ESSAYS IN HONOR OF DOROTHY KENT HILL

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Dorothy Kent Hill

DETERMINED EYES, determined voice, determined mind. Few curators have all of those advantages, and know where they are going. But it has always been so with Dorothy Kent Hill.

She found fertile ground at the Walters Art Gallery in 1934 when one of her mentors, Dr. Tenney Frank of Johns Hopkins, suggested her for the position of research associate for the ancient collections. Her training had been the standard "best" of the day, a Vassar College A.B., a Fellow at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, and a Ph.D. from The Johns Hopkins University where she studied under David M. Robinson.

To Dorothy fell the awesome task of sorting the treasures of four ancient civilizations into their respective corners and then ordering, studying, cataloguing, and displaying each. Her own special field had been classical sculpture and vases, but she had to deal with goldsmiths' work, bronzes, glass, and inscriptions as well in the collections of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and the ancient Near East. From the outset she had 3749 objects in her charge, ranging from the seven great Dionysiac sarcophagi found in Rome to a group of cylinder seals three-quarters of an inch in length.

Her writings are the best guide to Dorothy's plan of attack on the Herculean task of comprehending the vast array of artifacts assembled over forty years by Henry Walters. She was always interested in explaining the material, and this expressed itself in guides, booklets, and small exhibitions of games, daily life, animals, costume, and artists of all of her four cultures. Her *Daily Life in Classical Times* (1937) and *The Fertile Crescent* (1944) were Christmas stars to the wandering kings of education at the time. Yet all the while her scholarly side was expressed in reviewing the greats of her day, as well as publishing the important works of her collections in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Studi Etruschi*, the *Art Bulletin* and elsewhere.

As Curator of Ancient Art, she was overseer to the cataloguing and publication of the Egyptian sculpture by George Steindorff (still the only monument of its kind in American Egyptology); the Greek bronzes she published herself; and the seven Roman sarcophagi became the subject of a monograph by Karl Lehmann-Hartleben and Erling C. Olsen. Thus the collection in her care became known, a charge that many curators ignore.

Dorothy was aided in her publication scheme by two extra jobs she acquired. In 1948 she became editor of the Walters Art Gallery *Bulletin*, a position she retained until 1970. This gave ample opportunity to produce the many charming little notes she wrote on her objects. Who could resist reading "What's in a Duck?," "Chasing the Phiale," or "From Pharaoh's Palace," all part of the unwinding story of archaeology. Secondly she was made book review editor of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, a position which made her aware of the writings of her colleagues and kept her in continual touch with them for a period of seventeen years.

As a lecturer, Dorothy is the quiet explainer of facts, and her audiences admire the straightforwardness and humor of the presentations. She would address any group with an interest in the subject, including Sunday schools, students, or adults, and regularly lectured in the Monday evening series on the fascinating aspects of her varied handful of collections. She lectured on several occasions at Johns Hopkins in archaeology, and she is known as a speaker across the country where she introduced new generations to the quality of the Walters collection.

In the early years of the Gallery, there were no funds for purchase, and the work of cataloguing and understanding persevered. But the day of modest purchase funds dawned in 1941, and Dorothy, a child of the Depression, advanced cautiously. Her first purchase was an Egypto-Roman gold coin necklace that had escaped the grasp of the Gallery and was bought back at the sale of Mrs. Henry Walters' collection. It was a time when important ancient objects could still be bought for a few hundred dollars.

But Dorothy did not stop at acquisitions that were modest, even in price. She had an eye for quality, but also one for need, and another for opportunity. These three eyes served the Gallery very well indeed. During the Second World War, she capitalized on opportunity. A list circulated by the government of confiscated alien property for sale was sent to all American museums. On it Dorothy spied a group of unusual relief sculpture from Tell Halaf, a site of about 1000 B.C. in the Near East, and calmly bought them. At the sale of the Joseph Brummer collection in 1949, she identified two bronze plaques as missing pieces of the famous gates of Shalmanesar III's temple at Balawat (which are largely in the British Museum), and purchased them for $800. The colossal togate statue of a member of the Augustan family she found in the niche of a garden wall; and the long lost Polycleitan "Bardini torso," she purchased from a furniture dealer. "We have no funds," she would say, "but you do what you can."

Collecting is a slow process of chance, knowledge, and cash; it does not require bravado and financial headlines as much as it takes knowledge and determination. These qualities Dorothy devoted to enriching Henry Walters' collection in the spirit of its founder. Over the years she more than doubled the ancient Near Eastern holdings, added significantly to the Greek vases and bronzes, and continuously strengthened the Roman collection of sculpture. One particular interest was Greek armor, and in that area she out-collected everyone in America—with four Greek helmets, including a superb Chalcidian casque, an embossed fifth-century greave, and one of the few heel defenses that exist in the world.

It is interesting to summarize what such an approach in a curator can achieve in forty-two years of devotion to a single collection. It amounts to one book, 10 booklets, 90 major articles, 164 minor articles and notes, 65 book reviews, 1346 accessions by purchase, and 184 gifts to the department. The results of such labors are never over and their effects continue. Other pieces will come to the collection because of Dorothy's work, other articles will be written because of her encouragement, and other colleagues will be inspired to try to do as well for this or for other institutions.

She added to these accomplishments that of knowing and following the actions of all her colleagues across the world. As a result, most of them came at one time or other to the Gallery to study and to lecture. She has always been aware of who was excavating where, when, and with whom, and she joined more than a dozen expeditions both early and late in her career. Four years before her retirement in 1977, she decided it was time to investigate the new line of underwater archaeology, and so donned a mask in the Tyrrhenian Sea to test the possibilities.

There can be no doubt that the gods have been kind to Dorothy and to the Walters collection. She came, she saw, she did what few of her peers have done. She loved it, added to it, published it, and inspired others to do the same.

Richard H. Randall, Jr.

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Abbreviations

AA: Archäologischer Anzeiger, supplement to *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Berlin

ABV: J.D. Beazley, Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters, Oxford, 1956

AJA: American Journal of Archaeology

ArchCl: Archeologia classica; rivista dell'Institut di archeologia della Università di Roma, Rome

ArchEph: Archaiologike Ephemeris, Athens

Arias, Hirmer, Shefton: E. Arias, M. Hirmer, *A Thousand Years of Greek Vase Painting*, translated by B.B. Shefton, London, 1962

ARV²: J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1963

AthMitt: Mitteilungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athenische Abteilung

BSA: British School at Athens, Annual

BWAG: Bulletin of The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

CVA: Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Deltion: Archaiologikon Deltion, Athens

EAA: Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale, Rome

Helbig⁴: W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th edition, ed. H. Speier, Tübingen, 1963–72

Hesperia: Journal of The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Cambridge, Mass., and Princeton

Jdl: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin

JHS: Journal of Hellenic Studies, London

JWAG: Journal of The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

MAAR: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome

MonAnt: Monumenti Antichi, Accademia dei Lincei, Rome

RE: A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearbeitung, Stuttgart

RömMitt: Mitteilungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Römische Abteilung

StEtr: Studi Etruschi (Istituto di studi etruschi ed italiani), Florence

A Cylinder Seal with a Camel in the Walters Art Gallery

By EDITH PORADA

Columbia University

AN EXHIBITION of the ancient Near Eastern cylinder seals in the Walters Art Gallery arranged by the present writer in 1944 would never have been successfully completed without the help of Dorothy Hill. Her participation in that venture extended from judicious advice about the placement of the objects in the cases and incisive editing of the labels, to participation in the painting of a monumental chronological chart. No amount of work was too much, no labor beneath her dignity as a curator. The writer's lifelong gratitude for the help and friendship shown at that time and in the years since is only inadequately expressed by the following short article on one of the Walters Art Gallery's most remarkable cylinder seals.

Attention was recently focused upon that cylinder by Richard W. Bulliet in his stimulating book, *The Camel and the Wheel*.[1] Bulliet reproduced a photograph of the cylinder, the present figure 1, and referred to it as Mesopotamian, dated about 1800 to 1400 B.C., citing the catalogue of some of the seals in the Walters Art Gallery by Cyrus H. Gordon.[2] Gordon, however, correctly classified the cylinder among those of Syrian origin with which it shares a tightly-filled surface, rounded forms, distinctive garments and certain characteristic iconographical figures. The date given by Gordon for the cylinder can be more precisely determined as belonging to the eighteenth century B.C. on the basis of the composition which shows groups of figures on different levels in the field. This arrangement is paralleled by an impression from Level VIII of Atchana-Alalakh (fig. 2). Level VIII, the beginning of which has not as yet been definitely dated, precedes Level VII, for which the dates of about 1720–1650 B.C. have been established by Dominique Collon.[3] Furthermore, the restrained, simple rendering of the figures corresponds to what may be called the classic style of Syrian glyptic art. This style, which is based on the early Old Babylonian of the nineteenth century B.C., is manifested at Mari in the seal impressions of the court of king Zimrilim,[4] although the Syrian elements of that style are likely to have been introduced into the art of Mari during the reign of Iasmah-Addu, son of king Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria (ca. 1813–1781 B.C.), who preceded Zimrilim as ruler of Mari.[5]

The classic Syrian style closely parallels that of the First Dynasty of Babylon during the reigns of kings Apil-Sin (1830–1813 B.C.), Sin-muballit (1812–1793 B.C.), Hammurabi (1792–1750 B.C.) and perhaps also in the beginning of the reign of Samsuiluna (1749–1712 B.C.). It was followed by a mode in which exaggeratedly rounded forms bring to mind the term "baroque." Seal impressions from Level VII of Alalakh indicate that the style flourished about 1720 B.C. and may have begun somewhat earlier. It was followed by a more sparse and attenuated style in

[1] R.W. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975): a photograph of an impression made with the Walters cylinder (inv. no. 42.804) discussed here is reproduced on Bulliet, p. 63, fig. 20.

[2] *Iraq*, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 6 (London, 1939), pl. 7:55 and text p. 21.

[3] Dominique Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* Alter Orient und Altes Testament, 27 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975), (hereafter: Collon, *Alalakh*), p. 143.

[4] The suggestion that the Syrian style originated at Mari was made by M.Th. Barrelet and A. Parrot in *Mission archéologique de Mari II. Le palais: documents et monuments* (Paris, 1959), pp. 248–50.

[5] I base the suggestion for associating the Syrian elements in the art of Mari with the reign of Iasmaḫ-Addu on the character of the wall paintings at Mari ascribed to that ruler by A. Moortgat, *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad, 3 (Berlin, 1964), pp. 70–72.

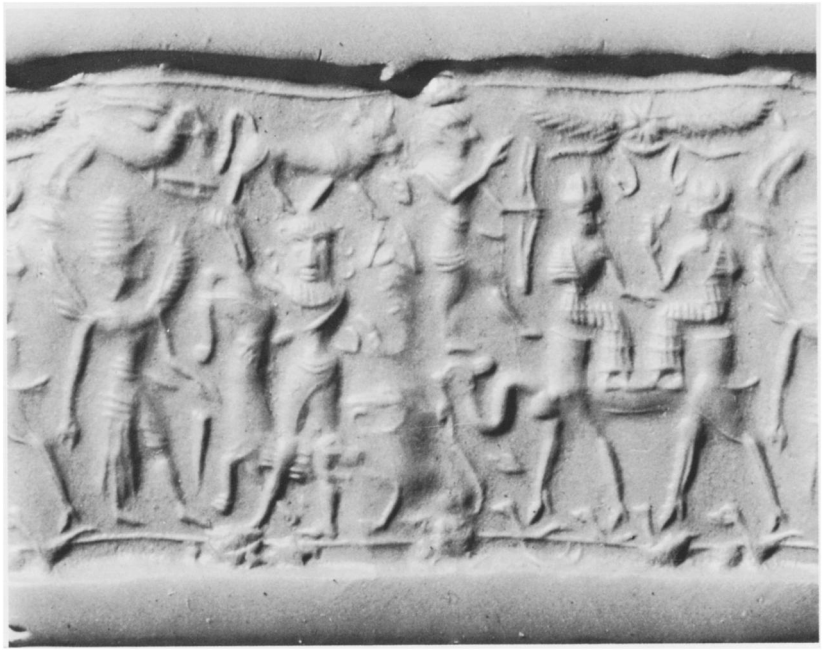

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Enlarged modern impression of cylinder seal showing two figures on a camel. Syrian, 18th century B.C.

the first part of the seventeenth century B.C.[6]

Detailed discussion of the iconography of the cylinder in the Walters Art Gallery begins with the winged goddess, one of the most characteristic figures of the classic Syrian style and one of the few which can be identified with a major personage of the Syrian pantheon recorded in the texts of Ras Shamra, Ugarit. This goddess is Anat, who is described as having wings[7] which enable her to advance with extraordinary speed.[8] She is a goddess of love and war and is also the epitome of feminine beauty.[9]

The representation of the goddess in the cylinder (fig. 1) is in keeping with her appearance as implied in the texts. She wears a headdress of major deities, a tall miter composed of many pairs of horns, rendered schematically as horizontal lines. A clearer representation of a multiple-horned miter, worn by a figure that is doubtless the same goddess, is seen in a seal impression from Alalakh, (fig. 3). It should be noted that this is only one of several different miters worn by the warrior goddess[10]—presumably always representing Anat.

Like all heroic figures in Syrian cylinders, the goddess wears a horizontally striped or ridged kilt. Her kilt, however, is distinguished by a long fringe which hangs down in the back and on the sides but leaves the forward leg uncovered, indicating the goddess's freedom of movement.[11] The cord, which circles her waist, the end of which projects in front, also seems to be an integral part of her attire.

[6] Collon, *Alalakh*, pp. 143–44 and 197–98.

[7] See the translation by H.L. Ginsberg "Poems about Baal and Anath," in *The Ancient Near East, 1, An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, J.B. Pritchard, ed. (fifth printing, Princeton, 1971), especially p. 116: "The Maiden Anath lifts her wing/Lifts her wing and speeds in flight."

[8] For the speed with which Anat was able to proceed, see also the remarks by W. Röllig, "Syrien," in *Götter und Mythen im vorderen Orient*, Die alten Kulturvölker 1, Wörterbuch der Mythologie, section 1, H.W. Haussig, ed. (Stuttgart, 1965), p. 241.

[9] Röllig, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

FIGURE 2 *Enlarged drawing of ancient seal impression with several motifs on different levels from Tell Atchana/Alalakh (after Collon,* Alalakh, *p. 4, no. 2)*

The function of the winged goddess Anat in the Walters cylinder is probably indicated by the antelope placed horizontally above her. The animal has its fore- and hind-legs so firmly placed together that they seem to have been tied at the front and back joints. Probably, the antelope was meant to represent an animal killed by the goddess. This action is more clearly portrayed on the cylinder in figure 5, where the goddess holds an antelope in one hand and a javelin in the other. In the Walters cylinder there was not sufficient space to show the goddess holding and thereby displaying, her victim, hence the animal was placed above her. The specific meaning of Anat as a huntress is not yet elucidated by any text.

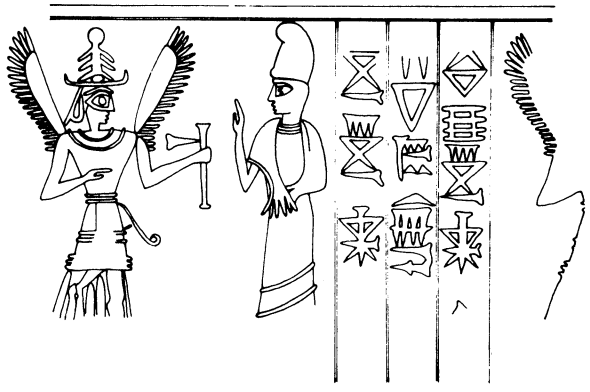

FIGURE 3 *Enlarged drawing of ancient seal impression representing a winged goddess with a multiple-horned miter from Atchana/Alalakh (after Collon,* Alalakh, *p. 15, no. 15)*

FIGURE 4 *Enlarged drawing of an ancient seal impression with a nude, bearded hero overpowering a bull from Atchana/Alalakh (after Collon,* Alalakh, *p. 24, no. 28)*

[10] The variety of these miters is well illustrated by Collon in *Alalakh* pl. xx, with examples from Level vii. Most frequent on extant cylinders of the later style is the square-topped miter resting on a pair of horns with a spike or feather projecting obliquely in front. This type was discussed by J.R. Kupper, *L'iconographie du dieu Amurru dans la glyptique de la I^re^ dynastie babylonienne* Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires 55:1 (Brussels, 1961), pp. 40–41.

[11] A kilt with a long fringe similar to that of the winged goddess is also worn occasionally by a male figure with the horned helmet of the weather god: L.J. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental, Musée du Louvre*, vol. 2, *Acquisitions* (Paris, 1923) (hereafter: Delaporte *Louvre*), pl. 96: 17, 18 (A. 919, A. 921). In one cylinder a male personage with a long fringe hanging from the kilt is one of two figures wearing the weather god's helmet. The special kilt establishes the bearer as a distinct divine personality. The relation of male figures so garbed to the similarly clad winged goddess is unknown because there are no representations where both male and female figures in such kilts occur together.

FIGURE 5 *Enlarged modern seal impression representing a winged goddess as a huntress (M.J. Ménant,* Cylindres orientaux, Collection de Clercq, Catalogue methodique et raisonné 1, *Paris, 1888, no. 390)*

In the next group on the Walters cylinder appears a bearded hero with curls, who is nude (except for a girdle). This ancient Mesopotamian figure seems to have assumed an important place in Syrian iconography, to judge by the representation in cylinder seals. Typically, the figure is shown engaged either in a heroic feat or in some beneficient action—such as dispensing water—for which he is the object of worship.[12]

On the Walters cylinder the hero raises a lion by the hind legs while holding the neck of the beast between his legs as in a vise, an unparalleled posture. The bull above the hero is probably to be associated with him in the same way as the antelope placed above the goddess in the group already described. Since the bull is occasionally shown as a victim of the nude, bearded hero, for example in a seal impression from Alalakh (fig. 4), the animal depicted above the subdued lion probably represents an alternate victim. A similar interpretation may be suggested for the lion sitting beside the hero.

Two small figures seated on the humps of a Bactrian camel constitute the third and most important group on the Walters cylinder. The scene is unique, and the only basis for suggestions concerning its meaning is the visual evidence, which therefore has to be examined with minute care. The two figures are male and female, and both are dressed in the many-tiered, flounced robes which usually indicate the divine nature of persons so attired. A female figure with not only the elaborate Syrian coiffure but the flounced robe, as on the Walters cylinder, is very rarely seen. It is found again only on a cylinder in the Bibliothèque nationale, where the female is seated on the knees of her consort in what doubtless indicates the sacred marriage of the two deities.[13] They are flanked in that cylinder by two figures, likewise in flounced, many-tiered garments, perhaps divine attendants, who raise one hand in the same gesture of worship as the archer to the left of the deities on the camel in the Walters cylinder. The similarities noted between the scenes on the two cylinders suggest that the two

[12] For the nude hero as a dispenser of water see E. Porada in collaboration with B. Buchanan, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections, Bollingen Series, 14 (Washington, 1948), no. 979 and A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst* (Berlin, 1940), no. 545.

[13] L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses, et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1910), no. 431. I use the term "sacred marriage" for an implied sexual relation between deities.

FIGURE 6 *Enlarged modern impression of a cylinder seal showing a sphinx walking on two serpents* (Ancient Oriental and Other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore, *Oriental Institute Publication, 47, Chicago, 1940, no. 134*)

small figures on the camel are also about to be joined in a sacred marriage ceremony. The gesture of the male figure, extending one hand to touch the female just above the knees, confirms this suggestion, as does the vessel in the hand of the female figure. The vessel has an upward projection in the direction of the goddess. It is not a spout but may be a drinking tube; this detail should issue from the top of the vessel, but the line meant to render it may have been placed a little too far down in the small but not very careful carving of the cylinder. Vessels with projecting tubes are raised by a pair of drinkers in a somewhat later cylinder in the Louvre, which also portrays a sacred marriage scene.[14] In general, vessels with projecting tubes, doubtless for drinking beer, are often added to scenes portraying a sacred marriage.[15] A last indication for such an interpretation of the divine couple as sacred consorts, is the scorpion placed beside the archer. Although the scorpion is frequently present in a variety of scenes, "No other identifiable fill motif occurs as frequently in sexual scenes. . . ."[16]

There remains the question of why the deities were mounted on a camel for their propitious act. The answer may be provided by the little serpents below the animal's feet. Parallels for serpents appearing under the feet of a creature are rare, but they can be found under sphinxes on cylinder seals which are probably contemporary with the one under discussion. One example, in the Moore collection, is illustrated here (fig. 6). Perhaps one may also mention the elephants walking on serpents represented on pre-

[14] Delaporte, *Louvre*, pl. 97:4 (A. 932). An enlargement of the cylinder was published in E. Porada, "Iconography and Style of a Cylinder Seal from Kantara in Cyprus," *Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Studien und Aufsätze Anton Moortgat zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet*, eds. K. Bittel et al. (Berlin, 1964), pl. 33:3.

[15] For a full discussion of the subject of the sacred marriage with references to the extant representations see J. Renger and J.S. Cooper, "Heilige Hochzeit," in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 4 (Berlin, 1975), pp. 251–69. For references to women drinking through tubes see E. Porada, "Remarks on Seals Found in the Gulf States," *Artibus Asiae* 33:4 (1971), p. 337 and n. 17. It is not impossible that a sacred marriage was implied on the cylinder illustrated by Delaporte, *Louvre*, pl. 96:22 (A. 925), where a goddess enthroned on a bull also seems to drink from a vessel with projecting tube or spout, in the presence of a king who stands before her.

[16] Cooper, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 15), p. 267.

dynastic Egyptian ivory handles of flint knives[17] and on an ivory comb[18] belonging to the same group of predynastic Egyptian objects. Although the meaning of these last-mentioned examples may be quite different from that of the comparable motifs on cylinder seals and may in fact be related to the similarity in appearance of the snake's body and the elephant's trunk, it is nevertheless undeniable that elephants, like sphinxes, were regarded as impervious to the bite of poisonous serpents. This is certainly the reason why a sphinx treading on a serpent was represented in this manner on a cylinder which was probably thought to acquire protective power by bearing such an image. Tentatively, the same argument may be used for the representation of the camel on the Walters cylinder. The big animal with its long legs and large feet would have seemed able to crush any serpent and could thus have become a protective image.

It is likely that some Bactrian camels reached Syria as beasts of burden, perhaps coming from central Asia, where they seem to have been in general use in the Late Bronze Age.[19] Both the Bactrian, two-humped camel and the one-humped dromedary were known in Mesopotamia in the Old Babylonian period as is shown by evidence collected by A.L. Oppenheim.[20]

The engraver who carved the Walters cylinder seal (fig. 1) had probably seen a camel to judge by the natural appearance of the animal as depicted, but he placed the seats of the figures on the humps, instead of between them, as would have been the case in actuality. The type of throne seat put on the humps somewhat resembles in its solid, legless form the throne of a goddess portrayed in a Syrian cylinder in the Münzkabinett in Munich,[21] contemporary with the one in the Walters Art Gallery. The artist therefore had in his mind an image of a portable throne which could be placed at will on the backs of imaginary mounts for gods.

In trying to determine the meaning of this exceptional representation of a camel[22] walking on serpents and carrying deities in a marriage ceremony, one may suggest that a person most needful of protection would have been a traveler on unfamiliar roads. Perhaps the seal was made to order for such a man, who desired not only protection against serpents but also the propitious influence of the sacred marriage scene.[23] To this was added a symbol of the conquest of threatening evil represented by the nude, bearded hero vanquishing a lion, and the powerful figure of Anat, goddess of love and war, whose swift arrival in case of danger the seal owner probably hoped to assure. The unusual features in this cylinder certainly suggest that it was not a ready-made piece to be sold to any customer, but that it contained specific, chosen motifs. So viewed, the figures are no longer unrelated or selected at random, but seem to have been quite coherently planned to provide the greatest possible protection and beneficent influence for the seal owner.

[17] For the Brooklyn and Pitt-Rivers knife handles and the Carnavon knife handle see H. Asselberghs, *Chaos en Beheersing* Documenta et Monumenta Orientis antiqui 8, (Leiden, 1961), figs. 39–45.

[18] For the Davis comb, See Asselberghs, *ibid.*, figs. 37–38.

[19] For general remarks on the early domestication of the camel in central Asia, see Bulliet, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 1), pp. 141 ff. A recent report on seal amulets from Turkmenistan (ancient Margiana), which includes a fine metal seal amulet representing a camel, was published by V.I. Sarianidi, "Pechati-amulety Murgabskogo stilîa," *Sovetskaîa Arkheologiîa* 1 (Moscow, 1976), p. 62, fig. 18.

[20] *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute*, Chicago, vol. 7: I and J, p. 2, s.v., "*ibilu*."

[21] U. Moortgat Correns, "Altorientalische Rollsiegel in der Staatlichen Münzsammlung München," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, series 3, vol. 6 (1955), pl. 111:24.

[22] At present, the example in the Walters Art Gallery is the only representation of a camel on a cylinder of the second millennium B.C. The one cited by Gordon, as "Moortgat, *Bergvölker*, pl. XI:2," actually, Delaporte, *Louvre*, pl. 96:1 (A.904), does not have a hump and therefore probably represents a poorly carved horse.

[23] Support for such a suggestion may be given by the representation of two deities, each holding a vessel, seated on thrones on the back of a donkey in a seal impression on a tablet from Level Ib at Kültepe, see N. Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum Kanish*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından Series 5, no. 25, Ankara, 1968, pl. XXV:1. Unfortunately, the owner of the original cylinder with which the impression was made is as yet unknown, because the text of the tablet is not published. It is likely, however, that he was one of the merchants who traveled and traded in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria.

The Hittite Seals in the Walters Art Gallery

By HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

Chicago

IT WAS DOROTHY HILL who, in 1937, surprised the world of orientalists by the announcement that the so-called seal of Tarkondemos, long believed to be lost, actually was in the Walters Art Gallery.[1] This seal, the first bilingual, or rather digraphic, document found, played an important role in the decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphs. Strangely enough, it has still not revealed all its secrets, so that a review of the various attempts at interpreting it may be in order even now. Apart from it there are three more stamp seals bearing Hittite hieroglyphs in the Gallery. All of them were published by Cyrus Gordon in 1939.[2] While these, too, are still not fully readable a fresh look at them may also be worthwhile. Summaries of what is, and what is not known now seem to be a subject suited to be offered to Miss Hill on this occasion.

The four seals (figs. 1–4) represent several of the major types and periods of Hittite stamp seals. No. 1 (57.1513, fig. 1) is the oldest, with a handle that seems to be between a "knob" and a "hammer";[3] no. 2 (42.352, fig. 2) is a fully developed "hammer" of the type with circular base; no. 3 (54.264, fig. 3) is a tripod, and no. 4 (57.1512, fig. 4), the "Tarkondemos" seal, most probably once was part of a tripod. The last two belong to the Hittite Empire period (ca. 1400–1200 B.C.), but the first two are certainly older. These datings are based on the shapes of the seals, the hieroglyphs and, where applicable, the decorative or representational motifs on them. Thus, this small collection is actually quite representative of the development of Hittite glyptic art. Comments on each of the four seals follow.

1) Stamp seal, 57.1513, fig. 1, Gordon no. 72, made of silver (erroneously called iron by Gordon). Circular base, eight-sided tapered stem; on top of it a somewhat extended "knob" or underdeveloped "hammer" head, perforated lengthwise.

The seal surface is flat. It is divided into a wide outer zone and a circular center field. In the center there is one symbol or hieroglyphic sign not identified with any known sign of the fully developed script. With some stretch of the imagination one may think of a sign in stamp impressions on pottery, G 200,[4] on handles from Boğazköy,[5] which again may or may not be the same as G 199 = L 173. The latter occurs on seals as a title; it is the picture of a kind of spear carried by men on reliefs from Hüyük near Alaca.[6] Whether the sign on the seal should really be equated with L 173 and, if so, whether it means that the seal belonged to a man with this title ("bearer of the spear?") remains doubtful.

The outer zone is made up of three sections of different guilloches: one regular tress pattern, one tress divided in two, and one, a double row of running spirals. In the intervals between these patterns there are anthropomorphic figures in

[1] Dorothy Kent Hill, "The Rediscovered Seal of Tarqumuwa King of Mera," *Archiv Orientální* 9 (Prague, 1937), 307–10, pl. XXVI.

[2] Cyrus H. Gordon, "Western Asiatic Seals in The Walters Art Gallery," *Iraq*, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 6 (London, 1939) (hereafter: *Iraq* 6), 3–34, esp. pp. 24 f., pl. VIII f.

[3] In the terms introduced by D.G. Hogarth in his *Hittite Seals* (hereafter: *HS*) (Oxford, 1920), 17–22.

[4] References to sign lists are as follows:
L = E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites*. Part 1, *L'écriture* (Paris, 1960);
M = P. Meriggi, *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1962) (hereafter: *Gloss.*[2]);
G = sign list in H.G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, part 2, (*Archiv für Orientforschung*, suppl. 7, Berlin, 1942) (hereafter: *SBo* II), 84–104.

[5] *SBo* II nos. 251, 252; U. Seidl, *Gefässmarken von Boğazköy*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 88 (Berlin, 1972), pp. 52–55, nos. A 227, 228, 233, 239.

[6] H.Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin, 1942) (hereafter: *Altanatolien*), nos. 514, 518.

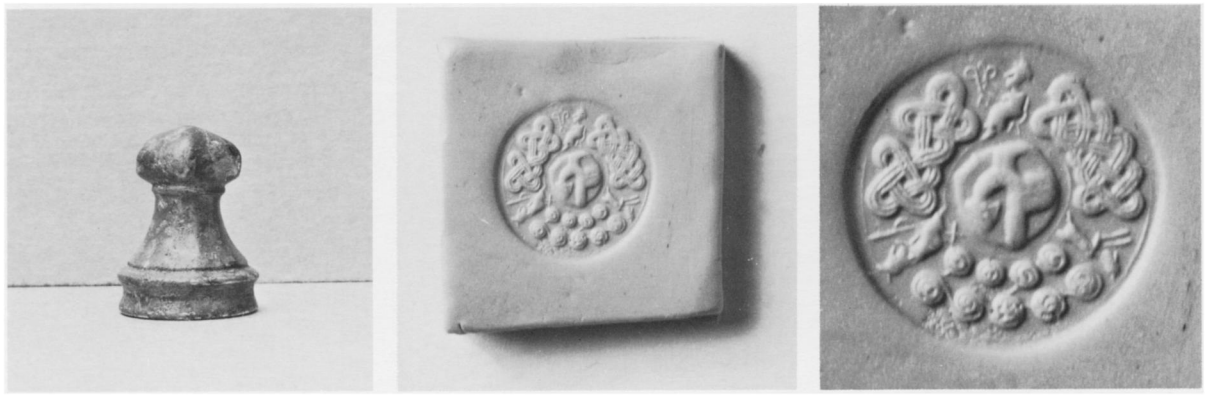

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Silver seal (57.1513) and impression (actual size and enlarged), Old Hittite period

very finely carved relief. Between the two tresses is a female seated on a chair with high back and wearing a long robe. She holds an unknown object or symbol vaguely resembling a fleur-de-lis. Both the other two figures turn their back on the spiral bands, their face toward one of the tresses. One, seated on a cross-legged stool, has a horizontal crescent on his head or round cap, and holds a spear of the kind just mentioned, point up. He seems to be male; perhaps the moon god? The other is standing with raised hands as if in adoration; he wears a long dress and a headdress with protruding point.

The style of the figures is reminiscent of that of the so-called Tyskiewicz seal in Boston and the eight-sided stamp in Berlin;[7] the combination of different tress and spiral patterns also recurs in that group. The particular arrangement of single figures between sections of different patterns recurs on a number of seals: one "hammer" from Alishar;[8] one from Boğazköy[9] coming from Lower City level 3, Old Hittite; one in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris,[10] and an impression on clay found at Korucutepe.[11] This whole group can be safely dated to the Old Hittite period.

2) Stamp seal of haematite, 42.352, fig. 2, Gordon no. 70, with "hammer" handle and circular base, first seen at Aydın and often illustrated.[12]

[7] W. Orthmann, *Der Alte Orient*. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14 (Berlin, 1975) (hereafter: *PKG* 14), pl. 375 a and b; R.M. Boehmer, *ibid.*, p. 446 with references to earlier literature.

[8] H.H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930–32*, part 2. Oriental Institute Publications 29 (Chicago, 1937), d 975 in fig. 251 on p. 214; p. 224.

[9] T. Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy*, I. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 76 (Berlin, 1967), no. 94 on pp. 26, 61, and pl. 9.

[10] L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perse et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1910), no. 649; L. Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum* (hereafter: *CIH*) *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen (Vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen) Gesellschaft* (hereafter: *MVAG*) 5, 4–5 (Berlin, 1900), pl. XLIV 4.

[11] H.G. Güterbock, "Hittite Hieroglyphic Seal Impressions from Korucutepe," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32 (Chicago, 1973), 135–47, esp. pp. 146 f. and pl. 5, no. 21.

[12] G. Perrot. Ch. Chipiez, *Judée, Sardaigne, Syrie, Cappadoce*, Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, 4 (Paris, 1887), 773 and drawing on p. 804; *CIH* XLIII 6; *HS*, p. 75, fig. 79; Bossert, *Altanatolien*, nos. 679–80; *Iraq* 6, pl. VIII; *PKG* 14, pl. 376g and p. 450.

[13] Gordon, *Iraq* 6, 24, quotes Meriggi for the identification with M 346; see now in *Gloss.*[2] M 346c referring to our seal. Although the shape differs from the normal, the occurrence of M 347 with a similar curved line on the seal A 1049 in the Louvre (*PKG* 14, pl. 376d) is in favor of the identification. Note that Laroche identifies M 346 and 347 under L 327. Even if the top part is SEAL, the added curve must somehow change the logographic value, and, by its position, this logogram must be part of the name.

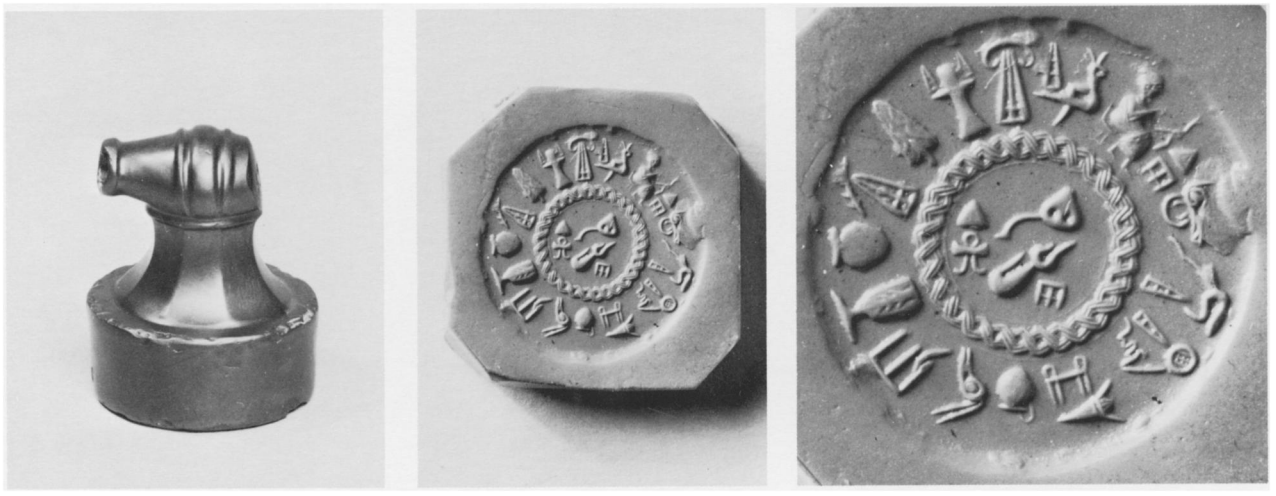

FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Haematite seal (42.352) and impression (actual size and enlarged), Old Hittite period

The seal surface is again flat and divided into an inner field and an outer zone; this time the two zones are separated by a tress pattern. The center contains a name, the title SCRIBE (L 326) and the symbols for GOOD and LIFE (L 370, L 369). The name cannot be read. While the second sign is *na* (L 35, M 36 in its most plastic shape), the first is hard to identify.[13]

The outer ring is filled with a great number of elements, including only one anthropomorphic figure. The others are either known hieroglyphs or likely to be symbols or ideograms even though they are not known from the fully developed system. Since those signs that are side-oriented all face in the same direction as the seated figure it is safe to apply the principle known from inscriptions according to which signs "look" toward the beginning of the line. Thus the sequence is counter-clockwise in the impression.

This seal should be viewed in connection with two or three similar ones kept, respectively, in the British Museum, the Albertinum in Dresden, and the Louvre.[14] Their outer zones show multiple libation scenes, among them one to a seated god holding a bird. Behind the god there are five signs or symbols (or combinations of such) on all three seals, including (1) a stag's head over two lines (the head missing on the Louvre piece!); (2) an unidentified sign above a triangle; (3) the ligature later known as "Hattusili" (in Dresden (2) and (3) are interchanged, in the Louvre garbled); (4) two upright spears, points down; and (5) a tree in a pot or stand. This recalls the frieze on the neck of the silver stag rhyton in the Schimmel collection, which shows the two spears behind the seated god with bird, and a dead stag and a tree following(!) the spears.[15]

On the Walters seal the only pictorial element is the seated figure, presumably a god here too. The long row of symbols or signs has completely replaced the libation scenes. Of the symbols found in London and Dresden we have here only the stag's head, but with a double curve beneath rather than the two lines (cf. L 102, last form), and in front, instead of in back, of the god. Whether the fourth sign after the god is a tree is not clear. Other identifiable signs are (counting signs or columns as first, second etc. after the god): (2) GREAT KING; (5) ANTLER (L 103 in horizontal position as in the Schimmel rhyton) over KING;[16] (9) the donkey head (L 100); (11) *la* (L 175) over L 300(?); (12) a group recurring in a stone inscription from Boğazköy;[17] (13) *kà* (L 56) over TOWN (L 225); (14) the stag head already mentioned; and (15) GOOD (L 370) over SCRIBE (L 326), a combination frequent on seals (cf. G 105). Its presence here, directly in front of the god and expressing something like "blessing for the scribe," can be understood since the seal owner has the same title in the center field. Pic-

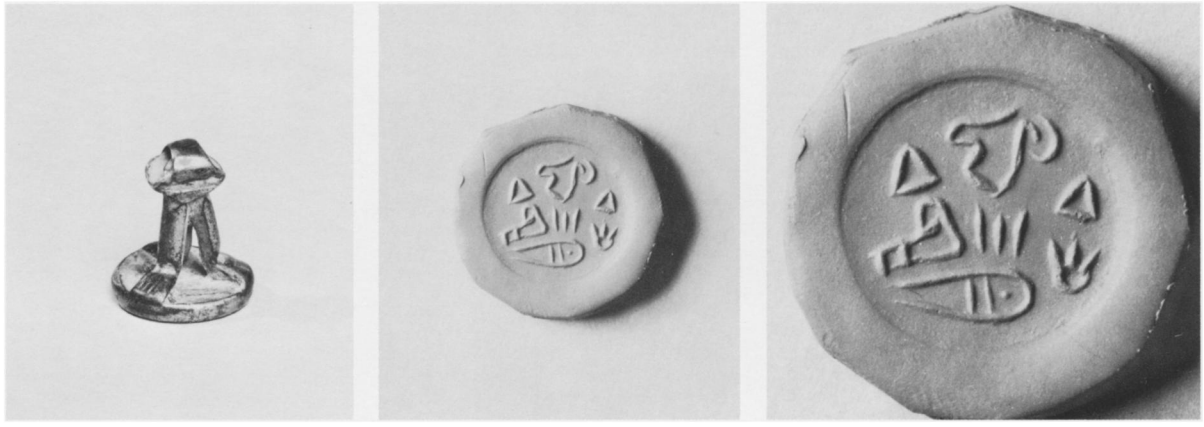

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Silver alloy seal (54.264) and impression (actual size and enlarged), Hittite, 1400–1200 B.C.

tures not immediately identifiable with hieroglyphs are: a Hittite adze or *Ärmchenbeil* in position 3, surmounted by two tiny TOWN signs, and two different pots. Although there are a number of vases among hieroglyphs (L 333–357) ours rather recall the objects in the bottom row of the Tyskiewicz seal mentioned above. As a result we have to admit that, while the outer zone must be conveying some meaning or message, we are far from comprehending it, and it cannot be "read" in the sense of later hieroglyphic inscriptions.

3) Stamp seal, 54.264, fig. 3, Gordon no. 71, tripod type, made of metal (Gordon: "brass?"). The feet of the tripod show the toes by parallel incisions. Soldered to the top is a loop. The circular base is flat and bears an inscription in incised Hittite hieroglyphs.

The type is fairly frequent. All examples belong to the Empire period. Some show the figure of a man along with the inscription, others have only an inscription. The material of two tripods in the Ashmolean Museum is described as "base silver," that of an example in Brussels as "argent bronzé."[18] Two tripod seals from sites in the Salt Lake plain are close in type: one, from Çorca near Cihanbeyli[19] was described as having a silver base and an iron tripod; the other, from Çardak near Aksaray,[20] was thought to be bronze having a whitish-yellow sheen. It would seem that most of these seals are made of a yellowish silver alloy, including the "brass" one in the Walters.

In the inscription, the center row must be the name. The first sign is not known in this form. It could be a very sketchy bird facing right, head down, one wing lifted to rear. But this is by no means certain, nor would it be safe to read it *ar*.[21] The sign made of three vertical lines here in the middle of the center row must be part of the name, hence most probably a syllabic sign: *tar* or *tra*? (L 388 or 389?). The last sign, *li* (L 278), is clear. In the secondary groups, the triangle GOOD stands over the pomegranate (L 155) on the right; on the left, the lower sign is unidentified. I must confess that I can read neither the name nor the title of the seal owner. The cursive script also connects this seal with the others of this type.

[14] British Museum 17804; Dresden zv 1769; Louvre A 1037. All three together illustrated and discussed by L. Messerschmidt, *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 3 (Berlin, 1900), 441–7; together with the Walters seal, *CIH* XLIII 2–6; only the British Museum and Walters seals in *HS*, p. 75, figs. 78–79. Messerschmidt rejected the Louvre piece as fake, made after the Dresden one (while both were still in the hands of local people in Kayseri) with good reasons. I agree, even though Orthmann-Boehmer included it in *PKG* 14, pl. 376e and p. 450.

[15] O.W. Muscarella, in *Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection*, ed. O.W. Muscarella (Mainz, 1974), no. 123. Maybe this is the correct way of dividing the frieze; note the position of the handle!

4) The "Tarkondemos" seal, 57.1512, fig. 4, Gordon no. 69. This is only part of a stamp seal, the calotte-shaped silver seal surface. As described by Miss Hill, its back only shows traces of repair, not of having been soldered to another metal part. Yet it must have been somehow connected with a handle. It is particularly regrettable that the Çorca seal (mentioned above) is lost, since a silver surface on an iron(?) tripod might have given an idea of how the Tarkondemos calotte was mounted! The shape of the handle of the latter can only be conjectured, but a tripod seems the most likely because there is at least one example of a tripod handle of a hemispheroid seal (*HS* 191) and because the Walters piece seems to be ill-suited for the only other known metal type, the seal ring. The curvature of the surface, which was taken by earlier observers as an indication that the piece could not have been used as a seal, is no longer an obstacle; many strongly concave impressions are known, especially of royal seals,[22] and experience has shown that impressions of the Walters seal can be easily made.

The figure of a man in the center of the seal is very well executed in the purest New Kingdom style. The cuneiform signs are also clearly those of the same period. That the maker of the seal misrepresented some only betrays his ignorance and does not mean that the seal was made after the downfall of the empire. The whole type, in the same style, is well represented among the seal impressions from Ugarit, which belong to the thirteenth century.[23] This shows that rulers and individuals in the outlying territories used seals made in the same Hittite style, most probably by employing craftsmen trained in the same tradition.

As mentioned before, this seal, first published in 1863, was the first known digraphic document and enabled A.H. Sayce to determine the meaning of the two hieroglyphs for KING (L 17) and COUNTRY (L 228). But, ironically, the seal that gave the first decisive clue for decipherment poses so many problems that its usefulness hardly goes beyond those two word signs. These problems concern not only the hieroglyphic but also the cuneiform inscription.

The names of both the king and the country are faultily written in cuneiform in the outer ring, and the unfamiliarity of nineteenth-century Assyriologists with the Hittite type of cuneiform writing added to the difficulties. After the discovery and decipherment of the Hittite texts of Boğazköy some of these difficulties were overcome. Thus, the use of KUR "country" and URU "city" together, which seemed impossible then, is quite common in Boğazköy. And the existence of a country called Mira or Mera led to the correct emendation of the geographic name. W.F. Albright was the first to propose the reading **me-ra*. This was improved to **me-ra-a*, the form attested in the texts, by J. Friedrich,[24] (see fig. 5).

The name of the ruler, however, is much more

[16] If one is daring one may "read" this: *Inara* (for LAMA) + *ḫaššu* ("king") and equate it with the name *Inaraḫšu* known from Kültepe: E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites* (Paris, 1966), no. 455. But I doubt that this is permissible!

[17] H.G. Güterbock, in K. Bittel et al., *Boğazköy IV: Funde aus den Grabungen 1967 und 1968*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 14 (Berlin, 1969), 49–52 with fig. 13, see esp. p. 52 n. 3.

[18] *HS*, p. 37, nos. 188, 189; L. Speleers, *Catalogue des intailles et des empreintes orientales du Musée Royal du Cinquantennaire* (Brussels, 1917), p. 193, no. 411.

[19] H.G. Güterbock, "Un cachet hittite de Çorca," *Revue hittite et asianique* V/35 (1939), 91 f., pl. 19, 5. I never saw the original, which was later lost.

[20] H.G. Güterbock, "Neue hethitische Hieroglyphen-inschriften und Siegel," *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* 5 (Istanbul, 1949), 61–65 (in Turkish, 53–60), esp. p. 62 f. no. 3 and fig. 15, 3. "Eine Analyse liegt nicht vor; an den blanken Stellen hat das Metall einen weisslichgelben Glanz." Ankara Museum, no. 8345.

[21] Cf. L 130–134 and M 126 with addendum, *Gloss.*², p. 239.

[22] Cf. such photographs as K. Bittel and H. Güterbock, *Boğazköy, Neue Untersuchungen in der hethitischen Hauptstadt*, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 1 (Berlin, 1935), pl. 24, 1 a; *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, 1, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, suppl. 5 (Berlin, 1940), pl. II, 38A; Cl.F.A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III, Mission de Ras Shamra, 8, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 64 (Paris, 1956), pl. IV.

[23] Cf. *ibid.*, figs. 27–29, 38–44, etc.

[24] W.F. Albright, "Tarqumuwa King of Mera," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 4 (1927), 137 f.; J. Friedrich, "Die kleinasiatischen Personennamen mit dem Element *muwa*," *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1 (1930), 359–78, esp. 367, assuming conflation of two signs.

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Silver seal (57.1512): face, impression, back, Hittite, 1400–1200 B.C.

difficult to interpret (see fig. 6). The only sign that is clear after the vertical wedge introducing the personal name, is the first, *tar*. The next group of eight wedges (two horizontals, two winkelhakens, and again two horizontals and two winkelhakens) was usually taken as the sign best known as *qu* (*kum* in older periods).[25] In fact, however, a normal *qu*, in Boğazköy as elsewhere, should have only one winkelhaken (the sign that looks like a triangle on edge) in the middle. While the form with two occurs rarely in Babylonia, it is not used at all in Hittite cuneiform. Thus the reading *qu* (*kum*) must be considered an emendation. Without any change, the eight wedges in question are BI.BI.[26] A.H. Sayce emended the group into *rik*, although that sign ends in one winkelhaken and two verticals, looking like BI+IŠ, but later he accepted the reading *qu*.[27]

The next group of wedges (fig. 6) was divided into possible signs in different ways: *-u-tim-me* was the most commonly accepted interpretation. It was this reading, *Tar-*qu-u-*tim-me*, which led to comparison with Greek Tarkondēmos, the name of a ruler of Cilicia mentioned by Plutarch. But here again, shapes of *tim* resembling the wedges on the seal are rare in Babylonia while the Hittite form is quite different. Other readings rendered the existing elements more accurately: *-u-aš-še-me* of P. Jensen and *-u-mu-me* of A. Amiaud and H.V. Hilprecht.[28]

The proposal made in 1927 by W.F. Albright (see above) to emend this section into **mu-wa* was a welcome step because it yielded a name of a known type. It was hailed as "richtige Lesung" by Friedrich (see above), who pointed out that in Hittite the only reading of the "*qu*" sign is *kum* and took the sequence *kum-mu-* as confirmation for Albright's reading. There is a slight difference in direction between the last pairs of winkelhakens in this group, an observation that favors combining the last pair with the following vertical and horizontal wedges into *wa*, although this leaves the **mu* with one pair too little. But this could be the kind of conflation assumed also for **ra-a* as mentioned above.[29]

Even though the new reading *tar-*kum-*mu-*wa* was welcomed by many, it was not accepted by all scholars. I.J. Gelb went from *tar-qu-u-tim-me* to *tar-kum-mu-wa* and back to the former.[30] P. Meriggi, too, went from *muwa* back to *timme*,[31] and in 1950 S. Alp also decided for *timme*.[32] Obviously at that stage the choice of reading for the cuneiform version was influenced by considerations of the possibilities for interpreting the hieroglyphs. This now brings us to

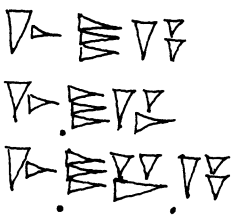

FIGURE 5 *Possible emendations of the name of the country on Hittite seal (57.1512)**

A. "tí" or "tiwa?" on seal

B. mí-tí: Suvasa

C. mí-tí: usual form

FIGURE 7 *Variants of sign L 319/320*

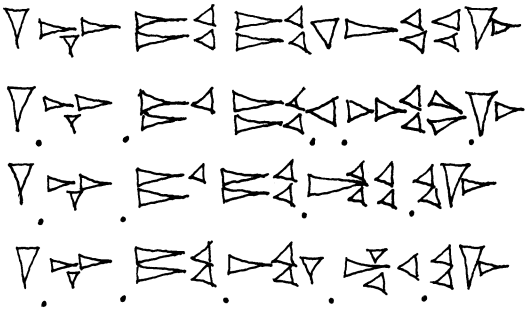

FIGURE 6 *Possible emendations of the name of the ruler on Hittite seal (57.1512)**

** Ed. note: periods indicate where wedges are to be separated into signs.*

a discussion of the hieroglyphs on the seal.

It will be seen that the same inscription occurs twice in the center field: once in front of the man and once behind him. In both cases the first sign, an animal head, looks in the same direction as the man, as usual; but the signs closer to the periphery are written in directions opposite to each other. According to the general principles of the arrangement of signs on stamp seals, this is the normal way of writing the "secondary group," in this case the name marked by COUNTRY, from the center outward. In contrast, the "main group" containing the personal name normally "looks" to the right, i.e., is written in the right-to-left order ("right" and "left" always understood as appearing in the impression).

[25] First by A.D. Mordtmann, in H. Grote, ed., *Münzstudien* 3 (Leipzig, 1863), 121 ff. For later literature, see Friedrich, *op. cit.* p. 366 nn. 1 and 3.

[26] Thus read by P. Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier* (Strassburg, 1898), 22, as an alternative to *qu*.

[27] A.H. Sayce, "The Bilingual Hittite and Cuneiform Inscription of Tarkondemos," *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 7 (1882), 294–308 (paper read in 1880): *tar-rik*. *Idem*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1922, 538, read *Tarku-*.

[28] P. Jensen, "Zur Entzifferung der 'hittitischen' Hieroglypheninschriften," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 35 (Berlin, 1924), 245–96, esp. p. 286; for Amiaud and Hilprecht see Friedrich, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24), p. 366, n. 3.

[29] Note that in Albright's drawing (*supra* n. 24), the first two winkelhakens of *mu* should be moved further to the right.

[30] I.J. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs* (hereafter: *HH*), vol. I = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 2 (Chicago, 1931), p. 34; vol. II = *ibid.*, no. 14 (Chicago, 1935), p. 20; vol. III = *ibid.*, no. 21 (Chicago, 1942), p. 27.

[31] P. Meriggi, *Die längsten Bauinschriften in "hethitischen" Hieroglyphen, nebst Glossar zu sämtlichen Texten. MVAG* 39, 1 (Leipzig, 1934) (hereafter: *Gloss.*[1]) pp. 7 f. n. 2; p. 157.

[32] S. Alp, *Zur Lesung von manchen Personennamen auf hieroglyphen-hethitischen Siegeln und Inschriften*. Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları No. 65, Hititoloji Enstitüsü no. 1 (Ankara, 1950), pp. 9–11.

The reading of the geographic name, the signs preceding COUNTRY, was soon found, since the reading of the sign *mi* (L 391) and the function of the additional line or "tang" as adding an *r* (or *ra*) to a sign (L 383, 2) belonged to the readings which had been established longest. The long oblique sign was known somehow to express a vowel, even though its exact value is still debated (L 450). This, then, is the name of Mira, which may be transliterated as *mi+r-à*, or *mi+ra-'*, or *mi+ra-à*.

The name of the ruler is written with the two signs seen above KING in front of the man. In the repetition behind him only the first sign is above KING while the second is above the *mi+ra*. This is a typical example of the free arrangement of signs in the system. The early decipherers were naturally confused by it, but now that we can read the name of the country there remains no doubt that the personal name consists of only the two signs. The problem is how to "read" or interpret them, and this problem is, of course, closely connected with that of reading or emending the name in cuneiform.

Whichever reading is accepted for the latter, it has more than two syllables. Hence at least one if not both of the hieroglyphs must be logograms. Accepting *tarku(m)* as the first element of the name in cuneiform, most scholars took the animal head as the logogram for this word. This particular animal head is rather rare;[33] it can best be described as that of a he-goat with only one horn shown and a stylized goat's beard below the jaw. Gelb (*HH* 1, 34) considered Greek *tragos* and Akkadian *turāḫu* as cognates of the assumed underlying word.[34] Alp (see above), connecting *tarku* with *Tarḫu(nt)*, the name of the storm god, argued that the animal must be the bull, known as the sacred animal of that god. But the picture does not look like a bull's head, nor does it resemble the known hieroglyph depicting one (L 105); thus, the idea that L 101 might be the same as L 105 should be given up.

