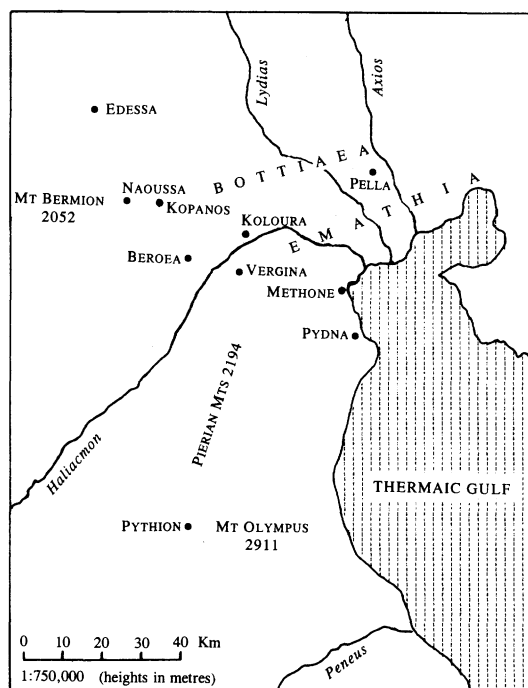


# NOTES

## The location of Aegeae\*

In *AJA* xcvi (1994) 609-16, F.B. Faklaris discussed the location of Aegeae,<sup>1</sup> founded by the first Temenid king of the Macedonians and famous thereafter as the burial-place of the Macedonian kings (Pliny *NH* iv 33 'Aegeae in quo sepeliri mos reges'). He located it at Kopanos and not at Vergina, where I had put it in 1968.<sup>2</sup> The geographical difference between the two sites is considerable. Kopanos is east of Mt. Bermion, and being some 19 km south of Edessa and 5 km east of Naoussa, it looks towards the plain of Pella. Vergina lies at the northern end of the Olympus massif, which consists of the Pierian mountains and Mt. Olympus; and it faces the Haliacmon and the western end of the plain. The choice between the two sites is to be determined by the interpretation of the literary evidence and by the ongoing flow of the archaeological discoveries.

The most important issue in the literary evidence is the extent of the original Macedonian kingdom. For it was within that kingdom that Aegeae was founded to be its capital, the 'sedes regni', as Justin called it (vii 1.8). Faklaris derived his main argument from a passage in Herodotus. 'The vital testimony', he wrote, 'for determining the location of Aegeae ... is that given by Herodotus viii 138'. For Faklaris took the statement that the Temenid brothers 'settled near the Gardens of Midas' (viii 138.3 οἰκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων ... Μίδεω) to mean that those Gardens were within the original kingdom. This, however, is a misinterpretation, if we turn to the context. In viii 137 Herodotus, having described the arrival of the brothers, their service in the employment of the king and the omen which alarmed the king, went on to the order which he issued to the brothers 'to remove themselves from his territory' (viii 137.3 ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ). 'Perdiccas and his brothers proceeded to remove themselves' (ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνου). After they had gone, the king sent his companions to pursue and kill them. However, the brothers escaped; for they were the first to cross a river which then flooded and could not be crossed by their pursuers. They were now safely outside the kingdom; and accordingly 'they settled near the Gardens of Midas'. The point of the story at this stage is that these Gardens were outside and



SOUTHWEST MACEDONIA

not, as Faklaris claimed, within the original kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

Faklaris did not mention some other evidence which revealed the extent of the original kingdom. Thus Hesiod—or a poet in his tradition—placed the original habitat of the Magnes and the Macedones 'around Pieria and Olympus' (*Eoae* fr. 7 M-W). He derived his knowledge ultimately, we may suppose, from the people of Methone, founded on the Pierian coast c. 730 BC and close to the Macedones.<sup>4</sup> Its chief export was no doubt the fine timber of the Pierian range to its foundress Eretria in Euboea, an island visited by Hesiod. Herodotus drew a distinction in his writing between ἡ Μακεδονίς γῆ, 'the Macedonian land', and ἡ Μακεδονία, 'Macedonia', which was the area occupied by Amyntas, the father of Alexander I (v 17). He defined the former area at vii 127.1: the Persian forces in 480 BC were camping on the coastal land (τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν χώραν) as far as 'the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which form the boundary between the Bottiaeian land and the Macedonian land as the rivers mingle their waters

\* The following abbreviations are used:

- AEMTh* *Arkaialogiko Ergo sten Makedonia kai Thrake* (Thessaloniki)  
*HM* *A History of Macedonia* i (Oxford 1970) by N.G.L. Hammond; ii (1979) by N.G.L. Hammond and G.T. Griffith  
*PA* Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* (Loeb edn. references)

<sup>1</sup> There are several spellings of the name. I take mine from [A]γεῖαν in a late fourth-century inscription (*IG* iv 67 line 15). Theophrastus, writing at a similar date, had Αγεῖαι in *De Ventis* 27.

