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EIRENIAS OF MILETUS' CAREER BETWEEN THE ATTALIDS AND THE SELEUCIDS*

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Abstract. The role played by Eirenias of Miletus in the mid-2nd century B.C. between his city and the Attalids and Seleucids demonstrates the vitality of his *polis*, which had de facto the status of a free city after the Treaty of Apamea of 188. A small corpus of Milesian inscriptions shows that Eirenias, known only from epigraphy, dedicated most of his political activity to relations with external powers, playing numerous times the role of ambassador in favour of his city, for which he was able to obtain many privileges from the Attalids and, to a lesser extent, from the Seleucids. Notables such as Eirenias, who used their external relations for the benefit of their own cites, constituted the connecting element between the euergetism of kings and powerful outsiders and that of private citizens.

The political, military, and economic role of the city of Miletus in the Hellenistic age, especially between the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., has been widely re-evaluated by scholars.[1] In the history of Asia Minor, and in particular of Ionia, the Treaty of Apamea of 188 was a fundamental event. On this occasion, much of northern Asia Minor, up to the Mae-

* This article has greatly benefited from suggestions from its anonymous reviewers. All translations from Greek and Latin sources are mine.

[1] See Bresson and Descat 2001 for the cities of western Asia Minor and Miletus in particular.

ander, was destined for the king of Pergamon, Eumenes II. The new Attalid territories also included part of Ionia and the city of Ephesus within it.[2] However, the city of Miletus was not annexed to the new Attalid territories; the city thus had to manage complex relations with that dynasty.[3] This autonomy, however, was not an abstract concept but derived from the concrete activity of some individuals belonging to the elites.[4] One of them was a certain Eirenias of Miletus.

Polybius mentions the *status* of Miletus after the Treaty of Apamea in a list of cities that were not assigned to Eumenes II after the Roman victory and indeed were, to some extent, rewarded. Miletus had, in fact, managed to negotiate with the Seleucids a *status* of virtual independence since before the Syrian War, during which the city helped Rome.[5] Polybius also states that the Romans returned to the Milesians their sacred lands.[6] Polybius, by referring to the restitution of sacred lands, probably alludes to the concession to Miletus of a territory of the much-disputed city of Myus.[7] Rostovtzeff already argued that Miletus did not decline before or after the Treaty of Apamea. At the turn of the 3rd and 2nd centuries, in particular, it appears that the city was in excellent eco-

[2] Polyb. 21.46.10: τῆς δ᾽ Ἀσίας Φρυγίαν τὴν ἐφ᾽ Ἑλλησπόντου, Φρυγίαν τὴν μεγάλην, Μυσούς, οὓς (Προυσίας) πρότερον αὐτοῦ παρεσπάσατο, Λυκαονίαν, Μιλυάδα, Λυδίαν, Τράλλεις, Ἔφεσον, Τελμεσσόν. Walbank (1979, 173) recalls that Ephesus had been taken by Antiochus III in 197 (Polyb. 18.41a.2) and surrendered to Rome after the Battle of Magnesia of 190 B.C. (Livy 37.45.1).

[3] Allen (1983, 110-121) argues that Miletus was then a free city, as demonstrated by the existence of civic coinage datable to this period and by epigraphic evidence. For the Attalid state between 188 and 133 B.C., see Thonemann 2013. For the Attalids in general, see Hansen 1971, Hopp 1977, and Virgilio 1993.

[4] For the bargaining power of the cities of western Asia Minor, see also Ma 1999.

[5] Polyb. 21.46.5. Cf. Walbank 1979, 169: "Miletus was independent before the war and had helped Rome." Payen 2019 and 2020 demonstrate that even after the Treaty of Apamea, the Seleucids had influence over their former territories.

[6] Polyb. 21.46.5: Μιλησίοις δὲ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἀποκατέστησαν, ἧς διὰ τοὺς πολέμους πρότερον ἐξεχώρησαν.

[7] Walbank 1979, 169-170; Gauthier 2001; Thornton 2004, 367.

nomic conditions and had an aggressive policy.[8] The ancient evidence reporting the submission of Myus and the συμπολιτεία with the city of Pidasa (*I. Delphinion* 149) confirms this view.[9]

A key to understanding the social history of the Hellenistic *poleis* is the study of the careers of the members of the elites, who, by acting as ambassadors, were intermediaries between the assemblies of Greek cities and royal courts, or between Greek assemblies and the Roman Senate. A *corpus* of five Milesian inscriptions allows us to examine the foreign relations of Eirenias of Miletus and their effects on the society of Miletus.[10] This individual, known only from inscriptions, dedicated most of his political activity to relations with external powers, playing numerous times the role of ambassador in favour of his city, for which he was able to obtain many privileges: according to the epigraphic documentation, he went about four times to the court of the Attalids and at least once to that of the Seleucids.[11] As the epigraphic evidence shows, Eumenes II of Pergamon was the main recipient of the embassies in which Eirenias participated. The time span in which the embassies are placed is therefore the reign of Eumenes II; however, it is not excluded that Eirenias was the main interlocutor of the rulers of Pergamon even

[8] Rostovtzeff 1941, 665-670. In those same pages, Rostovtzeff shows that euergetism had a significant development in Miletus during those decades: between 200 and 199, Eudemus of Miletus donated a large sum of money for the education of children; after the battle of Magnesia, Timarchos and Herakleides, who were two influential friends and collaborators of Antiochus IV, donated a βουλευτήριον to the city. In general, for euergetism in the Hellenistic age, see Veyne 1976, with comments on the case of Eirenias on p. 237; Gauthier 1985, where the actions of Eirenias are discussed on pp. 31 and 57; Beck 2015; Domingo Gygax 2016; Domingo Gygax and Zuiderhoek 2021.

[9] See Gauthier 2001 for the submission of Myus to Miletus.

[10] Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 284 [E1], 284 [E2], 285 [E], 286 [E], 287 [E]. For Eirenias and his foreign relations, see also Allen 1983, 115-121; Herrmann 1987, 174-182; and Queyrel 2003, 287-297.

[11] Herrmann 2016, 297-298; see also Herrmann 2001, 106.

after the death of this king, since the dating of inscriptions is uncertain and two of them seem to refer to Attalus II of Pergamon.[12]

The first inscription (284 [E1]) is in honour of Eirenias, who is named after his father, Eirenias.[13] This epigraphic document was found walled in a well in a village located southeast of ancient Miletus in 1960 and was published for the first time by Peter Herrmann.[14] The text is distributed in three blocks of marble and is incomplete.[15]

In this honorary inscription for Eirenias, the πρυτάνεις and the individuals in charge of the defence of Miletus establish that Eirenias be publicly praised and a gilded statue be erected for his deeds in favour of his fellow citizens; the honours shall be approved by the tribunal (δικαστήριον) and shall be proclaimed by the ἀγωνοθέται (directors of the games) and βασιλεῖς of the local Dionysia; the ἀνατάκται (officials of finance) shall take care of the expenses necessary for these honours; and three ἐπιστάται (superintendents) shall see that the statue is completed.[16] These honours are a reward for Eirenias' successful diplomatic mission at the court of Eumenes II. Eirenias spoke with King Eumenes II in accordance with a concession (συγχώρησις) made by the people of the city. The king donated, as suggested by Eirenias, 160,000 medimni of grain and a

[12] Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 286 [E] and 287 [E]. Attalus II succeeded his brother Eumenes II on his death in 158-157 B.C. (Marek 2016, 565), actually as the regent of Eumenes II's son, Attalus III.

[13] Main editions: Herrmann 2016, 255-273; *SEG* 36, 1046; Queyrel 2003, 287-289.

[14] On the finding of the inscription and on the material aspects of the stone, see Herrmann 2016, 255-256.

[15] We will not focus on two other epigraphic documents that concern Eirenias: *I. Didyma* 142 and *Milet* I, 3, 147 (where he is briefly mentioned at ll. 87-88). The two inscriptions are referred to in Herrmann 2016, 260-261. The first one is especially relevant for the study of the economic history of Miletus as it is an honorary inscription for Eirenias, who is commended for his financial help for his city and its citizens in difficult situations. However, the two inscriptions do not concern the relations between Eirenias, as a representative of the city of Miletus, and the Hellenistic kings.

[16] For the gilded statue that was dedicated to Eirenias in Miletus, see Kaye 2022, 263. In general, for honorific monuments in the Hellenistic age, see Ma 2013 (with references to Eirenias on pp. 73 and 244).

certain amount of wood to Miletus in order to build a gymnasium in the city.[17] The community then honoured the king and sent Eirenias again to ask the king to increase the donations and take charge of the expenses needed for the honours. In the incomplete text of the second block, it is shown that, through a sister of "Antiochus," who should be identified with Antiochus IV Epiphanes (while the mentioned sister was most likely his sister-wife Laodice), Eirenias had managed to obtain from Antiochus an exemption from customs duties (ἀτέλεια) for the products (γενήματα) of Miletus that were exported to the Seleucid kingdom.

The dating of this inscription is disputed and is complicated by the need to distinguish the dating of the deeds for which Eirenias is honoured from the dating of the making of the inscription. There is a double *terminus ante quem* for the acts for which Eirenias receives acknowledgment: for Eirenias' two embassies to Eumenes II, the *terminus ante quem* is obviously 158-157 B.C., the date of the death of Eumenes.[18] For the embassy to Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the *terminus ante quem* is 164, the date of the death of the Seleucid king. The authors of the *Nouveau choix d'inscriptions grecques* propose to place the inscription in a time span between about 167 and 160 B.C.; K. Bringmann and H. von Steuben propose a date prior to 167. The most thorough and systematic discussion of the text was carried out by P. Herrmann, who proposed that the inscription attests to the very first diplomatic relations between Eumenes II and Eirenias since it does not mention any previous contact between this ambassador and the Attalid king.[19]

The inscription 284 [E2] is also difficult to date.[20] The text is incomplete, as there are only the *considérants*, that is, the reasons for the honours attributed to an individual. It is clear that the honoured individual is Eumenes II of Pergamon, and that he made himself meritorious to-

[17] For the so-called gymnasium of Eumenes II, see Emme 2013, 151-154, dating it to 160-159 B.C. and locating it in the "Westmarkt" area of Miletus; cf. Trümper 2015, 196-203; Kaye 2022, 263.

[18] Marek 2016, 565.

[19] Institut Fernand-Courby 1971, 55-60, no. 7; Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 346, no. 284 [E1]; Herrmann 2016, 294-299.