If the buck's head is *tarku*, then should not the other sign be *muwa*? This was considered by Meriggi in 1932.[35] In contrast, Gelb at first thought that the second sign was a ligature of L 319 and L 391, *tí+mi*,[36] corresponding to the reading of the cuneiform as *tarqutimme*. Meriggi then followed Gelb by also accepting *tarqutimme* and rendering the hieroglyph *di-m[i]*. The bracket apparently was meant to express his correct observation that the small strokes emanating from the sides of the sign on the seal are 3+3, not 2+2 as they should be if they were *mi*. Gelb (*HH* III) observed the same and therefore rejected the idea of a ligature with *mi*. By adducing the inscription of Suvasa (fig. 7 B) he showed that the sign L 320 (fig. 7 A) with the 3+3 strokes is equivalent to the sign without them (fig. 7 C); in other words, that the sign on the seal is simply L 319. He read it *zi* (for reasons we cannot discuss here) and offered a form *Tarḫu-zi* as corresponding to *Tarqutimme*.[37]

At this point the present writer entered into the discussion.[38] I took the emendation of the BI.BI group to *kum* for granted and argued that, since the old reading *qu* was out and *kum* could only be followed by a syllable beginning with *m*, the second part of the name could only be *muwa*. I then followed Gelb and Meriggi in taking L 320 as a form of L 319, because the sign with the additional 3+3 lines occurs in Suvasa in the word usually written L 387–319 (fig. 7, B and C). Now this word, written L 387–319 (fig. 7 C), had just

[33] L 101: "Tête de chèvre ou d'âne." We shall discuss the second possibility below. The sign on the other two seals cited there is lacking the "beard," and its function is not clear.

[34] The Samsat inscription mentioned by him for "*dtarku(gu)*" is hardly usable; if there really is a goat's head it rather seems to be L 104 (part of *Šauška*?).

[35] P. Meriggi, "Sur le déchiffrement et la langue des hiéroglyphes 'hittites'," *Revue hittite et asianique* 2 (Paris, 1932), 3–57, esp. 32 and *Orientalistiche Literaturzeitung* 35 (1932), 564.

[36] As read now. In *HH* 1, he wrote *tu+me*. (In *HH* II he changed this to *Tarki(ki)+me* corresponding to *Tarqumuwa*).

[37] S. Alp, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 32) p. 11, thought of a ligature of L 488 with 2×4(!) strokes (twice *me*), to be read *ti-me*. But neither does our sign look like L 488, nor is there any trace of additional strokes.

[38] H.G. Güterbock, "Die Elemente *muwa* und *ziti* in den hethitischen Hieroglyphen," "Symbolae Hrozny," 3 = *Archiv Orientální* 18, 1–2 (Prague, 1950), 208–38, esp. 212–14; briefly anticipated in "Die Bedeutung der Bilinguis vom Karatepe für die Entzifferung der hethitischen Hieroglyphen," *Eranos, Acta Philologica Suecana* 47 (Uppsala, 1949), 93–115, esp. 108.

then been shown by the Karatepe bilingual to mean "servant," Phoenician *'bd*. While this, up to this point, was correct, my next step was fatal! Since I thought that the second sign on the seal must be read *muwa* I had to take it as a word sign. The fact that here it stood alone while in the word for "servant" it was preceded by L 387, I explained by taking L 387, which looks like the word divider, L 386, written twice, as a "double word divider" introducing the logogram L 319. In this I followed the example of Meriggi.[39] Thus I arrived at positing a word *muwa* "servant" which seemed to make good sense as second element in theophorous names but did not fit other occurrences of the word or element *muwa*, so that I had to posit two homonyms. This was rightly rejected by others,[40] and I myself have, of course, given it up. What, then, is a better solution?

A variant in Karatepe, word 293, showed that L 387 could be used for the syllable *mi*, normally written with L 391, the four lines. This led scholars to a syllabic reading of the word for "servant" as *mi-ti-*.[41] For the name of the seal owner this means that the second sign is *ti*, which rules out *mu-wa* for the cuneiform version. In this I now agree with the others. But from here on I again prefer a different solution.

While **mu-wa* is out, **tim-me* is not much better. For one, the Boğazköy form of *tim* looks too different from what is on the seal, and secondly the slight difference among the last four winkelhakens and the frequency of names ending in *-wa* strongly argue for reading *-wa*, not *-me*. Since the hieroglyphic *ti* calls for something similar in the cuneiform, I propose to rearrange the wedges preceding *wa* so as to form a *ti*, an emendation requiring not more reshuffling than *mu* and less than *tim* (fig. 6, last line). The resulting **ti-wa* yields an acceptable sequence of sounds (and possibly a meaning, as will be discussed presently).

I still maintain that *qu* is out and that *kum* is possible only if followed by an *m*. Since now *muwa* is out, *kum* must also be abandoned. It should be remembered that the alleged *kum* really looks like BI.BI, and that the sign *bi* has another reading *kaš* which does occur in Boğazköy, especially in proper names. Concerning the hieroglyphic name, Meriggi long ago saw that the only occurrence of L 101 is in one of the lead strips from Assur, where it is followed by the full phonetic writing *tar-ka-s-nà-s*.[42] In the cuneiform version one can easily read *tar-kaš-* . . . without changing anything. Following a suggestion of M. van Loon, I propose to start from these two syllables and to emend the next group of wedges to **na*. This requires relatively little change: omission of the upper horizontal of the second BI and taking the small wedge, hitherto either read *u*, or used in some reshuffling, for an undersized vertical. This, then, would yield cuneiform ^{m}*tar-kaš-***na-***ti-wa*, hieroglyphic *tarkasna-ti*.

In this form the lack of the last syllable in the hieroglyphic spelling is odd. I therefore propose the hypothesis that L 320 is logogram for *tiwa*. This word looks like the bare stem form of the Luwian word for "sun," *tiwat-*, with the known loss of the dental in word-final position. One could even imagine that the six small strokes

[39] *Gloss.*[1], p. 160 left top, where [kk] is his convention for a double word divider and DI in capital letters means L 319 (M 266, 1) used as logogram. In *Gloss.*[2] under M.266 he says "ob auch Ideogramm, ist fraglich."

[40] Apart from Gelb, Meriggi, and Alp already quoted, see J. Puhvel, "'Servant' in Hieroglyphic Hittite," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 77 (New Haven, 1957), 137–39.

[41] Or the like; see under L 387, 2 (where ta_5 is a mistake for *ti*) and Meriggi, *Gloss.*[2] p. 83 s.v. *míti(a)s*. Laroche correctly remarks that it is difficult to understand why *mí* occurs almost exclusively in this word; one may also say: why this word is exclusively written with *mi*, never *mi*. Having argued that in the empire script, the old form of L 386 seemed to mean "man (vir)," (K. Bittel et al., *Boğazköy V: Funde aus den Grabungen 1970 und 1971*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 18 [Berlin, 1975], p. 74 sub. d), I wonder whether L 387 might not originally be a logogram, "man (of a) man" in a sense comparable to our saying "my man" when speaking of a subordinate. So, L 387–319 would be MITI-*tí*, and the phonetic use of L 387 in Karatepe word 293 would be derived from there. This does not affect the main argument and is offered here only on the side as a hypothesis.

[42] Thus the present reading of Assur f, iv, 3. Meriggi, *Revue hittite et asianique* (1932), 32 read this *(k)wi-r-ga-s-na-s*, but in n. 38 already said "Le mot rapelle en quelque sorte le nom *Targasnallis*." See now *Gloss.*[2] s.v. *tarkasna-* and P. Meriggi, *Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico*, II/1 (Incunabula Graeca 14, Rome, 1967), p. 140, fr[ase] 19–20.

emanating from its upper edges are rays.[43]

Turning from the proposed meaning of the second element to that of the first, it will be noticed that we called the animal of L 101 a goat (or buck), that we follow Meriggi in taking the animal in the Assur letter f, col. IV, as the same, but that *tarkasna-* is supposed to be the word for "donkey"![44] The point is that the same letter has in col. III a clear sign L 100, the donkey head, with phonetic complement *-na* which is not sufficient proof for reading the whole word **tarkasna-*, whereas in col. IV the full spelling *tar-ka-s-nà-s* accompanies an entirely different picture, an animal's head with a curved horn, not two long ears, and the little protrusion under the chin as on the seal. My explanation is that the two sections of the letter refer to different animals. The context as interpreted by Meriggi[45] does not require that the animals be the same; Meriggi even writes "asini" in the first, "muli" in the second place. Thus I contend that *targasna-* is a (he-)goat, not a donkey, and that the word for "donkey" is a different word ending in . . . *-na*. With the new meaning, *targasna-* would also be a nicer base for such proper names as Targašnalli, ruler of Haballa, and our *Targašna-Tiwa, king of Mira.[46]

This is my present attempt at interpreting the famous seal inscription. I dare not call it "final"! Whatever better reading the future may bring, let us enjoy the beauty of the seal, one of the treasures of the Gallery, in gratitude to the scholar who first recognized it!

[43] Could the sign depict a "sun disc" of the kind known so far only from the Early Bronze Age tombs of Hüyük, e.g. the diamond-shaped example, E. Akurgal and M. Hirmer, *The Art of the Hittites* (New York, 1962), pl. 7, top, with rays like pl. 11 top?

[44] L 100, 1; Meriggi, *Gloss.*[2] p. 123.

[45] Meriggi, *Manuale* (*supra*, n. 42) fr. 19–20; facsimile on pl. XVII, no. 39.

[46] This interpretation was briefly proposed in *Boğazköy V* (*supra* n. 41), pp. 52 f. The seal inscription discussed there, *Targasna-*WA(?), and the rock inscription Karabel C cannot be discussed here.

Neolithic Potter's Marks from Lerna and the Franchthi Cave

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SEVERAL YEARS AGO Dorothy Hill led a group of students at the University of Maryland Baltimore County in a lively afternoon of scholarship and speculation about the Hermes from Olympia. It was an exciting and challenging discussion, and good fun besides. With thanks to Miss Hill for her good example and friendly guidance on that and many other occasions, my students and I offer in return some of our speculations about a group of very modest pots from the Neolithic period in southern Greece.

While working on the Neolithic pottery for the final publications of Professor J.L. Caskey's excavations at Lerna[1] and Professor T.W. Jacobsen's excavations at the Franchthi Cave,[2] I became curious about the patterns of welts, or low-relief bumps, which showed up on pieces of Middle Neolithic pottery at both sites, but which I had not found mentioned in the pertinent literature. Of the many partially restored Neolithic vessels from the Lerna excavations, two (figs. 1 and 2) are virtually complete, missing only a few chips, and those, primarily from the rim. Both are of the Brown Glaze or monochrome Neolithic Urfirnis Ware characteristic of Lerna II and of the southern Greek Middle Neolithic phase. Each of these collared jars has a thin curved strip or crescent of clay in very low relief (only several millimeters high) near the base, below the point of maximum diameter and, therefore, in the shadow of the vessel. The crescent is not repeated elsewhere on either pot. One of the jars (fig. 2) also has four thin vertical welts of clay in comparably low relief located near the point of maximum diameter and regularly repeated between each of the four tubular lugs.

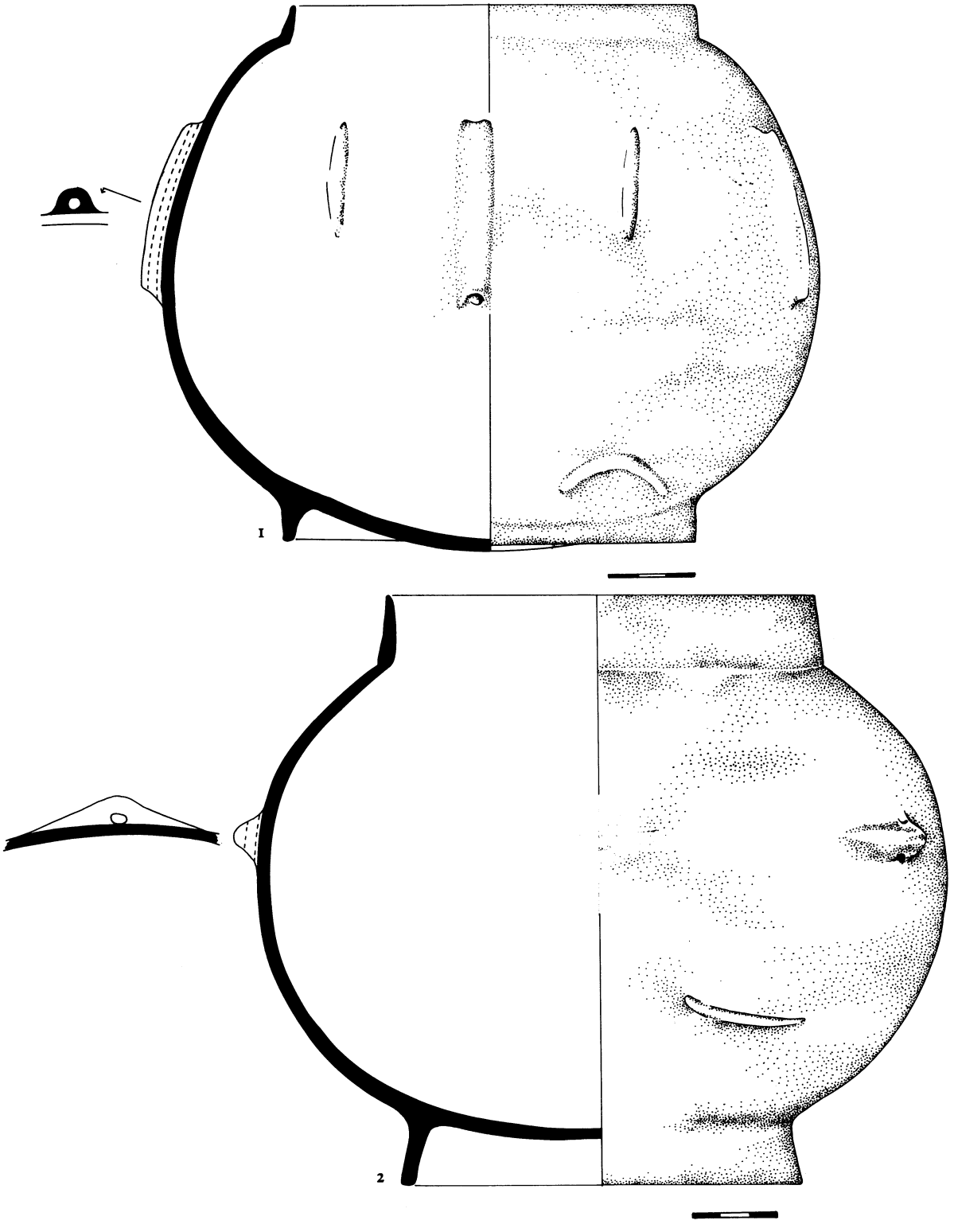
These four vertical strips fit the usual designation of relief decoration. The crescents, on the other hand, do not. Each is a single small welt, placed in an inconspicuous position on the vessel where it is, in fact, more likely to be noticed by touch than by sight, since it is in very low relief and coated with the same paint which covers the rest of the jar.

The crescents, which are hardly decorative, may be identified as potter's marks. They were, without question, added by the potter in the final stages of constructing the pot, before drying or firing. They may have been applied as separate bits of clay, or carved and pushed up from the body of the vessel during the thinning and smoothing of the finished vessel walls. I have reproduced welts by both methods; the results of the two methods are indistinguishable on an intact pot. The creation of the welts takes a bit of extra effort on the part of the potter. They are quite intentional; but if they are not decorative they must have some other meaning or reason for existing.

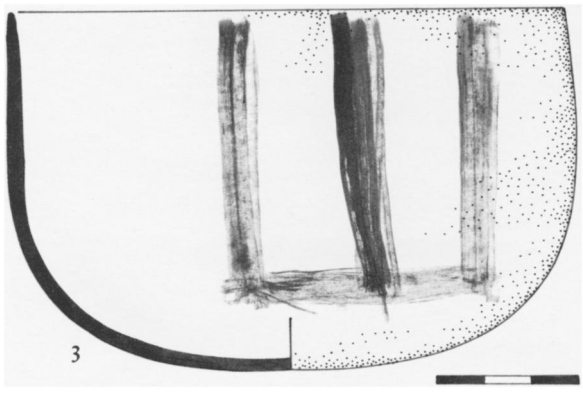
The potter's marks on these two vessels are, almost certainly, not unique. Hundreds of other low-relief welts in various shapes and combinations occur on the Lerna Neolithic fragments.

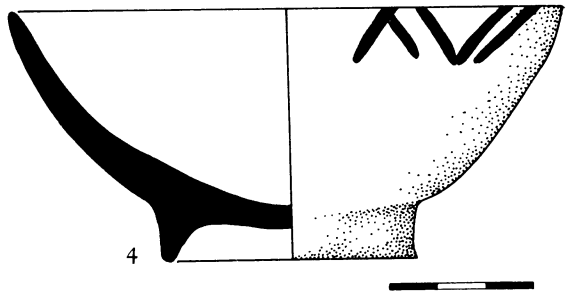
[1] For preliminary reports on the Lerna excavations see: John L. Caskey, "Excavations at Lerna, 1952–53," *Hesperia* 23 (1954), 3–30; *idem*, "Excavations at Lerna, 1954," *Hesperia* 24 (1955), 25–49; *idem*, "Excavations at Lerna, 1955," *Hesperia* 25 (1956), 147–73; *idem*, "Excavations at Lerna, 1956," *Hesperia* 26 (1957), 142–62; *idem*, "Excavations at Lerna, 1957," *Hesperia* 27 (1958), 125–40; *idem*, "Activities at Lerna, 1958–59," *Hesperia* 28 (1959), 202–7.

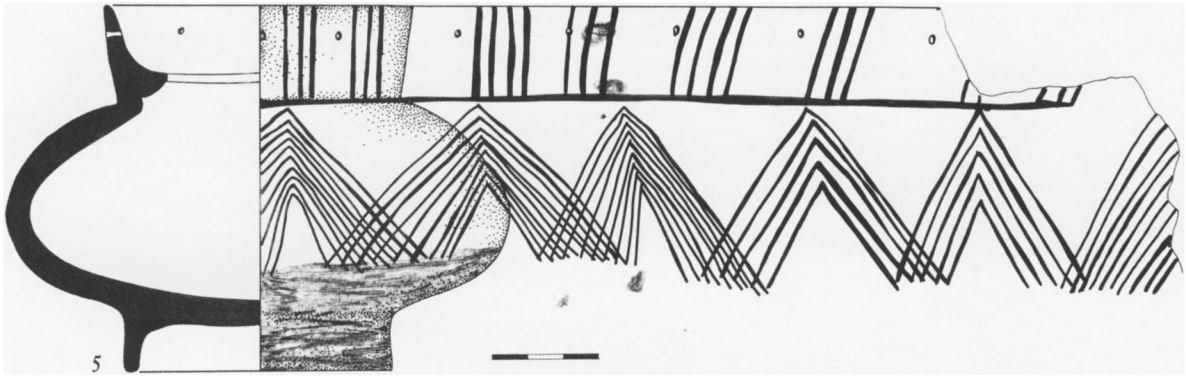
[2] For preliminary reports on the Franchthi Cave excavations see: Thomas W. Jacobsen, "Excavations at Porto Cheli and Vicinity, Preliminary Report II: The Franchthi Cave, 1967–68," *Hesperia* 38 (1969), 343–81; *idem*, "Excavations in the Franchthi Cave, 1969–1971, Part I," *Hesperia* 42 (1973), 45–88; *idem*, "Excavations in the Franchthi Cave, 1969–1971, Part II," *Hesperia* 42 (1973), 253–83.



1) *Collared jar, Monochrome Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.14 m.)*
2) *Collared jar, Monochrome Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.15 m.)*







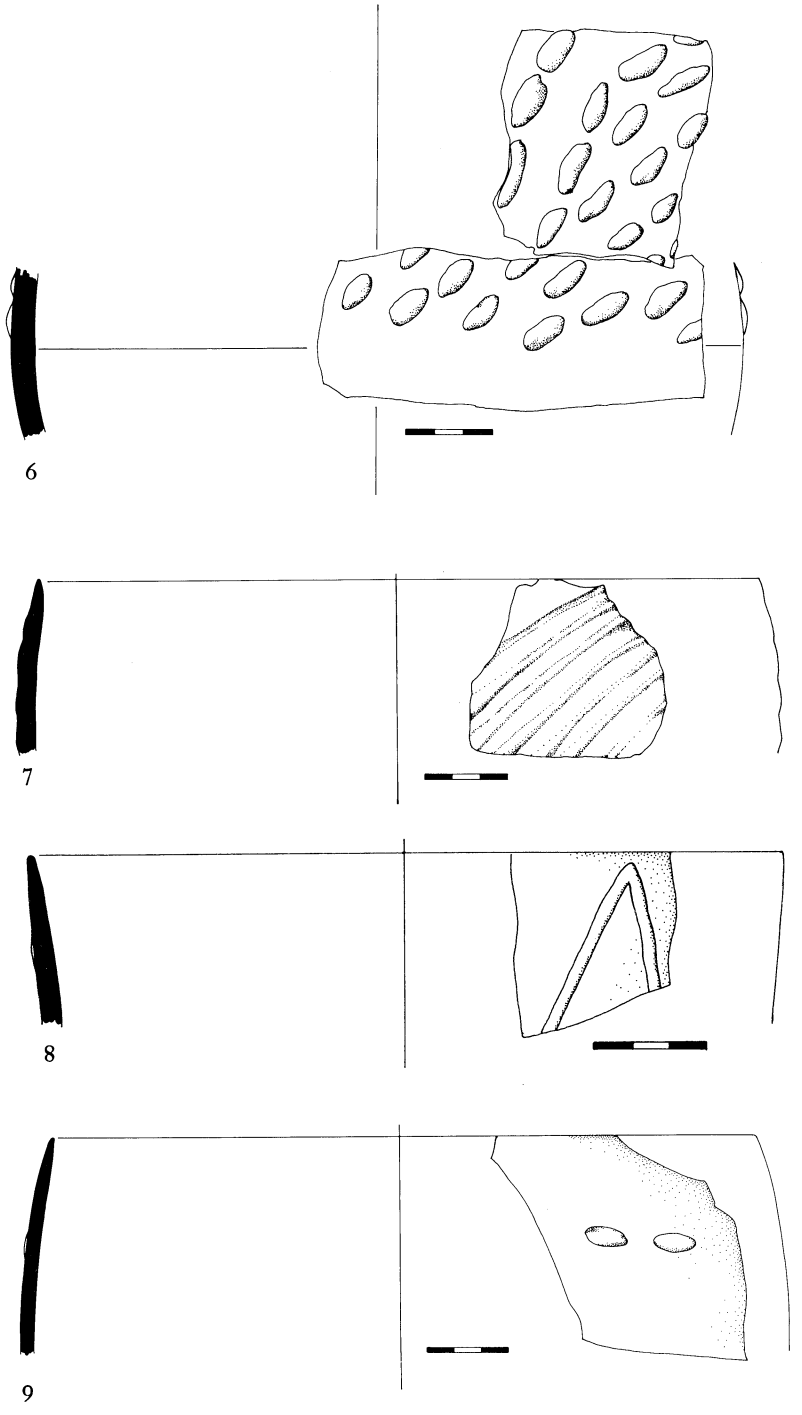
3) *Cup, Patterned Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.12 m.)*
4) *Saucer, Patterned Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.115 m.)*
5) *Collared jar, Patterned Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.085 m.)*

Thanks to the watchful eye and generous assistance of Dr. Elizabeth Banks it is safe to say that all the potential marks on Lerna Neolithic pottery, have now been noted.[3] When we are dealing with sherds rather than whole pots we cannot tell whether or not these relief bumps may have been repeated decoratively around the vessel, as are the vertical welts on the jar in figure 2. A number of the welts, however, occur on fragments which are large enough to suggest, at least, that decorative repetition was unlikely.

It is interesting, if not entirely enlightening, to consider the other nearly complete vessels in the Lerna inventory. A small cup (fig. 3) is complete except for a few chips. It has no relief marks, but it does have, on one side of the rim only, a painted design which does not repeat around the pot. This is most uncharacteristic of patterned Urfirnis pieces, for in the vast majority of sherds the pattern not only repeats, but the individual painted lines connect and interlock. Seldom does a motif float in an open field. We might consider, then, the free-floating, non-repetitive painted motif another version of the potter's mark. The painted marks at Lerna are few, but several others do exist (fig. 4).

The jar in figure 5 is an intact vessel, missing only a few chips from the rim. It bears no relief marks, and its painted decoration repeats and interlocks normally, within the context of early

[3] All of the Lerna potter's marks have also been drawn, thanks to the patience and skill of Elaine Milosis.



6) *Bowl, a coarsely gritted Early Neolithic ware, from Lerna (max. diam. 0.25 m.)*
7) *Bowl, a fine gray Early Neolithic ware, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.26 m.)*
8) *Bowl, a fine pale, but gritted, Early Neolithic ware, from the Pebble Layer at Lerna (rim diam. 0.20 m.)*
9) *Bowl, a fine pale, but gritted, Early Neolithic ware, from the Pebble Layer at Lerna (rim diam. 0.26 m.)*

Urfirnis patterns. It would appear to be unmarked, unless the drips of paint are not sloppy dribbles, but intentional identifying spots. The vessel, with its interior ledge and pierced holes around the rim, is a rare shape, perhaps sufficiently distinctive to require no mark.

Four or five other Urfirnis Ware vessels are nearly complete and without any preserved marks either in relief or paint. All these, however, are missing several fragments from the bottom portion of the vessel, precisely where a mark is most likely to have existed, and thus, we cannot truthfully pronounce them marked or not. Some vessel fragments preserve several pellets, in relief up to six millimeters high, located around the point of greatest diameter. These might well have served as lifting bosses. Their higher relief suggests, at least, a more immediate utility than the low-relief marks. I think that the pellets belong in a category separate from the marks.

Excavations in Neolithic strata at the Franchthi Cave are ongoing. Much of the pottery there remains to be studied and mended. Many potential potter's marks may still be unnoted, yet roughly a hundred examples have been recorded to date. Among the more convincing examples are the single oval welt on a complete low ring-base in monochrome Urfirnis Ware (fig. 21) and a shorter rounder welt, the only one preserved, on the extant two-thirds of a large, fine collared jar in the same ware (fig. 22). No examples of painted marks have yet been noted at Franchthi. There are, however, many examples of low-relief marks on the patterned variety of Urfirnis Ware (figures 23, 24), a combination which does not occur at Lerna. The painted pattern often runs right over the relief mark without incorporating it into the design, and in fact, seems to ignore the bump entirely. One complete monochrome Urfirnis bowl has been recovered from a burial at Franchthi. It bears no relief mark, no painted mark; no distinguishing characteristic has been added by the potter.

At Lerna, then, we may say that at least two Middle Neolithic Urfirnis vessels were surely marked; many more, and perhaps even all, may have been. At the more or less contemporary site at the Franchthi Cave, whose potters were functioning within much the same ceramic tradition, some of the Urfirnis vessels may have been marked, and at least one, was not.

The origin of the Middle Neolithic potter's marks appears to lie in the local practices of potters in the preceding period. At Lerna, relief work appears in the earliest levels and on both wares which characterize the Lerna I, Early Neolithic deposits. The coarser, "spongy" fabric of the Lerna I deposits is occasionally provided with relief bumps over the entire upper walls (fig. 6). More common is the relief work on the sherds of the fine silty biscuit, and it is almost exclusively confined to the reduced gray variety. The deposits on virgin soil produced at least one fine gray sherd whose grooved surface is convincingly decorative (fig. 7). Successive strata produced increasing numbers of examples, and the grooved motif diversifies. The pebble layer contained sherds characteristic of both Early and Middle Neolithic phases. Much of the relief work consists of discrete units or clusters of welts rather than the continuous all-over pattern of the earlier strata. Most of these welts are found on a fine gray ware, whose shapes are essentially those of the Early Neolithic strata but whose biscuit is grittier than the early ware and is visually identical to Middle Neolithic Lerna II Urfirnis.

Some of the relief work on these sherds appears to be decorative (fig. 8), largely because of the size and field of the relief. Some relief bumps, however, might well be marks (fig. 9) because of their size, apparent isolation, probable position on the vessel, and the very low relief. These potential marks appear to have evolved from the practice of decorating with relief work, and indeed, it is difficult to know when, or whether, to distinguish one intent from the other, particularly since no complete vessels with relief work have been restored from the Lerna I occupation.

It is curious and perhaps noteworthy that the oxidized and red-painted vessels of Lerna I, identical in biscuit and shapes to the gray vessels but produced in separate oxidizing fires, with one or two exceptions do *not* have the relief work. Similarly at Nemea[4] the reduced gray vessels

[4] Carl W. Blegen, "Neolithic Remains at Nemea," *Hesperia* 44 (1975), 267.

most frequently display evenly spaced groups of welts which repeat around the vessel as well as welts which may or may not repeat.

The marked Urfirnis sherds occur throughout the upper sequence of Neolithic occupation levels at Lerna. The latest of these strata are dominated, in terms of ceramics, by monochrome and patterned Urfirnis Ware, with only a few fragments of the pattern-burnished variety of Urfirnis. None of the pattern-burnished Urfirnis sherds, nor any of the sporadic and unstratified fragments of Late and Final Neolithic pottery preserves an identifiable mark.

At Franchthi, the stratified Neolithic sequence continues through the Final Neolithic phase. Three pattern-burnished Urfirnis sherds, of the thousands recovered at Franchthi, have traces of applied relief that may be marks—not enough is preserved to be certain that the relief is not the edge of a lug or handle. The Black Burnished Ware, which appears in the Franchthi sequence just before the first substantial quantities of Dull-Painted Ware, often does make use of relief work. It is not yet clear that any of the Black Burnished relief work is related to the Middle Neolithic Urfirnis marks. The potters of the other Late and Final Neolithic wares do not, at this state of our study, appear to have carried on the tradition of relief marks on their products.

The meaning of the Middle Neolithic marks is now, and probably will remain, elusive, yet I find it both entertaining and peripherally useful to speculate and test various hypotheses.

The term "potter's mark" conjures up images of Linear A and subsequent scripts and monograms[5] used by potters up to the present day to identify their products for discerning customers and collectors. The Middle Neolithic Urfirnis potter's marks can hardly be called script or be related to any known scripts. Radiocarbon dates from Urfirnis strata at Franchthi[6] suggest a date in the early fifth millennium for production of that ware and its marks. That date, although clearly too remote in time to suggest comparisons with the earliest known Cretan script, might, by some reckoning,[7] be related to the Tordos and Tartaria signs from the Balkans. Yet the Urfirnis welts are not really comparable in technique or variety to the incised Balkan signs.[8] In fact, I hesitate to state the number of different mark-welts which actually do occur: at what point should a lightly curved welt be distinguished from a crescent (figs. 1, 2,10)? Does a different orientation of a crescent amount to a different sign (figs. 11, 12)? At what point does the pressure of the burnishing tool turn a round mark into a different, oval, mark (figs. 13, 14)? Is a large dot on a large pot to be equated with a small dot on a small pot (figs. 15, 17)? Is a dot on the shoulder of a vessel the same mark as a dot on a ring base (figs. 15, 17)? At what point does the size of the relief (fig. 16) eliminate it from the mark category, and, indeed, is the distinction between mark and decoration valid?

Potter's marks which employ writing symbols generally imply participation in a commercial process. I am not satisfied that the cumulative evidence from Neolithic Greece indicates the presence of purely commercial enterprise and the specialized labor and distribution system which that suggests. Distinctive local ceramic styles can be isolated even at sites such as Franchthi and Lerna which share a common ceramic tradition. This argues that ceramics at least were probably produced by the household for predominantly household consumption.

The marks themselves suggest local production insofar as the same marks occur at Franchthi and Lerna, but in different patterns: Lerna potters painted marks, Franchthi potters did not. Franchthi potters put relief marks on their patterned pots, Lerna potters did not. If the inhabitants of Franchthi and Lerna were "buying" their pots from a common source—be it a market

[5] For example, see: John L. Caskey, "Inscriptions and Potter's Marks from Ayia Irini in Keos," *Kadmos Zeitschrift für vor-und frühgriechische Epigraphik* 9 (Berlin, 1970), 107–17; Luigi Bernabò-Brea, "Signi grafici e contrassigni sulle ceramiche dell'età del bronzo delle Isole Eolie," *Minos, International Review of Minoan, Mycenaean and Cypriot Studies* 2 (Salamanca, 1952), 5–28; Emily Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age* (Chicago, 1972), 40–42.

[6] Thomas W. Jacobsen, *Hesperia* 42 (1973) 86–87, 282–83.

[7] Marija Gimbutas, *The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974), 15, 24 and 87.

[8] J. Makkay, "The Late Neolithic Tordos Group of Signs," *Alba Reggia*. Annales Musei Stephani Regis, 10 (Szekesfehervar, 1969), 9–49.

to which they travelled, or a potter who travelled to them—the same marks should appear in patterns common to both sites.

Soon after I first mentioned the Neolithic marks in a paper at the annual Archaeological Institute of America meetings (1970), I received an empty miniature martini bottle in the mail. Several days later a letter from Dr. Emmett Bennett arrived noting that on his flight home from the meetings he had noticed by touch rather than sight, that the miniature empty bottle I had received in the mail had a small bump on it which reminded him of those I had mentioned in my paper. Feeling somewhat foolish, I nevertheless wrote to the bottling company, explaining my curiosity and asking what meaning their bottle mark had. I received, to my surprise, a prompt reply stating that the "spotting lugs" allowed the "labelling machines to properly position the bottle prior to labelling and strip-stamping," a function unlikely in our Neolithic context. The letter went on to suggest three possible explanations for the protuberances on my Greek vessels:

"First, if the vessels were cast, then these might well be the remains of vent holes—the opening or the hole where the liquid was poured in. Second, the vessel might have been produced in such a manner that it had a 'handle' which was broken off after firing. Early glass containers often had these 'Pontil' marks. Third, if the vessels are decorated, it is entirely possible these 'lugs' were put there deliberately to assist in decorating."[9]

These were three suggestions from an interesting and interested source. The Neolithic vessels, however, were not cast; the marks are not broken after (or before) firing, but quite intentional and intact additions; and even on the comparatively few decorated vessels, a simpler method of spotting for decoration could certainly have been found if that were the sole or primary function of the marks. In fact, sometimes tiny spots of paint or light scratches on the surface of the patterned vessels suggest by their position in relation to the decoration that they were used to spot and space the decoration evenly.

The tactile quality of most marks suggested another possibility to Kaye Hussey, one of many students who has joined in puzzling over the function of these marks. She suggested that they might have been designed as aids for blind users of the vessels. Blindness quite probably was an affliction of some, perhaps many, Neolithic peoples. Certainly there is danger of injury to the eyes while knapping, especially while knapping obsidian.[10] Hussey found mention of at least one possible bacterial source of blindness in a disease which may be contracted by human beings living in close proximity to corralled animals.[11] Skeletal studies might conceivably detect or confirm such pathological blindness in Neolithic Greece. At any rate, the possibility should remind us that the larger numbers of people and domesticated animals living in close quarters, from the Neolithic period on, exposed all to the increased possibility of infectious disease.

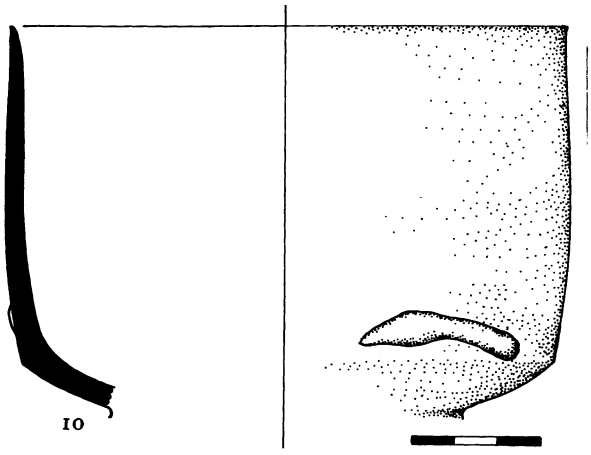
Unfortunately, even if we could ascertain that blindness was common in Neolithic Greece and that the marked vessels were intended for the use of the blind, the question of what kind of aid the marked vessels provided would remain. Perhaps the marks identified contents. At Lerna we have the example of a collared jar (fig. 1), a large basin (fig. 20), and a small cup (fig. 10) all marked with a crescent, all from the same area and level. It seems unlikely that three such different sizes and shapes would have been intended for identical contents, or exclusively for those contents. For the same reasons we may eliminate the marks as indicators of specific volume.

It is possible that a particular mark, for blind and sighted alike, was intended to note that a particular cup went with a particular jar as its lid. There is a cup (fig. 11) that does in fact fit well as the lid to a jar (fig. 12) from the same area and stratum at Lerna. Coincidentally, when the cup is inverted as the lid to the jar, the crescent on both vessels has the same orientation.

[9] Personal letter from Howard C. Blake, Packaging Manager, Smirnoff Beverage and Import Company, January 25, 1971.

[10] Harriet Blitzer and Curtis Runnels both confirmed this in knapping demonstrations which produced thin, lethal splinters of obsidian flying out with considerable force when hammer hit core.

[11] Thomas G. Hull, ed., *Diseases Transmitted from Animals to Man* (Springfield, Illinois, 1963), 235–63.



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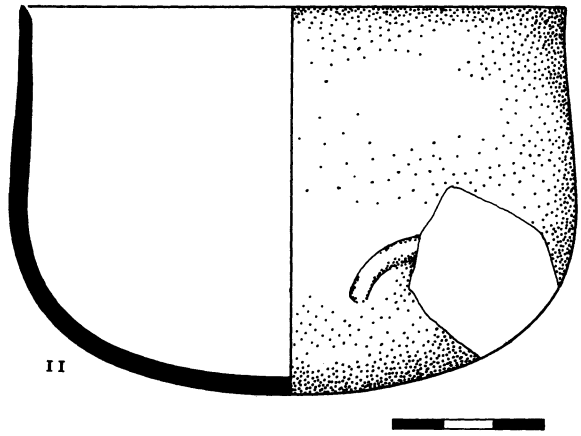

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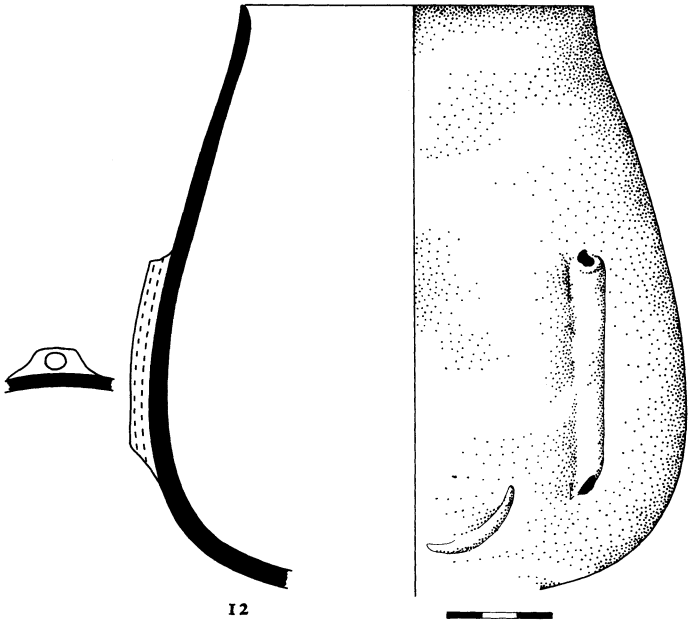

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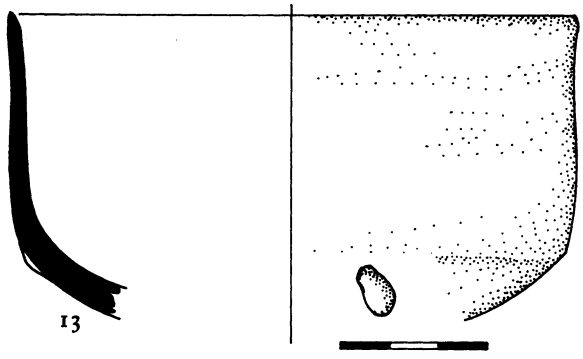

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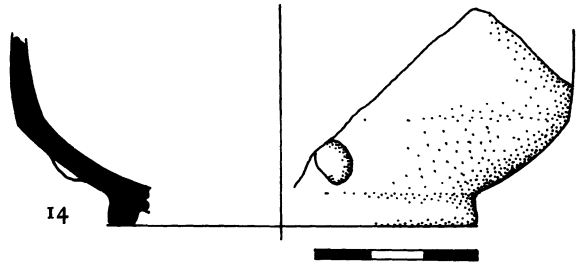

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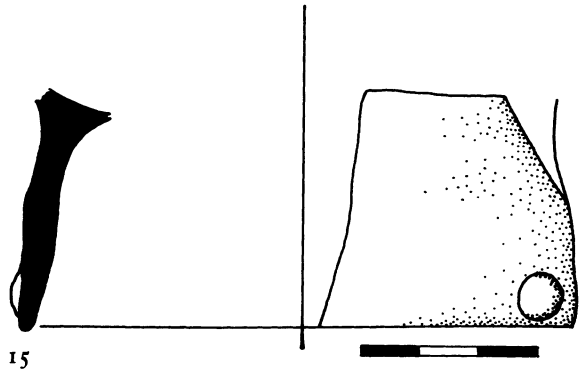

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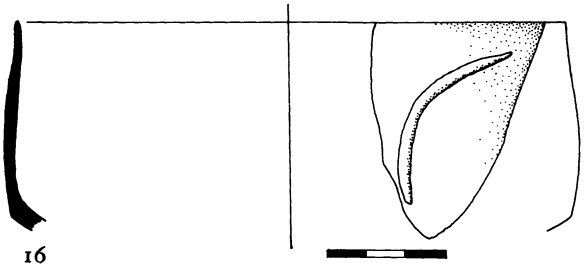

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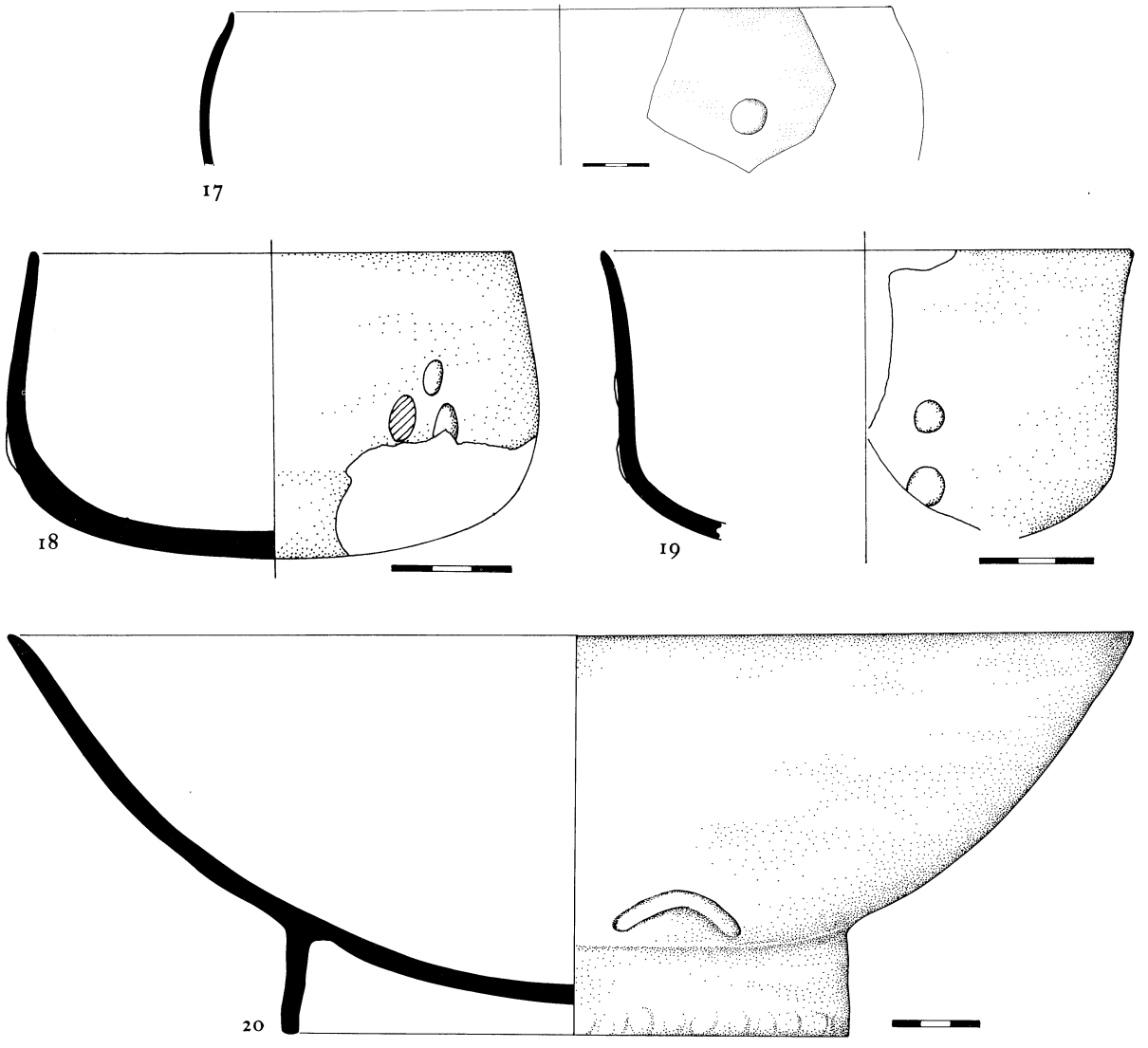
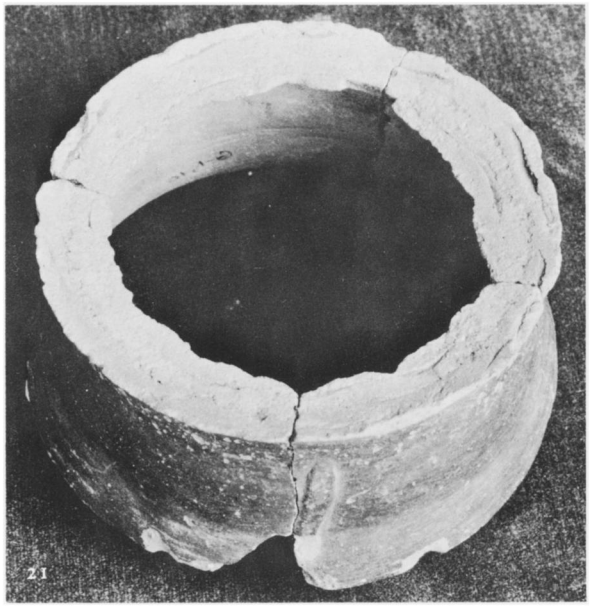
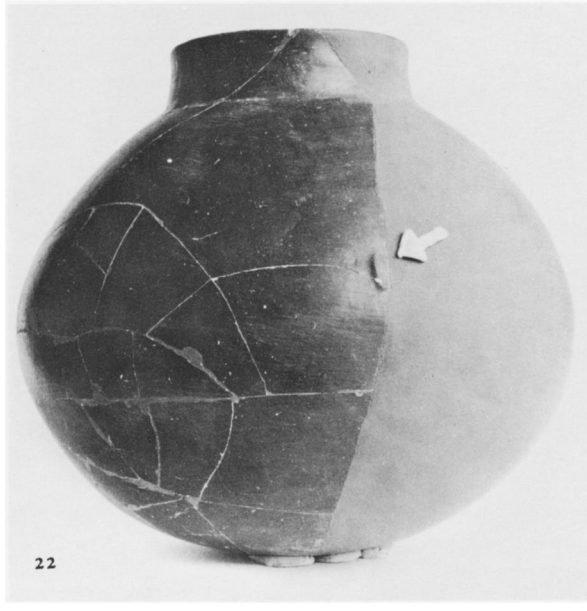
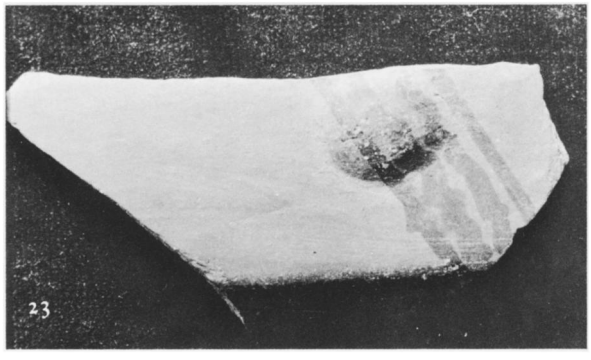
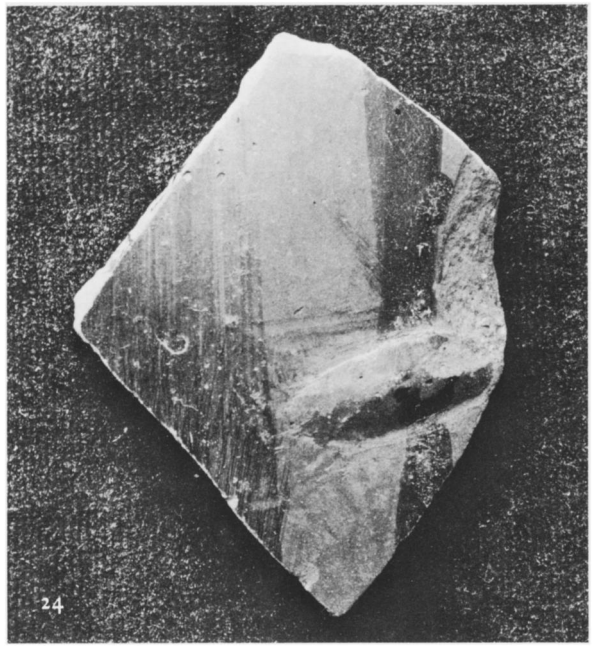


10) *Cup, Monochrome Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.13 m.)*
11) *Cup, Monochrome Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.11 m.)*
12) *Deep bowl, Monochrome Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.10 m.)*
13) *Cup, Monochrome Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.115 m.)*
14) *Cup (?), Monochrome Urfirnis, from Lerna (base diam. 0.075 m.)*
15) *Ring base, Monochrome Urfirnis, from Lerna (base diam. 0.095 m.)*
16) *Cup, Monochrome Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.14 m.)*
17) *Bowl, Monochrome Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.30 m.)*
18) *Cup, Monochrome Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.12 m.)*
19) *Cup, Monochrome Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.14 m.)*
20) *Basin, Monochrome Urfirnis, from Lerna (rim diam. 0.385 m.)*





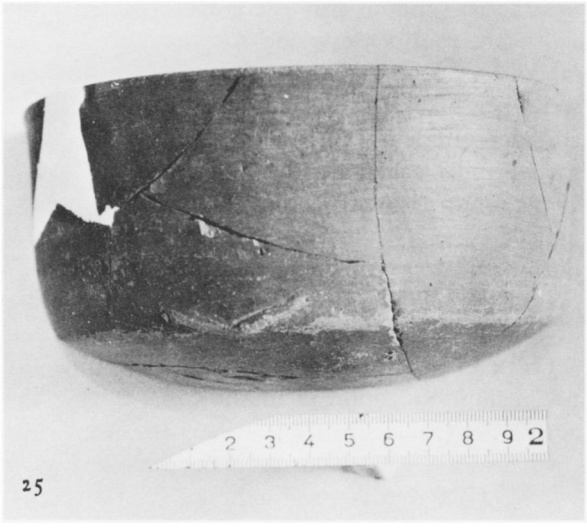




21) *Ring base, Monochrome Urfirnis, Franchthi Cave Excavations*
22) *Collared jar, Monochrome Urfirnis, Franchthi Cave Excavations*
23) *Body fragment, Patterned Urfirnis, Franchthi Cave Excavations*
24) *Body fragment, Patterned Urfirnis, Franchthi Cave Excavations*

Unfortunately for this theory, this particular pair of identically marked vessels that fit to produce a thermos bottle-cup combination is the only such combination I have been able to make. Nor does it seem a necessary or particularly useful sort of notation. Many cups fit more or less tightly over many jars, interchangeably. A particular matched pair seems to have no special advantage and to be a rather modern notion to foist on Neolithic peoples. That pots were marked to avoid spreading contamination from diseased owners seems equally out of place in the Neolithic context.

Currently, I am working with some twenty



25) *Small bowl, Monochrome Urfirnis, Lerna Excavations*
26) *Small bowl, Monochrome Urfirnis, Lerna Excavations*

students who meet several times a week to handbuild and decorate ceramic objects using only tools and techniques which would have been available to the prehistoric potter. We have created, to date, several hundred objects, and everyone in that group could identify the maker of each piece. Handbuilding is a slow and very individual process. Unlike throwing on the wheel, the handbuilding processes make it very difficult for the same person, much less several different people, to produce several identical pots. Although most of the students are working in the same technique—coil building—and they watch and learn from each other, share the same environment, and strictly stone-age tools, and produce objects which would be classed archaeologically as a single "ware," each has evolved a distinctively individual style which is directly related to the work habits of each individual. Many of them do mark their creations, usually by incising initials or a symbol on the bottom of their objects. Incision is the easiest way to mark an object. It serves the purpose quickly and effectively. It does cut through a carefully burnished surface, but if done lightly, as it usually is, the scratch is not sufficient to produce major leaks.

Our firings are done in community pits, five or six people to a fire. One large fire might have been the most efficient procedure, but different people had very definite and different ideas about the way they wanted to build and fuel their fires, even though none of them had ever done a pit firing before, but had only read and heard about the various possibilities. No one, however, fired, or wanted to fire, alone. Gathering the fuel, building the pit, and tending the fire all day is easier, more efficient, and more fun in a group. The larger number of vessels in a group fire seems to act as extra insulation, the pots collecting, holding, and sharing the heat from the fire. The percentage of recovery of whole vessels may be the same (ca. 50–75%) whether ten or fifty pots go into the fire, but the actual number of whole vessels recovered is greater when more have gone into the fire initially, and that larger number at the end is some comfort to the potter, for the ones that did not make it through the fire. Even in a community fire, with a number of people contributing their creations, there is no

question of identifying which pot belongs to whom when it comes to unloading the finished products. Even the often surprising changes of color and size create no confusion over ownership. Many of the exploded fragments can be quickly identified by members of the group. When asked if it had ever occurred to any of them to claim a pot they had not made, all were genuinely shocked at the suggestion. Why, then, did they initial their pots? They supposed it was to convince friends and relatives, people outside our potting community, that they had, in fact, made the things themselves.

