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POST-PROCESUAL NOTES ON EARLY ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA FROM HERACLEA LYNCESTIS

Key words: Republic of North Macedonia, Heraclea Lyncestis, Early antiquity, Classicism, Hellenism, Early Imperial Roman period, sculpture, herm, Aeschines, Athene Parthenos, Arquiloco, Menander

To Prof. D-r Ivan Mikulčić

In honor of the restless researcher, one of the pioneers of Macedonian national archaeology and founder of the methodological concept of thorough and extensive archaeological topographic surveillance in Macedonia, first applied in his doctoral dissertation devoted to the archaeology of the Pelagonian plain (*Pelagonija u svetlosti arheoloških nalaza od egejska seobe do Avgusta, Skopje: Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije, Arheološki Muzej – Skopje, 1966*). Led by an authentic instinct and passion for uncovering the unknown, he devoted his life to comprehending historic fragments buried in the ruins of past times. With the talent of a genuine narrator Prof. D-r Mikulčić passed on to us, his students, the knowledge about prehistoric cultures, the ambitions of Roman Emperors and the ideals of Christian rulers, using simple comparative examples from daily life, thus planting the seeds of eager devotion for observation, analyses, facts and learning.

Abstract: Heraclea Lyncestis has a history of ninety years professional excavations and almost two hundred years of lay archaeological exploration. The aim of the text is to instigate a review of some of its most exclusive finds that appeared before the eyes of public in the first years of lay or professional investigations. Placing them into the focus of post-procesual revision of evidence as representatives of foreign policy and cult, but also considering their high artistic values, it is intended to open a discussion on the actual historic conditions that brought to their appearance and the earliest data of what is today known as the city of Heraclea Lyncestis.

The cultural history of Heraclea Lyncestis was extensively exploited since the first trial excavations in the early 1930-ies, and on a major scale in course of three major excavation campaigns conducted for

over ninety years, first between 1936 and 1938 performed by the than *Umetnički muzej (Art Museum)* in Belgrade,¹ between 1959-1974 undertaken by the than Yugoslav, later *The Institute for the preservation of the Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Serbia* from Belgrade,² to be followed by continuous archaeological research conveyed by national archaeologists organized by the local *Institute and Museum of Bitola*.³ A so-called capital research project of systematic archaeological excavations focused on several sites within the ancient city was conducted between 2008 and 2014.⁴ The *persona merita* of this text, Prof. D-r Ivan Mikulčić, contributed to the study

¹ The museum was also called *The Museum of Prince Paul*, later renamed as *The National Museum of Serbia*. The research was conducted under the guidance of Miodrag Grbić, the results being published in *Umetnički pregled* 8, Belgrade 1939, 231-235, and in more detail by: Ѓ. Стричевик, *Археолошките ископувања во Хераклеја Линкестидска 1936-38 година*, Хераклеја 1, Битола 1961, 35-43, as well as by other authors.

² Excavations were organised by Gordana Cvetković-Tomašević, and conducted by her and several archaeologists, historians of architecture and conservators. Results were published in *Herakleja* II and III, Bitola 1965 and 1967.

³ They were conducted by the local *Institute for the Preservation of the Cultural Monuments, Natural Rarities, Museum and Gallery – Bitola* (later: *Museum and Institute-Bitola*) and the main accent was placed on the excavations and subsequent restoration of the ancient theatre in Heraclea Lyncestis conducted and published by D-r Tome Janakievski (*Театар, Heraclea Lynkestis, Посебни изданија, Книга 2, Битола 1987*, and: *idem., Антички театри и споменици со театарска проблематика во Република Македонија, Битола 1998*). Later excavations continued in other sectors conducted by national archaeologists, who excavated and documented also a vast network of sites in the wider region.

⁴ A. Gjorgjievska, E. Nasuh, *Heraclea Lyncestis*,

of finds from the first campaign, when he focused his attention on the collection of sculptural and epigraphic finds uncovered at the site in course of the early excavations,⁵ among which are several most esteemed discoveries, a part of them to be discussed lower in the text. He also participated in the second major campaign, when he produced the plan of the ancient city used until present day, subsequently added new contents by various contributors. Later in his career he returned once more to the archaeological remains of Heraclea Lyncestis, to present his recent observations on the archaeology of the site.⁶

Shortly to remind. The archaeological site of Heraclea Lyncestis is located in south-western part of the Republic of North Macedonia, as part of *Macedonia prima*. It was located at the western side of the present day Pelagonian plain, more precisely its central part, which until the beginning of the XX century was a deep marsh. Its draining started in 1927 and was finalised in the 1965 since when it became a fertile plain. The city was located on the route of the *Via egnatia*, several kilometres south from modern Bitola. (Fig. 1)

The discussion titled *post-processual archaeological observations* is centered on several valuable discoveries unearthed in the initial period of lay or professional archaeological activity at this site, and observes them primarily with respect to the time elapsed since their bringing up before the eyes of the professional public, and the modest to no attention paid on national ground since then. So, we'll go back in time to the late Ottoman tenure in the Balkans, when, by rule, on the request of high local authorities initiated by foreign diplomats and delegates

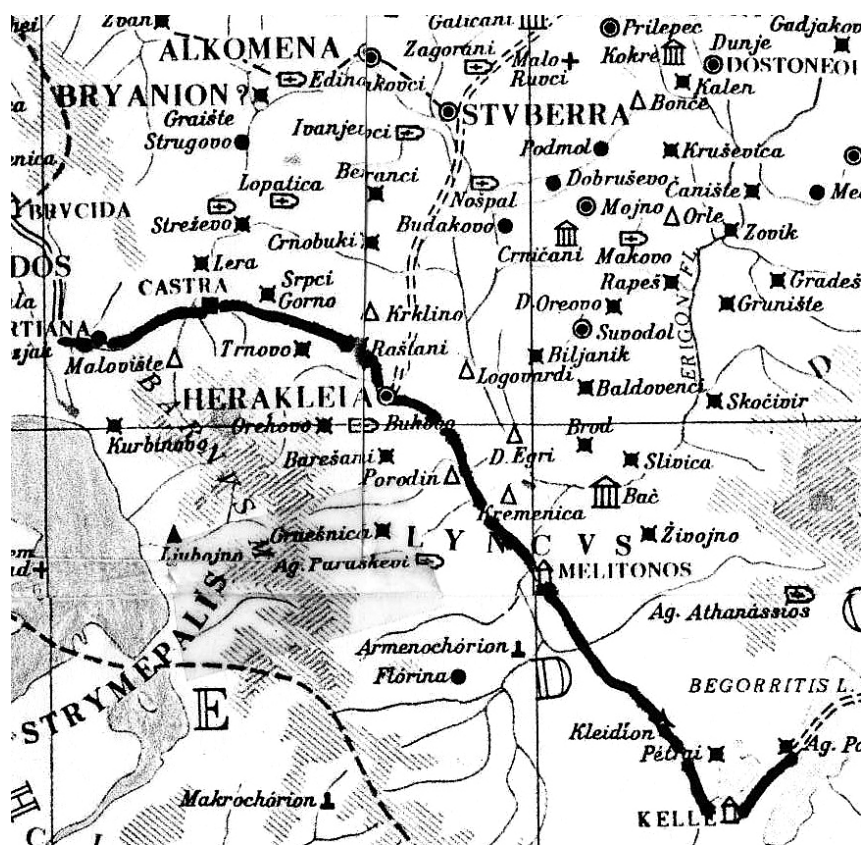


Fig. 1 A segment of the *Via egnatia* containing the position of *Heraclea Lyncestis* and the sites mentioned in the text (the section is borrowed from a map in the TIR K34 Sofia, Ljubljana 1976)

from the west European countries, the Sultan passed written approvals to conduct excavations, granted them with finds, and occasionally allowed transport of unearthed goods to their countries in exchange for fiscal compensation or favors.⁷ Thus, large number of finds, marble or more rarely bronze busts, sculptures and statuettes, architectural sculpture, epigraphic objects and mostly coins, reached the archaeological museums of Istanbul, Paris, Britain as well as other countries.

(Fig. 2) The ancient site in its early days lied on a low hill slope of the Baba Mountain surrounded by the Siva Voda River, at 3-4 kilometers distance from the village Bukovo, an area extensively planted with vine. On the account of written sources the place from where the statues were drawn up from the earth is impossible to locate today except on the basis of presumptions.⁸ The overall review of data shows that most relevant proofs of earliest existence and status of the settlement, apart from written sources, are acquired as archaeological excavation results,

Explorations 2008-2014, Bitola 2016. Besides the mentioned, numerous other works were published in national and foreign publications by a number of researchers.

⁵ П. Мачкиќ, И. Микулчиќ, *Каталог на античките предмети од Хераклеја*, Хераклеја I, Битола 1961, 45-67.

⁶ I. Mikulčić, *Pelagonija u svetlosti arheoloških nalaza od egejske seobe do Avgusta*, Skopje, 1966, T. XXVIII fig. 39; idem., *Хераклеја Линкестис, Антички град во Македонија*, Скопје 2007.

⁷ H. Andonovski-Poljansky, *Contributions to the Archaeological Treasures in Macedonia, Some Unedited Despatches from the British Diplomatic Representatives in the XIXth Century*, Bulletin of the Archaeological Museum – Skopje, T III, Skopje 1961, 1-26.



Fig. 2 A panoramic view of the central urban core of *Heraclea Lyncestis* made from the Acropolis (personal photo documentation)

epigraphic finds and random discovery of several sculptural monuments today preserved in various international museums. To these pieces of art, which in my opinion are not sufficiently exploited in the interpretation of the ancient city's earliest history and culture, is devoted this text.

