

# ECHЕDEMOS, "THE SECOND ATTIC PHOIBOS"

(PLATE 49)

"This is the same kind of second-hand epigrammatic criticism . . . and is obviously not a thing on which an attribution can safely be based. It happens, however, that there exists in copies an extraordinarily vivid statue which one can read with pleasure in terms of the epigram."

M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* I, p. 410

THE IDENTIFICATION OF HELLENISTIC PORTRAITS can be considered completely secure only when some copy bears the name of the subject inscribed in antiquity, or when, for example in the case of kings, comparison with a numismatic portrait permits the identification.<sup>1</sup> In the case of portraits preserved on seal stones the name of the subject is secure only when the portrait is known from other sources. The names which are occasionally inscribed on Hellenistic seal stones are the names of the engravers, and this occurs only when the engraver is so famous that his signature serves the vanity or status of the owner, just as today the trademark of a famous clothes designer or the signature of a well-known painter is supposed to bestow some special status on the wearer or owner. In most cases, however, there is no name, and one imagines that the person portrayed did not wish to have his name as owner or the name of the engraver on the ring which he was accustomed to use as his seal. "One of the most tantalizing things in this study," wrote C. M. King with obvious regret, "is, in fact, the continually meeting with faces upon our gems full of genius and energy, unmistakably belonging to the bright spirits of the first two centuries, but which remain to us voiceless and lifeless from the loss of all means of identifying them with their originals, still eternised by history."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The present study was written during my stay in Bonn on a fellowship from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, to which I express my sincerest gratitude. To Stephen G. Miller, who undertook the translation, also go warm thanks.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

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| Ferguson                           | = W. S. Ferguson, <i>Hellenistic Athens</i> , London 1911  |
| Furtwängler, <i>AG</i>             | = A. Furtwängler, <i>Die antiken Gemmen</i> , Leipzig/Berlin 1900  |
| Habicht, <i>Studien</i>            | = C. Habicht, <i>Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit (Hypomnemata 73)</i> , Göttingen 1982   |
| Hill                               | = D. K. Hill, "Some Hellenistic Carved Gems," <i>JWalt</i> 6, 1943, pp. 61–69  |
| Pantos                             | = P. A. Pantos, <i>Τὰ σφραγίσματα τῆς Αἰτωλικῆς Καλλιπόλεως</i> , diss. Athens 1985  |
| Richter, <i>Engraved Gems</i>      | = G. M. A. Richter, <i>Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans</i> , London 1968   |
| Toynbee                            | = J. M. C. Toynbee, <i>Roman Historical Portraits</i> , London 1978  |
| Vollenweider, "Deux portraits"     | = M.-L. Vollenweider, "Deux portraits inconnus de la dynastie du Pont et les graveurs Nikias, Zoilos et Apollonios," <i>AntK</i> 23, 1980, pp. 146–153 |
| Vollenweider, <i>Porträtgemmen</i> | = M.-L. Vollenweider, <i>Die Porträtgemmen der römischen Republik</i> , Mainz 1972–1974  |

<sup>2</sup> C. M. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems* II, London 1885, p. 55.

This problem is especially pronounced in periods marked by great events and by the presence of a whole series of large historical personalities, as for example the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. in both the Hellenistic East and Republican Rome. Indeed, the attempts which have been made at certain identifications have been judged severely in that they "have consisted mostly of blind guesses at the identification of unidentifiable portraits—most notably in a series of articles by G. Hafner, better noted for their recognition of a problem than for the evidence adduced to solve it."<sup>3</sup> These difficulties are known, but even so, attempts at identification are justified. In classical archaeology the "recognition" of the problem is usually the first step toward its solution. When external evidence for a given period points toward a given direction, an attempt at identification is perhaps not without merit. Such seems to be the case with one of the many portraits in the clay sealings from the "House of the Archives" in Aitolian Kallipolis.<sup>4</sup>

In two sealings (Fig. 1, Pl. 49:a, b) which come from a single seal we see a male portrait.<sup>5</sup> The face, which is preserved in a very fragmentary state, was fleshy and full, with plastic masses and (so far as one can tell) intense eyes framed by pronounced eyelids. At the center of the eye the iris is traced prominently. Especially characteristic of the portrait, however, is the very luxuriant and peculiar hair. The curls begin at the top of the head and are long, linear, and wavy, spiraling more tightly at the ends. These long curls come far enough down on the head to cover the ear completely, while on the temple are short strands which, engraved lightly on the seal, are less visible on the sealings.

As I have noted elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> this portrait bears a striking resemblance to that on the bezel of a gold ring signed "Apollonios", now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Pl. 49:c, d).<sup>7</sup> The similarities of all the extant parts of the face are such that one can maintain with nearly complete assurance that, first, the same engraver (i.e. Apollonios) was responsible for both portraits and, second, the sealing portrays the same person as the Baltimore ring. It is more difficult to show that the sealings were actually made by that ring because they are only partly preserved<sup>8</sup> and because we do not know what shrinkage the clay suffered when it was burned.