[20] Main editions: Th. Wiegand, *SB Berlin* 1911, 26-27; *Milet* I, 9, 307.

wards the people of Miletus by sending a letter (γράματα [*sic*]), in accordance with a suggestion of Eirenias (ll. 16-18). The Attalid ruler and the Milesian citizen must therefore have already been on cordial terms. Herrmann's proposal, identifying the diplomatic relations mentioned in this inscription with the facts referred to in the previous one, is convincing.[21]

A further inscription (285 [E]) reports that Eirenias, together with other ambassadors of the κοινόν of the Ionians, visited Eumenes II on the island of Delos, probably when relations with him were already established and he was the main interlocutor of the Attalid king in Miletus.[22] It has been rightly observed that Eumenes was on Delos as this was a stage of his return from the voyage that he had made to Rome in 167. This had been a failed voyage as the Romans, who had been suspicious of the ambiguous attitude of their allies during the Third Macedonian War, which had just ended, had favoured Eumenes II's competitor, Prusias II of Bithynia; later (166-165 B.C.), the Romans would also have furthered the cause of the Galatians against the Attalid king.[23] Eumenes II received congratulations from the ambassadors of the κοινόν of the Ionians on his recent victories over the Galatians (campaigns of 168-166 B.C.) on ll. 7-13. The visit of the ambassadors to Delos thus probably took place in the winter of 167-166.[24] Eumenes did not lose the solidarity of the cities of Asia, which felt threatened by the Galatians, although he was having issues with the Roman senate.[25]

The inscription was placed in Miletus and consists of the complete text of an epistle of Eumenes II to the κοινόν of the Ionians. Eumenes recalls that Eirenias and a certain Archelaos gave him the text of a decree (ψήφισμα) of the Ionian confederation, which thanked the king for

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[21] Herrmann 2016, 295.

[22] Main editions: Th. Wiegand, *SB Berlin* 1904, 86; *OGIS* 763; *Milet* I, 9, 306; cf. *SEG* 4, 443.

[23] Polyb. 30.18-19; 30.28; 30.30; Herrmann 2016, 287.

[24] Herrmann 2016, 287.

[25] For the meeting of the ambassadors of the Ionian κοινόν, including Eirenias, with Eumenes II on the island of Delos in 167-166 and their bestowal of honours on the king, see Kaye 2022, 67, 262-263.

his generosity towards the Greek cities, shown in his fight against the barbarians (i.e., the Galatians); he was rewarded with a golden crown, a gilded statue, and the proclamation of honours in the agones of the confederation and of the cities. Eumenes accepted the honours and promised that he would help the Ionian confederation and give it the financial means for the celebration of his eponymous day. He also offered to erect the statue of himself at his own expense and chose as its location the sacred land (τέμενος) that the inhabitants of Miletus had already decreed to him. The reason for this was the particularly eminent role of Miletus, but an additional reason was the kinship that bound Miletus to Eumenes, since Cyzicus had been founded by the Milesians and was also the homeland of the king's mother, Apollonis.[26]

The inscription 286 [E] is a decree of the βουλή of Miletus on the celebration of the anniversary of the birth of Eumenes II, concerning in particular the regulation and financing of the distribution of cereals for that occasion.[27] The council decides that two officials will be charged with supervising the distribution of grain to the citizens on the 6th of Lenaion, the anniversary of the king's birth, and will also have to deal with sacrifices, the banquet, the parade in arms of the ephebes, other aspects of the Crown Law (στεφανηφορικὸς νόμος), and the regulations on priesthood. Subsequently, officials will also have to be chosen who will purchase cereals or deal with their supply. The regulation concerning the fund for the distribution of cereals is presented: 30 talents taken from commercial loans (ἐμπορικὰ δάνεια) will be transferred to the heads of the public bank (δημόσια τράπεζα) by those responsible for the construction of a gymnasium in Miletus, Eirenias and Zopyros, son of Asklepiodoros. The interest will be handed over to the committee charged with the purchase of the cereals. This is followed by clauses against the illicit transfer to other transactions of the sums referred to and in favour of maintaining the memory of King Eumenes II (μνήμη). Eumenes' brothers, King Attalus and Athenaios, and his son, Attalus

[26] For the general problem of kinship (συγγένεια) between communities in the Greek world, see Musti 1963, Curty 1995, and Lücke 2000.

[27] Main editions: Th. Wiegand, *SB Berlin* 1911, 27-28; *I. Didyma* 488.

(the future Attalus III), will be informed of this procedure. Finally, indications are given regarding the engraving of the decree.[28]

Different dates have been proposed for this decree: for P. Herrmann, the text was decreed shortly before or shortly after the death of Eumenes II; for R. E. Allen, it is slightly earlier than 160-159 or slightly later; according to K. Bringmann and H. von Steuben, it should be placed in the period immediately following the death of Eumenes II; for F. Queyrel, the mention of Attalus II as a king allows to date the inscription to the period of joint rule of Eumenes II and Attalus II, between 159 and 158.[29] However, the mention of Attalus II as the king at the same time as the issuance of honours for Eumenes II is perplexing. Literary sources indicate that he became βασιλεύς with difficulty, as Attalus III was supposed to be Eumenes II's successor; after his death, Attalus II would become his regent and king in an unofficial way (Strabo 13.4.2 = 624C). Herrmann and Allen also show the existence of inscriptions that seem to attest to the coregency of Eumenes II and Attalus II.[30] In addition, although the μνήμη of Eumenes II is mentioned (l. 38), this does not necessarily indicate that he was dead, since in 285 [E] (l. 56), this word is used by Eumenes himself, the author of the epistle, in reference to himself. The decree should also be placed at an advanced stage of the construction of the gymnasium in Miletus, which is referred to in the text; Eirenias is mentioned as responsible for the building, along with Zopyros.

Finally, 287 [E] was inscribed on one side of a square block of marble found walled in the parodos of the theatre of Miletus and was discovered in 1903. However, only in 1965 was the text published by Herrmann.[31]

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[28] The complex financial procedure described here has been thoroughly analysed by Migeotte 2012.

[29] Herrmann 2016, 292-293; Allen 1983, 116-118; Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 353, 356, no. 286 [E]; Queyrel 2003, 295. Eumenes II died on 158-157; see Marek 2016, 565.

[30] Herrmann 2016, 292-293; Allen 1983, 116-118.

[31] Main editions: Herrmann 2016, 274-286; McCabe and Plunkett 1984, 5, no. 11. Another side of the block, adjacent to the one we are examining, also contains an

The initial part of the decree is missing; the text begins with indications concerning the use of a sum of money. This is followed by the tasks entrusted to a secretary (γραμματεύς), who is charged with selling the priesthood for Eumenes II, here referred to as θεός, choosing a commission that will regulate the priesthood, and turning the decree into a law of Myus. In addition, the secretary will take care of the inscription of the decree on the base where the statue of the king will be erected and by the door of the temple of Apollo Τερμινθεύς in Myus. A treasurer (ταμίας) will take care of financing the expenses needed for this inscription, and two ambassadors will be sent to the king to report the decree and ask him for help in the future. The decree ends with the names of two chosen ambassadors; only one name is readable, that of Eirenias.

Was Eumenes II still alive when the decree was voted? Was he, or Attalus II, the recipient of the diplomatic mission of Eirenias and his colleague? In the inscription, Eumenes is defined as a θεός (l. 5), and according to the general opinion, the deification of the Attalid kings only took place after their deaths. In fact, Bringmann and von Steuben suggested that the inscription should be dated after Eumenes' death.[32] However, the admittedly incomplete text does not contain a distinction between the king honoured with divine worship and the king currently in office, with a possible reference to Eumenes' successor, Attalus II: as Allen has stressed, only one βασιλεύς is mentioned in the inscription.[33] Thus, Eumenes was probably alive and was also honoured with a priesthood and the title of θεός. This implies, however, that we renounce the idea of a rejection of forms of deification in life by the Attalids.

This can be confirmed by the fact that in the epistle of Eumenes II to the κοινόν of the Ionians, Eumenes himself accepted the honours be-

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inscription. It is an incomplete decree dedicated to a certain Apollodoros of Miletus, son of Metrophanes. Herrmann 2016, 274-279 proposed to date this inscription either in the 3rd century or soon after 196 B.C., as the decree was voted by the citizens of Myus (which was again part of the territories of Miletus since that year).

[32] Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 357, no. 287 [E].

[33] Allen 1983, 119.

stowed on him by the Ionians and by Miletus in particular, and among these honours there was also a piece of sacred land, i.e., a τέμενος (285 [E], ll. 60-64). According to the same text, Eumenes did his utmost to preserve the memory (μνήμη) of himself (ll. 54-56). In conclusion, while Eumenes was still alive, he received honours such as the title of θεός, a τέμενος, and priestly offices.[34]

Miletus was responsible for autonomously awarding to Eumenes II divine attributes: it was the only city in Ionia, as Eumenes himself observed in the epistle, to honour him with a τέμενος, and in the decree of Myus (which was then part of Miletus), it decreed the sale of the priestly offices for the king. Miletus was a virtually independent and non-tributary city; this was not necessarily an advantageous position but rather an uncertain situation. Those who found themselves in such a situation of insecurity, such as the inhabitants of Miletus, did not see the privileges assigned to their city as something taken for granted but, on the contrary, as something earned by bargaining with the powerful, e.g., by conferring honours on them and expecting benefits in return. Miletus had to make even greater manifestations of veneration than Ephesus, which was part of the Attalid kingdom and therefore automatically enjoyed the protection of the kings of Pergamon.[35]

As illustrated by the five inscriptions, Miletus awarded honours to Hellenistic kings, thus showing its autonomy and bargaining power. In the first inscription examined, the initial impetus to request the grain necessary to finance the gymnasium, in addition to wood, came from an individual, precisely Eirenias, and the word used to indicate the approval of the people (πλῆθος) was συγχώρησις, concession (284 [E1], l. 5): it was an independent action by a private citizen.[36]

It is very likely that such an action was not alien to the interests of King Eumenes II. A passage of Polybius (31.31.1-3) indicates that Eumenes II donated 280,000 medimni of grain to the Rhodians in 161-160

[34] For the cult of the Attalid dynasty, see Virgilio ²2003, 102-109 and Hamon 2004.

[35] Allen 1983, 120-121.

[36] As also stressed by Kaye 2022, 264.

