove of the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus.

Praxiteles was very well used to the market for monuments relating to the theatrical life of this sanctuary (see the beginning of section III) and this bronze statue described by Callistratus could have been a choregic or votive dedication relating to a repeat performance of that Euripidean tragedy.⁵⁵ The close relationship of Praxiteles to Euripidean dramatic art can be argued also by his statue of Eros as Archer, which is a

⁵³ See my book *Prassitele* (2, Rome 1990), 97-100 and 190-192, n. 1527.

⁵⁴ See my article «Ideas of Ancient Greek Art in Christian Thought from Marcus Aurelius until Theodosius», *RdA* (20, 1996), 54-58.

⁵⁵ See my book *Prassitele* (2, n. 53), 106-118.

translation of the Euripidean representation of the god of Love as an adolescent archer into statuary terms.⁵⁶

The Callistratan Dionysus was also adolescent, his surfaces were reddish and soft, probably thanks to an alloy of copper and lead, according to an information given by Pliny, 34, 98. The god was «gleaming with fire», which leads to the conclusion that the expression of feelings was emphasized in this creation, especially perhaps through his face and eyes. This Dionysus is thus in keeping with the internalized conceptions of statuary figures typical of Praxiteles *agalmatopoiia*. Callistratus' affirmation that this image of Dionysus corresponded to the one represented by Euripides in his «Bacchae» is confirmed by an analytical comparison between the relevant passages of the tragic poet and of the neosophist rhetor (see n. 55): the Praxitelean statue was the statuary translation of the Euripidean Dionysus also in details, such as the hair arranged in locks, the ivy-leaf wreath, the hair drooping on the forehead, the smiling mouth, the nebris around the torso, the thyrsus, on which the left arm of the god is resting, the flushed gaze, expressing the frenzied feeling of the god.

The expression of internalized feelings, S-shaped configuration of figures associated to supports (in this case, the thyrsus), tender and soft renderings are well-known features of Praxitelean art. Another repeated feature of Praxitelean statues is the adoption of vegetal elements as vertical supports on which one arm of the figure is resting, as in the cases of the Resting Satyr, of the Apollo Sauroctonus, of the Hermes of Olympia and of this Dionysus with thyrsus. This support thus alludes to the supposed ambience of the statue, i.e. the grove on remote Mt. Cithaeron where Euripides displayed Dionysus in all his compelling psychological power.

The Callistratan bronze Dionysus by Praxiteles may be the same bronze Dionysus by this sculptor mentioned by Pliny, 34, 69, as both these writers seem to depend on the art criticism of the Hellenistic age and likely derive most their information from Xenocrates' list of Praxitelean bronze works, as can be argued from their adoption of patterns of art criticism usually considered «Xenocratean» (see n. 55).

The Praxitelean bronze Dionysus described by Callistratus has been recognized as the original statue of the Sambon/Grimani type of Dionysus.⁵⁷ The Sambon bronze statuette (fig. 6), probably an early copy still of middle hellenistic times, is said to come from the Acropolis of Athens. The configuration of the god is entirely in keeping with the Dionysus described by Callistratus. The body is S-shaped: its incurving is similar to that of the Farnese-Steinhäuser Eros and of the Pouring Satyr. Its ponderation is similar to that of Cephisodotus' Eirene and of works of the youth of Praxiteles as the Pouring Satyr, the Farnese-Steinhäuser Eros, the Arles Aphrodite, the Centocelle Eros, the Dionysus and the Nike with oinochoe of the base of tripods analysed above, the Dresden Artemis and of the Pourtales Pseliumene: in all these statues in fact, the right knee is bent forward and

⁵⁶ See my book *Prassitele* (2, n. 53), 100-106.

⁵⁷ See L. A. Milani, «Dionysos di Prassitele», *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classiche* (3, 1890), 751-790; C. Anti, *Il Regio Museo Archeologico nel Palazzo Reale di Venezia* (Rome 1930), 58-59, no. 27; D. Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini* (Rome 1939), 187, no. 107; G. Traversari, *Sculture del V-IV secolo a. C. del Museo Archeologico di Venezia* (Venice 1973), 88, no. 35; E. Pochmarski, *Das Bild des Dionysos in der Rundplastik der klassischen Zeit Griechenlands* (Wien 1974), 101-103; I. Manfrini-Aragno, *Bacchus dans les bronzes hellénistiques et romains. Les artisans et leur répertoire* (Lausanne 1987), 58-62, figs. 24-43; my book *Prassitele* (2, n. 53), 115-118; Todisco (n. 21), 68-69 and 252, pl. no. 104; and my article *Prassitele* (n. 28), 458.

the tip of toes rests on the ground, while the left leg is straight and the whole sole rests on the ground. The left arm is brought up to hold the thyrsus, while the right one is held down, with the forearm brought forward, to stretch out the cantharus. The position is similar, but reversed, to that of the Pouring Satyr.

The body is naked, except for the nebris, whose folds are similar to those of the drapery of the Arles Aphrodite. The anatomy is similar to that of the Farnese-Steinhäuser Eros, of the Pouring Satyr, and of the Centocelle Eros, with rendering of bones and musculature as well as of flesh and of skin. The emphasis given to the right chest muscles and to its low border line can also be found, if reversed and thus on the left side, in the Farnese-Steinhäuser Eros and in the Pouring Satyr. The rendering of musculature is made more by transitions than by bordering among different parts of the body.

The nebris is rough and its surface rendering is similar to that of the Resting Satyr.

His head, slightly turned to the right and down, is addressed not toward the cantharus, which is placed more sideways, but toward a person whom we must image to be shorter than the god and who is going to pour wine into his vase. The subject is thus represented in the middle of an action, that is notoriously typical of Praxiteles. The proportions of head and of other parts of body are those usually adopted by Praxiteles (see n. 57). The hair is made of spiraliform locks and seems similar, from this peculiar point of view, to that of the Centocelle Eros.

Dionysus is beardless and conceived as an adolescent.

The Sambon Dionysus also bears an ivy-leaf wreath, and its configuration and relation with the locks of the hair, are entirely in keeping with the Callistratan description of this part of the statue. That arrangement of the hair, held up by attributes, is typical also of the Cephisodotan Eirene, of the Pouring Satyr, of the Arles Aphrodite, of the Cnidia, of the Apollo Sauroctonus, of the Pourtales Pseliumene, of the Artemis of Gabii and of the Leconfield Aphrodite. The face is oval and lengthened, as in all the Praxitelean sculptural images of which the heads are known. The lengthened nose and the oblong eyes sockets are also typical Praxitelean creations. The sinuous cheeks, with the rendering of the zygomatic dimples, and the half-open mouth can be compared with analogous features of the Cnidian Aphrodite, of the Resting Satyr, of the Vatican Tauriform Dionysus (on which, see *infra*) and of the «Eubuleus».

The triangular and slightly arched forehead, the protruding chin and the proportions of the different parts of the head are also Praxitelean.

The statue prototype of the Sambon Dionysus was certainly in bronze, as is shown by the «metallic» borders of parts of the body (see especially the inguinal furrows, the upper and lower borders of the nebris, the line dividing neck and head, the eyebrow arches and the nose).

As the Sambon bronze probably comes from the Athenian Acropolis, its bronze archetype must have been set up in the area of the Acropolis, probably in the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus, as it is the most important sanctuary of this god in Athens. The Sambon statuette was thus perhaps a small dedication in this sanctuary, i.e. a miniature copy of a famous statue of the master of that site.

The Grimani Dionysus, a Parian marble statue of I c. AD of which only the upper part is preserved, is derived from the same archetype of the Sambon Dionysus, and it also probably comes from Athens: that statue, being of life size, suggests probably the dimensions of the Praxitelean original, around 1,60 m. high. This copy shows effects of

light and shade. Finally, several variations, large size sculptures and bronze statuettes, are known and show the success of this creation throughout the imperial period (see n. 57).

This statuary creation is noteworthy because it suggests an ambience which is larger than that expressed in visual terms (the god is supposed, according to Euripides, in the groves of Mt. Cithaeron, where Maenads are carousing and one of them is about to pour wine into his cantharus), moreover because the subject is presented in the middle of a dramatic action, finally because it can be attributed to the moment in the youth of Praxiteles, when his work often related to the performances of the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus. Finally, the effects of light and shade which can be appreciated particularly in the Grimani copy, speak of the ripening by this artist of a light and shade conception of the surfaces, which was going to be investigated further in his later works.

It is thus not surprising that this creation was famous in literary tradition as well as influential in later re-creations of the figure of this god.

C. The Tauriform type of Dionysus.

Pausanias, 6, 26, 1-2, in his description of Elis, writes that «Between the marketplace and the Menius is an old theatre and a sanctuary of Dionysus. The image is the work of Praxiteles. Of the gods the Eleans worship Dionysus with the greatest reverence, and they assert that the god attends the festivals which they name Thyia. The place where they hold the festival they name the Thyia is about eight stades from the city. Three pots are brought into the building by the priests and set down empty in the presence of the citizens and of any strangers who may chance to be in the country. The doors of the building are sealed by the priests themselves and by any others who may be so inclined. On the morrow they are allowed to examine the seals, and on going into the building they find the pots filled with wine. I did not myself arrive at the time of the festival, but the most respected Elean citizens, and with them strangers also, swore that what I have said is the truth. The Andrians too assert that every other year at their feast of Dionysus wine flows of its own accord from the sanctuary».⁵⁸

It is possible to argue from Pausanias that the sanctuary of Dionysus at Elis was the most important of this town. The statue of Dionysus by Praxiteles, mentioned by Pausanias as *to agalma*, «the statue», of the god, was thus perhaps the cult statue of that *hieron*. The Eleans decided to charge Praxiteles with this statue probably because the master was already famous for previous statues of Dionysus as well as of creatures of his retinue. It is likely that this statue was made by Praxiteles when he was no longer young, but in his full maturity, and when his fame was not confined to Athens, but wide-spread in the western Peloponnese and when the name of Praxiteles became in all the Greek world a guarantee of excellent quality. The desire of the Eleans to have a statue of Praxiteles can be explained also by the political relations of this city with Athens between 362 and 343.⁵⁹ As Pausanias, in his description of Elis, specifies the material of monuments only when it is not marble or stone⁶⁰ and uses *agalma* usually of marble statues,⁶¹ it is likely that this Praxiteles' *agalma* was a marble one. We know from Plutarch

⁵⁸ Transl. Loeb (with a few changes).

⁵⁹ See D. Rice, *The Greek State of Elis in Hellenistic Times* (Ann Arbor 1983), 1-24.

⁶⁰ See Pausanias, 6, 24, 6; 25, 2 and 4-5; 26, 2.

⁶¹ See my book *Praxiteles* (1, n. 24), 226-227, n. 926.

that the worship of Dionysus at Elis was presided over by 16 priestesses, holy women who were provided the branches and fillets.⁶² Moreover, this writer reports that «the women of the Eleans, when they sing hymns to Dionysus, call upon him to come to them ‘with the foot of a bull’. The hymn runs as follows: ‘Come, o hero Dionysus/ to thy Elean holy/ temple, with the Graces/ to thy temple/ with thy bull’s foot hastening. Thus they chant twice the refrain ‘O worthy bull’» and «address the god as ‘kine-born’ or as ‘bull’ (...) or (...) ‘ox-foot’». ⁶³ Finally, Plutarch reports also that «many of the Greeks make statues (*agalmata*) of Dionysus in the form of a bull, and the women of Elis invoke him, praying that the god may come with the hoof of a bull; and the epithet applied to Dionysus among the Argives is ‘Son of the Bull’», concluding that Dionysus is the god of fruitful nature, thus also of trees.⁶⁴ Bull-horns or, more generically, a bull body, characterize Dionysus according to Sophocles, Stesimbrotus, Euripides, Lucian, Philostratus and Athenaeus. According to the last two writers, figures of the god had been created in keeping with this interpretation.⁶⁵

It is thus possible to conclude that Praxiteles’ statue of Dionysus at Elis must have retained at least some bull features, in particular the feet, mentioned in the Elean hymn reported by Plutarch, and the horns, as this latter feature was the solution adopted in tragic poetry in order to characterize this god as tauriform. In fact, the great Athenian tragedians, and especially the very influential Euripides, may have promoted the adoption of a Dionysus with bull-horns in sanctuaries of this god associated with theatres, as was the one at Elis.

Some coins of Elis minted under Hadrian represent Dionysus (fig. 7) in a posture that is typical of Praxiteles’ oeuvre. Moreover, the fact that other contemporary Elean coins bear miniature representations of statues suggests we also have here the reproduction of a statuary original. Dionysus is represented frontally and has a S-shaped body. The features of the god are rather effeminate. His mantle, fastened at his neck, falls behind his naked body and around his lower limbs in full folds. His left elbow rests on a prop over which also hangs his upper garment. Beside him is on one side a panther, on the other his thyrsus and tympanum. In his left hand is a cap, in his right he lifts aloft a rhyton. He is clearly pouring wine from the rhyton into the cup. The action which had been previously conceived by Praxiteles as carried by two mythical persons and illustrated in some of his previous creations, i.e. the Pouring Satyr, the Sambon/Grimani Dionysus and the scene of Dionysus stretching out his cup to Nike who will pour wine into it, on the base from the Street of the Tripods considered above, is now summarized in the single figure of Dionysus, who is himself pouring wine into his cup.⁶⁶ The representation of Dionysus as a youth, the enlargement of the figure on the sides, the S-shaped rhythm of the figure, the theme of the pouring figure, the pattern of the figure resting on a vertical side support and the use of the mantle to create a stage-like backcloth would

⁶² See Plutarch, *Mulierum virtutes*, 15, 251 e.

⁶³ See Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 36, 299 a-b (Loeb translation): see bibliography in n. 46.

⁶⁴ See Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 35, 364 e - 365 a (Loeb translation).

⁶⁵ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 414 and 440-441 and here *supra*, n. 46.

⁶⁶ See R. Weil, «Der Dionysos des Praxiteles in Elis», *ZeitschrNum* (13, 1885), 384-388; Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner and Oikonomides (n. 37), 73-74; L. Lacroix, *Les représentations des statues sur les monnaies grecques* (Liège 1949), 305-306, and my book *Praxiteles* (1, n. 24), 162-163.

suggest the name of Praxiteles even without Pausanias noting that he was the sculptor of the Dionysus at Elis.

The wrapping of Dionysus' feet in the mantle can be explained perhaps with the religious need to cover the bull's feet of the god. In fact, as the god was going to the temple with bull's-feet, a clear symbol of strength in movement, as we know through the Elean hymn reported by Plutarch, the hiding of the feet of his cultic statue must have given the Eleans the guarantee that the god would never leave his temple.⁶⁷

Dionysus was thus surprised by the spectator in his remote mythical world, represented through the panther, the tympanum and the thyrsus, while he was attending to a normal action, not caring of human witnesses, according to a theatrical conception of the statuary creation that is typically Praxitelean.⁶⁸

The use of the drapery of the god as a backcloth would have stressed of course such a connotation of this Dionysus.

The head of the god is represented in profile, rather poorly preserved, together with the whole figure, on the two surviving Elean coins and one horn seems to me to appear on its top. The absence of the second horn is explained by the profile representation of the head. The hair seems rather short. The face seems young and beardless. It should be stressed that profile heads in coins are, when they derive from a carved figure, usually conventional representations of heads which were in fact in a three-quarter position.⁶⁹ It is thus possible that the heads of the Vatican/Albani type of Tauriform Dionysus are the copyist tradition derived from this masterpiece⁷⁰ (fig. 8). If copies had been taken, during Roman Imperial times, from statues set up at Olympia,⁷¹ near Elis, copying an important statue standing in the latter city must also have been possible. The fact that the surviving copies of this type were discovered in the surroundings of Rome does not contradict this possibility, as in many cases copyist workshops based in Athens or elsewhere in Greece and deriving their works from prototypes remaining in Greece, were working often for patrons based in or near Rome: see, e.g., the case of the Erechtheum «Caryatids», staying of course in Athens, but whose Roman Imperial copies have been found especially in the area of Rome.⁷²

⁶⁷ Similar attempts to prevent the god/goddess from escaping his/her sanctuary are: 1) the case of the Nike on the *pyrgos* of the Acropolis of Athens, who, having flown to her sanctuary on that site, had been deprived of her wings, so that she could not fly away (Pausanias, 1, 2, 4; 3, 15, 7; and 5, 26, 6); 2) the case of the Enialius of Sparta, where the cultic statue of this god of victory had been chained, so that the god, after having come to Sparta, could no longer escape (Pausanias, 3, 15, 7); 3) the statue of Dionysus of Chius, also chained, for the same reason (S. Pindar, *Ol.*, 7, 95). Evidence on other similar cases in J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, 3 (London 1898), 336-338.

⁶⁸ I have tried to outline the development of the theatrical conception of statuary creations in the workshop of Praxiteles in my article «Praxiteles e la tradizione mironiana», *NumAntCl* (18, 1989), 85-117.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., the Cnidian coins with profile representation of Aphrodite's head, which is in fact represented in full-face. The same difference between positions of heads in statues and in coin representations of them characterize, e. g., the Sauroctonus Apollo, the Eirene holding Plutus, the Prado/Palatine/Athens type of Hermes holding Dionysus, etc.

⁷⁰ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 441, no. 158 a-e.

⁷¹ See P. Bol, *Der Antretende Diskobol* (Frankfurt am Main 1996).

⁷² See E. E. Schmidt, *Die Kopien der Erechtheionkoren* (Berlin 1973).

From a stylistical point of view, the type can be included in the Praxitelean production of around 350 BC.⁷³ This head is characterized by its position, turned down slightly, by a young and beardless face and by its bull features, first of all its horns, but also its short, wild and bristly hair, features which seem in keeping with the head of the Elean Dionysus on the coins analyzed above. The covert smile of the face suggests also a bestial sensuality. The shape of head and face and the anatomical features of eyes, eyebrows, forehead, cheeks, nose, mouth, chin and neck recall Praxiteles' Resting Satyr,⁷⁴ even if the rendering of surfaces of the Vatican/Albani Dionysus seems slightly smoother and gentler than those of the Resting Satyr, and thus a little later, in the direction of the «sfumato» rendering typical of Praxitelean creations of the 340s' and 330s', such as the Hermes of Olympia and the Leconfield Aphrodite.

This Praxitelean creation seems thus remarkable, as the master has been able to include the bestial features of the god in a creation suggesting a sense of grace. Moreover, it appears to be one moment of the Praxitelean re-definition of deities as adolescent, graceful and joyous.

D. The Hermes carrying Dionysus at Olympia.

Probably a little after the creation of the Elean Dionysus, in 343 BC, the Arcadians helped the Elean oligarchs to overthrow their democratic government and to install an oligarchic rule. It was perhaps in that occasion that the Eleans dedicated a group of Hermes carrying Dionysus in the temple of Hera at Olympia. The Lacedaemonian pedigree of this mythological theme, stressed above, was of course in keeping with its oligarchical message, as well as its dedication in the most ancient and traditional of the Olympian temples, the Heraeum. The episode of Hermes who helps the babe Dionysus to escape seems thus to constitute a transparent allusion to the help given by the Arcadians, patronized by Hermes, to Elis, patronized by Dionysus. That this group was entrusted to Praxiteles seems also understandable, given the oligarchical orientation of this workshop, the fact that the father of Praxiteles had already created a similar bronze group and the fame that Praxiteles must have enjoyed in Elis after his creation of the Elean Dionysus. The group preserved is probably the original work of art and not a copy⁷⁵ (fig. 9). For the representation of the baby Dionysus, the sculptor has re-used the previous representation by his father Cephisodotus, as well as his representation of the baby Plutus carried by Eirene, and perhaps also the representation of Arcas carried by Hermes which was symbolic of the Arcadian city of Pheneus at the time.⁷⁶

In this group, Hermes is shown resting a moment in a forest, symbolized by the tree-trunk, during his visit to the remote land of Nysa, which is the final destination of Dionysus. The predilection for environments which are far from the centres where the masses live, i.e. the cities, is typical of the oligarchic culture of Greece in classical age. Later representations illustrating probably the same mythical episode evoked by

⁷³ See Rizzo (n. 32), 37-38.

⁷⁴ See A. Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1997), 199-202.

⁷⁵ See n. 42. For the philosophical and mythological background of Praxiteles' group, see N. Stampolidis, «Die Gruppe Athen National Museum Nr. 257 und die Platonischen Silene», *Archaiognosia* (3, 1982), 123-161.

⁷⁶ See n. 41.

Praxiteles suggest that Hermes was holding up a bunch of grapes with his right arm, toward which the baby Dionysus stretches out his arms and upper body, thus revealing his true nature. From a formal point of view, the Dionysus of Olympia is a conservative work, characterized by the rendering as a miniature adult, while Lysippus, probably in the same years, was creating the type of the «putto» as the best way to represent a child.⁷⁷ This formal conservatism would be in keeping with the supposed political message of this group. Another significant feature of this group, if the suggestion outlined above is correct, is the consideration of this god as the symbol of a state, in keeping with the representations mentioned above of Arkas, representing of course Arcadia, as a region or as a political league, and of Plutus, another personification of an abstract concept, showing the growing trend to represent figures of babies as personifications of abstract entities, a trend typical of late classical societies. The embodiment of the god who personifies inebriation in a child results from the fact that the child better represents the life of instincts than a mature and adult man.

The Praxitelean definitions of Dionysus, considered together, flow from the great success of the cult of Dionysus in late/classical societies. Praxiteles, given his strong ties with the theatrical life, considered representations of this god as a ductile figure, defined with play of light-and-shade, with important secondary attributes, with the adoption of elements alluding to the surroundings in which the god is shown, as the most appropriate way to symbolize the hedonistical, fabulous and instinctive message peculiar to this god, felt very deeply in societies where the hetaera was a basic figure and destined to be mirrored in the near future in new comedy.

IV. The remaking of Praxiteles' legacy made by his followers.

The legacy of Praxiteles outlined above had a strong impact on representations of Dionysus created by his followers.

The two sons of Praxiteles, Cephisodotus the Younger and Timarchus, seem to have also worked for patrons of monuments dedicated in sanctuaries of Dionysus.

They carved the sculptural decoration of the altar of Dionysus at Thebes, according to Pausanias, 9, 12, 4, probably at the time of the monumentalization of the city, which followed its reconstruction in 316-315 BC.⁷⁸

Moreover, their statue of Menander, dedicated in the area of the theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens, perhaps soon after the death of the comic poet in 291 BC, when they were probably near the end of their career, shows that the link between patrons of monuments dedicated in this sanctuary and Praxiteles' workshop continued throughout the activity of his sons.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ See P. Moreno (ed.), *Lisippo* (Milan 1995), 111-129; 166-168; 251-255; 380-383 and 388-394. It is possible that the painter Pausias preceded Lysippus in his definition of the «putto» (see P. Moreno, *Pittura greca da Polignoto ad Apelle* (Milan 1987), 136-140) and that this type has been evolved in the Sikyonian school.

⁷⁸ See A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* (1, London 1981), 185-192.

⁷⁹ See K. Fittschen, «Zur Rekonstruktion Griechischer Dichterstatuen. 1. Teil: Die Statue des Menander», *AM* (106, 1991), 243-279; P. Moreno, *Scultura ellenistica* (1, Rome 1994), 173-177; M. G. Picozzi, «Menandro», *EAA* (Suppl. 2, 3, 1995), 595-596.

A. The Woburn Abbey/Castle Howard type of Dionysus, a work of the first generation of followers of Praxiteles.

The Woburn Abbey type of Dionysus is known through no less than ten copies. Six of them, found listed in the catalogues of Pochmarski⁸⁰ and Gasparri,⁸¹ consist of a complete statue in Woburn Abbey, probably from Rome⁸² (fig. 10), a statue at Basel, of unknown provenance and of which most of the legs are missing, and four torsos, in Malaga, of local provenance, from Perinthus, at Messene, from the E side of Asclepieum courtyard, near a theatre-like building, and in Paris, also of unknown provenance. A headless torso related to the same type was discovered in 1993 in the British excavations of the theatre of Sparta,⁸³ while the Castle Howard Dionysus seems to be related to this type, even if he wears a very tight nebris. Another copy has been discovered at Stylida, near Lamia (now in the Archaeological Museum of Lamia) and another unpublished torso of the Woburn type can be found in the Finlay Collection in the British School at Athens.⁸⁴ The latter torso should share the Athenian or Attic provenance which characterizes pieces of that collection. The prevalence of provenances of the surviving examples of this type from the Greek and Aegean world suggests that the original statue stood in Greece. The probable provenance of one of these copies from Athens makes it possible that the original statue was there. Moreover, a possible presence of the original statue at Athens might well explain the range of export of copies to Asia Minor (Perinthus), to Athens itself (Finlay copy), to the Peloponnese (Sparta and Messene copies), to Central Greece (copy at Lamia), to Rome (Woburn Abbey copy) and to Spain (Malaga copy). The exact ancient location of only two of those copies is known: the copy at Sparta was standing in the area of the ancient theatre and the copy of Messene was set up in the E side of the Asclepieum courtyard, near a theatre-like building. These two circumstances suggest that the original statue also stood in a theatrical area and was related perhaps to an episode of theatrical life. As the original statue was perhaps in Athens, the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus is thus a likely candidate for having housed it.

The description of this type will be based here on the best preserved copy and that of highest quality, in Woburn Abbey.

Dionysus is represented as a naked youth standing with his weight on his right leg. His body shows an S-curve. The god rests his left arm on a tree-trunk, upon which he has draped his nebris. A snake and a wine branch envelope the tree-trunk and the god holds in his left hand a bunch of grapes. He was probably holding in his right hand a

⁸⁰ See Pochmarski (n. 57), 94-101.

⁸¹ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 435, no. 120 a-f.

⁸² See E. Angelicoussis, *The Woburn Abbey Collection of Classical Antiquities* (Mainz am Rhein 1992), 50-51, no. 12.

⁸³ See G. B. Waywell and J. J. Wilkes, «Excavations at the Ancient Theatre of Sparta 1992-4», *BSA* (90, 1995), 457, no. 1, pl. 47 b-c.

⁸⁴ On Castle Howard Dionysus, see n. 85. The British School at Athens Dionysus is displayed in the Seminar's room of the Upper House of that Institution. On this collection, see G. B. Waywell, «Some Relief Sculptures in the Museum of the British School at Athens», *BSA* (65, 1970), 271-275. For the copy in the Museum of Lamia see M.F. Papakonstantinou, «Marble Statuette of Dionysus from Stylida», *AAA* (20, 1987), 133-139.

cantharus, as is suggested by the Castle Howard copy and by variations from this prototype.⁸⁵

His head is inclined to the right and slightly downwards. His gaze is lost and dreamy. His hair is crowned with a wreath of ivy-leaves. The hair is wavy and carried to the nape, where it is gathered into a loop, while two spiraliform locks fall onto the shoulders. A fillet passes under his hair on his forehead.

The general configuration of this Dionysus seems very similar to that of the Praxitelean Resting Satyr,⁸⁶ which is conceived according to the same rhythm, but reversed. The hair-style is very close to that of the Apollo Sauroctonus and of the Cnidian Aphrodite. The anatomy seems basically the same as in the Hermes of Olympia, i.e. of the late work of Praxiteles.

The motif of the bunch of grapes held by the god characterizes again both this Dionysus and the Hermes, who was holding this attribute probably in his right hand.

The motif of the garment draped on a tree-trunk where the elbow is resting is also a feature linking the Olympian Hermes and the Woburn Abbey Dionysus.

Moreover, the latter type seems a reversed variation of the Sambon/Grimani type of Dionysus, with its S-shaped configuration now much more marked. The two flanking elements, cantharus and tree-trunk, seem also a variation of the habit of associating Dionysus with a cantharus and a vertical vegetal support, usually a thyrsus, typical of statues dedicated in the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens and particularly of the Praxitelean Dionysus described by Callistratus.

The master of the Woburn Abbey Dionysus must have taken inspiration also from the Apollo Lyceus type, whose original was probably made in the workshop of Euphranor, between 336 and 326 and dedicated in the Lyceum of Athens,⁸⁷ as Stephan Schröder has especially pointed out,⁸⁸ given the similarity of sinuous configurations between the two bodies, of the oval shapes of the two heads as well as of anatomical features. As the Apollo Lyceus was certainly one of the most important creations of his age, having been set up in a place renowned for the activity of Aristotle's School, it is more probable that the master of the Woburn Abbey Dionysus imitated this very popular masterpiece than vice versa. The creation of the original statue of the Woburn Abbey type thus falls after the end of activity of Praxiteles, who seems to have been no longer active after 334 BC⁸⁹ and died probably around 326 BC,⁹⁰ in the Praxitelean current which continued to be strong even after the death of this master. The progression of

⁸⁵ See S. F. Schröder, *Römische Bacchusbilder in der Tradition des Apollo Lykeios* (Rome 1989), 49-60. The Castle Howard copy and the Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, no. 2080), Eleusis and Cyrene (Museum, no. 14, 239) Dionysi, variations of the Woburn Abbey type, hold in fact a cantharus in their right hands.

⁸⁶ See E. Simon, «Silenoi», *LIMC* (8, 1997), 1130, no. 213, with basic previous bibliography.

⁸⁷ Attribution of the Apollo Lyceus to Euphranor: G. Dontas, «Ein verkanntes Meisterwerk im Nationalmuseum von Athen, Der Marmorkopf Gamma 177 und Überlegungen zum Styl Euphranors», *Festschrift Himmelmann* (Mainz am Rhein 1989), 143-150. Political and historical context of this creation: see S. F. Schröder, «Der Apollo Lykeios und die Attische Ephebie des 4. Jhs.», *AM* (101, 1986), 164-184.

⁸⁸ See n. 84.

⁸⁹ The last works of Praxiteles are probably the Aphrodite for Alexandria in Caria and the Leto of Myra, which can be dated to 334 BC (see my book *Praxiteles* (3, Rome 1992), 7-18 and 158-167).

⁹⁰ See n. 34.

sfumato rendering of surfaces, which is emphasized continuously throughout the mature and late activity of Praxiteles and reaches its peak with works of the Praxitelean school of the end of IV century, such as the Aberdeen «Heracles» and the Chian Girl, can be the only good way to fix a chronology of this creation. The sfumato rendering of the Woburn Abbey Dionysus seems similar to that of the sculptural decoration of the altar of Asclepius at Cos, to be attributed to the workshop of the sons of Praxiteles, of the Capitoline type of Aphrodite, which constitutes probably the copyist tradition of Cephisodotus the Younger's Aphrodite⁹¹ and finally of the Larnaka Artemis, which is similar to our Dionysus also for ponderation and rhythm of her body.

The sfumato surfaces of our Dionysus and of these sculptures is so similar as to leave little doubt about the attribution of those works to the same workshop.⁹²

Given the relations of the two sons of Praxiteles with the sanctuaries of Dionysus of Athens and Thebes, it would be surprising if none of the famous types of Dionysus originated from them. The close relationship of our Dionysus with the Apollo Lyceus strengthens of course the possibility that the former was also dedicated at Athens. The Woburn Abbey Dionysus, as I shall show, was destined to be far more popular than the Praxitelean Sambon/Grimani Dionysus, since it was the origin of several variations. The greater success of an early/Hellenistic creation when compared to its late/classical antecedent, can be verified also in other cases: e.g., the Capitoline Aphrodite was copied much more than the Cnidian Aphrodite in late/Hellenistic and Roman times and the Sleeping Eros by Praxiteles was left in the shade in favour of later interpretations of this subject.⁹³ This phenomenon may perhaps be explained by the strong appeal of the so-called «new comedy society» of the age of Menander on the following generations, until late antiquity. With the Woburn Abbey Dionysus, the Sambon/Grimani Praxitelean creation had been up-dated in keeping with the so-called «saponification» of images, conceived now as dreamy epiphanies with vanishing outlines, typical of the Praxitelean current of first generation after the death of the great master.

B. The Richelieu/Prado type, an eclectic Praxitelean-baroque creation.

It is well known that the vogue of representing Alexander the Great with his head up-turned and with frenzied eyes addressed to the sky established a trend of figures with similar attitudes.⁹⁴ The special link relating Alexander's policy and imagery with

⁹¹ On the attribution of the sculptural decoration of the altar of Asclepius at Cos to the sons of Praxiteles, see my book *Praxiteles* (2, n. 53), 181, n. 1402, with bibliography on the previous debate on that argument. On the identification of the Capitoline type of Aphrodite as the copyist tradition of the Aphrodite of the elder son of Praxiteles, see my article «L'Afrodite Capitolina e l'arte di Cefisodoto il Giovane», *NumAntCl* (21, 1992), 131-152, and E. Schmidt, «Venus», *LIMC* (8, 1997), 204-205, nos. 112-117. Pliny, 36, 24 attributes the *Venus in Pollionis Asini monumentis* to Cephisodotus the Younger and Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, 2, 613-614, after having described the area around those *monumenta* as devoted to appointments of lovers (he mentions the monument of the *Appiades*, which was one of those *monumenta*), mentions also that Aphrodite with the following words: *Ipsa Venus pubem, quotiens velamina ponit, / protegitur laeva semireducta manu*, with clear reference to the Capitoline type.

⁹² On the Larnaka Artemis, see L. Kahil, «Artemis», *LIMC* (2, 1984), 654, no. 406.

⁹³ See M. Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen in der Hellenistischen und Römischen Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main 1986).

⁹⁴ See A. Stewart, *Faces of Power. Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (Berkeley 1993).

Dionysus' cults and Dionysiacal attitudes is also well known.⁹⁵ It is thus hardly surprising that a type of Dionysus was created with a similar head. This is the Richelieu/Prado type⁹⁶ (fig. 11 a), as Karl Schefold has pointed out.⁹⁷ The general configuration is not different from that of the Woburn Abbey Dionysus, even if the anatomy seems, in the Richelieu/Prado type, slightly more emphatic. However, the left arm of the god is resting on drapery, draped on a herm with a head of Hermes. The Roman copy of this type which seems the most faithful to a Greek original is in my judgement the Borghese one, at Varese, Villa Pogliaghi (fig. 11 b): in this copy, more than in the others, the drapery recalls that of the Hermes of Olympia, i.e. with late Praxitelean features. The herm seems derived from Alcamenes' Hermes Propylaeus and very similar to the herm on which the Cephisodotan Hermes carrying Dionysus was resting, as we can judge from the copy of that Hermes in Madrid. These observations show that the Richelieu/Prado type was conceived inside the Praxitelean tradition and that renowned works of early masters of the Praxitelean workshop were taken into consideration. Moreover, it is possible that the original statue of this type, just as the Cephisodotan Hermes carrying Dionysus, stood in an agora. The herm with the head of Hermes of the Richelieu/Prado type may also have alluded to the link relating Hermes to Dionysus constituted by the episode mentioned above of Hermes carrying the baby Dionysus to a safe place. This creation would thus refer to an oligarchic patron asking the sculptor to refer in some way to this typically Spartan iconography, as well as to a workshop known for having previously made representations of the episode.

However, the head speaks in favour of times later than those of Praxiteles. The best copy seems to be that in Chatsworth House. The head of the god is held slightly up and his eyes look up to the sky. The sentiment expressed through the gaze of the god is also different from that of the late/classical prototypes of that creation; the Dionysiac inebriated obsession is no longer represented moderately and gently, but at its peak and brought to an extreme. This feature seems a *contaminatio* with the tradition of the Maenad of Scopas,⁹⁸ to be put thus in the eclectic current characterized by features taken from the Praxitelean and the Scopadic styles and typical of Attic culture between the end of IV c. BC and the beginning of III BC,⁹⁹ and can be related to the new categorical imperative established by Alexander, based on the prevalence of impetuosity and vehement attitudes upon classical moderation. For this reason, I should put the Richelieu/Prado Dionysus somewhere midway between the portaiture of Alexander the Great and the Pergamene pathetic figures raising their eyes to the sky,¹⁰⁰ in the Praxitelean current when it was already eclectic and contaminated by other styles. *Rebus sic stantibus*, I am equally against both the attribution of this creation to Praxiteles, suggested notably by Rizzo¹⁰¹ and its

⁹⁵ See, e.g., A. Cohen, *The Alexander Mosaic. Stories of Victory and Defeat* (Cambridge 1997), 143-161.

⁹⁶ See Pochmarski (n. 57), 104-113 and Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 434-436 and 445, nos. 118, 122 and 201, with lists of copies and previous bibliography; Zanker (n. 23), 11-16.

⁹⁷ See K. Schefold, «Der Basler Dionysos», *ÖstJahr* (39, 1952), 97.