The date of the Baltimore ring can only be the one accepted by Vollenweider,<sup>9</sup> the end of the 3rd century B.C., not only for stylistic reasons but especially because the same engraver, Apollonios, signed the youthful portrait of Antiochos III on the bezel in the Numismatic

<sup>3</sup> R. R. R. Smith, "Greeks, Foreigners, and Roman Republican Portraits," *JRS* 71, 1981 (pp. 24–38), p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> For Kallipolis and the sealings which were found in the "House of the Archives," see P. Themelis, "Ausgrabungen in Kallipolis (Ost-Aetolia) 1977–1978," *AAA* 12, 1979 (pp. 245–279), p. 245; and Pantos. See also P. Pantos, *EAA* Suppl. II, s.v. Kallipolis, forthcoming.

<sup>5</sup> Sealings no. 318 in Pantos, pp. 412–413; Delphi Museum inv. nos. 14524 and 14525.

<sup>6</sup> Pantos, pp. 412–413, 517–518.

<sup>7</sup> Inv. no. 57.1698. See E. D. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore 1988, no. 136, p. 241; Vollenweider, "Deux portraits," pp. 151–153, pl. 40:3; cf. Hill, p. 62, pl. 3.

<sup>8</sup> The dimensions are Delphi 14524, 0.017 × 0.0135; Delphi 14525, 0.013 × 0.014; Baltimore ring stone, 0.026 × 0.023 m.

<sup>9</sup> Vollenweider, "Deux portraits," p. 152.



FIG. 1. A reconstruction of the sealing Delphi Mus. inv. no. 14524. Drawing by Enza Marziliano-Moris (Lamia)

Museum in Athens.<sup>10</sup> This date had been proposed by Furtwängler,<sup>11</sup> who did not know the bezel in Athens,<sup>12</sup> although he appears to have been influenced by the identification of the Baltimore ring as Asander, ruler of the Bosphoran Kingdom (47–16 B.C.)<sup>13</sup> suggested in an

<sup>10</sup> Vollenweider, "Deux portraits," pp. 151–152, pl. 40:2.

<sup>11</sup> Furtwängler, *AG* III, p. 163; II, pp. 285–286, pl. LXIII:26.

<sup>12</sup> It was published for the first time in 1913 by I. N. Svoronos, «Δωρεὰ Κωνσταντίνου Καραπάνου. Συλλογή γλυπτῶν λίθων», *JIAN* 15, 1913 (pp. 147–184), p. 163, no. 355.

<sup>13</sup> See Toynbee, p. 116, pl. 207.

auction catalogue<sup>14</sup> and by the provenience of the ring, which was said to be from Kerch. At least Furtwängler did not rule out a date for the ring at the beginning of the 1st century B.C., which would be necessary if in fact the ring was a portrayal of Asander.<sup>15</sup> Richter<sup>16</sup> rejected both the identification and the date and placed the ring in the 3rd century B.C., in the reign of Ptolemy II, III, or IV, and this dating has now been shown to be correct.

If the problem of the chronological placement of the Baltimore ring and of the Kallipolis sealings may be considered solved,<sup>17</sup> the identification of the person portrayed certainly is not. The first proposal, that of Asander, collapses with the correct dating of the engraver Apollonios. According to Furtwängler, "Der Kopf ist zwar noch in den Traditionen der besten hellenistischen Zeit gearbeitet, entbehrt aber doch derjenigen Frische und feurigen Lebendigkeit, die wir bei den Porträts des 3.-2. Jahr. bemerkten",<sup>18</sup> and by inference: "Zu benennen ist auch er leider nicht."<sup>19</sup>

Vollenweider, who has recently analyzed the engravers Apollonios, Zoilos, and Nikias, believes that the portrait on the Baltimore ring is the work of an engraver of royal portraits and can only represent a member of a court. In a period when the Seleucids as much as the Ptolemies were frequently young and weak kings, led and influenced by adventurers, military men, and courtiers, such a hypothesis seems reasonable. Equally reasonable, but unsupported, is her comparison of the portrait to Hermias, "qui sans doute devait ressembler à notre personnage de l'intaille, si il ne l'était pas. De toute façon, notre personnage fut un contemporain de Ptolémée IV Philopater, Neos Dionysos."<sup>20</sup> Richter notes that "the full face resembles the fleshy physiognomy of the Ptolemies" but suggests no identification.<sup>21</sup>

We know very little about the nature of the portraits of the courtiers and military officers in the Hellenistic monarchies of the late 3rd century. From the scattered examples of Hellenistic seal portraits which are extant one may note that, except for the diadem and sometimes, but not necessarily always, their idealized heroic or divine attitude, it is difficult to distinguish kings from other personalities of the period who had the economic or other wherewithal to commission their portraits from the engravers who also worked for the kings.<sup>22</sup> Such commissions were obviously not limited to the portraits of the Roman *principes* who during this period began to come to the East as the heads of armies or embassies<sup>23</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *The Morrison Collection of Gems and Antiquities*, London 1898, no. 261, pl. 2; see also Hill, p. 62 ("believed to represent Asander") and pl. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Asander committed suicide in 17 B.C. at the age of ninety-two and must therefore have been born around 109. Because he did not assume the crown until 41 B.C., his first coins bear the inscription APXONTOS AΣANΔΠOY. See Furtwängler, *AG* II, pp. 285–286; Toynbee, p. 116; *RE* II, 2 (1896), cols. 1516–1517, *s.v.* Asandros 4 (U. Wilcken).

<sup>16</sup> Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 677.