If, millennia later, I can see, as I believe that I can, the same kind of subtle individualism within the Urfirnis style that we all see in our ceramics studio, I doubt that the Neolithic potter required, any more than we do, a personalized mark to establish initial ownership. Among all the potentially marked vessels at Lerna and Franchthi there are only two (figs. 1 and 20) with the same mark which, because of the way they are made, the biscuit, shapes, and provenance, seem probably to be by the same potter. A third vessel from the same stratum, a collared jar which does not preserve a mark, is probably also by the same hand. All three vessels are rather poorly made. The collared jar bottoms project below the ring bases, the ring bases retain the finger depressions from the final pinching into shape, the large basin bottom has cracked slightly from drying shrinkage, the Urfirnis paint has misfired and crackled.

The other vessel fragments, when grouped by mark, do not present any convincingly uniform patterns which would suggest that a single potter had produced them. On the floor of a single room at Lerna at least five differently marked vessels were found: should we really imagine five very possessive potters living there?

Marshack's studies of the markings on very early prehistoric objects have led him to suggest that they served a time-factoring purpose, that they are notational systems for keeping track of time to anticipate seasonal changes.[12] Might the potter's marks have served some similar purpose? Quite probably potting was one of many seasonal activities in Neolithic Greece. Timing can be crucial in successful pot making. It seems reasonable to suppose that there were times in the work-life routine set aside for the heavy work of collecting clay, perhaps during the rainy season when clays are washed out of exposed scarps and deposited in easily accessible puddles, presorted and cleaned by the rain and water flow. Clays improve with aging. It makes sense to collect clay at one time and set it aside (in a bothros?) with sufficient moisture and perhaps one of the odoriferous aging agents such as urine or blood, so that it will be ready to work when a break in other routines provides the time for pot making. That break might come during the agricultural doldrums before harvest time when the warm dry air would speed the drying of new pots to hold the harvest, and fuel should be dry and relatively plentiful. The potting process itself is time-factored, probably seasonal and cyclical, but how the relief marks on the pots might be related to that cycle escapes me. The circular marks might, I suppose, represent full moons; the crescents, stages of the moon. But the clusters of dots (figs. 18, 19), the V (fig. 25), the N (fig. 26), the ovals? Nor can I think of a reason for a potter to want to mark which, in a series, a single pot might be, or during which cycle a particular pot was made, nor, finally, why simple incisions would not have been used if there was some kind of notational function intended.

Dr. Gimbutas would have us look for religious symbolism manifested in all aspects of Neolithic cultures.[13] Are the marks perhaps ideograms for the goddesses of pottery production and the fertility of the industry and the potter's life? I do not see how we might prove, or disprove, this possibility. Surely there are many mysteries in the process of creating pottery, some which modern science cannot explain or predict. The bumps and welts might have been added to the vessels out of some feeling that they would ward off the evils which can befall a pot anywhere along its path from plastic clay to fired product, but especially during the mystical transformation in the fire.

[12] Alexander Marshack, *The Roots of Civilization* (New York, 1972), 27 and *passim*.

[13] Marija Gimbutas, *op. cit.*, 37 and *passim*.

My own experience in pit-firing vessels, over which I have labored long only to hear and see them explode and crumble in the fire, tells me that even a doubter, committed to scientific explanation, would be willing to try a little superstition to appease those evil spirits. The Early Neolithic gray ware potters were among the first to use relief work extensively on their pots. They also used reduction fires. A slow reduction fire—because the vessels are protected and cushioned from sudden and potentially disastrous changes in temperature by the muffling layer of a fuel such as dung—is less likely to explode pots than a roaring open fire. The Early Neolithic gray-ware potters may have had greater success in their firings, a higher percentage of recovery, than their colleagues who fired in open oxidizing fires. They may have felt that their relief decoration contributed somehow to their success, and decided always to add at least a touch of relief, just in case the divinities or magical-powers-that-be smiled favorably on such things. The Christian cross and cloves of garlic adorn kilns in modern Messenia for the same reason.[14]

I agree with Gimbutas that "religion" was most likely a powerful and all-pervasive force in the lives of people in prehistoric Greece, as it remains for many people today. I expect that the different marks represented something meaningful to the individual potters, some central concern of their lives. I would prefer not to label each as a specific ideogram. The meaning of each mark might well have varied with the individual who used it and the context in which the marked vessel appeared during its use, as Bunzel found in her studies of the symbolism of Pueblo Indian design.[15]

The meaning of the marks will probably remain elusive, with interpretations as varied as the persuasions of the interpreters. I think it important, nevertheless, to speculate on the meaning of these and all other archaeological patterns, because the process forces us to imagine the people behind the patterns and suggests aspects of their lives—in this case things like occupational hazards and disease, superstitions, and work routines—which we might not otherwise consider.

Perhaps the most important information we can glean from the Neolithic potter's marks will have nothing to do with their meaning, but with their pattern of distribution.

At Lerna, the evidence suggests an evolution to the use of discrete marks by Middle Neolithic potters from the more decorative relief work of their Early Neolithic predecessors. That Early Neolithic pattern is evident also at neighboring Nemea, which has produced only a few sherds from the Middle Neolithic phase. The Early Neolithic potters at Franchthi seem not to have participated in the fine gray-ware tradition—the paucity of fragments of that ware found in Early Neolithic levels suggests strongly that it was not made locally—but the Middle Neolithic potters at Franchthi shared the Urfirnis tradition, including the use of relief marks, with Lerna and other settlements. At Franchthi, the potters put relief marks on their painted pots. The Lerna potters did not. The Franchthi potters, as far as is now known, did not use painted marks. The Lerna potters did. I have gone only quickly through the sherd material from Asea and Hageoritika in the Tegea museum, but still can say that potters at both those sites produced vessels in the Urfirnis tradition and painted them with patterns more similar to those used at Lerna than to the patterns used at Franchthi. Neither the potters at Asea nor Hageoritika appear to have used relief marks.

The marks, then, are one more element, along with process, biscuit, shape, and decoration which we can use in describing and defining local production within the Urfirnis tradition. A number of sites have produced Urfirnis Ware vessels, but those vessels are slightly different at each site. Thus, the pots were not being produced at one or two centers for wide distribution. We must, somehow, account for the widespread distribution of the Urfirnis style, and for its different manifestations at each site. I suggest that it can be explained by the movement of people, rather than objects; that people, who were potters at some seasons of the year, learned their craft at

[14] Frederick R. Matson, "Ceramic Studies," in *Minnesota Messenia Expedition*, eds. W.A. MacDonald and G.R. Rapp, Jr. (Minneapolis, 1972), 218.

[15] Ruth Bunzel, *The Pueblo Potter: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art* (New York, 1972), 70.

one site and later practiced it at another. In my experience, to see a pot, or handle it, or even discuss how it is made, is not sufficient experience to be able to reproduce it. There must be some actual experience of the process if one is to enter the tradition of the medium. The similarities and differences within the Urfirnis style, including the use of potter's marks, suggest to me not the trade of objects or even verbal information but the regular relocation of potters within different communities. If we think of mothers teaching their daughters, among other things, to make pots, and imagine the daughters marrying and moving to a new village where they continue to supply their families with pottery, using essentially the skills and tricks learned from their mothers, and imagine this pattern repeating for generations, we have a model which adequately accounts for the evidence. The distribution of the potter's marks might then be telling us of marriage patterns and kinship ties within the Neolithic community. If this can be demonstrated, then the enigmatic potter's marks, whatever their initial meaning, will have spoken clearly.

Man and Ram:

A Bronze Group of Geometric Style in the Fogg Art Museum

By DAVID GORDON MITTEN

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University

AN UNUSUAL bronze group of a man guiding a ram[1] has recently entered the collections of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University. Its subject matter, date, style, and possible function form interesting problems for students of art and religion in early Greek culture. Its publication here seems to be an appropriate tribute for Dorothy Kent Hill, whose scholarship has done so much to further the study of classical bronzes, among them the animals and birds of the Greek Geometric menagerie.[2]

The group (fig. 1) depicts a stocky, seemingly reluctant ram being urged, indeed shoved, forward from the left side, or one perhaps being turned left by a male figure of elongated proportions who pulls on its horn.[3] The group appears to be cast solid in one piece by the *cire perdue* ("lost wax") method. An iron dowel is inserted through the bottom, passing upward into the underside of the ram;[4] a reddish patch on the right side of the ram's body just forward of the man's right hand may be where this dowel emerges from the ram's body, or a patch inserted to repair a casting defect.

With its stocky legs and body and broad, forward-curving horns, the ram appears to resist

FIGURE 1 CAMBRIDGE, FOGG ART MUSEUM

Man and Ram (right view, left three-quarter view), Greek Geometric

FIGURE 2 PALERMO, MUSEO NAZIONALE
Man and Ram (right three-quarter view, no. 8241)
Greek Geometric

the pressure applied from behind by the man, who is perhaps its owner or shepherd. Other than punctate eyes and a slashed groove for its mouth, the ram has no surface decoration. The man, whose torso is appreciably longer than his squat, slightly bowed legs, leans forward as he pushes against the ram's rump with his right hand. Short incisions articulate the four fingers of his rubbery right hand; his left hand, gripping the ram's left horn, has only three fingers. He is ithyphallic. An incised groove separates his buttocks. His bullet-shaped head, perched atop a long neck, assumes a lively facial expression through his punctate eyes, a flattened nose and a wide, horizontal mouth. Horseshoe-shaped ridges opening downward form his ears. The bottom of his head is circumscribed all the way around by a pronounced groove. The surfaces of the group generally exhibit traces of extensive tooling and coldworking after casting, although irregularities from the casting adhere on protected spots, such as on the ram's left side.

The Fogg Museum's man and ram group is an amusing addition to the small but growing corpus of cast-bronze statuette groups known in Greek Geometric art. The most common subject for these groups is that of female animals (horses, deer) suckling their young.[5] Groups of animals of the same species, placed side by side, also occur.[6] More ambitious compositions include chariot groups, hunting scenes, and even mythological compositions.[7]

A close parallel to the Fogg group, found in the Malophoros sanctuary at Selinus, Sicily, is now in the Museo Nazionale, Palermo (fig. 2).[8] It is slightly smaller than the Fogg group; in it, the man faces the ram's right side as he pulls the animal along with one hand on the ram's horn, the other on the ram's back. He leans backward, legs spread apart, as he grapples with the ram. His head is globular. He is not as tall in relation to the ram as is the man in the Fogg group. In contrast with the smooth, unmarked surface of the Fogg ram, the Palermo ram has "bull's-eye" circles with central dots, probably stamped with a punch, on its left shoulder and both buttocks. The base, which is rectangular with rounded corners, has a hole in the center which might originally have held an upright metal rod, like the iron dowel present in the Fogg group. V. La Rosa dates the Palermo man and ram group to the seventh or early sixth centuries B.C.[9]

A rectangular cast bronze object, now lost, which probably once belonged to the hoard of enigmatic bronze objects from Castronovo, Sicily, now in Palermo, featured on its upper surface a tiny group consisting of an animal of indeterminate species, with a man standing at its right side. The Castronovo bronzes are thought by C.A. Di Stefano to have been votive gifts in a small Sicilian shrine.[10]

A man and ram (or other animal) is also the subject of three bronze statuette groups from Delphi. The first (fig. 3) is a small group composed of a large male figure standing upright to the right of, and turned slightly toward, a small animal which is probably, although not certainly, a ram.[11] The base, as well as the body of the animal, is pierced vertically by a hole. The second group (fig. 4), of which only the ram and the left leg of the man remain, retains part of a metallic rod that pierced the base and body of

FIGURE 3 DELPHI, MUSEUM

Man and Ram (front, left profile, and back view, no. 6571), Greek Geometric

the ram.[12] The third (figs. 5, 6), in which a small group of a man driving a ram from behind surmounts a cylindrical socket that divides into a cage of three curving ribs before reuniting beneath the group itself, is a rein guide or rein holder from a chariot.[13] In this case, the man stands directly behind the animal, his right arm extending toward it but not touching it, a form of control different from that exercised by the men in the Fogg and Palermo groups.

The theme of man and animal, whether it be interpreted as a vignette from field or pasture, or, more specifically, as a worshipper bringing an animal to a cult place for sacrifice, would be a natural one for a votive gift; with it, the donor might have hoped to remind the divine recipient of his actual sacrifice of a living animal, made perhaps in fulfillment of a vow or in anticipation of some favor. *Kriophoros* ("ram-bearer") and *moschophoros* ("calf-bearer") figures, in which the animal was carried over the bearer's shoulders or under one arm, were popular votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries from the late seventh through the early fifth centuries B.C. on both

FIGURE 4 DELPHI, MUSEUM

Man and Ram (right profile view, no. 2813) Greek Geometric

monumental and miniature scale.[14] The shepherd or donor carrying lamb or calf over his shoulders ultimately became the prototype for the "Good Shepherd" figures of early Christian late antiquity.

The presence of holes that pass through the base into the underside of the body of the animal, containing metal dowels in the Fogg group and in Delphi 2813 (fig. 4), but without dowels in the Palermo group and in Delphi 6571 (fig. 3), suggests that we are dealing with a class of objects designed to be fastened to another object, perhaps to one end of a pole, to serve as a finial for a ceremonial staff or long scepter.[15] We may perhaps also think of them as forerunners of elaborate shepherds' crooks, or even of the dragon-headed croziers carried by high clergy in the Greek Orthodox Church today. The groups might even be understood as finials for wooden staffs or crooks, long since decayed, dedicated by herdsmen and shepherds wealthy enough to afford them as gifts.

The styles of the groups comparable to the Fogg's man and ram vary considerably and suggest a range of dates for it from as early as ca. 750 B.C., contemporary with the earliest of the other known Geometric groups, through perhaps as late as the third quarter of the seventh century B.C. If, in fact, the Fogg group does belong to the Sicilian group of statuettes represented by the Palermo and lost Castronovo groups, this range might be extended as late as the end of the seventh century B.C. However, on the basis of the Fogg group's close stylistic affinities with human statuettes of the second half of the eighth century B.C., particularly in the proportions and modelling of the male figure who is bridling or leading a horse that adorns the top of a massive cast-bronze ring handle for a tripod from Olympia dated by E. Kunze around the middle of the eighth century, I favor a date between ca. 750 and 690 B.C., and earlier rather than later within that time span.[16]

It is not possible at the present time to decide definitively whether or not the Fogg group was made in a workshop on the Greek mainland or in a Sicilian one that blended native and Greek characteristics in its products. The presence of analogous groups at Sicilian sites as well as at Delphi could be used to argue that such bronzes were made and used in both areas, or were imported from either to the other. Of the comparable bronzes, however, the Palermo group is closest in style, proportions and size to the Fogg group. On the other hand, A. Keck's suggestion, based upon the possible Arcadian attribution of

FIGURE 5 DELPHI, MUSEUM
Man and Ram (left view, no. 5610)
Greek Geometric

FIGURE 6 DELPHI, MUSEUM
Man and Ram (detail, right rear three-quarter view, no. 5610) Greek Geometric

the Olympia tripod handle, that the Fogg group might have been made in Arcadia, is an attractive one.[17] Whatever its date and origin, the Fogg man and ram group is a lively, vivid reminder of the competence and aesthetic sophistication of Greek Geometric bronzecasters. It also testifies to the importance of animal husbandry in early Greek culture and economy, and particularly to its crucial role in supplying the constant supply of victims required by animal sacrifice, the central rite of Greek cult practice.

Photo credits: fig. 1, Dietrich Widmer, Basel, negs. 4662, 4661; fig. 2 Soprintendenza d'Antichità, Museo Nazionale di Palermo, and Dott. C.A. Di Stefano; figs. 3–6, École française d'Athènes, Delphi inv. no. 6571; negs. 30938, 30940, 30939; Delphi inv. no. 2813, neg. 30985; Delphi inv. no. 5610, negs. 10684, 30961.

[1] Fogg Art Museum, acc. no. 1970.26; Purchase, David M. Robinson Fund, from Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basel. Sotheby and Co., London, sale catalogue, November 27, 1967, p. 77, lot 180 (illustration on page opposite); *Fogg Art Museum Acquisitions 1969–1970* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 180 (illus.), 195; A. Keck (A.K.), in G. Kenneth Sams ed., *Small Sculptures in Bronze from the Classical World. An Exhibit in Honor of Emeline Hill Richardson* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1976), no. 5 (not-paginated).

Overall height: 0.065 m. Height of man from the base: 0.062 m. Height of ram from the base: 0.035 m. Length of ram: 0.052 m. Base: (left side, front to back), 0.028 m.; (right side, front to back), 0.03 m.; (width of front), 0.028 m.; (width of back), 0.03 m.

It is a pleasure to thank Susan L. Strauss for numerous suggestions which have improved this manuscript.

[2] D.K. Hill, "Six Early Greek Animals," *AJA* 59 (1954), 39–44, pls. 29–30; *idem*, "Other Geometric Objects in Baltimore," *AJA* 60 (1956), 35–42, pls. 28–31.

[3] I am grateful to M.M. Eisman for this observation.

[4] Arthur Beale, Head, Conservation Laboratory, Fogg Art Museum, discovered that this dowel was iron; I am grateful to him for pointing out other technical points about the group to me.

[5] Cf. B. Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric Art* (New York, 1971), 152, n. 110. Horse and foal: Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 6199 (from Olympia), W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London, 1929), 40, n. 4, pl. XIV a; also Frankfurt-am-Main, Liebighaus, inv. no. 1471: F. Eckstein and A. Legner, *Antike Kleinkunst im Liebighaus* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1969), no. 5; M. Weber, "Eine arkadisch-geometrische Bronzegruppe," *Städel-Jahrbuch* n.f. 1, (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1967), 7 ff.

Deer and fawn: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 98.650; M. Comstock and C.C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Greenwich, Conn., 1971), 5, no. 3; Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, 152, n. 110, pl. 189; Athens, National Museum inv. no. 6193; Lamb, *op. cit.*, 40, n. 5, pl. XIVb.

[6] E.g., quartette of sheep in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 58.1189: Comstock and Vermeule, *op. cit.*, 6, no. 4; Palermo, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 8232 (B 79; Cb 59), standing man behind four quadrupeds arranged side by side on a flat rectangular base: C.A. Di Stefano, *Bronzetti figurati del Museo Nazionale di Palermo* Università di Palermo, Istituto di Archeologia, Studi e Materiali, 2, (Rome, 1975), 60, no. 100, pl. XXIV.

[7] Chariot groups: Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, pls. 176–179, 182–184, from Olympia. Hunting scenes: deer attacked by three hounds, from Olympia: Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, pl. 190; lost group of hunter and hound attacking lion, from the Heraion, Samos: Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, pls. 186, 187. Mythological scene: man (or god?) battling centaur, New York, Metropolitan Museum, inv. no. 17.190.2072: K. Schefold, *Myth and Legend in Early Greek Art* (New York, n.d.), pl. 4a, note on p. 190.

[8] Palermo, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 8241 (B 90): E. Gabrici, *MonAnt* 23 (1927), col. 356, fig. 149 b; C.A. Di Stefano, "Nuove ipotesi sui bronzetti di Castronovo," *Archeologia classica*, 18,2 (Rome, 1966), 180; V. La Rosa, "Bronzetti indigeni della Sicilia," *Cronache di storia e historia d'arte* 7 (Catania, 1968), 21; 85, n. 12; pl. VIII; C.A. Di Stefano, *Bronzetti figurati*, no. 99; 57–58, pl. XXIV.

I am grateful to Dottoressa Carmela Angela Di Stefano for graciously allowing me to mention this group, for furnishing the photograph reproduced here as figure 2, and for granting permission to reproduce it.

[9] La Rosa, *op. cit.*, 122; Di Stefano, *Bronzetti figurati*, 59.

[10] C.A. Di Stefano, "Nuove ipotesi sui bronzetti di Castronovo," *ArchCl* 18, 2 (1966), 180, n. 24, pl. XVII, 2. For more recent discussion of the bronzes of the Castronovo hoard, cf. Di Stefano, "Il Deposito di Castronovo," *Bronzetti figurati*, 119–124, and catalogue, 124–142.

[11] Delphi Museum, inv. no. 6571. H.: 0.095 m. Cl. Rolley, *Les statuettes de bronze*. Fouilles de Delphes. Monuments figurés 5 (Paris, 1969), no. 42; 53–54, pl. XII (three views). I am grateful to the École française d'Athènes for granting me permission to reproduce the three views of this group, reproduced here as figure 3.

[12] Delphi Museum, inv. no. 2813. Preserved height: 0.033 m., length: 0.048 m. Rolley, *op. cit.*, no. 43; 54, pl. XII (right profile). For the metal rod, which P. Perdrizet in the first publication of the Delphi bronzes thought was iron, cf. Rolley, *op. cit.*, 54, n. 4. I am grateful to the École française d'Athènes for permission to reproduce the view of this group which appears here as figure 4.

[13] Delphi Museum, inv. no. 5610. Total height: 0.195 m. Length of base upon which group stands: 0.042 m. Rolley, *op. cit.*, no. 44; 55–56, pl. XII (two views of the entire object, one detail of the group). D.K. Hill, "Chariots of Early Greece," *Hesperia* 43 (1974), 445, n. 15, pl. 92 b. Rolley (*op. cit.*, 56), relates this object to well known types of western Asiatic rein guides, especially from Luristan, and dates it from the appearance of the animal in the group to the second half of the eighth century B.C. I am grateful to the École française d'Athènes for permission to reproduce the views of this object which appear here as figures 5, 6.

[14] Over the shoulders: bronze *kriophoros* statuette from Crete, late seventh century B.C.: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, inv. Misc. no. 7477: H. Hoffmann, *Dädalische Kunst auf Kreta* (Hamburg, 1970), no. B5; 46–48 (color plate III included), pls. 18 a, b (details), 19 a, b. Marble *moschophoros*, dedication of Rhombos, Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 624: H. Payne and G. Mackworth-Young, *Archaic Marble Sculptures from the Acropolis* (London, 1936), 1–5, pls. 2–4.

[15] Cf. Cl. Rolley's discussion of the possibilities: *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 54, where with the exception of Delphi Museum 5610 (*ibid.*, no. 44; 55–56) he feels that the placement of the holes in relation to the centers of gravity of the pieces rules out their use as chariot ornaments or as finials for rein guides.

[16] Group of horse and man cast as part of bronze ring handle for a tripod: Olympia Museum inv. no. B 4567, E. Kunze, "Kleinplastik aus Bronze," *VII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (Berlin, 1961), 150–51, n. 21; figs. 92–93 (details of group), pl. 59 (overall view of ring handle); B. Schweitzer, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 5), 154–55, nn. 127–130; 340; pls. 191–192. Height of man leading horse: 0.06 m., closely comparable to that of the man in the Fogg group.

[17] A. Keck (A.K.), in G.K. Sams, ed., *Small Sculptures in Bronze from the Classical World* (*supra* n. 1), no. 5; for another Arcadian workshop attribution, cf. M. Weber, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 5).

Notes on Daedalic Dress

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WHEN HERA DRESSES UP for her seduction of Zeus in the Fourteenth Book of the *Iliad*, she puts on a divine garment worked by Athena with many figures, and she fastens it with golden brooches "at the breast" (κατὰ στῆθος) before she belts it with a hundred-tasselled belt.[1]

Κατὰ στῆθος is a little surprising, because we are accustomed to think of Greek dresses as pinned at the shoulders.[2] This is so on the François vase, dated around 570 B.C., and generally from the sixth century on in any representations that clearly depict pinned dresses, whether in vase painting or in sculpture.[3] H.L. Lorimer, who discussed the passage in detail, considered that it was wrong to identify the dress pinned κατὰ στῆθος with those pinned on the shoulders, especially since the scholiast explains, "because they used to pin at the breast and not as we do on the shoulders at the collar-bone." Her conclusion was that Hera's dress was a "chiton with an opening down the front closed by fibulae or something of the sort."

The question of Hera's actual dress may not be solvable at this time, for we are dealing with two unknowns: what period the poet's image belongs to, and how women actually dressed in that period. Nevertheless, pondering where the brooches might be placed in fastening an early Greek dress is helpful to our understanding of the dress portrayed in the earliest Greek monumental statues, the "Daedalic" korai of the seventh century B.C. These are the earliest figures after the end of the Mycenaean Age to portray the dress of women in enough detail to inspire us to try to recreate it.

It turns out to be easier than one might think to reproduce the main effect of these figures with an actual garment, and the experiment happily eliminates a gratuitous piece of clothing, the so-called ἐπίβλημα, which scholars have foisted on the women of the Daedalic age. Perhaps this will interest Dorothy Kent Hill, whose realism and love of direct expression match those of the early archaic artists.

The most elaborate recent discussion of the epiblema is by K. Davaras in his publication of the important Daedalic statue from Astritsi in Crete.[4] He says that the epiblema belongs strictly to female dress, never appearing on male figures, and is "an almost indispensable part of the Daedalic uniform."[5] It is considered by him and others to be a small cape that is fastened in front with brooches or fibulae, usually leaving the breast free. The fastenings themselves are not represented, but in most cases they would have been hidden in any case by the long hair.[6] Since the

[1] *Iliad*, 14, lines 177–186.

[2] For a full discussion see H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London, 1950), pp. 377–83, 392–405. Lorimer distinguishes between pins proper, the long straight pins that are found in Protogeometric graves and are shown only in mythological representations in archaic and classical art, fibulae, found as late as the seventh century, and brooches, which continue through the Hellenistic period. We may use the verb "pin" for fastening with any of these, as distinguished from sewing or fastening with buttons.

[3] See especially the Moirai on the François vase, Lorimer, *op. cit.*, p. 379, fig. 54; G.M.A. Richter, *Korai* (London, 1968), pl. XII-a. For a clear example in sculpture see the goddess next to Hephaistos on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, Miré and De la Coste Messelière, *Delphes* (Paris, 1943), pl. 82. The holes on the shoulder are probably for a metal brooch, as are those on the shoulders of the Peplos Kore, Richter, *Korai*, no. 113, figs. 350–51.

[4] K. Davaras, *Die Statue aus Astritsi* (Antike Kunst, suppl. 8, Bern, 1972), pp. 59–64.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

FIGURE 1 PARIS, LOUVRE

Kore from Auxerre

back views of the figures do not show clearly where the lower edge of this cape falls, it has sometimes been suggested that it was tucked under the belt in back.[7] The inherent improbability of this last suggestion makes us ask whether any such cape really existed. The analysis of the principal examples soon shows that it did not.

It is easiest to start with a statue that is well-preserved, the kore from Auxerre in the Louvre (figs. 1, 2).[8] Seen from the front, the kore gives the impression of wearing a small cape over a sleeveless dress, while from the back she seems to have on only a single, sleeved garment with sleeves of unequal length, the left sleeve hanging down to wrist level while the right one reaches just to the elbow. The only reasonable explanation is that the Auxerre Kore wears a wide tubular dress (closed peplos or woolen chiton) which is neither sewn nor buttoned along the upper arms, but pinned just below the collarbones in front by a pair of brooches (fig. 7 B). These, as Davaras and others have said of the brooches or fibulae thought to fasten the epiblema, are concealed by the long locks of the Daedalic coiffure. The material of the back part of the dress is brought so far forward that it covers the shoulders like a cape. The pouches of cloth that hang outside the fastenings can be pulled forward to cover the arms or pushed back to bare them, depending on the wearer's wish. In the latter case, the arms show bare in front, as in the Auxerre Kore, and the sleeve-like bags of cloth hang down behind them.[9]

The width of the dress is indicated by the length of the hanging "sleeve." It is reasonable to take the wrist-length of the left sleeve as correct, since the artist had no good reason to falsify it. He will have preferred to shorten the right "sleeve" rather than to carve it realistically as a separate mass hanging down from the projecting elbow. It is important to understand this reluctance of the early sculptor to break or falsify outlines of the solid body by more or less accidental projections of insubstantial clothing. Otherwise, we shall frequently have the impression that a garment is much more skimpy and close-fitting than was actually the case. Sceptics can educate themselves by comparing Egyptian statues and statuettes of the New Kingdom (including the Amarna period) with similarly dressed figures in painting and low relief. When the voluminous, fine-pleated thin linen robe is shown in two-dimensional art, the skirt flares out strongly and the outline of the body and the unpleated undergarment are clearly revealed inside.[10] In the three-dimensional figures this pleated skirt clings close to the lines of the body,[11] which would otherwise be lost in an opaque, inorganic mass of wood or stone. The sculptor has two aims, to show the body truthfully and to indicate the high quality of the garment, made of a great quantity of material of the finest weave. The painter can show transparency and voluminousness simultaneously. The sculptor, at this stage of art, must select. So the Egyptian sculptor working in the round may show volu-

[6] Davaras, *op. cit.*, p. 61, gives references to the principal theories of derivation. Richter, *Korai*, pp. 8–9, gives a definition of epiblema that includes more than one kind of garment. "The epiblema (ἐπίβλημα, from ἐπιβάλλω, to throw on) is a kind of shawl 'thrown over' both shoulders, covering back and sides. In a way it corresponds to the later himation, in that it hangs down freely, and that it is sometimes even pulled over the back of the head as the mantle was so often in later times. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is worn covering the chest, with the ends hanging down the back. The epiblema could be long, trailing on the ground, or quite short." As an example of the "quite short" epiblema she cites the Auxerre Kore (see *infra*). Her examples of the long epiblema are what we should call the veil, κρήδεμνον in Hera's costume, *Iliad* 14. 184 (cf. Lorimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 385–386). Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 7. 49–50, uses epiblema as a general word for an outer garment, saying that the peplos can be used in two ways, either as a dress or as an epiblema.

[7] Davaras, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[8] Richter, *Korai*, p. 32, no. 18.

[9] These are quite realistically shown in profile in the bronze plaque from Prosymna, in the Athens National Museum, Richter, *Korai*, p. 35, no. 30, fig. 103. Clytemnestra's "sleeve" hangs behind her forward-stretching right arm, while Cassandra's arm remains within the "sleeve" with only the front of the arm showing. Davaras, *op. cit.*, p. 61, n. 421, cites this as another example of the epiblema and accuses Blegen of misunderstanding the dress when he called it a "sleeved chiton."

[10] Cf. the chest-lid of Tutankhamon, C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1951), fig. 149, the relief of Smenkhkara and Meritaten (?), *ibid.*, fig. 125, and the relief of the royal family, *ibid.*, fig. 111.

[11] Statuette of Akhenaton and Nefertiti, Aldred, *op. cit.*, fig. 112; the protecting goddesses of Tutankhamon, *ibid.*, figs. 153–155, and the statuette of the Lady Mi, *ibid.*, figs. 166–167.

minousness by projection at the shoulders and transparency by clinging to the legs and torso.

All this will vary, of course, according to social attitudes. The Greeks in the seventh century B.C. were certainly not ready to show the bodies of respectable women in the kind of detail that was considered acceptable for the bride of Tutankhamon. Nevertheless they inclined to favor a sculptured form whose mass did not differ too widely from the mass of the body represented. Economy of material: wood, stone and metal, doubtless also played a part. Terracotta statuettes with wheel-made skirts often show a flaring hem.

To return to the Auxerre Kore, we should not hesitate to conclude that the sleeve-like forms clinging to the backs of her arms represent voluminous pouches of cloth. Nor should we hesitate to imagine between the arms and the tightly-sheathed torso a connecting mass of material which the artist has chosen not to show. It is fascinating to discover that the kore from Astritsi is in this respect more realistic than the somewhat later Auxerre Kore. A fold of cloth springs out from under the belt on the proper right side (fig. 3) and joins the arm. There are said to be traces of a similar form on the now-damaged proper left side. This connecting cloth is mistakenly referred to by Davaras as a "puntello."[12] It does indeed function as a support for the arms, but we find its counterpart in the reconstructed dress. The varied and arbitrary choices of realistic details in the dresses of these early korai recall the equally arbitrary choice of anatomical details in the earliest kouroi.[13]

One feature that becomes apparent when we reconstruct the dress is not shown on either the Auxerre Kore or on that from Astritsi but does appear in the bronze statues from Dreros (fig. 4).[14] Because so much of the material from the back of the dress is brought forward to cover the shoulders, the hem is shorter in back than in front unless the dress is pulled up over the belt in front and on the sides to even it out. This results in a kolpos, a blousing of the material which conceals the belt in front and on the sides, while leaving it visible in the back (fig. 7 c). This is exactly how it appears on the Dreros figures, where a wide belt is shown in the center back but is concealed on the sides and in front.

The "sleeves" of the goddesses from Dreros hang to wrist level in back as on the left arm of the Auxerre Kore. This seems to represent a practical width for the restoration of the costume, and it commends itself the more because it is easy to experiment with. In the case of the writer (height 5′ 3″) a standard width of American sheets and blankets (108″ folded to 54″) yields this width. First experiments were made with a light-weight summer blanket of very fine wool, with the ends pinned together to form a front seam. This produced very attractive draped forms, but the blanket was too wide (that is, too long when worn as a dress) to be worn without an overfold. A hand-woven but coarse and heavy modern Greek cover had the correct length and width but was too stiff to suggest the sculptor's forms. This modern blanket is made of three long strips sewn together, reminding us that the ancient rectangular garments could similarly have been woven in more than one piece.

The final experiments were made with a loose cotton (cheaper than fine wool) material seamed to make a tube 54″ wide and 58″ long. Top and bottom edges were reinforced with colored tape and a patterned strip sewn down the front. Borders and strip in the ancient garment may have been woven in or sewn on (the name, paryphe, commonly used for such borders and decorative stripes seems to imply that they were woven on).

The central stripe turns out to be a great help in centering the garment when one puts it on. Such a central stripe running from top to bottom

[12] Davaras, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 4), p. 11. It may be worth noting that even in the sixth-century Attic kore in Berlin the material between the torso and the upper arms is rendered as a flat connecting mass that looks more like a supporting wall of stone than it does like a bunch of cloth (Richter, *Korai*, figs. 143, 146).

[13] Cf. Harrison, *Hesperia* 24 (1955), pp. 300–301.

[14] Richter, *Korai*, p. 32, nos. 16, 17, figs. 70–75. Richter dates them to the third quarter of the seventh century. Davaras, *op. cit.*, 51 calls them pre-Daedalic. Boardman, *BSA* 62 (1967), p. 61 suggested a still earlier date, around 700 B.C. Some time in the middle of the seventh century or perhaps a little before may be correct. In any case, the dress corresponds to those of the Astritsi and Auxerre korai.

FIGURE 2 PARIS, LOUVRE

Kore from Auxerre

FIGURE 3 RETHYMNON MUSEUM

Statue from Astritsi

also appears in Mycenaean representations, and again in the sixth century. In seventh-century sculpture, however, we find that it is generally shown only below the waist. The experimental dress suggests a possible reason. When the dress is of soft material, this stripe unduly stiffens the kolpos, causing it to stick out unattractively, masking the valley between the breasts. So it may have become customary to have the stripe only from hem to waist-level. We shall see that there

FIGURE 4

IRKALION MUSEUM

Statuette from Dreros

FIGURE 5 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
Ivory relief: Two disrobing Daedalic women
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917

are indications that the upper and lower parts of the dress consisted of separately woven pieces of material sewn together along the waist-line.[15] The seam would be effectively hidden by the wide Daedalic belt, which would allow a little play for adjustment of length, though not so much as in a late archaic or classical dress. All this is conjectural, but we may note that when the full-length stripe reappears in the sixth-century dress of Phrasikleia, the dress is sewn on the shoulders and so does not form a deep kolpos in front.[16] The thin linen chitons of later sixth-century korai do have a belt-hiding kolpos and seem again to have the center stripe only in the lower part of the dress.[17] Also they sometimes show a different color in the upper part. It does not seem impossible that this dress of the korai is an old-fashioned or archaizing dancer's costume.[18]

The best indication that the Daedalic dress is pinned rather than sewn on the shoulders comes from representations of women in various stages of undress. The width of our experimental dress seems to approximate that of the dresses worn by the two disrobing Daedalic women, probably the daughters of Proitos, in the Morgan ivory

[15] In the Thermon metope, *infra* note 21. For an additional example of the center strip shown only from the waist down, see the terracotta statuette from Thera, Kontoleon, *AthMitt* 73 (1958), p. 119, pl. 84. The square neckline in front suggests that the dress of this figure is fastened like those of the korai from Dreros. The center strip in the statues of archaic korai is commonly called in modern times paryphe, which implies that it is a border. If this is to be taken literally, it should mean that there was a seam down the front, which may have been the case, at least in early times. The strip on the Thera statuette is a double meander, such as might result from sewing together two bordered edges, but as the belt also carries a double meander, it may simply be the artist's way of enriching the pattern. Normally the pattern of the center strip is single.

[16] *Athens Annals of Archaeology*, General Inspectorate of Antiquities and Restoration, 5 (Athens, 1972), pp. 298–324, figs. 7–8, 13, 15. The sculptor has indicated clearly that Phrasikleia's chiton is sewn together along the upper arm. The stitching is shown between the joined meander borders. If our experimental dress is sewn in this way, it yields sleeves slightly longer than Phrasikleia's and the hem trails slightly on the floor if no kolpos is pulled up. We may thus conclude that the sixth-century chiton is, or can be, a few inches narrower and shorter than the seventh-century one, but basically it is the same dress.

[17] Richter, *Korai, passim*. It has been suggested that discrepancies in color and texture between the upper and lower parts of the dresses of sixth-century korai with diagonal himation be explained by suggesting that the korai wore a separate skirt (in a paper by J. Schaeffer at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, 1974). This seems impossible because separate skirts in antiquity always took the form of wrapped kilts, and no open edges are ever shown in the skirts of the korai. From the way in which folds are stacked symmetrically to either side of the paryphe in the korai, it is clear that both edges of the paryphe were firmly attached to the dress. The fact that the paryphe is stiffer than the rest of the cloth makes it easy to stack the folds beside it in a very calculated way if the wearer so desires.

plaque in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 5).[19] The woman on the left has unpinned her dress on the proper right side. The left side remains fastened, and the line of the overlapping back edge, emphasized by an engraved border, resembles that on the Auxerre Kore. This in itself is an argument against the idea of the epiblema, but it seems to have gone unremarked. The loosened material on the other side falls down along the right hip to about the same level as does that of the reconstructed dress when similarly unpinned (fig. 8). The woman is in the act of untying her girdle. The second woman has undone both pins and girdle. She keeps the upper edge of the garment draped over her left shoulder, its line recalling that of the original pinned overlap. Thence it passes behind her and is caught up by the right hand. The left hand is laid between her breasts, like the right hand of the Auxerre Kore. From the grasping right hand the upper edge of the loosened garment falls in a long sweeping curve to below the left knee, where it seems to disappear behind the figure. The upper border is decorated with punched dots, the lower with a wave pattern.

The fact that the upper edge continues around the figure instead of falling to the floor and forming a corner proves that the dress is tubular, not an open peplos or mantle. The upper edge of the experimental dress when draped and held in similar fashion also falls to just below the knee (fig. 8). Such a dress proves rather slippery when all the fastenings are undone. What the ivory depicts is evidently not just a moment in the action of disrobing; it is a deliberate posture. After discarding all the fastenings, the woman has caught up the dress in a way that allows her to make a full sexual display without letting the garment get away from her. The aggressive cock of her head and her rather ugly features complete the picture of shamelessness. Probably the lost head of her more hesitant companion was more appealing. One thinks of a deliberate contrast, between the eager, overripe Neoboule and the fresh young girl, probably her sister, in the recently discovered epode of Archilochos, a contemporary of the ivory.[20]

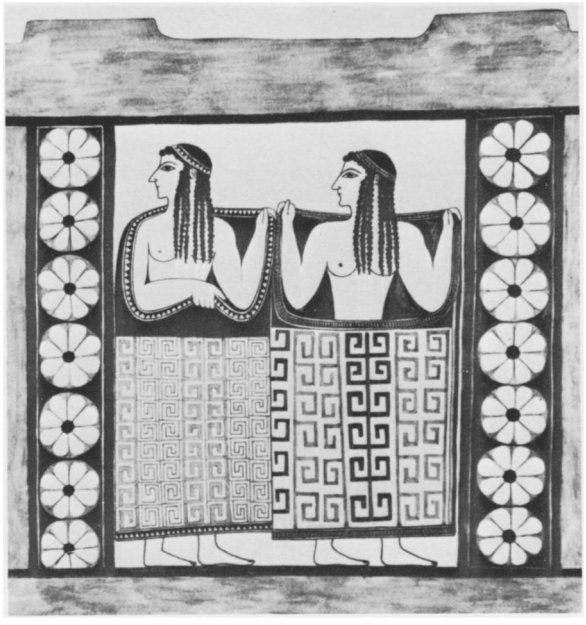

FIGURE 6
Metope from Thermon: Two women disrobing (reconstruction after Dörig, AthMitt, *1962)*

The metope from Thermon that seems also to have depicted the daughters of Proitos makes it even clearer that the garment is a wide, tubular chiton. Both girls have unpinned and unbelted their dresses and hold them up with both hands. Their torsos are bare to the waists, and they have only to lower their hands to reveal the rest (fig. 6). The differentiation between the two is less than in the New York ivory. It is particularly interesting that the artist has shown the upper parts of both garments in solid color while the lower parts are covered with a meander pattern. This appears to confirm our conjecture that the dresses were sometimes pieced together from separate lengths of differently patterned cloth.[21]

[18] Cf. M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 77, "The kore seems rather making the first motion in a formal dance." In later times, archaistic dress occurs particularly in representations of dancing maidens.

[19] Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pl. 209; J. Dörig, *AthMitt* 77 (1962), pp. 72–91, pls. 16–17.

[20] For a recent text and summary of the literature see John Van Sickle, *Arethusa*, State University of New York, 9 (Buffalo, 1976), 2, pp. 129–150.

[21] Dörig, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 18), pp. 88 ff., pl. 23.

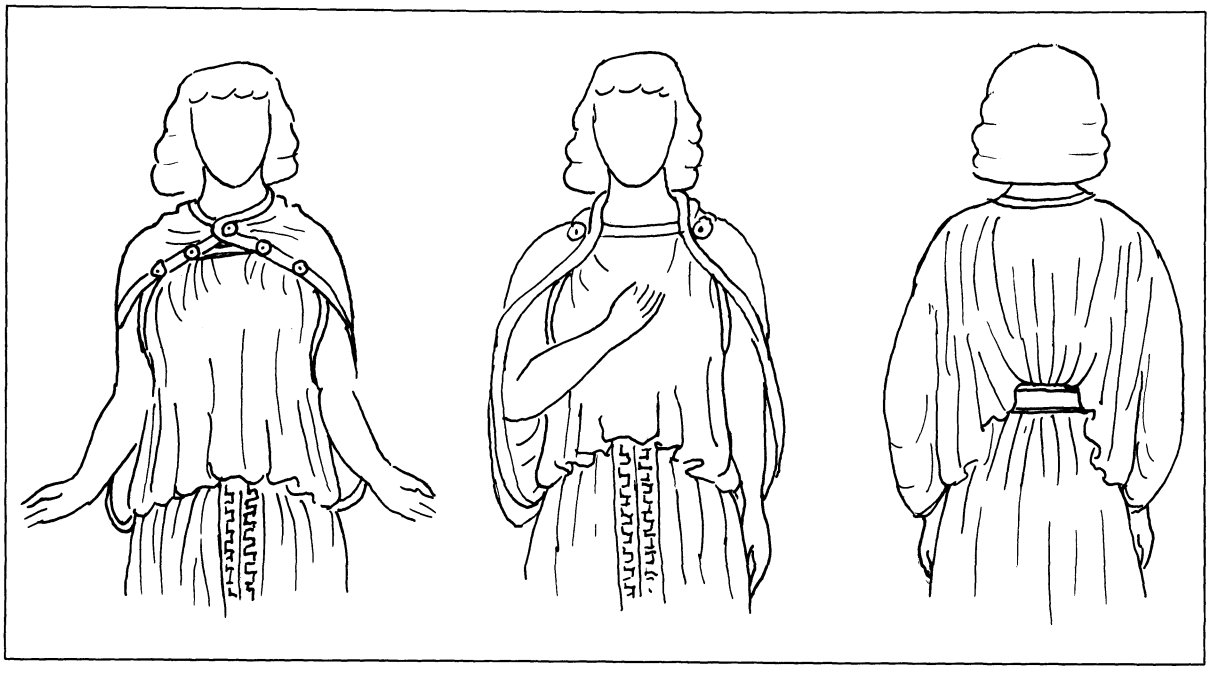

FIGURE 7 A *(left): Scheme of statues from Prinias*
B *(center): Scheme of Kore from Auxerre*
C *(right): Scheme of Dreros statuette (back)*

A charming picture of a girl who doesn't go all the way right away is offered by the wooden relief from Samos depicting Zeus and Hera as young lovers.[22] Hera has not unfastened her belt and is not about to. But she has unfastened the pins to let the front of her dress fall down above the belt and she has pulled together the edges of the back part and pinned them together at the neck, so that the dress is secured and she doesn't have to worry about it while Zeus caresses her breast and she lays her hand, not very fiercely, on his wrist. With her other arm she returns his embrace. Probably the flap of loosened cloth belonging to the front of her dress lay over the now-missing left forearm, which broke away with it (fig. 9). A wide central stripe decorates her dress below the belt, and here again we can imagine that it terminated under the belt.

It is possible that Hera's dress was originally fastened like those of the seated goddesses from Prinias (fig. 7 A).[23] These have the back edge completely encircling the neck and fastened at the center front. Here it would have taken as many as five pins to hold the dress securely: one at the center and two above the breast on each side. This scheme really involves a fastening κατὰ στῆθος, and so we cannot help wondering if Hera's dress in the *Iliad* was like her dress in the relief. With such a dress it would be possible simply to undo the outer pins and leave the central one fastened. Such a form would also be convenient for a nursing mother.

In these seventh-century representations the belt has the same importance that it has in poetry. The wide dress is well adapted to an erotic progress that begins with the breasts and works downward. Once the belt is undone, the goal is

[22] Richter, *Korai*, p. 36, no. 33, figs. 115–116. Ohly, *Ath-Mitt* 68 (1953), pp. 77–83, pls. 13–15. Ohly believes that Hera is wearing the epiblema and so does not believe that her breast is bared. His faith in the virtue of the young Hera thus surpasses that of Homer: οἷον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμιγέσθην φιλότητι, εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας. (14.295–296).

[23] Demargne, *The Birth of Greek Art* (New York, 1964), figs. 456–457. I have not been able to check the back of the seated statue, about which there is some dispute (cf. Davaras, *op. cit.* [*supra* n. 4], p. 26, n. 98).

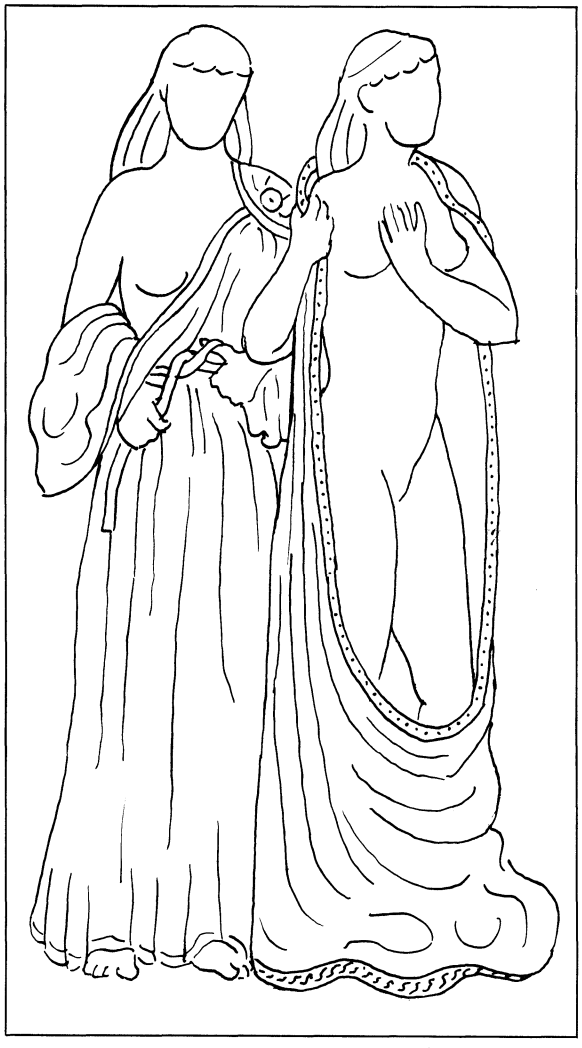

FIGURE 8 *Scheme of ivory relief, New York*

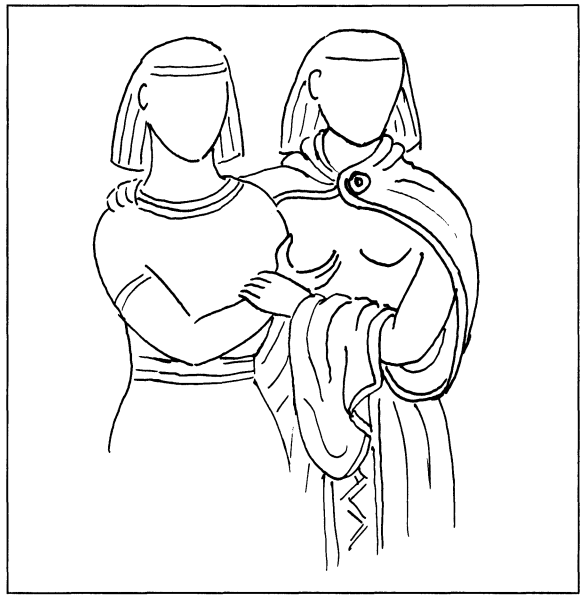

FIGURE 9
Scheme of wooden relief from Samos, Zeus and Hera

in sight. The love-making of Zeus and Hera in the *Iliad* is not described, because Zeus, true to his promise, wraps the couple in a cloud, but the way in which Hera dressed is so fully described by the poet that we can easily imagine her undressing.

In the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite, on the other hand, the undressing is recounted in detail. Anchises first leads Aphrodite to the bed, covered with soft cloaks and skins of bears and lions. He takes off her jewelry and dress-pins, then her belt, and finally the dress itself, which he lays carefully on a chair before he lies down with her.[24]

Lorimer remarks that "apart from a variously named head-dress or veil, women's dress in Homer consists of a single garment."[25] That seems also to be the case with the Daedalic women, at least in sculpture. The dress we have been discussing appears to have been of wool, like the classical peplos, and to have had, even more than the classical peplos, the possibility of minor adjustments to increase protection from wind or sun or to let coolness in. Only the head required a separate cover, and this could be made in a variety of lengths.

The tubular form of the dress and the absence of an overfall made it structurally like the archaic chiton, but as the material was wool rather than linen it may have been called peplos.

Herodotos, telling the story of an early disastrous Athenian expedition to Aegina, says that a lone Athenian survivor arriving in the Peiraeus was murdered by the wives of the Athenian dead, who stabbed him with the pins of their dresses. The Athenian men regarded this act as worse

[24] *Hymn to Aphrodite*, lines 155–167.
[25] *Op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2), p. 377.

than the loss of the expedition, but did not punish the women except by requiring them to change their dress henceforth to the Ionian one, the linen chiton which did not require pins. Herodotos calls the pinned dress Dorian, but explains that in reality it was Hellenic generally, whereas the linen dress was really Carian.[26]

It seems evident that the linen dress was sewn on the shoulders and upper arms like the common forms of Near Eastern chiton. A separate woolen mantle of some kind would be required for warmth along with this garment. The most serious attempts to date this expedition to Aegina place it around the middle of the eighth century. The dress shown by the Analatos Painter around 700 B.C. could well be a linen chiton.[27] The dresses in Protoattic are not easy to decipher, but so far as I know they do not show a clear affinity to the Cretan dress of the period. So it may be that Herodotos was right, generally speaking, and that the "Daedalic" pinned dress is the so-called Dorian, which was really Hellenic. That could explain why we find it in Ionian Samos, as well as in Dorian Crete and Thera. Also, it is in Ionian Chios that we find the earliest certain examples of the chiton with buttoned sleeves,[28] which Lorimer reasonably suggests might have developed under the influence of the pinned dress.[29] The buttoned chiton has the same advantage of adjustability of sleeve-length and width of neck-opening as the pinned dress, but the light buttons are more suitable to thin material than the heavy metal pins, fibulae or brooches.

Approximately contemporary with the Chian maidens is the Attic torso from Moschato which has the buttoned sleeves although it also has the center stripe appropriate to a woolen garment.[30] It seems certain that in time the stripe was added to linen garments, though not in any consistent fashion. Its decorative value, its utility as a centering-line and the effect of its greater stiffness on the desired draping will all have played a role, as we have suggested above.

No simple scheme will cover all the variations that women can devise for enhancing their clothes, but it would seem that we could use Herodotos' terminology to sketch a simple very broad chronological scheme. The Daedalic dress, abundantly attested in the seventh century and especially but not exclusively in Dorian lands, is the "Hellenic" dress, popularly called "Dorian." It relies on pins for the fastening of its upper edges. The sides are closed. The "Carian" dress, popularly called "Ionian," is a linen chiton with the upper edges sewn together to form sleeves and with a neck-opening left in the center. The dress that *we* call "Ionian" developed as a contamination of these two. It is first clearly attested in art in the early sixth century, though we cannot be sure it was not worn earlier. Since the early representations are nearly all either ritual or mythological, they would tend to be conservative. In any case, it would seem that Homer's goddesses wore the Hellenic dress. The name "Carian" applied to the dress with sewn sleeves suggests that it is essentially the same as the Mycenaean dress, which the monuments would in fact suggest. An underlying fact which has not been sufficiently understood is that *all* these dresses were as wide as the classical Greek dress. Only when we have realized that can we see what lies beneath the artists' stylizations.

[26] Herodotus 5. 87–88. The date of this event is not certainly fixed. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968), p. 361, n. 10, suggests the middle of the eighth century B.C.

[27] Demargne, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 23), fig. 426.

[28] Richter, *Korai*, p. 38, nos. 37–38, figs. 122–128; J. Boardman, *Antike Plastik*, I German Archaeological Institute, (Berlin, 1962), pp. 43 ff., figs. 132–34.