⁹⁸ On the Maenad of Scopas, see I. Krauskopf, E. Simon and B. Simon, «Mainades», *LIMC* (8, 1997), 784, no. 20.

⁹⁹ On this period of Attic sculpture, see A. Stewart, *Attika* (London 1979), 3-64 and 101-114, and Moreno (n. 79), 71-207.

¹⁰⁰ See Moreno (n. 79), 227-478.

¹⁰¹ See Rizzo (n. 32), 76-78.

consideration as neoclassical, suggested by Schefold¹⁰²: in fact, no formal features of this type seem later than the beginning of III c. BC and moreover Dionysus is represented according to this iconography already in a gem of III c. BC.¹⁰³

C. The Jacobsen type, a baroque re-creation.

Another variation of the Woburn Abbey type is constituted by the Jacobsen type, which is known through eight copies¹⁰⁴ (fig. 12). Ponderation, S-shaped configuration of the body, anatomy and the solution of the left forearm resting on a tree-trunk are basically the same of the Woburn Abbey type: however, a himation wrapped round the legs of the god, is brought up on his left arm and falls down on the tree-trunk, which is nearly completely hidden by the drapery. The general configuration of the himation and its presentation are very similar to that of the drapery wrapped round the Townley type of Aphrodite, which constitutes very probably the copyist tradition of the Praxitelean Aphrodite-Phryne at Delphi.¹⁰⁵ This *contaminatio* of a Praxitelean iconography of Dionysus with a scheme derived from another famous creation of the same master would most likely have been made in the Praxitelean tradition. However, as Aphrodite-Phryne of Delphi is one of the last works made by Praxiteles, this adoption of her drapery for another creation occurred thus probably after the end of Praxiteles' own career. The heads belonging to these copies, when they survive, differ greatly: the Jacobsen statue has a head in a three-quarter position and inclined downwards, while the copy in Athens has its head in a frontal position and the head of the Eleusis copy has a position in between the two mentioned. Even if the original position of the head cannot be surely ascertained, the three-quarter and inclined position seems more in keeping with the general Praxitelean style of this creation. In any case, the features of the face do not seem Praxitelean, as the forehead is squarish and the eyes are larger than in the statues of Praxiteles. Moreover, the gaze is addressed to a precise focus (probably, the cantharus held by the god in his right hand) and is not lost in the distance, as usual in late-Praxitelean creations. The tree-trunk is not set alongside the feet of the statue, as in the case of vertical supports put beside the Sauroctonus Apollo, the Cnidian Aphrodite, the Resting Satyr, the Hermes of Olympia, the Woburn Abbey Dionysus and also the Richelieu/Prado Dionysus, but is placed to the rear, a solution taken probably from the Apollo Lyceus, indeed one of the most influential and paradigmatic «creations» set up in Athens, which would put this Dionysus after the early 320s'. Moreover, the squarish forehead, the large eyes and the gaze looking hard at a particular object, can be compared with analogous solutions typical of Pergamene art of the late III c. BC. The wreath of ivy-leaves adorning the hair of this Dionysus is also remarkable for its vigorous plasticism and full relief, stylistic features which are notoriously typical of Asia Minor «baroque» sculpture.

¹⁰² See n. 97.

¹⁰³ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 434, no. 118.

¹⁰⁴ See Pochmarski (n. 57), 73-78; Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 434, no. 117, and 436, no. 126, and Todisco (n. 21), 77 and 269-270, nos. 131-132, with previous bibliography.

¹⁰⁵ See my article «The Monument of Phryne at Delphi», *NumAntCl* (26, 1997) 123-150.

The anatomy of this Dionysus is also more emphatic than that of the Woburn Abbey and Richelieu/Prado Dionysi, with a stronger rendering of the musculature.¹⁰⁶ The conclusion from these observations is that in my judgment the Jacobsen Dionysus is probably a baroque re-interpretation of a Praxitelean creation, of the late III c. BC. As most of the copies seem to come from the Greek world, the original probably stood in a Greek centre. The observation that two out of eight copies come from Attica, both from Eleusis, may suggest Eleusis or Athens as the original location.¹⁰⁷ I am against both the thesis that this creation is Praxitelean, derived from the Dionysus at Elis,¹⁰⁸ which is contradicted by the representation of this statue on Elean coins, and the idea that this creation is «an academic Roman work, in which 4th cent. elements, especially of the Praxitelean school, blend with Hellenistic motives»,¹⁰⁹ because, on the contrary, no features which can be dated after the middle Hellenism appear in this creation, which seems conceived in fact before the re-establishment of a taste for bi-dimensionally conceived sculptures, typical of the neo-Attic school;¹¹⁰ moreover, this type, although reversed, is already represented on a gem of the late III c. BC.¹¹¹

V. Copyist variations.

A. Variations of the Woburn Abbey type.

With the establishment of neo-Attic taste, the Praxitelean ideal of beauty and sculptures which were the most emblematic of it, characterized by surfaces defined by light and shade games, soft renderings, sfumato and S-shaped configurations, became very popular. It is hardly surprising that the Woburn Abbey type of Dionysus was so often copied and, even more often, a source of inspiration for variations. The so-called new comedy society of Athens in the age of Menander, and the poetry of Menander itself, are recalled with a growing nostalgia and the Dionysus most emblematic of Menander's Athenian theatrical life was probably that famous piece.

1. The Thermae type.

The Thermae type¹¹² (fig. 13) shows a re-interpretation of the Woburn Abbey type, with the substitution of the tree-trunk by a pillar on which the god has draped his nebris, a solution taken probably from the Richelieu/Prado type, and with his right hand brought to his head, a solution derived obviously from the famous Apollo Lyceus; the

¹⁰⁶ For comparisons with works of art of middle/Hellenistic baroque sculpture, see Moreno (n. 79), 209-319; 415-499; and 561-603.

¹⁰⁷ See Pochmarski (n. 104).

¹⁰⁸ See Todisco (n. 104).

¹⁰⁹ See F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* (Copenhagen 1951), 122, no. 155.

¹¹⁰ See Moreno (n. 79), 533-763.

¹¹¹ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 434, no. 117.

¹¹² See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 436, no. 125; C. Augé and P. Linant de Bellefonds, «Dionysos (in periphèria orientali)», *LIMC* (3, 1986), 516-522, nos. 12-13; 24-27; 37; 85; 92 and 142; Gasparri (n. 13), 550, no. 119; 554, no. 186; 558, no. 242; S. Boucher, «Dionysos/Bacchus (in periphèria occidentali)», *LIMC* (4, 1988), 909, no. 7; 911, no. 49; 917-918, nos. 184 and 188; E. Pochmarski, *Dionysische Gruppen* (Wien 1990), 185-252 and 333-385.

position is unstable, determined by the crossing of the feet and by the position of his upper part forward and his hips backward, and there is an inebriated expression on his face. The two latter features effect the visual result of a Rococo *paignion*. I would thus explain this variation as an adaptation of that type to the Rococo taste. The conception of this creation still in a three-dimensional space and the fact that this type is used, associated with a Satyr or another figure to one side, from the end of the II c. BC¹¹³ suggest a date towards that period. The fact that the earliest example and most of the echoes of this variation come from Egypt¹¹⁴ suggests that the original was a successful statue of Dionysus in this region. This conclusion would be in keeping with the known prevalence of Rococo taste in Ptolemaic Egypt.

2. The Cyrene type.

The writer of the treatise attributed to Cicero *De ratione dicendi ad C. Herennium*, written between 86 and 83 BC,¹¹⁵ refers to the *statuas facere (...) ut (...) caput ostenderet Myronium, brachia Praxitelea, pectus Polykletium* (4, 9), reporting thus a common belief of late-republican eclectic culture.¹¹⁶ The Woburn Abbey Dionysus was thus adapted to this new taste in the Cyrene type Dionysus¹¹⁷ (fig. 14). The arms and the tree-trunk keep their Praxitelean configuration, but the torso loses his S-shape and becomes a Polyclitan one, while the head seems an academic re-interpretation of Myronian heads, as are copies of the heads of the Zeus from Samus,¹¹⁸ of the Athenian Erechtheus¹¹⁹ and especially of the Perseus of the Master of Eleutheræ.¹²⁰ Myrons' Amelung Athlete also shows a similar type of head, except for the hair, which is in the last case the hair typical of athletes, composed not of wavy locks, but of short curls.¹²¹

I think then that the Cyrene type of Dionysus is an adaptation of the Woburn Abbey type of Dionysus to the eclectic taste and precisely to the collage of features of different famous masters reported in the treatise *ad C. Herennium*.

3. The Borghese/Colonna type.

The trend of rhythmically open configurations leads to the establishment of a variation of the Woburn Abbey type, with the head of the god brought up and slightly

¹¹³ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 450, nos. 277-280, and Pochmarski (n. 112).

¹¹⁴ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 450, no. 277.

¹¹⁵ See G. Achard, *Rhétorique à Herennius* (Paris 1989), VI-XIII. I think that the attribution of this treatise to Cicero, reported by several late/antique and middle/age sources, is convincing.

¹¹⁶ This passage is reported here according to the edition of Achard (n. 115). On this passage as evidence of eclectic mentality, see F. Preissshofen and P. Zanker, «Reflex einer eklektischen Kunstanschauung beim Auctor ad Herennium», *DdA* (4, 1970), 100-119. See also N. Kaiser, «Schriftquellen zu Polyklet», *Polyklet* (Frankfurt am Main 1990), 48-78.

¹¹⁷ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 435, no. 119.

¹¹⁸ See E. Berger, «Zum Samischen Zeus des Myron in Rom», *RM* (76, 1969), pls. 30, no. 1; 34, no. 1; and 35, no. 4; see also M. Tiverios, «Zeus», *LIMC* (8, 1997), 330-331, no. 127.

¹¹⁹ See J. Dörig, «Myrons Erechtheus», *APL* (6, 1967), pls. 9-12; see also U. Kron, «Erechtheus», *LIMC* (4, 1988), 940, no. 69.

¹²⁰ See A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der Griechischen Plastik* (Berlin 1893), 382-389; the re-consideration of this type by L. J. Roccas, «Perseus», *LIMC* (7, 1994), 334-335, nos. 26 and 45, and 346, should be used with great care.

¹²¹ See F. Rausa, *L'immagine del vincitore* (Treviso 1994), 103-104 and 178-180, with pl. 5.

turned to his left side: this is the Borghese/Colonna type, created probably in a Roman neo-Attic workshop and diffused at Rome (copies in the collections Borghese and Colonna), Cyrene and Pergamum (now in Istanbul)¹²² (fig. 15). Three copies out of the four known (Borghese, Colonna and Pergamum) seem to be dated to the II c. AD, the one from Cyrene seems rather of Severan period. This type could have been created at any time from the I c. BC to the Hadrianic age.

4. The Horti Lamiani/Holkham Hall type.

With the Horti Lamiani type, the configuration is reversed, the tree-trunk is placed near the right leg of the god and the left leg is set slightly backward: these changes were adopted probably in order to give the figure a position in the left wing of an architectural space. This type was probably created in a Roman workshop, given the Roman provenances of four out of the five copies which can be related to it, one from the *Horti Lamiani* at Rome, now in the Capitoline Museum, another at Holkham Hall, a third statue in the Louvre and a fourth copy in the Vatican Museums, Museo Gregoriano Profano (the only copy not from Rome is a torso, unpublished, in the Archaeological Museum of Seleucia, now Selifke, in Cilicia)¹²³ (fig. 16). This variation could have been created at any time before the Hadrianic period, in the context of the neo-Attic current of Roman sculpture.

5. The Copenhagen/Valentini type.

In a world, as is the Roman Classicistic one, characterized by the admiration of works of art because of the sense of life suggested by them,¹²⁴ the Woburn Abbey Dionysus was also adapted to this need and the so-called Copenhagen/Valentini Dionysus was created: the god is no longer standing, but walking, with his left leg set backward, in order to suggest an impression of movement. As the most important copies came from Rome and from nearby¹²⁵ (fig. 17), this type should be thought to have been created in a Roman workshop. As the copies seem to be dated to middle-imperial times, this type would have been also created somewhere between the I c. BC and the early II AD.

B. A variation of the Jacobsen type: the Dijon/Cyrene type.

The Jacobsen type also has variants, with the Dijon/Cyrene type¹²⁶ (fig. 18). The upper folds of the drapery are disposed along a diagonal line which rises from left to right, and not vice versa. The tree-trunk is substituted by a herm, which is not involved in the drapery. It is possible that the original statue of this type was created for an agora, which would explain the adoption of the herm, or that an allusion to the link between

¹²² See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 435, no. 121 a-d, and F. Carinci, «Statua di Dioniso adolescente, con pantera ai piedi», *Catalogo della Galleria Colonna in Roma. Sculture* (Rome 1990), 171-173.

¹²³ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 436, no. 123. The unpublished Dionysus pertinent to this type can be found in Cilicia, Archaeological Museum of Seleucia, now Selifke. Dr. Aise Çalik (University of London, King's College, Department of Classics) is going to publish that statue.

¹²⁴ See G. Schwarz, *Die griechische Kunst des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Spiegel der Anthologia Graeca* (Wien 1971).

¹²⁵ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 436, no. 124; E. Fileri, «Statuetta di Dioniso (inv. n. 78279)», *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture* (I/12, 2, Rome 1995), 178-180, no. 38.

¹²⁶ See Gasparri and Veneri (n. 3), 436, no. 127.

Dionysus and Hermes was needed or that the influence of the Richelieu/Prado type of Dionysus, characterized by the herm as a support, determined this *contaminatio*. The right arm was raised and the hand probably brought to the head, which is missing in both the known copies, a pose probably the result of the influence of the popular Apollo Lyceus.¹²⁷

The great success enjoyed by the Woburn Abbey Dionysus and its variations in late-Hellenistic and Roman times¹²⁸ shows that the Praxitelean re-definition of this god was accepted and considered the obvious representation of him for all the rest of classical antiquity. This conclusion is similar to that one which can be deduced from Praxitelean statues of Aphrodite, Eros, Artemis, Apollo, etc. and constitutes the figurative equivalent of the *admiratio* towards Praxitelean gods and goddesses expressed very often in Greek Hellenistic and Roman texts.

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¹²⁷ See Schröder (n. 85).

¹²⁸ Some late-classical sculptural types of Dionysus, or indebted to late-classical imagery of this god, have not been considered here, because they do not enter strictly the line of development of the sculptural imagery of this god outlined above. These types are: 1) the Ephesus/Boboli/Mus. Greg. Prof./Sparta type (see Pochmarski (n. 57), 84-89), which seems still in keeping with the Polyclitan tradition, but already with a moderate S-shaped configuration, perhaps to be compared, from a stylistical point of view, with the Munich Oilpouurer, which is probably the copyist tradition of the Youth of Strongylion (see my support of this identification in *BdA* (76, 1992), 97-101) and thus to be dated to the early IV c. BC.; 2) the Rome (Mus. Nat. Rom.)/Florence/Madrid type (see Pochmarski (n. 57), 89-94), which shows the adaptation of the Polyclitan chiasmus to a more sinuous configuration, to be attributed probably to Euphranor (see Todisco (n. 21), 93 and 344, no. 196) and in any case revealing the prevalence of the rhythmical problem rather than of the internal feeling expressed and thus made in an Attic workshop which is different from the Praxitelean one; 3) the Corsini/Copenhagen/Istanbul/St Petersburg type (see Pochmarski (n. 57), 120-122) is a boyish Dionysus, not an adolescent one, to be dated no earlier than Lysippus and to be attributed, in my judgment, to the early-Hellenistic baroque current influenced by Lysippus; 4) the Raleigh/Cyrene/Rome/Brüssel/Argos type (see Pochmarski (n. 57), 123-126) seems again a post-Polyclitean creation of the world of the Munich Oilpouurer; 5) the Paris/Munich/Cyrene type (see Pochmarski (n. 57), 127-130), 6) the Paris/Rome/Aix en Provance/Sparta/Argos/Valencia type (see Pochmarski (n. 57), 130-135) and 7) the Naples/Rome/Chania/Berlin/Providence type (see Pochmarski (n. 57), 135-139) seem adaptations of the successful configuration of the Apollo Lyceus to the iconography of Dionysus, conceived in the copyist tradition of Roman Imperial times (see Schröder (n. 85)); finally 8) the Doria Palace/Vatican/Paris/Cairo/St. Petersburg type (see Pochmarski (n. 57), 139-143) consists of classicistic adaptations of the Pouring Satyr's pattern to the iconography of Dionysus.

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Antonio Corso

12, Theseos

Athens - GR 166 72



1



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5a



5b



5c



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11a



11b



12



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15



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18

**HELLENISTIC LASAIA (CRETE):
A DEPENDENT POLIS OF GORTYN.
NEW EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE FROM
THE ASKLEPIEION NEAR LASAIA**

The political geography of Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Crete is full of unsolved problems. The endemic wars constantly changed the picture, leading sometimes to the total destruction of a polis (e.g., Dreros, Praisos, and Phaistos in the 2nd century B.C.), often to a new arrangement of its frontier, and in several cases to a change of its status. In addition to the constant wars, interstate agreements —treaties of *sympoliteia* in particular— occasionally contributed to the creation of new political entities.¹ Literary sources and inscriptions provide us with direct information on these developments, but oftentimes we are left with equivocal pieces of evidence which invite us to speculate, until a new find contributes to a better understanding of the situation or simply adds new questions to the old ones.

The status of Lasaia, an important harbor on the south coast of Crete between the harbors of Matalon to the west and Lebena to the east, has puzzled modern scholars. The visible archaeological remains both in the site itself and in its vicinity suggest the existence of a prosperous settlement in the Hellenistic and the Imperial Period. The architectural remains at Lasaia have been attributed to a breakwater, a warehouse, a temple (?), a basilica, and an aqueduct system.² Two km to the west of Lasaia, another harbor at Kaloi Limenes is famous as the site where St. Paul landed; a necropolis and a farmhouse have been identified in its vicinity.³ Finally, immediately to the west of Kaloi Limenes, in the Agiofarango gorge, the survey of the region has led to the identification of five Hellenistic and nine Roman sites, probably farmsteads.⁴ The most prominent site in the gorge is Agia Kyriake, occupied from the late 5th century B.C. onwards. Here, a large building complex near a spring has been identified with an Asklepieion known from the dedication of a certain Krios to Asklepios.⁵ Neither the literary sources nor the inscriptions indicate Lasaia's status in the Hellenistic period —an independent polis, the

¹ For these questions, see more recently A. Chaniotis, *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit*, Stuttgart 1996, esp. pp. 27f. (wars), 104-108 (*sympolities*).

² D. Blackman and K. Branigan, «An Archaeological Survey in the South Coast of Crete, between Ayiofarango and Chrisostomos», *BSA* 70, 1975, pp. 28-32; I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete. An Archaeological Survey and Gazetteer of Late Hellenistic, Roman, and Early Byzantine Crete*, Warminster 1982, p. 160.

³ Blackman and Branigan, art. cit., pp. 24-26.

⁴ D. Blackman and K. Branigan, «An Archaeological Survey of the Lower Catchment of the Ayiofarango Valley», *BSA* 72, 1977, pp. 13-84.

⁵ *I.Cret.* I,xv 3; cf. Blackman and Branigan, art. cit. (n. 4), p. 56; U. Bultrighini, «Divinità della salute nella Creta ellenistica e romana. Ricerche preliminari», *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medievale* 35, 1993, p. 100; cf. K. Sporn, *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit*, PhD dissertation, Heidelberg 1997.

epineion of another polis, or a dependent community.⁶ Modern scholarship has developed a series of criteria which allow us to recognize an independent polis, even when no written source explicitly attest to its status: an independent polis issues decrees and concludes treaties; it has its own coinage; there is evidence of local political authority (magistrates, council, assembly); its citizens use an ethnic name.⁷ Unfortunately, in the case of Lasaia we lack such evidence. Only the *Acts of the Apostles* (27,8) call Lasaia a polis (ἤλθομεν εἰς τόπον τινὰ καλούμενον Καλοῦς Λιμένας, ᾧ ἐγγὺς πόλις ἦν Λασαία). Of course, this text is far from being a reliable document for the political status of a settlement. Equally inconclusive is the evidence provided by the Delphic list of *theorodokoi* (c. 230/210 B.C.), in which Lasaia is included among the Cretan towns where a *theorodokos* had been appointed (*SEG XXVI* 624 col. IV 9: Λασσοία).⁸ The *theorodokoi* received in their town the sacred envoys of the Delphic sanctuary who announced the Pythian festival.⁹ In a recent discussion of this text,¹⁰ P. Perlman has demonstrated that the Delphic list of *theorodokoi* can be used as evidence for the existence of a polis. However, not every polis which had a *theorodokos* was *independent* at the point when the list was written down; but even those poleis which were not independent have had this status in the past. So, the fact that Lasaia appears in the Delphic list indicates a polis status, but does not necessarily mean that it was *independent*. Two other sites which appear in the same list, Matalon and Lebena, had been independent in the past, but by the late 3rd century B.C. had become dependent poleis of Phaistos and Gortyn respectively.¹¹ I have also expressed my doubts whether four other sites which appear in this list of *theorodokoi* (Biannos, Pelkis, Phalanna, and Oleros) should be regarded as independent poleis.¹² On the basis of this evidence, some scholars regarded Lasaia as an independent polis.¹³ P. Perlman, who has presented

⁶ I prefer the term «dependent community» («abhängige Gemeinde»: cf. Chaniotis, *Verträge*, pp. 160-168; cf. «abhängiger Ort»: F. Gschnitzer, *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum*, Munich 1958) to the term «dependent polis», not because I question the existence of dependent *poleis* on Crete (cf. P. Perlman, *Πόλις ὑπήκοος. The Dependent Polis and Crete*, in M.H. Hansen, ed., *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis. Symposium August, 23-26 1995, Copenhagen 1996*, pp. 233-285), but only because I doubt whether *all* dependent communities were *poleis*, especially those which lack an ethnic name, as, e.g., Kaudos (Chaniotis, *Verträge*, p. 161).

⁷ P. Perlman, «Θεωροδοκούντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. Panhellenic Epangelia and Political Status», in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State*, Copenhagen 1995, p. 130f.; cf. already P. Faure, «La Crète aux cent villes», *Kretika Chronika* 13, 1959, pp. 180-184.

⁸ For the Cretan part of the Delphic list of *theorodokoi*, see most recently A. Inglese, «Itinerario cretese dei Theoroi di Delphi. Proposta di integrazione nel percorso orientale», *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 16, 1991, pp. 165-171; ead., «Theorodokoi e prosseni Cretesi ad Epidauro e Delfi», *Parola del Passato* 51, 1996, pp. 351-358. For the date (c. 230/210), see most recently M.B. Hatzopoulos, «Un prêtre d'Amphipolis dans la grande liste des théarodoques de Delphes», *BCH* 115, 1991, pp. 345-347; cf. id., *Bull. épigr.* 1994, no. 432; cf. Perlman, art. cit. (n. 7), p. 130.

⁹ For the nature of the *theoria* and the function of the *theorodokoi*, see Perlman, art. cit. (n. 7), pp. 113-164.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 134, 136-138. Cf. Chaniotis, *Verträge*, pp. 12f. n. 36, 33 n. 151, 161f.

¹² A. Chaniotis, Review of M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis. Symposium August, 23-26 1995, Copenhagen 1996*, in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 8.8, 1997, p. 736.

¹³ M. Guarducci, *I.Cret. I*, p. 105; cf. Faure, art. cit. (n. 7), p. 196; Blackman and Branigan, art. cit. (n. 2), p. 28.

two important contributions to the political geography of Crete (n. 6 and 7), in her earlier article (1995) preferred to leave the question open,¹⁴ but in the latter (1996), she included Lasaiia among the independent *poleis* of Crete.¹⁵ Because of the existence of a powerful center, Gortyn, to the north of Lasaiia, and because of the fact that all the harbors to the south of the Mesara plain had lost their independence by the late 3rd century B.C., I have assumed that in the Hellenistic period Lasaiia, too, must have been a dependent community of Gortyn.¹⁶ A recent epigraphic find offers additional support for this view.

In 1987, roof tiles of the Korinthian type inscribed with the name of Asklepios were found in the valley of Agia Kyriake, c. three km to the west of Lasaiia, confirming the earlier suggestion of D. Blackman and K. Branigan that this was the site of a sanctuary of Asklepios.¹⁷ Some of the tiles are stamped with a monogram (possibly ΠΥΡ) and some with a stamp whose text was read by D. Vallianou as Ζηνᾶς Ἀπελλωνίω Ἀσκληπιῶ (cf. SEG XLII 804). The correct reading is: Ζηνᾶς Ἀπελλωνίω (Dorian genitive) Ἀσκληπιῶ. «Zenas, son of Apellonios (i.e., Apollonios), for Asklepios». The text implies that Zenas had sponsored or was responsible for the construction or the restoration of a building — possibly the temple — of Asklepios at Lasaiia. The palaeography supports a date in the later part of the 2nd century B.C.¹⁸

The name Zenas is attested on Crete only in Aptera, in northwest Crete (I.Cret. II, 46), and in Gortyn (I.Cret. IV 251). In Gortyn, the person bearing this name is, exactly as in Lasaiia, the son of Apellonios, known from an inscription found in the Gortynian Pythion and recording the restoration of an unknown facility (possibly a σήκωμα, a measure), under the supervision of the agoranomoi:

Ed.pr. F. Halbherr, *Relazione sugli scavi del tempio d'Apollo Pythio in Gortyna*, *Mon.Ant.* 1, 1889, 63f.; cf. I.Cret. IV 251.

Ἐπὶ Κύδαντος vac. τῶ Κ[ύδαντος? - - -
 Ζηνᾶς Ἀπελλωνίω /[- - -
 τᾶς ἐπισκευᾶς τῶ.[- - -
 4 μνάμων vac. ἀγορανομ[- - -
 τας vac. Ἰάσων vac. Καν[- - -

1. Κ[ύδαντος Κρητάρχα?], Halbherr, Guarducci. 2. ἀ[γορανομήσας ἐπεμελήθη?], Guarducci. 3. τῶν [σηκωμάτων]. 4. μνάμων ἀγορανόμ[ων] or μνάμων, ἀγορανόμοι [--], Guarducci. 4, in fine, possibly Ἰ[Αντιφά]τας, very common in Gortyn (cf. LGPN I, s.v.). 5, in fine, possibly Κάν[αχος], attested in Gortyn (cf. LGPN, I, s.v.).

The restoration of this inscription is not possible, because the length of the lines cannot be determined. F. Halbherr and M. Guarducci identified the magistrate on L. 1 with Kydas, son of Kydas, Κρητάρχας καὶ ἀρχός, known from I.Cret. IV 250 (mid-1st

¹⁴ Perlman, art. cit. (n. 7), pp. 131, 136.

¹⁵ Perlman, art. cit. (n. 6), p. 260, 282.

¹⁶ Chaniotis, *Verträge*, p. 12f n. 36.

¹⁷ D. Vallianou, *ADeltion* 42 B2, 1987 [1992], p. 549 and Pl. 322.

¹⁸ Cf. the letter forms in Vallianou, art. cit., pl. 322a-b and the chart of letter forms in Chaniotis, *Verträge*, p. 453.

century B.C.), but this identification is not certain.¹⁹ First of all, we do not know whether Kydas' father's name in this inscription is Kydas. Second, the letter forms of the two inscriptions are not identical, as asserted by Guarducci; the forms of Ε, Σ, and Ω on the facsimiles are different, and I.Cret. 251 is probably earlier (2nd century B.C.) than the inscription mentioning the Kretarchas.²⁰ Third, the name Kydas is extremely common in Crete, particularly in Gortyn, where at least eight persons bearing this name are known in the Hellenistic period; an identification of the persons mentioned in I.Cret. 250 and 251 cannot be supported by the homonymity alone.²¹ It is also not necessary to restore a title after Kydas' name. In Gortyn, the dating formula ἐπί + name of the president of the kosmoi + father's name is attested already in the early 2nd century B.C. (I.Cret. IV 235: [ἐπὶ] Ἄντιφάτα τῷ Κύδαντος). Likewise, we do not know if Zenas, son of Apollonios, was agoranomos (cf. L. 2) or the scribe of the agoranomoi (cf. L. 4), whose names were written on LL. 4-5. From other Gortynian inscriptions (I.Cret. IV 253; cf. 255 and 302), we may infer that the board of agoranomoi consisted of three agoranomoi, one scribe (mnamon), and one assistant (σπεῦσδος). If this number remained unchanged, Zenas (L. 2) was the scribe, and the names of the three agoranomoi were recorded on LL. 4-5. Despite these uncertainties, the rarity of the name Zenas, the unique combination of names Zenas and Apollonios, and the activities attested for Zenas in Gortyn and in Lasaia leave hardly any doubt that we are dealing with the same individual.

Since the brief inscription on the roof tile does not mention an office, we do not know whether Zenas carried out the construction activities at the Asklepieion of Lasaia as a private sponsor or as a Gortynian magistrate. In Crete, such activities were usually part of the responsibility of officials, as numerous inscriptions which record building activities, restorations, and dedication in cult places show.²² In the case of Gortyn, we know that Gortynian magistrates were responsible not only for the sanctuaries in the city of Gortyn, but also for the Asklepieion in the dependent polis of Lebena.²³ However, a private dedication of Zenas should not be excluded altogether, particularly since we cannot determine the precise nature of the cult building to which Zenas' roof tiles belong.²⁴ No matter whether Zenas was acting as a private individual or —more probably— as a Gortynian magistrate, it seems improbable that he was doing so in the sanctuary of a

¹⁹ For Kydas, see A.-M. Rouanet-Liesenfelt, «Le crétarque Kydas», in *Aux origines de l'hellénisme, la Crète et la Grèce. Hommage à Henri van Effenterre*, Paris 1984, pp. 343-352; cf. ead., «Remarques sur l'assemblée provinciale crétoise et son grand-prêtre à l'époque du Haute-Empire», *Ktéma* 19, 1994, 13, who regards the identification of the persons mentioned in the two inscriptions as possible, but not as certain.

²⁰ Cf. the chart of letter forms in Chaniotis, *Verträge*, p. 453.

²¹ See the lemmata in LGPN, I, s.v. Kydas. Another Kydas, son of Kydas, is known from Knossos (I.Cret. I,viii 3), and possibly another one from Gortyn (I.Cret. IV 398).

²² E.g., I.Cret. I,v 5; I,xvii 4-6; I,xviii 12-13; I,xxii 2, 8; I,xxiii 4; M.W. Baldwin Bowsky, «Portrait of a Polis: Lato pros Kamara (Crete) in the Late Second Century B.C.», *Hesperia* 58, 1989, pp. 338-341, 345-347, nos 5, 7, 9, 12, 19-21.

²³ I.Cret. I,xvii 2, 4-6, 8; M. Bile, «Quelques termes religieux en crétois», in P. Goukowsky and Cl. Brixhe (eds.), *Hellénika Symmikta: Histoire, archéologie, épigraphie*, Nancy 1991, 7-14; Bultrighini, art. cit. (n. 5), p. 91-99; Ch. Kritzas, «Nouvelle inscription provenant de l'Asclépiéion de Lebena, Crète», in *Preatti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina*, Rome 1997, 227-234.

²⁴ Cf. I.Cret. I,xxii 8 (Olous, Hellenistic), which shows that the restoration of a temple and its roof, under public supervision was sponsored by a private person (L. 8: χαρογήσαντος).

foreign polis. Dedications of foreigners are not unusual in civic sanctuaries, but extensive building activities in cult places are carried out only under supervision of civic authorities (see n. 21 and 22). It follows that in the 2nd century B.C., the Asklepieion at Agia Kyriake was part of the Gortynian territory and that Lasaia was a dependent polis of Gortyn.

This conclusion should not, however, be regarded as certain before we consider two further possibilities. The first is that the Asklepieion near Lasaia attracted worshippers from various parts of Crete, who engaged themselves in building activities. The sanctuary of Hermes Kedrites at Simi Biannou presents such a unique case on Crete. The inscribed roof tiles found there bear different ethnic names: of the Arkadians, Lyttians, Priansians, and Hierapytnians, i.e., of several neighbouring poleis.²⁵ Here, the building activity in the late Classical and Hellenistic period seems to have been carried out under the responsibility or with the financial aid of several cities. The sanctuary at Kato Simi, on the «Sacred Mountain» (Ἱερόν Ὀρος) was near the common frontier of several cities; it played an important role in the rituals of ephebic initiation; and the Dorian cult had predecessors which reached back to Minoan times.²⁶ This cult place may have been the center of a local amphictiony.²⁷ A similar assumption cannot be supported in the case of the Asklepieion near Lasaia.

The second possibility is that the Asklepieion was near the frontier of Gortyn and Lasaia, but on Gortynian territory. In this case, Lasaia would still be an independent polis, but its territory would not reach the gorge of Ayiofarango. Lasaia would be a small independent polis, surrounded on all sides by Gortynian territory. This scenario is even less probable. The survey of D. Blackman and K. Branigan has made plausible that the area as far as Cap Lithines, i.e., to the west of the Agiofarango gorge, belonged to the territory of Lasaia.²⁸ In fact, the *Acts of the Apostles* associate Kaloi Limenes (near Agiofarango) with Lasaia. With Agiofarango, less than 3 km to the west of Lasaia, in the possession of the Gortynians and Lebena, less than 8 km to the east of Lasaia, being a dependent polis of Gortyn, Lasaia's territory would have been a narrow coastal strip with a maximum length of c. 5-6 km. It is also incoceivable that the Gortynian expansion would have stopped at Agiofarango and stopped there, leaving the harbors of Kaloi Limenes and Lasaia out of the Gortynian control. In the course of the 3rd and early 2nd century B.C., the Gortynians incorporated into their territory the entire plain of Mesara. Of the coastal towns, Lebena was a dependent polis of Gortyn by the end of the 3rd century at the latest and Matalon, a dependent polis of Phaistos in the late 3rd century (above, n. 11), became Gortynian when Phaistos was destroyed by the Gortynians probably in the mid-2nd century.²⁹ In light of this, it would be surprising if Lasaia had been able to retain its status as an independent polis in the 3rd century.

²⁵ A. Chaniotis, «Habgierige Götter - habgierige Städte. Heiligtumsbesitz und Gebietsanspruch in den kretischen Staatsverträgen», *Ktéma* 13, 1988 [1991], p. 33.

²⁶ A. Lebessi, *Τὸ ἱερὸ τοῦ Ἑρμῆ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης στὴ Σύμη Βιάννου*. I.I. Χάλκινα κρητικὰ τορευματα, Athens 1985.

²⁷ Cf. Chaniotis, art. cit. (n. 25), p. 33f.; Chaniotis, *Verträge*, pp. 129f. However, until all the inscriptions found in the sanctuary of Kato Simi are published, one should leave the question of the sanctuary's status — a sanctuary controlled by an individual *polis* or an amphictionic center — open.

²⁸ Blackman and Branigan, art. cit. (n. 4), p. 56; art. cit. (n. 2), p. 28.

²⁹ Chaniotis, *Verträge*, p. 27, 49.

The new inscriptions found at the Asklepieion near Lasaia most probably mention a Gortynian citizen who is known to have occupied an office in Gortyn — probably that of the scribe of the agoranomoi. This implies that the Asklepieion near Lasaia was in the possession of Gortyn, exactly like the Asklepieion at Lebena. In light of this new evidence, it seems probable that Lasaia had become a dependent polis of Gortyn by the late 2nd century B.C., possibly one century earlier.

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ΜΑΓΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΔΕΣΜΟΣ

Α' Ανασκαφικά στοιχεία

Το 1966 κατά την διάρκεια ανασκαφών στο Βενιζέλειο Νοσοκομείο, χώρο που εντάσσεται στο γνωστό «Βόρειο Νεκροταφείο» της Κνωσού¹, εντοπίστηκε μέσα σε κτιστό κιβωτιόσχημο τάφο² μαγικός κατάδεσμος από πράσινο στεατίτη. Πρόκειται για επιμήκη εξαπλευρο λίθο, μικρών διαστάσεων, με λείες τις δύο μακρές και τις δύο στενές πλευρές, ενώ οι άλλες δύο μακρές όψεις είναι κυρτές και ανώμαλες με αρκετές φθορές. Το κείμενο είναι χαραγμένο σε όλες τις πλευρές (βλ. φωτ. 1-6)³.

