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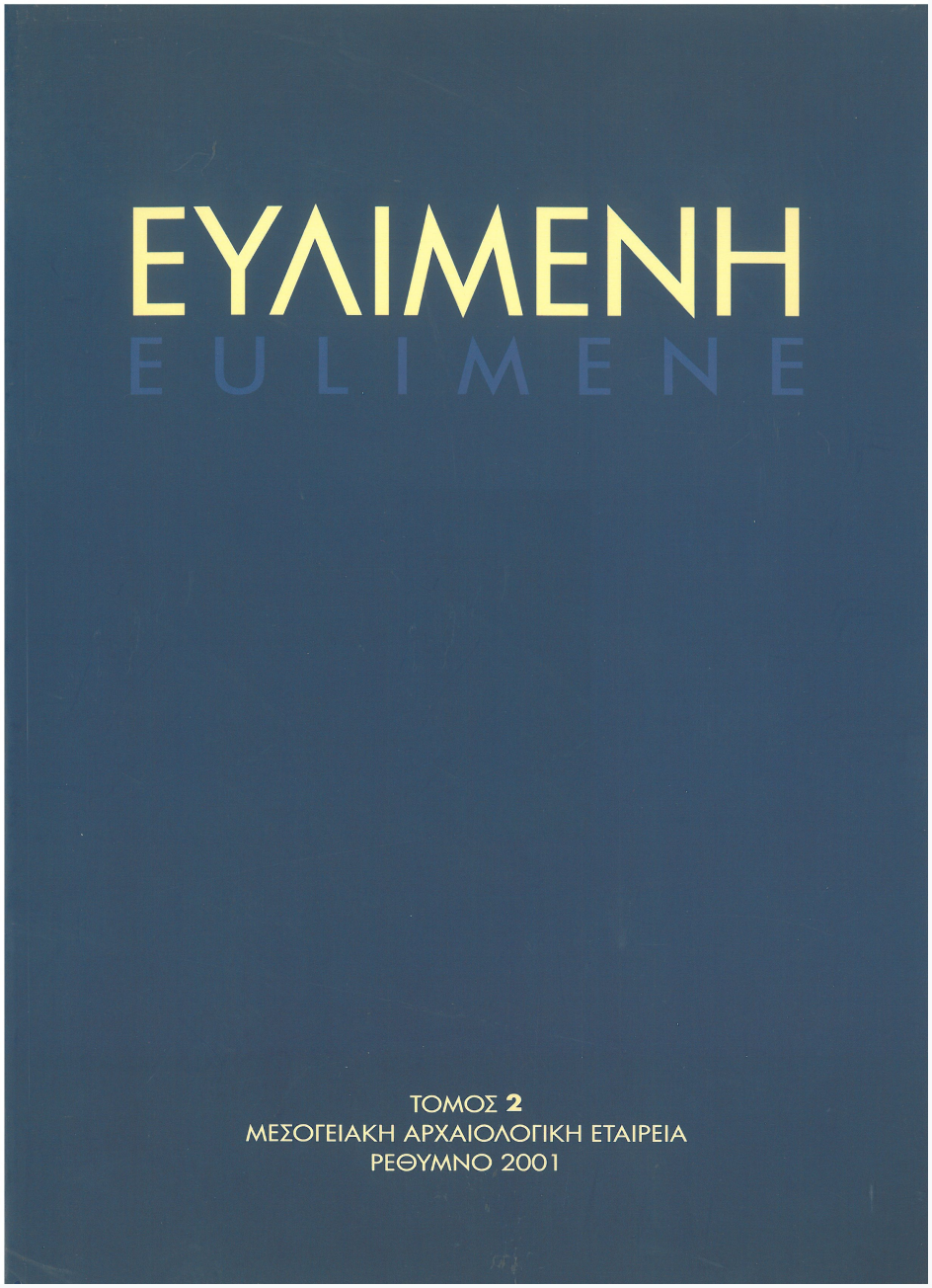

ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

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

Τόμος 2
Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία
Ρέθυμνο 2001

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ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001)

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Antonio Corso, Attitudes to the Visual Arts of Classical Greece in Late Antiquity, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 13–51

Attitudini tardoantiche nei confronti delle arti visive della Grecia classica. Argomento del presente articolo è lo studio dei diversi momenti tramite i quali la concezione dell'arte classica è progressivamente cambiata nel periodo che va dall'età dei Severi a quella di Giustiniano. Punto di partenza di questo processo è la tesi, asserita da Flavio Filostrato nella «Vita di Apollonio di Tiana», che l'arte di creare simulacri deve basarsi sulla *phantasia* e non sulla *mimesis*. Sempre a partire dall'età severiana, sale alla ribalta l'idea che i simulacri ottimali possano divenire abitacoli delle divinità rappresentate e siano pertanto magicamente provvisti della vita e delle facoltà di questi: tale concezione può essere appieno apprezzata nel *de statuis* di Callistrato. Inoltre, la concezione idealizzata delle arti visive di età classica, e soprattutto tardoclassica, considerate provviste di un messaggio edonistico, in seno alla seconda sofistica, comporta la condanna di queste produzioni artistiche da parte dei Padri della Chiesa, che ritengono i simulacri antichi corruttori dei costumi, oltrechè privi di valore dal punto di vista teologico. Tale condanna prelude alla distruzione di non pochi simulacri pagani praticata dai seguaci più estremisti del Cristianesimo tra 4 e 5 sec. Inoltre, il gusto cambia e, a partire dalla seconda metà del 4. sec., i palazzi e le ville provvisti di facciate scenografiche, le pitture e i mosaici ricchi di colori e involucranti gli spazi interni, piacciono di più talora delle opere d'arte antiche, in particolare delle statue. Tuttavia, a partire dal 4 sec., matura nella cultura cristiana il principio che si deve distinguere tra il pregio artistico delle statue classiche, che si può ammirare, e il loro contenuto religioso, che invece è inaccettabile. Questa distinzione sta alla base della fioritura di musei di statue antiche, in occidente durante il periodo fra l'ultimo quarto del 4. sec. e la prima metà del 5, a Costantinopoli tra Costantino e Giustiniano. L'articolo è chiuso da alcune note sull'affermazione in tale corso di tempo della convinzione che le statue in marmo di età classica non fossero colorate, ma mostrassero il colore del marmo, della tesi che la scultura era più importante della pittura nella Grecia classica, e infine di interpretazioni ingentilite, edonistiche e idealizzate dell'arte classica.

V. Karageorghis, Some innovations in the burial customs of Cyprus (12th – 7th centuries BC), ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 53–65

Μερικές αλλαγές στα ταφικά έθιμα της Κύπρου (12ος–7ος αι. π.Χ.). Σ' αυτή τη μελέτη γίνεται προσπάθεια να καταδειχθούν οι αλλαγές στην ταφική αρχιτεκτονική και τα ταφικά έθιμα της Κύπρου κατά την περίοδο μεταξύ του 12ου και του 7ου αι. π.Χ., από την εποχή δηλαδή που εμφανίζονται στην Κύπρο οι πρώτες πολιτιστικές καινοτομίες κατά

τις αρχές του 12ου αι. π.Χ. Οι αλλαγές στην ταφική αρχιτεκτονική κορυφώνονται κατά τον 11ο αι. π.Χ. με την εμφάνιση των τάφων με στενόμακρο δρόμο και μικρό τετράπλευρο θάλαμο, που θα μεταφέρθηκαν στο νησί από το Αιγαίο, με την άφιξη των πρώτων Αχαιών αποίκων. Είναι τότε που παρατηρούνται και τα πρώτα δείγματα καύσης των νεκρών. Γίνεται εκτενής αναφορά στις «ηρωϊκές» ταφές του 8ου–7ου αι. και επιχειρείται σύγκριση με ανάλογα φαινόμενα στο Αιγαίο, ιδίως στην Κρήτη και την Ετρουρία, και συσχετίζονται τα νέα ταφικά έθιμα με τις νέες κοινωνικές δομές που χαρακτηρίζουν τις χώρες τις Μεσογείου, με την εμφάνιση της αριστοκρατικής άρχουσας τάξης και του ανάλογου τρόπου ζωής και συμπεριφοράς.

D. Paleothodoros, Satyrs as shield devices in vase painting, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 67–92

Σάτυροι ως επισήματα ασπίδων στην αγγειογραφία. Περίπου 120 αγγεία της αρχαϊκής και πρώιμης κλασικής περιόδου παρουσιάζουν ασπίδες με τη μορφή του σατύρου ως επίσημα. Τεχνοτροπικά, στον μελανόμορφο ρυθμό επικρατεί το θέμα της ανάγλυφης μάσκας, που εγκαινιάζει ο Κλειτίας, ενώ στον πρώιμο ερυθρόμορφο κυριαρχεί ο Επίκτητος με την εισαγωγή δύο θεμάτων, της μετωπικής μάσκας και της μάσκας σε προφίλ και σκιαγραφία. Η εικονογραφική και αρχαιολογική ανάλυση δείχνει ότι η επιλογή του συγκεκριμένου θέματος υπαγορεύεται από την επιθυμία των ζωγράφων να δημιουργήσουν μια εικονιστική ατμόσφαιρα, όπου κυριαρχούν οι αναφορές στον Διόνυσο και τον κόσμο του κρασιού.

Κ. Ρωμιοπούλου, Πτηνοὶ Ἔρωτες ὕπνῳ εὕδοντες, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 93–96

Sleeping Erotes in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Hellenistic plastic arts introduced a whole range of sleeping or resting types and styles; among them is the type of sleeping Eros in childlike appearance, which acquired great popularity in Roman times as a decorative statue for gardens or as a funerary statue symbolizing heroisation. The relation of Hypnos (Sleep) and Thanatos (Death) has been suggested as the reason for this subject becoming so popular in litterature and art. In this article are presented two unpublished statuettes of sleeping Eros depicting two different types of Eros, products of Attic workshops. They are dated around the end of 1st and in the 2nd cent. AD.

M.W. Baldwin Bowsky, Gortynians and others: the case of the Antonii, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 97–119

Οι Γορτύνιοι και οι άλλοι: η περίπτωση των Αντωνίων. Για τη συγγραφή μιας βάσιμης ιστορίας της κοινωνίας στη ρωμαϊκή Κρήτη θα πρέπει στο πλούσιο και διαρκώς αυξανόμενο επιγραφικό υλικό της Γόρτυνας να γίνει μια διάκριση ανάμεσα στους Γορτυνίους και τους μη Γορτυνίους. Το όνομα Ἀντώνιος, διάφοροι φορείς του οποίου είναι γνωστοί στη Γόρτυνα από τον 1ο π.Χ. έως τον 2ο μ.Χ. αιώνα, αποτελεί ενδιαφέρον παράδειγμα ρωμαϊκού ονόματος γένους με εμπορικές αλλά και πολιτικές διασυνδέσεις. Στο άρθρο αυτό δίνεται ιδιαίτερη προσοχή στην παρουσίαση δύο περιπτώσεων. Η πρώτη είναι μια πρωτοδημοσιευμένη επιγραφή από τη Γόρτυνα, η οποία αναφέρεται σε

κάποιον Αντώνιο, αρχικά κάτοικο της Κυρήνης ή της Κυρηναϊκής, πριν αναλάβει πολιτικό αξίωμα στην αποικία της Κνωσού. Η δεύτερη περίπτωση, μια επιγραφή από την Έφεσο, αναφέρεται σε έναν κατά τα άλλα άγνωστο Γορτύνιο που διετέλεσε ιερέας της λατρείας του αυτοκράτορα· η επιγραφή αυτή μας επιτρέπει να τοποθετήσουμε τη λατρεία της Ίσιδας και του Αυγούστου στο πλαίσιο της κοινότητας των εμπόρων που είχαν εγκατασταθεί στην ελληνική Ανατολή πριν από τη μάχη του Ακτίου. Η ένταξη αυτού του αναθήματος του Αντωνίου στο ιστορικό του πλαίσιο, του 2ου μ.Χ. αιώνα, μας επιτρέπει να συνδέσουμε τη συμμετοχή της Κρήτης στο Πανελλήνιον με την εξέλιξη της λατρείας του αυτοκράτορα στη Γόρτυνα και την επάνοδο της συγκλητικής διοίκησης στη Γόρτυνα. Οι Αντώνιοι που μαρτυρούνται στη Γόρτυνα —είτε είναι Γορτύνιοι είτε όχι— αντανακλούν επίσης την εκεί παρουσία πελατών και υποστηρικτών του Μάρκου Αντωνίου, του μέλους της τριανδρίας (όπως και στην Κόρινθο). Θα είναι αναγκαίο να επανεξετάσουμε την καθιερωμένη άποψη, ότι η Γόρτυνα υποστήριξε τον Οκταβιανό, ενώ η Κνωσός πήρε το μέρος του Αντωνίου.

Ι. Κολτσίδα–Μακρή, Ο θησαυρός Γυθείου *IGCH* 170, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 121–128

The Gythion Hoard IGCH 170. *IGCH* 170 was found at Gythion of Laconia in 1938. It consists of 33 silver coin–issues often occuring in Peloponnesian hoards: 1 drachm of Aegina, 32 triobols of Sikyon, 1 tetradrachm of Antiochus I Soter. The drachm issue, with two dots on the reverse incuse, dates to the second half of the 4th century B.C. The triobols follow the so–called reduced Aeginetan standard, with an average weight of about 2.6 gr. each; these can be attributed to the very last years of the 4th up to the first decades of the 3rd century B.C. The tetradrachm of Antiochus I, minted in Seleucia on the Tigris c. 278–274 B.C., is important for the chronology of the find. In a total of 23 coin hoards found in the Peloponnese, buried in the period between the middle of the 4th and the 2nd century B.C., four include Seleucid tetradrachms (17 in all); see the table in p. 124, of which 8 were minted in Seleucia on the Tigris.

It is probably an emergency hoard connected either with the troubled times of Cleomenes III's war (228–222 B.C.) or the Social War (220–217 B.C.). Thus, the period around the year 220 B.C. is *grosso modo* suggested as the possible burial date. The Gythion find is another important hoard for the dating of the triobols of Sikyon and also provides further evidence for coin circulation in the Peloponnese during the second part of the 3rd century B.C.

V.E. Stefanaki, Sur deux monnaies de bronze inédites d'Hiérapytna. Monnayage hiérapytnien et timbres amphoriques à l'époque hellénistique, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 129–142

Δύο αδημοσίευτα χάλκινα νομίσματα της Ιεράπυτνας: Ιεραπυτνιακά νομίσματα και σφραγίδες αμφορέων στην ελληνιστική εποχή. Η Ιεράπυτνα, φημισμένο λιμάνι της νοτιοανατολικής Κρήτης, κυρίως κατά τα ρωμαϊκά χρόνια, είχε ήδη αρχίσει να αναπτύσσεται στην ελληνιστική εποχή, από το τέλος του 3ου και στις αρχές του 2ου π.Χ. αιώνα. Το 145 π.Χ., μετά την κατάκτηση της γειτονικής Πραισού, έγινε η πιο δυνατή πόλη της Ανατολικής Κρήτης, όπως μαρτυρούν οι επιγραφικές και φιλολογικές πηγές.

Τα αργυρά της νομίσματα (τετράδραχμα, δίδραχμα και δραχμές), με την κεφαλή της Τύχης ως εμπροσθότυπο, κόπηκαν μετάξυ του 110 και του 80 π.Χ., και μαρτυρούν την οικονομική ευημερία της κατά την εποχή αυτή. Η ευημερία αυτή ήταν αποτέλεσμα τόσο της εδαφικής προσάρτησης της πλούσιας περιοχής της Πραισού όσο και της αύξησης της παραγωγής κρασιού στην χώρα της Ιεράπυτνας (με βλέψεις εμπορικές ή μη), όπως μαρτυρούν οι ενσφράγιστοι ιεραπυτνιακοί αμφορείς που βρέθηκαν στην Αλεξάνδρεια της Αιγύπτου, στην Καλλατία της Μαύρης Θάλασσας και στη μικρή χερσόνησο Τρυπητός στην περιοχή της Σητείας, όπου οι έρευνες έφεραν στο φως τμήμα σημαντικής ελληνιστικής πόλης.

Η μέλισσα που εμφανίζεται σε μία από τις σφραγίδες των αμφορέων ως επίσημο σύμβολο της Ιεράπυτνας, συναντάται επίσης στην οπίσθια όψη δύο χάλκινων ιεραπυτνιακών νομισμάτων, τα οποία βρίσκονται σήμερα στη νομισματική συλλογή του Ashmolean Museum στην Οξφόρδη. Ισως η επιλογή της μέλισσας ως συμβόλου να είχε σχέση με την κατάκτηση της Πραισού από την Ιεράπυτνα, καθώς ο τύπος είναι χαρακτηριστικός των πραισιακών νομισμάτων.

Η επιγραφή που εμφανίζεται στη σφραγίδα του αμφορέα με τη μέλισσα και στα νομίσματα με τη μέλισσα, είναι το εθνικό των Ιεραπυτνίων σε συντετμημένη μορφή: ΙΕ. Σε άλλες σφραγίδες ιεραπυτνιακών αμφορέων εμφανίζεται ολόκληρο το εθνικό δηλ. ΙΕ(Α)ΡΑΠΥΤΝΙ[ΩΝ] καθώς και ονόματα αρχόντων, επώνυμων ή μη (ΣΩΣΟΣ, ΠΑΣΙΩΝ). Το ίδιο συμβαίνει και στα αργυρά νομίσματα της Ιεράπυτνας με την κεφαλή της Τύχης που αρχίζουν να κόβονται μετά το 110 π.Χ. Το εθνικό των Ιεραπυτνίων δεν εμφανίζεται ολόκληρο σε κανένα νόμισμα πριν το 110 π.Χ. και τα ονόματα των αρχόντων αρχίζουν να αναγράφονται στα νομίσματα της Ιεράπυτνας μέσα στο δεύτερο μισό του 2^{ου} π. Χ. αιώνα. Πρόκειται για την περίοδο κατά την οποία η Ιεράπυτνα αρχίζει να οργανώνει τη νομισματοκοπία της για να διευκολυνθεί ο οικονομικός και διοικητικός έλεγχος. Τον ίδιο έλεγχο άσκησε, πιθανώς την ίδια περίοδο, και στην διακίνηση των προϊόντων της. Από τα παραπάνω προκύπτει ότι οι ιεραπυτνιακοί αμφορείς καθώς και τα νομίσματα με τη μέλισσα, θα πρέπει να χρονολογηθούν μετά το 145 π.Χ. και μάλιστα προς το τέλος του δευτέρου μισού του 2^{ου} π.Χ αιώνα.

M.D. Trifiró, The hoard Αρκαλοχώρι–Αστρίτσι 1936 (*IGCH* 154), ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 143–154

Il tesoretto Αρκαλοχώρι–Αστρίτσι 1936 (IGCH 154). Il tesoretto *IGCH* 154, rinvenuto a Creta (località Astritsi), consta di emissioni argentee provenienti dalle città cretesi e da Cirene, Corinto e colonie, Argo, Tebe ed Egina. Sono state studiate solo le emissioni non –cretesi che ammontano a cinquantacinque monete d'argento a cui vanno aggiunti altri sei esemplari provenienti da Cirene. Questi ultimi ufficialmente appartengono ad un tesoretto rinvenuto nel 1935 a Hierapytna (*IGCH* 318), ma molto probabilmente fanno parte del nostro ripostiglio, e sono attualmente conservati insieme ad esso presso il Museo Numismatico di Atene.

Unitamente al catalogo numismatico si è fornito un breve commento relativo alle singole emissioni monetali, nel tentativo di contestualizzare le serie e di chiarirne la cronologia assoluta e relativa. Particolare attenzione è stata riservata alla monetazione cirenea nel tentativo di motivarne la presenza nell'isola di Creta, alla luce dei rapporti economici e commerciali testimoniatici dalle scarse fonti storiche. Per tali serie si è

sostenuta una cronologia «bassa» (300/290–280 a.C.) e si è proposto di identificarne lo standard ponderale con la fase intermedia del peso tolemaico adottato dal 310 a.C., probabilmente in concomitanza con un cambiamento della *ratio* tra oro e argento.

I «pegasi» provengono sia da Corinto che dalle sue colonie (Anactorion, Amphilochian Argos, Thyrrheion) e presentano simboli e monogrammi differenti, ma cronologicamente appartengono tutti al V periodo Ravel (387–306 a.C.).

Delle emissioni argive, scarsamente studiate, si è presentata la classificazione e si è proposta una cronologia molto ampia, dovendo necessariamente appartenere al periodo precedente l'ingresso della città nella Lega Achea.

David Jordan, Ψήγματα κριτικής, 4–10 [συνέχεια του άρθου «Ψήγματα κριτικής», Ευλιμένη 1 (2000), 127–131], ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 155–159

Critical Trifles, 4–10 [continuation of «Ψήγματα κριτικής», Eulimene 1 (2000) 127–31].

4. On the curse tablet *DTAud* 41 (Megarid, Roman imperial), at B 1/2 and 4 read [μυ]/ριώνυ[μο]ν and [σ]τρέφῃς respectively rather than the published [τ]/ριώνυ[μο]ν and [σ]/τρέφῃς.

5. On the curse tablet *DTAud* 42 (Megarid, Roman imperial), at B 8 read τ]οὺς ἀκραπόδων (for ἀκρο–) δακτύλους rather than the published ...]ους ἄκρα ποδῶν δακτύλους.

6. On the gemstone Religions and cults in Pannonia. Exhibition at Székesférvár, Csók István Gallery, 15 May–30 September 1996 (Székesférvár 1998), no. 240 (Pannonia, III A.D.), read the personal name Φιλοσέραπιν Ἀγάθωνα rather than the published ΦΙΛΟΣΕΡΑΠΙΝΑΓΑΘΜΝΑ.

7. On the silver phylactery *BullMusComRoma n.s.* 13 (1999) 18–30 (Rome, IV/V A.D.), in line 1 read Πρὸς σεληνιαζομένους rather than the published Πρὸς σε̣λ[ήν]ην παξομένους.

8. On the papyrus phylactery *P.Oxy.* VII 1058 = *PGM* 6b (IV/V A.D.) read δῦ/{ρ}λον rather than the published δο/ῦλον in lines 3/4. The ὁ κα̣τ̣ο[(ὁ καλ̣ [*edd.*) in line 6 is no doubt from the beginning of LXX *Ps.* 90.1: Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανίου αὐλισθήσεται.

9. The εν της ταρταρης in lines 8/9 of the formulary *P.Carlsberg* inv. 52 (31) (VII A.D.; *Magica varia* 1) should be normalized ἐν τοῖς Ταρτάροις rather than ἐν τῆς Ταρτάρου as published.

10. On the parchment amulet *P.Louvre* inv. 7332 *bis* (VII A.D.; *Magica varia* 2 = *SB* XVIII 13602) at line 13 read τῆ̣[α]ς τ̣ε̣γ̣ο̣ύσης (for τεκούσης) (*e.g.*) Μ[[ητρὸς] Θ̣ε̣[οῦ]] rather than the published τη῾ς᾽ δ̣ε̣τ̣ε̣τ̣ο̣υσης μ[.....].

A. Agelarakis, On the Clazomenian quest in Thrace during the 7th and 6th centuries BC, as revealed through Anthropological Archaeology, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 161–186

Περί του Κλαζομενιακού αποικισμού στη Θράκη τον 7ο και 6ο αιώνα π.Χ., μέσω της Ανθρωπολογικής Αρχαιολογίας. Παρουσιάζονται τα αρχαιο–ανθρωπολογικά δεδομένα που βασίζονται στη μελέτη του ανθρώπινου σκελετικού υλικού από ανασκαφές στο αρχαϊκό νεκροταφείο των Κλαζομενίων, του ανασκαφικού τομέα «Κ» στα Άβδηρα. Τα δημογραφικά και επιδημιολογικά στοιχεία αυτού του δείγματος του πληθυσμού, όπως

υποστηρίζονται από την ταφονομική, αρχαιομετρική, φυσική ανθρωπολογική και παλαιοπαθολογική έρευνα, παρέχουν σημαντικότατα αποτελέσματα στον χώρο της Ανθρωπολογικής Αρχαιολογίας, συμβάλλοντας, σε συνδυασμό με τις καθαρά αρχαιολογικές και σωζόμενες ιστορικές πηγές, στη διαλεύκανση πολλών ερωτημάτων σχετικά για τις εμπειρίες των Κλαζομενίων αποικιστών στη Θράκη και προσφέροντας παράλληλα ένα γόνιμο πεδίο για περαιτέρω προβληματισμό και ερμηνείες όσον αφορά τα αρχαϊκά χρόνια στα Άβδηρα.

C. Bourbou, Infant mortality: the complexity of it all!, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 187–203

Παιδική θνησιμότητα: Μια πολύπλοκη υπόθεση. Η αρχαιολογική και ανθρωπολογική έρευνα μέχρι σήμερα δεν έχει στρέψει το ενδιαφέρον της στη μελέτη των παιδικών ταφών. Παρόλα ταύτα, οι ταφές των ανήλικων ατόμων μπορούν να προσφέρουν πολύτιμες πληροφορίες για τη σύνθεση της εικόνας των παλαιοτέρων κοινωνιών, καθώς τόσο το ποσοστό της παιδικής θνησιμότητας σε κάθε πληθυσμό όσο και οι διάφορες ασθένειες αποτελούν σημαντικές μαρτυρίες για το βιοτικό του επίπεδο. Τα παιδιά, πέρα από τη βιολογική τους υπόσταση προσδιορίζονται και μέσα από το πολιτιστικό πλαίσιο που ορίζει ο κάθε κοινωνικός ιστός. Έτσι, η συμπεριφορά των ενηλίκων απέναντι στα παιδιά είναι διαφορετική, ακόμα και στις περιπτώσεις του θανάτου ή της ταφής τους. Το θέμα της παιδοκτονίας (μέσα στους κόλπους της οικογένειας ή ως θυσία–προσφορά στους θεούς) έχει απασχολήσει περισσότερο τους ερευνητές, ιδιαίτερα στην προσπάθειά τους να αναγνωρίσουν τέτοιες περιπτώσεις από τα αρχαιολογικά και ανθρωπολογικά κατάλοιπα. Στην εργασία αυτή, παράλληλα με το θέμα της ταφονομίας (παράγοντες διατήρησης ή μη των παιδικών οστών) και της παιδοκτονίας στην αρχαιότητα, επικεντρώνουμε το ενδιαφέρον μας στην παιδική θνησιμότητα σε θέσεις της πρωτοβυζαντινής περιόδου (Ελεύθερνα, Γόρτυνα, Κνωσός, Κόρινθος, Μεσσήνη, Αλική). Η πρωτοβυζαντινή περίοδος παρουσιάζει ξεχωριστό ενδιαφέρον καθώς αποτελεί μία αρκετά «ταραγμένη» περίοδο της ύστερης αρχαιότητας για την οποία ελάχιστα μας είναι γνωστά. Η μελέτη των παιδικών ταφών από τις παραπάνω θέσεις μας έδωσε πολύτιμα στοιχεία για τα ποσοστά της παιδικής θνησιμότητας (υψηλότερα μετά τη γέννηση σε κάποιες θέσεις) αλλά και διάφορες μεταβολικές κυρίως ασθένειες (cribra orbitalia, Harris lines, έλλειψη βιταμίνης C).

ATTITUDES TO THE VISUAL ARTS OF CLASSICAL GREECE IN LATE ANTIQUITY[1]

The aim of this article is to outline a few important changes in the general conception of the visual arts of classical Greece, changes which came to a head during late antiquity.[2]

The basic idea of ancient art which became gradually accepted in the period from the Severan dynasty until the definitive establishment of the *civitas Christiana* appears to me, as I will demonstrate below, to have been both idealistic and hedonistic. This approach therefore constituted the background to future classicistic and neo–classical revival within the western world, based on similar interpretations of the classical world.

Moreover, it seems to me that the original and creative re–interpretations of the artistic heritage of classical Greece that emerged in late antiquity have not yet been fully recognised, and this observation hopefully justifies this present study of the issue.

1. The concept of the visual arts as based on *phantasia* rather than *mimesis* in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* by Flavius Philostratus.

The elaboration of an idealistic conception of the visual arts, freed from the primary foundation of mimesis, is notoriously first expressed in this book, written for the empress Julia Domna, but completed after her death in 217.[3] The *locus classicus* where

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[1] I have lectured on this subject at the University of Tbilisi (Georgia), Faculty of Philosophy, Institutes of Ancient History and of Classical Studies, from 26/10 to 5/11, 1999.

[2] Good and recent syntheses on late antiquity can be found in G.W. Bowersock, P. Brown and O. Grabar, *Late Antiquity: a Guide to the post–classical World* (Cambridge 1999) and M. Maas, *Readings in late–Antiquity: a Sourcebook* (London 2000). I have anticipated at length several of the studies and assertions presented here in my following two books: *Prassitele. Fonti epigrafiche e letterarie. Vita e opere. 2. Fonti letterarie tardoantiche* (Rome 1990) and *3. Fonti letterarie bizantine* (Rome 1992); the essential earlier bibliography on this topic is cited in these two publications. Moreover, very interesting articles on the subject can also be found in *Bild– und Formensprache der spaetantiken Kunst. Hugo Brandenburg zum 65. Geburtstag*, *Boreas* (17, 1994): see especially C. Gnilka, «Prudentius ueber das Templum Romae und seine Statuen (Prud. c. Symm. 1.215 (237)», 65–88 and T. Pekary, «Plotin und die Ablehnung des Bildnisses in der Antike», 177–86. On the approach of late antiquity towards classical Greek sculptural types with mythological subjects, see M. Bergmann, *Chiragan, Aphrodisias, Konstantinopel: zur mythologischen Skulptur der Spaetantike* (Wiesbaden 1999). On individual aspects of the questions considered in this article, see the bibliography in the notes below.

[3] On the changing concept of *phantasia* in early and middle imperial philosophy and on its promotion by successive generations of Platonic thinkers, see G. Watson, *Phantasia in classical Thought* (Galway 1988) and *idem*, «The Concept of 'Phantasia' from the Late Hellenistic Period to Early Neo–Platonism», *ANRW* (36.7, 1994) 4765–810. On Philostratus and his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, the bibliography is extensive. I cite here only: G. Anderson, *Philostratus: Biography and Belles Lettres in the Third Century AD* (Croom Helm 1986); E. Koskeniemi, *Der Philostratische Apollonios* (Helsinki 1991) and J.–J. Flinterman, *Power, Paideia and Pythagoreanism: Greek Identity, Conceptions of the Relationship between Philosophers and Monarchs and Political Ideas in Philostratus' Life of Apollonius* (Amsterdam 1995). On the problematic reconstruction of the genealogical tree of the family of Philostrati, see L. de Lennoy, «Le problème des Philostrates», *ANRW* (34.3, 1997) 2362–449.

this new idea is asserted very clearly is 6.19. The episode evoked in this passage is a dialogue between Apollonius and the naked sages of Egypt, which was said to have taken place during the reign of Vespasian:

«Apollonius said: 'It is about the gods that I would like to ask you a question first, namely, what induced you to impart, as your tradition, to the people of this country forms of the gods that are absurd and grotesque in all but a few cases? In a few cases, do I say? I would rather say that in very few are the gods' images fashioned in a wise and god–like manner (*sophos kai theoeidos*), for the mass of your shrines seem to have been erected in honour rather of irrational and ignoble animals than of gods.' Thespesion, resenting these remarks, said: 'And your own images in Greece, how are they fashioned?' 'In the way' he replied, 'in which it is best and most reverent (*hos... kalliston te kai theophilestaton*) to construct images of the gods.' 'I suppose you allude,' said the other, 'to the statue of Zeus in Olympia, and to the image of Athena and to that of the Cnidian goddess and to that of the Argive goddess and to other images equally beautiful and full of charm.' 'Not only to these,' replied Apollonius, 'but without exception I maintain, that whereas in other lands statuary (*agalmatopoiia*) has scrupulously observed decency and fitness, you rather make ridicule of the divine (*theion*) than really believe in it.' 'Your artists, then, like Phidias', said the other, 'and like Praxiteles went up, I suppose, to heaven and took a copy of the forms of the gods, and then reproduced these by their art, or was there any other influence which presided over and guided their moulding?' 'There was,' said Apollonius, 'and an influence pregnant with wisdom (*meston ge sophias*) and genius.' 'What was that?' said the other, 'for I do not think, you can adduce any except imitation (*mimesis*).' 'Imagination (*phantasia*)', said Apollonius, 'wrought these works, a wiser (*sophotera*) and subtler artist by far than imitation; for imitation can only create as its handiwork what it has seen (*demiourgesei ho eiden*), but imagination equally what it has not seen; for it will conceive (*hypothesetai*) of its ideal with reference to the Being (*pros then anaphoran tou ontos*), and imitation is often baffled by terror, but imagination by nothing; for it marches undismayed (*anekplektos*) to the goal which it has itself laid down.'» (transl. Loeb, with some amendments).

Apollonius explains that the «art of making divine statues» (*agalmatopoiia*) creates figures full of wisdom (*sophia*), divine–like (*theoeideia*), liveliness (*meston*: full, pregnant, vibrating, thus animated) and of the highest level of beauty and divine inspiration (*hos kalliston te kai theophilestaton*).

The medium, or way, to reach this target is constituted by *phantasia* (imagination), which goes beyond *mimesis* (imitation), although this latter type of approach is indispensable at the level of the creation of what has been seen (*demiourgesei ho eiden*).

On Apollonius from Tyana, whose most important period of activity is dated from Nero to Domitian, see F. Grosso, «La vita di Apollonio di Tiana come fonte storica», *Acme* (7, 1954) 333–52; E. Lyall Bowie, «Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality», *ANRW* (16.2, 1978) 1652–99; and M. Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana in Legend and History* (Rome 1986). It is debatable as to whether Philostratus recreated episodes taken from the real life of Apollonius or invented at least most of them. I incline to believe the first opinion rather than the second. For example, Philostratus, *Life* 6.40, informs us that Apollonius put an end to the love of men for statues of naked goddesses in the age of Domitian. The fact that there is indeed no evidence of men's love for statues after Domitian suggests that Apollonius' opposition to this phenomenon was real and not just an invention of Philostratus.

The phase of imitation may be achieved through the use of earthly suggestions that excite a worthy definition of the deity[4] and, of course, with the translation of this idea into something material. In fact, imagination places divine images (*theon eide*) as archetypes or ideas or assumptions (*hypotheseis*), pre–figured through a relationship with Being (*pros ten anaphoran tou ontos*). *Anaphora* expresses the concepts of elevation, and *ascesis*, of the imagination towards the Being, of the relationship with and dependence upon the Being and of repetition and re–proposition, as far as it is possible, of the same Being, that is, of the archetype in this case. Dependence upon the Being ensures the imagination is undismayed (*anekplektos*), i.e. cannot be undermined by sensible experience, in tending toward the truth, both ideal and divine. As a mimetical activity *agalmatopoiia* is deceptive and limited to what can be experienced by the senses, but as an imaginative activity it is wise because it promotes a better knowledge of the divine (*theion*).

The concept of an *agalmatopoiia* which overcomes mimesis originated in the need, of Platonic origin,[5] that the sculptor does not 'copy' his image from the realm of sensible experience, but takes it directly from the divine archetype, via traces of memory, as his soul was aware of the divine archetypes before it became part of the life of his body.[6] The result of this process may be a divine image which is thus wise, close to its deity and lively. This is in keeping with Plato's predilection for statues to be conceived as living organisms, when compared with statues imitating seeming reality. The terminology used by Philostratus is also in the Platonic tradition: the words *theoeides*, *mestos*, *theion* and especially *hypothesis* refer to important and specific concepts of Plato's philosophy.[7]

An original re–elaboration from these premises is constituted by *phantasia* which works now as a medium between «artist» and «archetype». *Phantasia* is here regarded as creative imagination. It constitutes the main function which presides over artistic creations for the first time, as far as I know, in Longinus' *Peri hypsous*, of early imperial Roman date.[8] In Plato, *phantasia* has the meaning of appearance, or imagination as the

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[4] The idea that the process of knowing the divine resembles climbing a ladder and that the lower rungs of this ladder are constituted by the experience of the less imperfect earthly examples, is Platonic; see Plato, *Symposium* 210e – 211c.

[5] On Plato and the visual arts, see M. Andronikos, *O Platon kai he techne; oi Platonikes apopseis gia to horaio kai tis eikastikes technes* (Thessalonike 1952); P.–M. Schuhl, *Platon et l'art de son temps (arts plastiques)* (Paris 1952); R.C. Lodge, *Plato's Theory of Art* (London 1953); B. Schweitzer, *Platon und die bildende Kunst der Griechen* (Tuebingen 1953); M. Verdenius, *Mimesis: Plato's Doctrine of Artistic Imitation, and its Meaning to Us* (Leiden 1963); G. Cambiano, *Platone e le tecniche* (Turin 1971); I. Murdoch, *The Fire and the Sun: why Plato banished the Artists* (Oxford 1977); E.C. Keuls, *Plato and Greek Painting* (Leiden 1978); C. Janaway, *Images of Excellence: Plato's Critique of the Arts* (Oxford 1995); D. Roochnik, *Of Art and Wisdom: Plato's Understanding of Techne* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1996) and S. Halliwell, «Plato and Painting», in N.K. Rutter and B.A. Sparkes (eds), *Word and Image in ancient Greece* (Edinburgh 2000) 99–116.

[6] Two epigrams attributed to Plato the Philosopher (*Anthologia Graeca* 16.160–1) express this need very clearly: see my article «Small Nuggets about late–Classical Sculpture», *NumAntCl* (29, 2000) 150–1.

[7] The relevant passages in the *Corpus Platonicum* can be found in L. Brandwood, *A Word Index to Plato* (Leeds 1976) 445–6 (*s.v. theios*); 446 (*s.v. theoeides*); 569 (*s.v. mestos*); and 921 (*s.v. hypothesis*).

[8] 3.1; 7.1; 9.13; especially 15; and 43.3.

re–presentation of appearing images, derived from sensible reality, but does not yet mean a fantastical creativity, freed from imitation of what appears.[9]

In Aristotle, this word refers to the power of imagining, both mental and representational of images obtained through the senses; it is not yet a demiourge of wise works.[10] The later meaning of *phantasia* becomes established with Longinus' *Peri hypsous* and with Philostratus' *Apollonius*[11] in early Roman Imperial times. An antecedent of the concept of *phantasia* as creative imagination, conceived as the main force which leads to artistic creation, is found in the belief of *phantasia* as the perceptive power to see what cannot be perceived by the senses alone, an idea attributable to Stoicism as early as the first century BC.[12]

The explanation therefore of this creative power of *phantasia* with its relationship to Being pertains probably to this early–imperial idea. Indeed, the dependence of *phantasia* upon Being is expressed by the word *anaphora* several times in early–imperial literature.[13]

It is thus possible that the attribution of a creative function to *phantasia* as opposed to mimesis and the explanation of the power of *phantasia* through its relationship with Being constitute an early imperial revision, in the period of the *Peri hypsous*, of the earlier Platonic conception. As such, the critical substance of Apollonius' speech to the naked sages of Egypt must really be traced to the thinker of Tyana.[14] Apollonius is thus likely to have re–meditated the traditional interpretation of *agalmatopoiia* in a cognitive way. Philostratus has probably emphasised, and transformed into his own, the conception of *agalmatopoiia* as a fantastical and wise activity, as it satisfies his needs for mystical and transcendental explanations of the creativity and beauty existing in the world, something which is typical of the cultural world of Julia Domna.[15]

The task of creating wise works as performed by *agalmatopoiia* is exemplified by Philostratus with the names of the two most famous *agalmatopoioi*, with long traditions: Phidias and Praxiteles.[16]

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[9] The relevant passages can be found in Brandwood (n. 7) 933 (*s.vv. phantazesthai*; *phantasia*; *phantaseos*; *phantasma*; and *phantastiken*).

[10] The relevant passages can be found in H. Bonite, *Index Aristotelicus* (Berlin 1961^2) 811–2, *s.vv. phantazesthai*; *phantasia*; *phantasma* and *phantastikos*.

[11] Quintilian seems also to share Longinus' notion of *phantasia* (evidence and discussion in Watson, «The Concept, etc.» (n. 3), 4774–7).

[12] Posidonius is credited with having developed this notion of *phantasia*, on the grounds of Cicero's *Orator* 8–10, which is thought to have been influenced by Posidonius: see E. La Rocca, *L'esperimento della perfezione* (Milan 1988) 35, n. 90, with earlier bibliography.

[13] Evidence in *LSJ*, *s.v. anaphora* ii, 1: «reference of a thing to a standard.»

[14] This conclusion seems in keeping with Grosso's study (n. 3): this scholar has ascertained that many of the details in Philostratus' *Life* are reliable and in fact refer to early imperial culture and the historical conditions of that age.

[15] See especially Watson, «The Concept, etc.» (n. 3) and Anderson (n. 3).

[16] See e.g., Phryne, in Athenaeus 13.585f; Spartiatas, *Oratio ad Lacedaemones*: *Choricius*, *Declamationes* 8. 40; Laterculi Alexandrini 7.3–4; Hermodorus, *Anthologia Graeca* 16.170; 169; Diodorus 26.1.1; Propertius 3.9.15–6; Priapea 10.2–3; Columella 1. *praefatio* 31; Statius, *Silvae* 4.6.26–7; Martial 4.39.3–4; Lucian, *De sacrificiis* 11; *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* 51; *Imagines* 6; *Pro imaginibus* 23; Gallus 24; Galenus, *De naturabibus facultatibus* 2.3.35, 82; Athenagoras 17.4; Clement, *Protrepticus* 4.47 and 10.78; Himerius, *Orationes* 64.4; Theodoretus, *Graecarum affectionum curatio* 3.71.49; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina* 23.504–6; Procopius, *De aedificiis* 1.11.7; Photius, *Homeliae* 10.2.433; Arethas, Scholia to Clement, *Protrepticus* 4.47; Cedrenus 322b–

This reference to them seems particularly indebted to the judgement that their activity matched the conception of *agalmatopoiia* asserted by Apollonius. In fact, Plato had already expressed approval of Phidias as a creator of works echoing absolute beauty.[17] As such, within the Second Sophistic culture of the Flavian/Trajanic age Phidias was considered to be a wise man who, thanks to his speculative knowledge and through his sculpture, had improved man's knowledge of the gods.[18] Praxiteles, on the other hand, having been close to the Platonic circle,[19] must have fully established the requirement to shape the forms of idols from the true forms of the gods, going beyond basic imitation.

The passage of Philostratus shows that Platonism had slowly paved the way for the prevalence not of a mimetic but of a transcendental and idealistic interpretation of the creation of idols, which was in keeping with the emerging metaphysical conception of beauty.[20]

The spiritual climate of the age did not immediately lead to a deliberately anti–classical attitude nor to any decline in enthusiasm towards the great masters of the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

On the contrary, these masters are regarded by Philostratus' Apollonius as the main representatives of idealistic and non–mimetic visual arts. In the same way, their reception was updated and adjusted to contemporary philosophical and aesthetic trends.

However, this 'modernisation' of the classical Greek visual arts did not last for long, and awareness of the distance of the ancient arts from the new aesthetic ideals was destined very soon to become a predominant idea.

2. The magical conception of ancient works of art in Callistratus' *de statuis*

Callistratus was a Second Sophistic writer who wrote 14 accounts of works of art:[21] one painting (no. 14) and 13 *agalmata* (nos. 1–13). Eight of these 13 statues were in marble (nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13) and five in bronze (nos. 3, 6, 7, 8 11). Nine works are described without the name of their creators being given (nos. 1, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14), while the names of the masters of five of the statues are given; these were Scopas (no. 2), Praxiteles (nos. 3, 8 and 11) and Lysippus (no. 6).

The subjects represented are symbols of the sensual and instinctive life, such as love, inebriation, excitement for music, madness or persons subjected to these conditions or feelings (nos. 1–5 and 7–11), and in one case the personification of an abstract concept (no. 6). No. 9 is an Egyptian dynastic period statue, nos. 1, 4 and 5 appear to be

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c; Manasses, *Descriptio imaginum* 1.75; Tzetzes, *Epistulae* 42; *Codex Vaticanus Graecus* 989, *ult. fol.*, 110; Georgius Acropolites, *Chronica* 50.103b.

[17] See Plato, *Hippias maior* 290a–d; *Protagoras* 311c–e; and *Meno* 91d.

[18] See especially the *Olympian Oration* by Dio Chrysostomus: G.A. Cellini, «La fortuna dello Zeus di Fidia: considerazioni intorno al logos Olympikos di Dione Crisostomo», *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* (19, 1995) 101–32.

[19] See my article cited at n. 6.

[20] See, first of all, the seminal work by J. Dillon, *The middle Platonists* (London 1977), especially 184–383; also, H. Doerrie and M. Baltes, *Der Platonismus im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert nach Christus* (Stuttgart 1993).

[21] On Callistratus, see S. Altekamp, «Zu den Statuenbeschreibungen des Kallistratus», *Boreas* (11, 1988) 77–154 and my book *Prassitele* 2 (n. 2) 95–139.

Hellenistic, whilst the others are, or may be, late classical. According to Callistratus, these works were to be found at: Thebes in Egypt (no. 1); also near Thebes, but located more generically in Ethiopia (no. 9); at Sicyon (no. 6); in the *Museum* on Mt. Helicon (no. 7); no. 5 was also located in a *Museum*, probably also that on Helicon, as it represented Narcissus from Thespiae near the sanctuary, and this was the most important sanctuary of the Muses; 13 was in Macedonia, perhaps at Pella, and 14 on the shores of Scythia, perhaps at Tomis. In other cases, the presence of the works of art described at Athens is clearly noted: one stood on the Acropolis (no. 11) and another in the Propylaea (no. 12).

Callistratus therefore seems to specify the centre where the work stood only when it was not Athens, and those whose settings are not given stood at Athens (nos. 2, 3, 4, 8, 10).

Callistratus did not specify when the works of art were located in Athens, most probably because he lived in that city and was addressing other learned Athenian residents who were aware of the main works of art standing in their city.

At 5.5, he addresses his public as *neoi*, young people: He may thus have been a school–teacher, initially writing for his own pupils.

An important question concerns what Callistratus actually knew about the works that he describes. Wolters' thesis[22] that Callistratus invents the works that he discusses is not convincing.[23] Indeed, six statues described by Callistratus are also known through other surviving sources.[24] Moreover, one of these statues —the northerly of the two colossal seating statues created by the Egyptian Pharaoh Amenhotep III on the left bank of the Nile at Thebes in Egypt, which was interpreted by the Greeks as a statue of Memnon and described by Callistratus as no. 9— still survives today.[25] Finally, Callistratus notes in several cases where these creations stood and attributes to them styles which can be easily equated with those of specific periods. These observations prove that these works existed, because the rhetor could not know the iconographic

[22] P. Wolters, «Die Eroten des Praxiteles», *AZ* (43, 1885) 82–98.

[23] I am equally not convinced by the thesis asserted by N. Bryson, «Philostratus and the imaginary Museum», S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (eds), *Art and Text in ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge 1994) 255–83 and 312–4, that the pictures described by Philostratus the Elder in his *Imagines* and which are said by the writer to have been displayed in an art gallery near Naples, are simply literary fiction, argued mainly on the grounds that most of Philostratus' phrasing depends very heavily on the earlier rhetorical tradition of *ekphrasis*. This kind of argument is blatantly illogical. Anecdotal experience can further enlighten on this issue. One day, I accompanied a couple of friends to see the statues of the Ludovisi Collection in Rome and recited in front of each of these sculptures a poem taken from Italian classicist literature appropriate to the subject represented by that sculpture. I did not compose any of these poetical accounts myself, but nevertheless the sculptures of the Ludovisi Collection existed. So, the existence of the paintings illustrated by Philostratus does not seem undermined by his echoing of previous descriptions.

[24] Callistratus describes the following statues known through other sources: a) the Maenad by Scopas (description no. 2; see also *Anthologia Graeca* 9.774; 16.57; 58; and 60); b) the Kairos by Lysippus (description no. 6; see also the many other testimonia collected by P. Moreno, *Lisippo* (Bari 1974), nos. 2; 5–6; 12; 49; 92–3; 95; 100; 119; 127–9; 131; 133; 135; 137–9; 145–6; 148; 153; and 157); c) the Orpheus in the sanctuary of the Muses on the Helicon (description no. 7; see also Pausanias 9.30.4–12); d) Praxiteles' Dionysus (description no. 8; see also Pliny 34.69); e) the statue of Memnon (description no. 9; for the many sources, especially epigraphic, A. and E. Bernard, *Les inscriptions Grecques et Latines du Colosse de Memnon* (Cairo 1960); L. Guerrini, «Memnon, colossi di», *EAA* (4, 1961) 997–9; and A. Kossatz–Deissmann, «Memnon», *LIMC* (6, 1992) 459, no. 94); and f.) the statue of a Centaur (description no. 12; see also *Anthologia Graeca* 16.115–6).

[25] See n. 24.

histories of the various subjects portrayed and, if he had invented the statues, he would inevitably have attributed to his invented representations configurations without stylistical coherence and which do not reflect specific stylistic periods. Having established that Callistratus describes works of art which really existed, we should considere whether he actually saw these works or if he took his information from earlier sources only. His descriptions often imply that he himself had viewed the monuments that he describes.[26] The statue of Medea (no. 13) must have actually existed and is unlikely to be the result of a misunderstanding of the sources describing the famous picture of Medea made by Timomachus.[27] As for Lysippus' Kairos, Moreno has demonstrated that there was agreement among the several writers on the iconography of the statue.[28] Callistratus (6.1) locates this statues at Sicyon, although in three passages (*Epistulae* 70 and *Historiae* 8.200.421–7 and 10.322.257–67) Tzetzes tells us that the Kairos had been presented by Lysippus to Alexander the Great. Posidippus (*Anthologia Graeca* 16.275), in as early as the early third century BC, seems to refer to this statue as being set up at the entrance of a palace (probably the Royal Palace at Pella). This inconsistency may be explained by the following reconstruction of the history of the statue: a) Lysippus presented the statue to Alexander; b) it was therefore set up at the royal palace of the Macedonian kings at Pella; and c) a successor of Alexander, wishing to honour the city in which Alexander's beloved sculptor was born, presented Sicyon with this statue, in keeping with the pro–Macedonian policy of this city prior to 251 BC.[29]

The reason that Callistratus eulogises these works of art in his accounts and the fact that he praises all the masterpieces for the same reason (because they reveal life and animation thanks to the power of the visual arts) is not because, as some might argue, he did not actually see these creations and thus described them only generically. Rather, he evaluates these works of art on the basis of the sense of life that they exude as this is more interesting to him than the particular form of each work. In other words, it is the magical and super–natural substance of a work of art that matters. This conception is the antecedent of the attribution of supernatural power to icons in Byzantine culture. In any case, Callistratus does not simply focus on the magical power of all 14 representations, but he also suggests the different ways in which this target was reached for each work. For example, when he describes the statues of Praxiteles (nos. 3, 8, 11), he insists on the sculptor's ability to inject feelings into his statues. When he describes Scopas' Maenad, he refers to the expression of movement and the immersion of the figure in the atmosphere.

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[26] See 1.3 and 5; 2.2–3 and 4; 3.2 and 5; 4.4; 5.2 and 4; 6.1 and 3–4; 7.1 and 4; 8.4; 10.2; 11.1; 12.1; 13.1 and 3; 14.1–2. Only the description of the statue of «Memnon» (no. 9) does not have allusions to the view of the statue by the writer.

[27] This picture was very famous especially in the first and second centuries A.D.: see the sources collected by J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildende Kuenste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig 1868) 407–10, nos. 2119–24 and 2127–36 and the critical evaluation by P. Moreno, «Timomachos», *EAA* (7, 1966) 860–1.

[28] See P. Moreno, «Kairos», *LIMC* (5, 1990) 920–6, nos. 1–5, with fig. 1.

[29] See, for this explanation, my *Prassitele* (...) 3 (n. 2) 198–9, n. 2573. On the pro–Macedonian policy of Sicyon in the early Hellenistic period, see G. Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander* (London 2000) 121–2 and 137. This statue was removed from Sicyon in the late fourth century A.D. and taken to Constantinople, where it was burnt in the fire of 476 A.D. (see S. Guberti Bassett, «'Excellent Offerings': the Lausos Collection in Constantinople», *The Art Bulletin* (82, 1, 2000) 6–25).

As regards the Kairos by Lysippus, he places emphasis on the provisional configuration of the statue and on its allegorical meaning, thanks to which the statue retained the power of the deity. This Second Sophistic writer thus reveals an understanding of the most important features of the works that he describes, and also interprets these works with a typically late–antique taste, appreciating the changes of colour on the surfaces of the sculptures, the allegorical interpretations and the magical aspects of the works. He thus most definitely seems to have seen the works that he describes.

The following considerations are also note–worthy:

1. His descriptions of works of art that were set up at Athens, Sicyon, on Mt. Helicon, in Macedonia, at Egyptian Thebes as well as in Scythia, and the likelihood that he actually saw them lead to the conclusion that he made journeys probably from Athens to all the regions where these works stood. This consideration implies that Callistratus lived in a period when art–tourism was widespread: in 6.4, he mentions a professional guide who had explained Lysippus' Kairos to him. As his accounts of the statues could not have been written before the accounts of paintings (*Imagines*) by Philostratus Major (most probably the same author as that of the *Life of Apollonius from Tyana*, who flourished about 200 AD.[30]), and he also mentions that pagan sanctuaries were still open, thus indicating a period before Theodosius, the most likely date for the composition of the *De statuis* is between 190 and 380. Art tourism flourished in the Severan period, although obviously declining during the period of military anarchy which followed, resuming again during the middle decades of the fourth century AD.[31]

Callistratus wrote that the statue of Memnon at Thebes in Egypt made noises. This phenomenon is very well evidenced for all the early period of the Roman Empire until the beginning of the third century, after which the noises ceased, most probably after the restoration of the monument in *ca*. 205.[32] This suggests that the earliest possible date is more correct for Callistratus. This neo–sophist was probably close to Flavius Philostratus, the writer of the *Life of Apollonius* and of the earlier *Eikones*, and this explains why his *Descriptions of statues* is close to Philostratus' *Descriptions of Paintings*.

2. Callistratus in fact expresses the typical Attic culture of this period, and is highly influenced by Euripides and Demosthenes.[33]

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[30] See de Lennoy (n. 3). The identification of the Philostratus who wrote the *Life of Apollonius* with the Philostratus who wrote the earlier *Imagines* is asserted clearly by Suidas, *phi* 421, *s.v.* Philostratos.

[31] References to art tourism can be found in the context of the literature of the Severan age, in e.g, Aelian, *Varia historia* 9.32; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii Tyanensis* 6.19 and 40 and *Imagines*; Clement, *Protrepticus ad Graecos* 4.47–54 and 10.78; Diogenes Laertius 6.2.60; Athenaeus 13.591a–c; Alciphron 4.1. frg. 3 and Ruphinus, *Anthologia Graeca* 5.14. The revival of art tourism in the middle decades of the fourth century AD is demonstrated by Himerius, *Orationes* 13.1; 48.14 ; 64.4 and 68.21; Libanius, *Declamationes* 25.40. R4.444; Iulian, *Orationes* 3 (2).4.68 H.54b, as well as by the epigrams of Ausonius describing works of art: see my commentary on most of these references in *Prassitele* (...) 2 (n. 2). On art tourism in the Roman empire, see R. Chevallier, *Voyages et déplacements dans l'empire Romain* (Paris 1988) 299–409; J.–M. Andre and M.–F. Baslez, *Voyager dans l'antiquité* (Lille 1993) 18–24; 40–2; 54–5; 58; 64–6; 74–6; 153–60; 180–9; 227–9; 247–60; 283–372; and L. Casson, *Travel in the ancient World* (Baltimore 1994) 229–99.

[32] See bibliography *ad hoc* cited at n. 24. It seems likely that these noises were produced by the sudden expansion of the stone from heat, when the rays of the sun fell on it.

[33] See, for references to Euripides, 8.3 (*Bakchae*) and 13.3 (*Medea*); for a reference to Demosthenes, 2.5. On the fortune of the *Bakchae* in the period of Athenaeus and Clement, see J. Roux, *Euripide, Les Bacchantes*

3. He repeatedly asserts the notion that statues of gods and heroes are sacred images and earthly epiphanies of their divine subjects.[34] He focuses on their location in their own sacred places,[35] which suggests that he wrote during a period in which the pagan sanctuaries of Greece still flourished.

The insistence that these *agalmata* are epiphanies of the deities represented is probably a response to the criticism of earlier Christian writers that pagan idols were merely material and conventional, i.e. to Tatian's criticism in the *Oratio ad Graecos* 33.35–34.36, as well as that of Athenagoras in the *Legatio pro Christianis* 17.4–5, both of which had been written by the 170s, and perhaps also to Clement, who wrote between 200 and 203 (*Protrepticus ad Graecos* 4.47–54 and 10.78).

4. The probable composition of Callistratus' *De statuis* at Athens should be understood in the context of the flourishing of this city during the Severan period.[36] The fact that Callistratus is interested in *agalmata* much more than in paintings (13 of the 14 works are statues, whilst only one is a painting) may be due to the fact that the former were more likely to be interpreted as epiphanies of their subjects than paintings were, and were thus more important from a religious point of view.[37] Moreover, the greater

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(Paris 1970) 75–6; on the fortune of the *Medea* in Roman middle–imperial times, D.L. Page, Euripides, *Medea* (Oxford 1967[6]) xii and lxvi–lxviii; see also F.L. Lucas, *Euripides and his Influence* (New York 1928) 75–81; on the fortune of Demosthenes in the period between the end of the second and the beginning of the third century AD, see C. Darwin Adams, *Demosthenes and his Influence* (New York 1927) 121–6.

[34] See especially 2.1: «It is not the art of poets and writers of prose alone that is inspired when divine power from the gods falls on their tongues, nay, the hands of sculptors also, when they are seized by the gift of a more divine inspiration, give utterance to creations that are possessed and full of madness. So Scopas, moved as it were by some inspiration, imparted to the production of this statue the divine frenzy within him (...). 2. (...) A statue of a Bacchante, wrought from Parian marble, has been transformed into a real Bacchante. (...). 3. (...) so clear an intimation was given of a Bacchante's divine possession stirring Bacchic frenzy (...). 5. Thus Scopas (...) was an artificer of truth and imprinted miracles on bodies.» 3.1: «My discourse desires to interpret another sacred work of art; for it is not right for me to refuse to call the productions of art sacred. The Eros, the workmanship of Praxiteles, was Eros himself, a boy in the bloom of youth with wings and bow. Bronze gave expression to him, and as though giving expression to Eros as a great and dominating god, it was itself subdued by Eros; for it could not endure to be just bronze, but it became Eros with all his greatness»; 10.2: «Art (...) after having portrayed the god in an image, it even passes over into the god himself. Matter though it is, it gives forth divine intelligence (...). 3. (...) the material (...) realizing that it represents a god and that he must work his own will» (transl. Loeb).

[35] See 1.1 and 5; 4.1; 5.1 and 5; 6.1; 7.1; 8.2; 9.1 and 3; 11.1; 12.1; 13.1 and 14.1.

[36] On the history and institutions of Athens in this period, see S. Follet, *Athènes au II[e] et au III[e] siècle* (Paris 1976) 21–367; from the economic point of view, not to be forgotten, J. Day, *An economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York 1942) 177–261; for the importance of the «Library of Hadrian» in the institutional and cultural life of the period, see A. Karivieri, «The so–called Library of Hadrian and the Tetraconch Church in Athens», P. Castren (ed.), *Post–Herulian Athens* (Helsinki 1994) 89–113; on the flourishing of the production of sarcophaguses at Athens during this time, see A. Giuliano and B. Palma, *La maniera ateniese di età romana. I maestri dei sarcofagi attici* (Rome 1978) 27–57; on the flourishing of the production of sculpture during these years, see E. Lattanzi, *I ritratti dei cosmeti nel Museo Nazionale di Atene* (Rome 1968) 47–64 and 67–73; A. Ntatsoule–Staurida, *Rhomaika Portraita sto Ethniko Archaiologiko Mouseio tes Athenas* (Athena 1985) 71–85 and 96–106; K. Rhomiopoulou, *Hellenorhomaika Glypta tou Ethnikou Archaiologikou Mouseiou* (Athena 1997) 58–67 and 86–130 and Eadem, *National Archaeological Museum. Collection of Roman Sculpture* (Athens, *sine data*) 22–6; 30–5 and 70–9.

[37] The long tradition of cult statues no doubt involved the acceptance of the epiphany of the deity *sub specie statuae*: see, for the concept of statues endowed with the life of their subjects, C.A. Faraone, *Talismans*

importance of sculpture over painting from a religious and philosophical perspective was derived from the philosophy of Plato himself, who conceived of the true, heavenly world as composed of colourless ideas.[38] This idea was gaining ground in the reign of Septimius Severus with the theory of the Philostratan Apollonius discussed above, that some exceptional statues are wise expressions of the deities represented, whose *ousia* is reached and known to a certain degree through *phantasia*.

More generally, the admiration expressed for the statues of the «ancient» masters, the emphasis given to the strong impact of their own works on the viewers and the consideration of these works as part of a conception of the divine that must be defended, are typical of many aspects of Second Sophistic culture.[39]

So, our neo–sophist praises images thought to provide life and animation and that reveal the divine or heroic nature of these idols. His claim that representations of deities may be an earthly epiphany of their subjects, their being and power,[40] which is, as I said above, probably a veiled response to the criticism of the Christian apologists, is of course consistent with his consideration only of *agalmata* (with the exception of the one painting), as statues could be considered, more than painted figures, as real persons, imbued with life.

Callistratus even gives details of this proposed transformation of the statue, from an entirely material work to a kind of «container» of the god: the sculptor works as a magician, or as a *medium*, creating a statue which is appropriate to its deity and worthy of him, where the divine or heroic individual represented can thus go and dwell. This statue is thus transformed into the real subject represented.[41]

Callistratus believes that Daedalus was the *heuretes*, or inventor, of the power to attract the life of the person represented into the statue and that Daedalus' works had the power to move.[42] The latter opinion was widespread from at least the fifth century BC.[43]

However, he supplies the names of only three late–classical sculptors, Scopas, Praxiteles and Lysippus, as creators of the statues he describes. This fits in with a long tradition of art criticism (theorised probably by Xenocrates in the beginning of the third century BC and which became pre–eminent in early imperial times) that placed the peak of the visual arts in the late–classical period.[44] Nostalgia for the era of Middle and New

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and Trojan Horses (New York 1992) and S. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton 1992). I have tried to follow the gradual ripening and changes of this conception throughout the different periods of the Greek culture in my article «Ancient Greek Sculptors as Magicians», *NumAntCl* (28, 1999) 97–111.

[38] See especially Phaedrus 247c and Epinomis 981b: *bibl. ad hoc* in n. 5.

[39] See especially the much earlier *Olympic Speech* of Dio Chrysostomus, on the sacral nature of the Zeus of Olympia, as a worthy representation of the real Zeus (n. 18). On the most diffused religious and philosophical opinions within Second Sophistic culture, see the useful synthesis of C. Moreschini, «Aspetti della cultura filosofica negli ambienti della seconda sofistica», *ANRW* (2.36.7, 1994) 5101–33.

[40] See n. 34 for the passages where this idea is asserted more clearly.

[41] See the passages collected in n. 34.

[42] See 3.5, 8.1 and 9.3.

[43] See the passages collected by Morris and myself (cited in n. 37).

[44] The opinion that late–classical artists constituted the peak of the Greek experience in visual arts seems to have been conceived probably first of all by some of the most important leading masters of this period: for example, a joke by Phryne, reported by Athenaeus 13.585f, implies that she admired the art of Praxiteles,

Comedy was typical of Severan culture, i.e. of the decades from Alciphron (*ca*. 190–200 AD) to Athenaeus (*ca*. 230 AD).[45] The emphasis given by Callistratus to fourth–century BC masters is thus understandable in this period.

According to Callistratus, these three masters had made *agalmata* provided even with a soul, brain, breath, the power to feel emotions and with a physical appearances in tune with such an internal life, forging thus creations which partake fully of life and of the internal qualities of the subjects represented. The representations of figures characterised by internal life, movement and immersion into space, were considered by Hellenistic art criticism to be the main feature of the art of the most important late–classical masters.[46] Moreover, the use of magic, and particularly of magical tools, in order to transform the material statue into the epiphany of the deity represented was especially attributed to Praxiteles by a tradition which was already ancient by this period.[47]

From this perspective, Callistratus thus stuck to traditional interpretations of the late–classical visual arts.

However, the notion of statues as automata with a supernatural life and the interpretation of them in terms of miracles constitute a reinterpretation and updating of these Hellenistic evaluations. This was because images were now commonly considered as magic works, which contained the soul, features and power of the subject represented, an idea which was to become increasingly popular during late–antiquity.[48]

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who was her lover, more than that of Phidias. Moreover, Praxiteles, in the passages of his oration to the Spartans preserved by Choricius (*Declamationes* 8.19; 47; 57; 65–7 and 86), made it clear that he thought of himself as the best sculptor of *agalmata* to have ever existed. Apelles used to assert, according to Pliny 35.79–80, that he was unbeatable in the expression of *charis*. Finally, Lysippus' statement, collected by Duris (Pliny 34.61), that he preferred to follow nature than any past master is in keeping with the optimistic feeling that visual arts were at their zenith in this period. On the theorisation by Xenocrates of the preeminence of late–classical artists in the context of the development of visual arts in Greece, see B. Schweitzer, *Xenokrates von Athen* (Halle 1932). The popularity of this idea in early imperial times is demonstrated especially by Pliny 34.52–65 and 35.54–137, as well as by Quintilian 12.10.3–9 (see J. Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art* (New Haven 1974) 73–84 and J. Isager, *Pliny on Art and Society* (Odense 1998) 97–107 and 125–31).

[45] Concerning the date of Alciphron's *Letters*, as in the case of Callistratus, the fact that this Second Sophsitic writer also mentions the noises produced by the statue of Memnon as a phenomenon which still continued in his days is again conclusive. This places his book earlier than the restoration of the Memnon in *ca*. 205 A.D. (see B. Balwin, «The Date of Alciphron», *Hermes* (110, 1982) 253–4). On Athenaeus, and the idealization of the New Comedy society mirrored in his work, see D. Braund and J. Wilkins (eds), *Athenaeus and his World: reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire* (Exeter 2000). The predilection for the late–classical culture distinguishes Severan culture from the Hadrianic and Antonine societies, characterised also by archaising trends which lead to an emphasis on the archaic and early classical periods, well exemplified especially by Pausanias and Athenagoras. The concern to adhere to the most traditional interpretation of visual arts, typical of Severan culture, may reveal an approach to the «ancient» world as a period that is now regarded as having ended and which should be therefore considered as having a peak, whilst the predilection for the archaic period which is typical of much of Antonine culture shows an interest in the beginning of a process that is felt as operating still in the present moment.

[46] See G. Schwarz, *Die Griechische Kunst des 5 and 4 Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Spiegel der Anthologia Graeca* (Wien 1971).

[47] See Plato, *Anthologia Graeca* 16.160; Meleager, *ibidem* 12.57 and Ausonius, *Epigrammata* 62 Green.

[48] The development of this concept of images can be followed especially through the descriptions of the paintings by the Philostrati major and minor, the descriptions of works of art in the *Epigrammata* of Ausonius and, at the very end of this process, the considerations of ancient statues in the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* (see A. Cameron and J. Herrin (eds), *Constantinople in the early Eighth Century: the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*

3. The condemnation of Greek works of art, thought to be material, immoral and inconsistent from a theological point of view, from Tatian, Athenagoras and Clement until Arnobius, Firmicus Maternus and Theodoretus from Cyrrha.[49]

In order to define and understand the Church Fahters' concept of ancient Greek art, we must also recall the growing nostalgia towards masterpieces and monuments of the classical age that had characterised Second Sophistic culture, from Dio Chrysostomus to Athenaeus.[50] Especially from the second half of the second century AD, the works of the most important masters of the late–classical period were particularly idealised and their art interpreted through the mirror of New Comedy. Courtesans are regarded as emblematic figures of that earlier age and several famous works of art are interpreted as in keeping with their world and are thought to speak a language of seduction and pleasure. In other words, the period of ancient art that was considered the peak of the artistic process was interpreted in hedonistic terms.

Not surprisingly, figures of Aphrodite, Eros and of related subjects made by the famous masters become very popular, as did the masters who had created them, above all Praxiteles and Apelles. So, the Cnidian Aphrodite, the Eros from Thespiae, the Aphrodite/Phryne of Delphi and the Aphrodite Anadiomene became the beloved symbols of the lost beauty of Greece in its great and remote old days.[51]

When Christian writers became concerned with defining a Christian concept of ancient pagan works of arts, i.e. during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, it was inevitable that they considered the Second Sophistic interpretation of them in hedonistic terms to be normal.[52] So, the classical visual arts were regarded by Christians too as seductive products, symbolised by the figures of Aphrodite, Eros, mythical lovers and courtesans, and were thought to have been made in order to exalt sexual love and a world of pleasure.

(Leiden 1984) 27–8; 31–4; and 45–53). Of course, the parallel establishment of attributions of magical powers to Christian icons is another aspect of the same process: see R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and its Icons* (London 1985).

[49] The Church Fathers' idea of Greek art was the object of an unpublished paper I gave at conference of the Finnish Institute at Athens on the Church Fathers, held in Athens on 17 May 1995 in the lecture room of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens. I have published a short version of this paper: «Ideas of ancient Greek Art in Christian Thought from Marcus Aurelius until Theodosius», *Rivista di Archeologia* (20, 1996) 54–8.

[50] On this important moment in Greek culture, see S. Walker and A. Cameron (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (London 1989).

[51] Middle–imperial *testimonia* on the Cnidian Aphrodite: Lucian, *Anthologia Graeca* 16.163–4; *Amores* 11–7 and 54; *Imagines* 4 and 6; *Pro imaginibus* 8.18 and 22–3; *Iuppiter Tragoedus* 10; Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis* 17.4; Clement, *Protrepticus ad Graecos* 4.47–51; Philostratus, *Apollonius Tyanensis* 6.19 and 40; Athenaeus 13.591a–b; Aphrodite/Phryne at Delphi: Pseudo Dio Chrysostomus 37.28; Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis* 14–5; *De Alexandri fortuna aut virtute* 2.3; Amatorius 9; Pausanias 10.15.1; Aelian, *Varia historia* 9.32; Diogenes Laertius 6.2.60; Athenaeus 13.591b–c; Eros from Thespiae: Lucian, *Amores* 11 and 17; Pausanias 1.20.2 and 9.27.3–5; Athenaeus 13.591a–b; Alciphron 4.1, frg. 3; Aphrodite Anadiomene: Lucian, *Imagines* 7; Aelian, *Varia historia* 12.34 and Athenaeus 13.588c–590f.

[52] On the Church Fathers' view of ancient works of art, see A. Prandi, «L'arte nel pensiero dei primi scrittori cristiani», *Tardo antico e alto medioevo* (Rome 1967) 105–20.

a. The criticism of Tatian.

Tatian, a heretical Christian writer, member of an extremist sect which condemned any sexual act and marriage, wrote the *Oratio ad Graecos* probably around 170 AD. This book contains the first outspoken condemnation by a Christian writer of Greek works of art as immoral. Tatian contrasts the Christians' respect for women with the pagan habit of representing subjects responsible for immoral behaviour and acts in bronze statues. He had seen these figures in Rome, where they had been taken from Greece, and supplies a list of them.[53]

In this list he includes statues of poetesses, female musicians, women with strange pregnancies, courtesans and other beings regarded as morally disgusting.

The condemnation of images supposed to encourage licentious behaviour had antecedents in ancient Pagan opinion of works of art. The gilded bronze statue of Aphrodite/Phryne at Delphi —an image in precious materials of a famous courtesan, set upon a high column near the main altar of an important sanctuary— had already been criticised on the grounds it symbolised the licentiousness of the Greeks by the Cynics, firstly by Diogenes shortly after the dedication of this votive offering, and then by Cratetes and by others down to Aelian.[54] However, the Cynics criticised only a few particularly lascivious works. Now, with Tatian, the condemnation included all the ancient pagan images expressive of worldly culture. The Greeks seem to Tatian to have interpreted the art of making statues in a hedonistic way. As I have stressed, this idea is taken from the Second Sophistic culture of his age, but it is now emphasised and becomes a totally negative judgement on the pagan visual arts through the claim that they are immoral. In this context, there is no room for the consideration of ancient masterpieces as works of art, regardless of their subjects.

b. The opinion of Athenagoras.

However, at the same time in the Christian world there existed a very different view of the ancient pagan Greek arts, that of Athenagoras, as expressed in his *Legatio pro Christianis*. This writer was not a heretical Christian, but a follower of the Orthodox belief. A citizen of Athens, he clearly feels the heritage of Attic art criticism. Moreover, his *Legatio* was addressed to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus and was an attempt to promote an image of the Christian religion in keeping with the Roman Empire, its institutions and culture.

In his pamphlet, Athenagoras gives much space to the criticism of the images of the pagan gods, claiming that they are false and only conventional representations of the

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[53] See Tatian 33.35–35.37. On Tatian, see S. Di Cristina, *Taziano il Siro, Discorso ai Greci: apologetica cristiana e dogmi della cultura pagana* (Rome 1991) and M. Marcovich, *Tatiani oratio ad Graecos 1* (Berlin 1995). The basis of the negative opinion towards idols of the Christians is, of course, biblical (see especially Isaiah 49.9–20, on the golden thread). The Christian dislike of pagan symbols is well expressed also by Tertullian, *Ad uxorem* 2.5. On the problem of locating these statues in Rome, see P. Gros, «Porticus Pompei», E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (4, 1999) 148–9, with earlier bibliography.

[54] See the *testimonia* on this statue cited in n. 51 and my article «The Monument of Phryne at Delphi», *NumAntCl* (26, 1997) 123–50.

gods and are therefore meaningless from a religious perspective.[55] At this point, he writes an excursus about the origins of the figurative arts, in order to show that the idols are merely results of craftsmanship.[56] In this excursus, Athenagoras indicates an interest toward the archaic phases of Greek art which is typical of an important sector of Antonine culture.[57]

In contrast with Tatian, Athenagoras' criticism of pagan imagery is based not so much on moral grounds, but on gnoseological ones, based on the assertion that these idols are not faithful representations of the gods and that they are therefore meaningless from a religious perspective. Furthermore, they are representations of their subjects in completely human terms.

The idea that images of the gods are arbitrary and not credible representations was not new either. In particular, the important neo–sophist Lucian had stressed repeatedly, about 10–15 years before the publication of Athenagoras' *Legatio*, that the most famous representations of the gods were not reliable in terms of providing knowledge of the deities.[58]

However, Athenagoras' criticism of pagan images is significant as he presents a systematic consideration of the issue, and expounds at length. Furthermore, his argumentation in favour of the Christian religion is of importance. The fact that this oration was given in an important cultural centre such as Athens and most probably on the occasion of a high level imperial visit to this city[59] suggest that this pamphlet did not pass unnoticed.

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[55] See Legatio 15.1–27.2. On Athenagoras, see B. Pouderon, *Athenagore, Supplique au sujet des Chrétiens; et sur la résurrection des morts* (Paris 1992) and *D'Athènes à Alexandrie: études sur Athenagore et les origines de la philosophie chrétienne* (Leuven 1997).

