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TEYTIOY EIMI
**A BRONZE SITULA FROM GRAEŠNICA
(UPPER MACEDONIA)**

Abstract: This article is an attempt to examine the name *Teutios* attested on a Late Classical / Early Hellenistic bronze situla from Graešnica, Upper Macedonia (now in the National Museum of Belgrade, inv. no. 840/I). Though the name has no obvious Greek etymology, the author defends the thesis that *Teutios* and related names belong to the onomastic heritage common to Greece and Macedonia. He adds some fresh arguments, especially concerning the numerous instances of pre-200 B.C. bearers of the *teut-* names in the Aegean, as well as in Macedonia and Paionia.

The Belgrade National Museum's collection of Greek antiquities contains objects dating from between the seventh and sixth centuries up to the second century B.C. Works made of bronze (vessels, tripods, statuettes, handles, warfare equipment, jewelry) constitute an important part of that collection. Among the Early Hellenistic bronze vessels an outstanding example is a lovely *situla* from the region near *Herakleia Lynkestis* (modern Bitola) in Upper Macedonia. The situla was found, accidentally, at the village of Graešnica (unearthed from a grave, whose exact date and whereabouts are not known) south of Bitola. It has been in the collection of the National Museum of Belgrade since 1934 (Inventory no. 840/I). It is inaccessible to the wide public only due to the shortage of display space¹.

The situla is of graceful, slightly round contour with its double handles and small palmettes on both sides. The ornamentation under the rim is discreet in the form of an oval staff. Such limited orna-

¹ I am grateful to the staff of the Belgrade National Museum for enabling me to examine the object and make the photographs, Figs. 1-2. I also thank Dr Ljubiša B. Popović who has generously shared with me his detailed knowledge of bronze vessels and of Balkan antiquities in general. I have also benefited much from discussions with Professor Slobodan Dušanić who helped me with his advice and with valuable suggestions on the meaning of the inscription, which is the subject of this article. Neither, however, is responsible for what I have written.

mentation indicates that the vessel was made for practical use. The bottom of the vessel is partly damaged (Fig. 1). Dimensions: height 20 cm, diameter of opening 16 cm, diameter of base 9.5 cm.² This type of situla is frequently found in Northern Greece, ancient Thrace and Southern Italy. With regard to its typical Late Classical / Early Hellenistic decoration, the Graešnica situla was dated by Dr POPOVIĆ in the period towards the end of the fourth or in the course of the third century B.C.³ Its proportions and ornamentation correspond well with those of a bronze situla from Arzos in the vicinity of the Hebros River (now in the Archaeological Museum of Komotini, inv. no. 1894), datable to the end of the fourth century B.C.⁴ “By the end of the fourth century, this situla shape was at the height of its elegance”.⁵ From all we have said above, as on the grounds of letter-forms, the Graešnica situla can be dated to the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third.

There is an inscription punctuated on the rim (lip) of the situla. It consists of eleven letters: TEYTIOYEIMI (Fig. 2). The height of the letters varies between 0.8 and 0.9 cm. The lettering of the inscription is not distinctive at all. It includes e.g. standard, large *mu* with slanting outer strokes, *omicron* somewhat smaller than the other letters, *epsilon* with a short central bar, and this justifies the late fourth or the early third century dating. The meaning is quite clear: Τευτίου εἰμί “I am (the property) of Teutios” or “I belong to Teutios”. The owner’s name is almost certainly *Teutios* (Τεύτιος), rather than *Teutias* (Τευτίας) as Professor Aleksandar Jovanović interprets it.⁶ The latter name, although grammatically possible, is not, so far as I know, securely attested (for the coins of *Teutias* (?) and *Teutaos* see below).

The name Teutios demands a brief comment. It is derived from the root *teut-* which goes back to an Indo-European **teuta-* meaning ‘land, folk, people’. To this word family belong, for example, Ger-

² Lj. B. Popović, Greek Bronzes in Yugoslavia, in: Lj. B. Popović – D. Manozisi – M. Veličković – B. Jeličić (eds.), *Antička bronza u Jugoslaviji*, Belgrade 1969, pp. 18, 77 no. 54 (Catalogue); Lj. B. Popović, *Collection of Greek Antiquities*, National Museum Belgrade, Belgrade 1994, 60 and 120 no. 79 (Catalogue).

³ Popović (above n. 2) 60 and 120.

