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FRONT COVER: Mosaic of kneeling gazelle (Acc. No. 70.12).

BACK COVER: Ashlar block with stucco decoration,
from excavations at Tel Anafa (see page 10) *Photograph by David Harris.*

All Museum photographs by Ronald G. Marquette

ACTIVITIES 1970

A perusal of this issue is sufficient to indicate the degree to which the archaeological activities of both the Museum and the Department of Art History and Archaeology have expanded. No less than four expeditions were in the field in the summer of 1970, staffed largely by faculty and students from the Columbia campus, and the brief reports included here show the diversity of our archaeological interests. The finds from these excavations are now, and for long will continue to be, a major source of study material for our staff and graduate students. Many such research projects are now in progress: 1970-71 saw preparations for publication of the great mass of finds from the Museum's excavations of 1964-67 at the Late Roman glass factory site of Jalame, southeast of Haifa in Western Galilee. The glass vessels, the pottery and the lamps are the subjects of two dissertations and a thesis respectively. The excavation's director, Dr. Gladys D. Weinberg of the Museum staff, has coordinated this work from Jerusalem, where she continued her own study of the Jalame glass factory, as well as of the glass found at Tel Anafa. The vast quantity of Hellenistic materials from the latter site is already occupying three of our graduate students, who are studying the lamps, the fine pottery and the decorative stucco.

At home as well, the Museum continues to be the scene of a great amount of scholarly activity on the part of both staff and students. With the Director on leave for a second year, serving as head of the archaeological museums in Jerusalem, the burden of coordinating these activities again fell on the Acting Director, Jane C. Biers, who deserves special recognition for the success achieved by the Museum during these years. Emphasis was placed by the Curator of Modern Art, Professor Robert Munman, on the cataloguing of our collections of paintings, drawings and prints, an

effort in which a number of students participated. Resulting from this program was an exhibition of drawings and prints of the 15th to the 18th century, sixty-five items by Italian, Flemish, Dutch, French and Austrian artists; most of these had never been exhibited in the Museum. This was followed by an exhibition of contemporary prints, all recent acquisitions. Smaller exhibits presented the group of "objets de vertu" given by the late Miss Sarah Catherine France, newly acquired Palestinian archaeological material, the Townsend collection of ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman objects, several groups from the Far East, and other recent acquisitions.

Besides the students' participation in cataloguing prints and drawings, they were offered a course in numismatics based upon the Museum's collections, while a course in museology was introduced by Professor P.P. Kahane. Almost all courses in the Department continue to send students at all levels to the Museum to observe, study and describe original works of art of all periods and styles. While exigencies of space allow the exhibition of only a small part of our total holdings, changing exhibits geared to course work help to make more material available, and the numbers of objects in storage are always at the disposal of instructors and their students, though here again it becomes increasingly difficult to accommodate students in the cramped quarters in which we must work. All this is soon due for a decided change for the better; the Museum and the Department have just been assigned the old Chemistry building, which, after remodeling, should be ready for occupancy by September 1973. This will offer the Museum greatly enlarged exhibition, storage and laboratory space, with which come new hopes for the future.

SAUL S WEINBERG
Director

ACQUISITIONS 1970

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN ART

Costa Rica

Granite head of a jaguar, part of a *metate* (4*), Precolumbian, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Martin J. Gerson.

Guatemala

Ceramic censer with lid in form of human head (16), Precolumbian, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Marcus.

Mexico

Terracotta figure of the god Xipe Totec (18), from Veracruz, Remojadas style, Late Classic, A.D. 700-1000, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Marcus.

Peru

Pottery vessel in form of man holding small cup (17), ca. A.D. 1200-1400, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Marcus.

FAREASTERN ART

China

Bronze brush-holder, cylindrical, with openwork design of flying cranes and clouds (42), 19th c. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Irwin A. Vladimir.

Japan

Bronze tsuba (sword-guard) with fishing scene in relief (49), late 17th-early 18th c.; bronze tsuba with relief of peacock and clouds (55), late 19th c.; iron tsuba with copper inlay (51), 16th c.; five iron tsubas with gold, silver and copper inlay forming floral designs and fishing scenes (46-48, 50, 52); 17th c.; all the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Irwin A. Vladimir.

Bronze wedding mirror with floral reliefs and inscription (53), late 18th c.; bronze wedding mirror, similar (54), late 19th c.; both the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Irwin A. Vladimir.

Ivory sword pendant (43), 18th c.; two wooden railing finials, one (44) in form of a man holding a hammer, the other (45) a man carrying a fish, both late 18th c.; the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Irwin A. Vladimir.

Woodblock prints by the following artists: Kunisada, 1786-1864 (70); Hiroshige I, 1797-1858, from the series "Views of more than Sixty Provinces" (73); Hiroshige I, two prints from the "Hundred Views of Yedo" (74, 75); Hiroshige I and Hiroshige II, 1797-1858 and 1826-1869, from memorial edition of "The thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji" (76); Hiroshige I and II, from the memorial edition of "Hundred Views of Yedo" (77); Hiroshi Yoshida, 1876-1950 (72); Hasui Kawase, 20th c. (71); all the above from the bequest of the late Mr. Ralph H. Turner.

*The numbers in parentheses are museum accession numbers and normally are given in full, as 70.4.



Left: terracotta figure of Xipe Totec, Vera Cruz, A.D. 700-1000 (18) 49.7 cm. Right: ceramic anthropomorphic vessel, ca. A.D. 1200-1400 (17) H. 45.5 cm.

SOUTHEAST AND CENTRAL ASIAN ART

India

Stone figure of black schist, probably Shiva and Parvati (2), Pala period, 9th-10th c., gift of Dr. and Mrs. Martin J. Gerson.

Copper figure of standing Jaina Tirthankara (170) from Chalukyan, 8th c.; brass figure of Shaiva saint holding a rosary (174) from Central India, 9th-12th c.; bronze figure of Mahachina Tara (165) from Bihar, 10th c.; bronze figure of Shiva and Parvati (166) from Kashmir, 10th c.; bronze figure of Vaishnavi (168) from Bihar, 11th c.; bronze figurine of standing Vishnu between two consorts (171) from Bengal, Pala period, 11th c.; bronze standing figure, perhaps Sundaramurti (173) from South India, 13th c.; bronze figure of standing Aiyanara (175) from Kerala, 14th c.; bronze figure of seated Krishna (172) from South India, 15th c.; brass figure of Venugopala (163) from Bengal, 15th c.; bronze censer in the form of Garuda, a celestial bird (176), from South India, 16th c.; bronze figure of Vishnu and Lakshmi seated under Sheshnaga (167) from South India, 17th-18th c.; all the gift of Dr. Samuel Eilenberg.

Bronze figure of standing Rama with inlaid ivory eyes (3) probably from North India, 18th c.; bronze figure of five-headed Naga rising above an altar (1), 19th c.; three bronze figures of standing household



Left to right: bronze figure of Rama, North India, 18th c. (3) H. 23.3 cm.; male figure, Gandhara, 3rd or 4th c. (180) H. 16.3 cm.; ceramic vessel with lid from Iran, Bronze Age (329) H. 13.4 cm.

gods in primitive style (8-10), 19th c.; all the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Martin J. Gerson.

Brass temple lamp with hook and chain for suspension (154), 19th c.

Pair of ivory sandals with ornate carving (178), pair of wooden sandals (179) both from South India, 18th-19th c.; gift of Dr. Samuel Eilenberg.

Nepal

Bronze figure of seated Kuvera (164), 14th c. Gilded copper figure of seated Tara, female companion to the Bodhisattvas of Tantric Buddhism (162), 18th c., gift of Dr. Samuel Eilenberg.