B.C., so that what was earned from its sale could be lent at interest, and the proceeds could be allocated to the salaries of the παιδευταί and the διδάσκαλοι of the sons of the Rhodians; Polybius also observes that it was undignified that the Rhodians could accept this sort of charity, and it was all the more shameful because they were then in good economic conditions. Eumenes II was therefore inclined to make donations destined for gymnasia and education, even if the donation was not indispensable, since the recipients could afford these services. Moreover, the epigraphic documentation attests to the dedication by Eumenes II of gymnasia to Cos, Andros, and Ephesus; as shown by P. F. Mittag, who listed these inscriptions, this was a typical way of expressing generosity by this king.[37]

The method of financing through a donation of grain was quite common. In the inscription 284 [E1], the financing of the gymnasium was made in this way. Moreover, as the decree of the βουλή of Miletus (286 [E]) on the celebration of the anniversary of the birth of Eumenes II shows, the proceeds of interest from commercial loans could be used for distributing cereals to the population. Whether or not the donation of cereals was a financing method aimed at avoiding forms of inflation, it must have been widespread, not only among the Attalids but also among the Seleucids, as shown by an inscription analysed by J. Ma, which attests to the donation of grain to Iasos by Laodice III, wife of Antiochus III; the proceeds from the sale of cereals were to be used to finance the dowries of the daughters of poor citizens.[38]

The recipient of the embassies in which Eirenias participated, as already pointed out, was not exclusively the Attalid kingdom. The first inscription in honour of the Milesian ambassador (284 [E1]), in fact, reports the embassy to Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the Seleucid king. The mention of both Eumenes II and Antiochus IV in this inscription could be explained by Michail Rostovtzeff's idea that in that period there was

[37] Mittag 2006, 108.

[38] Ma 1999, 223-224; text on pp. 329-335. However, the Seleucids did not have the same inclination the Attalids had to donate means for education or buildings, such as gymnasia; see Mittag 2006, 108. Cf. Bringmann 2005 for Seleucid donations.

a sort of *entente cordiale* between Attalids and Seleucids – an idea that, according to Rostovtzeff, was also confirmed by the presence in Syria of tetradrachms minted in Asia Minor.[39] In fact, Eirenias' presence both at the court of Eumenes and of Antiochus would have been out of place if the two kings had been in hostile relations.

Antiochus IV granted Miletus the privilege of ἀτέλεια, i.e., an exemption from indirect taxes, for the products of Miletus that were exported to the Seleucid kingdom, as shown by ll. 1-6 of the second section of the honorary decree. The extensive documentation of the cases of ἀτέλεια shows that it was one of the main methods chosen by the Seleucid rulers to reward the communities or individuals by whom they had been honoured or benefited.[40]

The exemption from indirect taxes was certainly advantageous for the recipients of this ἀτέλεια, as highlighted by the satisfaction expressed by the inhabitants of Miletus who honoured Eirenias in this inscription and who had seen themselves greatly benefited by this privilege, but it was also advantageous for the authority that issued the honour. There is another striking case of ἀτέλεια in the 2nd century B.C., contemporary to the dedication of honours to Eirenias. Rome had granted ἀτέλεια to Delos, thus disadvantaging the economically competing island of Rhodes, as reported by Polybius (30.31.10-12). The main purpose of the Romans, according to Astymedes of Rhodes (the speaker in Polybius' passage), was to damage the economy of Rhodes, which had demonstrated an ambiguous attitude towards Rome during the Third Macedonian War. However, the Romans also knew that giving Delos the ἀτέλεια would increase traffic to it. In the following years, Delos would become a thriving centre for Italic and Roman merchants. The ἀτέλεια was therefore an efficient way to favour the rewarded people and also

[39] Rostovtzeff 1941, 655-659; Herrmann 2016, 269. For the relations between Eumenes II and Antiochus IV, see Mørkholm 1966, 51-57. For the relations between Attalids and Seleucids between 281 and 175 B.C., see Chrubasik 2013. For Seleucid power, see Musti 1965 and 1966; Capdetrey 2007.

[40] Ma 1999, 129, 132, 150, 288, 345.

favour the rewarders themselves.[41] An exemption that a Hellenistic king made in favour of the merchants who travelled to his kingdom, like the one the Milesians received from Antiochus IV thanks to Eirenias, could thus be considered a great advantage by the beneficiaries.

Miletus was one of the most beloved cities of the Seleucid rulers; for example, in an inscription that reports a letter of Seleucus II to the city (*RC* 22), according to the interpretation of J. Ma, the king made Miletus free.[42] Miletus, which had been under the control of the Ptolemies since c. 280 B.C., after the tyranny of an Aetolian adventurer, had been previously freed by Antiochus II, who therefore received divine honours from the city.[43]

Antiochus IV is known to have offered other gifts to the Milesians. Herakleides and Timarchos, respectively the διοικητής (secretary of finance) and the satrap of Media under this king, appear from the epigraphic evidence to have borne the cost of a new βουλευτήριον and to have dedicated it on behalf of the king.[44] It should be recalled that at that time Miletus was leading the κοινόν of the Ionians, with which Eumenes II also had close relations. Antiochus IV's expressions of generosity in Asia Minor were not limited to this city. An inscription of Ilium from the 2nd century B.C. recalls his merits towards the δῆμος of this city. The city of Cyzicus, which had been founded by Miletus, also maintained good relations with both the Seleucids and the Attalids. The city was the birthplace of Apollonis, mother of Eumenes II and Attalus

[41] For tax exemption in Greek trade, and ἀτέλεια in particular, see Bresson 2000, 131-149; Rubinstein 2009. For harbour duties and the ἐλλιμένιον in particular, see Chankowski 2007 and Carrara 2014. For Greek economy in general, see Migeotte 2002; Bresson 2007 and 2008.

[42] Ma 1999, 44.

[43] Ma 1999, 41.

[44] Th. Wiegand, *Miletus II*, 95-99. For the donation of Herakleides and Timarchos, see Mørkholm 1966, 56, where some testimonies of the generosity of Antiochus IV towards some cities of Asia Minor are collected; for these two officials, see also 103-107. For the ambassadors of Miletus in the Seleucid kingdom, see Herrmann 1987.

II.[45] According to Livy (41.20.7), the city received golden vessels (*uasa aurea mensae*) as a gift from Antiochus IV to be used in the prytaneion. Cyzicus is referred to in the inscription of Eudemos of Seleucia (Cilicia), an official of Antiochus IV. According to Mørkholm, he probably became *proxenos* in Cyzicus in exchange for the help he lent in the king's bestowal of favours on the city.[46] From the fact that Cyzicus, a city "related" to the Attalids as it was the homeland of Apollonis, mother of Eumenes II and Attalus II, was a colony of Miletus, it followed that Miletus was also related to the Attalids.[47] However, a συγγένεια, a kinship, although mythical, also existed with the Seleucids: they proclaimed themselves the descendants of Apollo, and near Miletus stood one of the most important places of worship of this god, the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma; the kinship is shown by a letter of Seleucus II to Miletus (282 [E], ll. 5-6).

The privileges offered by Seleucus II and Antiochus IV, an enduring kinship between Miletus and the Seleucids, and some connections between the city elites and the rulers of Syria may have allowed, at least in Miletus, a certain memory of the Seleucids. The same cannot be said of the other cities of Asia Minor. The reception of the Seleucids among the populations once subject to them was complex. On the one hand, in a passage of Livy, after the Treaty of Apamea, the peoples of Lycia affirmed that the Rhodians were much worse masters than Antiochus III had been (Livy 41.6.9); moreover, three wars took place between Rhodes, Lycia, and Caria (Polyb. 30.31.4), a sign of discontent unprecedented in the Seleucid age. On the other hand, the Attalids were more inclined to euergetic activity than the Seleucids were.[48] Thus, even after the end of the Attalid rule, while the Se-

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[45] See p. 42 of this article.

[46] *Syll.*[3] 644-645. For the examples cited, see Mørkholm 1966, 56-57.

[47] See the epistle of Eumenes, 285 [E], l. 65.

[48] Polybius reports that his father Lycortas stated, in a speech dated to 169-168, that Antiochus IV was undeniably a great benefactor, but he was also the first of his dynasty to conduct a policy of charity towards the Hellenic communities (Polyb. 29.24.12-16). However, it should be stressed that Polybius may have been underestimating the euergetic activity of the Seleucids due to his own political preference for the Ptolemies over them.

leucids were scarcely remembered, there was a long permanence of the Attalids, especially of Eumenes II, in the collective memory. It probably persisted in Miletus, which, through Eirenias, had received many privileges from Eumenes II, and was a widespread phenomenon throughout Asia Minor. The inscriptions in honour of Diodoros Pasparos in Pergamon attest, after the first Mithridatic war, some decades after the end of the Attalid rule, to a renewal of the *Nikephoria*, festivals instituted in the Attalid age by Attalus I and Eumenes II.[49] Aristonicus claimed to be the son of Eumenes II and called himself Eumenes III, probably to gain support from the population of Asia Minor.

The corpus of inscriptions regarding Eirenias finally allows us to raise the problem of the political value of the honours for citizen benefactors in the Hellenistic age and of the discussed continuity of this phenomenon with the euergetism of the classical age, which had generally been due to external benefactors. Does the first inscription that has been examined (284 [E1]) show euergetism by Eumenes II or Eirenias? It was Eirenias who, as an ambassador, obtained generous concessions from Eumenes and conceived the project of a gymnasium, which he proposed to the city population. However, the funding of the gymnasium was due exclusively to Eumenes. In this inscription (I, l. 13), Eirenias is called εὐεργέτης, and the same definition is attributed to Eumenes in the decree in his honour by the people of Miletus (284 [E2], l. 3), which probably refers to the funding for the construction of the gymnasium.[50] In a certain sense, notables such as Eirenias were the connecting element between the euergetism of kings and powerful outsiders and that of private citizens, which had such a long life throughout the Hellenistic and Roman ages.

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[49] Jones 1974 and 2000.

[50] Herrmann 2001, 106: Eirenias' engagement for his city was matched by an euergetic activity deployed by King Eumenes II. This could be seen as a ritual of reciprocity between donations granted by the king and honours bestowed by the city.

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FINDING KRATEROS: EXPLORING THE SIGNATURES ON THE MOSAICS IN THE ROMAN VILLA OF SKALA (KEFALONIA)

NIKKI VELLIDIS

Abstract. Mosaic signatures provide an incredible and unique view into a sector of the ancient world that is often difficult to access. These signatures are formulaic – utilizing similar vocabulary, grammar, and phrasing. Therefore, when a signature deviates from the so-called "norm," the unique aspects of the inscription should be carefully considered. This article analyses the figure of Krateros, a possible mosaicist or patron mentioned in two lengthy mosaic inscriptions from an Imperial Period villa on the Greek island of Kefalonia. Krateros was traditionally believed to be a mosaicist with an elaborate signature. However, this conclusion has been debated, and his identity and relation to the mosaic and villa speculated. This article aims to provide Krateros with an identity that considers the plethora of information supplied in the inscriptions.