⁴ See N. Yalouris – M. Andronikos – K. Rhomiopoulou, *The Search for Alexander*, Exhibition Catalogue, Boston 1980, no. 107, p. 156 and pl. 17. Cf. B. Barr-Sharrar, Macedonian Metal Vases in Perspective: Some Observations on Context and Tradition, in: *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (“Studies in the History of Art” 10), Washington 1982, 129, Fig. 11 with note 24 at p. 137; Popović (above n. 2) 60.

⁵ Barr-Sharrar (above n. 4) 129.

⁶ A. Jovanović, The Importance of a “Counterfeit” Paeonian Coin in Determining the Position of the Antiquity Sarnus, *GSAD (The Journal of the Serbian Archaeological Society)* 5, 1989, 41-44 [in Serbian, with a summary in English].

manic ethnonym *Teutoni* (cf. *deutsch*), and Celtic theophoric anthroponym *Teutates*.⁷ However, names derived from *teut-* are particularly frequently found in the area described, both by ancient writers and modern scholars, as Illyrian. Personal names like *Teuta*, Τευταία, *Teuticus* and composite Τεμιτευτα, *Teutmeitis*, Τριτευτα are well attested in the Illyrian south.⁸ The recent publications of inscriptions from Dyrrhachium⁹ and Apollonia¹⁰ have added to that picture. On the other hand, names derived from the same root have been recorded in some Greek speaking regions, too. It has been assumed that these names also belonged to the Illyrian anthroponymy, or, at least, reflected Graeco-Illyrian connections. These connections have been generally dated to early times.¹¹ Such theories form a sort of *opinio communis* in recent scholarship.¹²

Such views have been recently challenged by a number of Greek scholars who are inclined to regard Τεύτιος and the related names Τεύταμος, Τευταμίδης, Τευταμίας as purely Greek¹³ (some of their compatriots, however, have maintained the traditional

⁷ See e.g. P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen 1896, 118; A. Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, Vol. II, Leipzig 1904 [repr. Graz 1962], cols. 1804-1807; M. Budimir, *Questio de Illyriis et de vocabulo teuta*, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 55, 1953, 3-36 [in Serbian, with a summary in Latin]; A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier*, Vol. II (*Schriften der Balkankommission* 16), Wien 1959, 115; E. Benveniste, *La vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* I. Économie, parenté, société, Paris 1969, 363-67.

⁸ See H. Krahe, *Lexicon altillyrischer Personennamen*, Heidelberg 1929, 113-115, 117; G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg 1969, 309; Carlo de Simone, L'elemento non greco nelle iscrizioni di Durazzo ed Apollonia, in: P. Cabanes (ed), *Grecs et Illyriens dans les inscriptions en langue grecque d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonie d'Illyrie: Actes de la Table ronde internationale, Clermont-Ferrand, 19-21 octobre 1989*, Paris 1993, 64-65.

⁹ P. Cabanes – F. Drini, *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion*, Paris 1995, nos. 405, 407-412. See esp. no. 412: Τευταία Τευτίου.

¹⁰ P. Cabanes – H. Ceka, *Inscriptions d'Apollonia d'Illyrie*, Paris 1997, nos. 29 (Τευτέα), 333.

¹¹ As expressed by e.g. Mayer (above n. 7) 116: “Das Wort *teuta* ist im Griechischen verlorengegangen. Sein Auftreten in Elea und in der Pelasgiotis, sodann in Kleinasien geht auf ein frühes Vordringen illyrischer oder den Illyriern nächstverwandter Scharen nach Süden...”.

¹² See esp. papers read at ‘la Table ronde internationale’ held in Clermont-Ferrand 1989 (cited in full above n. 8): C. de Simone (above n. 8) 64-5; O. Masson, Encore les noms grecs et les noms illyriens à Apollonia et Dyrrhachion, 79-80; S. Mansaku, Un regard sur les noms illyriens dans les inscriptions grecques de Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonia, 92-93.

¹³ Argyro B. Tataki, New Elements for the Society of Beroea, *Ancient Macedonia*, VI (Thessalonike 1999) 1118-1119: “... rare Greek names”: L. Gounaropoulou – M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας Α'*. *Ἐπιγραφές Βεροίας*, Athens 1998 (=EKM I) no. 4, p. 99; M. Hatzopoulos, ‘L’histoire par les noms’ in Macedonia, in: S. Hornblower – E. Matthews (eds.), *Greek Personal Names: their Value as Evidence*, PBA 104, Oxford 2000, 106: “...almost certainly Greek”.

view).¹⁴ In what follows I shall try to show that the Graešnica *Teutios* belongs to a Greek family of antroponyms which, significantly, was particularly popular in Macedonia and Paionia.