Pakistan

Relief sculpture in stucco representing a nude crouching male (180), Gandhara period, 3rd-4th c., gift of Dr. Samuel Eilenberg.

Tibet

Bronze figure of Chandavajrapani, fierce form of Vajrapani holding a vajra (169), 16th c.; carved bamboo tinder box attached to an iron light-striker mounted in bronze (177), 18th c.; both the gift of Dr. Samuel Eilenberg.

Iran

Pottery vase painted with stylized ducks among reeds

and trees (39), Giyan IV period, late 3rd millennium B.C.; two-handled black pottery vessel with incised decoration, its lid a two-handled miniature bowl (329) perhaps from northwest Iran, Late Bronze Age; three vessels of gray ware, one with a goat's head projecting from the side (326), spouted bowl with burnished cross-hatching below the rim (327) and spouted cup with handle in the form of a goat's head (328), ceramic censer of coarse red ware with vertical grooves and a high basket handle (330); all 1000-800 B.C.

Bronze figure composed of the foreparts of two stags joined together (325), bronze chariot (only two wheels preserved) pulled by two horses (342); both Bronze Age. Bronze arm-ring with incised decoration (158), Late Bronze Age; bronze pin with engraved disc-shaped head (133) from Luristan, 6th c. B.C.

NEAREASTERN ART

Anatolia

Bronze knobbed bow fibula (104), late 8th c. B.C.

Cyprus

Ceramic "red cross" bowl (40), Middle Cypriote; black-glazed amphora with twisted handles and incised grooves (139), 3rd or 2nd c. B.C.; terracotta figurine of standing woman (157) from Famagusta, 700-

600 B.C.; double-nozzled lamp of saucer type (116), Iron Age.

Egypt

Three miniature alabaster vessels: stemmed beaker (322), krater (323) and bowl (324), XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty, 1527-1200 B.C. Canopic jar of limestone with head of the ape Hapy (155) Late New Kingdom, ca. 1200-1080 B.C.; plaster mould for a bust of Isis (143), ca. 200 B.C.; marble eye with pupil of black stone, inlay for a statue (148).

Wooden figure of crocodile with carved decorative pattern (136), New Kingdom, 1567-1080 B.C.

Conical clay stopper for large jar with illegible seal impression on the side (156), IIInd Dynasty (?), 2800 B.C.; faience scarab, blue-glazed, for attachment to mummy wrappings (149), Late New Kingdom, 1195-1080 B.C. Terracotta head of Harpocrates (144), 4th c. Terracotta figurine of Baubo (6), fragment of terracotta figurine of Harpocrates cloaked and holding a jar (7), both 4th c.; gift of Dr. and Mrs. Martin J. Gerson.

Terracotta lamps: one with bust of Isis in relief on the discus (125), 2nd c.; two "frog" lamps with relief and incised decoration (122, 123), 3rd or 4th c.; lamp in shape of a crocodile (128), 3rd or 4th c.; two lamps with geometric decoration in relief (117, 119), 3rd or 4th c.

Bronze javelin point (145) from near Alexandria, New Kingdom, 1567-1080 B.C.; two bronze weights corroded together with a ring between (146), New Kingdom.

Palestine

Ceramics: three vessels, red painted jug (209), jug with applied strips (210) and hemispherical bowl with two loop feet (212), all Early Bronze Age I, 3000-2800 B.C.; bowl with horizontal grooved bands and wavy comb-markings (187), Middle Bronze Age I, 2200-2000 B.C.; white-slipped jar (282), one-handed jug in shape of double cone (281), pointed dipper with cream-colored slip (279), gray juglet with rounded bottom (276), all Middle Bronze Age IIB, 1800-1630 B.C. Jar with red burnished paint (211), shallow bowl with vertically pierced ledge-handle (213), Middle Bronze Age, 2200-1550 B.C. Pointed dipper (280), large white-slipped bowl with high foot, red and black stripes painted around inside edge (283) from Mount Nebo, white-slipped bowl with flat bottom, black and red circles painted inside (284), two-handed white-slipped bowl (285), biconical jar, white-slipped, with designs painted in red (309), all Late Bronze Age, 1550-1200 B.C. Two one-handed jugs with low ring-feet, burnished (206, 207), Iron Age I, 1200-900 B.C. Jug with ceramic stopper, perforated vertically (208), two-handed jar with dark red paint on neck and shoulder (308), both Iron Age II, 900-600 B.C. Vase in shape of a pomegranate (321), Iron Age.

Two globular juglets of gray ware (227, 278), two red-glazed footed cups (286, 287), black-glazed cup with rouletting around upper part (289), red-glazed



Left: biconical ceramic jug, Palestine, Late Bronze Age (309) H. 25.9 cm.; right: bronze dagger with part of sheath and marble pommel, Palestine, Middle Bronze Age (310) L. of blade 27.8 cm.

baby feeder (288), jar with vines in relief around the body (197), bowl with stylized vegetation in relief (198), two globular red-glazed jugs (195, 196), trefoil oinochoe with low foot (194), lagynos with traces of red paint (202), ovoid cup with traces of red and black paint (201), bowl with dull red paint inside and dull black outside, on exterior incised the name *Teukrou* (200); all the above Late Hellenistic. Glazed cup with two vertical wing-handles having thumb-rests (199), 1st c.

Lamp with red glaze around the central hole and radial incisions (315), early 1st c.

Glass: four moulded bowls: sub-conical with horizontal grooves inside (109), rounded with flat bottom (110), shallow with interior grooves (313), ribbed with interior grooves (312), all Late Hellenistic.

Blown vessels: piriform bottle with marbled appearance (300), 2nd c.; cup with pad base and hollow sphere rising from it inside, engraved grooves outside (191), 1st-2nd c.; cylindrical cup with engraved grooves outside (301), 2nd c.; flask with flat rim, narrow neck, angular shoulder (189), early 4th c.; bowl with folded rim and foot, dark blue trails under rim (299), late 3rd or early 4th c.; cup with solid base, single trail around body (311), 4th c.; conical lamp with turquoise trails around body, flat base (186), 4th c.; two-handed jug with turquoise trails around body (108), 4th c.; one-handed flask with mould-blown twisted ribs on body, dark green trails around rim and neck (105), 5th c.; tall cylindrical flask with conical neck and rim (298), 4th c. or later; flask with brown trails on neck (302), 5th c. or later. Three-handed piriform glass jug with flaring neck and trefoil mouth, blue trails around neck and rim handles of same color (306), 5th or 6th c., gift of Mr.

and Mrs. Richard Clements. Mould-blown jug, four-sided, with patterns in relief (305), 5th or 6th c.; four-handled flask with handles and trails in dark blue (307), 6th c.?; brown piriform bottle with corrugated body (304), 7th c.?; dark blue flask with twisted ribs on body, brown trails on neck (303), 6th c. or later.

Beads: nineteen cylindrical and biconical beads, one spacer bead (297), Hellenistic and earlier.

Metal: hoard of bronzes found in Jordan, including spearhead (241), three dagger blades (226, 227, 233), seven spearheads with hooked tangs (236-240, 242, 243), spearhead with hooked tang and bronze spiral for attaching it to haft (235), six dagger blades, leaf-shaped with central ridges bordered by grooves (216, 218-222), two daggers with flat leaf-shaped blades (228, 229), flat knife blade with curved tip (234), four toggle pins (244-247); all Middle Bronze Age I, 2200-2000 B.C. Two dagger blades (215, 217), three socketed spearheads (230-232), Middle Bronze I and IIA, 2200-1800 B.C.; three dagger blades with low central ridges (223-225), Late Middle Bronze Age, 1800-1550 B.C. Dagger with crescent-shaped marble pommel preserved (310), Middle Bronze Age IIC, 1630-1550 B.C.; sword with flanged hilt and leaf-shaped blade (214), Late Bronze Age, 1550-1200 B.C. Shallow bowl with carinated rim (190), Late Iron Age, 7th-5th c. B.C.

