

## THE MEDUSA OF BEROEA: A HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION\*

ARGYRO B. TATAKI

One of the main conclusions of the fundamental article on Beroea written by Ch. Edson about 55 years ago was that it was the native city of Antigonos I Monophthalmos, the founder of the house of the Antigonids.<sup>1</sup> This accounted for the increase in the importance of the city, inferred by Edson from a comparison of the number of named Macedonians for whom Beroea is attested as their place of origin with those originating from other Macedonian cities; by the time of Perseus the most important known Macedonians were from Beroea.<sup>2</sup> This connection of Antigonos and his successors with the city was not accepted by P. Briant in his monograph on the subject published in 1973.<sup>3</sup>

Our knowledge of this very important Macedonian city, second only to Pella during the Hellenistic period and only to Thessalonike under the Romans, has been greatly increased since the time of Edson's research, thanks mainly to the large number of inscriptions discovered during almost five decades of rescue excavations. My study on Beroea justifies Edson's conclusions and gives further proof of the importance of the city.<sup>4</sup> The study of the prosopography of Beroea shows that the special connections of the Antigonids with the city contributed to the formation of the local aristocracy, part of which was bound by ties of kinship to the royal family. The activi-

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\* For the special abbreviations used in this paper see p. 259.

1. Ch. Edson, 'The Antigonids, Heracles and Beroea', *HSCP* 45 (1934) 241.

2. *Op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1) 235.

3. P. Briant, *Antigone le Borgne* (Paris 1973) 17-19 and n.3 on p. 19.

4. Tataki 71, 420-24.

ties for which most of them are known took place outside the city and were connected with state affairs of great moment.<sup>5</sup>

The quality of the local sculpture should also be associated with the special ties of the dynasty with Beroea; naturally some of its members must have shown an interest in adorning their native city with works of art. Although most of the important works of this period were no doubt made of bronze, the abundance of good quality marble in the vicinity of the city certainly contributed to the creation or imitation of works of high standing and to the formation of an outstanding local workshop.

The only work of art by which Beroea has so far found its way even into concise studies of ancient Greek art is the *Kore* of Beroea now in Munich; the height of this graceful young woman, made of bronze, is only 0,25 m. and until quite recently it was usually dated to the last part of the 5th cent. B.C.<sup>6</sup>

The loss of large-scale works means that the achievement of the local production during the Hellenistic period has so far been deduced mainly from a few funerary monuments and a number of inscribed statue bases. One of the earliest examples, the stele of Ἀδέα Κασσάνδρου, shows originality in its composition; it is dated in the 3rd cent. B.C.<sup>7</sup>

Of a series of fine reliefs dating from the end of the 2nd to the 1st cent. B.C. the best is the stele of Πατερῖνος Ἀντιγόνου; it measures 2,205 m. in height of which the relief occupies less than 1/5.<sup>8</sup> Most of the other stelae of this time show the repetition of the same favorite elements though in a way that does not make them ordinary.<sup>9</sup>

5. Tataki 420-24.

6. See e.g. Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque* II (Paris 1939) 707 and n. 6, fig. 286, Richter 34, fig. 45; it is characterized as Hellenistic by J. Charbonneau, *Les bronzes grecs* (Paris 1958) 109, pl. 32,1 and Fuchs 240, figs 259, 260. For other interpretations or extended treatment of the subject see W. H. Schuchhard, 'Das badende Mädchen', *Die Antike* 12 (Berlin 1936) 84-106, G. Bakalakis, 'Ἡ κόρη τῆς Βεροίας' *Makedonikon Hemerologion* 1953, 217-20, A. Greifenhagen, *Das Mädchen von Beröa* ('Opus Nobile' 9; Bremen 1958), G.N. Chionides, *Ἱστορία τῆς Βεροίας* I (Beroea 1960) 134-36.

7. M. Karamanoli-Siganidou, *Deltion* 18(1963) *Chronika* 233, pl. 265a; Tataki 85 no 26, pl. I; see also B. Schmaltz, *Griechische Grabreliefs* ('Erträge der Forschung' 192; Darmstadt 1983) 224 and n. 524.

8. See the publication of this stele by I. Touratsoglou, 'Πατερῖνος Ἀντιγόνου, ἥρωος. Ὑστεροελληνιστικὴ στήλη ἀπὸ τὴν Βέροια', *Κέρνος: Τιμητικὴ προσφορά στὸν καθηγητὴ Γεώργιο Μπακαλάκη* (Thessalonike 1972) 153-59 pls 44-45; cf. Schmaltz, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 7) 226 and n. 531 and Tataki 249-50 nos 1043, 452.

9. Most of the relief funerary stelae of this time are not published or they are

None of the sculptures discovered in Beroea has the signature of a sculptor. However, the fact that of the few named sculptors known in Macedonia in general<sup>10</sup> two were Beroeans is an indication of the quality and fame of the local workshop; their names Εὔανδρος Εὐάνδρου, and Ἄδυμος Εὐάνδρου show a family continuity, though, as the dating of their works indicates, they were not father and son, but cover at least three generations and probably, in view of the patronymic of Εὔανδρος, four.<sup>11</sup> These two Beroeans are known from works they signed in Thessaly, at Idomenae and at Lete.<sup>12</sup> The stele of Πατερῖνος Ἀντιγόνου is in the same tradition with the relief found in Lete and is probably a work by the father of Εὔανδρος,<sup>13</sup> while Εὔανδρος Εὐάνδρου is probably connected, according to Andronikos, with the portrait of a man in the Thessalonike Archaeological Museum.<sup>14</sup>

Many spectacular finds of great historical importance of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods have been unearthed in Macedonia during the last decades, to mention only those from Vergina, Pella and Derveni.<sup>15</sup> They show that there is still much to be learned about the past of Northern Greece into which research began much later than in the south; one of the reasons for this delay is that the