Pre-Roman attestations of the name can be divided into two groups depending on the types of sources: a. names of historical and mythical personages found in ancient texts, and b. names collected from inscriptions and coin legends:

a.

1. Τευταμίδης: great-grandson of Pelasgos and mythical King of Larisa in Pelasgiotis, Thessaly, Ps. Apollod. *Bibl.* II 47: Τευταμίδου τοῦ Λαρισαίων βασιλέως. Cf. Dion. Hal. *AR* I 28, 3. The name was known already to Homer (ca. 750 B.C.): ὤϊε δὴ δῶ Λήθοιο Πελασγοῦ Τευταμίδαο (Hom. *Il.* II 843).¹⁵
2. Τευτάμης: father of Bias, one of the Seven Sages, of Priene, Diog. Laert. I 82: Βίας Τευτάμου Πριηνέως. Cf. *id.* I 88: ἐν Πριήνῃ Βίας ἐγένετο ὁ Τευτάμεω (Priene, Ionia, VII/VI cent. B.C.).
3. Τευτίαπλος: an important man from Elis, one of the commanders of the Peloponnesian fleet in Thucydides' narrative of 427 B.C.: Thuc. III 29, 2: Τευτίαπλος ἀνὴρ Ἑλεῖος (Elis, Peloponnese, V cent. B.C.).
4. Τεύταμος: *hegemon* of the Macedonian Silver Shields (*argyraspides*) along with Antigenes during the Second Diadoch War (318–315 B.C), engaged in the struggle between Antigonos the One-Eyed and Eumenes: Diod. XVIII 59, 3; 62, 4; XIX 28, 1; Plut. *Eum.* 13; 16; 17, 1; Polyae. IV 8, 2. Teutamos' patronymic is not attested (Macedonia, unknown origin, IV cent. B.C.).¹⁶

¹⁴ V. Allamani-Souri – E. Voutiras, New Documents from the Sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas at Beroia, *Ἐπιγραφές τῆς Μακεδονίας*, Thessalonike 1996 (*editio princeps* of the important Beroia inscription = *EKM* I no. 4), 24: “*Teutios*... a well known Illyrian personal name”.

¹⁵ In addition, we could mention other mythical personages like the Assyrian king Τεύταμος (Ctesias, *FgrHist* 688 F1b = Diod. II 22, 2) and the Scythian Τεύταρος (Lyc. *Alex.* 56; Eust. *Comm. ad Il.* I 264, 32). That m- suffix denotes Illyrian rather than Pre-Greek influences see e.g. H. von Kamptz, *Homerische Personennamen*, Göttingen 1982, 345f.

¹⁶ Cf. H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, Vol. II: *Prosopographie*, München 1926, no. 744; A. B. Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad* (*ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ* 26), Athens 1998, 440. For the suggestion that Teutamos in fact led the *hypaspistai*, who are confused or equated with the Silver Shields, see R. A. Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State*, Berkeley 1990, 85 n. 8.

b.

1. TEYTAOΣ. The name attested on a unique small silver coin (diobolos, weight 1.13g) found on the site 'Markova kula' (Demir Kapija, Republic of Macedonia) in 1992. The reverse side bears the inscription TEY–TAO, most probably a genitive case of Τευταος, the name of an unknown Paionian ruler (Paionia, region near modern Demir Kapija, second half of the fifth century B.C.).¹⁷
2. TEY... The name attested on a silver tetradrachm from the Archaeological Museum in Sophia (Figs. 3-4).¹⁸ The reverse bears the traces of an inscription which consists of three letters TEY followed by a vertical stroke (T?) and a slant stroke (perhaps the left part of an A). The whole has been read TEYTA[MHΣ] by Professor T. GERASIMOV (*editio princeps* of the coin) and, less attractively, TEYTI[OY] by Professor A. Jovanović. In Professor Jovanović's opinion it is a genitive case of the name *Teutias*, attested in Paionia or Lynkos (Upper Macedonia) in the second half of the fourth century B.C. However, the value of this coin as a piece of evidence remains highly doubtful as there are good reasons (mainly stylistic) to accept Professor Gerasimov's view that the tetradrachm in question presents a modern forgery.¹⁹
3. Τεύτιος: father of Philoxenos (Φιλόξενος Τευτίου) named with other Macedonians from Beroia (60 men) in the list of names beneath the letter of Antigonos Doson (rather than Philip V) addressed to Beroia and dated in the seventh year of his reign (223 B.C.), *EKM* I no. 4, l. 20 (Beroia, Lower Macedonia, III cent. B.C.).²⁰
4. Τεύτιος. Teutios, son of Philippos, a military settler of the *epigone* in Egypt (Arsinoite Nome) attested along with his brother Theôn and sister Philippê, in a letter addressed to