Ο τάφος όπου εντοπίστηκε ο κατάδεσμος αποτελεί τμήμα συγκροτήματος, με δύο συνεχόμενους κιβωτιόσχημους τάφους, πάνω από τους οποίους είχε ανεγερθεί σημαντικό ταφικό μνημείο⁴. Ο τάφος βρέθηκε συλημένος και κατεστραμένος κατά τμήμα του βορειοδυτικού τοιχώματος, δηλαδή στην πλευρά που ήταν ευκολότερα προσιτή για τους συλητές, καθώς βρισκόταν στο όριο του μνημείου. Στην κατεστραμμένη αυτή πλευρά εντοπίστηκε, σε ανώτερο ανασκαφικό στρώμα, ο κατάδεσμος. Από τα κτερίσματα σώθηκαν, στην ίδια πλευρά, πέντε σκόρπια χρυσά ελάσματα σε σχήμα λογχοειδούς φύλλου και δύο όμοια θραύσματα, πιθανότατα από στεφάνι. Στο ανατολικό άκρο του τάφου βρέθηκαν δύο πήλινα μυροδοχεία, που αποτελούν και τα στοιχεία χρονολόγησής⁵ (φωτ. 7).

Το μυροδοχείο αρ. Μ.Η. Π30484 ανήκει στον τύπο των ατρακτόσχημων που απαντά ήδη από τα ελληνιστικά χρόνια και έχει ευρεία χρήση μέχρι και τον 1^ο αιώνα μ.Χ. Η μορφή εξελίσσεται σε ραδινή με ψηλό και συμπαγές πόδι. Το απώσχημο μυροδοχείο αρ. Μ.Η. Π.30483 ανήκει στην γενική κατηγορία των «σφαιρικών» που έχουν ως χαρακτηριστικό στοιχείο την απουσία ποδιού και εμφανίζονται στις αρχές του 1^{ου} αιώνα π.Χ. Ο τύπος γίνεται κοινός μετά τα μέσα του 1^{ου} αιώνα π.Χ. και διατηρείται στον 1^ο αιώνα μ.Χ. προς το τέλος του οποίου τα πήλινα μυροδοχεία αντικαθίσταται σχεδόν

¹ Ειδικά για το ρωμαϊκό νεκροταφείο του Βενιζελείου βλ. S. Hood, Archaeological Survey of the Knossos area, Athens - London 1981, no 72. Εύα Γραμματικάκη, Κρήτες Θαλασσοδρόμοι, Ηράκλειο 1999, σελ. 130, 132-133.

² Τ 36/2 στην νότια πλευρά του κτηρίου Α της επέκτασης του Νοσοκομείου. Διαστάσεις: πλάτος 33-60 εκ., μήκος 2,28 μ.

³ Αρ. Μ.Η. Α. 5330. Μέγιστο μήκος 3,2 εκ., μέγιστο πλάτος. 1,5 εκ.

⁴ Τ. 36 υπό δημοσίευση Α.Δ.1996. Το μνημείο έχει διαστάσεις 3,20 X 3,20 μ. και σώζεται σε ύψος 2,30 μ.

⁵ Αρ. Μ.Η. Π30483. Απώσχημο, βάση επίπεδη. Πηλός ανοικτός καστανός, ερυθρό – καστανό γάνωμα, ανομοιομερούς όπτησης. Στον λαιμό, τα ίχνη του τροχού έχουν τονισθεί με εγχάραξη. Ύψος 9,4 εκ. διάμ. χείλ. 3,1 εκ.

Αρ. Μ.Η. Π 30484. Ατρακτόσχημο, με ωοειδή κοιλία, συγκολλημένο από τρία θραύσματα. Βάση κωνική, κάτω επίπεδη με δακτυλικό αποτύπωμα, πόδι συμπαγές εσωτερικά. Πηλός φαοκάστανος, άνησης όπτησης, χωρίς επίχρισμα. Το στόμιο και ο λαιμός εμβαπτισμένα σε σκούρο καστανό χρώμα. Ύψος 20 εκ., διάμ. χείλ. 2,7 εκ., διάμ. βάσης 2,2 εκ.

Για χρυσά στεφάνια βλ. Κ. Δαβάρας, Α.Ε. 1985, σ. 177-189.

καθ' ολοκληρίαν από γυάλινα⁶. Τα πολύ διαδεδομένα αυτά αγγεία είναι δυνατόν να χρονολογηθούν με ακρίβεια μόνο σε συνάρτηση με άλλα ανασκαφικά ευρήματα, καθώς η εξέλιξη ή η στατικότητα του σχήματος, πέρα από τους γενικούς κανόνες, διαφέρει κατά περιοχές, ενώ ειδικά για την περιοχή της Κνωσού τα δημοσιευμένα στοιχεία είναι ελάχιστα. Συγγενείς προς το συγκεκριμένο ατρακτόσχημο τύποι υπάρχουν ήδη από τον 2^ο αιώνα π.Χ.⁷ που φέρουν ωστόσο μελανό γάνωμα και λευκές ταινίες. Ανασκαφικά σύνολα όπου συνυπάρχουν ατρακτόσχημα και «σφαιρικά» μυροδοχεία, όπως στην περίπτωση που εξετάζεται, (Αργος, Κόρινθος, Stobi)⁸ χρονολογούνται στο δεύτερο ήμισυ του 1^{ου} αιώνα π.Χ. Τέλος, όμοιου τύπου ατρακτόσχημα και απιόσχημα μυροδοχεία έχουν χρονολογηθεί από το δεύτερο τέταρτο του 1^{ου} αιώνα π.Χ. και στον 1^ο αιώνα μ.Χ.⁹

Τα ευρέα αυτά χρονικά πλαίσια σε σχέση με την χρονολόγηση των συγκεκριμένων μυροδοχείων γίνονται σαφέστερα εάν ληφθούν υπ' όψιν τα ευρήματα του όμορου τάφου (T.36/1) που όπως αναφέρθηκε παραπάνω ανήκει στο ίδιο ταφικό συγκρότημα και θεωρείται σύγχρονος. Στον ασύλητο αυτό τάφο συνυπάρχουν πήλινα σφαιρικά και γυάλινα μυροδοχεία και λύχνι του 1^{ου} αιώνα μ.Χ. Η παλαιότερη ταφή συνοδεύεται από νόμισμα της Κνωσού ως ρωμαϊκής αποικίας επί Αυγούστου (27 π.Χ. - 2 μ.Χ.) ενώ στην νεώτερη ανήκει νόμισμα της Κνωσού ως ρωμαϊκής αποικίας επί Νέρωνα (55 - 60 μ.Χ.)¹⁰. Με βάση αυτά τα ανασκαφικά στοιχεία του όμορου τάφου, τα μυροδοχεία του T. 36/2 μπορούν να χρονολογηθούν από το τελευταίο τέταρτο του 1^{ου} αιώνα π.Χ. έως το τρίτο τέταρτο του 1^{ου} αιώνα μ.Χ.

Έχει παρατηρηθεί ότι, στην αρχαιότητα, υπήρχε η συνήθεια να ρίχνουν ή να θάπνουν τους κατάδεσμούς άλλοτε σε τάφους ατόμων που πέθαναν σε νεαρή ηλικία, άλλοτε σε άδυστα χθονίων θεοτήτων, όπως της Δήμητρας, έτσι ώστε η επιθυμία του συντάκτη να μεταβιβαστεί και να υλοποιηθεί γρηγορότερα και ευκολότερα από τις δαιμονικές δυνάμεις του κάτω κόσμου¹¹. Το σκελετικό υλικό του συγκεκριμένου τάφου (λίγα σκόρπια οστά και τμήμα κρανίου) δεν ανήκει σε νέο, αλλά αντίθετα σε ενήλικο, ίσως υπέργηρο άνδρα¹². Όμως η επιλογή του τάφου για την εναπόθεση του κατάδεσμου φαίνεται ότι δεν ήταν τυχαία, καθώς τα ανασκαφικά στοιχεία παρέχουν ενδείξεις για νεκρικές τελετές. Το μνημείο που, όπως αναφέρθηκε προηγουμένως, είχε ανεγερθεί πάνω από τους τάφους T 36/1 και T36/2, παρουσιάζει ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά: στο κέντρο του πλακόστρωτου δαπέδου του υπήρχε κινητή κυκλική πλάκα από την οποία

⁶ Βλ. Μ. Λιλιμπάκη - Ακαμάτη, Λαξευτοί θαλαμωτοί τάφοι της Πέλλας, Αθήνα 1989, σ. 241-244· V. R. Anderson – Stojanovic, The Chronology and Function of Ceramic Unguentaria, A.J.A. 91 (1987), σελ. 110, όπου και πλήρης βιβλιογραφία. Για την Κνωσό βλ. J. Carrington – Smith, A Roman Chamber tomb at Monasteriaki Kephala, B.S.A. 77 (1982), σελ. 255.

⁷ Μ. Ακαμάτη, ο.π., πίν. 22, 24, 25.

⁸ Anderson - Stojanovic, ο.π., σελ. 110-111.

⁹ Πρβλ. Kerameikos IX no.402, taf. 71 4, no. 403, taf 71 1,2. V. R. Anderson – Stojanovic, Stobi. The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery, Princeton University Press, 1992, nos 564 – 567, 569, 599 - 601. Παράλληλα διατηρούνται και λιγότερο εξελιγμένες μορφές, πρβλ. Agora V, F 48 (χρόνων Αυγούστου).

¹⁰ Τα νομίσματα ταυτίστηκαν από τον κ. Κλ. Σιδηρόπουλο.

¹¹ Βλ. Audollent, Defixionum Tabellae, Paris 1904, σελ. cxi. Chr. A. Faraone, The Agonistic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells, στον τόμο Chr. A. Faraone-Dirk. Obbink (ed.), Magika Hiera, 1991, σελ. 3-32, ειδ. σελ. 3. Για τη βυζαντινή εποχή βλ. Φαίδων Κουκουλές, Βυζαντινών Βίος και Πολιτισμός, τόμος στ', εν Αθήναις 1955, σελ. 171-172.

¹² Τα οστά εξετάστηκαν από την ανθρωπολόγο κ. Χρ. Γκάνη.

ήταν προσιτή ορθογώνια κρύπτη (φωτ. 8). Εκεί βρέθηκε αποσπασματική πήλινη πρόχους που πιθανόν περιείχε υγρές προσφορές προς τους νεκρούς, σχεδόν σε επαφή με τους τάφους¹³. Η ύπαρξη της κρύπτης προσδίδει ιδιαιτερότητα στο μνημείο και κατ' ακολουθίαν στους συγκεκριμένους νεκρούς, καθώς στην περιοχή της Κνωσού -όπου έχουν γίνει εκτεταμένες ανασκαφές στα νεκροταφεία των ιστορικών χρόνων- δεν έχουν παρατηρηθεί όμοιες κατασκευές. Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι στην εγγύς περιοχή έχουν ανασκαφεί και άλλα αξιόλογα ταφικά μνημεία, όλα με υπόγειους τάφους, χωρίς όμως ενδείξεις ύπαρξης νεκρικών τελετών. Είναι πιθανόν λοιπόν η επιλογή του συγκεκριμένου τάφου να έγινε εξαιτίας της τελούμενης εκεί νεκρολατρείας με την πεποίθηση ότι θα ενέτεινε την ισχύ της αράς.

Ερωτηματικά προκαλεί και το υλικό του κατάδεσμου, που δεν είναι ο συνήθης μόλυβδος, αλλά θραύσμα στεατίτη. Η επιλογή του λίθου για την αναγραφή της αράς δεν θα πρέπει να συνδεθεί με πιθανές μαγικές ιδιότητες του, καθώς ο στεατίτης σε σχέση με ταλισμανικές σφραγίδες, μαγικά περίαιπα και δακτυλιόλιθους είναι αρκετά σπάνιο υλικό, ενώ προτιμούνται οι ημιπολύτιμοι λίθοι¹⁴. Ακόμη, το σχήμα του θραύσματος δεν προσομοιάζει σε κάποιο αντικείμενο ώστε να είναι πιθανή η εκδοχή δεύτερης χρήσης του, συνήθειας που παρατηρείται στην ρωμαϊκή περίοδο, όταν μινωϊκές σφραγίδες, πολλές φορές από στεατίτη, χρησιμοποιούνται ως περίαιπα με αποτροπαϊκό χαρακτήρα και πολλές φορές εναποτίθενται σε τάφους¹⁵. Θραύσματα στεατίτη απαντούν ακόμη και σήμερα επιφανειακά στην περιοχή της Κνωσού, καθώς ο στεατίτης είναι λίθος με ευρεία χρήση για την κατασκευή αγγείων και σφραγίδων από τα προϊστορικά χρόνια, λόγω της μαλακότητάς και στις στιλπνής υφής του¹⁶. Επομένως είναι πιθανόν το θραύσμα να βρέθηκε τυχαία, ίσως ημλειασμένο, και να χρησιμοποιήθηκε για την χάραξη της αράς λόγω της μαλακότητάς του. Αλλά και η ίδια ασημαντότητα του υλικού πιθανότατα επέτεινε την ισχύ της αράς. Έχει παρατηρηθεί ότι η χρήση του μολύβδου για κατάδεσμούς προέρχεται αρχικά από το ότι ήταν φθηνό και εύχρηστο υλικό, που βαθμιαία απέκτησε και συμβολική σημασία, ενώ «η ίδια η ευτέλεια του υλικού είχε μάλλον κάποια πρόσθετη μεταφορική αξία για την αρά»¹⁷. Αντίστοιχος συμβολισμός και μεταφορική αξία για την αρά θα μπορούσε να αποδοθεί από τον συντάκτη του κειμένου και στο ευτελές λίθινο θραύσμα.

Εύα Γραμματικάκη
Ηράκλειο

¹³ Για παρόμοια ταφικά έθιμα βλ. J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, Baltimore 1996, σελ. 51.

¹⁴ A. Onasoglou, *Die Talismanischen Siegel*, Hanna Philipp, *Mira et Magica. Gemmen im Ägyptischen Museum der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, 1986, p. 145.

¹⁵ G.W.M. Harrison, *The Romans and Crete*, 1993, σελ. 3· Εύα Γραμματικάκη, *Χρονικά Α.Δ.* 1991, σελ. 392 (από παραδρομή ο τάφος αναφέρεται ως ελληνιστικός).

¹⁶ Θραύσματα λίθινων σκευών απαντούν μαζί με επιφανειακά όστρακα. Σημειωτέον ότι στην Κνωσό έχουν εντοπισθεί πέντε εργαστήρια κατασκευής λίθινων αντικειμένων από όπου προφανώς υπήρχαν απορρίματα. (βλ. P. Warren, *Minoan Stone Vases*, London 1969, σελ. 157 – 158). Τα πλησιέστερα προς την Κνωσό κοιτάσματα στεατίτη είναι στην περιοχή Φόδελε (ο.π., σελ. 141, fig. 4).

¹⁷ R. Thomas, *Γραπτός και Προφορικός Λόγος στην αρχαία Ελλάδα*, μετάφρ. 1996, ΠΕΚ, σελ. 101.



1



2



3



4



5



6

φωτ. 1-6



φωτ. 7



φωτ. 8

Β' Έκδοση κειμένου*

Μετά τις *voces magicae* στους στίχους 1-3, πιθανότατα μία επίκληση, ζητείται από έναν νεκυδαίμονα να χωρίσει τον Πρειμογένη, γιο της Αρτέμιδος, από την Δάφνη, κόρη της Δάφνης. Ο συντάκτης του κατάδεσμου δεν σημειώνει το όνομά του, αλλά πιθανότατα πρόκειται για τον αντίζηλο ή αντίζηλη, που επιθυμεί τον χωρισμό του ζευγαριού.

Αξιοσημείωτο είναι ότι το όνομα Δάφνη (στίχοι 12-14) χαρακτήκε ανά δύο γράμματα στην αριστερή πλάγια στενή πλευρά του λίθου χωρίς να ακολουθεί τους κανόνες συλλαβισμού της λέξης. Η χάραξη των γραμμάτων στον συγκεκριμένο κατάδεσμο δεν έγινε με τόρνο, ένα περιστρεφόμενο τροχό με κοφτερή άκρη, μία τεχνική που εφαρμοζόταν στην χάραξη πολύτιμων ή ημιπολύτιμων λίθων, αλλά με αιχμηρό εργαλείο, παρόμοιο με αυτό που χρησιμοποιούταν στην χάραξη των μεταλικών ελασμάτων. Ο χαρακτήρας δεν διακρίνεται για την προσεκτική του εργασία. Στις επίπεδες επιφάνειες επιμελήθηκε με επιδεξιότητα τα γράμματα και ιδιαίτερα τις καμπύλες τους, χαράζοντας και κεραίες σε ορισμένα, όπως τα κ, φ, η. Σε σημεία ωστόσο που ο λίθος δεν ήταν λείος εξαιτίας τυχόν σπασισμάτων ή ήταν κυρτός η σταξία των γραμμάτων φανερώνει την δυσκολία στην χάραξή τους και κατά κάποιον τρόπο την αδεξιότητά του. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αποτελεί το γράμμα σ στον στίχο 10. Φαίνεται ότι ο χαρακτήρας αισθάνεται πιο πολύ ότι γράφει σε χαρτί παρά ότι χαράσσει σε πέτρα.

Ο συγκεκριμένος κατάδεσμος είναι σημαντικός για πολλούς λόγους. Καταρχήν δεν υπάρχουν πολλά παραδείγματα καταδέσμων, όπου κάποιος ζητά να χωρίσουν δύο άνθρωποι¹⁸. Συνήθως συμβαίνει το αντίθετο, δηλαδή να έρθουν σε επαφή ένας άνδρας και μία γυναίκα. Ο κατάδεσμος αυτός είναι επίσης ο μόνος που έχει βρεθεί έως σήμερα στην Κρήτη¹⁹. Άλλα μαγικά κείμενα στην Κρήτη είναι η επιγραφή ICret. I, v 3, δακτυλιόλιθος με παράσταση κροκοδείλου και μαγική επιγραφή (Αρκάδες), *ibid.* I, v 46, μολύβδινος δίσκος με κείμενο αποτροπαϊκού περιεχομένου με παραστάσεις ζώων στην μία όψη και ακολουθίας γραμμάτων στην άλλη (Αρκάδες), *ibid.* II, xvi 32, δακτυλιόλιθος με μαγικό κείμενο (Λάππα), *ibid.* II, xxi 28 (Λάππα, 3^{ος} αι. μ.Χ.), R.Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets. The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae. Part I, Pap.Col. XXII/1*, σελ. 234-235, lamella 43 (ρωμαϊκή εποχή;) και lamella 44 (= ICret. I, xii 8 φυλακτήριο από το Ιδαίον Άντρον, ρωμαϊκή εποχή), ICret. II, xix 7 (= SEG XLIII (1993), 615 (Φαλάσαρνα, 4^{ος} - 3^{ος} αι. π.Χ.), *ibid.* ICret. II, xxiv 25, μολύβδινο φύλλο με την επιγραφή ΤΕΛΕΣΦΟΡΟΣ (Ρέθυμνο).

* Θα ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω τους κκ. William Brashear, Roy Kotansky, Χαράλαμπο Κριτζά και Άγγελο Χανιώτη για τη βοήθειά τους σε διάφορα θέματα και ιδιαίτερα τον κ. David R. Jordan για τη συμβολή του στο τελικό στάδιο της εργασίας. Επίσης την σχεδιάστρια Π. Στεφανάκη για την σχεδίαση των εγχάρακτων γραμμάτων.

¹⁸ Για την *separation curse* (ή *disjunctive spell*), *Trennungszauber* βλ. σχετικά D.R. Jordan, *Defixiones from a well near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora*, *Hesperia* 54 (1985), σελ. 205-255 (ειδ. την εισαγωγή στις σελ. 222-223): Chr. A. Faraone, *o.p.*, σελ. 13-14 και σημ. 59, σελ. 28· *Suppl.Mag.* II 55 *introd.* και 95, σημ. 1. Επίσης άλλα παραδείγματα σε παπύρους βλ. PGM II, XII 455-464 και LXI 60-65. Βλ. επίσης την περγαμηνή E.14.250 (περίπου 10^{ος} αιώνα μ.Χ.) στο M. Meyer - R. Smith (ed.), *Ancient Christian Magic. Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*, 1994, σελ. 218-222. Γενικά ακόμη J.G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*, N.Y.-Oxford 1992, σελ. 78-115.

¹⁹ Βλ. D.R. Jordan, *A Survey of Greek Defixiones not included in the Special Corpora*, *GRBS* 26 (1985), σελ. 151-197.

Οι κατάδεσμοι χαράσσονταν συνήθως σε μεταλλική επιφάνεια (κυρίως μόλυβδο, κασσίτερο, χαλκό, σίδηρο και σπανιότερα χρυσό ή άργυρο). Η συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση αποτελεί τη μοναδική ενός καταδέσμου εγχάρακτου σε λίθο. Υπάρχουν βέβαια παραδείγματα μαγικών κειμένων (κυρίως φυλακτών) σε ημι-πολύτιμους λίθους, αλλά, καθώς το υλικό ήταν ακριβό, τέτοιες περιπτώσεις έχουν νόημα μόνο αν προορίζονταν για μακροχρόνια χρήση (συνήθως να προστατεύουν από καθημερινά προβλήματα ή αρρώστιες), ώστε να θεωρείται η δημιουργία του φυλακτού μία καλή επένδυση²⁰. Το παρόν κείμενο ωστόσο δεν είναι φυλακτό, αλλά κατάδεσμος και αναφέρεται μάλιστα σε ένα ειδικό πρόβλημα, τον χωρισμό ενός συγκεκριμένου ζευγαριού. Ύστερα από τη χρήση του, όποιο και αν ήταν το αποτέλεσμα, θα ήταν πια άχρηστος. Μπορούμε να υποθέσουμε ότι κάποιος θεώρησε μεγάλης σημασίας τον χωρισμό του Πρειμογένη και της Δάφνης και έτσι χάραξε την αρά σε ένα λίθο, που θα παρέμενε άφθαρτος μια για πάντα. Πιθανότατα και η ευτέλεια του υλικού²¹, το σκούρο χρώμα του, όπως και του μολύβδου, να είχε κάποια σημασία, καθώς έτσι η αρά αποκτούσε μεγαλύτερη δύναμη και προσέφερε περισσότερες δυνατότητες ή ευκαιρίες επιτυχίας.

Για τη χρονολόγηση του κατάδεσμου μας βοηθούν παλαιογραφικά και αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα και τα κύρια ονόματα που αναφέρονται. Όπως αναφέρθηκε παραπάνω, το ταφικό μνημείο ήταν ρωμαϊκό. Τα γράμματα επίσης μπορούν να χρονολογηθούν στη ρωμαϊκή εποχή. Το έψιλον με την προστιθέμενη πάνω γραμμή, το ημικυκλικό σίγμα, το τριγωνικό άλφα, το πι με τρεις κινήσεις, το ήτα με τις δύο ισοϋψείς κάθετες γραμμές και το ωμέγα με τρεις κινήσεις είναι χαρακτηριστικά γράμματα του τέλους του 1^{ου} αιώνα - αρχές του 2^{ου} αιώνα μ.Χ. Πρβλ. Kotansky, ο.π., lamella 28. Εξάλλου το όνομα Πρειμογένης παραδίδεται μόνο από τον 1^ο αιώνα μ.Χ. και εξής και το όνομα Ἄρτεμεις στην Κρήτη κατά τη ρωμαϊκή εποχή (βλ. σχολ. 5-6 και 8). Όσον αφορά τις *voces magicae* στους στίχους 1-3 άρχισαν να χρησιμοποιούνται από τον 1^ο αιώνα π.Χ. έως τον 1^ο αιώνα μ.Χ., εξαπλώθηκαν όμως ευρέως στον ρωμαϊκό κόσμο από τις αρχές του 2^{ου} αιώνα μ.Χ. και οι λεκτικοί λογότυποι σταθεροποιήθηκαν κατά τον 4^ο και 5^ο αιώνα μ.Χ.²². Συμπερασματικά, το κείμενό μας φαίνεται να γράφτηκε κατά τον 1^ο αιώνα μ.Χ.

²⁰ Βλ. M. Hennig, *Classical Gems*, 1994, σελ. 218-220.

²¹ Βλ. παραπάνω, Γραμματικάκη, σελ. 63. Πρβλ. ένα μαγικό κείμενο (με *voces magicae*) σε πηλό που βρέθηκε σε ένα τάφο του 4^{ου} - 5^{ου} αιώνα μ.Χ. στο Progar στην πρώην Γιουγκοσλαβία· βλ. Fr. Barasic, *Une defixionis tabella greccue de Progar en Srem*, *Archaeologica Jugoslavica* 11 (1970), σελ. 23-30.

²² Βλ. R. Kotansky, ο.π., σελ. xviii-xix.

- 1 ΗΡΗΓΥC (vacat) C ΩΒΕΡ
 ΧΩΧΑΡΕΒΕΡΕΓ
 ΦΑΡΚΑΜΑ'ΑC'ΨΩ
 χώρισον
- 5 τὸν Πρεϊμο-
 γένην ὄν
 ἔτεκαιν
 ἢ Ἄρτεμεις
 ἀπὸ τῆς Δά-
- 10 φνης ἧς ἔ-
 τεκ(ε)ν
 ἢ Δ-
 άφ-
 νη

71. ἔτεκεν 101. ἦν 10-11 ετεκν 12-141. ἢ Δάφνη

1-2 Παρατηρούμε ότι τα τέσσερα πρώτα γράμματα του πρώτου στίχου και τα τελευταία του δεύτερου στίχου έχουν τοποθετηθεί με την ίδια σειρά, με μόνο μία εναλλαγή του έπιλον και ήτα (ΗΡΗΓ - ΕΡΕΓ ή παλινδρομικά ΓΗΡΗ - ΓΕΡΕ). Επίσης τα τρία τελευταία γράμματα του πρώτου στίχου διαβάζονται παλινδρομικά στο μέσον του δεύτερου στίχου (ΒΕΡ - ΡΕΒ). Τα γράμματα βερβερ απαντούν στην lamella 50 στον R.Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, σελ. 263. Επίσης βλ. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, s.v. **ΒΕΡΒΕΡ** με τη σημασία «boil». Το χωχα απαντά στα μαγικά κείμενα με διάφορες μορφές και αποτελεί απόδοση του αιγυπτιακού kk που σημαίνει «σκότος»· βλ. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, σελ. 101: Kotansky, ο.π., σελ. 256, lamella 48, σημείωση 12-14: πρβλ. ακόμη τους τύπους χωαχ στον PGM II, LXII σχέδιο, σελ. 195, αχωχ, χωχ, χαχχω, χωχα στον PGM I, IV, 1387-1390 κτλ. Όσον αφορά τα γράμματα ΥC CΩ στον στίχο 1 θα μπορούσαν να διαβαστούν και παλινδρομικά, CΥ ΩC ή ΩC CΥ. Το κενό διάστημα μεταξύ των δύο σίγμα είναι 0.25 εκ. Δεν μπορούμε να είμαστε βέβαιοι για τη σημασία τους. Υπάρχουν παραδείγματα καταδέσμων με τη σύνταξη ώς (ή ώσπερ) ... ούτως, βλ. Audolent, *Defixionum Tabellae, Index VIe, Similia Similibus*, σελ. 491-492, που δείχνουν περιπτώσεις συμπαθητικής μαγείας. Στο συγκεκριμένο παράδειγμα ωστόσο δεν φαίνεται να πρόκειται για μια τέτοια περίπτωση. Μπορούμε επίσης να θεωρήσουμε το CΩΒΕΡ ως απόδοση του Αραμαϊκού ܟܘܒܪܐ (šBR), που σημαίνει «χωρίζω, σπάω»· πρβλ. παρακάτω για τα γράμματα ΦΑΡΚ(Α).

3 ΦΑΡΚΑΜΑ'ΑC'ΨΩ: Φαίνεται ότι εδώ πρόκειται για σκόπιμη (;) μετάθεση των γραμμάτων κ και μ. Αν ακολουθήσουμε τη συλλογιστική των στίχων 1-2 και διαβάσουμε το κείμενο ανά τρία γράμματα και παλινδρομικά, τότε έχουμε ΦΑΡ- ΜΑΚ (ΚΑΜ) - Α'ΑC'ΨΩ. Η λέξη φάρμακα παραπέμπει σε μαγικά φίλτρα και αλοιφές ή σε φυλακτήρια (βλ. R. Kotansky, *Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets*, στον τόμο Chr. A. Faraone-Dirk. Obbink (ed.), *Magika Hiera*, 1991, σελ. 107-137, ειδ. σελ. 109). Ο συνδυασμός των γραμμάτων α'ψω (ή ωψ'α παλινδρομικά) πιθανότατα πρόκειται για *vox magica*. Εκτός και αν θεωρήσουμε το αψω ως μέλλοντα του ρήματος άπτω με τη σημασία βάζω φωτιά (βλ. LSJ s.v., B) ή αγγίζω (βλ. LSJ s.v. II 3:

πρβλ. έναν κατάδεσμο από την Βοιωτία, όπου κάποιος καταριέται να σταματήσει την ἄψιν κῆ τὰ φιλήματα κῆ τὰ συνουσιάσματα τὰ Ζωΐλω κὰ Ἄνθειας: βλ. D.R. Jordan, *Defixiones from a well near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora*, *Hesperia* 54 (1985), σελ. 223). Τέλος, μπορούμε να θεωρήσουμε το ΦΑΡΚ(Α) ως μία μεταγραφή του αραμαϊκού פֶרֶק (PRQ), που αποτελεί ρηματική ρίζα και σημαίνει «χωρίζω, διαιρώ», συνεπώς το αντίστοιχο του ελληνικού ρήματος χωρίσον στον επόμενο στίχο. Δεν είμαστε ωστόσο βέβαιοι αν το CΩΒΕΡ (στ. 2) και το ΦΑΡΚ(Α) πρόκειται για ρηματικούς τύπους ή αν είναι ουσιαστικοποιημένες θεότητες.

4 χωρίσον: Το ρήμα χρησιμοποιείται ως *terminus technicus* σε περιπτώσεις διαζυγίου, χωρισμού ανδρόγυνου (πρβλ. P.Flor. I 93, 14: P.Lond. V 1713, 21: P.Cair.Masp. III 67311, 16). Βλ. σχετικά *Suppl.Mag.* II 95, σημ. 14. Συνήθως ο συντάκτης του κατάδεσμου, όταν απευθύνεται σε δυνάμεις του κάτω κόσμου, χρησιμοποιεί την προστακτική ρημάτων που εκφράζουν έντονο πάθος, που φανερώνουν ότι επιδεικνύει διάθεση βίας και όχι προσευχής.

5-6 τὸν Πρεῖμο|γένην: Το όνομα συναντάται σε παπύρους του πρώτου και δεύτερου αι. μ.Χ. από την Αίγυπτο· SB V 7559, 2 (Τειπύνις· 99 μ.Χ.)· P.Mil.Vogl. VII 302, 149 (Τειπύνις· 152-154 μ.Χ.)· P.Mich. IV 223, 2817 (Καρανίς· 172-173 μ.Χ.)· P.Mich. IV 225, 2140 (Καρανίς· 173-174 μ.Χ.). Σε επιγραφές από την Σικελία, IG XIV 546, 1 (ρωμαϊκή περίοδος) και τη Μακεδονία IG X 2, 1 (2^{ος} - 3^{ος} αιώνας μ.Χ.). Στην Κρήτη το όνομα μαρτυρείται για πρώτη φορά. Βρίσκουμε ωστόσο το όνομα Πρεῖμος σε κρητικές επιγραφές· πρβλ. ICret. II, xxv 20, 1 (ρωμαϊκή περίοδος) Πρεῖμο[ς].

6-8 ὄν ἐτέκαιν ἢ Ἄρτεμεις: Για τον λογότυπο ὄν (ἢ ἦν) ἔτεκε(ν) ἢ δεῖνα σε μαγικά κείμενα βλ. D.R. Jordan, *CIL VIII 19525 (B). 2 QPVLVA = Q(VEM) P(EPERIT) VULVA*, *Philologus* 120 (1976), σελ. 127-132.

8 ἢ Ἄρτεμεις: Για τη χρησιμοποίηση ονομάτων θεών για θνητούς και ειδικά για το όνομα Ἄρτεμεις βλ. O.Masson, *Pape-Benseleriana IX - Madame Artemis**, *ZPE* 66 (1986), σελ. 126-130. Ο τύπος Ἄρτεμεις χρησιμοποιείται παράλληλα με τον τύπο Ἄρτεμις από τον 5^ο - 4^ο αιώνα π.Χ. έως τη βυζαντινή περίοδο. Στην Κρήτη ως όνομα θνητής απαντά δύο φορές μέχρι σήμερα, στις επιγραφές ICret. I, xvi 8, 4 (1^{ος} αιώνας π.Χ. - 1^{ος} αιώνας μ.Χ.) και ICret. II, xxviii 2, 1 (2^{ος} αιώνας μ.Χ.).

7 ἔτεκαιν: Τα λάθη του γραφέα στην κατάληξη του ρήματος, καθώς και στην πτώση της αντωνυμίας ἡς (γενική αντί αιτιατική) στον στίχο 10, δηλώνουν είτε ότι δεν είχε κάποιο πρωτότυπο κείμενο μπροστά του από το οποίο ανέγραφε την αρά είτε, αν πράγματι είχε, ότι το πρωτότυπο αυτό δεν έδειχνε την ορθογραφία των συγκεκριμένων λέξεων. Η γραφή ἄλλωστε ἔ|τεκε(ε)ν στους στίχους 10-11, όπου απαντά η συντομογραφία του ίδιου ρήματος χωρίς το φωνήεν της κατάληξης, είναι ένα επιπλέον στοιχείο υπέρ της δεύτερης δυνατότητας. Ίσως το πρωτότυπο και στον στίχο 7 παρέδιδε τη γραφή ετεκν και ο χαράκτης ανέλυσε τη συντομογραφία λανθασμένα. Για την τελευταία περίπτωση πρβλ. το ίδιο ρήμα και λάθος στον D.R. Jordan, *A New Reading of a Papyrus Love Charm in the Louvre*, *ZPE* 74 (1988), σελ. 231-243 (ειδ. σελ. 239).

9-14 Το όνομα της γυναίκας και της μητέρας της, συχνό σε πολλές περιοχές, μαρτυρείται πρώτη φορά στην Κρήτη.

10 ἤς: Όπως αναφέρθηκε παραπάνω, χρησιμοποιείται η γενική αντί της αιτιατικής καθ' ἔλξιν από την προηγούμενη γενική τῆς Δάφνης. Παρόμοια λάθη απαντούν και σε άλλους καταδέσμους· βλ. D.R. Jordan, Defixiones from a well near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia* 54 (1985), σελ. 233, κατάδεσμος 7, στίχοι 8, 9.

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ZU DEN DENARBILDERN DES CN. PLANCIUS

Einleitung¹

Av.: Weiblicher Kopf mit *causia* nach rechts, davor CN. PLANCIUS, dahinter AED(ILIS). CUR(ULIS).S.C.

Rv.: Links aufrecht angesetzte Köcher und Bogen auf der Standlinie, daneben kretischer Ziegenbock nach rechts.²



1968 hat K. Kraft³ in seinem Aufsatz «Die Taten des Pompeius auf den Münzen» eine Reihe von Denarbildern auf militärische Leistungen des Pompeius bezogen.⁴ Der bis dahin weitgehend unangefochtene Lehrsatz, daß nämlich auf diesen Prägungen meist die Familiengeschichten der Münzmeister dargestellt sind, verbaute nach Kraft⁵ im Falle des Pompeius ihre richtige Deutung. In diesem Zusammenhang erkannte er auf dem Revers des Plancius-Denars eine Anspielung auf seine Triumphe, da Pompeius zur Zeit seiner Ausprägung (55 v. Chr.)⁶ auf dem Höhenpunkt seines politischen Einflusses stand.⁷ In der Reaktion von M. Crawford,⁸ der die Ausführungen von Kraft zum Revers des Plancius-Denars als «intolerably obscure» bezeichnete, spiegelt sich nicht zuletzt die kontroverse Diskussion wieder, die in der Literatur um die Thematik «Münze als Propagandaträger» geführt wird.

¹ Oft zitierte Arbeiten werden wie folgt abgekürzt:

RRC=Crawford, M. H., Roman Republican Coinage Bd.I-II (1974); Babelon 1885=Babelon, E., Description historique et chronologique de monnaies de la république romaine Bd. I-II (1885/6) Nachdr. 1963; Hollstein 1993=Hollstein, W., Die stadtrömische Münzprägung der Jahre 78-50 v. Chr. zwischen politischer Aktualität und Familienthematik (Diss. 1993); Köpke 1856=Köpke, E., Cicero's Rede für Cn. Plancius(1856); Kroll 1937=Kroll, W., «Cicero's Rede für Plancius» Rheinisches Museum für Philologie 86, 1937, 127-39; Kraft 1968=Kraft, K., «Taten des Pompeius auf den Münzen» JNG 18, 1968, 7-24; Svoronos=Svoronos, J. N., Numismatique de la Crète ancienne(1890).