<sup>17</sup> A *terminus ante quem* for the Kallipolis sealings is given by the destruction of the "House of the Archives," which occurred in the middle of the 2nd century B.C., in the years immediately after the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.); see Pantos, pp. 444–460.

<sup>18</sup> Furtwängler, *AG* II, pp. 285–286.

<sup>19</sup> Furtwängler, *AG* III, p. 163.

<sup>20</sup> Vollenweider, "Deux portraits," p. 152.

<sup>21</sup> Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 677.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Richter, *Engraved Gems*, nos. 675–689.

<sup>23</sup> Vollenweider, *Porträtgemmen*, pp. 53–93, pls. 37–60.

(portraits which are, moreover, difficult to distinguish from contemporary Greek portraits); they must also have included portraits of various politically active personages, whether in the service of the Hellenistic kings or as officers of the independent city-states or confederacies of the time. The Hellenistic seal portrait which concerns us is better known than most, thanks to the sealings from Kallipolis.<sup>24</sup> We can say definitely that the sealings come from the correspondence between the known Aitolian generals Agetas Lochagou (218/7 B.C. for his first office, either 202/1 or 201/0 B.C. for his second) and Lochagos Ageta (180/79 B.C.) and important people of that time.<sup>25</sup>

The presence of the portrait of the same person on the Baltimore ring and on the sealings<sup>26</sup> from the archives of Agetas and Lochagos guarantees that he must be a known historical personage. This is not the only such example from the "House of the Archives": sealing no. 299 depicts the same person who appears on a silver ring once in the Tyszkiewicz collection which bears the signature of the engraver Philon.<sup>27</sup> Still another sealing, no. 287, shows, at a more advanced age, the person on a ring in Naples, by the engraver Herakleidas, who has been identified as P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus.<sup>28</sup> The fact that the portrait, sealings no. 318, occurs in the archives of Agetas and Lochagos somewhat limits the possibilities but provides no specific suggestion. One detail, however, may lead us to a possible identification: the hair, so far as I know, is unique in the portraits of the period.

The hair finds parallels only in Classical images of youthful males, especially divinities. It is nowhere to be found in Hellenistic portraits, not even in portraits of kings (with one exception)<sup>29</sup> where there is a clear tendency to produce a rich, sometimes wind-swept hairdo, suitable to present the desired heroic or divine ideal. It is obvious that the private individual who commissioned Apollonios to engrave his portrait sought to evoke some such Classical ideal with such a hairstyle, and that it is a question not merely of a rich man of *τρυφή*<sup>30</sup> like that of the contemporary Ptolemies, whose portrait emphasizes his full, rosy face, but also of a conscious imitator of prototypes in a period when, at least in some areas of the Hellenistic world and especially in Athens, the signs of a Hellenistic "classicism" are many.<sup>31</sup> The

<sup>24</sup> Pantos, pp. 516–527.

<sup>25</sup> Pantos, pp. 433–443.

<sup>26</sup> Pantos, pp. 412–413.

<sup>27</sup> Pantos, no. 299, pp. 392–394, 518–519, pl. 45; compare *AAA* 12, 1979, p. 265, pl. 24:g and *BCH* 103, 1979, p. 574, pl. 115 with Vollenweider, *Porträtgemmen*, pl. 99:1, 2.

<sup>28</sup> Pantos, no. 287, pp. 374–376, 516–517, pl. 42; compare *AAA* 12, 1979, p. 264, pl. 24:e and *BCH* 103, 1979, p. 574, pl. 116 with Vollenweider, *Porträtgemmen*, pl. 37.

<sup>29</sup> Massive, curly locks with similar "spirals" at the ends can be seen only on the numismatic portrait of Perseus by the engraver Zoilos: Vollenweider, "Deux portraits," pl. 38:2; C. Boehringer, *Zur Chronologie mittelhellenistischer Münzserien 220–160 v. Chr.*, Berlin 1972, pl. 18:1. See also M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet*, The Hague 1978, no. 26.

<sup>30</sup> For *τρυφή*, delicacy or fastidiousness, and a review of its positive and negative meanings in antiquity, see H. Heinen in *Festschrift H. Bengtson (Historia, Einzelschr. 40)*, Wiesbaden 1983, pp. 116–130.

<sup>31</sup> For sculpture, see most recently J.-P. Niemeier, *Kopien und Nachahmungen im Hellenismus. Ein Beitrag zum Klassizismus des 2. und frühen 1. Jhs. v. Chr.*, diss. Universität Bonn, 1985. For Athens in particular, see A. Stewart, *Attika, Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, London 1979, pp. 34–64 (Chap. 2, "The Magnet of Classicism"), and Ferguson, pp. 278–311 (Chap. VII, "Athens under the Tory Democracy"). Note that both chapters use, as a subtitle, the epigram of [Artemon] for Echedemos (*Anth. Pal.* xii.55); see below.

Baltimore ring and the sealings no. 318 from Kallipolis might, then, attest a peculiarly Athenian cult of personality.

