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Spina, chariot horses and Athenian pottery

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This article examines the evidence for the trade in Athenian pottery from the point of view of the archetypal Athenian aristocrat, namely the owner of a team of chariot-horses. Plato's dictum 'In every city there are two cities: the rich and the poor' (*Rp.* 422e) has been consistently overlooked by those who take the figure of a drachma a day as the standard by which consumption might be measured. The owner of chariot horses will have been in another income bracket altogether, moving in circles where a drachma might be a trifling sum and where items such as gem stones, peacocks, houses, slaves, inheritances, dowries, were priced in *minae* (units of 100 drachmas). Prices of horses were expressed in *minae*, although some thor-

Spina, konji za utrke dvokolica i atenska keramika

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U ovom se članku ispituju dokazi o trgovini atenskom keramikom s motrišta arhetipskog atenskog aristokrata, točnije, vlasnika zaprege konja za utrke dvokolica. Platonovu izreku “u svakome gradu postoje dva grada: bogati i siromašni” (*Rp.* 422e) uporno smeću s uma oni koji jednu drahmu dnevno uzimaju kao standard prema kojemu se mogla mjeriti potrošnja. Vlasnik konjske zaprege pripadao je jednom posve drugom dohodovnom razredu i kretao se u krugovima gdje je jedna drahma predstavljala beznačajnu svotu i gdje se vrijednost stavki poput dragog kamena, paunova, kuća, robova, ostavina, miraza iskazivala u minama (*minae* - jedinice od 100 drahmi). U minama su se izražavale i cijene konja, premda se

oughbreds were valued in talents (larger units of 60 *minae*). Some of the finest chariot horses were imported from the Veneto in the northern Adriatic, and the rich finds of Attic pottery in the necropolis at Spina have been associated with this trade. There is, however, a large gulf between the prices attested for Attic painted pottery in antiquity and the prices we hear of for race horses. Indeed, such figures as have been cited in the literature suggest, for example, that if all the Attic pots ever produced were exported through the Piraeus in 399 BC (a year for which Athens' trade figures can be estimated), they would have formed less than 40% of the value of the goods traded. Spread over two centuries or more, the value of pottery in terms of Athens' trade will have been wholly insignificant. Finley's observation that 'silver was the most important Athenian resource' is followed up. Next to no coins have been found at Spina, but it is argued that commodities such as grain or race-horses will have been paid for with the ancient equivalent of large denomination bank notes. Much extant plate (and indeed plate now lost, but mentioned in temple inventories) is made up in multiples of one or another coinage. The silver on the ships sent out to bring back bulky cargoes will have not have taken much room; the space will have been filled with the kind of pottery found in such quantities at Spina: pottery made in imitation of Attic silverware of a kind that is now being found in increasing quantities, especially in Thrace. An added bonus of seeing the ancient world through the eyes of an Athenian aristocrat is that recent arguments that there were aristocratic pot-painters at Athens are wholly untenable. Finley's observation that Beazleyism is a case of the emperor having no clothes can be seen to possess a certain merit.

Keywords: Chariot racing, race horses, Athenian trade, Indian Ocean trade, Athenian painted pottery, Adriatic trade, Athenian aristocracy, Athenian silverware, Thrace, prices of pottery, prices of horses, Venetic steeds, minae, aristocratic potters, Alcmaeonids, Sir John Beazley, Beazleyism

vrijednost određenih punokrvnih grla iskazivala u talentima (većim jedinicama od po 60 mina). Neki od najvršnjih konja za utrke dvokolica uvozili su se iz Veneta na sjeveru Jadrana, a s tom se trgovinom povezuju i bogati nalazi antičke keramike iz nekropole u Spini. No prisutan je velik raskorak između cijena po kojima se, sudeći po dokazima, u antičko doba trgovalo slikanom antičkom keramikom te cijena o kojima se govori kada su posrijedi trkaći konji. Naime, iznosi koji se navode u literaturi ukazuju na to da bi, kad bi se svekolika antička keramika koja je ikada proizvedena izvezla preko Pireja u 339. godini pr. Kr. (kao godini za koju je moguće procijeniti brojke vezane uz atensku trgovinu), ona činila manje od 40 % vrijednosti ukupne robne razmjene. Rastegnemo li je na dva ili više stoljeća, vrijednost keramike imala bi posve neznatan udio u atenskoj robnoj razmjeni. Potvrdilo se Finleyjevo zapažanje da je "srebro bilo najvažnije atensko dobro". U Spini gotovo da nije pronađena ni jedna kovanica, ali tvrdi se da se za robu poput žita ili trkaćih konja plaćalo antičkim ekvivalentom novčanica u krupnim apoenima. Većina sačuvanog posuđa (pa i onog koje je danas izgubljeno, ali se spominje u popisima inventara hramova) čini višekratnike vrijednosti ove ili one kovanice. Srebro na brodovima koji su isplivljavali ne bi li se vratili s rasutim teretom nije zauzimalo mnogo prostora. Prostor je bio popunjen upravo onom vrstom keramike koja je u velikim količinama pronađena u Spini, tj. keramikom koja je predstavljala imitaciju onakve srebrnine kakvu danas pronalazimo u sve većim količinama, osobito na prostoru Trakije. Dodatna prednost promatranja antičkog svijeta očima atenskog aristokrata je u tome da se tako razotkriva kako su novije tvrdnje o postojanju aristokratskih oslikavača keramike posve neodržive. Finleyjevo zapažanje da "beazley-izam" predstavlja primjer cara koji je gol može se smatrati donekle utemeljenim.

Ključne riječi: utrke dvokolica, trkaći konji, atenska trgovina, trgovina na Indijskom oceanu, atenska oslikana keramika, trgovina na Jadranu, atenska aristokracija, atenska srebrnina, Tracija, cijene keramike, cijene konja, venetski ati, minae, aristokratski lončari, Alkmeonidi, Sir John Beazley, "beazley-izam"

There is an influential school of thought that still believes that the painters of Athenian pottery formed a community of artists, influencing each other, who were entertained at aristocratic banquets (and returned such entertainment), and who even included aristocratic members amongst their number.¹ That this cannot have been so, I hope to show in what follows, employing evidence from the Adriatic and elsewhere. A related problem is the fact that much Attic pottery decorated with aristocratic themes has been found in Etruscan tombs: the ‘dislocated spoils of an ancient antiquities market’, in the words of one observer. Such vessels were for the most part ostensibly intended for Attic symposia, but are thought by some to have reached Etruria as part of an elaborate second-hand market. This was the hypothesis advanced by T.B.L. Webster in his *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*: ‘a hypothesis that met with some misgivings among scholars when first broadcast but that has never been refuted ... with any enthusiasm.’² It is the intention of this article enthusiastically to reassess some of the issues involved (and all being well to refute Webster’s hypothesis) by looking at the relevant evidence from the point of view of the archetypal Athenian aristocrat, namely the owner of a team of chariot-horses. That many such horses came from the head of the Adriatic – ‘Venetic steeds’ as they are called in the literature, is a happy coincidence, for it enables me to provide an appropriate essay to honour my good friend and colleague Branko Kirigin. I recall with great pleasure our work together organizing an exhibition in Oxford on Branko’s investigations on Palagruža, the Adriatic Isle of Diomedes.³

Plato states in the *Republic* ‘In every city there are two cities: the rich and the poor’ (422e), but this harsh fact has tended to be overlooked by most archaeologists who have tended to look at life in ancient Athens through the eyes, or rather the pocket, of the skilled labourer whom we might for convenience’s sake consider to have earned a drachma a day at the end of the fifth century BC.⁴ The individuals who might import Venetic steeds from the head of the Adriatic, clearly belonged to the other city. As Ian Spence once put it, ‘being part of the equestrian milieu was an expensive

Postoji utjecajan krug teoretičara koji i dandanas drže kako su oslikavači atenske keramike tvorili zajednicu umjetnika koji su utjecali jedni na druge, koje su pozivali na aristokratske gozbe (a to su gostoprinstvo i sami uzvraćali) i u čijim je redovima bilo čak i pripadnika aristokracije.¹ Nadam se kako ću u nastavku dokazati da je to nemoguće, a pritom ću se poslužiti dokazima s Jadrana i drugih mjesta. S time povezan problem krije se u činjenici da je antička keramika ukrašena aristokratskim motivima velikim dijelom otkrivena u etrurskim grobnicama gdje se, prema riječima jednog promatrača, našla kao “plijen premješten s antičkog tržišta starina”. Po svojoj prilici, te su posude uglavnom bile predviđene za antičke gozbe (tzv. simpozije), ali neki smatraju da su u Etruriju dospjele preko razrađenog tržišta rabljene robe. U svojoj knjizi *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*, tu je tezu zagovarao i T. B. L. Webster, a ta je “teza, kada je prvotno objavljena, među znanstvenicima naišla na određene sumnje, ali nikada nije pobijena ... s nekom većom odrješitošću”.² Nakana ovoga članka je odrješito preispitati neke od prijevora o kojima se ovdje radi (a svi idu u prilog pobijanju Websterove teze), i to tako što se mjerodavni dokazi sagledavaju iz očista arheološkog atenskog aristokrata, točnije, vlasnika zaprege konja za utrke dvokolica. To što je mnogo takvih konja dolazilo s gornjeg Jadrana - a riječ je o “venetskim atima”, kako ih nazivaju u literaturi - sretan je stjecaj okolnosti jer mi pruža priliku za sastavljanje oglada prikladnog za posvetu mom dragom prijatelju i kolegi Branku Kiriginu. Veoma rado pamtim našu suradnju kada smo u Oxfordu zajedno postavljali izložbu posvećenu Brankovim istraživanjima na Palagruži, Diomedovu otoku u Jadranskom moru.³

U svojoj *Državi* Platon navodi kako “u svakome gradu postoje dva grada: bogati i siromašni” (422e), ali tu surovu činjenicu obično smeće s uma većina arheologa koji su život u antičkoj Ateni skloni promatrati kroz prizmu - ili, bolje rečeno, kroz džep - kvalificiranog radnika za kojega, čisto da bismo pojednostavili stvari, možemo pretpostaviti da je krajem petog stoljeća pr. Kr. zarađivao jednu drahmu dnevno.⁴ Pojedinci koji su sebi mogli priuštiti uvoz “venetskih atova” sa sjevera Jadrana, očito su pripadali onom drugom gradu. Kako je to jednom rekao Ian Spence, “pripadanje

1 Most recently Hurwit 2014, pp. 93-98, 182-183; cf. Kreuzer 2009; Williams 1997; Grimm 2001.
2 Spivey 2006, p. 659.
3 Vickers 2002a.
4 ‘For convenience’s sake’ since the scanty evidence (Erechtheum inscriptions) is not as clear-cut as some have assumed. See further Loomis 1998, pp. 231-239; Tordoff 2013, p. 31; Lyttkens 2013, p. 103. A sailor’s pay was the same: Pritchard 2015a, p. 52.