The extremely thickly urbanized centre of Heraclea doesn't leave much space available for excavations. The most spacious sector of the urban core is covered by the Large Christian basilica, which offered limited ground for examining the underlying strata, primarily the remains built prior to the construction and on top of the Roman forum, dated from the fourth to the second quarter of the fifth century when the first mosaic floor of the basilica is considered to have been laid down.⁹ Beneath it mixed remains of a settlement of late Hellenistic and early Roman date were revealed.¹⁰ On the account of un-

earthed pottery fragments coming from interrupted stratigraphic layers the oldest finds were dated to the late III century BC, a time when the settlement was considered to have spread down the hill, presumably from the acropolis, so far unconfirmed by archaeological finds, or rather from the hill's upper slopes towards the lower terraces.¹¹ However, two of the oldest coins found at the site attributed to Philippus Arideus (323-316 BC) and Philip V (220-179) were uncovered inside two vaulted chambers of the theatre scene rear, no. 2 and 6, respectively, at their lowest stratigraphic layers above virgin soil, therefore *in situ* and unrelated to later Roman construction, but rather to the effective use and ritual practices presumed to have taken place there.¹² In course of recent excavations pottery fragments, *lucernae* and numismatic

and the Problem of Chronology and Interpretation, *Macedon. acta archaeol.* 15, Skopje 1999, 269-291.

¹¹ Манева, *Неколку типови и форми на елинистичка и римска керамика од Хераклеја*, Битола 1979, 7, most precisely defined the earliest *terminus ante quem* for laying out the first mosaic floor of the Large Basilica.

¹² Јанакиевски, *Темап* 1987, table p. 83, no. 1, 2. The material uncovered there will be discussed in a forthcoming publication: Lj. Džidrova, *The transformation of the central urban area of Heraclea Lyncestis and the Theatre Square*.

⁸ At that time urban architectural remains were fully covered with eroded earth from the hill lying to the north of the city.

⁹ Е. Манева, *Неколку типови и форми на елинистичка и римска керамика од Хераклеја*, Битола 1979, 7, most precisely defined the earliest *terminus ante quem* for laying out the first mosaic floor of the Large Basilica.

¹⁰ The succession of building complexes and generally the urban history of the city are first reviewed and systematized in detail in: Lj. Džidrova, *Heraclea Lyncestis*

finds dated from the IV/III to I century BC/AD were uncovered west of the theatre complex and south next to the Roman fortification wall.¹³

Roman occupation of Macedonia in 167 BC and its annexation to the Empire as a province in 146 BC, promoted Heraclea as a part of the IV *meris* with *Pelagonia* as capital, a theme that long since initiated the problem of identification of this city with the site under discussion.¹⁴ Nevertheless, Heraclea's strategic position on the *Via Egnatia* largely contributed to its prosperity. The new communication route reconstructed in the second half of the II c. BC was set over or along the remnants of its precedent, in its western section of the Kandavian road, as well as on the other sections traced all the way to Byzantium.¹⁵ The so far unearthed archaeological finds in Heraclea present an indivisible cultural material that documents its early existence with two expectedly separable phases of development until the Augustan time, when Roman finds become better discernible, earning the qualification of a Hellenistic-Roman settlement.¹⁶ The proximity with the East and the Aegean surrounding within this time span, best reflected in the pottery finds both imported and of local production, point to the Hellenistic orientation of the local culture, an uninterrupted bondage preserved into early Roman Imperial time.¹⁷

Earliest archaeological remains go back to proto historic strata dated to the VIII-VII c. BC,¹⁸ following

¹³ Ѓорѓиевска, Насух, *Heraclea Lyncestis* 2016, cat. no. 1-15. Two lamps in: Е. Манева, *Светилки од музејската збирка во Хераклеја*, Зборник на трудови 4-5, Битола 1984, 50, cat. no. 9, 10, were attributed to I c. AD.

¹⁴ Ф. Папазоглу, *Хераклеја Линкестидска во светлината на книжевните и епиграфските текстови*, Хераклеја 1, Битола 1961, 7-34; eadem., *Хераклеја и Пелагонија*, *Antiquité vivante* IV-2 (1954), 315-316.

¹⁵ М. Fasolo, *La Via egnatia*, I, *Da Apollonia e Dyrrachium ad Herakleia Lynkestidos*, with the paper of F.W. Walbank "The Via Egnatia: its role in Roman strategy," *Viae Publicae Romanae I*, Roma 2005. On the older road markers see sections 2-4. The first section initially ended at Cipsela on the Ebro, while Thessalonica lied at midway of the route. Only later the easter section of the route was completed as far as Byzantium. *Ibid.*, 283. Ф. Папазоглу, *Македонски градови у римско доба*, Скопје 1957, 189.

¹⁶ Манева, *Неколку типови*, 9-10; Папазоглу, *Македонски градови*, 186 ff.

¹⁷ Манева, *Неколку типови*, 52-53.

¹⁸ G. Svetković-Tomašević, *Osvrt na rezultate istraživanja u Herakleji Linkestis od 1959. do 1974. godine*, Materijali XV, Beograd 1975, 31 fig. 2; eadem., *Упоредно испитивање вишеслојних археолошких налазишта у Хераклеји Линкестис, Улпијани и Сингидунику/Београду*, Саопштења XIX, Београд 1987, 10, 12-13

which appears the first epigraphic find with a stamp pressed upon a fragment of a pithos rim, with the inscription ΛΥΓΚΕΣ dated between IV and II c. BC, yet a problematic dating.¹⁹ Its discovery witnesses pottery production at the site intended for storage and export of surplus products, expectedly of grain. The ethnonym is related to the ruling house of Lynkos, which was devoted to the cult of Bakhus, and claimed Corinthian origin.²⁰ Earliest information comes from the V c. BC, when Upper Macedonian tribes were first mentioned by Herodotus, and were discussed in more detail by Thukidides and Strabo.²¹ The territory according to Strabo was called free and it encompassed the Lyncestae and the Elimioties, which though had their own kings they still accepted the supreme rule of the Macedonian king, together with the Orestes and Pelagones.²² Their territory was called Lynk/Lynkos as named by Thukidides, Livy and Strabo, and only in Ptolemy it appeared as *Lynkestis*, who mentions Heraclea as capital or the only

with the earliest pottery fragments from the Monastery called also Episcopal residence, and p. 18. She managed to present an inclusive sequence of cultural layers, yet due to spatially limited excavations, poor documentation and unpublished archaeological finds that make the several decades after the excavations presented stratigraphy imprecise and often arbitrary.

¹⁹ Папазоглу, *Македонски градови*, 189 n.12 with a detailed alternative analysis of the inscription, where the inscription was attributed to an amphora hand; eadem., *Хераклеја Линкестидска*, T. I fig. 1; eadem., *Héraclée et Pélagonie*, 315-316; IG 51; Јанакиевски *Антички театри*, 47, fig. 39, gives correct identification of the pottery sherd. Its discovery on the site of the Small Basilica in course of the first excavations in the early 1930-ies is not promising for the early date attributed to it, particularly if known that the name Lynkos was preserved in use until late antiquity. В. Калпаковска, А. Ѓорѓиевска, *Животот во Хераклеја Lyncestis преку епиграфските споменици*, Битола 2003, cat. no. 1, 23.

²⁰ J.R. Ellis, Macedonia under Philip, in: *Philip of Macedon*, Athens [] 147, according to Strabo 7. 326.

²¹ Her. VIII, 137; Thuk. II, 99; Thuk. IV, 124; Str. VIII, 326; Папазоглу, *Македонски градови*, 168-169.

²² Str. VII, 326; caes. Bell. civ. III, 34; whether all territories within Upper Macedonia enjoyed the freedom is not certain, as well as the extent for which this privilege lasted, Папазоглу, *Македонски градови*, 168-169, 171. An interesting observation created on the example of multy-layered mythological composition developed on information created over large sequences of time of prehistoric date, only in this case created by chronographic records mainly of the first millennium AD, was edited by Ed. M.D. Stratis, *The Argaeo-Temenids and the Origin of the Macedonian Royal House*, an excerpt from: *The Hellenism of the Ancient Macedonians*, by A. Dascalakis, Thessalonike 1965, published on <http://www.macedonia.com/english/history/royal/> last seen on 5/22/2018.



Fig. 3 The herm of Aeschines (389-314 BC), a Roman copy or a mid IV c. BC original (https://commons.org/wiki/File:Aeschines_bust.jpg with a permission to release this photograph into the public domain, applicable worldwide)

city within the territory,²³ in the Itinerarium Burdigalense represented with a vignette typical for a *civitas*.²⁴ The high status of the settlement in early Roman times is witnessed by the inscription erected in Dionysopolis on the Pontus in favor of its citizen Acornion Dionysius, a representative of the Dacian king Boirebista who met Pompeus in *Makedonia at Herakleia by the Lykos* in 48 BC (gr.).²⁵

²³ Папазоглу, *Македонски градови*, 186-187, 188.

²⁴ Itin. Burdig. 606,9; M. Fasolo, *La Via egnatia*, 242.

²⁵ Папазоглу, *Македонски градови*, 189-190, n. 13 and 15 with explanation on the phrase *by the Lykos*, which suggests on the (river) Ly(n)k according to the similarly named river often found in inscriptions from Asia Minor, which raised misunderstanding in the definition of this ethnic territory.