After its liberation from the Macedonians in 229 B.C. Athens produces an entire series of politicians who belong to prominent families of which Habicht has recently given a synthesis.<sup>32</sup> An examination of the various members of these families reveals their connections with the Aitolian League. Thus Dromeas (II) Erchieus became proxenos of the Aitolians *ca.* 262 B.C.,<sup>33</sup> that is, during the period when the strategos of the Aitolians was Polykritos Kallieus.<sup>34</sup> Two other well-known Athenians became involved in Aitolian affairs during the war with Antiochos: Echedemos (III) son of Mnesitheos, Kydathenaieus,<sup>35</sup> and Leon (II) son of Kichesias, Aixoneus.<sup>36</sup> The former led an Athenian embassy which mediated in 190 B.C. between the two Scipios, who arrived at Amphissa, then besieged by M'. Acilius Glabrio, and the leaders of the Aitolians at Hypate. These negotiations are reported in detail by Polybios (xxi.4-5) and Livy (xxxvii.6-7), and it appears that they began as a result of Athenian pressure. The selection of Echedemos as leader of the Athenian embassy (*princeps legationis eorum*) was probably not made by chance and possibly depended as much on his talents as on his previous contacts with the two sides, Aitolian and Roman. Echedemos, shuttling constantly between the Roman camp at Amphissa and the Aitolian leaders (most probably the archons together with the Ἀπόκλητοι at Hypate), succeeded finally in bringing about a six-month truce. The following year, 189 B.C., the Aitolians asked the Athenians and the Rhodians to intervene on their behalf at Rome (Polybios, xxi.25.10; Livy, xxxviii.3.7). The Rhodian and Athenian ambassadors accompanied the Aitolian embassy, initially to M. Fulvius Nobilior, who was besieging Ambrakia, and then, with his permission, as advocates of the Aitolians in Rome. Thanks to the oratory of Leon (II) son of Kichesias, Aixoneus (who was the leader of the Athenian embassy and who had prevented an alliance with Antiochos III in 192 B.C. by means of a famous speech in the Senate in which he compared the behavior of the Aitolians to a sea roughened by sudden winds), the Romans agreed to make peace with the Aitolians.<sup>37</sup>

It is obvious that these two Athenians might well be represented in the archives of Agetas and Lochagos in Kallipolis. Agetas ought still to have been alive at that time and to have played some role in the war of Antiochos, perhaps as one of the 30 Aitolian *apokletoi* who served as counselors of Antiochos III. This is suggested in part by the fact that his two houses at Delphi were confiscated by M'. Acilius Glabrio in 191 B.C. and given to the sanctuary and the city of Delphi,<sup>38</sup> and especially by the sealings with the portrait of Antiochos III and the personal dynastic emblems of this king which were discovered in the

<sup>32</sup> Habicht, *Studien*, pp. 178-197.

<sup>33</sup> *IG IX 12*, 17, line 90; Habicht, *Studien*, p. 185 and note 40.

<sup>34</sup> For Polykritos, see Pantos, pp. 465-466.

<sup>35</sup> Habicht, *Studien*, pp. 189-193.

<sup>36</sup> Habicht, *Studien*, pp. 194-197.

<sup>37</sup> See Habicht, *Studien*, p. 195 and note 84, where all the ancient sources are gathered.

<sup>38</sup> R. K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the East. Senatus consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*, Baltimore 1969, no. 37.72-73; cf. Pantos, pp. 442, note 88, 452, note 43, and 469, note 68.

archives of Agetas in Kallipolis.<sup>39</sup> If it is correct that sealing no. 287 portrays P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus,<sup>40</sup> then Agetas perhaps also played some role in the negotiations of 190 B.C. in which Echedemos took part. In such a case it would be very natural for a portrait of Echedemos to be found on a document stored in the archives of Agetas. But what evidence supports the identification of the man portrayed on the sealings and the ring of Apollonios as Echedemos?

Christian Habicht, analyzing two epigrams of the *Palatine Anthology* (xii.55 and 124) which are dedicated by the poet Artemon<sup>41</sup> to a certain Echedemos, shows (convincingly, I believe) that they refer to Echedemos (III) son of Mnesitheos, Kydathenaieus, just as the epigram of Phaidimos (*Anth. Pal.* vi.271) is dedicated to Leon (II) son of Kichesias, Aixo-neus and his wife Themistodike on the occasion of the birth of their son, Kichesias.<sup>42</sup>

Both epigrams refer to the exceptional beauty of Echedemos. In one (xii.124), in which Echedemos is still a boy, the poet seems to be aflame with love and steals a kiss from him:

Λάθρη παπταίνοντα παρὰ φλιήν Ἐχέδημον  
 λάθριος ἀκρήβην τὸν χαρίεντ' ἔκυσσας,  
 δειμαίνων· καὶ γάρ μοι ἐνύπνιος ἦλθε † φάρετρη  
 αἰταίων καὶ δοῦς εἶχετ' † ἀλεκτρύονας,  
 ἄλλοτε μειδιῶν ὅτε δ' οὐ φίλος. Ἀλλὰ μελισσέων  
 ἔσμου καὶ κνίδης καὶ πυρὸς ἠψάμεθα.

As Echedemos was peeping out of his door on the sly, I slyly  
 kissed that charming boy who is just in his prime. Now I am  
 in dread, for he came to me in a dream, bearing a quiver,  
 and departed after giving me fighting cocks, but at one time  
 smiling, at another with no friendly look. But have I  
 touched a swarm of bees, and a nettle, and fire?