1 Najnoviji primjeri su Hurwit 2014, str. 93-98, 182-183; usp. Kreuzer 2009; Williams 1997; Grimm 2001.
2 Spivey 2006, str. 659.
3 Vickers 2002a.
4 “Čisto da bismo pojednostavili stvari” jer oskudni dokazi (natpisi na Erehteju) nisu tako jasni kako su to neki pretpostavljali. Vidi i Loomis 1998, str. 231-239; Tordoff 2013, str. 31; Lyttkens 2013, str. 103. Ista je bila i plaća mornara: Pritchard 2015a, str. 52.



Fig. 1. Silver gold-figure libation bowl (phiale) from Duvanli: chariot race. Plovdiv Archaeological Museum, Inv. 1515 (Photo C. Ewigleben)

Sl. 1. Srebrna zlatnofiguralna zdjela za žrtve ljevanice (patera) iz Duvanla: utrka dvokolica. Arheološki muzej u Plovdivu, inv. br. 1515 (foto: C. Ewigleben)

pastime which few citizens could afford'.⁵ Spence has also demonstrated that the hippic class at Athens were identical with 'the rich', the aristocracy; but their material culture has been largely neglected by archaeologists.⁶

In antiquity, as now, you did indeed have to be rich to belong to the equestrian milieu; and chariot-racing was the sport of choice for those in a position to enjoy it. It was a sport which offered the opportunity for display, whether we think of Cleosthenes of Epidamnus winning the Olympic event in 516 and commemorating his victory by erecting statues of himself, his charioteer and his four horses (Paus. 6.10.6-8), Sicilian tyrants commissioning victory odes from Pindar or Bacchylides, or Alcibiades' elaborate Olympic participation in 416, when he entered seven teams, and



Fig. 2. Silver gold-figure libation bowl (phiale) from Duvanli, detail. Plovdiv Archaeological Museum, Inv. 1515 (Photo M. Vickers)

Sl. 2. Srebrna zlatnofiguralna zdjela za žrtve ljevanice (patera) iz Duvanla, detalj. Arheološki muzej u Plovdivu, inv. br. 1515 (foto: M. Vickers)

konjičkom miljeu bila je skupa razonoda koju su si mogli priuštiti malobrojni građani".⁵ Spence je dokazao i da je konjički stalež u Ateni bio ravan "bogatašima", aristokraciji, ali su arheolozi uvelike zanemarili njegovu materijalnu kulturu.⁶

U antičko doba, kao i danas, čovjek je zaista morao biti bogat da bi pripadao konjičkom miljeu, a utrke dvokolica bile su sport koji su birali oni kojima je položaj omogućavao da se njime i bave. Bio je to sport koji je pružao priliku za razmetanje, što god mi mislili o Kleostenu iz Epidamna i tome što je pobijedio na olimpijskoj utrci 516. godine te je u spomen na svoju pobjedu dao podignuti kipove samoga sebe, svoga dvokoličara i svojih četiriju konja (Paus. 6.10.6-8), o sicilijanskim tiranima koji su od Pindara ili Bakhilida naručivali pobjedničke ode ili o Alkibijadovu razrađenom sudjelovanju na Olimpijskim igrama 416. godine, kada je za utrku prijavio sedam zaprega, a svoju pobjedu proslavio klanjem "velikog broja žrtvenih životinja" i gozdom na koju je

5 Spence 1993, p. 273; cf. Eaverly 1995, p. 69.

6 A recent exception: Lapatin 2015. Guy Sandars (Sandars 2017) has made a strong case for the really poor in pre-industrial societies not to have used pottery vessels (indeed, the case had already been made: 'If the very poor could not afford pottery [and there is evidence for the use of wooden vessels in the countryside], this group will be virtually invisible in the archaeological record that reveals itself in surface survey': Vickers, Gill 1996, p. 103). The case being made here is that the really rich in many pre-industrial societies did not use pottery vessels either.

5 Spence 1993, str. 273; usp. Eaverly 1995, str. 69.

6 Nedavna iznimka: Lapatin 2015. Guy Sandars (Sandars 2017) je iznio čvrste dokaze o tome da se oni koji su bili zaista siromašni u predindustrijskim društvima nisu služili keramičkim posuđem (štoviše, to je već i prije dokazano: 'Ako si oni koji su bili veoma siromašni nisu mogli priuštiti keramiku [a o uporabi drvenog posuđa u seoskim krajevima postoje i dokazi], ta bi skupina bila doslovce nevidljiva u arheološkim zapisima u kojima se ogledaju površinska istraživanja'; Vickers, Gill 1996, str. 103). Ono što se nastoji dokazati ovdje je da keramičko posuđe u mnogim predindustrijskim društvima nisu rabili ni oni koji su bili zaista bogati.



Fig. 3. Silver gold-figure libation bowl (*phiale*) from Duvanli, detail. Plovdiv Archaeological Museum, Inv. 1515 (Photo M. Vickers)

Sl. 3. Srebrna zlatnofiguralna zdjela za žrtve ljevanice (*patera*) iz Duvanla, detalj. Arheološki muzej u Plovdivu, inv. br. 1515 (foto: M. Vickers)

celebrated his victory by slaughtering ‘a great number of sacrificial animals’ and inviting the whole crowd to a feast.⁷ Euripides wrote a victory ode on this occasion (Eur. 755.5 Page),⁸ and we can be sure that his services did not come cheap.⁹ Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, like earlier tyrants of Syracuse, like Alcibiades, competed in style – albeit *in absentia* – at Olympia. Apart from several teams of horses ‘which surpassed all others in swiftness’, he ‘sent pavilions for the festivities which were interwoven with gold, and adorned with costly multi-coloured *himatia*’ (Diod. 14.109.1-2).¹⁰

There were also events smaller than the great festivals, at which owners competed for prizes. Silver vessels were thus given as prizes at games at Marathon and Sicyon (Pind. *Ol.* 9.90; *Nem.* 9.51), specifically silver libation bowls (*phialai*) for horse-racing at Sicyon. In Athens and neighbouring Boeotia (Harpocration s.v. ἀποβάτης), there was an event known as the *apobates* race, in which an armed man had to leap on and off a moving chariot a certain number of times during the race. We have a graphic image of such a race on a silver *phiale* from a Thracian tomb at Duvanli near Plovdiv (Figs 1-3).¹¹ The figural ornament is

pozvao cijelu gomilu ljudi.⁷ Odu u slavu pobjede tom je prigodom napisao sam Euripid (Eur. 755.5 Page),⁸ a njegove usluge zasigurno nisu bile nimalo jeftine.⁹ Sirakuški tiranin Dionizije, baš kao i raniji tirani iz Sirakuze, u Olimpiji se natjecao sa stilom, premda *in absentia*. Uz više konjskih zaprega “koje su svojom žustrinom nadmašile sve druge”, “poslao je veelebne šatore za gozbe, koji su bili protkani zlatom i urešeni raznobojnim himatijima” (Diod. 14.109.1-2).¹⁰

Vlasnici su se za nagrade natjecali i na događanjima manjim od velikih svetkovina. Tako su se na igrama u Maratonu i Sikionu kao nagrade dijelile srebrne posude (Pind. *Ol.* 9.90; *Nem.* 9.51), a osobito srebrne zdjele za žrtve ljevanice (*patera*) na konjskim utrkama u Sikionu. U Ateni i susjednoj Beotiji (Harpokration s.v. ἀποβάτης), održavala se priredba znana kao utrka *apobata*, u kojoj je natjecatelj pod punom ratnom spremom više puta tijekom utrke morao uskočiti na jureću dvokolica i iz nje iskočiti. Grafički prikaz takve utrke nalazimo na srebrnoj pateri iz jedne tračke grobnice u Duvanlima kod Plovdiva (sl. 1-3).¹¹ Figuralni ukras izveden je u zlatu. Na zdjeli iz Duvanla obilje je prekrasno izvučene karakterizacije: na bradi jednog mladolikog dvokoličara vidljive su prve, tek iznikle maljice, dok je drugi iskezio zube u čvrstoj nakani da pobijedi. Sami natjecatelji nose tunike, kacige i knevide, a u lijevoj ruci drže štit. Ta priredba nije bila jednostavno predviđena za građane Atene, već su u njoj sudjelovali isključivo pripadnici aristokracije, tj. oni koji su sebi mogli priuštiti konjske zaprege, ormu, dvokolice i elegantnu odjeću kakvu vidimo na zdjeli iz Duvanla.¹² Konji izgledaju sjajno dok zabacuju glavu i vitlaju repom. Premda je pronađen u Trakiji, ovaj predivni predmet vjerojatno je izrađen u Ateni. Uz činjenicu da se utrke *apobata* bile svojstvene upravo tom području, zdjela teži 100 atičkih drahmi ili jednu minu. David Gill i ja u jednom smo drugom radu iznijeli tezu da iza crvenofiguralnih ukrasa na atičkoj keramici stoji postojanje upravo ovakvih posuda, urešenih zlatnim figuralnim ukrasima.¹³

7 See Gribble 2012.

8 Bowra 1960.

9 We only have one statistic for epinician poets’ pay, but it is a telling one: Pindar was paid 100 *minae* (or 43 kilos of silver) for verses in honour of Athens in the 470s B.C. (Isoc. 15.166; Pind. *Fr.* 75 Snell). Euripides was thenceforth to be in Alcibiades’ pocket: Vickers 2014a; Vickers 2015, pp. 42-57.