Stone: sixteen limestone pommels for swords and daggers, belonging to weapons mentioned above (251-267), Middle Bronze Age I-IIA, 2200-1800 B.C. Three limestone and plaster mirror frames, two preserving a glass mirror (80-82), Byzantine; limestone handle with remains of tang (268), date uncertain; stamp with pierced holes and bars in relief (204), Byzantine?.

Coins: bronze quarter shekel dated "Year 4" (320) A.D. 69/70. Ten terracotta coin moulds (331-340), early 4th c.

Syria

Eight vessels including two ovoid jars with painted bands (269, 270), two cups similarly painted (193, 273), two cups with upper part painted white and incised spiral design (271, 272), two juglets with upper half painted (272, 275); all Middle Bronze I, 2200-2000 B.C.

Terracotta female statuette with applied clay pellets and incised decoration (192), Hurrite, Middle Bronze Age I, 2200-2000 B.C.

Limestone funerary bust of a woman, with Greek inscription (19), 3rd c.

GREEK, ETRUSCAN AND ROMAN ART

Greek

Pottery: false-necked jar with geometric decoration in brown glaze (28), Mycenaean; amphoriskos with floral motives in red glaze (29), Late Mycenaean. Neck fragment of relief-amphora with sphinxes and griffins in relief (343) from Crete, ca. 640 B.C., the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks (see page 30 for illustration). Black-glazed baby feeder with pattern in white on the shoulder (134), 5th c. B.C.; fragment of black-glazed vase with attached relief (106), Hellenistic; red-figured krater, on the obverse a satyr and maenad, on the reverse two men standing with a column between (159), South Italian, 3rd c. B.C.; eight "Megarian" bowls, all with floral designs in relief (31-38), Hellenistic.

Terracotta bust of a woman wearing a diadem (78) from Selinunte, Sicily, 5th c. B.C.



Left to right: terracotta female bust, Sicily, 5th c. B.C. (78) H. 17 cm.; limestone funerary female bust, Syria, 3rd c. (19) H. 76 cm.; glass flask, Syro-Palestinian, 5th or 6th c. (306) H. 7.9 cm.



Left: Roman marble funerary urn, 1st or 2nd c. (79) H. 28.5 cm.; below: iron finger ring with jasper intaglio gem, 2nd c. (317) L. of gem 1.45 cm.; right: Byzantine relief plaque showing St. Demetrius armed, 11th c. (14) H. 15.8 cm.



Left to right: bronze cross with Greek inscription, 6th c. (183) D. 13.8 cm.; gilded bronze fibulae with inlays, Migration period (30) L. 9.1 cm.

Terracotta lamps: black-glazed (114), 4th c. B.C.; black-glazed with garland in relief (121), 2nd or 1st c. B.C.; unglazed, with projection for wick-poker (115), 3rd c. B.C.

Gold earring (fragmentary) in form of ram's head (184) 4th-3rd c. B.C.

Roman

Marble funerary urn of the discus-thrower Claudius Septimus, one side with relief of three athletes each holding a discus, and a herm at right, the other side bearing an inscription flanked by griffins and winged figures in relief; two handles formed by ram's heads and the knobbed lid bearing ivy garlands in relief (79), Neo-Attic, 1st or 2nd c. after Christ.

Mosaic portraying a kneeling gazelle among leafy branches (12) said to be from Daphne near Antioch, 4th c. (see color illustration on cover).

Carnelian intaglio gem with bearded male head (203), 1st c. B.C.— 1st c. A.D.; jasper intaglio gem set in

an iron finger ring, with representation of leaping lion, hare and two deer (317), 2nd c.; jasper (?) intaglio gem with figure of Serapis and eagle (319), 2nd or 3rd c.; amethyst intaglio gem with head of deer (182), Roman period; haematite intaglio gem with horseman spearing a demon and inscribed "Solomon," on reverse inscribed "Seal of God" (96), 3rd c.

Pottery bowl with relief of two silens and maenad on each side (15) possibly from Pergamon, 1st c. B.C.

Terracotta lamps with reliefs on the disc: man riding a sea-monster (111), ship (112), eagle with thunderbolts (113), symplegma (160), all 1st c.; two nude female figures with a fountain between, signature on bottom (161), Eros blowing double flutes (150), both 2nd c.; lamp in form of Maltese dog (120), 3rd c.; lamp with long nozzle (126), date uncertain.

Bronze patera with handle ending in lion's head (107), 1st or 2nd c.; lead sling bullet with Latin letters in relief (141); bronze harness ring (142); bronze key (101); bronze hooked instrument with hinge (100); bronze finger ring with engraved bezel showing a

warrior (318); bronze buckle (294); bronze ring-fibula (295); fibula in shape of lion, with enamel inlay (205); Gallo-Roman. Bronze strigil (248); bronze beam of balance (249); fragment of balance (250); two bronze weights, one *uncia* (147), 2 *unciae* (93); lead weight with Greek official inscription in relief on one side (185) from Gaza.

Glass vessels: two flasks (135, 137) 2nd and 4th c.; conical lamp with engraved lines outside (132) 4th c.

Bone needle (83), four bone pins with decorative heads (84-87), three netting bobbins (89-91), two dice (92), all from Palestine.

Silver *denarius* of Sextus Pompey (26) minted in Sicily, 38-36 B.C.

EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE ART

Ceramic pilgrim flask with reliefs of St. Menas flanked by camels (140), 5th c.; three lamps with relief decoration (118, 124, 127), 4th-5th c.

Circular bronze plaque for attachment, enclosing a cross with Greek inscription, "For salvation and help. Light. Life" (183) 6th c.; bronze lamp with handle in form of vines supporting a crescent (314), 6th c.; bronze amulet engraved on both faces: obverse, horseman spearing a demon and Greek inscription "One God who conquers evil"; reverse, Christ upon cross, with two saints (99) 5th c.; six bronze belt buckles of various types (102, 103, 290-293) 6th and 7th c.; S-shaped bronze object with relief decoration (296) 7th c.; bronze repoussé plaque with figure of St. Demetrius standing with drawn sword (14) from Asia Minor, 11th c.; two bronze weights, one ounce (94) two *nomismata* (95), 10th c. or later.

Two glass weights with impressed figures (97, 98), probably 7th or 8th c.; blue glass bracelet with painted medallions enclosing birds and other figures, scrollwork between (181), 12th c.

Bone whorl with incised design (88), 11th or 12th c.

ISLAMIC ART

Ceramic vessel of gray ware (138), 10th or 11th c.; terracotta lamp with foliage in relief (316), Mameluke period; glazed lamp on stand (129) from Raqqa, 9th-11th c.

Bronze lamp-filler with thumb-rest (131), 8th-10th c.; triangular bronze lamp with openwork decoration (130), 10th c.

Blue glass "honeycomb" bowl (fragmentary) with foot (188), 8th c.

EUROPEAN ART

Prehistoric

Ceramic plate with vertical grooves and a handle (41), Hallstatt, 8th c. B.C. Flat bronze axe (151) from North Italy, 1900-1600 B.C.; two bronze palstaves (152, 153) probably from France, 1400-1200 B.C.

Migration Period

Pair of bronze fibulae with gilded geometric relief decoration and glass inlays (30), Hahnheim type, 550-600.

Renaissance to 1800

Wooden statuette of a man with a child holding a book (11) from Cibu Island, Philippines, 18th c.; wooden statuette of a saint dressed in monk's habit (5) from Goa, 18th c.; both the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Martin J. Gerson.