² RRC Nr. 432/1.

³ Kraft 1968, 7-24.

⁴ Es handelte sich um die Münzbilder der M. Aemilius Scaurus (RRC Nr. 422/1), Faustus Cornelius Sulla (RRC Nr. 426/3,4), P. Licinius Crassus (RRC Nr. 430/1), A. Plautius (RRC Nr. 431/1), Cn. Plancius (RRC Nr. 432/1), L. Vicinius (RRC Nr. 436/1) und der Ser. Sulpicius (RRC Nr. 438/1).

⁵ Kraft 1968, 8.

⁶ Zur Datierung auf 55 v. Chr. s. Taylor, L. R., «Magistrates of 55 BC in Cicero's Pro Plancio and Catullus 52» Athenaeum 42, 1964, 12-28.

⁷ Kraft 1968, 22-4.

⁸ RRC 455.

Im folgenden Beitrag werden die bisherigen Interpretationsversuche ausgewertet und eine neue Deutungsmöglichkeit angeboten. Ausgangspunkt dieser Untersuchung ist die Verteidigungsrede Ciceros Pro Plancio, die in diesem Zusammenhang kaum Beachtung erfuhr.⁹

Aus ihr können wichtige Informationen über die politische und militärische Karriere des sonst unbekanntes Cn. Plancius entnommen werden.¹⁰ Der Strafprozeß, dem sie entstammt, fand im Spätsommer des Jahres 54 v. Chr. Statt.¹¹ Cn. Plancius stammte aus einer plebejischen Familie ritterlichen Standes. Er war in Atina geboren und machte seinen ersten Kriegsdienst 69 v. Chr. unter Manlius Torquatus in Afrika. In unmittelbarem Anschluß daran folgte er als miles Q. Metellus nach Kreta. Im Jahre 62 v. Chr. war er tribunus militum im Heer des C. Antonius, der zu diesem Zeitpunkt Makedonien verwaltete, und 58 v. Chr. Quaestor des Proprätors L. Appuleius in derselben Provinz mit Amtssitz in Thessalonike. Hier beherbergte er den von Rom verbannten Cicero. Im Jahre 56 v. Chr. bekleidete er das Volkstribunat und 55 v. Chr. wurde er zusammen mit A. Plautius zum kurulischen Aedilen gewählt, woraufhin die Prägung seiner Denaren erfolgte.

Nach seinem erfolgreichen Antritt bei den Aedilen-Wahlen des Jahres 55 v. Chr. wurde er von seinem erfolglosen Rivalen M. Juventius Laterensis wegen Amterschleichung angeklagt. Laterensis wählte nicht die gewöhnliche Form der Ambitusklage, sondern stützte sich auf die Lex Licinia de sodaliciis.¹² Nachdem der Prozeß offenbar mit einem Freispruch für Cn. Plancius endete, hat Cicero sein Plädoyer für die Veröffentlichung bearbeitet.¹³

⁹ Ein zusätzlicher Aspekt, im Hinblick auf den Plancius-Denar, der bisher auch nicht beachtet wurde, ist die Tatsache, daß er von Svoronos (1890) neben den Münzen der kretischen Stadt Hyrtakina auf Tafel XVIII abgebildet worden ist. Ihm wurde hier weder Tafelnummer noch ein entsprechender Kommentar zugewiesen. Der Grund seiner Abbildung an dieser Stelle ist offensichtlich: Das Reversstema des Denars ist ein kretisches und thematisch den entsprechenden hyrtakinischen am nächsten. Man wird Svoronos wohl kaum unterstellen wollen, daß er diesen für eine kretische Prägung hielt. Vielmehr könnte er für ihn deswegen von Interesse gewesen sein, weil sie die einzige auswärtige Prägung ist, die ein kretisches Thema adoptiert. Denn in der kretischen Münzprägung, so wie sie in der noch zurecht als Standardwerk angesehenen Monographie von Svoronos thematisiert wurde, findet man allzuoft Imitationen auswärtiger Münztypen. Dazu s. zuletzt Mørkholm, O., Early Hellenistic Coinage (1991) 88-90; 156 mit weiteren Literaturangaben.

¹⁰ Broughton, T.R.S., The Magistrates of the Roman Republic II (1952) 223. Vom Leben des Cn. Plancius nach dem Strafprozeß wissen wir Weniges: Als Anhänger des Pompeius lebte er ca. 46 v. Chr. auf der Insel Corcyra im Exil und Cicero sendete ihm Briefe, vgl. den 14-15 ad familiares IV. Vgl. Sarikakes, Th., Οι Ρωμαίοι Ἀρχόντες της Επαρχίας της Μακεδονίας I (1971) 179f.

¹¹ Zur Datierung des Prozeßes s. Köpke 1856, 4.

¹² Die *sodalicia* dienten in den Jahren des Untergangs der Republik der systematisch betriebenen Wählerbestechung. Durch die Form dieser Anklage lag der Vorteil für den Ankläger nicht unbedingt in der Strafbestimmung, sondern in der Prozeßführung. Einerseits war zwar der Ambitus durch hohe Geldstrafen und Verbannung geahndet, andererseits gestattete das Gesetz de sodaliciis dem Kläger, vier Tribus zu bestimmen, aus denen die Richter genommen wurden. Der Angeklagte durfte nur einen von diesen zurückweisen. Erwartungsgemäß machte Laterensis jene Tribus namhaft, auf die er selbst Einfluß besaß. Vgl. Köpke 1856, 16f.; Kroll 1937, 128f.

¹³ Die Stichelei in Pro Plancio 85 setzt voraus, daß sowohl die Ankläger- als auch die Verteidigerseite mehrfach das Wort ergriffen. Vgl. Fuhrmann, M., M. T. Cicero. Sämtliche Reden VI (1980) 227.

Die Bildthemen

Die weibliche Gottheit mit Kopfbedeckung auf dem Avers wurde von E. Babelon¹⁴ mit Diana Planciana identifiziert nicht nur, weil Bogen und Köcher des Reverses zunächst für Diana eine Stütze bieten, sondern auch, weil eine Diana Planciana dreimal inschriftlich belegt ist.¹⁵ Ihre Kopfbedeckung wurde von ihm als Petasos bezeichnet, wodurch auf die Quaestur des Plancius in Makedonien angespielt werden sollte.¹⁶ Crawford,¹⁷ der zurecht einwendete, daß die Bezeichnung Petasos eigentlich nichts makedonisches implizieren läßt, erkannte in ihm die *causia*,¹⁸ den typisch makedonischen Hut, und bezeichnete den Kopf als Macedonia.¹⁹ Darüber besteht ein Konsens in der Forschung, daß Plancius damit an seine eigene militärische und politische Laufbahn in Makedonien erinnern wollte.²⁰

Ein ganzes anderes Bild bietet aber die Forschung in Bezug auf die Deutung des Reverses. Zwar wird der unbeweglich dargestellte Ziegenbock²¹ stets als ein kretischer verstanden,²² bei den Interpretationsversuchen gehen die Meinungen dennoch weit auseinander. Babelon²³ deutete ihn als eine Anspielung auf den Aufenthalt des Cn. Plancius auf Kreta, da der für die Prägung verantwortliche Aedil im Jahr 68 v. Chr. dort Kriegsdienst geleistet hatte.

Kraft,²⁴ der seinerseits die so hergestellte Beziehung des Münzbildes zu Kreta auch als sicher erkannte, wendete ein, daß Cn. Plancius an dem Unternehmen gegen die kretischen Piraten nur als miles teilnahm und daß diese unbedeutende Funktion kaum

¹⁴ Babelon II 1885, 317. Ihm folgend Grueber, H. A., *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum Bd. I* (1910) 491 mit Anm. 2; zurückhaltend Sydenham, E. A., *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (1952) 156.

¹⁵ Darüber Hollstein 1993, 335 Anm. 5-6 mit Literaturangaben.

¹⁶ Ebenda.

¹⁷ RRC 455.

¹⁸ Die *causia* kann als Zeichen für Makedonien gelten. Sie erscheint auch auf dem Avers eines Denars des C. Antonius (RRC Nr. 484/1), der im Jahr 43 das Prokonsulat in dieser Provinz innehatte. Weitere Vergleichsbeispiele bei Hollstein 1993, 336 Anm. 11.

¹⁹ S. auch Alföldy, A., «The main aspects of political propaganda on the coinage of the Roman Republic» in: *Essays in Roman Coinage presented to H. Mattingly* (1956) 75.

²⁰ 62 v. Chr. Militärtribun und 58 v. Chr. Quaestor in dieser Provinz. Vgl. Hollstein 1993, 336f und neuerdings Harlan, M., *Roman Republican Moneyers and their Coins 63 BC – 49 BC* (1997) 113.

²¹ Es handelt sich um die *species capra aegagrus cretica*, von den Einheimischen heute Agrimi genannt, s. Sfougaris, A., et al., «Food resources and quality for the introduced cretan wild goat or agrimi capra aegagrus cretica» *Biological Conversation* 3, 78, 1996, 239f.

²² Er findet sich auf zahlreichen Prägungen kretischer Städte, vgl. Svoronos 1890, Taf. XI Nr. 1, 2 (Diktynna), Taf. XII Nr. 9-13 (Elyros), Taf. XVIII Nr. 7-9 (Hyrtakina), Taf. XX Nr. 35-6 (Lissos), Taf. XXV Nr. 33-4 (Pollyrhenia), Taf. XXVII Nr. 25-8 (Praesos), Taf. XXVIII Nr. 2-4, 6 (Priantos), Taf. XXX Nr. 27-8 (Tarrha). Die Bronzeprägung auf Taf. XXX Nr. 2 mit ähnlichem Motiv wurde von Svoronos irrtümlich Rithymna zugeschrieben, gehört aber zu Elyros, s. Forrer, L., *The Weber Collection of Greek Coins* (1924) Nr. 4462 Exemplar mit dem Ethnikon ΕΛΥ(ΡΙΩΝ). Vgl. auch Pausanias (V 16.5); er berichtet von einem bronzenem Weihgeschenk, das die Elyrier in Delphi aufstellten und das eine Ziege darstellte.

²³ Babelon II 1885, 317. So auch Grueber, H. A., *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum I* (1910) 491 Nr. 3920 mit Anm. 2.

²⁴ Kraft 1968, 23.

der Anlaß für die Auswahl dieses Themas sein kann. Er stellte dabei fest,²⁵ daß das Reversbild eine Anspielung auf eine militärische Leistung des Pompeius sei, indem er —gestützt auf Plinius²⁶— Pompeius und nicht Metellus den Triumph über Kreta zuschrieb. Ferner soll Pompeius den Cn. Plancius bei den sehr umkämpften Aedilenwahlen des Jahres 55 v. Chr. geholfen haben und, wenn einer der zwei Männer —Pompeius oder Metellus— hier gefeiert werden solle, sei dies sicher nicht der damals politisch unbedeutende Metellus gewesen.

Crawford²⁷ äußerte sich mit einem lapidaren Kommentar entschieden gegen Kraft's Ausführungen und sah im Revers lediglich eine Jagdszene. Hollstein,²⁸ der zurecht darauf aufmerksam machte, daß die These Crawford's die Frage «warum hätte Cn. Plancius gerade an Kreta erinnern wollen, kämpfte er hier lediglich als miles» unbeantwortet läßt, verteidigte die Interpretation Kraft's und ergänzte²⁹: «...da die Prägung im Jahr 55 ausgeführt wurde, als Pompeius selbst mit dem Tempel der Venus Victrix und den großartigen Festspielen an seinen Triumph von 61 erinnern wollte... wurde im Triumphzug des Pompeius Kreta vielleicht durch ein Bild der kretischen Wildziege symbolisiert oder wurden Agrimi anlässlich der Feierlichkeiten zur Einweihung des Pompeius-Theaters und des damit verbundenen Venus-Tempels bei den Tierhetzen in die Arena geschickt...»

M. Harlan³⁰ wiederum hat die alte These neu aufgegriffen und erklärte die Denarbilder des Cn. Plancius schlicht als «a summation of his own military service.»

Zusammenfassend kann man nun festhalten, daß bisher drei verschiedene Interpretationen angeboten wurden: a) Jagdszene als Erinnerung des Aufenthaltes auf Kreta, b) Anspielung auf den Triumph des Pompeius über die kretischen Piraten, c) Erinnerung an seine eigene militärische Leistung.

Wenden wir uns zunächst der Interpretation Crawfords zu, indem wir kurz auf die Frage der Konstellation des Bildthemas eingehen. In der Mitte des Reversfeldes wird ein stehender Ziegenbock nach rechts mit langen aufsteigenden Hörnern wiedergegeben. Er steht auf einer fast durchlaufenden Linie, die den leeren Abschnitt vom Feld abgrenzt. Links im Feld sind von rechts nach links Bogen und Köcher auf der gleichen Standlinie aufrecht angesetzt. Das Motiv des Tieres, so wie es sich auf einer großen Zahl kretischer Prägungen mehrerer Städte in verschiedenen Variationen (Köpfe oder Protomai) wiederfindet,³¹ erlangt hier den gleichen Charakter, wie den der auf den Reversen abgebildeten Bienen, mit denen es sich komplementär ergänzt und die Fauna der Insel präsentiert.

Einen solchen für Kreta symbolischen Charakter erlangt das Agrimi m. E auch auf dem Denar des Cn. Plancius, allerdings unter einem anderen Gesichtspunkt: Köcher und

²⁵ Kraft 1968, 23f.

²⁶ Plinius n.h. 7, 98.

²⁷ RRC 455.

²⁸ Hollstein 1993, 336.

²⁹ Hollstein 1993, 338f.

³⁰ Harlan, M., *Roman Republican Moneyers and their Coins 63 BC - 49 BC* (1997) 114. Ähnlich Böhm, St., *Die Münzen der Römischen Republik und ihre Bildquellen* (1997) 152. Die Datierung der Prägung auf das Jahr 50 v. Chr. ist wohl auf einen Druckfehler zurückzuführen.

³¹ s. o. Anm. 22.

Bogen mögen vielleicht die Unbeweglichkeit des Tieres etwas in den Hintergrund rücken und doch an Jagdszenen erinnern. Dabei muß man aber bedenken, daß der Krieg auf Kreta, an dem Cn. Plancius teilnahm, ein unerbittlicher war und einen für die Römer nur schwierig erzwungenen Sieg mit sich brachte.³² Somit beinhaltet das Bild keinesfalls den Aspekt einer Jagdszene, den wir eher nach einem Aufenthalt des Cn. Plancius dort in friedlichen Zeiten erwarten würden, sondern in gewisser Weise den der kriegerischen Auseinandersetzung. Die potentiellen Assoziationen, die beim Betrachter erweckt werden könnten, wären in erster Linie Kreta und der zweijährige Krieg, der der Eroberung vorausging.³³ In diesem Zusammenhang fungieren auch die kretischen Köcher und Bogen, die im gesamten Altertum so sehr bekannt waren, daß sie von römischen Dichtern mit Namen kretischer Städte versehen wurden.³⁴

Ähnlich unhaltbar wird sich nun auch aus folgenden Gründen die zweite These erweisen, die in dem Bild eine Anspielung auf eine militärische Leistung des Pompeius vermutet: Bei der Wahl der kurulischen Aedilen des Jahres 55 v. Chr. wurde Cn. Plancius nicht von Pompeius sondern von Crassus unterstützt.³⁵ Andererseits trat Q. Caecilius Metellus nicht als Ankläger auf, wie dies ohne Grund angegeben wurde.³⁶ Vielmehr standen beide Männer weiterhin auch zum Zeitpunkt des Prozesses in einem recht guten Verhältnis zueinander.³⁷ Ferner erlaubt uns die Quellenlage nicht, ohne Vorbehalte den Triumph über Kreta Pompeius zuzuschreiben, denn bekanntlich erhielt Metellus den Beinamen Creticus.³⁸ Schließlich wird Kreta nur von Plinius (n. h. 7, 89) zu den Gebieten gezählt, die Pompeius von der Piraten befreite. Plinius gibt aber lediglich ein kurzes Verzeichnis der Taten des Pompeius im Osten an (so wie es bei der Einführung zu seinem Triumph mündlich lauteten, wieder³⁹). Bei Plutarch (Pomp. 45,2) oder sogar Diodor (40, 4), der eine vollständigere Aufzählung als Plinius wiedergibt, wird Kreta nicht erwähnt. Hier ist nur von Kyrene die Rede als benachbartes Gebiet. Andererseits hat weder die Frage «wer von den zwei Männern hier verherrlicht werden soll –Pompeius oder Metellus?»⁴⁰ eine Daseinsberechtigung, noch kann der Feststellung, daß die Darstellungen der Denare der zwei Aedilen Cn. Plancius und A. Plautius einen parallelen Aufbau haben,⁴¹ zugestimmt werden. Zum einen, weil die Vermutung nicht zwingend ist, daß Cn. Plancius einen der zwei Männer mit seinem Revers verherrlichen

³² Zur Härte des Krieges vgl. Vell. 2, 34, 1; Val. Max. 7, 6 ext. 1; Eutr. 6, 11, 1; Oros. 6, 4, 2; Flor. 1, 42, 4; Plut. Pomp. 29, 2f.; Dio cass. 36, 18, 1f.

³³ So auch Hollstein 1993, 336f.

³⁴ Ov. met. 8, 22; 7, 778; Prop. 2, 12, 10; Luc. 3, 185f.; Hor. carm. 4, 9, 17f.

³⁵ A. Plautius war der Kandidat des Pompeius, s. Taylor, L. R., «Magistrates of 55 B.C. in Cicero's Pro Plancio and Catullus 52» Athenaeum 42, 1964, 22f. Anm. 28.

³⁶ Babelon II 1885, 317.

³⁷ Pro Plancio 27.

³⁸ App. Sik 6, 7; Eutr. 6, 11, 1; Flor. 1, 42, 6; Dio Cass. 36, 17a

³⁹ «Hoc est breviarum eius ab oriente, triumpho vero, quem duxit a. d. III. Karl. Oct. M. Pisone M. Messala cos., praefatio haec fuit:..»

⁴⁰ so Kraft 1968, 24.

⁴¹ so Hollstein 1993, 333; 339.

mußte; zum anderen, weil der bildliche Aufbau der zwei Denare sehr verschieden ist⁴² und es nicht gesichert ist, ob der Revers des Plautius-Denars überhaupt einen Bezug zu Pompeius hat.⁴³

M. E kann nur dem letzten Vorschlag zugestimmt werden. Avers und Revers des Plancius-Denars ergänzen sich komplementär im Hinblick auf seine politische und militärische Karriere. Ergänzend zu der bisherigen dieser Deutung positiv gesinnten Literatur, welche den Einwand betreffend die unbedeutende Funktion des Aedils auf Kreta nicht zurückweisen konnte, wird mit Hilfe der Verteidigungsrede Ciceros gezeigt, daß die demagogischen Aspekte einer solchen Verteidigungsrede, so wie sie sich sowohl in manch emphatischen Wiederholungen zur makellosen Vergangenheit des Angeklagten als auch in den Ausführungen über seine eigentlich «unbedeutenden» militärischen Verdienste entfalten, sich mit Sicherheit im selben Parameter bewegen, wie der Gesichtspunkt der Assoziationsabsichten, die Plancius in dem Betrachter seiner Denare erwecken wollte. Die kretische Thematik kann somit sehr wohl in diese Richtung gelenkt werden.

Cicero (Pro Plancio 5-35) befaßt sich in seiner Rede zunächst mit einigen äußeren Bedingungen des Wahlergebnisses und räumt ein, daß Laterensis –der erfolglose Ankläger– sowohl auf väterlicher als auch mütterlicher Seite Konsulen unter den Ahnen habe im Gegensatz zum Neuling Plancius, der durch seine Herkunft ihm beträchtlich unterlegen sei. Dieser Umstand soll für Cn. Plancius sogar förderlich gewesen sein, denn Laterensis stammte aus Tusculum, wo viele konsularische Familien beheimatet waren. Dagegen war die Bewerbung eines Gemeindemitgliedes aus Atina, aus dem Cn. Plancius stammte und das sich eines bescheidenen Ansehens erfreute, ein besonderes Ereignis, sodaß die Atinaten sich mit großem Eifer für ihn einsetzten.⁴⁴ Es heißt, er habe dabei nicht wegen seines Ansehens und seiner Macht Gehör gefunden, sondern wegen seiner Verdienste. Auf diese Verdienste geht nun Cicero wiederholt ein:

«Fuit in Creta postea contubernalis Saturnini, propinqui sui; miles huius Q. Metelli, cui quum fuerit *probatissimus hodieque sit*, omnibus esse se probatum debet sperare. In ea provincia legatus fuit C. Sacerdos, qua virtute, qua constantia vir! L. Flaccus, qui homo! qui civis! *qualem hunc putent assiduitate testimonioque declarant.*»⁴⁵ Er fragt mehrmals den Ankläger Laterensis «Hunc tu vitae splendorem maculis aspergis istis?»,⁴⁶ «Rogas quae castra viderit;», wobei er

⁴² Der Cybele-Kopf mit Mauerkrone des Avers des Plautius spielt auf die Megalensia an (vgl. RRC 356/1; 409/2), die von den Aedilen auszurichten waren. Cybele galten die ersten Spiele eines jedes Jahres, vgl. Hollstein 1993, 332 mit Anm. 35.

⁴³ Die Deditiohaltung einer männlichen Gestalt vor einem Repräsentanten des römischen Volkes (der allerdings nicht im Münzbild erscheint), die die Zügel eines links vor ihr stehenden Dromedars in der Linken hält, kann mit der neutraleren Thematik des Plancius-Reverses nicht verglichen werden. Außerdem bietet uns die erklärende Aufschrift eines nicht identifizierbaren BACCHIUS JUDAEUS keinen zwingenden Beweis für eine Pompeius-Thematik. Für die verschiedene Interpretationen vgl. Hollstein 1993, 326ff.

⁴⁴ Pro Plancio 21.

⁴⁵ Pro Plancio 27f.

⁴⁶ Pro Plancio 30.

selbst antwortet, indem er auf Metellus Creticus zeigt: «*qui et miles in Creta hoc imperatore et...*»⁴⁷

Im Hinblick auf den Schwerpunkt, den Cicero dem Militärdienst Cn. Plancius auf Kreta verleiht, indem er sowohl mehrmals auf ihn als auch auf die Veteranen dieses Krieges eingeht, bestätigt sich zum Teil die Deutung der kretischen Thematik⁴⁸ als eine zunächst auf die biographische Ebene gezielte Verbildlichung, die sich aber interessanterweise mit dem Avers auf zwei weiteren bisher unerkannten Ebenen komplementär ergänzt, nämlich der Mythologie und Onomastik!⁴⁹

Wir erfahren von Justin (VII 1, 7), daß der Stammvater Makedoniens, als er nach einem Orakelspruch hierher kam, um eine Stadt mit einer großen Menge Griechen in Besitz zu nehmen, nach Edessa gelangte, indem er einer großen Ziegenherde folgte, die vor dem Regen floh. Dabei erinnerte er sich an den Orakelspruch, durch den ihm die Zuweisung gekommen war, sich von Ziegen in sein gesuchtes Reich führen zu lassen. So bestimmte er diese Stadt zu seinem Königssitz und Edessa nannte er zur Erinnerung an den Dienst der Ziegen Aigai (Ziegenstadt)!⁵⁰ Diese Parallele, wie sie hier wiedergegeben wird, mag zunächst unplausibel erscheinen. Sie zeigt sich aber unter einem ganz anderen Licht, wenn man bedenkt –und dies dürfte kein Zufall sein-, daß der Name dieses makedonischen Stammvaters Karanos war,⁵¹ genauso wie die Kreter ihre Ziegen nannten!⁵²

Damit erklärt sich wahrscheinlich auch die Auswahl des Motivs des Ziegenbocks als Symbol für Kreta an sich, das eigentlich untypisch ist, aber trotzdem wesentlich verständlicheren Symbolen, die die Insel implizieren könnten, wie das Labyrinth, Minos, Europa auf dem Stier u.s.w., vorgezogen wurde.

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⁴⁷ Pro Plancio 61.

⁴⁸ Diese Sicht verdeutlicht in unserem Zusammenhang Cicero (85) noch einmal, als er auf eine Anmerkung des Anklägers Laterensis eingeht: «Admonuisti etiam, quod in Creta fuisses, dictum aliquod in petitionem tuam dici potuisse; me id perdidisse». Laterensis soll also behauptet haben, daß er auch auf Kreta gewesen ist, was Cicero zunächst irritierte, denn diese Behauptung entsprach nicht der Wahrheit. Erst bei der schriftlichen Fassung bekommt Cicero die Gelegenheit dem Ankläger zu erwidern, daß diese Anspielung ihm leider entgangen sei. Laterensis machte nämlich mit dieser Äußerung ein Wortspiel. Er meinte damit nichts anderes, als daß er auch ein glänzender Kandidat gewesen sei. Denn das Wort Creta bedeutete auch die Kreide, die sog. creta fullonia, mit welcher die Kandidaten ihren weißen Gewändern einen besonders starken Glanz auftrugen, vgl. T. Livius 4, 26; Plinius n.h. 17, 46; Pers. 5, 155; Zur creta follonia s. Mommsen, Th., Römisches Staatsrecht 3 (1887) 479 mit Anm. 2; Kommentar bei Köpke 1856, 97 mit Anm. 2.

⁴⁹ Diese dreifache Ergänzung ist nur im Rahmen der längst als kompliziert erkannten Bildersprache der gesamten spätrepublikanischen Münzprägung zu verstehen, die vom hellenistischen Osten in extensiver Weise Allegorien, Personifikationen und Symbole übernahm, sodaß sie beim Betrachter beträchtliche Bildung und flexible Intelligenz voraussetzte, vgl. zutreffend Hölscher, T., Staatsdenkmal und Publikum. Vom Untergang der Republik bis zur Festigung des Kaisertums in Rom. Xenia 9 (1984) 12-6 mit Vergleichsbeispielen aus der synchronen Denarprägung.

⁵⁰ Vgl. Hammond, N. G. L., A History of Macedonia I (1972) 156f.

⁵¹ Diod. 7, 17; Theopomp. frg. 30; Vgl. Kahrstedt RE 1919 s.v. Karanos 1928-9.

⁵² s. Hesychios, κάρων. τὴν αἶγα κρήτες.

**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 Diktyнна.

³ C. Kerényi, *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 Crétoise* 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 Eintwicklung 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», *NM* 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* I, 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 Διός» *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, «Ττήνα 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 KYΔΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ (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: «...όξυστόμους γὰρ Ζηνὸς ἀκραγεῖς κύνας γρῦπας ...»; 1021-25: «...Διὸς δέ τοι πτηνὸς κύων, δαφροῖνός αἰετός ...»; Soph. *Frg.* 884: «... ὁ σκηπτροβάμων αἰετός 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.

ἔξοχα δ' ἀλλάων Γορτυνίδα φίλαο νύμφην,
 ἔλλοφόνον Βριτόμαρτιν εὐσκοπον. ἧς ποτε Μίνως
 πτοιοηθεὶς ὑπ' ἔρωτι κατέδραμεν οὔρεα Κρήτης.
 ἦ δ' ὅτε μὲν λασίησιν ὑπὸ δρυσὶ κρύπτετο νύμφη,
 ἄλλοτε δ' εἰαμενῆσιν

(«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 τιμὴ ἢ 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 Delepiere, 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. Delepiere, «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 ἀείσομεν ἢ Ἐλυκαῖον;
 ἐν Δοιῇ μάλα θυμός, ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφήριστον.
 Ζεῦ, σὲ μὲν Ἰδαίοισιν ἐν οὐρεσὶ φασι γενέσθαι,
 Ζεῦ, σὲ δ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ. πότεροι, πάτερ, ἐψεύσαντο;
 Κρηῖτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται

(«How should we call him? As lord of Dikte or of Lykæum? 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 Diktyнна 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, *Diktyнна. 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.
- Jurgeit 1980: F. Jurgeit, «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 ελληγιστικών 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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**THE PRICE OF POWER:
DRACHMS IN THE NAME OF ALEXANDER IN
GREECE***
(ON THE THESSALY/1993 CONFISCATION)

The 1993 confiscation acquired by the Numismatic Museum thanks to the efforts of the Attica Security Police is a typical example of a hoard yielded by the soil of Thessaly with a concealment date in the second to third quarter of the 3rd c. BC.

The descriptive catalogue that follows is used as the basis for a general consideration of the behaviour of the various local mints in Greece in the third century BC and also for the investigation of the coinage of Alexander the Great during a period of major upheaval and realignment. Further, the publication of the new hoard is made the occasion of a general review of coinages in Greece during the period of the Diadochi.

The new find contains tetradrachms of Philip II (1 specimen), Alexander III (3), Lysimachos (1) and Athens (2), drachms of Alexander III (37), Philip III (6), Lysimachos (2), Larisa (3) and Pharsalos (1), hemidrachms of Pharsalos (2), the Opuntian Lokrians (3) and Sikyon (1) and a diobol of Larisa (1). Its composition is thus similar to the hoards IGCH 159 (Phayttos) and IGCH 168 (Larisa).

Abbreviations - Catalogue

Le Rider	G. Le Rider, <i>Le Monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe frappé en Macedoine de 359 à 294</i> (Paris 1977).
Price	M. J. Price, <i>The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus: A British Museum Catalogue</i> (Zurich/London 1991).
Hersh	Ch. Hersh, Additions and Corrections to Martin J. Price's <i>The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus</i> , <i>Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price</i> (London 1998), 135-144.
Thompson	M. Thompson, <i>The Mints of Lysimachus, Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson</i> (London 1968) 163-182.

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| | <u>Philip II</u> (Tetradrachms) | 1 Spec. |
| 1. | 1. Le Rider no. 314, pl. 35: Amphipolis IIb (342/41-329/28 BC) | |
| | <u>Alexander III</u> (Tetradrachms) | 3 Spec. |
| 2. | 1. Price no. 501: Amphipolis (294-290 BC) | |

* Thanks are due to Dr. Eva Apostolou for her substantial help in registering the drachms of the hoards deposited in the Athens Numismatic Museum, and not only; to Mr Christos Gadzolis for putting the evidence from the study of the Potidaea hoards at our disposal; and finally to the ANS scientific staff for providing us with useful information about hoard acquisitions containing drachms from the American Numismatic Society. Much appreciated and welcome was Professor's J. Kroll contribution in brushing up the original English text.

3. 2. Price no. 2665: Sardis (319-315 BC)
 4. 3. Price no. 3641: Babylon (325-323 BC)
- Alexander III** (Drachms) 37 Spec.
5. 1. Price no. 564A: Pella? (285-275 BC)
- 6-7. 2-3. Price no. 862b: Unc. Greek or Macedonian Mint (310-275 BC)
 8. 4. Price no. 862c: Unc. Greek or Macedonian Mint (310-275 BC)
9. 5. Price no. 1350: Lampsakos (328-323 BC)
 10-12. 6-8. Price no. 1382: Lampsakos (310-301 BC)
 13. 9. Price no. 1398: Lampsakos (310-301 BC)
 14. 10. Price no. 1401: Lampsakos (310-301 BC)
 15-16. 11-12. Price no. 1406: Lampsakos (310-301 BC)
 17. 13. Price no. 1427: Lampsakos (310-301 BC)
 18. 14. Price no. 1428: Lampsakos [mouse l.] (310-301 BC)
 and no.1375: Lampsakos [Δ below throne] (323-317 BC)
 19. 15. Price no. 1434: Lampsakos (310-301 BC)
 20. 16. Price no. 1505: Abydos? (328-323 BC)
 21. 17. Price no. 1528: Abydos? (310-301 BC)
 22. 18. Price no. 1750: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)
 23. 19. Price no. 1786: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)
 24. 20. Price no. 1795: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)
 25. 21. Price no. 1809: «Kolophon» (310-301 BC)
 26. 22. Price no. 1812b: «Kolophon» (310-301 BC)
 27. 23. Price no. 1813: «Kolophon» (310-301 BC)
 28. 24. Price no. 1824: «Kolophon» (310-301 BC)
 29-32. 25-28. Price no. 1825: «Kolophon» (310-301 BC)
 33. 29. Price no. 1832: «Kolophon» (301-297 BC)
 34. 30. Price no. 1965 (Hersh no. 113): Magnesia (319-305 BC)
 35-36. 31-32. Price no. 2121: Miletos (323-319 BC)
 37-38. 33-34. Price no. 2090: Miletos (325-323 BC)
 39. 35. Price no. 2626: Sardis (323-319 BC)
 40. 36. Price no. 2550: Sardis (334-323 BC)
 41. 37. Price no. 2796: W. Asia Minor (323-280 BC)
- Philip III** (Drachms) 6 Spec.
42. 1. Price pl. CXXXVII, no. P42: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)
 43-44. 2-3. Price pl. CXXXVII, no. P44: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)
 45. 4. Price pl. CXXXVII, no. P46c: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)
 46. 5. Price pl. CXXXVII, no. P47a: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)
 47. 6. Price pl. CXXXVIII, no. P56a: Magnesia (323-319 BC)
- Lysimachos** (Tetradrachms) 1 Spec.
48. 1. Thompson no. 45: Lampsakos (297/96-282/81 BC)

- Lysimachos** (Drachms) 2 Spec.
49. 1. Thompson no. 120: Kolophon (301/00-300/99 BC)
50. 2. Thompson *ca* no.129: Teos [IIP Griffin] (299/98-297/96 BC)
- Larissa** (Drachms) 3 Spec.
- 51-53. 1-3. SNG, Cop. no. 120ff (395-344 BC)
- Larissa** (Diobols) 1 Spec.
54. 1. SNG, Cop. no. 132-133 (395-344 BC)
- Pharsalos** (Drachms) 1 Spec.
55. 1. SNG, Cop. no. 220-221 (440-344 BC)
- Pharsalos** (Hemidrachms) 2 Spec.
- 56-57. 1-2. SNG, Cop. no. 222-223 (440-344 BC)
- Opuntii Locri** (Hemidrachms) 3 Spec.
- 58-60. 1-3. SNG, Cop. no. 48 (369-338 BC)
- Athens** (Tetradrachms) 2 Spec.
61. 1. J. Bingen, *Le trésor monétaire Thorikos* 1969, Thorikos VI, 1969, 7ff groupe 2 (2nd quarter of the 4th c. BC-ca. 317 BC)
62. 2. H. Nicolet- J. Kroll, *AJN* 2, 1990, 3-4, pl. 3, 21 (270-240 BC)
- Sikyon** (Hemidrachms) 1 Spec.
63. 1. SNG, Cop. no. 57ff (4th c. BC)

Hoards containing drachms in the name of Alexander III were concealed in Greece from the first years after Alexander's death down to about the middle of the 2nd c. BC (though only in a very limited number of cases), when the majority of the silver issues of the cities and leagues ceased almost completely to circulate. The picture that emerges from these hoards is that coins of large value, which in most cases originated outside of Greece, are found only occasionally (tetradrachms of Philip II, Alexander III, Philip III, Demetrios Poliorketes, Lysimachos, Athens, the Seleukids, the Attalids and the Ptolemies), as were coins minted at the centres of the international carrying trade (didrachms and drachms of Rhodes, for example). Most regions of Central and Southern were served mainly by coins minted and circulated within the regions themselves, normally with small purchasing power and generally found only over a limited, local area.

Against this background, drachms in the name of Alexander III (the majority issued by eastern mints, like the drachms of Philip III that accompanied them) played a decisive role, for they are found with the same frequency, regardless of geographical distribution, both in mixed hoards containing tetradrachms of Alexander and in unmixed hoards consisting solely of drachms. Certain fluctuations may be noted, however, with regard to the interval during which they were in circulation in different areas:

They are found in hoards in Macedonia from 310-305 down to ca. 280 BC,¹ in Thessaly from 300 down to about the middle of the 3rd c. BC,² and in Central Greece from 310 into the first quarter of the 3rd c. BC.³ In the Peloponnese, drachms in the name of Alexander were concealed at irregular intervals with no obvious chronological groupings, from 300 BC to about the end of the 3rd c. BC, an exception being the hoard from the Peloponnese, for which we have no precise find spot (IGCH 246, concealment date: 175-150 BC), which is to some extent a collector's savings. It is only in Euboea that the interment of such coins may be assigned to a later date, and here only for the period from 260 BC to about the end of the 3rd c. BC.⁴

We thus have a situation where in Macedonia the drachms in the name of Alexander, a preeminently «Macedonian» coinage, remained in circulation for only a relatively short time after the date of issue though certainly longer than in Central Greece. In Thessaly, by contrast, the normal circulation of Alexander drachms continued with some fluctuations down to about 250 BC. In the Peloponnese, where Alexander

¹ The late hoard from Vergi (IGCH 455, concealment date: 250-230 BC) is evidently a collector's – savings hoard and does not reflect the range of coins in circulation at the time of its interment.