10 Cf. Vickers 1999a.

11 Plovdiv 1515, Filow 1934, Pl. 4; Vickers, Gill 1996, Figs 2.2, 5.22-23; Sideris 2015, pp. 62-63.

7 Vidi Gribble 2012.

8 Bowra 1960.

9 Imamo samo jedan statistički podatak o plaći epinikijskih pjesnika, ali i taj je znakovit: Pindaru se 470-ih godina pr. Kr. za stihove u čast Atene plaćalo 100 mina (ili 43 kg srebra). (Izok. 15.166; Pind. *Fr.* 75 Snell). Nakon toga, Alkibijadu je na raspolaganju zasigurno bio i Euripid: Vickers 2014a; Vickers 2015, str. 42-57.

10 Usp. Vickers 1999a.

11 Plovdiv 1515, Filow 1934, Pl. 4; Vickers, Gill 1996, sl. 2.2, 5. 22-23; Sideris 2015, str. 62-63.

12 *Apobati* se očito nisu natjecali goli (kako tvrdi Crowther 1991, str. 175).

13 Npr. Vickers, Gill 1996; Vickers 1998.

rendered in gold. There is much finely observed characterization on the Duvanli bowl: one youthful charioteer has the first down just visible on his receding chin; another bares his teeth, determined to win. The athletes themselves wear tunics, helmets and greaves and carry shields on their left arms. The event was not simply confined to Athenian citizens, but only aristocrats undertook it: the kind of individuals who could afford the teams of horses, harness, chariots and elegant garments to be seen on the Duvanli bowl.¹² The horses are exquisite, with tossing heads and flowing tails. Although it was found in Thrace, this beautiful object was probably made in Athens; apart from the fact that the *apobates* race was peculiar to the area, its weight is 100 Attic drachmas, or one *mina*. David Gill and I have argued elsewhere that it was the existence of vessels like this, decorated with gold-figure ornament, that lay behind the red-figure ornament of Attic pottery.¹³

We do not know, of course, whether we are looking at Venetic chariot-horses on the Duvanli bowl, but in view of a remark once made by J.K. Anderson, we just might be:

‘Ancient chariot races involved 180-degree turns after comparatively short, straight, gallops, and handy ponies [which what we have on the Duvanli *phiale*] might well do better than big horses, which would hardly have a chance to get into their stride.’¹⁴

If Roman practice is any guide, it might be worth noting that the starting gates of that period were only three metres wide.¹⁵ At four abreast, this would make for rather small horses (modern race-horses have single starting gates that are well over a metre wide (109.22 cm/3 feet 7 inches). It is interesting to note that a bone recently found on the site of the Roman circus at Colchester suggests that chariots might have been pulled by Shetland ponies.¹⁶ If there was some kind of continuity between Greek and Roman practice, we should perhaps think in terms of Venetic steeds as being ponies; not that their size would in any way affect the argument that follows.

Still with the horsey set, we should take note of the fact that the rich at Athens conducted business in *minae*, while for a member of the Athenian upper



Fig. 4. Attic red-figure pottery pelike: horseman. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN Loan 399 (Photo Museum)

Sl. 4. Atička crvenofiguralna keramička pelika: jahač. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, an. posudba br. 399 (foto: Muzej)

Dakako, ne znamo jesu li na zdjeli iz Duvanla baš venetski konji za utrke dvokolica, ali - s obzirom na opasku koju je jednom dao J. K. Anderson - možda čak i jesu:

U antičkim utrkama dvokolica, nakon razmjerno kratkih i pravocrtnih galopa morali su se svladati za-voji od 180 stupnjeva, a okretni poniji [kakve vidimo na pateri iz Duvanla] u tome su vrlo lako mogli biti uspješniji od velikih konja, koji teško da bi imali priliku ući u svoj pravi ritam.¹⁴

Ako bi se išta moglo zaključiti iz rimske prakse, možda bi valjalo napomenuti da su startni boksovi u to doba bili široki tek tri metra.¹⁵ Uz četiri usporedno upregnuta grla, to bi bilo dovoljno za prilično malene konje (današnji trkači konji kreću iz boksova od kojih je svaki širi od metra (109,22 cm/3 stope i 7 palaca). Zanimljivo je napomenuti kako kost nedavno otkrivena na lokaciji rimskog cirkusa u Colchesteru daje naslutiti da su dvokolice možda vukli šetlandski

12 *Apobatai* clearly did not compete naked (as Crowther 1991, p. 175).

13 E.g. Vickers, Gill 1996; Vickers 1998.

14 Anderson 1961, p. 37.

15 Humphrey *et al.* 1972-1973.

16 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/06/19/shetland-ponies-could-have-pulled-chariots-colchester-find-suggests/> (last checked 11/07/17). For early Roman practice, which appears to have resembled Greek, see Rawson 1981; Humphrey 1986.

14 Anderson 1961, str. 37.

15 Humphrey *et al.* 1972-1973.



Fig. 5. Attic red-figure pottery pelike, underside: price inscription. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN Loan 399 (Photo Museum)

Sl. 5. Atička crvenofiguralna keramička pelika, donja strana: natpis s cijenom. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, an. posudba br. 399 (foto: Muzej)

crust a drachma might be a trifling sum (Dem.24.114; cf. 24.16). We hear of gem stones, peacocks, houses, slaves, inheritances, dowries, priced in *minae* (if not talents [larger units of 60 *minae*]). Prices of horses were expressed in *minae*, although some thoroughbreds were valued in talents. Thus, in the 4th century BC if you joined the Athenian cavalry you could take out a loan for up to 12 *minae*,¹⁷ or 12 Duvanli *phialai*. The most usual price of such a horse, however, was 500 drachmas, or five *minae*, five Duvanli *phialai*. Can we render these figures in terms that are meaningful today? I once devised a means of comparing ancient prices and modern using current prices of gold and silver. In a forthcoming paper, I suggest that 12 *minae* were equivalent to £7500,¹⁸ and at the same rate of exchange, 5 *minae* would work out at £3150. These are figures that have the ring of truth, for they are well within the range of going prices of a moderately decent horse today.¹⁹

Further to prepare the ground for later, I should like to introduce another horsey image, this time on a red-figure *pelike* attributed to Sir John Beazley's 'Achilles Painter' (Fig. 4).²⁰ Let us assume that the horse being ridden by a huntsman might have cost the equivalent of between £3150 and £7500 in antiquity; but what about the pottery vessel on which the horse appears? Does its price justify the claim that the work of 'the Achilles painter' was 'highly regarded ...

poniji.¹⁶ Ako je između grčke i rimske prakse bilo određenog kontinuiteta, o venetskim bismo atima možda trebali razmišljati kao o ponijima, što nikako ne znači da bi njihova veličina na bilo koji način utjecala na teze koje se iznose u nastavku.

Zadržimo li se još malo na ljubiteljima konjskih utrka, u obzir bismo trebali uzeti činjenicu da su bogati Atenjani svoje poslove sklapali u minama, dočim je drahma za pripadnika atenskog višeg sloja po svojoj prilici predstavljala beznačajnu svotu (Dem. 24.114; cf. 24.16). Svjedočanstva nam govore o tome da se cijena dragog kamenja, paunova, kuća, robova, ostavina i miraza određivala u minama (ako ne i u talentima [većim jedinicama od po 60 mina]). Cijene konja iskazivale su se u minama, premda se vrijednost nekih punokrvnih grla izražavala u talentima. Primjerice, da ste se u 4. stoljeću pr. Kr. htjeli priključiti atenskoj konjici, možda biste uzeli zajam u iznosu do 12 mina¹⁷ ili 12 patera iz Duvanla. Međutim, takav je konj najčešće stajao 500 drahmi ili pet mina, odnosno pet patera iz Duvanla. Možemo li te brojke prevesti u neke vrijednosti koje bi danas imale smisla? Jednom sam smislio metodu usporedbe antičkih i suvremenih cijena primjenom današnjih cijena zlata i srebra. U jednom od svojih predstojećih radova iznosim tezu da je 12 mina bilo istovrijedno iznosu od 7.500 GBP,¹⁸ a prema istom "tečaju", za 5 mina dobila bi se protuvrijednost od 3.150 GBP. Te brojke zvuče uvjerljivo jer su dobrano unutar cijena koje se danas traže za više-manje pristojnog konja.¹⁹

Kao daljnje polazište za kasniju raspravu istaknuo bih još jedan prikaz konja, ovaj put na crvenofiguralnoj pelici koja se pripisuje "Ahilovom slikaru" Sir Johna Beazleyja (sl. 4).²⁰ Možemo pretpostaviti da se protuvrijednost konja kojega je jahao lovac u antičko doba kretala između 3.150 i 7.500 GBP, ali što je s keramičkom posudom koja prikazuje takvoga konja? Opravdava li njezina vrijednost tvrdnju da je rad "Ahilovog slikara" bio "iznimno cijenjen ... u antici"?²¹ Mogli bismo nagađati čak i da je vaza možda stajala koliko i sam konj, ali natpis na unutrašnjoj strani (sl. 5) kazuje nam nešto drugo: prema jednom tumačenju,

17 Spence 1993, p. 275.

18 Vickers forthcoming.

19 Consult any recent issue of *Horse and Hound*, or <http://www.horseandhound.co.uk/classifieds/horses-and-ponies-for-sale/w/uk/> (last checked 11/07/2017).

20 Vickers 1999b, p. 48, No. 36.

16 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/06/19/shetland-ponies-could-have-pulled-chariots-colchester-find-suggests/> (zadnja provjera: 11. 07. 2017.).

17 Spence 1993, str. 275.

18 Vickers, predstojeći rad.

19 Vidi bilo koje novije izdanje *Horse and Hound* ili <http://www.horseandhound.co.uk/classifieds/horses-and-ponies-for-sale/w/uk/> (zadnja provjera: 11. 07. 2017.).

20 Vickers 1999b, str. 48, No. 36.

21 Kurtz 1988, str. 146.

in antiquity?²¹ Some might even guess that the vase might have cost as much as the horse, but the inscription on the underside (Fig. 5) tells a different story: on one reading it says ‘4 items for 3.5 obols’;²² on another (less plausibly) simply ‘3.5 obols’.²³

This translates at the rate we have been using to either 91p or £3.67. Such low prices are typical for Greek vases²⁴ – or ‘pots’ as we ought rather perhaps to call them. Ceramic served many useful and practical functions, of course, but it did not figure large in ancient value systems. Furthermore, the ‘Achilles Painter’ can hardly have been admired as a great artist by contemporaries. Critics have objected that the price on this pot is the wholesale price, but anything that wholesales at 91p (or even £3.67), is never going to be a great work of art in any civilization.