As already well known, in order to sustain military and political establishment, King Philip II at the time of expansion of his kingdom built fortifications in the bordering regions to the Illyrian lands as indicated by Demosthenes in his First Philipica, who pointed out that Heraclea was located at the entrance of, and not in, Lynkestis, therefore not an original part of the tribal territory, but only annexed to it after the Illyrian conflicts, according to F. Papazoglou. It became inseparable from Macedonia only in later times.²⁶ The statement is further supported by Strabo's explanation after Polybius, on the route of the Via Egnatia and the access to Herakleia and Lynkestis ... to Thessalonika.²⁷ An honorary inscription raised to P. Kailidios Fronton clearly stated that the Lynkesti were not citizens of Herakleia, but were affiliated to the urban territory.²⁸ From there Philip II before 349 BC founded, or possibly only fortified the existing settlement at the brim of the Upper Macedonian tribe *Lynkestae*. He named it *Heraclea*, according to the dynastic tradition of the ancestors Argeadai, and Perdikas, the founder of the house of the Temenids, both descendants of Heracles.²⁹ The event indicates that this was not a random case, but a generalized method coordinated with the social and military policy of current rulership. This act aroused great enmity in the city states to the south, particularly in Athens as the most powerful ruling centre. Following the fall

²⁶ Demosth. Phil. I, 48; on the basis of the date of the I Filipika Beloch concluded the date of construction of Herakleia to be by 349 BC. Папазоглу, *Македонски градови*, 188-189. В. Dragojević Josifovska attempted to define the border between Macedonia and Epirus in the discussion of s.v. Brucida, according to her presumably by Bukovo, which is incorrect, according to *Itin. Hier.* 607, 2, it was documented as: *mutatio Brucida, finis Macedoniae et Ephyri*, located in early antiquity on the Via Egnatia; also s.v. *Herakleia* and *Bukovo*, discussed by the same author, in: *Tabula Imperii Romani, Naissus-Dyrrachion-Scupi-Serdica-Thessalonike*, K 34 Sofia, Ljubljana 1976, 62; Папазоглу, *Македонски градови*, 195-196, located the sites near Resen. For more see lower n. 33. A most detailed presentation of the Lychnidis- Heraclea Lyncestis segment of the Via egnatia with the enumerated sites found along it, the *stationes* and *mansiones* can be found in M. Fasolo, *La Via egnatia*, 241-250, with a single mistake that Kozjak-Goren Kozjak with the site Baragala were mentioned under no. 224 in p. 247, instead of Kozjak in the Ohrid region.

²⁷ Str. VII, 323; Папазоглу, *Македонски градови*, 189, 190.

²⁸ Папазоглу, *Македонски градови*, 191; В. Калпаковска, А. Ѓорѓиевска, *Животот во Heraclea Lyncestis*, no 22, p. 35, with older bibliography.

²⁹ Perdicas founded the capital of Macedonia Aigai on the Haliakmon River, N.G.L. Hammond, *The End of Philip*, in: *Philip of Macedon*, Athens [], 166-175.

of Olynthus in 348 BC the events brought Aeschines (389/390-314 BC), an experienced official of Athens and one of the Attic ten orators, into the political arena, at that time personally an unconvinced promoter of the new Macedonian politics. (Fig. 3) He was sent together with Demosthenes for an embassy to induce the Peloponnese city states against Philip II. In the spring of 347 BC Aeschines addressed the Assembly of the Ten Thousand in Megalopolis, Arcadia, urging them to unite and defend their independence against Philip II. However, in course of the negotiations he sought to reconcile the Athenians to Macedonia's expansion in Central Greece. During his second embassy in 346 BC, he ratified the terms of peace which brought him accusation on charge for treason by Demosthenes and Timarchos.³⁰

The successful embassy of the famous orator, who advocated peace instead of conflict with the Macedonian kingdom and helped it earn a prosperous political status, was taken with great appreciation in the ruling house, but not in *Heraclea* which inhabitants are considered not to have been inclined to the central Macedonian politics.³¹ However, a specific reason may have motivated the positive solution. In long term the territory was continuously under the pressure of threat from struggle against the hostile tribes to the north, east and north-east of the country, particularly from inroads by Dardanians and Thracians. This was also a central occupation of the Macedonian Kings, not to speak of other later invasions as the disastrous Gaul's invasion of 279 BC. In times of crisis even much later, after the revolt of Andriscus in 148 BC, when Macedonia became a Roman province, the conditions enticed the Roman Senate to become more active in Macedonia in order to prevent any threat of revolt and provide intact condition of the four *merides*, by permanent stationing of Roman troops in the *provincia*. This by all means redefined its original functional meaning including supervision by a general holding an *imperium*, in the rank of proconsular governor.³² Observed in long terms similar conflicts

³⁰ www.Aeschines/Greek orator/ Britannica.com; J. R. Ashley, *The Macedonian Empire: The Era of Warfare under Phillip II and Alexander the Great, 359-323 B.C.*, 1998, accessible on Google Books no. 1566195195, last viewed in September 2018. M. Errington, *A History of Macedonia*, Barnes Noble 1994, ISBN 1-56619-519-5; C. Hugh, s.v. Aeschines, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition), Cambridge University Press 1911, p. 271.

³¹ Манева, *Nekolku tipovi*, 9.

³² Walbank, *The Via egnatia*, in: M. Fasolo, *La Via egnatia*, I, p. V. Gnaeus Egnatius was elected Praetor prior to 146 BC after that to be assigned the newly created province Macedonia as its proconsular governor, replacing Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus who had the rank of Praetor.

periodically turned the *Via Egnatia* to the function of a *via militaris*, to acquire in more peaceful political conditions the status of *cursus publicus*.³³

More than two millennia later a marble bust of Aeschines was by chance uncovered in the vineyards of Bukovo. Closest record that documents its discovery is found in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, No. CLXXIII, with engraved name of the image in Greek. The bust, considered to be a Roman copy of a contemporary portrait, from *Bitolia* in Macedonia, was obtained by W.M. Leake, who presented it to the British Museum in 1839.³⁴ The military career of Leut.-Colonel W.M.

³³ The last statement refers also to the status of the road in early mediaeval time. Walbank, *The Via egnatia*, in: M. Fasolo, *La Via egnatia*, I, p. V, describes the route of *Via Egnatia* as *via militaris* giving the geographic positions of Genusus/Shkumbin River to the Lake Lychmidos at 720 m above sea level, to 1190 m at Bukovo (?) to fall again to 577 at Heraclea. The heights between the last two positions at c. 3 km distance are almost at the same level above sea level. Analyzing the obviously mistaken position of Bukovo, it may be concluded that another site was probably taken into account, probably that of the road station Nicea (*Itin. Ant.* 318.4) of documented location on the *Via Egnatia* in the ravine Caparsko Pole set between the two mountain passes Derven/Gjavato (1167 m above sea level) to the west through which the connection with the Prespa Lake was conducted, and Prevalec (918 m above sea level) to the east connecting it to the Pelagonian Plane. The position was documented by a bilingual epigraphic inscription in gr./lat. There the existence of a *castrum* is confirmed located at Kale, Dolenci called *Castra* (*Itin. Ant.* 330.2) or *mutatio Parembole* (*Itin. Burdig.* 607, 1). S.v. *Castra*, by I. Mikulčić, in TIR K 34, 1976, p. 34; all these sites are considered to be one same, by M. Fasolo, *La Via egnatia*, 241-2; Папазоглу, *Хераклеја Линкестидска*, 31 n. 50; eadem., *Antiquité vivante* IV-2, Skopje 1954, 318 n. 33; Т. Јанакиевски, *Прилог кон прашањето за убицајата на античката населба Нисеа - станица на Via Egnatia*, Maced. acta archaeol 2, Prilep 1976, 189-204. idem., *Двојазичен натпис од с. Горно Српци*, *Antiquité vivante* XVI, Skopje 1966, 259-261. On the *cursus publicus* see: A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (284-602), Baltimore 1986, 830-834.

³⁴ The bust was inventoried in the British Museum under the signature C.I. 2000, with given dimensions: height 2 ft.2 ½ according to: H. Andonovski-Poliansky, *Contributions to the Archaeological Treasures in Macedonia*, in: Bulletin of the Archaeological Museum – Skopje, T III, Skopje 1961, Addenda no. CLXXIII, 15, where it is documented that the bust was obtained by Colonel Leake at Pelagonia in Macedonia. The information is found in: Ch. II. Inscriptions from Boetia, Thessaly, Corcyra, Macedonia, produced by Newton C.T., Hicks E.L., eds., in: *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part I, Attica, Oxford 1874, with quoted older literature. The appearance of Pelagonia as

Leake (1777-1860) enabled him to spend his active time in the West Indies, Asia Minor and around the Ottoman Empire, among else in Cyprus, Egypt and the Balkans. There he developed his interest for antiquities, explored ancient sites and formed a valuable private collection of coins and inscriptions. As an experienced military topographer he was sent in 1802 to survey the coast of Albania and Morea, while assisting the Turks against French attacks. In 1807 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Ali Pasha of Ioannina (former Tepelene), managed to gain his confidence and remained in his court as British representative. This facilitated his second visit of Epirus in 1809-1810 when for a year he resided at Preveza, Ioannina and the territories held by Ali Pasha (1740-1822) that spread over a large part of Western Rumelia including the western parts of Thessaly and Macedonia.³⁵ There Leake collected marbles, bronzes, gems and vases, but his chief interest were the Hellenistic bronzes, later published in his *Numismata Hellenica*. Among the marbles, which he presented to the British Museum, is specifically mentioned the Aeschines bust, provided for Leake by Ali Pasha, who possibly facilitated the acquisition.³⁶

In Macedonian bibliography the bust was first published in 1961,³⁷ later to be subject to art-historic

place of origin owes to the fact that W. Leake, together with the historians of the nineteenth century, considered that the site Heraclea was located near Lerin, while according to him the ancient city Pelagonia was located near modern Bitola. Papazoglou, *Héraclée et Pélagonie*, 310, n. 8.