¹⁷ V. Lilčić – P. Josifovski, A Silver Diobol of the Paenian Ruler TEYTAO(Σ), *Macedonian Numismatic Journal* 1, 1994, 27-37 [in Macedonian, with summary in English].

¹⁸ T. Gerasimov, Една фалшива пеонска монета, *Известия на Археологическия институт* 28, София 1964, 249-251 [in Bulgarian].

¹⁹ Thus Gerasimov (above n. 18) 249-251; for a somewhat different reading see Jovanović (above n. 6) 41-44, who suggests the second half of the fourth century dating, and connection with the issues of the Paionian king Patraos (340/335-315).

²⁰ On this inscription see esp. the recent paper written by M. B. Hatzopoulos, La lettre d'Antigone Doson à Béroia et le recrutement de l'armée macédonienne sous les derniers Antigonides, in: R. Frei-Stolba – K. Gex (eds.), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 60^e anniversaire de Pierre Ducrey* (Lausanne, 20-21 novembre 1998), Bern 2001, 45-52.

the king Ptolemy IV dated to year 4 of Philopator (218 B.C.), complaining of thefts and unpaid debts, *PEnteux* 32, l. 1: Βασιλεῦ Πτολεμαίωι χαίρειν Θέων καὶ Τεύτιος Φιλίππου, Μακεδόνες τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (Egypt, Macedonian origin, III cent. B.C.).²¹

5. Τεύτιος. *Teutios* of the present article attested on the bronze situla from Graešnica (Lynkos, Upper Macedonia, IV/III cent. B.C.).

What can be concluded from this list of the early evidence? Analyzing the material set out above, we may suppose that the *teut*-names occur in Greek sources as early as the eighth century; the composite names beginning with *teut*- (*Teutiaplos*) were in use by the fifth century. The name *Teutames* attested in Priene suggests the possibility of current use even before, in the Archaic period. On the other hand, the earliest Illyrian historical examples are from the third and second century B.C. – altogether three pre-Roman examples: *Teuta*, the well-known Illyrian queen, *Triteuta*, mother of the Illyrian king Pinnes, and *Teuticus*, an envoy of the Illyrian king Genthios (Liv. XLIV 31, 9). After all, there is no evidence from Illyria itself to correspond to the early Greek instances. But, every new find may change the picture. And with regard to the cultural situation of Illyrians, early anthroponyms are extremely difficult to find.

There are, finally, early examples known to us from both Macedonia and Paionia. The attested Paionian *teut*-names are especially interesting, because they are certainly royal names, of the same category as the Illyrian feminine royal names. It is well known that personal names are easily transferred, especially through marriage connections between members of the neighbouring tribes/peoples. It should not be forgotten that the Paionian and Macedonian examples are considerably older than the Illyrian ones. The name *Teutios* is indeed at home in Paionia; this may be also inferred from the epithets of Apollo attested in ancient *Colobaisê* (Pelagonia) at the Roman imperial times. The local Apollo of Colobaisê (Κολοβαΐση) was worshipped as *Eteudaniskos*, *Oteudanos*, and, *Oteudanikos* respectively.²² Although it is difficult to explain how *teut*- became *teud*-,²³ there are again good Paionian examples (cf. e.g. the t/d change in the name of Paionian ruler *Audoleon*, son of *Patraos*, who

²¹ Cf. M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, Paris 1951, 315, 1185; Tataki (above n. 16) 328, 440.