[56] See 17.3–4. On the antiquarian sources used by Athenagoras for chapter 17 of his *Legatio*, see L.A. Rupprecht, «Athenagoras the Christian, Pausanias the Travel Guide, and a mysterious Corinthian Girl», *Harvard Theological Review* (85, 1992) 35–49. The theory expounded by this scholar, that Athenagoras lived between Corinth and Sicyon because he re–used Corinthian and, less probably, Sicyonian traditions seems unnecessary: Athenagoras could also have known these traditions from the important Athenian libraries of the time, among which the Library of Hadrian may have been the best (see n. 36).

[57] On the archaising culture of the Antonine period, with particular reference to Pausanias, see D. Musti *et alii* (eds), *Pausanias historien* (Geneve 1994) 79–116 and 207–76; C. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to ancient Greece* (Berkeley 1998); W. Kendrick Pritchett, *Pausanias Periegetes 1* (Amsterdam 1998) 61–363; 2 (Amsterdam 1999) 168–82 and 195–222 and R. Splitter, *Die «Kypseloslade» in Olympia* (Mainz 2000) 18–22 and 50.

[58] See especially Lucian, *De sacrificiis* 11; *Pro imaginibus* 8 and *Gallus* 24: the Second Sophistic writer from Samosata wrote these works around the years 160–5 (on the chronology of Lucian, see J.–J. Flinterman, «The Date of Lucian's Visit to Abonuteichos», *ZPE* (119, 1997) 280–2, with earlier bibliography), while Athenagoras wrote his pamphlet in 176 or a little after (see n. 59). In fact, the *topos* that images of gods are arbitrary and conventional goes back very early, as far as archaic philosophy: see in *primis Xenophanes*, *frgg*. 11–6 Edmonds.

[59] The oration was given by Athenagoras probably in front of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus when they visited Athens in September, 176: see T.D. Barnes, «The Embassy of Athenagoras», *Journal of Theological Studies* (26, 1975) 111–4; B.F. Harris, «The Defense of Christianity in Athenagoras' Embassy», *Journal of Religious History* (15, 1988–9) 413–24 and W.R. Schoedel, «Apologetic Literature and ambassadorial Activities», *Harvard Theological Review* (82, 1989) 55–78; hypercritical: P.L. Buck, «Athenagoras' Embassy: a literary Fiction», *Harvard Theological Review* (89, 1996) 209–26, who suggests that Athenagoras' *Embassy* is just a literary topos. However, a reference in *Legatio* 17.4 indicates that the passage is from a real oration of the written pamphlet: the writer mentions «the remaining idols by Phidias, the other Aphrodite at Cnidus art of

c. Callistratus' Response

I have already noted above that Callistratus wrote his *De statuis* most likely before 205 and have considered his assertions that he was divinely inspired in his descriptions of the statues. Moreover, he believed that these creations are sacred and that divine laws oblige us to consider them as such, because, after the wise creation of a statue of a deity, if the work of art is in keeping with its power and personality, the deity may dwell in the statue entering it by magic.[60] As suggested above, it is possible that Callistratus is here indirectly responding to Christian objections to statues of deities. This was also the case with several other pagan writers, who did not speak about Christianity openly so as not to admit the existence of this religion.[61]

If this hypothesis is accepted, then Callistratus may have been responding to the objections of Athenagoras, as both writers lived in Athens. Athenagoras had asserted that images of the gods are inconsistent from a theological perspective, objections to which Callistratus' comments seem appropriate responses. The chronological gap between the two works is less than 30 years (Athenagoras composed his oration probably in 176, Callistratus wrote before 205).

d. The criticism of Clement.

Tatian and Athenagoras' haphazard criticism of the Greek images of the gods was systematically and comprehensively elaborated upon by Clement in his *Protrepticus ad Graecos*, written at the beginning of the third century.[62] Clement, in the fourth chapter of this book, criticised the production of statues of gods in the Greek world, giving the following reasons:

1. The statues are not gods, but works of men, resulting from a long historical process, in the beginning of which idols without human features were worshipped. Only in a later period, the development of the arts caused the worshipping of the gods to take the form of statues. This argument was not new and had previously been asserted by Athenagoras, with some variations. Clement gives a detailed illustration of the most

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Praxiteles», with the implicit inclusion of a first Aphrodite among the idols made by Phidias: he refers clearly to the Ourania Aphrodite by Phidias set up on the north–western edge of the Agora of Athens. This reference is plausible only in the context of a real talk, in front of an audience of Athenians standing in or near the Agora who can immediately identify the reference to Phidias' idols with the one that is the closest to them, i.e. Aphrodite, aided by a gesture from the orator. This passage cannot have been conceived for an oration intended just to be read.

[60] See especially the passages collected at n. 34.

[61] The habit to refer to Christians in an allusive way was already typical before Callistratus and Philostratus, as a habit of Apuleius as well as of Aelius Aristides: see S. Benko, «Pagan Criticism of Christianity during the first two Centuries A.D.», *ANRW* (2.23.2, 1980) 1055–118. Similar oblique references to Christianity seem to characterize Plotinus: see A. Meredith, «Porphyry and Julian against the Christians», *ibid*. 1119–49.

[62] On the *Protrepticus*, see M. Galloni, *Clemente Alessandrino, Il Protrettico* (Rome 1991) and M. Marcovich, *Clementis Alexandrini Protrepticus* (Leiden 1995). On the Platonism of Clement as it appears in the *Protrepticus*, see M.C. Isart Hernandez, «Citas Platonicas en el Protreptico de Clemente de Alejandria», *Cuadernos de filologia clasica. Estudios griegos y indoeuropeos* (3, 1993) 273–99 and L. Rizzerio, «L'accès à la trascendence divine selon Clement d'Alexandrie: dialectique platonicienne ou expérience de l'union Chrétienne»?», *Revue des études augustiniennes* (44.2, 1998) 159–79.

ancient production of divine statues, especially in the Greek world, up until the time of Phidias, in keeping with the focus on archaic sculpture typical of the Second Sophistic world of Pausanias and Athenagoras.

2. The sacred images do not show the true forms of the gods as they were made in imitation of real people living in the time of their creators. Moreover, these creations are immoral, because these artists had transferred into their works subjective contents, such as their own loves, and ignoble ones at that, as the apparent subjects were lovers and courtesans. This argument was already present in Tatian.

3. The conventional character of the images of gods is strengthened by the observation that they can be recognised through attributes, which characterises these figures in a materialistic way.

4. The immoral character of the statues of gods results from both the way in which they were made (point 2) and their appearance (points 2 and 3). Thus they excite the lowest and most bestial instincts of human beings.

The supposedly corruptive character of the pagan images, said to promote sinful acts, had already been argued by Tatian, clearly one of the main antecedents of Clement's criticism against the figurative arts of the Greeks. Clement gives as evidence to support his thesis the well–known phenomenon of men making love to statues.[63]

5. The images of gods are the result of human working of materials taken from the earth and therefore they are not living beings. It is thus irrational to consider them deities and to worship them. This thesis, enunciated in chapter four, is further developed in chapter ten.

Clement's is the most systematic and complete refutation of the divine character of the pagan idols to be written by a Christian. Clement combats the idea that some statues are echoes of the true forms of the gods and reveal their true presence. Such a criticism, occupying a large section of the *Protrepticus* and argued with much enthusiasm, indicates that these beliefs were still common in the pagan societies of the provinces of the empire with a strong Greek culture, a little after the year 200.

Clement, expressing a Christian Platonism,[64] begins his argument with the requirement, of remote Platonic origin, that images no longer be made in imitation of external forms and that they communicate, as far as it is possible, the transcendent truth. This point of departure is close to that already mentioned for the Philostratan Apollonius, except that Clement, who does not believe in the divine subjects of the Greek *agalmatopoiia*, reaches conclusions which are quite far from those asserted in the *Life of Apollonius*, denying any possible value for the statues. Rather, he considers them to be false as they represent something that does not exist, and they are thus misleading.

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[63] On *agalmatophilia*, see R. Robert, «Ars regenda amore. Seduction érotique et plaisir esthétique de Praxitele a Ovide», *MEFR* (104, 1992) 373–438, and my article cited at n. 37.

[64] See n. 62. On the vitality of pagan religion under the Severans, see R.M. Krill, «Roman Paganism under the Antonines and Severans», *ANRW* (2.16.1, 1978) 27–44; moreover K. Clinton, «The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors», *ibidem* (2.18.2, 1989) 1499–539; R.E. Oster, «Ephesus as a Religious Center under the Principate, I. Paganism before Constantine», *ibidem* (2.18.3, 1990) 1661–728; and F.W. Norris, «Antioch on–the–Orontes as a Religious Center, I. Paganism before Constantine», *ibidem* (2.18.4, 1990) 2322–79.

e. Philostratus' Response.

It was mentioned above that Philostratus attributes to Apollonius the claim that the wise artist, through his imagination, is able to translate the true being of the gods into human terms. This defence of the reliability of these works of art in showing wise insights into the nature of the deities, was made in a literary work completed after 217. It may therefore have been made as a defence of the faithfulness of the Greek statues of the gods and thus intended as an implicit answer to the objections raised by Tatian, Athenagoras and especially, more recently and systematically, by Clement.

f. The continuation of early Christian criticism against pagan *agalmata* in later periods and subsequent attitudes.

In the Christian world after Clement, the arguments of this great thinker were repeated with a few original additions. The important episode of the entry of these arguments into Latin culture is marked especially by the related section of the *Adversus gentes* of Arnobius, written *ca*. 300 in Sicca Veneria in Africa Proconsularis.[65]

The triumph of Christianity meant that the objections of the Apologists to pagan idols could be translated into an operative programme. Beginning in the last years of Constantine's reign, and especially during the reign of Constantius II, the idea of banning pagan idols and persecuting their worshippers was clearly enunciated in imperial laws. A law of Constantine had already limited the freedom of making pagan sacrifices and was reinforced by Constantius II in 341.[66]

Firmicus Maternus was the first Christian writer to argue, in his *De errore profanarum religionum*, written probably before 346, that pagan cults no longer be tolerated.[67] He is likely to have inspired the anti–pagan legislation of Constantius II. This emperor prescribed the closure of pagan temples in 346,[68] banned nocturnal sacrifices in 353[69] and also the worshipping of images in 356.[70]

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[65] Arnobius 6.12–27. On Arnobius, see M.B. Simmons, *Arnobius of Sicca: religious Conflict and Competition in the Age of Diocletian* (Oxford 1995). On the pagan belief that statues were endowed with life in Arnobius, see F. Heim, «L'animation des statues d'après les apologistes du III^e^ siècle (Tertullien, Minucius Felix, Arnobe)», *Revue des Études Latines* (70, 1992) 22–3.

[66] *Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.1 and 2. See M. Perez Medina, «Sobre la prohibition de sacrificios por Constantino», *Florentia Iliberritana* (7, 1996) 229–39. On the religious policy of Constantine, H.A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: the Politics of Intolerance* (Baltimore 2000) and A. Marcone, *Costantino il Grande* (Rome 2000). On the Theodosian Code, J.F. Matthews, *Laying down the Law: a Study of the Theodosian Code* (New Haven 2000).

[67] Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum* 29.1–4. On the *De errore* as a source for the pagan belief that statues were endowed with the soul and personality of the deity they represented, see M. Bettini, «Un Dioniso di gesso: *Firm. Mat. De err. prof. rel.* 6, 1 *sgg*. (Orph. fr. 214 Kern)», *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* (43, 1993) 103–8. On the influence of Firmicus Maternus on the following legislation which progressively restricted and finally banned pagan worship, see A. Wlosok, «Zur Lateinischen Apologetik der Constantinischen Zeit (Arnobius, Lactantius, Firmicus Maternus)», *Gymnasium* (96, 1989) 133–48 and M.L. Barnard, «L'intolleranza negli apologisti cristiani con speciale riguardo a Firmico Materno», *Cristianesimo nella Storia* (11, 1990) 505–21.

[68] Codex Theodosianus 16.10.4. On the religious policy of this emperor, see G. Marasco, «L' 'Expositio totius mundi et gentium' e la politica religiosa di Costanzo ii», *Ancient Society* (27, 1996) 183–203.

[69] *Ibidem* 16.10.5.

[70] *Ibidem* 16.10.6.

Firmicus' influence declined, of course, with the end of Constantius II's reign. In fact, after the restitution of the freedom to practice pagan cults and the consequent re–opening of Pagan temples by the emperor Julian in the early 360s, both pagan and Christian cults enjoyed freedom of worship for a couple of decades (the 360s and the 370s).

However, with the ascent of Theodosius to the throne, a new flow of anti–pagan laws was decreed: sacrifices were banned in 381;[71] the prohibition of sacrifices was repeated, and fortune–telling was forbidden as well, in 385;[72] worshipping gods was banned in 391[73] and finally the prohibition of any aspect of pagan cults and the closure of the temples was decreed in 391,[74] reinforced in 392[75] and repeated in 395,[76] in 396,[77] in 399,[78] in 407,[79] in 415,[80] in 423[81] and in 435.[82] As is widely known, with these changed conditions the fervour for the destruction of pagan statues reached its peak during the last two decades of the fourth century.

Libanius in particular, in his oration *Pro templis*, written probably in 386 and concerning the destruction of Pagan temples and statues in Syria,[83] and Palladas, focused in his epigrams on the destruction of the pagan statues of Alexandria, especially ferocious during the Christian sack of the city in 391,[84] show indeed two salient moments of this phenomenon.

Finally, the repeated reinforcement of anti–pagan legislation during the first decades of the fifth century was accompanied in the most radical areas of Christian culture, such as Syria by a contempt toward classical Greek statues, even those made by the most renowned masters of their time. Allegations propounded already by Tatian and Clement against the idols (that they are material works of sculptors and not gods and

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[71] *Ibidem* 16.10.7. On the religious policy of Julian, see B. Cabouret, «Julien et Delphes: la politique religieuse de l'empereur Julien et le 'dernier' oracle», *Revue des Études Anciennes* (99.1–2, 1997) 141–58. On the religious policy of Theodosius, see R.M. Errington, «Christian Accounts of the religious Legislation of Theodosius I», *Klio* (79.2, 1997) 398–443.

[72] *Ibid*. 16.10.9.

[73] *Ibid*. 16.10.10.

[74] *Ibid*. 16.10.11.

[75] *Ibid*. 16.10.12.

[76] *Ibid*. 16.10.13.

[77] *Ibid*. 16.10.14.

[78] *Ibid*. 16.10.16.

[79] *Ibid*. 16.10.19.

[80] *Ibid*. 16.10.20 and 21. On the religious policy of Theodosius II, see K. Ilski, *Sobory w polityce religijnej Teodozjusze II* (Poznan 1992).

[81] *Ibid*. 16.10.22 and 23.

[82] *Ibid*. 16.10.25.

[83] See Libanius, *Pro templis*, especially 8; 22 and 45. On Libanius' *Pro templis* and its historical/religious background, see H.–U. Wiemer, «Die Rangstellung des Sophisten Libanios unter den Kaisern Julian, Valens und Theodosius: mit einem Anhang ueber Abfassung und Verbreitung von Libanios' *Rede Fuer die Tempel* (Or. 30)», *Chiron* (25, 1995) 89–130.

[84] See Palladas, *Anthologia Graeca* 9.180–3; 378; 441; 501; 528; 773; 10.53; and 16.282. On Palladas as a source for the destruction of pagan symbols, see A. Schroeder, «Palladas», *Lampas* (29.4, 1996) 380–90.

that their images are immoral and sexual) were stressed again, but with original examples, by Theodoret of Antiochia, in *ca*. 420.[85] As this monk was soon to become, after 423, very well–established and influential in his capacity as the bishop of Cyrrha, it is possible that his hard–line stance influenced the last anti–pagan law of Theodosius II, in 435.

g. The Church Fathers as a medium between Second Sophistic culture and later idealisations of ancient art.

From this review of some of the most creative and influential opinions on classical Greek works of art stated by the Church Fathers, it is possible to argue that it was they who transmitted to posterity the hedonistic conception of the Greek classical visual arts, which had been previously developed within the culture of the Second Sophistic.

This hedonistic interpretation was one of the main reasons for the early Church Fathers' negative opinion of such works.

However, when this negative judgement receded, or was at least limited just to the religious field (for this trend, see section five of this article), the persistence of the idea of ancient art as an art of pleasure paved the way for the appreciation of ancient works of art as a sort of paradisiacal and mythical lost beauty, which we can follow in its development from mid–Byzantine culture through to the western Renaissance.[86]

4. The opinion that contemporary monuments are more beautiful than ancient Greek ones, from the Mosella of Ausonius to Apollinaris Sidonius and after.

It was stressed above that Philostratus had proposed the substitution of the concept of *mimesis* with the concept of *phantasia* as the intellectual activity that should preside during the creation of the best statues of deities. This conclusion brings to a head a trend that had been developing probably from the first century BC until the second century AD. However, Philostratus' argumentation did not involve a negative opinion of the statues of deities by the greatest Greek classical masters. On the contrary, the works of these masters are rather updated and seen with fresh eyes and considered more in keeping with this theoretical *desideratum* than works made in other cultural contexts.

A similar consideration could also be made in regard to Callistratus: he does not pay much attention to the rhythmic values that had been regarded by Hellenistic art critics as typical of Greek classical masters, such as the specific *symmetriae*, the proportions and the general construction of the figures. Instead, he focused on the main standards by which works of art were praised in the ripe and late Imperial times: the sense of life, the changes of the colours through their surfaces, their allegorical meanings and finally, the notion that these acclaimed works were made through magic, may thus be endowed with the personalities of the represented subjects and may therefore be regarded as miracles.

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[85] See Theodoret, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, 371–85. On the relation between Theodoret and the imperial power, see H. Leppin, *Von Konstantin dem Grossen zu Theodosius II. das Christliche Kaisertum bei den Kirchenhistorikern Socrates, Sozomenus und Theodoret* (Goettingen 1996). On Theodoret as source on the destruction of pagan sanctuaries in Syria, see J. Balty, «Le sanctuaire oraculaire de Zeus Belas à Apamée», *Topoi* (7.2, 1997) 791–9.

[86] I have tried to outline this process in my article «Le descrizioni dei capolavori antichi dell'Antologia Planudea», *Rivista di Archeologia* (Suppl. 17, 1996) 81–5.

Again, he does not perceive any distance between his own concept of visual beauty and the one suggested by the masterpieces of Scopas, Praxiteles and Lysippus which he describes. On the contrary, he regards these statues as absolutely in keeping with his own taste.

However, exponents of Christian culture from the fourth century onwards were going to change this critical position and to acknowledge that the ancient Greek works of art were not only completely out of line with their own religion, but also not to their taste. The most successful contemporary buildings, with their stage–like appearances, their integration into the natural landscape, the emphasis given to their internal spaces, and the most admired works of visual arts of the time, usually mosaics and wall paintings, so bright and full of colour, were considered much more beautiful than ancient works of art, regarded now as cold, life–less and colourless.

The first statement clearly in this direction can be found in a poem of Ausonius. A Christian, he was nevertheless very learned in classical culture as well as an admirer of ancient works of art, which he described especially in his epigrams (see below, section five). However, in his poem *Mosella*, written probably after July 371, when he was living at *Augusta Trevirorum*, in the Imperial court, he shows that his own tastes were not particularly classical.[87]

In this poem, the late–Roman villas dotted along the Moselle river are praised for their scenic impact and their integration with the natural landscape. These creations are thought by the poet to have nothing to envy the renowned monuments of classical Greek architects and artists, including the *Artemisium* of Ephesus, the Parthenon, the monuments made by Philon of Eleusis and Dinochares, etc.[88] His expression (287–8) «Quis (...)/(...) miretur (...)?» «Who can marvel at, etc.?», followed by a list of renowned Greek landscapes and monuments, indicates that, for him, the ancient Greek beauties are second–rate.

An indifference towards classical Greek works of art must have become quite fashionable from the late fourth century. The late fifth–century pagan historian Zosimus complains that the destruction by fire at Constantinople in 404 of statues of the Muses which had been previously removed from the sanctuary of these goddesses on Mount Helicon by Constantine reveals «very clearly that the patent indifference to the Muses was about to spread over everything».[89]

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[87] On Ausonius, see R.P.H. Green, *The Works of Ausonius* (Oxford 1991) xxiv–xxxii; on the *Mosella*, 456–514; see also the critical edition of this poet by R.P.H. Green, *Decimi Magni Ausonii Opera* (Oxford 1999), the *Mosella* is at 126–43. Moreover, specifically on the *Mosella*, M.E. Consoli, *Mosella/ Ausonio* (Galatina 1998) and D. Shanzer, «The Date and literary Context of Ausonius» Mosella, P.E. Knox and C. Foss (eds), *Style and Tradition: Studies in Honor of Wendel Clausen* (Stuttgart 1998) 284–305 and *Historia* (47.2, 1998) 204–33.

[88] See especially *Mosella* 20–2 and 283–348, in particular 298–317. On the concept of beauty revealed by Ausonius in his *Mosella*, see R.P.H. Green, «Man and Nature in Ausonius' Moselle», *Illinois Classical Studies* (14, 1989) 303–15 and S. Schroeder, «Das Lob des Flusses als structurierendes Moment im Moselgedicht des Ausonius», *Rheinisches Museum* (141, 1998) 45–91.

[89] Zosimus, *Historia nova* 5.24.6. On Zosimus, see F. Paschoud, «L'impero romano cristiano visto da un Pagano: la storia nuova di Zosimo», G. Reggi (ed.), *Storici latini e storici greci di etá imperiale* (Lugano 1990) 189–204. On the topographical setting of this episode, see A. Berger, «Die Senate von Konstantinopel», *Boreas* (18, 1995) 131–42.

A confirmation that contemporary works of art, especially architecture, were regarded as more exciting than those of the Greek classical era, is given by Sidonius Apollinaris, in a poem written at *Avitacum* in Alvernia, probably in 463: the lavish house of Consentius, a friend of the poet, at *Narbo Majus*, in southern France, is eulogised. The poet had been a guest of Consentius there a little earlier. Sidonius praises the private baths and the dining room of Consentius' palace:[90] these residential quarters and the sculptures set up there are explicitly considered better than the creations of the most famous masters of classical Greece.[91] It should be noted that the visual arts of classical Greece were represented only by sculpture: in fact, no painters are mentioned, but the sculptors Praxiteles, Scopas, Polyclitus and Phidias are evoked. Ancient Greek visual arts were thus considered synonymous with sculpture. On the contrary, the most acclaimed «modern» achievements were internal spaces, such as baths and dining rooms. So, the definition of internal spaces of the late Roman residential architecture with mosaics and paintings was considered more exciting than statues from the classical Greek past.

This taste will become firmly rooted in the Constantinopolitan culture of the sixth century. Churches and other architectural and artistic achievements of this world are praised in ecphrastic writings. Stage–like facades, internal spaces, «shining» appearances, a sense of life and a polychromy in mosaics and paintings and allegorical representations were considered particularly exciting.

It is clear that the writers of ecphrastic works of this age, such as those from Gaza (Johannes, Procopius and Choricius),[92] Paulus Silentiarius, who had described the Church of St Sophia at Constantinople,[93] and also Procopius from Caesarea, in his work *De aedificiis*, on the buildings set up or restored by Justinian,[94] and indeed their public

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[90] Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina* 23.495–506. On Sidonius Apollinaris, see J. Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome*, AD 407–485 (Oxford 1994) and F.M. Kaufmann, *Studien zu Sidonius Apollinaris* (Frankfurt 1995).

[91] See especially 502–6: «no statues or likenesses to compare with these/ were ever fashioned in bronze or marble or colors/ by Mentor Praxiteles or Scopas:/ Polycletus himself did not mould any so great,/ nor did Phidias with his chisel» (transl. Loeb). See the pertinent comment by G. Calcani, *L'antichitá marginale* (Rome 1993) 49–56.

[92] On the ecphrastic literary production of the age of Justinian, see P. Friedlaender, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius. Kunstbeschreibungen Justinianischer Zeit* (Berlin 1912) and Idem, *Spaetantiker Gemaeldezyklus in Gaza: des Prokopios von Gaza Ekphrasis eikonos* (Vatican City 1939). On the Byzantine ekphraseis of Christian architecture, see R. Webb, «The Aesthetics of sacred Space», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (53, 1999) 59–74. On Johannes of Gaza as an ecphrastic poet, see C. Cupane, «Il kosmikos pinax di Giovanni di Gaza. Una proposta di ricostruzione», *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinistik* (28, 1979) 195–207. On Procopius of Gaza as evidence for architecture and painting, see M. Falla Castelfranchi, «Alcuni problemi dell'architettura e della scultura paleocristiana della Siria settentrionale», *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia e Storia Antica dell'Università G. d'Annunzio* (1, 1980) 69–84. On Choricius, see P.K. Litsas, *Choricius of Gaza: an Approach to his Work* (Ann Arbor 1999). On Choricus as an ecphrastic writer, see H. Maguire, «The half–cone Vault of St. Stephen at Gaza», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (32, 1978) 319–25 and H.G. Thuemmel, «Die Schilderung der Sergioskirche in Gaza und ihre Dekoration bei Chorikios von Gaza», U. Lange and R. Soerries (eds), *Vom Orient bis an den Rhein* (Dettelbach 1997) 49–64.

[93] See M.–Ch. Fayan and P. Chuvin, *Paule le Silentiaire, Description de Sainte–Sophie de Constantinople* (Die 1997).

[94] On Procopius from Caesarea, see A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London 1985). On the *De aedificiis*, see D. Roques, «Les 'Constructions de Justinien' de Procope de Cesarée: document ou monument?», *CRAI* (1998) 989–1001.

believe that certain buildings, and especially some exceptional churches, are the most beautiful creations ever made by humans. The Church of St Sophia in Constantinople is thought in particular by Paulus Silentiarius to represent the highest achievement of the art of architecture. Comparisons with ancient buildings and works of art are not frequent, but there is little doubt that most people in the Constantinopolitan society of that age believed that the Church of St Sophia was far more beautiful than any ancient temple and that the most beautiful mosaics and reliefs that decorated their most noteworthy buildings were much better than any surviving ancient statues.

Not only had religion changed, but also artistic taste. The comparison of contemporary artistic creations and works by the most famous masters of classical Greece in Procopius from Caesarea, *De aedificiis* 1.11.3–9 is enlightening as it is explicit. Procopius wrote this work probably in the early 560s, having perhaps been commissioned to write it by the emperor Justinian, as a panegyric to the emperor and of his building policy. It was probably recited during an official ceremony in one of the last years of Justinian's reign. The opinions expressed in this work are therefore likely to reflect those of the imperial court. Procopius thus mainly discusses monuments set up or restored by Justinian during his own time, at Constantinople as well as in other parts of the empire. He prizes particularly the preciousness, the richness of colours, the «shining» appearance of the buildings and of their painted and carved decorations. Even of statues he praises especially the colours, i.e. the brightness of the white marbles and the shining surfaces of the bronzes. He clearly believes that his own age is a very happy period for the flourishing of the visual arts. In the passage considered here, he describes the Arcadian public baths by the sea outside Constantinople. The main value of this building noted by Procopius is the brightness of the light as well as the relationship of the buildings he describes with their land– and sea–scapes. In other words, it is the scenic impact of the building complex that matters.[95] Procopius asserts that both the bronze and the marble statues of these baths have nothing to be ashamed of compared with those made by Phidias, Lysippus and Praxiteles.[96]

Finally, the belief of the superiority of the best contemporary artists over the most renowned artists of classical Greece will be endorsed, with an extremist assertion, after the Byzantine «dark age» within the optimistic atmosphere of the late ninth–century «renaissance», by the Patriarch Photius in his *Homeliae* 10.5. Ar ii.433.[97] In this passage, Photius is speaking on the occasion of the inauguration of the newly rebuilt Church of Our Lady of the Pharos, inside the imperial palace of Constantinople, probably in April 864, and in the presence of the emperor Michael III. He says that «the appearance of the

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[95] On these baths, see A. Berger, *Das Bad in der Byzantinischen Zeit* (Muenchen 1982) 109; 112 and especially 145.

[96] Procopius, *De aedificiis* 1.11.7.

[97] On Photius and his outstanding classical learning, see J. Schamp, *Photios historien des lettres* (Paris 1987). On his Aristotelian education, see J. Schamp, «Photios Aristotelisant? Remarques critiques», in M. Billerbeck and J. Schamp (eds), *Kainotomia: die Erneuerung der Griechischen Tradition: Colloquium Pavlos Tzermias* (4. November 1995) (Freiburg 1996) 1–17. The most important body of evidence on the consideration of ancient visual arts in Constantinople during the so–called Byzantine «dark age» is that of the record of ancient statues standing at Constantinople at the time given in the early eighth–century *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*: see Cameron and Herrin (n. 48). However, a comparison of these ancient works of art with modern achievements is not suggested here.

pavement which has been fashioned into the forms of living beings and other shapes of figures by means of variegated tesserae, exhibits the marvellous wisdom of the artist, so that even creators of moulded images (*plasmaton plastai*) as the famous Phidias and Parrhasius and Praxiteles and Zeuxis are proved in truth to have been mere children in their art».[98]

Thus, the mosaicist of this floor is a wise artist, because of the sense of life as well as of the different colours and shapes of tesserae used. The most famous artists of classical Greece are though to be mere children and are contemptuously dismissed. Even though Photius refers to two sculptors and two painters, his association of these four artists with *plasmaton plastai* indicates that he conceives of the classical Greek visual arts almost exclusively in terms of sculpture.[99] Contemporary mosaics full of colour are better than ancient statues. Photius is the last writer to suggest the concept of superiority of the present toward the past in the field of the visual arts.

In the western world, an enthusiasm towards works and styles of ancient art can be traced already from the classicist trend which is typical of the Carolingian culture of the early ninth century.[100]

A similar high regard for ancient masterpieces brought to Constantinople is known in the Byzantine environment from the early tenth century, i.e. from the first generation after Photius: Arethas of Caesarea is, as far as I know, the first writer after the Byzantine «dark age» to consider a famous ancient statue made by a renowned classical master as a precious object, which excites his interest, while the late–antique architectural context of this statue is considered as its mere back–cloth.[101] This new trend was soon to become stronger, leading to a sense of inferiority of the present towards the past as well as to the consideration of ancient art as a sort of lost paradise in the Constantinopolitan culture of the generation after Arethas.[102] This change of judgement and taste evidenced at Constantinople from the tenth century coincides probably not by chance with the

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[98] See, on this homely, C. Mango, *The homilies of Photius patriarch of Constantinople* (Cambridge Mass. 1958) 177–90.

[99] This conclusion is also supported by the references to statues in the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* (n. 48).

[100] On Carolingian dependence on ancient models, see McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge 1994) and Ch. Stiegemann and M. Vemhoff (eds), *799, Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit* (Mainz 1999). The appreciation of Vitruvius as paradigmatic for Carolingian culture is a very important symptom for the establishment of a classicist mentality: see S. Schuler, *Vitruv im Mittelalter* (Koeln 1999) 47–51; 135–42; 341 and 347–50. The re–use of the iconography of the equestrian gilded bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius at Rome in order to represent Charlemagne seems equally important: see L. de Lachenal, «Il monumento nel medioevo fino al suo trasferimento in Campidoglio», A. Melucco Vaccaro and A. Sommella Mura (eds), *Marco Aurelio* (Milan 1989) 129–55.

[101] See especially Arethas, *scholium* to Aristides, *Orationes* 50.408.701.710 Dindorf, on the statue of Athena in the *Forum* of Constantine, in front of the *propylum* of the senate house, thought by him to be Phidias' Athena Promachus, as well as on the statue of a sea goddess standing nearby, thought by him to represent Thetis. Arethas' interest in ancient statues is shown also in *scholium* to Lucian, *Amores* 11–2, on Praxiteles' Cnidian Aphrodite; in *scholium* to Clement, *Protrepticus* 1.2, on the bronze statue of Eunomus at Delphi; 4.47, on Phidias' Zeus of Olympia, on his Athena Parthenos as well as on an Aphrodite by the same sculptor; and 4.51, on paintings and style of Apelles. See my comments in *Prassitele*. 3 (n. 2) 120–2; 193–4 and 196, n. 2535.

[102] 102. I have followed this trend in my book *Prassitele*. 3 (n. 2) 122–67 and have given my conclusions in my article cited at n. 86.

beginning of an intense penetration by the western powers of the eastern Mediterranean world, and implies perhaps that a sense of decadence was increasingly felt within Byzantine society, which gradually came to include also the *via artis* of this civilisation, when compared to its ancient equivalent.[103]

5. The distinction between ancient works of art, which can be admired, and their religious meanings and contexts, to be condemned and rejected, within Christian culture from the fourth century onwards.

In the ancient world, the notion of works of art entirely split from their message, and especially from their religious content is encountered only infrequently. The secularisation of museal institutions is the result of a long process.

At Pergamum, a collection of important statues made by renowned masters was kept in the sanctuary of Athena, and so the works of art exhibited there were sacred to this goddess, even if, as is likely, a consideration of these creations from an artistic point of view was already prevailing upon the approach to them as sacred works.[104]

In Rome, the process of the secularisation of museal institutions seems to have been gradually strengthened. For example, the statues exhibited in the *porticus Octaviae* had been also set up in an area sacred to Jupiter Stator as well as to Juno Regina,[105] the statues kept in the *atrium Libertatis* were dedicated to the goddess Libertas[106] and those collected in the *templum Pacis* were under the protection of the goddess Pax.[107] However, it cannot be denied that the main interest of the Roman viewers of these works was probably an artistic one, as can be argued from the references made to these masterpieces by Pliny the Elder, who is our main source for their presence in Rome.[108] The religious meaning of these works was thus regarded probably as less important than the artistic.

This process of secularisation of the approach to ancient Greek statues comes to a head with fourth–century Christian culture, when at least one section of Christian society begins to approach these works of art pre–eminently from an artistic rather than a religous point of view. The idea of preserving some aspects of classical culture is the

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[103] On the increasing western presence in the Byzantine empire from the tenth century, see K.N. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople: the West and Byzantium* (Leiden 1996). On the dawn of the establishment of a «humanistic» mentality at Constantinople, see P. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism: the first Phase* (Camberra 1986) 121–346 and N.G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London 1996) 79–272.

[104] On the gradual secularization of museal institutions in the Greek world, see M.C. Ruggieri Tricoli and M.D. Vacirea, *L'idea di museo. Archetipi della comunicazione museale nel mondo antico* (Palermo 1998). On the sculptural collection of the sanctuary of Athena, see J.J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge 1986) 166–7; see also E. Polito, *I Galati vinti* (Milan 1999) 23–49; with earlier biography at 87–8.

[105] On the *porticus Octaviae* and its collection of masterpieces by Greek masters, see A. Viscogliosi, «Porticus Octaviae», E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (4, 1999) 141–5.

[106] On the *atrium Libertatis*, where the *monumenta Asini Pollionis* stood, see C.M. Amici, «Atrium Libertatis», *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* (68, 1995–6) 295–321 and *idem*, «Atrium Libertatis», E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (5, 1999) 229.

[107] On the *templum Pacis*, see R. Santangeli Valenzani, «Pax, templum», E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (5, 1999) 285–6.

[108] See Isager (n. 44) 157–68.

result of a long process. Already Athenagoras, at *Legatio pro Christianis* 18.2, in the 170s, had asserted that «certainly I do not consider it my task to condemn images.» So, while he was opposed to the religious meaning of these images, he did not deny their artistic value. Moreover, Tertullian (*De idolatria* 11), probably towards 211, had argued for the right of the children of Christians to learn about classical mythology.[109]

However, a sincere and deep admiration towards ancient works of art can be found in Christian culture only from the fourth century onwards. In his *Mosella*, Ausonius demonstrates that he regards the villas of his own time along the Moselle river as not being inferior to the most renowned ancient Greek monuments. However, he demonstrates his admiration for ancient works of art as well, especially in his epigrams,[110] where he appears to share the typically late–antique interpretation of classical Greek statues as being magically endowed with the life of their subjects.[111]

Moreover, when Christianity prevailed in the Roman empire, laws were issued for the preservation of pagan monuments.

Already in 342, Constantius II prescribed that certain temples remain untouched and unharmed.[112]

In the year 382, Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius prescribed to the Duke of Osrhoene that «the temple shall be continually open (...) in which images are reported to have been placed which must be measured by the value of their art rather than by their divinity (*artis pretio quam divinitate*)».[113]

The temple mentioned in this decree was probably at Edessa. This decree shows that this temple could be regarded as a museum, where statues were collected and regarded more as works of art than as idols. The distinction in this decree between the *artis pretium*, which is regarded as a positive value, and *divinitas*, to be condemned, is particularly noteworthy, as it shows that a conscious approach to ancient statues as simply works of art had come to a head at that time.

Another decree of Arcadius and Honorius, dated to 399 and therefore following the closure of the pagan temples in 391–2, prescribes that the «ornaments» (*ornamenta*) of former pagan buildings should be preserved.[114] Another decree, also of 399, allows the continuation of festal assemblies of citizens, which had pagan backgrounds.[115]

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[109] On Tertullian, see E. Osborn, *Tertullian: First Theologian of the West* (Cambridge 1997). On the *De idolatria*, see S. Buttarro, «Analisi della struttura compositiva del '*De idolatria*' di Tertulliano», *Rudiae* (7, 1995) 81–102.

[110] See Ausonius, *Epigrammata* 12; 18; 22; 57 and 62–71 Green.

[111] See O. Fua, «L'idea dell'opera d'arte 'vivente' e la bucula di Mirone nell'epigramma greco e latino», *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* (15, 1973) 49–55.

[112] *Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.3.

[113] *Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.8 (transl. C. Pharr). On the institution between late fourth and early fifth centuries of secular museums in which to preserve statues that had previously been worshipped as pagan idols and were now admired simply as works of art, see C. Lepelley, «Le musée des statues divines. La volonte de sauvegarder le patrimoine artistique paien à l'époque theodosienne», *Cahiers archéologiques. Fin de l'antiquité et moyen âge* (42, 1994) 5–15.

[114] *Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.15. The word *ornamenta* refers probably to statues, paintings, and other works of art as well as to the entablatures of the temples: see *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, *s.v. ornamentum* i, A, 2, c and ii, B, 1, b.

[115] *Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.17.

The need to protect pagan monuments and to be able to admire them in secular museums is thus felt to be important exactly in the years when the religious worship of the pagans was finally prohibited.

The written evidence of these views hence becomes rather widespread for the first decades of the fifth century, probably because, with the definitive victory of Christianity, a positive evaluation of ancient works of art became normal, at least amongst a significant section of Christian culture.

The Provincial Council of *Africa Proconsularis*, on 16 June 401, limited the destruction of temples and idols to those placed in remote areas or on private properties, because «they give no embellishment» (*nullo ornamento sunt*).[116]

After 405, the opinion that marble and bronze sculptures should be preserved and admired only as works of art was stated very clearly by Prudentius.[117]

Again, Honorius in 407[118] and Majorianus in 458[119] prescribe that temples and statues which are *ornamenta* to their cities should be kept undamaged and eventually could be re–used.

Unsurprisingly, given the success of the consideration of these monuments just as works of art, secular museums become widespread, especially in Italy and in north/western Africa, at least from the last quarter of the fourth century.

At Rome, statues, including works of important ancient masters, were removed from their previous settings and collected in the north–western section of the Roman *Forum*, especially in front of the Basilica Julia, probably by the Praefectus Urbis of 416, Gabinius Vettius Probianus.[120]

At Verona, the governor of *Venetia et Histria*, Valerius Palladius, had moved an unprotected statue from the *Capitolium* to the *forum*, which was thus seen as a sort of museum, already between 379 and 383.[121]

At Literna, the governor of Campania, Audentius Aemilianus, had moved pagan statues from their previous sacred settings, now deserted, to the *thermae Severianae* of this town, probably a little before 379.[122]

At *Beneventum*, a pagan statue was also moved from its previous setting to the local baths, where it was then regarded as a shining ornament (*splendor*) of the building,

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[116] *Concilia Africae*, ed. Munier, C.C.L. 149, 205, Reg. Carth. 58.

[117] See Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 2.481–4 and *Contra Symmachum* 1.501–5. On Prudentius and his *Contra Symmachum*, see G. Garuti, Contra *Symmachum/Prudentius* (L'Aquila 1996) and Gnilka (n. 2). On the *Peristephanon*, see L. Rivero Garcia, *Obras. 2/Prudencio* (Madrid 1997).

[118] *Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.19.

[119] Majorianus, *Novellae* 4 (161 M.).

[120] *CIL* 6.1156; 1658; 3864; 31883–6 and 41337–8: see my book *Prassitele. Fonti epigrafiche e letterarie. Vita e opere. 1. Fonti epigrafiche; fonti letterarie dall'età dello scultore al medio impero* (Rome 1988) 30 and 39–40, ns. 124–32 (on the probability that this Gabinius Vettius Probianus is the Praefectus Urbis of 416 and not the name–sake of 377, see n. 127 of this book) and C.F. Giuliani and P. Verduchi, «Basilica Iulia», E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (1, 1993) 177–9; S. Panciera (ed.), *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine del Foro Romanoe del Palatino* (Rome 1996) 200–3, no. 59; and idem, *CIL* 6. 8. 3. (Berlin 2000) 4727; 4769; and 5067.

[121] *CIL* 5. 3332: see Lepelley (n. 113) 12.

[122] *CIL* 10. 3714: see Lepelley (n. 113) 11.

probably around the end of fourth century,[123] and another statue was brought from a deserted place to the *forum* between 425 and 450.[124]

In Africa, at *Caesarea* (Cherchel), the capital of the Mauretania Caesariana, four statues of deities were brought from elsewhere to the Large Western Baths, perhaps during the reign of Theodosius.[125]

Finally, a contemporary public collection of ancient statues of deities has been discovered at Bulla Regia, in *Numidia Proconsularis*, where an ancient sanctuary was transformed into a museum.[126]

Consideration of this evidence leads to the conclusion that secular museums of pagan statues were being established, in Italy, in north–western Africa as well as in Osrhoene, during the period 375–450. In some cases, and still in the late fourth century, as at Bulla Regia and probably at Edessa, former temples were given this new function. In other cities, again still in the last decades of the fourth century as at Literna, *Beneventum* and *Caesarea* in Mauretania, public baths were the places where it was possible to admire old statues of deities. The establishment of museums of pagan statues in public squares is still rare in the late fourth century, when the choice of the *forum* for this function is evidenced only at Verona, but became perhaps more fashionable in the early fifth century. A collection of ancient statues was placed in the *Forum* at Rome in 416 and, sometime later, a similar decision was taken at *Beneventum*, where the example of Rome may have been imitated.

These public museums of ancient statues in the western part of the empire appear to be probably not very large and rather scattered; even a not especially significant town as Literna has one. Moreover, except for the collection of ancient statues in the *Forum* at Rome, with works of the most renowned classical Greek masters, the statues exhibited in these western collections probably did not include works of the famous sculptors of the glorious Greek past.

6. The removal of ancient works of art to Constantinople in late antiquity.

On the contrary, in the eastern part of the empire secular museums of ancient statues appear concentrated in the new capital, Constantinople.[127] They consisted of

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[123] *CIL* 9. 1588: see Lepelley (n. 113) 11–2.

[124] *CIL* 9. 1563: see Lepelley (n. 113) 11.

[125] *CIL* 8. 20963; 20965 and 21078–9: see Lepelley (n. 113) 10–1.

[126] Evidence in Lepelley (n. 113) 12–3.

[127] I have studied the Constantinopolitan collections of antiquities thanks to a Fellowship of the British Academy for the Academic Year 1996/7. A museum of pagan statues is thought also to have existed at Alexandria towards the end of the fourth century, on the basis of Palladas, *Anthologia Graeca* 9.528 (for this opinion, see Lepelley (n. 113) 10 and 15, n. 49). However, Palladas is speaking in this epigram of the re–use of bronze statues of deities in a Christian building and not of their display in a secular museum and, moreover, the caption of this poem places this Christian building at Constantinople and not at Alexandria. Palladas had paid at least one visit to Constantinople, and his memory of people and monuments of that city can also be found in *Anthologia Graeca* 9.180–3, probably on the *Tycheum* of Constantinople; 292, an epigram addressed to Themistius, who was living in the new capital; and 16.207, an epigram probably dictated for the new base of the Praxitelean Eros of Parium, when this statue had been brought to Constantinople (see my book *Prassitele*. 2 (n. 2) 157–63 and 208, n. 1839).

numerous, large and important collections, with some of the most important masterpieces of Classical Greece.

The removal of ancient statues from several rich centres of works of art in order to adorn Constantinople, at the time of the foundation of the new capital by Constantine, is well known thanks to the information provided by several writers.[128] It has also been studied comprehensively and analytically in important publications.[129]

Eusebius and Socrates Scholasticus both attribute to Constantine the intention to de–sacralise these statues by removing them from their sanctuaries and displaying them in public places, thus discouraging the pagans from worshipping them.[130] Moreover, it is possible that Constantine wanted, in removing these statues, to give Constantinople the status of the city which epitomised the most glorious and creative moments of Greek and Roman civilisation, with the best of the visual arts of the past.[131] In any case, as this city was by definition Christian, the ancient statues were admired specifically as works of art; Constantinople thus had secular museums.

The areas of Constantinople where the most important ancient statues, brought to the new capital already by the time of Constantine, were concentrated, are the following:

1. the Baths of Zeuxippus, where a rich collection of mainly bronze statues and also of some marble ones, is described in detail by Christodorus, writing in Constantinople around 500;[132]
2. the Hippodrome;[133]

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[128] For the removal of ancient statues from several centres to Constantinople during the years in which this city was founded, the most important sources are: Hyeronimus, *Chronica*, *ann*. 334; Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.54.3; Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.16; Sozomenus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.5; Zosimus, *Historia nova* 2.31; 5.24 and 41; Malalas 319.20–321.15; *Chronicon Paschale* 528–9; see also Th. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanorum 1*. (Leipzig 1901) 17–8 and 30–1; 2. (Leipzig 1907) 145–6; 204–5; and 257–78.

[129] The bibliography on this topic is rich. I cite here only: G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale, Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 a 451* (Paris 1974) 36–7; 139–40 and 324–7; idem, *Constantinople imaginaire, étude sur le recueil des «Patria»* (Paris 1984) 128–50; C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (ive–viie siècles)* (Paris 1985); H. Saradi–Mendelovici, «Christian Attitude toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and their Legacy in later Byzantine Centuries», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (44, 1990) 47–61; and P. Speck, «Urbs quam deo donavimus. Konstantins des Grossen Konzept fuer Konstantinopel», *Boreas* (18, 1995) 143–73.

[130] See the passages of these two writers cited at n. 128.

[131] See especially the studies of Dagron and Mango cited at n. 129.

[132] Christodorus, *Anthologia Graeca* 2.1–416; see also Julian Egyptian, *Anthologia Graeca* 16.325; moreover, *Anthologia Graeca* 16.112; Procopius, *De aedificiis* 1.10; Malalas 321; *Chronicon Paschale* 529; Cedrenus 1.647–8 and Zonaras 14.6. Three bases of statues and a fragment of a colossal female head in Pentelic marble, which is a fifth–century BC Attic work, have been found in these baths and are therefore the remnants of this collection: see R. Stupperich «Das Statuenprogramm in den Zeuxippos–Thermen. Ueberlegungen zur Beschreibung durch Christodoros von Koptos», *Instanbuler Mitteilungen* (32, 1982) 210–35 and S. Guberti Bassett, «*Historiae Custos*: Sculpture and Tradition in the Baths of Zeuxippos», *American Journal of Archaeology* (100, 1996) 491–506.

[133] Sources: Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.54; Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.16; Zosimus, *Historia nova* 2. 31.1; *Anthologia Graeca* 3.267; 9.755 and 777; 11.270–1; 15.41–50; 16.102 and 335–87; appendix 3.267; Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata*, *Descriptiones* 15.1–6 and 26.1–14; Malalas, 320–1; Preger (n. 128) 1.21; 39–42; 59–64; 69–71; 2.145–6; 172–3; 183; 189–92; 195–6; 278; Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus* 160. 87; Suidas, *s.v*. *Basilike*; *scholium* to Strabo 6.278; Constantine Manasses, *Descriptio* 1.21–32; Nicetas Choniates, *De signis Constantinopolitanis* 156; 519 and 647–55; *Idem*, *De Manuele Comneno* 3.119.687; Robert de Clari 61–2; J. Spon, *Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis* (Lyon 1685) 2.51; other testimonia after the Fourth Crusade can be

3. the Basilica, where the Heracles of Lysippus, after it had been removed from Rome, was first placed.[134]
4. the *forum* of Constantine;[135]
5. the *Augusteum* and the area nearby;[136]
6. the Royal Portico, where bronze statues were set up;[137]
7. the Great *Strategeum*;[138]
8. the *forum Amastrianum*;[139]
9. the *Exakionium*;[140]
10. the street porticoes, which had statues in their upper floors;[141]
11. and finally perhaps the *thermae Constantinianae*.[142]

It is possible that the decision to display collections of ancient statues in public squares, such as the *forum* of Constantine and the *Augusteum*, and in the public baths of

found in V.J. Menage, «The Serpent Column in Ottoman Sources», *Anatolian Studies* (14, 1964) 169–73; A. Guidi Toniato, «The Origins and Documentary Sources of the Horses of San Marco», in *The Horses of San Marco* (Venice 1979) 127–36; G. Majeska, *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington 1984) 144–84. Drawings are also important. See especially: O. Panvinio, *De ludis circensibus* (Venice 1600); E.A. Freshfield, «Notes on a Vellum Album containing some original Sketches of public Buildings and Monuments drawn by a German Artist who visited Constantinople in 1574», *Archaeologia* (62, 1922) 81–104; and P. Moreno, *Vita e arte di Lisippo* (Milan 1987) 237–57. Concerning the archaeological evidence, see S. Casson, «Les fouilles de l'Hippodrome de Constantinople», *Gazette des Beaux–Arts* (1930, April) 213–42. Antiquities that were represented at the beginning of the frieze on the column of Arcadius have often been also attributed to the collection of the Hippodrome. On this collection, see S. Guberti Bassett, «The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (45, 1991) 87–96.

[134] Sources: Suidas, *s.v. Basilike*; Preger (n. 128) 1.39–41 and 2.172. See Moreno (n. 133).

[135] Sources: Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.48; Malalas 320; Philostorgius 1.34; Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiae* 1.34; Zonaras 3.18 B; Julian Egyptian, *Anthologia Graeca* 16.157; *Chronicon Paschale* 528; Preger (n. 128) 1.17–8; 25–6; 30–1; 33; 41–4; 55–6; 59; 66; 2. 138–9; 158–61; 173–4; 177–8; 201; 204–7; 217–8; 257; Constantine Rhodian, *Descriptiones* 156; Arethas, *scholium* to Aristides, *Orationes* 50.408.701.710 Dindorf; Cedrenus 1.518 and 564–6; Tzetzes, Chiliades 8. *Historiae* 333 and 338–9; Nicetas Choniates, *De signis Constantinopolitanis* 558–9 and 856. See Berger (n. 89).

[136] Sources: Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.54; Zosimus, *Historia nova* 2.31.2–3 and 5.24.7–8; Johannes Lydus, *De mensibus* 4.75; Malalas 320–1; *Chronicon Paschale* 529; 593 and 621 and Preger (n. 128) 1.6; 16–8; 26–7; 104–5; 2.138–9 and 158–9. M. Vickers, «Constantinopolis», *LIMC* (3, 1986) 301–4; G. Buehl, *Constantinopolis und Roma. Stadtpersonificationen der Spaetantike* (Liverpool 1995) 10–1 and 21–40 and Berger (n. 89).

[137] *Chronicon Paschale* 710; Preger (n. 128) 1.51; and 2.164–6; and Cedrenus 1.616.

[138] *Chronicon Paschale* 495B; Preger (n. 128) 1.7; 17; 33–4; 66; 2.138; 141; 183–4; 218–21 and 306; and Cedrenus 1.563.

[139] Leo Grammaticus, *Chronica* 253B; Preger (n. 128) 1.46–8; 2.179–80; 203 and 269; Cedrenus 1.566 and 679B; and Manuel Chrysoloras, *Patrologia Graeca* 156.48.

[140] Preger (n. 128) 1.32 and 2.180–2 (the latter passage would suggest the monumentalization of the *exakionium* by Constantine).

[141] Manuel Chrysoloras, *Patrologia Graeca* 156.41.

[142] Sources: Themistius, *Orationes* 13; *Chronicon Paschale* 534; and Preger (n. 128) 1.54; 67 and 71–2; and 2.195. See W. Mueller–Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tuebingen 1977) 20; 48 and 273. These baths, begun by Constanine (see Preger (n. 128) 1.67 and 2.195), were continued by Constantius II from 345 onwards (see *Chronicon Paschale* 534).

Constantinople, influenced later similar choices in western centres, such as those considered above.

After Constantine, the display of statues in the *forum bovis*[143] as well as in the *thermae Constantinianae*, may have been arranged during the reign of Constantius II, as a continuation of Constantine's programme of collecting ancient statues in public areas of the new city.

A new collection was formed with the construction of the imperial palace of Hebdomon, just outside the city and in use from at least 364, suggesting that it had been decided upon probably by Julian between 361 and 363. The facades of two buildings of this palace on the main road were adorned with several statues, and were represented on the frieze of the column of Theodosius, erected between 386 and 393 and which is no longer extant. However, the relevant section of this frieze is visible in the Accard drawings, attributed to Gentile Bellini, kept in the Louvre, Paris, no. 4951. Among the several statues represented as standing on the facades of those two buildings of the palace, there is an Eros with his bow of the Verona/Kifissia type, to be identified probably with Lysippus' Eros from Myndus in southern Ionia, and an Aphrodite of the Capitoline type, which may be identified with the Aphrodite made by Cephisodotus the Younger and displayed at Rome, among the *Pollionis Asini monumenta*, during Augustan and later imperial times.[144]

It is hardly surprising that Julian, so favourable to the promotion of pagan tradition, wanted to set up statues of deities in front of the new imperial palace. In any case, the decision to display pagan statues in an imperial palace may have been thought by this emperor to give appropriate emphasis to his own religious beliefs.

Theodosius, who, as mentioned above, together with Gratian and Valentinian II, had endorsed the need to distinguish between the *artis pretium* and the *divinitas* of pagan statues, had also adorned his own *forum Tauri* at Constantinople with antiquities.[145] Moreover, the hippodrome was adorned with an obelisk, Lysippus' Heracles was removed from the Basilica, perhaps because of the sacrifices made to him there, and brought to the hippodrome, probably in the same period,[146] and antiquities were re–used in the *anemodoulium*, perhaps also in these years.[147]

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[143] See Preger (n. 128) 1.48–9 and 54; 2.180 and Cedrenus 1.566 and 679.

[144] See F. Menestrier, *Columna Theodosiana* (Paris 1702) pl. 2; G. Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata* (Rome 1960) 121–5; Moreno (n. 133) 97–100; and my article «L'Afrodite Capitolina e l'arte di Cefisodoto il Giovane», *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi* (21, 1992) 131–57.

[145] Sources: Marcellinus Comes, *Patrologia Latina* 51.924C –927D; Theophanes 70; *Chronicon Paschale* 565; 570 and 574; Preger (n. 128) 1.30; 51–2; 57–8; 64–5; 2.148–9; 164–6; 170–1; 175–7; 184–5; 204; 216; 221; 248; 254; 264; 277–8; Cedrenus 1.566; Nicetas Choniates, *De signis Constantinopolitanis* 856B. See L. Faedo, «Il complesso monumentale del foro di Teodosio a Costantinopoli», *Corsi Ravenna* (29, 1982) 159–68 and Eadem, «Teodosio, Temistio e l'ideologia erculea nella nea Rome. A proposito dell'arco del forum tauri», *Roemische Mitteilungen* (105, 1998) 315–28.

[146] On the setting of the obelisk in the hippodrome, see Julian, *Epistulae* 2.59.443 B; *CIL* 3.737; Marcellinus Comes, *Patrologia Latina* 51.919; Nicetas Paphlagonius, *Vita S. Ignatii* 5.989; Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De caerimoniis* 1.69.310 and 72.360. See Guberti Bassett (n. 133). On the removal of Lysippus' Heracles from the basilica to the hippodrome, Preger (n. 128) 1.64: see Moreno (n. 133).

[147] See Vita S. Andreae 105; Constantine Rhodian, *Descriptiones* 178–201; Preger (n. 128) 2.253; Cedrenus 1.555; 565–6; and 616; and Nicetas Choniates, *De signis Constantinopolitanis* 856–7 B. This building was founded by Theodosius I (see Cedrenus 1.565–6) and later renovated at the beginning of the eighth

Finally, during the last years of his reign, a museum with some of the most important masterpieces of classical Greece was established: it was therefore possible to view them even after the closure of the pagan temples decreed in 392. This museum was situated in the so–called *Lauseum*.[148]

This collection is very well known from the account given by Cedrenus, whose *Compendium historiarum* was written towards the end of the eleventh century. Moreover, the coherent arrangement of the statues inside the building makes this institution the one which most resembles a real museum of all the collections of this era. For these reasons, and for the exceptional importance of the masterpieces brought there, the *Lauseum* must be examined further.

The building is said by the Pseudo–Codinus, written *ca*. 1100, to have been one of the twelve palaces of Constantine, who must have built it around 330: it was therefore an imperial property. Pseudo–Codinus gives a list of marble pieces re–used in the palace, probably in the time of Constantine:

1. pediments;
2. paterae, used as spouts of water pipes through bronze statuettes and marble ivy leaves;
3. thresholds;
4. and square altars, re–used as fountains, for public use.[149]

During the last years of the reign of Theodosius, one part of this palace was transformed into a museum. Cedrenus includes this museum in the context of his description of Constantinople at the end of the reign of this emperor.[150] He lists six works, which follow probably the sequence of their display. The six seem to have been divided into smaller groups of two statues each, according to the region of their provenance. Moreover, in each group of two statues the more ancient one precedes the more recent.

The first group includes two works from Dorian Asia Minor: an archaic statue, the Athena Lindia of Dipoenus and Scyllis, and a late classical one, the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles.

The second group consisted of two works from Ionia: an archaic statue of Hera from Samus, probably by Athenis and Bupalus, and the late classical statue of Eros from

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century (see Preger (n. 128) 2.253). The bronze slabs, carved with reliefs and removed from Dyrrachium, where they had been elements of a pagan temple, are likely to have been brought to Constantinople at the time of the first construction of this building.

[148] On the *Lauseum*, see G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, etc. (n. 129); A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinoupoleos* (Bonn 1988) 284–7; my book *Prassitele. 3* (n. 2) 128–42; C. Mango, M. Vickers and E.D. Francis, «The Palace of Lausos at Constantinople and its Collection of ancient Statues», *Journal of the History of Collections* (4, 1992) 89–98; J. Bardill, «The Palace of Lausos and nearby Monuments in Constantinople: a topographical Study», *American Journal of Archaeology* (101, 1997) 67–95; and Guberti Bassett (n. 29). On this building, the sources are numerous and sometimes very detailed. See Philostorgius 3.11; *Chronicon Paschale* 852 and 972–3; Victorius Tunensis, *Chronica* 951A; Teophanes 184 and 239; Leo Grammaticus, *Chronica* 467d, 248B; Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, *De caerimoniis* 1.39.165; Preger (n. 128) 2.147–8; 160; 170 and 286; Cedrenus 1.564 and 616; Zonaras 14.24.2.52d.

[149] See Pseudo–Codinus, *Patria Constantinupoleos* 2.36.27.B.37–8.170 Preger: see Berger (n. 148).

[150] Cedrenus 1.564.

Myndus, attributed to Lysippus,[151] probably removed from the sculptural collection of the imperial palace of Hebdomon (see above).

Finally, the third couple of works were Peloponnesian: the Zeus of Phidias from Olympia, i.e. the most famous early classical masterpiece of Greece, and a late classical statue, the Kairos of Lysippus, which had previously been seen at Sicyon by Callistratus.[152]

After these six statues, Cedrenus mentions exotic and rare animals and mythical bestial beings as being displayed here: the inclusion of statues and *mirabilia* of nature in the same collection may be explained by an interest in even the statues as «curiosities».

Philostorgius, in a passage of his *Historia ecclesiastica* written a little after 425 and known only through a summary given by Photius, appears to clarify what these animals were. He informs us that, although the Unicorn does not live in the Mediterranean world, it is possible to see an example (*ektypoma*) at Constantinople.[153] He writes also that a bull–elephant had been brought into the empire, where he saw it, and that a Pan, thought to be a type of monkey, had been presented by the king of India to Constantius II and kept in a crate far from Constantinople. It was embalmed when it died. He also mentions that he has seen other rare animals in the empire. Philostorgius' list pretty much coincides with the list of Cedrenus: only the tigers and the Centauri, included by the latter writer among the animals displayed in the *Lauseum*, are not mentioned by Philostorgius. These figures at the *Lauseum* were thus models (*ektypomata*) of exotic animals.

Philostorgius probably refers to them and is therefore the probable source of the catalogue given by Cedrenus. The paratactical order which characterises Cedrenus' list of these figures suggests that they were placed one after the other along a passageway through the museum.

The residential quarter of the palace was inhabited, during the reigns of Arcadius and Theodosius II, by the *patricius* and *praepositus sacri cubiculi* Lausus,[154] who, as it is known from Pseudo–Codinus, had increased the monumental nature of the palace, providing it with three different types of columns:

1. white marble columns;
2. columns with different colours;
3. small columns made of precious materials.[155]

The use of a quarter of the *Lauseum* as the residence of the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* did not affect accessibility to the figures exhibited in the museum, presumably because

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[151] The passage of Cedrenus concerning the second couple of statues is thought to have been corrupted and the attributions of these two statues to individual sculptors is due to amendments (for a discussion on this problem, see my book *Prassitele. 3* (n. 2) 197, n. 2549).

[152] For the probable times and circumstances of the removal of these statues from their previous settings, see the discussion in my *Prassitele. 3* (n. 2) 128–40 and 195–200, ns. 2522–614, as well as in the article *ad hoc* of Guberti Bassett (n. 29).

[153] Philostorgius 3.11: see my commentary, cited at n. 152.

[154] On the personality of Lausus, see the article of Mango, Vickers and Francis (n. 148).

[155] See n. 149.

they were kept in another part of the building: in fact, Philostorgius invites his readers to see the *ektypoma* of the Unicorn around 425, when Lausus was there.

The quarter of the *Lauseum* used as a museum was destroyed by the large fire of 476.[156] The residential quarter, with its marble elements, survived the fire and was still standing in the time of Pseudo–Codinus. It was most likely destroyed during the sack of Constantinople in 1204, as it is not mentioned as exstant after this time.[157]

The collection of the *Lauseum* represents probably the most important episode of the effort of the Roman/Christian Empire to preserve and make available the sculptural heritage of ancient Greece, evaluated from a purely artistic point of view.

The visitor to this museum was able to admire some of the best examples of Greek sculpture. To put the works included in this collection into a historical sequence, there were statues by two archaic masters, as well as Phidias' most important masterpiece, Praxiteles' most famous statue and finally two statues of Lysippus, Alexander's beloved bronze sculptor. If we were to consider this collection from the perspective of the sculptural schools represented, one work must be attributed to the Daedalic school (the Athena of Dipoenus and Scyllis), another to the Ionian school (the Hera of Athenis and Boupalus), two to the Attic school (the two masterpieces of Phidias and Praxiteles), and two to the Sicyonian/Peloponnesian school (the two statues of Lysippus). If we consider the materials used in these statues, bronze sculpture was represented with two works (the two of Lysippus), marble sculpture with another two creations (probably the Hera of Athenis and Boupalus and the Aphrodite Cnidia), sculpture in precious materials with another two statues (the Athena of Lindus made of emerald stone and the Zeus of Phidias made of ivory; Cedrenus does not mention the gold used in this latter sculpture, perhaps because the gold elements had been already removed and reused prior to the foundation of the museum). If we consider these statues from the point of view of their subjects, we have Zeus, the most important god, the three goddesses of the judgement of Paris (Hera, Athena and Aphrodite), Eros (whom a long tradition regarded as the real ruler of all the world), and Kairos, regarded from the time of New Comedy as the lord of destiny.[158] An idyllic interpretation of classical mythology was therefore confirmed by the selection of these statues of deities.

In fact, in the selection of these statues, it is possible to sense the influence of a literary education. The myth of Daedalus[159] may have led to the choice of a statue attributed to his two most important students, Dipoenus and Scyllis.[160] Athenis and especially Boupalus were renowned by connoisseurs of Greek poetry, primarily because of their quarrel with an important poet, Hipponax.[161] Phidias and Praxiteles were

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[156] Cedrenus 1.616 and Zonaras 14.24.2.52.

[157] These conclusions, together with the evidence supporting them, can be found in my book *Prassitele. 3* (n. 148).

[158] Mango, Vickers and Francis (n. 148) have rightly insisted on the importance of the subjects represented in order to explain the selection of the statues included in this collection.

[159] See nn. 37 and 43.

[160] The studentship of these two sculptors under Daedalus is known by Pausanias 2.15.1.

[161] See Hipponax, frgg. 1–6; 17–20; 70; 77; 86; 98; 121 and 144 Degani; Callimachus, *Jambi* 1. frg. 191 Pf.; Horace, *Epodi* 6.13–4; Acron, *scholium ad locum*; *scholium gamma b ad locum*; Porphyrion, *scholium ad locum*; *scholium lambda phi psi ad locum*; *scholium* codd. Pariss. 8223 and 17897 *ad locum*; Ovid, *Ibis* 521–4; Philippus,

considered by a very long tradition as the best Attic sculptors of statues of deities of the classical period.[162] Moreover, the Zeus of Olympia was counted among the seven wonders of the world.[163] The Cnidian Aphrodite was well–established and gossiped about, even by Church Fathers such as Clement and Arnobius, because of the love of a youth for this statue, and it had been celebrated as renowned by Ausonius, a Christian court poet well known to Theodosius.[164] Lysippus was closely related in a long tradition with Alexander the Great, i.e. to a personality known to everybody; moreover the Kairos was perhaps the most famous work of this sculptor, which he had indeed given to Alexander.[165]

Finally, it is possible to argue from Cedrenus' account of this collection that at least some of the statues were regarded as important symbols of a glorious past, i.e. of Greece in a golden age: perhaps not by chance the Zeus of Olympia is attributed by Cedrenus to the patronage of Pericles.

The determination to save the most significant ancient Greek statues and to guarantee the continuity of their visibility reaches its peak in the Theodosian period, in the very years when the pagan temples were closed and the concept of *artis pretium* is made distinct from that of *divinitas*.

During the fifth and sixth century, collections of ancient statues were formed and supplemented in Constantinople. This was however due to the continuity of an already–established tradition rather than the result of any new impetus: the will to give these works a setting at the heart of the empire appears indeed to diminish as time goes on. It is possible that the distance between current and ancient taste, discussed above, played a decisive role in the development of a sense of apathy towards ancient works of art.

However Arcadius may also have decorated his new *forum* in Constantinople, known as Xerolophus, with a few antiquities,[166] in order to emulate Constantine and Theodosius, whose *fora* had been adorned with ancient works of art.

Anthologia Graeca 7.405; Pliny 36.11–3; Lucian, *Pseudologista* 2 and Suidas, *s.v.* Hipponax. As Boupalus and Athenis were members of a very renowned school of marble sculptors from Chios (see especially Pliny's passage, above), it is likely that this Hera from Samos was also a work made in marble. Boupalus had made at least one statue with gold (see Pausanias 9.36.5), but Pliny's observation that marble sculpture seems to have been the specialization of this school, suggesting that gold was worked only episodically, and Cedrenus' specification when statues had been made in previous materials (see the cases of the Athena Lindia, which is said to have been made of emerald stone, and of the Zeus of Olympia, the original ivory material of which is mentioned) make it likely that this Hera was made of marble and not gold.

[162] See n. 16 and T. Pekary, «Das Griechische Plastik in den Roemischen Rhetorenschulen», *Boreas* (12, 1989) 95–104.

[163] See K. Brodersen, *Die sieben Weltwunder* (Munich 1996) 9–20 and 58–69.

[164] See Clement, *Protrepticus ad Graecos* 4.51 and Arnobius, *Adversus gentes* 6.22. On this episode of *agalmatophilia*, see bibl. in n. 63. Ausonius had celebrated the Cnidia in *Epigrammata* 62 Green. On the relationship of Ausonius with Theodosius, see Green (ed. 1999) (n. 87) x–xi; xvi; xix; and xxv–xxvi.

[165] On the relationship of Lysippus with Alexander the Great, see P. Moreno, *Lisippo. L'arte e la fortuna* (Milan 1995) 35–8; 148–65; 169–79 and 331–46. On the Kairos as a statue made by Lysippus for Alexander the Great, see above, section two, and nn. 28–9.

[166] See Theophanes 77; 222 and 226; Marcellinus Comes, *Patrologia Latina* 51.926A; *Chronicon Paschale* 579 and Preger (n. 128) 1.32 and 67; 2.160–1; 176–7; 180; 207 and 270. It is however unclear whether and how many of these antiquities were set up by Septimius Severus, who had formerly set up monuments in this area, or when the transformation of the site into a square was decided upon by Arcadius (see Dagron and Mango, cited at n. 129).

Moreover, Theodosius II had reused antiquities in the Golden Gate that he had built,[167] as well as on the *Boucoleum*,[168] thus paying homage to the established tradition of associating new architectural and urban creations with ancient works of art. He also added to the collection of the hippodrome.[169]

However, these new displays of antiquities no longer appear inspired by the desire to make ancient works of art *per se* viewable, but rather by decorative and ornamental needs.

The Athena Promachus of Phidias was removed from Athens and taken to the *forum* of Constantine in Constantinople a little after 462.[170] It is possible that the colossal dimensions of this statue satisfied the «baroque» sensibility of the early Byzantines and their enjoyment of the imposing and «shocking».[171]

This statue was set up on a column, beside another ancient statue of a sea goddess that had been brought from Rhodes.[172] Both these works embellished the frontal *propylum* of the Senate House in the *forum* of Constantine, one being placed on each side of the entrance. The function of these statues at Constantinople was therefore first of all a decorative one, consequential to a consideration of ancient masterpieces as figures appropriated to increase the scenic impact of the facades of important palaces. Another possible reason for the presence of these statues in front of the Senate House of the *forum* of Constantine may have been to underline the old tradition of the Constantinopolitan Senate as an institution which was in fact the continuation of the Roman Senate. In this way, then, the Constantinople Senate was the inheritor of the glorious political institutions of the ancient Greek states: in other words, the Greek institutions of Pericles' days may have been regarded as antecedents of the imperial institutions of

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[167] Sources: Theophanes 412; Preger (n. 128) 2.150 and 182–3; Cedrenus 1.567; Zonaras 3.267B; Harun B. Jahja 206 and 215 Marquart, and Robert de Clari 69. See W. Wheeler, *The Golden Gate of Constantinople* (Warminster 1978) (for the old drawings of this monument, 238–42).

[168] Sources: Theophanes 447B; Leo Diaconus 64B; Preger (n. 128) 2.256; Cedrenus 2.369–70; Nicetas Choniates, *De signis Constantinopolitanis* 451B; see Mueller–Wiener (n. 142) 225–8.

[169] See Preger (n. 128) 1.71 (on the removal from Chius of the four gilded horses placed above the hippodrome (see Cameron and Herrin (n. 48) 273–4) and 2.183.

[170] See the *testimonia* of Julian Egyptian, Constantine Rhodian, Cedrenus and Nicetas Choniates cited in n. 135 (on Arethas' *scholium*, also n. 101), as well as the following modern contributions: R.J.H. Jenkins, «The bronze Athena at Byzantium», *JHS* (57, 1947) 31–3; A. Frantz, *Late Antiquity: AD 267–700* (Princeton 1988) 76–7; R.H.W. Stichel, «Eine Athena des Phidias in Konstantinopel?», *Boreas* (11, 1988) 155–64; A. Linfert, «Keine Athena des Phidias in Konstantinopel?», *ibid*. (12, 1989) 137–40; and B. Lundgreen, «A methodological Enquiry: the Great Bronze Athena by Pheidias», *JHS* (117, 1997) 190–7. I do not share the widespread scepticism as regards the presence of this statue at Constantinople, as its presence in front of the *propylum* of the senate–house in the *forum Constantini* is stated clearly by Arethas. Moreover, Julian Egyptian already seems to refer to this statue as set up at Constantinople and the description of the colossal statue in the *forum Constantini* by Nicetas Choniates also seems in keeping with the iconography of the Promachus.

[171] This taste can be fully appreciated especially through the appreciative account of the colossal bronze equestrian statue of Justinian that stood in the *Augusteum* of Constantinople given by Procopius of Caesarea, *De aedificiis* 1.2 and 10 (see S. Sande, «The equestrian Statue of Justinian and the Schema Achilleion», *Acta ad archaeologiam et artis historiam pertinentia* (6, 1987) 91–111.

[172] On this statue, see especially Arethas, *scholium* to Aristides, *Orationes* 50.408.701.710 Dindorf and Cedrenus 565a, and the bibliography cited in n. 170.

Constantinople. Statues by Phidias would in particular have been considered as symbols of that past.[173]

Finally, the Cow of Myron was brought to Constantinople from the *forum Pacis* of Rome probably in 546 or little after, when the Byzantines took Rome from the Goths.[174] The well–known function of the iconography of the cow as a symbol of prosperity after a victory[175] supplies a reason for the removal of Myron's masterpiece; it was therefore regarded as a war trophy. Moreover, since it had been standing on the Acropolis of Athens before being taken to Rome, Myron's Cow could have also been regarded as an appropriate visual expression of the idea that Constantinople had inherited the glories of both Athens and Rome.[176] Finally, statues of animals seem to have been popular in Constantinople,[177] perhaps as a consequence of the decline of the influence of classical anthropocentrism and also because they were in tune with the taste for suggesting large, open environments in the visual arts.[178]

In fact, Julian the Egyptian towards 550, praises Myron's Cow in his epigrams precisely because of its naturalistic appearance, which suggests to the viewer's imagination a countryside landscape.[179] A similar reason had earlier been given for praising this statue in many poems on this figure composed during Hellenistic and Roman times.[180] Already by these periods, Myron's Cow had been considered a good example of the artist's power to translate the life of nature into a work of art. This concept of beauty was very different from the notion of beauty resulting from studies of *rhythmos* and the numerical relations among the various parts of a figure, so admired in antiquity in the statues of Polyclitus and other classical masters.[181] On the contrary, during the era of Justinian, the classical Greek work of art which excites, more than any other, a deeply felt admiration is therefore, not by chance, the same statue that had previously suggested, to many generations of ancient viewers, an idea of beauty very

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[173] Cedrenus 564c links Phidias to Pericles as sculptor and patron respectively of the Zeus of Olympia.

[174] Procopius from Caesarea, *De bello Gothico* 8.21.14 had seen this statue still standing at Rome, in the *forum Pacis*, in the years 537–8 (see K. Gantar, «Procope et les statues du Forum Pacis à Rome», *Arheoloski Vestnik* (19, 1968) 189–93). However, Julian Egyptian, *Anthologia Graeca* 9.793–8, saw it at Constantinople no later than 550, as his long poetical production is dated from 490 to 550 (see A. Cameron, «The House of Anastasius», *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* (19, 1978) 259–76): so, Myron's masterpiece must have been removed from Rome and brought to Constantinople probably in the 540s. The Byzantine conquest of Rome in 546 is therefore of course the most likely historical antecedent of that removal. After Julian, Constantine Manasses, *Descriptio* 1.21–32.75 Sternbach expressed interest in this statue around 1150 and Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 8. *historiae* 363–5 wrote on it in the third quarter of the 12th century. This statue was probably destroyed during the sack of Constantinople of 1204. On all these problems, see my article «La vacca di Mirone», *Numismatica e antichità classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi* (23, 1994) 49–91.