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- published without a photograph; for the list of the more or less known examples see Tataki 500 n. 428 and pls II, III; see also M. Andronikos, *Ἀρχαῖαι ἐπιγραφαὶ Βεροίας* (Thessalonike 1950) 30-32 no 8, pl. III, 3, J. M. R. Cormack, 'Unpublished Inscriptions from Beroea', *BSA* 39 (1938/39) 94 no 1, 95-96 no 6, 96-97 no 7, pl. 30, 1, 6, 7 and Schmalz *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 7) 223-24 and n. 522; for a contemporary, quite different work and relevant bibliography cf. Helene Trakosopoulou - Salakidou, 'Ἐπιτάφια στήλη ἀπὸ τὸν Κολινδρὸ Πιερίας', *Makedonika* 24 (1984) 154-66.
10. M. Andronikos, 'Portrait de l'ère républicaine au Musée de Thessalonike', *Mon Piot* 51 (1960) 51-52; Kanatsoulis, *MP* nos 349, 481, and Kanatsoulis, *MP Suppl.* nos 1526, 1779.
  11. Touratsoglou, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8) 159 and n. 23; Tataki 85-86 no 32, 154 no 469, 452.
  12. See mainly: P.R. Franke, 'Θεσσαλικά', *RhM* 101 (1958) 336-37, B. Josifovska, 'Inscription grecque avec la signature de l'artiste Ἄδυμος Εὐάνδρου' (in Serbian with a summary in French), *ZAnt* 8 (1958) 295-300, A. Rüsck, 'Kaiserzeitliche Porträt in Makedonien', *Jdl* 84 (1969) 182-84, figs 97a, b; see also A. Linfert, *Kunstzentren Hellenistischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1976) 129 pl. 60.
  13. Touratsoglou, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8) 159 nn. 22-23.
  14. See Andronikos, *ibid.* (*supra* n. 10).
  15. See Andronikos 1984; see also J. Touratsoglou, 'Art in the Hellenistic Period' in M. B. Sakellariou (ed.), *Macedonia: 4000 years of Greek History and Civilization* (Athens 1983) 170-191 and 537-38, for bibliography and a comprehensive presentation.

north became a part of the modern Greek state at a considerably later time.

It is not only the Macedonian soil however that still holds some of its secrets; the Macedonian Museums – and surprisingly enough not only in what they hide in their storerooms – are rich in unpublished works of great historical importance. Certainly the most impressive piece of sculpture from Beroea is the colossal head of Medusa which stands in the garden of the Archaeological Museum of the city (fig. 1). It came to light 46 years ago and is still practically unpublished.<sup>16</sup> It was found N or NW of the centre of the modern city at the point where the road to Naoussa meets the railway station, 100 m. to the NW of the site of the first excavation to be conducted in the city, in 1940, that of a cemetery, under the direction of N. Kotzias.<sup>17</sup> The Medusa head was found by chance near a tower of the city's enceinte wall into which architectural members of the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders were incorporated; according to the excavator these came from buildings of the Agora of the city.<sup>18</sup>

In the first reports the principal measurement of the head, the height, was given; the work was assigned to the Roman period and the possibility was suggested that it was placed as an apotropaic symbol above a gate of the wall. Later the Medusa was mentioned by Ph. Petsas in two articles on Beroea, where it is characterized as Hellenistic and as probably the most notable carving to come from the city.<sup>19</sup>

More recently the Beroean Medusa was briefly dealt with by Janer Danforth Belson in her Ph.D. dissertation, where a description and more detailed measurements are given and its function as a wall decoration in the enceinte of Beroea is discussed;<sup>20</sup> Belson gives it a Roman date and although she refers to the Gorgoneion of the 6th cent. B.C. embellishing the fortification wall of Thasos, she concludes that 'the practice of decorating gateways with heads of the

16. Ch. Makaronas, 'Χρονικά Ἀρχαιολογικά', *Makedonika* 2 (1941-52) 627-28 nos 61-62; *BCH* 68-69 (1944/45) 431. Beroea Museum no. 340; see also *infra* nn. 19-22.

17. Makaronas, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 16) 626-28 nos 60-63; N. Kotzias, 'Ανασκαφαὶ Βεροίας καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐρήματα', *ArchEph* 1953/54 III 167-75.

18. Makaronas, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 16) 627 no 61.

19. Ph. Petsas, s.v. Veria, *EAA* 7 (1966) 1135-36; *id.*, s.v. Beroia, *PECS* (1976) 150-151; I want to express my gratitude to Prof. Petsas for his assistance in getting permission to publish this head.

20. Belson 1981, no 34 and pp. 33, 44, 46.

Medusa is more common in Italy during the Roman period', and suggests that 'this Roman custom probably influenced the choice of the Medusa as a sculptural decoration on the Veroia gate'.<sup>21</sup>

The only photograph of the head so far published was in a daily newspaper of Thessalonike;<sup>22</sup> it can also be discerned in a photograph showing the Museum's courtyard published in the *Archaio-logikon Deltion*.<sup>23</sup>

The Medusa head carved in extremely high relief measures 1,63 m. in height and the preserved maximum width is 1,10 m.; part of the left side is missing: had it been complete it would have been 1,40 m. The side view shows that the back was hollowed out to a maximum depth of 0,30 m. and a height of 0,96 m., in order to make the piece lighter (fig. 2). The maximum depth of the figure is 0,69 m. The length of the right eye-socket, that is fully preserved, is 0,20 m. and that of the mouth 0,34 m.

This colossal head as far as I was able to ascertain is the largest to survive in Greece from antiquity. As is well known colossal statuary has a long history in Greek art from Archaic to Hellenistic times. At least from the beginning of the Classical period however larger than life-sized works were usually executed in bronze;<sup>24</sup> almost all these works have perished because the amount of metal required for their construction made them too valuable to be forgotten somewhere and consequently buried. Of the oversized sculptures in stone that have survived our Medusa can be compared with the head of Alexander from Pergamon, a copy of probably a larger work<sup>25</sup> and the head of Helios in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes.<sup>26</sup> It shows a closer

21. Belson 1981 33; also in the Roman period and more specifically in the 2nd cent. A.D. is dated by O. Paoletti, s.v. Gorgones Romanae, *LIMC* 4,1 (1988) 349 no 40; he is referring to D. Willers, in *Antiken aus rheinischen Privatbesitz* (Bonn 1973) 237 no 387, pl. 175 where comparisons are made to the Beroean Medusa and also to the ones of Ephesos and Didyma. I do not see any similarity between the Medusa presented by Willers and the one from Beroea; as it will be shown in the rest of this article I believe that the latter is a unique piece and in many respects very distant from the Roman examples.