Translation, W. R. Paton

According to the interpretation of Habicht, the dread of the poet means only that "Echedemos, wenn der Name nicht eine poetische Fiktion ist, zu einer angesehenen und mächtigen Familie gehörte, deren Arm den Dichter, falls man ihn für zu dreist hielt, wohl erreichen und ihm Unannehmlichkeiten bereiten konnte."<sup>43</sup>

While in this first epigram Echedemos' exceptional beauty is mentioned in general terms, in the second (*Anth. Pal.* xii.55), in which he has grown up, there are clear allusions to his face:

Λητοῖδῃ, σὺ μὲν ἔσχες ἀλίσρυντον ἀνχένα Δήλου  
 κοῦρε Διὸς μέγαλον, θέσφατα πᾶσι λέγων,

<sup>39</sup> Pantos, nos. 94, 283, and 284, pp. 468–469 and notes 68–71, pp. 483–484 and notes 169–178.

<sup>40</sup> See above, note 28. For other probable but unidentified portraits of Romans, as well as "Roman" sealings in the archives of Kallipolis, see Pantos, pp. 477, notes 136–140, 486, notes 189 and 190, 516–517, notes 124–128, and 519–520.

<sup>41</sup> A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*, Cambridge 1965, I, p. 44, II, pp. 112–114.

<sup>42</sup> Habicht, *Studien*, pp. 192–193 and note 74, 195 and note 85; Gow and Page, *op. cit.*, I, p. 158, II, pp. 453–454.

<sup>43</sup> Habicht, *Studien*, p. 192.

Κεκροπίαν δ' Ἐχέδημος, ὁ δεύτερος Ἀτθίδι Φοῖβος,  
 ᾧ καλὸν ἀβροκόμης ἄνθος ἔλαμψεν Ἔρως.  
 Ἡ δ' ἀνὰ κῦμ' ἄρξασα καὶ ἐν χθονὶ πατρὶς Ἀθήνη  
 νῦν κάλλει δούλην Ἑλλάδ' ὑπηγάγετο.

Child of Leto, son of Zeus the great, who utterest oracles to  
 all men, thou art lord of the sea-girt height of Delos; but the  
 lord of the land of Cecrops is Echedemos, a second Attic  
 Phoebus, whom soft-haired Love lit with lovely bloom. And  
 his city Athens, once mistress of the sea and land, now has  
 made all Greece her slave by beauty.

Translation, W. R. Paton

As Habicht has pointed out,<sup>44</sup> the prominence of Echedemos in Athens and in Greece should not be considered to be transitory and related only to his beauty. Rather, we should understand also an inherent and intentional allusion of the poet which “results from the attested political superiority of an Echedemos in Athens.” The last two lines show that we are dealing with the Athens of the years after 229 B.C., and indeed with Athens in the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., when “the Romans had made their power in Greece perceptible and even more clear the weakness of Athens.” Consequently it is nearly certain that the Echedemos of the epigram who is the lord of Athens is Echedemos (III) son of Mnesitheos, Kydathenaieus.<sup>45</sup>

The allusions of the poet to the face of Echedemos are in the third and fourth lines. The comparison with Apollo, “the second Attic Phoibos”, cannot have been made by chance. Proof comes from Athenian New Style coins on which the letters EXE surely show that Echedemos was the mint master (Pl. 49:e, f).<sup>46</sup> On the coins appears the device of the head of Helios with a radiating crown below the letters EXE. Such a device in connection with Echedemos can mean nothing other than the same allusion made verbally by Artemon: “Echedemos, the second Attic Phoibos”. To be sure, the chronology of these coins is not certain. If we accept the high chronology of Thompson (170/69 B.C.), EXE is to be identified with Echedemos (III). If we accept the lower chronology (137/6 or 135/4 B.C.),<sup>47</sup> then EXE will have been Echedemos (IV) son of Arketos, Kydathenaieus. But even in this case the head of Helios may have been a family emblem<sup>48</sup> which Echedemos son of Arketos also used.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Habicht, *Studien*, p. 192, note 1.

<sup>45</sup> Habicht, *Studien*, p. 193.

<sup>46</sup> Habicht, *Studien*, p. 192; M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York 1961, pp. 98–102, nos. 287–314, pls. 30–31.

<sup>47</sup> For a summary of the debate over the chronology of the New Style coinage, see O. Mørkholm, *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1972–1977*, Bern 1979, pp. 70–71. More recently, Mørkholm (“The Chronology of the New Style Coinage of Athens,” *ANSMN* 29, 1984, pp. 29–42) accepts that the New Style coinage began ca. 185–180 B.C. and that initially there were no annual issues.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Ferguson, pp. 302–303: “It [i.e., the office of mint master in Athens at this time] was an honorary charge, and was given almost exclusively to members of the Athenian aristocracy. The great distinction it conferred was that it entitled its occupant to put his name and emblem on the annual coinage of the city, to usurp in Athens what was in Hellenistic thinking almost a royal prerogative.” We cannot discuss here the older “Wappenmünzen” of Athens, but see J. H. Kroll, “From Wappenmünzen to Gorgoneia to Owls,” *ANSMN* 26, 1981, pp. 1–32.