Steps away from the tavernas and cafés of the Greek village of Skala, the remains of an ornate Imperial Period villa sit waiting for visitors.[1]

[1] This article is an excerpt from my MA thesis titled "Beware of Envy: A Reconstructive Study of the Mosaics in the Roman Villa of Skala," completed in 2021 under the supervision of Francesco De Angelis and in the Classical Studies Program at Columbia University in the City of New York. I would like to thank the Ephorate of Antiquities in Kefalonia and Ithaka for access to the mosaics and permission to photo-

Dating to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. and excavated in 1957 by Vassilios G. Kallipolitis, the villa possesses some of the most exquisite floor mosaics present on the island of Kefalonia, Greece. It provides a glimpse into a period of history on the island that is slowly coming to light.[2] The Villa of Skala, categorized as a *villa rustica,* is largely isolated from other known ancient sites and situated 1.8 km from the southernmost tip of the island.[3] The villa's façade is oriented towards the south and was only accessible by a wooden bridge across a creek.[4] There is evidence of walls extending around the villa from the northern part of the area to the creek, serving as a protective barrier.[5] The villa was oriented towards the sea, following the trend seen on the island of sites moving from higher-lying Greek settlements to lower-lying "Roman" ones of the Imperial Period.[6]

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graph them. I would also like to thank the Onassis Foundation for their generous funding.

[2] Kallipolitis excavated and published the villa in 1957 and 1963. The mosaics were examined further by Bruneau (1966), Daux (1958, 1963), Donderer (1989), Dunbabin and Dickie (1983), and Kankeleit (1994). After a significant break in time around the study of the mosaics, Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail (2019) published on the inscriptions. Neira Jiménez (2014) discussed the iconography of sacrifice shown in the Altar mosaic. Recently, Scholtz (2021) published "The Unwelcome Guest: Envy and Shame Materialized in a Roman Villa." Kefalonia possesses a rich history, reaching as far back as the Neolithic Period. Until the arrival of the Romans in A.D. 189, four city-states (Sami, Pali, Krani, and Pronnoi) ruled autonomously, minting coins and creating and breaking alliances with each other and cities on the mainland. Roman arrival briefly caused a decline in the island's prosperity. However, this seemed to recover quickly. The Imperial Period brought with it the founding of two new cities (Panormos and Kateleio). The Imperial Period is not as well documented as other periods on the island. However, new sites are continually coming to light and providing more information for this important time in the island's history. At least six archaeological sites on the island have significant mosaic remains. See Randsborg 2002 and Sotiriou 2013.

[3] Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail 2019, 185.

[4] Kallipolitis 1963, 6.

[5] Kallipolitis 1963, 7.

[6] Randsborg 2002, 5.

Kallipolitis found evidence for three periods of inhabitation in the villa: Imperial, Early Christian, and Post-Byzantine. After a fire destroyed the Imperial Period villa in the 4th century A.D. – indicated by a layer of burnt material discovered in the courtyard – it was repurposed as a Christian church, once again destroyed by a fire, and then constructed upon in the post-Byzantine era.[7] The excavated area of the villa consists of five interior spaces and a courtyard (Fig. 1). The first interior space is a lengthy entry hallway that connects to every other villa space. The four other interior spaces branch off from the right (eastern) side of the hallway, while the courtyard is positioned to the left (western). Three of these rooms are positioned in succession, with the two southernmost rooms having direct access to the hall and the third northernmost of the three only being accessible through the central room. The fourth interior space is located at the end of the hallway. The hallway acts as the central artery of this portion of the house, connecting the spaces and requiring all individuals who desire to access other areas of the space to pass through the hall.[8] The villa certainly extended to the east, but further evidence of structures was partially destroyed by the addition of a narthex in the Early Christian Period and in 1822 by the installation of a large water tank and cultivation in the area.[9] Four of the five interior spaces possess mosaic pavements, and three are in good condition, while the fourth is almost wholly destroyed. This article will focus on two of the mosaics – those showing the personification of Envy and a sacrificial scene (the Altar Mosaic) – in which the figure of Krateros is mentioned in both inscriptions.

Mosaicist signatures provide some of the only information about their creation. Often surviving well in the archaeological record, mosaic inscriptions can be analyzed, and patterns in vocabulary and grammar can be identified to better understand the individuals responsible for the pavements.[10] These commonalities within signatures have allowed

[7] Kallipolitis 1963, 4; Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail 2019, 186.
[8] See Kallipolitis 1963 for the architectural plan.
[9] Kallipolitis 1963, 2, 5.
[10] Donderer 1989, 13.

for the distinction of roles mentioned within inscriptions, from broadly "mosaicist" to specific roles in the process.[11] However, not all inscriptions are signatures, and not all that are signatures follow the patterns set forth by most documented mosaics. Some inscriptions are warnings, some are wishes for health, some memorialize the name of the individual who owned the house or acted as patron in the creation of the pavement, and some are not at all clear-cut.

The mosaics of Skala are two such ambiguous pavements, and within their inscriptions, the figure of Krateros is introduced. The identity of the figure of Krateros is debated in scholarship. The unique composition of the inscriptions and the nature in which his name is mentioned obscure a straightforward identification of him as either the mosaicist or the patron. This article seeks to explore the so-called mosaic signatures to understand the role that Krateros played in the formation of the mosaic: mosaicist, patron, both, or perhaps another role altogether.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE MOSAICS

The mosaic in the entry hallway, called the Envy Mosaic, depicts a youthful figure of the personification of envy, Phthonos, standing in the central panel of the pavement as four wild cats attack him (Fig. 2).[12] The wild cats, a panther, tiger, leopard, and lion, sink their teeth into his torso, shoulders, and legs. The mosaic stretches the length of the entry hall with the central panel of Phthonos approximately three meters and an average of seven steps into the villa.[13] Above and below the image are panels with three-dimensional cubes. The central panel is surrounded by a series of three geometric borders that serve as tools to draw a viewer's attention to the image and inscription. The first is a border of spaced and poised serrated squares that extends to the walls before

[11] Henig 2012; Poulsen 2012; Schibille et al. 2020; Zohar 2012.

[12] The mosaic measures 8.20 x 3.25 m and is marked as Room I on Kallipolitis' plan.

[13] As part of my MA thesis, I examined the spatial aspects of the villa. During this examination, I created a two-scale model of the villa's entryway and performed a test to see the average amount of steps needed to read the central panel of the Envy Mosaic. Three individuals walked to the central panel several times while counting their steps. The average of these steps was then taken, getting the number 7.

leading into a serrated saw-tooth (crowstep) pattern.[14] A simple guilloche follows and directly surrounds the central panel. The geometric panels possess an additional crowstep border oriented towards the guilloche.

This personification of Phthonos as a handsome youth with the cats attacking him is rather unique.[15] In literary sources and other images, Phthonos is most often depicted as a skeletal figure with hollow, exaggerated eyes, an enlarged phallus, and a hunchback.[16] Although partially damaged, the portion of Phthonos visible from the left side shows every sign of a healthy, smooth, youthful form. This departure from the canonical form of Phthonos that was well established by this point in time, suggests a distinct desire on behalf of the patron (or whoever was in charge of the design) for a unique version of Phthonos to achieve a specific goal and message. Below the figures, a twelve-line inscription, discussed in the following section and written in elegiac couplets, has been set in stone. The letters stand at approximately 0.04-0.05 m and are black tesserae against a white background.[17] The ends of the lines are marked with an ivy leaf.

The Altar Mosaic resides in a room almost directly to the right of the marble threshold that marks the entrance of the hallway (Fig. 3).[18] The mosaic can be divided into three registers: upper, middle, and lower. The registers are surrounded by a series of four geometric borders consisting of a row of tangent four-pointed stars as saltires, superposed triangles, round-tongued double guilloche, and tangent circles formed of four spindles.[19] The upper register is the largest and houses a representation of

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[14] Geometric patterns were identified with the help of Balmelle, Prudhomme, and Raynaud 2002.

[15] Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, 30-37. See Dunbabin and Dickie 1983 for a full discussion of the form in both material culture and literary texts.

[16] Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, 24.

[17] Kallipolitis 1963, 16.

[18] The marble threshold measures 1.05 x 0.50 m. The room, marked Room II on Kallipolitis' plan, measures 4.50 x 3.20 m.

[19] Geometric patterns were identified with the help of Balmelle, Prudhomme, and Raynaud 2002.

a fruit-laden altar with a human figure on either side. The two individuals, identified by Kallipolitis as children, stand on either side of the altar, which is oriented towards the right.[20] Kallipolitis does not assign a gender to the children, although Georges Daux asserts that it is a male and female pair.[21] Spyridon Marinatos asserts that the figures represent Krateros – who is mentioned again in this mosaic inscription – and his son while Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail suggest that the right-hand figure could be Pallas Athena.[22] Due to the damage on the Altar Mosaic, much of which is concentrated on these two figures, it is extremely difficult to identify them with any certainty. The figures possess notably different skin tones and hairstyles, but both appear to be wearing a knee-length garment, which appear to be the same, and are the same height. The right-hand figure does not have a beard, indicating either a female figure or a youth, and the left-hand figure's face is obscured with damage and therefore age cannot be gleaned with certainty. The right-hand figure's hair is depicted in a fringe-like hairstyle. A further discussion of the likely identification of these figures will take place below.

The middle register of the Altar Mosaic is positioned perpendicular to the top and depicts a boar, a bull, and a ram. This register is divided into three, with each animal standing on a piece of ground that divides the frame. Although the registers are oriented differently, they show a continuation of the same scene, likely with the animals facing the individuals at the altar. The sacrificial scene may be meant to reflect *trittoia boarchon (*Greek) or *suovetaurilia* (Latin), sacrifices that possessed a range of functions, one of the most significant for the *suovetaurilia* was the purification and protection of farmland – something that could be meaningful for a *villa rustica*.[23]

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[20] Kallipolitis 1963, 18.

[21] Daux 1958.

[22] Marinatos 1958-1959, 359; Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail 2019, 191. Marinatos says that the figures are two men and "obviously" (προγανῶς) Krateros and his son, although he does not provide any iconographical reasons for this conclusion.

[23] *EAH*, 2012, s.v. souvetaurilia (A. Bendlin); Burriss 1927, 28; Ekroth 2014, 336; 2017, 22; Kallipolitis 1963, 31; Marinatos 1958-1959, 359; Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail 2019, 192.