Woodcut, one page folio from the 1493 *Nuremberg Chronicle* depicting two fortified towns, *recto* identified as Westphalia, *verso* as Hessen (341), gift of Professor Edzard Baumann.

1800 to the Present

Painting, gouache: Edouard Leon Louis Edy-Legrand, *Spanish Dancers in Red* (13), French contemporary, gift of Mr. Waldo E. Tyler.

Graphics: Pierre Alechinsky, untitled lithograph (22), Belgian contemporary; Horst Antes, *Figur mit schwarzer Kappe auf Ocker*, lithograph (65) German contemporary; Jean-Edouard Augsburg, untitled etching with collage (56), Swiss contemporary; Max Bill, untitled serigraph (23), Swiss contemporary; Carlos Cruz-Diez, untitled serigraph (68), Venezuelan contemporary; Allan D'Arcangelo, *Gulf*, serigraph, artist proof II (62), American contemporary; Piero Dorazio, *Duesseldorf*, lithograph (24) Italian contemporary; Claire Falkenstein, untitled etching (63) American contemporary; Hans Hartung, untitled lithograph (66), German contemporary; Charles Hinman, untitled serigraph with embossing (27), American contemporary; Alain Jacquet, *Anniversaire*, etching (25) French contemporary; Asger Jorn, untitled lithograph (60), Danish contemporary; Gabor Peterdi, *Aquarium*, etching (20) American contemporary; Georg Karl Pfahler, untitled serigraph (57), German contemporary; Man Ray, *Allume tes gitanes*, etching (59), American contemporary; Reiner Schwarz, *Das Okular*, lithograph (64), German contemporary; Saul Steinberg, *Certified Landscape*, lithograph (67), American contemporary; Antoni Tapies, *L'Enveloppe*, lithograph (61), Spanish contemporary; Mark Tobey, untitled lithograph (21), American contemporary; Victor Vasarely, untitled serigraph (58) Hungarian contemporary; Marcel Duchamp, silver embossed photographic poster for Duchamp exhibition (69), French, 1887-1968.

Loans During 1970

Greek Geometric and Roman jewelry (57.16, 59.44, 45, 61.29, 63.21, 64.3, 65.92, 66.300) to the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, for the exhibit: "Jewelry of the Ancient Mediterranean." Oil painting, "Portrait of a Musician" by Thomas Hart Benton (67.136) to the Madison Art Center, Madison, Wisconsin, for the exhibit: "Thomas Hart Benton."

Tel Anafa: The Third Season

With the seventh consecutive season in the field in Israel in 1970, and the third at Tel Anafa, the University of Missouri Excavations have become an important and respected part of the expanding archaeological scene in that country. At the same time these excavations have become increasingly essential to the programs of the University's Museum of Art and Archaeology and its Department of Art History and Archaeology.¹ Not least, Tel Anafa's contribution to our knowledge of the Hellenistic period in the Near East grows with each season out of all proportion to the size of the site.²

Digging for eight weeks in 1970 was concentrated in the same five areas as in 1969, but the total area worked is now 344 square meters as compared with 241 square meters in 1969, and larger areas were dug to greater depths, though still not more than 3.50 meters below the surface. Everywhere the Hellenistic fill averages three meters in depth, and we have barely penetrated into the Persian period, which ended with the arrival of Alexander the Great in 330 B.C. We have, however, opened sizable areas that are now ready for deep-

er excavation in future campaigns. The greatly expanded Hellenistic exposure has resulted in much clearer understanding of the last two of this period's three architectural phases; the earliest phase is still little known. The middle phase is now seen to include walls previously thought to belong to two separate phases and to date in the second half of the second century B.C. The latest architectural phase is clearly datable to the end of the second century and the first quarter of the first century B.C.

The greatest expansion this past season came in the northeast sector where, opening four more squares, we have now laid bare an area 14 x 9 m. (Squares 2.6 — 2.11) and exposed an architectural complex of the latest Hellenistic phase.³ Part of the northern peribolos wall of the acropolis, about 1.75 m. thick, had previously been uncovered, as well as a flagstone-paved street just inside it to the south. North of this wall no signs of Hellenistic occupation occur among the great outcroppings of rock at the northern edge of the mound. Toward the end of the second century B.C. the peribolos wall was reduced to a stump and re-

Architectural complex in northeast sector, early first century B.C., seen from above, looking north.



placed by a large building. At first this consisted of a room at the east side of the excavated area and a paved court to the west, partly incorporating the old road. Several fine bronzes were found in this large room in the last two seasons. The traces of wall plaster noted in 1969 in the northwest corner of the room were cleared farther, and it was found that the west face of the west wall had been entirely plastered and decorated at intervals with groups of three vertical incised lines. Somewhat later the court to the west was provided with a colonnade based on a stylobate laid directly on a plaster floor; this stylobate ran roughly parallel to the northern wall of the court about three meters from it; originally it probably traversed the length of the court, but was truncated later by a north-south wall. The latter rests on a floor which is level with the top of the stylobate. Originally there was a door in this wall, but subsequently it was blocked, marking the fifth architectural sub-phase in a building which can have lasted not much more than twenty-five years. Here, as everywhere on the mound, occupation ended not later than 75 B.C.; a clearer date for the beginning of this last architectural phase, of which this building is thus far our best example, will

come only when excavation reaches the levels below.

The northwest sector (Squares 1.2, 1.3) had in 1969 produced a unique pair of ovens.⁴ Protected over the winter, these ovens were dismantled during this season. With the outer layer of stones removed, the shell was seen to be made of a series of superimposed clay rings, formed in place and bearing clear fingerprints. The lowest ring was laid in a cutting through the court floor to a depth as much as 25 cm.; this ring was fitted tightly against the side of the cutting so that no foundation trench appeared. With the walls removed, the floors were cleaned and sectioned, revealing an earlier pair of ovens beneath, somewhat farther south. These, built in the same way, may have still another pair under them. Courtyards with ovens are typical of the second architectural phase, also marked by deep accumulations of tumbled mud bricks.

Deeper digging in the east-central sector (Squares 2.1, 2.3, 2.4 and 2.2, 2.5) has shown that the architectural complex being uncovered here is all part of one building of the second phase, with scantier remains of the later phase and only one earlier bit having come to light thus far. The high stone walls and the mud-brick walls on

Northeast sector, looking east, showing plastered west cross wall. Note pier at extreme right.





Pair of ovens overlying an earlier pair, in a courtyard of the northwest sector, seen from the east.

stone foundations which we previously thought to be from two separate phases are in reality the exterior and interior walls respectively of a large building. One exterior wall, running roughly east-west across Square 2.1, is preserved to a height of 2.75 m., and the bottom has not yet been reached. These walls, 65-75 cm. wide, have ashlar blocks used as headers interspersed in the fieldstone masonry. The interior mud-brick walls, usually about 75 cm. wide, had substantial stone foundations, a meter or more deep in Square 2.2; one section of mud-brick wall about a meter wide was preserved to a height of 1.50 m. The exceptional preservation of both stone and brick walls is due to the fact that this area is filled with stone and mud-brick tumble to a depth of 2.00-2.50 m.; this can be explained only by postulating a second story, the collapse of which filled the lower story with great masses of debris. It is in this debris (Squares 2.1 and 2.3) that hundreds of fragments of painted and gilded stucco decoration were found in 1968 and again this season. The debris in 2.1 is largely from the collapse of the outer stone walls, and here was found an ashlar block (64 x 43 x 19 cm.) the face of which is still largely covered with elaborate decoration. Where-

as the ashlar blocks faced with stucco which were found previously had only a thin coating of plaster, either white or painted red or yellow, the block now found (lying face down) has a much thicker stucco, formed of a base layer about 2 cm. thick on which large potsherds were placed; these were then covered by another 1.5 cm. of coarse plaster and topped with a thinner coating of fine plaster. This smoothed surface formed the base on which raised mouldings and interlocking triangular panels were applied. The richly moulded and multicolored decoration can be seen in the illustration on the back cover of this issue. It now becomes clear that the stucco had fallen from the second story of this large building complex, the main rooms of which must have been richly adorned, with oft-changed schemes.