[175] See the considerations and the bibliography supporting this conclusion in my article cited at n. 174.

[176] Tzetzes (n. 174) underlines that this statue, so famous in his days, had previously stood on the Acropolis of Athens, connecting therefore classical Athens with Constantinople.

[177] See especially sources and bibliography cited at nn. 133; 135; 143 and 145, concerning ancient statues in the hippodrome, as well as in the *fora* of Constantine, *bovis* and *tauri*.

[178] See the bibliography on Byzantine ekphraseis given in n. 92.

[179] See Julian's epigrams cited in n. 174.

[180] See the list of these poems given in my article (n. 174).

[181] On the idea of beauty expressed by Polyclitus according to ancient art criticism, see P. Bol (ed.), *Polyklet* (Frankfurt am Main 1990) 48–9; 121–56 and 185–98.

distant from the rhythmical one prevailing in ancient art criticism.[182] Indeed, the most frequent reason for praising mosaics and paintings in the Byzantine ekphrasis, i.e. that these representations seem endowed with the life of nature, may have been thought to apply also to the Cow of Myron.

After Justinian, there is no evidence that new collections of ancient statues were established, no doubt because the idea that the classical heritage was an important component of Christian civilisation no longer prevails during the so–called Byzantine «dark age».[183]

7. Some additional observations.

a. The rise of the idea that the surfaces of classical Greek marble statues had the same colour as their marbles and were therefore not painted.

This idea seems to be the result of a long process. An important step in this direction may lie in the theory, asserted by the Academic philosopher Carneades (in Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.13.24 and 2.1.48), that statues already exist inside the quarries and that they need sculptors merely to remove the superfluous material. This concept of stone sculpture conceived as a discovery rather than as a creation is stressed again by Pliny at 36.14. It involves, of course, the idea that the painting of colours onto the surfaces of these statues was not considered an important operation, as the stone statues could be thought to be finished just by removing the superfluous material.

The first explicit reference to statues whose appearances show the white colour of the marble is found, as far as I know, in Lucian's *Juppiter tragoedus* 10, as early as around 165 AD; the shining marble surface of the Cnidian Aphrodite is admired in the *Amores* 15, also attributed to Lucian.[184] Finally, the observation that the colour of the surface of a marble statue is the same as the marble used can be found in Byzantine writers.[185]

In my opinion, three considerations may contribute to explain the establishment of this belief:

1. The colours given usually to sandals, drapery, hair, eyes and attributes of Greek classical marble statues and the transparent waxes smeared on the naked parts of many important, especially late–classical, *agalmata*[186] may have been worn away in many cases

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[182] See Schweitzer, Pollitt and Isager, cited at n. 44.

[183] The approach to ancient works of art by Byzantine viewers between the sixth and ninth centuries can be argued especially from the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* of the early eighth century (see ns. 48 and 97), where ancient statues are often considered: the main reason for this interest was the magical power attributed to ancient pagan works.

[184] I support the attribution of this dialogue to Lucian: see my article «Praxiteles and Parian marble», in D. Schilardi (ed.), *Paria Lithos* (in print).

[185] See, e.g. Cedrenus 564b and Tzetzes, *Chiliades 8. historiae* 371.

[186] *Loci classici* on these operations are Pliny 35.122 and 133 (in the latter passage, he refers to the painter Nicias who had given the *circumlitio* to the best statues of Praxiteles). On the polychromy of ancient Greek statues, see V. Manzelli, *La policromia nella statuaria greca arcaica* (Rome 1994), with a good earlier bibliography.

by the second century AD and may have not always been restored by the curators of sanctuaries during Roman times.[187]

2. It is likely that most Roman marble copies of Greek classical statues were not painted or smeared with wax. This may have happened as a matter of course, especially in the frequent cases when marble copies had been taken from bronze originals, as there was no point in adding colours or waxes that did not exist in the bronze originals.[188]

If we consider that the marble copies set up in Roman times must have been far more numerous than the Greek originals, it is then possible that the habit of continually seeing the forms of the classical masterpieces in colourless copies led to the belief that classical marble sculpture was a colourless art.

3. It is probable that the Platonic assertion that the Ideas do not have colours[189] and the middle–imperial Platonising claim that the wise *agalmatopoiia* would aim at reacquiring these etheral archetypess (see section one above) promoted the concept that the optimum statue was colourless. It may, therefore, be the case that both the debate on the wise *agalmatopoiia* and the notion of classical marble statues as colourless came to a head in the context of the Second Sophistic culture of the late second and early third century AD.

b. The theory that statues were more important than paintings in classical Greece.

Platonism may also have contributed to the establishment of this theory. Plato himself seems to have had a more negative opinion of painting than of sculpture, probably because of the illusionist nature of the former.[190]

During the Second Sophistic period, three trends may have led to the formation of such a theory:

1. The debate on the supposed religious value of classical works (see sections one, two and three above) resulted inevitably in greater attention been given to statues than to paintings, as many statues were regarded as idols and cult practices were addressed to them.

2. The consideration of *agalmatopoiia* as a wise art, which can create, through the imagination, plausible interpretations of the deities (see section one above).

3. The physical consistency of the statues and the fact that they occupy their own space, distinct from the spaces of any other object, permitted, in the spiritualistic culture of the period from the Severans onwards, the formation of the theory that they may become epiphanies of the divine subjects represented, who are able to dwell within these material bodies (see section 2 of this article).

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[187] In the case of the Cnidian Aphrodite, the waxes given by Nicias on the naked parts of the goddess (see n. 186) may have worn out by the second century AD, if we note the bright colour of the marble in Lucian's *Amores* 15, so the statue was therefore no longer altered by the waxes smeared on its surface.

[188] On the procedure of making marble copies of bronze originals in Roman Imperial times, see C. Landwehr, *Die antiken Gypsabgusse aus Baiae* (Berlin 1985) and C. Gasparri, «L'officina dei calchi di Baia», *Roemische Mitteilungen* (102, 1995) 173–87.

[189] See the passages cited at n. 38 and the bibliography cited at n. 5.

[190] See bibliography cited at n. 5.

In fact, the prevalence of interest in the statues rather than the paintings of classical Greece is clearly shown in the collection of ekphrastic poems on ancient works of art in the *Greek Anthology*,[191] by the Church Fathers (section three above), as well as by several Second Sophistic writers from around 200 AD. These include Callistratus, Alciphron, Aelian, Diogenes Laertius and Athenaeus up until Himerius, Libanius, Julian and Ausonius.[192]

The probability that far more sculptures than paintings of the classical period had survived until the third and fourth centuries AD must have contributed to the spread of this idea. The idea of the prevalence of statues over paintings in classical Greece is therefore mature already around 200 AD: the Platonizing Second Sophistic pagan writers preferred statues to paintings for reasons 2 and 3 given above; the Christian writers then appropriated this hierarchy.

This concept was regarded as obvious already when, from the age of Constantine to that of Theodosius, collections of ancient statues, and not of ancient paintings, were assembled in order to preserve the pagan artistic heritage (sections five and six above).

c. The establishment of a gentle, hedonistic and idealistic interpretation of classical art.

The notion of classical art as an art of pleasure, full of beautiful Aphrodites, Erotes and other mythological figures living in a world of fables, speaking a language of seduction and dominated by sensual excitement and especially by love, appears, in neo–sophistic culture, already from the late second century AD onwards.[193] It can also be observed in the collection of epigrams describing ancient works of art included in the *Greek Anthology*[194] and is accepted by the Church Fathers, who, of course, condemned the hedonism of this art (section three above). Again, it is possible that Platonism, which had dominated middle– and late imperial culture, imposed its idealised and sublime concept of ancient art.

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[191] *Anthologia Graeca* 16, section 4: see Fuá (n. 111), Schwarz (n. 46) and my article (n. 86).

[192] On Callistratus, see section two of this article. See also the passages of Alciphron, Aelian, Diogenes Laertius, Himerius, Libanius and Julian cited at n. 31, Athenaeus 13.585–91, and the epigrams of Ausonius cited at n. 110.

[193] See n. 51.

[194] See n. 191.

SOME INNOVATIONS IN THE BURIAL CUSTOMS OF CYPRUS (12TH–7TH CENTURIES B.C.)[1]

Changes in burial customs or in religious beliefs do not occur in the same way and are not governed by the same rules as changes in artistic styles. The latter may be affected by mere contact, trade in works of art, or even the exchange of artists or craftsmen. Burial customs and religious practices are deeply rooted in human conscience and behaviour and do not alter except when there are changes in the social and political environment.

In this paper the evolution of burial customs in Cyprus from the earliest periods (Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early to Middle Bronze Ages) will not be examined, but attention will be confined to the five hundred year period from the end of the Late Bronze Age to the Cypro–Archaic I period, roughly from the 12th to the 7th century B.C.

The chamber tomb with multiple inhumation burials was the dominant tomb type in Cyprus for a period of about 2300 years, starting from *c.* 2500 B.C. After the beginning of the 12th century B.C. a new type of tomb made its appearance, namely the pit or shaft grave, usually containing only one burial. In the area of Palaepaphos, 21 of these tombs have been excavated, but they still remain unpublished. In a short account Catling (1979, 273) dates them to the LC IIIA–B periods (end of the 12th century B.C.) and underlines their «great potential interest» and the fact that this cemetery may suggest «a marked distinction, whether of race or class, within the 12th century B.C. population» of Palaepaphos. Similar tombs have been excavated in other parts of Cyprus (at Enkomi, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke and Kourion). A rich shaft grave was excavated at Kourion–*Kaloriziki*: Tomb 40, dating to the LC IIIB period, where a rich assemblage of objects was found, including the famous gold and enamel sceptre. The dead in this tomb were cremated and there is strong evidence suggesting that the people buried in it were of Greek origin (McFadden 1954, 134; Niklasson–Sönnerby 1987, 224). In fact such shaft graves or cists have been found in the Aegean, particularly in Crete (at Khania and Knossos), from where some of the Achaean Greeks may have emigrated to Cyprus after *c.* 1200 B.C. (for a general discussion on this topic see Karageorghis 1999, 257–9, with bibliography).

The change in tomb architecture, which has been universally accepted as the result of the arrival in the island of new settlers from the Aegean in substantial numbers, occurred in the 11th century B.C. and appeared in places such as Alaas (Karageorghis 1975) and Salamis on the east coast (Yon 1971), Amathus (Karageorghis and Iacovou 1990) and Kourion–*Kaloriziki* on the south coast (Benson 1973, Tomb 19), Palaepaphos on the west coast (Karageorghis 1983) and at Lapithos on the north coast (Gjerstad 1948, 29–33, 431–3). The new type of tomb was rock–cut, with a small rectangular burial

[1] This paper was read at the International Archaeological Symposium held in Rhodes in June 2000 on the theme «Burial practices and traditions in the Mediterranean, from 1100 B.C. to 400 A.D.».

chamber and a long narrow stepped dromos and was used only for new burials (Fig. 1); the type is well known in the Aegean, particularly in Crete. The tombs in the cemeteries of Palaepaphos, Kourion–*Kaloriziki* and Amathus have a consistent orientation (Fig. 2), a fact which induced some scholars to suggest a connection with Rhodes, where the new colonists may have spent some time before moving to Cyprus (cf. Benson 1973, 23–4; Karageorghis 1975, 25–6; *idem.* 1983, 2, 8). This type of tomb continued to be used in Cyprus for a century or more, and it was then replaced by the traditional Cypriote tomb with a wider and shorter dromos, probably as a result of the cultural fusion of the new ethnic element (the Greeks) with the local population.

A new burial custom, the sacrifice of slaves or other humans, in the dromoi of tombs at Lapithos, is a practice which some scholars have attributed to the Mycenaean colonists (Gjerstad 1948, 433), but there are only a few examples of this custom (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 265). It is true, however, that in the Aegean there is evidence for the sacrifice of a woman during the burial of a prominent male; such customs have been observed at Tiryns and Lefkandi. The men were cremated and their remains were placed in a bronze cauldron, but the women were inhumed. The Tiryns and the *Kaloriziki* burials may be dated to the middle of the 11th century B.C., that of Lefkandi to *c.* 1000 B.C. (for a general discussion and a bibliography see Catling 1995, 126; Morris 2000, 218–39). The introduction by the Mycenaean Greeks of the custom of cremation seems more certain, although now there is evidence for cremation in the late 11th century–early 10th century B.C. from the cemetery of Pandanassa Amariou in Crete (Tegou 2001); the cremated remains were found in a bronze amphoroid crater, like those from Kourion–*Kaloriziki* Tomb 40. The discoveries in this tomb, including a jug which imitates the Black Slip I ware of Cyprus, illustrate very eloquently the close connections between Cyprus and Crete *c.* 1000 B.C. (cf. Tegou 2001). The custom of cremation is observed at Kourion–*Kaloriziki* and Palaepaphos–*Skales*, although again only on a very limited scale (cf. Karageorghis 1983, 7). A similar custom of the mid–11th and 10th centuries B.C. in the Levant, however, is attributed by Vanschoonwinkel to influences from Syria (Vanschoonwinkel 1999).

The evidence so far mentioned shows that tomb architecture was seriously affected by a new ethnic element which started to arrive in Cyprus from the Aegean during the 12th century B.C., and this influx continued on an even larger scale during the 11th century B.C. New burial customs (burial of slaves and cremation) were not in common use; the few instances which have been observed may be related to an élite of newcomers, as for example in the case of Tomb 40 at Kourion–*Kaloriziki*. Although the new types of Aegean funerary architecture were widespread, they did not last much more than a century. The ethnic Greeks must have fused with the local population and thus became culturally assimilated as what might be called Cypro–Greeks, who formed the foundation on which Cypriote culture of subsequent generations was based.

The custom of the cremation of élite males accompanied by inhumed females, in both the Aegean and Cyprus, which may have originated in the Aegean, may have even wider ramifications. Catling put forward a convincing case for heroic burials in Crete, Tiryns and Lefkandi of «grandees» returning home after their adventures abroad, some from Cyprus, and compared them with the *Nostoi* of Homer. The material associated with such tombs of warriors has striking similarities, and Catling rightly compares it with material found in Kourion–*Kaloriziki* Tomb 40 and also at Palaepaphos–*Skales* (for a

general discussion see Catling 1995, 125–8; see also Masson 1988). Some of the common characteristics defined by Catling among these heroic burials are 1) they were all associated with major sites; 2) the graves were not reused; 3) they are all warrior burials; 4) in most cases women were buried simultaneously with men, obviously sacrificed; 5) they have iron knives and bronze armour, including *phalara* and bronze spearheads.

The Homeric description in the *Iliad* of the burial of Patroclos by his friend Achilles dates to more than 150 years later. It is quite possible that Homer was drawing on conditions and stories of the 11th and 10th centuries, related to the *Nostoi*, or the return of heroes, such as the burial of the 10th century B.C. in the «royal» burial at Lefkandi in Euboea (Popham, Calligas and Sackett 1993, 22).

There was a considerable lapse of time before real heroic burials appeared again in Cyprus, Crete and the Peloponnese, namely at Salamis, Kavousi, Eleutherna and Argos. However there was a certain degree of continuity. Already in the 11th century B.C. we can observe the appearance of some of the characteristic types of objects belonging to such burials, which were to become more common from the 9th century B.C. onwards. A notable example is the profusion of bronze vessels, mainly bowls with decorated handles (Fig. 3), which appeared in the tombs of Palaepaphos–*Skales* as early as the Cypro–Geometric I period (11th–10th centuries B.C.) (Karageorghis 1983; for a recently discovered tomb at Palaepaphos see Flourentzos 1997; it yielded important bronze objects, including a *thymiaterion*). In Crete the same kind of bowls appeared from *c.* 900 B.C. onwards (Stampolidis 1998, cat. nos 280–281). It has already been suggested that some of the rich 11th century tombs at Palaepaphos–*Skales* and Kourion, which have yielded large bronze vessels and weapons (Fig. 4), may have belonged to the aristocratic élite of the new immigrants from the Aegean, who, attracted by the lucrative copper industry of the island, established themselves in Cyprus, having left the dangers and uncertainty in their own homeland (Coldstream 1994, 145). In several 11th century tombs excavated at Palaepaphos–*Skales*, Kourion–*Kaloriziki* and Amathus–*Diplostrati*, we find bronze tripod stands of 13th–12th century B.C. date, which were placed as status symbols in heroes' burials (Catling 1984; Coldstream 1989; Catling 1995; Hermary and Iacovou 1999, 153–4, and 159–60).

The 11th century burials on the Greek mainland and in Cyprus are associated with objects and funerary customs which befit a warrior, a hero, but at the same time they display wealth and high social status. These elements will continue to appear in burials even if the élite society becomes less and less a society of warriors and develops into a society of energetic aristocrats and rich merchants, who tend to demonstrate their wealth even in their tombs. These princes, who represent those who created the aristocratic society in Greece, which lasted from the 11th century B.C. to the 6th century B.C., are the dynamic individuals of Homer who were interested in feasting and the display of wealth. This may explain not only the occurrence of large bronze vessels, tripods (Fig. 5) and iron weapons, even bathtubs of clay or limestone among the tomb gifts (Fig. 6), but also of extraordinary pottery shapes (e.g. at Palaepaphos–*Skales)*. Rich material has been found in recently excavated tombs at Palaepaphos (Raptou pers. comm.; cf. Morris 2000, 171–85).

One item in tomb furniture which has great significance is the *obelos* (skewer) for roasting meat. We know how important meat roasting was in the life of a hero, and that it was a habit which accompanied him in the afterlife (*Iliad* ix. 206–215; Coldstream 1977,

146). Bronze *obeloi* were known in Cyprus from the 11th century B.C. and one of them, found in a tomb at Palaepaphos–*Skales,* certainly belonged to a Greek immigrant (together with two others found in the same tomb), as it was engraved with the Greek name of its owner, Opheltes (Fig. 7). Such *obeloi*, in bronze or iron, also appear in other Cypro–Geometric tombs (Karageorghis 1983, 75, with bibliography; two iron *obeloi* were found in a recently excavated tomb at Palaepaphos: Flourentzos 1997, 218). Their early occurrence in Cyprus induced scholars to suggest that their origin was Cyprus (Coldstream 1977, 146) but it will not be surprising if one day they are found in the Aegean in an 11th century B.C. context. In Crete both *obeloi* and firedogs of iron appear at Eleutherna in the early 9th century B.C. in a warrior's burial (Stampolidis 1998, 258–9, cat. no. 323). The firedogs are of a type in the shape of a warship, and this type is uniform both in Crete, Argos and Cyprus, suggesting that by the 9th–7th centuries B.C. there were common characteristics in the heroic burials of both Cyprus and the Aegean (for a bibliography see Matthäus 1999, 24–25, n. 57). Another common feature already mentioned above is the profusion of decorated metallic bowls. These must have been fashionable throughout the Mediterranean, occurring in the Aegean, Etruria and Cyprus. In Cyprus and Etruria they appear in gold, silver and bronze (Markoe 1985); but in Crete they are of bronze, richly decorated with embossed and / or engraved orientalizing motifs (Stampolidis 1998, 234–56), under strong Phoenician influence. A silver bowl of this category is known from Lefkandi and is dated to the 10th century B.C. (Popham and Lemos 1996, pls 133–134, 144–5).

The heroic burials in the «royal» tombs of Salamis, dating mainly to the 8th–7th centuries B.C., have already been discussed by a number of scholars and it is unnecessary to comment on them in great detail here (cf. Coldstream 1977, 349–50 with bibliography; Malkin 1998, 117, 167). They are impressive, not only for the monumental character of their architecture —one of them was covered by a tumulus (see discussion in Karageorghis 1967, 121–2)— but also for the wealth of the tomb gifts which were found in the dromoi (Fig. 8); their chambers had been looted and thus their contents are unknown. The chamber of Tomb 1, which was half–looted, yielded a large quantity of Middle Geometric Greek vases, a bronze cauldron with the incinerated remains of the dead, with which was found a necklace of gold and rock–crystal beads (Dikaios 1963; Gjerstad 1979; for a «dinner set» consisting of Greek imported pottery found in a late 9th century B.C. tomb at Amathus see Coldstream 1995).

Particularly characteristic of the Salamis «royal» burials are the sacrifices of horses and chariots in the spacious dromoi of the tombs (Fig. 9). Sacrifices of horses are known from Anatolia, Palestine and the Aegean world, and in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age period (cf. Karageorghis 1968, 5, with bibliography), and at Lefkandi *c.* 950 B.C. (Popham, Calligas and Sackett 1993, 21–2); but the reappearance of this funerary custom in the 8th–7th centuries in Cyprus is a novelty. The tumulus above Salamis Tomb 3 and the sacrifice of horses in the case of Phrygian tombs and of chariots in Etruscan tombs, are a few of the burial customs prevailing in the Mediterranean world which may help to explain those in the «royal» tombs of Salamis and other places in Cyprus. Coldstream goes so far as to suggest that «the princely burials of Salamis were influenced in large measure by the circulation of Ionic epic poetry and especially of the *Iliad* in the royal court of Salamis» (Coldstream 1977, 350). The sacrifice of horses is mentioned by Homer in Book XXIII of the *Iliad* (XXIII.171–172). It is significant that this also occurred in

Crete (for references see Popham, Calligas and Sackett 1993, 22, no. 9), a place where other characteristics of «heroic» burials are encountered, as mentioned above.

The occurrence of a human sacrifice in the dromos of Salamis Tomb 2 (Fig. 10), together with earlier examples in three Cypro–Geometric I tombs at Lapithos (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 265) points to the significance of the funerary practice of human sacrifices (cf. Karageorghis 1967, 9, 121) also observed in the heroic burials of Eleutherna with their close resemblance to the Salamis tombs (cf. Stampolidis 1998, 149–200). This custom is also alluded to in the *Iliad* (XXIII.175–176). Equally cremation, which, as we have already shown, appears in the 11th century B.C. in both Cyprus and the Aegean, also reappears at Salamis in the 8th–7th centuries B.C., although in only two cases (Karageorghis 1967, 119–21).

In their eagerness to demonstrate wealth and pomp, the members of the royal family and the élite members of the society to whom the «royal» tombs no doubt belonged, probably vied with Assyrian kings and nobles, Cyprus in the 8th–7th centuries B.C. having been under the influence if not the rule of the Assyrians. From the Assyrian reliefs and from literary evidence we know the importance of war chariots, elaborate horse–gear and other luxury goods such as ivory furniture, in the life of nobility (King 1988, 139–49). Some of these fashions may have influenced the taste of the Cypriote élite. The large and elaborately decorated iron swords known from Cyprus during this period (one of them found in Salamis Tomb 3) (Fig. 11) no doubt reflect a tendency to imitate the status symbols of the Assyrians, who are often depicted with such swords on reliefs. It is probable that at Salamis or elsewhere there must have been a workshop specializing in the production of such swords, which up to now are unique to Cyprus (Karageorghis, Vassilika and Wilson 1999, 108–9).

It is interesting that these «royal» burial customs of the Greek and Cypriote élite during the 8th–7th centuries B.C. were imitated by some of the ordinary people in Cyprus, such as those who sacrificed mules or donkeys in the dromoi of their rock–cut tombs at the *Cellarka* site in the necropolis of Salamis (Karageorghis 1970, 232); in one case in the same cemetery a slave was also sacrificed in the dromos of a rock–cut tomb (*ibid.*). The custom of sacrificing a horse or donkey in the dromos of a tomb was imitated also by the Phoenicians in Cyprus, as is demonstrated in a recently excavated built tomb at Kition (Karageorghis 2000, 9–10). It should also be mentioned that there is epigraphic evidence for the sacrifice of horses at the burial of a late Assyrian king (MacGinnis 1987).[2] In Etruria similar status symbols are also found in princely tombs (cf. Ridgway 1997, with bibliography) and there is even a burial of chariots (and no doubt horses) in the tomb of a Phoenician at Huelva in Spain, and there are other examples elsewhere (for references see Karageorghis 1967, 117–9; *idem*. 1982, 129).

It has been argued that what instigated the phenomenon of the «royal tombs» at Salamis may have been the desire of the ruling élite to consolidate and legitimize their power and authority over the people they governed (Rupp 1988; *idem.* 1989). Although this may be one of the reasons for the emergence of this phenomenon, I do not believe it was the only one. In other parts of the Mediterranean similar funerary customs existed at the same time and it is striking how the tomb gifts in Iron Age tombs in various parts of

[2] I owe this reference to the kindness of Stephanie Dalley.

the Mediterranean are often very similar, especially the silver or bronze vessels of a Phoenician type, firedogs and *obeloi*, luxury furniture and other items (cf. Matthäus 1999). The phenomenon of «globalization» in what constituted the characteristics of a ruling élite must have already started in the Mediterranean in the 9th–8th centuries B.C. The new fashions travelled rapidly and the Phoenicians may have contributed considerably to the dissemination of some of these fashions, at least with regard to luxury goods (cf. Pisano 1999). The princely tombs in Etruria may offer a good example (cf. Winter 1997; cf. also Malkin 1998, 103, 167, with bibliography). Some of these customs, however, such as «heroic» drinking, may have been introduced by Greeks (cf. Ridgway 1997, 338–9).

To sum up the foregoing discussion: the tomb architecture of Cyprus underwent changes during the 12th and 11th centuries B.C., at the time of the arrival of settlers from the Aegean. These changes did not continue for long, and the traditional Cypriote funerary architecture predominated. At the same time we observe new funerary customs in tombs of a warrior élite (mainly of the 11th and 10th centuries B.C.) such as cremation of males, the sacrifice of slaves to accompany the dead, the offering of bronze vessels and weapons and other luxury goods. Such customs appear both in the Aegean and Cyprus. These status symbols in «heroic» burials may actually have continued uninterruptedly; but such continuity is so far lacking in the archaeological record. In the heroic burial at Lefkandi (mid–10th century B.C.) the burial of horses, the cremation of a male and the inhumation of a female, and the offering of a large bronze crater are in evidence. Tombs of the 9th century B.C. at Eleutherna in Crete had large bronze vessels as well as human sacrifices on a funerary pyre, and the offering of *obeloi* and firedogs. The most impressive expression of «heroic» burials occurs in the monumental «royal» tombs at Salamis in Cyprus, where the élite, whether warriors or wealthy nobles, are accompanied in their spacious built tombs (one covered by a tumulus) by horses and chariots, sacrificed slaves, large bronze vessels and ivory furniture, *obeloi* and firedogs, and elaborately decorated iron swords. This demonstration of wealth was a phenomenon which may have been influenced by the customs of the Assyrians who held sway over Cyprus in the 8th–7th centuries B.C. Some of the burial customs of «heroic» burials were imitated by wealthy Cypriots, and also by Phoenicians, both in Cyprus and in Spain.

Thus we see that the burial customs in Cyprus and the Aegean are in complete accord with the social and political conditions which prevailed in these two regions and form part of their close interconnections during two crucial periods, the 11th century B.C. and the 8th–7th centuries B.C.

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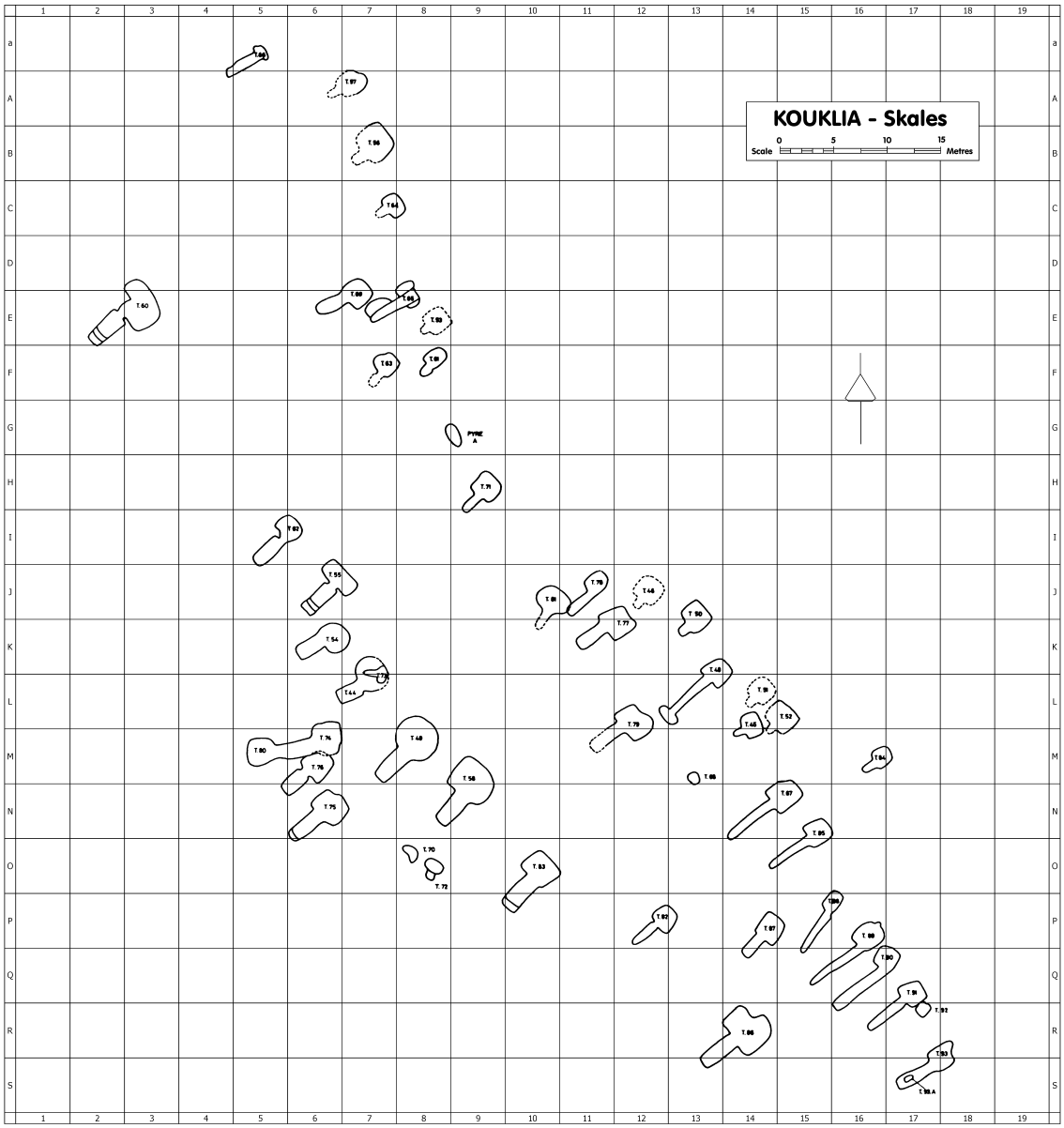

Fig. 1. Site plan of the excavated part of the cemetery at Palaepaphos–*Skales*.

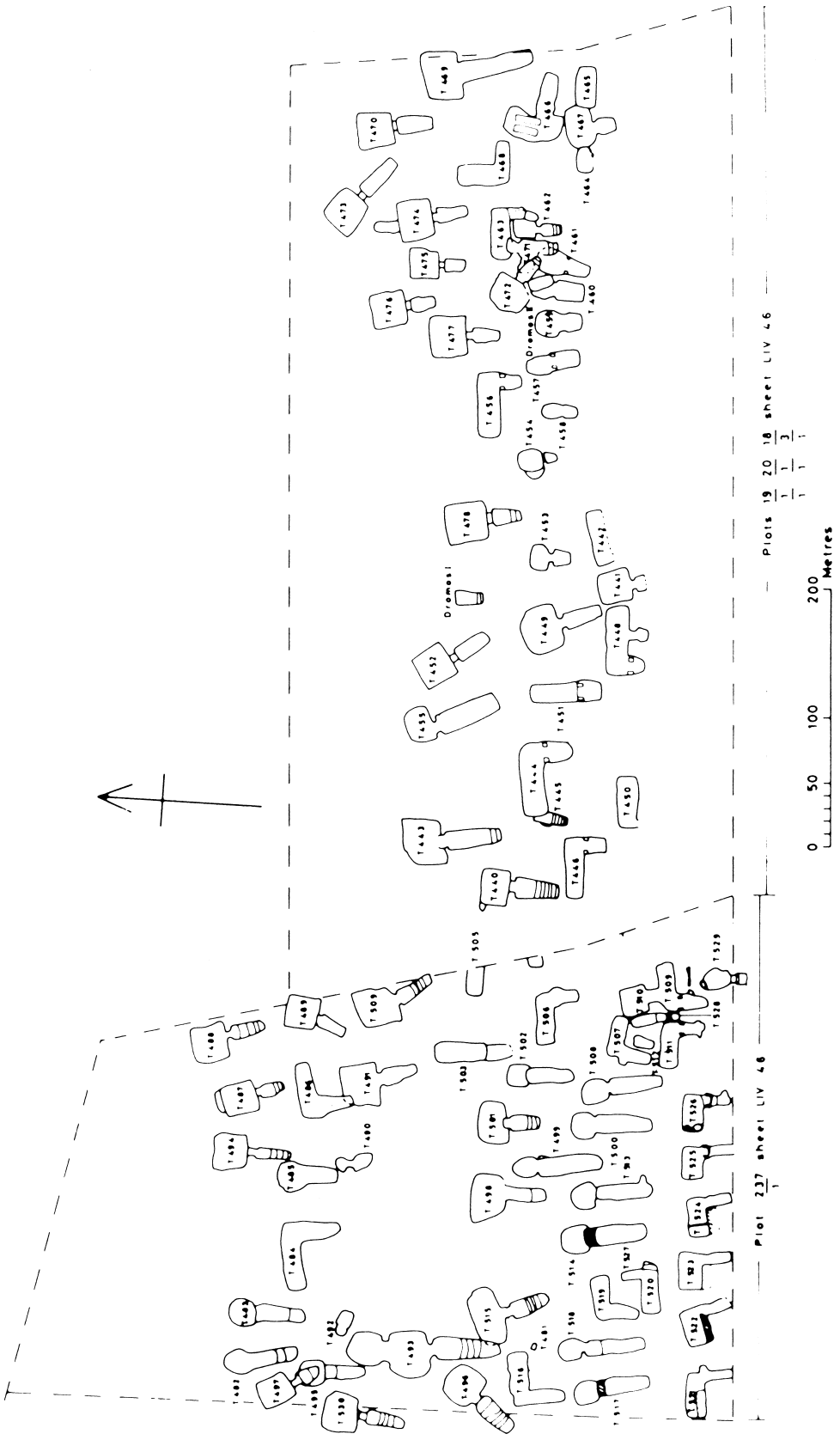

Fig. 2. Site plan of the western necropolis of Amathus.

Fig. 3. Large bowl from Palaepaphos–*Skales,* Tomb 49, no. 1.

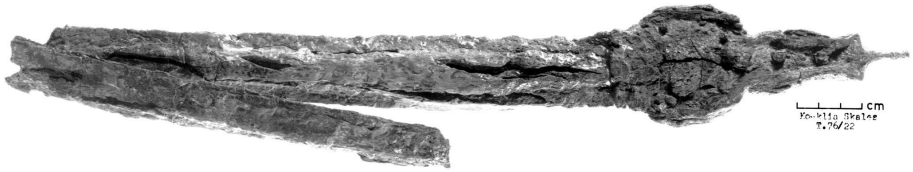

Fig. 4. Iron sword from Palaepaphos–*Skales,* Tomb 76, no. 22.

Fig. 5. Bronze tripod from Palaepaphos–*Skales*, Tomb 58, no. 31.

Fig. 6. Limestone bath–tub from
Palaepaphos–*Skales*, Tomb 49, no. 198.

Fig. 7. The inscribed part of a bronze obelos from Palaepaphos–*Skales*, Tomb 49, no. 16.

Fig. 8. General view of the dromos of Salamis Tomb 79.

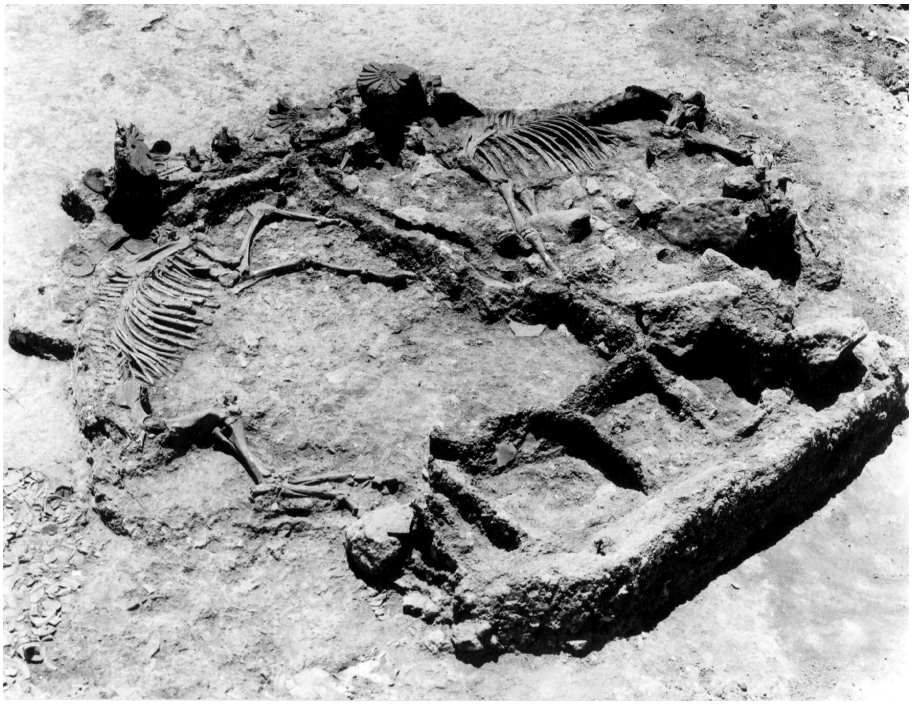

Fig. 9. The remains of horses and the impressions of a chariot in the dromos of Salamis Tomb 79.

Fig. 10. Human skeletal remains in the fill of the dromos of Salamis Tomb 2.

Fig. 11. Iron sword from Salamis Tomb 3.

SATYRS AS SHIELD DEVICES IN VASE PAINTING

Στον Γιώργο Βαμβουδάκη

The satyr,[1] along with the Gorgoneion, is the most popular motif among human or human–like figures used as shield devices in Greek art.[2] It is found on almost 120 vases, mostly of Attic origin, from 580–570 B.C. on, but is not found on real shields,[3] nor is it mentioned in written sources.[4] In this paper, it is argued that this discrepancy should not

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[1] In addition to the usual abbreviations of Greek pottery studies, the following are used:

Agora XXIII: M.B. Moore, M.Z. Pease Philippides, *Attic Black–figured Pottery. The Athenian Agora XXIII*, Princeton, 1986.

ARFV: J. Boardman, *Athenian Red–figured Vases. The Archaic Period*, London, 1975.

Bentz: M. Bentz, *Preisamphoren. Eine attische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.–4. Jahrundert v.Chr.*, Antike Kunst Beiheft, Basel, 1998.

Bothmer: D. Von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford, 1956.

Dev²: J.D. Beazley, *The Developement of Attic Black–figure²*, edited by B.M. Moore and D. Von Bothmer, Berkeley, 1985.

GO³: J. Boardman, *The Greek Overseas³*, London, 1980.

Spier: J.S. Spier, «Emblems in Archaic Greece», *BICS* 37, 1990, p. 107–129, pl. 4–6.

Tiverios: M. Tiverios, *Ο Λυδός και το Έργο του*, Thessaloniki, 1976.

I wish to thank Dr. Aphroditi Kamara for improving my English.

[2] On figural shield devices, see G.H. Chase, «The Shield Devices of the Greeks», *HSCP* 13, 1902, p. 61–127; M. Creger, *Schildformen und Schildschmuck bei den Griechen*, Dissertation, Erlangen, 1908; G. Lippold, «Griechische Schilde», *Münchener Archäologische Studien* 1909, p. 399 s.; A. Vaerst, *Griechische Schildzeichen*, Diss., Salzburg, 1980 (*non vidi*). Their origin was disputed in Antiquity: Hdt. i, 171 (Carian origin); Dion. Halic. 1.21.1; Paus. 8.50.1 (Argive). See A. Snodgrass, «Carian Armourers–the Growth of a Tradition», *JHS* 84, 1964, p. 107–118. They first appear on hoplite shields around the end of the Late Geometric Period: see A. Snodrgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.*, Edinburgh, 1964, p. 61–63, against H.L. Lorimer, «The Hoplite Phalanx», *BSA* 42, 1947, 76–138. Early examples are illustrated in J. Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting*, London, 1998, figs, 68, 70–71.

[3] Emblems on surviving shields include the Gorgoneion, the cock, the boar, the ram, Typhon, flying birds, lion protome, Herakles wrestling the lion. For illustrations, besides the standard works on Greek armour, one may consult reports and catalogues of finds, primary from major sanctuaries (none of them however being exhaustive): E. Kunze, «Schildeschläge», *Olympiabericht* 5, Berlin, 1956, p. 40–68; *AM* 74, 1959, p. 32, Beil. 74.3; *AM* 83, 1968, p. 286, n° 104, pl. 115.1; P. C. Bol, *Argivische Schilden* (*Olympische Forschungen 17*), Berlin, 1979; L. Lerat, «Trois boucliers archaiques de Delphes», *BCH* 104, 1980, 93–114; *GO³*, p. 58–59; E. Berger (ed.), *Antike Kunstwerke des Sammlung Ludwig*, II, Basel–Mainz, 1982, p. 230–263, n° 217; *Badisches Landesmuseum, Wege zur Klassik*, Karlsruhe, 1985, p. 172–4; A.S. Rusyoveva, V.V. Narazov, «A Shield Fragment from Olbia», *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 2.3, 1995, p. 251–260; B.A. Litvinsky, L.B. Pickikyan, «An Attic Shield with a Triskelion from the Temple of Oxus», *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 4.2, 1997, p. 109–121. C.G. Simon, *The Archaic Votive Offerings and Cults of Ionia*, Diss., Berkeley, 1986, p. 240–249, has a useful catalogue of votif shields, real, or miniature. For literary references to shield devices, see Spier, p. 124–127.

[4] In poetry, shield devices are of much complex form: Hom., *Il.* 18, 478–608 for the shield of Achilleus, on which see more recently M.D. Stansburry–O'Doneel, «Reading Pictorial Narrative: The Law Court Scene of the Shield of Herakles», in J.B. Carter, S.P. Morris (ed.), *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, Austin, 1995, p. 315–334; Ps–Hes., *Shield of Her.* 139–320: Verg., *Aen.* 8.626–731. In Aeschylus'

be attributed to the fragmentary data we possess (i.e., is not statistical), but rather to the desire of artists to create a visual universe where Dionysiac motifs predominate.

The earliest depictions of the satyr shield–device appear on vases by the C Painter (A1–3)[5] and on an ovoid neck–amphora in Bologna (A5). The C Painter invariably renders the type of the non–equine satyr, with long, pointed nose, hairy skin and human ear.[6] This type is probably also shown on an unattributed Siana cup from the Agora dating from the late 560's (A4).[7] On these early examples, neck and shoulder are clearly shown. On the Bologna amphora (A5) the painter depicted the upper half of a bearded satyr with equine ears and huge nose, rendered in white slip with incised details. Two more examples of the technique can be cited: a Tyrrhenian amphora by the Castellani Painter in Florence and Berlin (A11), where the shield belongs to Amphiaraos' charioteer. Exceptionally, the motif occurs on a Boeotian shield, placed against the rim of the shield, on the lower half, the upper part being decorated by a he–goat head; an amphora by the Painter of Louvre F 6 (A17), on which the satyr–face is done in white slip with incisions for the beard, the mouth and the nose. Again, the head is placed on the lower part of the shield.

The most popular form of the satyr–head device appears on the great volute–krater in Florence by Kleitias and Ergotimos, around 570 B.C. (A7, **fig. 1**). On the Boeotian shield of Ares in the «Return of Hephaistos» panel, Kleitias depicted a satyr–mask projecting from the round surface of the shield seen in profile. Facial characteristics recall strongly the satyr and centaur faces on the same vase. The satyr–mask motif is taken over by Lydos on his Gigantomachy dinos (A14, **fig. 2**) and a later cup in Copenhagen (A16), the Painter of Louvre E 876 (A9) and the Castellani Painter from the tyrrhenian workshop (A11–13, the first vase showing the earliest type, cited above). It is found on the great majority of black–figured depictions of the satyr–face shield device (58 representations), showing a heavy concentration on the last quarter of the 6th century, primarily due to the Antimenean and the Leagros Groups (nos A31–A35 and A42–A50 respectively). It is almost the only satyr shield–device surviving in attic black–figure (A68–A78, A80, A82) in the early 5th century. The most remarkable depiction is

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Seven at Thebes, 387–648 and in Euripides' *Phoenician Women*, 1108–1138, the imagery may be simpler, but the symbolic interpretations are rather copious. See P. Vidal–Naquet, «Les boucliers des héros», in J.–P. Vernant, P. Vidal–Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie deux*, Paris, 1985, p. 115–148 and B.E. Goff, «The Shields of Phoenissai», *GRBS* 35, 1988, p. 179–187. A complex device appears on Agamemnon's shield on the Cypselos coffret (Paus. 5.19, 4–5). Compare also the shield devices of Geryon on a 6th century cypriot statue in New York, inv. 74.51.2591 (*RDAC* 1984, pl. 33.5) depicting the myth of Perseus and the Gorgon.

[5] Numbers in brackets refer to the list of vases in Appendix I. Two points should be stressed: 1. Technically speaking, blazons on hoplite shields where of three types: a) if the shield had a bronze outer facing, the blazon may well have been painted on. b) When the facing was in wood, the bronze blazon was in relief. c) Otherwise, it may have been inlaid in a space left in the facing. See A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.*, Edinburgh, 1964, p. 64. In vase–painting however, it is extremely difficult to define the exact type, except when the blazon is clearly indicated in relief. Technical investigation is beyond the scope of this study. 2. Equally, for the purpose of this inquiry I pass over the exact form of the shield (round or «boeotian») and the various decorative motifs that may flank the satyr figure, such as rosettes, stars, croissants etc.

[6] On this type, see G.M. Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black–figure*, Ann Arbor, 1993, p. 128 ff.

[7] He is called a man in *Agora XXIII*, p. 300, n° 1678. The correct identification has been advanced by E. Vanderpool, «A Black–FIgured Cup from the Athenian Agora», *Hesperia* 20, 1951, p. 61–63, pl. 31.

that of Exekias on his Vatican amphora, of about 540 B.C. (A21), with the mask nicely projecting from the Boeotian shield drawn in profile. Abnormal is the version chosen by the Swing Painter for his Christchurch amphora (A37), where the shield's surface is covered with white slip.

The motif is also found on an Etruscan hydria by the Micali Painter in London (C3), dating from the end of the 6th century[8] and on a plate of Attic provincial origin, imitating Exekias (A10). In both cases the mask is rendered in extremely low relief, as on vases by the Affecter (A28–30).

In red–figure, there are only two representations of the satyr mask projecting from the shield, on an amphora by Euthymides with Hector arming (B2, **fig. 3**) and on a fragmentary cup by Apollodoros (B23). In both cases, the satyr face is rendered in full red–figure, an obviously difficult technique.[9] The Munich amphora dates from the late 510's and is contemporary with the great bulk of satyr masks on black–figure vases. The Apollodoros cup, which is later (circa 490) uses a different motif, with a bold satyr face emerging from the shield.

Another popular form in black–figure is that of the frontal satyr face, incised on the black surface of the shield, in full view (A24, A38, A39, C2) or in three–quarter view (A15, A20, A23, A27, A40, A61, A67, A81, A83). In some cases, there is a problem of identification, for equine ears are absent, as for example on vases by the Swing Painter (A40) and the Kolchos oinochoe (A15). These representations strongly recall Dionysos' mask, as shown on nearly contemporary vases recently discussed by Frontisi–Ducroux.[10] On a Clazomenian sarcophagus in Hanover (D1), the frontal face is rendered with white slip, now almost completely gone. Unlike the case of the profile satyr–mask projecting from the surface of the shield, it is difficult to consider these representations as belonging to a single pictorial tradition.

In red–figure, the motif of the frontal satyr face rendered in outline technique on the reserved surface of round shields has a vogue among early painters with close workshop connections. Epiktetos must be credited with the invention of the motif, found on 8 vases by or near him: among the earliest are the Basel bilingual cup (B6, **fig. 4**) and the Louvre palmette eye cup (B7), dating from about 520–515 B.C. Slightly later is the fragmentary Gigantomachy cup in Reggio (B8). Towards the end of his career, Epiktetos presented a more complicated version on a cup in Tarquinia (B15): the shield is foreshortened and so the satyr mask is half presented. Later cups in the manner of Epiktetos (B16 and B17) feature the foreshortened type, and therefore must be placed around the beginning of the 5th century. A cup by the Painter of London E 33 (B19)

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[8] The Micali Painter painted a Gorgoneion in relief on an hydria in Marseilles, inv. 3098: N. Spivey, *The Micali Painter*, Oxford, 1987, p. 22, n° 129; F. Vian, «Une gigantomachie étrusque au Musée de Marseille», *REA* 51, 1949, p. 26–40, pl. 1–2. It has been erroneously described as a satyr–mask by W. Fröhner, *Musée de Marseille: Catalogue des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1897, p. 285, n° 1598.

[9] As a rule, shield devices in relief are not favored by red–figure painters. For an exception, see the cup Bologna N.C. 161 by Oltos (*ARV²* 65.113; *CVA 1*, pl. 1.3, pl. 3 and 4–6).

[10] F. Frontisi–Ducroux, *Le dieu masque. Une figure de Dionysos à Athènes*, Paris–Rome, 1991, p. 253 ff. Clearly human–like is the figure on the Leipzig fragmentary amphora (A23). Note W. Hermann's suggestion that the figure is Phobos («Verschollen Vasen», *WZRostock* 16, 1967, p. 455–460: «Die schildzier der Achill reigt einem bärtlichen Kopf: Phobos»). M.B. Moore, «Exekias and Telamonian Ajax», *AJA* 83, 1980, p. 428, incorrectly speaks of a gorgoneion.

copies rather the earlier type with the round shield fully shown, while a fragmentary cup near Epiktetos from the Acropolis (B18) represents the foreshortened type.

Outside the Epiktetan circle the motif appears on three vases. The cup in Boston signed by Pamphaios as potter (B24) is contemporary with, but unconnected to the latest Epiktetan examples. The other two belong to the 5th century: an amphora by the Flying Angel Painter in Munich (B30), representing a warrior, and a very early red–figure Etruscan krater in Florence (C4), depicting Herakles fighting Kyknos. Both satyrs have long ears and are bald. It is doubtful that they are otherwise related, although both date from 480–470 B.C.

A second satyr–mask motif originates in the Epiktetan circle: the satyr face is shown in profile, drawn completely in silhouette. It is unconnected to black–figured motifs, where we occasionally find an incised satyr–mask in profile, as on a skyphos by the Sappho Painter once in the Basel market (A79) and a cup by the Marmaro Painter (A25), or in white slip, as on the earlier examples already mentioned (A5, A11 and A17). The motif is certainly later than the frontal mask, for it is found on five late cups by Epiktetos (B9, B10, B12, B13, B14).[11] On the London cup (B9), the mask is rather different, facing left and with individual curls denoting the beard. A version similar to the latter is rendered by the Colmar Painter on an early cup in a German private collection (B31). The mask lies on a line drawn in black, has long hair and beard and faces left. A cup from Vetulonia with a running warrior looking back (B21), assigned to the Epeleios Group, has the earlier Epiktetan type. Very close in conception is the representation on an early–5th century column–krater in the Manner of the Göttingen Painter in New York (B28, **fig. 5**), with the addition of three letters round the head. In all cases, the shield is foreshortened, so the mask is not fully depicted. Myson presents an elaborate motif on a carefully drawn warrior decorating a psykter in Berlin (B29, **fig. 6**).

The full satyr figure is unpopular among attic black–figure vase–painters. The earliest example is on a Siana cup in Vienna by the Heidelberg Painter from the mid–6th century (A6). On the shield of the central warrior on side B appears the lower half of a running satyr with horsetail and human legs, rendered with incision on the black surface of the round shield.[12] An ithyphallic satyr decorates the shield of Athena on an amphora in Munich (A56). Lastly, the running satyr occurs on Athena's shield on a lost panathenaic amphora of the late 6th century (A66, **fig. 7**), rendered with white slip on the dark ground.[13] The motif is found outside Athens, notably on Clazomenian sarcophagi, where is made use of the applied white slip. It appears three times on a sarcophagus in London and once on a sarcophagus in Tübingen (D2 and D3). All satyrs are running and have human feet. The two sarcophagi belong to the Albertinum Group, which is stylistically dated to the first third of the 5th century. An interesting, much earlier attempt (ca. 540–530 B.C.) is shown on a Campana dinos in the Louvre (C1): the satyr is

[11] The lost Agrigento cup (B12) is known only from drawings. It seems clear that the crescent–like device of the fleeing warrior at the right is a satyr–head misunderstood. This figure is remarkably close both in pose and style to the warrior on the New York cup (B14). The fragmentary Cahn cup (B13) is earliest than the rest.

[12] A headless figure is shown on a cup by Douris in Paris, inv. G124 (*ARV²* 436.103; 441.191–192, 194, 436.110; *Add²* 238).

[13] This is the only panathenaic amphora with the motif of a satyr as shield–device of Athena.

ithyphallic, with human feet, done in black–figure. The volume of the shield is exceptional, thus enabling the painter to depict an extraordinary detailed version of the running figure.

Among red–figure vase painters of the late 6th century, satyr figures in the silhouette technique are not uncommon. The earliest are the Oltos Torlonia cup (B5) and the stemmed dish by Psiax in the Louvre (B1). Both have a running satyr looking round, although the shield of Enkelados on the latter is foreshortened. Epiktetos offers another example on a middle–late cup in Munich (B11), where the satyr figure is remarkably huge, half drawn on the foreshortened shield of an attacking warrior. Euthymides presents a very similar motif on the amphora Munich 2308, depicting the arming of a warrior flanked by two scythian archers (B3, **fig. 8**). A second picture probably by his hand appears on a white ground plaque from the Acropolis (B4). A fifth depiction is shown on a cup in Vatican (B26), with a satyr running, with one arm raised, as on the lost panathenaic amphora (A66).

More interesting variants appear on later vases: on the other side of the cup by the Colmar Painter already mentioned (B31), the satyr in kneeling. On a pelike by the Nikoxenos Painter in San Antonio (B27), the satyr is dancing frontally, with bent knees. The full squatting satyr is shown on a cup by the Euergides Painter once in the market (B20), depicting an hoplitodromos. Once again, we may detect Epiktetan influence, as far as the Euergides Painter was a pupil of the elder master, who is credited with the invention of the squatting posture of satyrs in the red–figure technique.[14] On a fragmentary cup in the Manner of the Epeleios Painter (B22), the satyr is kneeling, blowing a trumpet,[15] a popular motif of the late 6th century.[16] The same motif appears on an unpublished 5th century lekythos in London (B34). The latest representation of the satyr figure dates from the second quarter of the 5th century, on a calyx krater by the Altamura Painter in St. Petersburg (B32), with Dionysos arming. The satyr is walking quietly.[17]

To sum up, satyr and satyr–face shield devices are fairly popular among Attic vase painters during the 6th and early 5th century B.C. The motif reaches a peak in the last quarter of the 6th century, both in black– and red–figure. In black–figure a major tradition can be detected, that of the satyr–mask in relief and profile, extremely popular among minor painters of the late 6th century, but originating with Kleitias. In red–figure, three different iconographic types occur, all of them originating in early cup painters. The prominent personality is surely Epiktetos, credited with the invention of two distinctive motifs. In other areas, occurrences of the motif in Euboan, provincial Attic, Clazomenian, Etruscan and Etrusco–Ionian art seems erratic, often independent from

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[14] On the Epiktetos/Euergides Painter's relationship, see P. Rouillard, «Le peintre d'Euergidès», *RA* 1975, p. 31–60. On Epiktetos' invention, see B. Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases and their Painters*, Diss., New York, 1977, p. 411–412 and M.B. Moore, *CVA Malibu, Getty Museum 8*, Malibu, 1998, p. 15.

[15] «By mistake, the artist has let the trumpet extend beyont the rim of the shield» (M.B. Moore, *op. cit.* [last note], p. 15).

[16] Rome T 375 (*ML* 50, 1955, p. 867, fig. 201); Paris G 73 (*ARV²* 170; *CVA 10*, pl. 21.2–6); Berlin V.I. 3217 (*ARV²* 168.15; *CVA Berlin 1*, pl. 4). For later examples, cf. F. Lissarrague, *L'autre guerrier*, Paris–Rome, 1990, p. 172, n. 95.

[17] I have not seen the New York and Amsterdam cup (A25), the device of which is a «satyr».

Attic models. From 450 onwards, shield devices lose their popularity and the motif is absent from mature Attic red–figure and other classical wares.

In other media, the motif is extremely rare: a Punic green jasper scarab from Tharros in Sardinia depicts a warrior in Greco–Cypriot dress.[18] The whole shield is shown as the mask. As Boardman notes, it seems that the shield is carried by both an arm grip and a sort of baldric such as one would not look for on an ordinary hoplite shield, but which is shown in vase representations of light shields and of the so–called Boeotian shield.[19] It is impossible to say whether this feature depends on a real Phoenico–Punic object, where the satyr figure is not uncommon,[20] or whether the artist has misinterpreted a Greek representation analogous to those depicted on vases. Another example from the periphery of the Greek world is the frontal satyr shield device on a painted terracotta plaque from the sanctuary of Mater Matuta in Satricum.[21] Again from Etruria is the figure of Acheloos, in profile, similar to a horned satyr, on the shield of a warrior on a 4th century mirror.[22]

In contrast to shield devices, satyr figures decorating the interior of the shield are much rarer:[23] on an Attic calyx–krater from Bologna (B33), dating from around 450, a dancing satyr is depicted, while on a fragment of an added red Etruscan hydria (C5), the

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[18] London, inv. g 10/20: *GO*[3], p. 215, fig. 255b; P. Zazoff, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, Handbuch der Archäologie, Munich, 1983, pl. 22.4.

[19] J. Boardman, in R.D. Barnett, C. Mendelson (eds), *Tharros. A Catalogue of Material in the British Museum from Phoenician and other tombs at Tharros, Sardinia*, London, 1987, p. 103.

[20] There is a wealth of material from Punic and Phoenician sites, consisting mostly of masks from the Lebanon, Karthage, Sardinia, Ibiza and Spain: cf. P. Cintas, *Amulettes puniques* (Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études de Tunis, I) Tunis, 1946, p. 54–55, nos 86–88, pl. XIII, groupe V; C. Picard, «*Sacra Punica*. Étude sur les masques et rasoirs de Carhage», *Karthago* XIII, 1965–1966 (1967), p. 17–18, nos 17–20; W. Culican, «Some Phoenician Masks and other Terracottas», *Berytus* 24, 1975–1976, p. 47–87; E. Stern, «Phoenician masks and Pendants», *PEG* 1976, p. 109–118, pl. IX–XI; M.J. Almagro Gobrea, *Catalogo de las Terracotas de Ibiza del Museo Arqueologico Nacional*, Madrid, 1980, pl. 65–67, nos 118–120; G. Chiera, «Una maschera silenica da Sulcis», *RANL* s. 8, 35, 1980, p. 505–508; S. Mosati, *Le officine di Tharros*, Studia Punica II, Rome, 1987, pl. 32.1, 3; A. Ciasca, *Protomi e maschere puniche*, Rome, 1991, fig. 15–17, 19. See also the gold ring with a figure of a kneeling satyr from Utica near Carthago (*GO*[3], p. 216, fig. 256), the cornelian scarab from Sassari with the frontal face of a satyr (*Boll. d'Arte* 70.2, 1985, pl. XI, C), and the green jasper gem from the Puig de Molius in Spain (Madrid 37002; *Los Griegos en Espana, Tras las huellas de Herakles*, Exhibition Catalogue, Madrid–Athens, 1998, p. 330, n° 74).

[21] A. Andrén, *Architecutal Terrakottas from Etrusco–Italic Temples*, Lund–Leipzig, 1939–1940, p. 464, fig. 62.

[22] U. Fischer–Graf, *Spiegelwerkstätten in Vulci* (DAI Archäologische Forschungen 8), Berlin, 1980, pl. 26.1, n° V62.

[23] This kind of decoration is indeed extremely rare overall in imagery. Apart from the two examples with satyrs, see the unattributed stamnos from Bologna, D.L. 103 (G. Pellegrini, *Catalogo dei vasi greci dipinti delle necropoli felsinee*, Bologna, 1912, p. 62, fig. 37, n° 175), where the inner face of the shield of the hoplite is decorated with the images of Eros and a woman; the column krater New York 91.1.462 in the Manner of the Göttingen Painter (*ARV*[2] 234.1, 235; *Add*[2] 200; *LIMC* VII, pl. 686, Kyknos I 5), where the inner face of the shield of Kyknos is decorated with panthers. Compare also the interior of the shield of a terracotta statue of warrior from Olympia, showing Bellerophon and Chimaera (E. Kunze, «Kriegergruppe», in *Olympiabericht* 5, 1956, p. 114–127, pl. 70–71) and the Etruscan miror Madrid 9823 (U. Fischer–Graf, *op. cit.* (last note), pl. 13.1, n° V30).

figured scene consists of a couple of dancing satyr and maenad.[24] Satyrs are occasionally depicted on shield bands, but never occupy a central place in the composition.[25]

Other items of armour are occasionally decorated with satyrs. An added red Etruscan hydria of the Praxias Group in Basel is remarkable in this respect, for the satyr figure replaces the normal Gorgoneion in the middle of the *thorax* of a warrior.[26] This image immediately brings to mind a late 4th century bronze thorax from Laos decorated with the mask of a youthful satyr.[27] The figure of a running satyr decorates the corselet of a member of a chorus of youths on an unattributed column–krater in Basel.[28] Cheek–pieces of Chalcidian and Corinthian helmets, and most likely of Peloponnesian origin, are decorated with figures and masks of satyrs.[29] On a Pontic amphora by the Paris Painter, a satyr–like mask drawn beside a warrior is to be perceived as part of his helmet. Finally, a curious helmet ending in the back to a satyr–mask is found on a cypriot and a sardinian gem.[30]

As stated above, no exact parallel in actual armour is extant, nor is any mentioned in literary or epigraphic sources. During the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, figures of satyrs were used as blazons on terracotta votive shields serving as funerary decoration. Their connection with shield devices is nevertheless extremely doubtful. They have been convincingly linked to busts in relief on late Classical and early Hellenistic medallions.[31] The use of satyrs and other Dionysian figures has been attributed to the influence of drama.[32] Other relevant material, the Pompeian *oscilla*,

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[24] It is interesting to note that the figures are dancing in a clearly Etruscan manner. See J.–R. Jannot, *Les reliefs archaïques de Chiusi* (CEFAR 71), Paris, 1984, p. 324 ff.

[25] Olympia B8150 (Bol, *op. cit.* [n. 3], p. 53, n° H 40, pl. 63.4): satyr attacking a Nymph; Olympia B8405 (Bol, p. 53, n° H 86, pl. 82): satyr–like figure decorating Hades' throne. Basel, coll. Ludwig (E. Berger [ed.], *Antike Kunstwerke des Sammlung Ludwig, II*, Basel–Mainz, 1982, p. 230–263, n° 213): ithyphallic satyrs dancing on the back of the horses pulling chariots of Ariadne and Dionysus.

[26] R. Lullies, E. Berger, *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig I*, Basel, 1979, p. 178 s., n° 69.

[27] Reggio di Calabria Museum: G. Genovese, *I santuari nella Calabria Greca* (*Studia Archeologica* 102), Rome,1999, pl. 64.3.

[28] Basel BS 415 (*CVA 2*, pl. 6.3–4, 7).

[29] E. Kunze, «Chalkidische Helme IV–VII und Nachträgen zu I und II», in *Olympiabericht IX*, Belin, 1994, p. 32–36, fig. 42–50, pl. 1–2 (Olympia inv. B 6900), p. 38–39, fig. 51–53 (Berlin Fr. 1017), p. 40, fig. 54 (Olympia inv. B 6000) and R.M. Albanese Procelli, «Identità e confini etnico–culturali: la Sicilia centro orientale», in *Confini e Frontiera nella Grecità dell' Occidente, Atti Taranto 1997, 3–6 ottobre 1996*, Taranto, 1997, pl. I (Syracuse 65686, from T. 31 in Montagna di Marzo). Compare also the small piece allegedly from a helmet from Falerii in New York (G. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, N. York, 1915, n° 67).

[30] Pontic amphora: Heidelberg 59/5 (*CVA 2*, pl. 55, 56.1–3; R. R. Hampe, E. Simon, *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst*, Mainz, 1964, p. 4, fig. 1 and pl. 1–5). Cypriot gem: London 457, from Amathous (J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, London, 1970, p. 90, n° 237, pl. 15): early 5th century. Sardinian gem: Boston 27.764, from Ibiza (G.M.A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and Romans*, New York, 1968, p. 36, n° 36, pl. 5): circa 500 B.C.

[31] One may compare the silver tondo with a satyresque mask in relief in Berlin: see «Zur späthellenistischen Plastik», *AM* 76, 1971, Beil. 81. Its date is around 100 B.C. and the provenance Miletopolis in Mysia.

[32] C.C. Vermeule, «A Greek Theme and its Survivals: the Ruler's Shield (Tondo Image) in Tomb and Temple», *PAPhS* 109, n° 6, December 1965, p. 361–397; A. Seeberg, «Heads on Platters», in J.H. Betts, J.T.

seem related to Dionysian tympana, rather than to real shields. The *clipeatae imagines* of the imperial period, busts or other figures depicted in the interior of discs and used for the decoration of stelae and other architectural members, while ultimately representing shields, are not directly linked to the earlier blazons, despite the fact that Pliny claims a 5th– century origin for them.[33] Some scholars however, have stressed the possibility that the ancestry of these *tondi* must be traced back to the archaic Etruscan «Acheloos shields» of 540–470 B.C.[34] These are circular bronze discs decorated with a relief head of a horned satyr–like figure, most often identified as Acheloos.[35] Unfortunately, there is no scholarly consensus concerning their use: earlier opinions that they were used as votives have been recently revived, against the current interpretation which regards them as decorative elements of Etruscan tombs.[36]

The invention and subsequent popularity of the satyr shield device has not been successfully explained. At least one scholar has derived the satyr face in relief from real masks, even if its introduction predates dramatic or pre–dramatic performances.[37] Some scholars refuse to accept that shield devices in Greek art have any special significance other than decorative.[38] Others however adopt the familiar apotropaic interpretation of the mask, arguing for an identification with personifications of fear (as Deimos or Phobos),[39] or for an equation of the satyr face with the Gorgoneion.[40] The identification of the satyr–mask with the daemons of fear must be rejected, in the light of the more

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Hooker, J.R. Green (eds), *Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster, II*, Bristol, 1988, p. 121–132, pl. 13.1–13.17. Most of the tondi of this group were found in the region of the Hellespont.

[33] Pliny, *NH* 35.3.3. On the clipeatae imagines and their relationship to Hellenistic terracotta «shields», see R. Winkes, Clipeata Imago. *Studien zu einer römischer Bildnisform*, Bonn, 1969; O. Scarpellini, *Stele Romane con* Imagines Clipeatae *in Italia*, Rome, 1987.

[34] J.–R. Jannot, «Le taureau androcéphale et les masques cornus dans l'Étrurie archaïque», *Latomus* 33, 1974, p. 765–789.

[35] Other devices include the ram– and the lion–head. Jannot, *op. cit.* (last note), p. 780, traces their origin to the votive shields of the Idaean Cave in Crete. However, he does not seem to accept an ancestry of the horned Acheloos masks in armour. Tarqunian «shields» have been recently collected and discussed in extenso, by N. Scala, «I 'lacunari' bronzei tarquiniesi», in *Miscellanea Etrusco–Italica I*, Rome, 1993, p. 149–184.

[36] Decorative elements: M. Pallottino, *Tarquinia*, *ML* 36, 1937, col. 352–353 and H.–P. Isler, *Acheloos*, Zurich, 1970, p. 55 ff. Their original conception as arms has been strongly advocated in the light of a shield found in Olympia (*Olympische Forschungen* 13, Munich, 1981, p. 15, n. 57), where Etruscan objects are dedications of booty. Cf. A. Moustaka, «Un bracciale di scudo etrusco inedito da Olimpia», in *Atti del Secondo Convegno Internazionale Etrusco*, II, Rome, 1989, p. 967–971.

[37] Hedreen, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 124, n° 77, commenting n° A 14. Ritual use of satyr masks, for example in the Orthia sanctuary at Sparta, might be taken under consideration: R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, London, 1929, pl. 66.1 and 145.

[38] Cf. for example A. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armours of the Greeks*, Baltimore and London, 1999², p. 96: «Since shield–devices in Greek Art tend to repeat themselves in widely separated periods and regions, it seems wisest to attach no significance to them but a purely artistic one». Similar opinions have been earlier held by Chase, *op. cit.* (n. 2); L. Lacroix, «Les blasons des villes grecques», in *Études d'archéologie classique* I, 1955–1956, p. 89 ff.; Spier, p. 124.

[39] R. Hampe, E. Simon, *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst*, Mainz, 1964, p. 4, n. 18.

[40] For example R. Gempeler, «Schmiede des Hephäst–Eine Satyr–Spielzene des Harrow–Malers» *AK* 12, 1969, p. 17; T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth Century Athens*, Oxford, 1997, p. 97.

recent attempt to identify Phobos with a winged cynocephalous daemon.[41] The idea of the functional equivalence between the satyr mask and the Gorgoneion may be supported by the use of the former as *mormolykeion*, on attic red–figured choes[42] and in some Aristophanic verses.[43] Technically speaking, the *mormolykeion* is the frightening mask, deriving from the monstrous Mormo, but Aristophanes uses the term to describe the shield device of Lamachos.[44]

It must be noted however, that, while the Gorgoneion and the satyr mask are often found together in vase–paintings and other media, and are occasionally used as interchangeable,[45] it is clear that vase–painters use the corresponding shield devices in strikingly different ways. As F. Frontisi–Ducroux[46] rightly observes, the powerful emotion created by the frontality of the mask of the Gorgon is generally absent in most cases of satyr faces. The contrast is notable, if one compares the two devices appearing together on the Vatican amphora by Exekias (A21). While both shields are foreshortened, the Gorgoneion in half drawn, while the satyr face is in low relief in profile. As is already noted, profile satyr faces are by far more common than frontal.[47] One may note in

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[41] J. De La Genière, «La famille d'Arès en Italie», in *Aparchai: Nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica in onore di P. E. Arias*, Pisa, 1982, p. 137–145, pl. 22–23.

[42] Cf. the choes from Mégara (G. Mylonas, *Το Δντικόν Νεκροταφείον της Ελευσίνος*, Athènes, 1975, pl. 362, n° 726, tombe Theta θ26, n° 15) and Syracuse 14941 (G. Van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden, 1951, n° 918, fig. 84). For later representations, see J.R. Green, *Theatre in Ancient Society*, London, 1992, p. 189–190, n. 67, with further bibliography.

[43] Fr. 131, Kock II, p. 123: one is asking if someone can tell him where lies the Dionysion, and the other is answering, «where the *mormolykeia* are suspended». This can only mean masks of satyrs or some other dionysiac daemons hanging from the walls of the Dionysion, for it is unlikely that the mask of Dionysos himself could have been described as a *mormolykeion*. See F. Frontisi–Ducroux, *Du masque au visage. Aspects de l'identité en Grèce ancienne*, Paris, 1995, p. 14. For the practice of hanging daemonic masks from the walls of dionysiac sanctuaries, see Aeschylus, *Theoroi, or Isthmiastai* 6–7; Lysias 21.4 (satyrs); Diodorus 10.88 (satyrs and Pans); Pausanias 1.2.5 (Akratos; see also the krater Glasgow 1903.70e: *CVA*, pl. 47 and s.v. *Akratos*, *LIMC I*, p. 449 [P. Linant de Bellefonds]).

[44] On the etymology and meaning of *mormolykeion*, cf. Sch. Arist., *Pax*, 471. Shield of Lamachos: Arist., *Pax*, 475; *Ach.*, 567 and 585.

[45] See the terracotta model house from Caltanissetta, where the Gorgoneion is coupled with a satyr mask (G. Castellana, «Il tempietto votivo fittile di Sabuccina e la sua decorazione figurata», *RdA* 7, 1983, p. 5–11), a relief cantharos of the 4th century from Macedonia (*ΑΕΜΘ* 5, 1991, p. 81), attic black–figured eye–cups where Gorgoneia are placed in the exterior, place normally reserved to satyr– and Dionysos–masks (Munich 2027, *ABV* 205; *LIMC IV*, pl. 166, Gorgones 41 and Paris C 10136, F. Frontisi–Ducroux, *op. cit.* [n. 10], p. 185, fig. 112) and the Cortona lamp, with a central Gorgoneion and figures of squatting satyrs alternating with winged sirens (O. Brendel, *Etruscan Art*, Harmondsworth, 1978, p. 258, fig. 205). Compare also the horned satyr–like masks used as frontons on etruscan funerary monuments: Jannot, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 782 ff.

[46] *Op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 68.

[47] By contrast, Gorgoneia in profile are extremely rare in archaic vase–painting see the Cleveland lekythos by Douris (inv. 78.59: *Greek Vases in the Getty Museum* 4, Malibu, 1989, p. 120, fig. 2), and two Etruscan black–figured vases: a hydria in Marseille (supra, n. 8) and an amphora in Würzburg, inv. HA 25 (*CVA 3*, pl. 47–51; F. Gaultier, «Le 'Peintre de la Danseuse aux crotales'», *MEFRA* 99, 1987, 81–82, fig. 7–9, n° 1). Compare a shield band from Olympia, inv. B 595 (E. Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder, Olympische Forschungen* II, Berlin, 1950, pl. 56, XXIXc). In 4th century vase–painting, Gorgoneia in profile are more common, both in Attic and South Italian fabrics: cf. the Apulian amphora in Halle University, inv. 215 (*RVAp* II, 504.87; *LIMC IV*, pl. 175, Gorgones 181); the Lucanian calyx–krater at Paris, Cab. Méd. 422 (*LCS* 102.532; *LIMC IV*, pl. 175, Gorgones 184), the fragmentary Attic calyx–krater Naples H 2883 (ARV² 1338,

addition, that the use of the satyr motif for the decoration of the inner surface of a shield (B3 and C5) defies all apotropaic interpretations, since it was barely visible by the enemy.