22. Ph. Petsas, 'Βέροια: ιστορία και μνημεία', *Hellenikos Vorras* 12/12/1976.

23. *Deltion* 25 (1970) pl. 317 a.

24. See e.g. J. Charbonneaux - A. Martin - F. Villard, *Grèce classique (480-330 avant J.C.)* (Paris 1969) 102; Richer 114-15.

25. Now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. F. Winter, *Altentümer von Pergamon* VII, 1 (Berlin 1908) 147-49 no 131, pl. 33; Bieber 120, fig. 455; Fuchs 570-71, fig. 696; Margaret Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art* (Chicago 1964) 63-64, figs 71, 72a,b. Height 0,41 m.

26. Contemporary to the previous one: Fuchs 570-71, fig. 697, Charbonneaux et al.

similarity with the head of Zeus from Aigeira, a work by Euclides of disputed date, now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens;<sup>27</sup> the inlaid eyes but more so the size of this work bring it closer to our Medusa, although her height is almost double than that of the head of Zeus.<sup>28</sup>

The size is certainly not the only impressive feature of this beautifully worked head which rightly deserves a place in the history of Greek art. I do not think that it is necessary to expose here the history of Greek Gorgoneion. It is well known that the finest example after the recreation of the subject is the Medusa Rondanini, a copy of a 5th cent. original.<sup>29</sup> There is no general agreement either on the date of or on the creator of this new image of the subject<sup>30</sup> but there is no reason to elaborate that aspect of the topic here. My study of Buschor's basic work on the subject and my examination of the series of Medusas of the 'beautiful type' illustrated and discussed in this work led me to the conclusion that the Beroean example does not follow any of the variations given<sup>31</sup>.

What we have here is the Medusa head with really beautiful, undistorted features; she is identified by a Heracleian knot of oversimplified snakes that look like a hair-band, 0,16 m. wide, on the top of her head and by the two also very simple snakes which encircled the head and were tied into a knot under the chin. The one on her left side is now missing as well as part of the chin. As is usual in the

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297, fig. 322. See also Gloria S. Merker, *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes* ('Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology' 40; Göteborg 1973) 29 no 64, figs 42-44, G. Neumann, 'Zum Helios Kopf von Rhodos', *AA* 92 (1977) 86-90, G. Konstantinopoulos, *Ἀρχαία Ρόδος* (Athenes 1986) 130, fig. 121. Height 0,55m.

27. Bieber 158-59, figs 671-72. Charbonneau et al. 326, fig. 359. Richter 223, fig. 788.

28. Height 0,87m. according to Charbonneau et al. 398.

29. Attributed to Pheidias by Buschor 13-16, 38-39; for other attributions to 5th cent. sculptors see the bibliography given by Belson 1980, 374-76 or *infra* n. 30 where most of it is given for convenience.

30. To a 5th cent. sculptor: Furtwängler 156-61 (=Kresilas); E.A. Gardner, 'Notes on Greek Sculpture', *JHS* 43 (1923) 139-42 (=Myron); Buschor, *ibid.* (*supra* n. 29) (= Pheidias); Harrison (= Alkamenes). Belson 1980 interprets it as the gift of Antiochos IV to the Athenian Acropolis (see *infra* nn. 43, 44). On the basis of the two beautiful gorgoneia found inside the large tomb of Vergina (*infra* n. 45) M. Andronikos (1980), rightly I believe, rejects Belson's interpretation. The view that it is a classicistic work expressed by Floren 3-4, 154-57, 216-17, was recently adopted by O. Paoletti, s.v. Gorgones Romanae, *LIMC* 4, 1 347-48 no 25.

31. It shows some similarity to the fragment in Buschor 18 pl. 21, 4 (=Pergamon VII 2, 280-281, no 354).

'beautiful type' the ears are not shown;<sup>32</sup> they are covered by the thick-textured non-symmetrical locks of hair which encircle the face. The omission of the two wings on the top of the head, a feature present in the early Medusas of the beautiful type and almost always shown in the Gorgoneia of the Roman times, is one of the characteristics of this head in favour of a dating to the Hellenistic period.<sup>33</sup> The hair is also in favour of this dating, which is possibly a rather provincial version of the irregularly shaped coiffures of the Hellenistic period but is far removed from the elaborate ones of Roman times<sup>34</sup> (fig. 3).

The Beroean Medusa is a quite tranquil and human conception of the subject; the absence of the inlaid eyes certainly contributes greatly to this impression. The strength of their gaze which was her most prominent feature and the power of her size would have been effective enough in fascinating the beholder. The glance of stone (the λίθινον θάνατον mentioned by Pindar) was the seat of her petrifying power.<sup>35</sup> The parted lips show passion as do other contemporary works and even a certain sensuality but are definitely not intended to evoke horror.<sup>36</sup> No wrinkles are shown but instead a beautiful facial texture which is one of the main arguments against a dating in imperial times. Also in favour of its dating in Hellenistic times is the simplicity of the composition, a characteristic which disappears in Roman times.<sup>37</sup> This is certainly not a dry work and even if we have here a later copy of a Hellenistic work it has stayed very close to the original.

The Medusa of Beroea presents an original composition, a fresh look at a subject of some age in Macedonia too,<sup>38</sup> and reflects or por-

32. The first who commented on that was Furtwängler 158; its truth can be checked by the examples illustrated in Buschor and *LIMC* 4, 2.

33. Reinach 315. The Medusa Rondanini has them; none of the examples known from Macedonia carries these wings.

34. It is quite similar to the hair of Alexander from Pergamon (*supra* n. 25) and very different from the hair of the Medusas from e.g. Didyma and Lepcis Magna: Buschor pls 39, 40, 41, 1.

35. Pindar, *Pyth.* 10. 48. On the eyes of the Gorgon see Phinney 447-48, 456-57, Howe 211 and Harrison 175 and n. 140.

36. This is opposed to the description by Belson 52 no 34 '...the corners of the slightly parted mouth upturned as if in a hiss or snarl. Inside the mouth a row of upper teeth are visible'.