Although the bull is the only entirely preserved animal, the identity of the other two animals is known from the inscription that occupies the bottom register. Stylistically, the inscription is nearly identical to the Envy Mosaic, with its letters standing at the height of 0.04 m and rendered in black tesserae against a white background, but is written in dactylic hexameter. Unfortunately, a large portion of the inscription has been destroyed but has been reconstructed. Along with a list of deities to whom the offerings are given, the figure of Krateros is mentioned again, this time with the addition of his son. There appears to be a correlation in these mosaic pavements to reflect the individuals or items that the inscriptions mention in their figural decoration. For this reason, the identification of the two figures as Krateros and his son, as mentioned in the inscription, is quite convincing.[24] However, as there is a list of deities provided alongside Krateros and his son, the figures could also plausibly be any of the divine individuals, as suggested by Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail.[25] Accounting for the damage obstructing a clear view of the figures, I believe the most likely candidates are Krateros and his son as the inscriptions (provided in the next section) specifically mention the two individuals in relation to the altar just as each of the depicted animals is specifically named.

The villa is home to at least two more mosaics. The first is fragmentary but contains evidence of a third, illegible inscription and the possible depiction of a horse's leg.[26] This mosaic is in the center of the three rooms branching from the hallway. Although significantly damaged, this mosaic seems to have followed the pattern set forth by the previous two, with a series of geometric borders surrounding a central figural panel with an inscription. The second is a geometric pavement that, despite not possessing any figural depictions, includes a series of geometric borders leading to a central three-dimensional swastika meander in the center. This mosaic is positioned in the northernmost of the three

[24] Marinatos1958–1959, 359.

[25] Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail 2019, 191.

[26] See Kallipolitis 1963 and Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail 2019 for more information.

interior rooms – accessible only through the central room mentioned above.

THE INSCRIPTIONS

The Envy Mosaic's inscription is twelve lines written in elegiac couplets, echoing "the language of poetry generally and that of Homer specifically" (Fig. 4).[27] The inscription in both mosaics explain to viewers what is occurring in the figural depictions. This inscription explains how and why Phthonos came to be on the pavement:

> ᾽Ω Φθόνε, καὶ σοῦ τήνδε ὀλοῆς | φρενὸς εἰκόνα γράψε
> ζωγράφος, ἣν Κρατερος θήκα|το λαϊνέην,
> οὐχ ὅτι τειμήεις σὺ μετ᾽ ἀνδρά|σιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι θνητῶν
> ὄλβοις βασκαίνων σχῆμα τό|δε ἀμφεβ[ά]λου.
> Ἕστ[αθ]ι δ[ὴ] πάντεσσιν ἐνώπιος, | ἔσταθι τλήμων,
> Τηκεδόνος φθονερῶν δεῖγμα | φέρων στύγιον.[28]
>
> O Phthonos, here the painter has drawn an image of your sinister heart, which Krateros made of stone – not because you are praised among men, but because you disparage the prosperity of mortals were you beset this appearance. Stand before all, stand, wretched, bearing the abominable sign of the envious wasting away.[29]

The Altar Mosaic inscription is eighteen lines and is written in dactylic hexameter (Fig. 5). It provides definite identifications of the bull, ram, and boar with bristling hair and emphasizes the high quality of work with which the animals are rendered.

> Παλλάδι καὶ M[ούσῃσι[30] μά]λ᾽ εὐ|πλοκάμοισι Τύχ[η τε]
> Φοίβῳ τε Ἀπόλ[λωνι καὶ] Ἑρ|μῇ Μαιάδος υ[ἱεῖ]
> αὐτῷ σὺν βω[μῷ Κράτ]εροs | καὶ τοῦδε φίλ[ος παῖς]
> ταῦρον τε κρει[ό]ν | τε ἠδὲ φριξ[α]ύχε|να κάπρον
> λεπτῇσιν λ[ιθ]ά|δεσι συ[να]ρμός|σαντες [ἔθ]ηκαν,

[27] Scholtz 2021, 342.

[28] Daux 1963, 636. For an alternate version of the translation, please see *SEG* XIX 408-409. Skala. Carmina in Musivo Scripta, in. s. IIIp or Dunbabin and Dickie 1983.

[29] All translations have been made by N. Vellidis unless otherwise noted.

[30] See Scholtz 2021 for a discussion on the possibility of M[ούσῃσι] (muses) being M[οίρῃσι] (fates).

τέχνης δαιδαλέ|ης ἀναθήματα | καὶ μερόπεσσιν
εἰκόνας εὐσεβί|ης ἐσορᾶν, ἧς λώ|ϊον οὐδέν.[31]

For Pallas (Athena), for the Muses with exceedingly beautiful hair, for Tyche, for Phoebus Apollo, and for Hermes son of Maia. Here, with an altar, Krateros and his dear son have laid a bull, a ram, and a boar with bristling hair; and by fitting together small stones (have placed) votive offerings of a cunning skill and an image of reverence to the gods, of which for mortals nothing is more desirable to look upon.

MOSAIC SIGNATURES

The figure of Krateros has been a source of debate among scholars. This name, fairly common in Greece, is mentioned once in each mosaic inscription. In the Envy Mosaic ἣν Κρατερος θήκατο λαϊνέην and in the Altar Mosaic Κράτ]ερος | καὶ τοῦδε φίλ[ος παῖς]. With the evidence of a third inscription in the Fragmentary Mosaic, and based on the patterns set by the Envy and Altar Mosaics, there may have been another mention of Krateros in this inscription.

Initially, the name was identified by Kallipolitis as an artist's signature, a notion with which other scholars initially agreed.[32] Michael Donderer, in his monograph discussing the social standing and signatures of ancient mosaicists, pushes back against this notion, positing that Krateros was instead the name of the villa owner, citing specifically the length of the inscriptions and the frequency of the name being mentioned.[33] Katherine Dunbabin, Alexandra Kankleit, and Elisabeth Rathmayr and Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail also argue for the identification of Krateros as patron.[34] Scholtz also favors an identification of Krateros as patron as does Luz Neira-Jimenez.[35] The identification of Krateros as the patron and not the mosaicist is certainly the majority. However, the fact that there is debate,

[31] Daux 1963, 636. For an alternate version of the translation, please see *SEG* XIX 408-409. Skala. Carmina in Musivo Scripta, in. s. IIIp.

[32] Bruneau 1966; Daux 1963. Among others in favor of Krateros as mosaicist, see Daux 1958 and 1963, Hood 1957, Lavagne 1978, Megaw 1962-1963.

[33] Donderer 1989, 126.

[34] Dunbabin 1999, 324; Kankleit 1994, 77-67; Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail 2019.

[35] Neira Jiménez 2014; Scholtz 2021.

even if the debate has trended with the identification of Krateros as patron as of late, indicates that there is something occurring within these inscriptions that is worthwhile to examine.

While not immensely common, signatures of mosaicists are plentiful enough to recognize a distinct style of their composition. From extant evidence, mosaics were usually signed with the name of the artist and with some form of the Greek verb ποιέω ("make, do"), such as ΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΕΠΟΗΣΕΝ from the Stag Hunt Mosaic in Pella, ΣΩΦΙΛΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ from the mosaic of Berenice II in Alexandria.[36] However, Diklah Zohar notes that it is "not always clear" whether ποιέω always refers to the mosaicist or if there are nuances that cause it to indicate the patron.[37] One mosaic, a copy of a famous mosaic from Pergamon, uses the verb ἐργάζομαι ("work at, make") and says ΗΡΑΚΛΙΤΟΣ ΗΡΓΑΣΑΤΟ.[38] Donderer produced a list of words that he believes indicate that an inscription on a mosaic is a signature of the mosaicist. These include γράφειν/γραφή ("draw/paint/drawing"), ἐργάζεσθαι ("work, labor at, make"), ἔργον ("work, deed"), ζωγράφος ("painter"), κονιᾶν ("cover with stucco or whitewash"), μουσιάριος κεντητής ("mosaic worker"), ποεῖν/ποιεῖν ("make, produce"), and ψηφοθέτης ("maker of tessellated pavements").[39] Other common words used – at least in mosaics found in Crete and identified by Rebecca Sweetman – include "ἐψηφοθέτησα (placed the tesserae) … ψηφιῶται (person who worked the mosaic), κυβευταί (person who made the cubes), or τεχνῖται (craftsperson)."[40] Many of these are similar to those indicated by Donderer in form and meaning but are not exact. These illustrate that a wide variety of words can be utilized in mosaic signatures.

With the exception of ζωγράφος and γράφω, none of these "buzz" words appear in the inscriptions of the Skala mosaics. For verbs indicating some sort of making or doing, the inscriptions use συναρμόζω ("fit

[36] Hurwit 2015, 65, 67; Pappalardo 2020, 110.
[37] Zohar 2012, 173.
[38] Hurwit 2015, 68.
[39] Donderer 1989, 15-20.
[40] Sweetman 2013, 117.

or put together") and τίθημι ("put, place, set"). That said, it should be noted that τίθημι finds itself as a root for several mosaic-related terms that are identified as indicators of mosaicist signatures (ψηφοθέτης, "maker of tessellated pavements" and ψηφοθετέω, "to make tessellated pavements"), but is distinct in its isolated form in the Skala Mosaics. The patterns set out by previous signatures do not seem to apply to these inscriptions. Moreover, there was a trend in the Late Antique period – later than when the Skala mosaics date – where owners were identified.[41] However, the identity of the owner was often marked by the verb ἔδωκεν ("donated, gave"), which is not present in either inscription in Skala. It was more commonly used in church environments where the mosaic was a donation.[42] In the absence of such apparent indicators of ownership, Sweetman suggests that the aorist case can point towards an individual as an owner instead of an artist.[43] The verbs used in the Skala inscriptions are overwhelmingly in the aorist – although again, none of these are traditional, as seen in other signatures and inscriptions. It should be noted that a possible explanation for the divergence in vocabulary could partially result from the verse inscriptions and the requirement for words to fit into a specific meter. However, as will be explored below, the unique nature of the inscriptions and the pavements suggest a greater significance in word choice than can be explained by meter alone.