The search for a meaning of satyr shield–devices inevitably raises the question of the martial qualities of Dionysus and his following. The god, often accompanied by satyrs and maenads, ranks among the most prominent deity in representations of the Gigantomachy.[48] He is praised by Euripides as the divinity who creates panic among enemies in battle (*Bacchae* 302–304). In imagery, satyrs bearing arms, are common enough, but they are rather connected to oriental peltasts and the irregular warfare of light and auxiliary troops, outside the hoplite tradition.[49]

The satyr is certainly not a symbol of male aggressiveness and brutal violence as may be thought of the motif of the attacking centaur, most often found on early 5th–century vases.[50] Fifth century philosophy traces a neat distinction between the two horse–man creatures, centaurs being considered as particularly aggressive and heroic, satyrs as passive and mild.[51] The phallic component, prominent in other expressions of satyric iconography, is not frequent, appearing in only two cases (A56, C1). This quality of male aggression coupled with violent sexuality is better expressed by such blazons as the cock,[52] the sexually aroused donkey[53] and the phallus–bird.[54]

LIMC IV, p. 302, Gorgones 178) and a Panathenaic amphora from Eretria (*AAA* 2, 1969, p. 415, fig. 5). Cf. also a terracotta relief from Taranto (*Xenia* 16, 1988, p. 19, fig. 15).

[48] T.H. Carpenter, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 17. On satyrs in Gigantomachy, see F. Lissarrague, «Dionysos s'en va–t–en guerre», in C. Bérard, Ch. Bron, A. Pomari, *Images et Société en Grèce ancienne. L'iconographie comme méthode d'analyse. Actes du Colloque international, Lausanne 8–11 fevrier 1984*, Lausanne, 1987, p. 111–120. Dionysus as triumphant warrior is often cited in late sources: Eratosthenes, *Katasterismoi*, 11.2; Diodorus, 3.71. On Dionysus as a divinity evoked before the battle, see R. Lonis, *Guerre et religion en Grèce à l'époque classique, recherches sur les rites, les dieux l'idéologie de la victoire*, Paris, 1979, p. 122–124.

[49] See Lissarrague, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 173–177. Other scholars connect these images with pyrrhic dancing (C. Poursat, «La danse armée en Grèce ancienne», *BCH* 92, 1968, p. 586) or satyr–play (F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele²*, Darmstadt, 1955; «Satyrspielvasen in Malibu», in *Greek Vases in the Getty Museum* 1, 1983, p. 115–120; Hedreen, *op. cit.* [n. 6], p. 120–121, n. 8).

[50] Centaur attacking with a branch: London B 191 (*ABV* 152.24; D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and his World*, Malibu, 1985, p. 122–123, n° 22). Basel Kä 424 (*ARV²* 183.8; *Para* 340; *Add²* 186; *LIMC III*, pl. 139, Briseis 56). Paris, Cab.Méd. 533 and 699 (*ARV²* 191.103; *Add²* 189; *LIMC I*, pl. 592, Amazones 84). London E 458 (*ARV²* 239.16; *Para* 349; *Add²* 201; *LIMC I*, pl. 322, Aithra 66). Vatican 16583 (*ARV²* 373.48; *Para* 369; *Add²* 226; A. Cambitoglou, *The Brygos Painter*, Sydney, 1968, pl. XIV). Florence 3929 (*ARV²* 460.15; N. Kunisch, *Makron*, Mainz, 1997, pl. 53). 7. Palermo V 659 (ARV² 480.2°. *CVA 1*, pl. 16.4). 8. Harrow 50 (*ARV²* 516.5; *Para* 382; *Add²* 253; *LIMC V*, pl. 575, Kaineus 74). Centaur attacking with rock: Once Basel market (*MM* 51, 1975, pl. 36, n° 151). Once London market (*Christie's* 11.7.1990, n° 520). 3. Cleveland 78.59 (see n. 47). 4. Florence 3929 (above, n° 6). Centaur running: 1. Warsaw 198605 (*Para* 127; Bentz, pl. 27, n° 6.076). 2. Anc. Naples, market (Bentz, n° 6.138). Compare the pelike by the Harrow Painter in the London market, showing a centaur playing the barbitos on the shield of a warrior, perhaps Achilles (*Sotheby's 17/18–7–1985*, n° 212a).

[51] Plato, *Politics*, 291A–B. Satyr and centaur relationships on the semantic level are fully explored by R. Osborne, «Framing the Centaur. Reading Fifth Century Architectural Sculpture», in S. Goldhill, R. Osborne, *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 52–84.

[52] Malibu 86.AE.47 (*CVA 1, III H*, pl. 53). Madrid 11008 (*ARV²* 7.2; *Para* 321; *Add²* 150; *CVA*, pl. 23.1, 24–25 et 26.1). Louvre CA 5950 (*Euphronios Peintre, Catalogue d'Exposition*, Paris, 1992, p. 231, n° 59). Malibu 80.AE.154 (*LIMC VIII*, pl. 400, Iliupersis 4).

[53] London E 35 (*ARV²* 74.38; *Add²* 168). Harvard (*ARV²* 234.1; *CVA Hoppin and Gallatin Collections*, pl. 7). Berlin 3257 (*ARV²* 239.17; *AA* 1893, p. 88) London E 47 (*ARV²* 319.3; *CVA 9*, pl. 7–8) Once London market

H.R.W. Smith argued a deeper meaning in the representation of the satyr figure as a shield device.[55] He observes that the painters of the Pioneer Group and Oltos treat with sympathy warriors bearing this device, in contrast to Epiktetos and his circle, who favour their opponents, allegedly connected to the Pisistratids. The same attitude prevails for warriors carrying shields emblazoned with greaves, the human leg, the foot, which in their turn are thought to be abreviations or masked expressions of the Alcmeonid emblem par excellence, the *triskeles*.[56] Thus, the satyr figure is made an Alcmeonid badge, albeit a secondary one. *Kalos* names are called to support the theory of such a dichotomy among members of the Athenian Kerameikos: Epiktetos specifically praises Hipparchos, identified with Hippias' brother, while Euthymides praises Megakles, and Psiax Hippokrates, prominent figures of the Alcmeonid clan.[57] Consequently, the satyr–mask motif is inserted in a game of anti– and pro–Alcmeonid propaganda initiated by prominent figures of the Athenian Kerameikos in the troubled years of 520–510, Epiktetos and his circle being the partisans of the Peisistratids, the Andokides Painter, Psiax and the Pioneers of their opponents.

This attempt to find a political meaning in the use of shield devices in vase–painting is seriously misleading,[58] not least because the segregation of potters and painters in two political parties is contradicted by their workshop connections.[59] The identifications of *kaloi* proposed by Smith are not straightforward: *Hipparchos kalos* is more likely the son of Charmos, a late champion of the tyrant party, while *Hippokrates kalos* may be the son of Anaxileos, linked with both the Alcmeonids and the Peisistratids.[60]

(*Sotheby's 12–12–1983*, lot 331; not a horse, as stated there). Berlin 3199 (*ARV²* 1114.9; *Para* 452; *Add²* 330; *LIMC I*, pl. 100, Achilleus 420). St. Petersbourg (A.A. Peredolskaya, *Krasnofigurnye attischeskie vazy,* Leningrad, 1967, pl. 25.8). Copenhague 3877 (*ARV²* 63.87; *CVA 3*, pl. 138). London market (*Sotheby's 11–7–89*, n° 444). Lincoln, City and County Museum (*ARV²* 404; *Add²* 231).

[54] J. Boardman, «The Phallus–Bird», *RA* 1992, p. 227–242. The phallic component of war and fighting is illustrated on the famous Eurymedon oinochoe in Hamburg, inv. 1981.173 (K. Schauenburg, «Eurymedon eimi», *AM* 110, 1975, p. 107–122). See also K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality,* Harvard, 1985², p. 105; K.W. Arafat, «State of the Art–Art of the State. Sexual Violence and Politics in late Archaic and Early Classical Vase–Painting», and M.F. Kilmer, «Rape in Early Red–Figure Pottery», in S. Deacy, K.F. Pierce (eds), *Rape in Antiquity. Sexual Violence and Politics in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, London, 1997, p. 97–121 and 123–141 respectively. On defeat as rape, see E. Hall, «Asia unmanned: Images of victory in classical Athens», in J. Rich, G. Shipley (eds*), War and Society in the Greek World*, London, –New York, 1993, p. 108–133.

[55] *New Aspects of the Menon Painter*, Berkeley, 1929, p. 50 ff.

[56] C. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage Before the Persian Invasion*, Cambridge, 1924, p. 21.

[57] Of 21 inscriptions naming Hipparchos kalos (*ARV²* 1584 and *Add²* 395), fourteen are by Epiktetos, one in his manner. On Megakles, see *ARV²* 1598, s.v. *Megakles I*. There are four vases praising Hippokrates, two of them by Psiax: H.A. Shapiro, «Hippokrates son of Anaxileos», *Hesperia* 49, 1980, p. 289–293, pl. 74–76.

[58] See the review of J.D. Beazley, in *JHS* 51, 1931, p. 120: «an ingenious flight of fancy».

[59] Psiax is the master of Epiktetos: *ARV²* 70. He is employed in the Andocides workshop: *ARV²* 7.1, with the Andocides Painter. Oltos and Epiktetos worked together in the Hischylos workshop: H. Bloesch, *Formen Attische Schalen*, Bern, 1940, p. 31–33; Cohen, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 337–341 et 410 ff.

[60] *Hipparchos kalos* as son of Charmos: W. Klein, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1898², p. 62 ff.; J.K.Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford, 1971, p. 451 f. On Hippokrates, see H.A. Shapiro, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 290.

Finally, the theory that the *triskeles* is the emblem of the Alcmeonids is far from certain, and it is unlikely that family coats–of–arms ever existed in archaic Athens.[61]

It is true however that in most cases, the warriors carrying the satyr device belong to the losing party, when involved in fighting. This is primarily due to the deliberate choice of painters to connect the satyr device with marginal figures of Greek warfare, notably Giants (13 times),[62] Amazons[63] and other opponents of Herakles (Geryones once: A39, Kyknos twice: A15 and C4; a Trojan on B12). Even in more peaceful scenes, the device is often carried by Amazons, arming (A63, A71, A77, A81), or setting out (A48, A67, A68, A69), while it belongs twice to a dead Amazon carried by a companion (A70 and A73). This last motif is clearly influenced by the iconography of a warrior carrying the body of a comrade, where the satyr device appears nine times (A18, A20, A22, A23, A31, A33, A35, A64 and A65), always on the shield of the dead. It is almost certain that the two protagonists can safely be identified with Ajax and Achilles.[64] Among ill–fated heroes who carry the satyr shield device, Amphiaraos (A11, lower register)[65] and Hector (B2, **fig. 3**) are the most prominent. Kaineus carries it once (A37), even if on an earlier Centauromachy the device belongs to an anonymous Lapith (A9).

However, some mythological contexts show either the victorious or the most prominent heroes carrying the satyr shield: such are the Iliupersis (A2 and A3: the bearers are members of the victorious Greek army), Achilles and Ajax playing a game (A10, A21, A40, A47 and A75) and Achilles killing Penthesileia (A79). Few gods carry it: Dionysos (B26), Ares (on A7 and perhaps on A27) and above all Athena (in Gigantomachy: A44, assisting Herakles fighting the lion: A41; in mock judgement of Paris: A56; on a Panathenaic amphora: A66, **fig. 7**). On a neck–amphora by the Affecter (A28), the satyr mask device appears twice on the shields of warriors in the company of Gods, so we may reasonably infer some mythological connection. In all these types of scenes, it is only on a tiny minority that the satyr device appears.

Outside the realm of recognisable mythological figures, most prominent are warriors on red–figured vases, running or still.[66] In black–figure, the motif of the running warrior appears on a Siana cup (A4) and an Euboan lekanis (C2). Other scenes include departures (A17, A54, A72 and B34) or arming (A62, B3, **fig. 8** and B24), horse

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[61] Against Seltman's theory, based on the identification of some types of *Wappenmünzen* with emissions patroned by Megakles the Alcmeonid, see D.M. Robinson's review in *NC* 1924, p. 329–341; H.J.H. Van Buchem, «Family Coats–of–Arms in Greece?», *CR* 40, 1926, p. 181–183; Lacroix, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 101–102; P. Vidal–Naquet, P. Lévêque, *Clisthène l'athénien*, Paris, 1964, appendix 1; Snodgrass, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 96; Ph. Bruneau, «Le triskélés dans l'art grec», in *Mélanges offerts au Docteur J.–B. Colbert de Beaulieu*, Paris, 1987, p. 145–156; Spier, p. 124–127.

[62] Nos A16, A44, A50, A59, A74, A76, A80, A83, B1 and B8: opponents of Athena; A14: Hermes' opponent; A55 and A61: Poseidon's opponent. On A27, the bearer of the satyr blazon is a victorious god. Cf. H. Metzger, *Fouilles de Xanthos*, IV, Paris, 1973, p. 110–111: «j'identifierais volontiers avec Arès le combattant victorieux... dont le bouclier est surmonté d'un épisème si expressif».

[63] Nos A11B, A12, A24, A25 and A30, where the opponents are Greek hoplites; A51, A52, A53, A57 and A57, where Amazons fight against Herakles.

[64] On the subject see S. Woodford and M. Loudon, «Two Trojan Themes», *AJA* 84, 1980, p. 25–40.

[65] It is interesting to note that in 5th century tragedy, Amphiaraos' shield is the only one of the «seven» not to bear an emblem: Aeschylus, *Septem*, 387 sq.; Euripides, *Phoenician Women*, v. 1107–1140.

[66] Running: B4, B5, B7, B14, B15, B16, B21. Still: B18, B29, B30.

riders (A43, A45, A46 and A49: perhaps hunters?). Fighting is depicted in various different ways on 25 vases[67] and three Clazomenian sarcophagi (D1, D2 and D3). Most fights are inconclusive, although on Epiktetos' vases (B9–11), the carrier of the satyr blazon is the losing party.

Compare the Gorgoneion. According to M. Halm–Tisserant's careful study dealing with Attic black–figure,[68] the Gorgoneion is the normal device of Athena, Achilles,[69] Ares and more rarely Ajax, Aineas, Hippolytus and Polites. Marginal figures include only Geryon and the Amazons. It seems that the apotropaic functions of the Gorgoneion were kept in mind by painters who were careful enough not to depict the bearer in unfavorable situations.

The great number of anti–heroes carrying the satyr device points to a deliberate notion of alterity. Amazons can be described as the anti–model of the hoplite: by their savage nature they are associated to the other pole of the Dionysiac thiasos, the Maenads.[70] However, the link between satyrs and Amazons is a less obvious one. Giants are comparable to satyrs in sharing with them the leopard skin,[71] a well–known Dionysiac symbol.

The satyr shield device appears unexpectedly on four vases depicting *hoplitodromoi* (A5, B6, **fig. 4**; B13 and B20).[72] Two other scenes must also be connected with festivities: according to K. Schauenburg,[73] the London amphora by the Micali Painter (C3) is related to Etruscan satyr–mask and dwarf performances, and satyrs and armed dancers are connected on an amphora by the same painter in London and a later vase in Dresden.[74] The young warrior's shield bearing the figure of a dancing satyr on the pelike

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[67] Nos A1, A6 in the upper register, A29 A–B, A38, A42, A78, A82, B9, B10, B11, B19, B22, B23, B25, B26, B28, B31A–B, B33, C1 and C5; including chariot, nos A19, A26, A32, A34 and A36. Also on B29, where the satyr figure is used for the inner decoration of the shield.

[68] «Le Gorgonéion, emblème d'Athéna. Introduction du motif sur le bouclier et l'égide» *RA* 1986, p. 245–278.

[69] In the *Iliad*, 11, 32–37, the Gorgoneion is the device of Agamemnon.

[70] J.S. Blok, *The Early Amazons. Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth*, Leiden–New York–Köln, 1995, p. 278, 376–377 et 407.

[71] See the stamnoi of London E 443 (*ARV²* 292.29; *Para* 356; *Add²* 210; T.H. Carpenter, *op. cit.* [n. 40], pl. 2A–B) and Paris Cp 10748/New York 1976.244.1 (*ARV²* 187.55; *Add²* 188; Carpenter, pl. 3B).

[72] Normally, hoplitodromos' shield devices are connected with sport: cf. the Panathenaics in Bologna PU 198 (Bentz, pl. 73, n° 5.142); Egina 332 (Bentz, pl. 89, n° 5.202) and N. York, Zoulas coll. (Bentz, pl. 43, n° 5.010); the cups in Gravisca (K. Huber, *Gravisca 6. Scavi nel santuario greco: Le ceramiche attiche a figure rosse*, Bari, 1999, p. 62, n° 217), Hannover 1966.99 (*CVA 1*, pl. 31.3), Leiden PC 89 (*ARV²* 533.62; *Add²* 255; *CVA*, pl. 167), Berlin 1960.2 (*ARV²* 861.12, 1672; *Para* 425; *Add²* 298; *Berliner Museen* Sonderheft 28, Mai 1960, p. 22–25), the skyphos Hearst, Hillsborough (*ARV²* 561.11; *Add²* 259; *BSA* 46, 1950, pl. 6a–b) the amphora Laon 37.1021 (*ARV²* 1016.35; *Para* 440; *CVA*, pl. 28.2 et 29.3). On the cups Paris G 76 (*ARV²* 84.16; *Add²* 170; *CVA b*, pl. 16.1–3 and 5) and Florence 3910 (*ARV²* 1565; *CVA 3*, pl. 89), the device is the figure of another athlete. See also the Panathenaic amphora in the Bunker Hunt collection depicting a bearded athlete sporting with two shields, on of which bears the hoplitodromos device (*Wealth of the Ancient World. The Nelson Bunker Hunt Collection*, New York, 1990, p. 66–67, n° 9). A centaur appears on the shield of an hoplitodromos on a cup once in the Basel market: *MM* 51, 1975, pl. 36, n° 151.

[73] «Szenische Aufführungen in Etruria?», in *Festschrift Bernard Neutsch, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* 21, 1980, p. 439–443, pl. 80–83.

[74] London B 64: L.B. Van der Meer, «Greek and Local Elements in a sporting scene by the Micali Painter», in J. Swaddling (ed.), *Italian Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum. Papers of the Sixth International*

by the Nikoxenos Painter in San Antonio (B27), is decorated with vines, an unmistakable Dionysiac symbol. The presence of a Doric column points to a peaceful activity, perhaps pyrrhic dancing.[75] A warrior carrying the satyr device is dressed in a leopard skin on B14, while on two vases (A6, B31), Dionysiac symbols (leopard skin, ithyphallic mule, leopard and ivy leaf as shield device) are carried by the companions of the warrior with the satyr shield.

Smith made an interesting observation, connecting the alleged choice of the satyr as the emblem of Megakles on the Acropolis plaque (B4) to the «satyric» way of his life. An analogous case is cited for Alcibiades, who chose Eros as his device, an obvious commentary on his theory of life.[76] This type of symbolism is not unknown from literary sources, where the shield device of individuals is used primarily to identify the wearer, whose features were hidden by the helmet.[77] It is possible is some cases to find a Dionysiac connection between the emblem and the interpretation of the scene: the most obvious case is the figure of the satyr on the shield of Dionysus on a krater by the Altamura Painter (B32).[78] On the François vase (A7, **fig. 1**), the Dionysiac connection has comic overtones: the satyr mask on Ares shield may be seen as intended irony for his failure to bring back Hephaistus by force, where Dionysos and his satyrs succeed with the power of wine and feasting. Once again however, the Dionysiac connection can only explain a minimal proportion of the material.

None of the proposed interpretations makes full sense of the various aspects of symbolism inherent in the use of satyr blazons in imagery. The spread of the motif has more to do with the inherent qualities of the satyr, than with his alleged connections with the Dionysian gigantomachy, apotropaism, or some other tenuous symbolic interpretation. It is a decorative symbol, but it is not «innocent» or deprived of meaning. On the contrary, it is inextricably linked to the role of the satyr as a signifier, alias a symbolically charged figure colouring the general tenor of a given image.

Britism Museum Classical Colloqium, London 10–11 December 1982, London, 1986, p. 439–445. Dresden ZV 1653: M. Martelli, «Festa Etrusca», in H. Froning, T. Hölscher, H. Milesch (eds), *Kotinos. Festschrift für Erika Simon*, Mainz, 1992, p. 342–346, pl. 73–76.

[75] Pyrrhic dancing is connected to Dionysos in later times: Pausanias 3.25; Lucian, *De saltatione* 8; Eustathius, *Comm. to Il.* 16.617.

[76] Plutarch, *Alciviades* 16. On the motif and its religious significance, cf. P. H. von Blanckenhagen, «The Shield of Alcibiades», in L.F. Sandler (ed.), *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, *Marsyas* Supplement 1, New York, 1964, p. 38–43. On Megakles' reputation, it suffices to note an ostrakon from the Kerameikos where he is called *moichos* (S.F. Brenne, «Ostraka and the Process of Ostrakophoria», in W.D.E. Coulson et alii (eds), *The Archaeology of Athens under Democracy*, Oxford, 1994, p. 13, fig. 1–2. See *ibid*, p. 14, on two ostraka mentioning the *nea comé*, a possible allusion to the punishment of adultery, according to Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 849).

[77] Normally an allusion to descent or to an episode from his life suffice to identify the hero: Stesichorus, fr. 70 Bergk: Plut., *Moralia* 985B; Euripides, *Meleager* (*TGF*, fr. 530); Pausanias 5.25, 9; 8.1, 8 et 10.26. See also the studies cited *supra*, n. 4.

[78] It is equally possible that the painter had in mind a complete *mise en scène* of the Dionysiac thiasos: satyr on the shield, Dionysus arming, served by maenads or nymphs. An analogous treatment may be seen on the cup Berlin 2290 and Rome by Makron (*ARV²* 462.48; *Para* 377; *Add²* 244; *CVA*, pl. 87–89): Dionysos, the patron of the thiasos is shown twice, once as the mask–idol and once as a painting or carving on the altar around which the maenads dance. The third pole of the dionysiac thiasos is represented by the dancing satyr on the black–figure skyphos in the hands of an ecstatic maenad.

Chronologically, this pattern in the use of the satyr figure is exactly contemporary with the introduction of the canonical satyr figure in imagery.[79] It is certainly not a coincidence that satyrs appear in their role as shield devices almost as early as their use as decorative emblems in the form of heraldic protomai flanking a floral on three black–figured oinochoai near the Gorgon Painter.[80]

It is argued here that the decorative quality of the satyr shield device has more to do with the viewer than with the general meaning of the image. The notion of the satyr figure in the role of a signifier is apparent in such disparate images as those of decorated weapons, vases,[81] architectural structures,[82] furniture (especially thrones),[83] altars[84] and votive pinakes near herms.[85] Like the *bucranium* decorating the background of Dionysiac

[79] The view of J. Boardman, *Athenian Black–figured Vases*, London, 1974, p. 233, that the equine type of satyr is an artistic type created in Athens at the beginnining of the 6th century is still the more credible, despite recent attempts to localise his origins in Thrace. See also J. Bazant, «On Satyrs, Maenads, Athenians and Vases», *Eirene* 1984, p. 41–47.

[80] Athens, Agora P 24945 (*Para* 8.1bis; *Add²* 3; *Agora* XXIII, pl. 69, n° 723), Taranto, from San Giorgio Jonico (*ABV* 10.2; F.G. Lo Porto, «Testimonienze archeologiche della espansione tarantina in età arcaica», *Taras* 10, 1, 1990, pl. XLVI) and University of Berlin (*ABV* 10.3).

[81] For figures of satyrs on vases painted on Attic vases, see W. Oentorink, «Ein 'Bild im Bild'–Phänomen–Zur Darstellung figurlich dekorierter Vasen auf bemalten attischen Tongefässen», *Hephaistos* 14, 1996, p. 81–134. To his lists, add the cup by Makron in a private coll. in Centre Island, depicting a maenad dancing, holding a black–figure skyphos with the figure of a dancing satyr. (N. Kunisch, *Makron*, Kerameus 11, Mainz, 1997, pl. 118, n° 348). There is a wealth of comparable material, still unexplored, in Lucanian and Apulian vases with decoration, whether «black–figure» or «red–figure». For similar representations on Etruscan tomb paintings, see L.B. Van der Meer, «Etruscan Kylikeia», in *Proc. Amsterdam*, p. 298–304.

[82] See the furnace of Hephaistos decorated with the figure of a satyr on a column–krater in Caltanissetta, inv 20371 (*Para* 354.39bis; *Add²* 207; *ARFV*, fig. 174); compare the hydria Munich 1717 (*ABV* 362.36; *Para* 161; *Add²* 96; *Dev²*, pl. 87.1–2): a satyr like mask, but with human ears decorates a potter's kiln. Most interpretations of the two monuments stress the apotropaic function of the daemonic figure.

[83] Satyr decorating the throne of Hades on a shield–band from Olympia: *supra*, n. 25; satyr and maenad dancing, decorating the throne of Zeus, on the Siphnian frieze: *LIMC VIII*, pl. 537, Mainades 57. Even a fountain spout takes the form of a satyr mask: hydria by Hypsis in Rome, Torlonia 73 (*ARV²* 30.2; *Add²* 157; *ARFV*, fig. 44). The fountain is labelled *Dionysou krene*.

[84] See the altar on a pinax from Locri: P. Zancani Montuoro, «Tabella Fittile Locrese con scena del culto», *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte VII*, 1940, 205–224. An actual painted altar was once in the Robinson collection, in Baltimore: *CVA Robinson i*, pl. 57; compare also a painted perirrhanterion from the sanctuary of Alexandra at Amyklai in Laconia: *Xenia* 13, 1987, p. 11, fig. 6. One may add the *arulae,* small decorative altars found all over the Italian peninsula, with Dionysiac motifs. For S. Italy and Sicily, see H. van der Meijden, *Terrakotta–Arulae aus Sizilien und Unteritalien*, Amsterdam, 1993, nos MW 17–22, pl. 52.1, 93; A. Calderone, «Il mito greco e le arule siceliote di VI–V sec. a.C.», in F.–R. Massa–Peirrault (ed.), *Le Mythe Grec en Italie Antique. Fonction et Image. Actes du Colloque internationale de Rome, 14–16/11/1996* (CEFRA 253) Rome, 1999, p. 163–204. For archaic Rome, see D. Riccioti, *Antiquarium Communale di Roma. Terrecotte Votive 1, Arule*, Rome, 1978, p. 74, n° 2, pl. 2.

[85] See the lekythoi by the Bowdoin Painter, London E 585 (*ARV²* 685.162; *LIMC V*, pl. 206, Hermes 95c), Palermo V 687 (*ARV²* 685.163; *CVA*, pl. 23.4; *LIMC V*, pl. 206, Hermes 95b) and Karlsruhe 85/1 (*ARV²* 684.164; *Para* 406; *Add²* 279; *CVA 3*, pl. 41.1–3), the calyx–krater Boston 03.796, near the Washing Painter (*CB III*, p. 165, Suppl. pl. 24; *LIMC V*, pl. 266, Hermes 817) and an Apulian bell–krater in Brussels, inv. A 725, related to the Eton–Nika Group (*RVAp I*, p. 79, n° 94; *CVA 3, IV E et IV C*, pl. 2; *LIMC III*, pl. 633, Eros 462). It is impossible to enter into the discussion of the important question of the identity of the deity honoured in this sanctuary, Hermes or Dionysus. The Dionysiac connection, which is adopted here, is also stressed by F. Strocka, *Alltag und Fest in Athen*, Austellungskatalog, Freiburg, 1987, p. 26 and C. Weiss, *CVA Kalsruhe* 3, p. 81. Actual votive pinakes wirh figures of satyr: see a relief from Ibiza (A. Garcia y Bellido,

temene on vases of the 4th century,[86] the satyr figure or mask forms the minimal iconic sign which makes the surrounding pictorial elements enter in the realm of Dionysiac *ethos* to create a universe especially devoted to Dionysus and wine.[87] Other, less sophisticated aspects of «dionysianization» of ceramic production appear from the early 6th century on, in the form of head–[88] and statuette–vases,[89] plastic askoi,[90] face–kantharoi[91] and even Chalcidian eye–cups.[92] Far from being the «...creator of disorder, fashioning before the spectator's eyes a negative anthropology», a bestial anti–prototype for the civilized reveller,[93] the satyr is better understood as a vehicle of specifically Dionysiac connotations, even in such a *prima facie* un–dionysiac setting as the warrior's shield device.

Hispania Graeca, Barcelona, 1947, pl. CLII, n° 12) and a black–figure pinax from the Corycean Cave (Delphi, inv. MD 8657: P. Amandry [ed.], *L'Antre corycien*, *BCH* Suppl. IX.2, Paris, 1984, p. 96–97, n° 395).

[86] H. Metzger, «Le sanctuaire de Dionysos dans la céramique tardive», in *Recherches sur l'imagerie athénienne*, Paris, 1965, p. 95.

[87] Alternatiively, it can be argued that a more abstract notion of the sacred space, without reference to Dionysus, may be propagated in the image of a satyr. See the figurines of satyrs found in the sanctuaries of the major Greek deities: B. Alroth, *Greek Gods and Figurines. Aspects of Anthropomorphic Dedications*, Uppsala, 1989.

[88] The most ancient head vase with the features of the satyr is Athens 12476, a Corinthian specimen of 580 B.C. (J.H. Jenkins, «A Corinthian Plastic Vase», *JHS* 55, 1935, p. 124–127; J. Ducat «Les vases plastiques corinthiens», *BCH* 87, 1963, p. 444). Attic examples: see J.D. Beazley, «Charinos», *JHS* 49, 1929, p. 38–70; A.P. Kozloff, «Companions of Dionysus», *Bull.Clev.Mus.* Sept. 1980, p. 206–219; *ARV²* 1530–1552 et 1697–1698; *Para*, p. 501–505; *Add²* 385–388.

[89] East Greek: C. Dugas, *Les vases plastiques rhodiens*, Paris, 1966, p. 79, pl. XI.4–5: F. Utili, «Die archaische Nekropole von Assos», *Asia Minor Studien* 31, Bonn, 1999, p. 315, fig. 522–523; A. Adriani et al., *Himera I, Campagne di Scavo 1963–1965*, Rome, 1970, pl. XV.3. Attic: M. True, *Pre–Sotadean Attic Red–Figure Statuette Vases and Related Vases with Relief Decoration*, Diss. Harvard, 1986, p. 122–237 et 238–240, figs 13–14, p. 213–217, fig. 6, p. 218, fig. 7, p. 229–231. Apulian: Naples 81768, Naples, Santagelo 52 and Naples 16251 (*I Greci in Occidente. La Magna Grecia nelle collezioni del Museo Archeologico di Napoli*, Naples, 1996, p. 121, n° 10.26, 188, 204, n° 13.30 and 232, n° 15.15); Amsterdam (*Vasen uit de schenking Six. Allard Pierson Museum*, Amsterdam, n.d., p. 47, n° 38). Etruscan: lost askos in the form of a satyr riding an askos (Annali 1884, pl. B, 1).

[90] Archaic plastic askoi terminating in a head or mask of satyr: Naples RC 84900 and RC 84901: E. Gabrici, «Cuma», *ML* 22, 1913, pl. 74, n° 6, 6a and pl. 74, n° 3; Marseille: A. Hermary, A. Hesnar, H. Tréziny, *Marseille grecque. La cité phocéenne (600–49 avant J.–C.)*, Paris, 1999, p. 62 and 65 (examples from Baou de Saint Michel and Villeneuve–Bargemon respectively). Other examples are reported from the environs of Marseille and from Ampurias: A. Hesnard, M. Moliner, M. Bouiron, *Parcours des Villes. Marseille: 10 ans d'archéologie, 2600 ans d'histoire, Musées de Marseille*, Aix–en–Provence, 1999, p. 29.

[91] E. Walter–Karydi, *Samos* VI. *Samische Gefässe des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Bonn, 1973, p. 30; J. Manser, «Zwei ostgriechische Gesichtskantharoi», *AK* 30, 1987, p. 162–167, pl. 23. There is some controversy regarding their origin; Samos is the likeliest suggestion.

[92] A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, p. 111. For the Attic eye–cups and their relationship to masks, see in particular, G. Ferrari, «Eye–cup», *RA* 1986, p. 18–20; N. Kunisch, «Die Augen der Augenschalen», *AK* 33, 1990, p. 20–27, pl. 5.

[93] As is repeatedly argued by F. Lissarrague. For example in «Why Satyrs are Good to Represent?», in F. Zeitlin, J. Winkler (eds), *Nothing to Do with Dionysus? Athenian Drama in its Social Context*, Princeton, 1990, p. 228–236 (quotation from p. 236).

APPENDIX 1: CATALOGUE OF VASES

Vases are arranged by fabric, in a roughly chronological order.

A. Attic Black–figure

1. London B 382, Siana cup. Fight. C Painter. *ABV* 51.5; *Para* 23; *Add²* 13; *CVA 2*, pl. 9.1a–c.
2. Naples 132642, pyxis lid. Iliupersis. C Painter. *ABV* 58.119; *Para* 23; *Add²* 16; *Dev²*, pl. 22; *CVA 5*, pl. 1–3.
3. Paris CA 616, tripod kothon. Iliupersis: a row of warriors running. C Painter. *ABV* 58.122; *Para* 23; *Add²* 16; *Dev²*, pl. 20–21.
4. Athens, Agora P 20716, Siana cup. Warrior running. Related to the C Painter. *Hesperia* 20, 1951, pl. 31–32; *AJA* 55, 1951, pl. 9a; *Agora XXIII*, pl. 109, n° 1678.
5. Bologna 1437, ovoid neck–amphora. Hoplitodromos race. Unattributed. *CVA II, III He*, pl. 2.
6. Vienna 1672, Siana cup. Fight. Heidelberg Painter. *ABV* 63.8; H.A.G. Brijder, *Siana Cups II. The Heidelberg Painter,* Amsterdam, 1991, pl. 142b, g, h.
7. Florence 4209, volute–krater. Return of Hephaistos. Kleitias and Ergotimos. *ABV* 76.1; *Para* 29; *Add²* 21; Tiverios, pl. 92a; *LIMC II*, pl. 36, Ares 74; *Dev²*, pl. 23–29. **Fig. 1**.
8. Athens, Acr., fr. of plaque. Part of a shield, with a satyr's head as device. Signed by Nearchos. *ABV* 83.5.
9. Louvre E 876, dinos. Centauromachy. *ABV* 90.1; *Add²* 24; *ClassAnt* 12.2, 1993, fig. 10.
10. Berlin F 3267, plate. Ajax and Achilles playing a game. Provincial Attic. *ABV* 90.6; *Para* 33; *Add²* 24; D. Callipolitis–Feytmans, *Les plats attiques*, Athens–Paris, 1974, pl. 53, n° A II 11.
11. Florence 3773 and Berlin 1711, Tyrrhenian amphora. Upper frieze: departure of Amphiaraos. Lower frieze: Amazonomachy. Castellani Painter. *ABV* 95.8; *Para* 34, 36; *Add²* 25; H. Thiersch, *Tyrrenische Amphoren*, Leipzig, 1899, pl. 3–4; *LIMC I*, pl. 556, Amphiaraos 9.
12. Rome 50652, tyrrhenian amphora. Centauromachy. Castellani Painter. *ABV* 98.42; *Para* 37; *Add²* 26; P. Mingazzini, *La collezione Castellani, I*, Rome, 1930, pl. 53.2, 54.4, 55.1 and 3.
13. Rome, Conservatori 124, tyrrhenian amphora. Amazonomachy. Castellani Painter. *ABV* 99.50; Von Bothmer, pl. 9.2.
14. Athens, Acr. 607, dinos. Lydos. Gigantomachy. *ABV* 107.1; *Add²* 29; Graef; pl. 32–25; Tiverios, pl. 98a–b; *Dev²*, pl. 34. **Fig. 2**.
15. Munich 1732, oinochoe. Herakles and Kyknos, with Ares and Athena. Lydos. *ABV* 110.37; *Para* 44, 48; *Add²* 30; Tiverios, pl. 57–59.
16. Copenhagen 13966, lip cup. Enkelados, Athena. Lydos. *Para* 48; *Add²* 33; Tiverios, pl. 62–64.

17. Melbourne Univ. 40, hydria. Departure of warrior. Painter of Louvre F 6. *BABesch* 56, 1981, p. 43, fig. 1–4.
18. Salerno, inv. 148a, amphora. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Group E. G. Greco, A. Pontradolfo, *Fratte. Un insediamento etrusco–campano*, Modena, 1990, p. 197–198, fig. 318.
19. Vatican 347, amphora B. Fight with chariot. Near the Group E, the Group of Vatican 347. *ABV* 138.1; C. Albizzati, *Vasi antici dipinti del Vaticano*, i, Rome, 1925, pl. 43.
20. Berlin F 1718, neck–amphora. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Exekias. *ABV* 144.5; *Add²* 39, *AJA* 84, 1980, pl. 3, fig. 4.
21. Vatican 344, amphora A. Ajax and Achilles playing a game. Exekias. *ABV* 145.13; *Para* 60; *Add²* 40; *Dev²*, pl. 64–66; *LIMC VIII*, pl. 774, Silenoi et satyroi 187.
22. Boulogne 575, amphora. Warrior carrying dead companion. Near Exekias. *ABV* 149.2; F. Lissarrague, A. Schnapp, «Imagerie des Grecs ou Grèce des imagiers?» *Le temps de la réflexion* 2, 1981, p. 293, fig. 5.
23. Once Leipzig T 356, fragment of amphora. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Near Exekias. *WZRostock* 16, 1967, pl. 31.4.
24. Private, cup. Amazonomachy. Signed by the potter Phrynos. J. Frel, *Studia Varia*, Rome, 1989, p. 13, fig. 2.
25. Rhodes 15430, cup. Amazonomachy. Marmaro Painter. *ABV* 198.1; *Add²* 53; *LIMC I*, pl. 443, Amazones 18.
26. London B 364, volute–krater. Fight, with chariots. Signed by Nikosthenes. *ABV* 229; H.E. Schleiffenbaum, *Der griechische Volutenkrater*, Frankfurt–Bern–N. York, 1991, p. 485, fig. 10.
27. Istanbul A 34.2637, frr. of volute–krater. Gigantomachy. Unattributed. H. Metzger, *Fouilles de Xanthos IV*, Paris, 1973, pl. 48, n° 202.
28. Paris F 19, neck–amphora. Mythological subject. Affecter. *ABV* 241.28; *Add²* 61; H. Mommsen, *Der Affecter* (Kerameus 1), Mainz, 1981, pl. 25, n° 18.
29. Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg 2692, amphora B. A–B: duel. Affecter. *ABV* 245.68; *Add²* 63, Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pl. 12, n° 100; F. Johansen, *Greece in the Archaic period, Catalogue*, Ny Carlsberg Museum, Copenhagen, 1994, n° 129, p. 173–174.
30. Omaha 1953.255, hydria. Amazonomachy. Affecter. *ABV* 247.93; *Add²* 64; Mommsen, op. cit., pl. 97.
31. Baltimore 48.17, amphore. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Antimenes Painter. *ABV* 271.70; C. Bron, A. Kassapoglou (eds), *L'image en jeu*, Lausanne, 1992, p. 91, fig. 3.
32. Berlin F 1896, hydria. Fight, with wheeling chariot. Manner of the Antimenes Painter. *ABV* 277.11; *Para* 121; *Add²* 72; *CVA* 7, pl. 17, 18.2.
33. Adolphseck AV 213–217, neck–amphora. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Related to the Antimenes Painter. *Para* 123.12ter; *Add²* 73; *CVA 1*, pl. 8.1–2.
34. Tarquinia RC 3454, neck–amphora. Fight with chariot. Circle of the Antimenes Painter. *CVA 1, III H*, pl. 9.

35. Limoges 80.58, hydria. Warrior carrying dead companion. Circle of the Antimenes Painter. *CVA*, pl. 6, 9a.
36. New York 23.160.92, fr. of hydria. Fight, with chariot. Princeton Painter. *ABV* 299.24; *Para* 130; *AA* 1962, p. 774.
37. Christchurch 41/57, amphora. Kaineus with two centaurs. Swing Painter. *Para* 134.31bis; *Add²* 81, *CVA*, pl. 8.1–4; E. Böhr, Der *Schaukelmaler* (Kerameus 4), Mainz, 1982, pl. 56, n° 53.
38. Rhodes 14093, amphora A. Fight. Swing Painter. *ABV* 307.57; *Add²* 82; Böhr, *op. cit.*, pl. 80, n° 77.
39. Paris, CabMéd 223, neck–amphora. Herakles and Geryon. Swing Painter. *ABV* 308.77; *Add²* 83; Böhr, *op. cit.*, pl. 103a–b, n° 93.
40. Once London commerce, neck–amphora. Ajax and Achilles playing a game. Three–Line Painter. *Ancient Art in American Private Collections. A Loan Exhibition at the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, December 28, 1954–February 15–1955*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1954, pl. 76–7, n° 205.
41. Lugano, Bolla coll. (once Basel, market), amphora B. Herakles and the lion, with Hermes, Iolaos and Athena. Rycroft Painter. *MM* 70, 1986, pl. 38, n° 197.
42. Leyden PC 33, hydria. Fight. Leagros Group. *ABV* 364.57; *Add²* 97; *CVA 1*, pl. 12.3, 10, 16.7.
43. London B 306, hydria. Horsemen. Leagros Group. *ABV* 365.68; *CVA 6*, pl. 76.2, 77.3.
44. Geneva 15007, hydria. Gigantomachy (Athena, Ares). Leagros Group. *ABV* 365.69; *Add²* 97; *CVA 2, III H*, pl. 63.
45. Germany, private, hydria. Three horsemen and a man setting out with three dogs. The last one holds a shield. Leagros Group. M. Steinhart, *Töpferkunst und Meisterzeichnung. Attische Wein– und ölgefasse aus der Sammlung Zimmermann*, Mainz, 1996, p. 7°–73, col. plate, 5, n° 13.
46. Once Basel Market, frr. of hydria. Three horsemen setting out with spears and dogs: The last one holds a shield. Leagros Group, Antiope Group. *H.A.C. Auktion 9*, Basel, 1998, n° 31.
47. Chiusi 1812, neck–amphora. Ajax and Achilles playing a game. Leagros Group, the Chiusi Painter. *ABV* 368.97; *Para* 162, 170; *Add²* 98; *CVA 1*, pl..19.3–4, 20–21.1–2.
48. London B 158, amphora. Mounted Amazons. Leagros Group. *ABV* 368.105; *Para* 162; *Add²* 98; *LIMC I*, pl. 517, Amazones 714a.
49. Once London, market, neck–amphora. Two horsemen. Leagros Group. *Sotheby's, 17–7–1985*, n° 218.
50. Fukuoka Art Museum 6–H–245, neck–amphora. Athena fighting two Giants. Leagros Group. *CVA Japan 2*, pl. 62.
51. Sydney 46.04, hydria. Herakles fighting three Amazons. Manner of the Acheloos Painter. *ABV* 386.17; Von Bothmer, pl. 43.5.
52. London B 217, neck–amphora. Herakles fighting three Amazons. Painter of Naples RC 192. *ABV* 394.2; *Add²* 103; *CVA III He*, pl. 53.1.

53. San Antonio 86.134.43a, b, amphora. Nikoxenos Painter. Herakles figthing two Amazons. H.A. Shapiro and al., *Greek Vases*, San Antonio Museum, 1995, p. 112–113, n° 55.
54. London B 178, amphora B. Man with horse leaving home. Eucharides Painter. *ABV* 396.27; *CVA*, pl. 32.3.
55. Paris F 248, neck–amphora. Poseidon kills Nisyros «Maler der klagenden Troainerinner». *CVA 4*, pl. 49.7–8, 50.1–2; E. Kunze–Götte, *Der Kleophrades–Maler unten Malen schwarzfiguriger Amphoren*, Mainz, 1992, pl. 58.1–2, 67.1.
56. Berlin F 1703, amphora. Mock Judgement of Paris (Athena). Unattributed. Described in A. Furtwängler, *Koningliche Museum zu Berlin. Beschreibung der Vasensammlungen im Antiquarium*, Berlin, 1885, p. 241 (This must be the amphora cited by E. Gerhard, «Rapporto intorno i vasi Volcenti», *Annali* 3, 1831, n° 333: «simboli bacchici nello scudo di Minerva: Ann. l. c. Sileno itifallico»).
57. Frankfurt VF b 393, neck–amphora. Herakles fighting Amazons. Unattributed. *CVA*, pl. 43. III.
58. Munich J 97, neck–amphora. Fight. Unattributed. Described in O. Jahn, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung König Ludwigs in der Pinakothek zu Munich*, Munich, 1854, p. 28.
59. Munich 1533, neck–amphora. Athena fights with chariot: Gigantomachy. Unattributed. *CVA*, pl. 368.2.
60. Munich 1566, neck–amphora. Herakles fighting Amazons. Unattributed. *CVA 8*, pl. 410.
61. St. Petersbourg b 2368, neck–amphora. Poseidon and Nisyros. Unattributed. S. Gorbunova, *Chernofigurnie attickeskie vasi u Ermitaghe*, Leningrad, 1983, p. 95, n° 67.
62. Tarquinia RC 2462, neck–amphora. Two warriors with a woman. Unattributed. *CVA 2, III H*, pl. 38.3–4.
63. Vatican G 21, neck–amphora. Amazons arming (other side: Amazonomachy, with Herakles). Unattributed. J.D. Beazley, B. Maggi, *La Raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, Rome, 1939, part I, pl. 7.
64. North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh 74.1.6, neck–amphora. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles; Thetis. Unattributed. H.A. Shapiro (ed.), *Art, Myth and Culture. Greek Vases from Southern Collections*, New Orleans Museum of Arts and Tulane University, 1981, p. 92–93, n° 36.
65. Japan, private coll., neck–amphora. Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, with an elder, a woman and a dog. *Special Exhibition. Painted Pottery of Classical Greece from Japanese Collection, 30/9–6/11/1988, The Museum Yamato Bukanan*, Nara, 1988, p. 48–49, n° 14.
66. Once Rome, Panathenaic amphora. Athena. Bentz, n° 6.137, pl. 38 (drawing). **Fig. 7**.
67. Munich 1809, oinochoe. Amazon with a dog. Unattributed. *CVA 12*, pl. 51.1–2.
68. Tarquinia RC 2431, oinochoe. Amazons. Unattributed. Von Bothmer, p. 102, n° 133.

69. Once London, market, olpe. Amazon with a dog. Unattributed. *Sotheby's 10–7–1990*, n° 231; *Sotheby's 3–12–1991*, n° 354.
70. Once Naples, Savaresi coll., lekythos. Amazon carrying a dead companion. Capodimonte Group. Para 214.3; E. Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, Munich, 1828, pl. 57.1–2.
71. Syracuse 2353, lekythos. Amazon arming. Gela Painter. *ABL* 208.61, pl. 25.2.
72. Paris F 371, olpe. Two warriors setting out, with horses. Gela Painter. *ABL* 215.199; C. Fournier–Christol, *Catalogue des Olpés attiques du Louvre de 550 à 480 environ*, Paris, 1990, pl. 28, n° 46.
73. Karlsruhe B 306, lekythos. Amazon carrying a dead companion. Near the Gela Painter. *CVA 1*, pl. 14.11–12.
74. Athens N 944 (12473), lekythos. Gigantomachy (Athena and Giant). Class of Athens 581. *ABV* 490.24.
75. Karlsruhe 171 (B.2), lekythos from Agrigento. Achilles and Ajax playing a game. Class of Athens 581. *ABV* 492.74; *Para* 223; *CVA 1*, pl. 13.10; *Veder Greco. Le necropoli di Agrigente. Roma, Mostra Internazionale, 2 Maggio–31 Guglio 1988*, Rome, 1988, p. 152, n° 34.
76. Basel 21.538, WG lekythos. Athena and Giant. Sappho Painter. *ABL* 227.35; *CVA 1*, pl. 54.2–3.
77. Eleusis 708, epinetron. Amazons arming. Sappho Painter. *ABL* 228.54, pl. 34.1.
78. Taranto 143477, lekythos. Fight. Workshop of Sappho and Diosphos Painters. *CVA Taranto 4, Collezione Rotondo*, pl. 8.
79. Once Basel, market (*MM*), skyphos. Achilles and Penthesileia. Theseus Painter. *LIMC VI*, pl. 234, Penthesileia 23.
80. Athens, Kerameikos SW 39, lekythos. Enkelados, Athena. Unattributed. U. Knigge, *Kerameikos IX. Der Südhügel*, Bermin, 1976, pl. 23.7, n° 39.1.
81. Karlsruhe 56/80, olpe. Amazon arming. Painter of Vatican G 49. *ABV* 705.39bis; *CVA 3*, pl. 21.1.
82. London market (once Castle Ashby 36), kyathos. Warriors preparing a duel. Unattributed. *CVA*, pl. 24.7–9; *Christie's 2.7.1980*, p. 110, n° 67.
83. Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, coll. Finnigan, 37–19, plate. Athena, Enkelados. Segment Class. *LIMC IV*, pl. 128, Gigantes 217.

B. Attic Red–figure and White Ground

1. Paris CA 3662, stemmed plate. Athena, Enkelados. Psiax. *ARV²* 12.11; *Add²* 151; *AK* 22, 1979, pl. 13.3 and 5; *LIMC IV*, pl. 147, Gigantes 342.
2. Munich 2307, amphora A. Hector arming. Euthymides. *ARV²* 26.1; *Para* 323; *Add²* 155; *ARFV*, fig 33; *LIMC VIII*, pl. 774, Silenoi et satyroi 188. **Fig. 3**.
3. Munich 2308, amphora A. Warrior arming, with two scythian archers. Euthymides. *ARV²* 26.2; *Add²* 156; *CVA*, pl. 169–171, 172.2–4. **Fig. 8**.
4. Athens, Acr. 1037, WG plaque. Warrior. Euthymides. *ARFV*, fig. 53.
5. Rome, Torlonia, cup. Warrior running. Oltos. *ARV²* 59.56; *Add²* 164; Cohen, pl. 83.3.

6. Basel BS 436, bilingual eye–cup. Hoplitodromos. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 1705.6bis; *Add²* 167; *CVA 2*, pl. 1.1–4, 31.4 and 6, 38.1. **Fig. 4**.
7. Paris G 5, palmette–eye–cup. Warrior picking up a spear. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 71.14; *Add²* 167; *CVA 10*, pl. 9.2–3, 5–8 et 10.
8. Reggio C 1143, cup. Gigantomachy. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 72.19; *Ausonia* VII, 1913, p. 173.
9. London 1929.11–1.11, cup. Fight. Epiktetos. ARV² 74.35; *BMQ* 4, 1929, n° 4.
10. Princeton 33.41, cup. Fight. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 74.39; F. Frontisi–Ducroux, *Du masque au visage*, Paris, 1995, fig. 41.
11. Munich 2619, cup. Fight. Epiktetos. ARV² 74.40. Described by W. Kraiker, «Epiktetos», *JDI* 44, 1928, p. 192, n° 63 (with wrong number 2649).
12. Once Agrigento, Politi, cup. Herakles at Troy. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 74.42; *Add²* 168; R. Politi, *Sulla Tazza dell'Amicizia. Un brindisi di Raffaelo Politi al chiarissimo Teodoro Panofka*, Palerme, 1834, pl. 1–2; F. Inghirami, *Pitture di Vasi Etrusci²*, Fiesole, 1852, pl. 259–261.
13. Basel, Cahn coll. HC 1604, cup fr. Hoplitodromoi. Epiktetos. H.A. Cahn, *Griechische Vasenfragmente der Sammlung Herbert A. Cahn, Basel, Teil II. Die attisch–rottfigurigen Fragmente*, Hannovre, 1993, p. 7, n° 162.
14. New York 41.162.112, cup. Warrior running. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 76.69; *CVA Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collection*, pl. 47.4 et 61.7.
15. Tarquinia RC 1911, cup. Warrior running. Epiktetos. *ARV²* 76.73; G. Ferrari, *Vasi attici a figure rosse, Materiali del Museo di Tarquinia XI*, Rome, 1989, pl. X, n° 5; *LIMC VIII*, pl. 774, Silenoi et satyroi 189.
16. Florence, fr. cup. I: warrior. Manner of Epiktetos. *ARV²* 79.8. Photo Beazley Archive.
17. Rome, Villa Giulia, no n°, fr. cup. I: rests of shield with satyr face as device. Manner of Epiktetos. *ARV²* 80.9. Photo Beazley Archive.
18. Athens, Acr. 75, cup. Warriors setting out. Recalling Epiktetos. *ARV²* 80.1; B. Graef, E. Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1925, pl. 5.
19. Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 2572 and Vatican, Astarita coll. 811, cup. Fight. Painter of Londres E 33. *Para* 329; *Add²* 169; *Éros Grec. Amours des Dieux et des Hommes, Catalogue de l'exposition du Grand Palais, 6/11/1989–5/2/1990 et d'Athènes 5/3–5/5/1990*, Athens–Paris, 1989, p. 138–139, n° 69.
20. Once Basel, market, cup. Hoplitodromos. Manner of the Euergides Painter. *MM* 60, 1982, pl. 9, n° 26.
21. Vetulonia, n° 57, cup. Warrior running. Manner of the Epeleios Painter. A.Talocchini, «Ultimi dati offerti dagli scavi vetuloniesi, Poggio Pelliccia–Costa Murata», *L'Etruria mineraria. Atti del XII Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici, Firenze–Populonia–Piombino, 16–20/7/1979*, Florence, 1981, pl. XXIXb.
22. Malibu 86.AE.355.1–4, cup fragment. Fight. manner of the Epeleios Painter. *CVA 8*, pl. 403.10–11.

23. Basel, Cahn coll. HC 487 (ex Castle Ashby), cup fr. A: fight. B: renforts fasting. Apollodoros. *ARV²* 120.4; *Add²* 175; *CVA Castle Ashby*, pl. 41.2; *Christie's 2.7.1980*, p. 72–73, n° 40.
24. Boston 95.32, cup. Youths arming. Signed by the potter Pamphaios. *ARV²* 128.19; *Para* 131; J.C. Hoppin, *A Handbook Attic Red–Figured Vases*, Harvard, 1919, ii, p. 282–283.
25. New York 22.139.28 and Amsterdam 2228, cup. Fight. Wider Circle of the Nikosthenes Painter. *ARV²* 133.14+15; *Add²* 177.
26. Vatican 507, cup. Fight. Ambrosios Painter. *ARV²* 174.18; *Musei Etrusci, quod Gregorius XVI Pont. Max. in Aedibus Vaticanis Constituit Monumenta, ii*, Vatican, 1842, pl. 74.2.
27. San Antonio 86.134.71, pelike. Warrior dancing in front of a column. Nikoxenos Painter. H.A. Shapiro and al., *Greek Vases*, San Antonio Museum, 1995, p. 68, n° 68.
28. N. York 41.162.73, column–krater. Fight. Manner of the Göttingen Painter. *ARV²* 235.7; *CVA Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collection*, pl. 9.5, 7 and 8. **Fig. 5**.
29. Berlin 1966.14, psykter. Warrior. Myson. *Para* 349.77bis; *Add²* 202; M. Schlering, *Griechische Tongefässe*, Berlin, 1967, fig. 28. **Fig. 6**.
30. Munich 8726, amphora. Warrior. Flying–Angel Painter. *ARV²* 280.8; *CVA 4*, pl. 189.
31. Germany, private, cup. A–B: fight. Colmar Painter. *Mythen und Menschen. Griechische Vasenkunst aus eine deutschen Privatsammlung*, Mainz, 1997, p. 70–72.
32. St. Petersbourg 1598, calyx–krater. Dionysos arming. Altamura Painter. *ARV²* 591.17; *Add²* 264; *LIMC III*, pl. 369, Dionysos 610.
33. Bologne 290, calyx–krater. Fight. Unattributed. *RM* 84, 1978, pl. 26.
34. London E 575, lekythos. Departure of warrior, with woman. Unattributed. Described by C. Smith, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, III, London, 1896, n° 575.

C. Non Attic Vase Painting

1. Paris E 739, Campana dinos. Warriors setting out; fight. Painter of Louvre E 737–E 739. *CVA 21*, pl. 4.1–2, 5.1–4, 13.3–4.
2. Basel, private, euboean black–figured plate. Warrior running. Painter of the Basel Warrior. K. Kilinski, «Contribution to the Euboan Corpus: More Black–Figured Vases», *AK* 28, 1994, pl. 4.2.
3. London B 61, Etruscan black–figured hydria. Four warriors dancing. Micali Painter. N. Spivey, «The Armed Danse in Etruria» in T. Christiansen, J. Melander (eds), *Proceedings of the 5th International Conference on Greek and Related Pottery*, Copenhagen, 1988, p. 597, fig. 6.
4. Florence V9, Etruscan red–figured column–krater. Herakles and Kyknos. Group Vagnonville. S. Bruni, «Ceramiche sovradipinte del V sec. a.C. del territorio chiusino, il gruppo Vagnonville. Une propostà di definizione», *Atti del XVII convegno di studi etruschi ed italici, Chianciano Terme, 28 mai–1 jugnio 1989*, Florence, 1993, pl. XX.

5. London market (anc. Castle Ashby), fr. of Etruscan added red hydria. Fight. Praxias Group. J.D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase–Painting*, Oxford, 1947, p. 198, n° 59; A. Greifenhagen, *RM* 84, 1978, pl. 27, n° 3; *Christie's* 2.7.1980, p. 35, n° 20; *Christie's* 13.12.1988, n° 368.

D. Clazomenian Sarcophagi

1. Hanover 1897.12. Fight. Hanover Painter. R.M. Cook, *Clazomenian Sarcophagi* (Kerameus 3), Mainz, 1981, pl. 14–15, n° C 4.
2. London 96.6–15.1. Various panels illustrating fights. Albertinum Group. Cook, *op. cit.*, pl. 40–45, n° G 1.
3. Tübingen S/12 2862. Fight. Albertinum Group. *CVA*, pl. 16.2 and 18; Cook, *op. cit.*, pl. 69, n° G 17.

APPENDIX 2: TYPES OF SATYR SHIELD–DEVICES

Type 1 (non–equine satyr): A1–4

Type 2 (satyr–face in profile, in added white): A5, A11A, A17

Type 3 (satyr–mask in relief): A7, A9, A10, A11B, A12, A13, A18, A19, A21, A22, A26, 28–36, A41–A55, A57–A60, A62–A65, A68–A78, A80, A82, B2, B23, C3

Type 4 (satyr–mask in frontal view): A15, A20, A23–5, A27, A38, A40, A61, A67, A81, A83, B6–8, B15–19, B24, B30, C2, C4, D1

Type 5 (satyr–mask in profile, silhouette or black–figure): A25, A79, B9, B10, B12–14, B21, B28, B29, B31A

Type 6 (satyr–figure): A6, A56, A66, B1, B3–5, B11, B20, B22, B26, B31B, B32, B34, C1, D2, D3

Type 7 (interior decoration of shield): B33, C5

Unknown: A8, B25

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Fig. 1. Florence 4209, detail. After M. Tiverios, *Ο Λυδός καί το Έργο του*, Thessaloniki, 1976, pl. 92a.

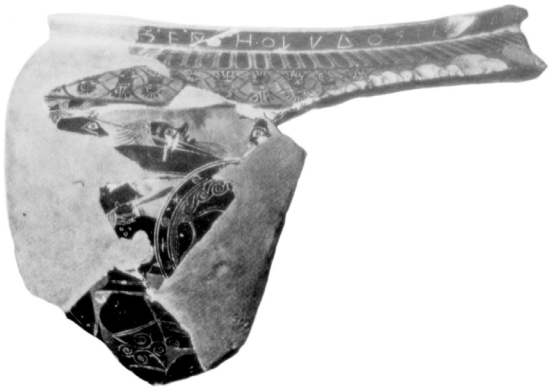

Fig. 2. Athens 607, detail. After M. Tiverios, *Ο Λυδός καί το Έργο του*, Thessaloniki, 1976, pl. 1a.

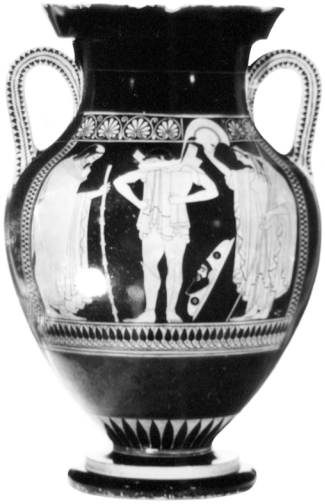

Fig. 3. Munich 2307. Photo Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

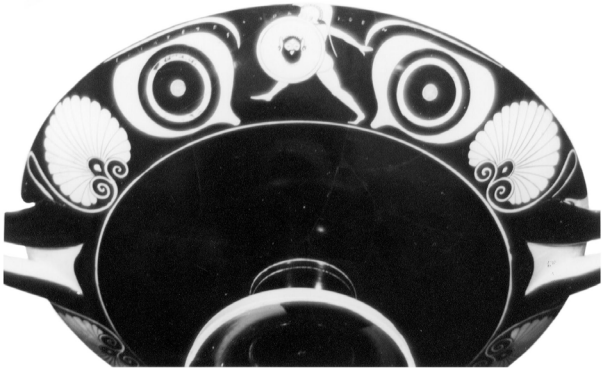

Fig. 4. Basel BS 436. Photo Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig.

Fig. 5. New York 41.162.73. Photo Metropolitan Museum of Art, Photograph and Slide Library.

Fig. 6. Berlin 1966.14.
Photo Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung.

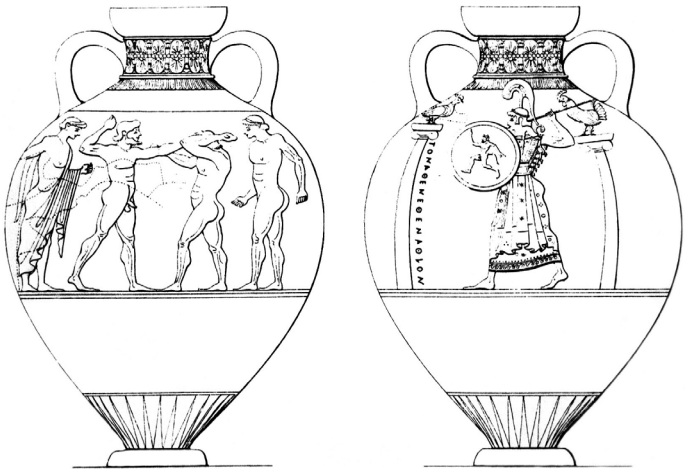

Fig. 7. Once Rome. After M. Bentz, *Preisamphoren. Eine attische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.–4. Jahrundert v.Chr.*, Antike Kunst Beiheft, Basel, 1998, pl. 38.

Fig. 8. Munich 2308.
Photo Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

Πτηνοὶ Ἔρωτες ὕπνῳ εὕδοντες

Η ελληνιστική γλυπτική και στη συνέχεια η ρωμαϊκή καθώς και η κοροπλαστική δημιούργησε μια μεγάλη ποικιλία τύπων κοιμωμένων ή αναπαυομένων μορφών (Μαινάδες, Ερμαφρόδιτοι, Αριάδνη, Σάτυροι, αλληγορικές μορφές του Ύπνου και του θανάτου, Ερωτιδείς). Ανάμεσα στους τύπους αυτούς δεσπόζουσα θέση καταλαμβάνουν τα μικρά παιδιά–Έρωτες (με φτερά ή χωρίς φτερά), με τα συνοδευτικά —δηλωτικά της ιδιότητας τους— αντικείμενα ή μη. Η μορφή του άδολου μικρού Έρωτα βυθισμένου σ' ένα βαθύ ύπνο, που υποδηλώνεται και από την ήρεμη αναπαυτική του στάση μεταδίδει πολλά και διαφορετικής ερμηνείας μηνύματα Άλλωστε ο ύπνος είναι μια ενδιάμεση κατάσταση μεταξύ Ζωής και Θανάτου. Αυτός ήταν και ο λόγος που ως θέμα ήταν ιδιαίτερα δημοφιλές τόσο στη λογοτεχνία όσο και στις εικαστικές τέχνες.[1] Πολλούς μελετητές απασχόλησαν οι τρόποι απεικόνισης και ο συμβολισμός των αντικειμένων που συνοδεύουν την μορφή. Η M. Söldner συγκέντρωσε όσο ήταν δυνατόν τα γνωστά γλυπτά του τύπου αυτού και την υπάρχουσα βιβλιογραφία και σε μια διεξοδική μελέτη της (διδακτ. διατριβή) συζήτησε όλες τις πτυχές του θέματος.[2] Φαίνεται ότι, παρά τις απόψεις ορισμένων, ο τύπος είχε σχέση κυρίως με τον θάνατο και γιαυτό χρησιμοποιήθηκε ως επιτύμβιο γλυπτό. Παράλληλα εμφανίζεται και ως διακοσμητικό γλυπτό σε κήπους και περιστύλια οικιών, όπως επίσης και ως ανάθημα σε ιερά του Ασκληπιού.[3]

Στον κατάλογο γλυπτών της Söldner προστίθενται δύο έργα που αντιπροσωπεύουν δύο διαφορετικούς τύπους Έρωτα κοιμωμένου που βρίσκονται στην αποθήκη του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, αλλά δεν συμπεριλαμβάνονται στον κατάλογο της Söldner:

1. Τμήμα αγαλματίου Έρωτος ξαπλωμένου επάνω σε βάση ελλειπτικού σχήματος (oval). Μάρμαρο πεντελικό. Διαστ.: 0,19 μ. x 0,15 μ. Πάχος πλακός: ± 0,025 μ. (εικ. 1–2).

Αρ. ευρ. ΕΑΜ 7647[4] (παλιοί αριθμοί: Κατ. Heydemann 1874, αρ. 785, Κατ. Sybel 1881, αρ. 3731 και ΑΠ 147).

Μικρός φτερωτός γυμνός Έρωτας με αναλογίες μικρού παιδιού ξαπλωμένος πλάγια ακουμπά το κεφάλι του με κλειστά μάτια επάνω στο μισολυγισμένο αριστερό του χέρι, από το οποίο μόνο το άκρο διακρίνεται επάνω στα μαλλιά του. Η λεοντοκεφαλή της δοράς επάνω στην οποία είναι ξαπλωμένος χρησιμεύει ως προσκέφαλο. Η δορά

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[1] *LIMC* III, 916, 937–942, 971, 1047. *Anth. Pal.* XVI, 210–212. Apul. *met.* 5, 22–23 και 6.

[2] Magdalene Söldner: *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Eroten in der hellenistischen und römischen Kunst* 1986.

[3] G. Koch, *Roman Funerary Sculpture, Catalogue of the Collections of J. P. Getty Museum*, 1988 και Θ. Στεφανίδου –Τιβερίου, *Τραπεζοφόρα με πλαστική διακόσμηση. Η αττική ομάδα*, 1993, 202. Της ιδίας, «Σιληνός καθεύδων», *AE* 1995, 74, υποσ. 38.

[4] Ο J. Svoronos *AthNM*, 678, πιν. CCXLIX, 10 το απεικονίζει, ενώ εσφαλμένα το περιγράφει ως τμήμα σαρκοφάγου.

καλύπτει τις ανωμαλίες του βραχώδους εδάφους. Με το λυγισμένο δεξί του χέρι στο ύφος του στήθους κρατούσε δάδα ανεστραμμένη (;) ελαφρά λοξά τοποθετημένη μπροστά του, όπως φαίνεται από το περίγραμμα της, που διαγράφεται επάνω στην επιφάνεια της λεοντής. Το δεξί φτερό διαγράφεται ελαφρά εξηρμένο επάνω στην επιφάνεια της δοράς, ενώ το ανασηκωμένο άκρο του έχει αποκρουσθεί· διακρίνεται μια οπή στήριξης (;). Πίσω από το φτερό διακρίνεται η φαρέτρα και το τμήμα του τόξου με δύο οπές στα άκρα για τη στήριξη του καμπτόμενου τμήματος του (χορδή). Το αριστερό φτερό απλώνεται κάτω από τον αγκώνα του αριστερού χεριού. Τα μαλλιά του σχηματικού ν στη κορυφή (χωρίστρα) μια πλεξούδα, ενώ στα πλάγια μαλακοί πλόκαμοι πέφτουν ως τη βάση του λαιμού με σπειροειδείς απολήξεις. Οι πλόκαμοι έχουν σμιλευθεί με καλέμι, ενώ στις απολήξεις υπάρχουν οπές από τρυπάνι. Το παχουλό σώμα και τα σκέλη που σώζονται ως το ύφος των μηρών αποδίδονται με μαλακό πλάσιμο των επιφανειών, όπως μαλακά και με επιμέλεια διαγράφονται τα τμήματα της λεοντής.

Θα μπορούσε να ενταχθεί στην ομάδα 1–2 ή στο τύπο Bergamo–Wien της Söldner[5] και να χρονολογηθεί στην εποχή των Φλαβίων (προς το τέλος 1ου αι. μ.Χ.–αρχές 2ου αι.).

Το μοτίβο του Έρωτα με την δάδα, που έχει μια ελληνιστική παράδοση πίσω του είναι πολύ δημοφιλές, το συναντούμε σε ανάγλυφα και τραπεζοφόρα[6] καθώς και σε τερρακόττες και στη συνέχεια στα αυτοκρατορικά χρόνια σε περίοπτα έργα Παρ' όλο δε, που η δάδα ανήκει στην εικονογραφία των ταφικών μνημείων, δεν λείπει και από τον διονυσιακό κύκλο.[7] Γι΄ αυτό το μικρό μέγεθος του γλυπτού και το σχήμα της έδρασής του οδηγεί προς ένα διακοσμητικό τύπου γλυπτό που στόλιζε κήπο ή εσωτερικό οικίας.

2. Άγαλμα ξαπλωμένου Έρωτα επάνω σε πλάκα. Πρόκειται για περίοπτο έργο. Μάρμαρο πεντελικό (;). Διαστ.: 0,58 μ. x 0,37 μ. (εικ. 3–4).

Αρ. ευρ. ΕΑΜ 5753.

Ο γυμνός φτερωτός Έρωτας με αναλογίες μικρού παιδιού (μεγάλο κεφάλι, παχουλό σώμα και σκέλη) κοιμάται ακουμπώντας στο αριστερό λυγισμένο χέρι, που το χρησιμοποιεί ως προσκέφαλο. Το δεξί χέρι από το ύφος του βραχίονα, το άκρο του αριστερού ποδιού από τα σφύρα και κάτω, οι άκρες των δαχτύλων του αριστερού χεριού και το δεξί φτερό μαζί και τμήμα της πλίνθου λείπουν, διότι έχουν σπάσει. Ένα ύφασμα ή ένδυμα με πτυχώσεις καλύπτει την ανώμαλη βραχώδη επιφάνεια, όπου επάνω της σε μια ήρεμη αναπαυτική στάση με μισογυρισμένο το επάνω μέρος του σώματος προς τα δεξιά κοιμάται ο Έρωτας. Κάτω από το αριστερό του χέρι, μισοσκεπασμένο από ύφασμα διακρίνεται ένας ανθοπλόκαμος (στεφάνι) με δύο ομάδες λουλουδιών (από τρία)· αν είναι ρόδα ή παπαρούνες δεν είναι ευδιάκριτο.[8] Μπροστά από τον Έρωτα και σε χαμηλότερο επίπεδο ένας σκύμνος με το κεφάλι στραμμένο «κατ' ενώπιον» αναπαύεται επίσης. Το πίσω μέρος του σώματος του έχει αποκρουσθεί. Τρυπάνι έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί για την απόδοση των λεπτομερειών του σώματος και των αυτιών του, ενώ χαρακτηριστική είναι η απόδοση του τριχώματος και της σχηματοποιημένης χαίτης του με το καλέμι.

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[5] M. Söldner, *ό.π.*, 244 κ.ε.

[6] Θ. Στεφανίδου–Τιβερίου, *Τραπεζοφόρα*, 105–108.

[7] M. Söldner, *ό.π.* 103 κ.ε., 311 κ.ε., 323.

[8] Πρβλ. για την παράσταση M. Söldner, *ό.π.*, 615 αρ. κατ. 36 (αρ. 15 Αρχ. Μουσ. Βενετίας, εικ. 5)

Ο τρόπος απόδοσης των πλοκάμων της κόμης του Έρωτα στο πίσω μέρος είναι χαρακτηριστικός: αποδίδονται με σμίλη σχεδόν επιδεδόγλυφοι και ακουμπούν στο ύφος της βάσης του λαιμού, ενώ στο εμπρόσθιο τμήμα στη κορυφή τα μαλλιά συγκεντρώνονται σε πλεξούδα και μικροί βόστρυχοι περιβάλλουν το μέτωπο. Η μαλακιά παχουλή σάρκα των παρειών, του σώματος και των μηρών αποδίδεται με επιμέλεια, αλλά χωρίς πνοή. Γενικά ο τρόπος απόδοσης της κόμης και του σώματος αποπνέουν μια «ψυχρότητα».

Το μοτίβο ανάγεται σε ελληνιστικά πρότυπα[9] και αποτελεί μια ελεύθερη απόδοση που στηρίζεται σε μια μακρά σειρά έργων που ήδη προϋπήρξαν. Ο τύπος εντάσσεται στην ομάδα Eros New York, ενός πολυσυζητημένου έργου, αλλά μάλλον πρόκειται εδώ για μια σύγκλιση δύο μοτίβων του κοιμισμένου Έρωτα και του Ύπνου. Η απόδοση της μορφής του Ύπνου δεν διαφέρει πολύ από το κοιμισμένο παιδί–Έρωτα, όπως και η παρουσία σχεδόν των ίδιων συμβολικών αντικειμένων ή ζώων. Ίσως υπερτερεί ο τύπος του Ύπνου και κατ' επέκταση ο συμβολισμός του θέματος: αιώνιος ύπνος–θάνατος.[10] Οι λέοντες και οι λεοντές συμβολίσουν τη δύναμη και τον αφηρωϊσμό του νεκρού. Τα ρόδα ή οι παπαρούνες είναι κι αυτά νεκρικά σύμβολα χωρίς όμως να λείπουν και από το διονυσιακό κύκλο.

Στη περίπτωση του γλυπτού αρ. 5753 έχουμε ένα επιτύμβιο γλυπτό, που ίσως στόλιζε τον τάφο ενός παιδιού, αλλά δεν είναι δυνατό να αποκλεισθεί και μια διακοσμητική χρήση. Με επιφύλαξη χρονολογείται ως αδριάνειο (2ος αι. μ.Χ.)

Ο τόπος εύρεσης και των δύο γλυπτών είναι άγνωστος, αλλά δεν υπάρχουν σοβαρά επιχειρήματα για να μη θεωρηθούν ως έργα αττικού εργαστηρίου.

Κατερίνα Ρωμιοπούλου

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[9] B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture* I, 1990, 326 κ.ε. M. Söldner, *ό.π.*, 11 κ.ε, 203, 291 κ.ε.

[10] E. Stafford, *Aspects of Sleep in Hellenistic Sculpture*, *BICS* 38 (1991–1993), 107 κ.ε. F. Sinn, *Katalog Vatikanische Museen Skulpturen* I, 1 *MAR* XVII (1991), 51 αρ. 23 υποσ. 1 για βιβλιογραφία. E. Schonenberger, «Eros δέσμιος–Hypnos–Thanatos» *HASB*, Heft. 15 (1994), 56 κ.ε. Πρβλ. και Παυσ. 2.10.2 για τη σχέση Ύπνου και λέοντος. F. Cumont, *Recherches sur Ie symbolisme funeraire des Romaines*, 1966, 407–411.