<sup>49</sup> This Echedemos is known epigraphically as a victor in the Theseia around the middle of the 2nd



The hair style of Apollo, so far as can be determined from the microscopic device, is as rich as that on the portrait in Baltimore and on the sealings no. 318 from Kallipolis. It would appear that Eros, who "lit [Echedemos] with lovely bloom", is not called "soft-haired" in the epigram for no reason. In poetry this epithet especially characterizes youthful gods with hair comparable to that of the Kallipolis portrait. According to the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, ἄβροκόμης means "qui molli, delicata s. culta coma est, Bacchi epith. Apollinis, Amoris et omnino formosorum adolescentium."<sup>50</sup>

An examination of the Eubouleus in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens<sup>51</sup> clarifies the meaning of "soft-haired" when it is used together with the name of the Eleusinian hero in the Orphic Hymn (*Orphica*, Hymn 56). This soft hair did not, however, remain the exclusive sign of youthful gods even in the 4th century B.C. The portrait of Alexander the Great of the Erbach-Akropolis-Berlin type,<sup>52</sup> already extends the use of this

century B.C.: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 958; cf. Habicht, *Studien*, p. 191 and note 69.

<sup>50</sup> H. Stephani, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* I, p. 85, s.v. ἄβροκόμης.

<sup>51</sup> S. Karouzou, 'Εθνικὸν Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Μουσεῖον. Συλλογὴ Γλυπτῶν. Περιγραφικὸς κατάλογος, Athens 1967, pp. 165–166, no. 181, pl. 59; P. Mingazzini, *EAA* III, p. 513, pl. 618. The so-called Eubouleus has also been identified as Alexander the Great and, recently, as Triptolemos: G. Schwarz, "Triptolemos–Alexander," in *Forschungen und Funde. Festschrift B. Neutsch*, Innsbruck 1980, pp. 449–455. If, in fact, features of the Eleusinian hero Triptolemos were adopted into the iconography of Alexander in order to suggest some attributes for the Macedonian king, perhaps it was even more useful for the "propaganda" of an Athenian politician to imitate the practices of the Hellenistic monarchs of his era: Ptolemy V Epiphanes is supposed to have been suggested in the image of Triptolemos in the Tazza Farnese; see recently E. La Rocca, *L'età d'oro di Cleopatra*, Rome 1984, pp. 65–85.

<sup>52</sup> K. Fittschen, *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen in Schloss Erbach*, Berlin 1977, no. 7, pp. 21–25, pl. 8, with exhaustive bibliography; see especially p. 23 and notes 22–26 for the hair of the Erbach-Akropolis-Berlin type. In connection with the comparison of Echedemos with Phoibos, one might recall the heretofore insufficiently thorough search for a relationship of Alexander portraits with heads of Helios. See Pantos, p. 484 and note 181 with bibliography to which may be added E. R. Goodenough, *YCS* 1, 1928, pp. 82–102; E. Neuffer, *Das Kostüm Alexanders des Grossen*, diss. Universität Giessen, 1929, pp. 48–51 and notes 114–116; H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, Oslo 1947, p. 34; G. Kleiner, *Gnomon* 24, 1952, p. 467; E. Will, *Le relief culturel gréco-romain*, Paris 1955, pp. 179, note 4, and 180, note 1; D. Michel, *CollLatomus* 94, 1967, pp. 30–31; J. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos*, Paris 1969, p. 491 and note 3; T. Hölscher, *AbhHeid* 2, 1971, p. 37 and note 124, pl. 12:6; A. Alföldi, in *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory. Studies presented to Fritz Schachermeyr*, K. H. Kinzl, ed., Berlin/New York 1977, p. 22; R. Wyman Hartle in *Philip II, Alexander the Great, and the Macedonian Heritage*, W. Lindsay Adams and E. Borza, edd., New York/London 1982, pp. 158–159, 175–176, pl. 2. It is characteristic that one other Athenian politician, Demetrios of Phaleron, is called "Helio-form": Douris (*FGH Hist* 76, F 10, *apud* Athenaeus, xii.542D):

Ἐπεμελείτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως, τὴν τε τρίχα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ξανθίζόμενος καὶ παιδέρωτι τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπαλειφόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλείμμασιν ἐγχρίων ἑαυτόν· ἡβούλετο γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ἱλαρὸς καὶ τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν ἡδὺς φαίνεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ πομπῇ τῶν Διονυσίων, ἣν ἔπεμψεν ἄρχων γενόμενος, ἦιδεν ὁ χορὸς εἰς αὐτὸν ποιήματα Σείρωνος τοῦ Σολέως, ἐν οἷς ἡλιόμορφος προσηγορεύετο· «ἐξόχως δ' εὐγενέτας ἡλιόμορφος ζαθέοις ἄρχων σε τιμαῖσι γεραίρει».

He was also careful about his personal appearance, dyeing the hair of his head a blonde colour, rubbing his face with rouge, and smearing himself with salves besides; for he wanted to have a glad appearance and seem attractive to all who met him. And in the procession at the Dionysia which he marshalled when he became archon, the chorus sang verses in his honour written by [Seiron] of Soli, in which he was called "in beauty like the Sun": "The archon above all others noble, in beauty like the Sun, celebrates thee with divine honours." (Translation, C. B. Gulick)

kind of hair beyond the images of youthful gods. Thus there were several prototypes which the engraver Apollonios might have had in mind when he adopted such hair for the head of an Athenian of his own time, an Athenian who "now enslaves all Greece by beauty." The choice of such hair reflects a particular intellectual stance of Echedemos, similar to his "Classical" Athenian beauty, to the classicistic tendencies which reigned in the Athens of his age, and to the strength of the role which he and his family played in Athenian and international history of the period.