² In the late hoard from Larisa (IGCH 239, concealment date: 175-165 BC) the Alexander drachm is clearly a «residual» element.

³ The relatively late hoards from Thebes (IGCH 193, concealment date: 240-225 BC) and Abai (IGCH 195, concealment date: 225-200 BC) are certainly hoards that also contain coins from previous periods.

⁴ According to Callataÿ, RBN 129, 1983, 58, «pour l'Asie Mineure, le trésor de Konya (IGCH, 1414), enfoui pense-t-on en 187 av. J.-C., est le dernier à contenir des drachmes d' Alexandre».

For the understanding of the behaviour of the Alexander drachms in Asia Minor, and in Asia generally, a synthetic work continues to be a desideratum. (A notable contribution, from this point of view, is that made by E. Özgen, A. Davesne, *Le trésor de Oylum Höyüğü*, in: *Trésors et circulation monétaire en Anatolie Antique*, Paris 1994, 45-59, esp. 54ff.).

drachms are reported in hoards concealed down to the end of the 3rd c. BC, the hoards in which they occur divide into at least two chronologically distinct groups (300-280 BC and 250-215 BC). This circumstance is probably a reflection of political events that led, amongst other things, to concentration of hoarding.

With regard to the other coinages, Central Greece, Euboea, Thessaly and the Peloponnese are clearly areas in which coins issued by other, bordering or non-bordering areas were in circulation in addition to local issues (mainly of small denominations), whereas Macedonia was evidently self-sufficient in terms of its coinage (apart, of course, from the ubiquitous Athenian tetradrachms and tetradrachms of the Seleukids).

The mints whose output is characterised by a distinctly limited circulation includes those of Larisa and the Thessalian cities generally, of Phokis and of the Euboean League. In contrast, the mints of the Opuntian Lokrians, Sikyon, Histiaea and the Boeotian League were very active, their coins being accepted in areas frequently far removed from the places of issue:

A. With regard to the former group: coins issued by Larisa are found in hoards containing Alexander drachms only from Thessaly [Trikala: IGCH 117 (300 BC), «Thessaly»: IGCH 146 (280 BC), «Thessaly»: CH VIII, 278 (270 BC), Larisa: IGCH 168 (250-> BC), Phalanna: CH III, 43 (240 BC)]. They are completely absent from Macedonia, Thrace, Central Greece, Aetolia and the Aegean islands.⁵

Of the denominations in circulation, drachms form the largest proportion in the hoards.

B. With regard to the latter group, on the other hand, it may be noted that the issues of the Opuntian Lokrians are found in hoards from Thessaly [«Thessaly»: IGCH 146 (280 BC), «Thessaly»: CH VIII, 278 (270 BC), Phayttos: IGCH 159 (260-240 BC), Phalanna: CH III, 43 (240 BC), Larisa: IGCH 239 (175-165 BC)], Central Greece [Ayioi Theodoroi: IGCH 93 (285 BC), Abai in Phokis: IGCH 195 (225-200 BC)], Aetolia [Dokimion: IGCH 173 (250-225 BC)], Euboea [Eretria: IGCH 189 (250-200 BC), Eretria: IGCH 175 (245 BC), Chalkis: IGCH 205 (<-200 BC)] and the Peloponnese [Olympia: IGCH 176 (245 BC)], but are completely absent from Macedonia, Thrace and the Aegean islands.⁶

Of the denominations in circulation, triobols form the largest proportion in the hoards, followed by staters.

Issues of Sikyon are also found in hoards from Thessaly [Trikala: IGCH 117 (300 BC), «Thessaly»: IGCH 133 (300-> BC), Phayttos: IGCH 159 (260-240 BC), Phalanna: CH III, 43 (240 BC)], Central Greece [Ayioi Theodoroi: IGCH 93 (285 BC), Abai in Phokis: IGCH 195 (225-200 BC)] and the Peloponnese [Talanta: IGCH 132 (300-> BC), Olympia: IGCH 176 (245 BC), Patra: IGCH 186 (218 BC), «Peloponnese»: IGCH 246 (175-150 BC)]. They are completely absent from Macedonia, Thrace, Aetolia and the Aegean islands, including Euboea. The last-named island, however, is a special case from

⁵ For the coinage of Larisa, see F. Hermann, *Die Silbermünzen von Larissa in Thessalien*, ZfN 35, 1924-25, 1-69. C. Lorber, *The Early Facing Head Drachms of Thessalian Larissa*, *Florilegium Numismaticum. Studia in Honorem U. Westermark Edita*, Stockholm 1992, 259-282.

⁶ For the coinage of the Opuntian Lokrians, see J. Morineau Humphris, *A Hoard from Thessaly*, CH III, 1977, 43. H. Nicolet, M. Oeconomides, *La circulation monétaire dans le Péloponnèse et le trésor de Zakynthos (Zante) de 1904* (IGCH 245), *QT* 20, 1991, 175-179. U. Wartenberg, *The Alexander-Eagle Hoard: Thessaly 1992*, NC 157, 180-181.

many points of view: as an extension of the mainland opposite, so to speak, it participated not only in events being played out in the Aegean, but also in those in Central Greece and Attica-Boeotia.⁷

With regard to regal coinages, tetradrachms of Philip II, normally posthumous issues, are absent from finds dating after the death of Alexander in Macedonia and the Peloponnese, but were hoarded relatively late in the rest of Greece: in Thessaly down to 229 BC (from as early as 285 BC onwards) and in Euboea down to 235 BC (though from 250 BC onwards). In Central Greece, by contrast, they occur only at early dates, and were withdrawn from circulation at the beginning of the 3rd c. BC (310-300 BC).

Tetradrachms of Alexander III were concealed in Greece only after the king's death: in Macedonia and Thrace from 310-300 BC down to 270-250 BC, in Central Greece down to 300 BC, in Euboea from 260 BC down to 230 BC and in the Peloponnese from 295-280 down to 215 BC. (The presence of Alexander tetradrachms in both Macedonia and the Peloponnese, in mixed hoards with concealment dates of 230 BC and 175-150 BC respectively, involve savings hoards, not hoards of coins in regular circulation.⁸

Tetradrachms of Philip III occur in hoards in Macedonia from 280 BC down to 230 BC, in Central Greece in hoards no later than the first quarter of the 3rd c. BC and present roughly the same picture in Thessaly. In the Peloponnese, they occur regularly in finds from 280 BC down to 214 BC and continue down to 175-150 BC in savings hoards rather than hoards of coins in general circulation.

Tetradrachms of Demetrios Poliorketes appear in Macedonia in hoards with concealment dates in the period from 280-270 BC down to 250-230 BC, in Euboea from 260 BC to 245 BC and in Thessaly from 260 BC down to 245 BC. They are completely absent from Central Greece.

Tetradrachms of Lysimachos are found in hoards in Macedonia and Thrace with a burial date from 280 down to 230 BC, in Euboea from 260 to 245 BC and in the Peloponnese from 295 down to 220 BC. They too are absent from Central Greece.

Tetradrachms of the Ptolemies, which are absent from hoards in Macedonia for historical reasons, appear as a significant proportion in the Peloponnese, where they circulated from the period from 250 BC down to 215 BC —doubtless as a result of Egyptian interference in Greek affairs during the Chremonidean War and also of Ptolemy III's intervention in the events leading up to the confrontation at Selassia (222

⁷ For the coinage of Sikyon, see J.A.W. Warren, *The autonomous bronze coinage of Sikyon, Part I*, NC 1983, *passim*; eadem, *Updating (and Datedating) the Autonomous Bronze Coinage of Sikyon*, in: *Studies in Greek Numismatics in memory of Martin Jessop Price*, London 1998, 347-361.

⁸ It is interesting to contrast the circulation and behaviour of Alexander tetradrachms found in those hoards from which drachms in the name of Alexander are absent, as are coins of small purchasing value in general. In Macedonia, Alexander tetradrachms appear between 323 BC and 280 BC almost without interruption, and occasionally from 250 BC to 180. In Thessaly from 335(?)–330 to 280-270 BC without interruption, and occasionally from 250 to 187. In Central Greece from 319 BC to 287 BC almost without interruption, and occasionally thereafter around 250 BC. In the Peloponnese from 330-325 BC to 280 BC without interruption, and occasionally from 250 BC to about 200 BC.

BC). Their presence is also attested (from 250/240 BC on) in Central Greece, Eretria, Thessaly and Aetolia, though in limited quantities.⁹

Tetradrachms of the Seleucids are contained in hoards mainly from Macedonia (280-230 BC), Euboea (260-230 BC), the Peloponnese (230-215 BC) and to a lesser extent Thessaly (c. 270 BC). They are absent from Central Greece and Aetolia.

Tetradrachms of the Attalids are found with Alexander drachms in hoards from Eretria, Thessaly and the Peloponnese (245-220 BC). They are absent from Macedonia, Central Greece and Aetolia.

The evidence of the hoards suggests that tetradrachms in the name of Alexander made their appearance earlier than anywhere else in Thessaly (335(?)-330 BC) and the Peloponnese (330-325 BC), followed by Macedonia (323 BC) and Central Greece (319 BC).

The explanation for this phenomenon is undoubtedly to be sought in a number of historical circumstances:

In accordance with the general practice in the Macedonian kingdom, neither the newly-married (*neogamoi*) Macedonians of the Asian army who were sent back for the winter to their homeland in 334 BC, with the intention of returning to Gordion the following year,¹⁰ nor the aged and sick veterans (*apomachoi*) who, it was decided early in the summer of 329 should return from the Oxos to their birthplace,¹¹ appear to have received any financial remuneration from Alexander, apart, of course from the *siteresion*;¹²

⁹ For the circulation of Ptolemaic coins in Greece, see also Y. Touratsoglou, DISJECTA MEMBRA, Two new Hellenistic hoards from Greece, Bibliotheca of the Hellenic Numismatic Society 3, Athens 1995, 85-86.

¹⁰ Arrian I 29.4 (καὶ οἱ νεόγαμοι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας σταλέντες εἰς Γόρδιον ἤκον καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἄλλη στρατιὰ καταλεχθεῖσα - Cf. A.B. Bosworth, Macedonian Manpower under Alexander the Great, Ancient Macedonia IV, 1986, 118. J. Seibert, Demographische und wirtschaftliche Probleme Makedoniens in der frühen Diadochenzeit, in: Studien zur Alte Geschichte (Festschrift S. Lauffer), III, Rome 1989, 843.

¹¹ Arrian III 29.5 (cf. also Arrian V 27.5): τῶν τε Μακεδόνων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ ἤδη ἀπολέμους ... ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀπέστειλεν. Cf. A.B. Bosworth, Macedonian Manpower under Alexander the Great, Ancient Macedonia IV, 1986, 120-121, and R.D. Milns, Army Pay and the Military Budget of Alexander the Great, Zu Alexander d. Gr., Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60 Geburtstag am 9.12.86, Amsterdam 1987, 244. According to Curt., 7 5,27, who is probably confusing his sources at this point, the Macedonian infantry (about four hundred according to N.G.L. Hammond, JHS 119, 1989, 64) were sent back *monitosque ut liberos generarent*. To these, Alexander *dedit terna denarium* (drachms? tetradrachms?) *milia*. Cf. J. Seibert, Demographische und wirtschaftliche Probleme Makedoniens in der frühen Diadochenzeit, in: Studien zur Alten Geschichte (Festschrift S. Lauffer), III, Rome 1986, 840 and 843-44.

¹² This conclusion is supported by the late appearance of tetradrachms in hoards from Macedonia. R.D. Milns, Army Pay and the Military Budget of Alexander the Great, Zu Alexander d. Gr., Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60 Geburtstag am 9.12.86, Amsterdam 1987, 235, properly notes that «we have no positive evidence before the Indian campaign that specifically mentions *payment* being made to Macedonians». It was only decided in 325/24 BC to generalise the practice of making actual payments to soldiers by extending payment (*misthophora*) to the veterans. A question that needs to be investigated, however, is the reason behind the decision to mint drachms (especially these), in addition to the tetradrachms and staters that had already been in circulation for some time (being used mainly to pay the mercenaries), the production of which intensified at the new mints. See Y. Touratsoglou, Back to the Future; Alexander the Great's Silver and Gold in the Balkans: the Hoard Evidence, in: Coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh, London 1998, 71-101 for the fate of the silver and gold issues in the name of Alexander in hoards from the Balkans; and J.H.C. Williams, A. Burnett, Alexander the Great and the Coinages of Western Greece, in: Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price, London 1998, 379-393, for a similar investigation of Italy and Sicily.

despite this, the Greek allies, whether volunteers or not, were treated as mercenaries and many of them received special treatment in terms of their payment.

In southern Greece, tetradrachms (in all probability) will have accompanied the Greek mercenaries dismissed by Alexander after the torching of the palace at Persepolis in summer 330 BC, who were paid a bonus totalling 2,000 talents, in addition to their salary.¹³ The early appearance of tetradrachms in hoards from Thessaly, indeed, is probably to be connected with the events at the river Oxus in 329 BC, when a number of Thessalian volunteers were sent home.¹⁴

The channelling of tetradrachms to the Peloponnese, too, especially in the west, north and central areas, is undoubtedly to be connected with the confrontation in 331/330 BC between Agis, assisted by the Eleans, Arcadians and Achaeans, and Antipater, who was supported by Alexander to the sum of at least 3,000 talents of silver.¹⁵ Moreover, as early as 333 BC, in better financial condition than when he set out from Pella,¹⁶ Alexander had sent «an officer with money ... (probably tetradrachms) ... to recruit mercenaries».¹⁷ The Peloponnese was probably also the final destination of the

¹³ Arrian III 19.5-6 [see also Diodorus 17 74.3 (τούς τε όφειλομένους μισθούς), Curt. 6 2,15-17. Plutarch, Alexander 42,3]: τούς μὲν Θετταλοὺς ἰππέας καὶ τούς ξυμμάχους όπίσω ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, τόν τε μισθόν ἀποδοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐντελῆ τὸν ξυντεταγμένον καὶ δισχίλια παρ' αὐτοῦ τάλαντα ἐπιδούς. See also N.G.L. Hammond, Alexander's Veterans after his Death, GRBS 25, 1984, 53, and idem, The Macedonian State. The Origins, Institutions, and History, Oxford 1992², 212. Idem, Alexander the Great, King, Commander and Statesman, 1994³, 170. R.D. Milns, Army Pay and the Military Budget of Alexander the Great, Zu Alexander d. Gr., Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60. Geburtstag am 9.12.86, Amsterdam 1987, 240.

¹⁴ Arrian III 29.5 (see also Arr. V 27,5): καὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς καταμείναντες, ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπέστειλεν. Curt., 7 5,27 adds that Alexander gave *bina talenta equiti* (probably in tetradrachms). For these events, see Fr. L. Holt, Alexander the Great and Bactria, Leiden 1989, 49. According to Hammond (JHS 119, 1989, 64), the Thessalians sent home numbered about five hundred.

¹⁵ Arr. III 16.10 (ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἔς τρισχίλια). Cf. N.G.L. Hammond, Alexander the Great, King, Commander and Statesman 1994³, 159ff. W.L.T. Adams, Antipater and Cassander. Generalship on Restricted Resources in the Fourth Century, AW 10, nos. 3-4, 1984, 79ff. The sources fail to make it clear how far this sum will have been spent on the enlisting of mercenaries (and not for the pay of Macedonians), though it seems fairly certain that this was the case. Cf. also A.B. Bosworth, Alexander the Great and the Decline of Macedonia, JHS 106, 1986, 8.

¹⁶ See F. Rebuffat, Alexandre le Grand et les problèmes financiers au début de son règne (été 336-printemps 335), RN 25, 1983, 43-52.

¹⁷ See N.G.L. Hammond, Alexander the Great, King, Commander and Statesman 1994³, 157. Cf. also J. Seibert, Demographische und wirtschaftliche Probleme Makedoniens in der frühen Diadochenzeit, in: Studien zur Alten Geschichte (Festschrift S. Lauffer), III, Rome 1989, 839. The fact that there is no express record in the sources of any payment of sums of money prior to 333 BC is not sufficient in itself to call into question the correctness of Price's theory, which would lead to the complete acceptance of the view of Zervos, Troxell and Le Rider (cf. also F. de Callataÿ, RBN 128, 1982, 5-25) on the late beginning of Alexander's coinage (333 BC on). [The bibliography is assembled in G. Le Rider, Alexander in Asia Minor, in: Coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh, London 1998, 49-57.] The lack of any written testimony, however, does not argue in favour of Price. In any case, if the view advanced by H. Troxell, Alexander's Earliest Macedonian Silver, Mnemata: Papers in Memory of Nancy M. Waggoner, New York 1991, 49-61, is accepted, Alexander's decision to issue coins in his name in 333/332 BC—immediately after the capture of Tarsus—is probably rather to be associated with the need for liquid funds to enlist mercenaries, than to constitute the «means to affirm his authority and ambition» (G. Le Rider, Alexander in Asia Minor, in: Coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh, London 1998, 55). For it is known that «for his last years Alexander had not drawn any troops from Macedonia», and that «his needs were met not only by enlisting Balkan troops and Greek mercenaries but also by training and employing very great numbers of Asian troops in all branches of the army» (N.G.L. Hammond, Casualties and

tetradrachms remaining from the money stolen by Harpalos,¹⁸ which were spent by the Athenian Leosthenes at Tainaron in 323 BC in order to enlist mercenaries against the Macedonians.¹⁹ (Part of the original sum, as we know, had been made available in Athens for the creation of an anti-Macedonian front.)

Whether we are dealing with mixed hoards or unmixed hoards of tetradrachms, neither the tetradrachms struck during Alexander's lifetime, nor the early posthumous ones, occur in finds after the middle of the 3rd c. BC, at least as the result of normal, continuous circulation: in Central Greece they are found not later than the period 300-287 BC, in the Peloponnese not later than 295-280 BC, in Macedonia not later than 280-270 BC and in Thessaly not later than 270-250 BC. In contrast, their presence in hoards produced by the hoarding of precious metal, whether in the form of 'residual' elements or in later posthumous issues, is noted from 250 BC down to about 225 BC in Thessaly, or to the end of the 3rd c. BC in the Peloponnese. In Macedonia this period extends, though with gaps, from 270 BC to 200-180 BC. It is only in Central Greece that these late cases are confined to around 250 BC.²⁰

The behaviour of the Alexander drachms as revealed by the hoards, both mixed and those containing only drachms, is also highly interesting.

In contrast with the tetradrachms, the drachms occur in hoards from the Greek peninsula at later dates, and even in the final decade of the century (310 BC in Macedonia and Central Greece, 300 BC in Thessaly and the Peloponnese).²¹

In the overwhelming majority of cases, these issues came from the newly founded mints at Sardis, Miletos, Lampsakos, Magnesia, «Kolophon», «Teos», Mylasa (?) and Abydos (?), which scholarship dates to the period after 325/4 BC,²² and were intended

reinforcements of citizen soldiers in Greece and Macedonia, JHS 109, 1989, 65). The choice of types of the Attic standard for these new gold and silver coins was undoubtedly dictated by the guidelines of his Greek-Asian policy, which was still in conception at this date.

¹⁸ Harpalos, Alexander's treasurer, made off to Greece (Athens) in 324 BC with 6,000 Greek mercenaries, taking with him 5,000 talents of silver (Diod. 17 108.6: φοβηθείς (Harpalos) τὴν τιμωρίαν, καὶ συσκευασάμενος ἀργυρίου μὲν τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια, μισθοφόρους δ' ἀθροίσας ἑξακισχίλιους, ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας). See also E. Badian, Harpalus, JHS 81, 1961, 16-43.

¹⁹ Diod. 18 9.1-3.

²⁰ The interesting study by D. Kneopfler, ALEXANDREION NOMISMA. L'apparition et la disparition de l'argent d'Alexandre dans les inscriptions grecques. Quelques réflexions complémentaires, TOΠΟΙ, Orient-Occident 7/1, 1977, 33-50, based on literary and epigraphical texts, mainly from Asia Minor, would have been more comprehensive if it had taken into account the findings from the investigation of coin hoards with drachms in the name of Alexander, both from the Orient and from the West.

²¹ Drachms appear in hoards from Thrace and the land of the Getai from the beginning of the last twenty years of the 4th c. BC (the date assigned to the concealment of the Mahala find in IGCH is certainly too high).

²² M. Thompson, Paying the Mercenaries, in: Studies in Honor of Leo Miltenberg, Wetteren 1984, 241-247 (These men were, of course, mercenaries not veterans). F. De Callataÿ, Réflexions sur les ateliers d'Asie Mineure d'Alexandre le Grand, Trésors et circulation monétaire en Anatolie antique, 1994, 19-35. Y. Touratsoglou, Back to the Future: Alexander the Great's Silver and Gold in the Balkans: the Hoard Evidence, in: Coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh, London 1998, 71-101. M.J. Price, The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaios: A British Museum Catalogue, Zurich/London 1991, who was followed by F. De Callataÿ, Réflexions sur les ateliers d'Asie Mineure d'Alexandre le Grand, Trésors et circulation monétaire en Anatolie antique, 1994, 27-28. Ch. Hersh, H. Troxell, A 1993 Hoard of Alexander Drachms from the Near East, AJN 5-6, 1993-4, 13-42. Ch. Hersh, Additions and Corrections to Martin J. Price's «The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip

primarily for the 10,000 Macedonian veterans discharged by Alexander at the end of summer 324 BC, after the revolt at Opis,²³ and for those who at the end of 321 BC accompanied Antipater, with Philip III and the royal court on their return journey to Macedonia.²⁴

These drachms (and perhaps also a sum in tetradrachms) were presumably also intended for the 31,000 mercenaries from South Greece who, in the years following 323 BC, returned to their homes, leaving the newly founded cities of the Orient where they had been settled by the son of Philip II (about 23,000), or having been discharged by the local Macedonian satraps (8,000).²⁵

Unlike the tetradrachms, the penetration of Macedonia and the rest of Greece by drachms issued in the name of Alexander tended to be somewhat later than their year of issue.²⁶

Arrhidaeus», in: *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price*, London 1998, 135-144, and G. le Rider, *Alexander in Asia Minor*, in: *Coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh*, London 1998, 49-57 (cf. also G. Le Rider, *RSN* 71, 1992, 214-225) was the first to adduce arguments calling into critical question some of the attributions to specific mints proposed by M. Thompson in *The Alexandrine Mint of Mylasa*, *QT* 10, 1981, 207-217, eadem, *Alexander's Drachm Mints, I Sardis and Miletus*, *ANS Num. Studies* 16 (1983) and eadem, *II Lampsacus and Abydos*, *ANS Num. Studies* 19 (1991), and proceeded to check a number of dates assigned, particularly to the inaugural issues. To avoid complications, the present study follows, for obvious reasons, the scheme adopted by Price, though in the formulation of the conclusions, the other proposals are taken into account.

²³ Arr. IV 18-19. VII 12,1-2 (καὶ οὗτοι αὐτῶ ἐγένοντο ἐς τοὺς μυρίους. τούτοις δὲ τὴν τε μισθοφορὰν οὐ τοῦ ἐξήκοντος ἤδη χρόνου ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀπονόστησιν τὴν οἴκαδε ξυμβαίνοντος. ἐπέδωκεν δὲ καὶ τάλαντον ἐκάστῳ ὑπὲρ τὴν μισθοφορὰν), *Diod.* 17 109,2 (Cf. N.G.L. Hammond, *Alexander's Veterans after his Death*, *GRBS* 25, 1984, 54-55. Idem, *The Macedonian State. The Origins, Institutions and History*, Oxford 1992², 225). One of the reasons for the revolt at Opis was probably the strong discontent of the Macedonians that they had not so far been taken into account in payments - in contrast, of course, with the Greek and barbarian mercenaries.

²⁴ *Diod.* 18 39,7: τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀναλαβὼν (Antipater) καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν προῆγεν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν, Cf. N.G.L. Hammond, *Alexander's Veterans after his Death*, *GRBS* 25, 1984, 59. Id. *The Macedonian State. The Origins, Institutions and History*, Oxford 1992², 255.

²⁵ *Diod.* 18 7,2 and 18 9,3. Cf. N.G.L. Hammond, *Alexander's Veterans after his Death*, *GRBS* 25, 1984, 53. Both N.G.L. Hammond, *Alexander's Veterans after his Death*, *GRBS* 25, 1984, 60 and A.B. Bosworth, *Macedonian Manpower under Alexander the Great*, *Ancient Macedonia IV*, 1986, 121 mention the 3,000 revolted Macedonians of Antigonos Monophthalmos, who succeed by violent methods in 321/320 or 320/319 in securing their dismissal and permission to return to Macedonia (see *Polyain.*, 4, 6, 6).

²⁶ It is significant for the numismatic policy of Alexander that drachms were proceeded in hoards not only by tetradrachms, but also by staters. Wherever and whenever the sources refer to the payment of Macedonian veterans or mercenaries, it is normally noted, or may be inferred, that they were paid in silver coins. We do not know how far the various bonuses -normally for discharged soldiers- were paid in gold, or whether certain currency despatches were made only in gold coins. Whatever the case, gold issues in the name of Philip II, Alexander, and Philip III (mainly staters, through more rarely multiples or subdivisions of staters) are found in the Balkans and Greece preeminently in hoards from Macedonia and Thrace. The gold staters discovered in Macedonia come from Chalikdike (Kassandria) and East Macedonia (Amphipolis, Philippoi) and fall into two groups of hoards - one with concealment dates in the interval from 325 BC to 323 BC (three hoards) and one from 315 BC to 275 BC (ten hoards), while in Thrace, hoards containing gold staters, which are undoubtedly more numerous than in Macedonia, come from the central and east areas of what is now Bulgaria (kingdom of the Odrysi) and from the east of modern Romania (Getai, Scyths). The Thracian staters fall into two groups, one with concealment dates in the period 325-320/319 BC (ten hoards) and the other in the period 315-275 BC (sixteen hoards). See Y. Touratsoglou, *Back to the Future; Alexander the Great's Silver and Gold in the Balkans: The Hoard Evidence*, in: *Coins of Macedonia and*

The characteristically late circulation of the drachms is mainly a reflection of the events of the last twenty five years of the century; it is also a factor of the pronounced mobility on the continent of Asia almost immediately after Alexander, as some of the Epigoni attempted to realise their personal ambitions, with movements of armies (mainly Macedonians, though also mercenaries) which went back and forth, movements that seem to have led to a tidal wave of money in the single direction of the Asia Minor coast. For the events themselves involved a convergence of interests in the direction of Asia.²⁷

One result of this uncertain and fluid climate is the fact that for the period between the Lamian War and the battle of Krannon (322 BC) and the final domination of Antigonos Monophthalmos and his son Demetrios Poliorketes (302 BC) —a period of realignments of power in the Balkans, with Kassander, Lysimachos and Demetrios Poliorketes all taking turns as masters of the situation— the hoards from south and north Greece are rather few, the drachms they contain being confined to a limited number of issues from the early years of their circulation.

Then when the decisive battle at Ipsos in Phrygia (301 BC), stabilised the situation in the East, this had the effect of convating the Balkan peninsula, and particularly Greece, into a field of fierce military conflicts.

From as early as the first quarter of the 3rd. c. BC the Macedonian kingdom was torn asunder by fratricidal dynastic conflicts, and parcelled out between Pyrrhos and Lysimachos, the prey of foreign ambitions; while southern Greece became the victim of the plundering raids of the Gauls, who overran and sacked sanctuaries and entire regions and was converted into the scene of a bitter conflict between Pyrrhos and Gonatas, leading to the Chremonidean War (before the middle of the century), in which the Ptolemies were involved. From the successive changes of alliance during the reign of Dison and the birth of federal states with expansionist ambitions in Central Greece and the Peloponnese, down to the grandiose, ambitious policy of Philip V and its unforeseen consequences for the subsequent liberty of Greece, the south of Greece, in particular, was bathed in blood, armies were decimated, cities were sacked and populations carried off into slavery, with the land being continually turned into a theatre of rivalry between the Macedonian royal house on the one hand and the military alliances of the cities and political leagues, then coming into being as political bodies, on the other.²⁸

One result of this intense conflict is that hoards containing drachms in the name of Alexander in southern and northern Greece are distinctly more numerous throughout

Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh, London 1998, 71-101 and idem, Στην αναζήτηση του Ελληνιστικού χρυσού, in: «Μνείας Χάρην», Τόμος στη Μνήμη της Μ. Σιγαλίδου, Thessaloniki 1998, 235-266).

²⁷ For example, the 6,000 Macedonians (part of the 10,000), transferred at Krateros's orders from Kilikia to European territory to reinforce Antipater in Thessaly before the battle of Krannon (322 BC), and later moved forwards to meet the Aetolians (322/21 BC) were ultimately obliged to return to Asia for further adventures (cf. N.G.L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State, The Origins, Institutions and History*, Oxford 1992², 248ff).

²⁸ Tarn's comment on the 3rd c. BC is indicative, W.W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, Oxford 1913, 1ff.: «no part of Greek history should come home to us like the third century B.C. It is the only period that we can in the least compare with our own; indeed in some ways it is quite startlingly modern ... The balance of power has become a reality and a preoccupation». On this period in general, see M.M. Austin, *Hellenistic Kings, War and the Economy*, CQ 36 (ii), 1986, 450-466.

the entire third century BC than those of the previous period and have distinctly larger numbers of coin specimens.²⁹

This observation, taken together with what we have seen in the immediately preceding period, might possibly suggest that these Alexander drachms of the 3rd c. BC hoards —struck in the 4th c. BC— represent late imports of money from the Orient, primarily accompanying the mercenary bands that fought in Greece under the orders of the protagonists of the period, rather than already existing wealth in the hands of locals, even in the form of the remains of pay.

The benchmark, from the point of view of dating their movement and also the provenance of all or part of the corpus of each individual hoard, is provided by the drachms (albeit few) of later date from the mints of Erythrai (dated to 290-275 BC),³⁰ Miletos (dated to 295-275 BC),³¹ Chios (dated to 290-275 BC),³² and Magnesia (dated to 225-220 BC).³³ And, of course, by the equally few, but important, late drachms from the mints of «Pella» (dated to 285-275 BC)³⁴ and Macedonia/Central Greece (dated to 310-275 BC).³⁵

With regard to the lowest date of their inclusion in hoards, drachms in the name of Alexander are found in Central Greece where, as the result of their regular, continuous circulation, they are found for a very short interval and also in Macedonia down to 270 BC, while in Thessaly and the Peloponnese they were concealed down to the middle of the 3rd c. BC. They are also found in later periods, as the result of thesaurisation, mainly in the Peloponnese (down to 215 BC).³⁶

Study of the new hoard alongside others of the period confirms a number of theories advanced in the past on the circulation of the coins of the small, peripheral mints during the century that followed the death of Alexander and demonstrates once more the local character not only of most of these mints, but also of others with a greater output. It also attests to the power and the intrusive nature, of other mints, most of them

²⁹ Le Rider (JS 1986, 27-28) arrives at a similar conclusion in connection with the presence of Alexander tetradrachms and drachms minted in 301-294 BC in hoards from Asia Minor with concealment dates in the decade 240-230 BC (cf. also G. Le Rider, *Sur le frai de certaines monnaies anciennes et contemporaines*, Mélanges de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne offerts à André Tuillier, Paris 1988, 77ff).

³⁰ Megara IGCH 137 (concealment date 295-280 BC), Larisa IGCH 168 (concealment date 250-> BC) and Sophikon IGCH 179 (concealment date 230-220 BC) hoards.

³¹ Epidauros IGCH 158 (concealment date 280-> BC), Pondolivado Kilkis IGCH 445 (concealment date 280 BC), Vergi IGCH 455 (concealment date 250-230 BC) and Sophikon IGCH 179 (concealment date 230-220 BC) hoards.

³² Vergi IGCH 455 (concealment date 250-230 BC), Eretria IGCH 175 (concealment date 245 BC), Sophikon IGCH 179 (concealment date 230-220 BC) and Corinth IGCH 187 (concealment date 220-215 BC) hoards.

³³ Corinth IGCH 187 (concealment date 220-215 BC) hoard.

³⁴ Thessaly 1993 (concealment date 260-240 BC) hoard.

³⁵ Megara IGCH 137 (concealment date 295-280 BC), Pondolivado IGCH 445 (concealment date 270 BC), Eretria CH VIII, 281 (concealment date 260 BC), Thessaly 1993 (concealment date 260-240 BC), Nea Epidauros CH VIII, 298 (concealment date 250 BC), Larisa IGCH 168 (concealment date 250-> BC), Sophikon IGCH 179 (concealment date 230-220 BC) and Corinth IGCH 187 (concealment date 220-215 BC) hoards.

³⁶ In Thrace and the land of the Getai, the lowest concealment date for Alexander drachms falls in the years 280-270 BC, regardless of whether the hoards are mixed or not.

royal (though we should not forget Athens), whose output covered the whole of Greece. Above all, however, it indicates the leading role played by drachms in the name of Alexander, preeminently as a means of exercising a policy of domination by fire and the sword, in the third century before Christ —the century of mercenaries and fortune—seekers, of the conflicting aspirations of reckless thrones and of weary veterans of the campaign in Asia.³⁷

This investigation, in other words, confirms and, by adding new evidence and recent contributions, broadens some of the original conclusions regarding circulation of money in Boeotia and the Peloponnese during the Hellenistic period arrived at in his pioneering, synthesising articles of the 1960s³⁸ by my prematurely departed friend Tony: the philhellene Tony Hackens, the flying Belgian of the five continents.

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³⁷ G. Le Rider's comment (JS 1986, 27) on the circulation of Alexander drachms in Asia Minor (au IIIe siècle, en Asie Mineure et dans l'Orient séleucide, lorsque les transactions comportaient un paiement en drachmes, celles-ci étaient dans leur très grande majorité des monnaies aux types d'Alexandre) is not completely confirmed for Greece, with regard either to the number of hoards, or with the number of coins of this category they contain. For in Greece at this period, not a few hoards also contain issues of the cities (see Y. Touratsoglou, *Back to the Future; Alexander the Great's Silver and gold in the Balkans: the Hoard Evidence*, in: *coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh*, London 1998, 71-101. Cf. also Fr. de Callataÿ, *Un trésor de drachmes aux types d' Alexandre le Grand conservé au Cabinet des Médailles à Bruxelles*, RBN 129, 1983, 23-60).

³⁸ T. Hackens, *À propos de la circulation monétaire dans le Péloponnèse au IIIe s. av. J.C., Antidorum W. Peremans sexagenario ab alumnis oblatum*, Louvain 1968, 69-95. Idem, *La circulation monétaire dans la Beotie hellénistique: trésors de Thèbes 1935 et 1965*, BCH 93, 1969, 701-729.