37. Cf. Furtwängler 159. The extraordinary size constitutes the strongest argument for dating it in Hellenistic times (*infra* p. 257).

38. Not as long as Belson (1981, 49-50 no 32 and pp. 10, 18, 40, 44) tries to prove at least as far as published material allows to prove; she is basing a lengthy discussion

trays a new type. She is strong – showing at the same time power and some strange calmness, in a subtle way – primarily through the gleaming eyes and secondarily through the snakes. The effects of her appearance would certainly have been connected with the building it adorned and the height to which it stood. As there is no Pausanias for Northern Greece we cannot know with certainty where it was placed; the possibility that it stood over a gate of the wall is not to be dismissed.<sup>39</sup> There are also other alternatives; it could well have served as a pedimental central piece, an earlier version than the one suggested in the reconstruction of the monument of Mithridates in Delos.<sup>40</sup> It could have also been used for the decoration of the wall of some public building in a way similar to the one copied by Cyriacus of Ancona in Cyzicus which belonged to the temple of Hadrian, known as the 8th wonder of the world.<sup>41</sup> In both these cases the head could have been used in a building connected with the cult of Perseus, preferably as a pedimental central piece; as far as the second alternative is concerned, it seems that a Medusa head could have been appropriate in a variety of buildings as the most effective averter of evil.<sup>42</sup> In this assumption we cannot forget the gilded head of Medusa, referred to by Pausanias, that was fixed on the outer side of the south wall of the Athenian Acropolis, overlooking the theatre of Dionysos;<sup>43</sup> a gift to Athens by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 170 B.C., it seems to have been the Medusa head closest in date to the one from Beroea, employed in architectural usage.<sup>44</sup>

The Medusa of the beautiful type was a well-known subject in Macedonia. Two small Medusa heads made of gold (measuring 0,035 m.) were found inside the ante-room of the large royal tomb, excavated at Vergina in 1977 by M. Andronikos, and assigned to Philip

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on a terracotta antefix from 'Thessalonike' on a misreading of Sakónina, Aetolia, given correctly by E.D. Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period* (London 1926) 138 and n. 1 and also correctly spelt by Nancy A. Winter, 'Archaic Architectural Terracottas', *RömMitt* 85 (1978) 30 n. 4.

39. *Supra* nn. 16, 19, 20.

40. A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (rev. by R. A. Tomlinson, Penquin Books (1983) 284, fig. 262 (=F. Chapoutier, *Le sanctuaire des dieux de Samothrace*, Exploration archéologique de Délos XVI (Paris 1935) 42, fig. 56).

41. Ashmole 188, 190 pl. 37b; see also Phyllis Williams Lehmann and Karl Lehmann, *Samothracian Reflections* (Princeton 1973) 46-47, fig. 29.

42. Phinney 445-48; Ashmole 190.

43. Paus. 1.21,3; discussed by Furtwängler 160-61, Ashmole 188 et al. Cf. Belson 1980, 377 and *supra* n. 30.

44. *Infra* pp. 255-56.



II; according to the excavator the heads probably decorated a small wooden box and although they are similar they differ in small details<sup>45</sup> (fig. 4).

Close in date to the ones from Vergina must be a Medusa that served as a sima decoration; it was found by Ph. Petsas in an excavation he conducted in the mid '60s near Naousa, of a building he identified as the Nymphaion of Mieza.<sup>46</sup> Only the right half of the face, portrayed in low relief is preserved, framed more with snakes than with locks of hair: a beautiful piece, certainly copying a larger work (fig. 5).

Gilded bronze Gorgoneia, also of the beautiful type, serving as door emblems or handles decorated the marble doors of the Macedonian tomb of Langada excavated in 1910 and now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums;<sup>47</sup> they are dated by Mendel to the 3rd cent. B.C.; one of them is the only other example known from Macedonia that, like the Beroean one, has inlaid eyes.<sup>48</sup>

The popularity of the subject in Macedonia is further seen by its use for the decoration of metal vases,<sup>49</sup> by some clay moulds from Pella,<sup>50</sup> and by the numerous small clay disks found in tombs of the

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45. Andronikos 1979, 362; Andronikos 1980, 359; Andronikos 1984, 177, 189-91, figs 152-53; I. Krauskopf, s.v. Gorgo, Gorgones, *LIMC* 4,1 (1988) 297 no 110.
46. Ph. Petsas, *Praktika* 1968, 71 pl. 49γ (=Floren 192g); see also Belson 1981, 30 no 18, 28 and N.E. Kaltsas, *Πήλινες διακοσμημένες κεραμώσεις από την Μακεδονία (Αθήνα 1988)* 39 no 85, pl. 25 στ; for the identification of the building with the Nymphaion of Mieza see Ph. Petsas, *Ergon* 1965, 22-28, *id.*, *Praktika* 1965, 46, *id.*, *Makedonika* 7 (1966-67) 333-35 no 187.
47. Th. Macridy, 'Un tumulus Macédonien à Langaza', *Jdl* 26 (1911) 203 no 3 and fig. 17, 209 and fig. 23; the monument is dated by Macridy, *ibid.* 214, *id.*, *AA* 25 (1910) 146 in the 4th cent. G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines. Musées Impériaux Othomans I* (Paris 1912) 348-54 no 138 and figs 349, 350; dated in the 3rd cent, *ibid.* 354; for a Medusa head on similar usage see *ibid.* 354-55 no 139 (=Floren 1921 j, k.); Belson 1981, 22-23 nos 13a and b, 33-34. *LIMC* (*op. cit.*, *supra* n. 45) 297 no 117. (It is of interest that the main entrance to the Parthenon was decorated with gorgoneia: A. K. 'Ορλάνδος, *Η αρχιτεκτονική τοῦ Παρθενῶνος II* (Athenes 1977) 333 line 12, 334 and n. 3, 337).
48. Macridy *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 47) 205, fig. 17 (= Floren 192i, pl. 17, 3); the other one had vividly colored eyes in non-naturalistic colours: Mendel, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 47) 350.
49. As a handle decoration in Vergina: Andronikos 1984, 223; also from Derveni: Ch. Makaronas, *Δελτιον* 18 (1963) pl. 226α, γ (=Floren 193 p, q). From Macedonia also and now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston: *LIMC* (*op. cit.*, *supra* n. 45) 297 no 114 (=Floren 193τ).
50. J.M. Akamatis, *Πήλινες μητρες ἀγγείων ἀπὸ τὴν Πέλλα* (Ph.D.Diss; *EpistEpetThess*, Suppl. no 61; Thessalonike 1985) I 258, 330; II pl. 303.