But if, in fact, the person portrayed on the Baltimore ring is the Athenian Echedemos, how is it that the ring was found near Kerch in South Russia, at ancient Pantikapaion, as is claimed<sup>53</sup> in the publications? We have already seen that it is easy to explain sealings with the portrait of Echedemos in the archives of Agetas, but how did a ring with his portrait come to be found in far-away Pantikapaion?

The answer to this question, if the provenience given in the auction catalogue is correct, is to be sought in the significance and use of these prized rings as "princely" gifts of friendship and acquaintance,<sup>54</sup> as well as in the importance of the region of the northern Euxine for the provision of grain to Athens.<sup>55</sup>

The gift of rings will certainly have been an indication of special honor and friendship and, for an Athenian politician like Echedemos imitating contemporary kings,<sup>56</sup> have constituted a kind of propaganda and public relations gesture toward the receivers, who will have been the Greeks of the first order among the colonies of the Euxine or local kings upon whom the grain supply of Athens partly depended. For example, honors were paid after 176/5 B.C. by the Athenians to a grain merchant.<sup>57</sup> For many reasons the problem of grain supply at the end of the 3rd and in the 2nd century B.C. was a difficult one, and the cities of Greece proper sent embassies to the kings or to other states, frequently with the intervention

<sup>53</sup> The information seems to have come from the anonymous auction catalogue which circulated in London in 1898 (footnote 14 above); see Furtwängler, *AG* III, p. 432 and Hill, p. 62, note 1.

<sup>54</sup> See Pantos, p. 495, and notes 15–18 for bibliography. For the "princely" position of Athenian politicians of the age, see footnotes 51 above and 56 below.

<sup>55</sup> For this subject see *RE* Suppl. VI, 1935, cols. 844–883, *s.v.* Sitos (F. Heichelheim), esp. 849–856 (B. "Der internationale Kornverkehr") and 876–879 (F. "Zum Kornbedarf der hellenistischen Poleis und ihrer Kornpolitik"). In this context the apparent use of the iconography of Triptolemos (see footnote 51 above) would assume its full significance in the Athenian enterprises of Echedemos: Triptolemos brings the gift of grain to the earth; Echedemos, like a new Triptolemos, insures the necessary grain and brings it to his compatriots.

<sup>56</sup> See the nice characterization by Ferguson (pp. 287–288) of the families which governed Athens in this period: "Country squires with excellent studs, they yet had a taste for polite literature, and patronized Phaedimus, Artemon, and others of the fashionable epigrammatic poets. Artistocrats in feeling, they revived the ancient practice of decorating their family grave-plots with expensive monuments, and used the quasi-monarchical privilege of putting their names upon the coins of the city. They were, beyond doubt, the most wealthy men in the state."

<sup>57</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 903 (= *Syll.* III, 640). See Ph. Gauthier, *REG* 95, 1982, pp. 278–290. Note the delegation of Delians to Massanassas of Numidia: Heichelheim (footnote 55 above), col. 855, 26–33. The new inscription from Larissa shows how Rome dealt with a famine in the middle of the 2nd century B.C.: P. Garnsey, T. Gallant, and D. Rathbone, "Thessaly and the Grain Supply of Rome during the Second Century B. C.," *JRS* 74, 1984, pp. 30–44. For a revised date for this inscription, see P. Garnsey and D. Rathbone, "The Background to the Grain Law of Gaius Gracchus," *JRS* 75, 1985 (pp. 20–25), p. 25.

of persons of influence, seeking cargoes of grain. Consequently it is possible that a leading political figure of this period, such as Echedemos, might, in the course of his efforts to provision Athens, have sent to some power in the north<sup>58</sup> a precious ring, a gift with symbolic as well as real value.<sup>59</sup> This hypothesis does not, of course, rule out other ways that the ring with the portrait of an Athenian politician might have found its way to the hands of someone in the region of Pantikapaion. From the northern shores of the Black Sea come many rings with the portraits of Ptolemies,<sup>60</sup> and one possible explanation is that mercenaries from the most distant parts of the Greek world served in Egypt, including perhaps men from the Greek colonies in what is today southern Russia.<sup>61</sup>

According to Vollenweider,<sup>62</sup> the engraver Apollonios worked at the Seleucid court. This hypothesis is based on the signed portrait of Antiochos III in the Numismatic Museum in Athens and the monogram ΑΠΙΟ which appears on coins of Antiochos III from the mint of Nisibis and probably on coins of other Seleucid mints as well. Both the portrait of Antiochos in Athens and the ring in Baltimore are to be placed in the decade 220–210 B.C., a date which the ages of those portrayed appear to support. Antiochos III was eighteen when he succeeded his brother Seleukos III in 223 B.C.<sup>63</sup> We know that Echedemos' sons Mnesitheos (III) and Arketos (I) were still minors in 183/2 B.C., and consequently they must have been born shortly after *ca.* 200 B.C.<sup>64</sup> Echedemos must therefore have been fairly young two decades before their births, a fact which corresponds well with the age of the person portrayed on the ring signed by Apollonios and on the sealings from Kallipolis.