Εικ. 1. ΕΑΜ 7647

Εικ. 2. ΕΑΜ 7647

Εικ. 3. ΕΑΜ 5753

Εικ. 4. ΕΑΜ 5753

Εικ. 5. Αρ. 15 Αρχ. Μουσ. Βενετίας

GORTYNIANS AND OTHERS: THE CASE OF THE ANTONII

The epigraphical corpus of Cretan Gortyn is by far the richest for the Roman period of the island's history, and even in 1950 occupied the entire fourth volume of Guarducci's *Inscriptiones Creticae*. Systematic excavations undertaken by the Italian School of Archaeology —under both Collini and Di Vita— and the rescue and collection activities of the 23rd Ephoreia of Classical Antiquities have significantly augmented the number of inscriptions known from this site and its environs. Gortyn was the premiere center of Romanness for Crete from the first century BCE onward, with the result that many inscriptions preserved there name not Gortynians but Roman governors and other administrative personnel, Italian traders and members of trading families, and individuals from other Cretan cities with Roman populations, notably Knossos and Hierapytna.[1] Gortyn's position as the leading center of Romanness on Crete derives from her role as a center of exchange in the first century BCE to first century of our era, and then as capital of the double province of Creta–Cyrenae, at least from the time of Augustus to that of Trajan and again from the reign of M. Aurelius.[2]

In such a rich epigraphical context, it is increasingly necessary to distinguish between Gortynians and non–Gortynians, if one is to write a meaningful social history of Roman Crete. It is beyond the scope of this study to distinguish between all the Gortynians and non–Gortynians named in the epigraphical record of Gortyn, but in the meantime the Antonii can serve as an intriguing example of a name that has a commercial resonance as well as a political one when borne by men named at Gortyn.[3] Unlike nomina which are likely to be imperial —except in the earliest examples— the name Antonius should retain its original prosopographical significance, at Gortyn as well as elsewhere in the Greek East (Sherwin–White 1973, 309–10). This nomen is borne by three non–Gortynians at Gortyn from the first century BCE to the second–third century of our era: a Hierapytnan who received *proxenia* and *politeia* at Gortyn (**1**), a Cyrenaican who was *duumvir* at Knossos (**2**), and another Knossian *duumvir* who also served as *pontifex Cretensium concilii* (**3**). The same nomen is borne by four Gortynians from the first

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[1] The author presented a preliminary study of Gortynians and others at the second colloquium on Post–Minoan Crete, held in Herakleion, September 1998. For traders and members of trading families at Gortyn, see now Baldwin Bowsky 1999, esp 310–16.

[2] Center of exchange: Rendini 1997, 371; Romeo 1998, 265; Papadopoulos 1999, 202 and 236. Provincial capital from the time of Augustus, on the Antonian model that linked Crete with Cyrenaica: Rémy 1999, 165. Provincial capital to the time of Trajan and again from the reign of M. Aurelius: Pautasso 1994–95, 85–89.

[3] See **1**. In order to make this material as accessible as possible to the reader, it is presented within the text in a series of numbered, annotated entries (**1–7**) that present the basic information, citations, and relevant additional material. These numbered entries are referred to throughout the text by numbers in bold print.

century BCE to first century on to the late second century: a dedicator at Gortynian Phaistos (**4**), a likely freedman (**5**), a local magistrate (**6**), and a new priest of the imperial cult (**7**).

Particular attention will be devoted to the presentation of two cases. A new inscription of Gortynian provenance, which names [M?] Antonius E[---] (**2**), will be published in this article. This Antonius, of apparent Italian origin and Cyrenean or Cyrenaican residence, may be the descendant of *negotiatores* or of triumviral personnel, or both.

A recently published inscription from Ephesos allows us to identify Antonius Vareius (**7**) as a hitherto unknown Gortynian who honored a second–century proconsul of Creta–Cyrenae at Ephesos. It will also give us an unexpected opportunity to set the worship of Isis and Augustus in the context of the commercial community resident in the Greek East before and after Octavian's victory at Actium. Setting Antonius' dedication in its second–century social and historical context will further allow us to link Crete's participation in the Panhellenion with the evolution of the imperial cult at Gortyn as well as the return of senatorial administrators to Gortyn.

The Antonii who are named at Gortyn —whether Gortynian or not, especially in the critical period from the first century BCE to the first century— may at the same time reflect the presence of triumviral clients and supporters there, as at Corinth (cf. Spawforth 1996, 170). We need to re–evaluate the canonical notion that Gortyn was on the side of Octavian while Knossos was on that of Antony, with the result that one was rewarded and the other punished by the triumphant Octavian–Augustus.

Antonii from Hierapytna and Knossos

First, let us examine those Antonii at Gortyn who can be identified as non–Gortynians, one from first–century BCE Hierapytna and two from or via first– and second–third century Knossos. M. Antonius Kriton, the son of a Kriton (**1**) was honored with *proxenia* and *politeia* in first–century BCE Gortyn, and might have been connected with the triumvir who successfully contested Brutus for control of Crete in the region of Hierapytna. The connection may have been as much commercial as political or military, given the business interests of M. Antonius Creticus and his son the triumvir.

1. Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Κρίτωνος υἱὸς Κρίτων Ἱεραπύτνιος

Honored with *proxenia* and *politeia* in Gortyn, 1st century BCE, from Hierapytna: *ICr* IV 221 A.

Given the onomastic formula employed, M. Antonius Kriton was probably the first in his family to be enfranchised. Cretan Antonii are likely to share the name of M. Antonius Creticus' grandson, the triumvir (cf. Spawforth 1996, 168, 170, 176 for Antonii at Corinth). After the Ides of March Antonius passed legislation on the authority of Caesar's ratified *acta,* including relieving the island of Crete of *vectigalia* and making it no longer a province after Brutus' governorship (Broughton 1952, 316). A coin hoard appears to corroborate the return of Pompeian veterans to Hierapytna after Pharsalus, and conflict during the contest between Brutus and Antony for control of Crete (Raven 1938, esp. 147). A Lepidus won Crete for Brutus and Cassius in late 44 or early 43 BCE but only for a short time (Broughton 1952, 342). In 34 BCE Antonius assigned certain kingdoms and Roman territories, including Crete, to Cleopatra and their children

(Broughton 1952, 411). It may not, however, have been all of Crete, but rather the eastern portion —including Hierapytna— where the Ptolemies had a zone of traditional influence (Rouanet–Liesenfelt 1992, 175).

For other 1st century BCE Antonii, see the Knossian duumvir M. Antonios (*sic*, Svoronos 1890, 90 nos. 188–89; *BMC Crete* 26–27 nos. 75–76). The name C. Iulius Antonius should be deleted from the list of Knossian *duumviri* named on colonial coinage (Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 234).

Later Cretan Antonii include the Knossian dedicator Μ. Ἀντώνιος Κλωδιανός (Ricci 1893, 304–05 no. 13; not in *ICr* I,viii); and [Γ]άιος Ἀντώνιος [Πα]ρμένων (*ICr* I,viii 27). From Lyttos see Ἀντώνιος, [Ἀντώνιος] Καλότυχος, and [Ἀντωνία] Πρείμα (*ICr* I,xviii 105 A1, B2). From Hierapytna see Μᾶρκος Ἀν[τώνι?]ος (*ICr* III,iii 7, 33) and Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Θεοπόμπου ἀπελεύθερος (*ICr* III,iii 15). At Rethymnon see Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Λοῦπος, Ἀντώνιος Διονύσιος, and [Ἀντώνιος] Μοσχιανός, *ICr* II,xxiv 4).

See Rauh 1986, 432–41 for the Antonii as a leading plebeian family in the age of Marius that was extensively involved in eastern commerce and eastern affairs. This involvement is the context for not only M. Antonius Creticus' campaign to wage war on the pirates of Cilicia (436), but also the business contacts of his son the triumvir, including those with Greek friends like Kydas of Crete (439–41). See D'Arms 1970, 172–73 for the estate of the triumvir at Misenum, which had belonged to his grandfather the orator and to his father M. Antonius Creticus. Compare Oxé and Comfort 1968, 35 nos. 110–11 for an Antonius (?) and M. Antonius among potters.

In the Greek East, whether the name reflects trade associations or the patronage of M. Antonius the *triumvir*, Antonii are attested from the 2nd century BCE onward. Hatzfeld shows one L. Antonius at Delos (1912, 14, dated before 154/3 BCE; cf. *IDel* 1432, dated ca. 153/2 BCE; and Baslez 1996, 222, dated as early as between 160 and 157 BCE) and an L. Antonius Theodoros at Chalcis (1919, 384, second half of the 1st century BCE). Antonii are attested in Apollonia and Epidamnus–Dyrrhachion (Cabanes 1996, 93 and 95); Macedonia (Tataki 1996, 107) and Chalkidike (Loukopoulou 1996, 147); Corinth (Spawforth 1996, 168, 170, and 176); Eleia (Zoumbaki 1996, 192, 200, 202, 206); Arcadia (Hoët van Cauwenberghe 1996, 213); and even Syria (Sartre 1996, 242 and 247) and Gerasa (Gatier 1996, 257).

The commercial–political connection between the forebears of [M?] Antonius E[---] of Cyrenaica and Knossos (**2**) and the triumvir might have been just as complex as those of M. Antonius Kriton of Hierapytna (**1**).

2. [M?] Antonius E[---]

Named in an honorary inscription as *Cyrenaicus, duumvir col(oniae) Iul(iae) Cnosiae,* honored at Gortyn, 1st century.

On 15 May of 1980, I saw and drew an inscription sitting in the yard of the old Phylakeion at Ag. Deka, without realizing how remarkable it was to see a Latin inscription at ancient Gortyn (Sylloge Gortynos inv. no. 394). No. 394 was in the same position again, to be photographed in 1990. In its next home in the New Apotheke in Ag. Deka in 1994, I examined it more closely, especially the remains of line 3. Only in 1996 —in the Apotheke of the new Italian School Building— was it possible to photograph this inscription successfully and to receive permission from both the Archaeological Service and the Italian School to publish this stone (**fig. 1**). Double permission was needed, as the Diary–Catalog of the

Sylloge at Gortyn gives no indication of whether its discovery was the product of Greek or Italian efforts, much less a notation about its findspot or date of discovery. It was catalogued together with a segment of an epistyle found in November 1960 and delivered to the Sylloge at Gortyn (Davaras 1960, 460–61 no. 3; inv. no. 396) and another segment of the same inscription photographed in 1962 in the same Antiquarium (Manganaro 1974, II 38–41; inv. no. 397). Now, after these many years, I would like to thank Prof. Antonino Di Vita —as Director of the Italian School of Archaeology and of its excavations at Gortyn— and Mrs. Alexandrou Karetsou —as Proistameni of Classical Antiquities and Director of the Archaeological Museum, Herakleion– for granting me permission to publish this inscription. I would also like to thank Miss Joyce Reynolds for her considerate reading and helpful suggestions about the significance of this inscription.

The inscription is on a block of πωρόλιθος, 0.24 m. high, 0.22 m. deep, 0.47 m. wide; broken on both sides and bottom but perhaps close to the left–hand margin. The top surface has a shallow, roughly finished cutting 0.155 m. from the inscribed surface, suggesting that the block may have been a statue base or else made (or subsequently shaped) to fit into a wall or monument for almost half its preserved depth.

Letters of line 1 are 0.03 m. from the stone's top, letters of line 3 are partly broken off with the stone. Letters 0.055–6 m. tall in line 1, 0.045 m. in line 2. Letter forms include T–*longa* in line 1, R with curved tail. All letters are carefully inscribed, with pronounced horizontal apices. Triangular interpuncts separate words in lines 1 and 2.

The inscription can be dated to the imperial period, probably mid–1st century, on the basis of letter forms and the dating of other inscriptions that employ the dative case. Lettering is strikingly similar to *ICr* IV 295, set up in honor of M. Sonteius M.f. Ter. Casinas, also a *duumvir coloniae Cnosiae* in the first century.

Three lines are preserved from a dedicatory inscription that names the honorand in the dative case.

[M? A]ntonio E[---]
Cyrenaico II[viro]
C]ol. Iul. Cnosiae

1 Final E appears to be followed by a letter with an apex and no vertical stroke, e.g., T, V, X, or Y.

What we appear to have in this new inscription is the Roman name of a Cyrenean or Cyrenaican who was honored for an unknown reason at Gortyn and served as *duumvir* of the Roman colony of Knossos, at the time of or before this honor. *Cyrenaicus* is an ethnic, not a personal name (see Solin 1982, 623–24 for such personal names as Cyrene, Cyren(i)us, and Cyrenicus). Unlike the normal ethnic *Cyrenaeus* (cf. two of the *proxenoi* noted below; *ICr* I,xxii 4 A, 41ff. from Olous; I, xxiii 2 from Phaistos) or the Latin term *Cyrenensis,* which designate Cyrene or one of its inhabitants, the term *Cyrenaicus* can refer either to the city of Cyrene, or to the district around Cyrene, including the whole *provincia Cyrenaica* (*OLD,* s.v. *Cyrenaicus*). Our Antonius might then be from Cyrene or its environs, rather than from one of the other cities in the Roman Cyrenaica, whose ethnic he should otherwise have used. It is quite likely that he belongs to a trading family

naturalized there.[4] Reynolds has argued persuasively that the Antonii of Cyrene are Italian in origin, most probably *negotiatores* who were naturalized and passed into the local aristocracy, though native families of M. Antonii are also known.[5]

Whether our Antonius' praenomen was M(arcus) or possibly L(ucius) depends upon whether he shares the praenomina of the L. Antonii identified above at Delos and Chalcis and below at Taucheira–Arsinoe and Cyrene, or that of the M. Antonii of Rome, Cyrene, and Ptolemais. From Taucheira–Arsinoe three first–century inscriptions name Λ. Ἀντ. Εὐδαίμων, Ἀν[τ]ώνιος, and a father and son both named Ἀντώνιος.[6] From Ptolemais come Φλ. Ἀντώνιος Σύλλας and Μ. Ἀντώνιος Φλαβιανός.[7] In the environs of Apollonia, in the reign of Vespasian, we have the name of Antonius Bathyllus, who put down collateral for the sum Apollonius son of Parabates would pay to the city annually for the use of public lands (*AEpigr* 1967, 531).

To judge from the choice of the term *Cyrenaicus* rather than *Cyrenaeus* or *Cyrenensis,* Antonius might be from Cyrene and environs, a man Italian by origin and a long–term resident of Cyrene but not a citizen thereof, and so not eligible to use the normal ethnic. The Antonii of Cyrene, who belonged to the city's elite, tend overwhelmingly to be Marcii. Only one second–century Cyrenean Antonius bears the praenomen Lucius: Λ. Ἀντώνιος Σεκούνδος, a νεωκόρος (*SEG* IX 176, dated 180). Among the Cyrenean M. Antonii who bear Latin cognomina and therefore are likely to be of Italian origin —all at home in the first century— Reynolds has discussed M. Antonius Flamma, perhaps the same man as Tacitus' homonymous governor of Creta–Cyrenae at the end of Nero's reign, but certainly the father of the M. Antonii Aristomenes, Cascellius, and Gemellus who were priests of Apollo in the second half of the first century; the paternal grandfather of another M. Antonius Cascellius who should have been priest a generation later; and the maternal grandfather of P. Sestius Pollio who was priest of Apollo in 111.[8] Among the native families of M. Antonii at Cyrene Reynolds notes [Μ. Ἀ]ντώνιος

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[4] Reynolds' L. A[---] L.f. Flamma, attested at Delos, is apparently an Audius rather than an Antonius (Reynolds 1982, 678, citing *BCH* 3 [1879] 160 and Groag in *PIR*^{2} A 831; for the name Audius see Hatzfeld 1912, 18, citing *BCH* 8 [1884] 154 [where Andius] and listing a number of Audii at Delos, and *IDel* 1631).

[5] Reynolds 1982, 677–79; cf. Reynolds and Ali 1991–92, 264. Cf. Reynolds 1988, 483 for Latin names at Teucheira that recall Italian *negotiatores* who operated in the East Mediterranean in the later Roman Republic, with the result that their descendants, or the descendants of their freedmen or native clients, appear in 1st–2nd century ephebic inscriptions.

[6] Λ. Ἀντ. Εὐδαίμων: *SEG* IX 581 cf. Fraser and Matthews 1987, 173. Ἀν[τ]ώνιος: *SEG* IX 419 cf. Fraser and Matthews 1987, 49. Ἀντώνιος father of Ἀντώνιος and Γράνιος: *SEG* IX 578–79 cf. Fraser and Matthews 1987, 49.

[7] Φλ. Ἀντώνιος Σύλλας: *SEG* IX 361, 1st century; in Fraser and Matthews 1987, 433 s.v. Τενέδιος. Μ. Ἀντώνιος Φλαβιανός: *SEG* IX 367, 2nd–3rd century; in Fraser and Matthews 1987, 182, s.v. Εὐπορiανή.

[8] M. Antonius Flamma: Tac. *Hist.* iv 45. M. Antonius Aristomenes: Reynolds 1982, 678, citing *IGRR* I 1029; Oliverio, Pugliese Carratelli, and Morelli 1961–62, 361. M. Antonius Cascellius: Reynolds 1982, 678, citing *IGRR* I 1030; Oliverio, Pugliese Carratelli, and Morelli 1961–62, citing *SEG* IX 184; *AEpigr* 1995, 1631. M. Antonius Gemellus: Reynolds 1982, 678, citing Oliverio, Pugliese Carratelli, and Morelli 1961–62, nos. 3a and 110; *SEG* XXXVII 1671. M. Antonius Cascellius (2): Reynolds 1982, 678; her Antonius Maximus is apparently the grandson Cascellius, whose name was read as Maximus by Oliverio but Cascellius in Oliverio, Pugliese Carratelli, and Morelli 1961–62, no. 112 and p.361. P. Sestius Pollio: Reynolds 1982, 677; *BEpigr.* 1960, 199; *SEG* XVIII 744.

[Κερεάλις], priest of Apollo perhaps in 76, and Ἀντωνία Μεγώ, priestess of Artemis in 106–07 and daughter of Μ. Ἀντ. Σω[κλῆς?] ὁ καὶ Ἰγίσαν.[9]

After the first century, priests of Apollo and ephebes include Μ. Ἀντ. Εὐτύχης, ephebe together with Γ. Ἀντώνιος Ἀθηνόδορος Ἀντώνις (*sic*) Κτησίας, and Μ. Ἀντώνιος Πρεῖμος (*SEG* XX 742 II, 21, dated 161). Μ. Ἀντώνιος Ἰσοκράτης was an ephebe between 172 and 175 (*AEpigr* 1995, 1632). Μ. Ἀντώνιος Ἀριστίππος νεός was the priest of Apollo when Αἴλιος Ἀντώνιος was an ephebe (*SEG* IX 128, dated 224). Ἀντώνι[ος --] Ἀντωνί[ου] was priest in 286 (*SEG* IX 267). Ἀντ. Εὐόν[υμος?] (*SEG* IX 290 [and 289?]) was a priest of Apollo named in a graffito on a water channel behind the fountain of Apollo, where datable items are Diocletianic.[10] Yet more Antonii from Cyrene are named in inscriptions from the first–second centuries through the third century and broadly imperial period: Ἀντώνις (*sic*) Ἀντωνίω (*SEG* XXXVII 1699, 1st –2nd century); Ἀντώνιος Σεκούνδος (*SEG* XLIII 1190, 2nd century); [Ἀν]τώνιος Ι[---] (Oliverio, Pugliese Carratelli, and Morelli 1961–62, no. 112, post–Hadrianic to judge from the heading θεὸς Ἁδρ[ιανός]).

Whether our Antonius had a Roman cognomen or a Greek personal name again depends upon whether he belonged to the family of Cyrene's naturalized immigrants or to one of the native families of Cyrene, Taucheira–Arsinoe, Ptolemais–Barca, or Apollonia. If our Antonius was a member, earlier or contemporary, of the family of the Cyrenean M. Antonius Flamma —who served as proconsul of his native province at just the date suggested by the lettering of our inscription— a cognomen might be likely. Solin and Salomies (1988, 327–28) show a great many cognomina beginning with ET, EV, or EX. If he was from a native Cyrenean family or one of the other cities of the Cyrenaica, a Greek personal name might be in order. Fraser and Matthews show an equally great — or even greater— number of Greek personal names (1987, 152–53 for names that would be transliterated with EX–, 168–92 for names that would be transliterated with ET or EY). In fact three of our Cyrenaican Antonii, two from Cyrene and one from Taucheira–Arsinoe, bear Greek personal names that begin with the popular name–element EY–, consistent with the traces at the extreme right of line 2 of our inscription: Λ. Ἀντ. Εὐδαίμων of first–century Taucheira–Arsinoe (*SEG* IX 581); Μ. Ἀντ. Εὐτύχης of Cyrene, ephebe in the year 161 (*SEG* XX 742 II, 21); and Ἀντ. Εὐόν[υμος?], priest of Apollo in imperial Cyrene (*SEG* IX 290 [and 289?]).

That a Cyrenean or Cyrenaican is honored at Gortyn is nothing new, especially among the *proxenoi* of the Cretan city. Ἰάφθας Λύσιος Πτολεμαιεύς, and Γ. Λυτάτιος Κρίσπος, στρατιώτης and Πτο(λεμαιεύς), are attested in the inscriptions of Gortyn from the second–first centuries BCE, as are Φιλόξενος Ἀλέξιδος Κυρηναῖος, Τιμαγόρας and Πρόκλος Ἀλέξωνος Ἀπελλωνιᾶται, and Κόιντος Τήδιος Ἕλενος ὁ πρότε[ρον] Κυρηναῖος.[11] A new pair of Cyreneans of late Ptolemaic times, Εὔιππος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος οἱ Πτολεμαίου Κυραναῖοι, is

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[9] [Μ. Ἀ]ντώνιος [Κερεάλις]: Oliverio, Pugliese Carratelli, and Morelli 1961–62, 224 no. 4 and 361; Reynolds 1982, 679; *AEpigr* 1995, 1631. Ἀντωνία Μεγώ: *SEG* XXVI 1826; Reynolds 1982, 679; Fraser and Matthews 1987, s.v. Μεγώ 7 for the reading and date.

[10] Information about datable items kindly provided by Miss Joyce Reynolds.

[11] Ἰάφθας Λύσιος, Πτολεμαιεύς: *ICr* IV 211. Γ. Λυτάτιος Κρίσπος, στρατιώτης, Πτο(λεμαιεύς): *ICr* IV 215 C, cf. *SEG* XLVI 122 for the reading. Φιλόξενος Ἀλέξιδος Κυρηναῖος: *ICr* IV 212. Τιμαγόρας and Πρόκλος Ἀλέξωνος Ἀπελλωνιᾶται: *ICr* IV 206 I. Κόιντος Τήδιος Ἕλενος ὁ πρότε[ρον] Κυρηναῖος: *ICr* IV 214.

named on an inscription discovered in 1994 (Magnelli 1998, esp. 1291–95). These names appear in the nominative case, as is appropriate in inscriptions granting *proxenia* and/or *politeia*.

The use of the dative case in our dedication, however, is to be compared not with these or other proxeny inscriptions, but with a small number of Latin honorary inscriptions —where the use of the dative is standard— and with one Greek inscription —where the use of the dative is highly unusual— in the Gortynian corpus. We will never know what prompted the dedication to our Antonius, but it is tantalizing to find that three of these four inscriptions that utilize the dative deal with Knossians and perhaps the Capuan lands that lay between Knossos and Gortyn, and all four are to be dated to the first century BCE or the first century of our era. The Latin text dedicated to L. Plotius Vicinas (*ICr* IV 289), an Augustan proconsul, is in the dative while the Greek text of this bilingual inscription is in the accusative. *ICr* IV 290 was dedicated in the first century BCE by the *cives Romani qui Gortynae negotiantur* to Doia L.f. Procilla, whom we can identify as a Knossian.[12] *ICr* IV 295 honors M. Sonteius M.f. Ter. Casinas, a Knossian like Antonius to judge from his service as aedile, *duumvir,* and augur in the colony. At Gortyn Sonteius was honored by his wards whom he defended, presumably at the proconsular court. *ICr* IV 201 begins with the name of [---]ίλιος Α[---], in the dative, and goes on to contain a fragmentary text that just may refer to an imperial possession ([χώραν?] Αὐγούσταν?) that should not be sold or otherwise mishandled without incurring a financial penalty.[13]

What appears truly unusual is the fact that a Cyrenaican was *duumvir* at the Roman colony of Knossos, when or before he was honored at Gortyn in the mid–first century. The identity of the *duumviri* of Colonia Julia Nobilis Cnosus has long been a vexed question. We have several of their names on colonial coinage, which provides little more direct evidence than their very names and a rough date, sometimes relative to another issue. It is clear, however, that some unusual *duumviri* held office in certain circumstances.[14] In the reign of Nero, we might look to one or more events to explain the

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[12] Cf. the *duumvir* of early Tiberian date, Doius (Ashton 1973; Grant 1950, 17–18 nos. 50–51).

[13] Rouanet–Liesenfelt (1992, 183–84) has suggested that there were imperial domains on Crete, where medicinal plants were gathered for shipment to Rome, perhaps around Lyttos and the Lassithi plain. Magnelli 1998, 1300–05 would identify the man named at the head of *ICr* IV 201 as [Γάιος Μαμ]ίλιος 'Α[ντᾶς], and a *protokosmos* as well as recipient of *proxenia* and *politeia* at Gortyn. He would also entertain the notion that Αὐγοῦστα refers to Livia, honored as Iulia Augusta at Gortyn and Lebena (*ICr* IV 273; I,xvii 55) and assimilated with Ceres, even as the cult of the divine Augustus was celebrated, just after his death in 14.

[14] In the reign of Augustus it might the implementation of the emperor's arrangement concerning the Capuan lands that led to an imperial freedman being named on colonial coinage. One of the earliest pairs of Knossian magistrates was composed of Aeschines Caes.l. *iter(um)* and Plotius Plebeius (Svoronos 1890, 91 nos. 190–91; Grant 1946, 262 for the date). Weaver remarks that Aeschines is the only member of the *familia Caesaris* to appear on a coin legend (1972, 49 n.3). It just may be that Aeschines served his second term in the year that Augustus' arrangement concerning the Capuan lands was put into place, to judge from the presence of an imperial freedman and a Capuan colonist whose *familiaris* and homonymous descendant are known from inscriptions on the border of the Capuan lands, at Archanes and Karnari (*AEpigr* 1969/70, 635; Rigsby 1976).

Also in the reign of Augustus, it might be the destruction caused by two earthquakes that led to the coin legends that name Tiberius and a *prae(fectus) imp(eratoris)*. Coins that could be from late Augustan or early Tiberian times name M. Aemilius and Labeo and Ti. Caesar (Grant 1946, 262 no. 9), an anonymous

fact that a Cyrenaican was Knossian duumvir and honored at Gortyn. The circumstance that might best explain the presence of a Cyrenaican Antonius at Knossos is the proconsulate of M. Antonius Flamma of Cyrene, who was accused of malicious extortion by the Cyreneans after his proconsulate in 67/68 (Tac. *Hist.* iv, 45). Just before Flamma's proconsulate, between 61 and 66, a catastrophic earthquake had led to widespread destruction at Knossos and Gortyn alike.[15] It is just possible that the road–restoration of Livi<a>nus and the territorial arbitration of P. Licinius Secundus are also results of the great earthquake of Neronian times. Livi<a>nus is named as the proconsul who restored the road of the colony of Knossos, on the authority of Nero (Chaniotis and Preuss 1990, 200–01 no. 17; cf. Pautasso 1994–95, 97). P. Licinius Secundus was an imperial procurator who restored to the colony at Knossos a parcel of land previously assigned to Aesculapius, most likely on the western border of the Capuan lands, in an unknown year during the reign of Nero.[16] Each of these special circumstances might explain the honoring of a Knossian *duumvir* at Gortyn, as might another judicial proceeding like that which resulted in *ICr* IV 295, in honor of M. Sonteius M.f. Ter. Casinas.

At any time in the first century BCE and first century, Antonian contacts in the eastern Mediterranean —commercial as well as political— might well include Crete as well as Cyrenaica. Knossian *duumviri* are named Antonius as early as the beginning of the colony under Augustus (see **1**) and as late as the second–third century (**3**). Onomastic comparisons give us some further hints about the identity of other Knossian *duumviri,* as members of families with Aegean–wide trading interests. Soon after the *deductio* coins show the heads of Octavian and Agrippa, and name M. Aimilius (*sic*) and T. Fufius.[17] Another M. Aemilius appears twice more on coins that may date later in the reign of Augustus, once as a duumvir and once as a *prae(fectus) imp(eratoris)* (Grant 1946, 262–63; 1950, 137). C. Petronios (*sic*), colleague of M. Antonios (*sic*) at a very early date, shares

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duumvir iter(um) serving with an Augustus (Grant 1946, 262–3), and M. Aemilius serving as *prae(fectus) imp(eratoris),* apparently with an anonymous colleague who was *duumvir iter(um)* (Grant 1946, 262–3; 1950, 137). See Grant 1950, 137–8 for the notion that these coins, ascribed to the principate of Augustus, may conceivably have been issued under Tiberius instead. These extraordinary coins might best fit into the reign of Augustus, when two different earthquakes caused destruction in the colony and perhaps required more direct imperial attention (Paton 1994, 148).

[15] See Di Vita 1979–80, 435–37 for the great earthquake of 66; cf. Paton 1994, 148 for an earthquake recorded in the story of Diktys Cretensis, in the thirteenth year of Nero.

[16] *ICr* I,viii 49. See Baldwin Bowsky 1987, esp. 225–26 on the location of this parcel of land, near Rhaukos on the western border of the Capuan lands. These lands had been assigned to Aesculapius by Augustus, and the assignment confirmed by Claudius, before it was overturned under Nero.

[17] Svoronos 1890, 89–90 nos. 180–83, *BMC Crete*, 26 nos. 72–73, see Grant 1946, 262 for the relative date; cf. Hatzfeld 1912, 11, and Hatzfeld 1919, 282, for Aemilii; Hatzfeld 1919, 391 for Fufii. Compare Oxé and Comfort 1968, 6 nos. 24–26 for Aemilii, including an M. Aemilius. See Rauh 1986, 529–30 for the Aemilii, including L. Aemilius Regillus, as a family who co–operated with the Cornelii Scipiones. L. Aemilius Regillus was honored with proxeny at Aptera in western Crete (*ICr* II, iii 5A). For Fufii among the business families of Roman Italy, see Rauh 1986, 907–10. Aemilii are attested at Thespiai (Müller 1996, 162); Corinth (Spawforth 1996, 172); Eleia (Zoumbaki 1996, 200 and 204); Mantinea (Hoët van Cauwenberghe 1996, 213); and even in Syria (Sartre 1996, 247).

the family name of attested businessmen.[18] Among the *duumviri* of Knossos, Plotius Plebeius may have come to the new colony from a family with trading interests.[19] During the few years when C. and L. Caesar were heirs–designate to Augustus, D. Acu[---] Tam[---] and M. Acu[---] might be connected with an Italian trading family, and their nomen identified as Acutius rather than Acutilius.[20] (Calpurnius) Civis was an Augustan *duumvir* whose name appears to be shared with a prominent Puteolan commercial family and members of the commercial community at Delos.[21] His colleague Ti. Tarius bears the unusual nomen —if not the praenomen— of Octavian's admiral at Actium, who appears to have produced wine for export.[22] Varius was a *duumvir* later, when coins might show Caligula and Germanicus.[23]

It would be gratifying to see in our Antonius a man connected by kinship or patronage with M. Antonius Flamma of mid–first century Cyrene, but that is not the only attractive scenario. The Antonii of Cyrene and other cities in the Cyrenaica —as well as Crete— might owe their Roman names to Italian traders, Italian and Cyrenaican personnel involved in the economic, administrative, and military services of the triumviral period (cf. Kraeling 1962, 12, for Ptolemais), or both. Our Antonius should have already acquired his Roman citizenship and name before he came to serve as *duumvir* at the new Augustan colony of Knossos, and was honored at Gortyn.

Another Knossian Antonius (**3**) —whose father still bore the praenomen Marcus as late as the second–third century— was apparently *pontifex (Cretensium concili et duumvir) quinquennalis* at Knossos, and honored at Gortyn for an unknown reason.

3. [Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος], the son of Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος

Named as *pontifex (Cretensium concilii et duumvir) quinquennalis* in a dedication at Gortyn, 2nd–3rd century: *ICr* IV 443.

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[18] Cf. Hatzfeld 1912, 66, and Hatzfeld 1919, 399 for Petronii. Compare Oxé and Comfort 1968, 330–32 nos. 1294–1302 for Petronii, including L. and C. Petronius Coria of Arezzo and M. Petronius. See Rauh 1986, 239 for the Petronii as a senatorial family that occupied itself chiefly with commerce throughout the Reublic, and included the Arretine potters C. and L. Petronius.

[19] Plotius' *familiaris* Plotius Corinthus: *ICr* I, viii 17; his homonymous descendant Plotius Plebeius: *AEpigr* 1969/70, 635. The Plotii, who use the plebeian spelling of the patrician name Plautius, constituted a major oil–trading firm at Delos and Capua and are represented by an *unguentarius* at Puteoli and in brickstamps at Lanuvium (Hatzfeld 1912, 68–69, and Hatzfeld 1919, 400; Rauh 1986, 226). Plotii are attested in Macedonia and Asia Minor (Salomies 1996, 124 and 126).

[20] Svoronos 1890, 91–92 nos. 193–95, and Grant 1946, 262 for this duumviral pair. Compare Hatzfeld 1919, 383 for Acutii.

[21] Ashton 1975, 7–9 (cognomen only); Coldstream 1973, 167 no. 292 (both nomen and cognomen). Cf. D'Isanto 1993, 89; Hatzfeld 1912, 23; Oxé and Comfort 1968, 129 no. 395[1–2].

[22] Ashton 1975, 7–9; Wiseman 1971, 264 no. 419, with note of amphoras from Cisalpine Gaul and Pannonia. For an amphora found at Athens see *SIA* VI 40A, 10, 1 = *CIL* III 6545, 9–10 = 7307. For another at Ostia, see *CIL* XIV 5308, 36 cf. 37, 38.

[23] Svoronos 1890, 93 nos. 202–06; Demargne and van Effenterre 1937, 7; cf. Hatzfeld 1912, 88–89, and Hatzfeld 1919, 406 for Varii. Compare Oxé and Comfort 1968, 511–12 nos. 2233–41 for Varii, perhaps Varius of Puteoli if not the provincial potter Sex. Varius (Niger).

Antonii from Gortyn

Only when we have eliminated these three Antonii as non–Gortynians can we see what sort of onomastic record might reflect the presence of Antonii among the population of Gortyn itself. The examples are too few to be conclusive, and it may be that praenomina are more commonly recorded in the colony of Knossos, but we should note that none of the Gortynian Antonii bear the praenomen Marcus. Only one praenomen is attested among Gortynian Antonii, and it is the one borne by the triumvir's younger brother Lucius.[24] In Gortyn and the Gortynian Messara, Antonii include a dedicator at first–century BCE Phaistos (**4**, a Lucius) and an apparent freedman named on a first–second century statuette (**5**, without praenomen).

4. Λ. ᾽Αντώνιος ᾽Ινβέντος

Named as the giver of a dedication to Artemis at Gortynian Phaistos, 1st century BCE – 1st century: *ICr* I,xxiii 6A.

The Latin cognomen Inventus is borne by both slaves and freedpersons, and freeborn persons, and may indicate that the child was a foundling (Kajanto 1965, 298). Cf. ᾽Ιμβέντος, the husband of Πρίμα at Lyttos (*ICr* I,xviii 109).

5. ᾽Αντώνιος ᾽Ανδρόγεος

Named in the genitive on the base of a small statuette, at Gortyn, 1st–2nd century: Baldwin Bowsky 1995, 273–74 = *SEG* XLV 1291.

Gortynian Antonii of elite status include a local magistrate (**6**, again without praenomen), and a priest of *divus Augustus* and *dea Roma* now known from Ephesos (**7**, without preserved praenomen). This last Gortynian Antonius is attested outside Gortyn and Crete as a result of the role he played in honoring a proconsul of Creta–Cyrenae in his city of origin.

6. ᾽Αντώνιος Παραιβάτης

Agoranomos who, together with Tettius Macer and Timagenes son of Solon honored P. Septimius Geta when he was *quaestor pro praetore* of Creta–Cyrenae, at Gortyn, before 182: *ICr* IV 302.

7. [᾽Αν]τώνιος Βαρήιος [---]λος

Priest of the divine Augustus and Rome, dedicator of an Ephesian inscription in honor of C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus, a proconsul of Creta–Cyrenae who was a native of Ephesos, shortly after 161: *SEG* XLI, 965.

In September of 1996, the late Sara B. Aleshire and I were graciously allowed to go into the Domitian Depot at Ephesos, to examine and photograph an inscription published by M. Büjükkolancı and H. Engelmann (1991). As this

[24] L. Antonius, consul 41 BCE, who clashed with Octavian in the matter of confiscating lands in cities of Italy and distributing them among veterans after Pharsalus, and was beseiged in Perusia until he surrendered and was spared, to be sent to Spain where he apparently soon died (Broughton 1952, 370 and 381).

inscription was published without a photograph, I would like to provide one here (**fig. 2**).

Antonius is a well–known name on Crete and at Ephesos, as elsewhere in the Greek East (see **1**). We should nevertheless take special note of Antonius Varus, named as an *agoranomos* on a lead weight from third–century Ephesos (*IEph* 982; *SEG* XXXI 967).

Our Antonius' second name, used in the place of a cognomen, is not Varus but the nomen Vareius, which is as uncommon as Antonius is common. No one instance of a name so rare as this —scattered over the Roman Mediterranean from the Spanish peninsula to Rome itself and to Delos and the Greek East— can be indicative of a bearer's origins. The best explanation for such a distribution would be that provided by Italian traders active from the western to eastern Mediterranean, including Crete.

See Solin and Salomies 1988, 32 and 197 for the permutations of this name: Bareius (*CIL* VI 32416) or Vareius (*CIL* VI 28317 as a nomen, 33332 in the position of a cognomen), and Varae(i)us (Alföldy 1975, 10 no. 17; *CIL* I 2937A = *AEpigr* 1977, 838). Alföldy in turn cites *CIL* II 5141, from Lusitania for the name [V]areius, and *ILLRP* 1150 = *IDel* 2534, 20 (?) for Varaios. In the Greek world see *IG* XII Suppl. 261 (Andros, 1st century BCE) = *BEpigr* 1940, 92 for Γάιος Οὐαρήιος ὁ δημοσιώνης, a *publicanus* to be accused in next *conventus iuridicus* (εἰς τὴν ἀχθήσομένην ἀγοραίαν), i.e., of Ephesian Artemis; *TAM* V, 766, 11, from Iulia Gordus, for Οὐάρειος.

See Schulze 1966, 376 for Vareius as an old form of name Varius. Cf. the name Varia at Hierapytna ([Οὐ]αρ(ία) Ἐπικτήσις, Macridy 1912, 47 no. 6) and Knossos (Varius, Svoronos 1890, 93 nos. 202–06; Demargne and Van Effenterre 1937, 7; Λ. Βάριος Σάτρι[ος] Χαίριδος, Baldwin Bowsky 1995, 271–73).

Gor[---] is not likely to be a place name in the Ephesian hinterland, as the editors suggest. See Talbert 2000, II 941, for the lack of place names that begin with these three letters in the region of Ephesos. Gordion in Phrygia (Talbert 2000, II 961) was no longer inhabited during this period. Iulia Gordus in the region of Pergamon (Talbert 2000, II 847) —where the rare name Vareius is attested in an inscription that also names two women with the common name Antonia— is not a likely candidate on other grounds.

First, the place name in our inscription should begin with the letters Γορ-. While coins of Iulia Gordos occasionally use the simple place name Γόρδος or Γορδηνῶν, inscriptions use the full title ὁ Ἰουλιέων Γορδηνῶν, Ἰουλεῖς Γορδηνοί, or Ἰουλία Γόρδος (*TAM* V.1, p.224; cf. Robert 1949, 214–15; Hermann 1970, 100–02 no. 3; Hermann 1974, 440). Only one Ephesian inscription names Ἰουλιεῖς Γορδηνοί, in part of a list of all the *conventus* and communities in the province of Asia Minor (*IEph* 13 I 8–9).

Second, Antonii do not appear among the magistrates of this city, who bear overwhelmingly imperial names from Iulius —like the city itself— to Aurelius (*TAM* V.1, p.226).

Third, Iulia Gordus is not known to have had a priest of Rome —much less a priest of the divine Augustus and Rome, as below— despite the appearance of Θεὰ Ῥώμη on the city's imperial coins (*TAM* V, p.226). See Mellor for republican cults of Θεὰ Ῥώμη elsewhere in Lydia —at Sardis, Thyatira, Apollonis, Nierocaesarea, Nysa, and Tripolis, but not at Iulia Gordus (1975, 71–74 and 220–21). See also Price for imperial cults of Rome, Rome and Julius Caesar, Rome and Augustus in Asia Minor —on Samos, at

Pergamon, Ephesos, Mylasa, Nicaea, and Ancyra— but again not at Iulia Gordus (1984, 250, 252, 254, 262, 266, 267–68).

It is thus highly probable that Γορ[---] is Gortyn instead, the capital of Creta–Cyrenae, which does appear in inscriptions with a one–word place name (*ICr* IV *praef. geogr.* 15–16), and did have a cult of Augustus and Rome. Cretan Gortyn is, moreover, the only place name beginning with these three letters, after the preposition ἐν, to be found among the inscriptions collected in PHI 1991–96. The phrase appears mostly in inscriptions of hellenistic date, but continued to be used in the imperial period at Lebena (*ICr* I,xvii 42, a marble epistyle with ἐν Γόρ[τυνι] visible in the first register) and second–century Hierapytna (*SEG* XXXII 871, a fragmentary stele of public nature, with [---]στούντων ἐν Γόρ/[τυνι ? ---] in the fifth line), and at Thespiai (*IG* VII, 1859, ἐν Γόρτυν[ι] / κοινὸν [Κρητῶν] / τὸν ἰσ‹ο›[λύμπιο]/ν παγ[κράτιον] / πα[ίδων], without date).

Our Gortynian Antonius can be identified first as ἱερεὺς θεοῦ [Σεβα]στοῦ, at Gortyn rather than Ephesos or its environs.[25] The best restoration is [Σεβα]στοῦ, despite the fact that it requires four letters and not three as the stone might suggest. The slender Β in this inscription (lines 6–8) increases the likelihood that this is the correct reading. A priesthood of the divine Augustus is, moreover, attested at Gortyn and in eastern Crete. *ICr* IV 295 attests the Latin title, *sacerdos divi Augusti* for a Knossian honored at Gortyn, M. Sonteius M.f. Ter. Casinas. *ICr* IV 278 uses the same title for L. Naevius Exacestas, while labelling Fl. Titianus *sacerdos designatus Divi Traiani*. *ICr* IV 418 has been restored to read [ἀρχιε]/ρεὺς Θεοῦ Σ[εβαστοῦ] but the restoration could equally well be simply [ἱε]/ρεὺς. The term ἀρχιερεύς is attested for a high priest of the Cretan Koinon who set up images in the precinct of Rome and Augustus —we know not where— in the reign of Domitian.[26]

Antonius was not only priest of the divine Augustus but of a feminine cult figure, καὶ τῆς ἐν Γόρ[τυνι Ῥώμης]. In Greek a prepositional phrase can be placed between the article and its noun, to modify the noun. As this inscription was erected and no doubt carved in Ephesos, we will look to Ephesian formulae, which are careful to distinguish between that which is in Ephesos and that which is not.[27] Here, the formula τῆς ἐν

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[25] Possible restorations for [---]στοῦ include [Αὐγου]στοῦ, [Μεγι]στοῦ, [Σεβα]στοῦ, and [Ὑψι]στοῦ. Of these [Αὐγου]στοῦ is most uncommon, especially at Ephesos and elsewhere in the Greek East where [Σεβα]στοῦ would be preferred (cf. Magnelli 1998, 1301). [Μεγι]στοῦ almost always refers to a priesthood at Rome, that of *pontifex maximus*, routinely held by the emperor. Dedications to *theos hypsistos* are well attested at Gortyn and elsewhere in Crete, at Chersonesos, Knossos, Sybritos, Lappa and perhaps Eleutherna, but not together with another deity as required here. See Kritzas 1990, 7; from Lato, *ICr* I,xvi 24, hellenistic, Διὸς ὑψίστοιο; from Eleutherna, *SEG* XXXIX 958, as read by Prof. Y. Tzifopoulos (forthcoming) from Lappa, an unpublished inscription communicated by Prof. Y. Tzifopoulos of the University of Crete, Rethymnon.

[26] *SEG* XXVIII 758 = *ICr* III,ix 10, which happens to include the term Γόρτυνι. Cf. T. Fl. Sulpicianus Dorion of Hierapytna, who was *pontifex Cretensium concilii* when the Koinon honored Hadrian, at Gortyn, in 129 (*ICr* IV 275).

[27] Note the confident, even flamboyant lettering, especially the *upsilon* of line 7 (plate 2). In Crete, the examples are once again mostly hellenistic in date, but from the imperial period see *ICr* IV 299 for the phrase [---]ριανῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ; *SEG* XXVIII 758, from eastern Crete, for the phrase ἐν τῷ τῆς [Ῥώμης καὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τεμένει]. At Ephesos, inscriptions take care to denote the temples which are in Smyrna (*IEph* 3072), the temple in Pergamon (*IEph* 1393), those singing of the divine Augustus in Pergamon (*IEph* 17, 57), the most famous *demos* of those in Asia (Kos, *IEph* 2055), the Olympian games in Pisa (*IEph* 1133, 1609,

Γόρ[τυνι Ῥώμης] results from a need to distinguish another cult of Roma from Ephesos' own.

Finally, it is the evolution of the Gortynian cult of the divine Augustus and the goddess Roma that provides the critical context for Antonius' dedication in honor of C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus, shortly after his proconsulate of Creta–Cyrenae.

From Isis to Augustus

What brings together the twin themes of trade and politics that underlie the Roman name Antonius is the evolution of the imperial cult at Gortyn from the Julio–Claudian period to the Antonine. C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus apparently had an opportunity to earn provincial gratitude during his proconsulate in Creta–Cyrene, after which he was honored back at Ephesos, his family's *domus*.[28] At this date the proconsular seat was presumably at Cyrene, where Titianus made a dedication during his proconsulate; a dedication later in the reign of M. Aurelius, to P. Septimius Geta, may be an early signal of its return to Gortyn.[29] We may well ask, then, just what Titianus did to earn Gortynian gratitude, in the form of this honorary inscription.

Mellor gives short shrift to the cult of Roma in Crete, but the epigraphical and archaeological record shows something quite different (Mellor 1975, 70). There was a cult of Rome and Augustus or the Augusti, in the Greek agora of Gortyn if not also in the so–called Praetorium complex.[30] Certainly some of the inscriptions, sculpture, and portraiture that attest to the imperial cult in Gortyn come from near or within the Praetorium.[31] Di Vita recently identified Collini's Temple «of the divine Augustus» (or Augusti) as a temple of the Egyptian deities instead, built in that form in the reign of M. Aurelius, and has reminded us that a Roman building containing statues of the Julio–

1615), those in Delphi (*IEph* 1131), the games in Macedonia (*IEph* 2072), the commander of the fleet in Moesia and the bank of the Danube (*IEph* 620, 8–9 in Latin, 18–19 in Greek), and the curator of public works in Rome (*IEph* 3028, 5102).

[28] *PIR*^{2} C 104. The proconsul Titianus is otherwise known from an Eleusinian inscription in honor of his niece Menandra (*IG* II/III^2 4071). The Eleusinian inscription presents Titianus' full *cursus honorum*, culminating with the proconsulate of Crete and Cyrene. *IG* II/III^2 4071 labels C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus ἡγεμὼν Κρήτης while *AEpigr* 1919, 95 gives the full title ἀνθύπατος Κρήτης καὶ Κυρήνης. See Mason 1974, 148 for this unusual example of the term ἡγεμών applied to a proconsul.

[29] Titianus' dedication to Cyrene: *AEpigr* 1919, 95; Oliverio 1916, 183–84 no. 3. Dedication to Geta: *ICr* IV 302, dated before 182 by Guarducci; Pautasso 1994–95, 85–89.

[30] See Portale 1998, 508 for a distribution pattern in which iconic statues were concentrated in the area of the Odeion, the temple of the Egyptian divinities, and the zone of the Praetorium. Until very recently, a hall or temple located in the eastern portion of the Praetorium complex was thought to be dedicated to the *numen* of the emperor and then to comprise a temple of the divine Augustus or Augusti. See, e.g., Di Vita, La Rosa, and Rizzo 1984, 72; *ASAtene* 66–67, 1988–89, 470–71; *ASAtene* 68–69, 1990–91, 436 and 470; *AR* 1992–93, 67; *AR* 1993–94, 73.

[31] *ICr* IV 270, has been restored to read *[Romae] et Augu[sto?]*, found as it was with the head of a goddess adorned with a mural crown and with *ICr* IV 333, which mentions toppled statues of the emperors at a crossroads near the Pythion which was repaired and refurbished in 169, presumably after an earthquake (see Di Vita 1979–80, 437). In addition to this inscription from near the ruins of the Pythion, three of the inscriptions connected with the imperial cult are from the area of the Praetorium itself (*ICr* IV 277, 287, and 295).

Claudian family was in the Greek agora at the foot of the Acropolis.[32] Inscriptions and other finds that attest to the imperial cult in Gortyn also belong to the area of the Gortynian agora.[33] The placement of a religious structure, and one serving the imperial cult, in the Greek agora of a provincial city is consistent with what has been seen in the Augustan agoras of Athens, Ephesos, and Cyrene.[34] At Ephesos a temple in the center of the agora, dated to the second half of the first century BCE, contained finds that suggested some association with Egypt, Cleopatra–Isis and M. Antonius–Dionysos–Osiris.[35] This temple was initially identified as one dedicated to Isis, and later as a temple of Augustus.[36]

The Praetorium hall or temple of Gortyn might be a place where the celebration of the imperial cult was connected with the administration of justice. The parallels from Cyrene's Basilica of the Forum–Caesareum suggest that statues of Tyche or Isis–Tyche would be at home alongside images of the imperial family, in a new prestigious public building that symbolized Roman power, situated along one of the principal axes of the Roman city (Luni–Cellini 1999, 29). At Gortyn recent excavations have revealed a Hellenistic stadium and a gymnasium, south and west of the so–called temple of the *divi Augusti*.[37] Porro's first campaign in the Praetorium (1912) revealed two marble statues, and on the basis of Porro's discoveries Guarducci supposed the existence of a small Isieion in the Praetorium.[38] Both are now identified as Isis–Tyche and Di Vita's campaign of 1999 discovered a section of a female marble statue —identified as a Tyche— that could prove to belong to the original statue of the temple.[39] Magnelli has

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[32] Di Vita 1994–95, 7; cf. *AR* 1997–98, 113; *AR* 1998–99, 113–14.

[33] *ICr* IV 269, east of the ruins of the Odeum; 273, among the ruins of the acropolis theater; 288, found on the acropolis; 278 and 418 found near H. Titos. *ICr* IV 272, dedicated *numini ac providentiae Ti. Caesar. et senatus,* was found between the ruins of H. Titos and the Odeion. *ICr* IV 416, which appears to refer to imperial holidays and even an altar, was found near H. Titos. See Romeo 1998, 44 for the location of the civic center of imperial Gortyn in the area between the basilica of H. Titos and the remains of the Odeion. See Portale 1998, 495–600 for the Julio–Claudian dynastic series, set up in front of a building sacred to Augustus, whose epistyle was found in the Agora. A second–century statue of the Fortuna–Tyche type, favored for the representation of empresses, was also found in this part of Gortyn (Romeo 1998, 44).

[34] Cf. Spawforth 1997, esp. 186–88 on the imperial cult in the Athenian Agora and on the Acropolis; 189–91 on the collective cult of the *Sebastoi,* with imperial images concentrated in a particular sacred space in the time of Claudius and Nero. Cf. Walker 1997, 69–71 on religious structures, especially those devoted to the imperial cult, in the agoras of Athens, Ephesos, and Cyrene.

[35] The finds that led to the identification of this temple as one of Isis include an Ammon head in black stone, an Egyptianizing terracotta statue, a fragment of a Harpocrates statuette, and bronze bells that may be part of a sistrum (Rogers 1991, 88; Andreae 1982, 69–90; Jobst 1980, 248; cf. Alzinger 1972–73, 283–94).

[36] Jobst (1980, 257) concludes that an interpretation of the Ephesian temple as one of Augustus (and Roma) is more likely than one connecting it with Antony–Dionysos–Osiris and Cleopatra–Isis. Cf. Price 1984, 254. Rogers prefers to call it the «disputed temple of Isis» (1991, 90).

[37] *AR* 1998–99, 113. In Cyrene a Hellenistic public gymnasium was replaced, at the beginning of the imperial period, by a citizen Forum that included a civil basilica (Luni–Cellini 1999, 27–29).

[38] Di Vita 1994–95, 30–31; *ICr* IV *praef.hist.,* 11.

[39] *AR* 1998–99, 114. In Cyrene's basilica, the central niche of the apse contained a group of marble imperial images, while niches to each side contained a statue group that included Nemesis, Tyche, possibly Themis, and three other figures likely connected with both the imperial cult and the administration of justice (Luni–Cellini 1999, 31–34 and 44–46).

argued that the second–century Praetorium temple was still dedicated in honor of the *divina domus*.[40]

The material finds at Ephesos, Cyrene, and Gortyn suggest that, whether a building was dedicated to the imperial cult in a city's agora or in a new civic structure or in both, one need not choose between the cults of Isis–Tyche and the imperial family. The human connection between the cult of Isis and that of the deified Julius or Augustus might be the Romans historically resident in each city, given the particular devotion to Isis and Serapis on the part of Italian traders at hellenistic Delos.[41] Textual evidence attests a cult of Dea Roma and Divus Iulius founded by Romans resident in Ephesos, who were acting with Octavian's permission (Walker 1997, 70, citing Dio li 20, 6). At Cyrene, Roman businessmen were organized into a group in 67 BCE at the latest, and perhaps as early as before 75 BCE (Reynolds 1962, 98 no. 4 and 101). At Gortyn, an organized community of *negotiatores* is attested from the first century BCE —in connection with the cult of Isis and Serapis— to the late second century in connection with imperial cult.[42]

In the mid–second century —after the seismic devastation of the mid–first century and Trajanic reconstruction in the Agora as well as the Praetorium— a third zone of Gortyn began to receive buildings and sculpture of imperial interest.[43] There is a neat coincidence of date among four phenomena: yet another earthquake in the reign of M. Aurelius (Di Vita 1979–80, 437); the construction of the temple at the eastern end of the Praetorium complex; the first phase of one of the «twin temples» that may have been connected with the imperial cult;[44] and *ICr* IV 333, which mentions imperial images at a crossroads near the Pythion.[45] Di Vita's second–century temple of the Egyptian deities at the east end of the so–called Praetorium complex just may be part of the same program of urban reorganization and redevelopment as the area containing the Megali Porta bath complex and the «twin temples» to the east of the baths. We might press on to ask

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[40] Magnelli forthcoming. The Cyrene statue of Tyche belongs to a type used to represent Tyche–Fortuna and Isis–Fortuna as well as Hygeia in the Hellenistic period, and then princesses of the Roman imperial house, particularly in the Julio–Claudian era (Luni–Cellini 1999, 37, 40, 45).

[41] For first–century BCE relations between Crete and Ephesos, see Metenidis 1998.

[42] *ICr* IV 290, which names the *cives Romani qui Gortynae negotiantur* in the 1st century BCE, was found in the Isieion; 291, which also names the *[cives Romani] qui Gortyna[e negotiantur]* in the 1st century, was found in the modern village of H. Deka; 278, which names the *cives Romani Gortynae c(onsistentes)* in 195 —as well as Fl. Titianus as *sacerdos designatus Divi Triani* and L. Naevius Exacestas as *sacerdos Divi Augusti*— was found near H. Titos.

[43] Buildings of imperial interest —and sculpture of imperial significance, including a caryatid with a towered crown and a *quadrivium,* to be compared with the *compitum* mentioned in *ICr* IV 333— were now located in the area west of the theater of the Pythion (Romeo 1998, 42).

[44] Masturzo and Tarditi take particular note of the similarity between the distinctive *trabea* of the Praetorium temple and a marble architrave from the 2nd–3rd century phase of Temple A (1994–95, 284).

[45] Perhaps the crossroads near the Pythion is to be located along the West Street that runs alongside the Praetorium and on to the Megali Porta baths. See the plan in Masturzo and Tarditi 1994–95, 297. Sculptures were found together with *ICr* IV 333, with which a possible portrait of L. Verus and a head of M. Aurelius may also be associated (Romeo 1998, 42; Portale 1998, 501–02). Masturzo and Tarditi further suggest that the two temples east of the monumental bath complex known today as Megali Porta may have been connected with the imperial cult and were part of a program to monumentalize this sector of Roman Gortyn as well as promote the imperial cult in the 2nd century (1994–95, 291). Cf., perhaps, the double temple of Dea Roma and Divus Iulius at Ephesos (Jobst 1980, 254 and 258; Masturzo and Tarditi 1994–95, 291).

whether the toppled imperial statues of *ICr* IV 333 were re–located to this new double cult complex, and whether the proconsul C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus was involved in this phenomenon and so earned the gratitude of Antonius Vareius, priest of the divine Augustus and the goddess Roma.

There is something else C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus might have done to inspire a Gortynian priest of *divus Augustus* and *dea Roma* to erect an honorary inscription to him at Ephesos. His position in the Greek as well as Roman world may have put him in a position to act as a patron to the Flavii Sulpiciani Doriones of Hierapytna, who fielded a Panhellenic archon from 161 to 165.[46] Governor of Creta–Cyrenae in 161, Titianus was a new man in the Roman senate who was very well–connected in the Greek East, at Athens, Eleusis, Sparta and in the Panhellenion as well as at Ephesos. Titianus was the son and grandson of Claudii named Demostratus who constituted a prominent Ephesian family, and he was also connected (by the marriage of his brother, yet another Demostratus) with the Athenian family of Ti. Claudius Demostratus, son of Sospis.[47] In 150 Titianus had served as quaestor of Achaia, and he may be the same Titianus who held the Spartan patronomate in the reign of Pius, perhaps out of interest in one of the cities of old Greece in the wake of the Panhellenion's foundation (Spawforth and Walker 1986, 92–93). After his proconsulate in Creta–Cyrenae, the proconsul's cognomen quickly appears among the Flavii Sulpiciani Doriones of Hierapytna, in the name of Flavia Titiana, daughter of T. Flavius Sulpicianus, who became an Arval brother sometime between 169 and 176 and rose to the position of *promagister* 186–93.[48] This cognomen also appears at Gortyn in the name of Fl. Titianus, priest–designate of the divine Trajan from whose contribution the *cives Romani qui Gortynae consistunt* made a dedication to Pertinax in 195, and who might on these onomastic grounds be identified as Hierapytnan not Gortynian, a brother of Flavia Titiana (*ICr* IV 278).

New developments in the imperial cult at Gortyn may have been one result not only of the earthquake that shook the city during the reign of M. Aurelius but also of the enhanced position of Gortyn, Hierapytna, and Lyttos via the Cretan Koinon in the Panhellenion at Athens. During the co–regency of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, Cretans from Hierapytna —not Gortyn— began holding the prestigious position of Panhellenic archon, just when Titianus became proconsul of Creta–Cyrenae and so possibly through his brokerage or mediation.[49] Other Cretans from Gortyn and Lyttos were Panhellenes but not Panhellenic archons.[50] The Panhellenic archonship of L. Flavius Sulpicianus

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[46] Raubitschek 1943, 73–76; Oliver 1970, 101–02; Follett 1976, 127; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 85.

[47] *PIR*^{2} C 849; see the stemma between pp. 194–95; cf. Halfmann 1982, 628; Spawforth and Walker 1986, 92–93.

[48] *PIR*^{2} F 444 and 373, respectively; Alföldy 1982, 325; Reynolds 1982, 682; Camodeca 1983–84, 90, where T. Flavius Sulpicianus is identified as a younger cousin of L. Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion Polymnis, the son of the Panhellenic archon, who entered the Roman senate in the time of M. Aurelius.

[49] See Saller 1982, esp. 168–87 on provincial governors as mediators or brokers between provincials and the emperor.

[50] (M.) Ulpius Sebon of Gortyn had been a Panhellene sometime between 132 and the end of Hadrian's reign (*ICr* IV 326 and 499; Gasperini 1988, 325–28 no. 340). See Follett 1976, 132; Oliver 1970, 121 no. 40; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 86. Pardalas, for whom a Roman name is not known, was Panhellene sometime between 132 and the edict of Caracalla, and just may be from Lyttos (Oliver 1970, 121 no. 41; Follett 1976, 132–33; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 86). For Pardalas and Pardalides at Lyttos, see *ICr* I,xviii 139B; for

Dorion of Hierapytna (161–65) may be the context for a Gortynian replica of Zeus of the Dresden type.[51] Cretan acknowledgement of this achievement might have taken the form of a statue base with which Dorion was honored, at Gortyn not Hierapytna (Gasperini 1988, 333–34). In Hierapytna's amphitheater Dorion erected statue bases to M. Aurelius and L. Verus (*ICr* III,iii 16–17). T. Fla(vius) Xenion, who was archon 165–69, was likewise from Hierapytna, even though the Cretan inscription naming him and members of his family was erected at Gortyn, where between 177 and 182 he left a bequest to celebrate the birthdays of Commodus, *divus Antoninus,* and Lucilla Augusta.[52]

The Case of the Antonii

The Antonii whose names are preserved in the epigraphical record of Gortyn may have a political as well as commercial background, derived from the presence of triumviral clients there as in Cyrenaica (see **2**) and at Corinth (cf. Spawforth 1996, 170). From the first century BCE to the second century of our era, Antonii rose to elite status at Gortyn. The earliest Antonii at Gortyn —one from Hierapytna and one attested at Gortynian Phaistos— are an enfranchised Greek (**1**) and a man with an abbreviated praenomen and a cognomen recorded in Greek in a religious dedication (**4**). At Gortyn an apparent freedman of a first–second century Antonius (**5**) was honored with a small statuette that bears his name in Greek. In the later second century Antonii are attested among the Gortynian elite, as an *agoronomos* (**6**) and a priest in the imperial cult (**7**).

At Knossos by comparison, in the critical period from the first century BCE to the first century of our era, one Antonius is named on colonial coinage: M. Antonios early in the reign of Augustus (see **1**). It may be that with the granting of colonial status to Knossos members of trading families already at Gortyn (cf. **1**) moved to Knossos where

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Pardalis at Lyttos see *ICr* I,xviii 139A; for Pardalianos at Lyttos see *ICr* I,xviii 56. For other Cretan examples of these related names (at Arkades, Hierapytna, Lato, Setaia, and Sybrita), see Fraser and Matthews 1987, 361. Compare *IG* II^2 9087a for Aur. Pardalianos and Laria Neikos, two Cretans at 2nd–3rd century Athens, and the name of (Fl)avia Pardale, a *parthenos* at Klaros from an unknown city in Crete (personal communication from Mme. Jeanne Robert).

[51] Romeo 1998, 267, where the archon is called T. Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion. This Dorion was the grandfather of the Panhellenic archon and held the position of *pontifex Cretensium concilii* in 129, when the Koinon honored Hadrian at Gortyn (*ICr* IV 275).

[52] *ICr* IV 300. Unfortunately the findspot of this inscription remains unrecorded, from Halbherr (1899, 536) to De Sanctis (1907, 333–38 no. 36) to Guarducci (*ad ICr* IV 300). The other days to be celebrated are his own birthday, that of Rome, and those of his twins Lamprio and Xenophilos, another son Zenophilos, and his wife Claudia Marcellina. For Xenion as Panhellenic archon 165–69 see Oliver 1970, 102–03; Follett 1976, 127–28; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 85.

It is the unusual name Zenophilos that recommends assigning this family to Hierapytna and not Gortyn. Within this part of the Greek world, Fraser and Matthews 1987, 194 shows this name only for Crete, specifically in this Gortynian inscription and in coins and inscriptions from Hierapytna. Hierapytnan coinage shows the name Zenophilos for a moneyer dated ca. 110–67 BCE (Svoronos 1890, 193 no. 42; cf. Le Rider 1968, 321–22; Le Rider 1966, 297 for the date). Hierapytnan inscriptions show this rare name in the 1st century BCE to 1st century (father of Archedika, *ICr* III,iii 12) and in the 1st century (father of Claudius, *ICr* III,iii 22). See Oliver 1952, 297 for the comment that the name Zenophilos is rare, though not so rare as the name Xenion.

they held this magistracy.[53] Back at first–century Gortyn inscriptions name a Knossian *duumvir* (**2**, originally from Cyrenaica, and the only Antonius named at Gortyn in Latin) and a second–third century *pontifex (Cretensium concilii* and *duumvir) quinquennalis* (**3**).

Throughout the imperial period, from the first century to the third, Cretan Antonii continue to be from Knossos and Hierapytna, where Antonii bear the triumviral praenomen Marcus.[54] The distribution of Cretan Antonii is in fact nearly restricted to Gortyn, Knossos, and Hierapytna. Only two other families of Cretan Antonii are known, one from Lyttos and the other from Rethymnon, and both of late or broadly imperial date.[55] In the triumviral period there may have been a pattern of personal ties and contact routes that linked Hierapytna on the south coast with Gortyn to her east along the coastline, and then Gortyn with Knossos along a transit corridor that ran from south to north.[56] If Gortyn joins Hierapytna and Knossos as a city with Antonian as well as Julian clients in its population, we will need to re–evaluate the canonical notion that Gortyn was rewarded for taking Octavian's part while Knossos was punished for taking that of Antony in the civil wars that engulfed the Greek East as well as the Roman West.

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[53] I thank Prof. Athanasios Rizakis of the National Foundation for Scientific Research, Athens, for this suggestion. Cf. Viviers 1999, 230, on the Granii of Gortyn and Knossos.

[54] From Knossos, in addition to **2** and **3**, Μ. Ἀντώνιος Κλωδιανός and [Γ]άϊος Ἀντώνιος [Πα]ρμένων (see **1**). From Hierapytna, in addition to **1**, Μᾶρκος Ἀν]τώνί?]ος and Μᾶρκος Ἀντὼνιος Θεοπόμπου ἀπελεύθερος (see **1**).

[55] Lyttos: Ἀντώνιος, [Ἀντώνιος?] Καλότυχος and [Ἀντωνία] Πρείμα (see **1**). Rethymnon: Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Λοῦπος, Ἀντώνιος Διονύσιος and [Ἀντώνιος] Μοσχιανός (see **1**).

[56] Hierapytna–Gortyn: cf. esp. **1**. Gortyn–Knossos: see Viviers 1999, 230, taking note of the Granii of Gortyn and Knossos.

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Fig. 1. [M?] Antonius E[---], Sylloge Gortynos inv. no. 394

Fig. 2. [Ἀν]τώνιος Βαρήιος [---]λος, *SEG* XLI, 965

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Ο ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΥ *IGCH* 170

Ο θησαυρός με τον αριθμό *IGCH* 170, που βρέθηκε στο Γύθειο Λακωνίας το 1938, αποτελούμενος από 33 αργυρά νομίσματα, ανήκει στην κατηγορία εκείνη των ευρημάτων που οπωσδήποτε εμπλουτίζουν τις γνώσεις μας για τη νομισματική κυκλοφορία στην Πελοπόννησο κατά την ελληνιστική εποχή. Το εύρημα απαρτίζεται στην πλειονότητά του από τριώβολα Σικυώνος, συνολικά 31, μία δραχμή Αιγίνης και ένα τετράδραχμο Αντιόχου Α΄ Σωτήρος νομισματοκοπείου Σελευκείας προς Τίγριν.[1] Η χρονολογία απόκρυψης κατά τους Οικονομίδου–Picard ανάγεται στα μέσα του 3ου π.Χ. αι., και ειδικότερα στη δεκαετία 250–240 π.Χ. (σσ. 125–128, αρ. 1–33).

Η δραχμή Αιγίνης (αρ. 1) ανήκει στον τύπο της χερσαίας χελώνας με έγκοιλο τετράγωνο ως οπισθότυπο, διακοσμημένο με δύο στιγμές στο επάνω διάχωρο αριστερά.[2] Πρόκειται για την κατηγορία που έχει χαρακτηρίσθεί ως πολυάριθμη, επειδή απαντά συχνά σε ευρήματα της Πελοποννήσου.[3] Ειδικά η «χελώνη» είναι το νόμισμα που αναφέρουν οι αρχαίοι λεξικογράφοι ως αυτό των «Πελοποννησίων», «… καὶ μὴν τὸ Πελοποννησίων νόμισμα χελώνην τινὲς ἠξίουν καλεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ τυπώματος ὅθεν ἡ μὲν παροιμία τὰν ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν σοφίαν νικᾶντι χελῶναι…».[4] Σήμερα, που η αρχαιολογική σκαπάνη έχει φέρει στο φως θησαυρούς πλούσιους σε «χελώνες», υπάρχει δυνατότητα ακριβέστερης χρονολόγησης όλων των κατηγοριών των αιγινήτικων αυτών νομισμάτων.[5]

Η έκδοση με τις δύο στιγμές, καθώς και οι εκδόσεις με το εθνικό ΑΙΓΙ και τα διάφορα σύμβολα στατήρων και κυρίως δραχμών και τριωβόλων, που συνήθως περιέχονται στους θησαυρούς, χρονολογούνται στο δεύτερο μισό του 4ου π.Χ. αι. ή και λίγο νωρίτερα. Επειδή όμως οι κατηγορίες αυτές εντοπίζονται και σε μεταγενέστερα ευρήματα του 2ου π.Χ. αι., μαζί με τριώβολα της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας, τίθεται αυτομάτως το ερώτημα με ποια σειρά εκδόθηκαν αλλά και για πόσο χρονικό διάστημα διατηρήθηκαν εν ισχύι. Το γεγονός ότι οι «χελώνες» συνυπάρχουν με τριώβολα της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας ασφαλώς δεν συμβάλλει στον ακριβή προσδιορισμό της χρονολογίας έκδοσής τους, και για το λόγο αυτό οι Shpresa και Nicolet προτείνουν ότι θα πρέπει κάποτε να καταμετρηθούν τα νομίσματα και των δύο κατηγοριών σε όλους τους

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[1] Σύμφωνα με τη σχετική αλληλογραφία που αφορά στο εύρημα και η οποία φυλάσσεται στο Αρχείο του Μουσείου, ο θησαυρός βρέθηκε τον Δεκέμβριο του 1938 στο Γύθειο από κάτοικο της πόλεως, παραδόθηκε έναντι αμοιβής στον αρμόδιο Αρχαιολογικό Έφορο της περιοχής και στη συνέχεια εστάλη για εκτίμηση, ταύτιση και φύλαξη στο Νομισματικό Μουσείο Αθηνών, όπως αναφέρουν τα έγγραφα με αρ. πρωτ. 7422/28–2–39 και 18–2–39, και 7479/23 Μαΐου 1939.

[2] Shpresa Gjongecaj (Tirana)–Hélène Nicolet–Pierre (Paris), Le monnayage d'argent d'Égine et le trésor de Hollm (Albanie) 1991, BCH, 119(1995), σ. 283–332, σ. 287, αρ. 10, (στο εξής: Hollm).

[3] Mando Oeconomides, The *IGCH* 101 Hoard and the Circulation of the Tortoise in the Peloponnesus, Florilegium numismaticum, Studia in honorem U. Westermark 1992, σ. 307–311, σ. 308 (στο εξής: Oeconomides, Tortoise).

[4] Pollux, Onomasticon 74, βιβλίον IX, κεφ. VI και Hollm, σ. 284.

[5] Hollm, σ. 288.

θησαυρούς, και το αποτέλεσμα αυτού του υπολογισμού να συνεξετασθεί με το φαινόμενο της διακίνησης και κυκλοφορίας των υποδιαιρέσεων του αιγινήτικου στατήρα στα ευρήματα στα τέλη της ελληνιστικής εποχής.[6]

Τα τριώβολα Σικυώνος (αρ. 2–32) με τις γνωστές παραστάσεις χίμαιρα/περιστέρι φέρουν διάφορα σύμβολα, χαρακτηριστικά της έκδοσης, όπως στιγμές και τα γράμματα: Ι, Δ, Μ, ΝΟ. Το βάρος τους κυμαίνεται από 2.140 γρ. το ελαφρότερο νόμισμα έως 2.703 γρ. το βαρύτερο, με μέσο όρο περίπου 2.6 γρ. Ακολουθούν δηλαδή τον λεγόμενο «μειωμένο» σταθμητικό αιγινητικό κανόνα.[7] Όπως θα καταδειχθεί στη συνέχεια, η παρουσία των νομισματικών αυτών εκδόσεων είναι διαχρονική με άφθονα παραδείγματα στους ελληνιστικούς θησαυρούς της Πελοποννήσου. Σύμφωνα μάλιστα με παρατηρήσεις της Jennifer Warren σε πρόσφατη μελέτη της για τα αργυρά νομίσματα της Σικυώνος,[8] τα τριώβολα αυτής της σειράς ανάγονται στο τελευταίο τρίτο του 4ου π.Χ. αι. (χρονολογία έναρξης της κοπής). Η χρονική διάρκεια κοπής της σειράς δεν έχει ακόμα προσδιορισθεί. Η έκδοση αυτή, που ήταν μάλλον περιοδική, πιθανώς σταμάτησε πριν από τη μείωση του αιγινητικού σταθμητικού κανόνα στην Πελοπόννησο.[9] Εφόσον ευσταθεί αυτή η άποψη, τότε τα τριώβολα του θησαυρού του Γυθείου, που έχουν μειωμένο βάρος σε σχέση με τον σταθερό σταθμητικό αιγινητικό κανόνα, θα μπορούσαν να χρονολογηθούν και μέχρι τις πρώτες δεκαετίες του 3ου π.Χ. αι.[10] και να θεωρηθούν ως ύστερες εκδόσεις της σειράς. Με τα ανωτέρω δεδομένα αναθεωρείται πλήρως η παλαιότερη χρονολόγηση, που αναγόταν στα μέσα του 4ου π.Χ. αι., και ειδικότερα μεταξύ 365 και 330 π.Χ.[11]

Είναι γνωστό ότι τα νομισματοκοπεία της Σικυώνος, των Οπουντίων Λοκρών, της Ιστιαίας και του Κοινού των Βοιωτών επέδειξαν μεγάλη δραστηριότητα κατά την ελληνιστική εποχή, με πλούσια παραγωγή νομισμάτων ευρύτατης αποδοχής.[12] Για το λόγο αυτό νομίσματα της Σικυώνος όλων των υποδιαιρέσεων αφθονούν σε θησαυρούς όχι μόνον εντός των ορίων της Πελοποννήσου, αλλά και σε ευρήματα περιοχών αρκετά απομακρυσμένων από το κέντρο παραγωγής, όπως: Θεσσαλία, (Τρίκαλα: *IGCH* 117 και «Θεσσαλία»: *IGCH* 133, Φαϋττός: *IGCH* 159, Φάλαννα 43), Κεντρική Ελλάδα (Άγιοι Θεόδωροι: *IGCH* 93, Αβάι Φωκίδος: *IGCH* 195).[13]

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[6] Hollm, σ. 297, αρ. 10–13.