The step trench on the south slope was lengthened by five meters this year (Square 3.4) and deeper digging was done in Square 3.3. The slope is more rapid in Square 3.4 and little remains of the latest architectural phase. However, one scrappy wall ran east-west across the square, and at the west appeared an interesting Corinthian capital, sketchily carved, which may indicate that it had been covered with stucco



East-central sector seen from the south, showing high stone wall, with brick wall on stone foundations in foreground.

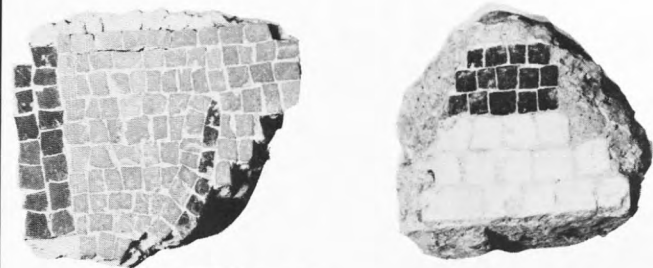
in which finer details were carried out. During the second architectural phase both squares were taken up by a flagged courtyard on the south side of the road that crossed the step trench at about its midpoint. Along the east side is a stone wall about a meter wide; on top are two large ashlar blocks laid as headers, suggesting the same construction technique as in the east-central area. Remains of several ovens were found along this wall, and close to the east baulk a rectangular construction of fired clay, perhaps a cupboard. The southern end of the area (most of Square 3.4) is badly disturbed by animal runs which pit the sides of the mound and extend many meters into it. The decontamination of the area was lengthy, but in the process a large domical stone structure, roughly circular, was revealed beneath the south end of the heavy stone wall. While its purpose is not yet clear, it seems to represent the earliest of the Hellenistic phases in this area. In removing the Hellenistic fill in much of the area, such as was left among the animal runs, a large mass of burnt clay debris was found to occupy the western half of Squares 3.3 and 3.4. It now stands more than a meter high and shows a multi-colored section; we have not yet dug into



Corinthian capital found near south end of tel.

it, but suggest tentatively that it belongs to the late fourth century B.C.

The 1970 season, besides providing a more comprehensive view of the Hellenistic period at Tel Anafa, was as rich in artifacts as the two previous seasons. This year were found several small fragments of mosaic pavement much more elaborate than those previously known from the site. Those found earlier were largely of white, unusually small tesserae, a few bordered with double rows of black and one with



Left: fragments of mosaic floor with varicolored patterns in stone and glass.



Left, below: local red-glazed krateriskos; right, above: imported krateriskos with red and black glaze, below: fragments of imported cup with garlands in relief.



Below: terracotta lamps, one with Eros in relief, another type of lamp, and a seven-nozzled lamp.



two rows of glass tesserae as well. The fine quality of mosaics continues, but many colored fragments with more complicated patterns have been found, some curvilinear and carried out in buff, gray, brown, red and green, the last in glass tesserae; one fragment suggests a figural pattern.

Hellenistic moulded glass vessels were as plentiful as before; the average is about 250 a season. The number that would result from the excavation of the whole mound and of the lower city is truly staggering, far beyond that produced by any other site. A brief supplementary excavation this past season just to the north of Kibbutz Hago-shrim, some ten kilometers north of Tel Anafa, yielded glass similar to that from Tel Anafa and one Egyptian fragment, but no evidence of a factory, as had been suggested. The beginning date around 150 B.C. for the glass vessels is again confirmed. Besides vessels, large numbers of glass beads, some counters, "gems" and a whorl made up the repertory of glass objects found in 1970.

The fine red wares also continued to appear in undiminished quantities, coming into use at Tel Anafa about 150 B.C. Plates larger than ever, up to 38 cm. in diameter, were found. The repertory of bowl shapes has been considerably increased; one decorated with incised lines both inside and out is reminiscent of the glass bowls. A new shape in red ware is a krateriskos, the body grooved vertically, the shoulder bearing traces of white-painted dots, apparently in imitation of West Slope ware. For the first time part of a jug with a high, narrow, cylindrical neck was found, a shape that was just coming into use when Tel Anafa ceased to exist.

Deeper levels dug this year have produced several pieces of lustrous black ware in local fabric as well as combinations of red and black, indicating that many of the red ware types had local antecedents in black ware, which must be dated before the middle of the second century B.C. There were also a number of excellent imported pieces, mostly of East Greek origin. Most

beautiful is another krateriskos with sharply moulded grooves between neck and shoulder, the upper part of the vessel in black glaze, the lower body and base a rich red, the two color zones sharply divided; the interior is red except for a black band at the lip. Similar in color treatment and of equal quality are fragments of a two-handled cup, or skyphos, with ivy-leaf garlands in bold relief on the exterior together with incised leaves and tendrils, a type well known from Pergamon.

Besides local fine wares, we can now recognize both semi-fine and coarse wares of local manufacture. Among the former are small plates, usually with a slightly lustrous red-brown slip; they seem to be derived from the common Hellenistic glazed "fish-plates," having a central well, some clearly defined, others vestigial. Mortaria, large bowls with an abrasive interior surface used for crushing grains, etc., were also made locally and, like the fish-plates, have either a ring base or a flat bottom; with the former go wide overhanging rims, with the latter heavy solid rims. Amphoriskoi and unguentaria, all of the thick-walled variety, were again found in abundance. Horizontally ribbed jugs, amphoras and juglets seem also to be of local fabrication. Among the many cooking pots, one casserole found this year is exceptional in having two "pie-crust" vestigial ledge handles at the rim.

Among the numerous pottery lamps, the type with *erotes* flanking the filling hole remains predominant; the evidence strongly suggests that these, too, were made locally, in either gray or orange-buff fabric, probably in moulds taken from imported lamps, the local products showing a gradual degeneration. Fine imported Hellenistic lamps continued to appear, the rarest being seven-nozzled.

Figural representations, though still inexplicably rare at Tel Anafa, were somewhat more abundant this year: two terracotta animal figurines, a fragment of an Astarte plaque (certainly pre-Hellenistic) and a most exceptional, crudely modeled



Clay male figure, perhaps intended as a curse figure.



Left: Torso of draped bronze male statuette.



Bronze strainer with handle and encircling tongue decoration.



Detail of bronze jug with elaborate rim and handle.

male figure of clay, apparently nude, the hands tied behind the back, the head bird-like. The figure is gray-brown to black from burning and may possibly be a curse figure. At the opposite extreme, sculpturally, is a fragment of a bronze statuette of a draped male figure, preserved from the waist to the lower leg; it was probably an attachment in high relief.