THE IDENTITY OF KRATEROS

The identification of Krateros as a mosaicist seems to be the first and most natural train of thought because, in its most literal sense, that is what the inscriptions say (ἣν Κρατερος θήκα|το λαϊνέην ("which Krateros made of stone") and Κράτ]ερος | καὶ τοῦδε φίλ[ος παῖς] ταῦρον τε κρει[ό]ν | τε ἠδὲ φριξ[α]ύχε|να κάπρον λεπτῇσιν λ[ιθ]ά|δεσι συ[να]ρμός|σαντες [ἔθ]ηκαν, τέχνης δαιδαλέ|ης ἀναθήματα ("Krateros and his dear son have laid a bull, a ram, and a boar with bristling hair; and by fitting together small stones (have

[41] Sweetman 2013, 117.
[42] Sweetman 2013, 117.
[43] Sweetman 2013, 117.

placed) votive offerings of a cunning skill"). Were readers supposed to take this at face value or endow it with meaning beyond what is right in front of them? In the Envy Mosaic inscription, there are two possible mentions of the mosaic making process. The first is γράψε ζωγράφος ("the painter has drawn") and the second ἣν Κρατερος θήκα|το λαϊνέην ("which Krateros made of stone"). As mentioned previously, Donderer marks both ζωγράφος and forms of γράφειν/γραφή as words that indicate a signature.[44] Could this distinction between the painter and Krateros making the image out of stone be an indication into the division of labor in a mosaic workshop?

It is likely that mosaic workshops consisted of a range of individuals who were responsible for various roles within the construction process, with some individuals being extremely specialized.[45] Poulsen mentions a mosaic inscription from Lebanon that specifically designates a painter and a mosaicist, so it is not an impossible scenario to take the inscription literally and assign Krateros the role of mosaicist and an unnamed individual the role of painter who either designed the mosaic in painting form first or who drew the guidelines for the actual mosaic.[46]

Following trends seen in Crete and suggested by Sweetman, the presence of only the name Krateros with no other name attached to it could point to a non-elite artist.[47] However, there was likely a wide range of social statuses for mosaicists that varied throughout the empire.[48] It is unclear how apparent these nuances in the language, such as a single

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[44] Donderer 1989, 15-20.

[45] Poulsen 2012, 132. There was, at least in late antiquity, a distinction between at least four types of mosaicists. These were *pavimentarii, tesserarii, tessellarii,* and *musivarii.* The distinction was further divided by decree in 302 B.C. (Diocletian's Edict) where we are told that there was a pay difference between the *tessellarius* (50 denarii), *musivarius* (60 denarii), and common worker (25 denarii). Poulsen 2012, 129; Schibille 2020, 1.

[46] Poulsen 2012, 132.

[47] Sweetman 2013, 118.

[48] Donderer 1989, 47-49. There is evidence from tomb that shows a *musivarius* was an imperial freedman and mosaic signatures that indicate the individuals making them were slaves. Poulsen 2012, 132.

name or the presence of the aorist case, would have been to ancient viewers. What would have been obvious, however, would be the intent of the signature. If Krateros were a well-known or famous mosaicist, having his work directly attributed to him through the presence of his name would undoubtedly increase the prestige of the villa.[49] Although no other inscriptions bearing the name of Krateros have been discovered, there is some evidence pointing to a mosaic workshop on Kefalonia or the mainland in Nikopolis or Patras.[50] Before continuing, however, it is important to note that the verification of a mosaic workshop is an extensive process that requires very detailed viewing of the available pavements. Although the possibility of a workshop in this area is endlessly interesting, the purpose of this article is not to definitively identify a workshop, only to present it as a possibility. Therefore, the evidence presented here is only a brief overview.

On the island, Georges Daux attributes one of the mosaics discovered in Sami to the Skala mosaics' artist. He writes, "the variety of colors, technique and geometric patterns are reminiscent of the Skala mosaics. They are certainly two contemporary mosaics, works by the same workmen."[51] If not the same artist, it was almost certainly the same workshop. On the island of Kefalonia, specifically from the town of Sami on the eastern coast, there are at least four mosaic pavements that can possibly be attributed to the same workshop.[52] These mosaics all date somewhere in the 2nd to 3rd centuries A.D. and display iconographic similarities to each other and to the mosaics in Skala (Fig. 6). On the mainland in Patras, several mosaics with the same color schemes, geometric patterns, shadowing, and rendering of figures have been discovered and a workshop connection to Kefalonia has been suggested by Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail and Delis, who includes Nikopolis in

[49] Hurwit 2015, 65.

[50] Dellis 2013, 60; Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail 2019, 184, 196.

[51] Daux 1958, 659: "La variété des couleurs, la technique et les motifs géométriques rappellent les mosaïques de Skala… Il s'agit certainement de deux mosaïques contemporaines, œuvres des memes artisans."

[52] These mosaics are currently on display outside of the Archaeological Museum of Sami. See Dellis 2013.

the workshop group.[53] It is very likely that it was only one, or, at the most, two, workshops that supported these areas as it appears that these communities acting independently would not have been able to support a workshop.[54] Therefore, a connection between these areas is almost certain, although it would take considerably more work to identify the center of the workshop. It is likely that the mosaics in these areas come from the same workshop and that the same artist, or artists, made or had a very prominent role in the making of all of them – although it should be noted that if it is difficult to pinpoint a workshop, it is even more challenging to identify an individual artist.[55]

Shelia Campbell provides a list of three stylistic traits that can be used to identify a workshop. These traits include "variations on standard geometric forms," "repeated combinations of geometric forms," and "repeated themes or iconography."[56] Poulsen also emphasizes that a workshop can be identified by looking for certain motifs that they might create often, although since there is an element of popularity of motifs that spans across the empire, this is not always a solid way of identification.[57] It is generally agreed that a detailed examination of the actual formation of the geometric shapes, i.e., the idiosyncrasies in their intricate details that is needed to identify workshops and individual mosaicists. However, as previously stated, that is not the goal of this paper.[58] From a surface examination of the mosaics from Kefalonia, Patras, and Nikopolis, there is a significant pattern of repetition in the combinations of geometric forms that appear in the mosaic pavements. There is also a distinct similarity in the style of figural decoration that is consistent

[53] Dellis 2013; Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail 2019. More mosaics in Patras could be from the same workshop that are mentioned in this section. For an overview of the mosaics in Patras, please see Papapostolou 2009 or Aktypi 2020. For Nikopolis, see Zachos 2008.

[54] Martin 2017, 57; Poulsen 2012, 132.

[55] Campbell 1979, 288.

[56] Campbell 1979, 288.

[57] Poulsen 2012, 129.

[58] Clarke 2006; Martin 2017; Poulsen 2012; Zohar 2012.

throughout these areas as well as the design of the pavement overall, including the spatial layout.

In the mosaics from Sami in Kefalonia, they are overwhelmingly designed so that the central panel (whether figural or decorative) is surrounded by a series of detailed geometric borders as in Skala (Fig. 6).[59] In Patras, three mosaics are of particular interest because of their stylistic and spatial similarities to the Skala mosaics.[60] The Mosaic of the Wine-Press is extremely similar in layout to the Envy Mosaic in design – both spatially and decoratively. The same geometric combination of the cubes in 3D perspective and the crowstep pattern are shown, while in both the Mosaic of the Sacrifice and the Mosaic of the Horae the "intersecting circles and concave squares" pattern is used and in the latter mosaics is paired once again with a crowstep border.[61] In terms of repeated themes or iconography, two of the Patras mosaics depict altars of almost identical form to the Skala mosaic. All are positioned in a

[59] Of course, this is a trend seen throughout Greece and the eastern empire during this time. However, the geometric patterns utilized as borders in these areas are repetitive and designed in a highly distinctive manner.

[60] These are the Mosaic of the Wine-Press (3rd century A.D.), the Mosaic of the Sacrifice (2nd-3rd century A.D.), and the Mosaic of the Horai (2nd-3rd century A.D.). I do not have access to images of the mosaics to reproduce here, so please see Papapostolou 2009 or Aktypi 2020 for images. The Mosaic of the Wine-Press is extremely similar in design to the Envy Mosaic in Skala with a long vertical design with a figural panel in the center. The central panel depicts Pan stomping grapes with two individuals while two more carry baskets and are pouting them into the basin. In the top right corner of the panel, there is a depiction of a theater mask. There is a partially preserved inscription above the figures. The Mosaic of the Sacrifice also possesses a central figural panel that is off-centered. The panel shows an altar with a burning sacrifice on top. The altar is surrounded by a rooster on one side and a goose on the other. Garlands and sacrificial tools are scattered throughout the panel. The Mosaic of the Horae is centered but possesses the same series of geometric borders as the others. In its central figural panel, it shows three women, likely the Horae clasp hands and dance counterclockwise around an altar.

[61] Ovadiah 1980, 21, 23; Papapostolou 2009, 48-50, 50-55, 56-59. I do not have access to images of the mosaics to reproduce here, so please see Papapostolou 2009 for images.

three-quarters view and are square in shape. Notably on the altars of the Altar Mosaic and the Mosaic of the Horae, the representation of a lit flame was created in the same way, namely a squat triangle shape. Additionally, the Mosaic of the Wine-Press finds its match in the Envy Mosaic in layout, geometric design, and presence of inscription. Furthermore, there is consistent use of shadows beneath figures across the pavements. This evidence could be the beginnings of what is needed to identify a "signature," as suggested by Campbell, that can be used to prove the presence of a workshop and, possibly, the hand of a single artist.[62]

With the presence of a workshop being extremely likely, it is interesting that there are not any typical mosaicist signatures that have been discovered. However, this itself is not incriminating evidence against Krateros as mosaicist. It could just be that signatures were not in vogue in this area. There are several examples, however, especially from Patras, of mosaic inscriptions. A majority of these inscriptions appear to be informative labels identifying individuals, but there are at least three (one from Kefalonia and two from Patras) that identify real individuals by name and describe political positions they held and specifically state that they commissioned the pavements.[63] With the exception of one, however, these all hail from public spaces. Therefore, mentions of individuals and especially their political positions not out of place. Howev-

[62] Campbell 1979, 288. To this list of mosaics from a possible workshop, I would add (from Patras) the mosaics from Syssini Street showing fish and poultry (2nd century A.D.), the Triton Mosaic from Nikita Street (3rd century A.D.), the Mosaic of the Caledonian Boar Hunt (3rd century A.D.), the Gladiator Mosaic (3rd century A.D.), the fish mosaic from Londou Street (2nd-3rd century A.D.), the mosaic showing the cyclopes Polyphemus (2nd-3rd century A.D.), the mosaic from Ypsila Alonia showing actors and athletes (2nd-3rd century A.D.), the mosaic of Aphrodite/Venus (2nd-3rd century A.D.), the Mosaic of the Hunt (2nd century A.D.). For a continuation of the same workshop at a later time than the Skala mosaics, I would suggest the Nile Mosaic from Kanakari Street (Patras, 3rd-4th century A.D.) and the mosaics from the House of Manius Antoninus (Nikopolis, 3rd-4th century A.D.). See Papapostolou 2009 and Zachos 2008.