[7] Otto Mørkholm, Early Hellenistic Coinage from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336–188 B.C.), Cambridge University Press 1997, σ. 9 (στο εξής: Mørkholm).

[8] Jennifer A.W. Warren, The silver coins of Sikyon in Leiden, Analyses and some comments on the coinage, *pour Denyse*, Divertissements Numismatiques, έκδ. Silvia Mani Hurter et Carmen Arnold–Biucchi, Bern 2000, σ. 201 κ.ε, σ. 208 (στο εξής: Warren, Sikyon in Leiden).

[9] *ο.π.*, σ. 208.

[10] Mørkholm, σ. 9.

[11] Jennifer A.W. Warren, The 1980 Kato Klitoria Hoard, Kraay–Mørkholm Essays, 291–300, σ. 297 (στο εξής: Klitoria Hoard). Ο θησαυρός αυτός περιέχει οβολούς Σικυώνος με την ίδια παράσταση ιπτάμενου περιστεριού, και χρονολογία απόκρυψης περί το 340/330 π.Χ. Της ιδίας, The autonomous bronze coinage of Sikyon, Part I, NC (1983), σ. 28–33, σ. 32 και της ιδίας, Updating (and Downdating) the Autonomous Bronge Coinage of Sikyon, in: Studies in Greek numismatics in memory of Martin Jessop Price, London 1998, σ. 347–361 (σποράδην).

[12] Ioannis Touratsoglou, The Price of Power: Drachms in the name of Alexander in Greece, Ευλιμένη 1 (2000), σ. 91–118, σ. 95 (στο εξής: Price of Power).

[13] πρβλ. *ο.π.* σ. 95.

Το τετράδραχμον του Αντιόχου Α΄ Σωτήρος (αρ. 33) είναι έκδοση του νομισματοκοπείου Σελευκείας προς Τίγριν με χρονολογία κοπής περ. 278–274 π.Χ.[14] Οι πρόσφατες μελέτες για τη νομισματική κυκλοφορία στην Ελλάδα κατά την ελληνιστική εποχή έχουν αποδείξει ότι τα τετράδραχμα των Σελευκιδών απαντούν αρκετά συχνά σε μικρές ωστόσο ποσότητες στους θησαυρούς με χρονολογία απόκρυψης το δεύτερο μισό του 3ου π.Χ. αι., κυρίως στην Πελοπόννησο, Μακεδονία, Εύβοια και λιγότερο στη Θεσσαλία, ενώ απουσιάζουν από την κεντρική Ελλάδα και Αιτωλία.[15] Το φαινόμενο της παρουσίας των νομισμάτων των Σελευκιδών στην Πελοπόννησο και τον ευρύτερο ελλαδικό χώρο, στην πλειονότητά τους εκδόσεις νομισματοκοπείων της Μικράς Ασίας, μπορεί να δικαιολογηθεί είτε από την άφιξη και παραμονή μισθοφόρων στρατιωτών στην Ελλάδα προερχόμενων από την Ανατολή προς αναζήτηση εργασίας,[16] είτε από τις εμπορικές συναλλαγές της Πελοποννήσου με πόλεις της Ανατολής και κυρίως με τη Ρόδο πριν από τα ταραγμένα εξ αιτίας των πολέμων χρόνια του δευτέρου μισού του 3ου π.Χ. αι. Είναι άλλωστε γνωστό ότι οι Ρόδιοι είχαν συνάψει εμπορική συμφωνία με τους Αργείους στα μέσα του αιώνα, ώστε να προμηθεύονται εμπορεύματα με πίστωση και να αποπληρώνουν με διευκολύνσεις.[17]

Εάν παραλληλίσουμε τη σύνθεση του θησαυρού του Γυθείου με άλλα νομισματικά σύνολα από την Πελοπόννησο, που περιέχουν όμοιες εκδόσεις και χρονολογούν την απόκρυψή τους από τα μέσα του 4ου μέχρι και τον 2ο π.Χ. αι., διαπιστώνουμε τα ακόλουθα: α) επί συνόλου 23 θησαυρών οι έξι[18] περιέχουν, εκτός των άλλων εκδόσεων, δραχμές Αιγίνης (οι τέσσερις από μία) και τριώβολα Σικυώνος, β) στους εννέα[19] εντοπίζονται και τριώβολα Σικυώνος, γ) οι τέσσερις[20] περιλαμβάνουν και δραχμές Αιγίνης, και τέλος δ) όπως φαίνεται στον παρακάτω πίνακα, μόνο σε τέσσερις απαντούν τετράδραχμα Σελευκιδών:

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[14] Edward T. Newell, The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints, from Seleucus I to Antiochus III, New York 1978, αρ. 140–142, πιν. XIII 7–10 και SNG, Israel The Arnold Spaer Collection of Seleucid Coins, Jerusalem 1998, I, πιν. 18, 287. Επίσης Alain Davesne–Georges Le Rider, Gülnar II, Le trésor de Meydancikkale, Paris 1989, σ. 145, αρ. 2915–2916 και Georges Le Rider, Les trouvailles monétaires dans le temple d'Artémis à Sardes (*IGCH* 1299 et 1300), RN (1991), σ. 71–88, αρ. 42 (404).

[15] Price of Power, σ. 97. Ιωάννης Τουράτσογλου, Disjecta Membra. Δύο νέοι ελληνιστικοί «θησαυροί» από τον ελλαδικό χώρο, Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελληνικής Νομισματικής Εταιρείας 3, Αθήνα 1995 (δίγλωσσο), Παν και Ποσειδών: Η κατάσχεση Θεσπρωτίας, 1992, σ. 68, και Tony Hackens, À propos de la circulation monétaire dans le Péloponnèse au IIIe s. av. J.–C., Antidorum W. Peremans sexagenario ab alumnis oblatum, Studia Hellenistica, 16(1968), σ. 69–95, Monnaies Séleucides, σ. 77–82 (στο εξής: Hackens).

[16] Sidney P. Noe, The Corinth Hoard of 1938, MN 10 (1962), σ. 9–41, σ. 31.

[17] Hackens, σ. 80–81.

[18] Οι με αριθμό *IGCH* 67 (Μούλκι), 122 (Μαυρίκι Μαντινείας), 132 (Τάλαντα Λακωνίας) 173 (Δοκίμιον Κυπαρισσίας), 261 Ζούγκρα Αχαΐας) και 270 (Ολυμπία).

[19] Οι με αριθμό *IGCH* 75 (Πύργος), 76 (Κυπαρισσία), 115 (Μποζικά Νεμέας), 129 (Πελοποννήσου 1935), 182 (Θερειανός Πατρών), 243 (Πελοποννήσου πριν το 1940), 246 (Πελοποννήσου 1936), 262 (Διακοφτό Αχαΐας) και 301 (Μεσσηνία).

[20] Οι με αριθμό *IGCH* 101 (Τρίπολη), 176 (Ολυμπία), 267 (Αχαΐα) και 302 (Ζαχάρω).

Θησαυρός	**Χρονολογία απόκρυψης κατά *IGCH***	**Τετράδραχμα Σελευκιδών**
IGCH 179 Σοφικόν	230–220 π.Χ.	4
IGCH 181 Σπάρτη	222 π.Χ.	4
IGCH 186 Πάτραι	περ. 218 π.Χ.	1
IGCH 187 Κόρινθος	περ. 215 π.Χ.	8

Θησαυροί Πελοποννήσου με τετράδραχμα Σελευκιδών

Από την προηγηθείσα ανάλυση προκύπτει εύλογα το συμπέρασμα ότι στους ελληνιστικούς θησαυρούς της Πελοποννήσου, οι οποίοι περιέχουν τις εξεταζόμενες νομισματικές εκδόσεις, το μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό καταλαμβάνουν τα τριώβολα της Σικυώνος, ακολουθούν οι δραχμές Αιγίνης και στην τρίτη θέση εμφανίζονται τα τετράδραχμα των Σελευκιδών. Αξιοπρόσεχτο είναι το γεγονός ότι το σύνολο του Γυθείου παρουσιάζει σύνθεση από κοπές που μαρτυρούνται συχνά στα πελοποννησιακά ευρήματα. Πρόκειται για νομισματικές εκδόσεις ισχυρών πόλεων και βασιλέων, οι οποίες, όπως αποδεικνύουν οι μελέτες της νομισματικής κυκλοφορίας στην Πελοπόννησο την περίοδο αυτή, φαίνεται ότι έχαιραν γενικής εκτίμησης και αποδοχής, λόγω της έντονης παρουσίας τους στο μεγαλύτερο μέρος των θησαυρών της περιοχής. Αναφορικά με τα νομίσματα των Σελευκιδών, η συγκέντρωση εκδόσεων του νομισματοκοπείου Σελευκείας προς Τίγριν, που παρατηρείται στους θησαυρούς *IGCH* 179 Σοφικόν, 181 Σπάρτη, 187 Κόρινθος, και του εξεταζόμενου, μπορεί να ερμηνευθεί ως φαινόμενο αξιοσημείωτο και χρήζον περαιτέρω έρευνας για τη νομισματική κυκλοφορία στην Πελοπόννησο κατά το δεύτερο μισό του 3ου μ.Χ. αι.[21]

Σε ό,τι αφορά τη χρονολογία απόκρυψης του ευρήματος, καθοριστικό ρόλο παίζει η παρουσία του τετραδράχμου του Αντιόχου Α΄. Κατ΄ αρχήν, και με δεδομένη τη μαρτυρία των τετραδράχμων των Σελευκιδών στους θησαυρούς της Πελοποννήσου με χρονολογία απόκρυψης από το 230 μέχρι και το 215 π.Χ., όπως φαίνεται στον ανωτέρω πίνακα, οδηγούμεθα σε χρονολόγηση υστερότερη από τη δεκαετία 250–240 π.Χ. Στο μέτρο μάλιστα που οι αποκρύψεις νομισματικών συνόλων είναι δυνατό να αντικατοπρίζουν μεταξύ άλλων, πολιτικές αντιπαραθέσεις ή πολεμικές συγκρούσεις, ο θησαυρός του Γυθείου ενδέχεται να συνδέεται με το τέλος της βασιλείας του μεταρρυθμιστή ηγεμόνα της Σπάρτης Κλεομένη Γ΄ (236–222 π.Χ.), που συμπίπτει με το γνωστό ως Κλεομενικό πόλεμο (228–222 π.Χ.) ή και την τραγική ήττα του από τους Μακεδόνες και του Αχαιούς υπό τον Αντίγονο Δώσωνα στη Σελλασία, λίγα χιλιόμετρα βορειότερα της Σπάρτης. Ενδέχεται ακόμα να συνδέεται και με την ταραγμένη περίοδο που ακολούθησε, αυτή του Συμμαχικού πολέμου (220–217 π.Χ.), όταν ο Φίλιππος Ε΄ πολιόρκησε την πόλη.[22] Επομένως, *grosso modo*, μπορει να προταθεί ως πιθανη χρονολογία απόκρυψης το έτος 220 π.Χ.

Το εύρημα του Γυθείου έρχεται να προσθέσει ένα ακόμα ισχυρό δεδομένο στη νομισματική κυκλοφορία της ελληνιστικής περιόδου στην Πελοπόννησο, να ενισχύσει τις

[21] Τα 8 από τα 17 τετράδραχμα που φαίνονται στον ανωτέρω πίνακα είναι εκδόσεις νομισματοκοπείου Σελευκείας προς Τίγριν.

[22] The Cambridge Ancient History, vol. VII, 1928, σ. 760–768, Paul Cartledge–Antony Spawforth, Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A Tale of two Cities. London–N.York 1989, σ. 38–58, και Ελένη Κουρίνου, Σπάρτη. Συμβολή στη μνημειακή τοπογραφία της. Διδακτορική διατριβή. Αθήνα 1999, σ. 28.

ήδη διατυπωμένες θέσεις γι αυτήν, αλλά και να συμβάλει στη διαμόρφωση νέων απόψεων, τουλάχιστον σε ό,τι αφορά τη χρονολόγηση των τριωβόλων της Σικυώνος, που συνιστούν την πλειονότητά του.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΥ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΥ

1.  
Δραχμή Αιγίνης
Χερσαία χελώνα/έγκοιλο τετράγωνο με δύο στιγμές στο κάτω αριστερό διάχωρο.[23]
Βάρος: 5, 043 γρ. Άξονας: 06

2.  
Τριώβολο Σικυώνος
Χίμαιρα προς αριστερά. Στο πεδίο κάτω αριστερά ΣΙ/Περιστέρι προς αριστερά.[24]
Βάρος: 2,682 γρ. Άξονας: 06

3.  
Όμοιο –[ΣΙ]
Βάρος: 2,432 γρ. Άξονας: 03

4.  
Όμοιο –ΣΙ/στιγμή στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,629 γρ. Άξονας: 01

5.  
Όμοιο –[ΣΙ]
Βάρος: 2,563 γρ. Άξονας: 04

6.  
Όμοιο –[ΣΙ]
Βάρος: 2,462 γρ. Άξονας: 03

7.  
Όμοιο –ΣΙ
Βάρος: 2,477 γρ. Άξονας: 03

8.  
Όμοιο –Σ[Ι]
Βάρος: 2,659 γρ. Άξονας: 02

9.  
Όμοιο –[ΣΙ]/στιγμή στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,439 γρ. Άξονας: 12

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[23] Oeconomides, Tortoise, σ. 309, αρ. 5–29.

[24] Warren, Sikyon in Leiden, πιν. 24, αρ. 19–26.

10. 
Όμοιο –[ΣΙ]
Βάρος: 2,140 γρ. Άξονας: 03

11. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ
Βάρος: 2,644 γρ. Άξονας: 06

12. 
Όμοιο –[ΣΙ]
Βάρος: 2,650 γρ. Άξονας: 06

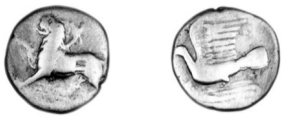
13. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ
Βάρος: 2,672 γρ. Άξονας: 12

14. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ
Βάρος: 2,568 γρ. Άξονας: 12

15. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ/στιγμή στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,623 γρ. Άξονας: 03

16. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ/στιγμή στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,494 γρ. Άξονας: 05

17. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ/στιγμή στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,614 γρ. Άξονας: 06

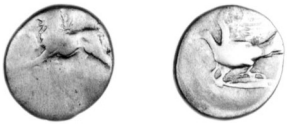
18. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ/Ν στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,584 γρ. Άξονας: 09

19. 
Όμοιο –[ΣΙ]/στιγμή στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,681 γρ. Άξονας: 03

20. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ
Βάρος: 2,542 γρ. Άξονας: 06

21. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ
Βάρος: 2,703 γρ. Άξονας: 01

22. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ/Ν στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,624 γρ. Άξονας: 03

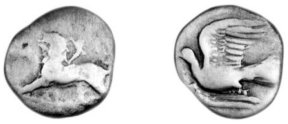
23. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ
Βάρος: 2,640 γρ. Άξονας: 06

24. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ/στιγμή στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,582 γρ. Άξονας: 09

25. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ/στιγμή στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,647 γρ. Άξονας: 12

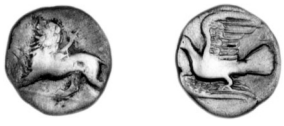
26. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ
Βάρος: 2,606 γρ. Άξονας: 06

27. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ
Βάρος: 2,466 γρ. Άξονας: 12

28. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ
Βάρος: 2,549 γρ. Άξονας: 06

29. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ/Ι στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,612 γρ. Άξονας: 12

30. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ/Μ στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,615 γρ. Άξονας: 03

31. 
Όμοιο –ΣΙ/Δ στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,641 γρ. Άξονας: 09

32. 
Όμοιο – ΣΙ/ΝΟ στο πεδίο δεξιά.
Βάρος: 2,585 γρ. Άξονας: 06

33.  

Τετράδραχμον Αντιόχου Α΄ Σωτήρος
Κεφαλή του Αντιόχου Α΄ προς δ. με διάδημα /
Απόλλων καθήμενος επί του ομφαλού προς αρ.,
κρατώντας δύο βέλη. Στο πεδίο αρ. Ⱥ, δ. Ⱨ.[25]
Βάρος: 16,915 γρ. Άξονας: 12

Ιωάννα Κολτσίδα–Μακρή
Νομισματικό Μουσείο
Αθήνα

[25] Πρβλ. υποσημείωση αρ. 14.

SUR DEUX MONNAIES DE BRONZE INÉDITES D'HIÉRAPYTNA: MONNAYAGE HIÉRAPYTNIEN ET TIMBRES AMPHORIQUES À L'ÉPOQUE HELLÉNISTIQUE*

La ville portuaire d'Hiérapytna (actuelle Hiérapetra), située au sud–est de l'île de Crète, connue pour ses pirates, était une cité très importante pendant l'époque romaine, comme l'attestent les vestiges archéologiques trouvés dans la région et les renseignements des voyageurs du XV^e^ au XIX^e^ siècle qui ont visité et décrit les ruines de cette époque. Mais son développement avait commencé dès l'époque hellénistique, comme l'attestent les sources épigraphiques et littéraires.[1] Par contre, son histoire aux époques archaïque et classique reste obscure. Hiérapytna a été probablement édifiée au début du IV^e^ siècle av. J.–C.,[2] mais toutes nos sources épigraphiques où il y a mention des Hiérapytniens, datent du III^e^ siècle. Ainsi, la première évidence historique de son existence nous est fournie par son monnayage.

Son nom apparaît pour la première fois sur sa première émission[3] de monnaies d'argent qui a été émise vers 330/20 av. J.–C. et ensuite sur sa deuxième émission,[4] émise entre 300 et 280/70 av. J.–C. Ces premières émissions d'argent sont assez pauvres et il faut attendre la fin du II^e^ siècle (après 110 av. J.–C.) où se placent ses plus importantes émissions. Les types de ces monnaies sont les suivants: au droit, tête de Tyché et au revers, palmier et aigle avec la légende ΙΕΡΑΠΥΤΝΙΩΝ (ou ΙΕΡΑΠΥΤΝΙ ou ΙΕΡΑΠΥ)

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* Cet article a été écrit d'après notre étude sur le monnayage d'argent et de bronze d'Hiérapytna, étude en vue de notre thèse du doctorat concernant le même sujet. Nous voudrions remercier notre professeur M. Olivier Picard, qui a suivi avec attention ce travail, Mme Eleni Papaefthymiou et M. Manolis I. Stefanakis pour leurs précieux conseils, M. Christopher Howgego et M. Henry S. Kim pour leur permission de publier les monnaies d'Hiérapytna, conservées à Ashmolean Museum à Oxford, M. Stephanos Karamanian et la phototèque de l'E.F.A. pour la réalisation des photos qui illustrent cet article.

1 Sur les sources épigraphiques et littéraires, voir M. Guarducci, *IC*, III Hierapytna, p. 18–23.

2 On pense que la descente des Crétois vers la mer a commencé au V^e^ siècle, mais elle devient plus importante à partir du IV^e^ siècle av. J.–C. Il est donc possible que les Hiérapytniens se soient installés au bord de la mer au début du IV^e^ siècle. C'est à ce moment qu'ils auraient construit leur ville portuaire et commencé un peu après à frapper monnaie (voir P. Brulé, 1978, *La piraterie crétoise*, p. 149).

3 Cette première série est celle aux types Triskèle/Sanglier avec la légende ΙΕΡΑΠV au droit. Ces monnaies, dont on possède trois exemplaires seulement, étaient des statères, frappés selon un étalon éginétique réduit et dont le poids s'échelonne entre 11,76g et 11,27g (voir Svoronos, no 1, p. 188 et no 6, pl. XVII).

4 La deuxième série émise entre 300 et 280 av. J.–C. est celle aux types suivants: au droit, tête de Zeus et au revers, palmier et aigle avec la légende IEPA. Ces monnaies d'argent étaient des statères, dont on possède un exemplaire et des oboles (trois exemplaires connus), frappés selon le même étalon que les statères précédents, mais qui cette fois pèsent: 10,89g les statères et 0,70g les oboles (voir Svoronos, nos 2–3, p. 188 et nos7, 8, pl. XVII; W. Wroth, *BMC*, no 1, p. 48, pl. XII).

et le nom des magistrats monétaires.[5] Ces monnaies portent, la plupart des fois, au revers une couronne d'olivier (monnaies *stéphanéphores*). Elles sont des tétradrachmes, des didrachmes et des drachmes, frappés selon un étalon attique réduit.[6]

Outre son monnayage d'argent, pas très abondant, émis entre 330/20 et 280/70 av.J.–C., Hiérapytna a aussi émis à partir de 260/50 av. J.–C. un monnayage de bronze assez abondant, tant par le nombre des exemplaires qu'on possède que par les types utilisés. Ainsi, après le monnayage d'argent de la fin du IV^{e} siècle et du début du III^{e} siècle av. J.–C., les émissions de la période suivante, jusqu'à la fin du II^{e} siècle av. J.–C., sont en bronze.[7]

La première série de ses monnaies de bronze, comprenant des monnaies de deux modules différents,[8] est aux types suivants: au droit, tête d'Héraclès, tête de Zeus, tête d'Apollon ou tête d'Artémis et au revers palmier et acrostolion avec le monogramme Ⓟ (ou Ⓐ)[9] (grand et petit module) (fig. 1–9 et 12–13) et tête de Zeus ou tête d'Artémis au droit et au revers, palmier avec la légende I/ Ⓐ ou I/A[10] (petit module) (fig. 10–11). Le monogramme Ⓟ (ou Ⓐ) remplace la légende et peut se décomposer en ΙΡΑΠΥ ou en

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[5] Voir Svoronos**,** nos 8–23, 25–31 et pl. XVII, nos 11–20 (addenda, nos 33, 34, p. 367–368; nos 7, 9, pl. 12); W. Wroth, *BMC*, nos 2–9, p. 48–49 et nos 2–3, pl. XII. D'après nos connaissances actuelles, sur les monnaies d'argent de cette dernière série figurent quatorze noms de magistrats monétaires.

[6] Le poids des tétradrachmes s'échelonne entre 16,45g et 13,03g, des didrachmes entre 7,87g et 5,95g et des drachmes entre 3,71g et 3,14g. Selon Le Rider et Stefanakis, un éventuel déclin à la disponibilité en Crète des tétradrachmes athéniens du Nouveau Style entre la fin du II^{e} et le début du I^{er} siècle av. J.–C. a provoqué ces émissions des tétradrachmes crétoises à types locaux frappés selon cet étalon attique réduit (voir G. Le Rider, 1966, *Monnaies crétoises du Vème au Ier siècle av. J.–C.*, Études Crétoises XV, p. 330; M.I. Stefanakis, 1997, *Studies in the coinages of Crete with particular reference to Kydonia*, University of London, thèse en vue de publication, p. 257–258). Sept cités crétoises, dont Hiérapytna, ont frappé des tétradrachmes d'argent à types locaux à la fin du II^{e} siècle. Outre ce monnayage hiérapytnien à types locaux, en 87/6 av. J.–C, le monnayage hiérapytnien présente des types athéniens, c'est–à–dire une imitation des tétradrachmes athéniens du Nouveau Style. Avec Hiérapytna, ces tétradrachmes à types athéniens ont aussi été émis par six autres villes crétoises (voir G. Le Rider, 1968, «Un groupe des monnaies crétoises à types athéniens» in *Humanisme actif, Mélanges d'art et de littérature offerts à Julien Cain*; M.I. Stefanakis, 1997, p. 259–262).

[7] Sur l'inscription de Gortyne et l'introduction du monnayage de bronze en Crète, voir A.E. Jackson, 1971, «The bronze coinage of Gortyne», *NC*, p. 37–51 et A.E. Jackson, 1971, «The chronology of the bronze coins of Knossos», *ABSA*, vol. 66, p. 283–295. Il semble qu'Hiérapytna n'a pas frappé de monnaies d'argent entre 280/70 et 110 av. J.–C. Pendant la même période, les émissions de monnaies d'argent des autres cités crétoises, apparaissent aussi comme bien modestes et l'argent n'est plus frappé que sous la forme de pièces de petit module (voir G. Le Rider, 1968, *op. cit.* n. 6, p. 331). La cause principale était peut–être le manque d'argent. Les trésors crétois de la deuxième moitié du III^{e} siècle av. J.–C., attestent la rareté de ce métal precieux sur l'île, puisqu'ils contiennent seulement des monnaies de bronze des cités crétoises (voir *CH* I 63; Astritsi 1982, Musée d'Héraclion; *IGCH*, 227, Archanès 1960; *IGCH*, 229, Crète avant 1951; *IGCH*, 300, Kasteli Gortyna 1963).

[8] Le poids des «grands bronzes» s'échelonne entre 4,27 et 1,60g et leur diamètre entre 16 et 12mm. Les petits bronzes, probablement des chalques, pèsent entre 2,38 et 1,25g et leur diamètre s'échelonne entre 13 et 10mm. L'étalon et les dénominations du monnayage de bronze des cités crétoises n'ont pas encore été determinés, c'est pourquoi on n'insistera pas ici sur ces problèmes métrologiques.

[9] Voir Svoronos**,** nos 4, 6–7, 39–40, p. 188–189, 192–193 et nos 9–10, 26, pl. XVII; *SNG*, Copenhagen, t.17, no 465, pl. 10; S.W. Grose, 1926, *Fitzwilliam Museum, Catalogue of the Mac Clean collection of Greek coins*, vol. II, no 7126, p. 499; *SNG*, Deutschland, no 1027, pl. 49; J.G. Milne, 1943, «The Evans collection at Oxford, Cretan coins», *NC*, p. 77–91.

[10] Voir P. Lambros, 1897, *NC*, p. 32; G.K. Jenkins, 1949, «The Cameron collection of Cretan coins», *NC*, p. 47, no 53; J.S Cameron et G.F. Hill, 1913, «Some Cretan coins», *NC*, p. 384, no 11.

ΙΑΡΑΠΥ. D'après nos connaissances actuelles, cette série est émise entre le milieu du III^e^ et le début de la deuxième moitié du II^e^ siècle av. J.–C.

Le même type du revers avec le palmier, l'acrostolion et le monogramme, mais cette fois avec des noms de magistrats[11] apparaît probablement au début du I^e^ siècle av. J.–C. La tête d'Héraclès, de Zeus, d'Apollon ou d'Artémis sont maintenant remplacées par une tête masculine couronnée de lierre (Dionysos?) ou ceinte d'une *tainia* (fig. 23–26). On doit aussi mentionner que les monnaies de MENE et certaines émissions de ΣΩΤΕ et ΛΕΥΚΤ, portent au revers une couronne d'olivier (fig. 23). Comme on vient de le voir, cet élément iconographique se rencontre aussi sur les monnaies d'argent de la dernière série avec la tête de Tyché, émises après 110 av. J.–C. C'est pour cette raison qu'on pense que ces monnaies de bronze avec les noms de magistrats, ont pu être émises ou après cette dernière série des monnaies d'argent ou plutôt parallèlement avec celle–ci.

On remarque donc que l'aigle, le palmier et l'acrostolion sont les types favoris des monnaies d'Hiérapytna à l'époque hellénistique. Mais d'autres monnaies de bronze, émises par Hiérapytna, se détachent d'une certaine manière de la tradition iconographique hiérapytnienne. Ce sont les monnaies à l'étoile et à l'abeille.

I) Les monnaies de bronze à l'étoile:

Les monnaies de bronze hiérapytniennes à l'étoile présentent les types suivants: au droit, étoile à huit ou à six rayons et au revers palmier avec la légende IE/PA et le nom du magistrat monétaire ΦΑ/ΛΑ[12] (fig. 14–15). L'étoile était le type par excellence des monnaies d'Itanos.[13] Itanos est devenue la cité rivale d'Hiérapytna en Crète orientale

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[11] Ces modules de bronze, probablement des chalques, ont été émis par sept magistrats: ΣΩΤΕ (ΣΩ), ΛΕΥΚΤ, ΛΕΥ, MENE, ΑΝΤΙ, ΣΩΣΙ et CΩ (voir Svoronos**,** nos 35–38, p. 192 et nos 24–25, pl. XVII et addenda, no 35, p. 368, no 8, pl. 12; G.K. Jenkins, 1949, *op. cit.* n. 10, p. 47, no 54). Les noms de ces magistrats ne figurent pas sur les monnaies d'argent avec la tête de Tyché, excepté celui de MENE et de ΛΕΥ. Mais le monétaire ΛΕΥΣΟΣ, dont le nom figure sur les tétradrachmes d'argent (voir *Classical Numismatique Groupe*, Mail Bid Sale 49, 17 Mars 1999, no 536), a émis une série des monnaies de bronze, où figure son nom ΛΕΥ, aux types suivants: sur les oboles et les hémioboles, tête de Tyché au droit et au revers palmier, aigle et le monogramme ⍓ et sur les chalques, tête d'Artémis au droit et au revers, proue et le monogramme ⍓ (voir Svoronos**,** nos 32, 41, p. 192 et nos 21, 27, pl. XVII) (fig.18–20). Le magistrat ΛΕΥΣΟΣ a probablement émis des dichalques aux types suivants: tête d'Artémis au droit, portant carquois et *sphéndoné*, et au revers, aigle, acrostolion et le monogramme ⍓ (fig. 21–22). Ainsi, il est plus possible que les chalques aux types du palmier et d'acrostolion, émis au nom de ΛΕΥ, appartiennent à un autre magistrat. Quant aux monnaies de bronze qui ont été émises au nom de MENE, il est possible qu'elles appartiennent à ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΝΗΣ 1 (cette émission est inconnue par J.–N. Svoronos) ou à ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΝΗΣ 2 (voir Svoronos**,** no 18–23, p. 190–191 et no 20, pl. XVII), dont leur nom figure sur les monnaies d'argent, ou à un autre magistrat du même nom.

[12] Voir Svoronos, nos 33–34, p. 192 et nos 22–23, pl. XVII; *SNG*, Copenhagen, t.17, no 467, pl. 10. Le poids moyen de ces pièces de bronze, probablement des dichalques, est 3,50g et les diamètres s'échelonnent entre 16mm et 13mm. Le nom du magistrat ΦΑΛΑ est attesté sur la stèle hiérapytnienne de Vasiliki: Φάλαρος Εὐθιτίμω (l.4). Cette stèle date de la fin du II^e^ ou du début du I^er^ siècle av. J.–C. (voir H. et M. Van Effenterre, 1989, «Un obituaire crétois?», *Αριάδνη*, p. 99–107).

[13] Voir Svoronos, nos 1–9, 18, 33, 39–40, p. 201–206 et nos 21–36, pl. XVIII, nos 5, 16, 19, 22–23, pl. XIX. Les monnaies d'argent à l'étoile d'Itanos ont été datées, d'après les trésors, entre 380 et 280/70 av. J.–C. (voir G. Le Rider, 1966, *op. cit.* n. 6, p. 196). Après 260/50 av. J.–C., Itanos n'a probablement pas émis de monnaies d'argent mais seulement des monnaies de bronze, toujours au type de l'étoile (voir Svoronos**,** nos 42–44, p. 206–207 et nos 25–27, pl. XIX). L'étoile hiérapytnienne à huit rayons ressemble beaucoup à l'étoile

après la destruction de Praisos. Les revendications des Hiérapytniens sur le territoire qui voisinait le sanctuaire de Zeus Dictéen et sur l'île itanienne de Leuké vont les conduire à une guerre contre Itanos dans la deuxième moitié du II^{e} siècle av. J.–C. Le Sénat romain et la cité de la Magnésie–du–Méandre interviennent. En 140 av. J.–C., le tribunal magnesien favorisa les Itaniens, mais les Hiérapytniens continuèrent à exercer leur domination sur le territoire contesté et sur l'île de Leuké. La guerre se ralluma et le Sénat romain, à la demande de deux adversaires, est intervenu plusieurs fois, en envoyant des consuls sur place, afin de réssoudre le différend. Les Romains soutenaient plutôt la cause des Hiérapytniens, mais en 112/11 av. J.–C., le dernier tribunal magnésien favorisa encore une fois les Itaniens.[14]

Nous en concluons que les monnaies hiérapytniennes à l'étoile ont été émises dans la période entre les deux arbitrages (140–112/11 av. J.–C.). Ainsi, les Hiérapytniens ont adopté le type de l'étoile pour des raisons politiques puisque ils voulaient légitimer leurs revendications territoriales envers les Itaniens.[15]

Enfin 111/10 av. J.–C, la paix est revenue dans les cités de la Crète orientale et Hiérapytna connaît une période de prospérité, si l'on en juge par son monnayage d'argent avec la tête de Tyché. La tête tourelée de Tyché, qui est la personnification de la ville d'Hiérapytna, est un élément significatif du changement de la pensée des Hiérapytniens. En abandonnant leur envie continue d'une extension térritoriale[16] et toutes leurs revendications envers leurs cités voisines, ils se replient à leur cité et à leur propre territoire, qui était très étendu à la fin du II^{e} siècle av. J.–C.[17]

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itanienne qui figure au revers des oboles d'argent d'Itanos, émises entre 330 et 280/70 av. J.–C. Il faut mentionner qu'Itanos avait aussi émis des monnaies de bronze aux types de la tête casquée d'Athéna et de l'aigle. Ces monnaies pourraient être émises avant ou après 260/50 av. J.–C. (voir B. Traeger, Février 1999, «Itanos–Europas maritimes Spungbrett der Antike nach Africa», *NNB*, p. 62, no 52).

[14] Sur ces questions de querelles et d'arbitrages entre Hiérapytna et Itanos, voir A. Chaniotis, 1992, «Habgierige Götter, habgierige Städte, Heiligtumsbesitz und Gebietsanspruch in der Kretischen Staatsverträgen», *Ktéma*, 13, p. 21–39; A. Chaniotis, 1996, *Die Verträge zwischen Kretischen Poleis in der Hellenistischen Zeit*, p. 336–337; S.L. Ager, 1996, *Interstate arbitrations in the Greek world (337–90)*, p. 444–446; S. Kreuter, 1995, «Die Bezeihungen zwichen Rom und Kreta vom beginn des zweiten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. bis zu Einwiclung der Römischen Provinz», in Ch. Schubert at al., *Rome und der griechische Osten, Festschrift für H.H. Schmitt zum 65 Geburtstag*, Stuttgart, p. 137–139; E. Microgiannakis, 1967, *Η Κρήτη κατά τους Ελληνιστικούς Χρόνους*, p. 164–166; S. Spyridakis, 1970, *Ptolemaic Itanos and Hellenistic Crete*, p. 40–69.

[15] Les Hiérapytniens ont même construit dans la région qui voisinait avec le sanctuaire de Zeus Dictéen et qui appartenait à Itanos, un hameau (χωριον) dont le tribunal arbitral magnésien a décidé sa destruction totale en 112/11 av. J.–C. (voir *IC*, III Itanos, 9 et 10).

[16] On a une extension de son territoire pendant la deuxième moitié du II^{e} av. J.–C. vers l'est (destruction de la ville de Praisos en 145 av. J.–C.), vers le nord (occupation d'une partie du territoire d'Istron) et vers l'ouest (conquête d'une partie du territoire de Malla et/ou de Viannos); voir A. Chaniotis, 1996, *Die Verträge zwischen Kretischen Poleis in der Hellenistischen Zeit*, p. 251–252, 307–310, 346–347, 350; H. Van Effenterre et M. Bougrat, 1969, «Les frontières de Latô», *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 21, p. 277–300; H. Van Effenterre, 1991, «Die von de Grenzen der ostkretischen Poleis eingeschlossenen Flächen als Ernährungsspielraum» in *Stuttgarter Colloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums*, vol. 2–3, 1984–1987, p. 393–406; H. Van Effenterre, 1994, «La terminologie des bornages frontaliers» in *Stuttgarter Colloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums*, vol.4, 1990, p. 111–125.

[17] J. Bennet estime qu'à la fin du II^{e} siècle, l'étendue du territoire d'Hiérapytna était approximativement de 1050 km^{2} et qu'il comprenait probablement toutes les *éparchies* actuelles de Sitia (excepté le port de Sitia et le territoire d'Itanos) et d'Hiérapetra (voir J. Bennet, 1990, «Knossos in Context: Comparative perspectives on the Linear B Administration of LM II–III Crete», *AJA*, 94, 1990, p. 193–211).

II) Les monnaies de bronze à l'abeille:

En étudiant les monnaies d'Hiérapytna qui sont conservées à Ashmolean Museum à Oxford, nous avons découvert deux monnaies de bronze aux types suivants: au droit, tête féminine (Artémis ou Déméter/Perséphone?) de profil à droite, ceinte d'une *tainia* ou plutôt d'une couronne végétale et derrière la tête, un croissant de lune et, au revers une abeille avec la légende I/E[18] (fig. 16–17).

a) La légende

Nous avons d'abord pensé qu'il s'agissait d'une émission d'une autre ville crétoise aux initiales IE, étant donné que le type de l'abeille ne se rencontre pas sur le monnayage hiérapytnien. Il existe bien une ville au nom de Hiérapolis en Crète selon Pline[19] et Etienne de Byzance.[20] Certains auteurs modernes ont pensé qu'il s'agissait de Hiérapytna. Selon Debord,[21] «*ce point de vue n'est pas acceptable dans la mesure où Etienne donne une notice bien distincte pour cette dernière, et où les deux noms figurent chez Pline*». On ne sait pas où se situait Hiérapolis de Crète mais il s'agit probablement d'un autre nom donné à Lébèna, le port de Gortyne, où se situait le fameux temple crétois d'Asclépios.[22] Selon nos connaissances actuelles, Lébèna n'a pas frappé monnaie à l'époque hellénistique et il serait bien étonnant qu'elle ait signé ses monnaies avec le nom ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ou ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΣ à une époque où les sources littéraires et épigraphiques attestent bien le nom de ΛΕΒΗΝΑ. En fait, rien n'indique que ces monnaies ont été émises par une Hiérapolis de Crète ou par une autre ville crétoise dont les initiales seraient IE.[23]

Or, ces chalques à l'abeille sont sûrement des monnaies hiérapytniennes, puisque le type à l'abeille renvoie à des timbres amphoriques hiérapytniens qui figurent sur des anses d'amphores trouvées à Alexandrie en Egypte, à Callatis en Mer Noire et à Trypitos dans la région de Sitia.

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[18] Ces pièces sont des chalques avec un poids moyen de 1,94g. Le diamètre s'échelonne entre 12mm et 11mm et l'axe est à 12h. On a un coin de droit et deux coins de revers.

[19] Pline, *HN* 4, 59.

[20] Etienne de Byzance dénombre quatre Hiérapolis: aux confins lydo–phrygiens, en Carie, en Crète et en Syrie (sur Hiérapolis, voir Pauly–Wissova, *RE*, p. 1404). L'éthnique Ἱεροπολίτας, Ἱεροπολίτην et Ἱεροπολίτης est aussi attesté dans nos sources épigraphiques crétoises et plus spécialement dans des décrets de proxénie d'Aptéra (voir *IC*, II Aptera, 9, l.4) et de Lappa (voir *IC*, II Lappa, 7, B2) et sur une stèle funéraire d'Hiérapytna (voir *SEG*, XXXII, 1982, 875; K. Davaras, 1980, «Κρητικές Επιγραφές ΙΙΙ», *AE*, p. 8–9, l.2). Mais il s'agit probablement des personnes dont l'origine est syrienne ou phrygienne.

[21] P. Debord, 1997, «Hiérapolis: du sanctuaire–état à la cité», *REA*, 99, p. 415–426.

[22] Voir P. Faure, 1959, «La Crète aux cents villes», *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 13, p. 195 et 200; K. Davaras, 1980, *AE*, p. 9. Il faut remarquer que dans la *Graeciae Antiquae Tabulae Nova* de G. Delisle (1707–1708) et dans la *Grande Carte de Grèce* de Rigas Feraios Velestinlis (1797), la ville crétoise d'Hiérapolis se situe à la place de la ville ancienne de Lébéna (voir D. Karaberopoulos, 2000, *Η Χάρτα του Ρήγα Βελεστινλή*, p. 27 et 64).

[23] Le géographe Ptolémée (II^{e} siècle ap. J.–C.) mentionne aussi dans sa description, d'ouest à l'est, des côtes méridionales de l'île de Crète, le nom Ἱερὸν Ὄρος avant le nom d'Hiérapytna (voir P. Faure, 1958, «Spéléologie et topographie crétoises», *BCH*, 82, p. 511–515).

Il y a huit anses,[24] connues de nous à ce jour, dont l'origine est sans aucun doute hiérapytnienne, dans la mesure où figure sur les timbres l'ethnique au génitif pluriel ΙΕΡΑΠΥΤΝΙΩΝ ou ΙΑΡΑΠΥΤΝΙ[ΩΝ].[25] Les noms de magistrats[26] qui figurent sur ces timbres sont ceux de ΣΩΣΟΣ (ou ΣΩΣΟΥ)[27] (fig. 27–28) et de ΠΑΣΙΩΝ.[28] Le magistrat ΣΩΣΟΣ est parfois accompagné de son emblème, qui est l'aigle, et le magistrat ΠΑΣΙΩΝ d'un gouvernail.[29] Leur choix s'est porté sur des motifs appartenant clairement à l'iconographie civique puisque l'aigle se rencontre souvent sur le monnayage hiérapytnien et le gouvernail renvoie à l'acrostolion et à la proue qui apparaissent sur les monnaies de bronze d'Hiérapytna. Hiérapytna était une ville portuaire et donc l'utilisation des motifs ayant une relation avec les bateaux et la mer (proue, acrostolion et gouvernail) est évidente.

Il y a aussi un timbre amphorique d'origine sûrement crétoise,[30] trouvé à Alexandrie, où ne figure pas le nom du magistrat, mais seulement l'ethnique I/E et l'abeille (fig. 29). Puisque l'ethnique des Hiérapytniens figure déjà sur des amphores, trouvées à Alexandrie, J.Y. Empereur et A. Marangou ont proposé avec raison de développer les deux lettres ΙΕ en ΙΕΡΑΠΥΤΝΙΩΝ. La disposition des lettres I et E est exactement la même que sur les monnaies. La ressemblance iconographique et stylistique entre le timbre amphorique et le type monétaire est frappante. Ainsi, ces monnaies à l'abeille sont sûrement des monnaies hiérapytniennes.

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[24] Selon Marangou, l'anse de l'amphore hiérapytnienne devait être assez voisine de la forme rhodienne. Mais, quant au reste de l'amphore, il reste inconnu (voir J.Y. Empereur et A. Marangou, 1992, «Recherches sur les amphores crétoises III», *BCH*, 116, p. 642).

[25] L'utilisation de ces deux formes de graphi, ΙΕΡΑΠΥΤΝΙΩΝ ou ΙΑΡΑΠΥΤΝΙΩΝ est très courante par les Hiérapytniens pendant l'époque hellénistique. Le traité d'alliance entre Gortyne, Hiérapytna et Priansos, qui a été conclu au début du II^e^ siècle av. J.–C., les utilise simultanement (voir *IC*, IV Gortyne, 174 A). La forme ΙΑΡΑΠΥΤΝΙΩΝ se rencontre, dans nos sources épigraphiques, jusqu'à la fin du II^e^ siècle av. J.–C. (voir le traité d'alliance et d'isopolitie entre Hiérapytna et Latô, conclu en 111/10 av. J.–C.; H. Van Effenterre et M. Bougrat, 1969, *op. cit.* n.16, p. 11–24).

[26] Il peut s'agir de vrais *éponymes* qui datent tous les documents officiels de la cité ou de faux *éponymes*, qui ne servent qu'à contrôler et à dater la production des amphores (comme à Thasos). Mais à chaque fois, il s'agit de magistrats de la cité qui restent un an en charge (voir J.Y. Empereur et A. Hesnard, 1987, «Les amphores hellénistiques du monde égéen» in P. Lêveque, J.P. Morel (éd.), *Ceramiques hellénistiques et romaines II*, *Annales Littéraires de Besançon*, 331, p. 14). Les indications que les timbres amphoriques comportaient (l'ethnique, l'attribut officiel de la cité, le nom du magistrat, le nom du fabricant) avaient moins pour but de les identifier que de les authentifier.

[27] Les amphores avec le nom de ΣΩΣΟΣ (ou ΣΩΣΟΥ) ont été trouvées à Alexandrie et à Trypitos (voir J.Y. Empereur et A. Marangou, *op. cit.* n. 16, p. 639–642 et fig. 7b–c; N. Papadakis, 2000, in *Κρήτη–Αίγυπτος, Πολιτισμικοί δεσμοί τριών χιλιετιών, Κατάλογος*, p. 419, no 487). Le nom de ΣΩΣΟΣ n'est pas attesté dans les sources épigraphiques hiérapytniennes, mais c'est un nom très courant en Crète (voir *LGPN*, vol.1).

[28] L'amphore avec le nom de ΠΑΣΙΩΝ a été trouvée à Callatis en Mer Noire (voir L. Buzoianu et N. Cheluta–Georgescu, 1983, «Stampile de amfore inedite de la Callatis», *Pontica*, XVI, p. 167, no 34, pl. 3). Son nom est attesté à Hiérapytna dans une inscription qui date du III^e^ siècle ap. J.–C. (*SEG*, XXXII, 1982, 872, l.10; K. Davaras, 1980, *op. cit.* n. 20, p. 19–21). Il est aussi attesté à Kydonia, sur les tétradrachmes à types locaux, émis après 110 av. J.–C., et à Olonte (voir *LGPN*, vol.1).

[29] L. Buzoianu et N. Cheluta–Georgescu pensaient qu'il s'agissait d'un alabastron avec une fleur (voir L. Buzoianu et N. Cheluta–Georgescu, 1983, *op. cit.* n. 28).

[30] L'argile de cette anse d'amphore avec l'abeille et des anses d'amphores avec l'ethnique des Hiérapytniens, ressemble fort à celui des amphores crétoises impériales (voir J.Y. Empereur et A. Marangou, 1992, *op. cit.* n. 24, p. 640).

b) Les types et leur interprétation

Un autre problème que pose cette étude des monnaies hiérapytniennes à l'abeille est l'iconographie de leurs types. Au revers, l'abeille peut renvoyer à Zeus Crétagénès, puisque les abeilles le nourissaient avec leur miel après sa naissance. C'est pour cette raison que les cités crétoises, Elyros, Hyrtakina, Lisos et Tarrha, proches du mont Ida, lieu probable de la naissance de Zeus, ont frappées des monnaies aux types de la chèvre et de l'abeille.[31] Mais l'abeille peut aussi renvoyer à Artémis ou au culte de Déméter/Perséphone.

On sait que le type de l'abeille se rencontre souvent en Crète occidentale, mais aussi à Praisos en Crète orientale. Les dernières séries des monnaies d'argent émises par la ville de Praisos présentaient les types suivants: Apollon/abeille, Démèter ou Perséphone/abeille, Apollon/protomé de taureau, Démèter ou Perséphone/taureau bondissant ou taureau de face.[32] Ces monnaies ont été datées, d'après les trésors et les surfrappes, de la fin du IVe siècle et du début du III^{e} siècle av. J.–C.[33] Selon Head[34] et Babelon,[35] le monnayage praisien se poursuit jusqu'en 150/48 av. J.–C., c'est–à–dire jusqu'à la destruction de Praisos par Hiérapytna. Mais Praisos n'avait plus, à partir de la deuxième moitié du III^{e} siècle, la splendeur dont elle témoignait à l'époque archaique et classique. Ainsi, selon nos connaissances actuelles, Praisos n'a probablement pas émis de monnaies d'argent après 260/50 av. J.–C, mais seulement des monnaies de bronze,[36] comme Hiérapytna et Itanos.

L'abeille est donc un type monétaire praisien en Crète orientale. Il est possible qu'après la destruction de Praisos par Hiérapytna en 145 av. J.–C., cette dernière ville ait adopté, pour des raisons politiques, le type monétaire de Praisos.

La conquête de Praisos n'a pas été un événement de faible importance, mais elle a changé le cours de l'histoire d'Hiérapytna.[37] Hiérapytna avait dès le début du II^{e} siècle av. J.–C. un excès de peuplement et/ou des problèmes de concentration de la terre à quelques privilégiés, vu le grand nombre des traités d'isopolitie avec les autres cités crétoises qui instituaient le droit pour les Hiérapytniens d'émigration et d'installation dans les territoires des cités associées. Ainsi, Hiérapytna a essayé de fournir des terres à

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[31] Voir J. Nivaille, 1978, «Le type de l'abeille dans le monnayage grec», *CENB*, 15, no 4, p. 62–66. La ville d'Aptéra a aussi frappé des monnaies aux types suivants: au droit, tête d'Artémis–Aptéra et au revers, l'abeille.

[32] Voir Svoronos**,** nos 39–48, p. 290–292 et nos 8–19, pl. XXVIII.

[33] Voir G. Le Rider, 1966, *op. cit*. n. 6, p. 107–108 et 197. Deux monnaies de Praisos, dont l'un aux types d'Apollon/abeille faisaient probablement partie d'un trésor confisqué en 1991 (voir I. Touratsoglou, l995, «Creta Numismatica, The Confiscated Hoard of Central–Southern(?) Crete/1991– Coin Catalogue», *Disjecta Membra*, p. 48–49). On doit mentionner que les monnaies de Praisos ne sont pas présentes dans les trésors du II^{e} et I^{er} siècle av. J.–C.

[34] Voir B.V. Head, 1911, *Historia Numorum*.

[35] Voir E. Babelon, 1914, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* III, ch. XV, p. 906–918.

[36] Voir Svoronos**,** no 49, p. 292 et no 20, pl. XXVIII. Nivaille a publié une monnaie de bronze aux types de l'abeille au droit et du taureau au revers qu'il a attribuée à Praisos (voir J. Nivaille, 1990, «Un petit bronze grec au type de l'abeille inédit», *CENB* 21, p. 16–17).

[37] Les Hiérapytniens ont même érigé une statue de Niké, dédiée à leur victoire sur Praisos, dans leur temple d'Apollon Dekatophoros, d'Athéna Polias et des Douze Dieux (voir L. Beschi, 1985, «La Nike di Hierapytna, opera di Damokrates di Itanos», *RAL* 40, p. 131–143).

sa population par trois moyens: la colonisation, l'émigration dans les cités voisines et la conquête.[38] Ainsi le territoire de Praisos lui fournit des terres à cultiver, des plaines côtières pour le pâturage et l'élévage et d'autres ressources. Les Hiérapytniens sont maintenant voisins de la *hiéra gè* du temple de Zeus Dictéen et peuvent contrôler les régions, économiquement importantes, qui entouraient le sanctuaire. Cet essor d'Hiérapytna pendant la deuxième moitié du II^e^ siècle av. J.–C. est aussi attesté par la restauration du temple de Zeus Dictéen et des statues par les Hiérapytniens.[39]

En plus, Empereur et Marangou[40] mentionnent que leurs efforts pour localiser un atelier d'amphores dans la région d'Hiérapytna sont restés vains.[41] En revanche, ils ont localisé deux ateliers d'amphores dans la région de l'ancienne Praisos, ceux de Makrygialos et de Lagada, qui ont produit des amphores entre le II^e^ et le début du IV^e^ siècle de notre ère. Ces deux localités se trouvent sur la côte sud, à l'est d'Hiérapytna. Puisque Hiérapytna, avait conquis toute la région qui appartenait auparavant à Praisos, il est probable qu'il faut chercher cet atelier d'amphores dans cette dernière région où on trouve des ateliers pendant l'époque impériale.[42] Le sol de la région de Praisos, qui contient beaucoup du calcaire, était propice à la culture de la vigne.[43] Hiérapytna a donc essayé d'exploiter de plusieurs manières le territoire annexé de Praisos.

L'identité de la tête féminine, qui figure au droit de ces pièces, est inconnue. La présence du croissant de lune derrière sa tête est étrange. Il peut s'agir d'Artémis, dont le nom figure aux serments des Hiérapytniens dans leurs traités d'alliance et d'isopolitie et dont la figure est présente sur son monnayage, ou de Déméter/Perséphone, dont le culte est attesté à Hiérapytna par une inscription,[44] trouvée à Hiérapetra et datée par Guarducci du I^er^ siècle av. J.–C. ou du I^er^ siècle ap. J.–C.

Le mythe de la poursuite d'Artémis crétoise (Britomartis ou Diktynna) par Minos a été interprété par les spécialistes comme la survivance des croyances astrales et plus spécialement comme le symbolisme de l'apparition au ciel de la lune et du soleil. Il

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[38] Voir A. Chaniotis, 1995, «Problems of Pastoralism and Transhumance in Classical and Hellenistic Crete», *Orbis Terrarum*, 1, p. 39–89.

[39] Voir *IC* III, Dictaeum Fanum, 1.

[40] Voir J.Y. Empereur, A. Marangou, 1992, *op. cit.* n. 24, p. 639.

[41] Les ateliers d'amphores sont rares en Crète à l'époque hellénistique. Outre Hiérapytna, Gortyne et Kératokambos ont aussi produit des amphores (non–timbrées) à l'époque hellénistique. Mais seules les amphores hiérapytniennes ont été trouvées en dehors de Crète. Selon nos connaissances actuelles, les amphores produites à Gortyne (AC5 et AC8) et à Kératokambos (AC7) étaient destinées à un usage local. Les amphores de Gortyne, se trouvent aussi à Lasaia et à Apollonia et les amphores produites à Kératokambos ne sont pas attestées ailleurs qu'à Kératokambos (voir J.Y. Empereur, Ch. Kritzas et A. Marangou, 1991, «Centres de fabrication d'amphores en Crète Centrale II», *BCH*, 115, p. 481–523; M.W. Bowsky, 1994, «Cretan Connections: The transformation of Hierapytna», *Cretan Studies*, p. 16, n. 41).

[42] Il est aussi possible que l'atelier d'amphores se situait dans la ville–même d'Hiérapytna dès l'époque hellénistique et qu'il a continué à fonctionner à l'époque imperiale. Mais cet atelier hiérapytnien d'amphores aurait été probablement remplacé à l'époque impériale par les ateliers extra–urbains d'Arvi (40km à l'ouest d'Hiérapytna), de Makrygialos et de Lagada (voir M.W.B. Bowsky, 1994, *op. cit.* n. 41**,** p. 35–36).

[43] La culture de la vigne était très prospère en Crète pendant l'Antiquité (voir A. Chaniotis**,** 1998, «Vinum Creticum Excellens: Zum Weinhandel Kretas», *Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte*, VII, p. 62–71).

[44] *IC*, III Hierapytna, 12: Τὰν Δάματρα καὶ τὰν Κώραν Ἀρχεδίκα Ζηνοφίλω μετὰ τὰν περίστασην ὑπὲρ τὰς πόλεος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἱδρύσατο.

semble que la lune (Artémis) est poursuivie par le soleil (Minos), ce dernier ne pouvant jamais l'atteindre. Ce symbolisme lunaire apparaît clairement aux surnoms donnés à Artémis grecque: Aphaia et Lafria.[45] En plus, le nom crétois Britomartis,[46] donnée à Artémis, vient du verbe «βλίττειν», «enlever le miel de la «κερύθρα» et ainsi Britomartis est aussi liée avec le miel et les abeilles.

Mais la lune est aussi le symbole de la fécondité, de la périodicité et du renouvellement. De même, la lune est pour l'homme le symbole du passage de la vie à la mort et de la mort à la vie. C'est pourquoi des nombreuses divinités chthoniennes et funéraires, comme Perséphone, sont des divinités lunaires. La lune était aussi appelée μέλισσα; par les anciens parce que la lune est liée aux taureaux[47] et les abeilles naissent par la carcasse des taureaux (βουγενεῖς μέλισσαι)[48] C'est pour cette raison qu'on trouve parfois associés sur les monnaies de Praisos, Déméter/Perséphone au droit et le taureau ou l'abeille au revers, et aussi, l'abeille au droit et le taureau au revers. On doit mentionner que les anciens ont aussi donné le nom de μέλισσαι aux prêtresses de Déméter (et d'Apollon), et le nom de μελιτώδης à Perséphone.[49] En plus, il semble que la tête féminine qui figure au droit de ces pièces hiérapytniennes porte une couronne d'épis ou une couronne végétale, plutôt qu'une *tainia*, vu les extrémités de cette couronne devant et derrière la tête.

Enfin, si la tête féminine, qui figure sur ces pièces, est Déméter/Perséphone, la «propagande» politique des Hiérapytniens, concernant leur conquête victorieuse de Praisos, devient encore plus évidente, puisque cette dernière déesse figure aussi sur les monnaies de Praisos.

c) La datation

Selon Empereur et Marangou,[50] les amphores hiérapytniennes datent de la fin du III^{e} et du II^{e} av. J.–C. et les caractères de l'écriture, notamment le pi à deux hastes verticales égales[51], indiquent plutôt le III^{e} siècle. Cependant nous sommes d'un avis différent sur la chronologie de ces anses d'amphores hiérapytniennes.

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[45] Voir N. Psilakis, *Κρητική Μυθολογία*, 1996, p. 98–99.

[46] Le culte de Artémis Britomartis est attesté en Crète orientale, à Latô et à Olonte.

[47] Le type de trois croissants de lune avec un bucranium au centre, se rencontre sur des monnaies, émises à Cydonia (voir Svoronos**,** nos 30, 43, p. 205–207 et nos 14, 27, pl. IX; M.I. Stefanakis, 1997, *op. cit.* n. 6, p. 233).

[48] Voir A.B. Cook, 1895, «The bee in the Greek Mythology», *JHS*, 15, p. 17–18.

[49] Voir A.B.Cook, 1895, *op. cit.* n. 48, p. 14–15; M. Marconi, 1940, «Μέλισσα Dea Crétese», *Athenaeum*, 18, p. 168.

[50] Voir J.Y. Empereur et A. Marangou, 1992, *op. cit.* n. 24**,** p. 639–642 et fig. 7a–f; A. Marangou, 1993, «Le vin de Crète de l'époque classique à l'époque impériale: Un premier bilan», *BCH*, XXVI, p. 178. A. Marangou–Lérat, 1995, *Le vin et les amphores de Crète de l'époque classique à l'époque imperiale*, Études Crétoises 30, p. 123–124; A. Marangou, 1999, «Wine in the Cretan Economy» in *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders, Sidelights on the Economy of Ancient Crete*, A. Chaniotis (ed.), Stuttgart, p. 270, n. 2**;** A. Marangou, 2000, «The wine–trade between Crete and Egypt, A first account», in A. Καρέτσου, *Κρήτη και Αίγυπτος, Μελέτες*, p. 250; N. Papadakis, 2000, *op. cit.* n. 27.

[51] Le pi à deux hastes verticales figure aussi sur les monnaies d'argent d'Hiérapytna, avec la tête de Tyché, émises à la fin du II^{e} siècle av. J.–C.

Les monnaies à l'abeille ont probablement été émises après 145 av. J.–C. et pour la même raison on datera la production des amphores hiérapytniennes dans la deuxième moitié du II^e^ siècle av. J.–C. Les premiers timbres amphoriques d'Hiérapytna sont ceux avec l'abeille et l'ethnique IE; viennent ensuite ceux avec les noms de magistrats et l'ethnique IE(A)PAΠYTNI[ΩN].

L'éthnique pleinement développé (IEPAΠYTNIΩN) fait son apparition à la fin du II^e^ siècle av. J.–C., sur les monnaies d'argent avec la tête de Tyché. Avant 110 av. J.–C., l'ethnique était marqué sur les monnaies hiérapytniennes de plusieurs manières: IEPAΠV, IEPA, IE/PA, I/Ⓡ, I/A, I/E ou avec le monogramme Ⓟ (ou Ⓟ).

L'apparition des noms de magistrats sur les monnaies et sur les amphores doit être contemporaine. Les magistrats hiérapytniens commencent à signer leurs monnaies à partir de la deuxième moitié du II^e^ siècle av. J.–C.[52] Le premier fut ΦAΛA, qui a signé les monnaies de bronze à l'étoile et puis, après 110 av. J.–C., toutes les monnaies hiérapytniennes d'argent et la plupart de monnaies de bronze sont signées. Les noms ΣΩΣΟΣ et ΠΑΣΙΩN, qui figurent sur les timbres amphoriques, ne se retrouvent pas sur les monnaies.

Cependant, il est possible que les deux types de contrôle, celui de la monnaie et celui de la fabrication des amphores, aient eu, à certaines périodes, une histoire parallèle,[53] comme le montre une comparaison du timbre amphorique à l'abeille avec les monnaies à l'abeille, qui sont sûrement contemporaines.

Alors, on voit comment la vie économique d'Hiérapytna s'organise, l'apparition des noms de magistrats ne paraissant pas avoir d'autre fonction que de faciliter le contrôle administratif de la production monétaire, contrôle que l'on peut rapprocher de celui qui est exercé sur la production des amphores.

Sur l'importance économique de cette production d'amphores, on ne sait rien. On connaît qu'une dizaine d'anses amphoriques, ce qui ne prouve pas une grande activité commerciale d'Hiérapytna. Il n'est pas exclu, que derrière cette dizaine d'anses, se cache une production plus importante qui reste non–identifiée sur les sites de consommation parce qu'elle est non–timbrée.[54] Selon les sources littéraires, le vin de Crète commence à être connu en dehors de l'île à partir du milieu du II^e^ siècle av. J.–C. On connaît que Polybe compare le *passum* romain au vin crétois. Mais c'est à partir de l'époque augustéenne où l'exportation du vin crétois va être developée.[55] Selon Viviers,[56] la rareté d'attestations, concernant l'exportation des produits crétois avant l'époque romaine, pourrait être expliquée par le fait que les produits crétois étaient transportés en dehors de l'île non seulement par des commerçants crétois, mais aussi par des commerçants étrangers, faisant partie des cargaisons mixtes. En général, l'origine de ces cargaisons

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[52] Dans d'autres villes crétoises, il y eut des magistrats signant leurs monnaies dès la fin du IV^e^ siècle av. J.–C. (voir G. Le Rider, 1966, *op. cit.* n. 6, p. 217–218).

[53] Voir O. Picard, 1987, «L'administration de l'atelier monétaire à Thasos au IV^e^ siècle», *RN*, XXIX, p. 12.

[54] Voir J.Y. Empereur, A. Marangou, 1992, *op. cit.* n. 24, p. 642.

[55] Voir A. Marangou, 1999, *op. cit.* n. 50, p. 270.

[56] Voir D. Viviers, 1999, «Economy and Territorial Dynamics in Crete from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period», *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders, Sidelights on the Economy of Ancient Crete*, A. Chaniotis (ed.), Stuttgart, p. 229.

était associée à celle du transporteur, qui n'était pas crétois ou à celle de la partie la plus grande de la cargaison. Chaniotis[57] pense que le nombre modeste des anses d'amphores hiérapytniennes trouvés à Alexandrie n'atteste pas un courant commercial, parce que les produits de l'île pouvaient être emportés par les nombreux mercenaires crétois sous le règne des Ptolémées, tandis que le vin était importé dans l'île, comme le montrent les timbres amphoriques trouvés en Crète.[58] Mais l'exportation des hydries de Hadra – fabriquées d'abord dans la Messara à partir de 260 av. J.–C. et à Cnossos à partir de 230 av. J.–C. – prouve l'existence des relations commerciales entre la Crète et l'Egypte depuis le III^{e} siècle av. J.–C.[59] Bien–sûr l'amphore hiérapytnienne, trouvée à Callatis en Mer Noire, ne prouve pas une activité commerciale entre Hiérapytna et les cités du Pont. Dans ce cas, ce sont probablement des mercenaires ou des pirates crétois au service de Mithridate VI Eupator, qui l'ont emportée.[60]

Néanmoins le timbrage amphorique hiérapytnien qui imite celui de Rhodes et de Thasos, les grands centres d'exportation du vin à l'époque hellénistique, atteste une certaine organisation et un certain contrôle[61] de la production des amphores par la cité. Mais on ne sait pas si le timbrage des amphores hiérapytniennes a été directement lié ou non à leur exportation puisqu'on connaît des centres de timbrage, comme Samothrace, qui n'ont guère diffusé leurs amphores et on connaît inversement de grands centres exportateurs qui ne les ont guère timbrées.[62]

De toute façon, on peut penser que l'essor de la ville d'Hiérapytna, attesté par le monnayage d'argent de la fin du II^{e} siècle av. J.–C., ne doit pas provenir seulement de la solde de mercenaires ou de pirates mais aussi très probablement du commerce du vin.[63]

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[57] Voir A. Chaniotis, 1998, *op. cit.* n. 43, p. 71.

[58] L'importation de vin égéen est attesté par les amphores de Rhodes, de Cos, de Chios ou de Cnide découvertes massivement surtout en Crète orientale. L'importation de vin italien est attesté par une inscription du I^{er} siècle av. J.–C. et par les amphores de la côte adriatique et de la côte tyrrhénienne, découvertes sur les sites crétoises (voir A. Marangou–Lérat, 1995, *op. cit.* n. 50**,** p. 156).

[59] Sur les hydries de Hadra, voir A. Enklaar, 1985, «Chronologie et peintres des hydries de Hadra», *BABesch* 60, p. 106–146 et A. Enklaar, 1986, «Les hydries de Hadra II. Formes et ateliers», *BABesch* 61, p. 41–65 et M. Eglezou, 2000, «Μελανόγραφες υδρίες της κατηγορίας HADRA», in *Κρήτη–Αίγυπτος, Πολιτισμικοί δεσμοί τριών χιλιετιών*, *Κατάλογος*, p. 404).

[60] P. Brulé pense que «commerce et piraterie ne sont pas forcement antithétiques» et que les mercenaires et les pirates ont peut–être joué un rôle dans les transactions commerciales entre les cités crétoises et les Etats du monde hellénistique (voir P. Brulé, 1978, *op. cit.* n. 2, p. 159).

[61] Y. Gaplan pense que le timbrage amphorique servait probablement pour un contrôle de nature fiscale au sortir de l'atelier de fabrication (voir Y. Gaplan, 1999, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos, Timbres protothasiens et thasiens anciens*, *Études Thasiennes* XVIII, vol.1, E.F.A, p. 81–83).

[62] Voir Y. Gaplan, 1999, *op. cit.* n. 61, p. 79–80.

[63] M.W.B. Bowsky pense que «*it may well be trade that best explains Hierapytna's growing power and prosperity in eastern Crete in the second–first centuries BME*» (voir M.W.B. Bowsky, 1994, *op. cit.* n. 41, p. 15).

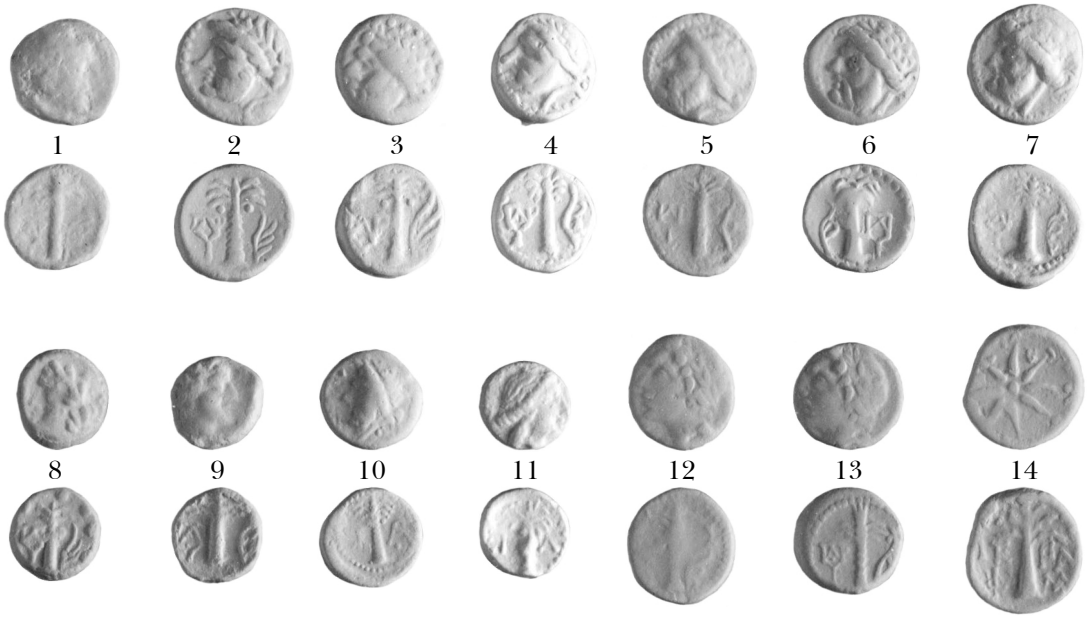
ABREVIATIONS:

AE: *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίδα.*
ABSA: *Annual of the British School at Athens.*
AJA: *American Journal of Archaeology.*
AM: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
BCH: *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*
BM: British Museum, Londres.
BMC: Wroth W., *Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum* (*BMC*), *Crete and the Aegean islands*, London, 1886 (réédition à Bologne en 1963–1965).
CENB: *Cercle d'Études Numismatiques, Bulletin.*
CH: *Coin Hoards*, Londres, 1975–1994.
HN: Pline l'Ancien, *Histoire Naturelle*, Livre IV, traduit par M.E. Littré, Paris, 1848.
IC: Guarducci M., *Inscriptiones Creticae*, 4 vols, Rome, 1935–1950.
JHS: *Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
LGPN: P.M. Fraser et E. Mathews, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 1, 1987.
NC: *Numismatic Chronicle.*
NNB: *Numismatisches Nachrichtenblat.t*
RAL: *Rediconti de la Classe di Scienti Morali dell'Academia dei Lincei.*
RE: A. Pauly, G. Wissova, W. Kroll, *Real–Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1894–.
REA: *Revue des Études Anciennes.*
RN: *Revue Numismatique.*
SEG: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*
SNG: *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Danish Series*, 1942–1977 (*Danish National Museum Copenhagen*, t.17) et *Deutschland*, 1993 (*Sammlung der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Autonome Griechische Münzen*, München).
Svoronos: J.–N. Svoronos, 1890, *Numismatique de la Crète Ancienne*, Maçon, réédition en 1972.

Vassiliki E. Stefanaki

FIGURES DES MONNAIES DE BRONZE:

	Provenance	Poids	Diametre	Axe	Magistrat
1.	AM, Oxford; Cameron Beq., 1948:	3,46g	13mm	12h	
2.	BM, Londres; Cameron, 1947, 6–6–479:	3,17g	15mm	12h	
3.	BM, Londres; Earle Fox, 1920, 8–5–1553:	2,63g	13mm	12h	
4.	BM, Londres; Seager, 1926, 3–10–444:	2,95g	13mm	12h	
5.	BM, Londres; Cameron, 1947, 6–6–499:	2,72g	15mm	9h	
6.	Berlin; Imhoof–Blumer, 1900:	2,37g	14mm	12h	
7.	BM, Londres; Cameron, 1947, 6–6–498:	2,30g	14mm	12h	
8.	AM, Oxford; Cameron Beq. 1948:	1,67g	11mm	6h	
9.	Berlin; 801/1878:	1,73g	11mm	12h	
10.	BM, Londres; Cameron1947, 6–6–1186:	1,50g	13mm	11h	
11.	Munich:	1,29g	11mm	3h	
12.	BM, Londres; Cameron, 1947, 6–6–491:	1,85g	13mm	12h	
13.	BM, Londres; Cameron, 1947, 6–6–492:	2,34g	13mm	12h	
14.	BM, Londres; Cameron, 1947, 6–6–500:	2,88g	15mm		ΦΑΛΑ
15.	Munich:	2,96g	15mm		ΦΑΛΑ
16.	AM, Oxford; New College:	1,18g	12mm	12h	
17.	AM, Oxford; New College:	2,70g	11mm	12h	
18.	BM, Londres; Seager, 1926, 1–16–442:	9,90g	22mm	12h	ΛΕΥ
19.	BM, Londres; Cameron, 6–6–496:	6,02g	17mm	1h	ΛΕΥ
20.	BM, Londres; Cameron, 1947, 6–6–488:	1,77g	13mm	6h	ΛΕΥ
21.	BM, Londres; Cameron, 1947, 6–6–480:	3,13g	16mm	2h	ΛΕΥ
22.	BM, Londres; Cameron, 1947, 6–6–481:	4,92g	16mm	2h	ΛΕΥ
23.	BM, Londres; Cameron, 1947, 6–6–486:	2,16g	10mm	2h	ΣΩΤΕ
24.	BM, Londres; Cameron, 1947, 6–6–503:	1,81g	12mm	1h	ΛΕΥΚΤ
25.	BM, Londres; Cameron, 1947, 6–6–484:	2,13g	11mm	12h	ΛΕΥ
26.	Berlin; Imhoof–Blumer, 1900:	1,58g	11mm	12h	CΩ



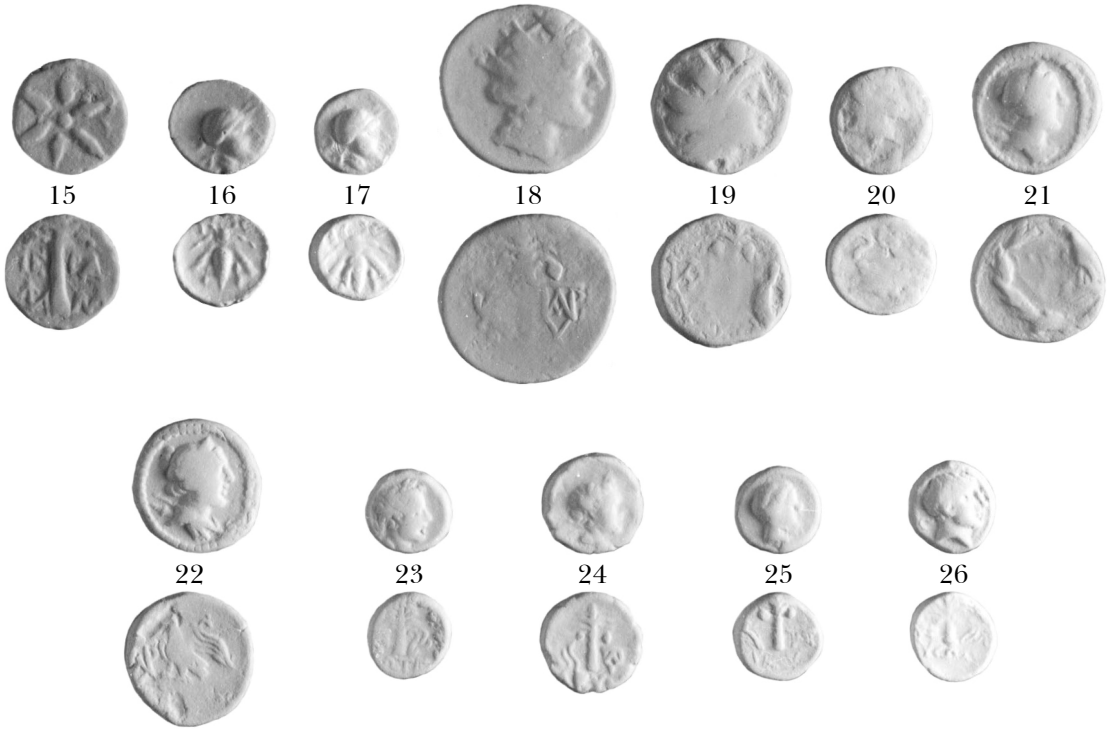


Fig 27

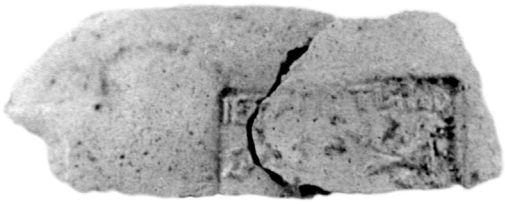


Fig. 28

Fig. 29

THE HOARD ΑΡΚΑΛΟΧΩΡΙ–ΑΣΤΡΙΤΣΙ 1936 (*IGCH* 154)*

The hoard *IGCH* 154, found in 1936 in Crete, close to Arkalochori–Astritsi, is constituted by various Cretan and by several foreign issues.[1] According to the numismatic bibliography[2] it might be formed by two hoards found at two different locations in 1936. The first hoard from Arkalochori, a village of central Crete, might be exclusively made up of non–Cretan coins, the second from Astritsi, north–west of Arkalochori, in contrast, by Cretan issues only. I. Varoucha–Christodoulopoulou[3] did not agree and indicated Siva, south of Phaestos, as the discovery place of a single hoard of Cretan and non–Cretan issues. Nevertheless she states elsewhere that this hoard comes from Astritsi[4] and the scant information available in archives of the Numismatic Museum of Athens suggest Astritsi as the place of discovery. But it is not possible to recover the context or other find circumstances which could help us in the dating of the hoard.