²² See the latest edition: F. Papazoglu – M. Milin – M. Riel (eds.), *IG X 2, 2, Inscriptiones Macedoniae Septentrionalis*, Berlin 1999, no. 230, ll. 4-6: Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐτευδανίσκω, no. 231, ll. 1-2: Ἀπόλλωνι Ὀτευδανῶ, no. 232, ll. 1-3: Ἀπόλλωνι Ὀτευδανίκω.

²³ See, however, the useful suggestions of M. Budimir (above n. 7) 3ff.

reigned between 315 and 286 B.C.). If the above mentioned Macedonian examples, all from Late Classical / Early Hellenistic period, are added to these names, it may be concluded that *Teutios* and the related names were popular in Macedonia and Paionia.

Let us revert to our *Teutios*, the owner of the Graešnica situla. It is obvious that the object belonged to the burial equipment of a notable man. Bearing in mind the find place, the question is whether we can take a step further? Traces of ancient life are visible in today's village of Graešnica.²⁴ Professor JOVANOVIĆ, in the article mentioned above, suggested that the Damastium mint *Sarnous* (known from the coin inscription *Sarnoaton*) could be located at Graešnica. He also connects the name of the ruler *Teutias* probably attested on the unique silver tetradrachm (listed above b.2) with *Teutios*, the owner of the Graešnica bronze vessel, supposing that he might have been a local dynast, probably dependent upon the Paionian king Patraos.²⁵ In my opinion, however, there is no need to presume that such an important man should be buried with his situla in the Graešnica grave. He might have been a Macedonian officer serving in a military garrison probably established in Graešnica at one time. With regard to the approximate date of his burial (end of the fourth or beginning of the third century), one could think of the turbulent years in the reign of Cassander and his sons (ca. 316-295/4) or Demetrios Poliorketes (295/4-288/7) and Lysimachos (287-281). The period of the great Gallic invasion ca. 280 cannot be excluded either, since the Graešnica fort could have been used as a place of refuge. The Celts created chaos and panic in Macedonia and our *Teutios* might have been killed while defending his country from the barbarians.

To conclude. The bronze situla from Graešnica (Lynkos, Upper Macedonia), now in the Collection of Greek antiquities of the National Museum of Belgrade, can be dated towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. It records a very interesting name *Teutios*. It is clear from the available material that the *teut-* names are met with in several Indo-European languages. During the Archaic and Classical periods, they are attested in diverse Greek speaking regions, from the Peloponnese (Elis) to the west of Asia Minor (Priene). In the north, they spread as far as Macedonia. Thanks to dynastic connections between Macedonia and Illyris and Paionia respectively, they spread even further, into the non-Greek areas of north and north-west. These deductions, though, remain hypothetical to a large degree.

²⁴ See, for example, the grave inscriptions from the Roman imperial times, *IG X 2*, 2, nos. 4-7, especially no. 5, where the rare, but also typical Macedonian name *Aeroros* occurs: 'Ααίρορος 'Ααιρόπου.

²⁵ Jovanović (above n. 6) 43f.



Fig. 1. The inscribed situla from Graešnica (Upper Macedonia), ca. 300 B.C.

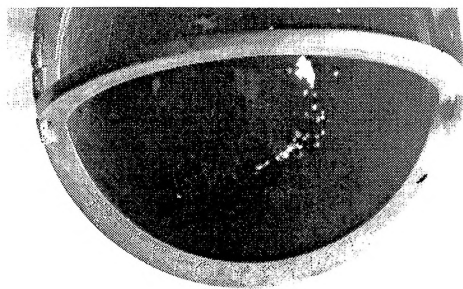
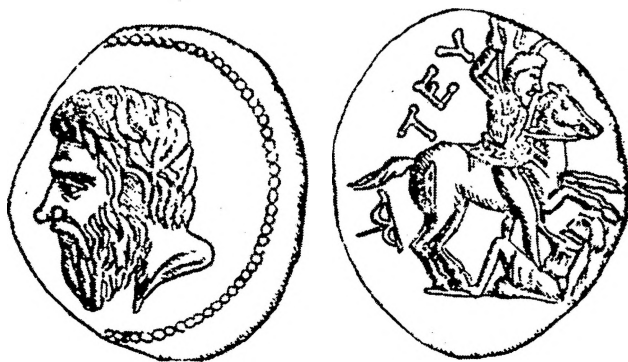


Fig. 2. The name of the situla's owner.



Figs 3-4. The silver tetradrachm of TEY... (probably modern forgery), obverse and reverse (T. Gerasimov's fascimilé).