Bronze objects were again abundant and the best vessels continued to come from the large east room of the northeast sector. A large jug is the finest vessel found thus far (height ca. 22 cm.). The heavy cast base and handle are excellently preserved, although the thinner body is in poor condition. While the base is a simple outplayed foot decorated with a few bands, the handle is elaborate, with spiral hooks at the neck attachment, a folded leaf decoration on the handle itself and a large heart-shaped flange for the body attachment, which has a long, pointed projection on either side of which are spiral hooks. A

small strainer from the same room, with a horizontal loop handle, has a delicate tongue pattern rising from the bottom to end at a horizontal band below the lip; the holes for the strainer are pierced along these tongues. From their context, these two pieces should date to the early first century B.C. The greatest number of metal finds were of iron; these are in process of being cleaned. A most exceptional iron implement is a rod originally 1.09 m. long, probably a spit, with one pointed end and the other end a flange pierced with two holes for attaching a wooden handle. It was found lying on the lowest court floor in the northeast sector, against the base of its east wall just south of the junction with the stylobate.

The most important metal objects, however, are always the coins, forty-nine of which were found in 1970, all of bronze. Sixteen were issued by Seleucid kings, two by Ptol-

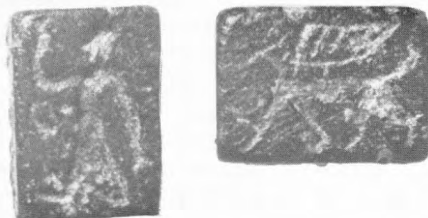


Selection of bronze coins found at Tel Anafa. In each case obverse is shown at left, reverse at right. Above, left to right: Ptolemy III, 274-222 B.C.; Antiochus VII Tryphon, 138-129 B.C. Below, left to right: Demetrius III, 95-88 B.C., city coin of Sidon, 98/7-11/10 B.C.



Steatite scarab (two views) with incised male sphinx and symbols. Probably Iron Age.

Steatite seal with incised figures on two faces: striding robed man, winged griffin. Late Bronze Age.



Limestone cylinder seal with representation of ibexes (impression at right). Late Bronze Age.



emaic kings and one by the Hasmonaean king Alexander Jannaeus; twelve of the city coins are from Sidon, three from Tyre and one from Aradus. Only four coins are earlier than the mid-second century B.C.: one of Ptolemy II (284-247 B.C.), a second Ptolemaic coin of the third century B.C., a coin of Antiochus III (227-187 B.C.) and one of Aradus of the third-second century B.C. Only one coin is later than 75 B.C.; an issue of Tyre of 3/2 B.C., found just under surface fill in the northeast sector. Thus the great majority of the coins fall between 150 and 75 B.C., as do all but one of the sixteen stamped amphora handles found last season; the exception is early, probably late third century B.C. Together, they amply justify our dates for the second and third Hellenistic architectural phases as 150-100 B.C. and 100-75 B.C. respectively; the earliest architectural phase, still little known, must belong to the first half of the second century B.C., if it does not begin somewhat earlier.

As before, the past season has produced constant reminders of the great antiquity of the mound. Of particular interest in this regard are three seals. A steatite scarab shows a bearded male sphinx; a rec-

tangular seal, also of steatite, has on one side a male figure wearing a long robe, on the other a griffin with raised wings; a limestone cylinder seal of Syro-Mitannian type is decorated with two rectangular panels separated by vertical hatched zones, the rectangles filled with long-horned ibex, Persian, Iron Age and Bronze Age pottery, reaching back into the third millennium, beckon us to dig more deeply, but the great depth and importance of the Hellenistic levels have thus far demanded full attention and postponed examination of the earlier remains.

Tel Anafa is the richest Hellenistic site excavated thus far in what was the Seleucid empire of the East, and its Greek character is augmented by the latest finds. Imports from the Aegean world are added each season, but it is also increasingly clear that the region in which Tel Anafa is located was one of importance for the production of objects of quality of Greek inspiration, particularly the moulded glass bowls and the fine red pottery. A new Hellenistic center of importance emerges more clearly with each season of excavation.

SAUL S. WEINBERG

¹Previous reports have appeared in *Muse* 3 (1969) 16-23, 4 (1970) 15-24; *Qadmoniot* 3 (1970) 135-138. An exhibition of material from the excavations of 1968 and 1969, held in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem in the spring of 1970, was accompanied by a brochure: *Tel Anafa: The Hellenistic Town* (The Israel Museum, Excavation Exhibit at the Rockefeller Museum, No. 1, 1970). The glass from the first two seasons was published preliminarily by Dr. Gladys D. Weinberg: "Hellenistic Glass from Tel Anafa in Upper Galilee," *Journal of Glass Studies* 12 (1970) 17-27.

²The excavation of 1970 was again carried out with funds supplied by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., under a Foreign Currency Grant, supplemented by dollar funds from the University of Missouri. The writer was again director, assisted by Dr. Gladys D. Weinberg; field supervisors included Mr. Adam Druks of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, Professor Richard Schieman of Catawba College, Miss Barbara Johnson and Mr. Leslie Cornell of the University of Missouri-Columbia, Mr. David Meyerson of the University of Pennsylvania, Mr. Stephen Frankel of the University of California-Berkeley and Mrs. Shirley Patterson of

Vanderbilt University. Seven Ford Foundation Trainees were again with the expedition, including three graduate students from the University of Missouri-Columbia: Misses Helen Caldwell, Anna Manzoni and Loeta Smith. The architect was Mr. Ashok Dhawan, the artist Mr. Joerg Schmeisser, the photographer Mr. Aaron Levin and the conservator Mr. Carl Semczak; Dr. Gloria Merker supervised pottery sorting and reading. The work force was made up of some forty volunteers, mostly students, largely from the United States, including several from Missouri, but from eight other countries as well. These were again comfortably housed at Kibbutz Shamir; some of the staff lived at the Kfar Blum Guest House close by.

We are again greatly indebted to the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, and to its Director, Dr. Avraham Biran, and his staff for facilitating our work in every way. To Kibbutz Shamir, and especially to Mr. Moshe Kagan, we are grateful for the generous cooperation and constant assistance that made our work possible and pleasant.

³For a plan of the entire mound see *Muse* 4 (1970) 16.

⁴See *Muse* 4 (1970) 17 for photographs, plan and section.

Investigations at a Small Greek City

Ancient Greece contained a multitude of small towns and cities about which we know little compared with their larger and more famous neighbors such as Athens, Corinth or Sparta. One of these, Phlius, is situated in the northern Peloponnesus, just west of ancient Nemea, where the famous Nemean Games were held. The ancient acropolis occupied a rocky spine-like hill, while the city proper was placed in the plain around the west foot of the ridge.

Little is known of the history of Phlius. Dionysus, the god of wine, is associated with the city's prosperity, and the wine of Phlius was well known in antiquity, as it is in the area today.¹ Phlius participated in the defense of Greece against the Persians, sending two hundred men to Thermopylae and as many as a thousand to Plataea, and it plays an honorable part in Xenophon's narrative of the political and military events in the Peloponnesus in the fourth century B.C.²

One of the most famous of Phlius' native sons was Pratinas, the composer of satyr plays, who introduced this form of dramatic performance to Athens probably at the end of the sixth century and is said to have competed there with Aeschylus himself.³

It is only in the Roman period that we are able to get an idea of the physical layout of the ancient city. In the second century of our era the traveler Pausanias visited the city and mentioned a large number of buildings and monuments, including the tomb of Aristias, Pratinas' son (also a playwright), which was placed in the agora of the city.⁴ In all, the author mentions some twelve sanctuaries, buildings and monuments including, on the acropolis, a sanctuary sacred to Hebe, and temples of Hera and Demeter. Upon leaving the acropolis he mentions a temple of Asclepius and a theater below it.

In 1924 the American School of Classi-

cal Studies at Athens undertook an excavation at the site, locating at least eight buildings and providing evidence for occupation from Neolithic to Byzantine times.⁵ Unfortunately the excavation was not continued.