We do not know how much Venetic steeds cost, but I am prepared to believe that they were each at least as valuable as our five or 12 *mina* horses in Athens. If so, a team would cost between 20 and 48 *minae*, and probably much more. A team of horses that won at Olympia in 416, breed unspecified, was valued at 8 talents, or 480 *minae* (Isoc. 16). The bottom line is that big money was involved. This is not the case with Attic pottery. David Gill and I once did some calculations. Using a table published by Alan Johnston,²⁵ we took the average price of an Attic vase at 5 obols (there were 6 obols to the drachma), and coupled this with Mary Beard’s estimate of there being some 50,000 extant Attic vases – above ground.²⁶ We then looked at what the resulting 7 talents might buy. The team of horses that won at Olympia in 416 would be beyond our reach. We could barely afford a single shipment of grain for a city that regularly imported 190 such shipments each year, but it would be enough to keep one trireme at sea for seven months. It has been suggested, on the basis of the survival pattern of Panathenaic vases that, perhaps 1% of the original output has survived.²⁷ If so, the total production of Greek vases

glasi “4 komada za 3,5 obola”;²² a prema drugom (i manje uvjerljivom), jednostavno “3,5 obola”.²³

Prema tečaju kojim smo se koristili, to bi iznosilo ili 91 peni ili £3.67. Ovako niske cijene uobičajene su za grčke vaze²⁴ ili “posude”, kako bismo ih možda radije trebali zvati. Keramika se, dakako, rabila u mnoge korisne i praktične svrhe, ali u antičkim vrijednosnim sustavima nije bila na nekoj visokoj cijeni. K tome, “Ahilov slikar” teško da je mogao slovit za velikog umjetnika među svojim suvremenicima. Kritičari upozoravaju da je cijena istaknuta na ovoj posudi veleprodajna cijena, ali ništa čime bi se na veliko trgovalo za 91 peni (ili čak 3.67 GBP) neće ni u kojoj civilizaciji nikada sloviti kao neko veliko umjetničko djelo.

Ne znamo koja se cijena plaćala za venetske konje, ali sklon sam vjerovati kako je svaki vrijedio barem koliko i naši konji za koje se u Ateni izdvojalo pet do 12 mina. Ako je tako, zaprega bi stajala između 20 i 48 mina, a vjerojatno i kudikamo više. Zaprega konja nepoznate pasmine, koja je pobijedila na Olimpijskim igrama 416. godine, procijenjena je na 8 talenata ili 480 mina (Izok. 16). U svakom slučaju, radilo se o golemom novcu. To se ne može reći i za antičku keramiku. Služeći se tablicom koju je objavio Alan Johnston,²⁵ uzeli smo kako je prosječna cijena antičke vaze iznosila 5 obola (6 obola činilo je drahmu) i u tu smo računicu ubacili procjenu koju daje Mary Beard, prema kojoj se trenutno zna da postoji oko 50.000 antičkih vaza, ne računajući one koje su možda još pod zemljom.²⁶ Potom smo razmotrili što se moglo kupiti za 7 talenata koliko proizlazi iz te računice. Konjska zaprega koja je pobijedila na olimpijskoj utrci 416. godine bila bi nam nedostižna. Jedva da bismo sebi mogli priuštiti jednu pošiljku žita za grad koji je svake godine redovno uvezio 190 takvih pošiljaka, iako bi to bilo dovoljno za sedmomjesečnu plovidbu jedne trireme bez pristajanja. Na temelju obrasca “preživljavanja” panatenejskih amfora, pretpostavlja se kako je do danas sačuvano možda 1 %

21 Kurtz 1988, p. 146.

22 i.e. 0.88 obol: Gill 1991, p. 32, Pl. 1 (who compares a *pelike* in Göttingen which is marked with a price of 16.5 obols for 32 pieces – or 0.52 obol each); Vickers, Gill 1996, pp. 85-87, Figs 4.3, 4.4.

23 Johnston 2006, p. 21; ignoring however the four vertical strokes. Cf. Gill 2009, p. 248.

24 The highest recorded price for an Attic pot is 3 drachmas (for two hydriae): Gill 1994, p. 103. Most prices were much lower; for an overview, see Johnston 1979; Johnston 2006.

25 Johnston 1979, p. 33.

26 Beard 1991; Sapirstein 2013, p. 506 speaks of ‘<40,000 ... fully published, attributed vases’.

27 Webster 1972, p. 4.

22 Tj. 0,88 obola: Gill 1991, str. 32, T. 1 (koji uspoređuje *peliku* iz Göttingena, na kojoj je istaknuta cijena od 16,5 obola za 32 komada, što je 0,52 obola po komadu); Vickers, Gill 1996, str. 85-87, sl. 4.3, 4.4.

23 Johnston 2006, str. 21; pri čemu, međutim, zanemaruje četiri okomita poteza. Usp. Gill 2009, str. 248.

24 Najviša zabilježena cijena antičke posude iznosi 3 drahme (za dvije hidrije): Gill 1994, str. 103. Većina cijena daleko je niža; za pregled, vidi Johnston 1979; Johnston 2006.

25 Johnston 1979, str. 33.

26 Beard 1991; Sapirstein 2013, str. 506, govori o “<40.000 ... vaza koje su cijelosti objavljene i čije je podrijetlo utvrđeno”.

over the centuries will have been worth less than the *annual* production of the Laurium silver mines.²⁸ To put matters in terms of trade: if all the Attic pots ever produced were exported through the Piraeus in 399 BC (a year for which Athens' trade figures can be estimated), they would still have formed less than 40% of the value of the goods traded.²⁹ Spread over two centuries or more, the value of pottery in terms of trade will of course have been wholly insignificant; it has been wisely said by the late Sir Moses Finley that 'silver was the most important Athenian resource'.³⁰ The claim that Greek pots might have been regarded as 'best plate' exported for their 'intrinsic value',³¹ thus rings hollow. Silver played the role of best plate, and the intrinsic value of pottery is zero.

Venetic steeds were a byword for quality in archaic and classical Greece, but we should note that there is some confusion in the relevant ancient sources arising from the fact that Greek spelling could not distinguish between 'Venetic' and 'Enetic'. Thus, when the poet Alcman, writing in the seventh century BC, speaks of girls dancing like Venetic steeds (*Parthen.* 51), it is uncertain whether he meant horses acquired from the Veneti at the head of the Adriatic, or whether he was referring to Enetic horses from Paphlagonia. Matters are not made easier when we have to reckon with the – almost certainly fictional – tradition that Paphlagonian Eneti at some stage migrated to the upper Adriatic taking their horse-breeding skills with them (Str. 5.1.4). The same uncertainty extends to lines in Euripides' *Hippolytus* (of 428) that refer to Venetic – or Enetic – steeds.³² But the tradition that the Spartan owner Leon won at the Olympic games of either 440 or 424 BC with a team of Venetic horses from the Adriatic (Schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 231) encourages the view that Venetic steeds were being imported into Greece by the last quarter of the fifth century. Dionysius of Syracuse famously imported Venetic stud horses, and Strabo observes that 'not only did the fame of the Venetic foal-breeding reach the Greeks, but the breed itself was held in high esteem by them for a long time' (5.1.4).

Quite where in the northern Adriatic Venetic steeds were shipped from is uncertain. As Lorenzo Braccisi has well shown, the archaeological record is patchy

izvorne proizvodnje.²⁷ Ako je tako, sveukupna količina grčkih amfora proizvedenih tijekom stoljeća vrijedila bi manje od godišnje proizvodnje laurionskih srebrnih mina.²⁸ Promotrimo li to s gledišta trgovinske razmjene, da su sve ikada proizvedene atičke posude izvezene preko Pireja u 399. godini pr. Kr. (kao godini za koju se može dati procjena podataka o trgovinskoj razmjeni Atene), i dalje bi činile manje od 40 % vrijednosti godišnje robne trgovine.²⁹ Rastegnemo li je na dva ili više stoljeća, vrijednost keramike s gledišta trgovinske razmjene bila bi, dakako, posve beznačajna. Pokojni Sir Moses Finley mudro je primijetio kako je "srebro ... bilo najvažnije atensko dobro".³⁰ Stoga tvrdnja da su se grčke posude možda smatrale "najboljim posuđem" koje se izvozilo zbog svoje "unutarnje vrijednosti"³¹ zvuči isprazno. Ulogu najboljeg posuda igrala je srebrnina, a unutarnja vrijednost keramike ravna je ničici.

Venetski konji u arhajskoj i klasičnoj Grčkoj bili su sinonim izvrsnosti, ali valja imati na umu kako je u mjerodavnim antičkim izvorima prisutna stanovita pomutnja zbog činjenice da se u grčkom pismu riječ "venetski" nije mogla razlučiti od riječi "enetski". Stoga, kada pjesnik Alkman u sedmom stoljeću pr. Kr. piše o djevama što plešu poput venetskih ata (*Parten.* 51), nije sigurno misli li na konje pristigle iz Veneta na sjeveru Jadrana ili govori o enetskim konjima iz Paflagonije. Stvari tu ne olakšava ni to što u obzir moramo uzeti predaju - gotovo sigurno izmišljenu - po kojoj su se paflagonijski Eneti u nekom trenutku preselili na gornji Jadran, donijevši sa sobom i svoje umijeće konjogojstva (str. 5.1.4). Ista dvoznačnost prisutna je i u stihovima Euripidovog *Hipolita* (iz 428. g.), gdje se govori o venetskim - ili možda enetskim - konjima.³² No predaja po kojoj je spartanski vlasnik Leon na Olimpijskim igrama 440. ili 424. g. pr. Kr. pobijedio sa svojom zapregom venetskih konja s Jadrana (skol. Eur. *Hip.* 231) govori u prilog tezi kako su se venetski konji u Grčku uvozili u zadnjoj četvrtini petog stoljeća. Dionizije Sirakuški bio je na glasu zbog uvoza venetskih pastuha, a Strabon napominje kako "do Grka nije samo dopirao dobar glas o venetskom uzgoju ždrjebadi, već se dugo vremena iznimno cijenila i sama pasmina" (5.1.4).