[63] Aktypi 2020, 129-130, 133-134; Dellis 2013, 56; Papapostolou 2009, 50-55.

er, the two mentions of Krateros without any specific mention of a political association, being located within a private space, and an emphasis on the skill and techniques used in the mosaics could point to an elaborate signature. If he is the artist, it is a rare example of an artist making themselves very present in the domestic space, which is not usually seen. It adds to the lux appeal and prestige of the mosaics – if the owners allowed such a presence, it certainly was for a good reason.

On the other hand, the identification of Krateros as the owner comes with its own case of convincing evidence. If these mosaics are pieces from a more expansive, accomplished, and well-known workshop, why do none of the other mosaics possess any type of signature from the artist? The owner could have specifically requested it for these mosaics while others did not. Still, the praise of skill seen in the inscriptions seems too flattering for others not to have wanted the prestige that would have come with identifying the artist. However, the most significant evidence pointing towards the identity of Krateros as the owner comes from the number of times his name appears in the inscriptions. His name is mentioned twice, with the possibility of a third mention in the Fragmentary Mosaic's lost inscription. His son is also mentioned – something that has not been seen in other signatures. One mention of the mosaicist shows prestige and luxury, but two mentions and the inclusion of a family member suggest a familiarity not allowed to an outside artist. Additionally, the same evidence utilized in the argument for Krateros as mosaicist in a recorded division of labor (ζωγράφος and γράφειν/γραφή) could be used to signify a distinct break from the workshop (γράψε ζωγράφος) and the patron (ἦν Κρατερος θήκα|το λαϊνέην) who made the image of stone not literally, but by commissioning it.

Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail believe they have identified the figure of Krateros from a temporally compatible inscription from Olympia that mentions the figure Lucius Pompeius Krateros Cassianus and his son Publius Egnatius Maximus Venustinus.[64] While the single name could point to a non-elite artist, it could also point to an individual go-

[64] Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail 2019, 196.

ing by only his cognomen in his home while "it was obligatory in the honorary inscription of the public realm that he was addressed with his full name."[65] This is not certain, but the temporally compatible inscriptions point to the existence of at least one individual with this name in the area of Kefalonia and should not be discounted. The lack of direct comparisons to the iconography of Phthonos supports this claim further, as it is commonly accepted that departures from "stock scenes used more commonly … imply that owners were closely involved in choosing particular designs and they asked for special motifs which were not part of the usual repertoire."[66] A desire to personalize the mosaics in this way could point to Krateros being the owner of the villa.

There is a third possibility: that of Krateros being both artist and owner, or something similar. Perhaps such strong evidence can be produced for both cases of identification because Krateros was a master mosaicist who provided the pavements for his own dwelling. The syntax of the inscriptions, the probable presence of a workshop in the area, and the personalization of the iconography (a unique form of Phthonos and sacrificial scene likely showing Krateros and his son) support this. Campbell notes the existence of itinerant mosaicists, who travelled without a home base, so, while slightly different in this case, it is not out of the realms of possibility that a craftsman such as Krateros could have lived in Kefalonia but belonged to a workshop in Patras, which is approximately 86 km away on the mainland, or vice versa.[67] Métraux highlights a trend in the late antique period of owners of villas moving away from contracting out work and "know, do, and supervise everything [themselves]."[68] This could perhaps be a rather extreme case of that, where the owner already possessed the necessary skills for the construction of the pavements and followed the broad trend of providing in-house work. Luz Neira Jiménez ponders whether the mention of Krateros' son could indicate a trend that appeared in the late 3rd and 4th

[65] Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail 2019, 196.
[66] Nevett 2010, 127.
[67] Campbell 1979, 288.
[68] Métraux 2018, 405.

centuries A.D.[69] This trend shows a desire on behalf of the craftsmen to document the work of the workshop as a whole and highlights crafts being passed down to the children of artisans.[70] Although she ultimately rejects the idea, this could be an important element to the inscription. There is evidence, both from mosaic and funerary inscriptions, that illustrate it was common for workshops to be family businesses, with the father training their sons in the craft.[71] Conceivably Krateros had other family members, likely a wife and other children as well. However, the decision was made to only include a mention of his son in the Altar Mosaic inscription.[72] This decision could have been motivated by the fact that Krateros was training his son to be a mosaicist and therefore decided to commemorate their joint effort in the pavement.

The discovery of the possible full name of Krateros by Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail does not necessarily negate this workshop connection. If the Krateros they have identified from the monument in Olympia is the same Krateros that is named in the mosaic, it would be likely that he occupied a privileged status in the ancient world. As previously mentioned, mosaicists seem to have come from a wide range of economic backgrounds. I do not believe there is any reason why Krateros could not have been a privileged individual and a mosaicist, but there is another option. J. Becker, C. Kondoleon, and Zohar present evidence that the head of a workshop could have been a business person responsible for the organization and original financing of the workshop and not actually the individual placing the tesserae.[73] If this was the case for Krateros, this could explain why his name is found outside of Kefalonia

[69] Neira Jiménez 2014, 79.

[70] Neira Jiménez 2014, 79.

[71] Poulsen 2012, 131; Zohar 2012, 173: funerary inscription from Perinthos (2nd century A.D.), mosaic inscriptions in Beth Shean and Beth Alpha (6th century A.D.), funerary inscription from Beneventum, mosaic inscription from Umm al-Rasas (8th century A.D.), mosaic inscriptions at Kefar Kana and Sepphoris (4th century A.D.), mosaic inscriptions Zahrani (6th century A.D.), mosaic inscription at Palymra (3rd century A.D.).

[72] Of course, there is the Fragmentary Mosaic in the villa which could possibly contain mentions of other family members.

[73] Zohar 2012, 171.

in a privileged area and why the inscriptions are written in verse, which would presumably have required a "classical" education.

Both scenarios (Krateros as actual mosaicist or Krateros as owner of the workshop) could explain the personalization and the knowledge displayed within the inscriptions to the inner workings of the mosaic-making process. Specifically, in the Altar Mosaic, the actions of Krateros and his son are described using the verb συναρμόζω ("fit together, put together, join together") on the λεπτῆσιν λιθάδεσι ("small stones"), seemingly speaking to the technique of making a mosaic which, of course, is a collection of small, individual tesserae that come together to form a larger image. The inscription also uses the aorist form of the verb τίθημι (ἔθηκαν, "place, put, lay"). Although this is not the most commonly used word concerning the construction of mosaics when used in isolation – again, it is notably present in ψηφοθέτης ("maker of tessellated pavements") and ψηφοθετέω ("to make tessellated pavements") – there is another instance noted in a papyrus fragment from the mid-3rd century B.C., which reads:

> ... θήσει δὲ καὶ
> [ἐν] τῆι προς[τ]άδι τὴν πρὸς τῶι
> [ἀν]δρείωι [θόλω]ι τῆι αὐτῆι λέ[ξ]ει.[74]
>
> He will lay in the porch of the women's room the same
> arrangement of pebbles as in the porch of the men's room.[75]

Although separated in chronological terms, this papyrus fragment provides an account for future mosaic plans where the physical act of putting a mosaic in a space is referred to with the future form of the verb τίθημι. The use of τίθημι, and by extension συναρμόζω, may be terms used by actual mosaicists in the context of their work, while the others previously discussed represent words that were used for an audience on non-mosaicists – a layman's term of sorts. Since Krateros is taking up a unique position of being the individual in charge of creating the pavements in a space that he also owned, he had greater freedom to use the vocabulary of a mosaicist without worrying about the individu-

[74] P. Cairo Zeno 59 665.

[75] Koenen 1971, 277.

als he was commissioned by not understanding. These words would signify an intricate understanding of the work and portray an image of Krateros as a master craftsman.

Returning briefly to the discussion of the probable mosaic workshop in Kefalonia, Patras, and Nikopolis and the three previously mentioned inscriptions (one from Kefalonia and two from Patras) that identify real individuals by name and detail their political gains and positions.[76] The previously mentioned Mosaic of the Wine-Press possesses an inscription that names two individuals.[77] The names are either Theodoros (or Diodoros) and Statianitas, and they are noted to have funded the building of the building mentioned in the inscription.[78] Another mosaic from Patras names Neikostratos and cites his position as an *oikonomos* (οἰκονόμος) and *agoranomos* (ἀγορανόμος).[79] The inscription from Kefalonia was discovered in a bath complex in Sami in 2008 and dating to the Imperial Period.[80] Although incomplete, it shows the Dionysus (Enthusiastic Dionysus) surrounded by geometric borders similar to those in Skala and with an inscription above the god. The inscription is likely naming the procurator of the baths, as evidenced by the noun ἐπιτρέπω being present.

These three inscriptions are similar in structure to each other but are different from the Skala inscriptions in length, vocabulary, meter, and individuals named. These differences in otherwise aesthetically similar pavements could point towards the identity of Krateros as the mosaicist and owner of the house, as the meter, vocabulary, and length found in the Skala Inscriptions are not repeated in these mosaics. Additionally, the reading of Krateros as mosaicist and owner provides a greater understanding of why the gods mentioned in the Altar Inscription are present. It could be a connection to the verse – which is valid to some extent – but it could also be a connection to Krateros' role in the world. If he was a mosaicist – and a cunningly skilled one at that (τέχνης δαιδαλέης) – then

[76] Aktypi 2020, 129-130, 133-134; Dellis 2013, 56; Papapostolou 2009, 50-55.
[77] For the entire inscription, see Papapostolou 2004–2009.
[78] Papapostolou 2009, 54.
[79] Goodrich 2010, 108-112.
[80] Dellis 2013, 56.

the presence of deities that rule over skill and craftsmanship aligns with the image that he is portraying through the pavements.

Additionally, although not the focus of this article, the spatial elements of the mosaic pavements within the built environment indicate that there was equal, if not more, care placed into the visual and spatial setup of the mosaics. The Altar Mosaic, with the registers placed in different orientations and geometric patterns encouraging the viewer to move to the right and causing a viewer to circumnavigate the mosaic in order to view all of the registers correctly, was designed to imitate the circular movement of the *suovetaurilia*. The central panel Envy Mosaic was placed seven steps into the hall, once again with motion being encouraged by the geometric patterns, causing the viewer to have to venture into the house to see the image and read the inscription. The panel was placed in a portion of the hall where there were no windows. This, paired with the horrifying imagery and warning message, would have created a sense of being trapped – a very purposeful placement for a very purposeful warning mosaic. Regardless of if the mosaicist can be identified as Krateros or not, the expert placement of the pavements indicates a mosaicist with great knowledge and foresight – and seemingly control over every aspect of the pavement.