Here we are only dealing with the fifty–five silver coins from Cyrene, Corinth (and her colonies), Argos and Thebes. In addition to these, there are six more silver coins from Cyrene (*IGCH* 318),[5] dispersed in antiquity and probably belonging to the same hoard. At present both hoards are kept in the Numismatic Museum of Athens.

The silver didrachms of Cyrene show, on the obverse, a curly headed Apollo Karneios[6] with Ammon's horn[7] around the ear, and, on the reverse, the silphium,[8] the

* My warm thanks to Dr. I. Touratsoglou, Director of the Numismatic Museum of Athens, for the permission to publish this hoard, to Professor M. Caltabiano, for her constant encouragement, to J. Baker for the revision of the English text.

1 G. LE RIDER, *Monnaies crétoises du V au I siècle av. J.C.*, Paris 1966, pp. 11–13.

2 S.P. NOE, *Bibliography of Greek coin hoard*, 1937, nn. 62, 283.

3 I. VAROUCHA CHRISTODOULOPOULOU, *Acquisitions du Musée Numismatique d'Athènes*, BCH 84 (1960), pp. 490–491.

4 C. DAVARAS, *Die Statue aus Astritsi*, Antike Kunst 1972, p. 7.

5 M. THOMPSON, O. MØRKHOLM, C. KRAAY, *An inventory of Greek coin hoard*, New York 1973, *IGCH* 308 Hierapytna 1935(?).

6 The identity of the youth with horned head is still disputed. Hermes Parammon has been proposed (F. CHAMOUX, *Hermes Parammon*, Études d'archeologie classique, II, Annales de l'Est, memoire 22, Nancy 1959, pp. 29–40) or Dionysos (E.S.G. ROBINSON, BMC *Cyrenaica*, pp. 240–244). In our opinion the most probable identification is that of Apollo Karneios. He is a young Peloponnesian ram–god, patron of the royal family of Thera, tied to pastoral and agricultural fertility, and compared to Apollo by Greek colonists. Pindarus (*Pyth.* V, vv. 63–81) mentions Apollo Karneios honoured in Cyrene with a feast and a sumptuous banquet, and Callimacos (*Hymn.* II, vv. 45–49, 55–59, 65–73) remembers Apollo Karneios as founder of Cyrene, celebrated during the *Karneia* feasts.

7 On Egyptian religion see F. DUMAS, *Les dieux de l'Égypte*, Paris 1977 (3).

8 F. CHAMOUX, *Du silphion*, «Cyrenaica in antiquity», BAR International Series 236, 1985, p. 167; ID., *Le problème du silphion*, BSAF 1985, pp. 54–59; J. P. BOCQUET, *Le silphium nourriture des dieux*, Doss. Arch. 123 (1988), pp. 88–91.

plant symbol of Cyrenaica, with the legend KYPA variously arranged, one or two symbols and monograms.

The oldest issues are surely those carrying the cornucopia as symbol and the inscription KYPA in two parallel columns, according to the older scheme; the wear of the flan, mainly with respect to the cornucopia series, bears this out. The issues immediately following are those with one or two eight–pointed stars in the reverse field; here the legend is arranged in one single line on each side of the silphium (KY–PA). The most recent ones, in contrast, bear as symbols the snake, the tripod and the crab in combination with a monogram (ΙΠ, Ε, ΙΙ).

For a long time scholars[9] believed that these issues were struck on the so–called «Rhodian» standard, without realising that the contemporary Rhodian didrachm[10] weighs ca. 6,8–6,7 gr., our series, however, weighs 7,67 gr. on average.

In my opinion the issue must form part of the monetary policy of Ptolemy I. After the initial adoption of the Attic standard[11] for a silver didrachm of 8,6–8,4 gr., that is ca. after 310 B.C., he carried out progressive weight reductions,[12] probably as a response to the change in the ratio of gold and silver from 1:10 to 1:11.[13]

The coinage of the didrachms Apollo Karneios/silphium may be put at the mid–point between the Attic and the new Ptolemaic standard, before the ensuing reduction to what may have been the Rhodian standard. In our hoard this second development is testified by a silver didrachm (inv. no 12) from Cyrene which carries on the obverse the head of Apollo Myrtous[14] and on the reverse the silphium and the legend KYPA, accompanied by the monogram ΣΩ and one or two symbols.

Nevertheless, Cyrenaica was not entirely in line with the various monetary reforms made by Ptolemy Soter, despite her *status* as a Ptolemaic possession, due to her distance from Egypt and the central power. In addition, Magas' accession to the throne[15] of Cyrene increased her autonomy. At the beginning he was only governor but afterwards, from ca. 285 B.C., he became king of the Cyrenaica,[16] enjoying an increasing political independence especially after the death of his stepfather Ptolemy I.

These historical and metrological reasons lead me to date the Cyrenaic issues with Apollo Karneios to about 300/290–280 B.C.

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[9] E.S.G. ROBINSON, *Catalogue of the Greek coins. Cyrenaica*, London 1927, p. cxiii, pp. cclxiv–cclxv.

[10] O. MØRKHOLM, *Early Hellenistic coinage from the accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336–188 B.C.)*, Cambridge 1990, pp. 7–11.

[11] Owing to the great popularity of the Athenian owls, the attic weight standard was known far and wide. Adopted by Philip of Macedon and then by Alexander, it rapidly became the dominant weight standard for international trade coinages. All the *Diadochi*, except Ptolemy after 310 B.C., adhered to it.

[12] E.S.G. ROBINSON, *The coin standard of Ptolemy I*, in M. ROSTOVTZEFF, *Social and economic history of Hellenistic world*, III, pp. 1635–1639; V. CUBELLI –D. FORABOSCHI, *Caratteri generali della monetazione ellenistica*, in «La moneta greca e romana» (ac. F. Panvini Rosati), Roma 2000, pp. 61–76.

[13] O. MØRKHOLM, *Cyrene and Ptolemy I. Some numismatic comments*, Chiron X, 1980, pp. 151–153.

[14] This is the lightest specimen in the Cretan hoards and we may assume it was in current use at the time of burial.

[15] F. CHAMOUX, *Le roi Magas*, RH 216, 1956, pp. 18–34.

[16] One epigram from Apollonia, dedication of a marble Nike in the Ares *Enyalios*' shrine, shows the formula Μαγαι Βασιληι, a dedication to the Gods, from the *Agorà* of Cyrene, carries the inscription Βασιλεως Μαγα, and the Magas' name is preceded by royal title in the alliance treaty with the *Oreioi*.

The Corinthian–type coinages come not only from Corinth,[17] but also from her colonies: Anactorion,[18] Amphilochian Argos and Thyrrheion, identified through the different mints through the letters and the monograms on the obverse (qoppa, AM, A/, ΘΥ), which show the various workshops.

All the staters bear on the obverse the flying Pegasus with pointed wings and on the reverse the head of Athena with Corinthian helmet accompanied by various symbols.

Classification of the very extensive Corinthian coinage has been difficult. The uniformity of the types and the use of a wide range of symbols hamper full classification. Our pieces are clearly of the 5th Ravel's period (387–306 B.C.).[19]

The so–called «Corinthian War» ended with Anthalcidas' Peace in 387 B.C. and Corinth regained its autonomy; despite civil war a new order was initiated. This is shown by the radical change of the coinage, through the reorganization of the mints.

During the 4th century B.C. Corinth achieved, therefore, a monetary ripeness testified by the impressive quantity of the coins struck. The *Pegasoi* became an international currency, known and accepted everywhere. In fact, they have been found in large quantities far away from their place of origin (*Magna Graecia*, Sicily, Crete), as shown by the analysis of coin hoards.[20] Corinth ceased to issue coins after the occupation of the city by Ptolemy I, between 308 and 306 B.C.

The closing date of Ravel's 5th period has been determined as 307 B.C. by the Chiliomodi hoard (*IGCH* 85),[21] but the beginning has caused debate. G.K. Jenkins[22] suggested 350 B.C. as *terminus a quo* and also a different sequence of issues.

The issues of Argos[23] are formed by silver triobols with the forepart of a wolf on the obverse, the letter A and several symbols in incuse square on the reverse. The series develops from the simple to the complex. First it uses only one symbol, then a symbol and a monogram, with variation both in the symbols and in the monograms in the course of time. The classical coinage of Argos is usually divided into two groups. The series with symbols and letters belong to the first group, like those in our hoard, whereas the second group shows on the reverse the full magistrate's name responsible of the minting.[24]

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[17] O.E. RAVEL, *Les «Poulains» de Corinthe*, I–II, London 1936–1948; C.M. KRAAY, *Archaic and classical Greek coins*, London 1976, pp. 78–88; J.B. CAMMANN, *The symbols on staters of Corinthian type*, ANS NNM 53, 1932; R. CALCIATI, *Pegasi*, I–II, Mortara 1990; K. JENKINS, *Notes on the mint of Corinth*, in «La monetazione corinzia in Occidente» see *infra*, Roma 1993, pp. 21–34; M. PUGLISI, *Monetazione corinzia: le frazioni argentee*, XII Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress, I, Berlin 1997 (Berlin 2000), pp. 203–211.

[18] D.D. FORASTE, *The 4th century mint of Anaktorion*, in «La monetazione corinzia in Occidente», see *infra*, pp. 43–59.

[19] O. RAVEL, *Les «Poulains»*…, pp. 16–30.

[20] *La monetazione corinzia in Occidente*, Atti del IX Convegno Internazionale di studi Numismatici, Napoli 27–28 Ottobre 1986 (Roma 1993).

[21] O. RAVEL, *Corinthian hoard from Chiliomodi*, Transaction of International Numismatic Congress, London 1936, pp. 98–108.

[22] K. JENKINS, *A note on Corinthian coins in the West*, ANS Centennial Publication, New York 1958, pp. 372–374.

[23] T. HACKENS, *À propos de la circulation monétaire dans le Péloponnèse au III s. av. J.C.*, Studia Ellenistica 16, 1968, pp. 69–95; ID., *À propos du trésor de Gierapetra 1935 (Noe 434)*, RBN cxvii, 1971, pp. 288–289.

[24] G. LE RIDER, *Monnaies crétoises*…, p. 42.

Our oldest series bears one symbol (bipennis) on the reverse, whereas the following emissions show the symbol and some letters, which probably refer to the magistrate's name. The triobols may be divided into two groups according to the letters on the reverse: the group AP with a single or triple crescent and a club as symbols, and the group NI with an ivy leaf, a club and a bunch of grapes. In addition to these, there are other issues, which show different letters and symbols, but these series must be regarded as subsequent.

The minting of the city probably began around the middle of 4th century B.C., and it goes on until the entry of Argos in the Achaean League in circa 229 B.C.[25] Unfortunately it is not possible to provide other information because until now its monetary history, before that date, has been ignored by scholars.

To conclude the description of our hoard, we have a silver drachm from Thebes with the Boeotian shield on the obverse and an amphora in incuse square on reverse, and a pseudo–Aeginetan coin showing the turtle (*Testudo Graeca*)[26] on obverse and the incuse square divided into five irregular compartments, in the largest of which there is a crescent, on the reverse.

Comparing the hoard in question with others found in Crete, we can see a close resemblance with regard to non–Cretan coins.[27] The hoards *IGCH* 151 (1915), *IGCH* 152 (1953), studied and published by G. Le Rider,[28] and the most recent one found on the island in 1991, published by I. Touratsoglou,[29] show a great quantity of Corinthian staters, Cyrenean didrachms, triobols of Argos, and a smaller amount of Boeotian and Aeginetan issues. This affinity of contents should be stressed, because it is a clear indication not only of close relations between the island of Crete and Corinth, Argos and Cyrene,[30] but it also shows an integration and use of foreign specie in the monetary market of the Cretan *Messara*.[31] All these induce one to suppose the same period of hoarding and burying, that is the first half of the 3rd century B.C.

The island, in the middle of the Aegean Sea, densely–populated and rich in natural resources, was a link between East and West, the Greek homeland and her colonies.

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[25] P. GARDNER, *Catalogue of Greek coins. Peloponnesus*, rist. anast. Bologna 1981, p. 140.

[26] S.R. MILBANK, *The coinage of Aegina*, ANS NNM 24 (1924); E. NICOLET–PIERRE, *Le monnayage d'argent d'Égine et le trésor de Hollm (Albanie) 1991*, BCH 119, 1995, pp. 283–332, pls. I–VI.

[27] S. GARRAFFO, *Riconiazioni e politica monetaria a Creta: le emissioni argentee dal V al I secolo a.C.*, «Antichità cretesi», Studi in onore di Doro Levi, II, 1974, pp. 59–74.

[28] G. LE RIDER, *Monnaies crétoises…*, pp. 7–11; pp. 19–40.

[29] I. TOURATSOGLOU, *Disjecta membra. Two new hellenistic hoards from Greece*, Athens 1995. This hoard is a confiscation and it is impossible to indicate more than central – southern Crete as the discovery place. The casts of another hoard from Keratokambos, unfortunately dispersed, are kept in the Numismatic Museum of Athens. The last one held issues from Cyrene, Argos, Corinth and colonies, Aegina, Ephesus and Ptolemaic Alexandria.

[30] M. THOMPSON, *Monetary relations between Crete and the Mediterranean world in the Greek Period*, Πεπραγμένα του Γ΄ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, I, Athens 1973, pp. 350–353; M.I. STEFANAKIS, *Ptolemaic coinage and Hellenistic Crete*, in «Κρήτη–Αίγυπτος. Πολιτισμικοί δεσμοί τριών χιλιετιών», Athens 2000, pp. 195–207.

[31] I.F. SANDERS, *Settlement in the Hellenistic and Roman periods on the plain of the Mesara, Crete*, BSA 71 (1976), pp. 131–137; N. COCUZZA, *Considerazioni su alcuni culti nella Messarà di epoca storica e sui rapporti territoriali fra Festòs e Gortina*, Rend.Acc.Linc. serie IX, vol. VIII (1997).

During the Hellenistic period Crete imported a great quantity of foreign value from the Greek mainland (Corinthian staters and triobols of Argos) and from Cyrenaica (silver tetradrachms and didrachms). It seems that this value regularly circulated in the Cretan market side by side with the local coinage,[32] or were restruck with the types of the Cretan cities. According to Faure the island probably did not need a great quantity of silver because in several localities there were many layers of galena with high silver inclusions,[33] but other scholars do not agree. The only plausible explanations for the presence of foreign specie in Crete seems to be either trade, more hypothesised than borne out by historical sources, or the return of mercenary troops.[34]

Foreign coinage might reach Crete through normal channels of trade and immediately thereafter be hoarded. Nevertheless, these business relations seem to be unilateral, because there is no great quantity of Cretan coins found outside the island. On the other hand, we know that the employment of mercenary troops was inaugurated by Alexander the Great and adopted by the Diadochoi.[35] Whether these mercenaries came back to Crete or stopped off on the island before their return home, they took their pay in foreign silver coins. On the island they changed it for their daily needs or hoarded it. This hypothesis seems the more probable explanation for the presence of foreign coins in Crete.

A careful analysis of the composition of the Cretan hoards could explain the routes of these mercenaries and it could illuminate what other historical sources do not tell us. However, this requires a more specific and deeper study.

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[32] O. MØRKHOLM, *Early Hell. Coin.*, p. 89.

[33] P. FAURE, *Les minerais de la Crète antique*, Rev. Arch. 1966, pp. 45–78; ID., *Le problème du minerai d'argent dans la Crète antique*, Πεπραγμένα του Γ΄ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, I, Athens 1973, pp. 70–83.

[34] D. MACDONALD, *Mercenaries and the movement of silver to Crete in the late fourth century B.C.*, NK 15 (1996), pp. 41–47.

[35] The great quantity of silver coins from Cyrene found in Crete is probably due to the employment of mercenaries by Ptolemy I and Magas in the conflicts in Cyrenaica between c. 322 and c. 270 B.C.

CATALOGUE OF COINS

IGCH 154

CYRENE

Silver Didrachms

1. 
Obv. Head of Karneios r. with hair in short, shaggy locks (same die n. 2).
Rev. Silphium; K–Y in parallel columns, in field on r. cornucopiae. P–A.
AR, gr. 7,46; 6.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. 51, n. 232, pl. XXI, 5.

2. 
Obv. Similar (same die n. 1).
Rev. Similar; across field KY–PA in parallel columns, in field on r. cornucopiae.
AR, gr. 7,84; 6.00. BMC *Cyrenaica* p. 51, n. 232, pl. XXI, 5.

3. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar; in parallel columns KYPA, in field on r. cornucopiae.
AR, gr. 7,59; 12.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. 51, n. 230, pl. XXI, 2.

4. 
Obv. Similar (same die n. 5).
Rev. Similar; legend illegible, in field on r. cornucopiae.
AR, gr. 7,76; 11.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. 51, n. 229, pl. XX, 35.

5. 
Obv. Similar (same die n. 4).
Rev. Similar; KY–PA in parallel columns, in field on r. cornucopiae.
AR, gr. 7,73; 11.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. 51, n. 229, pl. XX, 35.

6. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar; in parallel columns KY–PA, in field on r. cornucopiae.
AR, gr. 7,88; 01.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p.51, n. 231, pl. XXI, 4.

7. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar; across field KY–PA, above on r. star.
AR, gr. 7,71; 12.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. 52, n. 235–236, pl. XXI, 16,18.

8. 
Obv. Similar type l. (same die n. 9).
Rev. Similar; across field KY–PA, above two stars.
AR, gr. 7,80; 12.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. 52, n. 237, pl. XXI, 21.

9. 

Obv. Similar (same die n. 8).
Rev. Similar; across field KY–PA, above two stars.
AR, gr. 7,81; 11.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. 52, n. 237, pl. XXI, 21.

10. 

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar; across field KY–PA, above on r. monogram ΙΠ.
AR, gr. 7,85; 12.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. 53, n. 247, pl. XXIII, 2 (same obv. die).

11. 

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar; across field KYPA, above on l.snake coiled, on r. monogram ΙΠ.
AR, gr. 7,79; 11.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. ciii, n. 245b, pl. XXII, 20 (rev.), p. 53, n. 244, pl. XXII, 18 (obv.), same dies.

12. 

Obv. Head r. of Apollo Myrtous with long hair and myrtle wreath.
Rev. Silphium, across field KY–PA, below on l. ΣΩ and below crab(?), on r. jerboa.
AR, gr. 7,12; 01.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. 56, n. 263, pl. XXIV, 12 (obv.), p. cvi, n. 262a, pl. XXIV, 11.

THEBES

Silver drachm

13. 

Obv. Boeotian shield.
Rev. Amphora within incuse square.
AR, gr. 5,909. SNG *Delepierre*, n. 1298, pl. 34 (similar, but with letters).

AIGINA

Silver triobol

14. 

Obv. Tortoise (*Testudo graeca*).
Rev. Incuse square divided by thinner flat bands into five irregular compartments, in larger compartment a crescent.
AR, gr. 2,76. SNG *Delepierre*, n. 1541, pl. 40.

CORINTH AND COLONIES

Silver Staters

15. 

Obv. Pegasus flying r., below *koppa*.
Rev. Head of Athena l. in Corinthian helmet, behind monogram.
AR, gr. 8,24; 08.00. Ravel, *Poulains*, p. 172, pl. XXXIV, 528.

16. 

Obv. Similar type l.
Rev. Similar, behind Thessalian helmet.
AR, gr. 8,39; 05.00. BMC *Corinth*, p. 22, n. 220–221, pl. IX, 4.

17. 

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar, under chin Δ(?), behind neck Zeus seated r. with fulmen and eagle.
AR, gr. 8,50; 05.00. BMC *Corinth*, p. 33, n. 308, pl. XII, 19.

18. 

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar, behind eight–pointed star.
AR, gr. 8,51; 08.00. BMC *Corinth*, p. 40, n. 352–353, pl. X, 22.

ANACTORION

19. 

Obv. Similar, below A/.
Rev. Similar, behind A/, wreath with tripod in center.
AR, gr. 8,41; 05.00. Cammann, p. 118–119, n. 130c, pl. XI.

20. 

Obv. Similar, below A/.
Rev. Similar, above API, behind neck ΔΩ and altar flaming.
AR, gr. 8,44; 12.00. BMC *Corinth*, p. 121, n. 66–67, pl. XXXII, 14.

21. 

Obv. Similar, below A/.
Rev. Similar, behind neck A/ and thymiaterion.
AR, gr. 8,47; 04.00. Cammann, p. 114–115, n. 125c, pl. X.

AMPHILOCHIAN ARGOS

22. 

Obv. Similar type r.
Rev. Similar, above AM, behind neck spear down.
AR, gr. 8,09; 11.00. Cammann, p. 108–109, n. 113c, pl. IX.

23. 

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar, above AM, behind neck spear down.
AR, gr. 8,43; 12.00. Cammann, p. 118–119, n. 130c, pl. XI.

24. 

Obv. Similar type l., below A.
Rev. Similar, behind neck AP and shield.
AR, gr. 8,36; 02.00. Ravel, *Ambracia*, pl. XVIII, 6.

THYRRHEION

25. 

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar, under chin Θ, behind neck Y, earring.
AR, gr. 8,20; 10.00. Cammann, pp. 56–57, n. 40a, pl. IV.

26. 

Obv. Similar, below ΘY.
Rev. Similar, under chin Θ, behind neck Y, Boeotian shield.
AR, gr. 8,43; 05.00. BMC *Corinth*, p. 140, nn. 14–17, pl. XXXVIII, 11–12.

27. 

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar, above ΘYPP, behind neck griffin forepart l. forming rhyton.
AR, gr. 8,45; 11.00. BMC *Corinth*, p. 139, nn. 2–3, pl. XXXVIII, 3–4.

28. 

Obv. Similar type r.
Rev. Similar type r., behind neck Δ(?) and hook.
AR, gr. 8,27; 05.00.

ARGOS

Silver triobols

29. 

Obv. Forepart of a wolf left.
Rev. A in shallow incuse square, below bipennis.
AR, gr. 2,66; 01.00. SNG *Cop. Argolis*, n. 28, pl. 1.

30. 

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar, above AP, below crescent.
AR, gr. 2,57; 01.00. SNG Cop. Argolis, n. 29, pl. 1.

31. 

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,58; 11.00. SNG Cop. *Argolis*, n. 29, pl. 1.

32. 

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,62; 01.00. id.

33. 

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,63; 05.00. id.

34. 

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,69; 11.00. id.

35. 

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,64; 12.00. SNG Cop. *Argolis*, n. 29, pl. 1.

36. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,64; 05.00. id.

37. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,69; 08.00. id.

38. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,74; 02.00. id.

39. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar, above AP, below triquetra of crescents.
AR, gr. 2,60; 08.00. BMC *Peloponnesus*, p. 141, n. 59.

40. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar, above AP, below club.
AR, gr. 2,58; 03.00. SNG Cop. *Argolis*, n. 30, pl. 1.

41. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,62; 08.00. id.

42. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,63; 05.00. id.

43. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,63; 01.00. id.

44. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,66; 11.00. id.

45. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,67; 04.00. id.

46. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,71; 04.00. SNG Cop. *Argolis*, n. 30, pl. 1.

47. 
Obv. Similar type r.
Rev. Similar, above NI.
AR, gr. 2,56; 08.00. BMC *Peloponnesus*, p. 141, n. 65.

48. 
Obv. Similar type l.
Rev. Similar, above NI, below ivy–leaf.
AR, gr. 2,55; 02.00. SNG Cop. *Argolis*, n. 32, pl. 1.

49. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,66; 06.00. id.

50. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar, NI on l., below ivy–leaf.
AR, gr. 2,54; 06.00.

51. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar, above NI, below club, on r. grapes.
AR, gr. 2,65; 11.00.

52. 
Obv. Similar type r.
Rev. Similar, above ΓΡ, below club.
AR, gr. 1,83; 04.00. SNG Cop. *Argolis*, n. 38, pl. 1.

53. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,52; 12.00. id.

54. 
Obv. Similar type l., above Σ.
Rev. Similar.
AR, gr. 2,59; 06.00. id.

55. 
Obv. Similar, above Θ.
Rev. Similar, above ΔΕ, below eagle on harpa r.
AR, gr. 2,64; 01.00. BMC *Peloponnesus,* p. 141, n. 61.

IGCH 318

CYRENE

Silver Didrachms

56. 
Obv. Head of Karneios r. with hair in short, shaggy locks.
Rev. Silphium; K Y P A in parallel columns, on r. cornucopiae.
AR, gr. 7,42; 11.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. 51, n. 230, pl. XXI, 2.

57. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar; K Y P A in parallel columns, on r. cornucopiae.
AR, gr. 7,63; 06.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. 51, n. 232, pl. XXI, 5.

58. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar; across field KY–PA, above on r. star (same rev. die n. 59).
AR, gr. 7,21; 05.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. 52, n. 236, pl. XXI, 18 (same obv. die).

59. 
Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar; across field KY–PA, above on r. star (same rev die n. 58).
AR, gr. 7,65; 06.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. 52, n. 235, pl. XXI, 16.

60.  

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Similar; across field KY–PA, above on r. star (?).
AR, gr. 7,62; 04.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. ci, n. 234d, pl. XXI, 13 (same obv. die?).

61.  

Obv. Similar.
Rev. Same rev. die n. 60.
AR, gr. 7,74; 01.00. BMC *Cyrenaica*, p. cii, n. 236b, pl. XXI, 20.

ABREVIATIONS:

BMC *Cyrenaica:* E.S.G. ROBINSON, *Catalogue of the Greek coins –Cyrenaica*, London 1927.

BMC *Corinth:* B.V. HEAD, *Catalogue of Greek coins –Corinth, colonies of Corinth*, rist. anast. Bologna 1982.

BMC *Peloponnesus:* P. GARDNER, *Catalogue of Greek coins –Peloponnesus*, rist. anast., Bologna 1981.

SNG *Delepierre:* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, France. Collection Jean et Marie Delepierre. Bibliothèque Nationale –Cabinet de Médailles, (ac. H. Nicolet, J. et M. Delepierre, G. Le Rider), Paris 1983.

SNG Cop. *Argolis:* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Copenhagen. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum, *Argolis –Aegean Islands*, Copenhagen 1944.

RAVEL, *«Poulains»:* O. RAVEL, *Les «Poulains» de Corinthe*, II, London 1948.

RAVEL, *Ambracia:* O. RAVEL, *The «colts» of Ambracia*, ANS NNM 37 (1928).

CAMMANN: J.B. CAMMANN, *The symbols on the staters of Corinthian types*, ANS NNM 53 (1932).

Maria Daniela Trifiró

ΨΗΓΜΑΤΑ ΚΡΙΤΙΚΗΣ, 4–10*

[Συνέχεια του άρθρου «Ψήγματα κριτικής», Ευλιμένη 1 (2000) 127–31]

4. Κατάδεσμος (Μεγαρίς, ρωμ. αυτοκρ.)

DTAud 41 B:

1 Ἐπιορκίζω ..... καὶ τὴν [τ-
2 ριώνυ[μο]ν σε[λήνην...] καὶ α ...
3 σαι νύκτιον μέσον ὅταν τὸν [... σ-
4 τρέφῃς καὶ τὰ θειάων περιπ....
5 ν οὐρανοδρόμε καρτερόχ[ειρ

Η *ed.pr.*, *IG* III (3), σελ. XIV, περιέχει σχέδιο (εδώ εικ. 1), το οποίο δείχνει ότι σε αυτούς τους στίχους το τ του τρεφης (στίχος 4) βρίσκεται κάτω από το α του σαι (στίχος 3)·γι' αυτό μπορούμε να διαβάσουμε [σ]τρέφῃς στον τέταρτο στίχο χωρίς να υποθέσουμε κάποια ανωμαλία στη διαίρεση των συλλαβών. Ούτε πρέπει να υποθέσουμε τέτοια ανωμαλία στους στίχους 1/2, γιατί το σχέδιο δείχνει επίσης ότι το χ του καρτεροχ[(στιχ. 5) βρίσκεται κάτω από το ν του την[(στίχος 1). Εάν θεωρήσουμε ότι καρτερόχ[ειρ είναι μία σωστή συμπλήρωση, τότε υπάρχει χώρος για τη συμπλήρωση [μυ]/ριώνυ[μον] στον πρώτο στίχο.

5. Κατάδεσμος (Μεγαρίς, ρωμ. αυτοκρ.)

Ο Wünsch, όπως επίσης και ο Audollent, στην έκδοση ενός άλλου καταδέσμου από τη Μεγαρίδα, *DTAud* 42, ο οποίος διασώζει έναν κατάλογο των σωματικών μερών του κατηραμένου, μεταγράφουν το τελευταίο στοιχείο του καταλόγου ...]ους ἄκρα ποδῶν δακτύλους, χωρίς να σχολιάζουν πως ακριβώς αντιλαμβανόταν τη φράση ο συντάκτης του κατάδεσμου. Θα ήταν προτιμότερο να τυπώσουμε τ]οὺς ἀκραπόδων (για ἀκρο–) δακτύλους. Περιπτώσεις φωνολογικής εναλλαγής [a] και [o] βλ. στον Gignac I 286–9.

6. Σφραγιδόλιθος (Παννωνία, 3ος αι. μ.Χ.)

Ο κατάλογος *Religions and cults in Pannonia. Exhibition at Székesférvár, Csók István Gallery*, 15 May–30 September 1996 (Székesférvár 1998) περιέχει (σελ. 115) την *ed.pr.*, με φωτογραφία (εικ. 2), μαγικού σφραγιδόλιθου ο οποίος βρίσκεται στο Xantus János Múzeum στο Győr:

«240. Gem with a representation of Osiris.

«Heliotrope of a horizontal, oval shape, on both sides slightly convex. Recto: Osiris frontally, on his head an atef crown, in both hands a whip each, his body is wrapped in a mummy bandage. Beside him a cock–headed, snake–legged deity (Abraxas), looking towards him, in one hand a shield, in the other a whip. Between the two figures a star, around them the inscription: ΦΙΛΟΣΕΡΑΠΙΝΑΓΑΘΜΝΑ (I love you, Serapis, kind bull.).

* Ευχαριστώ θερμώς τον Ιωάννη Πετρόπουλο για τις διορθώσεις στα ελληνικά μου.

In the middle of the verso with large letters: ΑΒΡΑΣΑ$\overline{Ξ}$ (Abrasax), with smaller characters on the top left: ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ (a palindromic magic formula), below right: ΗΛΑΙΜΒΠω (immortal Sun), below left: ΣΕΜΕΣΙΛΑΜ (eternal Sun, Hebraic), below right: ΔΑΜΝΑ ΜΕΝΕΥ (subjugator). –3rd century–2,35 x 1,5 x 0,30 cm.–Ploughland between Veszprémvarsány and Lazi–XJM, Inv. no. 64.169.1.»

Η επιγραφή στο «recto» έχει ως εξής·Φιλοσέραπιν ᾽Αγάθωνα (με το ω χαραγμένο ανάποδα), δηλαδή πρόκειται για ένα ελληνικό ανθρωπώνυμο, ίσως του κατόχου του σφραγιδόλιθου.

7. Φυλακτό (Ρώμη, 4ος/5ος αι. μ.Χ.)

Στο *BollMusComRoma n.s.* 13 (1999), 18–30, δημοσιεύτηκε με φωτογραφία και σχέδιο ένα αργυρό φυλακτήριο. Η επιγραφή συνίσταται σε κυκλικό ουροβόρο ο οποίος στο εσωτερικό του έχει μαγικούς χαρακτήρες και γράμματα. Επάνω από το φίδι διασώζονται επίσης τρεις στίχοι κειμένου στα ελληνικά, το οποίο είναι εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέρον γιατί παραδίδει, για πρώτη φορά, την ελληνική μορφή της λατινικής λέξης *lamella*. Το σχέδιο (εικ. 3) και η μεταγραφή της πρώτης έκδοσης έχει ως εξής:

1 Πρὸς σελ[ήν]ην παξομένους,
2 ἐν λαμέλλᾳ ἀρ-
3 γυρῶν.

Η μεταγραφή των στίχων 2/3 είναι αναμφισβήτητη, αν και θα μπορούσαμε να αναρωτηθούμε, όπως άλλωστε και η εκδότρια του κειμένου, γιατί η τελευταία λέξη είναι στον πληθυντικό. Εν πάση περιπτώσει, η μεταγραφή του πρώτου στίχου φαίνεται προβληματική. Η εκδότρια εικάζει ότι η τρίτη λέξη πρόκειται για λανθασμένη απόδοση της μετοχής *πασχομένους και μεταφράζει «per coloro che soffrono la luna». Ωστόσο, η μετοχή αυτή είναι ύποπτη, γιατί το ρήμα πάσχω, τουλάχιστον στον ενεστώτα, δεν απαντά στη μέση φωνή.

Είναι πολύ δύσκολο να διακρίνουμε στην φωτογραφία, παρόλο που είναι εξαιρετικά καλή, τις σκόπιμες γραμμές από εκείνες που προέρχονται από τις αναδιπλώσεις της επιφανείας της λεπτής πλάκας. Εγώ θα διάβαζα ως αναδιπλώσεις τουλάχιστον την κάθετο που στέκεται μεταξύ του δημοσιευμένου σελ[και της κεφαλής του φιδιού, καθώς και τις γραμμές που αποτελούν το αριστερό πόδι και το ψηλό οριζόντιο του π του *παξομένους. Στο ξ αυτής της μεταγραφής μπορούμε να αντιπαραβάλουμε τη μορφή $\overline{Ξ}$ του γράμματος (μάλλον ξ), που βρίσκεται στα αριστερά του αστεριού κοντά στο μικρό κρίκο στο εσωτερικό του ουροβόρου. Το δικό μου σχέδιο (εικ. 4, χωρίς αναδιπλώσεις) με την πρότασή μου για τους τρεις στίχους μας δίνει το παρακάτω κείμενο:

1 Πρὸς σεληνιαζομένους
2 ἐν λαμέλλᾳ ἀρ-
3 γυρῶν.

8. Φυλακτό (Οξύρυγχος, Αίγυπτος, 4ος/5ος αι. μ.Χ.)

P.Oxy. VII 1058 = *PGM* 6b (H. 0.092, W. 0.119):

1 ῾Ο θ(εὸ)ς τῶν παρακει-
2 μένων σταυρῶν,
3 βοήθησον τὸν δο-

4 ῦλόν σου ʾΑπφουαν.
5 ʾΑμήν.
6 ὁ καλ̣ ̣[
6 ὀχι στους *PGM*

Η εξέταση της φωτογραφίας (εικ. 5) οδηγεί σε δύο παρατηρήσεις:

(1) Το δο/ῦλόν (στίχοι 3/4) είναι δύσκολο, με «the υ of δουλον added in front of the line», όπως γράφουν οι εκδότες. Θα μπορούσαμε να υποθέσουμε ότι έχει γίνει διόρθωση της ορθογραφίας δῦ/λον, αλλά η θέση του υ θα ήταν παράξενη όντας τόσο μακρυά στο αριστερό μέρος του στίχου. Είναι δύσκολο όμως να ερμηνεύσουμε το γράμμα ως υ, το οποίο ο γραφέας σχηματίζει αλλού είτε ως κάθετο με «γαντζάκι» αριστερά (στίχος 4) είτε ως διαγώνιο, επίσης με το «γαντζάκι» στην ίδια πλευρά (στίχος 2). Εδώ όμως έχουμε κάθετο με ημικυκλική διόγκωση επάνω δεξιά, μάλλον ρ (πρβλ. το ρ του σταυρῶν [στίχος 2]). Αφού η φωνολογική εναλλαγή του ο και ου είναι συχνή (βλ. Gignac I 211–2), είναι πιο εύκολο να υποθέσουμε δῦ/λον και ότι το ρ, το οποίο βρίσκεται στην άκρη του παπύρου είναι παρεισφρητικό, ίσως το υπόλειμμα άλλου, εντελώς ανεξάρτητου κειμένου, το οποίο βρισκόταν αριστερά στην ίδια σελίδα, πριν να το αποκόψει ο γραφέας.

(2) Τον τελευταίο στίχο θα μετέγραφα vac.2οκα1–2[ ], με το πρώτο γράμμα ακριβώς κάτω από το η του αμην. Μετά το α υπάρχουν ίχνη μίας υψηλής οριζόντιας γραμμής, με μία κάθετη που ξεκινά από το κέντρο της με κατεύθυνση προς τα κάτω, και στη συνέχεια από ένα δεύτερο πιθανότατα κυκλικό γράμμα διακρίνεται το κατώτερο αριστερό τόξο του. Εάν ο στίχος κατέχει κεντρική θέση σε σχέση με το υπόλοιπο κείμενο, θα περιλάμβανε περίπου 4 ή 5 γράμματα επιπλέον, που δεν είναι αρκετά όμως να αποτελούν ολόκληρη πρόταση. Μπορούμε να σκεφτούμε vac.2 ʿΟ κατο̣[ικῶν vac.*c*.2], δηλαδή την αρχή του Ψαλμού 90.1, ʿΟ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐλισθήσεται. Βλ. D. Feissel, *BCH* 108 (1984) 575, για τη μεγάλη δημοτικότητα του στίχου σε μαγικές και άλλες προφυλακτικές επιγραφές. Όπως ο Feissel γράφει, ο στίχος ήταν κάποτε συντετμημένος στις πρώτες έξι λέξεις του (π.χ. *CIG* IV 9086, χρυσό δακτυλίδι· *IGLS* IV 1488, σαρκοφάγος· *PGM* T 2, ξύλινη πινακίδα), στις πρώτες τέσσερις (π.χ. Bonner, *SMA* αρ. 321, χάλκινη αλυσίδα· *IGLS* IV 1714, SEG 34.1669, χάλκινα εγκόλπια), ή και στις πρώτες δύο (ʿΟ κατυκῶ<ν>: H. Seyrig, *Berytus* 1 [1934] 9, χάλκινα εγκόλπια· *cf.* L. Robert, *JSav* [1981] 19 n. 49 = *Op.Min.* VII 381).

9. Φορμουλάριο (7ος αι. μ.Χ.)

Ο *P.Carlsberg* inv. 52(31).8/9 έχει τη φράση εν της ταρταρης, της οποίας η κανονική ορθογραφία δίδεται στην έκδοση (*Magica varia* 1) ως ἐν τῆς Ταρτάρου. Το ἐν τῆς είναι όμως ὑποπτο, καθώς και το ταρταρης για Ταρτάρου. Προτιμότερη ανάγνωση είναι ἐν τοῖς Ταρτάροις.

10. Φυλακτό (7ος αι. μ.Χ.)

Η έκδοση (*Magica varia* 2, Plate 3) και η δημοσιευμένη μετάφραση του *P.Louvre* inv. E 7332 *bis* (= *SB* XVIII 13602) έχει ως εξής:

Μεταγραφή	Ορθογραφημένη απόδοση
1 ✠ κ(υρι)ε Ι(ησου)ς Χρ(ιστ)ε ω ανεμοις και θαλα-	✠ κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ήσου) Χρ(ιστ)έ, ὁ ἀνέμοις καὶ θαλάσ-
2 σης επιτημησας παντα γαρ επη-	σαις ἐπιτιμήσας, πάντα γὰρ ὑπή-
3 γου σου μετα δρωμου : και τα νυν	κοά σου μετὰ τρόμου · καὶ τὰ νῦν
4 κ(υρι)ε ελεθε εις ελεας και εις εω	κ(ύρι)ε ἐλθὲ εἰς ἔλεος καὶ εἰς εὐ-
5 μεν᾽ι᾽α επι της τουλης ου · Σο ρῳ	μένειαν ἐπὶ τῆς δούλης σου · Σο ρῳ
6 εις ὑγιαν και ε᾽ι᾽ σωφρωσυνην·	εἰς ὑγιείαν καὶ εἰς σωφροσύνην
7 και εις απολασιν κ(υριο)ς ο θ(εο)ς μου,	καὶ εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν, κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εό)ς μου,
8 κατα το λεω σου δια τῳ πρεσ	κατὰ τὸ ἔλεός σου διὰ τῶν πρεσ-
9 βιων του αγιου σου μαρτηρως	βειῶν τοῦ ἁγίου σου μάρτυρος
10 Γεωργιου· και γουφισων αυ	Γεωργίου· καὶ κούφισον αὐ-
11 την απο των πονων των περι	τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πόνων τῶν περι-
12 εχωτων αυτης· δια των πρεσ	εχόντων αὐτὴν διὰ τῶν πρεσ-
13 βιων τη᾽ς᾽ δετετουσης μ[.....]	βειῶν τῆς ...
14 της δεσπηνης· υμων της παν	τῆς δεσποίνης· ἡμῶν τῆς παν-
15 νενδοξου θεωτωγουκου και αει	ενδόξου θεοτόκου καὶ ἀει-
16 παρθενου Μαριας· οτι συ ει	παρθένου Μαρίας· ὅτι σὺ εἶ
17 τωξασθως και τετωξασμενος	δοξασθεὶς καὶ δεδοξασμένος
18 εἳς τους εωνας τω εωνων αμην	εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.
† † † † †	† † † † †

«Lord Jesus Christ, who rebuked (the) winds and seas —for everything obeys you in trembling— even now, Lord, take compassion and favor on your servant. So …, for (her) health, (her) modesty, (her) enjoyment. Lord my God! By your pity through the intercessions of your holy martyr George! Relieve her of the afflictions besetting her. Through the intercessions of our Lady, the all–glorious Theotokos and eternally virgin Mary. Because you were and are glorified forever and ever. Amen».

Στον στίχο 13 ο εκδότης παρατήρησε: «*Delta* has been corrected from *alpha*. It appears that the writer was attempting to correct something erroneously written into δεσποίνης, gave up, crossed out the rest of the line and recommenced in the following line. Besides being crossed out the end of the line is furthermore obscured by a crust of dirt or sand». Με βάση τη δημοσιευμένη φωτογραφία, θα μετέγραφα το τη᾽ς᾽ δετετουσης μ[.....] λίγο διαφορετικά. Πάνω από το πρώτο η υπάρχει πράγματι μία μαύρη κουκίδα, ίσως από μελάνι, αλλά δεν φαίνεται να είναι σκόπιμη ούτε διακρίνεται το γράμμα σ. Θα ερμήνευα το δ του εκδότη ως διαγεγραμμένο α. Βέβαια, αυτό μοιάζει πολύ με το δ του διά (στίχος 12), το οποίο διαφέρει από τα υπόλοιπα δ του κειμένου. Η βάση του γράμματος δέλτα καταλήγει σε ουρά που συνδέεται προς τα πάνω με το επόμενο γράμμα, αλλά το δ του στίχου 12 δεν έχει ουρά. Το δ που ο εκδότης διάβασε στον στίχο 13 έχει πράγματι ουρά, αλλά κρέμεται προς τα κάτω, όπως στα κανονικά α του κειμένου. Θα υπέθετα ότι η συγκεκριμένη βάση του γράμματος αποτελεί εν μέρει κάποια διαγώνια διαγραφή και θα μετέγραφα τα τρία πρώτα γράμματα ως τη[α].

Το επόμενο γράμμα, το ε της έκδοσης, δεν μοιάζει ακριβώς με τα άλλα ε του κειμένου, στα οποία κανονικά το μεσαίο οριζόντιο ανεβαίνει προς την κορυφή του επομένου γράμματος και είναι πιο μακρύ από το πάνω οριζόντιο του. Επίσης, στο συγκεκριμένο σημείο το μεσαίο οριζόντιο είναι και πιο λεπτό από κάθε άλλη γραμμή του κειμένου. Θα υπέθετα ότι έχει γίνει κάποιο λάθος είτε κάποια ρωγμή στην περγαμηνή και θα διάβαζα το γράμμα ως σ.

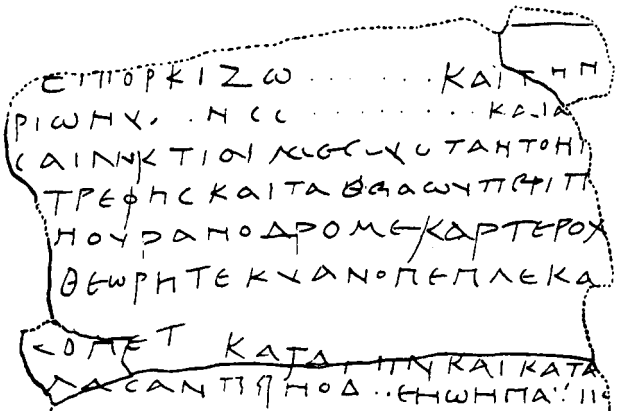
Η κατάληξη -ούσης στη λέξη τετούσης παραπέμπει σε μία μετοχή γένους θηλυκού πτώσης γενικής. Επειδή το ε συνδέεται με το επόμενο γράμμα, δεν μπορούμε να διακρίνουμε εάν το γράμμα αυτό είναι τ ή γ. Παρατηρούμε ωστόσο ότι γ και κ εναλλάσσονται φωνολογικά στη λέξη γούφισον στον στίχο 10. Προτείνω την ανάγνωση τεγούσης αντί του φωνολογικά ορθού τεκούσης.

Στη συνέχεια το κείμενο της έκδοσης έχει μ[ ], με τις διαγραφές να ανεβαίνουν προς τα δεξιά. Ωστόσο στη συνέχεια φαίνονται κάποια γράμματα, πιθανότατα θ ή θε. Σ' αυτήν την περίπτωση μπορούμε να εικάσουμε την ανάγνωση μ[[ητρὸς] Θε[οῦ]] ή μ[[ητρὸς] Θ(εο)ῦ] ή Μ[[αρία]ς].

Η πρότασή μου συνοψίζεται λοιπόν ως εξής:

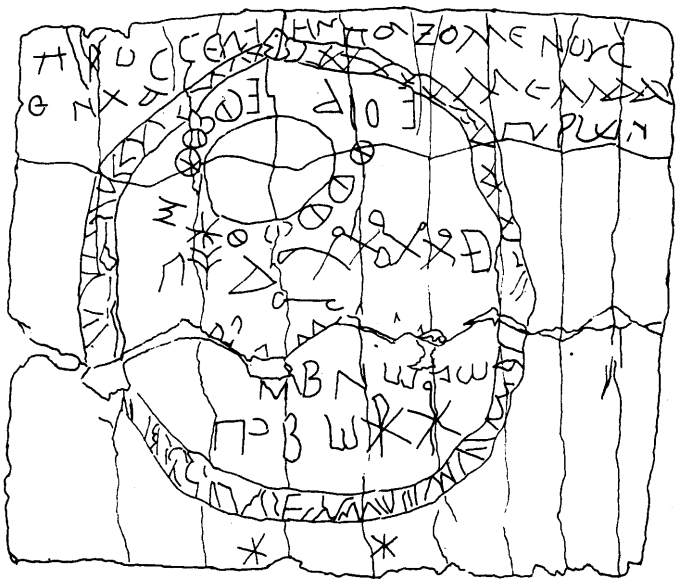
Μεταγραφή		Ορθογραφημένη απόδοση	
12	δια των πρεσ	διὰ τῶν πρεσ-	
13	βιων τη[α]ς τεγουσης μ[[c.5] [c. 2]]	βειῶν τῆς τεκούσης (*e.g.*) Μ[[ητρὸς]	Θε[οῦ]]
14	της δεσπηνης· υμων	τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν (κλπ.)	

David Jordan
American School of Classical Studies
Σουηδίας 54
10676 Αθήνα



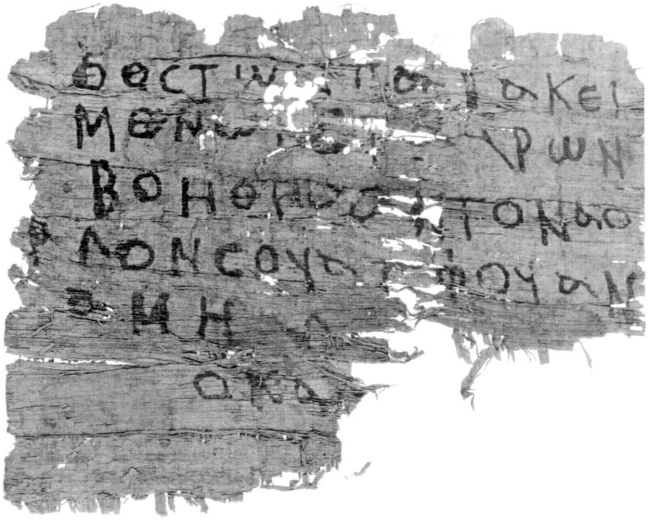
Εικ. 1

Εικ. 2



Εικ. 3

Εικ. 4



Εικ. 5

ON THE CLAZOMENEAN QUEST IN THRACE DURING THE 7TH AND 6TH CENTURIES BC, AS REVEALED THROUGH ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Preface

It was during the summer field season of 1983[1] that the author was invited to participate as the Physical Anthropologist of the excavations conducted at the Archaic burial ground, of excavation area «K», in Abdera. Under the auspices of the Greek Archaeological Service and Archaiologiki Etaireia (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 6a, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15) and in a collaborative effort with the excavator of the site, Dr. Eudokia K. Skarlatidou, Archaeologist, then with the 19th Ephoreia of Prehistoric & Classical Antiquities of Thrace, the author had both the privilege and the opportunity of working in the field and laboratory in an archaeo–anthropological project aiming to elucidate aspects of the bio–cultural condition of the first Greeks; namely the Clazomeneans from Ionia, who around 655 BC attempted to colonize and found a new settlement in Thrace (16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 6, 7), the city that was to be named Abdera.

This paper, a slightly earlier version of which has been incorporated in the doctoral thesis of E. Skarlatidou,[2] is submitted as a report, part of an ongoing project investigating the Archaic anthropological record, and as a component of a larger archaeo–anthropological research endeavor, involving a diachronic study of anthropological materials recovered from the archaeological sites of Abdera, dating from the Archaic (7th c. BC) to the Late Byzantine periods (14th c. AD) of antiquity.

Historical Background, Materials, Methodology and Scope of Project

A dramatic nexus is intertwined with the Archaic component of Abdera, as endowed by historical references indicative of the struggles and difficulties faced by a colonization process striving to establish itself successfully in a new land and territory. Such reflections are characteristically recorded by Herodotus (16: 1.168) who clearly states that it was the Teans, from the neighboring city to Clazomenae in Ionia, who in 545 BC —about a century later than the Clazomenean arrival in the area of Abdera—

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[1] The sample of anthropological materials excavated during the 1982 season from the Archaic burial ground of area «K» was studied by Dr. Th. Pitsios of the Anthropological Museum in Athens and is presented accordingly in E. Skarlatidou's doctoral dissertation. The 1982 anthropological sample is currently in the process of being incorporated, by the present author, in the larger human population database of the site.

[2] Σκαρλατίδου Ε., «Από το αρχαϊκό νεκροταφείο των Αβδήρων: Συμβολή στην έρευνα της αποικίας των Κλαζομενίων στα Άβδηρα», Διδακτορική Διατριβή, (αδημοσίευτη), 2000, Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης.

came to the area and succeeded in rebuilding the city of Abdera, since the Clazomeneans had been repulsed from the region by the Thracians.

The design of this project, based on an environmental–population approach, proposed that a methodical cross–disciplinary study of recovered anthropological remains would carry the potential, in conjunction with the rest of the archaeological record, of deriving clearer archaeo–anthropological understandings relative to a multitude of unknown facets concerning the demographic profile and dynamics of the population involved, aspects of their genetic and epidemiological record, reflections of their socio–cultural and physical environments; clues of their history and fate in the region (22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29).

Following the recovery and *in situ* inspectional as well as mensurational documentation of the human skeletal remains unearthed in both dry and cremated forms from the Archaic burial ground[3] in area «K», laboratory physical anthropological/forensic, and archaeometric analyses were carried out.[4] Subsequently, the scope of this ongoing project has been focusing on, however without being limited to, the biological growth, epigenetic variation, dietary patterns, palaeopathology and the ecology of disease distribution, as well as the reconstruction of aspects of both the physical and social palaeoenvironmental contexts of the Clazomeneans in Abdera (30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44).

Further challenging dimensions to the objectives of this project spawned when discoveries through archaeological excavations brought to light evidence of a vast spatial distribution of Clazomenean activities in Abdera, as provided through the dating of their extensive systems of fortification walls which facing the endoplains were trailing the vicinity of a natural harbor (49, 7, 7a, 8, 13), and the results derived from the analysis and relative dating methods of the artifactual assemblages recovered from the Archaic burial ground in area «K», which alone indicated a nearly 70–80 year uninterrupted use of the burial ground, from the second half of the 7th c. into the third decade of the 6th c. BC (78). These archaeological discoveries were bolstered by the unearthing of two additional Archaic period Clazomenean burial ground locations in Abdera, in the areas of excavations designated topographically as «97» and «96», excavated by Ms. Ntina Kallintzi, (45, 46), and in the area of excavations designated as «A» excavated by Ms. Lydia Kranioti (9), both archaeologists of the 19th Ephoreia of Prehistoric & Classical Antiquities of Thrace. In both of these archaeological projects the author served as the Physical Anthropologist (47, 48) and through in situ personal communication with his colleagues, it can be stated that the Archaic Clazomenean components had been superimposed, stratigraphically speaking, by 6th and 5th c. BC burials. Particularly, at the latter project, excavated by Ms. Kranioti (9), Clazomenean burials served as the basal

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[3] I wish to thank my wife Argyro Agelarakis, for her assistance in the field (especially during the excavation of jar burials) and laboratory. Her floor–plan maps, and in scale perspective technical drawing of the burial features, especially those which helped record the in situ positions of infant remains inside the jar burials, were indispensable.

[4] Analyses were carried out by the author since 1983 in laboratory and repository support areas which prefaced the construction of the Archaeological Museum at the historic village of Abdera (established in year 2000), and later at the respective Anthropology Departments' laboratories of Columbia and Adelphi Universities.

stratigraphic layer for the construction of extensive and overlapping burial tumuli of the 6th c. BC by the Teans.

Considering that the archaeological record revealed that the Clazomenean presence in Abdera was spatially extensive and elaborate as well as of a considerable duration, nearly stretching to the temporal juncture (just based on the chronological data retrieved so far from the Archaic burial ground of area «K»), and presumably overlapping with the arrival of the Teans, would it then be possible to ask new questions and to decipher, through the study of the Clazomenean anthropological remains, any esoteric information allowing for a «fine–tuning» of our understandings about their fate, and of the circumstances under which they were sustained in Abdera?

Taphonomy, Stratification and Preservation of Remains

Bearing in mind that out of the 235 burial features recovered (Fig. 1), 170 were jar burials, it was anticipated that the majority of human skeletal remains would have been relatively protected from taphonomic impacts through time and therefore preserved in a fairly good condition. Chemical analyses of sediment attributes contained within the jars, conducted in situ, indicated neutral to alkaline pH conditions. Stratification processes internal to the jar burials indicated an axonometric allocation of three distinct vertically superimposed layers of sediments, interfaced with pockets of silt and clay deposits. The two upper layers comprised sediments accumulated by infiltration deposition, postdating the interment processes, containing in addition to soils of 7.5 YR 4.5/3 hue and chroma of the Munsell soil chart values, coarse and very coarse sand (0.5–2.0 mm), granules (2.0–4.0 mm) and pebbles (4.0–60.00 mm) characteristic for their sub–angular and occasionally angular particles' shape, hence lacking physical characteristics indicative of extensive mechanical weathering. The third or basal layer contained deposits of 7.5 YR 2.5/2 silt (< 0.06 mm) and 7.5 YR 8/5 (Munsell values) sand particles of very fine (0.07 mm) to very coarse sizes as well as of marine molluscan fragments,[5] ranging in sizes, when fragmented (not remnants of human consumption), from 2.0 mm–25.00 mm, and manifesting exclusively rounded and sub–rounded sphericity indicia (typical of extensive mechanical wear through exposure to the elements), identical to the nature, attributes and characteristics of the sediment particles and ecofactual components found at the geological substrate of the burial ground. Such sedimentological data were indicative of the location of the burial ground on an active littoral setting of the Thracian shores in the northern Aegean sea during the Archaic period in Abdera —in agreement with the geological data see (49). Most anthropological remains, with isolated exceptions— as imposed by soil fauna activities, were often recovered imbedded in sedimentologic conglomerates[6] from the contexts of the third stratigraphic layers within the jars.

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[5] Genus and often species level identifications of molluscan samples have been carried out by Dr. David Reese, currently at Yale University's Peabody Museum of Natural History, and will be published in a future presentation.

[6] Based on synergistic taphonomic processes relative to: a) the anisotropic nature of the osseous components combined with the chemical microenvironment within the jars and the physical as well as chemical attributes of the encompassing sediments; b) the seasonal water table elevation fluctuations —of brackish nature; c) diachronic alluviation processes; and d) the general climatic conditions in the region.

Considering the nature of sediments and their stratification processes, as described above, it is suggested that the third or basal layer could have been: a) deposited culturally —according to burial customs for the «preparation and softening» of a burial bed within the jars (reflecting on an inorganic component of cultural stratigraphy); b) the result of a taphonomic in nature depositional processes, through infiltration, coeval with,[7] and/or just synchronous to the terminus of the Clazomenean horizon; and c) a combination of the previous explanatory alternatives. Under any circumstances, the accumulation of seashore materials as basal components of the jars' internal stratigraphy, preceded the sequential deposition, through infiltration processes, by alluvial sediments of the two upper layers. Alluviation processes were presumably, also, caused by human activities relative to deforestation —and subsequent erosion, intentional landscape changes, and intensive agriculture which later in antiquity were at least in part responsible[8] for encasing, but not deeply burring, this Archaic burial ground with alluvial sediments— also distinctly represented in the internal to the burial jars' stratigraphy by the two upper sedimentological layers. Nevertheless, while excavation procedures for uncovering and documenting, in situ, the anthropological remains and burial artifacts were often a difficult task, subsequent long term laboratory conservation and curatorial processes proved that adequate osseous and dental surfaces had preserved for in depth physical anthropological studies (28).

Burial soil samples, representing 20 jar burials, collected both through selective and random pinching techniques —especially from the silt and clayish pockets interfacing especially the third stratigraphic layer within the jars (several standard samples were also retrieved and processed), were processed in four separate bio–geological laboratories[9] for the detection of environmental and dietary pollen, as well as for the possibility of recovering additional ecofactual and intestinal macro–, and microscopic residual substances, including parasitological contents (50, 51).

Palynological analyses showed an absence of pollen counts, and only in one case severely degraded pollen grains were isolated, however, past the point of identification. While seasonality could have been a contributing factor (during late Autumn and Winter for the lack of environmental pollen), it seems plausible that the absence and/or degeneration of pollen spectra resulted from certain aspects of taphonomic implications considering the relative alkalinity and oxidation factors of sediment attributes (i.e. allowing the micro–scavenging of pollen through fungal activities). Further, all samples were found to contain non carbonized macroscopic fiber residues, debris from the small arachnoid–like plant root systems (often tracing the internal surfaces of the base of the jars), the result of germinating seeds intrusive to the jars and not the result of ante–mortem plant consumption by the individuals involved, nor of burial offerings. Additionally, charcoal micro flakes were discovered in all samples, and it is inconclusive if they represent debris resulting from coeval activities of burial habits and practices —such as from the pyres for cremating adult individuals and/or for the preparation of relative

[7] Aeolic and general weather conditions should be considered for such an exposed seashore area.

[8] For seashore changes responsible for contributing in geomorphologic modifications see (49).

[9] Laboratories where samples were processed: a) New York University's Biology Dept. Lab; b) Columbia University's Lamont–Doherty Geological Lab; c) Nebraska State University's Parasitological Lab; d) Adelphi University's Earth Sciences/Environmental Studies Lab.

burial feasts, or if they might reflect on contamination processes from later phases of antiquity in Abdera, and even of more recent historic conditions.[10] Subsequently, none of a series of 10 pertinent sediment samples prepared for parasitological studies scored positive results. It is suggested that the lack of parasitological evidence, in the form of spores or fragmented parasite body component(s) might indicate that the young individuals were not affected by parasitic infestations, and/or that such evidence was lost taphonomically.

A set of bone samples selected to represent older individuals within the Infancy I age group, namely at 2.5–3.0 years (jar burial No. K 111), and 4.5–5.5 years (jar burial No. K 156) respectively, were prepared and processed for bone isotopic fractionation for evaluating chemically dietary patterns (52, 53). Similarly to a set of nine bone isotopic trial samples, these two final samples yielded only apatite values, lacking their gelatin (collagen) components. Hence, apatite values suggested about 19% of intake of C4 plants (plants that conduct photosynthesis the C4 pathway like millet), or about a 59% component of seafood based dietary intake. Although it is recognized that the introduction of marine foods might provide difficulties in the interpretation relative to the proportionality of C4 plants in the diet, the explanatory alternatives could not be evaluated properly in the absence of preserved gelatin components. Furthermore, it should be considered that the evidence of dietary intake as reflected through the apatite values may not necessarily reflect weaned conditions for the infants,[11] therefore the isotopic results could indicate shifted proportionality of food types due to lactation processes —recognized as reprocessed carbon. Bone isotopic analysis for dietary evaluation concerning the older individuals is forthcoming.

Demographic and Palaeopathological Information

A considerable number of 203 burial contexts were excavated comprising 165 jar burials,[12] 19 cremation (pyre bed) features,[13] 16 inhumations,[14] 2 inhumation/jar

[10] Given the extensive and purposeful annual (mid July) firing processes aiming to clear the fields, consuming and partially recycling elements (N, K, P) from the residual stems of cereals and undergrowth, following the harvesting seasons, at the agricultural fields of the historic village of Abdera, where dry farming has been the mode and habit of farming as long as any local informant could recall referring to memories past down from earlier generations.

[11] Without necessarily drawing standards for comparison with the conditions of the Clazomeneans in Thrace, ethnographic information gathered by the author from the larger region of Abdera indicated that it was not uncommon for young individuals, within their second and even third year of life, to be fed through lactation, if not constantly then in a supplemental fashion by: a) their own mothers —some of whom were already caring for a younger offspring; and/or b) other female relatives or very close female friends, capable of lactating, in times of difficulty (i.e. strenuous conditions imposed by war).

[12] Of the 165 jar burials 4 were void of human remains. Hence, 161 jar burials yielded 161 primary and 9 secondary interments (4 of which were assessed anthropologically as non intrusive, whereas the remaining 5 of intrusive nature), all in dry form and the vast majority of which were age assessed as infants, as well as 17 individuals in cremated form (most probably of intrusive nature).

[13] The 19 cremation features yielded 19 primary and 1 secondary (non intrusive) cremated interments (the vast majority of which were age assessed as adults), as well as 1 secondary individual, in dry form (most probably of intrusive nature).

[14] The 16 inhumations yielded 16 primary and 2 secondary (non intrusive) interments in dry form, and 2 secondary (intrusive) cremated individuals.

burials,[15] and 1 cyst burial[16] (Fig. 1). These burial contexts yielded 231 human skeletal individuals (Fig. 2), representing the majority of the Clazomeneans interred in the Archaic burial ground of area «K» (78), and presumably reflecting on an adequate random sample of the Clazomenean population, at large, in Abdera.[17]

Of the 231 interments, 199 (86%) were assessed as primary and 32 (~14%) as secondary. Such understandings were achieved by studying for example the stratigraphic relations and contextual conditions of relative burial features, the possibilities of taphonomic impact, the nature, kind and preservation of osseous structures as juxtaposed to the main interments, further indicating that 25 of the secondary interments were under most probabilities intrusive, whereas the remaining 7 of non intrusive nature. In the latter case, the 7 burial contexts (a mere 3.5% prevalence out of 203 burial contexts) suggest the presence of family graves reflecting on consanguineous relations (4 jar burials,[18] 1 inhumation feature, and 1 cremation pyre), and/or affinity (1 inhumation feature No. 217) between individuals interred (Table 1).

Aspects of the demographic profile of this population are presented through 11 age group categories (Table 2) and 6 biological sex subgroupings (Table 2a), reflecting on the level of complexity of this collection as it pertains to preservation of skeletal structures. Hence, it was intriguing to observe that the highest prevalence of mortality was scored within the «Perinatal» and «Infancy I» age groups, which if lumped together account for 71 percentiles of the represented population (Fig. 3). It is of considerable importance to note (Fig. 4) that a clustering of detailed age assessments within the «Infancy I» age group («>Birth–6 years», also see descriptions of age groups in Table 2) would reveal progressively decreasing mortality values past the apex scored at the «greater than Birth to 6 months» age subgroup (at approximately 38%), tapering off at the «greater than 6 months to 12 months» age subgroup (at approximately 9%), and then falling to the lowest prevalence toward the terminal years of «Infancy I» namely between «4 to 6 years» (at less than 1%) (Fig. 4). Whereas the «Prenatal», and «Infancy II»– (or 6 – 12 years) age groups reveal relatively low mortality values, each at 3 percentiles, (Fig. 4 and 3), the next higher locus on the mortality curve is scored with the «Subadults» age subgroup with 6 percentiles, tapering off among the «Middle Adults», and «Late Adults», each at 4 percentiles, before the declination phase with the lowest score observed among the «Maturus» age subgroup (at 1% representation) (Fig. 3).

The bell curve outline of the mortality prevalence, as documented at this Archaic Clazomenean burial ground, with its distinct distribution of age clusters simulating a lower case of the Greek letter «λ» shape configuration could implicate several complex demographic and palaeoepidemiological arguments, especially as these might pertain to

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[15] The 2 inhumations/jar burials yielded 2 primary interments in dry form.

[16] The 1 cyst burial yielded 1 primary interment in dry form.

[17] The anthropological sample recovered in 1982, from the Archaic burial ground in area «K» during the first excavation season, (see footnote No. 1), and additional Clazomenean burials discovered at peripheral sites, as explained above, are in the process of being incorporated in the demographic inventory of the Clazomenean horizon in Archaic Abdera, and will be presented as such in a forthcoming report.

[18] In the case of burial features «K129», and «K232», age assessments based on biological growth and maturation of bones and teeth might suggest interments of twins. Nevertheless homo–, or hetero–zygosis of twins was not possible to be established archaeometrically, as of yet, through DNA replication (54).

the very young individuals of the population.[19] Hence, if in light of the mortality prevalence, as discussed above, the endurance through the «Infancy I» age group could be nearly perceived, by the eyes of the palaeopathologist, as demographic survivorship, then what were the causative agents and underlying factors which [over an archaeologically determined presence in Abdera, so far, of seven to eight decades (78)] would continue to function as early checking point mechanisms, removing such a considerable number of offspring from the Clazomenean population? Pondering on this argument, it is suggested that one should possibly not submit, at least not immediately, to generalizations referring to comparable data of approximately 50, and sometimes 50 plus percentiles of infant mortality, within the first year of life, among populations of the pre–antibiotic era, or amid current displaced peoples of preliterate tribal settings, and/or even in intercity areas —of post industrial nations, occupied by economically depressed groups. Such explanatory scenarios and comparative measures would possibly be poor models, if not ectopic and non specific, to the circumstances of the human condition in Archaic Abdera, as substantiated from the diachronic study of its anthropological collections (43, 43a, 47, 55, 56, 57), which, covering an unbroken temporal sequence from the 7th c. BC to the late 14th c. AD, never revealed any prevalence of high infant mortality but with two exceptions. These exceptions were recorded during the initial settlement activities and foundation of Abdera by the Clazomeneans, during the 7th c. BC (44), and then again at the terminal habitation phase of ancient Abdera (then called Polystylon), during the end of the Late Byzantine period, at the 14th c. AD. Therefore, the argument presented at the beginning of this paragraph, referring to aspects of the high infant mortality in Abdera, should be evaluated under the specific and idiosyncratic cultural filter of the Clazomenean group(s) which emigrating to Abdera had left behind, in Clazomenae of Asia Minor, a city well known for its cultural and techno–economic achievements, including the application of complex medical and surgical knowledge,[20] exemplary reflections of which were also verified through a masterfully executed cranial surgical trepanation on a Clazomenean female, age assessed within the «Maturus» age group who survived the surgical intervention.[21]

Further, should the palaeopathologist in the absence of precise chronological data pertaining to the exact year, or range of a few to several years, of deposition of each and every one of a considerable number of jar burials —lacking datable burial offerings,[22]

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[19] It is noted that aspects of the demographic profile of the Clazomenean population in Abdera will change, especially as this pertains to the «Adults», «Maturus», and «Senilis» age groups, as revealed by the study of the anthropological record, following the most recent discovery by Ms. Nt. Kallintzi (45, 46), of an additional Clazomenean burial ground, in Abdera, as explained above.

[20] Personal, in situ, communications with the senior director of projects Dr. Güven Bakir (Prof. Ege University), and Dr. Yaşar Ersoy (Prof. Bilkent University), as well as ABD. Bilge Hürmüzlü (Assist. Ege University), excavators of Clazomenean sites including its burial grounds.

[21] Whereas it is assessed that the cranial trepanation took place in Abdera, this also provides strong qualitative evidence, for the high level of social standing shared by female individuals in an Archaic Hellenic socio–cultural context.

[22] Relative dating of diagnostic ceramic burial offerings is much more accurate in this context than what absolute radiometric dating could possibly offer. Diagnostic ceramic dating by assessing a *terminus ante/post quem*, could narrow down, into smaller windows of 5 to 10 years within the larger known frame of the 70–80 years (78) of usage of this human activity area, the deposits of individual burials.

distribute the «Perinatal» and early «Infancy I» individuals evenly over the duration of approximately seventy to eighty (78) years— considering those interments the result of the multitude of reasons responsible for normal demographic attrition at this most sensitive biological age, or should he anticipate that the bulk of these unfortunate individuals were interred during the first year(s) of the Clazomenean colonization of Abdera when for example compounding difficulties could have been overwhelming (43, 43a, 44), for example such as of inadequate food production systems, and of most cultural mechanisms able to buffer physiological and even pathological stress not yet being in place? Should he consider the strike of one or several epidemics removing many young individuals per instance? But then, in a case of epidemics, why does one not see more victims among the other age groups, unless of course it was the matter of childhood diseases? Although such questions might seemingly be argued based on the contexts of the available palaeopathologic and epidemiologic data, there is a plethora of larger historical questions, with important implications in the milieu of anthropological archaeology discussions, which might be difficult to resolve.

While guesses remain guesses, would it ever be likely to reconstruct the demographic composition of the founders, the group of individuals (their gender diversity and age structure cohorts, their affined and consanguineous relations, their social and economical standing) who having embarked as membership of this colonization endeavor to Abdera, left behind a well organized and flourishing (save the imminent Persian threat) Ionian city with a minimum core of several hundreds of citizens? Would the nature and organization of the emigrant group be joined by an adequate number of male individuals of age for establishing themselves militarily in a land known for the polemic aptitude and might of the local Thracians? And of the materials and tools carried over, as to simulate, at a minimum, a microcosm of the technological capacities and organizational abilities of their city of origin; needed to be deployed immediately in the land of destination at Abdera? What was the nature and types of ships used and what was the course of the seafaring route, as well as the seasonality (even though one would suspect prior to late summer —after the harvest and before the trade winds of July/August) and duration of the expedition, issues relating not only to weather conditions but also on the nature and quality of dietary resources/provisions (i.e. what species, if any, of live domesticates, grain, olives, wine and water, and fruits) originally carried and/or possibly acquired or replenished en route? Did they try to settle other more preferable but hostile areas before they reached the Abdera location, or had they intended to reach Abdera directly? Did they sustain through the duration of this expedition significant and/or irreplaceable losses of materials and perishable goods and most importantly of members of their group (i.e. a leader, a priest, a medical practitioner, a midwife, a navigator, a ceramicist) due to en route attrition, piracy, polemic activities, weather conditions, old age, disease? How many were they when they arrived at the location that was to be named Abdera? And what could have been their fertility ratios,[23] and up to what age for females and males

[23] What could have been the percentage of individuals within their optimal fertility years (less than 1/3?), considering that a small group of emigrants with yet a smaller group of reproduction capable individuals could not sustain the generational future of a colony without adequate gene flow processes bolstering their gene pool —and considering the dire prevalence of their infant mortality?

respectively, and how could the strenuous conditions encountered in Abdera (ibid.,16: 1.168) have impacted such reproductive behavior, their dietary intake, their psychological and health status? Further, how active and supportive was the role of the Mother City for administering and sustaining the strategic plan of founding a Daughter City in Thrace?[24]

Turning to physical anthropology and palaeopathology in search of clues for elucidating facets of some of the questions raised above, it was very interesting to observe both macroscopically and in selected cases radiographically[25] a complete absence of dental crowns' linear enamel hypoplasias (LEH) –permanent markers of early life stress, caused by arrested and improved constitutional growth circumstances with the potential to affect dental enameloblast cells up to the terminus of biological age when dentitions are in the process of forming their enamel crown components, on both deciduous and unerupted permanent dentitions (59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66). Similarly x–ray images of long bones[26] showed a lack of Harris lines (67), stress lines of impaired and improved bone growth which would appear radiographically as lucent endosteal osseous transversal linear demarcations —perpendicularly oriented to the axes of long bones. This indicated a lack of in utero (reflecting on maternal health) and postnatal biological early life stress markers, hence revealing an absence of organismal arrested and improved growth instances due to temporary and/or recurrent conditions of malnutrition, and/or under–nutrition, including the gamut of pathologies that can cause such changes, i.e. fevers, prolonged diarrheas, parasitism, infection, and trauma —when combined with inadequate dietary intake. This was considered to be important palaeoepidemiological evidence, indicating that the onset of morbid conditions, which especially affected the young Clazomeneans, brought over and/or having been born at Abdera, proved to be fatal, otherwise, had the individuals recovered the conditions of stress, they would have, under most probabilities, developed dental enameloblastic defects, and Harris' lines. Parenthetically, on an additional note to dental enamel hypoplasias, there were some cases of localized enameloblastic defects, mainly affecting deciduous and some times permanent canine labial surfaces, often bilaterally, shaped as islets —with well defined ovoid boundaries, exposing underlying dentin (in good condition) with diameters ranging from few to several millimeters. This kind of enameloblastic defect, which the author describes as of a «laccoid» kind, to distinguish it from hypoplastic pitting, has been noticeable but with a low prevalence in the region. It appears diachronically from Archaic to Byzantine Abdera (43, 43a, 47, 55, 56, 57), and in Thasos island, the earliest among a Proto–Historic Thracian population (69), and during its Classical and Hellenistic (68), as well as Palaeo–Christian populations. While

[24] On the strength of the argument (see discussion in 13) that the expedition to Thrace, might not have just been the result of a domestic Clazomenean wrangle.