28 Estimated at 20 tonnes per annum: Conophagos 1980, pp. 341-354.

29 Gill, Vickers 1995, pp. 231-235.

30 Finley 1973, p. 134; cf. Osborne 1985, p. 111.

31 Boardman 1964, p. 33; Boardman 1980, p. 17; Boardman 1999, p. 17.

32 Devereux 1964.

27 Webster 1972, str. 4.

28 Procjenjuje se na 20 tona godišnje: Conophagos 1980, str. 341-354.

29 Gill, Vickers 1995, str. 231-235.

30 Finley 1973, str. 134; usp. Osborne 1985, str. 111.

31 Boardman 1964, str. 33; Boardman 1980, str. 17; Boardman 1999, str. 17.

32 Devereux 1964.

and the historical record even more so.³³ Spina, Adria or Altinum in the Lagoon may have played a role, or somewhere else altogether. The availability of Venetic stallions may, however, have contributed to Dionysius of Syracuse having created an *emporion* at Adria in 385 BC, but there must have been other reasons as well. Spina by contrast had already long been an Etruscan *emporion*, and it is to Spina that we now turn.

Spina has occupied a special place in the eyes of classical archaeologists for nearly a century. Its cemeteries have been extraordinarily productive,³⁴ and the museum in Ferrara is full of fine (and large) examples of Attic pottery, said by the late Sir John Beazley, whose judgement in the matter is worthy of respect, to be the most important collection of fifth century vases in the world.³⁵ The website of the Museo Archeologico in Ferrara provides a useful brief summary of what is the *communis opinio* with regard to Spina, its status, and the role it played in antiquity. Few would object to what we read there:

‘Spina was then an emporium, the seat of a merchant community. The exchange of goods was primarily based on barter, in fact, it never coined its [own] money. The excavations brought to light one single coin – a north Italian drachma, datable between the end of the III and beginning of the I century BC, coined by the Celts that occupied this territory.’

‘Everything was bartered: figured Attic pottery, oil and wine, perfumes and ointments, marble from the isles, maybe even salted fish, honey, fabrics, exotic and luxury objects were exchanged with agricultural products, particularly wheat, from the fertile Po Valley.’

‘Many products sailed from Spina to Greece: salted pork and beef, lumber, amber, Etruscan bronzes, leather, slaves, and maybe even fur and the famous Venetic horses.’

‘The privileged relations between Athens and Spina seem to have developed in consequence to Athens’ need for raw materials, most of all grain. Regarding Spina, the most striking thing is the contrast between the wealth of imported materials used to equip tombs, and the poor aspect of the city. It’s obvious that it was profit, rather than the pleasantness of the landscape, that motivated the inhabitants to live in this city.’³⁶

Ne zna se pouzdano odakle su se točno venetski konji dopremali sa sjevernog Jadrana. Kako je to dobro primijetio Lorenzo Braccesi, arheološki dokazi neujednačeni su, a zapisi još i više.³³ Određenu ulogu možda su igrali Spina, Adria ili Altinum na obali Lagune ili se, pak, sve skupa odvijalo negdje drugdje. No dostupnost venetskih pastuha možda je pridonijela tome što je Dionizije Sirakuški 385. g. pr. Kr. u Adriji ustanovio emporij, premda je za to zasigurno bilo i drugih razloga. S druge strane, Spina je u to vrijeme već dugo bila etruski emporij, a upravo se na Spinu sada i vraćamo.

Spina već gotovo jedno stoljeće zauzima posebno mjesto u očima klasičnih arheologa. Njezina groblja pokazala su se izrazito plodonosnima,³⁴ a muzej u Ferrari obiluje sjajnim (i velikim) primjercima atičke keramike koja - prema riječima pokojnog Sir Johna Beazleyja, čiji sud o tom pitanju zaslužuje pozornost - predstavlja najvažniju zbirku vaza iz petog stoljeća na svijetu.³⁵ Na svojim mrežnim stranicama Museo Archeologico iz Ferrare daje koristan sažetak onoga što bi bilo *communis opinio* kad je riječ o Spini, njezini položaju i ulozi koju je igrala u antici. Malo tko bi mogao prigovoriti na to što se tamo kaže:

Spina je tada bila emporij, sjedište jedne trgovačke zajednice. Razmjena dobara prvenstveno se temeljila na trampiji i tu se za njene potrebe novac zapravo nikada nije ni kovao. Iskapanja su na svjetlo dana iznijela jednu jedinu kovanicu - sjevernoitalsku drahmu koja se može smjestiti između konca 3. i početka 1. stoljeća pr. Kr., a koju su iskovali Kelti koji su tada zaposjedali taj prostor.

Sve je bilo predmetom trampe: figuralna atička keramika, ulje i vino, miomiris i pomade, otočki mramor, a možda čak i usoljena riba, med, sukno; egzotični i luksuzni predmeti razmjenjivali su se za poljoprivredne proizvode, napose žito, iz plodne Padske nizine.

Iz Spine u Grčku brodom su se otpremali mnogi proizvodi: usoljena svinjetina i govedina, drvena građa, jantar, etruski predmeti od bronce, koža, robovi, a možda čak i krzno te glasoviti venetski konji.

Budući da su Ateni trebale sirovine, ponajprije žito, čini se kako su se između Atene i Spine razvili povlašteni odnosi. Što se tiče Spine, ono što najviše upada u oči raskorak je između raskoši materijala uvezenih radi opremanja grobnica i siromašnog izgleda grada.

33 Braccesi 2004a.

34 See http://www.archeoferrara.beniculturali.it/bibliografia-generale-su-spina-e-il-manfe_pag_pg34_ita.aspx (last checked 11/07.17). Cf. Alfieri, Arias 1958.

35 Beazley 1959; cf. Boardman 1980, p. 228.

36 http://www.archeoferrara.beniculturali.it/spina-history-of-a-town_pag_pg62_eng.aspx (last checked 11/07/17).

33 Braccesi 2004a.

34 Vidi http://www.archeoferrara.beniculturali.it/bibliografia-generale-su-spina-e-il-manfe_pag_pg34_ita.aspx (zadnja provjera 11.07.17). Usp. Alfieri, Arias 1958.

35 Beazley 1959; usp. Boardman 1980, str. 228.



Fig. 6. Silver gold-figure cup. *Symposiasts in Thracian costume. Sofia, Thrace Foundation (after Marasov)*
 Sl. 6. Srebrni zlatnofiguralni pehar. *Sudionici svečane gozbe u tračkim nošnjama. Sofija, Zaklada Tracija (prema Marasovu)*

And yet, one cannot help harbouring doubts about some of this. Yes, the folk who lived and traded at Spina were in it for the money, but the absence of coinage does not necessarily mean that trade was conducted purely by means of barter. Grain, or horses, would have been paid for with silver, and given the likely size of the sums involved, with the ancient equivalent of large denomination bank notes, rather than coinage. Much extant plate (and indeed plate now lost, but mentioned in temple inventories) is made up in multiples of one or another coinage,³⁷ for a good reason. ‘The wealth of imported material to equip tombs’ is in keeping with Etruscan practice elsewhere in Italy, but Etruscans in life are described as enjoying the use of gold and silver vessels at their banquets (Diod. 5.40), and were moreover given to piracy.³⁸ They were the last people to make gifts to grave-robbers; hence the presence of distinguished-looking, but comparatively cheap ceramic surrogates of the Attic silver vessels with which real trade was conducted. We now have many more examples of such Attic silver vessels, thanks to recent finds in Thracian tombs (e.g. Figs 6, 7, 8).³⁹

One of the very few references in ancient literature to the pottery trade is in Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* (900-58), where a Sycophant or common informer is baled up like a pot for export, a commodity of which



Fig. 7. Silver gold-figure cup. *Orpheus attacked by an Amazon. Sofia, Thrace Foundation (after Marasov)*
 Sl. 7. Srebrni zlatnofiguralni pehar. *Amazonka napada Orfeja. Sofija, Zaklada Tracija (prema Marasovu)*

Očito je kako je stanovnike na život u tom gradu poticala dobit, a ne ljepota krajolika.³⁶

Međutim, teško je odagnati sumnje glede nekih od navedenih činjenica. Da, ljudi koji su živjeli i trgovali u Spini bili su tamo zbog novca, ali to što nema kovanica nužno ne znači kako se trgovina odvijala isključivo trampom. Za žito ili konje možda se plaćalo srebrom, s obzirom na vjerojatnu veličinu iznosa o kojima se radio, i antičkim ekvivalentom novčanica u krupnim apoenima, a ne kovanicama. Većina sačuvanog posuđa (pa i onog koje je danas izgubljeno, ali se spominje u popisima inventara hramova) čini višekratnike vrijednosti ove ili one kovanice,³⁷ što itekako ima smisla. “Raskoš materijala uvezenih radi opremanja grobnica” u skladu je s etruščanskim običajima u drugim dijelovima Italije, ali za Etrušćane se govori kako su i za života na svojim gozbama rado rabili

37 E.g. Vickers 1990; Vickers 1995; Lorber 2008; Gill 2008; Vickers 2014b.

38 Gras 1985, pp. 514-522; Braccesi 2004b.

39 Marasov 2011; *Thracian Gold* 2013; Sideris 2015; Sideris 2016.

36 http://www.archeoferrara.beniculturali.it/spina-history-of-a-town_pag_pg62_eng.aspx (zadnja provjera: 11. 07. 2017).