The 1924 investigations cleared a section at the southwest foot of the hill which must have been the area of the ancient agora. Here they partially uncovered a large rectangular building with an interior colonnade consisting of eight bases on the flanks and five across the ends. The building, known locally as the "Palati" (= palace), was then thought to be Hellenistic. To the north of this building, between it and the hill, lay a rectangular structure apparently facing the concave slope. Striations on the bedrock of the hill and a test trench cut into the fill of the slope indicated that a theater may have been located there.⁶

In 1970 further work was carried out at Phlius by the University of Missouri in cooperation with the American School of Classical Studies.⁷ Work was centered in the area of the Palati. The goals of the excavation were, first, to clean and study the 1924 trenches in the area, second, to re-investigate the Palati, and third, to clean the building to the north of the Palati and to determine, if possible, whether there was indeed a theater *cavea*. Approximately two weeks were required to remove the dump of the 1924 excavation and clean out the old trenches.

The depth of fill and dump, together with the many late walls and graves, unfortunately made it impossible to clear the Palati completely. Sections of the floor were, however, identified, and a column base was uncovered *in situ*. All but one of the bases of the interior colonnade have now been cleared. This base, like the others of the colonnade, consists of a Doric drum with twenty flutes, cut in one piece with a block



The countryside around ancient Phlius, seen from the north. In the foreground is a partially cleared trench of the 1924 excavations, beyond that the remains of the ancient theater and, still farther, the Palati. The modern town appears in the left background. At the extreme right grapes are being dried.

which forms a low base. This unusual feature gives the impression of a Doric column on a plinth. Cuttings on the interior faces of these plinths indicate that paving slabs were once slipped into them. Thus, the floor identified this season was probably packing for this pavement which most likely covered the whole interior within the colonnade.

On the east side of the Palati, the only area investigated to any extent, there seems to have been a mud-brick construction extending from the column bases to just short of the building's east wall. This construction (which has only just begun to be defined) is cut in several places by late walls and Early Christian and Byzantine graves. It is clear, however, that at least four courses of mud bricks existed. As yet we have no idea of the building's use, or even of its total extent. Over the mud brick

and the floor packing a thick layer of tiles and burnt debris indicated a destruction datable to the third or fourth century of our era. A number of architectural fragments were recovered, including part of a terracotta lion-head spout, several pieces of Doric columns and capitals and various other fragments probably belonging to the Palati. These date in the fifth century B.C. A fragment of a Greek inscription was also found; it contains part of the imperial titles of the Roman emperor Trajan and dates to A.D. 116-117.

Two stratigraphic tests down to the bottom of the wall were made on either side of the east wall of the building. A level of working chips and a footing trench were isolated; the pottery from these tests, together with the architectural fragments, gives a tentative date in the second half of the fifth century B.C. for the building of the

Palati. Another test indicated that the building's north wall was entirely robbed out in Late Roman times.

North of the Palati lies the long rectangular structure partially uncovered in 1924. Our investigations revealed more of the structure, which consists of a line of poros limestone blocks and several large square blocks north of them. The former have rectangular holes cut into the upper surfaces, suggesting that wooden posts or supports were once placed there. Three floor levels were found within the building and the beginning of a possible extension at the southeast end, running to the east and then returning north. The earliest floor level predates the building and the two upper probably also do. The building itself appears to be late Hellenistic or Early Roman.

To the north we began to clear the test trench which ran into the concave slope of the hill. Upon cleaning out its northern end, we came upon theater seats of poros limestone *in situ*. South of them a cutting was found, probably for a drain. Farther to the south bedrock was reached. This slopes down toward the south and is probably the floor of the orchestra, although its slope is somewhat peculiar. Apparently throne-like seats were also used in the theater at Phlius, for several are scattered about the general area. They are of typical form, high-backed, with arm rests, but none found so far are inscribed or decorated except for a simple incised line running around the exterior surface which emphasizes the arms and back of the chair.

To the east the area is delimited by a NE-SW retaining wall, cleared in 1924. Slightly south of the western end of this wall was found the corner of another poros seat also *in situ* and obviously the last of the row to which belong the seats in the middle of the hill. This, then, was the eastern end of the cavea, perhaps the retaining wall lining the entrance to the theater.

Although we have not found the theater's western end, we are able to determine the arc of the seats in relation to the rectangular building north of the Palati, which must surely be considered a scene building. The space thus calculated for the orchestra would not allow a circular area but more likely an oval or rectangular one. This is particularly interesting in regard to Phlius' possible connection with the beginnings of drama. It would not be at all surprising that the home of Pratinas in an area which honored Dionysus might have had an early theater of peculiar form.

The exact identification of the theater gives us a fixed point in Pausanias' description of the city and bears out the conjectures of the previous excavators. Most modern writers have placed the theater in a hollow below a small chapel farther to the east and higher up the hill. Our research, although it has not yet determined the theater's exact size, shape or date, has at least shown that ideas of the topography of the ancient city of Phlius must be revised.

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¹Athenaeus 127d.

²Herodotus 7.202; 9.28.4; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, books 4, 5, 6, 7 *passim*.

³Suidas, s.v. Pratinas.

⁴Pausanias, 2.12.3—13.8.

⁵C. W. Blegen, "Excavations at Phlius 1924," *Art and Archaeology* 20 (1925) 23-33; W. Biers, "Excavations at Phlius, 1924. The Prehistoric Deposits," *Hesperia* 38 (1969) 443-458; W. Biers, "Excavations at Phlius, 1924. The Votive Deposit," *Hesperia* 41 (1971) 397-423.

⁶The test trench referred to was dug in 1925 and so was not mentioned in the publication of the 1924 ex-

cavation. There, however, the suggestion was made that the *cavea* of a theater existed in this fold of the hill. See Blegen *op. cit.*, 29.

⁷The excavation extended from August 10 to September 5. William Biers of the University of Missouri-Columbia was Director; trench masters were Jane Biers and Harriet Anne Weis, a graduate student at the University of Missouri and a Ford Foundation archaeological trainee. W. W. Cummer was the architect and Nancy Shepard acted as his assistant. The entire project was funded by the Research Council of the University of Missouri-Columbia.

Survey of the Etruscan Port at Populonia

An extensive survey of the underwater remains of the port of Populonia on the sea-coast of ancient Etruria, about 140 miles northwest of Rome, was undertaken in the summer of 1970 by a small archaeological diving team.* This grew out of a survey of Tuscan ports begun in 1965, of which the excavations of the Roman port of Cosa, some seventy-five miles to the south, have been a part. It is supposed that Cosa, the earliest Roman harbor thus far known, apparently founded in the third century B.C.,

had its predecessors in the Greek and Etruscan world. Thus Populonia, the only Etruscan city founded directly on the coast, was selected for comparative study. If the Etruscans were seafarers, as ancient sources appear to indicate, it would seem logical that Populonia would give evidence of this. Famous in antiquity as a center for working iron ore from the mines of Elba (Strabo V. 2. 6.), Populonia's wide gulf probably offered facilities both for protection and for unloading.

Aerial view of port at Populonia with breakwater protection. Photo by Julian Whittlesey.



Previous archaeological work at Populonia concentrated on the rich tombs which dot the shore; the ancient city on the hill remains unexcavated. No systematic study of the harbor had previously been undertaken, although scholars had suggested the location of the ancient harbor immediately below the city, and a brief underwater excavation with an airlift had been made in the central part of the gulf. No indication of harbor installations was found. What is apparent, however, is that erosion of the land has taken place since antiquity, at least on the eastern side of the gulf. Exactly where the ancient water line lay is difficult to say, but our location of ancient sarcophagi about five meters out from shore, as well as a line of ashlar blocks at the present water's edge and deep layers of slag along the beach, all suggest that in antiquity the shoreline extended from two to ten meters farther out.