[29] *Op. cit.* (*supra* n. 2), pp. 356–57.

[30] Richter, *Korai*, p. 39, no. 40, figs. 132–34.

The Peplos Kore, Akropolis 679*

By BRUNILDE SISMONDO RIDGWAY

Bryn Mawr College

WITH CHARACTERISTIC KINDNESS, Dorothy K. Hill allowed me, some years ago, to publish a little known peplophoros in the Walters Art Gallery as part of my contribution to the *Hesperia* issue in honor of Rhys Carpenter. It seems therefore appropriate that I should now join the many friends who are honoring her with some comments on another, though very well known, peplophoros, the kore Akropolis 679 (figs. 1, 6).

The statue was found in 1886, northwest of the Erechtheion, in three pieces. The discovery of the first fragment, from waist to plinth, was followed two or three days later by the finding of the head, but at first nobody thought of connecting two pieces which appeared so different in style and chronology. Only when the third, intermediate section, from waist to neck, was found, could the entire figure be recomposed beyond doubt, and viewers marvelled at the block-like appearance of the body against the liveliness and intelligent expression of the head. At the time of discovery the marble still retained a great deal of its elaborate polychromy, which to some extent compensated for the simplicity of the costume; yet all early descriptions and subsequent discussions of the kore called her pillar-like, stiff, rigid and comparable to the Daedalic Nikandre from Naxos. Even scholars who perceived the subtleties of some of her features could only conclude that, if not totally a xoanon, she was at least a "demi-xoanon" or, to coin a term, "une statue xoanisante."[1]

It was the great merit of Humfry Payne[2] that he pointed out once and for all the many details which animate the entire figure: the slight turn of the head toward the left, the lifting of the left shoulder, the movement of the left arm away from the body, with the consequent slant of the garment, the soft bulging of flesh above and below the indentation of the tight belt, the sinking of the costume between the legs, the forward position of the left leg. E. Langlotz,[3] in the official publication of the Akropolis korai, could still ask whether these deviations from perfect symmetry and frontality were all intentional. But, some years later, L. Alscher had no such

* A shorter version of this paper was delivered at the 77th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America on December 28, 1975, in Washington, D.C. [Session II B] (see *AJA* 80, [1976] p. 194). More general remarks on the same topic will also appear in my forthcoming book, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton University Press). I am indebted to many people for comments and suggestions, but I particularly wish to thank Nancy Winter, who obtained permission to put an object into the right hand of the Peplos Kore and to have it photographed by E. Vanderpool, Jr. I am also grateful to Ann Steiner and Marilyn Goldberg for checking some details for me on the statue during the summer of 1976. Carol W. Campbell was so kind as to make the drawing for my figure 8.

[1] The expression is by H. Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes* (Lyon/Paris, 1903) (henceforth Lechat), p. 326. For the early excavation reports see E.A. Gardner, *JHS* 8 (1887), 159–93, especially 163–65, B.W. Miller, *AJA* 2 (1886), 63 no. 10. I have not been able to trace *Musée d'Athènes*, pl. 10, but the description accompanying that illustration is quoted in the first thorough study of the statue, B. Staïs, "Archaikon Agalma ex Akropoleos," *ArchEph* (1887) (hereafter: Staïs), cols. 130–34; his plate 9 gives an excellent colored drawing by Gilliéron, Sr. of the statue with most of its painted decoration as preserved at the moment of excavation. For the Nikandre see G.M.A. Richter, *Korai* (London, 1968) (hereafter: *Korai*), no. 1, figs. 25–28.

[2] H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* (London, 1936) (hereafter: Payne), pp. 18–21, pls. 29–33, 38:5.

[3] E. Langlotz in H. Schrader, E. Langlotz and W.H. Schuchhardt, *Die archaische Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (Frankfurt am Main, 1939) (hereafter: *AMA*), pp. 45–48, no. 4, pls. 3–8.

FIGURE 1 ATHENS, AKROPOLIS MUSEUM
The Peplos Kore (Akr. 679)

doubts.[4] He saw in the Peplos Kore the beginning of ponderation and contrapposto, and published an unusual photograph of the statue taken from above which showed clearly the subtle animation of the apparently stiff body. Students of the kore, nonetheless, have been unanimous in considering it the last of the peplophoroi, an exponent of the typical Attic style before the arrival of those overwhelming Ionic influences that changed Athenian fashions and sculptural repertoire. Even the scholars who, like Alscher, believe the Peplos Kore to be a contemporary of the highly decorative statues wearing chiton and himation, feel some need to explain her simplicity. Perhaps, for a while the old costume was still worn together with the new. Or possibly the master of the Peplos Kore was making a stand against the elegant drapery carved by his colleagues in imitation of foreign (Ionic) customs. Maybe the sculptor belonged to the older generation, or his statue in recalling the simplicity of Solonian times was even meant as a political statement against the Peisistratids. In general, however, attention has focused on the date and authorship of Akropolis 679, rather than on its meaning, and several recent studies discuss primarily what name and *opus* should be assigned to "the master of the Peplos Kore."[5]

Despite her nickname, however, is the statue really shown wearing a peplos? Her costume is usually described as consisting of two garments: 1) a thin chiton which covers her entire body, although it is visible only at the neckline, above her feet and as sleeves over the elbow; 2) a belted peplos with an overfold. In an actual peplos the

[4] L. Alscher, *Griechische Plastik*, vol. 2:1 (Berlin, 1961), 41–45, fig. 11 h, for view from above; see also pp. 227–28, n. 81.

[5] For the statement that the statue is one of the latest examples of the wearing of the peplos in Attica see all of the above-mentioned authors; also *Korai*, p. 72, no. 113, figs. 349–354. Among the most recent studies on the master of the Peplos Kore, see Ch. Tsirivakou-Neumann, "Zum Meister der Peploskore," *AthMitt* 79 (1964), 114–26; and W. Deyhle, "Meisterfragen der archaischen Plastik Attikas," *AthMitt* 84 (1969), 1–12.

For a discussion of the date of the Peplos Kore see E. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, The Athenian Agora, 11 (Princeton, 1965) (hereafter: *Agora* 11), pp. 5 and 13. I would accept her low date of ca. 530–525 B.C., though the majority of scholars date the kore ca. 540.

overfold, or apoptygma, was formed by doubling the rectangular piece of cloth at the top, thus adjusting the total length to fit the size of the individual wearer. The folded material was then draped under the arms, with enough slack to allow the cloth to be gathered over the shoulders where front and back were pinned together by means of metal pins or fibulae.[6] Yet in this arrangement both arms remained entirely bare, even if the peplos was open only along one side of the body (fig. 8). This rendering of the peplos can be seen in many Severe or classical statues, where the more naturalistic carving shows the catenaries forming under one armpit (figs. 2, 3) on the side where the peplos curves around the human figure. The strong horizontal accent created by the overfold runs around the torso, more or less parallel to the belt and definitely clear of the arms. In the Peplos Kore, however, this horizontal edge is carried in a continuous line above and across the right arm, as is visible from the side and the back view. For an apoptygma to cover the right arm, a hole would have had to be pierced at the point of bend in order to allow the arm to slip between the main fall of the cloth and its overfold; but to pierce such a hole would have permanently fixed the length of the apoptygma, and no such arrangement is attested to in antiquity. Other solutions should therefore be envisaged.

1) The slack of the cloth is so great that the rear folds of the apoptygma are pulled forward to cover the arm. This explanation could account for the continuous edge in the rear over the right elbow, but not for the stretching of the cloth from torso to arm in the front. The sculptor clearly thought of the garment as covering the entire arm from front to back. Contrast instead the rendering on the left side of the Peplos Kore, where the raised arm makes the edges of the material fall apart.

2) The peplos draped under the arms of the figure is a classical costume; in the archaic period it was worn differently, somehow, as it appears on Akropolis 679. This suggestion can be countered in two ways: a) Other tunic-like garments do appear on archaic statuary which could be defined as peploi, yet they do not resemble the costume of the Peplos Kore. b) It can be shown that the "classical" peplos did exist in the sixth century and was clearly rendered in sculpture.

To pursue the first line of thought, several korai wear a dress presumably formed by two

FIGURE 2 PAROS MUSEUM
Nike of Paros

[6] For a general description of the peplos see, e.g., *Korai*, p. 7 and n. 12, with further bibliography.

FIGURE 3 PAROS MUSEUM

Nike of Paros
(Detail of upper torso, with holes for metal attachments)

rectangular pieces of cloth sewn or pinned together along the outer side of the arms. In some cases, true sleeves are rendered, and the garment can therefore be visualized as fitted and tailored;[7] in others, the sleeves are only apparent, because the cloth stretches uninterrupted from arm to torso.[8] In these monuments, however, either the seam or the fastened edges are clearly indicated over the arms, plastically and/or in paint. No such rendering appears on the Peplos Kore, nor was it evident even when her colors were still vivid at the time of discovery. Moreover, in either form of this full-length garment an overfold is impossible and is never rendered.

Point b) is more important, however, since the previously mentioned costumes cannot definitely be called peploi. The canonical rendering with overfold can be seen in vase painting as early as ca. 570 B.C., for instance on the François vase.[9] Here special, rounded flaps seem to come from behind, to allow the pinning of the garment over the front, somewhat like the straps of a cuirass; arms are shown free and sleeveless. A comparable rendering appears on the Vatican amphora by

[7] Korai with sleeved costume: see, e.g., the Berlin Kore, *Korai* no. 42, figs. 143–46; or more problematic, the "chiton" worn by the Lyon Kore, *Korai* no. 89, figs. 277–79. Because of the level of the break, it cannot be determined whether sleeves surrounded the arms of two fragmentary torsos in the Athens National Museum: *Korai* nos. 39 and 40, figs. 129–34; note that no. 39 has a seam, no. 40 buttoned edges running along the outer arm. Clear sleeves appear on a bronze statuette from Olympia, *Korai* no. 28, figs. 104–7.

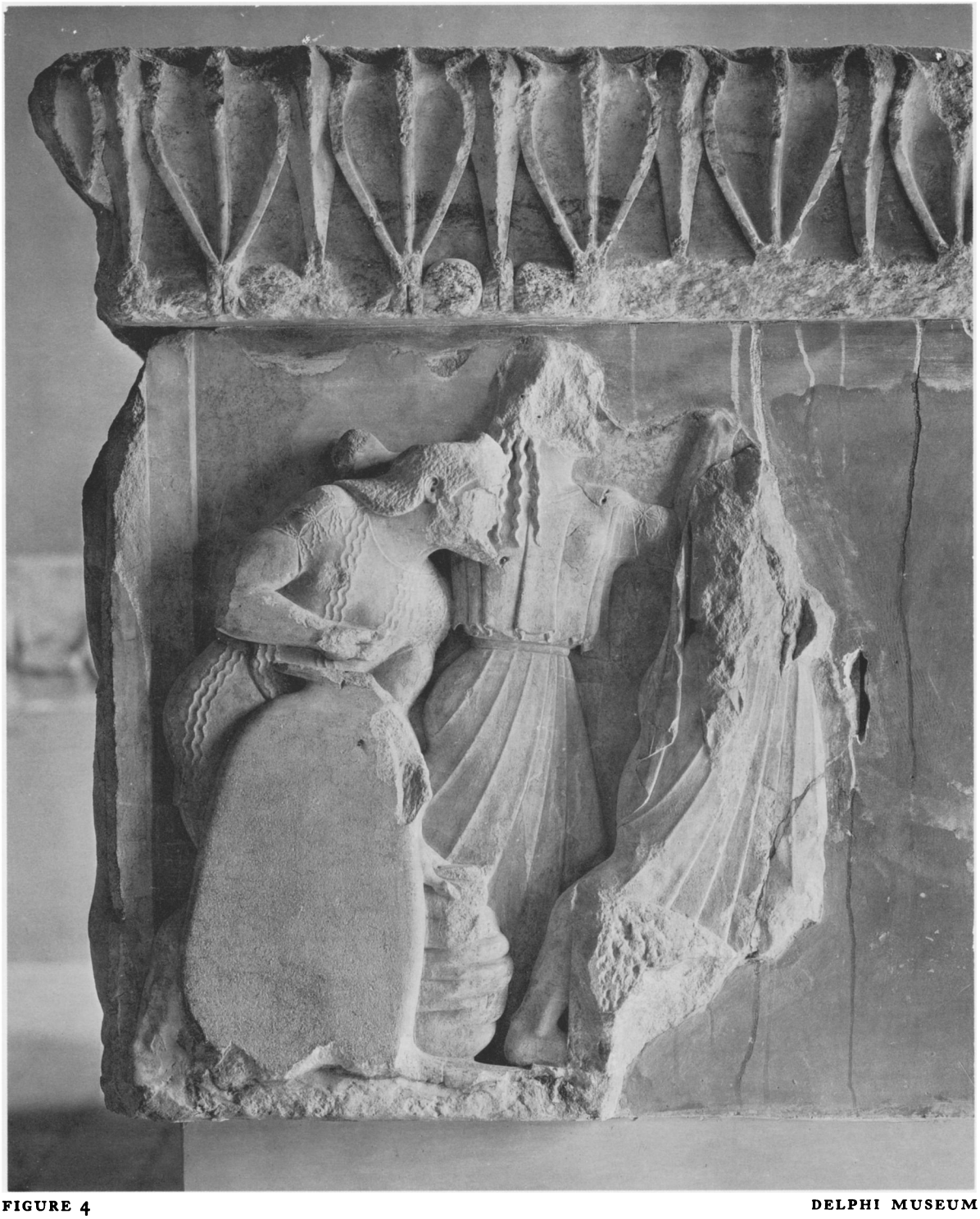

FIGURE 4 DELPHI MUSEUM

North frieze of Siphnian Treasury: detail of divinities near Hephaistos

FIGURE 5 BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
Bronze statuette of Artemis
H. L. Pierce Fund

Exekias, about thirty years later.[10] The Leda here, who has often been considered the painterly counterpart of the Peplos Kore, wears a tight-fitting "bodice" with no fastening visible over the shoulder, but this "bodice" obviously leaves her right arm entirely free. Cloth clearly rings her arm at the armpit while the horizontal edge of the overfold runs uninterrupted over her side. In sculpture, a similar peplos with apoptygma is worn, for instance, by one of the goddesses on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (fig. 4). Although the overlapping figure of Hephaistos does not allow a full view of the right side of the goddess' torso, the freedom with which she raises her arms, and the undisturbed horizontal of the apoptygma suggest that her movements were not hampered by enveloping cloth.[11] A final example is more conclusive because it is in the round, and suffers from none of the ambiguities inherent in two-dimensional representations. A bronze statuette of Artemis in Boston (fig. 5)[12] shows the costume with overfold as it appears on later peplophoroi, although with fewer folds and a tighter fit around the torso. The distinctive trait, however — the bareness of the arms—is here unmistakable. A small marble torso from the Akropolis[13] suggests that this way of wearing the peplos was possible even without an overfold, in a simplification which almost recalls a modern strap dress.[14]

[8] Apparent sleeves, with material stretching from bodice to arms: e.g., a kore from Lindos, *Korai* nos. 76 and 77, figs. 248–52. Also see the still unpublished Phrasikleia, *Athens Annals of Archaeology*, [General Inspectorate of Antiquities and Restoration], 5 (Athens, 1972), 298–324; good color photograph in *EAA* suppl. to vol. 1 (1970), opposite p. VIII.

[9] Details of peploi on the François vase are illustrated in *Korai*, pl. XII, a–b opposite p. 45.

[10] Leda on Vatican amphora: see the detail in *Korai*, pl. XVc opposite p. 62; for the frequent comparison with the Peplos Kore see, e.g., F. Hauser in the text to A. Furtwängler-K. Reichold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* III (Munich, 1932), pp. 70–71; Payne, p. 21. See also two women on an amphora by Lydos, *Korai*, pl. XIVb opp. p. 55.

[11] Note that the goddess on the Siphnian frieze also wears a chiton under her peplos, and that the two holes for a metal pin over her left shoulder fall within a rounded "flap" comparable to the renderings on the François vase.

[12] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.658, H.L. Pierce Fund; M. Comstock and C.C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes* (Greenwich, Conn., 1971), pp. 20–21, no. 19; *Korai*, no. 144, figs. 456–59.

[13] Simple peplos on Akr. 583: Payne, pl. 14:6; M.S. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum* (Athens, 1974), p. 95 and fig. 173.

[14] Indirect evidence for the use of the standard peplos during the archaic period comes also from the fact that the presentation of a woven peplos formed the main feature of the Panathenaic festival, which was revived under Peisistratos in 566 B.C. and continued uninterrupted into classical times. On this point see also *infra*, p. 58 and n. 29.

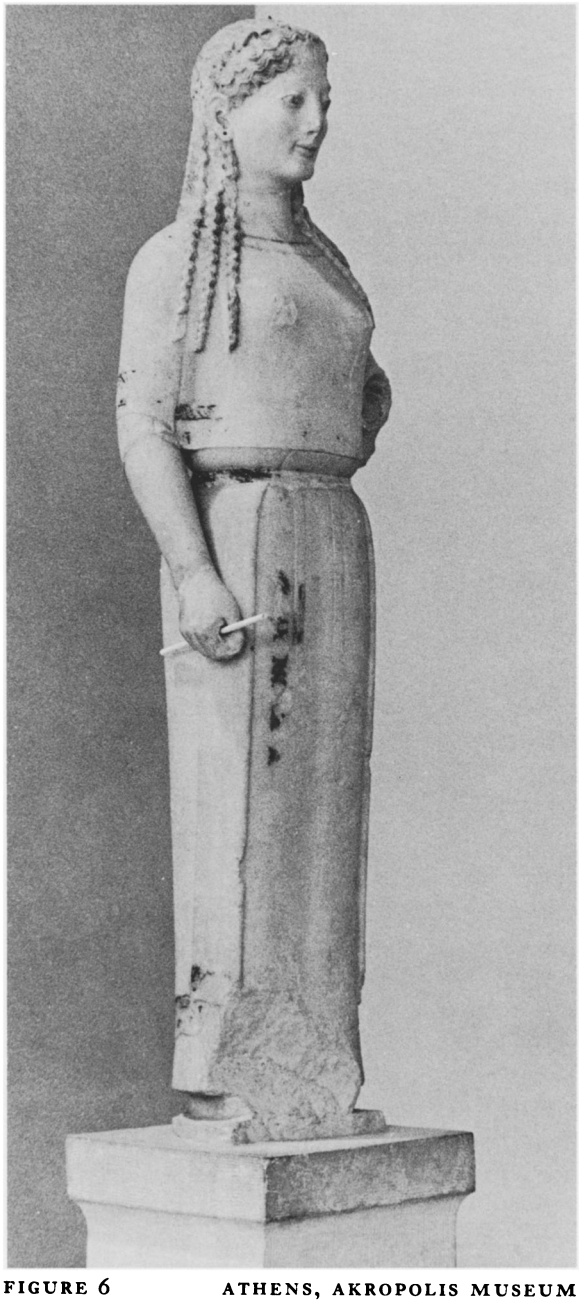

FIGURE 6 ATHENS, AKROPOLIS MUSEUM
Peplos Kore (with stick inserted in right hand)

3) As a third possibility, can the rendering of the Peplos Kore be considered an artistic license or a mistake on the part of the sculptor? Sartorial accuracy is not a prerequisite for a masterpiece, and several korai from the Akropolis wear garments which cannot be explained in terms of actual draping. Usually, however, such statues display extra swags of cloth as the visual counterparts of massed folds which are required by the regular costume.[15] In others, the "natural" course of pleats is altered for effect in stylization or decoration.[16] Yet no aesthetic reason can be given for the rendering of the Peplos Kore, and it is unlikely that her sculptor, so sensitive to minute shifts and delicate modelling, would have paid no attention to the correct depiction of a dress common during his lifetime.

Two last possibilities therefore remain, both of them virtually leading to similar conclusions. Either the master of the Peplos Kore was rendering a costume with which he was not acquainted, one therefore not simply old-fashioned, but so old as to be completely removed from his personal experience—and this assumption does not seem possible if he were representing a standard peplos, given the above-mentioned archaic examples—or, Akropolis 679 is *not* wearing a traditional peplos with apoptygma, but is in fact clad in three garments: a chiton, a "peplos" and a small cape.

This second assumption had already been made in the first studies on the statue. Staïs,[17] in correcting the initial description, asserted in 1887 that the kore wore a chiton, an upper garment and a third one, which was smaller, and enveloped the upper torso and the arms. Yet, he was not sure how it was fastened and supposed that it slipped over the head, like a modern poncho. Kalkmann,[18] however, in 1896, stated that the statue wore a peplos, recognizable especially because of the typical overfold. At the same

[15] For additional swags of cloth, see for instance, Akr. 685, *Korai*, no. 181, figs. 573–77; Payne, p. 35, pls. 72 and 74; *AMA* no. 47, especially p. 97.

[16] For "impossible" stylizations in the rendering of folds: see e.g., Akr. 594, *Korai* no. 124, figs. 398–400; Payne, p. 30, pls. 46–48; *AMA* no. 54. See also Phrasikleia (*supra* n. 8).

[17] Staïs corrects the description given in *Musée d'Athènes*, which will be mentioned *infra*, p. 61.

[18] A. Kalkmann, "Zur Tracht archaischer Gewandfiguren," *Jdl* 11 (1896), 46–48.

[19] See not only Lechat, pp. 325–30, but especially p. 188, no. 6 and n. 2.

time, he noted that the rendering was unusual and unclear, since the garment should have separated also over the right arm. Nonetheless he found that the arrangement was unmistakable because of the two holes for metal attachments which appeared over the kore's shoulders, exactly in the position where the fibulae of a regular peplos would occur. In 1903, Lechat[19] used the same argument to maintain the peplos/overfold classification, explaining the cape-like rendering as a mistake or as an expedient simplification albeit falsifying the true appearance of the costume. In 1907, Lermann[20] made a last stand for a hood-like, independent garment worn over the peplos, but all subsequent publications followed Lechat's lead, and the costume had ceased to be an issue by 1936, when Payne could concentrate on aesthetic rather than on sartorial details.

I wish here to reopen the issue of the costume of the Peplos Kore, not only to increase our knowledge of the range of archaic dress, but also to suggest that a clue to the kore's identity may be furnished by her apparel.

A cape-like garment seems to have been a standard feature of Daedalic sculpture. We find it only on female figures, worn together with a sheath dress which is difficult to define. Although at times considered typically Cretan because of the many extant examples from that island, the cape had a wider distribution, as attested by several renderings from Samos and at least one from Naxos, the famous Nikandre dedicated in Delos.[21] Other instances, though less clear, occur in Magna Graecia and perhaps in mainland Greece.[22] True cape or not, this small mantle is usually fastened at or near the throat, opening wide at the front and often stopping short of the breasts. As far as can be determined at present, it was worn by divinities (or their priestesses?), Hera and Artemis being obviously identifiable in two cases. In the sixth century, capes seem very rare, and do not occur in the typical Daedalic form.[23] They are more extensive and cover the entire torso and upper arms; the opening is not clear, and in some cases only a central hole for the head might have been provided. Here again the range of wearers is limited, and such capes may never have been items of daily wear in real life. The few archaic statues preserved with such attire can be interpreted as mythological beings, nymphs or Charites, and may intentionally have been shown with an old-fashioned costume to suggest their venerability.[24] In the case of Akropolis 679 I believe the caped costume was chosen to clarify the fact that the sculpture represents a goddess, but not her epiphany—rather, her idol. The Peplos Kore, so to speak, is a statue of a statue.

[20] W. Lermann, *Altgriechische Plastik* (Munich, 1907), pp. 53–54, 56–57, pl. 18 for color reproductions of the patterns, figs. 18–19. For a discussion of the costume see especially p. 54, n. 1.

[21] The cape of Daedalic figures has been recently discussed by K. Davaras, *Die Statue aus Astritsi* (*Antike Kunst*, suppl. 8, Bern, 1972), 59–65, who gives extensive further bibliography. He does not, however, include among his examples the Naxian Nikandre (*supra* n. 1); that this statue wears a cape was pointed out to me by Judith P. Binder, and it is so drawn by E. Meola, "Terrecotte orientalizzanti di Gela ('Daedalica' Siciliae III)," *MonAnt*, Serie Miscellanea 1:1, gen. ser. vol. 48 (1971), p. 40, fig. 13a; see also p. 44, n. 124.

[22] To the examples mentioned by Davaras also add, for Magna Graecia, a type known through two terracotta replicas: P. Zancani Montuoro, *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia*, 11–12 (Rome, 1970–71), 67–74, pls. 27–28; see especially the reconstructed drawing on p. 68 and p. 69, n. 6, where further bibliography is cited.

[23] For sixth-century examples see Davaras, *loc. cit.*; note the theory that Athena's aegis may be a variant of a Daedalic epiblema. For examples of marble statues with capes comparable to that of the Peplos Kore see the kore from Eleusis, *Korai* no. 75, figs. 236–39; the torso Akr. 656, Payne pl. 14:4, *AMA* no. 3, p. 45, pl 1; the torso from a relief, Akr. 586, Payne pl. 14:1, Brouskari, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 13), p. 95, fig. 174. This figure is interpreted as part of a relief with three Graces or nymphs.

[24] I believe that the whole question of the meaning of the korai in general should be reopened, since perhaps one could conclude that they all represented divine or semi-divine creatures, rather than anonymous mortals.

In architectural sculpture, a mantilla is worn by Europa on the bull, in a metope from Selinus Temple Y: E. Langlotz, *The Art of Magna Graecia* (London, 1965), pl. 8. In the minor arts, a similar cape appears on a bronze kore as mirror-support, probably from south Italy: J. Dörig, *Art Antique* (Geneva/Mainz, 1975), no. 224. Also from south Italy, presumably a sanctuary of Athena, a bronze statuette closely related to the Peplos Kore; M.W. Stoop, *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia* 11–12 (Rome, 1970–71), 45–48, pl. 18, suggests that she represents Athena Chalinitis on a chariot.

It seems to have been standard practice among ancient sculptors to represent idols in old-fashioned apparel, in the dress of previous generations, in order to make it clear that they did not belong to the contemporary scene. Thus, in the fifth century, idols could be shown with the diagonal mantle which had disappeared at the end of the archaic period, and the Palladion was depicted in a sheath dress among women wearing the more contemporary chiton and himation.[25] In all such cases the narrative context, as well as the dress, served to clarify the various identities, and we cannot exclude the possibility that the Peplos Kore originally formed part of one such narrative depiction. That narrative could be attained not only in two-dimensional painting or relief, but also in statuary in the round, is shown for instance by the so-called Dice-players (*Brettspieler*) from the Akropolis: two opposing figures, each kneeling on one knee, which have been completed with an Athena in the middle,[26] to reproduce the general composition on Exekias' Vatican amphora with Ajax and Achilles playing a game. The Peplos Kore could have been set on a base together with other statues which made clear to the viewer the idol-like role of her figure. Yet even the single statue retains enough clues to support this interpretation.

I have already mentioned the old-fashioned dress, which indeed closely resembles representations of the Palladion in vase painting. When the block-like body is seen as an intentional feature—an imitation of a wooden xoanon—rather than as the end product of a lingering artistic tradition, it is almost an attribute in itself. But the true attributes, held in the statue's hands, might have left no doubt in the beholder. The right arm does not hang down straight, but bends slightly at the elbow; the hand, clenched in a fist, is pierced through with a hole ca. 6 mm. in diameter. When an object is inserted into the hole it slants at approximately 9° off the horizontal, complementing the position of the arm (fig. 6). The relative smallness of the hole means that only a metal attribute could have been inserted, and the direction of the drilled channel within the fist seems more appropriate for a stick-like object than for a wreath or fillet, as is sometimes suggested. The left arm also held an attribute of sorts, although the loss of the inserted forearm prevents guesses. It is important to note, however, that Akropolis 679 is, if not the very first, at least one of the earliest extant korai in marble with an outstretched arm. Could the piecing technique and the unusual pose have been introduced because of the nature of the attribute held by the statue? That it was no minor object is perhaps suggested by the movement of the arm away from the body, the lifted left shoulder and the turn of the kore's head toward the same side.[27]

The elaborate head ornament worn by the statue may also have functioned as an attribute. Besides the fillet plastically rendered in marble over the nape, thirty-five holes in two rows surround the entire head, some still preserving the lead pins which fastened an ornament in place.

[25] Idols in sculpture: Xenokrateia relief, *Agora* 11, p. 53 n. 27. Bassai frieze: Ch. Hofkes-Brukker and A. Mallwitz, *Der Bassai-Fries* (Munich, 1975), 54–56, fig. H 4-524. Argive Heraion: F. Eichler, *Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen Instituts*, 19–20 (Vienna, 1919), 30–31, G, fig. 23; also p. 32, fig. 24. Epidauros, Temple of Asklepios: J.F. Crome, *Die Skulpturen des Asklepiostempels von Epidauros* (Berlin, 1951), 46 no. 35, pl. 39. For a discussion of these idols see *Agora* 11, 21, p. 51, nn. 7–8, p. 53, n. 26, pp. 61–62. Idols are very often depicted on vases, especially in Ilioupersis scenes; for a typical example see the Vivenzio hydria in Naples (2422) by the Kleophrades Painter, Arias, Hirmer and Shefton, *A Thousand Years of Greek Vase-Painting* (New York, 1962), fig. 125; here fig. 7.

[26] Dice-Players: Akr. 160, Akr. 168 and Akr. 142; *AMA* no. 412; Payne pl. 121:4, 6; pl. 124:3, 6. For a discussion of the problems of reconstruction see David L. Thompson, *ArchCl* 28 (1976) forthcoming. I agree with the idea that the statues formed a free-standing group. For a similar composition, with two fighting warriors flanking a central Athena, see the new theories on the "Leonidas" in Sparta, A. Delivorrias, *Deltion* 24:2:1 (1969), 132–3, no. 5.

[27] Note that the turn of the kore's head is accompanied by the slight displacement of the hair mass over her back, which is not centered on the axis of the body, as is clearly visible in Alscher's unusual photograph from above (*supra* n. 4). Langlotz (*AMA*, p. 46) notes that the form of the attachment shows that the left forearm was raised a bit above the horizontal.

The holes of the inner row are evenly spaced, while those of the outer occur at irregular intervals; they seem disproportionately large for the size of the statue, and for a relatively light metal addition. One wonders whether this elaborate arrangement was necessary for a simple leafy wreath. That the dome of the head was uncovered is, however, suggested by the remains of the meniskos, the detailed carving of the hair strands and their vivid red coloring.

Finally, as attributes appropriate to a xoanon may also be counted: 1) the smaller-than-life size of the kore (a peculiar height, well beyond that of a mere statuette, yet considerably smaller than nature or than other Akropolis dedications, which around the time of the Peplos Kore, 530–525 B.C., tended to be majestic), and 2) the unusual simplification of the feet. Though fragmentary toes have been attributed to the statue, no indication of heels and ankles appears from the rear and sides in the present state, and the regular indentation running between the plinth and the hem of the chiton is an unparalleled rendering among archaic female figures. Indeed, the first American account of the discovery, when only the bottom half of the kore had been found, speaks of a "marble copy of a xoanon . . . just as represented in vase painting . . . [with] no feet but a sort of basis not more than an inch thick, marked off by a deep groove."[28]

If the Peplos Kore is the depiction of an ancient xoanon, which divinity does it represent? Having been found on the Akropolis, it seems logical that the statue should depict Athena. A wooden idol of the patron goddess existed in fact on the Athenian citadel and was the recipient of the Panathenaic peplos every four years.[29] Another famous idol of Athena, the Palladion, played an important role in the Trojan epic and was often depicted in Ilioupersis scenes in late archaic vase painting. The fact that the Peplos Kore lacks an aegis is no valid argument against the identification, since the Palladion (fig. 7) is often shown without this attribute, and, at least in the Severe period, Athena in general could easily be identified by her spear and helmet, despite the absence of her goat-skin. Were the Peplos Kore to be completed with a spear in her right hand and a shield in her left, her similarity to the Palladion would be unmistakable.[30]

Against this suggestion speak perhaps the absence of a helmet and the fact that the spear-holding arm hangs alongside the body, rather than being raised in the standard threatening position. Though this change might have been introduced by a sculptor working in a medium which could not withstand the stress of a lifted limb, the difficulty is real and may require a different identification. A second possibility, which would still identify the kore as Athena, is that the statue held not a shield but a helmet in her left hand. The iconography of a helmet-holding Athena seems to have been more flexible, and some vases show the goddess with lowered, rather than raised spear.[31]

If not Athena, the Peplos Kore could represent her sister Artemis. In this case the right hand would be holding an arrow and the left a bow,

[28] The quote is from W. Miller, *AJA* 2 (1886), 63, no. 10. For the attribution of feet to the statue see *AMA*, p. 46, fig. 13. From the slight rise of the chiton over the front of the statue, just before the break, one can surmise that indeed feet were indicated protruding from the skirt; however, the heels and the division between the feet are not rendered on the rear of the figure. Also quite different is another foot which Langlotz attributes to a comparable peplophoros: Inv. 167, *AMA* p. 170, no. 249, figs. 154–55.

[29] On the Panathenaic peplos see Ch. Kardara, "O Panathenaikos Peplos," *ArchEph* (1960), 185–201. Since the Akropolis idol could be dressed, it is unlikely to have been a seated figure. One more attempt to explain the garment of Akr. 679 as an overfolded peplos would be to assume that it is worn over the arms of a wooden statue which, adhering to the upper torso, would prevent the standard draping of the garment under the armpits. However, the tight "bodice" of the Peplos Kore seems to preclude this alternative, which in any case would lead to the same conclusions as to the meaning of the marble figure.

[30] For representations of the Palladion see *supra* n. 25; also, *Korai*, pl. XXIC (oinochoe in the Vatican, by the Heimarmene Painter). See also *EAA*, s.v. "Palladio." For an aegis-less Athena in the Severe period see the so-called Mourning Athena relief or the Roman replicas of the Athena attributed to Myron, Frankfurt type: B.S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1970), figs. 60 and 123–4.

[31] On the iconography see N. Kunisch, "Zur helmhaltenden Athena," *AthMitt* 89 (1974), 85–104, pls. 40–48.

the attributes which are usually restored to the so-called Nikandre from Naxos, similarly attired. Many terracottas and bronzes attest to the vitality of this iconography, and provide parallels for the youthful appearance and the long tresses over the chest. Artemis as the goddess of Brauron had a sanctuary on the Akropolis, and the cult was connected with a famous wooden idol, somewhat confused in literary sources with the xoanon stolen from Tauris by Orestes and Iphigeneia.[32] Finally, though less probably, the Peplos Kore could be identified as the statue of an armed Aphrodite, because of her elaborate ornaments. The iconography of the love goddess with the weapons of Ares seems to go back at least to the classical period, and a major sanctuary of Aphrodite existed on the north slope of the Akropolis, its antiquity suggested by the obscurity of the ritual and the secrecy of the nocturnal visit by the Arrephoroi. Although the Peplos Kore lay buried within the so-called Persian debris at the time when the Parthenon was built, it is interesting to note how closely the idol of Aphrodite depicted on Parthenon north metope 25 resembles a profile view of our archaic statue.[33]

Though complete certainty cannot be reached, I believe that enough evidence exists to support my theory. The Peplos Kore can then be examined once again, here, as our closest approximation to a venerable xoanon. It is interesting to note that a chiton is worn under the heavier top garment, since usually the Severe or high classical peplos is worn alone, especially by a young girl. That the chiton of the Peplos Kore is made of thin material is shown by the many crinkly folds which appear at the bottom, even if the sleeves, at least over the right elbow, are smooth. The right sleeve seems to have the same painted

FIGURE 7 NAPLES MUSEUM
Vivenzio hydria, by the Kleophrades Painter (Detail of the Palladion)

[32] For Artemis, compare the statuette in Boston, here fig. 5, and *supra* n. 12. On the Akropolis Brauronion see J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York/Washington, 1971), s.v., "Artemis Brauronia," pp. 124–25; the architectural phases have recently been restudied by J. Dobbins and R.F. Rhodes, *Summaries of the Papers Presented, 77th General Meeting Archaeological Institute of America*, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 5. For the question of the idol see e.g., Pausanias 1.23, 9.

[33] On the armed Aphrodite see, e.g., H. von Steuben in Helbig[4] vol. 2, (1966), no. 1725; O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, 16 (1947), 244–45; *idem*, "The 'Armed Aphrodite' on Acrocorinth and the Aphrodite of Capua," *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* 1:2 (Berkeley, London, 1930), 65–84. On the Akropolis sanctuary of Aphrodite and the Arrephoroi see Travlos, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 32) s.v., "Eros and Aphrodite," pp. 228–32 with bibliography. Parthenon metope north 25: F. Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (Mainz, 1967), 50–51, pls. 105–8. The statue depicted on that metope is usually described as the Palladion, yet a second tradition exists, in which Helen is shown near a statue of Aphrodite, especially if the representation also includes a depiction of Cassandra and the Palladion. See, e.g., L. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène* (Paris, 1955), no. 162 p. 191 and pl. 73 (krater British Museum F 278). The idol of the Parthenon metope, at least to judge from the traces left on the background, does not seem to have had a raised right arm with a spear, as traditional, unless the feature were given entirely in paint. It is possible to surmise that the statue represented Aphrodite rather than Athena, especially in view of the length of the entire cycle of metopes and the possibility that the Rape of Cassandra was depicted on the unrecoverable metopes 4–22; see Brommer's comments, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

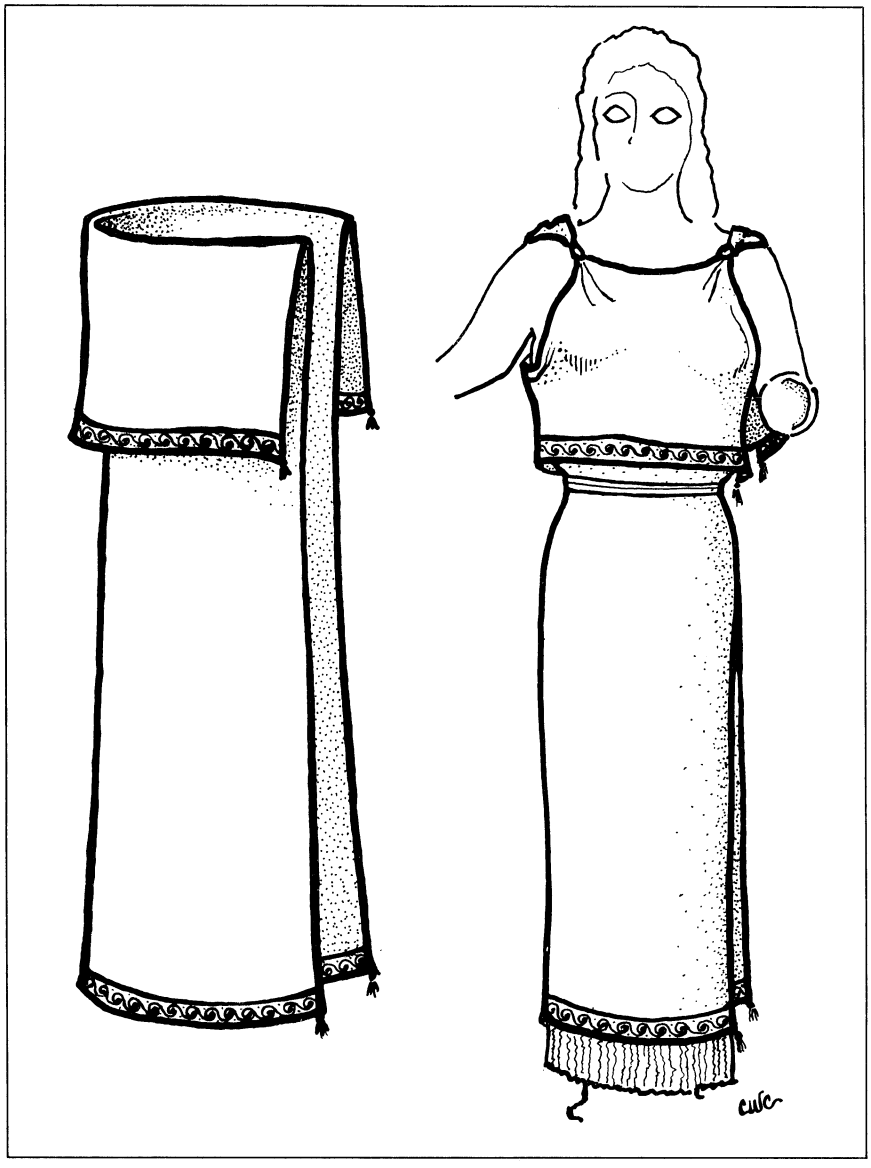

FIGURE 8 *Folding and pinning of the peplos (drawing by Carol W. Campbell)*

pattern that borders the hem of the peplos and the lower edge of the cape.[34] The similarity of patterns on cape and peplos had been used as further argument for a single item of clothing, but since the chiton also carries the same decoration, the argument loses its validity. Even the chiton skirt is edged by a border, this time rendered plastically as a smooth band running below the vertical crinkly folds. This bordering is surprising, since it is usually a feature of archaistic, not archaic, dress.[35]

The garment over the chiton is presumably a peplos, though the name can no longer be defended on the basis of the overfold. It was, perhaps, sleeveless and sewn together along both

[34] This observation is made by W. Lermann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 20), p. 56.

[35] *Agora* 11, p. 52, and no. 112 on p. 69. The border is clearly indicated in Gilliéron's watercolor published by Staïs, and can still be seen in photographs; the plain band is even with the wavy surface, that is, it is neither in relief nor recessed.

sides. It had enough fullness to be gathered by the belt into two vertical masses which end in omega-folds after running almost parallel for the entire length of the skirt; however, they can also be seen above the belt, slightly converging upward before they disappear under the cape. Between these steep folds the remainder of the skirt is stretched tight and almost flat, with only a slight modelling suggesting the advanced position of the left leg. This "panel" was, however, less plain when the original coloring was preserved: two vertical stripes with elaborate circular motifs framed a central *paryphe*(?) bearing a meander pattern. These decorations contrast with the occasional sprinkling of painted stars over the rest of the costume and are obviously meant to mark the front of the dress. Indeed, the original description of the kore suggested that the vertical folds were the edges of a separate garment tied at the waist and covering only the back of the figure like an inverted apron, while leaving the front free.[36]

The belt is plain and ends in two drooping sections with no definite plastic border, but a pointed, fringe-like decoration was rendered in paint. Above the belt the main accent is provided by the cape, worn with the opening along the left arm. This third garment was probably fastened with metal pins, in which case the hole over the kore's left shoulder could be for such a fastener. More difficult to explain is the second hole, over the right shoulder, which occurs in the proper position for the pinning of a peplos, not a cape.[37] The two holes are not aligned, but the slight asymmetry may reflect the different movement of the shoulders—another indication of the master's great attention to detail. I can find no satisfactory solution for this arrangement, although some suggestions can be made: perhaps the mantilla was fastened in two points to prevent slipping; or, the sculptor was unconsciously influenced by the appearance of the standard peplos, with which he was more familiar. Or, finally, the two holes might have been for a different type of ornament entirely (a Gorgoneion suspended at mid-chest by a chain?). Indeed, the long hair strands falling over the kore's chest are spread unusually far apart instead of covering the breasts as is traditional.[38] Two different necklines are given, each one in both paint and relief. Lermann, who believed in the cape, suggested that this rendering differentiated the mantilla from the underlying peplos; the lower-level border, however, may belong to the chiton. A third line, given exclusively in paint, represents a high necklace, like a choker. Inserted earrings and the elaborate diadem completed the rich appearance of the statue. What the meniskos looked like is still today a matter of conjecture.[39]

My interpretation of the costume of the Peplos Kore should not, to be sure, change her traditional nickname. I do hope, however, that it may reopen the question of her identity, and that we may henceforth view Akropolis 679 not just as another anonymous kore, but as a marble replica of the venerable image of some powerful goddess.

[36] This was the description of *Musée d'Athènes*, corrected by Staïs. How such a theory could originate is perhaps explained by some renderings in vase painting; see the detail in *Korai* pl. XIVc (amphora in Würzburg by a painter of Group E).

[37] A third, unexplained, drill hole is mentioned by Langlotz (*AMA* p. 46) near the right elbow. It actually occurs on the bridge of stone between the arm and the torso, and can only be seen from below, since it runs vertically, parallel to the body. I believe this hole may not have been for an attachment, but was simply an attempt at undercutting.

[38] Although renderings in the minor arts offer dangerous comparisons, a terracotta statuette in the Louvre may help explain the rendering of the Peplos Kore. S. Mollard-Besque, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, etrusques et romains* I, Louvre, Département des antiquités grecques et romains (Paris, 1954), p. 13, no. B 77, pl. 10 describes the figure as wearing a "pèlerine" and compares her to the Peplos Kore. She explains the two large fibulae over the shoulders as the points of attachments for a heavy necklace. Richter, (*Korai*, p. 87, no. 145, figs. 460–61, 466–67) sees them as brooches fastening the overfolded peplos, though admitting that the "overfold" is exceptionally broad.

[39] On meniskoi see J. Maxmin, "Meniskoi and 'The Birds'," *JHS* 95 (1975), 175–80.

Photo credits: fig. 1, A. Frantz; figs. 2, 3, German Archaeological Institute, Athens; fig. 4, Rambo, Bryn Mawr College; fig. 5, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; fig. 6, E. Vanderpool, Jr.; fig. 7, P.E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *A Thousand Years of Greek Vase Painting* (New York, 1962), fig. 125; fig. 8, Carol W. Campbell.

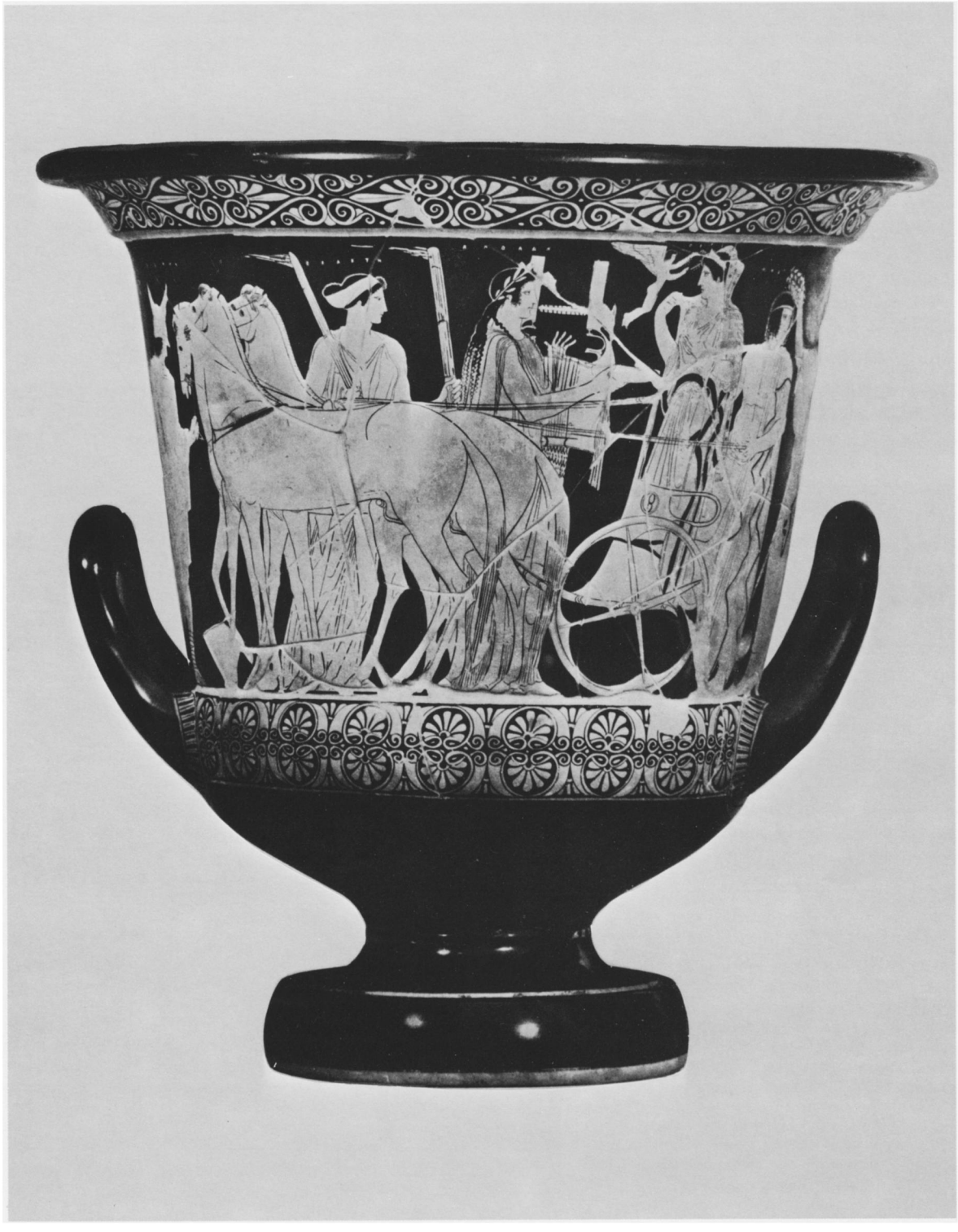

FIGURE 1 FERRARA MUSEUM

Peleus Painter
Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, ca. 430 B.C.

The Name Vase of the Peleus Painter*

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THE NAME VASE of the Peleus Painter,[1] a calyx krater of ca. 430 B.C. in the Ferrara Museum, is an impressive work, showing not only the artist's refined style but also two scenes with iconographic interest. I offer this introductory discussion of the scenes in honor of Dorothy K. Hill, with the hope that it will stimulate further study of its iconography.

On the more important side of the vase is the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis, attended by five deities (fig. 1). There are too many figures to fit comfortably into the space between the handles of the krater. Hermes (extreme left) and Aphrodite (extreme right) are virtually lost in the full frontal view of the scene. This crowding is puzzling, for it is not typical of most examples of this painter's work. The simpler composition of four figures on the reverse (fig. 2) is more appropriate for the space and more consistent with the artist's usual designs.

Even the more complex subject matter of the wedding procession is atypical. Of the thirty vases, with forty-four separate scenes, attributed to the Peleus Painter, the types of scenes break down as follows:

departure of warrior or youth: nine[2] (nos. 1B, 2*bis* A, 4A, 11A, 12A, 16A, 17A, 24, 25);

standing youths, sometimes with men or women: nine (nos. 7B, 8B, 11B, 12B, 13B, 14B, 15B, 16B, 17B);

mythology: nine (nos. 1A, 2*ter* A with sacrifice; 2*ter* B with deities; 5A and 14A the armor of Achilleus; 9A and 9B the games of Pelias; 13A and 22 the muses);

contest victories: five (nos. 2, 7A, 15A, 18A, and 18B);

scenes of women: five (nos. 19, 19*bis*, 20, 21, 23);

symposia: two (nos. 4*bis* A, 8A);

dancing dwarf: one (no. 6A);

unclear: four (nos. 3A, 4*ter* B, 5B, 10).

It is clear from the vases I have seen that the Peleus Painter prefers quiet, vertical compositions of three to four figures in closed, rather symmetrical groupings, characteristic of much of the work of the Polygnotan group.[3] Even the mythological scenes follow this pattern; the depictions of the armor of Achilleus and of the muses show a central seated figure framed by standing figures. Only a few scenes: the wedding procession under discussion, the games of Pelias (no. 9), the fragmentary altar scene (no. 3) and probably the dancing dwarf (no. 6) reveal more complicated interwoven designs. The painter's simplicity of composition is seen in his preference for scenes either of the departure of a warrior or of standing youths. We admire the Peleus Painter for his draftsmanship and for the suitability of his designs for the vase surface, not for his drama or energy. Thus the main scene of the Ferrara krater becomes the more remarkable for its departure from the norm.

I begin with the simpler scene, the centralized composition of four standing figures on the reverse (1B; fig. 2). It is less ambitious, but not without problems as to the identification of the persons. I cannot at present suggest specific names with any certainty, but may perhaps point out a few details for future investigation. In the center are two strongly contrasted men: a traveller, with

* I wish to thank Evelyn Harrison, Ronald Stroud, and William Calder who have been very helpful in my investigation of the vase.

[1] Ferrara T 617 (2893). Ht. 0.545 m. N. Alfieri and P. Arias, *Spina* (Munich, 1958), pp. 56–58, pls. 88–93 (hereafter: *Spina*). P. Arias, *CVA* Italy 37, Ferrara 1 (1963), pp. 9–10, pl. 22. For the attribution, see J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1963), 1038, no. 1 (hereafter: *ARV*²) and J.D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1971), 443 (hereafter: *Para.*). The numbers after *ARV*² refer to page and then list number; the number after *Para.* is the page number.

[2] The numbers cited here and in the succeeding paragraph are those from the list of vases attributed to the Peleus Painter in Beazley *ARV*² and *Para.*

[3] *ARV*² 1027–1064; *Para.* 442–446.

petasos, chlamys, sandals, and double spears; and a warrior, dressed in chitoniskos, protective loin apron,[4] cloak, and armed with Attic helmet, spear, and shield. Framing the two men are a winged woman holding an oinochoe and phiale for libations, and a bearded man with scepter and wreath, either a king or an archon.[5]

Any interpretation of the scene should be based on establishing it as a homecoming or departure. Fifth-century vases are replete with these ambiguous scenes. I had thought it might be possible to distinguish between the two moments, for certain vases clearly show a departure. For example, the warrior of the Chicago Painter's vase from Spina[6] stands with the spear point down, takes his dagger from his wife, while another warrior, also with spear down, awaits his departure. On the reverse of this vase, a man laments the leavetaking by covering his face with his cloak.[7] Similarly, the Boreas Painter[8] depicts Neoptolemos leaving for the Trojan War; he stands with his spear tip against the ground, while Odysseus prepares to walk away, his two spears held against his shoulder. The spear that our warrior holds appears to taper to a point above his hand; the traveller holds his spears by the butts, thus with the points on the ground. I had, therefore, initially concluded that the warrior has just returned and the traveller prepares to depart.