37 Npr. Vickers 1990; Vickers 1995; Lorber 2008; Gill 2008; Vickers 2014b.



Fig. 8. Silver gold-figure cup. Hermes and woman. Sofia, Thrace Foundation (after Marasov)
Sl. 8. Srebrni zlatnofiguralni pehar: Hermes i žena. Sofija, Zaklada Tracija (prema Marasovu)

there is apparently a surplus. The new export item is described in less than creditable terms. Pottery was clearly not a prestigious item of trade. In all probability, it served as a space-filler on ships large enough to carry back grain, pig-iron, slaves,⁴⁰ – or race-horses. The silver to pay for such goods would not have occupied much space on such ships; the rest would have been filled with carefully packed pottery: cheap, but saleable for a profit at the end of the outward voyage.⁴¹ Greek vases are often described as luxury items, but given their low prices, this can never have been the case. Their presence in considerable quantity at Spina is indeed a reflection of a flourishing trade, but of a trade in seriously valuable commodities, such as perhaps the fifth-century merchant Diogeiton's cargo worth two talents which he dispatched to the

40 Cf. Nash 1985.

41 Gill 1991; Gill 1994.



Fig. 9. Silver gold-figure phiale. Vegetal ornament. Sofia, Thrace Foundation (after Marasov)
Sl. 9. Srebrna zlatnofiguralna patera. Biljna ornamentika. Sofija, Zaklada Tracija (prema Marasovu)

zlatno i srebrno posuđe (Diod. 5.40), a skloni su bili čak i piratstvu.³⁸ Bili su zadnji narod koji je darivao pljačkaše grobnica, pa otuda i nalazimo naizgled otmjene, ali razmjerno jeftine keramičke surogate srebrnih atičkih posuda koje su se rabile u stvarnoj trgovinskoj razmjeni. Zahvaljujući nedavnim nalazima u tračkim grobnicama, danas imamo kudikamo više primjera takvih srebrnih atičkih posuda (npr. sl. 6, 7, 8).³⁹

Trgovina keramikom u antičkoj se literaturi spominje vrlo rijetko, a među rijetkim primjerima je i onaj u Aristofanovim *Aharnjanima* (900-958), gdje jednog sikofanta - tj. prokazivača po zanatu - upakiraju poput keramičke posude za izvoz, tj. robe koje očito ima u višku. Taj novi "izvozni proizvod" ne opisuje se nimalo pohvalnim izrazima. Jasno je kako keramika nije bila na visokoj cijeni kao predmet trgovinske razmjene. Po svemu sudeći, služila je za popunu prostora na brodovima dovoljno velikim da bi se vratili sa žitom, sirovim željezom, robovima,⁴⁰ ili trkaćim konjima. Srebro koje se koristilo za plaćanje tih dobara na takvim brodovima ne bi zauzimalo mnogo prostora, a ostatak bi se popunio pomno spremljenom keramikom: jeftinom, ali utrživom za dobit

38 Gras 1985, str. 514-522; Braccesi 2004b.

39 Marasov 2011; *Thracian Gold* 2013; Sideris 2015; Sideris 2016.

40 Usp. Nash 1985.

Adriatic and which 'went safely through and the value was doubled.' (Lys. 32.25) – earning the equivalent of more than £150,000.

Indeed, I am beholden to my late colleague Andrew Sherratt for having once drawn my attention to the only account in the whole of archaeological literature of pottery being traded in its own right, as the major element in a cargo, in either antiquity or modern times. This was in Syria in the 1930s, when farmers travelled by sea for some 240 km in order to acquire new amphoras at a rate of two vessels for one donkey load of sheep dung.⁴² Greek pottery, whether painted or plain, is at this end of the merchandizing spectrum. It is only the accident of survival that has given us so much of it.

The accident of survival has, by contrast, been unkind to the silver that the Athenians traded (although as we shall presently see, there is rather more known today than there was a few years ago). We can, however, get the flavour of long-distance trade by sea in antiquity from another period, in another sea. Roman trade in the Indian Ocean provides a well-documented analogy. Although there was a difference in scale, the mechanics of the operation will have been much the same.

We hear from the anonymous *Periplus* of how merchants went about their business: when they put in in South Arabia, they presented the local kings with 'vessels of gold and polished silver' and 'wrought gold and silver plate' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.* 28) before conducting business in the local market. We are better informed about India, but the pattern is the same. The Tamil poet Nakkirar pays fulsome compliments to the Pandyan prince Nan-Maran: 'Spend thy days joyously drinking daily of cool and fragrant wine brought by the Yavanas [i.e. Greeks from Egypt] in their good ships which thy handmaidens who wear shining bracelets on their arms, present to thee in handsome cups of gold'.⁴³ This information occurs in the context of the northwest Indian port of Barygaza, whose very name, 'Heavy with Treasure', is redolent of wealth. On arrival, Roman merchants would present to the king 'very costly vessels of silver'. Once this was done, and the authorities duly won over, trade could be carried out.⁴⁴ The picture can sometimes be controlled from early Tamil literary sources. In ca. AD 95, the king Karikal possessed maidservants who 'poured out in golden cups intoxicating wine'; according to the poet, he would 'clothe thee with silk, and give thee

na kraju odlaznog putovanja.⁴¹ Grčke vaze često se opisuju kao luksuzni predmeti, ali, s obzirom na njihovu nisku cijenu, to nikako nije mogao biti slučaj. To što ih u Spini nalazimo u tolikoj količini, doduše, ukazuje na cvatuću trgovinu, ali trgovinu robom koja je bila zaista vrijedna, kao što je to možda bila pošiljka Diogeitona, trgovca iz petog stoljeća, u vrijednosti od dva talenta, koju je ovaj otpremio na Jadran i koja je "sigurno stigla do odredišta, a vrijednost joj je udvostručena", (Lis. 32.25), pri čemu je donijela zaradu u protuvrijednosti većoj od 150.000 GBP.

Naime, moj pokojni kolega Andrew Sherratt zaista me zadužio kada mi je jednom svratio pozornost na jedan jedini zapis u svekolikoj arheološkoj literaturi gdje se govori o trgovini samom keramikom kao glavnim dijelom jedne pošiljke, i to bilo u antici bilo u novovjekovno doba. To se dogodilo u Siriji, tridesetih godina minuloga stoljeća, kada su poljodjelci putovali morem nekih 240 km ne bi li do novih amfora došli po cijeni od dvije posude za jedan tovar ovčjega gnoja.⁴² Grčka keramika, bilo oslikana bilo neoslikana, upravo je na tom kraju trgovačkog spektra. Danas je imamo u tolikoj količini samo zato što se slučajno sačuvala.

S druge strane, kada je riječ o slučajnom očuvanju, prema srebru kojim su se Atenjani koristili u trgovinskoj razmjeni sudbina je bila kudikamo nemilosrdnija (premda se, kako ćemo ovdje vidjeti, danas o tome zna znatno više nego prije nekoliko godina). No, određenu sliku o međunarodnoj pomorskoj trgovini u antici možemo stvoriti na temelju jednog drugog razdoblja i jednog drugog mora. Rimski trgovina na Indijskom oceanu daje nam dobro dokumentiranu usporednicu. Unatoč razlici u razmjerima, stvari su tu funkcionirale uglavnom isto.

Iz peripla nepoznatog autora doznajemo kako su trgovci postupali u svom poslu: kada bi pristali u južnoj Arabiji tamošnjim bi kraljevima darovali "posude od zlata i ulaštenog srebra" te "zlatno i srebrno kovano posuđe" (*Peripl. M. Rubr.* 28) prije nego što bi prionuli poslu na domaćem tržištu. Više spoznaja imamo o Indiji, ali obrazac je isti. Tamijski pjesnik Nakkirar zdušno se ulaguje pandijskom velikašu Nan-Maranu: "Neka ti dani prođu u veselom i svakodnevnom ispijanju studenog i mirisnoga vina što ga donesoše Javanci [tj. Grci iz Egipta] na dobrim brodovima svojim, a što ti ga sluškinje tvoje, ruku opasanih narukvicama sjajnim, prinose u ubavim kupama od zlata."⁴³ Ovaj se prikaz javlja u kontekstu sjeverozapadne indijske luke Barygaza, čije samo ime - "Bremenita blagom" - odiše bogatstvom. Po dolasku, rimski bi trgovci kralju

42 Mallowan 1939.

43 Kanakasabhai 1956, p. 87; Meile 1940, pp. 105-106.

44 Vickers 1994; Vickers 2002b.

41 Gill 1991; Gill 1994.

42 Mallowan 1939.

43 Kanakasabhai 1956, str. 87; Meile 1940, str. 105-106.

to drink of wine in cups of gold'.⁴⁵ Gold and silver vessels clearly represented the pinnacle of luxury in both India and Arabia, and potential merchants had to take note of the fact if they were to do any business at all.

Mutatis mutandis, something similar will have happened in the Adriatic, though we cannot know the details. The gift of a pottery vase, no matter how ornate, would not have opened up markets, for its intrinsic value would, as we have already seen, have been negligible. Fortunately, however, we suddenly now have a much better idea of the kind of silver vessel that might have been employed as a bribe or in trade, from recent finds of Attic silverware in Thracian tombs. These vessels emerged in the early 2000s, and are in the Thrace Foundation in Sofia. They have been exhibited in Bulgaria and Russia during the past few years,⁴⁶ but are still relatively unknown elsewhere. This is a pity since some of them are exquisite (Figs. 7, 8, 9), well up to the standard we observed in the Duvanli *phiale*.

The family silver was not placed in the grave in Greece or Etruria, nor was it subjected to deep polishing. It was kept physically clean, of course, but by fumigation with burning sulphur; recall how they cleaned Odysseus' house after the unpleasantness with the Suitors (Hom. *Od.* 22.481-2, 493). This procedure would make silver go black, and gold red. This would explain why the typical ceramic produced at Athens – and many other maritime centres – was dark in colour. Silver by the sea in any case goes black in a few days.⁴⁷ This is probably why Athenian pottery vessels, whose shapes are often distinctively metallic, were regularly given a black slip by the potter. In what is one of the very few references to the technique of pottery decoration in ancient literature, the potters of Naukratis are said to have 'baptized' their pots so as to make them resemble silver (Ath. 11.480e);⁴⁸ one would guess that they applied black-gloss of a kind to be seen on many a Greek pot. Silver vessels are conspicuously absent from Spina; all we have are the ceramic surrogates of the kind that resident merchants wisely placed in the tomb; 'wisely', because no grave-robber before the 18th century would have stolen a pot.

Volute-craters are self-evidently renditions in clay of a metallic shape. The bronze Derveni crater is one

darovali "vrlo skupe posude od srebra". Nakon što bi se to obavilo i tako propisno pridobila naklonost vlasti, moglo se pristupiti trgovini.⁴⁴ To na nekim mjestima potvrđuju i rani tamijski književni izvori. Oko 95. godine pr. Kr., kralj Karikala imao je sluškinje koje su "u zlatne pehare lijevale opojno vino". Prema pjesniku, on bi te "odjenuo u svilu i dao ti piti vino iz pehara od zlata".⁴⁵ Zlatne i srebrne posude očito su i u Indiji i u Arabiji predstavljale vrhunac raskoši, a trgovci su o tome morali povesti računa ako su nakanili sklopiti bilo kakav posao.