Hellenistic period in various places, among which Beroea is included.<sup>51</sup>

There are more arguments in favour of the dating of our Medusa in the Hellenistic rather than in the Roman period. Medusas of the so-called 'beautiful type' were reproduced in the Roman period and are found everywhere but, as has already been noticed, they tend to become uglier even when they are not stiff and dry.<sup>52</sup> In general, as time progresses they took on a different type of ugliness, almost equally distant both from the terrifying features of the archaic figure, which did not aspire to beauty because it was loaded with the still living myth from which it sprang, and from the idealized conception of horror into which it was transformed during the Classical period. Unlike most of the Roman Medusas which portray tired, middle-aged women this one is still young. The examples from Didyma, Lepcis Magna<sup>53</sup> and the decidedly male-looking creature of the temple of Venus and Rome in the Vatican,<sup>54</sup> are indeed creations very distant from what we have in Beroea. The series of Medusas from ancient times definitely ended in the 4th cent. A.D., in the well known medallion-Medusa from Constantine's Forum in Constantinople, surrounded by thick perfectly regular and symmetrical hair; to quote the description by Reinach 'it seems as if Medusa no longer able to petrify her opponents had finally petrified herself into the dull stiffness of an ornament harsh and almost ugly'.<sup>55</sup>

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51. See e.g. the ones found in Hagios Athanasios-Gephyra: Ph. Petsas, *Makedonika* 15 (1975) 175, pl. 99b. Also see those found in Beroea: J. Touratsoglou, 'Τὸ ξίφος τῆς Βεροίας', *Ancient Macedonia IV* (Thessalonike 1986) 614, 645-49; on the basis of a complete list the author observes their relative frequency in Macedonia. The subject survives in the Roman period and is attested in e.g. architectural usage: I. Touratsoglou, *Δελτίον* 29 (1973-74) *Chronika* 717, pl. 516γ (=LIMC *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 30) 349 no 48) and on funerary monuments: see e.g. Maria Alexandrescu-Vianu, 'Les stèles funéraires de la Macédoine romaine', *Dacia* 19 (1975) 196 no 115, fig. 8, 3.
52. The wringled forehead is one of the most characteristic features they acquired in the Roman period; see e.g. the examples from Didyma: Buschor pl. 39, from Aphrodisias: K. Erim, *Aphrodisias* (London 1986) fig. on p. 43 and from Side: P.R. Franke - W. Leschhorn - B. Müller - J. Nollé, *Side* (Saarbrücken 1988) fig. on p. 63; for Aphrodisias see also LIMC (*op. cit. supra* n. 30) 350 no 51 and 4, 2 pl. 198. One of the few exceptions to this rule is the Medusa from Ephesos: LIMC, *op. cit.* 349 no 42 and 4, 2 pl. 197.
53. Didyma: Buschor 26 pl. 39, LIMC (*op. cit. supra* n. 30) 349 no 45 and 4, 2 pl. 197. Lepcis Magna: Buschor pl. 41, 1 and J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'Severan Art and Architecture at Lepcis Magna', *JRS* 38 (1948) 69, fig. 12, 74-75, pl. IX.
54. Buschor 26 pls 42, 43, LIMC (*op. cit. supra* n. 30) 348 no 27 and 42 pl. 196.
55. Reinach 316.

Colossal though they are, many of the best-known Roman Medusa heads measure on the average about one half of the one examined here. Therefore there must have been a special reason for the execution of a head of this size. From Pausanias' description of Argos we learn that the head of the Medusa was buried in the Agora of Argos (Paus. 2.21, 5-7) but that also in the city there was a stone head of the Medusa, a work by the Cyclops;<sup>56</sup> no description of it is given but its attribution to the Cyclops certainly means two things: it was old and it was huge. Thus the final and I believe the strongest argument for dating the colossal Beroean Medusa to the last years of the Macedonian dynasty is connected with what seems to be a sudden appearance of the myth of the hero Perseus in the closing years of Macedonian independence.

The ties of the dynasty with Argos, the home of the hero, had a long past already, before Philip V decided to reinforce them in an attempt also to show himself to be related to Philip II and Alexander.<sup>57</sup> According to a long tradition, originating before the days of the Antigonids, the kings of Macedonia claimed an Argive origin and what is probably the strongest proof for identifying the tomb that Prof. Andronikos unearthed in 1977, in Aegeae, as royal, is the find of a bronze tripod with a 5th cent. inscription that is was a prize from Argive Hera.<sup>58</sup> As is known from Plutarch and Livy, Demetrios Poliorcetes and later Philip V presided at the games in the Argive Heraeum.<sup>59</sup> Philip had an affair with Polycrateia from Argos, the wife of Aratos the younger, whom he later married;<sup>60</sup> his first son and successor, born to subsequently to this union, in 213 B.C., he gave a name occurring for the first time among the Macedonian royalty, that of Perseus. Philip's fascination with the hero is further seen in the new tetradrachms he struck in 186 B.C., showing on the obverse an idealized portrait of himself in the guise of the hero

56. Paus. 2.20, 6-7; cf. Furtwängler 160, 200 and Phyllis Williams Lehmann and Carl Lehmann, *Samotheacian Reflections* (Princeton 1973) 48-49.

57. F.W. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon* (Cambridge 1940) 258-59. A. Mammoth, 'Die Silbermünzen des Königs Philipp V. von Makedonien', *ZfN* 40 (1930) 286.

58. Andronikos 1979 365-66, Andronikos 1984 165, figs 133-134.

59. M. Andronikos, 'Βεργίνα, αρχαιολογία και ιστορία', *Φίλια ἔπη εἰς Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνᾶν* I (Athens 1986) 36-37; Plut. *Dem.* 25, 2, Livy 27. 30, 9.