³⁵ W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London 1835; https://en.wikipedia.org/William_Martin_Leake, last viewed in Sept. 2018.

³⁶ Leake had an important part in the transport of the Elgin marbles and accompanied them in 1802 on their way from Athens to England. He tried to sell a major part of his collection to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, completed only posthumously. [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Leake_William_Martin_\(DNBOO\)](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Leake_William_Martin_(DNBOO)) p.1-2, where as a year of presentation of the marbles to the British Museum stands 1889. They are published in: A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1882, 267, 268. He published several of his topographic and antiquarian studies, among which W.M. Leake, *Numismata Hellenica*, London 1854 (1855), with Supplement, 1859, still considered a valuable historic source, and his *Travels in Northern Greece*, London 1835 in 8 vol-s. About his collections see: *Journal of the History of Collections*, Vol. 24, Issue 3, Nov. 2012, Special Issue: *Greece and Rome at the Fitzwilliam Museum*, and particularly: M. Wagstaff, *Colonel Leake's collections: Their Formation and their acquisition by the University of Cambridge*, 327-336, and on <https://academic.oup.com/jhc/issue/24/3>.

³⁷ First published by Н. Вулић, *Споменик СКА XXV*, Београд 1933, cat. no. 10-14; Мачкиќ–Микулчиќ, *Каталог на антички предмети*, 60, Fig. 77; *Antike Porträts*

analysis using comparative evidence from earlier research to accept previously suggested interpretation as a Roman copy dated in emperor Hadrian's time.³⁸ At this place it seems necessary to object the suggested opinion of the similarity of the Bitola herm with the marble bust found in the Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum, a roman copy dated to 23 BC-14 AD, kept in the Archaeological Museum of Naples, which presented the orator, addressed a philosopher, as a youngster.³⁹ Another Aeschines' sculpture from Naples, larger than life size, bears an image at least of a decade or more older person than the Bitola bust, which corroborates well with the suggested later dating for the statue proposed by M. Bieber to 340-330 BC.⁴⁰ If the revised online information, where the Bitola bust's origin as a fourth century BC original is accepted,⁴¹ possibly produced during Aeschines' lifetime, the calculation of age would give a date of execution of the portrait herm at the time when he was on his second embassy in 346 BC at an age of 40-45 years, which corroborates well with the image. From there it may be presumed that the original bust was probably ordered in Athens, by any of the two sides, as a tribute for his efforts in contracting peace with the Macedonian king. The great Athenian who guid-

aus Jugoslawien, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte-Frankfurt am Mein, 1988, Ausstellung Katalog no. 112, total height 0,67 m, head height 0,30 m; see also: Јанакиевски, *Антички театри*, 47, Fig. 37.

³⁸ В. Соколовска, *Античка скулптура во СР Македонија*, Скопје 1987, 108-109, Т. 9, Fig. 1, found similarity with Aeschines portrait from the Vatican and pointed out that the two enabled the identification of the Aeschines' sculpture from Naples, dated by M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 62, Fig. 194, 195, to 340 and 330 BC. The dating of the Aeschines herm in the second century is accepted by: Калпаковска, Ѓорѓиевска, *Животот во Heraclea Lyncestis*, cat. no. 29.

³⁹<https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-naples-archaeological-museum-a-bust-of-a-greek-youth-in-the-museo-95683672.html>. It is impossible to notice the similarity with the Bitola portrait as the Naples bust was presented in profile

⁴⁰ See n. 15, and also: R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic sculpture*, Thames and Hudson Ltd., London 1991, 37-40, fig. 38. Since I am not an expert in this sphere, I decline from entering an in depth discussion, but just give comparative data in order to urge an update revision. In that respect I accept criticism and leave the discussion to professional expertise.

⁴¹ The description raises some unclarity found on the web sites of the British Museum and its collections – busts, in www.Aeschines/Greek orator/ Britannica.com; and in https://commons.org/wiki/File:Aeschines_bust.jpg with the new dating. There exists uncertainty referring to its possession, pointing out that it is *on display* in the British Museum, and not *in possession*, as it would be expected.

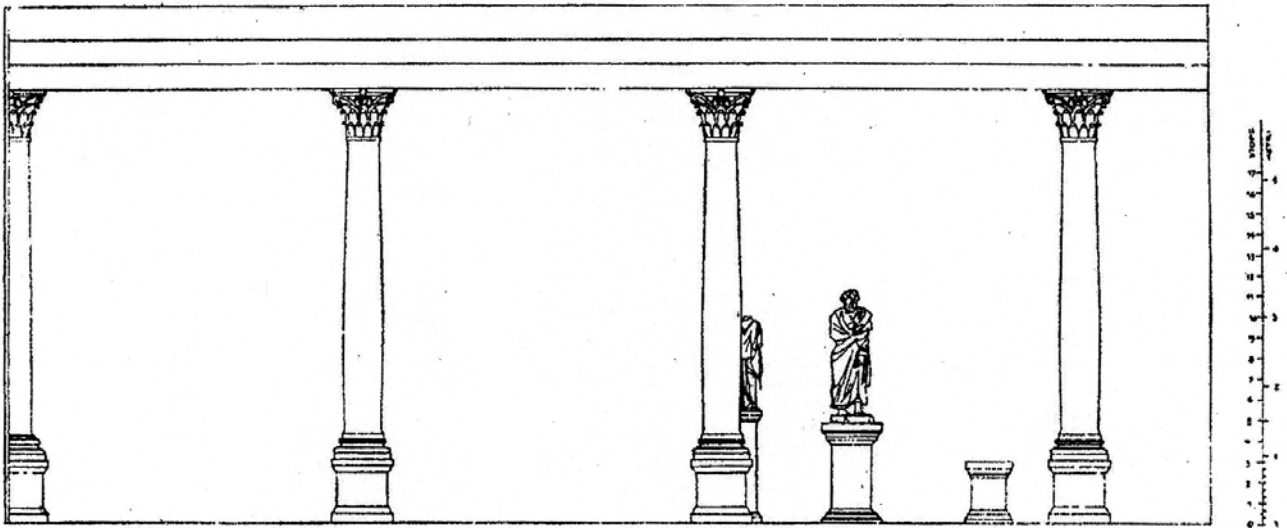


Fig. 4 Frontal appearance of the North Portico built in the early II c. AD, remained in function until the Early Middle Ages (according to: Г. Томашевік, *Портик*, 1965, 13, fig. 2, with an inversion)

ed the fortunes of his city at one of the most critical periods of her history, and to whom together with the creative geniuses of Pheidias and Iktinos, the great achievement of the Parthenon was due, was awarded a series of sculptures mentioned by various historians, as Pliny, Pausanias who stated that he often saw his portrait in the Acropolis, and Plutarch, including several good replicas of his head.⁴² Whether the original or the Bitola herm was ordered for the positive outcome of the negotiations or for Aeschines' other deeds, as well as the question who procured it, is hard to answer. The great similarity with the herms of Perikles in the British Museum and in the Vatican, estimated as Roman copies of originals from about 440 BC attributed to Kresilas from Kydonia in Crete,⁴³ and if the same is applied to the Aeschines herm, a prolonged life not only of Classical and Hellenistic sculpture and portraiture, but of the culture and the social memory may be concluded. In the words of C.C. Vermeule, reference to copies of older masterpieces of painting and sculpture indicate that Hellenistic art did not expire through the first three centuries of the Roman Empire, nor was its continuation merely a phase of sterile, repetitive, academic copying. Hellenistic ideas shaped the course of art, Greek and Roman, in the Mediterranean and possibly also in the Latin West under the Empire. Rome's contributions to commemorative art and portraiture were balanced

by a continually vital output of decorative art in the Hellenistic tradition.⁴⁴ Whatever was the case, the portrait bust of the great benefactor found its way to the site in question, undergoing supposedly the Early Imperial sculptor's treatment of *new feelings for his marble surfaces, techniques not found in the true Hellenistic period*, which saved the friendly image for the history and its future generations. From there comes the first assumption that it was probably uncovered within a new setting in the Northern Portico giving a *synthesis of free standing sculpture and the effect of very high relief, with the architecture behind serving as the background of the curtain at the back of the stage. Roman preoccupation with architecture and engineering made this type of sculpture possible.*⁴⁵ (**Fig. 4**) In this case even the question who obtained the bust remains open.

And the occasion was serious. In the spring 346 envoys from almost the whole Hellenistic world assembled in Pella, in order a peace treaty to be conferred and accepted by Athens and Philip II, and the oaths to be sworn. The so-called *Treaty of Philokrates* was based on mutual recognition of the current possessions of each party, and an alliance was concluded. In that way Macedonia became diplomatically an important factor in the considerations of the southern city states, by which Philip II not only fulfilled his aims in respect to Athens, but on a formal level he put in order his relationship with the most important southern city states.⁴⁶ However, the Athenians were reluctant to pay their new partner due respect, and

⁴² Pliny *NH* XXXIV. 74; Pausanias I. 25. 1; Plutarch *Pericles* III. 2; and the not inscribed replicas in the Barracco Museum in Rome, the Staatliche Museum in Berlin and the Glyptothek, Munchen, after: G.M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and the Sculptors of the Greeks*, The new revised edition, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New Haven-Yale University, 1950, 233-234.