Nešto više-manje slično po svoj se prilici događalo i na Jadranu, premda nam pojedinosti nisu točno poznate. Darivanje keramičke vaze, ma kako ukrašene, ne bi otvorilo vrata tržišta jer se bi njezina unutarnja vrijednost, kako smo već vidjeli, smatrala zanemarivom. No, nasreću, sada smo nenadano stekli kudi-kamo bolju sliku o tome koja se vrsta srebra možda koristila radi podmićivanja ili u trgovinskoj razmjeni, a sve zahvaljujući nedavnim nalazima antičke srebrnine u tračkim grobnicama. Te posude pojavile su se početkom 2000-ih godina, a čuvaju se u Zakladi Tracija u Sofiji. Zadnjih nekoliko godina, izlagane su po Bugarskoj i Rusiji,⁴⁶ ali drugdje su i dalje više-manje nepoznate. To je šteta jer su neke doista izuzetne (sl. 7, 8, 9) i svojim se odlikama mogu itekako mjeriti s paterom iz Duvanla.

U Grčkoj ili Etruriji obiteljsko srebro nije se polagalo u grob niti se laštalo do visokog sjaja. Dakako, održavalo se fizički čistim, ali to se činilo kađenjem s pomoću gorućeg sumpora. Sjetimo se kako je Odisej očistio svoju kuću nakon neugodnosti s udvaračima (Hom. *Od.* 22.481-2, 493). Zbog tog postupka srebro bi pocrnilo i poprimilo zlatno-crvenu boju. To objašnjava i zašto je keramika koja se proizvodila u Ateni - i mnogim drugim pomorskim središtima - u pravilu bila tamne boje. U svakom slučaju, srebro u blizini mora pocrni za nekoliko dana.⁴⁷ To je vjerojatno i razlog zbog kojeg su lončari na atenske keramičke posude, koje svojim oblikom nerijetko upadljivo oponašaju one izrađene od kovine, redovno stavljali crni premaz. U jednom od vrlo malobrojnih opisa tehnike ukrašavanja keramike u antičkoj literaturi kaže se da su lončari iz Naukratisa svoje posude "krstili" ne bi li tako nalikovale srebru (Ath. 11.480e).⁴⁸ Dalo bi se

45 Kanakasabhai 1956, p. 70-71.

46 Marasov 2011; *Thracian Gold* 2013. I am beholden to Jeffrey Spier for first drawing my attention to this material, and to Vassil Bojkov and Thanos Sideris for enabling me to see it.

47 Vickers 1993, p. 7.

48 Not cited by Noble 1965 or Cohen 2006. Cf. Vickers 2007.

44 Vickers 1994; Vickers 2002b.

45 Kanakasabhai 1956, str. 70-71.

46 Marasov 2011; *Thracian Gold* 2013. Jeffreyju Spieru dugujem zahvalnost jer mi je svratio pozornost na tu građu, a Vasilu Božkovu i Thanosu Siderisu jer su mi omogućili da je vidim.

47 Vickers 1993, str. 7.

48 Ne citiraju ga Noble 1965 ni Cohen 2006. Usp. Vickers 2007.

such,⁴⁹ and there are extant, if fragmentary, bronze calyx-craters.⁵⁰ A newly discovered *phiale* from Thrace (Fig. 9) has a palmette ornament of a kind that the vegetal decoration on pottery vessels evokes, but is arguably done even more skilfully.

We estimated earlier that one Venetic horse might cost at least five or twelve *minae*, or twelve Duvanli *phialai*, and a team 20 or 48 *minae* or more. A silver crater of the size of some of the larger pots would have served either as a bribe on the part of the merchant for permission to do business, or as a large denomination banknote of perhaps 40 or 50 *minae* with which to buy grain, iron, slaves or Venetic steeds. It is in these terms that we should perhaps view Athenian trade with Spina. The Attic pots found there, grand as they are, are indeed the reflection of such trade; but they will have played a subsidiary role. The situation is akin to that described by Plato with his image of shadows on the back wall of a cave: they can give us an idea of reality, but they are far from representing reality itself (*Rp.* 514a.2-517a.7).

For the ancient reality so far as gold and silver vessels are concerned has largely disappeared. We are fortunate in having a few surviving examples of Attic silverware from Thrace and the Black Sea littoral, but we can enlarge the picture from the epigraphical and historical record. We catch glimpses of the wealth of Athenian temples, shrines and sanctuaries from inventories recording holdings sometimes recognisable over decades.⁵¹ But we find by far the largest 'hoard' of silverware, craters no less, in the accounts we have of the departure of the Athenian fleet for Syracuse in the summer of 415 BC. In Diodorus' account, 'the whole circumference' of the Piraeus 'was filled with incense burners (*θυμιατήριων*) and silver craters (*κρατήρων ἄργυρῶν*), from which libations were poured with gold cups' (Diod. 13.3.2). Thucydides says much the same: 'On every deck both officers and men' ... 'mingling [wine in] craters (*κρατῆράς τε κέρασαντες*), poured libations from gold and silver cups' (Thuc. 6.32.1). This was Athens at the height of her wealth and influence, when 'an immense sum amounting to many talents was withdrawn from the city' (Thuc. 6.31.5). 134 triremes set sail from the Piraeus on that day, and so we may perhaps envision 134 silver craters in the possession of those Athenians who had paid for the construction and fitting out of the warships. These individuals paid on average 4,436 dr. for the

nagađati kako su nanosili crni premaz kakav vidamo na mnogim grčkim posudama. To da u Spini srebrnih posuda uopće nema, više je nego očito. Jedino što nalazimo su keramički surogati kakve su tamošnji trgovci mudro polagali u grobnice. A to je bilo "mudro" jer nijedan pljačkaš grobova prije 18. stoljeća ne bi ukrao keramičku posudu.

Volutni krateri očit su primjer keramike izvedene u obliku sličnih posuda izrađenih od kovina, kao što je, primjerice, brončani krater iz Dervenija,⁴⁹ a tu su - pa makar samo u ulomcima - i brončani čaškasti krateri.⁵⁰ Novootkrivena tračka patera (sl. 9) ukrašena je palmetom na kakvu podsjeća biljna ornamentika na keramičkim posudama, ali se sa sigurnošću može tvrditi kako je izvedena čak i još umješnije.

Već smo procijenili kako je jedan venetski konj mogao stajati barem pet do dvanaest mina, odnosno dvanaest patera iz Duvanla, dok bi zaprega stajala 20 do 48 mina ili više. Srebrni krater koji bi svojom veličinom odgovarao nekim od većih keramičkih posuda služio bi ili kao trgovčevo mito za dobivanje dopuštenja za trgovanje ili kao novčanica velikih apoena u vrijednosti od možda 40 do 50 mina, kojom bi se kupovalo žito, željezo, robovi ili venetski konji. Upravo s tog gledišta možda bismo trebali promatrati i atensku trgovinu sa Spinom. U svem svojem veličanstvu, antička keramika koja je ondje pronađena doista je odraz te trgovine, ali je po svemu sudeći igrala tek sporednu ulogu. Tu stvari stoje slično onome što je Platon opisao svojom alegorijom sjena na crnom zidu pećine: one nam mogu dati neku predodžbu o stvarnosti, ali daleko od toga da samu stvarnost i predstavljaju (*Rp.* 514a.2-517a.7).

Jer kada je riječ o zlatnim i srebrnim posudama, antička stvarnost uvelike je nestala. Imamo sreću što je sačuvano nekoliko primjeraka antičke srebrnine iz Trakije i s priobalja Crnog mora, ali sliku nam može proširiti i epigrafska i povijesna građa. Bogatstvo atenskih hramova, štovališta i svetišta daje se naslutiti iz popisa njihova inventara, gdje se neke stavke javljaju tijekom više desetljeća.⁵¹ No daleko najveću "riznicu" srebrnog posuđa, i to ništa manje nego kratera, nalazimo u opisima odlaska atenskog brodovlja prema Sirakuzi u ljeto 415. g. pr. Kr. Prema Diodorovu opisu "čitavo područje" Pireja "bilo je prepuno kationica (*θυμιατηρίων*) i srebrnih kratera (*κρατήρων ἄργυρῶν*), iz kojih su se žrtve ljevanice točile s pomoću zlatnih pehara" (Diod. 13.3.2). Uglavnom isto

49 Barr-Sharrar 2008.

50 E.g. Vocotopoulou 1994; Drougou 2001, Fig. 8; Barr-Sharrar 2008, pp. 200-201, note 58.

51 Lewis 1986; for the same vessels recognisable over long periods: Vickers 1992.

49 Barr-Sharrar 2008.

50 Npr. Vocotopoulou 1994; Drougou 2001, sl. 8; Barr-Sharrar 2008, str. 200-201, bilj. 58.

51 Lewis 1986; za jedne te iste posude koje se javljaju tijekom duljih razdoblja: Vickers 1992.

privilege:⁵² 44 minae that they could afford to forgo. Plutarch reports the state pension granted to Aristides' son Lysimachus of '100 silver *minae*, [100] *plethra* of planted land, and ... 4 drachmas a day' (Plut. *Arist.* 27). Not only does this indicate what was considered to be a comfortable but not extravagant aristocratic existence in the fifth century BC, but the 100 *minae* of silver would have been sufficient to provide a respectable dinner service.

To return to the subject of aristocratic potters: it should be stated without qualification that the very concept is impossible in the context of Greek antiquity. The post-Homeric world witnessed a growth of disdain for menial occupations, and the view that certain occupations were beneath the dignity of a freeman gained wide purchase.⁵³ The status of the craftsman in classical Greece was low, and Herodotus expands on the topic:

'Whether the Greeks borrowed from the Egyptians their notions of trade, like so many others, I cannot say for certain. I have remarked that the Thracians, the Scyths, the Persians, the Lydians, and almost all other barbarians, hold the citizens who practise trades, and their children, in less repute than the rest, while they esteem as noble those who keep aloof from handicrafts, and especially honour such as are given wholly to war. These ideals prevail throughout the whole of Greece, particularly among the Lacedaemonians. Corinth is the place where craftsmen are least despised (Hdt. 2. 167).'