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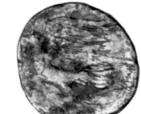
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260	260-240	Thessaly 1593				(1)	Pr. 1406 (310-301)	(2)	Pr. 1528? Pr. 1545 (310-301)	(6)	Pr. 1769 (323-319) Pr. 1766 (319-310) Pr. 1797 Pr. 1817 Pr. 1823 Pr. 1825 (310-301)	(7)	Pr. 1750 (323-280)							(3)	Pr. 862b Pr. 862c (310-275)	(1)		Sards P99 (323-319)	--					
260	>				(4)	Pr. 2090 (325-323) Pr. 2121 (323-319)	(1)	Pr. 1965 (319-305)	(2)	Pr. 1505 (326-323) Pr. 1528 (310-301)	(7)	Pr. 1750 (324-323) Pr. 1768 (323-319) Pr. 1795 (310-301)		(1)	Pr. 564A (285-275)						(1)	Pr. 3893 (323-317)				--				
260	>	Phayllios IGCH 159			(3)	Pr. 2090 (325-323) Pr. 2127 (323-319) Pr. 2138 (300-295) Pr. 2148 (300-295)	(2)	Pr. 1959 (319-305)	(2)	Pr. 1502 (328-323) Pr. 1515 (323-317)	(4)	Pr. 1750 (324-323) Pr. 1768 (334-323) Pr. 1794 Pr. 2617 Pr. 2639 (319-310) Pr. 1813 (323-319) (301-307)	(4)							(1)	Pr. 662 (310-275)	(150)		Lamps. P157 (323-317)	--?					
250	>	Nea Epidaurios CH VIII/298			(1)	Pr. 2138 (300-295)	(1)	Pr. 1978 (319-305)	(4)	Pr. 1527? Pr. 1536? Pr. 1580 (310-301)	(2)	Pr. 1629 (310-301) Pr. 1768 (301-297)								(1)	Pr. 662 (310-275)					+				
250	>	Euboea IGCH 167							(35)	Pr. 1502 Pr. 1505 (328-323) Pr. 1527 Pr. 1528 Pr. 1531 Pr. 1534 Pr. 1538 Pr. 1539 Pr. 1540 Pr. 1548 Pr. 1551 Pr. 1554 Pr. 1560 (310-301) Pr. 1627-28 (310-301)	(35)	Pr. 1502 Pr. 1505 (328-323) Pr. 1527 Pr. 1528 Pr. 1531 Pr. 1534 Pr. 1538 Pr. 1539 Pr. 1540 Pr. 1548 Pr. 1551 Pr. 1554 Pr. 1560 (310-301)	(1)	Pr. 1889 (290-275)	(3)	Pr. 2177 (310-300) Pr. 2484 (300-280)	(1)	Pr. 2488 (323-317)	(16)											Lamps. P167 (301-296) Sardos L5 (ca. 305) Lysim. L2 (289-296)

250-230	Vergil IGCH 455	(16) Pr.2088 Pr.2090 (325-323) Pr.2138 (300-295) Pr.2151 (295-275)	(15) Pr.1936-7 Pr.1946 (323-319) Pr.1957 (300-295) Pr.1960 Pr.1962 (295-275)	(18) Pr.1501 Pr.1502 (326-323) Pr.1515 (325-310) Pr.1527 (323-319) Pr.1538 Pr.1528 Pr.1529 Pr.1531 Pr.1534 (310-301)	(54) Pr.1752 Pr.1759 Pr.1762 Pr.1768 Pr.1769 (323-319) Pr.1774 Pr.1775 Pr.1788 Pr.1789 (319-315)	(9) Pr.2553 Pr.2559 Pr.2563 Pr.2563? Pr.2626 Pr.2637 Pr.2638 Pr.2639 Pr.2640 Pr.2642 (301-297)	(1) Pr.1878 (300)	(4) Pr.2477 Pr.2479A Pr.2490 (310-300) Pr.2481? (300-280)	(7) Pr.2264 Pr.2268 Pr.2274 (323-319) Pr.2279 Pr.2280 Pr.2282 Pr.2283 (310-301)	(2) Pr.2317 (290-275) Pr.2763 (<-275)	(5) Pr.2700 Pr.2754 Pr.2757 Pr.2781 Pr.2794? (323-280)	(1) Pr.3333 (328-320) (<-275)	(1) Pr.3690? (323-317)	(22)	«Koiph.» Pr.44 Pr.94 Pr.99 (323-319)	Lysim. L1 (299-8-297/6)			
250-225	Dorimon IGCH 173				(1) Pr.2590 (334-323)														
250-200	Eretria IGCH 189																		
245	Olympia IGCH 176 (AJN 2, 1990.9)			(1) Pr.1382 (310-301)	(2) Pr.1783 (319-310) Pr.1833 (301-297)	(1) Pr.2600? (323-319)			(1) Pr.2281 (310-301)										
245	Eretria IGCH 175 (AJN 2, 1990.9)		(2) Pr.1967 Pr.1980 (319-305)	(2) Pr.1506 (325-323) Pr.1575 (310-297)	(1) Pr.1823 (310-301)				(1) Pr.2476-2480? (310-300)	(1) Pr.2325 (290-275)									
240	Phalanna CH III, 43 (AJN 2, 1990.9)		(1) Pr.1989 (305-297)	(1) Pr.1527 (310-301)										(1)					
240-225	Theraps IGCH 193 (AJN 2, 1990.12)		(2) Pr.1985 Pr.2000 (305-297)	(1) Pr.1406 (310-301)	(2) Pr.1770 (323-319) Pr.1811-12 (310-301)	(1) Pr.2602A (323-319)			(1) Pr.2479 (310-300)					(1)					
230	Kanastos IGCH 177		(1) Pr.1959? (319-305)	(1) Pr.1382 (325-317)							(7)			(2)					
230-220	Euboia IGCH 178													(1)					

220-215	Korinthos IGCH 187 (A.M. 2.1980.12)	(2) Pr. 2090 (325-323) Pr. 2138 (300-295)	(12) Pr. 1945 (323-319) Pr. 1959 Pr. 1965 Pr. 1967 Pr. 19707 Pr. 19862 Pr. 1987 Pr. 1988 Pr. 1995 (305-297) Pr. 2045 (225-200)	(8) Pr. 1352H (325-323) Pr. 1382 Pr. 1372 Pr. 1380 (325-317) Pr. 1382Z Pr. 1387 Pr. 1417 (310-301)	(12) Pr. 1527-28 Pr. 1534 Pr. 1538-39 Pr. 1541 Pr. 1547 Pr. 1551 Pr. 1580 (310-301)	(25) Pr. 1750 Pr. 1759 Pr. 1762 Pr. 1769 Pr. 1769H Pr. 1770 (323-319) Pr. 1771 Pr. 1781 Pr. 1782 (319-310) Pr. 1800 Pr. 1811-13 Pr. 1817 Pr. 1823 Pr. 1826 (310-301) Pr. 1836 Pr. 1840 Pr. 1842-43 (301-297)	(3) Pr. 2478F (310-300) Pr. 2484F (300-280)	(1) Pr. 2274 (323-319)	(4) Pr. 2316 Pr. 2317 Pr. 2322 Pr. 2325 (280-- 275)	(1) Pr. 2974? (323-317)	SALAMIS CITIUM	ARADOS «BABYLON»	«PELLA»	Amphipolis	UNIC.MAC./ IC. GREECE	(8) Lamps. P15 (323-317) Sardis P88 P104 (301-297)	Lamps. L10 (301-296) Koloph. L23 (301-297)					
218	Patrai IGCH 166																					
<- 200	Chalkis IGCH 205 Lanissa IGCH 239			(1)					(14)													
175-165																						
175-150	Peloponnesos IGCH 246				(1) Pr. 1517? (323-317)	(1) Pr. 1797? (310-317)																
		MILETOS	MAGNESIA	LAMPISAKOS	ABYDOS (?)	«Kolophon»	«TEOS»	CHIOS	W. Asia Minor	SIDE	SALAMIS	CITIUM	ARADOS	«BABYLON»	«PELLA»	Amphipolis	UNIC.MAC./ IC. GREECE	(2) Pr. 862 (310-275)	(8)	Lamps. P51 (323-319)	Philip III	Lysima- chus

**Analytical Catalogue of Alexander III drachm Hoards from Ancient Macedonia, Mainland and Insular Greece in chronological order of deposition (310-150 BC)
(References to IGCH; otherwise stated)**

Deposition date	Hoard/Reference	Philip II	Alexander III	Philip III	Poliorketes	Gonatas	Lysimachos	Athens	Boeotia	Locris + Op.Locr.	Sicyon	Rhodes	Chalcis	Aegina	Histiaea	Phocis	Aradia	Elis	Ach. League	Tegae	Aenians	Argos	Megara	Patras	Selucids	Ptolemies					
Macedonia																															
310-305	Drama(?) (414)	AV	AV																												
			4dr																												
			dr																												
305-297	Nikissiani [ΣΤ] (CH VIII, 217)		dr																												
290****	Nevrokop (829) [<lt; 300]<="" td=""> <td></td> <td>4dr</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>4dr</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </lt;>		4dr					4dr																							
300	Aphytis (431)		dr	dr																											
<-281	Pollidaia (CH VIII, 260)		4dr	dr	dr		dr																								
280-270	Kavala (450)		4dr	dr	4dr	4dr	4dr					2dr													dr						
280	Pontolivado (445)		4dr	4dr	4dr	4dr	4dr																								
280/279	Furka (MNJ 1994, 39-47)		4dr	dr	4dr	4dr	4dr																		4dr						
250-230	Vergi (455)		4dr	4dr	4dr	4dr	4dr	4dr																	4dr						
Central Greece																															
310-300	Megara (94)	4dr	4dr																				2dr	4dr							
		2dr	2dr																												
		4ob	dr																												
295-280	Megara (137)		dr	dr			4dr																								
285*	Hagii Theodori [Lamia] (93) [310-300]	4dr	4dr	4dr				4dr	st	3ob	st				dr	4ob															
240-225	Thebes (193) [225-200]		dr					4dr				2dr																			
225-200	Avai (195)		dr	dr				dr	st	dr	st	dr	dr	st	dr	st	3ob	3ob	3ob	3ob	3ob	st	3ob	dr							

* AJN 2, 1990, 6
 *** AJN 2, 1990, 12
 ***** Archeologia 1, 1988 (Sofia)

Deposition date	Hoards/Reference	Phillip II	Alexander III	Phillip III	Lysimachos	Pollorètes	Gonatas	Athens	Boeotia	Locris + Op. Locr.	Sticyon	Rhodes	Chalcis	Aegina	Eub. League	Histiaea	Larissa	Phocis	Carystus	Ellis	Thessalian League	Phalanna	Lamia	Magnes	Tegae	Oetaei	Pharsalos	Siphnos	Paros	Seleucids	Attalids	Ptolemies								
280*	Aegean Islands Siphnos(91) [< - 300]		dr					4dr dr 3ob	2dr dr 3ob			2dr 3ob																												
260	Eretria (CH VIII, 281)	4dr	dr	dr	dr			4dr	4dr						dr																									
260	Eretria (CH VIII, 282)	dr	dr	dr	4dr dr			4dr	4dr						dr																									
250 ->	Euboea(167)	4dr	dr					4dr	4dr						dr				2dr dr																					
250-200	Eretria(189)	4dr	dr		4dr				2dr dr 3ob	2dr 3ob		2dr																						4dr						
245**	Eretria(175) [235]	4dr	dr		4dr dr			4dr	4dr dr 3ob	4dr st 3ob		2dr	dr		4dr 2dr dr	4obi			3ob	dr								4dr	4dr				4dr							
230	Karystos(177)	4dr	dr					4dr							4dr				2dr dr																					
230-220	Euboea(178)	dr	dr									dr 3ob			4dr																									
<-200	Chalkis(205)	dr	dr		dr				3ob 3ob	3ob		dr 3ob			dr				3ob	dr																				
	Thessaly																																							
300	Trikkala(117)	4dr	dr					4dr	st		st				st																									
300 ->	Thessaly(133)	dr	dr					4dr	3ob		3ob																													
280	Thessaly(146)	AV	4dr	dr	AV			4dr	st	st																														
270	Thessaly (CH VIII, 278)	4dr	4dr	dr	4dr			4dr	4dr	Hdr		Hdr																												
260*	Pherai(141) [290-275]	dr	dr		4dr			4dr																																
260-240	Thessaly/1993	4dr	4dr	dr	4dr			4dr	4dr	3ob	3ob																													
260-240	Phayttos(159)	4dr	dr	dr	4dr			4dr	st	Hdr	st																													
250->	Larissa(168)	4dr	dr	dr	4dr			4dr	4dr																															
240**	Phalanna (CH III, 43) [229]	4dr	dr		4dr			4dr	dr	st	st	2dr			dr																									
175-165	Larissa(239)	dr	dr						dr 3ob	3ob		dr 3ob			dr 3ob																									

* AJN 2, 1990, 6

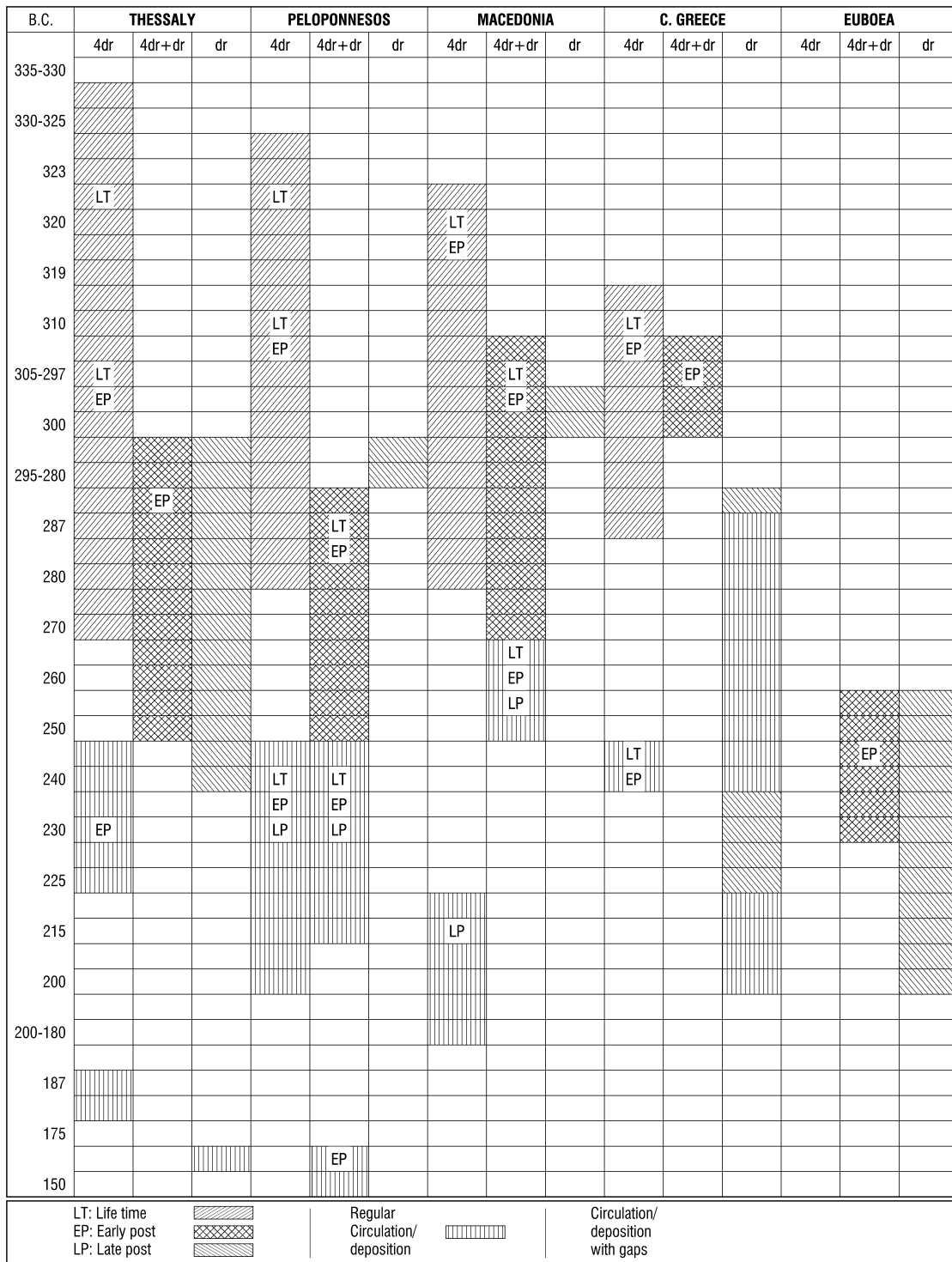
** AJN 2, 1990, 9

Deposition date	Hoard/Reference	Philip II	Alexander III	Philip III	Lysimachos	Pollorètes	Gonatas	Athens	Boeotia	Locris+Op.Locr.	Sicyon	Rhodes	Chalcis	Aegina	Aetolia	Arcadia	Elis	Epidaurus	Ach. League	Hermione	Sparta	Ephesos	Korinthos+col.	Seleucids	Attalids	Ptolemies			
Peloponnese																													
300 ->	Talanta(132)		dr		dr			4dr	dr		3ob			dr															
295-280	Asea(138)		4dr	dr	4dr			4dr	4dr																				
280->*	Epidaurus(158) [250-240]		dr	4dr	4dr	4dr	4dr	4dr										3ob											
250	Nea Epidaurus (CH VIII, 298)		dr	dr	dr	dr	4dr	4dr										Hdr	dr					dr					
245**	Olympia(176) [237]		dr	4dr	4dr			4dr	st	st			dr	st				dr									4dr	dr	
230-220	Sophikon(179)		4dr	4dr	4dr	dr	dr	4dr	4dr	4dr		2dr			4dr						4dr			4dr	4dr		4dr	4dr	
220-215	Korinthos(187) [215]		dr	4dr	dr	3ob	dr	4dr				2dr			4dr							4dr		4dr	4dr		4dr	4dr	
218	Patrai(186)		dr	dr	dr			4dr			4dr				4dr									4dr					
175-150	Peloponnese(246)		dr	4dr	dr						dr																		
Aetolia																													
250-225	Dokimion(173)		4dr	dr	dr				dr	3ob	st.		dr	st	3ob	3ob													4dr

* AJN 2, 1990, 6
 ** AJN 2, 1990, 9
 *** AJN 2, 1990, 12

Hdr: hemidrachm
 dr : drachm
 2dr: didrachm
 4dr: tetradrachm
 ob : obol
 2ob: diobol
 3ob: triobol
 4ob: tetrobol
 5ob: pentobol
 2vict: double victoriate
 st : stater

Distribution by burial date and provenance of hoards from Greece containing Tetradrachms, Tetradrachms and Drachms; and Drachms in the name of Alexander the Great.



ΣΚΑΨΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΙΘΑΣ. Η ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ*

Η μελέτη αυτή συζητεί τα τοπωνύμια και εθνικά δύο πόλεων της Χαλκιδικής στις φιλολογικές, επιγραφικές και νομισματικές πηγές, με τα οποία ασχολήθηκε σε πρόσφατη μελέτη της η Pernille Flensted-Jensen και των οποίων κοινό χαρακτηριστικό είναι ότι άλλοτε ευρίσκονται ν' αρχίζουν με τα γράμματα σκ- και άλλοτε με μόνον το γράμμα κ-. Πρόκειται για την (Σ)κάμψα και τον (Σ)κίθα. Τόσο τα νομίσματα που κόπηκαν από τους Σκαψαίους και τους Σκιθαίους όσο και το πρόβλημα της ταύτισης αυτών με τους Καψαίους και τους Κιθαίους αντιστοίχως αλλά και του προσδιορισμού της γεωγραφικής τους θέσης απασχόλησαν και παλαιότερα την έρευνα¹. Η πρόσφατη σχετική μελέτη, που προαναφέραμε, επέτυχε αφενός μεν να επαναφέρει το σχετικό πρόβλημα στο επίκεντρο του ενδιαφέροντος της σχετικής με τη Χαλκιδική έρευνας, αφετέρου δε επανήλθε στο πρόβλημα της ταύτισης του πολισίματος Κίθας με τον Κισσό (ή Κίσσο) απορρίπτοντας την όπως οι Edson και Zahnt παλαιότερα².

I. Οι Σκαψαίοι

Η Pernille Flensted-Jensen έχοντας εξετάσει τα προβλήματα που τίθενται μετά τη μελέτη ορισμένων νομισματικών εκδόσεων όσο και της αναφοράς της πόλεως σε φιλολογικές και επιγραφικές πηγές καταλήγει στη διαπίστωση ότι οι πόλεις Κάμψα και Σκάψα δεν ταυτίζονται και αυτό για τους εξής λόγους: οι λέξεις Κάμψα και Σκάψα δεν μπορούν να συσχετισθούν εφόσον τα γράμματα σκ- δεν μπορούν στην αρχαία ελληνική να «αντικατασταθούν» με το -κ. Επιπλέον, οι τύποι των εκδόσεων των πόλεων Κάμψας και Σκάψας δεν παρουσιάζουν κοινά εικονογραφικά σημεία.

Οι φιλολογικές, επιγραφικές και νομισματικές μαρτυρίες που διαθέτουμε για την πόλη αυτή (ή για τις πόλεις αυτές) είναι οι εξής:

Ηροδ. VII 123, 2: παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώρην (τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην πρότερον δὲ Φλέγγρην καλεομένην) ἔπλεε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πολιῶν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὄμουρουσέων δὲ τῶν Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῆσι οὐνόματά ἐστι

* Ευχαριστίες οφείλονται στον καθ. κ. Μ.Β. Χατζόπουλο, που διάβασε το κείμενο και συνέβαλε με τις παρατηρήσεις του στην ολοκληρωμένη μορφή του και βέβαια στον κ. Α.Π. Τζαμαλή που παρεχώρησε την άδεια μελέτης του δεύτερου γνωστού τριταρτημορίου με τον τύπο της ανδρικής γενειοφόρου κεφαλής. Ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέρουσες ήταν οι απόψεις των Δ.Γ. Πόρτολου και Β. Δημητριάδη σχετικά με τα νομίσματα των «Σκιθαίων». Οι φωτογραφίες έγιναν από τον κ. Π. Μαγουλά στον οποίο είμαι για άλλη μία φορά ευγνώμων.

¹ H. Gaebler, «Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens X. Skithai auf der Chalkidike», *ZfN* 39 (1929), 255-60 και του ιδίου, *Antike Münzen Nordgriechenlands* III/ 2 (Βερολίνο 1935), 110 (Σκίθα) και 66-7 (Κάψα).

² Pernille Flensted-Jensen, «Some Problems in polis identification in the Chalcidic Peninsula», *Hist. Einzelschr.* 117 (1997), 117-127. Το πρώτο μέρος της μελέτης της Pernille Flensted-Jensen αφορά στο χωρίο V 3, 1-2 των Έλληνικών του Ξενοφώντος. Ας σημειωθεί, ότι η ερμηνεία του όρου τείχος που προτείνει, επιλύει οριστικά το πρόβλημα το οποίο απασχόλησε αριθμό μελετητών μέχρι σήμερα. Η ταύτιση Κίθα και Κισσού είχε ήδη απορριφθεί από τους Ch. Edson, «Notes on the Thracian Phoros», *CP* 42 (1947), 88-90, και Zahnt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier* (Μόναχο 1971), 193-4, παρ. 211. Ο τελευταίος, όπως και η Flensted-Jensen, απορρίπτει και την ταύτιση Κίθα και Σκιθαίων.

τάδε, Λίπαξος, Κώμβρεια, Αΐσα, Γίγωνος, Κάμψα, Σμίλα, Αΐνεια. ή δὲ τουτέων χώρη Κροσσαΐή ἔτι καὶ ἔς τόδε καλέεται.

Οι Σκαφσαίοι αναφέρονται και στους αθηναϊκούς φορολογικούς καταλόγους των ετών 451/0 π.Χ. (IG I³ 262 I 8), 450/49 π.Χ. (IG I³ 263 III 41), 448/7 π.Χ. (IG I³ 264 III 33), 447/6 π.Χ. (IG I³ 265 I 67), 446/5 π.Χ. (IG I³ 266 II 4), 445/4 π.Χ. (IG I³ 267 II 30), 444/3 π.Χ. (IG I³ 268 II 20), 443/2 π.Χ. (IG I³ 269 II 29), 442/1 π.Χ. (IG I³ 270 II 32), 440/39 π.Χ. (IG I³ 272 II 49), 439/8 π.Χ. (IG I³ 273 III 18), 433/2 π.Χ. (IG I³ 279 II 49), 415/4 π.Χ. (IG I³ 290 III 13).

Στεφ. Βυζ.: Κάψα, πόλις Χαλκιδικῆς χώρας κατὰ Παλλήνην, ὁμοροῦσα τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ. ὁ πολίτης Καψαῖος.

Α ομάδα νομισμάτων

Gaebler, *AMNG* III/2, 66-7: αργυρά νομίσματα 2, 80 g.

E: Όνος

O: Έγκολο τετράγωνο σε σχήμα ανερόμυλου. Τα γράμματα Κα- σε δύο από τα διάχωρα.

Β ομάδα νομισμάτων

W.S. Grose, *McClean Coll.* 7312 (9 mm, 0, 41 g, 5h), 7313 (8, 5 mm, 0, 39 g, 9h)

ACBNC 6099: 9 mm, 0, 31 g, 12h

E: Ανδρική γενειοφόρος κεφαλή με πέτασο προς τα δεξιά ή νεανική ταινιοφόρος κεφαλή προς τα αριστερά

O: Βότρυσ εντός εγκοίλου τετραγώνου και τα γράμματα Κα-.

Γ ομάδα νομισμάτων

D.M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus, XIV, Terracotas, Lamps and Coins Found in 1934 and 1938* (Baltimore 1952), 407 και 419, πιν. 172, 9.

E: Κεφαλή Απόλλωνος προς τα αριστερά.

O: Λέων προς τα δεξιά επί γραμμής εδάφους και το επιγράψιο Σκαψαί(ων) στο έξεργο.

Όσον αφορά στο πρώτο επιχείρημα της Pernille Flensted-Jensen σχετικά με την «αντικατάσταση» των γραμμάτων κ- και σκ-: αυτή είναι δυνατή όχι μόνον στη θρακική, όπως αναφέρει, αλλά και στην αρχαία ελληνική³. Ας σημειωθεί ότι ο όρος «αντικατάσταση» χρησιμοποιείται εδώ συμβατικά. Για να είμαστε ακριβείς θα έπρεπε να πούμε ότι κάποτε το γράμμα σ μπορεί να τοποθετηθεί πριν από τα γράμματα κ (και τ) στην αρχή της λέξεως στην αρχαία ελληνική.

³ Για παράδειγμα: κίρα, κίραφος και σκίρα, σκίραφος, κύμνος και σκύμνος, πρβ. M. Lejeune, *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien* (Παρίσι 1972), § 28, σελ. 38; A.J. van Windekens, *Dictionnaire étymologique complémentaire de la langue grecque* (Leuven 1986), s.v. κίρα, κίραφος, σκίρα, σκίραφος. Το επιγράψιο του μοναδικού χάλκινου νομίσματος της πόλεως Σκάψας στο οποίο θα αναφερθούμε παρακάτω, Σκαψαί(ων)- παρουσιάζει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον: η πόλις ονομαζόταν Σκάψα (E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* (Μόναχο 1939), 467, σημ. 6), και το αλφάβητο διαφοροποιείται: το γράμμα ψ που δεν υφίσταται στο αττικό αλφάβητο έως το 401 π.Χ.- φσ- στη θέση του, στους αθηναϊκούς φορολογικούς καταλόγους, απαντά στη Χαλκιδική (E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 211, 6). Για το αλφάβητο στη Χαλκιδική, πρβ. Άννα Παναγιώτου, «Διαλεκτικές επιγραφές της Χαλκιδικής, της Μακεδονίας και της Αμφιπόλεως», *Γ' Διεθνές Συνέδριο για τη Μακεδονία «Επιγραφές της Μακεδονίας»*, 8-12 Δεκεμβρίου 1993 (Θεσ/νίκη 1996).

Σχετικά με το δεύτερο επιχείρημα της Flensted-Jensen, το σχετικό με τη μη συσχέτιση των τύπων των εκδόσεων των πόλεων Κάψας και Σκάψας, μπορούμε να αντιτάξουμε ότι οι συγκεκριμένες κοπές δεν είναι σύγχρονες και εικονογραφική διαφοροποίηση σε χρονικό διάστημα από τις αρχές του 5^{ου} αι. π.Χ. ως τα μέσα του 4^{ου} αι. π.Χ. παρουσιάζουν και οι νομισματοκοπίες άλλων πόλεων, όπως η Σκιώνη και η Αίνεια. Η πόλις Κάψα (ή Σκάψα) έκοψε τρεις ομάδες νομισμάτων. Οι τύποι των κοπών της πρώτης ομάδας (Α) με το επιγράψιο Κα- που χρονολογούνται στις αρχές του 5^{ου} αι. π.Χ. και εικονογραφικά επηρεάζονται από τη Μένδη, δεν μπορεί, όπως άλλωστε και η Pernille Flensted-Jensen υποστηρίζει, παρά να συνηγορεί στην αναζήτηση της πόλεως αυτής στη δυτική Χαλκιδική (φωτ. 1). Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει και το έγκοιλο τετράγωνο της οπίσθιας όψης, το οποίο θυμίζει έντονα το αντίστοιχο των κοπών της Μένδης. Η υιοθέτηση των τύπων της Μένδης και του ίδιου εγκοίλου, στη δεύτερη περίπτωση για λόγους τεχνικούς, από την πόλη που μας ενδιαφέρει καθιστά σαφή και την αναγραφή των γραμμάτων Κα. Η τελευταία αποσκοπεί στο να ξεχωρίσει τις κοπές της Κάψας από εκείνες της Μένδης.

Μία άλλη ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέρουσα κοπή της Κάψας (ή Σκάψας), που δεν αναφέρθηκε από τη Flensted-Jensen, είναι εκείνη αργυρών τριταρτημορίων, τα οποία φέρουν ως οπισθότυπο βότρυ εντός εγκοίλου τετραγώνου (Β)⁴. Τα νομίσματα αυτά φέρουν ως εμπροσθότυπο, είτε ανδρική γενειοφόρο κεφαλή με πέτασο προς τα δεξιά είτε νεανική ταινιοφόρο κεφαλή προς τα αριστερά. Δύο νομίσματα με τον τύπο της ανδρικής γενειοφόρου κεφαλής είναι γνωστά (φωτ. 2)⁵ και ένα με τον τύπο της ανδρικής αγένειας μορφής. Βότρυ εντός εγκοίλου τετραγώνου φέρουν ως οπισθότυπο και οι μικρές αργυρές υποδιαίρεσεις της Σκιώνης που χρονολογούνται στο τρίτο τέταρτο του 5^{ου} αι. π.Χ. και κυρίως προς τα τέλη αυτού⁶. Βότρυες απαντούν και ως οπισθότυπος των νομισμάτων της Αφύτews, γειτονικής των παραπάνω πόλεως⁷. Τα τριταρτημόρια με τα αρχικά Κα- και τον βότρυ ως οπισθότυπο, αποδόθηκαν από τον E.S.G. Robinson στην Κάψα (ή Σκάψα). Τόσο από τεχνοτροπική όσο και από εικονογραφική άποψη τα νομίσματα αυτά πρέπει να χρονολογηθούν μετά τις αρχές του τελευταίου τέταρτου του 5^{ου} αι. π.Χ. Τριταρτημόρια εξέδωσαν οι πόλεις Ποτειδαία, Σκιώνη, Μένδη, Δίκαια και Αίνεια πριν από το τελευταίο τέταρτο του 5^{ου} αι. π.Χ.⁸ Οι πόλεις αυτές βρίσκονται στη δυτική Χαλκιδική και η διαπίστωση αυτή δεν μπορεί παρά να συνηγορεί στην αναζήτηση της συγκεκριμένης πόλεως στην περιοχή αυτή.

Και στην περίπτωση αυτή, της κοπής των τριταρτημορίων εικονογραφικώς οι εκδόσεις της Σκάψας αντιγράφουν τις νομισματοκοπίες γειτονικών και σημαντικότερων πόλεων, της Σκιώνης και της Αφύτews. Η επιλογή της γενειοφόρου και πετασοφόρου

⁴ W.S. Grose, *McClellan Coll.* 7312 (9 mm, 0, 41 g, 5h), 7313 (8, 5 mm, 0, 39 g, 9h).

⁵ Το δεύτερο γνωστό τριταρτημόριο με τον τύπο της ανδρικής γενειοφόρου κεφαλής προέρχεται από την πρώην συλλογή Αθ. Γκέρτσου και βρίσκεται σήμερα στη συλλογή της Τραπεζής Πίστεως: *ACBNC* 6099: 9 mm, 0, 31 g, 12h. Το χαμηλότερο βάρος του νομίσματος οφείλεται στην αποκοπή τμήματος αυτού. Το τριταρτημόριο αυτό έχει κοπή με διαφορετικό ζεύγος σφραγίδων και τεχνοτροπικά φαίνεται παλαιότερο από εκείνο που φέρει τους ίδιους τύπους και βρίσκεται στη Συλλογή McClellan. Επομένως, προηγείται και χρονολογικά από τα άλλα δύο στη Συλλογή McClellan.

⁶ *ACBNC* 2374 (0, 49 γρ.), 2375 (0, 45 γρ.), 2376 (0, 26), *SNG ANS* 714-5. Γι' αυτά τα νομίσματα βλ. και H. Bloesch, «Noch einmal Skione», *SM* 51/ 54 (1964), 59-61.

⁷ Για τα νομίσματα της πόλεως αυτής, πρβ. Gaebler, *AMNG* III/2 (Βερολίνο 1935), 44-46.

⁸ Σ. Ψωμά, «Σταθμητικοί κανόνες στη Χαλκιδική κατά τον 5^ο αι. π.Χ.» (υπό εκτύπωση).

κεφαλής αλλά και εκείνης ταινιοφόρου νέου για τον εμπροσθότυπο εντάσσεται στη γενίκευση της επιλογής κεφαλών θεοτήτων στην εμπρόσθια όψη που παρατηρείται μετά το 430 π.Χ. στην περιοχή: η κεφαλή του Απόλλωνος προς τα δεξιά ή τα αριστερά των τετρωβόλων, τριημιωβολίων και ημιωβολίων των Χαλκιδέων και των οβολών της Ακάνθου, η γυναικεία κεφαλή των νομισμάτων των Βοττιαίων, η κρανοφόρος κεφαλή των κοπών της Σκιώνης και της Αφύτεως⁹. Ας σημειωθεί ότι χρησιμοποιούμε τον όρο «γενίκευση» γιατί τα τετράδραχμα της Σκιώνης με την κεφαλή του Πρωτεσίλαου ως εμπροσθότυπο χρονολογούνται πολύ πριν από τις αρχές του τελευταίου τέταρτου του 5^{ου} αι. π.Χ. Οι αργυρές υποδιαίρεσεις «θρακομακεδονικού» σταθμητικού κανόνα της Αίνειας με κεφαλή Αθηνάς άρχισαν να κόβονται περί τα μέσα του ίδιου αιώνα. Ορισμένα νομίσματα απροσδιόριστου νομισματοκοπίου (*incerti*) με γυναικεία ή ανδρική κεφαλή επίσης, όπως άλλωστε και οι στατήρες που άλλοτε αποδίδονταν στην Κάλυμνο¹⁰. Ο βότρυς της οπίσθιας όψης εντάσσεται στην ίδια εικονογραφική ομάδα με την προηγούμενη κοπή της Κάψας και αναφέρεται στη λατρεία του Διονύσου. Τα νομίσματα που η Flensted-Jensen αποδίδει στην Κάψα και προέρχονται από το μικρό θησαυρό που βρέθηκε στη Μένδη πρέπει να αποδοθούν στη Σκιώνη¹¹.

Το μόνο χάλκινο νόμισμα της πόλεως Σκάψας, το οποίο χρονολογείται στο πρώτο μισό του 4^{ου} αι. π.Χ., παρουσιάζει σαφέστατη επίδραση των κοπών του Χαλκιδικού Κοινού: η κεφαλή του Απόλλωνος στην εμπρόσθια όψη εικονογραφικά και τεχνοτροπικά προκύπτει από αυτές. Πρόκειται για την τρίτη ομάδα νομισμάτων της Σκάψας. Αξίζει να επισημάνουμε ότι η εικονογραφική και κυρίως η πολιτειακή επίδραση του Κοινού των Χαλκιδέων, είναι σαφέστατη στη δυτική Χαλκιδική κατά την περίοδο αυτή. Η περίπτωση του Κοινού των Βοττιαίων είναι ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστική. Οι χάλκινες νομισματικές τους εκδόσεις που χρονολογούνται στο πρώτο μισό του 4^{ου} αι. π.Χ., φέρουν επίσης την κεφαλή του Απόλλωνος ή της Αρτέμιδος ως εμπροσθότυπο, κιθάρα ως οπισθότυπο και φυσικά εγγράφονται στο πλαίσιο των χαλκιδικών επιδράσεων¹². Οι νομισματικές αυτές εκδόσεις των Βοττιαίων χρονολογικά συμπίπτουν με την περίοδο που οι τελευταίοι είχαν ενταχθεί στη Χαλκιδική «Συμπολιτεία»¹³. Σχετικά με τους Βοττιαίους παρατηρήσαμε ότι ενώ, η μεγαλύτερη και η μεσαία υποδιαίρεση φέρουν στην εμπρόσθια όψη κεφαλή Απόλλωνος και Αρτέμιδος (;) αντιστοίχως, η μικρότερη υποδιαίρεση έχει κοπή με κρανοφόρο κεφαλή ως εμπροσθότυπο. Πρόκειται ίσως για αναφορά σε τοπική λατρεία για την οποία δεν διαθέτουμε περισσότερα στοιχεία. Η «τοποθέτηση» της Σκάψας-

⁹ Για τις κοπές των πόλεων αυτών, πρβ. παρ. 12 (Βοττιαίοι), *Olynthus IX* (1938), *passim, infra*, παρ. 17 και για τα τριημιωβόλια, S. Psoma, «Monnaies aux initiales ΤΡΙΗ», *Μνήμη Μ.Ι. Price*, Αθήνα 1997 (Χαλκιδείς), *SNG ANS* 50, 52 (Ακάνθος), H. Bloesch, «Noch einmal Skione», *SM* 51/ 54 (1964), 59-61 (Σκιώνη), Gaebler, *AMNG* III/2, 44-46 (Αφύτις).