⁴³ Richter, *The Sculpture*, 234, figs. 624, 623.

⁴⁴ C. Vermeule, *Roman Art: Early Republic to Late Empire*, Boston 1979, 135-136.

⁴⁵ Vermeule, *Roman Art*, 135-136.

⁴⁶ Aeschines 2.112; Errington, *A history of Macedonia*, 74-76.

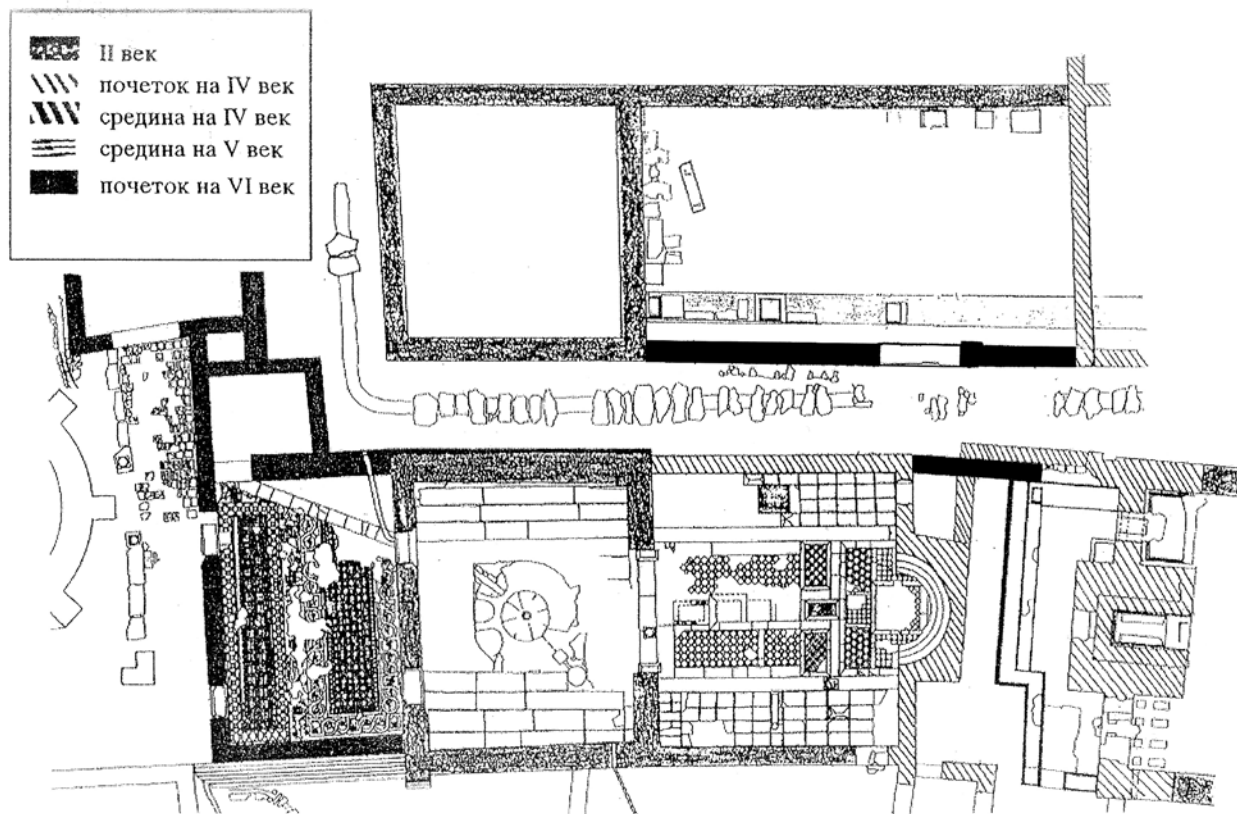


Fig. 5 Plan of the Double Portico with the remains of the original building and later additions to the North Portico and the South Portico incorporated into the Small Basilica (Peronally developed on the Plan I of M. Чанак-Медиќ, Хераклеја 2, 1965)

though obliged to recognize Philip's voting rights in the Amphiktyonic Council, they didn't send delegates to the Pythian festival where the victory was celebrated.⁴⁷

In order to provide supporting evidence as contribution to the vague idea about the appearance of the Hellenistic settlement of Heraclea, it will be approached on the account of the shape of the famous benefactor's portrait as a herm, a form that suggests original exposition in public space, usually placed along a road of ceremonial role in the city next to a *stoa*, an *exedra*, or certain public building.

The single place considered to have been the possible source of deposited statuary from where early XIX c. extraction may have been conducted, bearing in mind the uninterrupted archaeological remains since the start of the early Middle Ages at Heraclea, is the Northern Portico. From the time of its construction at the beginning of the II century and the early rule of Emperor Trajan (98-117) it didn't undergo any drastic changes, except a redefinition of its colonnade due to damage probably earned in an earthquake, which according to preserved remains started at the west from a quadrangular room and had

an undefined length preserved to 17.45 m length on the east side, where it was interrupted. (**Fig. 5**) Later it was cut by a wall and the building received a new plan. On the account of the displayed statuary in the portico it was assumed that the entire building functioned as a *buleuterion* that is a city council or a court house.⁴⁸ Another proof of a repaired damage is found on the top inner corbel of the *stoa* partly executed in marble, and partly in stucco, similar as the wall revetment executed in the two kinds of material.⁴⁹ New information was gained in course of trial excavations conducted in 1988 within the north isle of the Small

⁴⁷ Errington, *A history of Macedonia*, 70, n. 5 quoting Demosthenes 4, First Philipica.

⁴⁸ The width of the portico from the north wall to the inner side of the *stilobate* measured 7.45 m, Г. Томашевиќ, *Портик со почесни и вотивни споменици*, Хераклеја II, Битола 1965, 9 and further to 14, produced a diligent ideal reconstruction based on several remains of the interior arrangement of the North portico. She also attempted to reconstruct its structure as a double portico directly related to a forum, but on highly speculative basis, op.cit. 29, T XVIII. Some of the conclusions will be validated through later study. The identification of the North Portico as a part of a *buleuterion* was first proposed in: loc.cit. 14; eadem., *Osvrt na rezultate*, 31-32, as a presumption based on previous data and only partial excavations. No detailed evidence was ever published.

⁴⁹ Томашевиќ, *Портик*, 14, T. II c.

Basilica on the opposite south side of the street separating it from the North Portico, where a column pediment was revealed as part of a colonnade parallel to that of the north portico, confirming the suspected existence of an actual Double Portico.⁵⁰ Early excavations brought to light a large series of sculptural monuments placed along the North Portico western and the northern wall, which provided it the name of a *portico of honorary and votive monuments* given by its excavator. Due to intensive alterations in this central part of Heraclea in later antiquity, the originally preserved floor level of the portico apparently “sunk” below that of the bypassing street, actually raised by the construction of an aqueduct in the early VI c.⁵¹ A number of monuments were found there, among which a sculpture and two *bomoi* devoted to Nemesis, as well as the life size sculpture of Tit Flavius Orestes raised upon a *bomos*. They were all considered to have been placed there from the time of construction of the portico despite the varying ground level of the unpaved interior.⁵² There were also found sev-

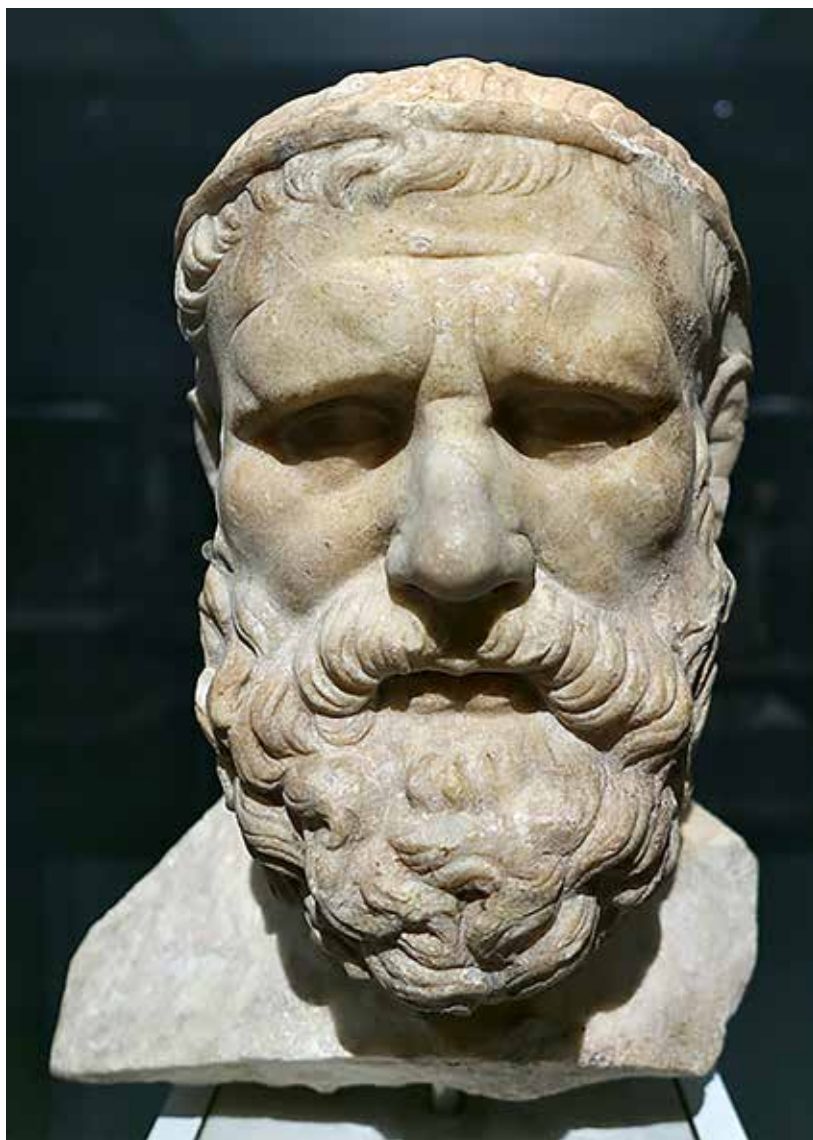


Fig. 6 A portrait of a poet, Arquiloco?, roman copy of a Hellenistic sculpture dated 100 BC/100 AD https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Poeta,_British_Museum.jpg : (licensed under <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en> permitting free share)