However, an extensive survey of armed figures at rest failed to support this preliminary conclusion. In the archaic period (in both black and red-figured vases), warriors at rest often hold the spear in the upright position, whether in scenes of military preparedness or of obviously relaxed situations.[9] The first examples in red-figure of the spear point resting on the ground seem to occur in the early classical period; work by Hermonax[10] shows this position, as does the famous relief of the so-called Mourning Athena.[11] But it is not clear if these scenes are departures or returns. Vases by the Achilles Painter illustrate the difficulties. On his Oxford lekythos[12] a traveller carrying double spears in the upright position faces a young woman and shakes her hand. This could well be a return. But an amphora in Syracuse shows a similar youth, also with upright spears, turning away from a woman, clearly a departure. Warriors on an amphora in the British Museum and a lekythos in the Louvre are all undoubtedly leaving; they turn away from winged women, both with spears lowered. There seems to be no consistency.

The only discussion known to me about methods of holding the spear is by J.K. Anderson.[13] He has noted a change in the way of grasping of the spear between the archaic and classical periods, as shown in art. In the archaic period, the thrust of attacking warriors is generally over-

[4] See J.K. Anderson, *Military Practice and Theory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), pp. 25–26. He cites only four vases with warriors wearing the apron; it must have been a specific fifth-century fashion. His note 67 lists the four vases; one in particular, an amphora by the Kleophon Painter in Munich (*ARV*^{2} 1143, 2) shows a warrior very similar to ours (see his plate 9).

[5] As suggested in *Spina*, p. 58.

[6] Ferrara T 19 C VP, *ARV*^{2} 628, 1; *Para.* 399; *Spina*, pp. 46–47, pls. 50–51.

[7] See Pliny *Natural History* 35. 73, describing Timanthes' painting of Iphigenia: "Having represented all the onlookers . . . as plunged in sorrow and thus having exhausted every presentment of grief, he has veiled the face of her father for whom he had reserved no adequate expression." Translation by K. Jex-Blake, *The Elder Pliny* (Chicago, 1967), 117.

[8] Ferrara T 18 C VP, *ARV*^{2} 536, 4; *Para.* 384; *Spina*, pp. 31–33, pl. 18.

[9] E.g., the Exekias vase of Ajax and Achilleus, Vatican 344, J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1954), 145, no. 13 (hereafter cited as *ABV*) and *Para.* 60; Phrynos' work of "courting," Würzburg 241, *ABV*, 169, 5 and *Para.* 70. Both are conveniently illustrated in J. Boardman, *Athenian Black-Figured Vases* (London, 1974), figs. 100, 124.

[10] Madrid 11098, *ARV*^{2} 487, 57, illustrated in F. Johnson, "Late Vases of Hermonax," *AJA* 49 (1945), pp. 492–3, figs. 1–3.

[11] B. Ridgway, *Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1970), fig. 69.

[12] Oxford 1920.104, *ARV*^{2} 993, 94, "youth leaving home." See J.D. Beazley, "Master of the Achilles Amphora," *JHS* 34 (1914), pp. 179–226, for illustrations of this and the other three vases cited in the text: Syracuse 19859, *ARV*^{2} 990, 39, "Nike and youth"; London E 329, *ARV*^{2} 989, 33, "Youth and woman holding helmet, spear, and shield—Achilles and Thetis (?)"; Louvre G 444, *ARV*^{2} 993, 91, "Nike and warrior." The famous Vatican amphora name-piece, *ARV*^{2} 987, 1 and *Para.* 437 shows the spear head up; one senses that Achilleus is about to turn away as Briseis pours the libation on the other side of the vase. See Arias, Hirmer, and Shefton, *A Thousand Years of Greek Vase-Painting* (London, 1962), pl. 188.

hand, ". . . aiming over their own line of overlapping shields at the enemy's throat, or trying to pierce his shield by downward blow with the weight of the body behind it." It is this overhand grip that will put the spearhead on the ground when standing at ease; yet archaic warriors usually have the spear point raised, involving shifts of the grip to have the spear in the proper attack position.

In the fifth century, as armor became lighter, Anderson notes that the underhand grip becomes more popular, a grip that will place the spear butt on the ground when at ease, ". . . though the overarm blow was, of course, used at all periods."

Similarly, there is a difference in carrying spears when marching. For the overhand thrust, the spear must be carried point first, resting on the shoulder. If carried at the slope (as a rifle), Anderson notes three changes of grip would be needed to bring it into the proper position for an overhand blow. The slope position is easily reversed without hand changes for the underhand thrust.[14]

Anderson's discussion has made it clear that the downward position of the spearhead, appearing more frequently after 480 B.C. had no relevance for distinguishing between departure and return. It is simply a position of complete rest, since the spear is not in the correct placement for carrying at the slope or underhand grip. That many artists after mid-century, including the Peleus Painter, failed to depict the point of the spear clearly, indicates the relative lack of importance of its position.

Possibly the only way to distinguish between a returning or departing figure may be in the emotions displayed by other characters in the scene or by the position of the warrior's feet. Departing figures often have one foot placed frontally or turned away from the main activity.[15] On our vase, the traveller has one foot drawn frontally; one senses that he is in fact about to turn away from the warrior, who stands in complete profile and at greater ease. It may in fact be true that the warrior has just returned and the traveller must depart. I might add, as a last word on this dilemma, that most of these scenes are probably departures, inspired by the military events of the fifth century B.C. Although there are a good number in the late archaic period, the scenes increase greatly in the early classical period and seem to reach their greatest popularity around mid-century and in the third quarter.[16]

[13] J.K. Anderson, *op. cit.* chap. 5, especially pp. 87–92. The quotations given here are found on p. 88.

[14] *Ibid.*, pl. 4A for the slope position and pl. 4B for the forward position of the spearhead.

[15] See the Spina vases by the Chicago and Boreas Painters, discussed above.

[16] The following presents some preliminary statistics on the popularity of the scene, culled from *ARV*² and *Para.* listings of "warrior leaving home" or a mythological departure. It does not include "youth leaving home," scenes of arming, or departing horsemen. The first number refers to the *ARV*² or *Para.* page number; after which are the vase numbers in the *ARV*² list. I also give the total number of vases attributed to the painter, not including "near to" or "manner of." Many attributed vases have unidentifiable subjects due to fragmentary conditions; the statistics are therefore often misleading.

Kleophrades Painter: 113 vases. *ARV*² 181 ff., 1631–33; *Para.* 340–1. nos. 1, 48, 54, 63 (with two scenes).

Berlin Painter: 282 vases. *ARV*² 196 ff., 1633 ff., 1700–01; *Para.* 3. nos. 27, 29, 41, 62, 72, 94, 141, 147.

Altamura Painter: 94 vases. *ARV*² 589 ff., 1660–01, 1706; *Para.* 393–94, nos. 33bis, 37, 53, 68, 69.

Niobid Painter: 122 vases. *ARV*² 598 ff., 1661, 1701–02; *Para.* 394–95. nos. 6, 8, 12, 17, 25^{4}, 35, 36, 48, 55, 56, 60, 61bis, 63, 64, 70.

Achilles Painter: 127 vases (red-figure only). *ARV*² 986 ff., 1676–77; *Para.* 437–39. nos. 1, 20, 54, 65, 105.

Hector Painter: 15 vases. *ARV*² 1035 ff., 1679; *Para.* 443. nos. 1, 2, 3, 7.

Kleophon Painter: 71 vases. *ARV*² 1143 ff., 1684; *Para.* 455–57. nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 15, 28, 37, 44.

Dinos Painter: 47 vases. *ARV*² 1151 ff., 1685; *Para.* 457. nos. 11, 17.

Shuvalov Painter: 80 vases. *ARV*² 1206 ff., 1687, 1704; *Para.* 463. no. 55 only (although there are a number of "youths leaving home").

In the late fifth century, the scene vanishes from large pots: the Meidias Painter (and his manner), the Nikias Painter, the Pronomos Painter (and related vases) do not paint the scene. It was never a very popular subject for cup painters, although "youths leaving home" seems to become a very popular subject in the sub-Meidian cup group, as with the Painter of London E 106 (*ARV*² 1391, 1692, 1701; *Para.* 487). It becomes as conventional as the standing youths on reverse sides of larger pots. One wonders whether the vicissitudes of war account for the loss of popularity of the warrior departure scene; in the worsening situation of the late fifth century B.C., it was no longer a noble theme.

T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron* (London, 1972), does not discuss this scene, although he does catalogue horsemen (chap. 14) and cites a few of the vases listed above in chapter 16, pp. 222–23.

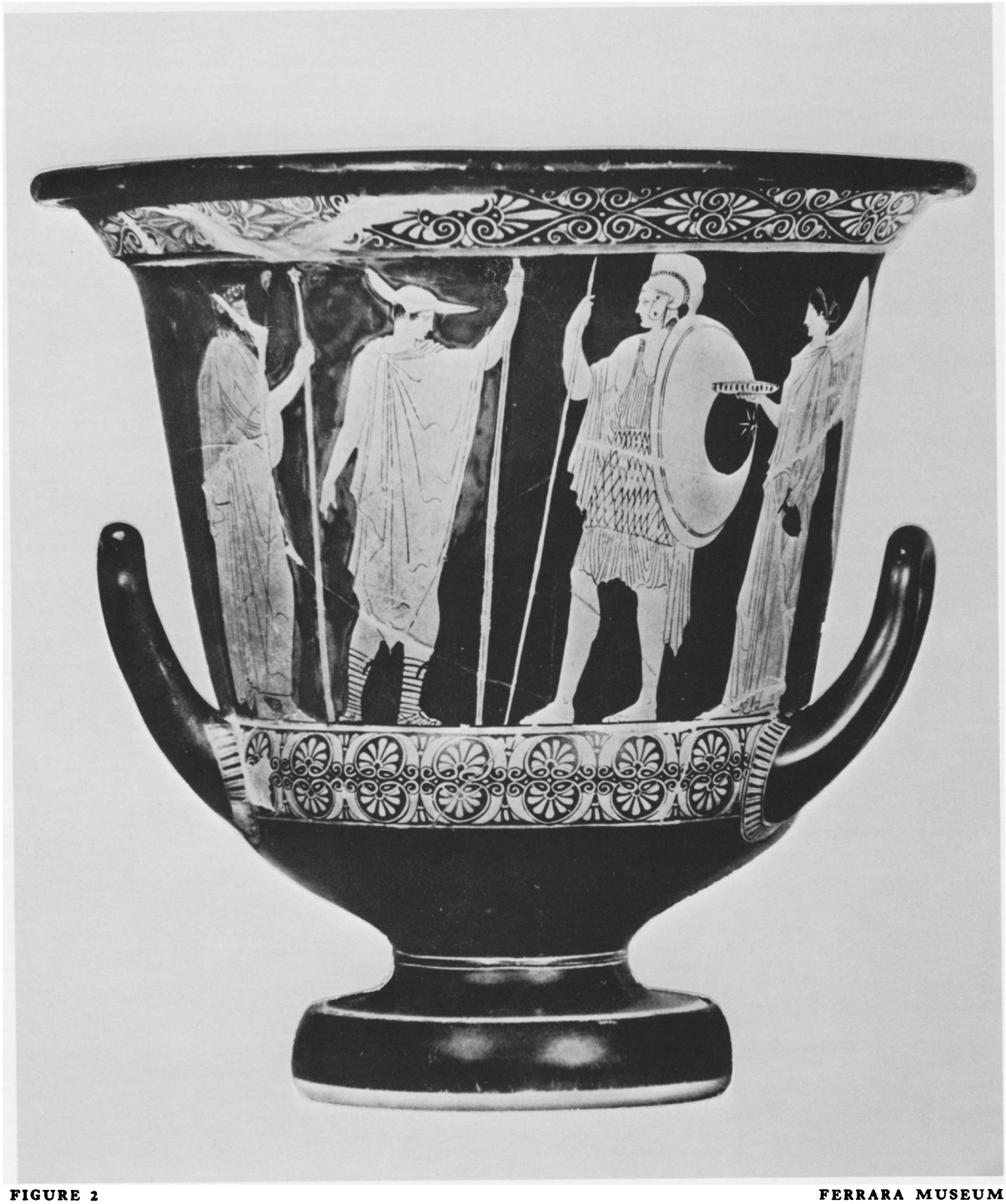

FIGURE 2 **FERRARA MUSEUM**

Peleus Painter
Departure of a warrior (?)

FIGURE 3 FERRARA MUSEUM

Peleus Painter
Wedding of Peleus and Thetis (detail)

This rather long digression has not helped clarify the scene. One is tempted to identify the two figures as Achilleus the soldier, in keeping with the subject of the obverse, and Theseus the traveller.[17] But there is no need to unite the two sides of the vase thematically; the Peleus Painter rarely does so. Nor do I know if the two heroes met, although they both had adventures on Skyros. There is a generation gap, Theseus being older. It is conceivable that the scene alludes to an historical event: the celebration of a military victory (the returning soldier) and the establishment of a colony on the acquired land (the departing traveller). The youths may in fact be eponymous heroes of the Attic tribes. There are strong similarities between these figures and eponymous heroes (so labelled) on a contemporary vase by the Dinos Painter in Syracuse.[18] The latter shows at the left Akamas, with scepter, wreath and beard, closely resembling our left figure; he watches an armed Pandion pouring an offering, assisted by a young woman. At the

right, Oineus, dressed as a traveller with double spears, shakes hands with a second woman. The myriad scenes of departures (or returns) on vases of the fifth century, whether of eponymous heroes, mythological figures, or unnamed mortals, surely are quiet depictions of the many farewells of Athenian soldiers.

There is no doubt about the identity of the protagonists in the wedding procession of the main scene, for their names are written on the vase. At the extreme left, Hermes holds the restive horses (fig. 3). Behind the steeds, Hekate runs to the right with two torches to light the way for the evening procession.[19] Slightly to the right of the middle of the vase, Apollo, in long musician's robes, holds his kithara and extends a patera to Thetis, the bride, already in the chariot. Eros flies to crown her (fig. 4), but her gaze is directed at Apollo. She holds out her veil in the traditional bridal gesture and rests her left hand against her breast (fig. 5). The groom, Peleus, turns away from her as he steps into the chariot and looks back at Aphrodite who crowns him. Although the final three figures, turning away from each other, do not form an integral group, they are visually joined by the artist. He deliberately gave the women similar clothing: stephane, veiled head, wide black borders of cloak or dress, echoed in slightly thinner black lines on the border of Peleus' cloak.

The visual interest procedes from left to right. Hermes stands unobtrusively, closing the scene. By her diagonal movement, Hekate pulls our eyes to the two main areas of interest: the glance between Apollo and Thetis, the movement linking Peleus and Aphrodite. The artist has consciously split the bridal couple and thereby introduced two separate confrontations. One notes, however, that Aphrodite does not look at Peleus but at the wreath she is placing on his head. In contrast, the visual contact between Apollo and Thetis is very strong, despite the intervening figure of Eros. There is great tension between the god and the bride.

This is not a new theme in vase painting. There are a number of black- and red-figured vases depicting this mythological wedding, identified by the inclusion of divine, not mortal attendants. The black-figured vases have been studied by Heidenreich.[20] Of all the vases listed by Brommer for Peleus and Thetis ". . . als Hochzeitspaar . . ." only five are certain through dipinti.[21] Although it is likely that many of the works so designated by Brommer do show the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, we cannot be positive.

Webster has noted a change in the shapes of vases showing weddings of mortals.[22] Before 480 B.C. the shapes are predominately hydriai and the bridegroom. After 480, lebetes gamikoi and amphorai,[23] perhaps given as symposia gifts for loutrophoroi are preferred. The change may denote a different wedding custom. It is interesting to note that, of the red-figured vases possibly showing the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, only

[17] Arias in the *CVA* publication (*supra* note 1) identified the figures as Peleus (left), Achilleus, and Nike. The traveller is not named.

[18] Syracuse 30747, *ARV*² 1153, 17. Discussed by J.D. Beazley, "Some Inscriptions on Vases," *AJA* 39 (1935), p. 487.

[19] For the Athenian wedding, see M. Bieber, "Eros and Dionysos on Kerch Vases," *Hesperia*, supplementary vol. 8 (1949), pp. 31–38, especially pp. 32–33.

[20] M. Heidenreich, "Zur frühen attischen Bildschöpfung der Peleushochzeit," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 5, (Munich, 1952), 134–140.

[21] F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage* (Marburg, 1973), pp. 318–320. The red-figure vases in his list are as follows:

B1: Euphronios, Acropolis 176, *ARV*² 17, 18.

B2: possibly the Kleophrades Painter, Leipzig T 3840, *ARV*², 193 top.

B3: Syleus Painter, Louvre G 226, *ARV*² 250, 15.

B4: manner of the Alkimachos Painter, Acropolis, *ARV*², 534, 11.

B5: early mannerist, Athens NM 1172, *ARV*² 585, 33.

B6: Amphitrite Painter, Berlin 2530, *ARV*² 831, 20.

B7: Wedding Painter, Louvre L 55, *ARV*² 924, 33; *Para.* 431.

B8: the vase under discussion, Peleus Painter.

B9: manner of the Dinos Painter, Athens fragment, *ARV*² 1155, 1.

Space precludes a full discussion of them. I have seen illustrations of all but the two unnumbered Athens pieces, B4, B9.

Of the nine vases, the Peleus Painter's krater is far more dramatic than the rather ordinary processions rendered by the other painters.

[22] T.B.L. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 106. He does not include mythological weddings in his discussion.

[23] Brommer, *op. cit.* A 1–6 (black-figure) and nos. 4–6 of the black-figure examples on p. 319 are amphorai or hydriai.

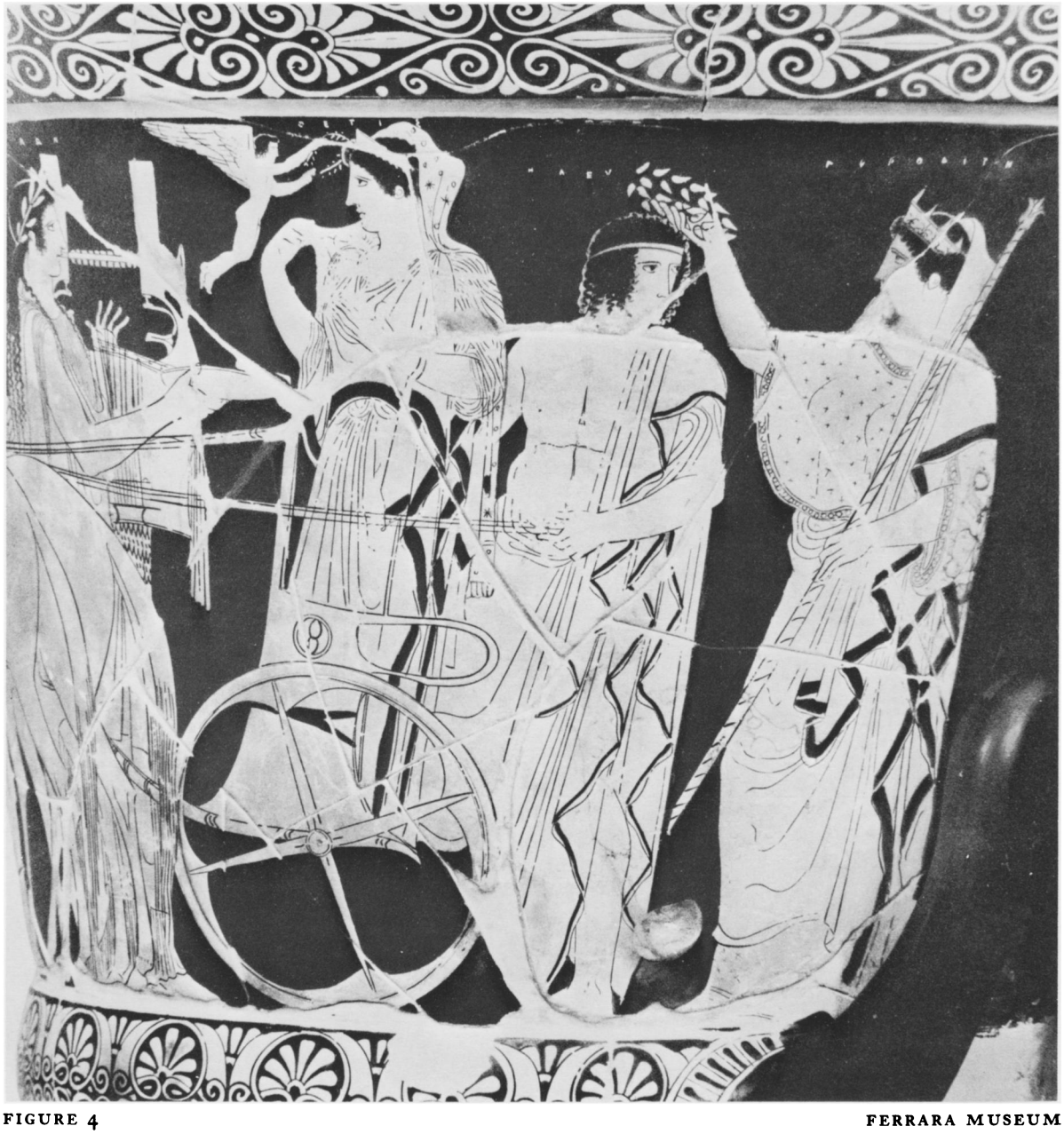

FIGURE 4 FERRARA MUSEUM

Peleus Painter
Wedding of Peleus and Thetis (detail)

two are specifically wedding shapes:[24] B4 a loutrophoros, and B5 a lebes gamikos; B7 a pyxis, would also be appropriate for a woman. The rest are cups and skyphoi (B1, B2, B6), a pelike (B3), kraters (B8, B9). Depiction of the scene on a non-wedding shape might add to the probability of its being mythological and not genre.

The specific arrangements of the scene vary. The *epaulia* of the François vase is not found in red-figure; rather it is the *pompe*, the leading of

the bride by night to the groom's house, that is the preferred setting. The bride and groom may be on foot without a chariot (B3, B5, B6, B7 and possibly Akropolis 732 by the Berlin Painter);[25] the groom may be leading the bride to the chariot (B1); the groom may be mounting the chariot with the bride already in it (B4, B8—our vase); or, as in a number of black-figured examples, both may be in the chariot (B9). B2 is too fragmentary to ascertain the specific arrangement. The numbers of attendants may vary from four or more (B1, B7, B8) to just one or two (B3, B4). The vases do not seem to show any chronological consistency in the number of figures or moment chosen. B9, one of the latest extant examples, in the manner of the Dinos Painter, repeats the later black-figured scheme with the bridal couple in the chariot.[26]

Boardman has discussed the presence of the gods as attendants at mythological weddings: "Many scenes we may regard as already secularized, as of a mortal couple, and identify the figures of the Gods as those of mortal guests and attendants; thus Hermes the *προηγητής*, Artemis holding torches as the mother of the bride or groom, lyre-playing Apollo the accompanist to the marriage hymn, Dionysos a satisfied father-in-law."[27] Thus the roles of the attendants on our vase are well within the general iconography, and yet their placement and interaction transcend their usual attendant guises.

In the scene, the most dramatic group is Apollo and Thetis. Apollo holds out the patera for the libation before departure and strums his kithara for the hymn. Thetis, perhaps caught by his words, touches her breast, a gesture we may interpret as one of hesitation or even fear. It appears in other scenes as the bride is led away,[28] indicating apprehension about her new life. But here it is a response to Apollo, not Peleus. Does Thetis have a fearful hint of the future, of the tragedy which will come of this marriage?

Peleus turns to Aphrodite, he sees nothing of what transpires between his bride and Apollo. Honored by the gods as was no other mortal, he senses nothing of future problems. Yet it is Aphrodite who crowns him, the goddess who will ultimately cause the death of his son by her conspiracy with Paris. Hermes, patiently waiting to lead the horses, reminds us of how he will lead the goddesses, including Aphrodite, to Paris.

In the opening of the first play of Aeschylus' Ajax tetralogy, the Ὅπλων Κρίσις, Thetis mourns the death of her son, Achilleus, by Apollo's hand:

> Boding good fortune for my child, long life
> From sickness free, in all things blest by heaven,
> His song, so crowned with triumph cheered my heart.
> I thought those lips divine, with prophecy
> Instinct, could never lie. But he, this guest,
> Whose voice so rang with promise at the feast,
> Even he has slain my son.[29]

The work is not dated, but must have appeared at least thirty years before this vase was painted. The bitter lament that Thetis voices against the treacherous words and false promises could have been the inspiration for this vase. Thetis' gesture of hand on breast, an instinctive and fearful reaction to Apollo's song, links the scene to the earlier Aeschylean lament.

With this literary fragment as the basis, we can begin to comprehend why Hermes and Aphrodite frame the scene, why the bridal couple are unaware of each other but turn to Apollo and Aphrodite. Even the unique substitution of Hekate for Artemis is revealing. Kraus has noted that this is the only instance of her inclusion in the Peleus story, perhaps as a wedding goddess.[30]

[24] For purposes of brevity I shall refer to the Brommer number (B) *supra* note 21, in the ensuing discussion.

[25] Acropolis 732 fragments, *ARV*² 205, 119.

[26] A similar scheme is used for many mythological weddings: Zeus and Hera, Herakles and Hebe, in later Attic black-figure. Without dipinti, it is very difficult to distinguish between the different weddings.

[27] J. Boardman, "Pottery from Eretria," *BSA* 47 (1952), p. 34.

[28] See G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin 1965), p. 63, fig. 29, a loutrophoros in Athens by the Washing Painter (*ARV*² 1127, 14). Neumann does not discuss the gesture.

[29] Plato, *Republic* 383, trans. F. Cornford (New York, 1963), p. 75. J. Mette, *Die Fragmente der Tragödien des Aischylos* (Berlin, 1959), no. 284, pp. 102–103; *Der verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin, 1963), pp. 121–127.

FIGURE 5 FERRARA MUSEUM

Peleus Painter
Wedding of Peleus and Thetis (detail)

But the description of Hekate in Hesiod is more enlightening. She is a nourisher of the young, a *kourotrophos*; she bestows favors on men who honor her, but she may just as easily take those favors away.[31] These qualities explain her presence on the vase as an omen of the reversal of fortune, underscoring the ironic presence of Hermes and Aphrodite.

The vase cannot be a direct result of the Aeschylean lament, for we have no indication from Thetis' words that she sensed any treachery when Apollo sang to her. Hers is a bitter lament from hindsight. But her words became, perhaps, a catalyst for another artist to create a new interpretation of the story: Thetis filled with foreboding during Apollo's song; Hekate, Hermes, Aphrodite included in the wedding procession as customary, but carefully placed to accentuate the future tragedy and conflict.

I do not believe that the Peleus Painter was capable of creating such visual drama. Since the scene is not typical of his work, it may be dependent on a larger model, conceivably a painting by Polygnotos or one of his contemporaries. What little we know of Polygnotan painting stresses the power of gesture and interrelationships of figures, from which the dramatic content stems.[32] Behind the Polygnotan *ethos* may lie Attic tragedy, whose power may have been not only in the narrative and language but also in the significant gestures and dramatic placement of figures on the stage.

This vase shows just such effective use of gestures and positioning, revealing not just the emotion of the moment, but also foretelling future events. The dramatic qualities of this scene stand apart from the generally low-keyed work of the Peleus Painter, better typified by the simpler composition of the reverse. Moreover, the crowding of the figures on the obverse suggests that there may have been a larger composition used as the model, one not successfully adapted to the area available on the krater. That this model may have been a wall painting, in turn inspired by an Attic tragedy, is not surprising within the interplay of the arts in fifth- and fourth-century Athens.[33]

[30] T. Kraus, *Hekate* (Heidelberg, 1960), pp. 93–94. He cites Kassandra's outcry to Hekate and Hymenos in the *Trojan Women* of Euripides as another marriage context (p. 89). In chapter 1 he also notes Hekate's connections with Apollo.

[31] Hesiod, *Theogony*, lines 411 ff. Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[32] See the discussion by E. Simon, "Polygnotan Painting and the Niobid Painter," *AJA* 67 (1963), pp. 43–62, especially her analysis of the Polygnotan *ethographia* of the Boston krater (Boston 33.56, *ARV*² 600, 12; *Para.* 395), showing Achilleus and Deidameia, pp. 57–59.

[33] As pointed out by T.B.L. Webster, *Art and Literature in Fourth Century Athens* (New York, 1969), p. 147. A work more directly connected with tragedy is the dramatic and moving Prokne and Itys by Alkamenes, probably commemorating the Sophoclean play of ca. 415. See S. Adam, *Technique of Greek Sculpture* (London, 1966), pp. 89–92.

Photo credits: figs. 1–5, Hirmer Fotoarchiv München.

Dionysos among the Nymphs in Athens and in Rome

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AMONG THE MANY CLASSICAL antiquities which have been long in the keeping of Dorothy Hill none is more impressive and few are more interesting than the Triumph Sarcophagus (fig. 1).[1] In its depiction of the birth, the infancy and the Indian Triumph of Dionysos there could be no better example of the narrative treatment of a classical Greek myth in Roman imperial art. Most scholars who have concerned themselves with the scenes on the sarcophagus agree that they must derive ultimately from Hellenistic prototypes. Hence it may be worthwhile to place alongside the Baltimore sarcophagus an Athenian work of the very beginning of the Hellenistic period which has in common with the sarcophagus the bringing of the infant Dionysos to the nymphs.

We need not linger over the tumultuous scene on the body of the sarcophagus which records a triumph of the god's maturity. We turn instead to the beginning of his life story as told on the front of the lid. The sequence runs from left to right and falls into three sections, two short and one long. In the first scene Semele expires. Smitten by the effulgence of her divine lover, Zeus, the mortal woman has given premature birth to Dionysos. The immature infant is held by one of the three female attendants who stand behind the couch. A female figure (Hera, Eileithyia, Harmonia?) rages offstage to the left, while Hermes waits at the right. The palace setting is suggested by the heavy curtain backdrop and the massive furniture.

The following section tells of the god's second birth. Hermes, on the left, has brought the infant to its father Zeus. Months pass, and now a female figure sews up the thigh of Zeus from which the infant has just emerged to be swaddled and carried off by Hermes. There is no indication of setting for this scene.

In the final scene the infant is being fondled and admired by the nymphs, four in number. A tree and rough ground on the extreme right suggest the sylvan habitat of the nymphs. Their constant companions are also present: Pan, a young satyr and an aged silen who moves toward the new arrival as though to present him with the huge thyrsos which he bears in his hands, for all the world like one of the Three Wise Men approaching another divine infant. It is this episode, the delivery of the infant Dionysos to the nymphs, that may be paralleled on the Athenian relief to which we now turn (fig. 2).[2]

Found in 1971 among the ruins of a large house on the north slope of the Areopagus, this relief had been dedicated in all probability in the cave sanctuary of Pan in the northwest shoulder of the Acropolis.[3] The deliberate mutilation of all the heads is due, no doubt, to Christian zeal. In its general scheme the newly found votive conforms to the type of the "nymphs reliefs" which were in vogue in Athens and Attica especially from the late fifth into the late fourth century B.C.[4]

[1] Inv. no. 23.31. Walters Art Gallery, *Handbook* (Baltimore, 1936), p. 40 (D.K. Hill); K. Lehmann and E.C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1942), 12–14; F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage*, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, vol. 4, part 2 (Berlin, 1968), no. 95, pp. 231–33. Studies of particular interest for the scenes on the lid: A. Greifenhagen, *RömMitt* 46 (1931), 27–43; G.M.A. Hanfmann, *AJA* 43 (1939), 229–39; E. Simon, *RömMitt* 69 (1962), pp. 145–55. I am indebted to the Walters Art Gallery for permission to use the photograph in figure 1.

[2] Agora Inv. I 7154. Pentelic marble. Height 0.645 m.; width at bottom 0.82 m.; thickness 0.235 m. T.L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 42 (1973), pp. 168–70, pl. 35c; *idem*, *Opuscula Romana*, Royal Swedish Institute in Rome, 9 (Lund, 1973) (hereafter: *Opus Rom* 9), pp. 183–91, fig. 1; *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavation and Museum* 3rd ed. (Athens, 1976), 193 f., fig. 100. I am grateful to the Agora Excavations for the photographs of the marble.

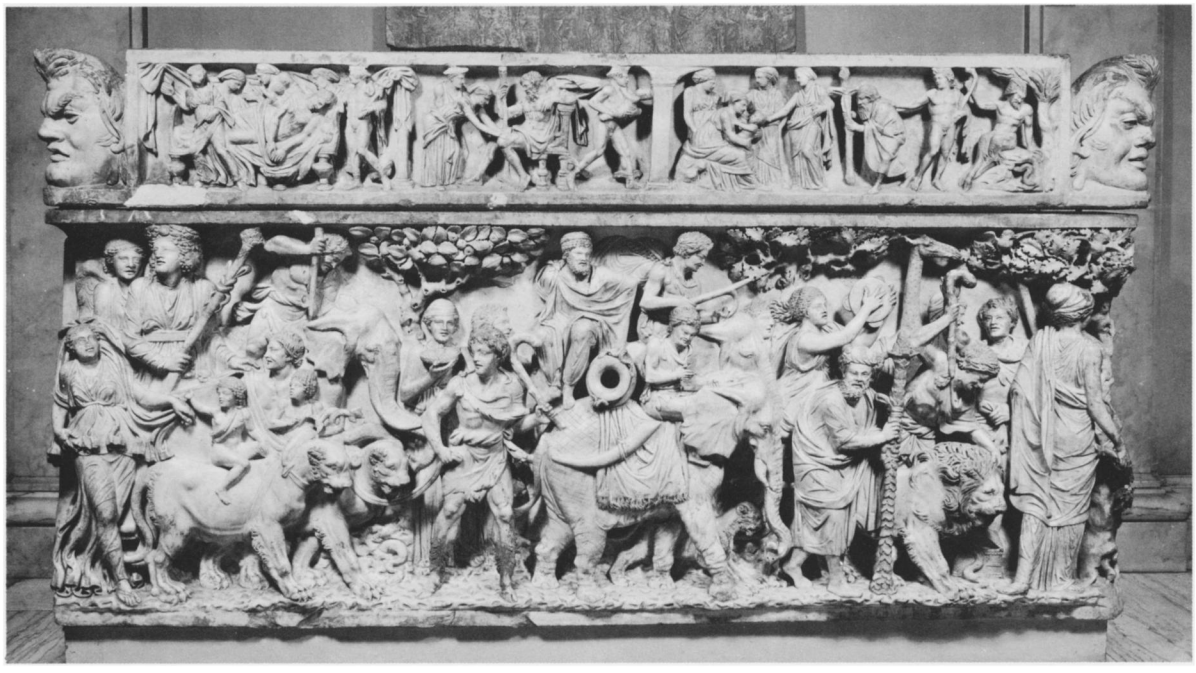

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Sarcophagus, Triumph of Dionysos, ca. 170–180 A.D.

We are looking into the mouth of a cave sanctuary. In the middle rises an altar formed of an outcropping of rock, around it a small level area for the convenience of worshippers or dancers. Some figures stand on the level ground; others sit casually on the irregular rock of the cave interior. The back of the marble is flat and roughly finished; on the underside, at its midpoint, are traces of a tenon. The atmosphere is sober, and one misses the playful little figures which commonly scramble around the mouth of the cave in the nymph reliefs.

The piece has been carefully described by T. Leslie Shear, Jr. in the first publication (see note 2) so that we may pass over most details and concentrate on certain aspects, particularly on the occasion for the gathering in the sanctuary and on the grounds for the selection of participants.

First, a word about the regular occupants of the shrine. They are all present, and they are all in the right-hand part of the cave (fig. 3). The three nymphs are unmistakable though they have no attributes but their youthful, well-draped figures; two stand, one is seated. The attention

[3] W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1931), pp. 301–4; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971), pp. 361, 417, figs. 536–39. One cannot be completely sure of the provenance of the relief since the nymphs were worshipped at various points on the slopes of the Acropolis wherever there were caves and trickling water. Cf. Shear, *Opus Rom* 9 (1973), 189. Another possible source is the Sanctuary of the Nymphs and Demos attested by a rock-cut inscription near the summit of the Hill of the Nymphs: Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 398; Travlos, *op. cit.*, p. 467; for the inscription: *Inscriptiones graecae*, editio minor, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin (hereafter: IG²), I, 854. This shrine appears to fall within the deme Melite, i.e., the deme of the donor of our relief, as we shall see below (p. 79), and the district in which he contributed to the embellishment of the Sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule. For another nymphs relief reported to come from the Hill of the Nymphs cf. *ibid.*, II, 4647; N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Theoleptos* (Marburg-Lahn, 1957), pp. 36–38, fig. 8.

[4] R. Feubel, "Die attischen Nymphenreliefs und ihre Vorbilder" (Diss. Heidelberg, 1935); U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs* (Berlin, 1960), pp. 58–63; W. Fuchs, *AthMitt* 77 (1962), 242–49. For discussion of the nymphs cf. *RE* 17:2 (1937), s.v. "Nymphai" (H. Herter); Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *op. cit.*; H. Sichtermann, *EAA* 5 (1963), 502–5 (with bibliography).

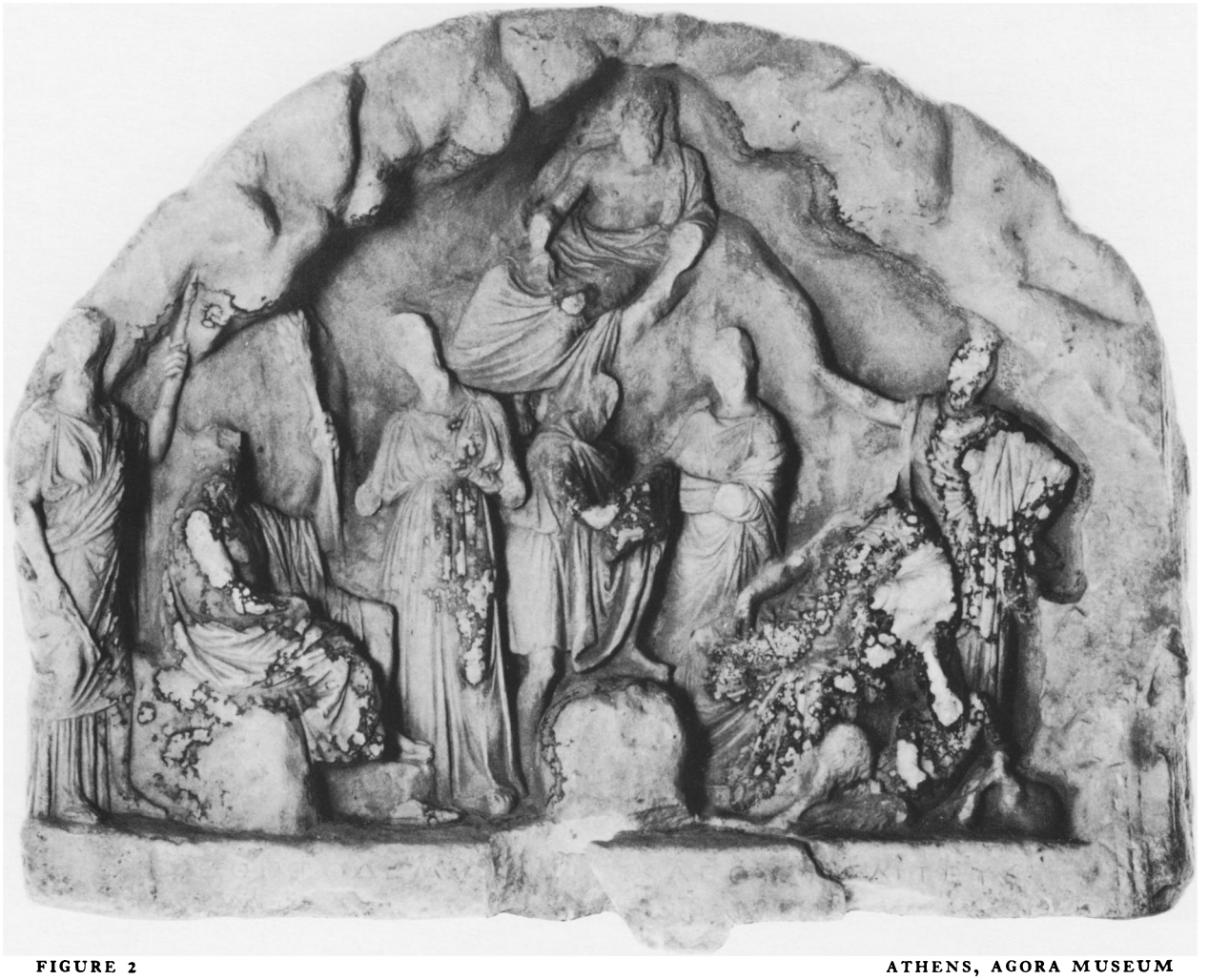

FIGURE 2 ATHENS, AGORA MUSEUM

Nymph relief, marble, 330–320 B.C.

of all three is concentrated on a happening at the altar. At the far right Pan squats on the floor filling his drinking mug from a wineskin. Breakage has reduced the mug to a very slight but unmistakable remnant of a kantharos.[5] Pan, as usual, feigns unconcern with what is going on at the altar. The river god, Acheloos, is also present as normally in the Attic nymph reliefs. His bearded head was worked in relief on the right-hand wall of the cave at the level of Pan's head but at much larger scale; most of the head has gone with the large flake broken from this wall.[6]

The group of nymphs is balanced in the left field by another compact group of three figures, one seated and two standing (fig. 4). Their slightly greater scale indicates superior rank, and their attributes in fact show them all to be major divinities. The identification of the two standing goddesses is immediately apparent. On the figure next to the altar one may just distinguish the trace of a quiver above the right shoulder; its

[5] For the shape of the kantharos cf. the Agathemeros relief from Mt. Penteli now in the Athens National Museum: Hausmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f., fig. 31; *AthMitt* 77 (1962), pl. 69,2. Since the order of the day is normally dancing, Pan is usually represented with the syrinx.

[6] These slight traces were overlooked in the first publication.

outline was probably once strengthened with paint.[7] A quiver strap crosses the chest diagonally. This must be Artemis. The outermost of the three divinities, a matronly figure, carries two stalks of wheat in her right hand; with her left she grasps a scepter of which only the upper part was modelled, the lower presumably painted.[8] This figure is surely Demeter. What of the seated male? His soft physique, long hair and drapery would be appropriate to either Dionysos or Apollo. The presence of the thyrsos held in the left hand would seem to favor Dionysos since Apollo normally carries a branch of laurel with openly spaced twigs. But closer examination reveals that the leaves in the compact head of the thyrsos are not of ivy, as would be proper to Dionysos, but of a shape characteristic of Apollo's laurel.[9] Add to this the attitude of Artemis toward this seated figure and one may be sure that he is Apollo.

With their identifications established we may venture to restore the missing attributes of Apollo and Artemis. The conjunction of the two divinities is that familiar in scenes of libation in which Artemis ministers to her brother. We may therefore restore a phiale in the broken right hand of Apollo, an oinochoe in the right hand of Artemis, probably a bow in her left hand.[10]

This brings us to the central figures (fig. 5). The youthful male clad in short chiton and chlamys with his left foot on the altar is familiar from innumerable nymph reliefs: he must surely be Hermes. In keeping with contemporary practice in such works he wears no wings, and he is so preoccupied with the burden he carries that he has had to lay aside his kerykeion. But what of that burden? Although both extremities have been deliberately mutilated, the shape, the scale, the way in which it is carried by Hermes and the way in which it is about to be received in the outstretched hands of the nymph leave no doubt that we have to do with an infant, surely the infant Dionysos. Despite its damaged condition we may envisage the figure as it appears on the Baltimore sarcophagus, i.e., with legs and body tightly wrapped, arms and head free.[11]

There remains the great seated figure over whose head the rim of the cave has been bent into the shape of a temple pediment (fig. 6). The type, of course, is that of Zeus, and his easy dominance of the distinguished company below leaves no room for doubt. The right hand rests idly in the lap. The left undoubtedly held an attribute, a thunderbolt or, more probably, a scepter, which also drew the attention of the mutilator. In view of the identification one can readily understand why this figure watches the transaction at the altar so intently.

One may recover the sequence of events that culminated in the scene in the Cave of Pan. Since Hera, quite naturally, would have nothing to do with her husband's child by her rival, Semele, Zeus was driven to make other arrangements for the new-born infant. Remembering that he him-

[7] Cf. P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik: Griechenland und Rom* (Stockholm, 1960), 83 ff. Color was certainly used on even modest reliefs of this period.

[8] In the first publication the objects in both hands were identified as wheat. Closer examination shows, however, that the object in the left hand has a single, pointed tip, and a shaft with the oblique stripes characteristic of scepters.

[9] In a contemporary votive relief from the Pythion at Ikaria the figure of Apollo is of virtually the same type as on the Agora relief, but the god holds in his raised left hand a loose bunch of laurel twigs, in his right a phiale: *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 5 (Boston, 1892), pp. 119 f., no. 11, pl. VII. 3; A. Boethius, *Die Pythais* (Uppsala, 1918), fig. 1. On the iconographic assimilation of Apollo and Dionysos in the fourth century cf. A.B. Cook, *Zeus* 2 (Cambridge, 1925), 243–67; H. Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle* (Paris, 1951), 182–90; G. Roux, *Delphes: son oracle et ses dieux* (Paris, 1976), 175–184.

[10] The restoration of the phiale is supported by the presence of the phiale in the relief from Ikaria (cf. previous note), as also in a nymph relief at Treviso in north Italy where the Apollo is of the same type as ours but facing left: M. Guarducci, *Annuario della Regia Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente*, 30–32, n.s. 14–15 (1952–1954), 184–89, fig. 2. On Apollo and Artemis in libation scenes cf. E. Simon *Opfernde Götter* (Berlin, 1953), pp. 14 f., pls. 1–4.

[11] Cf. the handling of infants on the grave stones of the fourth century, e.g. Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs* 1, nos. 276, 277 on pl. LXIV, no. 280 on pl. LXV: Chr. Clairmont, *Gravestone and Epigram* (Mainz, 1970), no. 51, pl. 24. See also G. van Hoorn, *De Vita atque Cultu Puerorum* (Amsterdam, 1909), figs. 13–16. In the first publication Hermes was regarded as performing a sacrifice at the altar.

FIGURE 3 ATHENS, AGORA MUSEUM

Nymph relief (detail of figure 2)

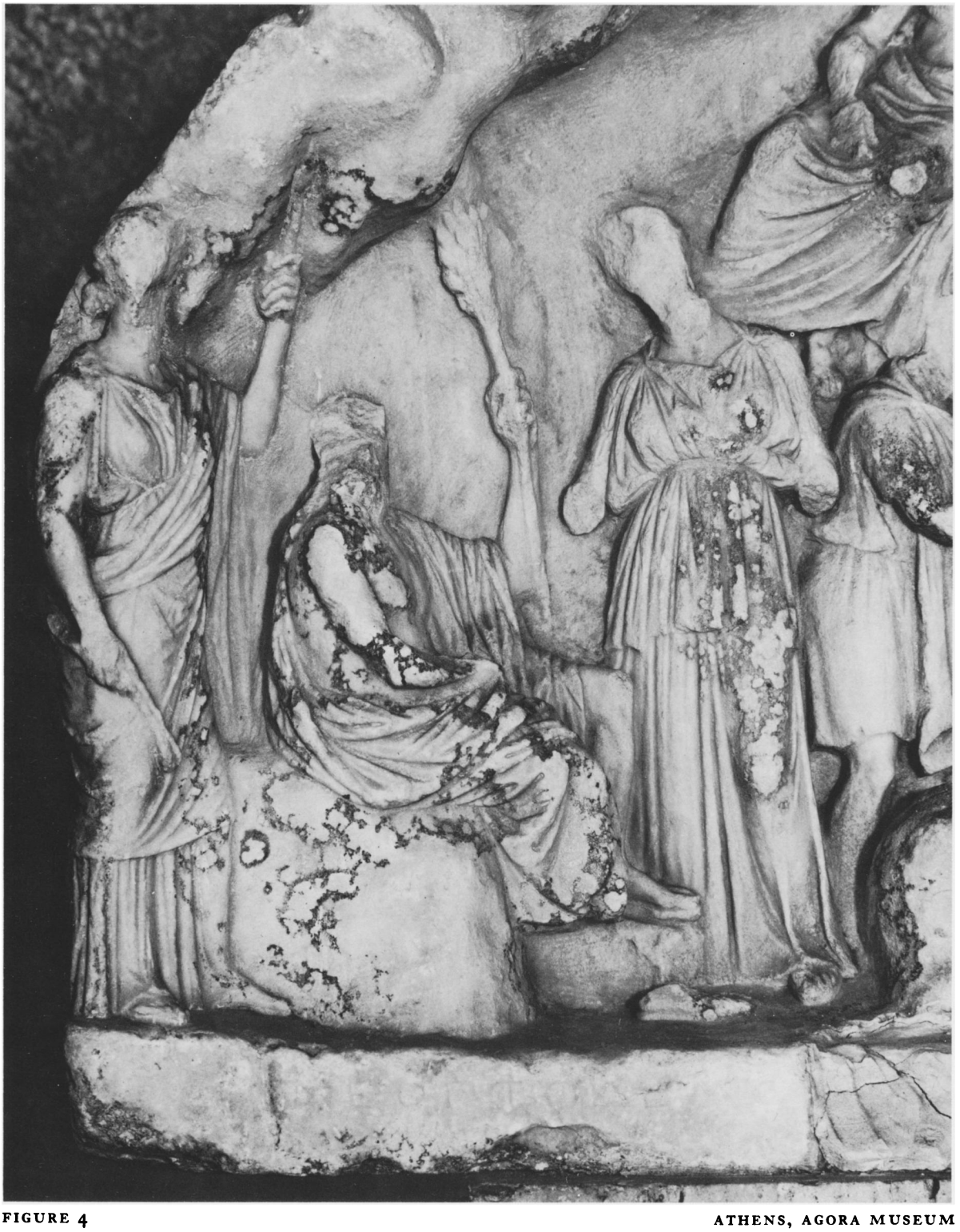

FIGURE 4 ATHENS, AGORA MUSEUM

Nymph relief (detail of figure 2)

self had been brought up by the nymphs, he directed Hermes to convey his latest offspring to those same helpful creatures who, competent in many things, ranked as professional nurses (*kourotrophoi*). Whether our artist conceived of a single or a double birth is not apparent; since he was designing a dedication to the nymphs he concentrated on that aspect of the story with which they were directly concerned.[12]

Before proceeding further with mythological implications we may pause to consider the dedicator and the date. The inscription, in now faint lettering on the fascia below the sculptured scene (fig. 2), gives us the name of the donor in the nominative case: Neoptolemos, son of Antikles of the deme Melite. This man, as Leslie Shear has shown, was a well known citizen active in the second half of the fourth century B.C.[13] Noted for his great wealth, probably derived from mining, he is interesting historically as a close and respected associate of Lykourgos in that statesman's effort to revive the glories of Athens in the period (338–326 B.C.) during which he controlled the finances of the city. Insofar as the written record goes, Neoptolemos in his good works appears to have concerned himself chiefly with the rehabilitation of old sanctuaries and old religious customs that had long been neglected. He was particularly attentive to Apollo and Artemis: gilding the altar of the new Temple of Apollo Patroos in the Agora; contributing generously to the sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule at the time of its reconstruction; sharing with Lykourgos and eight other well-to-do citizens in the conduct of an exceptionally splendid sacred mission (Pythais) to Apollo's shrine at Delphi probably in 326/5 B.C.

A date in the decade 330–320 B.C. would fit well with the known facts of the dedicator's career, and it has been plausibly suggested that our dedication may have followed on Neoptolemos' participation in the famous Pythais.[14] Such a date might also be supported by comparison with two familiar series of Athenian works, viz. the tombstones of the fourth century and the vase paintings in the so-called Kerch style. The two triads that flank the altar in our relief are very close in the relationship among the figures both physical and spiritual, as also in the successful suggestion of depth, to some of the great family groups on the tombstones which must date from the last couple of decades preceding the end of the series in ca. 317 B.C. There too one will find abundant parallels for the figure and the drapery style of our nymph relief.[15]

Turning to the vase paintings we find again that we are driven to exactly the same period, to Schefold's "Ripe Style" among the Kerch vases. Figure types and drapery are closely similar. There is much in common also in composition. One may note in particular the frequent occurrence in the vase paintings of isolated figures sitting in casual attitudes at a high level in the background but looking down on some happening at ground level in a way reminiscent of the Zeus in our relief.[16] The deployment of such

[12] On the iconography of the birth and infancy of Dionysos cf. H. Heydemann, *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* Winckelmannsprogramm, Halle, 10 (1885); H. Philippart, "Iconographie des 'Bachantes' d'Euripide," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 9 (1930), 5 ff.; B. Ashmole, *Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (Oxford, 1929), no. 248; A. Greifenhagen, *RömMitt* 46 (1931), 27–43; G.M.A. Hanfmann, *AJA* 43 (1939), 229–39; E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter*, pp. 48 f., 91–93; F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage* (see n. 1) part 3 (1969), pp. 343–59.

[13] *Opus Rom* 9 (1973), 190 f.; J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford, 1971), 399 f. For the cultural climate of Athens in this period cf. F.W. Mitchel, "Lykourgan Athens: 338–322," *Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple*, 2nd series (Cincinnati, 1970).

[14] T.L. Shear, Jr., *Opus Rom* 9, p. 191. The Agora relief is obviously very close in its figure types and drapery, both male and female, to the Mantineia slabs for which a date ca. 330–320 B.C. now seems acceptable. Cf. W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen* (Munich, 1969), p. 455, figs. 530–31.

[15] H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs* (Berlin, 1931), pls. 30, 32, 39.1, 42.1 and 2, 44, 45.1 and 2, 46, 47.

[16] K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen* (Berlin, 1930), 15 ff.; *idem*, *Untersuchungen zu den kertscher Vasen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), pp. 108–35. Typical is the familiar pelike from Pantikapaion now in Leningrad: A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* 2 (1909), pl. 70; Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, no. 368, pl. 35); *Antike Kunst* 9 (Basel, 1966), pp. 72–92, pls. 17–19. F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 33 (Berlin, 1974), pp. 66–78. Here again we have a picture of a divine birth in which Zeus is involved; this time Hera also is present, to the discomfiture of her spouse.

figures in both the vase painting and the relief is undoubtedly to be included among the various ways in which these minor works have been influenced by major painting.

