



Sicilian Notes: [unrepresentable symbol] and the Date of the Demareteion

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Source: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 1975, Bd. 17 (1975), pp. 153-156

Published by: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20180854>

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SICILIAN NOTES: $\lambda, \lambda, \lambda, \lambda$ AND THE DATE OF THE DEMARETEION

Epigraphic trivia can be entirely ignored or can be accorded cavalier treatment. Here I suggest that conclusions have been drawn from some minutiae which are not warranted, and which should be corrected before dogma sets in, and that other details, so far neglected, have a greater importance than may appear.

1. M. Guarducci in *Epigrafia Greca* I 306 ff. (with further references) has fruitfully discussed a small inscribed sherd of the seventh century from Megara Hyblaea, and on the strength of it has persuasively posited an original Megarian alphabet somewhat different from those in use later in Megara and her colonies. However, in introducing a 'Chalcidian' lambda (λ) – even qualified by a question mark – into this first alphabet she has overstepped the mark. She sees it in the very fragmentary second line of the graffito, but this cannot be accepted; the letters are otherwise spindly, but her lambda would be squat (as well as presenting a disproportionately long sloping hasta for a high archaic 'Chalcidian' lambda), and the accompanying letters inexplicable. The most economic restoration of the letters of the second line must surely be $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\theta]\epsilon\chi\epsilon[$.

2. A lambda of Chalcidian shape does appear on one document from Megara Hyblaea, an Attic horse-head amphora from tomb 778, dating c. 575 B.C. (JHS xcii (1972) pl. XIIa). Scratched large on the neck are two letters, beta lambda. It would be revolutionary to suggest that this was done in Megara, for neither letter form is attested there at this period, nor to be expected; so one must assume that an Athenian, or possibly Chalcidian (at Leontini?), was responsible. Such defacement of vases by Athenians, whether owners or traders, is rare, and almost wholly confined to vases earlier than 550 B.C.

3. A curious omission in recent arguments concerning the date of the 'Demareteion' dekadrachm at Syracuse (in the latest instance, Williams and Kraay, *Num. Chron.* 1972 1 ff.) has been the neglect of further Chalcidian lambdas, on the coins of Leontini. The earliest tetradrachm series of Leontini has the types quadriga / lion's head $\Lambda\epsilon\omicron\omicron\tau\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron$, using the Syracusan form of lambda; Rizzo lists eleven obverse dies for this issue in *Monete greche della Sicilia antiqua*, pl. 22. There follow issues with quadriga, lion in exergue / human

head; Rizzo has three obverse and three reverse dies; of the latter, the first is a copy of the wreathed Arethusa head of the 'Demareteion' and has Λ in the legend, while the following pair are of a new Apollo type and have Chalcidian lambda. A similar change from Syracusan to Chalcidian lambda can be seen in the fractional issues. Subsequent tetradrachms have the types lion's head / Apollo head with Chalcidian lambda in the legend.

The fall of the Syracusan overlordship at Leontini has been seen previously either in the adoption of the Apollo head or in the abandonment of the chariot type. I contend that the appearance of the Chalcidian lambda is a more reliable guide to the reestablishment of the original inhabitants, in c. 466. We then see that the chariot type did survive for a short period, but was accompanied by an unequivocal Apollo head, which we may be allowed to regard as an emblem of the Ionians in Sicily. More significant than this is the conclusion that the last issue at Leontini before 466 was the one copying the Demareteion.¹⁾ On this evidence we would be most unwise to cling to a dating of the Demareteion c. 480, though we cannot pinpoint its minting too closely; the imitation at Leontini would be best placed near the original minting at Syracuse, and if we begin Leontini's coinage c. 478, or even later, as recent studies suggest (cf. Kraay loc. cit.), we must place eleven or more obverse dies before reaching the imitation of the Demareteion, with no further issues before 466. A date in the late 470s, or after, for the 'Demareteion' would follow.

4. A number of graffiti are published in Corp. Vas. Ant. Gela 3, on vases from the Navarra collection. One of these is slightly misleadingly reproduced: there is a clear, though scarred pi before the single strokes of inv. 11 (CVA pl. 11, 3-4); a possible interpretation of this mark is 'nine (lekythoi) for one drachma', though it would be unwise to press it. What should be stressed, however, is that this is the earliest known appearance of the drachma sign in Greece, or at least contemporary with that on another Attic black-figure