60. Walbank *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 57) 78-79, 261n. 3, 300. Grace Harriet Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens* (Baltimore 1932) 72. Cf. P. Meloni, *Perseo e la fine della monarchia Macedone* (Cagliari 1953) 9-15. N.G.L. Hammond - F. W. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia III* (Oxford 1988) 397-98.

Perseus, set in the centre of a Macedonian shield.<sup>61</sup> This use of the Perseus type has been explained as an adoption by the king of Perseus cult.<sup>62</sup>

Years of economic recovery and prosperity followed in which Philip founded a new city in Derriopos, near the river Erigon, and gave it the name Perseis, in honour of his intended successor, Perseus (183 B.C.).<sup>63</sup> To this period also belongs the portico he dedicated to the sanctuary of Apollo in Delos<sup>64</sup> and probably also the similar gift to the sanctuary of Athena in Beroea, attested in an inscription found in the city.<sup>65</sup>

We shall probably never know with certainty exactly where our Medusa stood; it seems quite certain though that her place in Beroea was connected with the time when a man bearing the name of the hero, the model of the young man who successfully undergoes ordeals,<sup>66</sup> was heir to a throne with a glorious past. One cannot miss the symbolism<sup>67</sup> of this colossal apotropaic sculpture on the eve of the final confrontation with Rome.

61. Mamroth, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 57) 284-85, 288-89, 295, pl. V 3, 4, 5, 6; Hammond-Walbank, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 60) 461-64, 486.

62. Mamroth, *ibid.* (*supra* n. 61). Ch. Seltman, *Greek Coins*<sup>2</sup> (London 1965) 225-26.

63. Livy 39. 53, 14-16. Walbank, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 57) 242-43, 334; Meloni, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 60) 35-38. Hammond - Walbank *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 60) 459, 463, 483, 490.

64. R. Vallois, *Exploration archéologique de Delos VII*, 1 (Paris 1923) 25-75.

65. Ph. Petsas, *Deltion* 20 (1965) Chronika 427 (= *SEG* 24 (1969) 501).

66. See the reflections on the coin-portrait of the king by C.M. Havelock, *Hellenistic Art* (London 1971) 32; on the portraits of Perseus see also R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 113, Gisela M.A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (rev. by R.R.R. Smith; Oxford 1984) 229 fig. 195.

67. ...'the exciting triumph of good over evil' according to Phinney 453; cf. Hammond - Walbank *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 60) 504: 'These coins (with the hero Perseus, Heracles etc.) were designed to persuade the Macedonians that the gods were on their side'.

- \* A shortened version of this paper was presented at the 13th International Congress of Classical Archaeology (Berlin, July 1988) under the title 'Beroea: an Artistic Centre in Hellenistic Macedonia'.  
The following special abbreviations are used:
- Andronikos 1979: M. Andronikos, 'The Finds from the Royal Tombs at Vergina', *ProcBritAc* 65 (1979) 355-67.
- Andronikos 1980: M. Andronikos, 'Argumentum e silentio', *AAA* 13 (1980) 354-59.
- Andronikos 1984: M. Andronikos, *Vergina: the Royal Tombs and the Ancient City* (Athens 1984).
- Ashmole: B. Ashmole, 'Cyriac of Ancona and the Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus', *JWarb* 19 (1956) 179-91.
- Belson 1980: Janer Danforth Belson, 'The Medusa Rondanini: A New Look', *AJA* 84 (1980) 373-78.
- Belson 1981: Janer Danforth Belson, *The Gorgoneion in Greek Architecture* (Univ. Microfilms, Ann Arbor Mich. 1981).
- Bieber: Margaret Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*<sup>2</sup> (New York 1961).
- Buschor: E. Buschor, *Medusa Rondanini* (Stuttgart 1958).
- Charbonneaux et al.: J. Charbonneaux - R. Martin - F. Villard, *Grèce Hellénistique (330-50 avant J.C.)* (Paris 1970).
- Floren: J. Floren, *Studien zur Typologie des Gorgoneion* ('Orbis Antiquus' 29; Westfalen 1977).
- Fuchs: W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen* (Munich 1969).
- Furtwängler: A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture* (London 1895, transl. of the original: *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, Berlin 1893).
- Harrison: Evelyn B. Harrison, 'Alkamenes' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion', *AJA* 81 (1977) 162-75.
- Howe: Thalia Phillis Howe, 'The Origin and Function of the Gorgon-Head', *AJA* 58 (1954) 209-221.
- Kanatsoulis, *MP*: D. Kanatsoulis, *Μακεδονική Προσωπογραφία (ἀπὸ τοῦ 148 π.Χ. μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τοῦ Μ. Κωνσταντίνου)*, *Hellenika Suppl.* 8 (Thessalonike 1955).
- Kanatsoulis, *MP Suppl.*: D. Kanatsoulis, *Μακεδονική Προσωπογραφία. Συμπλήρωμα* (Thessalonike 1967).
- Phinney: E. Phinney, 'Perseus' Battle with the Gorgons', *TAPA* 102 (1971) 445-63.
- Reinach: S. Reinach, 'Marble Heads in the Tchingly Kiosk Museum', *AJA* 2 (1886) 314-16.
- Richter: Gisela M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*<sup>4</sup> (New Haven and London 1970).
- Tataki: Argyro B. Tataki, *Ancient Beroea: Prosopography and Society* ('Meletemata' 8; Athenes 1988).

## ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

### Η ΜΕΔΟΥΣΑ ΤΗΣ ΒΕΡΟΙΑΣ: ΜΙΑ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ

Ἡ πρόσφατη μελέτη γιά τήν κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Βεροίας ἐπιβεβαίωσε τό συμπέρασμα τοῦ Ch. Edson γιά τήν σημασία τῆς πόλης, ὡς ιδιαίτερης πατρίδας τοῦ ἰδρυτῆ τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Ἀντιγονιδῶν. Οἱ ιδιαίτεροι δεσμοί τῆς δυναστείας μέ τήν πόλη θά πρέπει νά συντέιναν στήν ὑψηλή ποιότητα τῆς τοπικῆς γλυπτικῆς, καθὼς εἶναι λογικό νά ὑποτεθεῖ ὅτι μερικά μέλη τῆς δυναστείας θά εἶχαν δεῖξει τό ἐνδιαφέρον τους γιά τήν γενέτειρά τους μέ τήν προσφορά ἔργων τέχνης. Καθὼς τά μεγάλα ἔργα ἔχουν χαθεῖ, ἐκτιμήσεις γιά τίς ἐπιδόσεις τῆς τοπικῆς παραγωγῆς κατά τούς ἑλληνιστικούς χρόνους ἔχουν ὡς τώρα στηριχθεῖ στήν *κόρη τῆς Βεροίας*, σέ μερικές ἀνάγλυφες ἐπιτύμβιες στήλες, καί σέ ἓνα ἀριθμό ἀπό βάσεις ἀγαλμάτων.