<sup>2</sup> In a lecture which was later published in *Ancient Macedonia* i (Thessaloniki 1970) 64 f.; my reasons were stated fully in *HM* i 156 ff. and ii 13 f.

<sup>3</sup> The sequence of events was clearly stated by Justin vii 1.8-10, *regni sedem statuit ... pulso deinde Mida ... aliisque regibus pulsus*: 'he established the capital of his kingdom ... then drove out Midas and other kings'. In *CQ* xli (1991) 497 and 501 I argued that the source of Troilus, whom Justin was abbreviating, was Marsyas Macedon. Thus, as Marsyas reported the early traditions of the Macedones, he and Herodotus drew on the same tradition.

<sup>4</sup> Mende on the other side of the Thermaic Gulf was founded at the same time as Methone according to the literary tradition. There the dating has been confirmed by the excavation of the early cemetery with 'grave goods ... from the late 8th and early 7th centuries BC'. See J. Vokotopoulou in *AEMTh* iv (1993) 404 and 415, and my article in *BSA* xc (1995) 315 with note 36.

into one stream'. The coastal section of the Haliacmon was the lower river from the point below Beroea (now Verria) where it emerges from a long defile and is for the last time fordable in dry weather. Its course through the coastal plain was not very different then from what it is today. Inland the very long defile of the Haliacmon must have formed the frontier between the Macedones and their neighbours. On the other hand the Lydias changed its course; for it entered the sea below Pella in the mid-fourth century BC.<sup>5</sup> Thucydides also had in mind a boundary between Methone and Beroea; for when the Athenian army marched from Pydna to Beroea (certainly fording the Haliacmon below Beroea), he wrote that 'they departed from Macedonia and came to Beroea' (i 61.3).

Thus the consensus of the literary evidence, both of Herodotus viii 138 which Faklaris did consider, and of Hesiod, Herodotus vii 127.1 and Thucydides, which he omitted from his article, compel us to place the frontier between the early Macedonian kingdom and Bottiaea at the river Haliacmon. On this evidence Aegeae as the capital of the kingdom has to be placed to the south of the Haliacmon.

Faklaris, however, argued that Aegeae lay in Bottiaea. 'Ptolemy', he wrote on p. 613, 'mentions Aegeae among the other cities of Bottiaea'. No reference was given. In fact Ptolemy wrote at iii 13.36 (ed. C. Müller) not 'Bottiaea' but 'Emathia'. I shall deal later with the significance of 'Emathia'. Another passage which Faklaris mentioned but did not quote is an oracular response from Delphi to Perdiccas which is preserved as a fragment of Diodorus (vii fr. 16). 'Royal rule over a wealthy land is vested in the noble Temenids; for it is the gift of aegis-bearing Zeus. Do you go in haste towards Bouteis rich in flocks' (Βουτηίδα πρὸς πολύμηλον), 'and where you see white-horned goats ... found the city of your state'.<sup>6</sup> Without saying so Faklaris was adopting an emendation made by Dindorf, Βοττηίδα, instead of the manuscript Βουτηίδα. The emendation is unlikely to be correct. For the known forms of the name are Βοττιαίς (Hdt. vii 123), Βοττία and Βοττιάα (Thuc. ii 99.3 and ii 100.4), and Βοττιαία usually in Strabo. On the other hand, Βουτηίς as 'the land of Boutis' is supported by the name of a Macedonian city in Syria, which Stephanus Byzantinus preserved s.v. *Pella*: Πέλλα ἡ Βοῦτις. Thus the reading of the manuscript, Βουτηίδα, incidentally a *lectio difficilior*, should be retained. Faklaris did not mention the other oracular response from Delphi.<sup>7</sup> It was addressed to Caranus, another putative founder. He was to proceed from Argos in the Peloponnese and go 'towards

the waters of the Haliacmon'; there on seeing goats grazing he was to dwell, 'he and all his offspring'. The goats were important because the name of the city Aegeae was thought to be derived from goats, αἴγες.

The passages in the preceding paragraph show that Aegeae was in 'Emathia', in a direction from the original kingdom towards Pella, and near the waters of the Haliacmon. Emathia, 'the sandy land', was the coastal plain through which the Haliacmon and the Axios flowed. In *Iliad* iv 225 f. Hera leaving Olympus 'set foot on Pieria and lovely Emathia'. Thus Pieria ended where the plain began, i.e. in the region of Vergina. We should therefore place Aegeae in that region and not at Kopanos.