But did Apollonios have some connection, by birth or by his work, with Athens? Unfortunately the name is much too common to permit a certain answer, and the provenience of the portrait of Antiochos III is not known.<sup>65</sup> To be sure, it is believed that Apollonios belonged to a group of engravers from mainland Greece, and especially from Athens, or from large cities on the coast of Asia Minor.<sup>66</sup> Many sculptors with the name Apollonios came from Athens,<sup>67</sup> but, again, the name is very common. Certainly the classicistic traits in the

<sup>58</sup> Even though it is not strictly relevant, the analogy of Constantine the Great is interesting; he is said to have given to the Chersonnesites of Pontos who fought with him against the Skythians, among other remunerations, rings with his portrait (Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, *de adm. imp.* LIII.145–149).

<sup>59</sup> See A. A. Fourlas, *Der Ring in der Antike und im Christentum. Der Ring als Herrschaftssymbol und Würdezeichen*, Münster 1971.

<sup>60</sup> See O. Neverov, "A Group of Hellenistic Bronze Rings in the Hermitage," *VDI* 127, 1, 1974, pp. 106–115, and "Portrait Gems and Finger-Rings from the Northern Black Sea Coast," *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* 17, 1976, pp. 166–182 (both in Russian with English summaries).

<sup>61</sup> J. Boardman and M.-L. Vollenweider, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger Rings in the Ashmolean Museum* I, Oxford 1978, no. 289, p. 82.

<sup>62</sup> Vollenweider, "Deux portraits," p. 151 and notes 28–29.

<sup>63</sup> This is not the place to discuss the possibility that the Athenian portrait is not that of Antiochos III but of his son Antiochos, co-regent from 210 to 193 B.C., as mentioned by Vollenweider ("Deux portraits," p. 151, note 28); cf. Toynbee, p. 142 and note 5, pl. 280.

<sup>64</sup> See Habicht, *Studien*, p. 191 and notes 63 and 67.

<sup>65</sup> The only information provided by Svoronos ([footnote 12 above] p. 149) is that K. Karapanos "was involved for many years in Italy, Konstantinopolis, and Greece, with the collection of precious engraved gems of every type and every period."

<sup>66</sup> Vollenweider, "Deux portraits," p. 151.

<sup>67</sup> For these artists, see *EAA* I, pp. 485–489.

portrait of "Echedemos" point definitely to Athens. Thus it is not out of the question that our Apollonios was an Athenian who worked for some time in the Seleucid court. In the case of "Echedemos", as in that of Antiochos, the signed portraits show who could afford a portrait from his hands. His skilled work reveals an engraver of the first rank,<sup>68</sup> aware of his own worth, complete master of the third dimension, who knew how to reveal with dexterity and sensitivity the shades and innuendoes which properly belonged not only to the portrait of a Hellenistic king who moved in the area somewhere between a warrior-hero and a god but also to that of a (compatriot? and) politician of an Athens which had begun to live and cultivate the myth of its unique Classical past.

Even if it is true today that "the limits of believable identification of additional portraits are narrow,"<sup>69</sup> the large quantities of Hellenistic sealings from Seleukeia on the Tigris, Nea Paphos, Delos, Edfu in Egypt, Titane in Epiros, and Kallipolis in Aitolia, mostly unpublished,<sup>70</sup> open some new possibilities for the identification of the portraits of historical personages from the Hellenistic period,<sup>71</sup> identification which is "the oldest and yet the most relevant part" of the study of portraits.<sup>72</sup> The suggestion which has been made here concerning Echedemos, the "Second Attic Phoibos", demonstrates some of those possibilities and their limits, together with the caution and reservations which the student of portraits must have in such cases.

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<sup>68</sup> For a technical analysis of his work on the Baltimore ring see Hill, pp. 62–63.

<sup>69</sup> K. Parlasca, "Bildnisse des Ptolemaios Apion," in *Festschrift für Gerhard Kleiner*, Tübingen 1976 (pp. 95–99), p. 95.

<sup>70</sup> See Pantos, *passim* and p. 556, note 9, and D. Salzmann, "Die Porträtsiegel aus dem Nomophylakeion von Kyrene," *BJbb* 184, 1984, pp. 164–165, Anhang II; D. O. A. Klose, "Nikopolis und Doliche," *JNG* 34, 1984, pp. 70–72 (Verzeichnis grösserer Funde von Siegelabdrücken).

<sup>71</sup> See H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Berlin 1975, pp. 64–69, pls. 54–55, 152; A. Krug, "Die Bildnisse Ptolemaios' IX., X. und XI.," in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten, Akten des internationalen Symposiums 27.–29. September 1976 in Berlin*, Mainz am Rhein 1978, pp. 9–22, pls. 13–22; Salzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–163; Pantos, pp. 492–527.

<sup>72</sup> Parlasca (footnote 69 above), p. 95.



a. Sealing from Kallipolis, Delphi Museum inv. no. 14525 (Pantos, pl. 47)



b. Sealing from Kallipolis, Delphi Museum inv. no. 14524 (Pantos, pl. 47)



c, d. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 57.1698. Drawing and cast of gold ring with portrait of man. Signature: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ (Vollenweider, "Deux portraits," pl. 40:3)



e, f. Athenian New Style silver coins. Mint master EXE; device: bust of Helios (M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York 1961, pl. 30:290a, 298b)