⁵⁰ The Form of a Double Portico was suggested at the time of the excavation by the field architect M. Čanak-Medić, *Ансамбл на Базиликата „А” од рановизантискиот период*, Хераклеја II, Битола 1965, 35-62, Plan XV, with a much better solution for a connection of the Double Portico with an exedra, revaluated in: Lj. Džidrova, *Heraclea Lyncestis and the Problem of Chronology and Interpretation*, *Maced. acta archaeol.* 15, Skopje 1999, 285-287, figs. 3, 4, 6, with the phases of existence of the North Portico and its later enclosures. Т. Јанакиевски, *Досегашни сознанија за изгледот на централното градско јадро на Heraclea Lyncestis во II век од н.е.*, Зборник на трудови 9, Битола 1988, plan in fig. 2 K, fig. 5.

⁵¹ The new pedestrian street surface was raised for 1.5 m, Томашевиќ, *Портук*, 9, 14-27. On its later changes see: Džidrova, *Heraclea Lyncestis*, 277-280, and on variation of the street level 286-287, n. 52. More on the aqueduct: Љ. Цидрова, *Водоснабдувањето на Heraclea Lyncestis*, *Maced. acta archaeol.* 20, Скопје 2011, 285-286, 390, fig. 3.

⁵² Г. Томашевиќ, *Портук*, 14, came to this conclusion despite the noticed earthen level variation for a total of 16 cm between floor elevation of the three monuments. The same author concluded that the original placement of the statues was inside the double portico on the account of their origin in the early II c., p. 9 and 11, which is dubious,

eral bases for sculptures or sculptural groups, one made in bronze, lost in the meantime, as well as a marble statue of Amfitritis seated on a delphin, which upper part was broken off and vanished, and a torso of an armoured soldier.⁵³ The state of uncovered and fully preserved sculptures fallen down from their

since the votive monuments may rather have been placed within the presumed sanctuaries and at sacred exposed locations.

⁵³ A c. 2 m wide block was used as a base for a bronze sculpture, Г. Томашевиќ, *Портук*, 14-16, figs. 2-7; most of the objects originate from the early excavations, but they are not all published. These two sculptures were uncovered in the western half of the portico according to: Јанакиевски, *Досегашни сознанија*, 5 and n. 2, fig. 1. Мачкиќ-Микулчиќ, *Каталог*, cat. no. 8, 9, fig. 8, 9. For a more complete overview see the catalogue.



Fig. 7 Athene Parthenos, marble statuette, a modern copy of the statuette reproduced early Roman time or in earlier antiquity, a copy of Pheidias' mid V c. BC colossal statue from the Parthenon (courtesy of the Museum and Institute – Bitola)

pediments covered with rubble or mud walls being raised upon them, may have caused their inaccessibility for pulling them out, unlike the missing upper part of the Amfitritis sculpture or the lost ones. Among them, bearing in mind the official character of the building as a city council, it may be concluded that also the herm of Aeschines once may have stood there after the construction of the portico, together with the deities that overlooked the urban well being in the company of images of the city's most esteemed citizens.

(Fig. 6) One more portrait of a poet may once have been deposited in the portico.⁵⁴ It represented

⁵⁴ Мачкиќ–Микулчиќ, *Каталог*, cat. 91; mentioned in: Јанакиевски, *Театар*, 13; idem., 1998, 47, fig. 38.

the poet Arquiloco, with a head band, which in a similar way as the Aeschines herm reached the British Museum. Judged by the photograph it may be assumed it was also a herm, a high quality artistic work of a well preserved portrait carved in pentelic marble, dated between 100 BC-100 AD.⁵⁵

To return once again back to the ancient sources, where stated that in order to counteract the prejudice vigorously fomented by his opponents, Aeschines found it necessary to defend the Macedonian king and describe him at the meeting of the Athenian popular assembly as being “entirely Greek.”⁵⁶ What it meant exactly is hard to say. Whether it aimed to neutralize the allegations of Macedonians as non-Greek, the standing point of the time, as M.R. Errington tries to argue, or not, it seems that at that time it was the last straw to catch up upon. Still, we can assume that a significant role in proving the *greekness* of the Macedonian king played the respect he had for the ongoing extensive negotiations and the signed treaty produced as a result, as well as of the contractual partnership concluded with Athens, but also for the culture of the Athenians, who, presumably, among the exchanged goods on this occasion presented him with a statuette of Athene Parthenos. Or was it on some other occasion. Indifferent of the way of acquisition, yet due to the time of origin and relationship to the original model, her appearance stands in favor of the king's cosmopolitan status.

(Fig. 7) The 1931 discovery of a copy of the colossal statue of Athene Parthenos made by Phidias, a masterpiece of the Perikles' Golden Age of Athens produced in the luxurious chryselephantine technique, speaks in favor of this. It was widely admired by the citizens, and the smart statesman Pericles who ordered it and made possible its creation, as well as its allocation in the Parthenon which building begun in 447-446 with the erected colossal statue dedicated

⁵⁵ https://commons.wikimedia.org/File:Poeta_British_Museum.jpg presented by José Luis Filpo Cabana as a personal work, last seen on 3 April 2018

⁵⁶ Errington, *A History of Macedonia*, 4. Demosthenes 19.308. There is an extensive debate considering this problem, where the interpretation of R. M. Errington is highly opposed by a number of historians, as E. Borza, E. Badian and P. Green, as well as many others, but which presentation by far exceeds the ambitions of this discussion.

⁵⁷ Richter, *The Sculpture* 215-220. The original was high around 11.5 m according to Pliny, www.ancient-history/athena-parthenos-by-phidias; or almost 11m and weighed around 1100 kg, according to T. Cvjetičanin, *Athena Parthenos, A unique copy of Phidias' work*, in: A. Starović *et al.*, National Museum, The Golden Ratio, Belgrade: Službeni glasnik and The National Museum in Belgrade, Belgrade 2017, p.120-121, where it is noted that the statuette was purchased for the Museum in 1932.

in 438 BC.⁵⁷ In the words of M. Grbić: *The wisdom flown into the image of the Goddess, the statesman's respect for it, the artist's creation and the epoch from which it sprang*, immortalized the remembrance of the colossal statue's magnificence in this miniature version.⁵⁸ In his brief description the author managed to revive the precision of the artist and his inspiration in recreating the Goddesses image, often described by Hellenistic and Roman writers, to which modern historians of art paid their respect by gathering and enlisting the copies made after the original image. At that time Grbić concluded the Heraclea statuette (full height 0,57/0,54 m) has closest reminiscence of the dignified classicism of the original.⁵⁹ In Macedonia it was reviewed by several authors, who proposed its identity as a second century AD Roman copy.⁶⁰ More recently, T. Cvjetičanin managed to elucidate on the splendour of classical Greek art of Phidias' time perhaps best preserved in this statuette from all other preserved copies, as from Varvakeion, Patras or Madrid, and proposed closer dating of origin of the statuette in the third to second century BC.⁶¹ Among the rather numerous copies the Varvakeion statuette is interpreted as a rough sketch, while the *Lenormant statuette*, of less defined forms, presents also the reliefs on the shield and the base.⁶² There are two more copies kept in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, a classicistic one very close to the Bitola statuette, according to the author, executed in a Hellenistic style that differen-



Fig. 8 Portrait of Menander (343-292 BC), preserved upper part of the head, a Roman copy of a well known Hellenistic original from the III century BC (according to: Г. Томашевік, *Портук*, Т. XIV)

⁵⁸ The fortunate discoverer, a local agrarian, painted it with lime to beautify his home garden, where a local amateur archaeologist, Mr. Buda Borisavljević, noticed and acquired it for the Museum of Prince Paul in Belgrade, a capital of the then Serbian kingdom, where by succession it is still kept until present in the modern National Museum of Serbia. М. Грбић, *Фидијина Атена Партенос*, Уметнички преглед 1 (1937-1938), 273.

⁵⁹ Грбић, *Фидијина Атена Партенос*, 274-275; idem., *Одабрана грчка и римска пластика у Народном музеју у Београду*, Београд 1958, 2, Т. XVII-XVIII;

⁶⁰ Мачкић-Микулчић, *Каталог*, 46, Сл. 1; Соколовска, *Античка скулптура*, no. 151 p.181, Т. 60, Fig. 1.

⁶¹ Cvjetičanin, *Athena Parthenos*, 121. On the other copies see: Richter, *The Sculpture*, 218 and Figs. 599-605, as well as on Athena from the Museo Archeologico and the Louvre, 105, 228, and Figs. 323, 322.