1) The series has not been fully studied and the ordering does not follow from known die-links, but typological considerations virtually demand that all the obverses with quadriga and lion in exergue (in itself a further borrowing from the Demareteion) be placed together, along with the use of a human head, on the reverse. Whether the 'Demareteion' head at Leontini is intended for Apollo must be seriously doubted. I do not understand why Rizzo inserts the human head issues in the middle of the lions. Those who would support the traditional date for the Demareteion may argue that the Chalcidian lambda reflects the influx of inhabitants from Naxos and Katane in 476; I find this implausible – the Syracusans were still in control of Leontini – , but must recognise that my argument cannot be regarded as wholly independent of those of Kraay for the down-dating of the Demareteion.

vase with a Sicilian provenance, Syracuse 52263, a skyphos from Centuripe (N. Sc. 1952 330). The Navarra lekythos is perhaps dated a little high in CVA; better to place both these vases c. 500 B.C.

I have noted two graffiti which are not mentioned in CVA. The first is an example of the ubiquitous API (unligatured) beneath the foot of inv. 38 (CVA pl. 6, 1, 2 and 4); there is little to be said about it. The second may appear even less inspiring,  underneath inv. 1 (CVA pl. 1, 1-2; 2, 1 and 3). Yet it does have parallels, and rather interesting ones: a similar mark stands by itself on two neck-amphorae of the Leagros group, London B239 and Villa Giulia 50619 (M497), and in close combination with a suspiciously Etruscan looking ligature (?)² on many other amphorae and hydriai, all those with known provenances from Etruria, and many of the Leagros group. The lekythos is attributed to the Leagros group in CVA, which would suggest that there may be some mercantile connection with the larger 'Etruscan' vases, and I would stress that such a connection would be unique in the known record of mercantile marks on vases from Etruria and Sicily in the period before 480. Hence the omission in CVA is a little more than trivial; yet the attribution to the Leagros group is not fully convincing and the link is thereby somewhat weakened.

5. Also from Gela is a 'Samian' lekythos, Syracuse 24670, with a graffito on the shoulder, published by Orsi and taken up again recently by L. Agostiniani in some notes on non-Greek inscriptions from Sicily (St. Etr. xli (1973) 392, 5 (25d)). I will publish a new reading of this graffito in BSA lxx (1975) which destroys the connection with *ibid.* (25a) posited by Orsi; the mark seems to be non-alphabetic, as that on the Navarra lekythos above.

6. In the same article Agostiniani produces arguments to suggest that many of the simple signs found incised on vase sherds and feet at Segesta may be Greek mercantile marks. It is an unfortunate attempt; I will not repeat arguments put forward by Hackl and myself elsewhere on the nature of Greek mercantile marks, but I hope that it is sufficient to say here that the parallels cited by Agostiniani for the Segesta marks are not only on vases of different size, shape and date, but are for the most part not close parallels in themselves, and when they are such, the shapes are so common (cross, strokes, pentalpha, double-axe) that it is very hazardous to posit close connections. The Segestans were clearly great scribblers

2) Hackl, in *Münchener Archäologische Studien dem Andenken Adolf Furtwänglers gewidmet*, type XVI; I discuss the origin and meaning of the mark in BSA *loc. cit.*

(it would be interesting to know what percentage of vase feet carry inscriptions), and we must allow them their non-alphabetic identificatory marks.

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GARUM ROUGE SANG

CE 49 (1974) S. 132 (P. Amsterdam Inv. 44): in Z. 2 dieser Quittung liest der Herausgeber – allerdings mit einigem Vorbehalt – γάρου αἵματτος λαγύναιον (= λαγύνιον, Hsgb.) ἔν. Die beliebte Fischsauce Garum kommt sehr oft in den Papyri vor, aber der Amsterdamer Text bietet ein Unikum an, weil dies die einzige bisher veröffentlichte Urkunde ist, in der die Sauce als "blutig" gezeichnet wird. Der Hsgb. ist geneigt, dieses Prädikat als reine Farbbezeichnung zu verstehen: "αἵματτος peut . . . indiquer uniquement la couleur," S. 133. Dabei weist er richtig auf den Gegensatz hin, den ein solches blutrotes Garum zu dem γάρου λευκόν des P. Herm. Rees 23.5 darstellt.

Hier möchte ich nur kurz darauf aufmerksam machen, dass "blutiges" Garum ausserhalb der Papyri schon gut bekannt war, und zwar als das Garum der besten Qualität. Stellen, in denen davon die Rede ist, findet man in PW XIII 843. In den Geoponica 20.46.6 ist diese Sauce αἵματιον genannt, wogegen der Papyrus αἵματτος hat. Zu vergleichen ist vielleicht die wechselweise Verwendung der beiden Wörter, αἵματιον und αἵματτης, im Sinne von "black pudding".

Kiel

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