¹⁰ Για τα *incerti*, αναμένοντας την ολοκλήρωση της μελέτης της Κατερίνης Λιάμμη, πρβ. Α.Π. Τζαμαλής, «Θρακο-μακεδονικά αβέβαια», *Νομ. Χρον.* 16, 1997, 13-20. Για τους στατήρες που τώρα αποδίδονται στη Χαλκιδική: Ute Wartenberg, «Calymna calymnated -a nineteenth-century misattribution?», *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price* (Λονδίνο 1998), 363-371, πιν. 76-77.

¹¹ Flensted-Jensen, 124, παρ. 43. Για τον θησαυρό αυτό, πρβ. H. Weber, «A small find of coins of Mende», *NC* 1898, 251-8, πιν. XVI. πρόκειται για το νόμισμα XVI 16.

¹² Πρβ. την παραπομπή 13.

¹³ S. Psoma, «La première série du monnayage bottiéen», *BSFN* février 1996, 17-20. Της ίδιας, *Olynthe et les Chalcidiens de Thrace. Etude de Numismatique et d'Histoire* (Παρίσι IV- Σορβόνη 1996) και «Les Bottiéens de Thrace aux V^e et IV^e siècles av. J.-C.» (υπό εκτύπωση).

Σκάψας-Κάψας στη δυτική Χαλκιδική επιβεβαιώνεται και εικονογραφικώς, από τον εμπροσθότυπο αυτού του μοναδικού μέχρι σήμερα νομίσματος.

Θα μπορούσαμε ενδεχομένως να υποστηρίξουμε, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη και τα στοιχεία που αναφέραμε σχετικά με τους Βοττιαίους, ότι η κεφαλή του Απόλλωνος του νομίσματος αυτού των Σκαψαίων παραπέμπει σε μία πιθανή συμμετοχή των τελευταίων στο Κοινό των Χαλκιδέων. Προς αυτήν την κατεύθυνση συνηγορούν και άλλα στοιχεία, όπως η τοποθέτηση τους στη δυτική Χαλκιδική, στην οποία ήδη αναφερθήκαμε. Γίνεται σαφές μετά από τη μελέτη των φιλολογικών πηγών, της αναφοράς του ψηφίσματος του Αριστοτέλους στους «Χαλκιδῆς ἐπὶ Θράκης τοὺς ἑσπερίους» αλλά και των νομισματικών εκδόσεων των Βοττιαίων, ότι τα εδάφη του Κοινού των Χαλκιδέων εκτείνονταν κατά το πρώτο μισό του 4^{ου} αι. π.Χ. στο μεγαλύτερο τμήμα της δυτικής Χαλκιδικής¹⁴. Το κράτος των Χαλκιδέων κατά την περίοδο αυτή περιελάμβανε τα εδάφη της Νότιας Βοττικής, δηλ. της περιοχής της Σπαρτώλου, της Κρουσίδος και όσον αφορά στα χρόνια, που ακολούθησαν την «εκχώρηση» της Ποτειδαίας και του Ανθεμούντος από το Φίλιππο Β' σε αυτούς, και την Παλλήνη¹⁵.

Μέχρι στιγμής αναφερθήκαμε λεπτομερώς στον εμπροσθότυπο της μοναδικής αυτής κοπής των Σκαψαίων. Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει και ο οπισθότυπος: λέων που επιτίθεται προς τα δεξιά. Λέων επιτιθέμενος απαντά στην οπίσθια όψη αργυρών και χάλκινων κοπών των Τημενιδών βασιλέων: ημίτομο λέοντος ως οπισθότυπος των αργυρών βαριών τετρωβόλων των Αλεξάνδρου Α'¹⁶ και Περδίκκα Β' —τα τελευταία κυκλοφόρησαν ευρέως στη Χαλκιδική¹⁷— καθώς και σε χάλκινα νομίσματα του Αερόπου Β', Πausανία και του Αμύντα Γ'¹⁸. Λέων επιτιθέμενος απαντά στην οπίσθια όψη των αργυρών στατήρων του Αμύντα Γ' και σε χάλκινα νομίσματα του Περδίκκα Γ'¹⁹. Τον ίδιο οπισθότυπο φέρουν και οι σπανιότατες χάλκινες κοπές της Μεθώνης στην περική ακτή και του Φάγρητος (ημίτομο λέοντος στην τελευταία περίπτωση)²⁰. Η αναγραφή του εθνικού στο έξεργο, κάτω από τη γραμμή εδάφους αποτελεί κοινό τόπο των χάλκινων κοπών της Μεθώνης που φέρει τον ίδιο οπισθότυπο με τα νομίσματα της Σκάψας, καθώς και μίας σπάνιας κοπής της Ποτειδαίας²¹. Δύο χάλκινα νομίσματα με κεφαλή Ηρακλέους προς τα δεξιά ως εμπροσθότυπο και ημίτομο Πηγάσου προς τα δεξιά ως οπισθότυπο και την επιγραφή Αμ- πάνω από τον εμπροσθοτυπο και -ύντα στο έξεργο, που βρέθηκαν στις ανασκαφές της Ολύνθου²², θα μπορούσαν ενδεχομένως να αποτελέσουν ένδειξη για τη

¹⁴ Πρβ. παρ. 13.

¹⁵ M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Une donation du roi Lysimaque*, Μελετήματα 5 (Αθήνα 1988), 44.

¹⁶ Για τη νομισματοκοπία των βασιλέων αυτών, πρβ. D. Raymond, *Macedonian Regal coinage to 413 B.C.*, NNM 126 (Νέα Υόρκη 1953).

¹⁷ Για την κυκλοφορία των βαριών τετρωβόλων του Περδίκκα Β' στη Χαλκιδική, πρβ. Psoma, *Olynthe et les Chalcidiens de Thrace. Etude de Numismatique et d'Histoire* και «Notes sur le début du monnayage fédéral des Chalcidiens de Thrace» RN 1997, 423-428.

¹⁸ U. Westermark, «The Regal Macedonian Coinage, ca. 413-359 B.C.», *Kraay Morkholm Essays* (Wetteren 1989), 300 κεξ.

¹⁹ Πρβ. παρ. 18.

²⁰ Για τα νομίσματα της Μεθώνης, πρβ. Gaebler, *AMNG* III/2, 78-9 και *Olynthus* IX, 287-8. Για τις χάλκινες κοπές του Φάγρητος, Κ. Λιάμπη, «Η νομισματοκοπία του Φάγρητος», *Νομ. Χρον.* 10 (1991), 25-31.

²¹ Δ. Πόρτολος, «Οι πρώιμες χάλκινες κοπές των πόλεων της Χαλκιδικής» (υπό εκτύπωση).

²² *Olynthus* XIV, 421-422, πιν. 172, 23.

χρονολόγηση των κοπών με την επιγραφή στο έξεργο κατά τη διάρκεια της βασιλείας του Αμύντα Γ' (393/2-371/70). Η κοπή των νομισμάτων αυτών από την πόλη της Σκάψας όσο αυτή ήταν μέλος του Χαλκιδικού Κοινού, όπως προαναφέραμε, δεν μπορεί να αποκλεισθεί.

Επομένως, διαπιστώνουμε ότι τόσο οι κοπές της Κάψας του 5^{ου} αι. π.Χ. όσο και το χάλκινο νόμισμα της Σκάψας του 4^{ου} αι. π.Χ., μπορεί εικονογραφικώς να διαφοροποιούνται, όπως σωστά διαπιστώνει η Flensted Jensen, αντλούν όμως τη θεματολογία τους από τις μεγάλες νομισματοκοπίες της περιοχής, όπως εκείνες της Μένδης, Σκιώνης και Αφύτεως κατά τον 5^ο αι. π.Χ. και των Χαλκιδέων κατά τον 4^ο αι. π.Χ. Πρόκειται δηλ. και στις δύο περιπτώσεις για μικρές νομισματικές εκδόσεις, των οποίων η εικονογραφία εξαντλείται σε δάνεια από εκείνη μεγαλύτερων και οπωσδήποτε πιο σημαντικών πόλεων.

Αναφέραμε ήδη τη δυνατότητα εναλλαγής των γραμμάτων κ- και σκ- στην αρχαία ελληνική. Επιπλέον η επιλογή των τύπων και των υποδιαρέσεων παραπέμπουν στη δυτική Χαλκιδική, όπως και οι φιλολογικές πηγές και οι αθηναϊκοί φορολογικοί κατάλογοι. Πρέπει επομένως να δεσφούμε ότι πρόκειται για μία και μοναδική πόλη και ότι αυτή βρίσκεται στη δυτική Χαλκιδική, νοτιοανατολικώς της Ολύνθου. Με αυτά τα δεδομένα, μπορούμε να προσεγγίσουμε με διαφορετικό τρόπο το χωρίον του Στεφάνου του Βυζαντίου. Αναμφίβολα ο Στέφανος αντιγράφει και πιο συγκεκριμένα παραφράζει το χωρίον του Ηροδότου, όπως εύστοχα παρατηρεί και η Flensted Jensen. Ωστόσο, ο Στέφανος προσθέτει μία λεπτομέρεια που σαφώς παραπέμπει σε μίαν άλλη πηγή που ο συγγραφέας των «Εθνικών» συχνά αντιγράφει, τα Φιλιππικά του Θεόπομπο του Χίου²³: η Κάψα προσδιορίζεται ως πόλις Χαλκιδικής χώρας. Από το Στέφανο αναφέρεται ως Θράκης Χαλκιδική πόλις και το Τίνδιον, η Τίνδη των αθηναϊκών φορολογικών καταλόγων²⁴. Ως Χαλκιδική πόλις ἐν Θράκη αναφέρεται από τον ίδιο ιστορικό και η Μίλκωρος ή Μιάκωρος²⁵. Στην τελευταία περίπτωση, ο Στέφανος δεν παραλείπει να αναφέρει ότι αντλεί την πληροφορία αυτή από τον Θεόπομπο, και πιο συγκεκριμένα από το 25^ο βιβλίο των Φιλιππικών. Το επίθετο Χαλκιδική χρησιμοποιείται και από τον Θουκυδίδη²⁶. Όπως και ο όρος Βοττική, που επίσης χρησιμοποιείται από τον Θουκυδίδη και τον Θεόπομπο, ο όρος Χαλκιδική προσδιορίζει τη χώρα, τα εδάφη των Βοττιαίων και των Χαλκιδέων²⁷. Από τον Θουκυδίδη και τον Θεόπομπο οι πόλεις των οποίων ο πληθυσμός ήταν χαλκιδικής καταγωγής (Ἄσσηρα, Σερμυλία και Τορώνη) αναφέρονται ως πόλεις Χαλκιδέων²⁸. Η πόλις Αιόλειον αναφέρεται ως πόλις Βοττικής, πολιτεομένη δὲ μετὰ τῶν Χαλκιδέων, συμμετέχουσα δηλ. στο Χαλκιδικό Κοινό²⁹. Οι πόλεις που αναφέρονται

²³ *Fr.Gr.Hist.* 115 F 24-246.

²⁴ Στεφ. Βυζ. Τίνδιον. Σχετικά με την πόλη αυτή και τους Τινδαίους των Αθηναϊκών φορολογικών καταλόγων, πρβ. Zahrnt, 247.

²⁵ *Fr.Gr.Hist.* 115 F 152.

²⁶ Θουκ. I 65, 2. II 70 4 και 101, 5. IV 79, 1 και 103, 1.

²⁷ Θουκ. I 65, 2. II 79, 2 και 101, 5. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 497, 6 «-ικός, ή, όν erscheint von Anfang an in den κτητικά zu εθνικά. Häufig wird -ικός zur Bezeichnung der Zugehörigkeit oder Beziehung ...».

²⁸ *Fr.Gr.Hist.* 115 F 147 (Ἄσσηρα) και Στεφ. Βυζ. Ἄσσα. Σχολιαστής Θουκυδίδου ad I 65, 2 (Σερμυλία) και Θουκ. IV 114, 1 (Τορώνη).

²⁹ *Fr.Gr.Hist.* 115 F 144.

και από τους δύο ιστορικούς ως πόλεις Χαλκιδικής (Σκάψα, Τίνδη, Ἄρναί) είναι εκείνες που βρίσκονται σε εδάφη των Χαλκιδέων³⁰. Καταλήγουμε λοιπόν στο συμπέρασμα ότι η Σκάψα συμμετείχε στο Κοινό κατά την περίοδο στην οποία αναφέρονται τα βιβλία 22-25 των Φιλιππικῶν του Θεοπόμπου, τα έτη δηλ. 349-8 π.Χ. Η πληροφορία αυτή δεν μπορεί παρά να επιβεβαιωθεί και από τη σύγχρονη ιστορική έρευνα που αφορά στη Χαλκιδική και δέχεται ότι μετά από την προσάρτηση της Ποτειδαίας το 357 π.Χ., το Χαλκιδικό Κοινό απέκτησε τον έλεγχο και της Παλλήνης³¹.

Άρα, η πόλις Κάψα, Κάμψα ή Σκάψα που βρισκόταν στη δυτική Χαλκιδική, έκοψε τετράβολα αττικού βάρους —έκτες στατήρος— περί τις αρχές του 5^{ου} αι. π.Χ. Προς τα τέλη του τρίτου τέταρτου του αιώνα προέβη στην κοπή τριταρτημορίων αττικού βάρους και στις αρχές του 4^{ου} αι. π.Χ. χάλκινων νομισμάτων. Είναι πιθανόν να συμμετείχε στο Χαλκιδικό Κοινό κατά την πρώτη περίοδο της εξάπλωσης του (390-382). Δεν αναφέρεται στον κατάλογο των θεωροδόκων της Επιδαύρου και στον Περίπλου του Σκύλλακος. Από το 357 κέξ. αποτελούσε αναμφίβολα μέλος του Κοινού.

II. Οι Σκιθαίοι

Η πόλις Κίθας αναφέρεται στους αθηναϊκούς φορολογικούς καταλόγους *IG I³ 278. VI 30* του 434/3 π.Χ. και *IG I³ 71. IV 83* του 425/4 π.Χ.³². Οι Σκίθαι αναφέρονται από τον Στέφανο Βυζάντιο (Σκίθαι, πόλις Θράκης πλησίον Ποτιδαίας. ὁ πολίτης Σκιθαῖος, ὡς φησι Θεόπομπος (*FrGrHist* 115 F 375)).

Η πόλις Κίθας και οι Σκίθαι απασχόλησαν τόσο από νομισματική όσο και από ιστορική άποψη την ίδια ερευνήτρια. Όπως είπαμε και παραπάνω, η ταύτιση των Σκιθῶν με τους Κιθαίους (εθνικό του Κίθας) είναι δυνατή, εφόσον τα γράμματα σκ- μπορούν στην αρχαία ελληνική να αντικατασταθούν με το κ-. Η αναφορά τόσο της πόλεως όσο και του εθνικού από τον Θεόπομπο δεν μπορεί παρά να συσχετίζεται με τα γεγονότα των ετών 349-8³³. Αφενός μεν ο προσδιορισμός στο ίδιο χωρίο, πλησίον Ποτιδαίας, αφετέρου δε η ολαδοποίηση της πόλεως αυτής με άλλες που, κατά τον Ηρόδοτο ανήκαν στην Κρουσίδα, στον αθηναϊκό φορολογικό κατάλογο του 434/ 3 π.Χ. καθιστά την αναζήτηση της γεωγραφικής της θέσης στην περιοχή δυτικά της Ολύνθου και βορείως της Ποτειδαίας, ιδιαίτερα πιθανή. Το αν πρόκειται για μία από τις πόλεις της Κρουσίδος, την οποία ο Ηρόδοτος παρέλειψε να αναφέρει, δεν μπορεί να εξακριβωθεί. Είναι πολύ πιθανόν εδάφη της Κρουσίδος να «προσαρτήθηκαν» από τους Βοττιαίους μετά το 479 π.Χ., όταν αυτοί εκδιώχθηκαν από την Όλυνθο από τον Αρτάβαζο και μετακινήθηκαν προς τα δυτικά και τα βορειοδυτικά της μετέπειτα πρωτεύουσας των Χαλκιδέων. Σε μία χερσόνησο όπως η Χαλκιδική, με τη σύγχρονη έννοια του όρου, της οποίας η γεωγραφική διάρθρωση είναι σαφής, είναι επόμενο με τον όρο Κρουσίς να ορίζεται η ευρύτερη περιοχή δυτικά και βορειοδυτικά της Ολύνθου, που ορίζεται βορείως από τον

³⁰ Για τις Σκάψα και Τίνδη, πρβ. τις παραπομπές 23 και 24. Σχετικά με την τελευταία (Ἄρναί), πρβ. Θουκ. IV 103, 1.

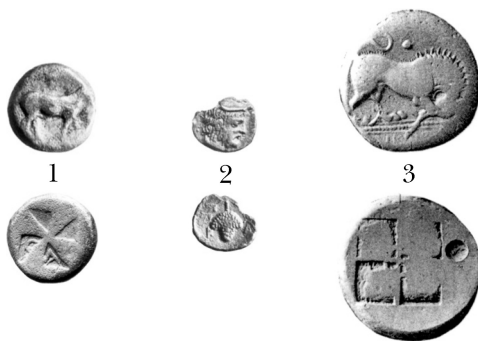
³¹ Πρβ. παρ. 15.

³² Στον κατάλογο του 434/ 3 (*IG I³ 278 VI 29-33*) οι πόλεις Τίνδη, Κίθας, Σμίλα, Γίγωνος, Αΐσα πλήρωναν 3000 δραχμές σε συντέλεια. Στον κατάλογο A9 του 425/ 4 (= *IG I³ 71 IV 83-5*) τα ονόματα τους συμπληρώθηκαν. Στον κατάλογο A10 του 422/ 1 (*IG I³ 77, 41-2*) οι [πόλεις] [Κροσσίδος] αναφέρονται και πάλι.

³³ Ο Jacoby σχολιάζοντας τα χωρία *Fr.Gr.Hist.* 115 F 360-79 αναφέρει «die Zuweisung der blossen Stadtnamen an bestimmte Bücher hat kaum Zweck».

ποταμό Ανθεμούντα και την Αίνεια, νοτίως από την περιοχή της Σιναίας, δυτικά από τη θάλασσα και ανατολικά από μικρά υψίπεδα, όπως η Όλυνθος και η Σπάρτωλος. Ο όρος Κρουσίς και πόλεις Κρουσίδος, είναι κυρίως γεωγραφικός και κατά τη γνώμη μας ορίζει αυτήν ακριβώς την περιοχή, τμήματα της οποίας αργότερα, στο δεύτερο τέταρτο του 5^{ου} αι. π.Χ. ορίζονται ως Βοττική ή Χαλκιδική, αργότερα δε, περί τα μέσα του 4^{ου} αι. π.Χ., ως Χαλκιδική χώρα.

Όσον αφορά στις νομισματικές εκδόσεις των Σκιθαίων, τόσο κατά τον Gaebler όσο και τη Flensted-Jensen πρόκειται για τετρώβολα αττικού βάρους με τον τύπο ημίτομο λέοντος προς τα αριστερά που γυρίζει το κεφάλι του προς τα δεξιά ως εμπροσθότυπο. Το μοναδικό δίδραχμο φέρει στην εμπρόσθια όψη λέοντα προς τα δεξιά που κατασπαράσσει λεία, της οποίας διακρίνεται το σκέλος (φωτ. 3). Πρόκειται μάλλον για ελάφι. Και στις δύο περιπτώσεις η επιγραφή βρίσκεται στην εμπρόσθια όψη. Σε ένα τετρώβολο που βρίσκεται στο Βερολίνο και στο μοναδικό δίδραχμο που προαναφέραμε, ο Gaebler διέκρινε το γράμμα Θ μετά το Ι. Υπέθεσε ότι το επιγράψιο είναι Σκιθ- και όχι Σκιω- και απέδωσε τα νομίσματα αυτά στους Σκιθαίους. Το γράμμα Θ ωστόσο και στις δύο αυτές περιπτώσεις δεν διακρίνεται καθαρά. Αλλα νομίσματα με την επιγραφή Σκιθ- δεν έχουν έκτοτε βρεθεί. Είναι επομένως εύλογο να υποθέσουμε ότι δεν πρόκειται για νομίσματα των Σκιθαίων αλλά για κοπές της Σκιώνης, όπως έχει ήδη υποστηριχθεί³⁴. Στην περίπτωση αυτή, ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει και η κατανομή των τύπων: σπαραγμός ελάφου από λέοντα στην εμπρόσθια όψη των στατήρων-τετραδράχμων, τμήμα, το ήμισυ της παράστασης, ως εμπροσθότυπος των ημισατήρων-διδράχμων και ημίτομο λέοντος προς τα αριστερά που στρέφει απειλητικός την κεφαλή του προς τα δεξιά στην εμπρόσθια όψη των τετρωβόλων, έκτων του στατήρος, της ίδιας πόλεως. Όπως και στην περίπτωση της Σταγείρου, η κοπή του διδράχμου, κατά τον Cahn, προηγείται εκείνης των στατήρων-τετραδράχμων. Μπορούμε να σημειώσουμε ότι ο περιορισμένος αριθμός των τετραδράχμων συνηγορεί υπέρ του βραχύβιου της κοπής³⁵. Οι στατήρες-τετράδραχμα χρονολογούνται μάλλον στο διάστημα 510-480 π.Χ.³⁶. Εν αντιθέσει με τις μεγαλύτερες υποδιαίρέσεις, τετρώβολα συνέχισαν να εκδίδονται για μεγαλύτερο χρονικό διάστημα³⁷.



Σελήνη Ψωμά

Μονής Πετράκη 10

Αθήνα, GR 115 21

³⁴ Για την πρόωγη νομισματοκοπία της Σκιώνης, πρβ. H. Bloesch, «Die Löwen von Skione», *SNR* 38 (1957), 5-10 και H. Cahn, «Skione-Stagira-Akanthos», *Antike Kunst Beiheft* 9 (1973), 7-13.

³⁵ Πρόκειται για ένα νόμισμα που ανήκει σε ελβετική ιδιωτική συλλογή και ζυγίζει 16.49 g και για ένα δεύτερο στο Winterthur, πρβ. παρ. 34. Για την παρουσία νομισμάτων αυτών των τύπων στο θησαυρό του Asyut, πρβ. M.J. Price-N. Waggoner, *Archaic Greek Coinage: The Asyut Hoard* (Λονδίνο 1975), 43.

³⁶ Πρβ. την προηγούμενη παραπομπή: Price-Waggoner, 43.

³⁷ Στα ερωτήματα αυτά πιο εύστοχα θα απαντήσει η κυρία Ειρήνη Μαραθάκη που εκπονεί διδακτορική διατριβή με θέμα τη νομισματοκοπία της Σκιώνης.

ΨΗΓΜΑΤΑ ΚΡΙΤΙΚΗΣ***I. χαριτήσιον**

Το κείμενο του *PSI I 29*, την πρώτη έκδοση του οποίου έδωσε ο L. Cammelli το 1912 μαζί με μία εξαιρετικά καλή φωτογραφία, είναι επίκληση των Ουρανίων για χάρη, δύναμη, κλπ., που χρονολογείται στον πέμπτο αιώνα μ.Χ. Με βάση την φωτογραφία, ο K. Preisendanz πέτυχε να βελτιώσει τη μεταγραφή του Cammelli και ενσωμάτωσε το βελτιωμένο κείμενο στο *PGM* (αρ. XXXV).

Σε δύο χωρία όμως το κείμενο του *PGM* δεν μπορεί να είναι σωστό.

α.

- 24
25 κίζω ύμας, ίνα δότε χάριν και νίκην και δύναμιν και πνεύ-
26 μα κοιρ[ά]νου διαδηματοφόρου τρίτο[υ] χαρίτησήν του.

24 έξορκίζω 26 κοιρ[ά]νου: παρα του Cammelli διαδηματοφόρου
«χαριτίσιν (d.h. χάριν?) μου nach Z. 39f.» Preisendanz

«... ich ... beschwöre auch: gebt (mir) Gunst und Sieg und Macht und Zauberkraft um meinetwillen, des dritten kronetragenden Herrn.»

Η απόδοση «um meinetwillen» του χαρίτησήν μου (ο πάπυρος έχει του, όχι μου), παρόλο που ο Preisendanz δίσταζε, είναι, κατά την γνώμη μου, λίγο αυθαίρετη. Η τάξη των λέξεων και η έννοια κάποιου «κυρίου, διαδηματοφόρου, τρίτου» αρκούν να εγείρουν αμφιβολίες. Στη λέξη χαριτήσιν έχουμε μόνο μίαν απλή απορρογράφηση της συγκοπτόμενης μορφής χαριτήσιον του χαριτήσιον, το οποίο φαίνεται να αναφέρεται στον πάπυρο τον ίδιο, που θα είναι και αυτός φυλακτό για την απόκτηση της χάριτος. Αρκεί και αυτό για να υποθέσει κανείς ότι πίσω από το πρώτο χωρίο υπάρχει η διατύπωση τῶ φοροῦντι τὸ χαριτήσιον τοῦτο. Πβ. *SupplMag* II 64 (= Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets I* [1994], αρ. 60.3-7) δῶς χάριν, φιλίαν, / εὐπραξίαν, ἐ[πα]/φροδισίαν τῶ [φο]/ροῦντι τὸ φυ[λα]/κττήριον (ασήμι, II-III μ.Χ.), *PKöln* VIII 339.2-3 στήσο]ν τὸν πόνον τοῦ ποδὸς τοῦ φοροῦ(ν)/[τος τοῦτ]ο τὸ φυλακτήριον (ασήμι, III/IV μ.Χ.), *SupplMag* 23.6-9 φύγε καὶ σοί, / ῥιγοπυρέτιν, ἀπὸ Καλῆς / τῆς φορούσης τὸ φυλ<α>κττήριον τοῦτο (V μ.Χ.), *PGM* 18.7-9 ἴασ[α]ι τῆν / φοροῦσαν τοῦτο τὸ θεῖον / φυλακτήριον (V/VI μ.Χ.), κλπ. Και η φωτογραφία δείχνει ότι το ρ του τρίτο[υ], στίχος 26, είναι μόνο διακοσμητική στροφή προς τα κάτω του δεξιού τμήματος της οριζόντιας γραμμής του πρώτου τ της λέξης αυτής.

Με άλλα λόγια, αυτός που φορά το χαριτήσιο ζητεί χάριν, δύναμιν, πνεῦμα, κοιρ[ά]νου (έτσι ο Preisendanz) διάδημα. Και αν ακόμη συμπληρώσουμε μετά το πνεῦμα το καί, το οποίο η σύνταξη απαιτεί, το ποιητικό κοιρ[ά]νου ανήκει στο υψηλό ύφος και δεν

* Ευχαριστώ τον Αλέξανδρο Κεϊσόγλου για διορθώσεις στα ελληνικά μου.

ταιριάζει στο κείμενό μας. Επιπλέον, δεν έχουμε μαρτυρίες για κανένα άλλο χαριτήσιο με την αίτηση για βασιλικό στεφάνι. Ο πάπυρος είναι πάρα πολύ φθαρμένος για να στηρίξει το παρ του του Cammelli ή την ανωμαλία που ο Preisendanz προτείνει —με υπερβολική βεβαιότητα, κατά την γνώμη μου— χωρίς να στίζει κάποιο γράμμα. Και πρόβλημα δημιουργεί η λέξη πνεῦμα. Ως ανάγνωση είναι απαραίτητη, αλλά θα αποτελούσε το μόνο παράδειγμα στο οποίο πνεῦμα (= ψυχή; το *Zauberkraft* του Preisendanz;) ζητείται σε χαριτήσιο. Υποπεύομαι ότι το χωρίο είναι φθαρμένο και ότι η φθορά προέρχεται από κάποιο ελαττωματικό πρότυπο ή από κάποια παραντιγραφή εκ μέρους του γραφέα μας. Θα πρότεινα:

24 καὶ ἐξορ-
 25 κίζω ὑμᾶς, ἵνα δώτε χάριν καὶ νίκην καὶ δύναμιν καὶ πνεῦ-
 26 μα ΑΤΟΥ διάδημα τῶ φοροῦτι τὸ χαριτήσιν τοῦ<το>.

24 ἐξορκίζω 25 δῶτε 26 φοροῦντι χαριτήσιον

«... και σας εξορκίζω να δώσετε χάρη και νίκη και δύναμη και πνεύμα (:) ... στεφάνι στο φορούντα αυτό το χαριτήσιο.»

β.

Για να υποστηρίξει την ερμηνεία του για το χαριτήσιν ο Preisendanz δέχθηκε ότι η ίδια λέξη βρίσκεται αλλού στο κείμενο. Ελέγχοντας τη μεταγραφή του, κατέληξα σε ένα κείμενο που είναι κάπως διαφορετικό από το δικό του. Πρώτα πρώτα παραθέτω τις αναγνώσεις του PGM:

31 παρὰ τὰ π(ν)εύματα τὰ ἐναντίου ἴδ' ἐπὶ φνεύ-
 32 ματα τῆς κοσμῆ- Παῦ-
 33 σεος [καὶ] ὑψω- 1. Kopf λος 2. und 3.
 34 σίας. ἐπικαλοῦ- Ἴουλι- Kopf
 35 μαι καὶ παρακαλῶ ανός
 36 καὶ ἐξορκίζω
 37 ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μου πᾶγ κήλευμα ὑ-
 38 πακούσητε ἀπαραβάτους, χα-
 39 ριτσην μου, κυράν(ου)
 40 [διαδημα]τωφόρου τρίτο(υ), Σαβάθ.

33 σεος[]υψω/σισ pap. 35 καὶ 37 πᾶν κέλευμα 37/39 ὑ/πακούσητε ἀπαραβάτως, χα/ρίτσην
 «Reihenfolge in P: χα[7 B. abgesplittert]τω(οδ. ο)φορου τριτο σαβαθ / χαριτσην μου κυραν(ου)»
 Preisendanz

«Ich rufe an und ersuche und beschwöre euch, auf daß ihr jeglichem Befehl von mir unfehlbar gehorcht, um meinetwillen, des dritten Krone tragenden Herrn, Sabath.»

Όπως θα ερμηνεύα εγώ την φωτογραφία, τα γράμματα (στα κοπτικά;) πάνω στα σχέδια έχουν γραμμές επάνω τους. Τα γράμματα είναι, δηλαδή, μάλλον *nomina sacra*. Δέν κατόρθωσα να τα διαβάσω. Κάτω από τα σχέδια υπάρχει άλλη μία γραμμή αδιάβαστη (τουλάχιστον από εμένα). Και πιο κάτω βρίσκουμε τη λέξη Σαβαθ, απορθογράφηση ή συντόμευση του Σαβαωθ. Διαβάζω:

31	πά<ν>τα τὰ π'ν'εύ-	(ετικέττα [:] αδιάβαση)
32	ματα τῆς κοσμή-	προτομή Παῦ- 2 προτομές
33	σεος <καί?> εὐκρα-	λος
34	σίας· ἐπικαλοῦ-	Ἰουλι-
35	μαι καὶ παρακαλῶ	ανός
36	καὶ ἐξορκίζω	
37	ὕμᾱς, ἵνα μου ὑ-	(ετικέττα [:] αδιάβαση)
38	πακούσητε κ(αὶ) ἀπαραβάτους χά-	
39	[ριν δῶτ]ε τῶ φοροῦτι τὸ Σαβαθ	
40	[χ]αριτίσην μου τοῦτο.	

32/33 κοσμήσεως 38 ἀπαραβάτως 39 δῶτ]ε (πβ. 25): δώτε φοροῦντι 40 χαριτήσιόν

«Ὅλα τα πνεύματα της ευκοσμίας και ευκρασίας, σας επικαλούμαι και παρακαλώ και εξορκίζω να με υπακούσετε και διαρκώς να δώστε χάρη στο φορούντα αυτό το χαριτήσιό μου.»

2. λαλῆσαι

Ο *PGM O 1* είναι όστρακο, από την υστερορωμαϊκή εποχή, του οποίου ο σκοπός είναι να σταματήσει το θυμό ενός ανθρώπου προς άλλον. Το κείμενο του Preisendanz

1	Κρόνος, ὁ κατέχων τὸν θυμὸν
2	ὄλων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κάτε-
3	χε τὸν θυμὸν ὠρι, τὸν ἔτεκεν
4	Μαρία, κὲ μὴ ἐάσης αὐτὸν λαλή-
5	σεν Ἀτρῶ, τῶ ἔτεκεν Τάσης.
6	[ὅτι σε] ὀρκίζω κατὰ τοῦ δακτύ-
7	λου τοῦ θεοῦ, εἶνα μὴ ἀναχά-
8	νη αὐτῶ, ὅτι Κρόνου πέλι κὲ
9	Κρόνω ὑπόκιτε. μὴ ἐάσης
10	αὐτὸν λαλήσεν αὐτῶ μήτε
11	νύκταν μήτε ἡμέραν
12	μήτε μίαν ὥραν.

είναι βασικά αξιόπιστο, αλλά η λέξη λαλήσεν στους στίχους 4/5 και 10 είναι κάπως προβληματική. Μπορούν τα γράμματα να εκπροσωπούν, όπως ο Preisendanz και οι προηγούμενοί του υποθέτουν, το απαρέμφατο μέλλοντα λαλήσειν; Μετά τη λέξη ἐάσης περιμένουμε απαρέμφατο ενεστώτα ή αορίστου. Καλύτερο: λαλήσεν, τουτέστι λαλήσαι{ν}. Βλ. Gignac, *Grammar I* (1976), σελ. 112-14 για τη λανθασμένη προσθήκη του ν στο τέλος λέξης, ιδίως σελ. 113 για την προσθήκη πριν από λέξεις που αρχίζουν με φωνήεν. Δεν πρέπει να υποθέσουμε εδώ -εν στη θέση του -ειν.