CONCLUSION

Mosaicist signatures continue to be a source of great insight into a sector of the ancient world that was rarely documented in detail. They provide names of individuals that would have otherwise been lost, details of the distribution of labor, and, occasionally, present modern-day viewers with an explanation for the unique elements of a pavement. There is something distinctive happening in this pavement. The syntax, the mentioning of Krateros (twice) and his son, and the design of the pavements all indicate that there was an immense level of care that went into these mosaics and this villa space. These inscriptions do not fit the pattern of what has been seen in this area.

If Krateros is both the mosaicist and owner, the identification could provide a glimpse into the lives of master artists not seen up to this point. Of course, this is just a possibility. However, the iconography, the inscriptions, and the level of personalization do not find parallels in the

extant evidence in or around Kefalonia or the wider ancient world. Krateros makes himself extremely visible and prominent throughout the mosaics, something that would have been unlikely for an artist, even a prestigious one, to have done in someone else's domain. An identification of Krateros as the owner and nothing more does not explain the level of knowledge about mosaic making process that the unique choices in vocabulary indicate. It is a possibility, of course, that Krateros was the patron and simply possessed a specific interest and a more-than-average knowledge about the mosaic making process. However, there are elements that indicate a more intimate, vocational knowledge of the process.

Although not discussed in depth in this article, the liberty taken with the composition of the mosaics (unique form of Phthonos and the inclusion of Krateros and his son in the figural decoration of the Altar Mosaic) and the manipulation of the physical space that the mosaics are placed within suggest an individual with more knowledge than a patron, even one with specific desires in mind. Whether Krateros inhabited this villa while still a master mosaicist and travelled around Kefalonia or to the mainland to work using the villa as a home base, or whether he worked as a truly itinerant mosaicist and settled in Kefalonia after making a significant amount of money is still unknown. Several routes could have led Krateros to own this villa and create these mosaics. As mentioned previously, there was likely a wide range of individuals who were mosaicists and, therefore, a wide range of possibilities for how Krateros came to create a pavement for this home. Regardless of if Krateros was likely the mosaicist and the owner or just one or the other, his message is this: "this is luxury, this is wealth, this is being blessed by the gods – and this was made by me."

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Figure 1. The interior rooms of the villa.[81]

Figure 2. Envy Mosaic in the entry hall and detail of the central panel.

[81] All photographs have been taken by the author.

Figure 3. Altar Mosaic in the entry hall and detail of the top register of the central panel.

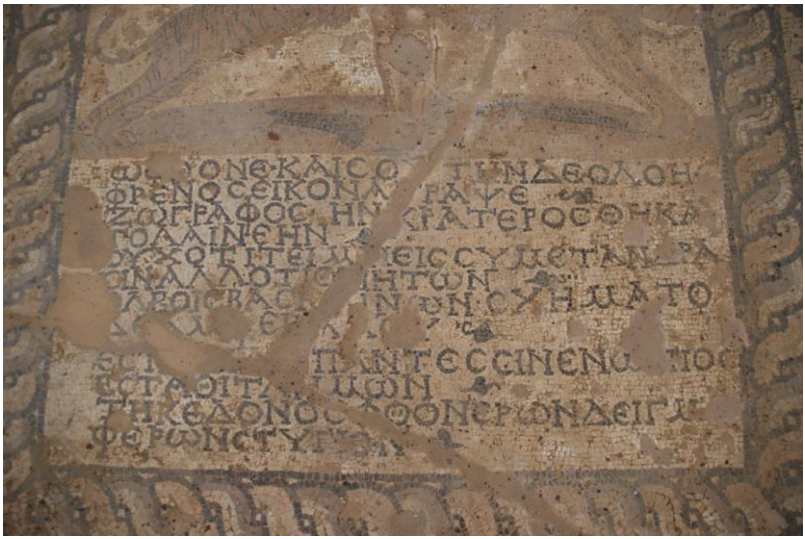

Figure 4. Inscription of the Envy Mosaic.

Figure 5. Inscription of the Altar Mosaic.

Figure 6. Mosaics from Sami (L-R): Karalis Plot (2nd-3rd century A.D.), Bath Complex (2nd-3rd century A.D.), Dichalion Street Building (3rd century A.D.), Bath Complex in the area of Constantatos Square (2nd-3rd century A.D.).

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PUBLISHING HOUSE "LOGOS"

CATALOGUE 2023

CAUCASUS ANTIQUUS – A NEW SPECIALIZED ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ANCIENT STUDIES IN GEORGIAN

Contacts between the Greek and Roman world and the Caucasus have been one of the focal areas of study for Georgian scholars. Almost all prominent Georgian scholars (Simon Kaukhchishvili, Tinatin Kaukhchishvili, Akaki Urushadze, Alexandre Gamkrelidze, Natela Kechakmadze, Otar Lordkipanidze, Niko Lomouri, Teimuraz Mikeladze, and others) contributed to creating an extensive body of Georgian translations of ancient sources with scholarly commentary. An important step towards the study of Ancient Caucasus was the well-known Russian scholar's, V. V. Latyshev's *Scythica et Caucasica e veteribus scriptoribus Graecis et Latinis* (1890-1906) (*SC*). Its two volumes were devoted to Greek and Roman sources respectively, both being supplemented with parallel Russian translations. In 1947-1949, the Russian translations, without the source texts, were republished together with extensive and profound commentaries in the journal *Вестник древней истории (VDI)*.

A quick look at ancient sources suffices to notice how comprehensively the Caucasus is covered in the works of Greek and Roman authors. It was in Antiquity that the Caucasus first appeared on the historical scene as a region prominent in many ways, and as Pliny (*HN* 6.12) described it, "one of the most famous tracts upon the face of the earth." After the Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies was established in the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University in 1997, the abundance of issues around the Caucasus, whether already explored or underexplored, prompted Georgian researchers to advance the study of Ancient Caucasus to a new level in the 21st century, for the benefit of Classical, Georgian and Caucasian studies. After consultations with Georgian and foreign colleagues, it was decided to start working towards creating an encyclopaedia *Caucasus Antiquus*, which would prepare the foundation for the comprehensive study of the questions of our interest.

A number of methodological issues needed to be defined before starting the project:

(a) *The geographical scope of the encyclopaedia*

It was decided to focus on the area covered by the modern-day concept of the Caucasian region, as well as the adjacent territories where there is evidence of the spread of Caucasian peoples in antiquity. These territories include: the south-eastern part of the Black Sea littoral, where Kartvelian tribes prevailed; Anatolian regions covered by the concept "Armenia"; western and south-western parts of the Caspian Sea littoral inhabited by the Caucasian Albans; the area to the north up to the Tanais river (the modern-day Don) and even parts of the Bosporan Kingdom. Naturally, the primary focus was on the areas of the North, Central and South Caucasus.

(b) *Chronological boundaries*

It was decided that the historical timeline covered by the project would span from the beginning of the recorded history of the Caucasus, i.e. the period when Caucasian tribes first appeared in written sources – which in our opinion is no earlier than the 2nd millennium B.C. – to the 5th century A.D., or the first half of the 6th century in exceptional cases. In this regard, we were mostly guided by Latyshev's *SC*.

The initial version of the encyclopaedia was thought to be published in three volumes: the first to be devoted to primary sources and the second and third – to encyclopaedic articles. The first volume, with four sections, came out in 2010. A research grant obtained from the Rustaveli National Science Foundation, and the standing support from the TSU Faculty of the Humanities were crucial for the commencement of the project. In the volume devoted to primary sources, the first section presents Georgian translations of ancient Near Eastern texts – Hittite, Assyrian, Urartian, and Persian, while the second and third sections contain Greek and Latin texts respectively, both provided with parallel Georgian versions, and the fourth section comprises Georgian translations of some biblical texts. In all sections, we used the existing Georgian translations with some revisions. Where a Georgian version was not available, the translation was provided by the project participants. We assumed that some of the sources could escape our attention. As not all Greek and Latin inscrip-

tions related to the Caucasus and found on the territory in question or beyond it could be accessible for us during the project period, we plan to publish them in an additional volume. We tried to make our list of selected sources as exhaustive as possible, excluding only those texts that quote or paraphrase the authors already selected, as well as Byzantine commentaries on ancient authors, with a few exceptions. Each Greek and Latin text is cited from the critical edition which we found the best. As each Caucasus-related term is discussed in a separate article, the translations are not provided with notes except when there are different readings of the same text. We owe the reader an apology for not being able to maintain a uniform approach in rendering proper names into Georgian. The diversity is mainly due to the different principles the translators of the sources had been guided by.

As the first volume sold out shortly after publication, receiving broad critical acclaim and most valuable feedback, we immediately sat down to its second revised and extended edition. In 2022, with the support of the Center for Kartvelian Studies at the Patriarchate of Georgia, readers were presented with an updated and significantly extended second edition, which unlike the first, was supplemented with the complete Index of Names.

After the list of encyclopaedic entries was updated and completed, it became clear that the previously planned two volumes would not suffice to contain all of the articles, as the number of the entries almost approached 3 000. Therefore, we decided to divide the articles into three volumes and five sections, to be prepared according to the following timeline: 2014 – II.1 ა, 2016 – II.2 ბ-ი, 2018 – III კ, 2020 – IV.1 ლ-რ, 2021 – IV.2 ს-ჰ. Each article contains from 100-200 to 40 000 or more characters, depending on its subject matter.

After fulfilling our goals, we saw the need to add one more volume to the encyclopaedia, to be devoted to maps and illustrations of archeological sites and artefacts related to the ancient Caucasus. The fifth and final volume was published in 2023, in cooperation with the Center for Kartvelian Studies at the Patriarchate of Georgia. With 26 maps of different types and illustrations of 36 archeological sites and artefacts, the volume presents the hitherto amplest visual coverage of the ancient Caucasus. The accomplish-

ment of this challenging task was made possible thanks to the collegial support from: Acad. Revaz Gachechiladze, Tamar Chichinadze, a researcher at the TSU Vakhushti Bagrationi Institute of Geography, Giorgi Cheishvili, Director of the TSU Ivane Javakhishvili Institute of History, Prof. Guram Kipiani, Dr. Madona Mshvildadze, and Prof. Vakhtang Licheli.

I also highly appreciate the efforts of the personnel of the TSU Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, who were involved in the compilation and publication of the encyclopaedia, especially, my co-editors, Maia Danelia and Giorgi Ugulava, and members of the editorial team: Ekaterine Kvirkvelia, Tamar Japaridze and Nino Dianosashvili.

Now that the complete edition of the encyclopaedia has been published, we have started working on the digital edition of the encyclopaedia, which will significantly expand its readership.

Rismag Gordeziani

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