Τό σημαντικότερο γλυπτό ἀπό τήν Βέροια, ἡ κολοσσική κεφαλή τῆς Μέδουσας, παραμένει οὐσιαστικά ἀδημοσίευτο, 46 χρόνια μετά τήν εὕρεσή του κοντά σέ ἓνα πύργο τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους. Οἱ διαστάσεις της (1,63 μ. ὕψος, 1,10 μ. μέγιστο σωζόμενο πλάτος, 0,69 μ. μέγιστο βάθος) καθιστοῦν τήν κεφαλή αὐτή τήν μεγαλύτερη πού ἔχει σωθεῖ στόν ἑλληνικό κόσμο ἀπό τήν ἀρχαιότητα. Ἀπό τά σωζόμενα κολοσσικά λίθινα γλυπτά ἡ Μέδουσα τῆς Βεροίας μπορεῖ νά συγκριθεῖ μέ τήν κεφαλή τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπό τό Πέργαμο, ἀντίγραφο μεγαλύτερου πιθανῶς ἔργου, καί τήν κεφαλή τοῦ Ἡλίου ἀπό τήν Ρόδο. Μεγαλύτερη ὁμοιότητα ἔχει μέ τόν Δία ἀπό τήν Αἰγείρα· οἱ ἔνθετοι ὀφθαλμοί ἀλλά περισσότερο τό μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου τό φέρνουν πιο κοντά στήν Μέδουσα τῆς Βεροίας, παρ' ὅλο πού τό ὕψος της εἶναι σχεδόν διπλάσιο ἀπό αὐτό τοῦ Διός.

Τό μέγεθος δέν εἶναι ἀσφαλῶς τό μόνο ἐντυπωσιακό στοιχεῖο αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὠραῖα δουλεμένου κεφαλιοῦ πού δίκαια διεκδικεῖ τήν θέση του στήν Ἱστορία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς τέχνης. Ἡ ἐξέταση τοῦ βασικοῦ γιά τό θέμα ἔργου τοῦ E. Buschor ἔδειξε ὅτι δέν βρίσκεται κοντά σέ καμία ἀπό τίς γνωστές παραλλαγές τοῦ θέματος. Συζητεῖται ἡ χρονολόγηση τοῦ ἔργου στούς ἑλληνιστικούς χρόνους καί συμπεραίνεται ὅτι ἀκόμη καί ἂν πρόκειται γιά ἓνα μεταγενέστερο ἀντίγραφο ἑλληνιστικοῦ ἔργου παραμένει πολύ κοντά στό πρωτότυπο. Ἡ ἐντύπωση πού

θά ἔδινε. ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτὴ σχετίζεται μέ τό εἶδος τοῦ κτιρίου καθώς καί τό ὕψος στό ὁποῖο ἦταν τοποθετημένη· ἐκτός ἀπό τήν πιθανή τοποθέτησή της σέ πύλη τοῦ τείχους ἐξετάζεται ἡ δυνατότητα νά κοσμοῦσε τό κέντρο τοῦ ἀετώματος ἢ τόν ἐξωτερικό τοῖχο ἑνός οἰκοδομήματος πού θά σχετιζόταν μέ τήν λατρεία τοῦ Περσέως. Τό πλησιέστερο μέ τῆς Βεροίας παράδειγμα θά ἦταν πιθανῶς αὐτό στό Ν. τείχος τῆς Ἀθηναϊκῆς Ἀκρόπολης, πάνω ἀπό τό θέατρο τοῦ Διονύσου, δῶρο τοῦ Ἀντιόχου Δ΄ τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς (170 π.Χ.).

Ἡ Μέδουσα τοῦ ὠραίου τύπου ἦταν ἓνα πολύ γνωστό θέμα στήν Μακεδονία· συζητοῦνται παραδείγματα ἀπό τήν Βεργίνα, τήν Νάουσα (Νυμφαῖο Μίεζας), Λαγκαδᾶ, Πέλλα κ.ἄ. Ἡ σύγκριση μέ Μέδουσες τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς περιόδου δίνει ἐπιπλέον ἐπιχειρήματα γιά τήν χρονολόγηση τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς στούς ἑλληνιστικούς χρόνους· ἓνα ἀπό αὐτά εἶναι τό μέγεθος πού, ἐνῶ καί ἄλλων γνωστῶν παραδειγμάτων πού χρονολογοῦνται στούς ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους εἶναι κολοσσικό, κατά μέσο ὄρο φτάνουν τό ἕμισυ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς Μέδουσας ἀπό τήν Βέροια.