In its repertory of figures our relief is unique among the scores of nymph reliefs known from the shrines of Attica. Most of the others show the nymphs in their (for Attica) most characteristic activity, viz. dancing around the altar with Hermes in the lead; in a few cases the nymphs are receiving adorants. Our sculptor was called upon to commemorate a very different and a more serious occasion: the reception of a new-born god. This accounts for the sober atmosphere. It explains also the presence of the major divinities invited as guests worthy of the occasion. Such receptions were traditionally celebrated by the pouring of libations at an altar,[17] and that is what is about to happen in our little sanctuary. On the side of the major divinities Apollo has been chosen to represent the group, and his phiale is being filled by his sister. "Below the salt" Pan has offered his services on behalf of the residents of the cave. He works with much more modest means than Apollo. He must pour the wine himself, not from an oinochoe into a phiale, but from a wineskin into an everyday drinking mug. All this is explicit in the scene, and yet it has been presented with so much sensitivity and skill as to avoid the appearance of caricature.[18]

This was not, of course, the first occasion on which the arrival of a newly born divinity had been commemorated in Athens by an assembly of major and minor divinities. The angular elevation of the cave mouth, unique among the nymph reliefs, and the central position of Zeus inevitably recall the most conspicuous of all such representations, viz. the east pediment of the Parthenon, especially in its form as restored recently by Evelyn Harrison.[19] Nor is it unlikely that the pediment was in the mind of our artist as he pondered how to do honor to another of the children of Zeus. He must also have had in mind sculptural treatments of other such scenes by Athenian artists: the birth of Pandora on the pedestal of the Athena Parthenos,[20] of Aphrodite on the pedestal of the Pheidian Zeus at Olympia,[21] perhaps of Erichthonios on the pedestal of the cult images in the Temple of Hephaistos in Athens.[22]

Such earlier models, however, could have had but a limited effect on the design of our relief, for it is impossible to conceive of a superimposed figure of Zeus in either a pediment or a frieze of the fifth century B.C. Nor is it much easier to envisage such a design in a classical painting whether a mural or a panel.[23] Why should we not grant our artist enough originality to have enabled him to combine a number of stock figures in a design that took account of the traditional formula for commemorating such occasions and at the same time satisfied the special needs of both sanctuary and donor?

The theme and the main lines of the composition having been established, how was the choice made of the outside divinities to be included? The tradition of representing only three nymphs virtually prescribed the same number within the balancing group. Our problem thus boils down to determining the reason for the choice of Apollo, Artemis and Demeter for the second group. It has been pointed out that all the divinities represented in our relief, i.e. Pan and the

[17] E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter*, 91–3.

[18] The birth of Athena is caricatured openly by the Painter of Tarquinia 707 on a red-figured hydria in the Bibliothèque nationale: E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 518; Beazley, *ARV*^{2}., 1112; Simon, *op. cit.*, 91 f.

[19] *AJA* 71 (1967), 27–58, pl. 22, fig. 30.

[20] Pausanias 1. 24, 7.

[21] *Idem*, 5. 11, 8.

[22] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 18. 12; S. Karouzou, *AthMitt* 69–70 (1954–1955), pp. 68–94.

[23] Pausanias (1. 20, 3) reports paintings of various episodes in the life of Dionysos in one of the two temples of the god near the theater. Although there is no mention of the god's birth or infancy one might suppose that Pausanias' list is incomplete. Supplementary excavations carried out in 1963 have shown that the new temple, which presumably contained the pictures, is not older than the middle of the fourth century—hence the paintings might be little older than our relief. But there is nothing to show a connection. Cf. P. Kalligas, *Deltion* 18 B 1 (1963), pp. 14 f.; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, p. 537.

FIGURE 5 ATHENS, AGORA MUSEUM

Nymph relief (detail of figure 2)

nymphs, Apollo, Artemis, Demeter and Zeus, had shrines on the slopes of the Acropolis so that the assembly might be regarded as a neighborhood gathering.[24] This may well have been taken into account by the designer. Nor can one overlook the special interest which the donor had shown repeatedly in Apollo and at least once in Artemis. It may also be significant that the years immediately preceding the making of our votive had witnessed much building activity in the sanctuaries of the three major divinities of the triad, as also of Dionysos. In the old sanctuary of Apollo Patroos on the west side of the Agora a new temple was erected.[25] At Delphi in these same years the new temple of Apollo was being completed.[26] The temple of Artemis Aristoboule built by Themistokles in the deme of Melite to the southwest of the Athenian Agora was rebuilt ca. 330 B.C., probably at the expense of Neoptolemos of Melite, the donor of our relief.[27] At this same time the great new porch designed by Philo for the Telesterion at Eleusis was under construction, while for the Eleusinion in Athens various building activities are recorded.[28] The sanctuary of Dionysos was transformed within the period of Lykourgos' administration: the theater begun by Perikles was completed, and a new temple was erected.[29] We may be sure that all these divinities were much in the minds of contemporary Athenians, and not least in the thoughts of the donor of our relief.

We are dealing, however, with a votive unusual in theme and obviously studied in its composition, as also with a donor much concerned with religious matters. We should therefore expect to find some deeper motivation for the choice of the attendant divinities. Nor is this hard to find. Closest of all the interrelations among the chosen divinities is that between Apollo and Dionysos. The principal temple in the oldest sanctuary of Dionysos in Attica, that at Ikaria, was sacred to Pythian Apollo.[30] Their intimacy is equally apparent at Delphi which, to quote Plutarch, belonged no less to Dionysos than to Apollo.[31] In Delphi Dionysos was recognized as master through the winter months, and there his tomb was shown within the temple of Apollo. In the fourth-century version of that temple Apollo appeared in the east pediment, Dionysos in the west, each with his followers; both pedimental groups, according to Pausanias, were by Athenian sculptors.[32] These and many other links between Dionysos and the Pythian Apollo must have been brought home to Neoptolemos on the occasion of the Pythais.

Artemis also was included with good reason, and not only because she was sister to Apollo. Already in the *Odyssey*[33] the nymphs join with Artemis in the chase, and they share with her a love of the wild. In her many-facetted nature she occasionally finds time for the care of small children. In an attractive terracotta of the late fifth century found in her sanctuary at Brauron the goddess appears with a small child in her arms, i.e. as *kourotrophos*.[34] Similarities in cult practice between Artemis and Dionysos have also

[24] T.L. Shear, Jr., *Opus Rom* 9 (1973), pp. 189 f. Miss Harrison in her study of the east pediment of the Parthenon (cf. note 19 above) emphasizes the congruity between the positions occupied by various divinities in the pediment and the location of their sanctuaries in the city.

[25] H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens*, The Athenian Agora 14 (Princeton, 1972), 137.

[26] G. Gruben, *Die Tempel der Griechen* (Munich, 1966), 75.

[27] J. Threpsiades and E. Vanderpool, *Deltion* 19 (1964), 26–36; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, 121–23.

[28] G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961), 133–35. For the work in the city Eleusinion cf. R.E. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, The Athenian Agora 3 (Princeton, 1957), no. 215 = *IG*² (*supra*, n. 3) II, 1672.

[29] J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, p. 537.

[30] *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 5, pp. 43–134; E. Kirsten and W. Kraiker, *Griechenlandkunde*⁴ (Heidelberg, 1962), pp. 177 f., 829.

[31] Plutarch, *De E apud Delphos* 9 (pp. 388F, 389B f.). On Dionysos at Delphi cf. A.B. Cook, *Zeus* 2:1 (Cambridge, 1925), pp. 233–267; G. Roux, *Delphes: son oracle et ses dieux*, pp. 175–84.

[32] Pausanias 10. 19, 3.

[33] *Odyssey* 6. 102 ff.

[34] P.G. Themelis, *Brauron: Guide to the Site and Museum* (Athens, 1971), p. 84. For the many aspects of Artemis' cult and ritual cf. E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (Munich, 1969), pp. 147–78.

FIGURE 6 ATHENS, AGORA MUSEUM

Nymph relief (detail of figure 2)

become apparent in Attica, notably Brauron, as well as in other parts of Greece.

Here in Athens one might have expected the triad to be completed by Leto, the mother. The outermost figure on our relief would in fact be perfectly suited to Leto were it not for the wheat in her right hand, which, in combination with the scepter, proclaims her as Demeter. The rather colorless Leto has been replaced by Demeter, but why? The relationship between Dionysos and Demeter has been much canvassed by scholars. It is held possible that he had been initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries, but it now seems proven that he did not share in the cult of Demeter and Kore.[35] On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Athenians frequently coupled Dionysos and Demeter in their thinking. They sit next to each other already in the east frieze of the Parthenon—a place where "protocol" appears to be significant.[36] Increasingly in the fourth century, especially in vase painting, the two appear not merely as members of assemblies of divinities but in such a way as to imply a special relationship.[37] In the absence of specific literary documentation it is perhaps prudent to attribute this in very general terms to a recognition of the approximately equal and tremendously important influence exercised by the two divinities in human affairs, the goddess providing the wheat that was literally essential to man's physical existence, the god through his wine rousing men to rise above humdrum existence, to take delight in song and dance and drama. Both divinities, moreover, had contact with the other world, and through their mysteries gave men a glimpse into an existence beyond normal human ken.

If we are right in our interpretation it is clear that the donor of our relief and his artist carefully selected as spectators of the event divinities who might be expected to give a cordial welcome to the new god, destined as he was to share with them in shaping the life of the city. Their choice of Apollo, Artemis and Demeter tells us something both of their own temperaments and of the religious climate of the time.

In conclusion we may return for a moment to our starting point, the sarcophagus in Baltimore. What is the relationship if any between the modest Athenian relief of the late classical period and the magnificent creation of the Roman imperial age? The two works are, of course, poles apart in their respective contexts. The one was designed to do honor to a god who was at the time reaching the zenith of his influence on the cultural life of the city state. The other, it seems, was conceived to illustrate the life of a god from whose mysteries the deceased might hope to find comfort in the afterworld. We have found no reason to believe in any direct art-historical relationship between the two reliefs. Nevertheless they have enough in common in figure types, drapery style and sequence of events to encourage those who would continue to seek prototypes for the Roman works as early as the end of the classical period. Evidently it was the warm human appeal of the myth that assured its age-long popularity.

[35] The negative view has been maintained most vigorously by George E. Mylonas: *ArchEph* 1960 (1965), pp. 68–118; *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, especially pp. 276–78.

[36] E.G. Pemberton, "The Gods of the East Frieze of the Parthenon," *AJA* 80 (1976), 113–24.

[37] The case for the special relationship has been presented repeatedly by H. Metzger: *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, École française d'Athènes 68–69 (Paris, 1944–45), pp. 323–39; *Les representations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle* (Paris, 1951), especially pp. 248–57. See also E. Simon's illuminating study, "Neue Deutung zweier eleusinischer Denkmäler des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *Antike Welt*, 9 (Feldmeilen, 1966), pp. 72–92. At Corinth in the second half of the fourth century B.C. Dionysos was prominent in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on the slopes of Acrocorinth: R.S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 37 (1968), 328–30; J.B. Fry in a paper delivered before the Archaeological Institute of America at its 78th General Meeting, New York, December 30, 1976.

A Bronze Statuette of Hermes in the Metropolitan Museum

By DIANA M. BUITRON

The Walters Art Gallery

AN EXCEPTIONALLY FINE bronze statuette of Hermes was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1971 (figs. 1–5).[1] This Hermes is remarkable for a number of reasons: the delicate treatment of the surface, the unusual stance requiring a three-quarter view, and the expressive face. Bronze statuettes of this general type are common, but the quality of craftsmanship evident in the Metropolitan Hermes sets it apart. The unusual features that contribute to the beauty of this statuette are the clues to dating it and to determining its prototype. I begin with a description of the bronze, in the hope that this beautiful new object from the ancient world will give pleasure to Dorothy Kent Hill.

The stance of the god is an extremely momentary one and implies a turn from left to right. The weight of the body is chiefly supported by the right leg, the left leg bent at the knee with only the toes touching the ground. The right hip is slightly higher than the left and is brought forward a little, while the bent left knee projects in front of the right. The torso is very slightly curved away from the right leg toward the left. What remains of the right arm is aligned with the right hip. The right forearm must have been slightly raised as there is no sign of any attachment along the right side of the body. The left shoulder, beneath the chlamys, is drawn back, the arm bent at the elbow. The missing forearm originally came forward and probably held a caduceus. Neck and head turn away from the drawn-back left shoulder; the head is turned to the right and front with a slight downward inclination. The figure is posed in a very subtle S-curve both in the lateral plane and in depth, with the result that the best view is not from the front—the three-quarter view from the viewer's left is the most pleasing, and the views from the right and back are also effective.

The simplified musculature is well modelled. The abdominal muscles are clearly indicated, although unemphatic, and the well modelled effect is attained primarily through a play of light and shadow. The result is a feeling of repose and easy motion. The slender proportions, the absence of plastically rendered pubic hair, and the unpronounced musculature stress the youthfulness of the figure. This youthful aspect is continued in the face where the planes of the cheeks are rounded and smooth, the brow low, and the lips slightly parted. The eyes, large for the face, were once inlaid—no trace of the material remains. The chin, which recedes very slightly, appears to have been patched. The hair is rendered in a series of irregularly placed short curls; the individual locks are indicated by shallow grooves. The curls grow up from the forehead and down in back to the nape of the neck. A laurel wreath is set on the head. Toward the front, just behind the wreath are set on either side a pair of grooves for the attachment of the separately cast wings.

The attributes still visible that identify the figure as Hermes are the wings attached to the ankles, and the chlamys. The wings, incised to indicate feathers, are strapped around the ankles and under the instep. The chlamys is fastened on

[1] Metropolitan Museum, acc. no. 1971.11.11; *Metropolitan Museum Annual Report* 1970–71), p. 19 (mentioned); *Notable Acquisitions 1965–75* (New York, 1976), p. 117, ill. The height is 29.1 centimeters. Missing are the right arm, the left wrist and hand, the wings in the hair, the inner wing of the right ankle and the big toe of the left foot. The patina is dark green and the entire surface is very smooth and in remarkably good condition. Traces of lead corrosion on the bottom of the right foot and on the toes of the left foot suggest that the statuette originally was soldered to a base. I should like to take this opportunity to thank Dietrich von Bothmer for permission to publish the Hermes.

FIGURE 1 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
Hermes, bronze, first century B.C.

the right shoulder by a round-headed pin from which hang two strings. The cloth is pulled away from the pin in front by the raised left elbow creating a series of tight diagonal folds. The excess material around the neck falls forward in a loose fold. In back, the material is pulled down from the right shoulder, the lower part gathered tightly under the elbow and wrapped around the forearm. The folds tightly stretched across the back reveal the form of the upper arm.

The way the chlamys is worn draped over one shoulder is typical of the late Hellenistic period.[2] A similar chlamys, completely preserved, is on the statuette of Hermes found in the Mahdia shipwreck, now in the Bardo Museum in Tunis.[3] The Mahdia Hermes was part of a cargo of marble and bronze sculptures that were being shipped from Athens, probably to Rome. The ship carrying the cargo was lost off the coast of North Africa, near Mahdia in Tunisia and was discovered by sponge fishermen in 1907. The pottery and lamps used by the crew provide a firm date for its last voyage: ca. 100 B.C., and give a *terminus ante quem* for the cargo. Most of the marble and bronze sculpture is thought to have been made in the second half of the second century B.C.; the statuette of Hermes is dated ca. 120 B.C.

In the Mahdia Hermes, the lower edge of the chlamys is pulled diagonally across the chest while the upper part forms a loose fold under the chin. The left forearm is preserved, and the lower part of the garment is wrapped around it and hangs loose. It is thus we must imagine the Metropolitan Hermes' chlamys to have been worn. Although the manner of draping the chlamys is the same on both statuettes, the tightly stretched folds of the Metropolitan Hermes reveal breast and shoulder in a more sensitive manner.[4]

[2] S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, 2,1 (Paris, 1908), pp. 149–63. See also A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik; Kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1893), p. 289; and H. Oehler, *Untersuchungen zu den männlichen römischen Mantelstatuen. Der Schulterbauschtypus* (Berlin, 1961), p. 27.

[3] W. Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia* (Tübingen, 1963), p. 20, no. 11, pl. 20. The similarity between the Metropolitan Hermes and the Mahdia Hermes was at once noted by D. von Bothmer.

In pose, the Mahdia Hermes is also similar to the Metropolitan Hermes, but a subtle tenseness and vigor animates the Mahdia statuette in contrast to the more languid and softer Metropolitan piece. The youthful body of the Metropolitan Hermes, with its slender proportions and gentle S-curve, moves in space in a somewhat more complex manner requiring a three-quarter view to understand it fully. The head, with its sweet face and gentle inclination suits the body well. The face of the Mahdia Hermes has been compared with the Hellenistic Ruler in the Terme, in Rome,[5] whose more mature face is matched by a more solidly constructed body, clearly understood in the front view.

The face of the Metropolitan Hermes can be compared with another bronze from the Mahdia shipwreck, the statue of a winged youth interpreted as Agon, the god of contests, possibly a work by Boëthos. The rounded cheeks, low brow, large eyes (once inlaid), and small mouth are all very similar. The eyebrows of Agon are lightly incised whereas Hermes' eyebrows are formed merely by a gentle ridge, and the hair of Agon is differently rendered. The date suggested for Agon is 130–120 B.C.[6]

The short, puffy locks of hair on the Metropolitan Hermes recall in general the hair of Hermes with the infant Dionysos in Olympia, thought by many to be an original fourth century B.C. work by Praxiteles. The hair on the bronze is treated in a more linear manner and lies closer to the head, but the conception of the hair as short individual locks is similar in both works. Other aspects of the Metropolitan Hermes relate it to Praxiteles: the restful forms, unemphatic musculature and grave expression recall the Hermes of Andros, a statue found on the tomb of a young man at Andros which is now in Athens. The use as a tomb statue, and the grave expression of the face suggest that this type may have represented Hermes Psychopompos—Hermes as the conductor of the souls of the dead to the underworld.[7]

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 20. Compare also the Veiled Dancer in the Metropolitan, acc. no. 1972.118.95, M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1961), figs. 378–79.

[5] Bieber, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–62, figs. 682–83 and 685.

[6] Fuchs, *op. cit.*, pp.12–14, pls. 1–8.

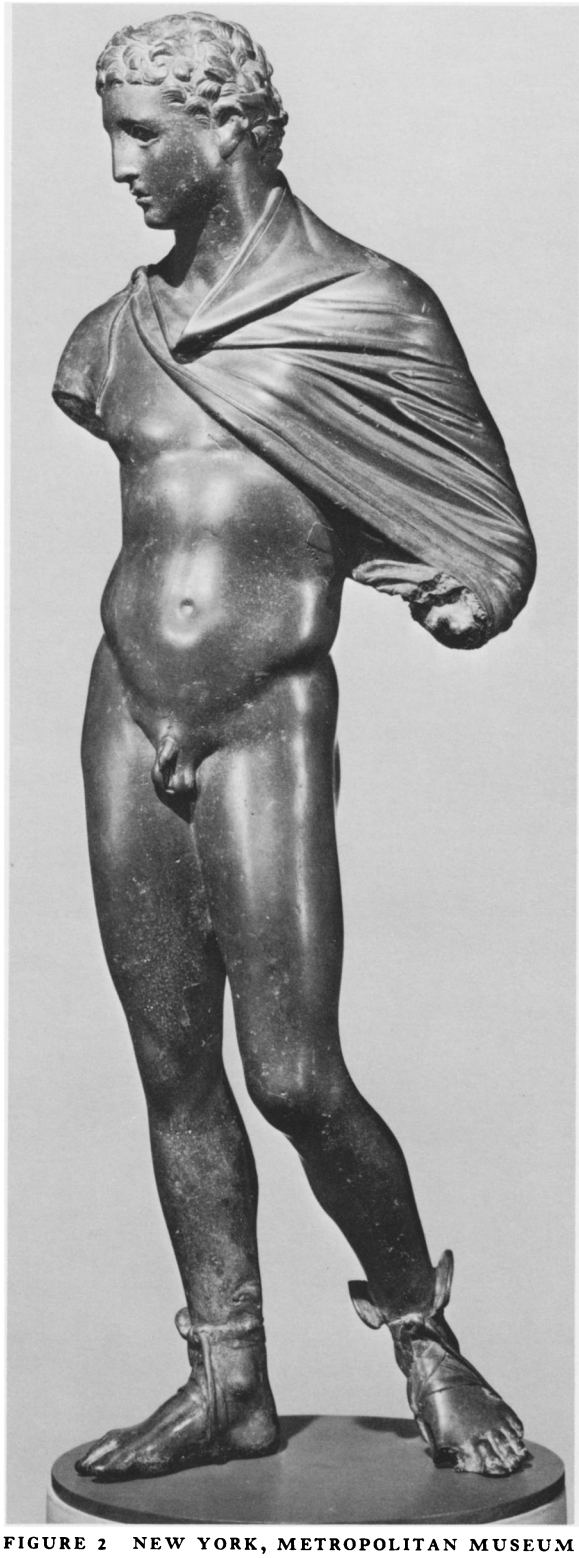

FIGURE 2 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
Hermes, bronze, first century B.C.

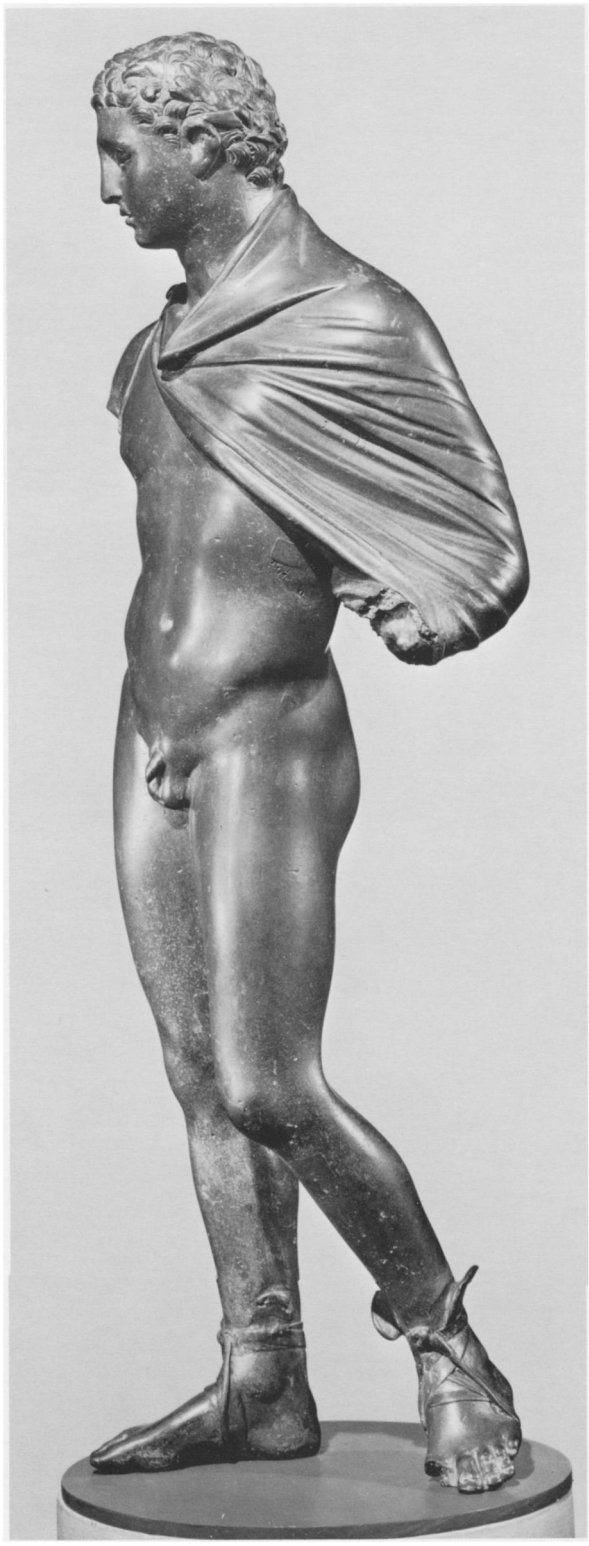

FIGURE 3 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
Hermes, bronze, first century B.C.

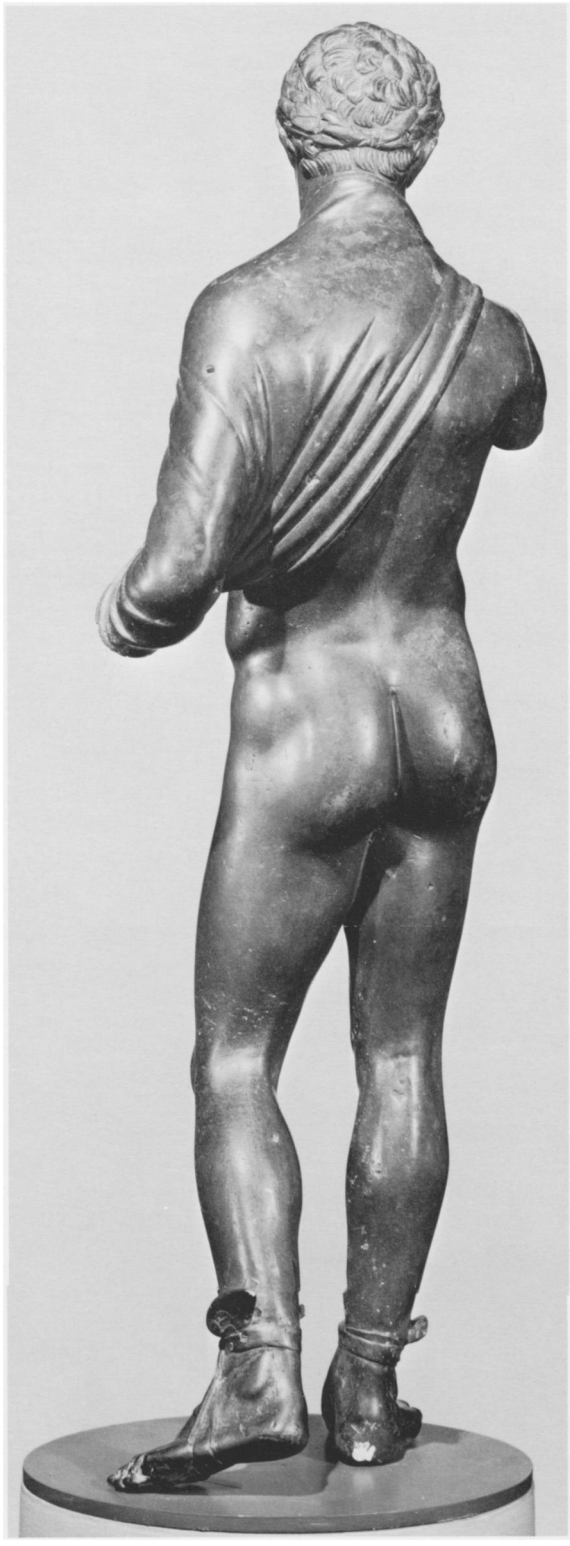

FIGURE 4 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
Hermes, bronze, first century B.C.

The slender proportions, three-quarter principal view, and sweet expression of the face of the Hermes in New York can be compared with the bronze youth in Florence known as the Idolino.[8] The Idolino which was long thought to be an original of the fifth century B.C. associated with Polykleitos on the basis of the head, is now generally accepted as a classicistic rather than classical work.[9] The date suggested is the first century B.C.—at the latest, the time of Augustus—a period when eclectic classicism flourished. The Idolino is typical of this trend in that the head recalls a classical work while the body, with its slender proportions and three-quarter principal view, cannot be considered classical. It has been shown that the Idolino belongs with a group of bronze youths used as candle-bearers, all with the same type of body, but with heads varying in style from Polykleitan to Hellenistic.[10] In comparison with the Metropolitan Hermes, the Idolino and the bronzes related to it exhibit even more relaxed poses, more flaccid muscles, and more slender bodies.

The Hermes in New York is also a product of eclectic classicism of the first century B.C. The statuette is classicistic in the sense that it seems to refer to an original of the fourth century B.C. but it is not a pastiche, copy, or direct quotation of a specific classical work. The details of the drapery, face and hair; the complex stance and three-quarter principal view are consistent with what we know of the late Hellenistic style of the first century B.C.

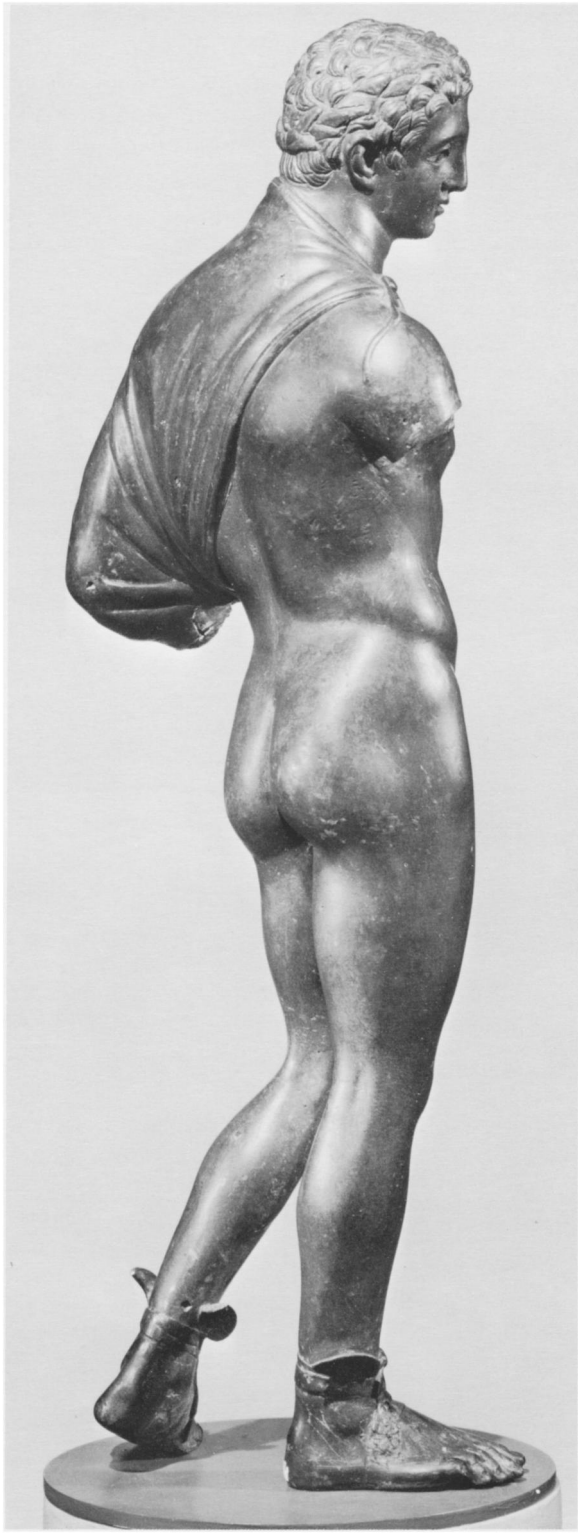

FIGURE 5 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
Hermes, bronze, first century B.C.

[7] Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 17, fig. 14; Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 338: Furtwängler believes the Hermes of Andros to be a replica of a work by Praxiteles although not entirely faithful to Praxiteles' style as it combines Lysippan elements.

[8] A. Rumpf, "Der Idolino," *Critica d'arte*, 4 (Florence, 1939), pp. 17–27. Rumpf was the first to call the Idolino and the bronzes he associated with it classicistic, and to suggest a date in the first century B.C. P. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen* (Mainz, 1974), pp. 30–32 dates the Idolino to the second half of the first century B.C., at the latest, to the Augustan period.

[9] On classicism in the first century B.C. see Rumpf, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.; Zanker, *op. cit.*, pp. XV–XX; and B. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1970), pp. 130 ff.

[10] Rumpf, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 ff.

It remains to consider the function of this statuette. Hermes had many roles in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods and might be represented as an orator, with his hand extended, or as a merchant, holding a moneybag, or as a guide in a funerary context. The youthfulness of this figure suggests that he is portrayed here as patron of the palaestra. The gravity of expression might imply a funerary reference and it is not unlikely that the two roles of Hermes are combined in this bronze. An epigram evokes the spirit in which such a statue might have been set up in the palaestra:

A. *Who set thee up, the beardless Hermes, by the starting point of the course?*
B. *Hermogenes.*
A. *Whose son?*
B. *Daimenes'.*
A. *From whence?*
B. *From Antioch.*
A. *Why did he honour thee?*
B. *As his helper in the race.*
A. *What race?*
B. *At Isthmus and Nemea.*
A. *He ran there, then?*
B. *Yes, and came in first.*
A. *Whom did he beat?*
B. *Nine other boys, and he flew as if he had my feet.*[11]

The specific use to which this statuette and others like it were put remains a question. It is appropriate to end here, for this is a problem to which Dorothy K. Hill has given some thought, and we hope to hear more on it from her.

[11] Dedicatory epigram from the Stephanus of Philippus, probably made in the reign of Augustus. *The Greek Anthology*, 6, 259, The Loeb Classical Library, 1, trans. W.R. Paton (London/New York, 1927), p. 439.

Photo credits: figs. 1–5, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The Wolf in the West

By EMELINE RICHARDSON

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

THERE IS A STORY in Pausanias (6.6) about a famous boxer from Locri, named Euthymus, who won victories at Olympia in the 74th, 76th and 77th Olympiads; his statue there was by Pythagoras and was "well worth seeing." On his return to Italy, Euthymus stopped at the city of Temesa which, Strabo tells us, was in Bruttium on the west coast of Italy, south of Laüs (6.1.5). There he heard a local tale of a Hero, a baleful ghost who had in his lifetime been a companion of Odysseus. When their ship was driven by adverse winds to Temesa this man got drunk and raped a girl of the Temesans; the citizens of the town thereupon stoned him to death. Odysseus, feeling that the brute was no loss, sailed away, but the ghost of the murdered man began to kill off the people of Temesa, and kept it up until at last they thought to ask Delphi what they could do about it. The priestess told them to build him a temple in a precinct of his own and to give him every year the prettiest girl in Temesa for his wife. This placated the ghost, and the sacrifice went on from year to year till Euthymus came to town. He happened to arrive just at the time when the girl of the year was to be given to the ghost. Euthymus was curious and wanted to have a look at her; he went to the temple and "when he saw her he was first touched with pity and then he fell in love with her, and the girl swore she would be his wife if he saved her." So Euthymus armed himself and lay in wait for the ghost, and so battered and belabored him that he drove him into the sea, and from that time the ghost was never seen again. Euthymus and the rescued damsel had a splendid wedding and lived happily ever after.

Pausanias says that he had seen a picture, a copy of an old painting, illustrating this tale. "There was a youth Sybaris, and a river Calabrus, and a spring Lyca, and the Hero's shrine and the city of Temesa, and the ghost that Euthymus drove away. The ghost was a horrible black color, his whole appearance most dreadful, and he wore a wolfskin. The writing on the picture gave him the name of Lycas."[1]

Strabo (6.1.5.) tells the same story of Euthymus and the ghost whose name, he says, was Polites, but he leaves out the romance and the wolfskin. It is a good European ghost story and is told in Iceland about the famous outlaw, Grettir the Strong and the ghost of Glam, the shepherd of Thorhall, son of Grim. Thorhall's lands were haunted by a fiend so that he had found it hard to get a shepherd to stay in his service. Glam was recommended to Thorhall, with reservations, and since he claimed he was not afraid of fiends—they would make the job less dull, he said—Thorhall hired him. But just the same the fiend killed Glam because Glam was a bad Christian and would not fast on Christmas Eve. Glam, in his lifetime, was stubborn and surly, "a big man with an extraordinary expression of countenance, large gray eyes and wolf-gray hair." When he was found dead "his

[1] This narrative is a paraphrase of Sir James Frazer's translation of Pausanias 6.6.3–4, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, translated with a commentary, vol. 1 (New York, 1965), pp. 291–2. One can speculate how old the old painting Pausanias saw may have been. The personifications of Sybaris, the river Craterus, and the spring Lyca, combined with the architecture of the Hero's shrine and the view of the city of Temesa sounds remarkably like the Third Style paintings of Perseus and Andromeda from the villa of Agrippa Posthumus at Boscotrecase and the house of the priest Amandus at Pompeii: P.H. von Blanckenhagen, C. Alexander, *The Paintings from Boscotrecase* (Heidelberg, 1962), pls. 44, 45, 55 fig. 2. The subject would lend itself nicely to a similar composition. Names of characters are not infrequently written on Roman paintings of the Second and Third Styles, for example, on the Odyssey Landscapes from the Esquiline: P.H. von Blanckenhagen, "The Odyssey Frieze," *RömMitt* 70 (1963), pls. 44, 45.

FIGURE 1 ST. LOUIS, CITY ART MUSEUM
Bronze disc from central Italy

body was as black as Hell and swollen to the size of an ox." His ghost tormented Thorhall's people, killing or driving away men and beasts; the person most attacked was Thorhall's young daughter, who at last died of it. In the end, Grettir fought with the ghost and killed it, "and they burned Glam to cold cinders, bound the ashes in a skin and buried them in a place far away from the haunts of man or beast."[2]

These black ghosts with their wolfish character are not werewolves—however unpleasant a werewolf may be, he seems always to be a living creature and usually has the power to return, at will or after some fixed interval, to his human shape. To be sure, the first werewolf, Lycaon, seems to have been transformed into a wolf for life, as a punishment for his impious sacrifice of a human baby at the annual festival of Lycaean Zeus.[3] From that time on, it was said, every year at that sacrifice some man became a wolf. But not necessarily for life: if he ate no human flesh during the time he was a wolf, he became a man again in the ninth year, but if he had tasted human flesh he remained a wolf forever (Pausanias 8.2.3–6). Pausanias says he is willing to believe

[2] *The Saga of Grettir the Strong*, trans. G.A. Hight (Everyman Library), chapters 32–35.
[3] G. Piccaluga, *Lykaon, un tema mitico* (Rome, 1968).

this nonsense if the Arcadians insist, but he refuses to believe that any such thing happened to the boxer Damarchus (6.8.2). Pliny (*Natural History* 8.34) says that the man was a wrestler and his name was Demainetus, and that after he had regained his human shape he won the wrestler's prize at Olympia, but he did not believe the story either.[4] There are many other tales of compulsory or voluntary werewolf-ism in Greece and Italy; the belief in werewolves, or werebeasts of some kind, seems to be almost universal.[5] But I have found no ancient authority that claims that werewolves were creatures of the world of the dead.[6] These ghost-wolves are something else.

In Greece the wolf is Apollo's creature, his enemy or his servant. Sophocles calls Apollo Lukios the Wolf-Slayer (*Electra* ll. 6–7),[7] and the temple of Apollo Lukios at Sicyon was built as a thank-offering to the god for the poison he provided against the wolves that were pestering the Sicyonians' flocks (Pausanias 2.9.7). On the other hand, the temple of Apollo Lukios at Argos was built as a thank-offering to Apollo by Danaus because the god had sent a wolf to the Argives as an omen that Danaus the stranger was to be their king (Pausanias 2.19.3–4). When Deucalion's flood overwhelmed Delphi, the city's inhabitants were led to safety on the peaks of Parnassus by the howling of wolves (Pausanias 10.6.2); again, at Delphi a wolf discovered and killed a thief who had stolen some of the god's treasure, and then managed to show the Delphians where the treasure was hidden. They, in gratitude, dedicated a bronze wolf to Apollo, setting it up near his great altar (Pausanias 10.14.4).

In many parts of Italy the wolf belongs to

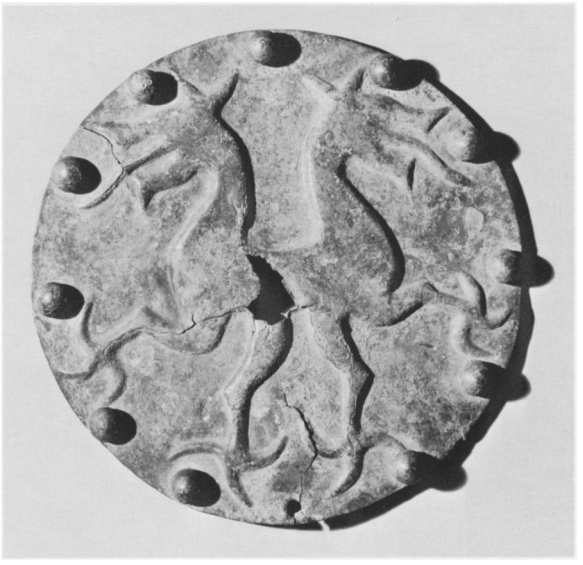

FIGURE 2 ST. LOUIS, CITY ART MUSEUM
Bronze disc from central Italy

Mars. Mars/Mamers was worshipped by the Samnites and Umbrians as well as by the Romans, as a war god, as a protector of a settlement's territory, and as patron of its territorial expansion by means of the old Italic *ver sacrum*.[8] The Mamertines of Campania took the god's name for their own while the Samnite Hirpini took the name of his creature, the wolf (*hirpus*) who had been their guide to their new home.[9]

Bronze discs found in several parts of central Italy are often decorated in low relief with the image of a fantastic monster with prick ears and snarling jaws, prancing on three-clawed feet (figs. 1, 2).[10] Sometimes his tail ends in a second snarling head, sometimes he is designed like Dr. Doolittle's "Pushmepullyu" with two heads and

[4] R.P. Eckels, *Greek Wolf Lore* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 33.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 34–36.

[6] Cf. however, R. Enking, "Volta," *RE*, IX A, 1, cols. 847–48; A.J. Pfiffig, *Religio Etrusca* (Graz, 1975), p. 315.

[7] Eckels, *op. cit.*, p. 60 and n. 52. According to Aristarchus (in Hesychius) Apollo is Lukios because, as a pastoral god, he protects the herds and therefore is the enemy and killer of wolves.

[8] G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, trans. Philip Krapp (Chicago/London, 1970), pp. 205–10, 228–36.

[9] Paulus Diaconus, *ex Festo*, p. 93 L: "Irpini appellati nomine lupi, quem irpum dicunt Samnites; eum enim ducem secuti agros occupavere." Strabo 5.4.2 and Servius on *Aeneid* 11, 785 also tell us that *hirpus* is Samnite for "wolf." L.R. Taylor, *Local Cults in Etruria*, American Academy in Rome, Papers and Monographs 2 (1923), p. 85 and n. 92. A. Alföldi, *Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates* (Heidelberg, 1974), p. 77.

[10] City Art Museum of St. Louis, nos. 52.22, 53.22. O.J. Brendel, "Three Archaic Bronze Discs from Italy," *AJA* 47 (1943), pp. 194–208; D.G. Mitten and S.F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes of the Classical World* (Greenwich, Conn., 1967), pp. 160–61, no. 158 B and C.

two foreparts joined together, back to back; sometimes these double monsters have secondary heads rising from their necks.[11] Such discs, fastened on breast and back by leather or bronze straps, were part of the defensive armor worn by the warriors of central Italy in the seventh and sixth centuries.[12] Surely the monster devices on these discs are images of Mars' creature the wolf, protecting the warriors who wear them and snarling defiance at their enemies.

To the Romans particularly, the wolf was Mars' creature. He might be sent as a messenger; when a wolf chased a doe into the enemy's ranks just before the battle of Sentinum in 295 B.C., and then turned back toward the Roman army, the portent was hailed as a promise of victory sent by Mars and Romulus (Livy 10.29).[13] He might bring bad news too. In 217 B.C. before the disastrous battle of Lake Trasimene, the statue of Mars on the Appian Way and his bronze wolves were seen to sweat (Livy 22.1.12).[14] The best known of the wolves of Mars, and the only she-wolf among them,[15] is the *lupa* who nursed his twin sons, Romulus and Remus.

Although the wolves of Mars are terrible as their master is, messengers of doom and dealers of death, they have no more to do with the world of ghosts than the wolves of Apollo have—except, perhaps, in one odd circumstance. In the country to which the Hirpini were led by the wolf there is a valley, Ampsanctus, where a volcanic spring of boiling mud still bubbles and sends off a poisonous vapor. Here was a temple to the goddess Mefitis, and this was the doorway to the underworld through which the Fury Alecto disappeared, relieving earth and heaven of her presence (Vergil, *Aeneid* 7. 563–571; *cf.* Pliny *Natural History* 2.95.207).

Another place that breathed out death had a much closer connection with wolves than the mud spring of Ampsanctus. Servius (on *Aeneid* 11.785) tells a story of the shepherds of Mt. Soracte whose sacrifice to Dis Pater was snatched from the fire of the altar by wolves. These the shepherds followed for a long distance and were brought to a cave from which a baneful air flowed, bringing pestilence among them because they had pursued the wolves. They found they could only avert the evil by living like wolves themselves. And so they were called *Hirpi Sorani*, the wolves of Soranus—that is to say, says Servius, *quasi lupi Ditis Patris*, for Soranus, the god of Soracte, is Dis Pater.

Soranus is otherwise identified with Apollo—"Summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo," says Vergil (*Aeneid* 11.785), and a dedication *sancto Sorano Apollini* has been found not far from Soracte in the territory of Falerii.[16] Apollo is, of course, a bringer of death in Greece—the dreadful clang of his silver bow is the overture to the *Iliad*. But in Greece he has nothing to do with the underworld. According to Erika Simon, this was not so in Italy; his laurel groves are painted on the walls of Etruscan tombs, and mingle there with the ivy of Dionysus who, even in Greece, was sometimes a god of the dead. The priests of Soranus on Soracte are wolves because the wolf is Apollo's creature, and the wolf becomes in Italy a creature of the underworld because Apollo there is a god of the dead.[17]

But I think perhaps the wolf came first: Soranus was a god of the underworld and the wolf was his creature; Soranus eventually became identified with Apollo because Apollo was a wolf-god too.

The wolf as a creature of the world of the dead was certainly a part of Etruscan belief,

[11] R. Paribeni, *MonAnt* 16 (1906), p. 332, pl. 2; A. Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia* (Rome, 1918), p. 354, no. 13637, from Capena. A pair in Göttingen, Archaeological Seminar, are illustrated by H. Mühlestein, *Die Kunst der Etrusker* (Berlin, 1929), figs. 150–51. Others in *Civiltà arcaica dei Sabini nella valle del Tevere* (Rome, 1973), p. 105, no. 187, pl. 22a; p. 107, no. 191, pl. 22b, again from Capena. A series of Samnite discs from Chieti and Alfidena are decorated with sinuous, two-headed creatures that look like demented, four-legged ducks: V. Cianfarani, *Antichi civiltà d'Abruzzo* (Rome, 1969), pp. 45–46, nos. 1–5, color plate A, plates 1–8.

[12] Brendel, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 10), p. 199, fig. 4. Cianfarani *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11), color plate B, plates 84, 85, 89–91; figs. 1–4 and fig. on p. 46.

[13] Dumézil, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8), p. 195.

[14] O.W. von Vacano, "Vulca, Rom und die Wölfin, Untersuchungen zur Kunst des frühen Rom," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 1:4 (Berlin, 1973), p. 555. Alföldi *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9), p. 74 and n. 27.

[15] Vacano, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 14), p. 555 and n. 157.

[16] Taylor, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9), pp. 83–85.

[17] E. Simon, "Die Tomba dei Tori und der etruskischen Apollonkult," *JdI* 88 (1973), pp. 27–42.

although no wolf-demons appear in the repertory of underworld creatures painted on the walls of Etruscan tombs. They do appear, however, carved on a certain number of Hellenistic ash urns from Perugia and Volterra, always in the same general scheme, though details vary.[18] In the center foreground a monster, sometimes a wolf, sometimes a wolf-headed man, once a young man with the paws of a wolf and a wolf's mask on his head, rises waist high from a cylindrical object, evidently a well-head. He has attacked and knocked to the ground some of the men who crowd around him while others are defending themselves from him with shields, swords, or stones. In some cases, someone has managed to put a rope around his neck; sometimes a stately, bearded figure holds a tilted patera over his head. The grim seriousness of the scene is underlined by the winged Vanth in the background, present, as always, where death is.

This deadly creature is earth-born as his image indicates—a half-figure rising from the ground like Ge on the altar of Zeus at Pergamum,[19] or like the gentler Ge who lifts up the baby Erichthonius to Athene on Hermonax' stamnos in Munich.[20] Körte identified this wolf-monster with the Olta whose story is told by Pliny (*Natural History* 2.54.140),[21] a beast who came to Volsinii after laying waste its fields, and was subdued by a thunderbolt sent in answer to the prayer of Volsinii's king Porsina. There is no thunderbolt shown on any of the urns but the well-head, the *puteal*, is the proper mark of a place struck by lightning and therefore *sacer*. Pfiffig accepts this identification: Veltha (Volta, Olta) is an earth-demon and the scene on the urns is an illustration of Pliny's story.[22] Defosse prefers to identify the monster as Calu, who seems to have been the original Etruscan god of the dead.[23] A bronze "wolfhound" from Cortona is inscribed with a dedication to that god. Though the little figure looks more like a hound than a wolf, Defosse suggests that it represents Calu himself in wolf shape.[24]

Whether or not this bronze is an image of Calu, the wolf, or the wolfskin, must really have been an attribute of the Etruscan god of the dead. The god himself is apparently never shown in human form in Etruscan art, but a surrogate, the Greek Hades, is shown and named on the walls of two painted tombs of the late classical period. In the Tomba del Orco at Tarquinia, Aita and Phersiphnai are enthroned as rulers of a predominantly Greek underworld with Etruscan embellishments;[25] in the somewhat earlier Tomba Golini at Orvieto they preside over a typical Etruscan banquet.[26] In both cases "Hades" wears a wolf cap, as he does on an Etruscan red-figure oenochoe of the Torcop group, in the Louvre (fig. 3)[27] and on the sarcophagus from Torre

[18] P. Defosse, "Genie funeraire ravisseur (Calu) sur quelques urnes étrusques," *L'Antiquité classique*, Fondation universitaire de l'Université de Liège 41, Brussels, 1972.

[19] H. Kähler, *Pergamon*. Bilderhefte antiker Kunst, Deutschen Archäologischen Institut (Berlin, 1949), pl. 9.

[20] Munich [Museum antiker Kleinkunst] 2413. Arias, Hirmer, Shefton, pl. 183.

[21] H. Brunn and G. Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche* (Rome, 1870–1916), vol. 3, pp. 16–24; F. Messerschmidt, *RömMitt* 45 (1930), p. 172.

[22] Pfiffig, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 6), pp. 313–15, figs. 127 a and b.

[23] Defosse, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 18), p. 499; Pfiffig, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 6), pp. 319–20.

[24] Florence, Museo Archeologico. M. Pallottino, *Testimonia Linguae Etruscae* (Florence, 1954), no. 642; Pfiffig, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 6), p. 320; Defosse, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 18), pp. 498–99, pl. 12.

[25] M. Pallottino, *Etruscan Painting* (Geneva, 1952), figure on p. 111; Pfiffig, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 6), p. 206; Defosse, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 18), p. 492.

[26] G.Q. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* (Milan, 1935), pl. 244.

[27] Louvre K 471. M.A. Del Chiaro, "Two Unusual Vases of the Etruscan Torcop Group. One with Head of Eita (Hades)," *AJA* 74 (1970), pp. 292–94, fig. 1; Defosse, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 18), pl. 8.

[28] R. Herbig, Die jüngeretruskische Steinsarkophage (Berlin, 1952), pl. 36 a; Del Chiaro, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 27), p. 293, fig. 4.

[29] Pfiffig, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 6), p. 176. Hades on Greek vases is a stately, bearded figure, usually white-haired carrying a cornucopia. K. Schauenburg, "Pluton und Dionysus," *JdI* 68 (1953), pp. 38–72; L.R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* 3 (Chicago, 1971), pp. 286–87, pl. 32; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (Munich, 1969), pp. 267–68, fig. 258: the tondo of a kylix by the Kodros Painter, showing the banquet of Hades/Pluto and Persephone. Here the god is black-haired; his cornucopia is as explicitly his attribute as Poseidon's trident or Dionysus' thyrsos on the exterior of the same vase. Alföldi, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9), p. 83, suggests that the Greek Hades' "cap of darkness" was originally a wolf cap which became softened to a mere cap of cloud (Homer *Iliad*, bk. 5, 844–845), but this is just a conjecture.

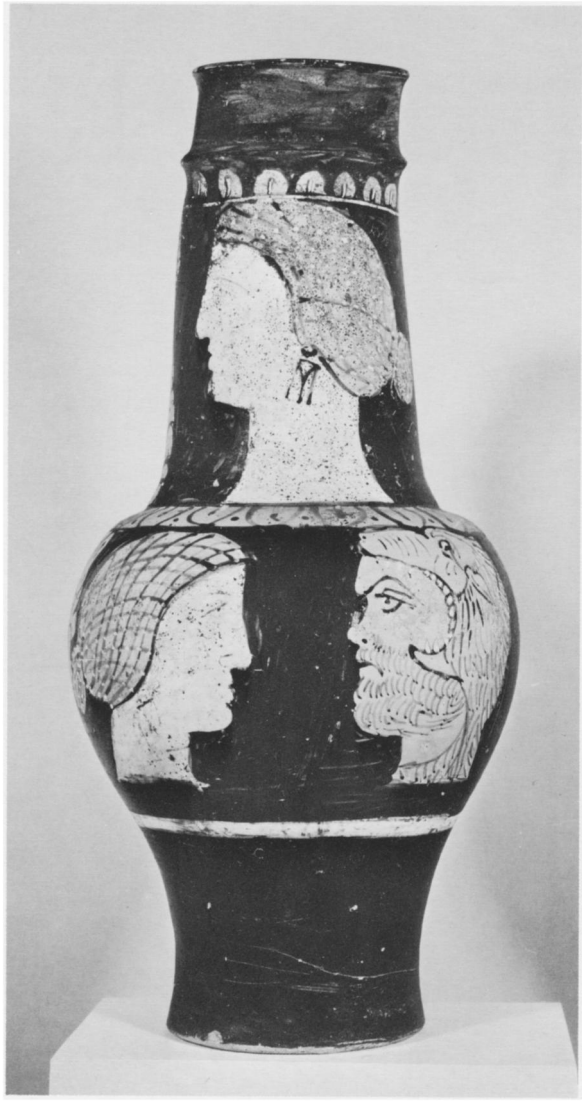

FIGURE 3 PARIS, LOUVRE
Etruscan red-figure oenochoe

San Severo, at Orvieto.[28] In each case it is the god himself, not one of his attendant demons, who is depicted. But the wolf cap has nothing to do with the Greek Hades.[29]

There is another divinity in the Western world who sometimes wears the wolfskin, the Celtic "dieu au maillet." His more constant attributes are the hammer and a little cup or pot, apparently a wine cup since it is sometimes associated with a barrel. In eight inscriptions this god is named Sucellus, in many more, Silvanus.[30] His Gallo-Roman statue type is majestic, bearded and with flowing curls like Zeus or Poseidon, leaning on a tall staff or scepter—when this object is complete it is topped by a small hammer-head—holding out his drinking pot in his right hand, an offer of comfort to the world of men.[31] He is stately and benign, one would say a much more aristocratic god than the countryman Silvanus, with his pruning hook and his cloakful of fresh vegetables, with whom he became identified.[32] The most regal of them all, now in the Walters Art Gallery, was found at Vienne in 1866 (fig. 4).[33] Behind him, like a great sun, rises a mighty hammer, from which five little hammers project like the sun's rays. The staff, or scepter, or hammer he leaned on is gone, but the little pot is cupped in his right palm; he is naked except for the wolfskin.