The last passage to which Faklaris referred is Theophrastus, *De Ventis* 27, where he noted that in high country a strong wind sometimes creates a back-current. He gave as an example a strong north wind striking the north face of Mt. Olympus and bringing low clouds back northwards. This happened, he wrote, 'around Aegeiai' (περὶ Αἰγείας τῆς Μακεδονίας). Faklaris commented on this passage: 'we know neither the precise location nor even the general area where this phenomenon occurred and was observable'. Here he is mistaken. Theophrastus was referring to Mt. Olympus and the high Pierian range which runs north from Mt. Olympus, and not to Mt. Bermium below which Faklaris wished to place Aegeae at Kopanos. The location where the clouds were brought back low down was at the north end of the Pierian range, where the hills descended to the Emathian plain in the vicinity of Vergina.<sup>8</sup> Writing in 1973, R. Lane Fox remarked: 'in Sept. 1970 I noted Theophrastus' cloud-phenomenon at modern Vergina'.<sup>9</sup> Thus this passage alone indicates that Aegeae is to be placed at Vergina or in the vicinity of it and not at Kopanos.<sup>10</sup>

Finally, we have to consider the archaeological evidence. Faklaris did not review the discoveries at Vergina, which no one has disputed were those of royal burials. He simply stated his own opinion, that the built-tombs at Vergina dated from after the expedition of Alexander the Great to Asia (his p. 616). However, that is irrelevant; for the kings after Alexander were also buried at Aegeae,<sup>11</sup> and their built-tombs at Vergina on Faklaris' interpretation were equally proof that Aegeae was at Vergina. The archaeological evidence in the vicinity of Kopanos, where Faklaris would place Aegeae,

<sup>8</sup> The passage is discussed in *HM* 1.157.

<sup>9</sup> R. Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great* (London 1973) 504.

<sup>10</sup> Faklaris invoked another passage: Steph. Byz. s.v. *Balla* μεταγωγὸν εἰς τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον Πύθιον τόπον. He took it to mean that Apollo was worshipped at Balla, and that, since there is some evidence of Apollo being worshipped at Vergina, the site there was Balla. That is not the meaning of Stephanus Byzantinus, as an inscription in *BCH* ii (1897) 112 Μακεδὸν Ἐλεμιώτης ἐκ Πυθίου makes clear. The true meaning is that X (probably Philip II) 'transferred the population of Balla to Pythion' in Perrhaebia, which thus became a city of Macedones, as I explained in *HM* i 118 and 158, and recently in my *Philip of Macedon* (London 1994) 53.

<sup>11</sup> As we see from the so-called Tomb of Rhomaïos with its throne at Vergina, dated c. 300 BC, and the burial of Philip III and Eurydice and the re-burial of Cynane 'at Aegeae as was customary for the kings' (Diod. xix 52.5; cf. *FGrH* 73 (Diyllus) F 1) in 316 BC.

<sup>5</sup> The Lydias (or Loudias) changed its course several times in antiquity (*HM* i 144-8) and in recent times. The Greek Statistical Service Map, sheet 'Emathia' (1:200,000), shows 'a regional canal' collecting the waters below Naoussa and joining the Haliacmon at Koloura.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted and discussed in *HM* ii 8. The oracle is fictitious, being *post eventum*, but it was designed to conform with the geographical situation of the capital city.

<sup>7</sup> This oracle is also fictitious (see *HM* ii 9). Caranus was said to be the grandfather of Perdiccas (Diod. vii fr. 15.1). H.W. Parke, *A history of the Delphic Oracle* (Oxford 1939) 65 f. attributed it to the time when Pella replaced Aegeae as the capital.

consists of the remains of an acropolis and a city which were first reported by Delacoulonche.<sup>12</sup> They have not been excavated. Faklaris expressed his own faith that 'future archaeological research in the area of Kopanos will bring to light the splendid edifices and royal cemetery of the first capital of the Macedonians' (616). Until that faith is proved or disproved by excavation, we must rely on the literary-cum-archaeological evidence which has led scholars to identify the site near Kopanos with the ancient city Mieza.<sup>13</sup> An inscription listing Delphic *Theorodokoi* placed only one city between Beroea and Edessa, namely Mieza.<sup>14</sup> Plutarch described the School for Alexander as 'the precinct of the Nymphs by Mieza' (περὶ Μιέζαν), 'where the stone seats and shaded walks of Alexander are still shown' (*PA* 7.4). Also 'at Mieza' there were stalactites in a cave (Pliny *NH* 31.30). The School has been identified near Kopanos. It was cleared and described by Ph. Petsas in the 1960s and by M. Siganidou and K. Trochidis in 1993, with the walks extending for some 270 m, rock-cuttings, traces of roofing and small finds 'mainly of the fourth century BC'.<sup>15</sup> The place is called 'Izvorja' after the copious springs which are appropriate for a Nymphaeum, and there are caves in the limestone, one of which still has stalactites.