⁶² All enumerated copies of the original and their descriptions given by ancient authors can be found in: Richter, *The Sculpture*, 218-219, and figs. 599-604. The Varvakeion statuette is kept in the National Museum at Athens, figs. 599, 600, 218, as well as the Lenormant statuette, fig. 601, 218, and it is considered that the Monastir/Bitola statuette and that of the Patras Museum made from a cast, fig. 603, 218, the last probably of a later date, are of better execution.

⁶³ Richter, *The Sculpture*, 153 and 219, fig. 602, presented also a head kept in the Staatliche Museum in Berlin, and the Torso of the goddess from the Princeton Univer-

siates it from the strong classicism of Phidias.⁶³ With only faint idea of the character of Heraclea in the IV and III c. BC, it would be ungrateful to simply reject the idea of T. Cvjetičanin that the statuette may well have been produced in Heraclea Lyncestis itself,⁶⁴ although we are rather inclined to presume its origin closer to the site of the colossal statue. The variety of opinions and the close similarity of the mentioned statuettes call for a revision of the art historians' standpoints and the actual time of coming into being of the Bitola statuette. From there, its appearance in Heraclea and generally in Upper Macedonia, in an area

sity Museum, fig. 604, 219. Two more copies are kept in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, a classicistic one fig. 89, 113, and Athena with Kreuzägis (cross aegis), fig. 88, 114 f., 140, in: A. Schober, *Die Kunst von Pergamon*, Dem Andenken an Camillo Praschniker, Innsbruck-Wien 1951.

⁶⁴ Cvjetičanin, *Athena Parthenos*, 121.



Fig. 9. 1 - 2 The herms of Aeschines (389-314 BC), a modern copy of a Roman copy or of a mid IV c. BC original (photo of the modern copy, courtesy of the Museum and Institute – Bitola)

where the Athena's cult didn't play a significant role, comes as a surprise, the reasons for which are found in the particular historic moment. The reasons have been observed in more detail in a text engaged with the search for the ancient Macedonian city Pelagonia, from the V and IV c. BC onward, with a number of sites and finds from the wider vicinity of Prilep being reviewed.⁶⁵ S. Düll also attempted to collect the disposable data on Athena's presence in the arts of antiquity in North or Upper Macedonia and concluded that apart from her profile on the tetradrachmas of the Paionian king Audoleon in 300 BC, stands a long time span of absence until Roman Imperial time, with a brief appearance again on the monetary emission of the capital of the IV Roman district, Pelagonia,

⁶⁵ V. Lilčić, *Searching for Pelagonia City, The Centre of Macedonia IVth*, Macedonian Heritage I-1, Skopje 1996, 36-44.

⁶⁶ Among the two coin types her profile appears on the av. with the Dioskuroi in gallop on the reverse, Lilčić, *Searching for Pelagonia*, 37-38, fig. 2; S. Düll, *Die Göt-*

in mid II century BC,⁶⁶ which again has reference to the diplomatic missions of mid IV c. BC. Apart from that, her image was found on two votive reliefs from the vicinity of Prilep of the Athena Promachos type (second half of the II c.), and from Nebregovo, also nearby, with Heracles, from the first half of the III c. AD, as well as in a couple of grave stelae.⁶⁷ Altogether her presence as a cult image is rather rare, even if accepted that it was introduced at the time when the sculpture was brought to Heraclea, getting to the conclusion that the cult never took roots in this area.

Statues in the Classical and Hellenistic period were explicitly public, made as objects with a religious, political or social function, and as such they were set in public spaces and spaces related to their function – in temples, theatres or agoras. Besides their aesthetic values, each statue originally had a specific occasion and purpose for its erection and dedication, either as cult, votive, funerary or honorific, among which the last category was an essentially new and important for the Hellenistic period.⁶⁸ Votive sculptures dedicated to gods in return for their divine favors, received or anticipated a variety of subjects, most often an invocation and an image of the donor or of the god in question. They spanned the widest range of scale, material and purchasers. Their function ostensibly religious, was the reason for their setting up in sanctuaries, but nevertheless they were often charged politically as implied by the inscriptions. In this sense it can be concluded that the two *bomoi* and the marble sculpture of Nemesis (see above fn. 53), which as assumed were originally placed in the North Portico, were most probably transferred there from the Nemeseion at the tip of the theatre cavea from where she could perform her duties, and the other, the *bomos* with an address to the goddess of justice, presumably from the gallery of the theatre scene. Their displacement to the portico, possibly together with the Athena Parthenos, was by all means a method for preserving the divine images of earlier antiquity after the major damage the theatre scene suffered first in an earthquake about the turn of the VI century, following the one from the turn of the

terkulte Nordmakedoniens in Römischer Zeit, München 1977, 72-73, and cat. no. 82.

⁶⁷ Düll, *Die Götterkulte*, 73-74, cat. no. 83 and 79, for the grave stelae see cat. no. 78 and 85. Equally rare is the theophoric name found in only two cases, 75, altogether far more present in Southern Macedonia.

⁶⁸ Smith, *Hellenistic sculpture*, 1991, 9-10. More on the ancient sanctuaries in Heraclea see forthcoming: Lj. Džidrova, *The Transformation of the Central Urban Area of Heraclea Lyncestis and the Theatre Square*, Maced. acta archaeol. no 24, in preparation for print.

⁶⁹ Томашевик, *Портик*, 9, n. 2, figs. 6, 7, where she states that the compound was residential, estimated by

IV c. AD. In the next cataclysmic earth tremor in mid VI c. the *buleuterion* with the gallery of the famous suffered massively, which caused its closing down. Its remains were elevated with the street surface on top of which an architectural compound of six compartments was raised in rubble, a traditional manner of construction.⁶⁹ This is all we know for this sector of the time after mid VI c. and its culture.

But to return once more to the ancient times when kings monopolized commission of portrait statues of associates and members of royal families, as well as played a significant role in attracting men of learning and of entertainment to their residences. In this sense Philip II attracted many important Greeks to his court and as a skilled orator he influenced Athenians for reasons of high policy. His capital Pella for long was a resort and a refuge of great men of letters. The connection with Plato's Academy was preserved; Theopompus was entertained there as well as Isocrates; the leading actors of the Athenian stage appeared in Macedonia. Aristotle, whose father was a physician to King Philip's father Amynthas, spent three or four years as Alexander's tutor.⁷⁰ In lack of proofs we cannot presume about the intellectual life in Heraclea at this time or somewhat later, but the discussed sculptures bring us closer to the intellectual taste and the cosmopolitan spirit of this small town. In favor of it apart from the two sculptures devoted to Aeschines and Athena Parthenos, we can elaborate on the classicistic taste nurtured by a certain Ioulia Tertilla, who ordered the votive bomos to the *Tyche poleos* with a sculpture of Nemesis, evident in the goddesses posture, clothing and in her hairstyle with six long locks descending down her back. Allegedly it was cut from white Prilep marble in the beginning of the II c. AD, yet of much better quality than that of T. Flavius Orestes sculpture, one of the most highly honored men in Heraclea and nearby Styberra.⁷¹ The portrait bust of the poet Arquiloco mentioned above joins this group, as well as that of Menander, (**Fig. 8**) the renowned author of the New comedy (343-292 BC) from whose portrait sculpture was preserved only the upper part of the head. Dated to the beginning of the II c. AD, it was uncovered in the ruins of the Roman forum's

unknown reasons to us; Džidrova, *Heraclea Lyncestis*, 282, 285; Љ. Цидрова, *Традиционалната градба во архитектурата на Heraclea Lyncestis*, *Maced. acta archaeol.* no. 22, Skopje 2020, 187-188, fig. 11.

⁷⁰<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Philip-II-king-of-Macedonia> p. 5, last seen 8/18/2018.

⁷¹ Томашевиќ, *Порттик*, 26-27.

⁷² According to Томашевиќ, *Порттик*, 28. Јанакиевски, *Театар*, 102, 66, fig. 24; idem., 1998, cat. no. 44. *Antike Porträts aus Jugoslawien*, Ausstellung Katalog no. 114, height 0,20 m, width 0,16 m. There it is said that the head was found in the central aisle of the Large Basilica below the mosaic floor.

west porch.⁷² According to G. Tomašević it was a Roman copy of a well known Hellenistic original from the III century BC, influenced by the Lysipus type of Hellenistic princes.⁷³ Altogether the sculptures provide an aspect of the artistic life in the city where various arts were widely presented in its theatre.⁷⁴

Undertaking a method of rethinking the discoveries of some of the most distinctive monuments that past millennia left behind as witnesses of the time in which the city developed, predestined by the ambitions of its rulers and its natural potentials, hopefully can help enlighten a part of the unsolved questions of the early history of *Heraclea Lyncestis*. Times of war and peace, of paucity and prosperity, left a strong mark on the history of the region, here defined through a line of objects granted by highest royal and imperial beneficiaries. Well known to professionals, it seemed necessary to remind of their art-historic values, cultural and historic importance. Today possessions of the British Museum, the National Museum of Serbia in Belgrade, or the Museum at Heraclea, they are part of the highest graded world heritage. Although the country of origin was *robbed* of its wealth, yet it was saved for the new generations and the modern society. A noble act preserved them for the pride of the local and regional community of modern Bitola and the visitors of Heraclea. (**Fig. 9**) At an uncertain point during the second major excavation campaign performed at Heraclea between 1959 and 1974, the two sculptures, that of Athena Parthenos and Aeschines, were reproduced by the academic sculptor Aleksandar Tomašević from Belgrade as modern copies.⁷⁵ Since then they were both placed on display in the permanent exhibition of the Museum in Bitola to remind of the drifting political events in the distant past and the graciousness of famous men at the time, who helped leave a permanent mark on the millennial history of an ancient site and a modern town, and provided an everlasting remembrance to themselves.