Grenier presents a most persuasive argument that this god is indeed the Dispater who, Caesar tells us, was the ancestor of the Gauls (*The Gallic Wars* 6.18.1), some great Celtic forest god (hence his identification with Silvanus) who was also a god of the underworld, perhaps the fearsome spirit of the wood near Marseilles described by Lucan (*Pharsalia* 3. 399–425).[34] The hammer, if this identification is accepted, is the hammer of Charun, the wolfskin the dress of Aita/Hades. The *olla*, if it is indeed a wine cup, would link Sucellus/Silvanus with Dionysus who is also a lord of the underworld and with Pluto the giver of wealth.[35]

[30] J.B. Keune, "Sucellus," *RE* 4, A, 1 (1931), cols. 515–540.

[31] S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, 6 vols. (Paris 1897–1930), 2:1, pp. 21–24; *ibid.*, 3, p. 227. A. Grenier, "Le dieu au maillet gaulois et Charun," *StEtr* 24 (1955–1956), pp. 130, 132–33.

[32] Reinach, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31), 1, 1897, pp. 175, 220–221; 2:1, pp. 43–45. Grenier, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31), pp. 130–131.

[33] Walters Art Gallery, 54.998. Reinach *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31), 2:1, p. 21, no. 6; Keune *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 30), p. 523, D 40. D.K. Hill, "Dispater of Gaul," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 10 (Baltimore, 1947) 85 f.; *idem*, *Catalogue of Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1949), p. 14 no. 22, pl. 9; *idem*, "Le 'dieu au maillet' de Vienne à la Walters Art Gallery de Baltimore," *Gallia*, Fouilles et Monuments Archéologiques en France Metropolitaine 11 (1953), fasc. 2, pp. 205–224. Grenier *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31), pp. 131–132, fig. 1.

[34] Grenier, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 31), pp. 131–133; Alföldi, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) pp. 83–84 and n. 78.

Whether this identification is accepted or not, the Celtic world certainly did use the wolf as a symbol of the death that devours all things. The fearsome stone beast known as "Le Tarasque de Noves," who sits erect with his foreclaws resting on two severed human heads, is such a wolf-monster.[36] On the Gundestrup cauldron, a "Pushmepullyu" wolf seizes a little man by the waist in each pair of avid jaws.[37] A relief from the gable of a tomb of the Gallo-Roman period at Arlon shows a huge she-wolf in the act of swallowing a small human figure (a child?); she has accounted for head, shoulders and arms, but the plump lower body and the sturdy legs are still full of life and protest.[38] Two small bronze figures of gigantic wolves, one from Oxford, one from Fouqueure, show them seated calmly, with the lower half of a little human figure dangling limply from their jaws.[39]

Demon wolves are also part of Norse mythology; they are the allies or servants of the giants who will some day destroy the world of gods and men. Such wolves pursue the sun and moon across the sky, and one of them will swallow the sun when the time for the end of all things has come. Then the wolf Fenrir will swallow up Odin himself, at Ragnarok, the last battle between the gods and the giants.[40] "The gray wolf is watching the dwellings of the gods," says Odin when he is asked why he has let king Eric of Norway be slain.[41] The ghost of the great king was needed to fight in the ranks of the gods in that last great battle.

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Gallo-Roman "dieu au maillet"

[35] Keune *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 30), pp. 535–36, thinks the evidence is not strong enough to equate Sucellus with Dispater. Of the more than 100 representations of the god which he cites, only six figures wear the wolfskin.

[36] M. Renard, "Des sculptures celtiques aux sculptures médiévales, Fauves androphages," *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont*, Collection Latomus, 2 (Brussels, 1949), p. 279. J.V.S. Megaw, *Art of the European Iron Age* (New York/Evanston, 1970), p. 78, no. 76.

[37] S. Reinach, "Les carnassiers androphages dans l'art gallo-romain," *Revue celtique*, 25 (Paris, 1904), p. 211, fig. 4; H. Hubert, "Gweil-Gi, l'ocean et le carnassier androphage," *Revue celtique* 34 (Paris, 1913), pp. 1–2, pl. 1.

[38] E. Espérandieu, *Receuil général des bas reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine* 5 (Paris, 1913), no. 4053; Renard, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 36), p. 285.

[39] Reinach, *Revue celtique* 25 (Paris, 1904), pp. 208–10, figs. 1–3; Renard, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

[40] Dumézil, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8), pp. 336–37. Hubert, *op. cit* (*supra* n. 37), p. 6. H.R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe* (Harmondsworth, 1964), pp. 28, 31, 37 and 59.

[41] Davidson, *ibid.*, p. 205.

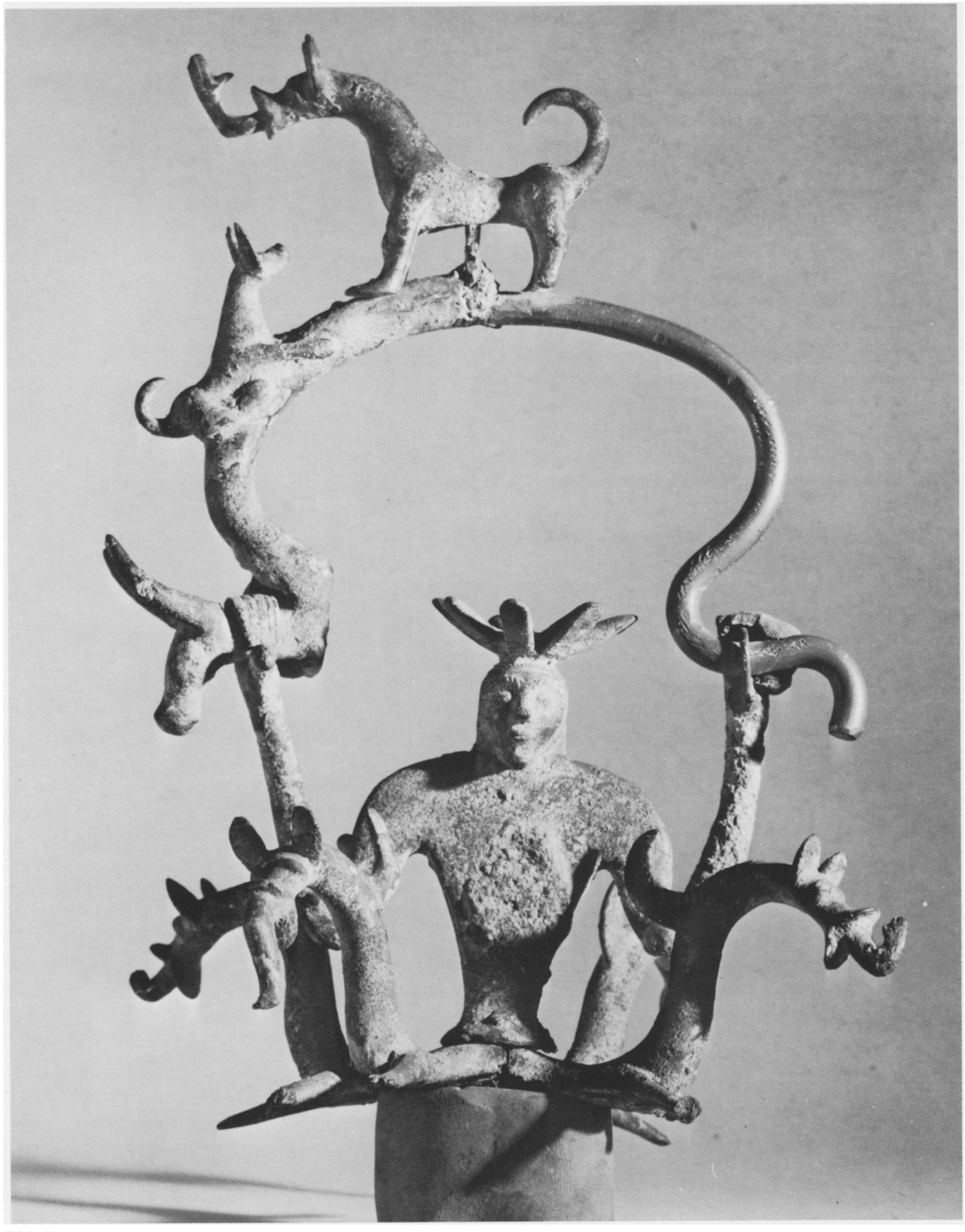

FIGURE 5 FLORENCE, MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO

Bronze handle from Fabrecce

The wolf-demon or wolf-ghost would seem to have been part of the mythology of all western Europe. The story of the Hero Polites (or Lycas) in southern Italy is echoed by the story of Glam the shepherd in Ultima Thule. How old the connection between the wolf and the world of the dead may be is not too clear. The story of Polites is told by men who lived during the empire; the story of Glam is medieval; so are the wolves of Ragnarok, as we know them. "Sucellus" is shaped by Imperial Roman taste, so are the wolves of Oxford and Fouqueure. Even the Tarasque de Noves is not very old; perhaps he belongs to the first century B.C. The "Oltas" of Volterra and Perugia date only from the second.

The image of the wolf-demon, however, can be pushed back considerably farther than this in Etruria. Two Etruscan black-figure amphoras illustrate the story of Achilles lying in ambush for Troilus and in each picture a little figure appears, a naked man with a wolf's head, and wolf's paws instead of feet.[42] The creature strides forward like a man, swinging a knife (?) in one raised hand while the other is stretched forward, palm out, an uncommon and curious gesture which seems to mime the old call to ducks, "dilly, dilly, come and be killed!" Troilus was ambushed in the sanctuary of Apollo Thymbrius in the Troad, and Mme. Simon takes these figures to be creatures of Apollo the wolf-god in his aspect as god of the underworld.[43] But perhaps they might better be called, like the "Oltas," the wolves of Calu. A third "Anubis-like" figure appears on an Etruscan bucchero oenochoe showing the myth of Perseus and Medusa.[44] In all three cases these figures seem to anticipate the later Vanths whose presence in a scene means death.

Even earlier than this, the wolf-demon is present in Etruria. In the early orientalizing period Vetulonia was the home of a flourishing bronze industry which turned out, among many other things, cast-bronze figurines that were used as ornaments for vessels and utensils of various kinds.[45] One type, used as the base for a swinging handle on the lid of a large vessel, is the half-figure of a man whose hands form the loops in which the ends of the handle rest. These figures have big heads, the face broad at the temples, big pop eyes shaded by heavy eyebrows, a jutting nose, slit mouth and a long, narrow chin. Their shoulders are broad and rounded, the torso tapers to a narrow "waist," the arms are lean, the forearms enormously long. The elbows are bent and the hands reach up beside or above the head to grasp the ends of the handle.[46] Several of the figures wear a strange hat, usually described as a feather crown though it looks more like a daisy or an aster.[47]

The most complete of these handles was found at Fabrecce in Umbria but must have been made in Vetulonia (fig. 5).[48] The half-figure rises from a base made of the protomes of four anthropophagous creatures with prick ears and gaping jaws. A man's arm or leg dangles from each of

[42] Vatican, Asterita Collection no. 742, and Lucerne, Ars Antiqua: K. Schauenburg, "Zu griechischen Mythen in der etruskischen Kunst," *Jdl* 85 (1970), pp. 68–73, figs. 36, 38a, 39; E. Simon, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 17), pp. 39–40, figs. 8 and 9.

[43] Simon, *op. cit., loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 17).

[44] V. Tusa, "La oenochoe di bucchero di Palermo col mito di Perseo e la Medusa," *ArchCl* 8 (1956), pp. 148, 150–151, pls. 36, 38 fig. 2.

[45] I. Falchi, *Vetulonia e la sua necropoli antichissima* (Florence, 1891), pls. 8–10, 14–15, 17–18; O. Montelius, *La civilization primitive en Italie*, 3 (Stockholm, 1895–1904), pls. 178–187, 190–192; D. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 100–150, pls. 21–26; F. Messerschmidt, "Die 'Kandelaber' von Vetulonia," *StEtr* 5 (1931), pp. 71–80, pls. 5–6; G. Camporeale, *La Tomba del Duce* (Florence, 1967), pls. 4, 5, 7, 14, 17, 18.

[46] G.M.A. Hanfmann, *Altetruskische Plastik* (Würzburg, 1936), p. 78, nos. 1–4; L. Banti, "Rapporti fra Etruria ed Umbria avanti il V sec. A.C.," *Atti del primo convegno di studi Umbri, Gubbio 26–31 Maggio 1963 Problemi di storia e archeologia dell'Umbria* (Perugia, 1963), pp. 167–170, figs. 7–10, 15; G. Camporeale, *I commerci di Vetulonia* (Florence, 1969), p. 68, pl. 21, fig. 3. Two others, Copenhagen, National Museum, V. Poulsen, "Etruscan Art," in A. Boëthius, et al. *Etruscan Culture, Land and People*, Swedish Institute, Rome (New York/Malmo, 1962), fig. 406, and New York, private collection, *Ancient Art in American Private Collections, A Loan Exhibit at the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, December 28, 1954–February 15, 1955* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pl. 69, no. 224, are taken to be forgeries by Miss Banti, *op. cit.*, p. 167, n. 32.

[47] Hanfmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 46), p. 79; Banti, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 46), pp. 167–168.

FIGURE 6 ROME, VILLA GIULIA

Bronze fitting from the Bernardini Tomb

the four mouths. A similar beast, but complete, with a sickle tail curved over her back, crowns the handle; the arm that projects from her jaws is not at all limp—elbow bent, forearm raised, thumb out, the hand seems to be cocking a snoot at the whole procedure. In front of this beast and her prey a smaller creature of the same race is crouching, watching eagerly, like a puppy waiting for a bite. Miss Banti calls these beasts lions, and there are, indeed, lions in Etruria that dangle human limbs from their jaws,[49] but the prick ears of these creatures, and the complete beast's long, heavy tail seem to me more suitable to wolves.

Who, then, is the Master of Animals in the center of this carrousel of man-eaters? Since he appears as a half-figure, he should be, by rights, a being from the earth or the world beneath it, like the "Oltas" of the Hellenistic ash urns.[50] Perhaps he is Calu himself, surrounded by his all-devouring wolves.

[48] Museo Archeologico, Florence 73653; Hanfmann, (*supra* n. 46), p. 78, no. 3; Banti, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 46); Camporeale, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 46), pp. 64, 72, pl. 19, fig. 1.

[49] Banti, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 46), pp. 168–69. Anthropophagous lions, for example: W.L. Brown, *The Etruscan Lion* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 37–38, pl. 18; J. Kastelic, *Situla Art. Ceremonial Bronzes of Ancient Europe* (New York/Toronto/London, 1965), pls. 12, 13, 21. It must have been from some such objects as these situlae that the Celtic wolves got their messy table manners.

[50] The idea that these protomes are not merely decorative but are intended as images of creatures rising from the underworld was suggested by a former student of mine, Dr. Martin Kilmer of the University of Ottawa.

The man-eating monsters and the flower hats appear together again on two curious bronze fittings from the Bernardini Tomb at Praeneste (fig. 6).[51] Each ends in a pair of protomes, bigger than those on the handle from Fabrecce, but otherwise of the same race, though more horrible because their paws are human hands. One protome of each pair has swallowed a bull, all but the head, the other's jaws have snapped on the genitals of a poor mortal so that he dangles sprawling, head down. On the top of these fittings stand two male figures in flower hats, accompanied by two wingless sphinxes (to add a touch of Oriental mystery) and in the center, between them, is the gigantic figure of a wolf with head lifted and jaws gaping. Calu the wolf-god, again, in his wolf shape?

The meaning of the flower hats is still a puzzle. Perhaps they indicate that Calu, for all his wolfishness, is a god of the underworld who is also, like Dionysus in his aspect as lord of the dead, a god of renewal and rebirth.[52] Or perhaps they are symbols of those *arbores infelices* which Macrobius tells us (*Saturnalia* 3.20.3) the Etruscans believed were under the care of the gods of the underworld.

[51] Rome, Villa Giulia. C. Densmore Curtis, *The Bernardini Tomb*, MAAR 3 (1919), pp. 82–84, nos. 90, 91, pls. 65–66; Banti, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 46), pp. 168–69, fig. 13.

[52] For Dionysus as lord of the underworld cf. Schauenburg, *op. cit., loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 29).

Photo credits: figs. 1, 2, City Art Museum, St. Louis; fig. 3, Phot. Chuzeville; fig. 4, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 5, 6, Phot. Felbermeyer.

FIGURE 1 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, THE ART MUSEUM

Terracotta head, Etruscan, second century B.C.

A Terracotta Head in Princeton

By FRANCES FOLLIN JONES

The Art Museum, Princeton University

IN 1949 The Art Museum, Princeton University, received a bequest from Miss Jessie Peabody Frothingham, for the most part prints by Dürer and Rembrandt. There were, however, a few antiquities, including the terracotta head illustrated in figures 1–4.[1] We have no information about the past history of the pieces, but it may be assumed that the provenience is Italian, for Miss Frothingham was the sister of Arthur L. Frothingham, Jr., who was called to Princeton in 1886 to teach in the recently established Department of Art and Archaeology and who subsequently became Associate Director of the new American School of Classical Studies in Rome. In the 1890's Professor Frothingham was instrumental in obtaining Etruscan and Italic antiquities for various institutions.[2]

The head is made of orange-red clay with coarse grog, mostly red and gray, that shows through the more buff-colored slip coating the face. (The nature of the material is discussed in detail by Professor Matson in the article following, pp. 107–9.) The head appears to have been made by hand, although it is not impossible that the face was formed in a mold and the evidence of this obliterated by subsequent modelling. Much hand-work is evident, especially in the eyelids and mouth and in the application of the luxuriant locks of hair that frame the face. In style, the head belongs to the large group of sculptures that owes inspiration to portraits of Alexander the Great in particular and the works of the fourth century B.C. in general. The slender oval face and narrow nose, however, suggest a rather mannered revival, probably the interpretation of the second century B.C.

About half life-size, modelled in the round, and strongly suggestive of Etruscan origin both because of fabric and style, the head has a very good chance of coming from some pedimental composition in central Italy. The frame of hair would create from a distance the impression of thick and wavy locks all around and would suffice for a figure in a high and recessed setting. An acroterion or a free-standing figure seems less likely because of the unfinished crown and back of the head. The twist of the neck that gives a sense of action is not in keeping with the usual frontality of votive heads.

Protective terracotta decoration for otherwise perishable building material was a feature of Etruscan architecture for many centuries, but

FIGURE 2 PRINCETON, ART MUSEUM
Terracotta head (back)

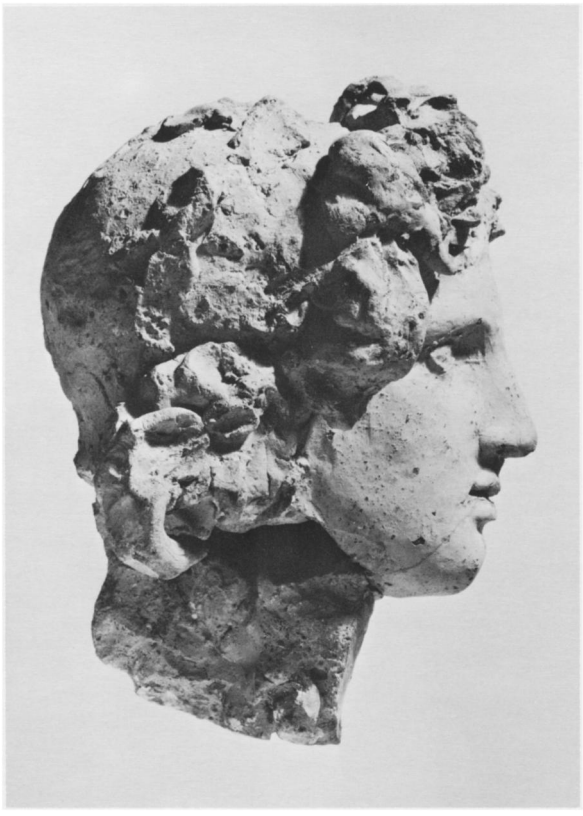

FIGURE 3 PRINCETON, ART MUSEUM
Terracotta head (left side)

FIGURE 4 PRINCETON, ART MUSEUM
Terracotta head (right side)

purely ornamental pedimental figures for temples, to judge from preserved remains, had a period of popularity in Hellenistic times that is concentrated in the second century B.C.[3] For the most part these groups have survived as fragmentary evidence, but they are nonetheless informative. The material, rather than being stone, was cast or modelled terracotta of considerable thickness containing generous quantities of grog to reinforce the clay. A slip provided a finer surface for the polychromy that originally enhanced the details, but now is often completely lost. The lower part of the figures was in relief against a slab-like background that provided stability; holes for fastening the plaques to some structural support for added security followed procedure familiar for the installation of revetments that protected eaves, beam-ends and other vulnerable units of the buildings. Heads, arms and upper bodies projected as three-dimensional entities, bright and colorful against the shadowed background created by the traditionally deep pediment of Italic temples. The scale of figures varied from life-size to considerably less, sometimes changing within the same composition. Subject matter seems to have been mythological or simply an assemblage of divine and heroic personages.

The Princeton head does not fall neatly into place with published pedimental groups, much less onto a torso from which it became separated with the collapse of a disused temple. One hopes that this may eventually be done when the piece is better known among specialists and when more architectural terracottas are accessible through detailed publication. Meanwhile one can conjecture that it may have belonged with a group of figures that illustrated some Dionysiac subject and that it was the head of an attendant satyr.

Tucked into the curls over the right eye is a small horn, too thick and stiff to be one of the locks of hair; in the corresponding position at the left there is space where the second of the pair must have been inserted, but has since fallen out. Portrayal of satyrs as earthy, coarse creatures was continued as an inheritance from early days, but the Hellenistic period did occasionally see them as more poetic beings in a romantic, pastoral world that contemporary literature evoked.

May Dorothy Hill's retirement from her distinguished career at the Walters Art Gallery provide leisurely renewal of her acquaintance with the Italian hills and the ancient lands that contributed to Etruscan culture. Perhaps she, in her journeying, will encounter the companions of the Princeton head.

[1] In addition to the head there is a small south Italian red-figured bell-krater (athlete and trainer/athlete); a relief appliqué (winged head) for a Daunian vase; two Roman glass unguentaria and two fragments of Roman glass bowls. In 1929 Miss Frothingham gave the delightful aryballos published by Jack Benson in "Corinthian Vases in The Art Museum Collection," *Record of The Art Museum, Princeton University* 31, 2 (1972), pp. 9–10, fig. 8; a small paper label pasted to the vase has "Vulci" inscribed in ink.

The terracotta head under discussion has a preserved total height of 0.195 m. Its inventory number is 49–9. Half of the neck is missing; the surviving half has been broken away from the head and repaired with an acetate adhesive, as has the lower right lock of hair. The chin and left jaw, as well as an adjacent small fragment below the area of the left ear, have been glued with a different, apparently earlier, type of adhesive. The walls vary in thickness, from two to three centimeters. The head was modelled separately and the neck added, for the missing section of neck reveals a flat, horizontal surface at the base of the skull (this "seam"—visible in figure 2—probably accounts for the line of breakage). A cylinder of clay runs vertically within the wall of the left side of the neck, its top hidden but the lower end showing (see figure 3) as a distinct peg or dowel; presumably it served to strengthen the neck during modelling and firing without leaving the weakening hollow space of a burned-out wooden pin. There are traces of ancient red paint in the hair. On both hair and neck are gray incrustations. Some plaster of Paris and enamel-like red paint on the neck are vestiges of a modern mounting. The marks of fingers at work on the soft clay are numerous and the use of a modelling stick particularly evident across the neck and around eyes and mouth.

[2] Richard D. DePuma, "The Etruscan Legacy: Early Collecting and Bucchero Pots," *Archaeology* 29 (1976), 221–222. Although the early records at Princeton are distressingly silent on this point, the considerable group of Etruscan and Italic pottery obtained by 1890 for The Art Museum probably came through Professor Frothingham's efforts.

[3] See Emeline Hill Richardson, *Cosa II: The Temples of the Arx, Part III: Terracotta Sculpture, MAAR* 26 (1960), pp. 307 ff., for a summary. For illustrations and bibliography for pedimental sculpture from other sites, see Arvid Andrén, *Architectural Terracottas from Italic Temples* (Lund, 1940), pp. 89–90 (Città Castellana—Celle); pp. 125–130 (Città Castellana—Lo Scasato); pp. 171–178 (Orvieto—Belvedere); p. 189 (Orvieto—Cennicella); pp. 228–234 (Telamone); pp. 268–273 (Arezzo); pp. 283–294 (Luni); pp. 297–300 (Città Alba); pp. 350–363 (Rome); p. 367 (Antemnae); pp. 370–372 (Tivoli); p. 388 (Norba); pp. 390–392 (Alatri); pp. 394–398 (Segni).

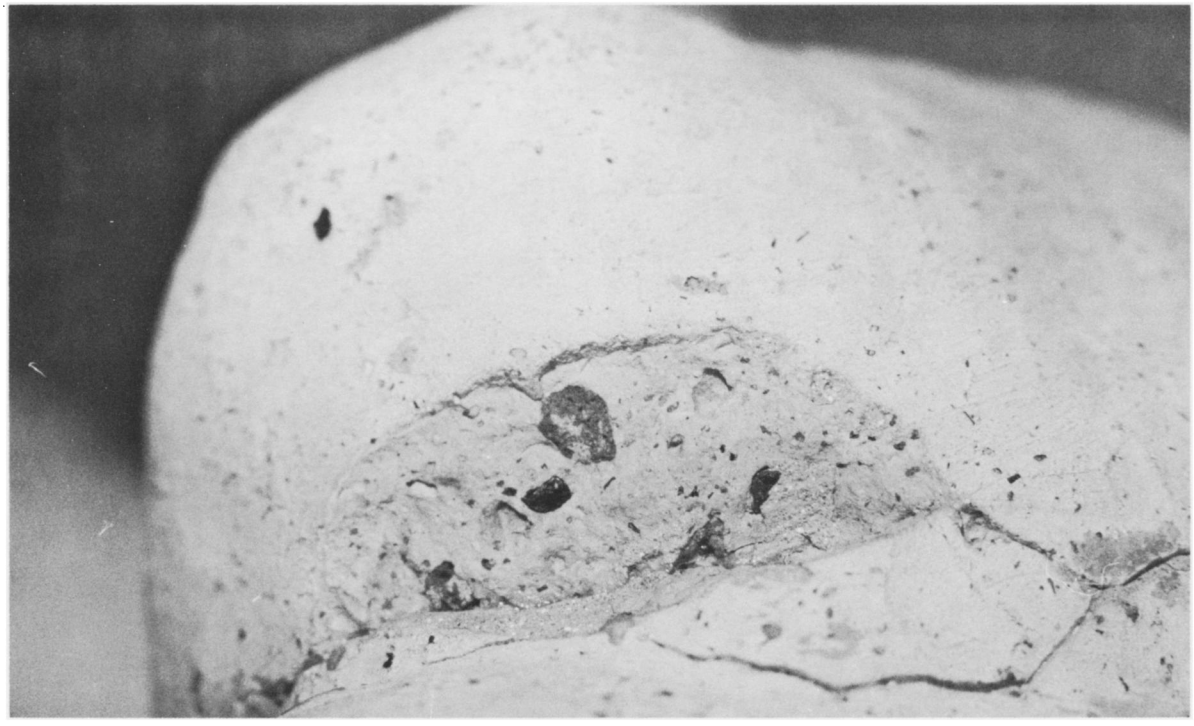

FIGURE 1 *Area beneath the chin of the Princeton terracotta head (see page 102)*

FIGURE 2 *Area at the nape of the neck of the Princeton terracotta head*

Technological Comments on the Princeton Terracotta Head

By FREDERICK R. MATSON

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THESE TECHNOLOGICAL observations are presented as a small tribute to Dorothy Kent Hill whose astute studies have so enriched our understanding of many aspects of classical archaeology.

The terracotta head was examined in detail in the Art Museum of Princeton University at the invitation of Dr. Frances Follin Jones. It was hoped that in addition to determining some of its ceramic properties there might be some technological indication of its provenience—Italy or Greece.

The face and the neck are much lighter in surface color than the locks of hair and the core material. During a careful examination of the surface with a hand lens, no evidence that a slip had been intentionally applied was found. In the Munsell system of color notation the face is "pinkish white" (7. 5YR 8/2) to "pink" (7. 5YR 8/4).[1] The hair and the core as seen in the fractured area of the neck are "reddish yellow" (5YR 8/4). The cylinder of clay lining the interior of the neck is slightly more gray in color, doubtless because it was less well oxidized during the firing. There are traces of red pigment in the hair and on parts of the face, but so little remains that very little can be said about it. The face and neck were wet-smoothed during the finishing process, but this treatment did not obscure all of the tempering particles in the clay. Had a slip been applied, the surface would have been more uniform in appearance. The wet-smoothed surface can be examined in figure 1 which shows the area beneath the chin. Finishing striations can be seen at the right edge of the illustration. The spalled area at the juncture of the neck and the lower jaw is interesting, for it shows the extreme thinness of a surface film as well as the coarsely tempered clay body beneath it. The area at the nape of the neck is seen in figure 2. Here the surface is less carefully finished, aplastic granules protrude in abundance, and fingerprints as well as some striations can be seen. The pinkish-white film is thinner and less uniformly distributed on the back of the head than it is on the face.

The light color of the face is probably due to the concentration of salts that develop at the surface as the plastic clay body gradually dries. The salts in solution are deposited there when the water gradually evaporates from the surface. During firing, the chemical reaction between the salt film and the clay body results in a light-colored coating such as is often seen on building bricks in Mediterranean countries, especially on brick formed from calcareous clays. Today some potters in Mediterranean lands intentionally use sea water when preparing their plastic clay bodies. Others add salt to the clay to ensure the development of a "white" color on the fired product. It is possible that the sculptor of this head added salt or sea water to the clay from which the face and neck were formed, but omitted it from the clay used to fashion the more pinkish locks of hair.

The uneven distribution of the film on the face and back of the head would suggest that the face was more freely exposed to air currents during the drying of the head than was the back, which resulted in a greater concentration of salts on the facial surface. It would be interesting to observe the differential color film on other terracottas, as variations might give some indication of the sculptor's methods of finishing, assembling and drying his figures.

The tempering material that was added to the clay to improve its structural strength for modelling purposes consisted of semi-rounded grains of lava. Such grains, often termed *lapilli* when occurring in larger sizes, are spewed forth in volcanic eruptions. Information on the avail-

ability of such materials would help suggest the geographic region (possibly central Italy) in which the head was fashioned. The largest of these particles of volcanic tuff seen in the head were 6 mm. in length, but 4 mm. was the more usual size. There is no gradation in grain size that would suggest that the *lapilli* of volcanic tuff were crushed before they were added to the clay. The tuff is "weak red" to "reddish brown" (2.5YR 4/2–4) in Munsell's designation of soil color. In the tuff and scattered through the clay as black to dark green angular particles, were octohedral and irregular grains of augite. In addition, the tuff, when examined in powder form in immersion oils under a petrographic microscope, was found to contain abundant ferruginous material, glass with an index of refraction of 1.537, and possibly a few particles of feldspar. For comparison, a lump of lava picked up on the slopes of Mount Vesuvius in 1955 was examined petrographically. It contained augite, the ferruginous materials, glass with an index of refraction of 1.533 and much feldspar. These tuffs are not too dissimilar. A powdered sample of the clay body of the Princeton piece in which the tuff was embedded contained much very fine quartz, some calcite, chalcedony and augite, and a few flakes of muscovite.

The head was competently fired and has a uniform color throughout the core except for a slight gray shade, already noted, in the support cylinder in the neck. There is no evidence of overfiring or of kiln blemishes. It is fruitless to discuss the probable firing temperature since both firing time and the type of kiln used as well as temperature must be considered. A significant series of fired pieces should also be examined.[2] The clay body has a scratch hardness of 2.5 in terms of Mohs' hardness scale. This is a normal value for moderately fired clays that have not been heated to temperatures of incipient vitrification.

It is appropriate that an object from the Princeton collections be analyzed for its partial chemical composition, particularly for the trace elements present, using the technique of neutron activation, for the first meeting held to discuss such analytical possibilities for archaeological materials took place at the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton in 1956.[3] Since then Sayre, Dodson and other scientists in the Chemistry Department of the Brookhaven National Laboratory have actively continued their analytical interest in archaeological problems and have made possible much collaborative work.

A very small powdered sample of the Princeton terracotta head was analyzed at the Brookhaven National Laboratory by Mrs. Dominique Fillières, who most graciously agreed to make this analysis in conjunction with her study of Roman pottery excavated near Marseilles. The results are reported in Table 1 in order to make them available. However, it would be inappropriate to discuss them in detail for there is as yet almost no comparative material available. Dr. Jones was well aware of this situation when she permitted the sample to be taken from the head, but as one of the members of the 1956 meeting she recognized the importance of such studies and felt that a start had to be made in collecting data. The results of the trace element analysis of the terracotta head are rather similar to those from Roman sherds of pottery made at Arezzo that have been analyzed by Mrs. Fillières, and of Arezzo sherds published by Widemann et al.[4]

[1] *Munsell Soil Color Charts*. Munsell Color, Macbeth Division, Kollmorgen Corp. (Baltimore, 1975). A soil color name may be used for four or more different but closely similar colors, each of which has its own soil color notation.

[2] Frederick R. Matson, "A Study of Temperatures Used in Firing Ancient Mediterranean Pottery," in *Science and Archaeology*, R.H. Brill, ed. (Cambridge, Mass. 1971), 65–79.

[3] E.V. Sayre and R.W. Dodson, foreword by Dorothy Burr Thompson, "Neutron Activation Study of Mediterranean Potsherds," *AJA* 61 (1957), 35–41.

[4] F. Widemann, M. Picon, F. Asaro, H.V. Michel and I. Perlman, "A Lyons Branch of the Pottery-making Firm of Ateius of Arezzo," *Archaeometry*, Oxford University Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, 17 (Oxford, 1975), 45–59.

[5] R. Absacal-M, G. Harbottle and E.V. Sayre, "Correlation Between Terra Cotta Figurines and Pottery from the Valley of Mexico and Source Clays by Activation Analysis," *Archaeological Chemistry*, C.W. Beck, ed., Advances in Chemistry Series 138, American Chemical Society (Washington, D.C., 1974), 81–99. A.M. Bieber Jr., D.W. Brooks, G. Harbottle and E.V. Sayre, "Compositional Groupings of Some Ancient Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Pottery," *Congresso Internazionale, Applicazione dei metodi nucleari nel campo delle opere d'arte*, Atti dei Convegni Lincei 11, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Rome, 1976), 111–43.

The analytical methods used have been described elsewhere.[5]

In drilling the interior of the head to produce a powder sample for analysis, an effort was made to work in areas where tuff was not visible. However, it must be recognized that there was a possibility of contamination with small particles of tuff located deep in the drill holes. Should a thorough study of the composition of similar terracottas be undertaken using objects that could be more effectively sampled, it would be well to prepare petrographic thin sections in order to observe the mineralogical fabric. Ideally, when preparing the activation sample, a satisfactory quantity of the terracotta body should be roughly crushed; from it, clay grains that were at least visibly free of tuff could be selected to be powdered. It would also be well to analyze the tuff itself in order to be aware of the characteristic proportions of trace elements occurring in it. Sampling was done in the present study in several areas and in as large a volume as possible to reduce possible tuff inclusions.

This brief study of the ceramic characteristics of the terracotta head will help to characterize it in physical and chemical terms. It was competently manufactured in a region where the sculptor could readily obtain tuff to use as a tempering material in his clay. On the limited basis of the trace element analysis by neutron activation of one sample, it can be observed that the composition of the head is rather like that of sherds from Arezzo. It is unlike those of the extensive series of clays and sherds from the eastern Mediterranean world that have been analyzed at the Brookhaven National Laboratory. It seems quite likely, as suggested by Dr. Jones on stylistic grounds, that the terracotta head was made in central Italy. As the corpus of data increases it may be possible to discuss the results of the present analysis in a more satisfactory manner, incorporating them in multi-variant statistical analyses with potentially similar materials.

Partial chemical composition of the Princeton terracotta head as determined by neutron activation analysis:

Sodium	Na_2O	0.95%	
Potassium	K_2O	2.67%	
Iron	Fe_2O_3	6.51%	
Calcium	CaO	12.6 %	
Rubidium	Rb_2O	218	parts per million
Cesium	Cs_2O	17.3	ppm
Barium	BaO	1002	ppm
Scandium	Sc_2O_3	27.6	ppm
Lanthanum	La_2O_3	71.2	ppm
Cerium	CeO_2	146	ppm
Europium	Eu_2O_3	2.49	ppm
Lutetium	Lu_2O_3	0.481	ppm
Hafnium	HfO_2	5.23	ppm
Thorium	ThO_2	30.5	ppm
Tantalum	Ta_2O_5	1.70	ppm
Chromium	Cr_2O_3	176	ppm
Manganese	MnO	1315	ppm
Antimony	Sb_2O_3	0.983	ppm
Uranium	UO_3	6.84	ppm
Zinc	ZnO	223	ppm
Samarium	Sm_2O_3	11.1	ppm
Ytterbium	Yb_2O_3	3.31	ppm

FIGURE I ROME, GALLERIA CORSINI

Corsini Chair, marble with relief decoration
Roman, first century B.C.

The Corsini Throne*

By LARISSA BONFANTE

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THE ROUNDED marble chair known as the Corsini Throne (figs. 1–2), which has long puzzled scholars, can now begin to receive the attention it deserves as an important archaizing monument of Roman art.[1] Since its discovery under the Lateran in Rome in 1732,[2] it has been in the Palazzo Corsini, in the Galleria Nazionale (formerly the Galleria Corsini), strangely out of place in the midst of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century paintings, in surroundings which have helped to prolong its isolation and neglect. It used to be assigned a date somewhere around the fourth century B.C., and an Etruscan origin;[3] Giglioli even planned to move it to the Etruscan museum of Villa Giulia.[4] Though often mentioned, it had not been studied for its own sake since Ducati's article sixty years ago.[5] Now at last, in the recent catalogue of the collection of antiquities of Palazzo Corsini, it is recognized as a monument of Roman art of the late Republic.[6]

The use of marble strengthens a first-century B.C. date.[7] The decoration allows us to fix more precisely the place of the Corsini Throne within the art of this consciously archaizing period of Roman culture, for the non-figurative motifs of the marble relief decoration are close to those of certain Neo-Attic reliefs of this period.[8] Instead of copying Greek models of earlier times, however, like the artists of most of these Neo-Attic reliefs, the sculptor of the throne found the inspiration for its figured friezes in a different and surprising context. It has long been recog-

* I am especially grateful for help and advice to Gabriella Battaglia and Russell Scott.

[1] H. 0.825 m. Diam. of seat 0.495 m. Restoration: part of back on the left side, and small piece on front of seat. W. Helbig, *Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 51 (Rome, 1879), 312–17; *idem*, *Monumenti Inediti dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 11 (Rome, 1879–1883), pl. 9. A. Grenier, *Bologne villanovienne et étrusque* (Paris, 1912), 399. P. Ducati, "Sedia Corsini," *MonAnt* 24 (1917), cols. 401–458, pls. 1–8; *idem*, *Storia dell'arte etrusca* (Florence, 1927) (hereafter: Ducati *AE*) 485, fig. 567. S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains* (Paris, 1909–1912), 3, 224. G.Q. Giglioli, *StEtr* 3 (1920), 144–48; *idem*, *L'arte etrusca* (Milan, 1935) (hereafter: Giglioli, *AE*), pl. 315, 1. I.S. Ryberg, *Rites of the Religion in Roman Art*, MAAR, 22 (1955) (hereafter: Ryberg), 9–10, pl. 3, fig. 5. G.M.A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London, 1966) (hereafter: Richter), 86, figs. 428–429. See also bibliography in G. de Luca, *I Monumenti Antichi di Palazzo Corsini in Roma* (Rome, 1976) (hereafter: de Luca), 93–100, pls. 81–85. I thank Gioia de Luca for allowing me to see the proofs of this important publication. Galleria Corsini, inv. no. 666.

[2] According to one account, 1734 (de Luca, 93, n. 1).

[3] "The Sedia Corsini . . . supplies an important link between Etruscan and Roman ritual," Ryberg, 10. Richter (*supra* n. 1) still lists it as an Etruscan monument.

[4] Giglioli, *StEtr* 3 (1929), 144, n. 2. Ryberg (xiii) repeats this information, but there are no plans to move the Corsini Throne from its present home.

[5] *Supra* n.1. The Corsini Throne is mentioned in *Arte delle situle dal Po al Danubio* (Florence, 1961) (hereafter: *Arte delle situle*), 17.

[6] De Luca, 93–100. The author still echoes, however, the puzzlement scholars have long felt about the monument's decoration, remarking that one might easily think it a forgery, if we did not have such reliable and consistent evidence of its discovery underneath the Cappella Corsini at S. Giovanni in Laterano (95).

[7] John Ward-Perkins reports (quoting Amanda Claridge and Demitri Michaelides), that the marble throughout (repairs included) is fine Pentelic, which would be "*highly likely* for a late Republican or early Imperial archaizing piece. . . . Pentelic was . . . the standard material for eclectic sculpture made for the Italian market, whether in Attica or in workshops established in Italy (as presumably one would have to imagine in this case) from the mid second century onwards." (Letter of March 8, 1977).

[8] For similar Neo-Attic decorations see W. Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs* (Berlin, 1959), pls. 6a, 6b, 9b, 20a–b, etc. For the element of nostalgia and the variety of sources (including exotic Egyptian motifs) used by Neo-Attic artists, see R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome The Center of Power* (New York, 1970), p. 203.

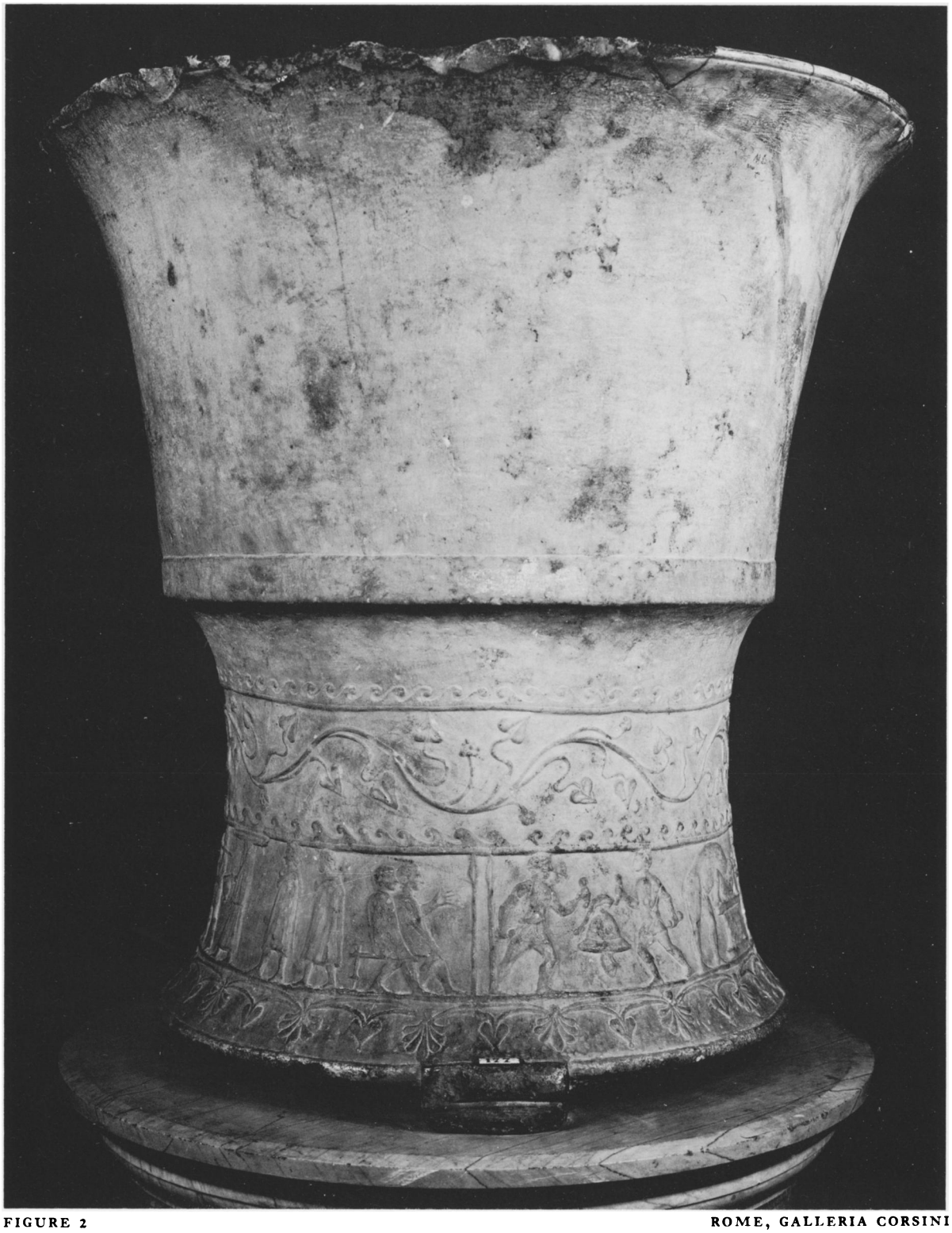

FIGURE 2 ROME, GALLERIA CORSINI

Corsini Chair (back)

nized that the figured friezes decorating the back and base of this chair derive from those of the situlae of northern Italy and the Alpine regions (figs. 5, 6, 11),[9] formerly dated no earlier than the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Recent studies have pushed the origin of this "situla art" back to the seventh century B.C., in the late Iron Age of Europe. How can we account for an inspiration so far removed in time and space from Rome of the first century B.C.?

In the area in which situla art is found, as in the north generally, crafts traditions of the Iron Age persisted into the first century B.C. At Este in particular craftsmen continued to imitate the technique and decoration of the early situlae;[10] a funerary stele of Roman times, for example, shows the deceased bronzesmith busily hammering out a situla like those made six hundred years before.[11] Earlier types of art, dress and furniture also continued in use practically unchanged.[12] When Caesar opened up the north, Rome for the first time came face to face with this world,[13] and northern styles and artifacts became fashionable: Iron Age shapes and patterns were imitated in the pottery of Cosa, for example.[14] This fashion for northern styles was an ephemeral fad, soon supplanted by the rage for Egyptian antiquities which inspired Caius Cestius to build his own private pyramid.[15] Both these luxurious fashions reflected Rome's closer experience of Gaul and Egypt once they had come under Roman sway. In contrast to the Egyptian fashion, however, the crafts of Este and Iron Age Gaul did not appear entirely exotic to the Romans, who had preserved elements of their own Iron Age past. A number of powerful Roman symbols like the *lituus* of the priest or the commander's axe still resembled those of northern Etruria and the situla art.[16] Most important, no doubt, was the preference of both Roman art and the art of the situlae for historical reliefs showing real people involved in ritual acts,[17] processions, and games and banquets. In contrast, Etruscan art accepted Greek mythology and emphasized the gods and canonical heroes of Greek legend.

Now let us take a closer look at the chair and its decoration. The three short legs under the base are the only contemporary, or "modern" touch that the Roman craftsman has added to the traditional Etruscan form of the chair. Otherwise the shape of the chair is that of archaic Etruscan "thrones" of the seventh century and later, found both in south Etruscan tombs, at Cerveteri (fig. 3)[18] and Praeneste, and in north Etruria as well. The relief decoration of the Corsini Throne is especially reminiscent of the embossed bronze model of the "Barberini Throne."[19] Elsewhere in north Italy too, this type of chair was found and remained in use much longer than in

[9] On the comparison between situla and the Corsini Throne see bibliography in Giglioli, *StEtr* 3 (1929), 145, and n. 2. For these situlae, see W. Lucke, O.-H. Frey, *Die Situla in Providence*, Römisch-Germanische Forschungen, 26 (Berlin, 1962) (hereafter: Lucke-Frey). O.-H. Frey, *Die Entstehung der Situlenkunst* (Berlin, 1969). L. Bonfante, "Etruscan Influence in Northern Italy," *Archaeological News*, Florida State University, Tallahassee, 5:4 (Winter 1976), pp. 93 ff. with bibliography.

[10] For continuity of the situla art, see H. Kriss, in *Arte delle situle* (Florence, 1961), 63–68. There are even objects made from reused fragments of situlae (Kriss, 67).

[11] *Arte delle situle* (*supra* n. 10), pl. 52; Bianchi Bandinelli, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 8), pl. 65.

[12] L. Bonfante, "The World of the Situla People," forthcoming article.

[13] For the Roman imitation in clay of bronze situlae from Este and the Po Valley in the late Republican period, see Maria Teresa Marabini Moevs, *The Roman Thin-Walled Pottery from Cosa (1948–1954)*, MAAR, 32 (Rome, 1973), 35–45, nos. 1–24, pls. 1–3, 55, and 56. "The conquest of Gaul can easily be identified as the historical element chiefly responsible for this late revival . . ." (45). I am very grateful to Russell Scott for this reference.

[14] Moevs (*supra* n. 13), *loc. cit.*

[15] E. Nash, *A Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (New York, 1961), 2nd ed. revised, 2, 321–323, figs. 1087–1089.

[16] M. Pallottino, *The Etruscans* (Bloomington, Ind., 1975), 182–83. Bonfante (*supra* n. 9), n. 38. For the *lituus*, see T. Gantz, *StEtr* 39 (1971), 8–9.

[17] Otto J. Brendel, rev. of I.S. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*, MAAR 22 (1955), in *American Journal of Philology* 78 (1958), 302.

[18] F. Prayon, *Grab-und Haus-Architektur* (Heidelberg 1975), pl. 59.1. See also J. MacIntosh, "Representations of Furniture on the Frieze Plaques from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)," *RömMitt* 81 (1974), 21–24.

[19] Helbig[4] vol. 3, 2857; Richter (*supra* n. 1) 86, fig. 427. Cf. *supra* n. 18.

the south. At Chiusi in the north it served as the typical support for "canopic" vases.[20] But it was nowhere exclusively, or even primarily used for funerary purposes, as we see from its representation on a frieze from Murlo,[21] or its regular appearance in the banquet scenes of situla art.[22] The original models were probably often wicker chairs; the grander ones seem rather to have been wooden chairs decorated with bronze plates like the Barberini Throne: the bosses, on representations of such chairs, for example at Murlo, suggest the relief decoration of the bronze originals. The throne which Pausanias saw in the temple of Zeus at Olympia, which, he tells us, was dedicated by the Etruscan king Arimnestos, the first barbarian who presented an offering to Zeus at Olympia, was apparently this kind of chair.[23]

The Corsini Throne, too, is decorated with designs executed in relief. The vine leaf and berry design around the base is a typical Neo-Attic motif, a contemporary accent which belongs to the period when the chair was actually made.[24] The figurative designs, which constitute the most interesting aspect of the monument, are inspired by bronze reliefs—not, however, those of southern models like the Barberini Throne, but those of the northern situlae.

The decoration runs in a continuous frieze around the cylindrical base, and in two registers on the inner side of the chair back. The chair was evidently meant to be seen from the front, for centered on the base, below, is the principal scene. This represents a sacrifice (fig. 1). The animal led to sacrifice and the altar and tree make up a typically Hellenistic and Roman scene.[25] Yet the two side figures of the men, the rider and the man leading the animal to the sacrifice (fig. 4), can also be paralleled on the situlae (figs. 5, 6),[26] as can the axe, here carried as an instrument to be used for the sacrifice, rather than, as on the situlae, a weapon and symbol of military authority.[27] The remaining scenes represent military parades, hunts, games, processions and preparations for banquets, all similar to those which, on the situlae, characterize the aristocratic activities of the *patres* of the northern regions.

FIGURE 3 CERVETERI
Chair and stool in the Tomba degli Scudi e delle Sedie Etruscan, seventh century B.C.

[20] M. Zuffa, in *Studi in onore di Luisa Banti* (Rome, 1965), 351–55. L. Vlad Borelli, *StEtr* 41 (1973), 211–12.

[21] T. Gantz, *StEtr* 39 (1971) 5–24, fig. 1; L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (Baltimore, 1975), fig. 72.

[22] Lucke-Frey (*supra* n. 9), 21–22. See also *infra* fig. 11.

[23] Pausanias 5.12.5. G. Karo, "Etruskisches in Griechenland," *ArchEph* 101 (1937), 316.

[24] *Supra* n. 8.

[25] "The laureate worshippers, the pail and dipper, the victimarius with an axe over his shoulder, the victim adorned with the *dorsuale*, and the large altar occupying the center of the relief, might all appear in a Roman sacrificial procession" (Ryberg, 10).

[26] Certosa situla, Lucke-Frey, pl. 64. The horseman has been interpreted within either context, as an "abbreviated" representation of the horse races which appear on the situlae or as the figure which appears, often in a similar scene with altar and tree, on the many relief stelae with heroized riders, which are most frequent in the Hellenistic period, but continue well into the Roman empire (G. de Luca 97). The animal being led to slaughter on the situlae is interpreted as part of the procession and preparation for the banquet; a banquet which is, of course, not without ritual and religious implications. The woman carrying a kantharos and the *simpulum* make it clear that the situla contains wine for a banquet, as on the situlae (Ryberg, 10), though, of course, a Roman would see a reference to a sacrifice.