Θά πρέπει νά ἀναζητηθεῖ ἓνας εἰδικός λόγος γιά τήν ἐκτέλεση ἑνός γλυπτοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεγέθους· τό τελικό ἐπιχείρημα γιά τήν χρονολόγηση τῆς Μέδουσας σχετίζεται μέ τήν ἐμφάνιση τοῦ μύθου τοῦ Περσέως κατά τά τελευταῖα χρόνια τῆς μακεδονικῆς δυναστείας. Οἱ δεσμοί τῆς δυναστείας μέ τό Ἄργος, πατρίδα τοῦ ἥρωα Περσέως, εἶχαν ἤδη μακρινό παρελθόν πρῖν ὁ Φίλιππος Ε΄ ἀποφασίσει νά τίς ἐνισχύσει στήν προσπάθειά του νά δείξει συγγένεια μέ τόν Φίλιππο Β΄ καί τόν Ἀλέξανδρο. Ὁ Δημήτριος Πολιορκητής καί ἀργότερα ὁ Φίλιππος Ε΄ προῆδρευσαν στούς ἀγῶνες τοῦ Ἡραίου τοῦ Ἄργους. Τόν πρῶτο γιό καί διάδοχό του (γεννήθηκε το 213 π.Χ.), καρπό τοῦ γάμου του μέ μία εὐγενῆ Ἀργεῖα, ὀνόμασε ὁ Φίλιππος Περσέα, ἓνα ὄνομα πού γιά πρώτη φορά ἐμφανίζεται στό βασιλικό ὀνοματολόγιο τῆς Μακεδονίας. Ἡ περαιτέρω γοητεία πού ὁ ἥρωας ἀσκοῦσε στόν Φίλιππο Ε΄ φαίνεται ἀπό τά τετράδραχμα πού ἔκοψε τό 186 π.Χ., ὅπου εἰκονίζεται ἓνα ἰδεαλιστικό πορτραῖτο τοῦ ἴδιου τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς Περσέως, ἐνῶ τό 183 ἱδρυσε στήν Δερρίοπο μία νέα πόλη τήν ὁποία ὀνόμασε πρὸς τιμή τοῦ διαδόχου του Περσηΐδα.

Δέν θά μπορέσουμε ἴσως ποτέ νά ὀρίσουμε πού ἀκριβῶς στεκόταν ἡ Μέδουσα τῆς Βεροίας· φαίνεται ὅμως ἀρκετά σίγουρο ὅτι ἡ θέση της στήν πόλη συνδέεται μέ τούς χρόνους κατά τούς ὁποίους ὁ ἄνδρας πού ἔφερε τό ὄνομα τοῦ ἥρωος – πού ἦταν τό πρότυπο τοῦ νέου ἄνδρα πού μέ ἐπιτυχία ξεπερνάει ἐμπόδια – ἦταν διάδοχος σέ ἓνα θρόνο μέ ἔνδοξο παρελθόν. Ὁ συμβολισμός τῆς κολοσσικῆς αὐτῆς ἀποτροπαϊκῆς κεφαλῆς κατά τήν παραμονή τῆς τελικῆς ἀντιπαράθεσης μέ τήν Ρώμη δέν εἶναι δυνατόν νά ἀγνοηθεῖ.

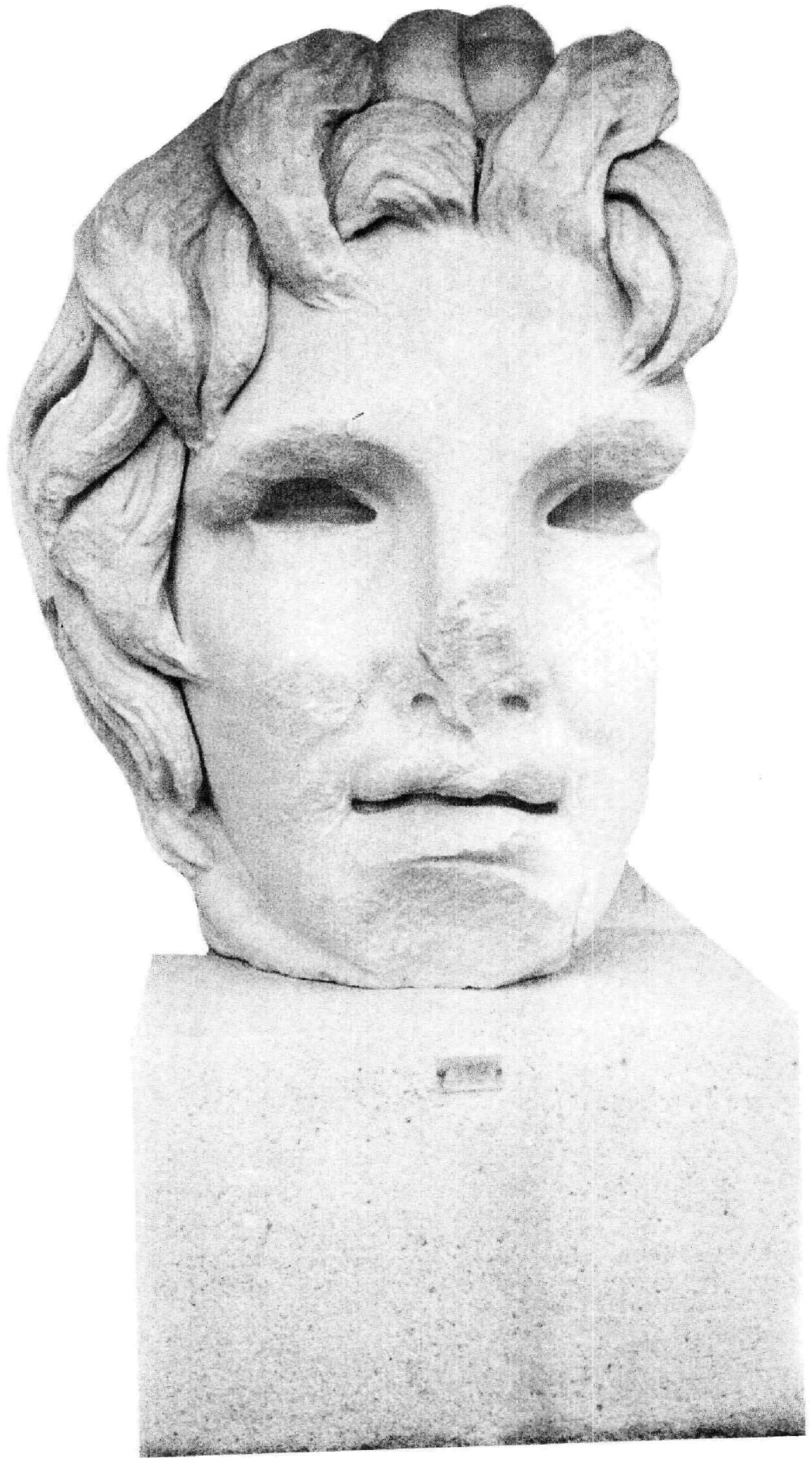


Fig. 1





Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5