[25] X–rays were taken and processed at Columbia University's School of Dental and Oral Surgery, assisted by Dr. Sidney Horrowitz, Prof. and Dean, and Dr. Irwin Mandel, Prof. and Director of Clinical Research.

[26] Cranial and infracranial x–rays were taken, processed, and evaluated at Mt. Sinai's Hospital, Department for Bone Diseases, in a joint effort with Dr. Allan Schiller, Prof. and Director of Bone Pathology, including his team of radiologists.

additional contributing factors to the causative agents of hypoplasias may be possible,[27] a case of *founder effect* should be seriously considered.[28]

Further on dentitions, a larger segment of both deciduous, and developing permanent teeth with incomplete root segments revealed enamel discolorations of 10YR 3/6 (dark red), and 5YR 4.5/3.5 (reddish brown) on the Munsell scale. Initially taken as pathological manifestations secondary to specific diseases such as infantile hepatitis, porphyria, and/or discoloration possibly caused by mastication of certain substances, perhaps with pharmaceutical benefits, the discolorations proved to be pseudo–pathological conditions of taphonomic nature since chemical, and trace element analyses[29] revealed that they were post depositional infiltrations of exogenous substances into the dental components of dentin and enamel, in the form of silicates, ferrous oxides, as well as high fluorine concentrations (23000 ppm; F in fluoroapatite).

Cranial and postcranial bones, especially of the young individuals, discerned reflections of uninhibited bone growth processes, however, marked in most cases by substantial skeletal changes due to pathologies. Their cranial bones revealed thin but intact diploic components. Vault bones showed uneven and non uniform, thin layers of subperiosteal bone apposition with distinct, sharp boundaries, deposited mainly on internal cranial tables. The post cranial skeletal remains rarely showed similar periosteal reactions. Although the degree of severity of such manifestations differed between individuals of the same age, they were considered responses to inflammatory complications probably induced by infectious conditions.

Manifestations of ectocranial porotic hyperporosis —of porotic to cribrotic sizes, affected a large number of infants without hyperostotic diploic changes. Only in rare cases were these individuals affected by hyperporotic, but non–hyperostotic, reactive lesions at their orbital roofs. Their post cranial skeletal changes showed hyperporous reactions on rib surfaces, as well as on long bones. The appendicular skeletal changes were not the result of epiphyseal ends' remodeling —due to normal growth processes, but could be attributed to a number of pathogenetic causative agents particularly to

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[27] For example the result of benign stress in the form of pressure points imposed bilaterally on the mandibular hemispheres, with emphasis on the loci of the deciduous mandibular canines, through the application of a cultural tradition of binding the body and head of new born up to their 6 postnatal months (as documented ethnographically by the author), and/or through benign stress imposed on the gingival surfaces enveloping the mandibular canines' alveolar loci by a mouth piece given to new born individuals for assistance in lactation processes, and/or for simulating one, such as in the case of a pacifier.

[28] An issue to be investigated further, but for now it seems that either such genetic information was shared by those Aegean populations, or that such information transferred through gene flow, intermarriages, originating from the population where it appears the earliest (at the Proto–Historic Thracian acropolis of Kastri in Thasos) to both Cycladic and Ionian Greeks who settled into this region —hence a founder effect contribution from the Proto–Historic Thasian population to the gene pools of the respective colonists at Abdera and Thasos. In the case of the latter scenario it would be plausible to consider that such genetic information was transferred to the Clazomeneans, interring infants with such manifestations at Abdera, from Thasos (i.e. by acquiring Thracian females from Thasos), and/or that such genetic information was common (due to shared ancestry and/or gene flow that antedated the arrival of the Greeks) among the Thracian population(s) of the mainland and the island of Thasos.

[29] Analyses conducted at Columbia University's Chemistry Department.

hemopoietic disorders, living conditions in aggregate[30] environments and of the health difficulties these conditions might entail. Such as viral contagious diseases spreading through aerosol form, these transmitted through food and water contamination (bacterial, and parasitic infections), probably of both direct and indirect contagious nature, as well as of diseases transmitted through domesticated animals (including their by–products, i.e. milk and cheese), and/or by exposure to the natural habitat of the insect vectors thriving in the wetlands and marshlands of the Nestos delta.

Further palaeopathological evaluations conducted on the skeletal remains of young individuals indicated the presence of well defined ectocranial areas of moderate hyperporous reactive bone of porotic size, especially on temporals, parietals, occipitals, and the maxillo–mandibular quadrants. Similar changes were also observed, infracranially, at preserved supero–dorsal surfaces of scapulae, and humero–ulnar disto–proximal thirds, respectively, components of the elbow joints. Such changes caused by localized hemorrhaging, is suggested, should be attributed to scorbutic conditions[31] — due to vitamin C deficiency (67a). Nevertheless, cranial bones implicated to such suggested scorbutic changes revealed, in some cases, porosity at selected endoctanial bone surfaces, specifically at the lower lateral walls and the base of the crania, for example at the cerebral faces of the temporals including the petrous bone components, the sphenoids, the occipitals, and *partes basilares*, indicating bone changes most probably correlated to compounding infectious conditions. Finally, one case of rickets (vitamin D deficiency) was diagnosed.

Childhood diseases[32] (contagious infections), anemias (i.e. acquired: of iron deficiency, and of parasitic infestation), scurvy (dietary intake inadequacies), and secondary infectious conditions (i.e. opportunistic due to aggregate living and/or lowered strength of immune systems) which seemingly extorted a heavy toll among the young[33] could have severely affected the net reproductive success and thus the long–term livelihood of the Clazomenean population in Abdera during the 7th and 6th c. BC, especially if reinforcements from Clazomenae were rare. Further, both ancient references

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[30] It is tantalizing to consider that prior to the construction of any defensive walls, relative safety from Thracian skirmishes could be attained by seeking refuge in the ships ––and possibly in safe distance from the shore, and for extended periods (few days?). In such cases it could be assumed advisable for mothers and infants to have sheltered under the decks of those ships (pending on their nature and make). Such scenarios would provide for optimal conditions of disease distribution ecology in an aggregate.

[31] Differential diagnosis processes of palaeopathologic manifestations attributed to Scurvy were discussed with Dr. Donald Ortner, Prof., National Museum of Natural History, Dept. of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution (see 67a).

[32] Discussions on current infant epidemiology, circumstances of pathological stress, and treatments were carried out for purposes of comparisons with Dr. Dimitrios Hatzis, M.D., Ph.D., Pediatrics, Winthrop University Hospital, SUNY at Stony Brook.

[33] It is of importance to underline that based on personal, in situ, communications with the senior director of projects Dr. Güven Bakir (Prof. Ege University), Dr. Yaşar Ersoy (Prof. Bilkent University), and ABD. Bilge Hürmüzlü (Assist. Ege University), excavators of Clazomenae including its burial grounds, it can be reported that infants seemingly did not score such a high mortality prevalence in the Mother City, compared to the data derived from the Daughter City. Further, personal communication with Physical Anthropologist, Dr. Erksin Gülec, of Ankara University, knowledgeable of the Clazomenean human population excavated in Clazomenae, suggests that the infant palaeopathological manifestations, described above, were only observed at Abdera.

(*Herodotus*, *Plutarch*, and *Solinus, C.J.*) and even relatively recent ethnohistoric information (gathered by the author since 1982, through the local elder informants from Abdera and neighboring villages), concur that the peri–coastal area of Abdera was surrounded by slow moving and often stagnant water bodies as well as marshlands, presenting therefore an environment characteristic of both a typical reservoir (epidemiologically speaking) and the optimal breeding grounds for the vector transmitting malaria disease, especially before the use of modern era insecticides. The ecology of such environmental contexts with the potential to readily contribute epidemiologically to morbidity and mortality causing circumstances, imminently affecting the very young Clazomeneans at Abdera, in addition to all other compounding difficulties facing the new comers in Thrace, is suggested that it must have been a daunting experience, if not an overwhelming one, for the members of the Clazomenean population striving to settle in Thrace. Is it possible that such difficult survivorship circumstances could have easily bolstered the polemic image, aptitude and capacities of the Thracian challengers (16: 1.168), especially in the ears of non–participant members?[34]

In evaluating the post «Infancy II» skeletal remains of the «Juvenilis» to the «Older (Senilis)» age groups, representing approximately 23 percentiles of the population sample (for a break–down of the post «Infancy II» age groups, see Fig. 5) it was possible, where forensically pertinent, to retrieve data relative to biological sex (Fig. 6). Whereas the majority of individuals from the skeletal collection were of indeterminate sex — approximately 87 percent of the collection (Fig. 5), mainly due to their very young ages and immature skeletal bodies (75%) as well as due to limited preservation– including skeletally mature individuals (about 12%), only 5 percent of the skeletally mature and adequately preserved individuals were assessed as females, and 6 percent as males.

Should this skeletal collection be considered as a representative enough random sample of the Clazomenean population, given that it reflects on the largest systematically excavated Archaic burial ground in Abdera (78), then the number of males[35] owed to be insignificant for reflecting on the results of fatalities and secondary casualties (for example due to irrepressible hemorrhaging or infected wounds) caused if not by an insinuated warfare then presumably due to prolonged hostilities (16: 1.168), between the Thracians and the Clazomeneans, severe enough to render such a description by Herodotus (ibid.).[36] Further, few notable traumatic manifestations have been

[34] Also consider an additional record to (16: 7.126), of a non specific description for the location of Abdera in (16: 8.120), whereas it is clear that Herodotus visited the region as indicated by (16: 6.47), see also (16: 6.46).

[35] If one assumes, paradoxically, the entire cluster of males (15 individuals, or ~6% of the sample) to have been the victims of war against the Thracians, and even of the entire cluster of females (12 individuals, or 5% of the sample)—for the case of female casualties sustained before the construction and subsequently when outside the walls of fortification, during raids and/or ambushes conducted by the Thracians.

[36] For according to Herodotus (16: 1.168), one would be inclined to deduce that the Clazomeneans would have at best retreated (suffering dead and wounded), if not defeated (with many more casualties) from the might of the Thracians (i.e. from Thracian horsemen skirmishes, deployment of archers, sling shooters and peltasts, and/or during attempts of Clazomenean phalanx charges against the non compatible army formations or contingents thereof—with very different mentalities, habits, and ethics of war tactics and battle engagement compared to a pitched battle) just considering the potential of the Thracian strength and

documented skeletally, which would indicate healed or in the process of healing, shortly ante–mortem or peri–mortem traumatic and/or post traumatic manifestations inflicted either from a distance or through close encounter combat. Could the lack of such manifestations reflect on the adequacy of protection offered by the heavy armor and discipline of a Clazomenean phalangeal formation against the horsemen, and the bow and javelin attacks of the lightly armed Thracians?

Should there had been a war of attrition conducted by the Thracians by restricting the Clazomeneans adequate access to land (for agriculture), and/or coupled by opportunistic or seasonal plundering and ravaging of their crops,[37] hence causing them dietary stress and inadequate intake, it should be possible to detect palaeopathologically skeletal changes indicative of at least some manifestations of under–, and/or malnutrition and possibly even of marasmus due to prolonged seasonal starvation. However, even under those polemic circumstances it would be difficult to critically evaluate such conditions through anthropological archaeology, considering that the Clazomenean superiority in nautical affairs —compared to the Thracians, and their proximity to sea derived resources, in addition to the possibly of trade, if not of some opportunistic piracy, could have placed the harvest of their own local agricultural production, out of necessity, in a secondary, unreliable, position. Could this possibly explain why the stable isotopic results of bone components revealed, albeit only from the apatite contents, the possibility of such an overwhelmingly high seafood consumption, and/or of a C4 plant like millet —which parenthetically only appears again in Abdera (through diachronic bone isotopic analyses) as a dietary component[38] during the phases of the Late Byzantine periods (58)?

In evaluating an other facet of a demographic/epidemiological matter such insignificant numbers of female morbidity should not provide any substantive back up to arguments advocating for cases of epidemics, except of course of childhood diseases which mainly would have affected the young. If it would be possible to assign to females of age the labor diversity role of preferably rearing the very young, one should expect in cases of the strike of epidemic(s) to observe a larger number of females —even of older females past their reproductive years, implicated moderately in the mortality curve chart of a population in some noticeable way, showing females— due to greater exposure, as trailing the higher scores of the worst hit age group —namely that of «Infancy I». However, as reflected through the anthropological record this was not the case in Archaic Abdera.

Studies in morphocharacteristics and morphometrics of the Clazomeneans in Abdera, as usually observed among ancient Hellenic societies, revealed a discernible differentiation of skeletal anatomy and muscular imprint robustness with females being

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superiority in population numbers, access, knowledge and use of the topography and territory, while supported by an unhindered flow of «unlimited» material and/or economic resources, as well as allies.

[37] As was the case even during the early 4th c. BC in the Thracian Chersonese region requiring for the protection of the agricultural yield of nine Greek cities, the repair of existing, and further construction of walls of fortification carried out by Derkylidas (17a).

[38] Such a food–stuff appears in the human dietary intake at the end of the Middle (at a 30% prevalence) and the Late Byzantine (at 41%) periods, while both animal protein and C3 plant (wheat/barley) dietary components drop significantly.

more gracile when compared to the more robust males. Further, it was possible to assess through the skeletal record a much stricter differentiation of labor diversity between biological sexes, when comparing to the populations of the Hellenistic, Roman and Middle Byzantine components of Abdera, but simulating what has been documented among the Classical period's *Abderetes* (55). Hence, females showed the most emphasized skeletomuscular markers of habitual and occupational stress (or MHOS) (70, 71, 72, 73, 74) at their forearm bones and hands as these related most probably to domestic activities of the household and possibly of aspects of food production and preparation. On the other hand males, when juxtaposed to females, showed an influx of osteo–, and spondylo–arthropathic manifestations, immediately past the middle of their third decade of life, with much more emphasized traces of benign physiological stress imposed on trajectory loci of stress on their vertebral columns, and the structures of their upper and lower extremities, suggestive of their implication with heavy load impact, labor intensive processes and activities —including these of food production. Further, males revealed manifestations indicative of extensive locomotory behavior in non precipitous substrates.

What was uniformly peculiar, however, shared by many individuals which preserved dentitions, indiscriminately of sex, were the significant dental crown enamel cracks and flaked off enamel loci at both maxillo–mandibular labial and occlusal surfaces. These dental micro–traumatic manifestations (75, 76, 77) appeared to have been acquired not very long before the occurrence of death. They were detected to superimpose uniformly smoothed and polished dental incisal and occlusal masticatory surfaces which ante dated the onset of the micro–traumatic impacts[39]. Hence, it was possible to assess that some significant changes had occurred in the quality of preparation, if not composition, of their dietary intake, apparently after their departure from Clazomenae, where, based on non circumstantial forensically derived dental evidence, the quality of food consumed must had been prepared in a splendid fashion.[40]

These unavoidable traumatic impacts, sustained on the dental surfaces of these individuals, unable to be re–smoothed and/or re–polished, through continued wear till the incident of their death, further reflect not only of the lesser level of preparation of foods consumed, but of a larger underlying change and pressure imposed on the Clazomenean population, once in Thrace, accompanied by a lowered measure of quality of life. Such clues are suggestive of a lack of certain necessities and resources, characteristic at least of certain substructural limitations, which apparently must have been so routinely available to them before their endeavor to build and inhabit Abdera, but suspectedly not only of technological nature. And yet, as for the lowered techno–economic standards which reflect on the quality of dietary intake preparation, these were

[39] The high prevalence and specificity of characteristics identifying these manifestations affecting the dentitions of both younger and older individuals, from both biological sex groups, as well as their random distribution on both incisal and occlusal mandibulo–maxillary enamel loci, strongly suggest that they do not represent the result of a cultural habit(s) adopted while in Thrace, nor the use of the dentitions as a third hand for assistance in the conduct of manual processes requiring additional dexterity.

[40] Also based on personal, in situ, communications with the senior director of projects Dr. Güven Bakir (Prof. Ege University), and Dr. Yaşar Ersoy (Prof. Bilkent University), as well as ABD. Bilge Hürmüzlü (Assist. Ege University), excavators of Clazomenae including its burial grounds.

never to be reclaimed during the remainder of the life expectancies of these Clazomeneans.

Such explanatory scenarios for the fate of the Clazomeneans in Abdera, as reflected through Anthropological Archaeology, still only offer a mosaic picture relative to the tale–tell story encrypted in their anthropological remains. It is anticipated that continued archaeo–anthropological research in conjunction with the rest of the archaeological record, and with the incorporation of the small, yet of singular importance, additional Clazomenean population sample discovered, as explained above, will better elucidate our understandings concerning this critical period in Abdera. Further, the opportunity to compare the Archaic anthropological remains between Abdera and the Mother city of Clazomenae would offer unparalleled prospects for science and scholarship.

Thoughts on the Clazomenean Strategy, and Condition in Thrace, and Implications for the Future of Abdera

The study of the Clazomenean population sample, recovered from the Archaic period in Abdera, provides us with the unique opportunity of coaxing out of the anthropological record interdisciplinary lines of evidence reflecting on aspects of their human condition, implicit of their experiences during the colonization of the Thracian frontier. This is afforded by the saddle clues retrieved from the demographic profile (elucidating the dynamics of fertility, survivorship and mortality prevalence), the skeletal anatomy and morphology, the nature and spectra of palaeopathological distribution, as well as the archaeometric results which readily echo the mute bone tell–tale. Such unique realizations, interwoven with archaeological and historical records might allow the prospect of further inquiry concerning the human condition during those tumultuous times. Hence, whereas we will be searching, in the foreseeable future, for multiple pieces of the puzzle while fine–tuning our questions and understandings, a relatively comprehensive picture is slowly emerging, of the Clazomenean fate in Abdera. And it describes a vividly dramatic story in all respects, characteristic of the vision and spirit, as well as the relentless stamina, courage and hope of the Clazomeneans striving to assert themselves in a new territory, proximal to the land stories had claimed of the golden fleece.

One is astonished by the Herculean efforts and achievements of the Clazomeneans[41] in Abdera, possibly typical of the attributes of its mythological founder, considering that they had entered, with the purpose to claim and settle, the territory of the dreadfully polemic Thracians. Could the Clazomenean endeavor, of selecting to build in Abdera, have been an arbitrary decision, one of trial and error? Some archaeo–anthropological lines of evidence might suggest the opposite. It seems that in addition to preexisting scouting, through seafaring, for identifying appropriate anchoring locations close to the shore for barter or trade contacts between the Ionians and the Thracians, and the shared knowledge among the Greeks of the riches of Thrace, selecting to moor in the natural harbor (49) of what was to become Abdera was not a random deed, but rather a wisely calculated accomplishment.

[41] Just considering that they sustained themselves for seventy to eighty years at Abdera (78).

The littoral periphery of the inlet was not easily accessible from land[42] at its southwest and western sides —hence offering considerable natural safeguard, thanks to the barriers imposed by the Aegean sea, the inlet and its bay area, and the meandering brackish water bodies and slow moving wetlands of the delta or branches thereof of Nestos river (16: 7.126, 49), functioning as significant defense «ditches». The strength of this topographic location would not only offer an advanced stage on an anticipated effort to secure and fortify its less protected northern, northeastern and part of the southeastern sides, but also funnel the potential of Thracian attack to those aforementioned sides. Presumably then the most favorable area chosen for habitation within the inlet, to be fortified, could be completed faster,[43] with a lesser effort and/or a smaller number of human personnel.[44] Hence, the construction of the fortification walls commencing within the third quarter of the 7th c. BC (7a, 13), selectively trailed the adjoining geomorphology (ibid.) for enhancing the protection potential for the Clazomenean settlement and its ships. In addition, the location of the natural harbor happened to be at a most pivotal juncture, on the natural pathways of communication, via land, between the Thracian pericoastal plains and the northerly endoplains, made accessible by the route carved out by Nestos river through the high mountainous complex of Rodope. Finally, the inlet dominating the Thracian outlet to the Aegean was strategically positioned to also oversee the island of Thasos and its Cycladic colony.[45] Although «logical weakness» might flavor positively on this inductive assessment, it nevertheless seems that the Clazomenean colonization in the Thracian coast was both a bold endeavor emerging, at least as far as the aforementioned conditions might indicate, as an exacting art.

There is no doubt that the Clazomeneans devoted themselves in establishing the new City in Thrace, displaying no lack of confidence on their own power and organizational capacities, having no deceptions of the grave difficulties and dangers which lie ahead —facing the bitter hostilities of the local Paiones, but also staying put and

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[42] Offering some natural protection by hindering Thracian attacks from those sides.

[43] Considering the greater vulnerability of the group to enemy action before and during the construction of the walls.

[44] This might be of great importance since it is suspected, should suspicions be based on the recovered anthropological record but without neglecting to consider the traffic of people to and from Clazomenae and Abdera, that the initial group of colonists did not implicate very large numbers of people. Further, the participation of an initial larger group would be possibly advantageous in such an endeavor, but it would also require larger logistical efforts for its management. Further, we do not know specifics of the colonization decision making, implicating for example an optimal number of people Clazomenae was able and willing to part with, without sacrificing its safety and sustainability. One would assume that the departure of a smaller number of colonists, but without jeopardizing their goals, would be more feasible or preferable for Clazomenae, considering the likelihood of conflict and warfare, in Asia Minor, such as that had transpired at Clazomenae, around 600 BC, during the Lydian attack (16: 1.16). And yet, there are more questions. Was the Clazomenean dispatch a composite of a corps d'élite for such an endeavor, or an amalgam of younger and older and especially of the less wealthy —willing to risk some more in anticipation of good returns, or of the politically disfavored— as might be hinted by a version of the interpretation of the historical fragments [for such a discussion see (13)]?

[45] The archaeological record verifies, at a minimum, a lack of traded goods/ceramics between Abdera and Thasos (13), bolstering the archaeological argument that competitive affairs must have characterized their interactions viz. trade with the Thracians.

remaining charged by a phenomenal stimulation and entrepreneurial drive to achieve their quest of not only taming and harvesting the yield of a promising alien environment but hoping to cultivate and nurture constructive relations with their polemic neighbors. But even if there was solace from Mother City reinforcements there was a great price to be paid by the Clazomeneans, especially in effort and human life, for participating in the vision and strategy to claim land and territory in Thrace. And although an interpretative holistic anthropological understanding mandates under occasions of synthesis quantifiable data, based on a population approach, the significance of the individual pieces of evidence, from the perinatal to the old individuals, can hardly be placed out of focus. Hence, each and every Clazomenean laid to rest in the Archaic burial ground of Abdera reveals a qualitative tell–tale of the dreams —for many of whom these remained unfulfilled, the planning, courage, agony and misfortune, lamentation, hopes, strength and commitment for building and succeeding in Abdera. Such a qualitative view might afford us a closer nexus with the Clazomenean saga in Thrace. For it readily reflects on the struggles of a population which faced by a significant load of stress, morbidity and mortality, if destined to survive, would have to not only re–establish and re–discover certain functions of cultural mechanisms and processes,[46] but to also acclimatize and subsequently adapt, over generation time, under the new physical and social circumstances.[47] Such suggested processes and procedures must have included aspects of the intricate relationships between the relatively new settings of the Abdera climate and ecotone,[48] its catchment area and carrying capacity, agrable land and food production issues, the need for better organizational activities and communication with Ionia, safety and defense, and trade in the new geopolitical location; indispensable components of what the new City needed in order to excel.

And yet despite the relentless and unforgiving difficulties faced during their pioneering efforts in taming and building Abdera, the Clazomeneans did not give ground, nor were they vanquished, should one just consider the clear indications yielded by the archaeological and chronological data retrieved from the Archaic burial ground of area «K» (78). By securing and shielding with considerable fortification walls[49] the Archaic city of Abdera and the northwestern side of the harbor they built, they staked out, deep–rooted and founded an Ionian colony at a singularly strategic position in the heartland of Aegean Thrace, preparing for its impressive future. Further, by absorbing and defending the City from the Thracian thrust they acquainted themselves with the Thracian war tactics,[50] accumulated significant experience about preferred modes of

[46] For example by regaining aspects of their fabric of cultural habits and traditions, which were readily available in Clazomenae, (i.e. from the esoteric necessities required for the skills of a specialist(s), to the cultural mechanisms for medically buffering and alleviating physiological stress and trauma).

[47] Not only by building the walls and constructing a modern harbor, but by managing to deter and overcome the danger of malnutrition and the potential of starvation (the result of Thracian activities), piracy from the sea, and by aiming to better understand and control morbidity causing circumstances, affecting their population, by exposure to this new environment.

[48] For references on the excellent climatic conditions in the Clazomenean and Lydian region see (16: 1.142).

[49] With a construction consistency of 4 m thick walls made out of local stone, for details see (13).

[50] demystifying any legends of their might and savagery.

military operations and most probably of a political decorum[51] to be deployed in the locality, valuable information to be shared with the next generations of Ionian Greeks to endeavor to Abdera.

Hence, even if the final outcome of the Clazomenean fate in Abdera was bleaker than anticipated, although archaeo–anthropological data reveal that it was not one of annihilation, for the posterity of a «pure» Clazomenean Daughter city, one must agree that the Clazomenean vision and strategy to build in Abdera was the final victor. Whatever the political processes or negotiations which transpired between Clazomenae, Teos (16: 1.142), and the Abderetes, also implicating the leader of the Clazomenean colonization, Timisias,[52] the fact that he was honored by the Tean population who came to Abdera in 545 BC (16: 1.168), as the non mythological founder–hero of the City, signifies at a minimum symbolically, and under the emerging archaeo–anthropological data possibly even pragmatically (13, 78) —out of respect for an existing Clazomenean population in Abdera, the significance of the Clazomenean policy achievement to found Abdera.

In reality not only did the Clazomenean vision and sheer determination create an opening in the promising land of Thrace, far from the tribulations of the imperialistic reach of Persia —at least for some time— but befittingly a perfect refuge area able to receive (but also in need of such reinforcements), the entire population[53] of Teos, in times of ominous circumstances in Ionia (13a). Those circumstances, in hindsight of more than two and a half millennia, proved positive for the long term sustenance and flourishing of Abdera, although we might never know the point of view held by the Mother city of Clazomenae.[54] And yet, nowhere in the ancient sources is there to be found a notion of bitterness, of posturing, and/or antagonism between the two neighboring cities, of Clazomenae and Teos. In fact not only did the two out of the 12 Ionian cities in Asia Minor, share in common roots, legacies and traditions, but they were also destined to surmise overlapping experiences in times of war and peace and to share in far reaching endeavors from Ionia, such as those in Thrace, and Egypt (16: 2.178).

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[51] Consider the negotiations that transpired in later periods and the commercial relationships with Upper Thrace, best known by its Odrysean rulers.

[52] A *primus inter pares*, or a *persona non grata* among the colonists —for an evaluation see (13).

[53] For a discussion on the size of the Tean population seeking refuge and migrating to Abdera see (13a)

[54] It is Clazomenae that should be given the prime role of the Mother city, rather than Teos, considering that Teos was re–founded by the returning Teans from Abdera (19: 14, 644), and Pindar quoted in (13, 13a). For an extensive evaluation on this matter see (13a).

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TABLES

Burial & Individual No.	Burial Type	Age Assessment	Sex Assessment
110 Homo 1	Cremation	Young/Middle Adult	Female
110 Homo 2	Cremation	Infancy I (3–4 years+/–9 months)	Indeterminate
129 Homo 1	Jar burial	34–36 uterinal weeks	Indeterminate
129 Homo 2	Jar burial	34–36 uterinal weeks	Indeterminate
155 Homo 1	Jar burial	~/= 4–6 postnatal months	Indeterminate
155 Homo 2	Jar burial	Prenatal	Indeterminate
201 Homo 1	Jar burial	Birth–6 months	Indeterminate
201 Homo 2	Jar burial	2–3 years	Indeterminate
208 Homo 1	Inhumation	4–5.5 years	Indeterminate
208 Homo 2	Inhumation	12–18 months	Indeterminate
217 Homo 1	Inhumation	>35 years	Male
217 Homo 2	Inhumation	=/>35 years	Female
232 Homo 1	Jar burial	Near Birth–6 months	Indeterminate
232 Homo 2	Jar burial	Near Birth–6 months	Indeterminate

Table 1. Archaic Burial Ground, Area «K», in Abdera: Burials with Double Interments Suggested to Reveal Consanguineous Relationships, and/or (for Burial No. 217) Affinity

Age Group Categories	Values in Uterinal Weeks	Uterinal/Postnatal Weeks	Values in Years
«Prenatal»	20 up to 32–34 weeks		
«Perinatal» or «Near Birth»		>34–36/37 uterinal weeks to 39 uterinal weeks/Birth	
«Infancy I»			>Birth to 6 years
«Infancy II»			>6 to 12 years
«Juvenilis»–«Subadults»			>12 to <18/19 years
«Young Adults»			>18/19 to 25 years
«Middle Adults»			>25 to 35 years
«Late Adults»			>35 to 45 years
«Maturus»			>45 to 55 years
«Senilis» or «Older»			>55 to 80+ years
«General Adults», a term indicating the lumping of all three «....Adults» age group categories, used circumstantially as dictated by very limited preservation.			>18/19 to 45 years

Table 2. Age Group Categories Used for Age Assessing the Human Skeletal Individuals Recovered from the Archaic Burial Ground, Area «K», in Abdera

Biological Age Subgroupings
«Indeterminate due to preservation»: might implicate both young and old individuals in dry and cremated form
«Indeterminate due to young age»: exclusively implicates young individuals with immature skeletons
«Females»: individuals assessed forensically as females
«Females?»: an individual nearly bordering female morphological anatomy and metric indicia
«Males»: individuals forensically assessed as males
«Most probably Male»: an individual bordering the lower margin of male morpho–metric data

Table 2a. Biological Sex Subgroupings Used for Sex Assessing the Human Skeletal Individuals Recovered from the Archaic Burial Ground, Area «K», in Abdera

Fig. 1. Burial Contexts at Archaic Burial Ground, Area "K", in Abdera

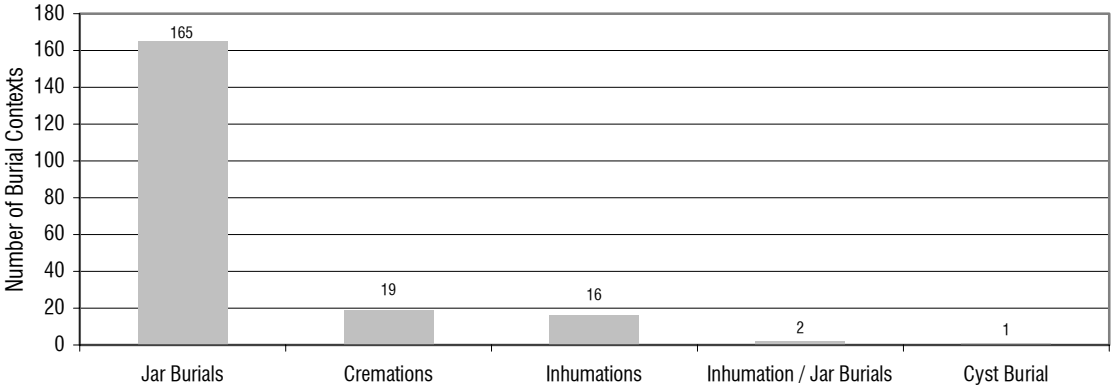


Fig. 2. 231 Skeletal Individuals Recovered from 203 Burial Features, Archaic Burial Ground, Area "K", in Abdera

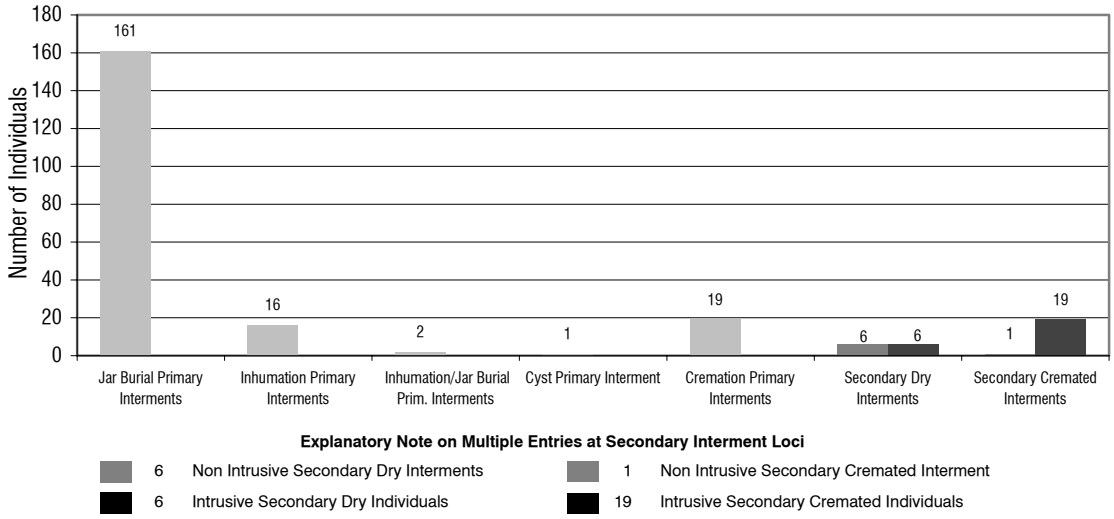


Fig. 3. Archaic Burial Ground, Area "K", in Abdera: Age Assessments By Age Group Subcategories

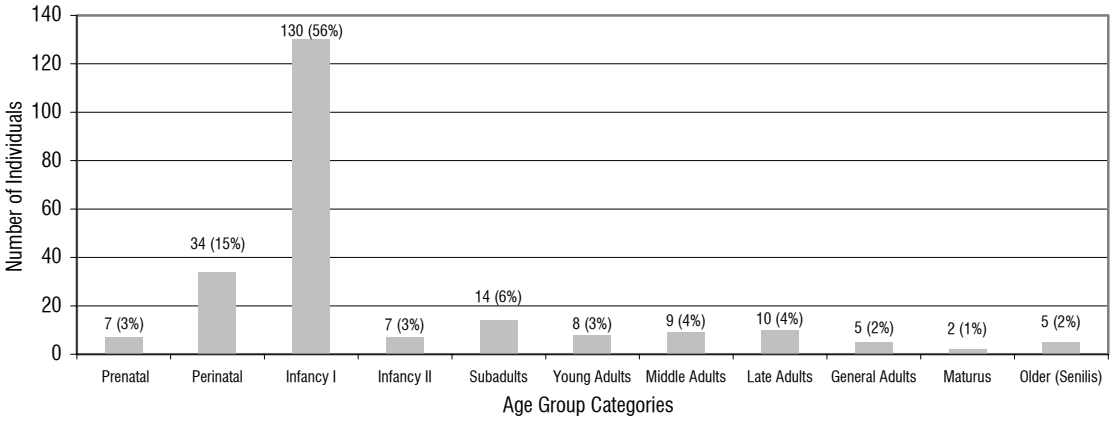


Fig. 4. Clusters between Prenatal-Infancy II Age Groups, 178 (77%) out of 231 individuals, Archaic Burial Ground, Area "K", in Abdera

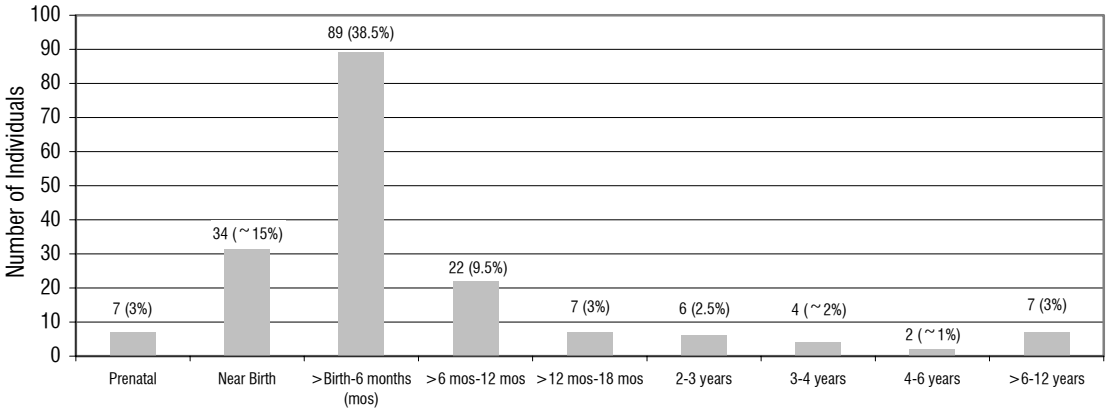


Fig. 5. Clusters between "Juvenilis" - "Older (Senilis)" Age Groups, 53 (23%) out of 231 individuals, Archaic Burial Ground, Area "K", in Abdera

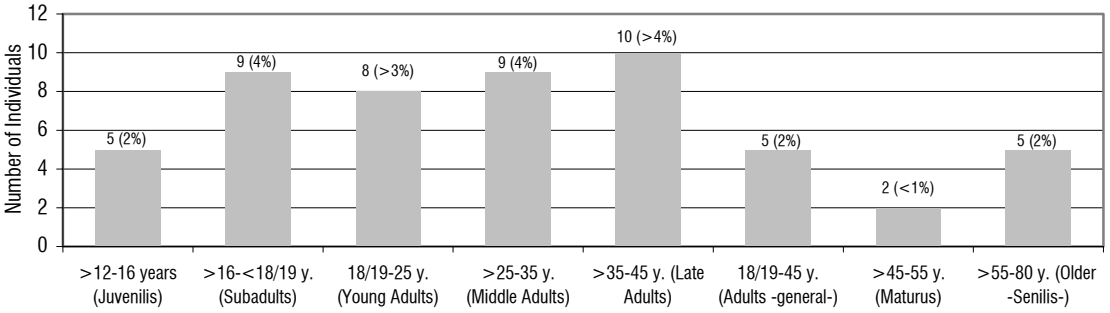
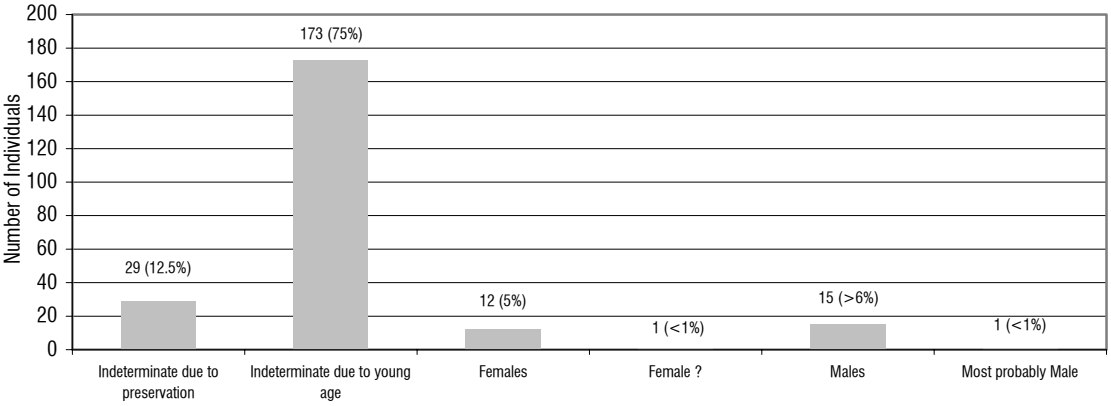


Fig. 6. Biological Sex Assessments Involving 231 Individuals Archaic Burial Ground, Area "K", in Abdera



INFANT MORTALITY: THE COMPLEXITY OF IT ALL!

Introduction

Infancy, whilst a biological stage of human development, is also a social construct. In many cultures the infant was not considered to be a full member of society, and it was treated differently from adults in both life and death. In the Roman era, for example, the general acceptance was that an infant under 40 days old was not fully human and therefore could be excluded from the law that burial should take place outside the settlement and, indeed, the normal practice was to bury newborn infants underneath the floor of houses (Scott, 1999). However, the study of infant burials and skeletal remains, potentially a fascinating subject of research, is poorly represented in the bioarchaeological literature (fig. 1). This paper aims to investigate aspects of infant mortality during a turbulent era of Greek history (6^{th}–7^{th} centuries AD), for which until now only few and scattered information exist. The proto–Byzantine era is of a special interest since it is well marked by a variety of changes introduced to the everyday life of populations (environmental, political, economic, etc), which no doubt put under stress specific age groups, such as the subadults. In addition, interesting aspects of infant mortality, (infant taphonomy and infanticide, mainly domestic) are also addressed in this paper.

Infant taphonomy

More than 40 years ago L. Angel, the pioneer of paleopathological studies in Greece, believed that infant remains disappeared more readily than those of adults (Angel, 1969; 1971). Both archaeologists and biological anthropologists often note the underpresentation of infant bones in cemetery excavations. We do not know whether this underpresentation in almost all cemeteries can be explained mainly by taphonomy. Lucy (1994) and Evison (1987: 146) suggest that infant bones do not survive because they were shallow buried and thus their remains have been ploughed away in the topsoil, when excavation takes place.[1] Another question frequently asked is whether or not the remains of infants and children are less often preserved than those of adults. This is a crucial issue because if infant remains were to disintegrate relatively rapidly after burial, then one could argue that infants are «missing» from cemeteries simply because their skeletons have not survived (Scott, 1999: 109). Generally, bones are easily attacked by the acid products of organic matter composition or by acid soils (Guy et al., 1997; Gordon and Buikstra, 1981). Under some pressure, notably that of overlying sediments, infant

[1] The shallow depth of infants' burials, which would have been more exposed to ploughing is also supported by Ascadi and Nemeskeri (1970), who refuse to admit that infants' bones may be more poorly preserved in the earth than adults' bones.

skeletons poorly resist crushing. Nevertheless, in many cases subadult bones are present to some degree in cemeteries and are even known at some sites in large numbers; therefore the argument that their bones have not been preserved is unconvincing (Pearce, 1997). It is also worth mentioning that even on sites where it is recognised that preservation of human bones is generally poor, infant skeletons are found (Potter and King, 1996: 125). Molleson and Cox (1993) have also addressed the issue of whether infant bones decay faster than the bones of juveniles and adults and they argued that infant bones have a relatively high collagen content which compensates for the lack of calcification in subadult bones (ibid: 16). However, the low mineralization of bone and the qualities of the bone mineral in subadults can explain the poor preservation of their skeletons in burials.

Domestic and ritual infanticide

Perhaps a more discussed topic of infant mortality is infanticide, either domestic or ritual. The term «infanticide» commonly used in a number of contexts is viewed by the majority of non–clinical researchers as consciously–calculated adjustments in parental investment designed to achieve economic, cultural, as well as, biological goals (Rega, 1997: 238). Ritual infanticide, is an especially fascinating example of how human societies manipulate codes of death and give them meanings which are clearly associated with fertility and life, through the use of vows, ritual, ancestors and memory. Drowning, smothering, strangling, exposure and neglect are the commonest ways in which infants, especially newborns, are killed.[2] Most methods of infanticide do not leave forensically detectable traces of violence, although they may cause discoloration of the teeth, from blood being forced into the dentine tubules (Van Wyk, 1987).

Infanticide appears to have been practised at one time or another in most societies and the victims tend to be disposed of rather unceremoniously. For the Athenians, it seemed that the primary object of infanticide was the same as the object of reproduction: to secure the continuity of *oikos* (= household), with its social, religious, political and military implications (Jones, 1984: 158–162). The Spartans, on the other hand, practiced a fairly well documented system of infanticide, since they carefully examined all infants at birth for defects and signs of deformities. Defective infants were killed, male and female alike, for they had no place in Spartan warrior society. A variety of Greek myths and legends reveal a fear of the newborn and a particular fear of the infant with a disability, but deformity cannot be universally invoked as a cause of infanticide (Scott, 1999: 69).[3]

Both domestic and ritual infanticide detected from purely archaeological remains is problematical —although infant sacrifice is less so— and a methodology is developed for these cases. A lack of careful burial may result from a disruption in the social fabric from an epidemic or warfare. The presence of infants at the same age–at–death is another potential clue in order to differentiate cases of ritual sacrifice, slaughter or death from natural causes, the last of which results in the presence of infants of different ages (Smith and Kahila, 1992). Another type of skewed data suggestive of infanticide is where many

[2] Exposure is the leaving of a newborn infant to die from starvation or natural causes (Scott, 1999: 71).

[3] Especially the birth of human twins were thought of as abnormal and belonging to the category of monstrosities, and therefore, rejected (Dasen, 1997).

more infants of one sex are represented than another. There has long been a suspicion that preferential female infanticide was practised in antiquity and, at least for the Roman society, written sources indicate that female infanticide was the more common. Rega (1997: 233), on the other hand, suggests a preferential male infanticide for the Mokrin cemetery (Belgrade, former Yugoslavia), based on ethnographic parallels where females were highly valued in adult society and thus better cared for in infancy and childhood than males (i.e. the greater role of women as economic providers and their importance in the maintenance of family stability in a matrilineal society). However, it must be also recognised that huge differences in attitudes toward infanticide exist between societies and in order to understand the use of infanticide in any particular society we have to explore its very specific set of social and historical conditions.

The most unambiguous case of infanticide from the Late Roman–Early Byzantine era, comes from Ashkelon, Israel (Smith and Kahila, 1992). The excavations carried out at the site included the excavation of a bathhouse, built in the 4th century and used until the 6th century AD. Skeletal remains of nearly 100 infants were found in the sewer beneath it, suggesting a very abnormal attitude towards their disposal, since all previous reports for the discovery of infant remains in Israel describe careful burial treatment, either with adults, or separately in pots.[4] Laboratory examination revealed that all infants were the same age–at–death (neonates). We can exclude the possibility of stillbirths, because of the large number of individuals present, and death from natural causes or massacre because all infants were the same age when they died, and so infanticide appears to be the most likely explanation (Smith and Kahila, 1992: 669, 673).[5]

Law, infanticide and rituals between paganism and Christianity.

One of the effects of Christianity on burial ritual and practice may well be that infants were more likely to be found in community cemeteries and burial grounds. Lucy (1994: 24–27) further supports this idea when she argues that «*it seems to be the general pattern that Christian cemeteries contain high proportions of younger burials, while pre–Christian sites can be typified by their general absence*.» However, any individual situation can be more complex and without clear–cut borders between pagan and Christian rituals. A good example is the case of the infant cemetery that came to light at Lugnano, Italy and was though to be the result of a single episode of malaria (Scott, 1999).[6] Even if we accept this cemetery as a short–lived response to a specific epidemic like malaria, what needs to be further investigated is the issue of the polluting power of the dead infants, as clearly demonstrated by the unusual pagan objects scattered among the tombs: decapitated

[4] In the courtyard, some 200 yards away from the bathhouse was found a careful jar burial of a young infant.

[5] DNA analysis conducted by Dr M. Faerman (1997) at the Hebrew University resulted in the identification of a great number of males. Written sources indicate that, although in ancient Roman society female infanticide was commonly practiced, females were occasionally saved and reared as prostitutes. The high frequency of males suggests to Faerman the selective preservation of female infants and that the infants may have been offspring of prostitutes, working in the bathhouse, supporting its use as a brothel.

[6] The excavation brought to light 47 infant skeletons of mixed ages and only few of them exhibited pathological conditions (porotic hyperostosis).

puppies, a raven's claw, honeysuckles and bottomless upside–down pots.[7] All of these seem to reflect the desperation of a people who, thought by this time to be nominally Christians, revived «black magic and village witchcraft», including the manipulation of superstitious offerings in their moment of stress.

Christianity, of course, also changed attitudes towards infanticide, and the Christian church not only condemned infanticide as a mortal sin but developed the practice of exorcism to deal with any human spirits which might be haunting the living. During the 4th century AD Christian writers disapproved of contraception, abortion and infanticide; Valentian I at first made infanticide illegal in the Western Empire in AD 370, and later Justinian claimed that «*the foetus in the womb is deemed to be fully a human being, whenever the question concerns advantages accruing to him when born, even though before his birth, his existence is never assumed in favour of anyone else*» (Scott, 1999: 76). However, there was still considered to be a conceptual difference between the unborn and the newly born on the one hand and the accepted infant on the other, but it was also a widespread belief amongst many people that the «spirit» of a dead infant remained in existence and was free to inhabit the body of another newborn baby. Perhaps, this was applied as a psycological mechanism to alleviate the quilt of infanticide which may often have been a necessity for poor families.

Materials and methods

For the purposes of this study the following skeletal collections from proto–Byzantine sites in Greece are included (see also table 1 and fig. 2): Eleutherna (Μπούρμπου, 2000b, Bourbou, 2000c), Gortyna (Mallegni, 1988) Knossos, (Musgrave, 1976), Corinth (Wesolowsky, 1973), Messene (Bourbou, in preparation) and Aliki II at Thassos (Buchet and Sodini, 1984). In order to delineate the role played by sanitary, social and other environmental conditions in infant mortality and survival, infant mortality is divided into neonatal (immediately after birth–4 years) and postneonatal (5–9 years old) categories.

Sites	Eleutherna	Gortyna	Knossos	Corinth	Thassos	Messene
Total no. of individuals	151	54	MNI 35–50	164	147	69
Adults	100	29	20–30	117	23	53
Male	52	18	9	54	22	21
Female	21	16	12	43	1	12
?	78	–	–	67	–	33
Subadults	51	24	15–20	47	124	16

Table.1 Distribution of adult/subadult individuals in the samples

[7] It is interesting to note that generally the Romans feared aborted, stillborn or short–lived infants and believed that their souls could be used by sorcerers to bring evil to the living. Every literally pagan object found scattered among the tombs especially of the neonate and premature infants, has its special ritual meaning: for example, the raven's talon is interpreted as a chthonic symbol and talisman against evil; decapitated puppies were often used by the Romans in superstitious rituals, such as killing them and burying them in earth as a sacrifice to malevolent infernal deities (Scott, 1999).

Excavations at a proto–Byzantine Basilica in Eleutherna brought to light almost 50 multiple and single burials.[8] One–hundred fifty–one skeletons received anthropological and pathological analysis (100 adult and 51 subadult individuals). Due to the fragmentary nature of the material, estimation of sex was possible for only 73 individuals, giving 52 male/possible male and 21 female/possible female skeletons.

In Gortyna, in the area just to the SE of St Titus Basilica, a densely packed necropolis was found situated in the ruins of a small, Late Antique baths complex. It was probably constructed during the last quarter of the 4th century and re–occupied after a 6th century destruction, by an agricultural and artisan community and was still in use in the second half of the 7th century AD. The tombs were familial and almost all had been opened and re–used more than once (Di Vitta, 1988). Mallegni (1988), refers to the analysis of 54 skeletons, 29 adult (18 males, 16 females and 20 individuals with unknown sex) and 24 subadult individuals.

A build tomb (osteotheke), most probably a family one, was found close to the Venizeleion Hospital at Heraklion on the road to Knossos. The analysis of the skeletal remains showed at least 35 and perhaps as many as 50 individuals; 20–30 were adult and 15–20 subadult individuals and sex determination resulted in 9 males and 12 females. (Musgrave, 1976).

One hundred and one graves were located in the so–called «Cemetery of the Lerna Hollow» area at the Gymnasium of Corinth. The cemetery was in use from the last years of the 4th to the 6th century AD. The sample consists of 164 individuals, 117 adults (the sex was determined for 54 males and 43 females) and 47 subadults (Wesolowsky, 1973).

During excavations at ancient Messene, in the Peloponnese almost 40 early–Byzantine burials came to light. Sixty–nine skeletons (53 adult and 16 subadult individuals) recovered from the site received anthropological and pathological analysis. Determination of sex was possible for 33 individuals (21 male/possible male and 12 female/possible female) while in 36 individuals the sex remained unknown.

Excavations at the Protobyzantine Basilica II at Aliki (Thassos) brought to light 13 burials the majority of which included more than one inhumation. At Aliki II it was surprising enough to find that the skeletal collection consisted of 124 subadult and 23 adult individuals, 22 males and 1 female (Buchet and Sodini, 1984).

Results

In the sample of Eleutherna postneonatal mortality (49%) exceeded neonatal mortality (37%).[9] Macroscopical examination of the subadults skeletons revealed some interesting pathologies. Scurvy (vitamin C deficiency) was diagnosed in two subadults. Pathological bone changes of the first skeleton consist of subperiosteal new bone formation on orbital roofs (fig. 3), on the external aspect of temporal and occipital fragments and the medial surface of the coronoid process of the right mandible. In addition, the metaphysis of the left tibia exhibits an hematoma. The second skeleton exhibits woven bone reaction on both mandibular rami and on the occipital bone, up to

[8] The analysis does not include the human remains from burials 1–5.

[9] The percentage of neonatal vs postneonatal mortality is calculated for the total of subadult individuals (below 18 years old) recovered from the samples.

the superior nuchal lines (Bourbou, 2000a). Three cases of cribra orbitalia are also associated with childhood and the expression of the condition is characterized by severe sievelike lesions with considerable diploic expansion (fig. 4). Skeleton 005ε (2 years +8 months) exhibits cribra orbitalia in the left eye–orbit; skeletons 020στ (<17) and 020ζ (9 years +24 months) exhibits cribra orbitalia in both eye–orbits. Finally, skeletal evidence for infectious diseases (periostitis) is present in two subadults (skels. 003, 020γ) consisting primarily of woven bone reaction along the anterior aspects of the tibial shafts.

In Gortyna Mallegni (1988) notes on the high infant mortality patterns, where neonatal mortality (75%) exceeded postneonatal mortality. Furtermore, metabolic conditions such as cribra orbitalia is reported for eleven subadult individuals and attributed in thalassemia minor.

Musgrave (1976) suggests for Knossos a high infant mortality; the mortality pattern reached two peaks, the first between one and three years old and the second between five and nine years and postneonatal mortality exceeded neonatal mortality (44.4%). Radiographic analysis of subadult long bones revealed a number of Harris lines; in addition, a 10 year old child had suffered from a non–inflammatory dysplasia of his left femur.

For the collection of Corinth, the author argues that a low infant mortality can be observed, most possibly attributable to alternative methods of disposal of the bodies of children and infants; perhaps some children were buried with adults while others were disposed in some other way (Wesolowsky 1973: 346–347). However, postneonatal mortality exceeded neonatal mortality (36.1%). No pathologies for subadult individuals are included in the study and generally a minimum of both oral and skeletal pathologies are diagnosed, perhaps due to the extreme fragmentation of the collection.

In the sample of Messene, neonatal mortality presented the higher frequency (75%). Cribra orbitalia is observed in both eye orbits of skel.056 (15+36 months) and in the left eye orbit of an infant (skel. 038). In addition, periosteal reaction is observed along the linea aspera of both femora in an infant (skel. 005).

In Aliki II at Thassos, the highest peak of infant mortality (53%) is recorded between the ages of one to four years. Unfortunately, the authors do not refer to any pathological observation and this is, indeed, a very skewed sample that needs to be further analyzed in order to determine all possible explanations for the high prevalence of subadult deaths (burial bias, an epidemic?).

Discussion and conclusions

In most of the sites where post–neonatal mortality exceeded neonatal mortality, the explanation may lie in environmental factors, such as poor sanitation and nutrition (fig. 5). The figures i.e. for Knossos illustrated that infant and child mortality was quite high. For the first peak (1–3 years old) Musgrave (1976: 40) suggests that «*if early Christian Knossians believed that a child should be weaned early, such childhood illness as measles, pneumonia, mumps, diphtheria, scarlet fever, dysentery and meningitis may have started to take their toll earlier*.» The second peak (5–9 years old) is harder to explain and it is supposed that «*if living conditions were harsh and unhygienic then any child would have be at risk, especially one who had already caught more than his fair share of the diseases mentioned above*» (ibid: 40). Tsougarakis (1982: 458–466), investigating in his paper the conditions of everyday life in Crete during the proto–Byzantine era, highlights the anthropological analysis of the

osteotheke at Knossos. He argues that «(the analysis) *showed a quite high infant and child mortality and probably a relatively low life expectancy because of harsh living conditions. The fact that the osteotheke has been found in a relatively central area of the island suggests that perhaps living standards might have been worse in more remote places*»

Usually, there is a broad assumption that mortality rates among infants will be highest at birth and will slowly decline thereafter, leading us to expect mostly newborns deaths in any mortality sample. Neonatal mortality is largely due to the physiological and organic weakness of infants and by problems suffered by their mothers during pregnancy. Barker *et al.* (1992) in their studies of historical epidemiology demonstrated that nutrition before and during pregnancy and in infancy is of critical importance for growth and development of the embryo and also for the subsequent health of the adult. A high neonatal mortality and a high incidence of children of low birth weight are both directly associated with poor maternal nutrition. Neonatal mortality in the past was high in places where babies were born with low birth weight and was also known to have been associated with maternal mortality. In addition, high rates for both neonatal and maternal mortality have been found in places where the physique and health of women were poor (Barker and Osmond, 1986a; Barker, 1992a, b; Barker and Martyn, 1992).

On the other hand, it also well known that breast–fed babies are more likely to survive the first year of life than those who are artificially fed, when sanitary conditions are poor. This positive association between breast feeding and infant health is further buttressed by the observation that infant mortality tends to increase in the months following weaning, often in conjunction with a rise in the weanling diarrhoea complex. Especially important are the nutritive quality of supplemental foods, hygienic conditions surrounding artificial feeding and the overall health of the baby's environment.

It is also worth noting the pathologies observed in these samples and especially the metabolic conditions, such as scurvy and iron–deficiency anemia. Both conditions have their greatest effect on children, primarily between the ages of 6 months and 2 years. It is at this time that all the body systems, including the skeletal system, are most vulnerable to environmental stress due to the accelerated growth and increased demand for nutrients. Iron is necessary for many body functions. The efficiency of dietary absorption of iron is dependent upon its source within foods consumed, either heme or nonheme. Generally, heme sources of iron are efficiently absorbed, with meat being among the best (Baynes and Brothwell, 1990). Iron bioavailability in nonheme sources is highly variable, but plant sources are generally poorly absorbed. Various substances found in plants inhibit iron absorption, such as phytates in many nuts (i.e., almonds), cereals (i.e., whole wheat flour) and legumes (Baynes and Brothwell, 1990). On the other hand, a number of foods are known to enhance iron bioavailability, such as, ascorbic acid.

Iron deficiency anemia is potentially caused by a variety of non–dietary factors. Children with low birth weights can be predisposed to iron deficiency anemia while blood loss and chronic diarrhoea have also been implicated (Stuart–Macadam, 1989a). Even when diets contain sufficient amounts of iron, parasitic infections or various genetic diseases or both, can result in severe iron deficiency anemia. Elevated environmental stressors (i.e., unhealthy living conditions, decreased sanitation) also took their toll in the manifestation of the condition. For the proto–Byzantine population of Gortyna trace element analysis (ratio of strontium/zinc) revealed a relatively rich diet, thus excluding any iron deficiency anemia (Fornaciari *et al.*, 1988: 403–416), and the author suggested

as a probable cause of cribra orbitalia, thalassemia minor.[10] This assumption is further supported by the geographical position of Gortyna itself; the frequent presence of earthquakes resulted in damage of major hydraulic works and the overflowing of the Geropotamos river transformed the Messara plain into a marshy area with high percentage of malaria incidents (ibid: 386). It has been noted that people with thalassemia (and sickle–cell anemia) have a resistance to malaria because the infection cannot develop fast enough between the formation and death of red blood cells during their short life span (Steinbock, 1976: 234). Wesolowsky (1973: 349–350), too, in the analysis of his sample from Lerna Hollow refers to seven adult individuals exhibiting porotic hyperostosis as a response to endemic malaria (thalassemia or sickle–cell anemia).

Ascorbic acid (vitamin C) is not required in the diet of most animal species; only humans and a few other primates do not have the enzyme necessary to synthesize the vitamin (Hodges, 1980). Vitamin C is necessary for a number of metabolic processes including the formation of collagen, and deficiency results in scurvy. It is a condition that can affect all age groups, but throughout history, as a direct result of social and cultural factors, those most commonly affected have been subadults and men. Ascorbic acid is found in a wide range of foods, being present in marine fish and in varying amounts in numerous vegetables but with exceptionally high concentrations in citrus fruits. The paleopathological record for subadult scurvy is relatively poor (Ortner, 1984; Roberts, 1987; Mogle and Zias, 1995; Ortner and Ericksen, 1997; Ortner *et al.,* 1999). Generally, it is unusual for scurvy to develop under «normal» living conditions; usually it is associated with natural or social disasters or specific culturally derived behaviors (i.e. selective dietary restrictions in eccentric diets). Consumption of mainly cooked food (vitamin C is destroyed by boiling temperature) and cereals that contain little vitamin C may have also predisposed a population to scurvy. It is possible that the subadults from Eleutherna did not develop more extensive hemorrhage–induced, subperiosteal bone formation because death (perhaps from an alternative cause) occurred relatively soon after development of the deficiency. Nevertheless, it is noted that children with vitamin C deficiency are especially susceptible to infections, resulting in *otitis media,* pneumonia, diphtheria and other problems such as digestive disturbances and general debility (Jaffe, 1972).

Transverse lines (Harris lines) may be visible in x–rays as radiopaque lines on many skeletal elements, including long bones and round or irregular skeletal elements (e.g. the scapula).[11] Although transverse lines were originally considered to be symptomatic of rickets, studies of living populations and animal studies link them to a variety of conditions potentially resulting in metabolic disorders, trauma from minor surgery and immunization, fracture, lead poisoning and the physiological and psychological impact of

[10] The presence of many small apertures in the anterior portion of the orbital roofs is described by Steinbock (1976) as cribra orbitalia. Thalassemia is an hemolytic anemia caused by a genetic defect in the hemoglobin structure. However, Ortner and Putschar (1985: 252) highlight the fact that thalassemia minor does not show any skeletal lesions.

[11] Lines range in thickness from less than 1 mm to more than 1 cm and are thickest in areas of rapid growth, such as the distal tibia and femur. Most lines appear to form after six months of life, peaking some time during the first five years.

weaning (Larsen, 1998).[12] However, a better description is «growth recovery lines», since most evidence indicates that the lines form during the recovery phase following growth arrest. Analyses of these lines in archaeological remains provide some interesting insight into stress history, but their use for documenting stress in past populations is clouded by the fact that these lines a) have a tendency to fade or vanish with advancing age, due to bone remodeling, b) present a high degree of frequency variation to individual history c) are subject to inter observer errors and d) if they are not present this does not mean that the individual did not suffer from an disease or any other cause in his health history. These obstacles and the lack of close association between transverse lines and disease episodes in archaeological, as well as in living populations, suggests that this stress indicator should be interpreted cautiously in bioarchaeological analysis, especially in consideration of health status and its relationship to specific behavioural, environmental, and dietary adaptations (Larsen, 1998).

Infective lesions of greater or lesser degree are a very common find in skeletons from archaeological sites. Although unproven, it is likely that the bacteria commonly involved today in bone infections (i.e. streptococcus) were the cause of the non–specific infections of bone in antiquity. Periostitis, as a disease by itself, is uncommon; it usually represents part of or a reaction to, pathologic changes of the underlying bone. Thus, periostitis can be a part of a disease syndrome (i.e. syphilis) but it is also a specific disease itself. Primary periostitis is most often the result of two pathological conditions, trauma (sudden or chronic insult to bone) and infection, although it is often impossible to determine which of these two conditions gave rise to a particular lesion in an archaeological skeleton. In the samples, periostitis appears mainly along the shafts of long bones and the skeletal tissue is loosely organized in woven bone, suggesting that the lesions were still active at the time of death. Most possibly, it is related to a general ongoing infectious process, which probably affected the individuals since birth, or even before, or can be related to specific pathological conditions, such as metabolic disorders, and especially vitamin C deficiency.[13]

There is a synergy between infection and malnutrition; thus malnourished subadults are less resistant to infectious pathogens and are rendered more susceptible to infectious disease. Conversely, infection worsens nutritional status. Individuals experiencing infection exhibit higher basal metabolic rates, which are accompanied by fever and the body's increased demand for protein and other nutritients necessary for the production of antibodies that fight the infection (Larsen, 1998: 88). In addition, the effects of an increase in population size and density are also well understood in infectious disease ecology and epidemiology. Russell (1986: 144) highlights, among other typical phenomena of decay in everyday life of this era, «*the subdivision of spacious private residences*

[12] It is clear that it is not possible to predict the cause of a given line nor the duration of the insult. However, it is argued that these lines represent periods of stress such as nutritional deficiencies or starvation and childhood diseases, i.e. measles, or other pathological conditions, such as influenza, infectious diseases, diabetes (Roberts and Manchester, 1995; Aufderheide and Rodriguez–Martin,1998).

[13] Due to reduced resistance to infection, vitamin C deficiency predisposes to bleeding into the skin and beneath the periosteum of bones. Skeletally evidence of scurvy consists of new bone formation, potentially anywhere in the skeleton (for pathognomonic features of the condition see Ortner, 1984; Roberts, 1987; Ortner and Ericksen, 1997; Ortner *et al.*, 1999; Bourbou, 2000a).

to accommodate larger numbers of poorer inhabitants.» By increasing the size and density of settlements the host and pathogen are placed side–by–side in a long–term relationship that may form the basis of chronic infection. The number of potential hosts is increased, thus providing a permanent reservoir for certain infectious agents. The closer contact in a more densely occupied settlement, coupled with the ill effects of poor sanitation resulting from permanent occupancy of a setting, results in faster and more proficient disease transmission (Armelagos, 1990; Armelagos and Dewey, 1970; Lallo *et al.,* 1978; Lambert, 1993). Thus, the factors affecting the prevalence of infectious conditions in populations are multiple and varied: the immune system of the host, the virulence of the parasites, population density, malnutrition and ecological considerations are all significant.

Finally, no matter how radical it seems, sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS) must be included as a possible explanation for infant deaths when applied to archaeological populations. SIDS may have taken its toll into the formation of infant mortality patterns in antiquity but since it is difficult to explain (and even today the etiology of the condition remains a mystery) it is also neglected. In modern clinical practice, although still a difficult condition to define, SIDS is diagnosed by excluding other causes of death in infants between one month and one year.[14] The medical profession and society did not recognize SIDS until the late twentieth century and yet people from the Biblical times onward described sudden, unexplained deaths that matched the typical SIDS death of today (Savitt, 1993). In the eighteenth century people attributed the demise of these children to accidental suffocation in bed–clothes or to accidental smothering and overlying by sleeping parents.[15] However, community members would also suspect not just parental negligence, but even overt infanticide. SIDS strikes children of both sexes, of all social, economic, ethnic and racial groups and at all times of the year. Most deaths occur at between 1–6 months of age, with a peak between ages 2–3 months. Thus, death occurs at an age when babies are undergoing their most rapid systemic development, and when their needs for efficient bodily processes are greatest (i.e. at the time infants are adjusting gastrointestinal systems to changing foods, their immune systems to new antigens and pathogens) (Savitt, 1993). In addition, certain other characteristics of babies, mothers, and families appear to be risk factors associated with a higher incidence of the condition in infants.

Nevertheless, in order to have a more complete picture of infant mortality patterns during the era in question, it will be useful to include in this study the data derived from analysis of sites in the Eastern Mediterranean (Carthage, Arslantepe) and Western Europe (Maastricht). The publications by Kilgore and Jurmain (1991), Schwartz and Dirkmaat (1984) and Duhig (1994) for the analysis of human skeletal remains from Carthage, include material from the Byzantine cemetery south of the ruins of the Circus, cist burials in adjacent rooms at the western part of the site and ten inhumations. For all samples the total number of individuals recovered is 51, and 20 out of them were subadults.

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[14] SIDS is described as «*the sudden death of any infant or young child which is unexpected by history, and in which a thorough postmortem examination fails to demonstrate an adequate cause for death*»(Bergman *et al.*, 1970).

[15] As early as the 16th century, Florentine craftsmen designed a wooden arch that fit over, and kept blankets away from the child, thus preventing potentional suffocation with bed clothes (Savitt, 1993: 1019).

Some interesting pathologies have emerged: cribra orbitalia is diagnosed in both eye orbits of a 4–year–old child (8067), and in two 12–14 years old children (F222, F223) while a parietal fragment of an infant 2–3 years old (9117) exhibits marked porotic hyperostosis. Kilgore and Jurmain (1991: 278) argue that it is not surprising to find these conditions in Carthage, since the Tunisian coast is part of the Mediterranean malarial belt and it is likely that hemoglobin disorders occurred there (see above). In addition, parasitic infection and weanling diarrhoea may well have combined to place additional stresses on hemoglobin stores, particularly in infants and children. Slight periostitis is visible on the shafts of all long bones of a neonate (0–3 months). The fact that slight periostitis is widely distributed throughout the skeleton of 7052 is indicative of an ongoing infectious process which probably affected this infant since birth, or even before, and directly contributed to its early death. Slight periosteal reaction is noted also bilaterally along the deltoid tuberosity of the humerus of a 2.5–3.5 years old infant (9062B). Periosteal healing resulted from trauma is also observed on several right ribs of a 12–14 year–old child (F222). Dental pathologies include a case of enamel hypoplasia of a 4 years old infant (8067) and a carious lesion on a 12–16 years old child (F224). Finally, a child 8–12 years old presents a developmental condition, since the distal right fibula is smaller than the distal portion of the left fibula. Likewise, a difference in size of the tali is also noted, thus appearing that the bones of the lower right leg did not develop properly, probably due to disuse. Paralysis is offered as a tentative explanation.

The examination of 97 subadult skeletons from Arslantepe in Eastern Central Anatolia, (6^{th}–8^{th} centuries AD) revealed striking results since the authors concluded that the health status was generally much better than in other Anatolian populations of the period (Schultz and Schultz, 2000). There was only relatively little evidence of malnutrition (e.g. 2% of rickets while scurvy could be diagnosed in about 11%). The frequency of anemia was also relatively low (12.5%). As a rule, some infectious diseases (i.e. otitis media and sinusitis frontalis) were extremely rare, whereas meningitis (about 12%) and maxillary sinusitis (about 16%) show a slightly higher frequency.

In Western Europe, two early medieval (450–950 AD) cemetery populations excavated in Maastricht (The Netherlands) revealed great deal about low prevalence of infant deaths (Panhuysen, 2000). At the St Servaas cemetery 161 individuals were recovered, and 14% died before the age of twenty years, while at the Boschstraat cemetery, from a sample of 54 individuals the figure was 43%. Neither burial practices nor taphonomic factors significantly biased the recovery of child burials and only few children demonstrated pathological conditions. Moreover, in the adult population changes that may have caused any stressful episodes during the growth period were rare.

The infant is a complicated symbol and is born fully loaded with cultural meanings; thus infant mortality is an important part of the archaeological debate. The data for infant burials appear remarkably uniform across time, space and cultural boundaries, but the same explanation cannot account for all the patterns in these data. Therefore, how might we place infant death and burials in perspective? The aim of this paper has not been to provide an overarching synthesis of the history of infancy; however an effort has been made to reconstruct infant mortality patterns in proto–Byzantine Greece. Hopefully it has pointed in directions where fruitful work remains to be done in a wider archaeological and biological spectrum in time and space.

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Fig. 1. Intact child burial in a cist grave

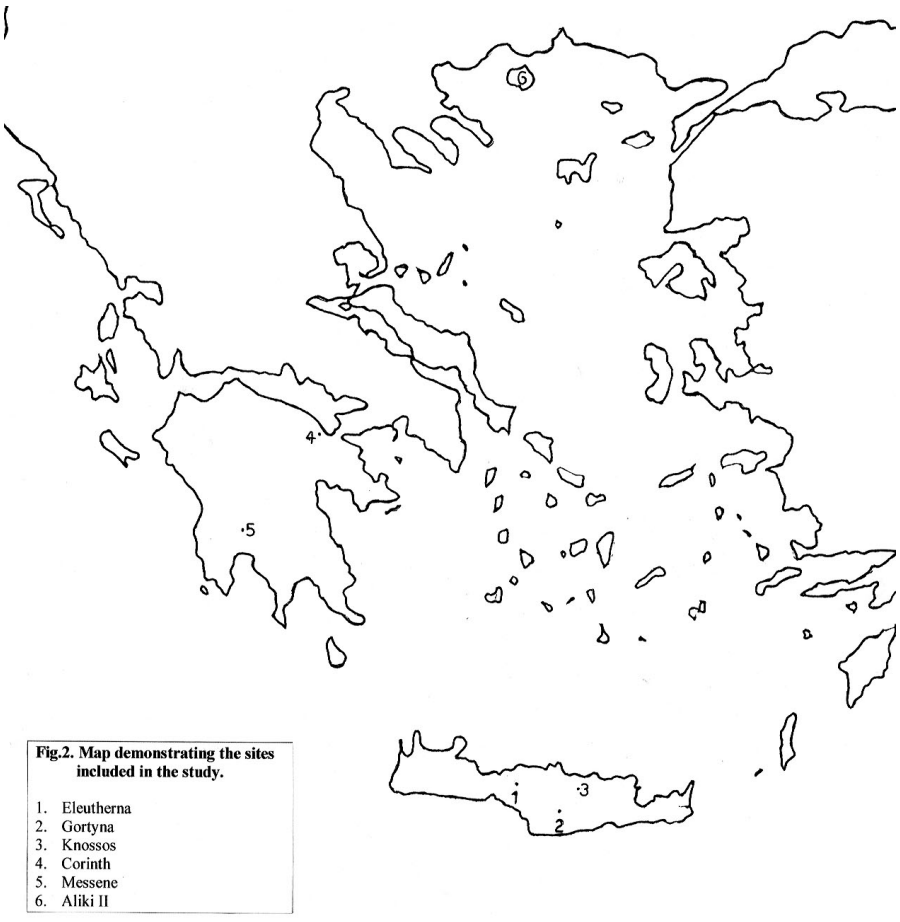

Fig.2. Map demonstrating the sites included in the study.

1. Eleutherna
2. Gortyna
3. Knossos
4. Corinth
5. Messene
6. Aliki II

Fig. 2. Map demonstrating the sites included in the study

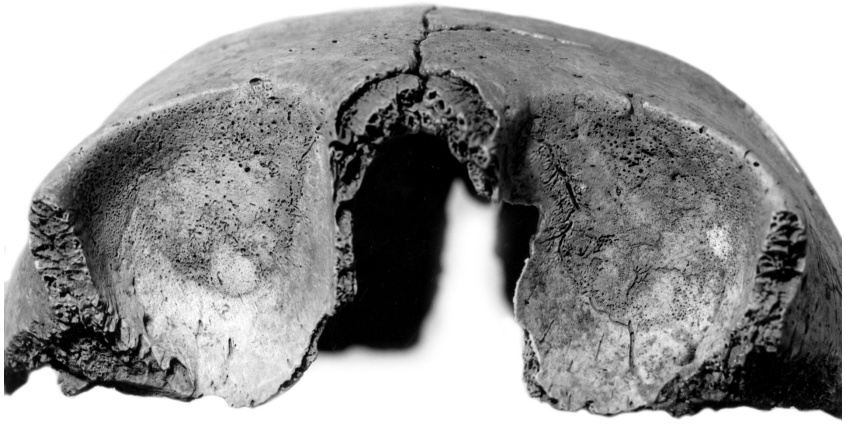

Fig. 3. Orbital lesions most probably pathognomonic of scurvy

Fig. 4. Cribra orbitalia in both eye orbits

Fig. 5. Infant mortality in proto–Byzantine Greece