FIGURE 4 ROME, GALLERIA CORSINI
Corsini Chair (detail)

On the base of the throne, to the side, following the man with the axe and the bull for the sacrifice, is a procession: an attendant with a goad, two others, bringing a large situla hanging on a pole by its handle—one of them also carries a ladle or *simpulum*—a woman balancing a tray on her head and carrying a large two-handled cup or kantharos, and two youths wrapped in cloaks whose hoods fall in folds below the chin (figs. 7, 8).[28] All of the figures and many of their attributes can be matched on the situlae. The Certosa situla shows a similar procession, with situla carriers and women balancing containers on their heads (figs. 5, 6), as well as men muffled in wide mantles. The shape of situla and *simpulum* is typical of situla art, as is the costume of the women, with its short mantle covering the head.[29] The dress of the men on the Corsini chair has been modernized, however. The wide mantles of the gentlemen have been transformed into the contemporary *paenula*;[30] and the attendants wear short chitons, instead of longer garments, as on the situlae.[31]

On the base in back are represented two seated youths, wearing *paenulae*, watching the games (fig. 9). Spectators or judges often appear on the situlae, as do seated figures of men attending banquets (fig. 6).[32] Especially frequent on situlae are scenes of judges standing by, ready to award the prizes, flanking two boxers who are shown, as here, fighting with peculiar dumbbell-shaped objects. (These have been erroneously called

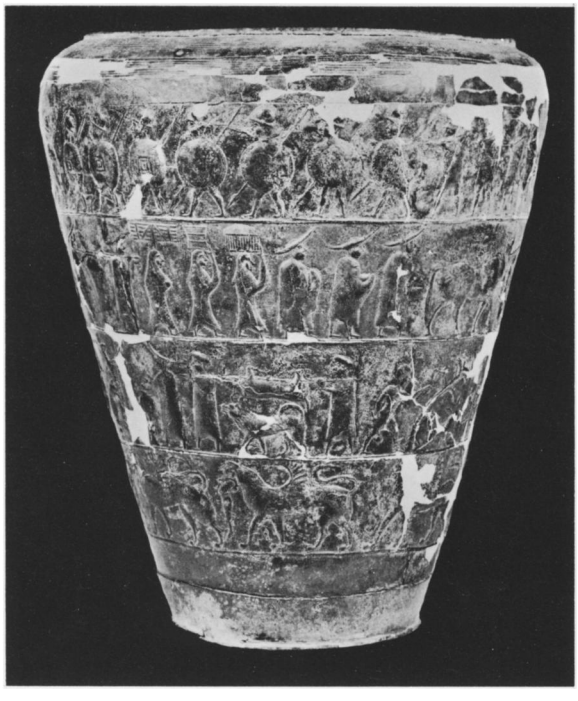

FIGURE 5 BOLOGNA, MUSEO CIVICO
Certosa Situla, 5th century B.C.

FIGURE 6 BOLOGNA, MUSEO CIVICO
Certosa Situla

FIGURE 7 ROME, GALLERIA CORSINI

Corsini Chair (detail)

halteres; they must have been made of some light material like leather or cloth, figs. 10, 11.) Such scenes of boxing matches using these "dumbbells," with helmets as prizes, are a specialty of the art of the situlae, and occur nowhere else. They therefore provide us with proof of the direct descent of the decoration of the Roman Corsini chair from these northern models.[33] Between the boxers is a large helmet—Roman style, rather than Greek as on the situlae—which is to be awarded as a prize. The helmet on the Corsini Throne has been "modernized," and the athletes wear short chitons, rather than appearing nude, Greek style. But otherwise this scene is close to the one which so often appears on the situlae.

More games take place on the other side of the base. The strange figure (fig. 12) bent over turns out to be a representation of a pair of naked

[27] Bonfante, *supra* nn. 9, 12. Cf. *supra* n. 16.

[28] I do not think that they are wearing laurel crowns, as Ryberg says (*supra* n. 25).

[29] S. Gabrovec, in *Arte delle situle* 7. Bonfante (*supra* n. 9), 95, 97.

[30] On the *paenula*, see L. Bonfante Warren, "Roman Costumes. A Glossary and Some Etruscan Derivations," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, H. Temporini, ed., I, 4 (Berlin, New York, 1973), 595, 610.

[31] This short tunic appears, as Gioia de Luca points out (96), on figures involved in a variety of activities. "Questa variante apportata nella iconografia primitiva non è peraltro cosa superficiale, ma serve quasi a sottolineare le trasformazioni più profonde intercorse." On the three-quarter-length chiton of the attendants on the situlae, and the nudity of the contestants (both of which costumes are here substituted by this short chiton), see L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, 34–35, n. 17 on p. 118.

FIGURE 8 ROME, GALLERIA CORSINI

Corsini Chair (detail)

wrestlers, one of whom has pinned down his struggling opponent—whose legs are waving about in the air—on a table.[34] Nearby is another pair of wrestlers (fig. 13). These scenes cannot be paralleled directly on the situlae known to us, although they fit into the context of games and contests so often depicted.

[32] On the Providence situla, "on either side of the boxers stand two men watching the action, for which they form visual parentheses. Their knee-length cloaks muffle their bodies; their arms are not represented": David G. Mitten, *Classical Bronzes* (Providence, 1975), no. 28, p. 91, fig. c. Seated figures of men at banquets appear very frequently, e.g. Mitten, figs. a–b, d–h. See also *infra* fig. 11.

[33] S. Gabrovec, in *Arte delle situle*, 7; see Giglioli, *StEtr* 3 (1929), 146, for comparisons. See also Lucke-Frey, 26–27; Mitten, *op. cit.*, fig. i.

[34] Ducati, *MonAnt* 24 (1916), 443–44; Ryberg, 9.

On the back and "wings" of the chair are two registers (figs. 1, 14). The upper one shows a parade of nine soldiers, foot soldiers and riders alternating. (This scene is roughly executed, with more figures crowded in at the right than on the left.) Military parades are found on many situlae (figs. 5, 6), and so is the shape of the oval shields the soldiers carry on the Corsini chair.[35] Not quite paralleled on the situlae is the cap helmet with point or button, a kind of *pilleus* which is, for some reason, also shown on the hunters of the scene on the lower register. The theme of the hunt, a typically aristocratic occupation, is well attested on the situlae: it appears on the Certosa situla and elsewhere.[36]

Many features of the representations on the situlae are originally of Etruscan inspiration. The north Italians, like the Romans, borrowed games

FIGURE 9 ROME, GALLERIA CORSINI

Corsini Chair (detail)

FIGURE 10 ROME, GALLERIA CORSINI

Corsini Chair (detail)

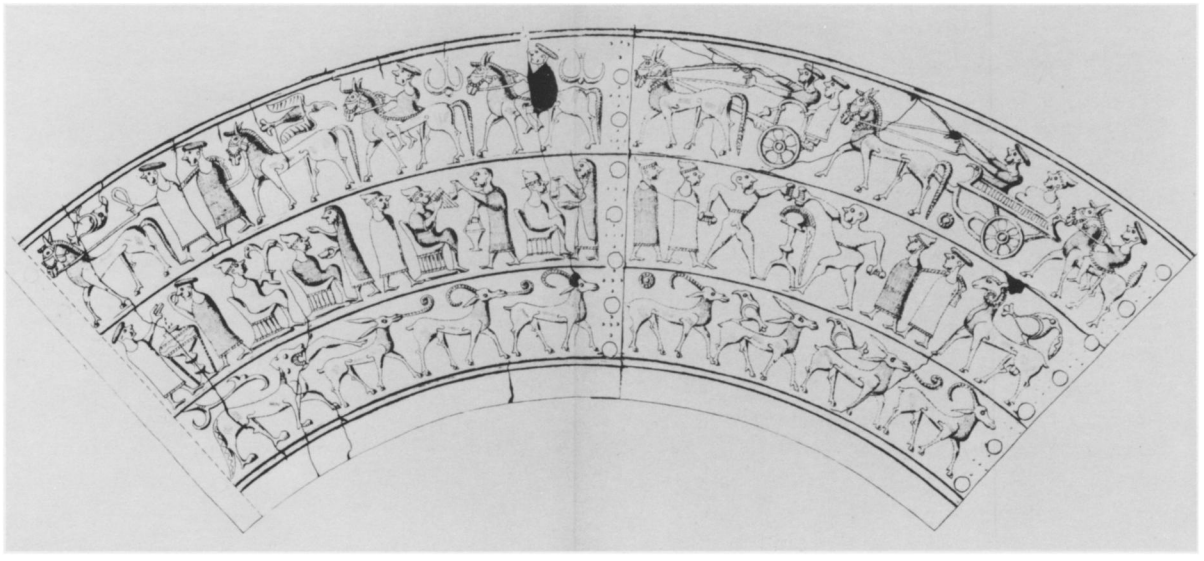

FIGURE 11

Situla from Watsch (detail)
(Drawing from Arte delle situle, *pl. E)*

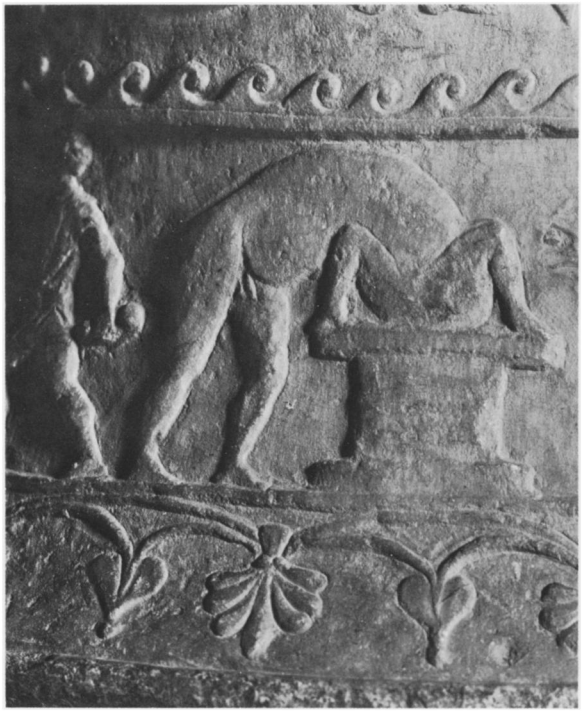

FIGURE 12 ROME, GALLERIA CORSINI
Corsini Chair (detail)

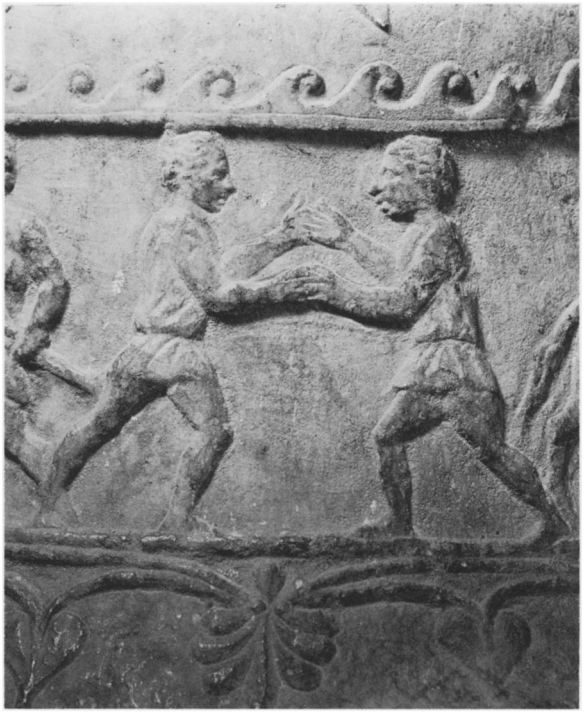

FIGURE 13 ROME, GALLERIA CORSINI
Corsini Chair (detail)

FIGURE 14 ROME, GALLERIA CORSINI

Corsini Chair (detail)

and athletic contests from the Etruscans, and sometimes also adopted the Etruscan manner of representing them. Artistic motifs, as well as styles of objects, such as the rounded chairs and fashions in clothes, were also borrowed from north Etruria, especially, it seems, from Chiusi.[37] This influence in the north parallels to a great extent the kind of Etruscan influence at work in Rome at the same time. Perhaps, then, this surprising link with the world of northern situlae of the late Iron Age shows that some people in Rome knew this earlier tradition in the north, and accepted it as akin to their own "native" Roman traditions.

The Roman artist, or rather the Roman family who commissioned the chair, apparently interpreted the content of the scenes as Roman, going back to aristocratic concepts of an earlier period. Figures in realistic action illustrating the aristocratic *mores maiorum* are combined with the specifically religious motif of the sacrifice. Indeed in size and subject matter the figured frieze is somewhat reminiscent of the small relief of the Ara Pacis with the procession of Vestal Virgins; but these Augustan figures are considerably more slender and aristocratic.[38] The scenes of the Corsini chair, with their pudgy creatures, like their models, the stocky, lively little figures of the situlae, vividly portrayed in the midst of their busy lives and ritual actions, resemble more closely the relief frieze of another monument of the time of Augustus, the arch of Susa in the Piedmont (fig. 15).[39] On this monument the huge pig being led to the sacrifice, which looks remarkably like the boar in the hunting scene on the Sedia Corsini (fig. 14), was

FIGURE 15 SUSA (PIEDMONT)
Arch of Augustus (detail)

singled out by Bianchi Bandinelli as an example of a representation whose goal is not naturalistic, but symbolic.[40] Just as the significance of the sacrifice is emphasized in the relief at Susa, the figures of the situlae and of the Corsini chair bring to mind the traditions and social status of their owners: ancient aristocratic traditions, depicted in a native, Roman manner, consciously different from that of the Greek Hellenistic style used for other contemporary public monuments. The closest Roman comparisons to the figures of the Corsini Throne are with provincial reliefs showing people at work, making situlae,[41] for example, or, on a shop sign from Ostia, doing their shopping.[42] On the latter monument the costume of the men, a hooded *paenula*,[43] is similar to that of several figures on the Corsini chair.

Such reliefs are given by Bianchi Bandinelli as examples of *plebeian* art. Yet this chair must have been made for a noble family; the representation of the aristocratic life depicted on the chair must have had the same purpose it had on the situlae, to glorify the noble traditions of the owner. The style which results on the Corsini chair and "plebeian" reliefs is similar to the extent that it represents a lack of style;[44] the intent—to show reality, to tell the story as clearly as possible—is similar. This is, therefore, one of those cases when, as Bianchi Bandinelli remarks, patrician and plebeian traditions overlap. In the Corsini chair such a "provincial" style is, I believe, due to an intentional archaism which imitates the "rude" art of an earlier Italic style just as, on Neo-Attic monuments, archaizing artists were imitating Greek figures of the archaic or classical style.

The parallel between the subjects of Roman historical reliefs and of situla art is due to the

[35] For a detailed study of these representations of soldiers on the situlae, see O.-H. Frey, "Bemerkungen zur hallstättischen Bewaffnung in Südostalpenraum," *Arheološki Vestnik*, Acta archaeologica (Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti. Sekcija za arheologijo) 24 (Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, 1973, appeared 1975), 621–35. On the use of similar oval shields on the Roman altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus (a monument which shows other similarities to the decoration of this marble throne), see G. de Luca 98, with refs. Certain details of armament can also be compared to those of the monument of Aemilius Paullus. Similarities have been noted between the organization of the soldiers in Rome and on northern monuments: on the Certosa situla in particular the three different groups of infantry have been compared to the three Roman orders of *velites*, *principes* and *triarii* (Pallottino, *The Etruscans*, 183).

[36] For the hunt, Bonfante (*supra* n. 12). For bows and arrows see Frey, "Bemerkungen" (*supra* n. 35) 633, n. 49. Points on hats occurred on the situlae (Bonfante, *supra* n. 12). This shape with button is Etruscan, however: see the fourth-century Etruscan mirror in Paris, J. D. Beazley, *JHS* 69 (1949) 8, pl. 4b; and M.-F. Briguet in *Aspects de l'art des étrusques dans les collections du Louvre* (Paris, [n.d. 1976]) 30–31, no. 64.

[37] Bonfante (*supra* n. 9), 95–97. For Etruscan influence on games in Rome and northern Italy, see R. Bronson, "Chariot Racing in Etruria," *Studi Banti* (*supra* n. 20), 106.

[38] Bianchi Bandinelli (*supra* n. 8), 92; E. Simon, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Tübingen, 1967), pl. 9. For the difference between the style of this small relief and the large procession of the altar, see R. Bianchi Bandinelli, in R. Bianchi Bandinelli and M. Torelli, "Rome," no. 75, *L'arte dell' antichità classica, Etruria. Roma* (Turin, 1976), and H. von Heintze, *Roman Art* (London and New York, 1971), 70. Relevant in this context is her observation: "It was not laws of artistic composition, but the demands of subject matter that were determinative" (von Heintze 7).

[39] Bianchi Bandinelli (*supra* n. 8), fig. 56; Ryberg (*supra* n. 1), 104–106, pl. 34, fig. 52.

[40] Bianchi Bandinelli (*supra* n. 8), 57. Cf. L. Bonfante, *La Parola del Passato*, Rivista di studi antichi, 99, (Naples, 1964), 401–27.

[41] *Supra* n. 8.

[42] Bianchi Bandinelli (*supra* n. 8), fig. 69.

[43] *Supra* n. 30.

[44] Bianchi Bandinelli (*supra* n. 8), 57–60.

[45] Brendel (*supra* n. 17).

Italic preference for the representation of ritual acts, which conforms with Greek habits sometimes but not always. These northern situlae in fact illustrate the "grammar and syntax-structure" of later Roman historical reliefs.[45] Both these northern peoples and the Romans went on representing native scenes in contrast to the more advanced, sophisticated Etruscans who borrowed Greek mythology; Etruscan influence, prestigious and far-reaching though it was, had definite limits. In Rome it left language and religion untouched. On the northern fringes of the Etruscan world, it left the domestic Italic tradition, as reflected in the situla art, quite untouched by Greek mythology. In a period when Rome was consciously looking for its non-Greek past, the native Italic tradition of earlier times, which had remained available in the northern regions, was recognized as Rome's own and was transferred to the Corsini Throne, this strange, but not quite so isolated, honorary monument.

It remains to discuss the use of this marble throne. It was made, I believe, for a noble Roman family, perhaps in connection with a cult which was in their charge.[46] The family may have had connections with northern Italy. The chair may also have been used for one of those funerals described by Polybius,[47] in which ancestors were impersonated in the procession, with the insignia of office they had held during their lifetime. In this case there would be no real difference between the chair's honorary significance[48] and its funerary use. The symbolism of the throne as representing an invisible presence is one which makes headway in the Hellenistic and Roman world.[49] Perhaps the fact that the decoration of the back would be hidden by someone sitting in the throne is in favor of such an interpretation.

Another marble throne, meant to be used outdoors in a sacred ceremony, is the Elgin chair, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum.[50] It is instructive to compare the two monuments, both decorated with motifs which, in a "classical" period, are reminiscent of the heroic past: Harmodius and Aristogeiton in one case, the aristocratic tradition of the Italic situlae in the other. And just as the Elgin Throne was probably used in the Agora of Athens by a priest, so the Corsini chair may well have been used in a ceremony in Rome, at the time of Caesar, by a member of an important family officiating as priest or magistrate.

[46] See for example the Potitii and Pinarii, Livy 1.7.12, and R.M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1–5* (Oxford, 1965), 60–61.

[47] Polybius 6.53.

[48] On the motifs of war and the hunt, to be interpreted as alluding to the *virtus* of the person being honored, see de Luca 97.

[49] See de Luca 99, with references.

[50] Inv. no. 74 AA 12; J. Frel, "Some Notes on the Elgin Throne," *AthMitt*, 91 (1976), 185–89. H. Thompson, *Getty Museum Journal*, 4 (1976), forthcoming.

Photo Credits: figs. 1, 2, 4, 7–10, 12–14: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome, neg. nos. E 39317, 39398, 4153, 4146, 4151, 4150, 4154, 4152, 4148 and C 9496; fig. 3, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, neg. 73.1490; fig. 5, Bologna, Museo Civico; fig. 6, Fotofast, Bologna; fig. 15, Fotografia Chomon-Perino, Turin.

Two Fragments of Sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art Illustrating the Indian Triumph of Dionsyus

By ANNA MARGUERITE McCANN

New York

IT SEEMS APPROPRIATE in a publication honoring Dorothy Kent Hill to bring to the fore two fragments of Roman sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York[1] which bear a special relationship to the famous sarcophagus in the Walters Art Gallery illustrating the Indian Triumph of Dionysus, one of the finest Roman coffins in existence and the gem of Baltimore's rich collection. The two pieces selected have also been chosen for their particular iconography of the Black barbarian, and one is of exceptionally high quality. A comparison of these two pieces with the earlier Baltimore sarcophagus where the myth is so superbly preserved further reveals the evolution of this particular Dionysiac theme with its significance for Christian art to follow.

The earlier of the two Metropolitan Museum fragments, and by far the finer in quality, shows two heads, both broken off at the neck, which belong to the upper right corner of the frontal relief of a rectangular coffin of the western type (figs. 1–3).[2] The piece was first published by Christine Alexander in 1930 who suggested that it belonged to a sarcophagus illustrating either the Meleager or Hippolytus story and gave a general date of the third century A.D. for its execution.[3] The head on the left, however, is clearly recognizable as that of a young Negro or Ethiopian boy, identified by his characteristic corkscrew curls, thick lips and broad nose.[4] For a comparison, one may look to the many examples of Blacks in ancient art. An especially fine one near at hand is the head of a young man in the Brooklyn Museum carved in gray marble (fig. 4).[5]

The Metropolitan Museum's head turns towards his right and bends slightly downwards. The highly polished ancient surface is well preserved. The pupils are drilled in the shape of kidney beans, and the drill is also used extensively in the hair to articulate the spiral curls which are arranged in four descending layers. Each vertical ringlet is outlined by short, deep drill channels with narrow bridges left between. Chisel strokes indicate the diagonal direction of the individual

[1] The two fragments discussed here will also appear in a forthcoming complete catalogue of the sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum's collection, *Roman Sarcophagi in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, some 28 pieces, written by the author.

[2] Acc. no. 28.57.3. Fletcher Fund, 1928, purchased by John Marshall in Rome. The end of his nose is broken off, and his left eyebrow is chipped. There is some encrustation on the cheeks, but the highly polished ancient surface is otherwise well preserved. Mr. John Ward-Perkins has identified the fragment, from visual analysis only, as Phrygian marble. Max. H. 7 in. (0.18 m.); max. L. 9¾ in. (0.25 m.); max. W. 7½ in. (0.19 m.); max. depth of relief, 3½ in. (0.09 m.).

[3] C. Alexander, "Unpublished Fragments of Roman Sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 3 (New York, 1930–1931), 44, no. 8, fig. 10.

[4] I am grateful to Dr. Frank M. Snowden for his confirmation of the identification of the boy as of mixed black-white descent. For the association of this racial type with the Triumph of Bacchus see particularly his book, *Blacks in Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 145–146, 149–150. For further comparative material see Dr. Snowden's publication, "Iconographical Evidence on the Black Populations in Graeco-Roman Antiquity," *Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. I, *From the Pharaohs to the Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York, 1976), 133–245.

[5] D. Kiang, "The Brooklyn Museum's New Head of a Black," *Archaeology* 25 (1972) 4–7, with earlier bibliography. Kiang suggests that the piece is of Roman Egyptian workmanship, a suggestion with which this writer is inclined to agree.

FIGURE 1 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Corner fragment of sarcophagus, Indian Triumph of Dionysus
Early Severan period, first quarter of the third century
Fletcher Fund, 1928

locks. The eyes, set back into the small head, are enlarged and framed by rounded brows. The mouth is slightly parted and deeply drilled. The cheeks are modelled, but the emphasis is on the pure oval shape of the head itself which is strongly classicizing in feeling with its smoothed and polished forms. The translucent surface of the face further contrasts with the deeply drilled and textured treatment of the hair. The heavy-lidded eyes and the sensuous, full lower lip give an impression of dreamy languor to the beautifully carved head of the young Black.

To the right of the Negro head is a female one, turned downward in the opposite direction to her left. Her right arm is also preserved and is raised and curved over her head with the hand extending onto the right short side. Her hair falls to her shoulders in long, scattered curls, the drill outlining the locks in a sketchy manner. The eyes are half closed, but the kidney-bean shape of the drilled pupils is still visible. Slight traces of red color are discernible at the corners of the eyes. The ancient highly polished surface of the face is likewise well preserved. Her pose

FIGURE 2 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN
Corner fragment of sarcophagus
(side view of figure 1)

FIGURE 3 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN
Head of a young Black (detail of figure 1)

and heavy-lidded eyes identify her as a maenad, one of the worshippers in the *thiasos* of Dionysus,[6] and she allows us to connect the original monument with the popular Dionysiac sarcophagi series.[7] For example, a close comparison may be made with a maenad seen on a Dionysiac sarcophagus in Ostia, dated by F. Matz in the late Severan period (figs. 5, 6).[8]

The young Ethiopian head specifically relates the fragment to the scenes of the Indian Triumph of Bacchus.[9] Among the various myths which surround Dionysus, that of his triumphal return

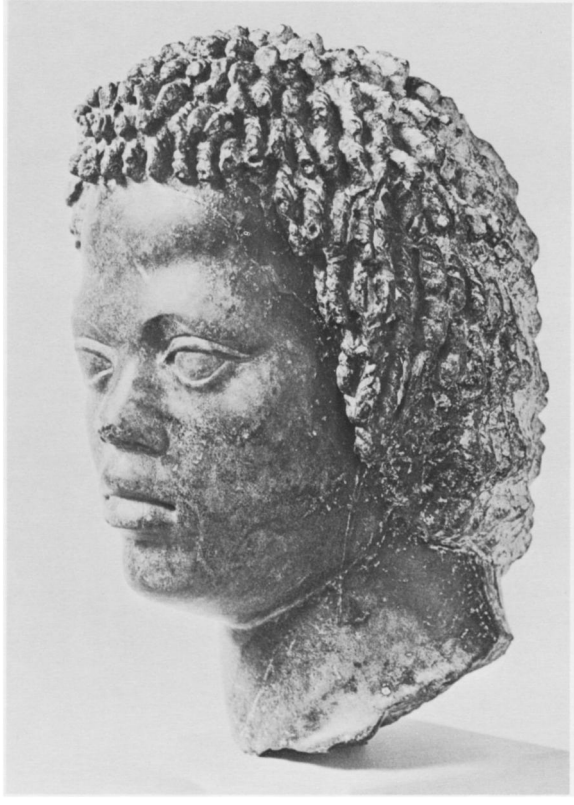

FIGURE 4 BROOKLYN MUSEUM
Head of a young Black, gray marble, Roman, second century (?)
Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 1970

FIGURE 5 OSTIA MUSEUM

Dionysiac sarcophagus, late Severan, second quarter of the third century

FIGURE 6 *Heads of a maenad and a satyr (detail of figure 5)*

from India accompanied by his usual retinue of maenads and satyrs as well as barbarian prisoners and exotic animals, especially illustrates the saving power of the god. It was after his eastern campaigns, modelled on the historical conquests of Alexander the Great,[10] and his triumphal return to the west that his cult was established, and commemorated in spring festivals which also celebrated the renewal of natural life. We know that religious guilds (*thiasoi*) formed processions imitating the triumphal entry of the god, and inscriptions give us some idea of the organization and liturgy of these cult groups. An especially extensive inscription of this kind is also in the Metropolitan Museum's collection and is of unique importance for our knowledge of the structure of a Bacchic *thiasos* as well as its documentation of a large East Greek community of worshippers transplanted into Latium.[11] It was to this type of community that the aristocratic commissioner of our fine sarcophagus who selected the Triumph motif also for its personal meaning must have belonged. He surely thought of himself as a *triumphator* over evil, and specifically over death, through his association with the savior god.

While sarcophagi illustrating the Indian Triumph of Dionysus go back to the Antonine period, the great majority of them are from the Severan age. This is not surprising in the light of the well-known eastern cult interests of the Severan rulers and the religious syncretism of the times. Dionysus was identified with Sabazios, the Thracian-Phrygian nature god, and also with Sarapis, the Egyptian god of the lower world.

FIGURE 7 LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM
Liber and Hercules (reverse)
Aureus of Septimius Severus, 204

[6] On the cult of Dionysus see especially H.W. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1844 ff.), I, cols. 1085 ff. (F.A. (Voigt); IV, col. 232 ff. (Eisele); *RE*, s.v. "Mysterien and "Sabazios"; H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (Paris, 1951); A. Bruhl, *Liber Pater. Origine et expansion du culte dionysiaque à Rome et dans le monde romain* (Paris, 1953); M.P. Nilsson, "The Bacchic Mysteries of the Roman Age," *Harvard Theological Review* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) 175 ff.; F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (Chicago, 1956), 194–204, 302–313; M.P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age*, Svenska instituret: Athen. Skrifter. Acta, series altera, 5 (Lund, 1957); W.F. Otto, *Dionysus. Myth and Cult* (Bloomington, Ind., 1965).

[7] A.L. Pietrogrande, "Sarcofago policromo con rappresentazione bacchica," *Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 60 (1933), 177 ff.; K. Lehmann-Hartleben, E. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1942); F. Matz, *Ein römisches Meisterwerk. Der Jahreszeitensarkophag Badminton-New York*, JdI Supplement 19 (1958); R. Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques* (Paris, 1966); F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage*, parts 1–4, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1968–1975) (hereafter: Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage*). For interpretation of the myth in a funerary context see also I.A. Richmond, *Archaeology and the After-Life in Pagan and Christian Imagery* (Oxford, 1950), 29 ff.

[8] Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage* 1, no. 54, pl. 66.

[9] B. Graef, *De Bacchi expeditione Indica monumentis expressa* (Berlin, 1886); C. Robert, "A Collection of Roman Sarcophagi at Clieveden," *JHS* 20 (1900) 81–98, pls. VII–XII; F. Matz, "Der Gott auf dem Elefantewagen," *Abhandlungen der geistes-und sozialwissenschaft Klasse*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literature in Mainz (1952), no. 10; *idem*, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage* 2, 188 ff.

[10] Graef, *op. cit.*; Turcan, *op. cit.*, 441 ff. Among ancient sources see especially Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XIII ff.

[11] Acc. no. 26.60.70. A. Vogliano, F. Cumont, "The Bacchic Inscription in the Metropolitan Museum," *AJA* 37 (1933), 215–270. I am grateful to Sterling Dow for bringing to my attention this important inscription which he intends to republish shortly.

FIGURE 8 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Handle of silver-gilt dish, Indian Triumph of Dionysus
Roman, second century (said to be from Iran)
Rogers Fund, 1954

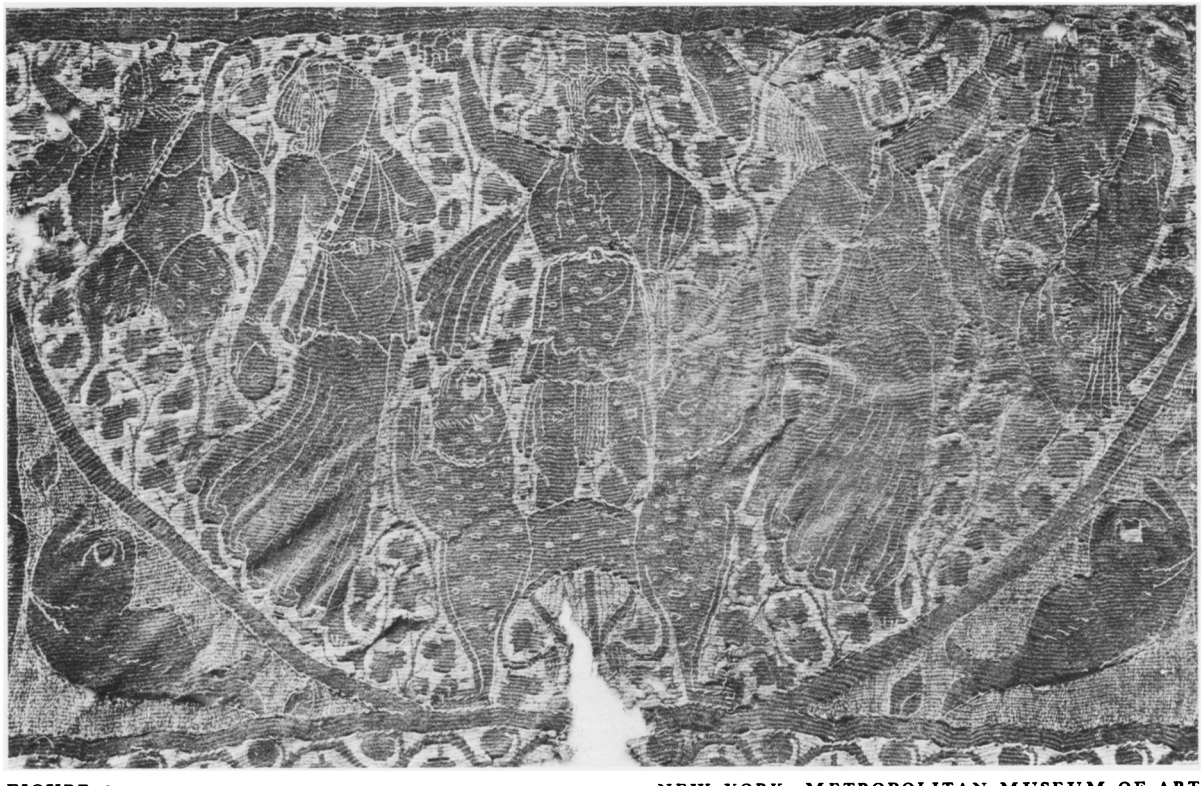

FIGURE 9 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Textile, Triumph of Dionysus, Roman Egypt, third or fourth century
Gift of George F. Baker, 1890

It is known that the latter was especially adopted by the founder of the Severan dynasty, Septimius Severus.[12] Furthermore, Liber, the Roman Bacchus, was the patron god of Lepcis Magna, the home of Severus, and special emphasis is given to this god on his coinage (fig. 7).[13] It is also easy to understand why the Dionysiac mystery cult had an irresistible appeal especially to the upper classes, as witnessed by the wealth of Dionysiac sarcophagi and the wide use of the myth in other areas of art. Especially fine examples of the Triumph from the Metropolitan Museum's collections are the scenes on the beautiful handle of a Roman silver-gilt dish of the second century said to be from Iran (fig. 8)[14] and on an elaborate textile of the third or fourth century from Roman Egypt (fig. 9).[15] Excitement was especially stressed by the Bacchic procession illustrated in these examples, and through the sacred wine of the god the initiate was freed from the cares of his earthly life to be united through ecstasy with the god himself. The cult had a developed eastern liturgy which would have attracted the educated mind and it shared with the other mystery cults a stress on mystic rites, cultivation of the social bond, and finally the supreme reward of eternal life to the initiated.

The earliest sarcophagi in the Triumph series, which was first studied by B. Graef in 1886 and most recently by F. Matz, shows Dionysus standing in a chariot usually drawn by either centaurs or panthers.[16] The emphasis is on the god as the dispenser of wine accompanied by his ecstatic retinue, and on the mystic rites of initiation. Dionysus may also sometimes be accompanied by Ariadne[17] or Heracles.[18] While there is a good deal of variety in iconography, R. Turcan in his recent thorough study identifies a shift in emphasis in the Dionysiac triumphal representations on sarcophagi during the late Antonine period.[19] At this time more human types are introduced into the mythological processional group as well as are further exotic animals. There is now a stress on Dionysus as the missionary god who chastises the impious and wins followers through his campaigns to the far corners of the world.[20] Indian prisoners, adapted to the iconography of the Ethiopian, a type already previously well developed in ancient art,[21] play an increasingly dominant role. Turcan further associates this interest in the military aspects of Dionysus' legends with the historic climate during the reign of Marcus Aurelius; similar changes can be noted on contemporary battle sarcophagi.[22]

[12] A.M. McCann, *The Portraits of Septimius Severus* (A.D. *193–211*), MAAR 30 (1968) 109 ff.

[13] *Ibid.*, 65, pl. IX, fig. 2.

[14] Acc. no. 54.11.8. C. Alexander, "A Roman Silver Relief: The Indian Triumph of Dionysos," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 14 (New York, 1955), 64–67.

[15] Acc. no. 90.5.873. M.S. Dimand, "Classification of Coptic Textiles," *Coptic Egypt* (Brooklyn Museum, N.Y., 1944); P. Friedländer, *Documents of Dying Paganism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1945), 27 ff., pl. 10; V.F. Lenzen, *Triumph of Dionysus on Textiles of Late Antique Egypt*, University of California Publication in Classical Archaeology, 5:1 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1960) pl. 2.

For an example in painting, see the famous painting cycle in the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii, A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri* (Rome, 1947).

[16] For the earliest examples in the Centaur series dating from about 150 A.D. Matz cites the sarcophagi in the Casino Rospigliosi in Rome, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage* 1, no. 59, pl. 69; in the Uffizi, Florence, *ibid.*, 2, no. 115, pl. 135, 2 and 140; and in S. Agostino, in Genoa, *ibid.*, no. 116, pl. 135, 1. For the development of the type see, *ibid.*, 245 ff. For the Panther series, see *ibid.*, pp. 212 ff. The earliest in this group is the fragment in the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican which he also dates about 150 A.D., *ibid.*, no. 94, pl. 123, 2 and the fine example in Baltimore, *ibid.*, no. 95, pls. 116–120 which he dates in the decade 170–180. Cf. Lehmann-Olsen, *op. cit.*, for a date between 180–200, pp. 70 ff. and 71, n. 216. Concerning the identification of panthers, this writer must agree with Lehmann, Olsen and other scholars, rather than with Matz who believes they are tigers.

[17] For example, see sarcophagus in the Casino Rospigliosi, Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage* 1 no. 59, pl. 69.

[18] For example, see *ibid.*, 2 pp. 216 ff.

[19] *Op. cit.*, 471 ff.

[20] For sarcophagi illustrating Dionysus' battles with the oriental tribes, see L. Guerrini, "Un sarcofago dionisiaco del Museo di Grottaferrata," *Studi Miscellanei* Seminario di Archeologia e Storia dell'arte Grecae Romana dell' università di Roma, 12 (Rome, 1967), 4 ff. I am grateful to Dr. E. Fabbricotti for this reference.

[21] For the most recent study of the type see Snowden, *op. cit.*, with earlier bibliography. For their use on sarcophagi specifically see H. Graeven, "Die Darstellungen der Inder in antiken Kunstwerken," *Jdl* 15 (1900), 195 ff.

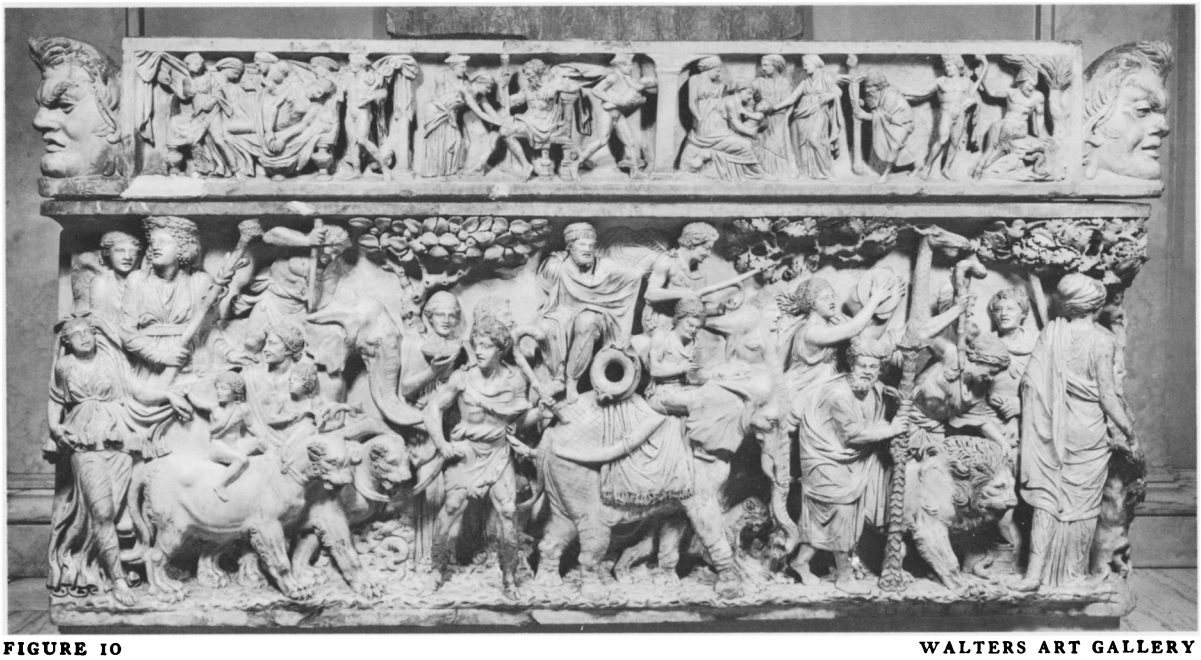

FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Sarcophagus, Indian Triumph of Dionysus, Roman, ca. 190

FIGURE 11 *Two young Ethiopian boys (detail of figure 10)*

In the Severan period, scenes of the Indian Triumph on sarcophagi usually showing the chariot of Bacchus drawn by elephants and giraffes are commonly included in the cortege. It is to this latter group of triumphal sarcophagi that our fine fragment from the Metropolitan Museum must belong. The closest iconographic parallel found for the Negro head is on the famous Triumph sarcophagus in Baltimore, where, besides the older barbarians riding on elephants, two barbarian children with Ethiopian characteristics are seen riding on the backs of the two panthers which draw the chariot of the god (figs. 10, 11).[23] They have been identified by K. Lehmann and E. Olsen as young converts to the cult, for they wear the *nebris*, and it is known that there was a special emphasis on the initiation of children into the Bacchic mysteries.[24] The head of the Black boy from the Metropolitan Museum's fragment is similar in both its facial features and hair style to these young converts, rather than to the older Indian prisoners that appear throughout the series. An exact parallel, however, for the Metropolitan Museum's complete corner group has not been found on any of the other known Dionysiac sarcophagi. The two heads in New York reveal a style which is somewhat later than those on the Baltimore sarcophagus which is dated by Lehmann and Olsen about 190, and traced back to a painted prototype originating in the decade of the 170's.[25] Matz traces the painted source back ultimately to Greek Hellenistic art.[26] That a painting was behind the compositional groups used on the sarcophagi seems clear, particularly in the case of the Baltimore example which is unique in its use of landscape motifs and is closest to representations of the scene on Roman mosaics.[27]

For a stylistic parallel, the Metropolitan Museum's fragment may be compared with a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum also illustrating the Indian Triumph (figs. 12, 13).[28] Dionysus' chariot is drawn here by two elephants ridden by two young Indian boys, one of whom has his head preserved which is adorned with corkscrew locks. To his immediate right along the upper rim of the sarcophagus, a maenad claps her cymbals over her head, lost in ecstasy. Both Matz and Andreae date the Lateran monument in the early Severan period. If one further contrasts the New York fragment with the great Dionysiac Seasons sarcophagus from Badminton Hall, also in the Metropolitan Museum's collection and dating from the second quarter of the third century,[29] an early Severan date is secured (figs. 14, 15). On the sarcophagus from Badminton Hall,

[22] For a study of Antonine battle sarcophagi as a whole see G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art* (Copenhagen, 1945), 172–189. Also see B. Andreae in Helbig[4], Vol. 2, no. 1739 and the fragments of a battle sarcophagus in the Metropolitan Museum (acc. no. 26.60.47 a, b), number 18 in A.M. McCann's forthcoming catalogue.

[23] See above, note 16.

[24] Lehmann-Olsen, *op. cit.*, 27; Snowden, *op. cit.*, 149–150.

[25] Lehmann-Olsen, *op. cit.*, 72. J. Ward-Perkins in conversation has identified the marble of this sarcophagus as Thasian, the same as is that of the Victory sarcophagus in Baltimore, *ibid.*, fig. 27, p. 78, which Lehmann dates about 210. Because of the similar marble used, Ward-Perkins suggests they may have been made as a pair, in which case they would be of contemporary date. Whether the Triumph sarcophagus can be dated as late as 210 is a question upon which we await Ward-Perkins' forthcoming new study of the Baltimore series.

[26] *Die dionysischen Sarkophage* 2, 212 ff. and 230.

[27] *Ibid.*, 222 for list of mosaics with the theme. Cf. especially the mosaic in Sousse, *Africa Italiana* 6 (Rome, 1935) 147, fig. 34 and Lehmann-Olsen, *op. cit.*, 72, n. 220.

[28] Acc. no. 10428, Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage* 2, no. 139, pls. 160, 162, 163.1 and 164.1. Helbig[4], no. 1125 (Andreae).

[29] Acc. no. 55.11.5. In the forthcoming catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum's collections, this writer agrees with the late Severan date of 220-235 first proposed by F. Matz in *Ein römisches Meisterwerk* and followed by G. Hanfmann in *Gnomon*, Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft, 31 (Berlin, 1959), 533 ff., M. Lawrence in *AJA* 64 (1960), 110 ff., J. Toynbee, *The Art of the Romans* (New York, Washington, 1965), 103 and others. Compare E. Reschke, "Römische Sarkophagkunst zwischen Gallienus und Konstantin dem Grossen," *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, F. Altheim, R. Stiehl, eds., 3 (Berlin, 1966), pp. 360 ff. and 398, who dates the Badminton sarcophagus between 270–275. This late Gallienic date has been followed by B. Andreae in a lecture at Princeton, October, 1975.

For a full discussion of the Badminton sarcophagus, see the forthcoming catalogue, no. 17, and forthcoming book by M. Lawrence to whom I owe my special thanks for her generous sharing of her unpublished manuscript with me.

FIGURE 12 ROME, VATICAN, LATERAN COLLECTION

Sarcophagus, Indian Triumph of Dionysus, early Severan period

FIGURE 13 *Maenad (detail of figure 12)*

FIGURE 14 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Sarcophagus, Triumph of Dionysus and the Seasons, late Severan, 220–235

Pulitzer Bequest, 1955

FIGURE 15 *Seasons: Winter and Spring (detail of figure 14)*

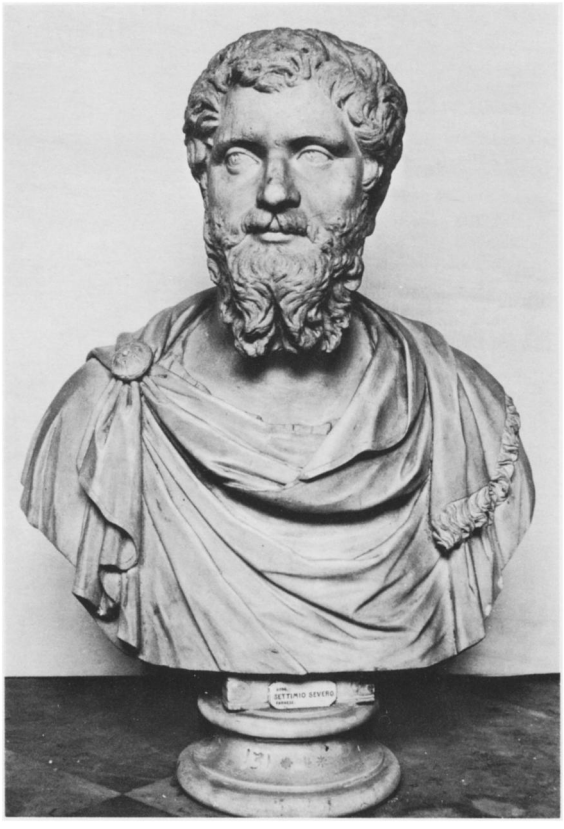

FIGURE 16 NAPLES, MUSEO NAZIONALE
Marble bust of Septimius Severus, 207–211

more advanced stylistic features are apparent, such as the increased abstraction visible in the faces of the young Seasons with their enlarged eyes and sleek oval forms. The drill work in the hair and beards of the figures is also deeper and more schematized. The classicizing style, noted in the face of the Black boy in the fragment, has been further developed. This trend first emerged in Severan art in the late portraits of Septimius Severus and those of his sons in the first decade of the third century (fig. 16).[30] A date, then, early in the first quarter of the third century for the New York fragment seems appropriate.

A second sarcophagus fragment in the Metropolitan Museum may also be identified with the Dionysiac triumphal legend (figs. 17, 18).[31] Preserved is a male head of an older barbarian with corkscrew curls, short moustache and chin beard. The head is broken off at the neck with a small pyramidal fragment of the relief background attached. The head is turned to his right with the eyes glancing upwards. The drill is also used extensively in the hair in deep channels to outline the scattered corkscrew ringlets. Single, dotted, drill holes are used to accent the curls of the moustache and chin beard. The surfaces of the cheeks are modelled, and the brows are ridged and swelling. The furrowed brow and widely-parted mouth convey a distinct feeling of turmoil and pathos.

The corkscrew locks identify this head also as that of an Ethiopian. G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg has compared the fragment with a head in the magazine of the Vatican Museum originally belonging to a sarcophagus illustrating the Indian Triumph of Dionysus which he would date in the first half of the third century.[32] For an example of the entire scene, one may further compare the New York fragment with a complete sarcophagus in Woburn Abbey dated by Matz in the decade between 210 and 220 (figs. 19, 20).[33] The New York head is particularly like that of the prisoner shown in three-quarter view riding on an elephant in the middle foreground. Both heads share an extensive and sketchy use of the drill in the corkscrew curls and a realistic modelling of the fleshy surfaces. The Woburn Abbey sarcophagus belongs to the later group of Triumph scenes and shows Dionysus on the left standing in his chariot drawn by panthers.

If one contrasts the Metropolitan Museum's older Black barbarian head with the heads of the

[30] Naples, Museo Nazionale, acc. no. 6086, McCann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 12), 121 ff.

[31] Acc. no. 18.145.57. Rogers Fund 1918, purchased by John Marshall. The tip of the nose is missing as are various ends of the hair curls. Incrustation and discoloration of the surface are evident and the left side of the face is particularly worn. Greek marble, medium-sized crystal. Max. H. 6¾ in. (0.17 m.); max. W. 4¾ in. (0.12 m.). G.M.A. Richter, "A New Classical Study Room," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 24 (New York, 1929), 142, fig. 2; *idem*, *Handbook of the Classical Collection* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1930), fig. 242; G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del magazzino del Museo Vaticano* (Rome, 1937), no. 548, p. 234.

[32] Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *loc. cit.*

[33] Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage*, 2 no. 100, pls. 126; 128:1; 130–132. Turcan, *op. cit.* 247 ff., who agrees with Matz's date.

FIGURE 17 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN
Fragment of sarcophagus, Indian Triumph of Dionysus
Rogers Fund, 1918

FIGURE 18 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN
Fragment of sarcophagus (side view of figure 17)

young Black boys from the other New York fragment and from the Baltimore sarcophagus, the slightly more advanced style of the single head is apparent. The drill is used more extensively and cursorily in the hair and digs into the surface of the flesh to indicate the beard and moustache. The emphasis on realism and pathos in the older barbarian head reveals an artist with more pronounced baroque interests in expression rather than classical forms. Even in the small head, the artist has conveyed the terrorized expression of the old, bound captive whose fate as an unbeliever yet awaits him. In contrast are the other two heads of the young barbarian boys whose dreamy expressions indicate their acceptance into the cortege of believers. These two strikingly different portrayals of Black barbarian captives reveal two contrasting aspects of the Dionysiac myth and increase our understanding of the Roman attitude towards the foreign races they conquered.

Through these small fragments of Dionysiac triumphal sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum we have contact with the rich life of the mystery cults of ancient Rome which played such an important part in the religious transition of the pagan to the Christian world. It has been rightly noted that because of them the ultimate triumph of Christianity was an "evolution not a revolution."[34] Furthermore, the earlier fragment is of the highest quality and apparently documents a compositional type which is unknown to this writer in other existing examples of Dionysiac sarcophagi. It is tantalizing to wonder who the wealthy person was who commissioned this apparently unique coffin. Both fragments remind us anew of the deeper longing of mankind in all ages for permanence and the need for a direct relationship with divinity.

[34] Cumont, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6), Intro., p. x (G. Schowerman).

Photo credits: figs. 1–3, 8, 9, 14, 15, 17, 18, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; fig. 4, Brooklyn Museum; figs. 5, 19, 20, German Archaeological Institute, Rome; figs. 6, 7, 11, 16, A.M. McCann; fig. 10, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 12, 13, Vatican, Lateran collection.

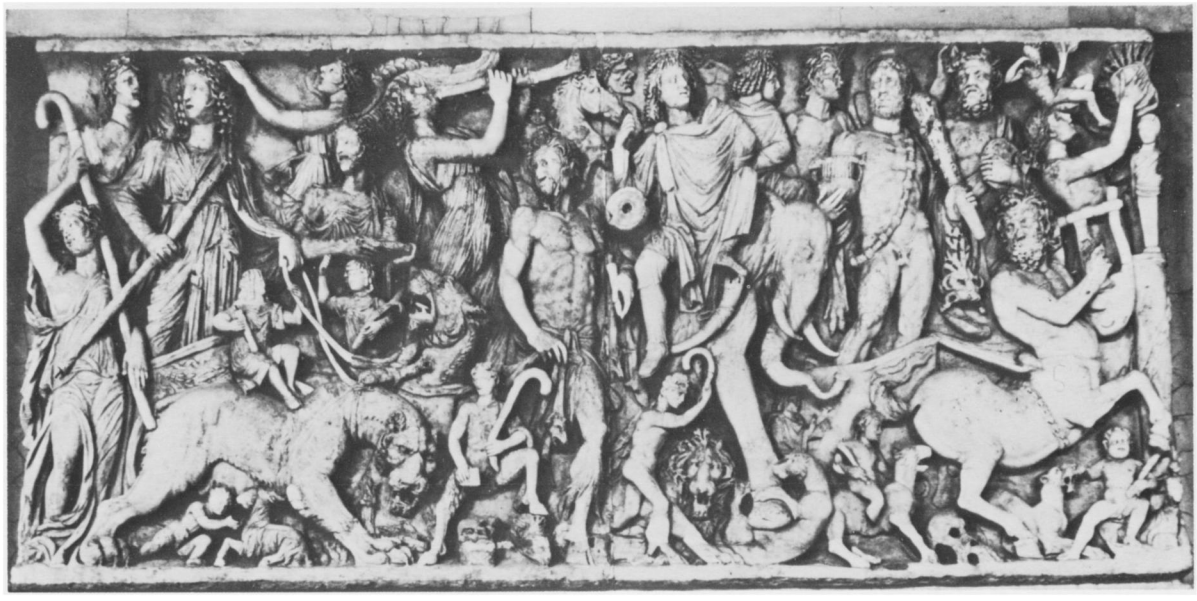

FIGURE 19 WOBURN ABBEY

Sarcophagus, Indian Triumph of Dionysus, 210–220

FIGURE 20 *Barbarian captives (detail of figure 19)*