N.G.L. HAMMOND

Clare College, Cambridge

### Neoptolemus and the bow: ritual *thea* and theatrical vision in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*

Much has been written in recent years on the ways in which ritual forms, patterns and sequences are remoulded into the imagery and action of classical Greek plays. A tragedy which offers exceptionally fertile ground for studies on 'ritual and drama' is Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, since theatrical and ritual strands are so intimately interwoven in its plot as to create an inextricable knot. In forthcoming work I explore in full both the ritual liminality of Philoctetes' and Neoptolemus' existence<sup>1</sup> as well as the subtle ways in which the vital dramatic experiences of 'acting' and 'viewing' are inherently intertwined in this play with the initiatory strands of rites of maturation.<sup>2</sup> The present note, conversely, is less ambitious in its scope, as its exclusive focus is *one* pivotal moment of the play's action, namely the dramatic exhibition of the bow to Neoptolemus' and the spectator's eyes. No matter how inherently interwoven with the action Philoctetes' bow is,<sup>3</sup> Neoptolemus' close look, as he accepts it in his hands (*Phil.* 776), 'theatricalises' the object by converting it into a dramatic spectacle, a *thea*. But even before being formally delivered to Neoptolemus' custody (*Phil.* 762-78), the bow is prominently singled out as the prime focus of attention, becoming, as it does, a stage-prop uniquely capturing the boy's concentrated sight. As a privileged, 'internalised' onlooker,<sup>4</sup> Neoptolemus lends voice to the wish of many a theatrical spectator to 'observe in close detail', to 'gaze':

ἄρ' ἔστιν ὥστε κάγγυθεν θεῶν λαβεῖν,  
καὶ βαστάσαι με προσκύσαι θ' ὥσπερ θεόν;  
(*Phil.* 656-7).

In other words, by highlighting the bow's dramatic function as a stage-prop, Theatre points self-reflexively to the nature of its own objects as dramatically polyvalent stage-signs.<sup>5</sup> One aspect of this polyvalence, i.e. the 'sacred', 'holy' nature of the famous *toxa* (see *Phil.* 942-3 τὰ τόξα μου /τερᾶ), is implicit in the immediately ensuing verse καὶ βαστάσαι με προσκύσαι θ' ὥσπερ θεόν; (*Phil.* 657), where Neoptolemus asks

<sup>12</sup> *Mémoire sur le berceau de la puissance macédonienne* (Paris 1858) 98 f.

<sup>13</sup> The *communis opinio* was expressed recently by E.N. Borza, *In the shadow of Olympus* (Princeton 1990) 18 and 81 'Mieza (modern Kopanos/Lefkadia below Naousa)'. For some of the reasons see *HM* i 163 and Ph. Petsas in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton 1976) 577.

<sup>14</sup> *BCH* xlv (1921) 17 iii 59, in the form 'Meza'. This inscription militates against the doubts of Borza (n. 13) 275 'whether or not Mieza was a proper town'.

<sup>15</sup> Reports were published by Petsas in *Praktika* 1965, 39 f., 1966, 31 f., and 1968, 65 f., and also in *Ergon* 1965 [1966] 21-8 and *Makedonika* vi (Thessaloniki 1967) 33 with Plate 50. And by M. Siganidou and K. Trochides in *AEMTh* iv (1993) 121-5. Petsas kindly showed me round the site in 1968. Nothing could be more convincing. There are rather distant photographs in *Praktika* (1965) Plates 48a and 52.

<sup>1</sup> Elaborating on the pioneering work of Vidal-Naquet, 'Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and the *ephebeia*', in J.P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet (eds.), *Myth and tragedy in ancient Greece* (Eng. trans. J. Lloyd) (New York 1988) 161 ff. (An earlier version of Vidal-Naquet's essay first appeared in 1971, in *Annales, ESC*, 623 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> I. Lada-Richards, 'Staging the *ephebeia*: theatrical role-playing and ritual transition in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*' (forthcoming, a) and 'Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and ritual liminality' (forthcoming, b).

<sup>3</sup> See O. Taplin, *Greek tragedy in action* (London 1985; first publ. 1978) 89, where the bow is rightly said to constitute 'a stage property which is, perhaps, the most integrally incorporated of all material objects in the Greek tragedy we have.'

<sup>4</sup> For the intersection of multiple levels of viewing in this play, see I. Lada-Richards (n. 2, forthcoming a).

<sup>5</sup> See C.P. Segal, *Interpreting Greek tragedy: myth, poetry, text* (Ithaca and London 1986) 121: 'No visual symbol in Sophocles has a more powerful and far-reaching ethical and psychological meaning than the bow of the *Philoctetes*.'