⁷³ Томашевиќ, *Порттик*, 28-29, Т. XIV-XVII. Јанакиевски, *Антички театри*, 27, fig. 24, dated it to the II c. AD.

⁷⁴ On the variety of artistic presentations see: Јанакиевски, *Театар*, 51-63; idem., *Антички театри*, 13-36, for the four theatres in the Republic of North Macedonia.

⁷⁵ Mr. Mihajlo Topalovski, an archaeologist who worked during this major excavation campaign in Heraclea Lyncestis witnessed the authorship, which remained unrecorded in the museum documentation. The information was passed on by Mrs. Anica Gjorgjievska, a Senior Advisory Curator at the Museum in Bitola, to whom I express my gratitude, as well as to other colleagues who assisted with information for the preparation of this text. Gratitude is paid also to the NI Museum and Institute for preservation of the Archaeological Monuments in Bitola which allowed me to publish the photographs of the two modern copies of ancient sculptures.

ПОСТ-ПРОЦЕСУАЛНИ БЕЛЕШКИ ЗА РАНИТЕ АРХЕОЛОШКИ ПОДАТОЦИ ЗА

Heraclea Lyncestis

(Посветено на проф. Д-р Иван Микулчиќ)

Резиме

Неодминливата карактеристика на археолошките истражувања, *диви*, односно лаички, или професионални, сондажни или систематски, во својата суштина неодминливо е врзана освен за умешноста на главниот истражувач да го протолкува теренот и да избере квалитетна локација за ископување, и со неговата среќа. Така во склоп на најраните познати лаички истражувања од пред околу 200 години, од културните слоеви на археолошкиот локалитет *Heraclea Lyncestis* е извлечена една мермерна биста, херма на Есхин, а нешто подоцна, при првите стручни истражувања 1931 г. се дознало за веќе откриената мермерна статуета на Атина Партенос. Нивното откривање пред кодификација на стандардната археолошка методологија и нејзината студиска примена, не лишува од прецизни сознанија за местото на откривање, но сепак ги става двете скулптури на подиумот на најзначајните откритија во културната историја на овој антички град. Иако добро познати, нивната вистинска вредност, значење и причините за нивната поврзаност со Хераклеја, го подтикнуваат впечатокот дека тие никогаш не биле соодветно опсервирани. Одтука, размислувајќи за милениумите бурна историја што минале по делницата на стариот Кандавијски пат, односно римската траса на *Via egnatia*, која од средишниот дел од широката рамнина на југот на Македонија се пробива на север од Долна во Средна Пелагонија долж западниот раб на ниските планински падини на Баба, битно придонела за формирањето и развитокот на овој антички град меѓу мноштвото населби со различен статус и големина во поширокиот регион. Неговото непрекинато живеење од праисторијата, со акцент на раната и доцната антика и средниот век се до денес, и нијансите кои ја дефинираат неговата историја и култура, неодминливо се сопнуваат на споменатите две скулптури, кои со високите уметнички вредности и статусот на личностите кои ги представуваат, било со хумана или божествена природа, не под-

тикнуваат да ги ревидираме причините за нивно то појавување во Хераклеја.

И двата лика се високи предстваници на Атинскиот културен круг потекнати во релативно сроден период. Атина Партенос во својата колосална верзија по избор на Перикле, творецот на монументалниот проект Партеон каде скулптурата во изведба на Фидија во хризелефантинска техника била поставен помеѓу 447 и 438 г.п.н.е., кога таа била осветена, го одликува Златното класично доба на Атина. Есхин (389/90-314 г.п.н.е.) пак, искусен службеник и еден од десетте оратори на Атика, е клучниот фактор во измирувањето на односите по воздигнувањето на Македонското кралство предводено од кралот Филип II, и наспроти првичната намера да ги нас’рчи хеленските градови држави против него на Собирот во Мегалополис 347 г.п.н.е., за да стане негов промотор меѓу градовите на југот на Грција и Атина. Сключувањето на Филократовиот мир пролетта 346 г.п.н.е. е клучниот момент во развитокот на Кралството, кога се взаемно признаени поседите на двете преговарачки страни, и е договорено нивно сојузништво. Сепак Атињаните немале доволно добра желба да му оддадат почит на нивниот нов партнер, и иако биле принудени да му ги признаат гласачките права на Амфикионскиот Собир, тие сепак не испратиле свои предстваници на Питијскиот фестивал каде била славена победата. Сето ова секако дало повод за изработка на бистата на Есхин, во тоа време на возраст од 40-45 години, што одговара на староста на претставениот лик, еден од неговите бројни портрети поставени на јавните простори во Атина според сведочењата на Плиниј, Паузаниј и Плутарх. Сепак кој бил нарачателот на хермата е тешко да се одговори, дали Атињаните или поверојатно Кралот Филип II, за таа по пристигнувањето во Хераклеја да биде изложена на јавен простор, веројатно долж некоја церемонијална траса близу до стоа, екседра или јавна градба.

Единствениот простор каде скулптурите можеле да бидат лоцирани во подоцнежниот период секако е Северниот портик. Во кризата на крајот на антиката, иницирана пред се од двата големи земјотреси кои биле причина за прекилот на животот на античкиот град и неговата трансформација во средновековен град, а особено по оној од почетокот на VI век, тука биле депонирани скулптурите кои во претходните векови на римско владеење биле јавно експонирани во Двојниот портик, на форумот, во Театарскиот комплекс и можеби уште некоја за нас сеуште непозната локација.

Во врска со претходниот настан се става и појавата на статуетата на Атина Партенос, врвната божица на Атина, која на Македонскиот крал веројатно му го обезбедила комплиментот „целосно Грк,” со кој Есхин јавно го *пофалил* Филип II на Атинскиот народен собир. Постојната евалуација на двете скулптури само делумно ја оправдува оваа секвенца на настани. Според документацијата на Британскиот Музеј, каде е изложена и се чува оригиналната биста на Есхин, таа е дефинирана како оригинал од IV в.п.н.е., додека нашите историчари на уметност, како и дел од светските познавачи, најчесто ја толкуваат како римска копија од II в. н.е. на постар оригинал. Наспроти тоа, статуетата на Атина Партенос во својот восхит за високите уметнички вредности кои ја одликуваат, и покрај претпоставеното *можно поникнување во време на поголема уметничка слобода карактеристична за помладиот IV век*, М. Грбиќ смета дека таа верно ја сочувала традицијата на возвишениот класичен стил, со кој се воздигнува над другите копии на Фидииниот оригинал. Слично хронолошко толкување има и оваа статуета, која се толкува како римска копија од II в.н.е. на постар оригинал, со исклучок на едно поново размислување кое ја датира во III и II век п.н.е. Ова секако подтикнува обид за потесна ликовна анализа на статуетата, во прилог на што одат и цела низа на сродни минијатурни копии на колосалната скулптура, во голем дел изведени во римскиот период, но и порано, меѓу кои нашиот наод се смета за еден од поквалитетните примероци.

Статуетата е откриена во тек на земјоделските активности на жител од с. Буково, кој ја поставил во својот двор како украс. Независно од тоа, може да се претпостави дека и таа е можеби извлечена со длабоко прокопување од истото место како и

хермата на Есхин, како и уште една херма на поет, Аркуилоко, изработена од пентелијски мермер и датирана во 100 п.н.е.-н.е. Единствено со сигурност се знае за првиот објект дека бил обезбеден со дозвола на Али Паша (1740-1822), кој имал своја стална резиденција во Јанина и Превеза, а владеел со областа на Западна Румелија, односно западна Тесалија, Епир и Македонија. Тој блиско соработувал со Наредник W.M. Leake (1777-1860), како представник на Британското кралство во таа област, искусен воен топограф кој во тек на неговите ангажмани во Азија и Европа развил страст за културните старини. Па така со посредство на Пашата од земјиштето над античкиот град, Хераклеја Линкестис, била извлечена бистата на Есхин, подоцна, заедно со онаа на Аркуилоко, подарена на Британскиот музеј во Лондон. Наспроти тоа статуетата на Атина Партенос била откупена 1932 г. од довереник на Народниот Музеј во Белград. Единствено горниот дел од главата на портретната скулптура на Менандар, познат автор на Новата комедија (343-292 г.п.н.е.), документирана како римска копија од II в.н.е. изработена според постар квалитетен оригинал од Лизиповата школа, во поново време била откриена во руините на западниот портик на римскиот форум, под егзонартексот на Големата базилика.

Сепак, овој скапоцен дел од монументалното споменично наследство на Хераклеја, иако денес се чува во страните музеи, вклучително и на уште некои наоди тезаурирани во други Европски музеи, го чува и представува споменот за големите и храбри дела на моќните луѓе на антиката и ги осветлува најраните векови на овој град како дел од светското и националното културно наследство. Во овој смисол се оддава почит и на еден член од истражувачкиот тим на поранешниот Југословенски завод, подоцна Републички завод за заштита на спомениците на културата на Република Србија во Белград, Г-инот Александар Томашевиќ, архитект, кој во периодот 1959 до 1974 г. изработил модерни копии на античките скулптури, хермата на Есхин и статуетата на Атина Партенос. Денес изложени во постојаната изложбена поставка на Заводот и Музеј-Битола тие потсеќаат на бруталните времиња на минатите милениуми и благородноста на познатите луѓе кои оставиле траен печат во милениумската историја на дрвениот град и неговиот модерен наследник, обезбедувајќи вечен спомен за своите дела.