'... and if there was disdain at Corinth, there must have been contempt elsewhere,⁵⁴ doubtless including Athens. It is thus inherently unlikely that an individual named Megacles could have worked in a potter's workshop, as has been claimed.⁵⁵ For Megacles was one of the most illustrious names in the Athenian Almanach de Gotha, being common among members of the Alcmaeonid clan, and various Megacleses won renown for their successes in chariot events at the great games. Alcibiades' uncle Megacles was to win at Olympia in 436 BC, and his grandfather Megacles was victorious in the Pythian games (Pind. *Pyth.* 7). His great-grandfather Alcmaeon's wealth enabled him to breed horses and to be the first Athenian to win at Olympia (Hdt. 6.125; Isoc. 16.25).⁵⁶ If 'one of the

kazuje i Tukidid: "Na svakoj palubi, i časnici i ljudi ... miješajući [vino u] kraterima (κρατήρας τε κεράσαντες), izlijevali su žrtve ljevanice iz zlatnih i srebrnih pehara" (Tuk. 6.32.1). Bila je to Atena na vrhuncu svog bogatstva i moći, kada je „iz grada iznesena golema svota koja je iznosila mnogo talenata" (Tuk. 6.31.5). Iz Pireja su toga dana isplovile 134 trireme, tako da možda možemo pretpostaviti kako su Atenjani koji su platili gradnju i opremanje tih ratnih brodova posjedovali i 134 srebrna kratera. Ti su pojedinci za tu povlasticu platili prosječno 4.436 drahmi:⁵² 44 mine kojih su se bili u mogućnosti odreći. Plutarh navodi kako je državna mirovina odobrena Aristidovu sinu Lizimahu sastojala od "100 srebrnih mina, [100] pletara zemljišta pod nasadima i 4 drahme dnevno" (Plut. *Arist.* 27). To ne samo da ukazuje na ono što se u petom stoljeću pr. Kr. smatralo lagodnim, ali ne i odveć razmetljivim aristokratskim životom, već i na to da bi 100 mina srebra bilo dostatno za više nego pristojan komplet pribora za svečane gozbe.

No, vratimo li se na temu aristokratskih lončara, bez ikakvih ograda valja ustvrditi kako je već i sama pomisao na to nemoguća u kontekstu antičke Grčke. Naime, u poslijehomerskom svijetu svjedočimo sve većem zazoru od zvanja koja podrazumijevaju fizički rad, a širi se i stav da su određena zanimanja ispod dostojanstva slobodnog čovjeka.⁵³ Društveni položaj obrtnika u klasičnoj Grčkoj bio je nizak, o čemu nam Herodot govori sljedeće:

Jesu li Grci svoja poimanja trgovine preuzeli od Egipćana, kao i toliki drugi, ne mogu kazati sa sigurnošću. Zamijetio sam kako među Tračanima, Skitima, Perzijcima, Lidijcima i gotovo svim drugim barbarima građani koji se bave trgovinom i njihova djeca uživaju slabiji ugled od ostalih, dočim kao plemenite cijene one što se drže podalje od zanata, a osobito štiju one što su posve predani ratovanju. Ti ideali prevladavaju diljem cijele Grčke, a napose među Lakedemoncima. Korint je mjesto gdje se obrtnici preziru najmanje. (Hdt. 2. 167).

"... a ako je u Korintu bilo prijezira, drugdje je zasigurno bilo gnušanja",⁵⁴ što nedvojbeno uključuje i Atenu. Stoga je samo po sebi malo vjerojatno da bi netko tko se zvao Megaklo mogao raditi u lončarskoj radionici, kako se to tvrdi.⁵⁵ Naime, Megaklo je bilo jedno od najznamenitijih imena u "Gotskom almanahu" Atene jer je bilo uobičajeno među pripadnicima roda Alkmenoida, a razni Megakli stekli su ugled

52 Pritchard 2015b, pp. 97, 110.

53 Schlaifer 1936, pp. 165, 171.

54 Schlaifer 1936, p. 175. See further Vickers, Gill 1996, pp. 95-96.

55 Williams 1997; Kreuzer 2009; Hurwit 2014.

56 There was, moreover, a tradition that the Alcmaeonids were descended from *hippota* ('horseman' [Iliad 2.336]) Nestor.

52 Pritchard 2015b, str. 97, 110.

53 Schlaifer 1936, str. 165, 171.

54 Schlaifer 1936, p. 175. Vidi i Vickers, Gill 1996, str. 95-96.

55 Williams 1997; Kreuzer 2009; Hurwit 2014.

most prominent symbols of wealth was the owning or breeding of horses⁵⁷ – as it was – then it is unthinkable that a member of the Alcmaeonid family (who were so rich that when they funded the building of a new temple of Apollo at Delphi they went beyond the contract and had the east and west facades done in Parian marble instead of *poros* [Hdt. 5.62.2-3]), should have undertaken any banausic occupation. What seems to have happened is that scholars (to use the term loosely) have conflated early 20th century Bloomsbury with ancient Athens, and imposed a world where gentlefolk might dabble in a bit of pottery decoration on a civilisation where ‘for the banausic occupations ... all but the βάνουσοι themselves had only contempt from the early fifth century on.’⁵⁸ Any merit the supposed work of ‘Megacles’ may have possessed will in any case have been owed to recycled silversmith’s pattern-books, where a skilled artist fulfilled an aristocratic patron’s requirements. The 5th century BC artist Parrhasius’ *graphides* (‘designs’) were still extant *in tabulis ac membranis* (‘on wooden tablets and parchment’) in Pliny’s day, from which craftsmen were said to profit (Plin. *NH* 35.68).⁵⁹ How much more material by a range of artists working for aristocratic patrons would have been available to inspire pot-painters in the fifth century. Such an explanation would account for the presence of the surviving pottery with aristocratic decoration and inscriptions in Italy, but without the Acts of Faith that the ‘dislocated spoils of an ancient antiquities market’ hypothesis requires.

But there is much in the tedious and self-referential world of Greek pottery studies that calls for a substantial reassessment, and perhaps the last word should go to Sir Moses Finley whom I had occasion to quote earlier on the importance of silver for the Athenian economy. He wrote to me a few days before he died. He had been supposed to give the keynote address at a symposium on Greek vase-painting at the Getty Museum, but told me that on reflection he was glad he was not able to attend, since he had concluded that Beazleyism was a case of the emperor having no clothes.⁶⁰ Indeed.

zbog svojih uspjeha u utrkama dvokolica na velikim igrama. Alkibijadov ujak Megaklo odnio je pobjedu na Olimpijskim igrama 436. g. pr. Kr., a njegov djed Megaklo pobijedio je na Pitijskim igrama (Pind. *Pyth.* 7). *Njegov* pradjed Alkmeon svojim mu je bogatstvom omogućio da uzgaja konje i bude prvi Atenjanin koji je odnio pobjedu na Olimpijskim igrama (Hdt. 6.125; Isoc. 16.25).⁵⁶ Ako je “jedan od najistaknutijih simbola bogatstva bilo ... vlasništvo ili uzgajanje konja”⁵⁷ - a bilo je - onda je nezamislivo da bi se jedan od pripadnika roda Alkmenoida (koji su bili toliko imućni da su, kad su financirali gradnju novog Apolonovog hrama u Delfima, izišli iz okvira ugovora tako što su istočno i zapadno pročelje dali izvesti u parskom mramoru namjesto *porosa* [Hdt. 5.62.2-3]), bavio bilo kakvim priprostim zanimanjem. Ono što se, kako se čini, dogodilo jest da su znanstvenici (u najlabavijem smislu te riječi) Bloomsbury s početka 20. stoljeća stopili s antičkom Atenom i nametnuli viđenje svijeta u kojem su se gospoda tu i tamo mogla malo pozabaviti ukrašavanjem keramike, i to u civilizaciji gdje “prema priprostim zanimanjima ... nitko osim βάνουσοι samih nije osjećao ništa drugo doli gnušanje od petog stoljeća nadalje”.⁵⁸ “Zasluga za bilo kakvu vrijednost njegova tobožnjeg rada “Megaklu” se u svakom slučaju mogla pripisati jedino zahvaljujući srebrnarskim knjigama uzoraka, kojima bi se kakav vještiti umjetnik služio pri ispunjavanju zahtjeva aristokratskog naručitelja. U Plinijevo doba još uvijek su postojali *grafidi* (“nacrti”) umjetnika Parazija iz 5. stoljeća pr. Kr., kojima su se navodno koristili ondašnji obrtnici (Plin. *NH* 35.68).⁵⁹ A koliko je još građe potekle od cijelog niza umjetnika moglo biti dostupno kao nadahnuće za slikare na keramici u petom stoljeću? To bi objasnilo i prisutnost sačuvane keramike s aristokratskim ukrasima i natpisima u Italiji, ali bez pozivanja na prst sudbine na kojem počiva teza o “plijenu premještenom s antičkog tržišta starina”.

No u zamornom i autoreferencijalnom svijetu istraživanja grčke keramike, mnogo je toga što iziskuje temeljito preispitivanje, a svoju zadnju riječ trebao bih možda posvetiti Sir Mosesu Finleyju, kojega sam prije imao prilike citirati glede važnosti srebra za atensko gospodarstvo. Pisao mi je nekoliko dana prije svoje smrti. Trebao je održati uvodni govor na stručnom skupu o oslikavanju grčkih vaza u Muzeju

57 Spence 1993, p. 180.

58 Schlaifer 1936, p. 173.

59 For a speculative scenario of Parrhasius’ designs underlying the output of the so-called ‘Penthesilean workshop’, see Vickers, Gill 1996, pp. 169-170.

60 A copy of Finley’s letter may be consulted in the Beazley Archive at Oxford.

56 Postojala je čak i predaja po kojoj su Alkmeonidi bili potomci hipota (“konjanika” [Ilijada 2.336]) Nestora.

57 Spence 1993, str. 180.

58 Schlaifer 1936, str. 173.

59 Za nagađanja o Parazijevim nacrtima na kojima se temeljila proizvodnja takozvane “penthesilejske radionice”, vidi Vickers, Gill 1996, str. 169-170.

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Getty, ali mi se povjerio kako mu je - kada malo bolje razmisli - drago što nije u mogućnosti nazočiti jer je došao do zaključka kako "beazley-izam" predstavlja primjer cara koji je gol.⁶⁰ I bio je u pravu.

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60 Preslika Finleya pisma dostupna je na uvid u Arhivu Beazley u Oxfordu.

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