3. νύμφαι ἐφυδριάδες

Χαρακτηριστική στους κατάδεσμούς *DTAud* 155-170 (IV-V μ.Χ.), που βρέθηκαν στη Ρώμη, είναι μία αιγιματική φράση σε ποικίλες μορφές:

- 155A.6 Λό(γος)· ὑμῖς δέε Φρυγια δέε / Νυφее Ειδωνее νεοι/εκατοικουσε
 155B.1 ὑμῖς δέ[ε Φρυ]για δέε Νυμφее Ειδωεα νεοικουσε κατα/κουσε
 156.5 Λό(γος)· ὑμῖς δέε Φρυγια δέε Νυμ/φее Ειδωνεα νεαενκω/αενκωρω
 157.1 Λό(γος)· ὑμῖς δέ[ε / Φρυγια δέε Νυμφее Ε]ιδω[νεα νε]ε [—]
 158.4 [Λό(γος)· ὑμῖς δ]έε Φρυγια δέε / [Νυμ]φее Ειδωνεα νεενκωρω / [κατ]οικουσε
 159A.1 [Λό(γος)·] ὑμῖς δέε [Φρυγια δέε Νυμφε]/αι Αιδω[ν]αι [—]
 159B.1 ὑμῖς δ[έε Φρυγια δέε] / Νυμφ[ее Αιδωναι / ν]εενκ[ωρω]
 160.1 Λό(γος)· ὑμ[ῖς δ]έε Φυδ[ρια δέε Νυμφε]/αι Αιδωναι α[ν]εαεκ[ωρω]
 160.27 ὑμῖς δ[έε Φυδρια δέε Νυμφε] / Αιδων[αι νεαενκωρω]
 160.58 Λό(γος)· [δέε] Φ[υ]/δρια δέε Νυμφεαι Αιδων/εα νεαενκωρω
 160.76 Λό(γος)· ὑμῖς δέε Φυδρια δ[έε Νυμ]φ[ее Αι]δων[αι]
 161.5 Λό(γος)· ὑμῖς δέε Φ[υδρια δέε] / Νυμφее Αειδωναι ανεενκωρω
 161.56 Λό(γος)· ὑμῖς δέε Φυδρια δέε Νυμφее Ἄ/ειδωναι ανεενκωρω
 161.118 [Λό(γος)· ὑμῖς δέε Φυδρια δέε Νυμφε Ἄει]δων[ναια] νεεν/κωρω
 162.1 [Λό(γος)· ὑμῖς δέ]ε Φρυγια δέε / [Νυμφее Αι]δωνεα / [νεαενκωρω νεοι]κου/[σε]
 163.5 Λό(γος)· ὑμῖς δέε Φρυγια δέε / Νυμφее Ειδωνεα νεαεν/κωρω κατοικωσε
 165.4 Λό(γος)· ὑμ[ῖς] δέε [Φρυγι]/α δ[έε Νυμφее —]
 165.41 Λό(γος)· ὑμῖς δέε Φρυγια δέ[ε Νυμφее] / Ἐδωνεα ενκωρω
 166.1 Λό(γος)· [ὑμῖς δέε Φρυ]/γι[α δέε Νυμφее Αιδων]/εα [νεαεν]/αενκωρω
 167A.4 Λό(γος)· [ὑμῖς [δέε] Φ[ρυγια] / δέε Νυμ[φее Ειδωνεα νε]/αενε[κωρω
 168A.14 [Λό(γος)· ὑμῖς] δέε Φυ/[δρια δέε Νυμ]φее Ει/[δωνεα ενκωρω]
 169.5 [Λό(γος)· ὑ]μῖς δέ[δ]ε / [Φρυγια] δέε Νυμφε[—]
 170.1 [Λό(γος)· ὑμῖς δέε / Φρυγια] δέε / [Νυμφ]ее Ειδ/[ωνεα] νεεν[κωρω]

Ἐτσι τυπώνονται τα κείμενα του Audollent, ο οποίος ακολουθεί την πρώτη έκδοση του R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (1898), αρ. 16-32. Σε καμμιά μορφή δεν έχει νόημα η φράση. Ο Wünsch την εξήγησε ως ασυνήθη κλητική *dee* (σελ. 15), και, αναγνωρίζοντας ότι η λέξη Φυδρια των αρ. 160, 161, και 168 μάλλον ήταν λιγότερο εφθαρμένη από τη λέξη Φρυγια, είδε εδώ παρακλήσεις σε ένα *Deus* <E>*phydrias* και σε ένα *Deus Nymphaeus*. Θα ήταν, όπως εξήγησε, δύο ενδεχόμενες ονομασίες του Ὁσιρη (πβ. *PGM* XII 23 ἐγώ εἰμι Ὁσιρις ὁ καλούμενος ὕδωρ), για τον οποίο έχουμε επικλήσεις αλλού στις πινακίδες αυτές. Και στα Ειδωνее, Ειδωνεα, Αιδωναι είδε ο Wünsch γραφές του Αδωναί. Δεν αποκλείεται ότι τέτοια ονόματα ήταν στο νου ενός αντιγραφέα, αλλά τα χωρία μένουν εφθαρμένα σε κάθε μορφή. Η συντομογραφία Λό(γος) δείχνει ότι ο γραφέας μας χρησιμοποίησε ένα βιβλίο με τυπικές συνταγές. Για αυτό το λόγο, η φθορά θα μπορούσε να είναι έργο του γραφέα του ίδιου ή κάποιου προηγούμενου αντιγραφέα. Μια σχεδόν βέβαια αιτία φθοράς θα ήταν η ομοιότητα των γραμμάτων C και E. Η φθορά θα ήταν σε

ΥMIC ΔΕΕΦΥΔΡΙΑΔΕΕΝΥΜΦΕ

από

ΥMIC ΔΕΕΦΥΔΡΙΑΔΕCΝΥΜΦΕ,

τουτέστι ὑμεῖς δέ, ἐφυδριάδες νύμφαι. Ο Αλέξανδρος ο Αιτωλός (3.22 Powell), ο Ερμοκρέων (*AP* 9.327), και ο Λεωνίδας ο Αλεξανδρεὺς (9.329) χρησιμοποιούν αυτό το σπάνιο επίθετο ἐφυδριάδες για τις νύμφες, για τις οποίες γίνονται επικλήσεις αλλού σ' αυτές τις κατάρες. Η μετοχή κατοικοῦσαι είναι η πιθανότατη ανάγνωση του κατοικοῦσε των αρ. 155A, 155B (κατακ- πιν.), 158, 162 (νεοι]κου[σε εκδ.), και 163 (-κωσε πιν.). Τα υπόλοιπα είναι λιγότερα βέβαια. Μάλλον η αρχική φράση είχε και άλλες λέξεις (όπως τη λέξη ἐφυδριάδες) οι οποίες δεν περιλαμβάνοντον στο λεξιλόγιο των αντιγραφέων, και για το λόγο αυτό υπόκεινταν σε διαστρέβλωση. Όταν το πρότυπο έφτασε στο γραφέα μας, οι λέξεις αυτές θα είχαν καταλήξει σε ομάδες γραμμάτων χωρίς σημασία, σαν να ήταν εξωτικοί σχηματισμοί που δεν έπρεπε να αντιγραφούν με μεγάλη φροντίδα. Δυνατότητες για τις αρχικές λέξεις είναι αἰδώνια (Ησυχ., *EM* 30.20 αἰδώνια· θανάσιμα) και ἔγχωροι (γνωστό σήμερα μόνο από τα λυρικά μέλη του Σοφοκλή και από το Λυκόφρονα). Η επίκληση θα μπορούσε, δηλαδή, να έχει αρχίσει τη ζωή της ως: ὑμεῖς δέ, ἐφυδριάδες νύμφαι, αἰδώνια, ἔγχωροι κατοικοῦσαι.

David Jordan

Σουηδίας 54

GR 106 76 - Αθήνα

A PRIVATE LETTER OF THE VI A.D.

A light brown papyrus, which preserves the left-hand side and the top of a private letter. The dimensions of this fragment are 15.3 x 9.4 cm. The top margin is 1.8 cm and the left-hand margin is 1.5 cm. The text on the front side is written across the fibres and the address on the back along the fibres. The scribe used metallic ink. It is not possible to say exactly how much of the right part is missing. If one considers the position of $\chi\mu\gamma$ or $\pi(\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha})$, l. 1 (see n. ad loc.) to be at the centre of the line, then this is all the left-hand upper side of the letter.

The hand resembles Seider, *Paläographie* I 55 (A.D. 551), P.Lugd.Bat. XXV 71. The provenance of the papyrus is not known. The papyrus belongs to the author's private collection.

The text provides one more piece of evidence about the abstract noun $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$ (see l. 2n.) and the *formulae valetudinis* in the sixth century A.D. (see l. 2n.). Note also the word $\sigma\tau\iota\chi\alpha\rho\omicron\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa[\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ in l.5, attested twice so far in the Greek papyri. (see l. 4n.).

1
2 † Τὰ διαφόρως γράμματά της ἢ μετριότης [μου
3 Περὶ δὲ τῆς ὑγίας μου ἐν Θεῷ ὑγιαίνω. Μή [
4 []... []... ς ὅτι ἐδεξάμην [αὐ]τὸ καὶ τὸ σιχαροκαρ[άλλιον
5] ἕως ἄρτι καὶ ἔχω τὸ δακτύλιν ουκ[
6]αυτῆς περὶ ὧν ἔγραψα ὑμᾶς μο[
7]αιλειδ[] [] []
8]ε[

back † Ἀπολλῶ

3 l. ὑγίας 5 l. δακτύλιον

† [I received] the letters, which [your send to] my *mediocritas* [

As for my health, I am well with God's help. Do not?[... I would like you to know about the ... you

gave me] that I received it and the hooded cape [

] till now and I [do not] have yet the finger-ring [

[send] me [at once?] what I wrote to you [

† To Apollos [from NN].

1. What can be seen in this line is the lower part of a vertical stroke, which, I suppose, could be on top of a π . For this symbol see P.Köln III 165, 1n. There is also the possibility of its being $\chi\mu\gamma$, for which the latest bibliography can be found in S.R. Llewelyn, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, Macquarie University 1998, pp. 156-168. But in this case the left and top part of χ should be preserved in the papyrus.

2. For the use of crosses at the beginning or the end of the byzantine documents see P.Oxy. LVI 3871, 1-2n. Sometimes they were used in the middle; cf. CPR V 25, 6n.

διαφόρως: WB s.v. διάφορος cites only one example in P.Gen. I 14, 3 (Byz. period) διαφόρως, ἀγαθὲ δέσποτα, ἐζήτησα προσελθεῖν καὶ φόβος με ἐκώλησεν (BL I, p.159), translating «verschiedenlich, mehrmals» (several times, repeatedly, at different times); see LSJ s.v.; Sophocles, s.v. Since then, only the following examples can be found: SB VI 9136, 3-4 (VI A.D.) [γ]ινώσκιν σε θέλ[ω ὡς] | γνησιαίως διαφόρως γεγράφηκά σοι; P.Apoll. 70, 4 (A.D. 714) ἐμοῦ γράψαντος τοῖς δεσπόταις μου καὶ αὐτῇ διαφόρως; P.Haun. III 52, 11 (VI-VII A.D.) διαφόρως γέγονα πρ[ὸς] αὐτόν; PSI XIII 1344, 1 (VI A.D.) καὶ ἡῦρον αὐτόν [διαφόρως] καταφρονοῦντα μου πολλάκις; P.Ness. II I 29 (A.D. 590). In the Greek literature cf. Just. Cohort. 7; Porph. Adm. 182, 17. 192, 21 (A.D. 959)

ἡ μετριότης [μου: a title of assumed humility used instead of ἐγώ (*modicitas* and *mediocritas* being the corresponding words in Latin). H. Zilliacus, Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum XV.3, Helsinki 1949, pp. 77-79, 92-95, states that the «bescheidenheitsabstrakta» were used in Christian epistolography during the fourth and fifth century A.D. and in the letters of the sixth century A.D.; cf. also Sister L. Dinneen, Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography to 527 A.D., Diss., the Catholic University of America, 1929, pp. 79-80; μετριότης —apart from the present papyrus— is only once attested so far in private letters, BGU II 547, 9 (Arsinoite nome; byzantine period). The last preserved letter of l. 2 is either a σ or a τ (similar to the preceding τ of the same word). Because of the *scriptio plena* and the doubt about the reading the text can be divided as follows: (1) τὰ διαφόρως γράμματα τῆ σῆ μετριότητ[α and (2) τὰ διαφόρως γράμματά της ἡ μετριότης [μου. As far as the former possibility is concerned, it is not possible to find examples of the you-form in the use of these abstract nouns —neither in Christian epistolography nor in the letters (papyri)— as they were used by a person «in order to avoid the use of the first person and to express the low esteem in which he wishes to be held» (see Dinneen, op.cit., p.78). The you-form is only once attested in P.Panop. 29, 11 (A.D. 332) and refers to the exactor; the editors state (see n. ad loc.) that «Alles dies zwingt zu der Annahme schwere Fehler, vielleicht sogar einer Textauslassung, seitens des Schreibers». Consequently, a phrase τῆ σῆ μετριότητ[α would have been uncommon and strangely unconventional for the receiver of the letter. As far as the second possibility is concerned, the personal pronoun της refers either to the letter-writer or the addressee; for its form and its use as a possessive see Gignac, Grammar, II, pp.165-166; cf. also P.Oxy. XVI 1929, 2 (IV-V A.D.) τὰ γράμματά σου ἐδεξάμην; P.Stras. I 35, 16-17 (IV-V A.D.) δεχόμε[νος] | τὰ γράμματά μου; P.Batav. 21, 7-9 (VI A.D.) ἐδεξάμην τὰ γράμματά σου. However, if the pronoun refers to the writer, it would have been difficult to find the verb of the sentence, which could make good sense; e.g. in a phraseology such as τὰ διαφόρως γράμματά της ἡ μετριότης [μου ἐπέμψε σοι, the article τὰ requires something more specified. If the pronoun της refers to the addressee, the text could run as follows: τὰ διαφόρως γράμματά της ἡ μετριότης [μου ἐδέξατο (or λαβοῦσα) παρὰ σοῦ or τὰ διαφόρως γράμματά της ἡ μετριότης [μου ἐδέξατο (or λαβοῦσα) παρὰ τῆς σῆς e.g. εὐγενείας. In both examples the pronoun της is superfluous, but one can explain it as a lapsus in the thought of the writer from the phrase τὰ διαφόρως γράμματά

τῆς σῆς e.g. εὐγενείας ἢ μετριότης [μου ἐδέξατο. A parallel example can be found in P.Oxy. LIX 4006, 2. 6 bis (VI-VII A.D.), where αὐτῆ finds no antecedent (see 1n. ad loc.); cf. also P.Oxy. XII 1592, 1-3 (III-IV A.D.) αἶδε | ξά[μ]ην σου τὰ γράμμα | τα, κ(ύρι)έ μου π(άτε)ρ.

3. περὶ δὲ τῆς ὑγίας μου ἐν Θεῷ ὑγιαίνω: For the meaning of the word ὑγεία see Tibiletti, *Le lettere private nei papiri greci del III e IV secolo d.C. Tra paganesimo e cristianesimo*, Milano 1979, pp.48-49; for its spelling see P.Oxy. LVI 3853, 4n.; for the phrase ἐν Θεῷ (either contracted or written in full) and its use by the Christians from the third century onwards is concerned, see B.R. Rees, *Popular Religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, II, JEA 36 (1950), p.94; Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, p.145; Horsley, *Early Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, vol. I, p.131; Tibiletti, *op.cit.*, pp.29-30. This phrase was considered as a certain criterion for judging a letter as a Christian one in the third or fourth century. The same phrase is to be found very probably in P.Laur. II 48, 8 (VII A.D.), where ταῦ[τα].ν[.].. σὺν θεῷ ὑγυένωμεν ἀλλὰ Ἰωάν(νης) ἀπέθανε [should be corrected to (ll.7-8) περὶ δὲ | τῆς ὑ[γίας] ἐν Κ[υρίω] Θεῷ ὑγυένωμεν ἀλλὰ Ἰωάν(νης) ἀπέθανε [. The vertical hasta of η of τῆς is lost in the lacuna. Before ν of ἐν one can see traces of ink, which could be the right edges of an ε. κ of Κυρίω is made in two movements as in Κοσμᾶ in l.2, and one can suppose a large letter, both because the word itself Κυρίω and because it is the last line, so there is enough space below.

For the reference by the letter-writer to his own health see Appendix at the end.

μή [or μη[δε...: It is either the beginning of a negation, e.g. μὴ θελήσης, μὴ ἀμελήσης etc. or a negative, e.g. a form of μηδεῖς, μηδεμία, μηδέν.

4. [.] ... [.] .. ς ὅτι ἐδεξάμην [αὐ]τό: In the beginning of the line, before ὅτι, there is space for about eight letters; the first one is lost, the second could be τ, γ, σ, χ, the third γ, ε or a final ν, the fourth δ or λ, the fifth is lost, then there is κ, then αι, ει or ι and at the end ς. The phraseology in similar examples is as follows: P.Heid. IV 333, 4 (V A.D.) μάθαι ὅτι ἐδεξάμην ὅλα καὶ τὰ σιτάρια καὶ ...; P.Batav. 21, 7-9 (VI A.D.) γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι ἐδεξάμην τὰ γράμματά σου παρὰ Ἰωάννου...; SB VI 9139, 1-2 (VI A.D.) γίνωσκε, κ(ύρι)έ | μου, ὅτι ἐδεξάμην γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ...; based on the description of the letters, as said above, a form of the verbs μανθάνειν, γινώσκειν, θέλειν is not possible in this lacuna. It is more probable to read the words πολάκις (l. πολλάκις) or σὺ δοκεῖς or μοι ἔδωκας, but the first gives no sense, the second could not be construed with ὅτι. In the latter possibility, the text at the end of l. 3-beginning of l. 4 could possibly run: γινώσκειν σε θέλω περὶ ὃ | μοι ἔδωκας ὅτι ἐδεξάμην αὐτό; for the use of the word ἐδεξάμην see P.Heid. IV 333, 3n.

στιχαροκαρκαλάλλον: Or στιχαροκαρκαλάλλιν? Cf. δακτύλιν below. This word is attested only once again in UC 32069, published by D. Montserrat in *BASP* 29 (1992), pp.81-84 (= SB XX 14319). He states there (p. 84, 3-4n.) that στιχαροκαρκαλάλλον «could be a type of hood worn over a tunic, perhaps complete with shoulder pieces. Again, it could well be a piece of monastic garb». The latest bibliography concerning the word καρκαλάλλον, a hooded cape, is to be found in P.Oxy. LIX 4001, 17-18n. and for its attestation in the papyri see S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel Greco d'Egitto*, Barcelona 1991², s.v., p.49. For the word στιχάριον, a tight shirt or tunic of linen, see P.Oxy. LIX 4004, 13n., which cites S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, Berlin 1971, p.240, 56-59n.; for the

composita of the latter see Montserrat, loc.cit., p.83, 2n. and T. Derda, P.Naqlun inv. 66/87: List of Clothing, JJP 23 (1993), pp.46-47, 6-7n.

5. ἕως ἄρτι: «Till now»; it is seldom found in the roman period (e.g. P.Col. VIII 215, 13; SB XII 11126; P.Oxy. VI 936, 23; SB VI 9017, nr. 19, 5 and see Bauer s.v. 3; LSJ s.v. 1), and its use became very frequent in the byzantine period; it is attested mainly in the papyri (letters) of the sixth century; cf. P.Cair.Masp. I 67002, ii 12 (A.D. 522?); P.Lond. V 1708, 50 (A.D. 567); 1674, 97 (A.D. 570); P.Oxy. LVI 3867, 18 (VI A.D.); P.Rain.Cent. 79, 10 (VI A.D.); P.Wash.Univ. I 43, 2 (VI A.D.); SB III 7036, 4 (VI-VII A.D.); SB VI 9397, 2 (VI-VII A.D.); SB I 5298, 4 (Byz. period); P.Apoll. 63, 12. 23-[24] (A.D. 703-715). In the Roman period the phrase τὰ ἕως ἄρτι is also found; cf. P.Haun. II 23, 3; P.Mich. VIII 474, 14; P.Oxy. LV 3816, 7.

τὸ δακτύλιον: For the diminutives in -ιον see Gignac, Grammar, II, pp.27-28.

οὐκ: Either οὐκ or οὐκέτι.

6. ἰαυτῆς: Either ἐξαυτῆς or αὐτῆς.

γράφω ὑμᾶς: For the use of the accusative instead of the dative cf. SB IV 7436, 5 (end of the VI A.D.); cf. P.Oxy. I 119, 4 (II-III A.D.) οὐ μὴ γράψω σε; P.Oxy. VIII 1160, 11-13 (III-IV A.D.) ὑμᾶς ἔπεμψα; P.Oxy. 126, 16 (A.D. 572) ἔδοξεν ὑμᾶς; P.Lond. II 418 (p.303), 16-22 (A.D. 340) πέμψον] ἐμὲ π[άντ]α. See J. Humbert, La disparation du datif en grec du Ier au Xe siècle, Paris 1930.

μοι: μοι ἄποστείλετε? πέμψετε?

7]αιλειδ[ι]: A word, which contained all these letters, could not be found. Only in P.Ness. III 106, 7 (VI-VII A.D.) is the personal name Αειλειδε attested, as a possible form of the Arabic name Wā'il. So perhaps it is possible to read here] 'Αιλειδ[ιε? More likely the letters come either from one word or two words. So we have three possibilities for the ending of the first word:

1. -α. One can think of a phrase παρ]ὰ Ἰλειδ[ος, from Ilis (a personal name). There are two phonological interchanges, one of ι and ει and the other of τ and δ (Ἰλιτος).

2. -αι. It was not possible to find a word beginning with λειδ-. There is only a case to consider a phonological mistake; for instance κ]αὶ λειδ[ιον? (l. κ]αὶ λήδ[ιον); for the interchange of η and ει see in Gignac I, pp. 239-240 an example from the sixth-seventh centuries A.D. (P.Windob.Worp I, 5), εἶδη instead of ἦδει. Λήδιον or ληδάριον was a «cheap common dress, esp. a light summer dress» according LSJ, s.v. Another possibility is to read κ]αὶ λειδ[ανον for λήδανον, gum-lagadum; in W.Chr. 273, i 15 (II-III A.D.) the same word is attested as λάδανον.

3. -αιε or -αιει. It was not possible to find any verb with such an ending. Again, perhaps it is a phonological mistake, e.g. θ]έλει δ[ιέ ὁ τάδε or] ἐλεεῖ δ[ιέ ὁ θεός etc. For the interchange of ε and αι see Gignac I, p.193; cf. also SB XVIII 13923, 1 (VI-VII A.D.) Εἰάρακος for Ἰέρακος.

Note that all the above mentioned assumptions are based on some phonological interchanges, although the latter are widely attested in the papyri.

1.1 1.1: In both cases one can see only the oblique strokes of either a κ or an ε. back. For the formulae of address see José o'Callaghan, *Cartas christianas griegas del siglo V*, Barcelona 1963, pp.226-227. The common formula during the Byzantine period was τῷ δεῖνι ὁ δεῖνα and very seldom τῷ δεῖνι or τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος. The reading Ἀπολλῶ is certain. Then there are traces of about 7 letters. The first two letters seem to be σι and in that case we could restore either Ἀπολλῶ Σι —i.e. the name of the writer began with Si— or Ἀπολλῶς Ι —the name of the receiver began with Ι-.

Note also that the writer has drawn an horizontal line 1 cm below the upper edge of the papyrus. It seems that the papyrus had been folded twice or four times across the middle vertically and horizontally to gain the smallest possible form. The purpose of this line was to show above which point there was no writing on the front for the writer to sew the fibre so as to bind the letter.

APPENDIX REFERENCES TO THE WRITER'S HEALTH IN THE PAPYRI (PRIVATE LETTERS)

A point of interest, but one not discussed or not emphasized in the bibliography so far, in the private letters from the Ptolemaic period to the late Byzantine period is the way the writer refers to his own health in cases where he is well.

In the Ptolemaic period the letter-writer almost always mentions that he is in good health in a formulaic way: εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ τᾶλλα σοι κατὰ γνώμην ἐστίν, εἴη ἂν ὡς ἡμεῖς θέλομεν ὑγιαῖνον δὲ καὶ αὐτός; see Rodolfo Buzón, *Die Briefe der Ptolemäerzeit. Ihre Structur und ihre Formeln*, Diss. Heidelberg 1984, pp. 9-19. He notes that the wish for the good health of the addressee and information about the good health of the letter-writer are linked by the co-ordinate conjunction δέ. H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n.Chr.*, Helsinki 1956, p. 132 notes that «Bemerkenswert ist, dass in dieser Formel das erste, den Empfänger des Briefes betreffende Glied offenbar den stärksten Nachdruck erhält. Es ist länger und reichhaltiger und der Ausdruck wird variiert, so dass sich gewissermassen Unterarten ausbilden». However, this reference to the personal health should be considered as a piece of information the letter-writer provides the addressee and not as a response of the letter-writer to a previous wish or request of the present addressee. This can be indicated by the fact that in the Ptolemaic period phrases -formulaic or not- in the body or in the closing of the letter, where the letter-writer asks the addressee to inform the former about his health, do not occur. On the contrary he asks general information about everything that happens to the receiver of the letter and his family, such as γράφε δ' ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλη or γράφε δ' ἡμῖν καὶ σύ, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν, ἐν οἷς εἶ, καὶ μὴ ἀγωνιῶμεν (for some examples see Buzon, *op.cit.*, p. 22). As for the closing formula valetudinis, the phrasology is such as ἐπιμελοῦ δὲ καὶ σαύτου ἵνα ὑγιαίνεις (for some examples see Buzon, *op.cit.*, pp. 23-25) and contains no wish to learn about the health of the receiver of the letter.

To sum up, when two persons (A and B) wrote to each other, the following pattern was followed:

- A: Closing formula: γράφε δ' ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλη
 B: Opening formula: εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ τᾶλλα σοι κατὰ γνώμην ἐστίν, εἴη ἂν ὡς ἡμεῖς
 θέλομεν· ὑγίαινον δὲ καὶ αὐτός
 Closing formula: γράφε δ' ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλη

In the Roman period, mainly until the second century, but also onwards until the third century A.D., a phraseology similar to the Ptolemaic is documentary attested, but its use is not so extensive; see O.Lund. 14, 2-3n. One can note again the co-ordinate conjunctions καὶ or δέ¹. That this reference to the personal health is not a usual practice in the private letters can be indicated also by the fact that the letter-writer mentions it only when the receiver knows something about a danger to the former. So in P.Oxy. XII 1481, 2-5 (early II A.D.) a soldier in a camp writes to his mother reassuring her about his health. In P.Oxy. XVIII 2191, 5-7 (II A.D.), a man, who had arrived at Puteoli, writes to a person in Egypt to inform him that he had arrived safely. In SB XIV 11645, 7-10 (II A.D.) the sender emphasizes the fact that he was saved from a great danger; cf. also P.Brem. 64, 4-9 (II A.D.); Koskenniemi, *op.cit.*, p.78 mentions the information about the health of the addresser as one reason for the writing of a letter and cites only one example from this period (P.Oxy. XVIII 2191). The letter-writer very often asked from the addressee to learn about the latter's health; see for examples Koskenniemi, *op.cit.*, pp. 70-73 and 128-130. However, the formulae are not so general as these of the Ptolemaic period, but are specified and almost always concern the health (ὑγεία and ὀλοκληρία) of the addressee.

To sum up, when two persons (A and B) wrote to each other, the following pattern was followed:

- A: Closing formula: γράφε περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου
 B: Opening formula: No direct answer and very seldom πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί
 σε ὑγιάειν μετὰ τῶν σῶν πάντων· κἀγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑγιάινω
 Closing formula: γράφε περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου

From the end of the third century A.D. until the fifth century the letter-writer does not mention anything about his good health. Neither Koskenniemi, *op.cit.*, pp. 130-139, nor Tibiletti, *op.cit.*, pp. 47-52, mention any such an example. But there are some

¹ Cf. BGU II 632 (II A.D.) πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιάειν μετὰ τῶν σῶν πάντων καὶ ἄγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑγιάινω; P.Giss. 97, 3-6 (II A.D.) πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιάειν μετὰ τῶν σῶν πάντων καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτῆ(ς) μετὰ τῶν τέκνων; SP I 111 (II A.D.) πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιάειν κἀγὼ αὐτὸς ὑγιάινω; P.Mich. VIII 491, 3 (II A.D.) κἀγὼ αὐτὸς ὑγιάινω; The phrase ὑγιάινω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς also occurs in SB VI 9165, 3-4 (first half of the I A.D.); *ibid.* V 8088, 3-[4]; P.Mich. VIII 476, 3; 478, 4; 480, 3; 495, 5-6, all from the second century A.D.; BGU XI 2129, 5 (II A.D.) καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἔρρωμαι; P.Col VIII 215, 13 (c. A.D.100) καὶ εἰμῖς γὰρ πάντος ὑγέ[ν]ωμον; O.Lund. 14, 2-3 (II-III A.D.) καὶ ἡμεῖς | ὑγιάιν[ο]μεν; BGU I 27, 3-4 καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὐχομαί σε ὑγιένειν καὶ [ἐγὼ] αὐτὸς ὑγιάινω; P.Hamb. III 227, 3-4 (III A.D.) ὑγιάينو[μεν δὲ καὶ] ἡμεῖς; P.Oxy. XII 1586, 6-8 (early III A.D.) γράφω δέ σοι καὶ ἐγὼ | ἔρρωμένους καὶ εὐχόμενους | σοι τὰ κάλλιστα; SB VI 9194, 3 (late III A.D.) ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑγιάινω; in P.Oxy. VI 935, 4-12 (III A.D.) the sender informs the receiver of the letter that himself, his sister, his brother are well; in P.Oxy. XIV 1770, 6-8 (late III A.D.) γ[ινώσκειν | ὑμᾶς θέλω ὅτι μετ[ὰ πάντων | ὀλοκληροῦμεν] we find also a formulaic phrase and very probably we should supply at the end of the line after γ[ινώσκειν] the co-ordinate conjunction δέ; in P.Giss.Univ. 32, 2-3 III-IV A.D.) the letter-writer emphasizes the necessity to write the letter to inform the addressee about his health. P.Oxy. XX 2273, 34-24 is fragmentary and it is difficult to clear up the meaning.

examples where the letter-writer asks information about the health of the addressee² or states that he was rejoiced to hear of his good health³. Usually a wish occurs either in the formulae valetudinis or in the closing formulae⁴. On the contrary, the letter-writer could inform the addressee about his health in cases where he has made a long journey⁵ or about his weak health⁶.

From the end of the fifth century onwards one can note that the practice changed. The wish of the letter-writer to learn about the health of the addressee reappeared in the private letters either at the end⁷ or in the opening formulae valetudinis⁸. Then the phraseology of the information concerning the personal health occurs in the present papyrus, in P.Laur. II 48, 7-8, as corrected above, in P.Fouad. 83, 7 (VI A.D.) *ὕγιαίνομεν δὲ πάντες σὺν Θεῶν*, *ibid.* 84, 4 (VI-VII A.D.) *τὰ δὲ παιδία ὑγιένουσιν καὶ ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς* and P.Oxy. LIX 4005, 10 (VI A.D.) *καὶ ὑγιαίνομεν σὺν θεῶν*. Note again the use of the coordinate conjunctions even where they were not necessary. In some answering letters this reference is emphasized⁹. On the contrary, the poor health was mentioned when necessary; e.g. P.Ness. III 50, 2 (early VII) a bishop makes some arrangements, because an illness prevented him from attendance at a festival.

To sum up, because of the special character of the letters of this period (see Koskenniemi, *op.cit.*, p.137), when two persons (A and B) wrote to each other, the following pattern was followed:

² Cf. P.Oxy. XIV 1774, 7-8 (early IV A.D.); P.Oxy. XXXI 2609, 9-11 (IV A.D.); P.Ross.Georg. III 10, 24-25 (IV-V A.D.).

³ Cf. P.Oxy. LIX 3998, 23 (IV A.D.).

⁴ For the phraseology of the formulae valetudinis see Tibiletti, *op.cit.*, pp. 50-52; the most usual one was *πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν (οἱ δλοκληρεῖν) παρὰ τῶ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Θεῶν*; for the phraseology of the closing formulae see Tibiletti, *op.cit.*, p. 64; one of the most usual phrases was *ἐρρῶσθαί σε ἐν κυρίῳ Θεῶν... εὐχομαι*; cf. P.Grenf. II 73, 21-22; P.Vindob.Sijp. 26, 21-24 (III A.D.); P.Neph. 9, 17-22 (IV A.D.).

⁵ In P.Oxy. LVI 3860, 11 (V A.D.) the sender informs the receiver that he arrived at Chaereu and that suffered no harm (*οὐδὲν κακῶν ἐπαθόκαμεν*). In PSI IV 301, 5-7 (V A.D.) the writer says that *εἰσήλαμεν σὺν θεῶν ὑγιένοντες | εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν Ἀλεξάνδριαν*.

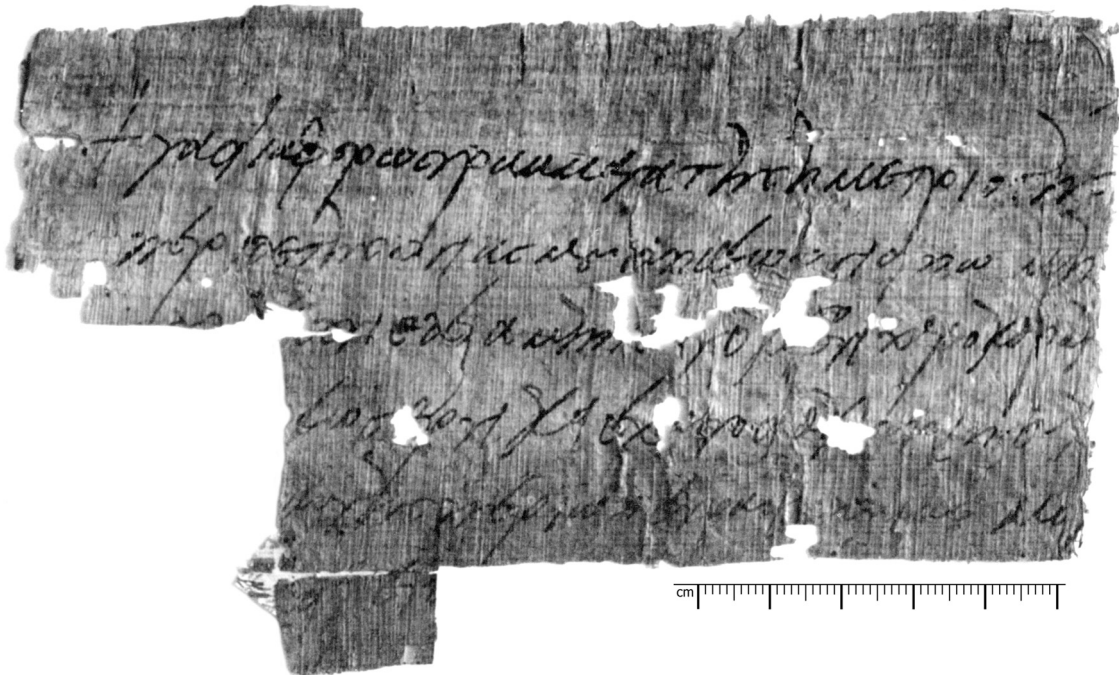
⁶ E.g. in P.Oxy X 1299, 5-6 (IV A.D.) a son receives a letter from his parents, in which they wrote that they had been very ill, but they have recovered. In P.Oxy. VIII 1161, 7-11 (IV A.D.) a sick woman writes the letter and informs the receiver about her situation in this way. In P.Lond. VI 1929, 12-16 (IV A.D.) the addresser and some other persons in his house are in weak health and he writes about it. In P.Neph. 1 (IV A.D.) The addresser was ill and mentions it; cf. also PSI X 1161 (IV A.D.).

⁷ E.g. P.Harris I 158, recto 3-4 (V-VI A.D.) *ἀντίγραφόν μοι τὰ περὶ τῆς ὑγίας σου*; SB VI 9136, 6-7 (VI A.D.) *θελήση ... δηλώσέ μοι ... | περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγίας*; P.Oxy. XVI 1862, 58-59 (VII A.D.) *καὶ τὴν ὑγίαν αὐτῆς | γράψον μοι*.

⁸ E.g. SB VI 9138, 2-3 (VI A.D.) *εὐχόμεινος τὸν ὑψιστον καὶ ἐλεημονέστατον Θεόν | ἀκούειν τὰ περὶ τῆς [σ]ῆς ὑγίας καὶ εὐδαιμονίας*; PSI XIV 1429, 3-4 (VI A.D.) *παρακαλῶ αὐτὴν συνεχῶς | γράφειν μοι τὴν ὑγίαν ἡμῶν*; P.Ant. I 45, 4-5 (VI A.D.) *γράψον μοι, ἀδελφέ, τὴν κατάστασίν σου*; P.Oxy. XVI 1861, 3-4 (VI or VII A.D.) *παρακαλῶν αὐτὴν γράφειν μοι τὰ περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγίας*; P.Oxy. XVI 1864, 9-10 (VII A.D.) *γράφουσά μοι συνεχῶς | τὴν ὑγίαν αὐτῆς*.

⁹ In P.Iand. VI 102, 3-4 (VI A.D.) the writer notes that *ἐδεξάμην τὰ περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγίας* | καὶ ἀναγν[ού]ς πάνυ χαρᾶς ἐπλήσθην, in PSI XIV 1429, 1-2 (VI A.D.) that *δεξάμενος τὰ γράμματα ... ἐνεπλήσθην χαρᾶς γνοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν ὑγίαν ὑμῶν* and in P.Oxy. XVI 1837, 14 (V-VI A.D.) that *ἴπον (l. εἶπον) δὲ τῶ ἀδελφ(ῶ) τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Ἀνοῦπ ὅτι σὺν Θεῶν ὑγιέεται*.

- A: Closing formula: δηλώσέ μοι περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας
 B: Opening formula: ὑγιαίνω σὺν Θεῷ
 Closing formula: δηλώσέ μοι περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας
 A: Opening formula: ἐδεξάμην τὰ περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας



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