With these facts in mind, the main

goals of the five-week survey were, first, to examine and define the presumed area of the ancient harbor and to map any remains that could be found; second, to obtain datable material from this area to document the harbor's use and construction; and, finally, to survey as much of the remaining gulf to the east and north as time allowed. It was decided to concentrate the search in the area of the present small fishing harbor, where natural features offer the best protection for anchorage in the gulf. This natural protection of the land on the west is strengthened today by a wide breakwater made of uncut rock which serves to break gradually the force of the waves rolling in from the northwest. The question was whether below this modern protection could be found an ancient one. Because of the dense growth of weed over the main area to be explored, a 15-meter grid was laid out measuring 210 m. (E-W) by 270 m. (N-S). By diving along movable 15 m. lines,



Jet probing in ancient harbor area at Populonia. Diver: Robert Hohlfelder. Photo by the author.

Lead ingot from harbor at Populonia, dating to Domitian's reign (A.D. 81-96). Photo by the author.



bottom conditions, rocks and potsherds were systematically recorded. The charted depth contours of the harbor indicate that the deepest area lay just to the west of the present western jetty, suggesting that this structure may have existed for some centuries.

The grid survey was followed by deeper probes through the weed and sand pockets with a water-jet probing device which recorded rock down to a maximum depth of 2.30 m. below the present ocean floor. A line of rock was found underneath, extending directly north from the shore along the line of the western modern jetty for a distance of about 100 m. and extending eastward for about 90 m. It seems probable that this line of rock defines the ancient breakwater, especially since the depth of the presumed ancient rock corresponds to the level of the ancient sherds found in other areas of the harbor which have been revealed by dredging in modern times. An ancient sherd layer in these dredged banks is found between 2 m. and 2.50 m. below the present ocean floor. Extensive sherds were also traced to the north and east of the breakwater area, establishing the zone of the channel and the ancient anchorage.

The material found in the harbor itself reveals the commercial life span of Populonia, already established from the finds in the tombs. The earliest material, which includes rims of common ware as well as black-glazed Greek potsherds, dates back to the sixth century B.C. The latest amphora fragments are as late as the fourth or fifth century after Christ. The majority of the pottery, however, dates from the fourth century B.C. through the early Roman empire. The iron ore trade apparently was not carried out at Populonia on a large scale

much before 400 B.C., for slag covers some of the late fifth-century tombs around the harbor. Further finds include fragments of wooden timbers with sherds as early as the end of the sixth century B.C. Carbon 14 analysis of the timber indicates a date as early as 816 B.C. It would indeed be interesting if these should prove to be remains from an early Etruscan or Greek ship. The survey also included complete aerial photographs of the whole gulf by the use of a balloon.

An interesting previous find from the eastern side of the gulf is a lead ingot with the titles of the emperor Nero in relief on its surface: *IMP. Ner(O) CLAUD(IUS) CAES(AR) AUG. GE (RMANICUS) E G*, a title used after A.D. 65.

In conclusion, the survey succeeded in firmly establishing the location of the ancient harbor at Populonia and the probable line of its ancient breakwater. It is hoped that further excavation by air-lift may confirm this evidence and yield material to date the breakwater construction more closely. Its form, with its broad platform of rocks, is similar to that of the Roman port of Cosa. This type of breakwater, designed especially to break the force of the waves gradually, is very unlike the narrow breakwaters traditionally developed in the Greek world, which break the brute force of the waves all at once by a neat architectural form. Thus, it may be that early Roman harbor engineers, such as those at Cosa, drew upon a native Italic heritage in this particular solution to the problem of harbor protection — still used effectively for the modern anchorage at Populonia.

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*The project, under the auspices of the American Academy in Rome, grew out of a survey of Tuscan ports begun in 1965 by Professor Frank Brown, General David Lewis and the author. This year the diving team, under the author's direction, was financed by the University of Missouri and private donors. The staff included Dr. Robert Hohlfelder (University of Colorado) as chief diver, Jay Warren as architect, Dennis Crull

(University of Missouri) as engineer, and John Oleson (graduate student at Harvard University). The aerial photographs of the gulf by means of a balloon were generously contributed by Mr. and Mrs. Julian Whitlesley. Further help in searching the gulf area was given by students from Harpur College, State University of New York, under the leadership of Dr. Vincent Bruno.

Champagne and the Ardennes During the Bronze and Iron Ages

During visits in the early 1960s to Champagne, France, we noticed that the Bronze Age, supposedly non-existent there, had left many artifacts in museums and private collections.¹

By noting all these and collecting information from manuscripts, local newspapers, etc. and plotting the find-spots, it became obvious that, although never very rich, Champagne did have an Early and Middle Bronze Age of a surprisingly varied aspect. The preponderance of finds along river-stream confluences suggest that this is partly due to the ideal geographic situation, as the most easy crossing for trade and traffic from the western Mediterranean to the fertile Lowlands and England, and also for trade from the rich centers in South Germany and Austria to equally rich and important Brittany.

The Champagne plain is based upon deeply fissured chalk which does not retain moisture except where forest-cover had created some top soil. The drier climate of the Bronze Age and the slash-and-burn agricultural practice of the time would not provide any agricultural surplus to exchange for the metal needed; furthermore, the area's only natural commodity, flint, ceased being a source of income as it had been earlier. The aridity and the special soil conditions in Champagne made it an ideal area for sheep-raising and wool production. Finds from houses of the late Bronze Age seem to bear this out, as they contain an unusual number of spindle whorls and loomweights.²

The geographical and climatic factors seem to be the most important in producing the ecological base for the Champenoise Bronze Age. Thus when iron came into use, the Champenoise economy was so well established that the area became one of the two leading cultural centers in early

La Tène times (ca. 480-400 B.C.), the other center being located at the Moselle-Rhine confluence, where the Hunsruck-Eifel culture flourished.

These two centers, while clearly separate, were known to have had close contacts, and in trying to establish by which route trade must have taken place, we excavated a burial mound in the Belgian Ardennes, hoping to be able to detect Champenoise influences in the grave goods. The Belgian Ardennes region was chosen, as previous research showed that there was communication across eastern French Lorraine and Alsace.

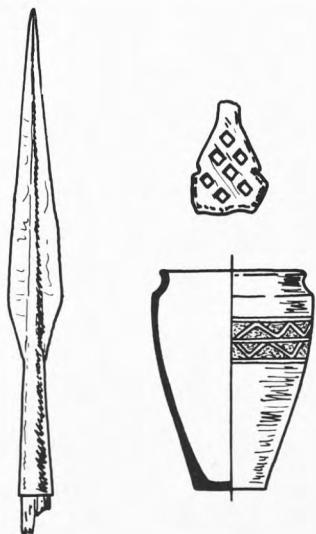
After preliminary investigations in museums to see what earlier work had produced, sites for excavation were chosen for the summer of 1969. In this region the Ardennes Crest provides the watershed between the drainages of the Rhine and Meuse rivers. Since burial mounds are the most prominent and relatively intact Iron Age sites here, and since the territory is comparatively unexplored, the Brussels expedition chose an unusually large burial mound at Massul³, just over the crest in the Meuse drainage, while we worked on a tumulus at Ebly, just within the drainage of the Rhine, therefore presumably more accessible to the Hunsruck-Eifel Culture. Both sites are in the Belgian province of Luxembourg.

The burial mound at Ebly, known as "Le Belloy," is typical of the tumuli of the region. It is large, twenty-five meters in diameter, but only sixty-five centimeters high. Undoubtedly the diameter has been increased and the height reduced by plowing, which also elongated the original circular shape. Like all the burial mounds on the Ardennes Crest, it commands sweeping panoramic views over the surrounding territory. To the southeast were remains of a

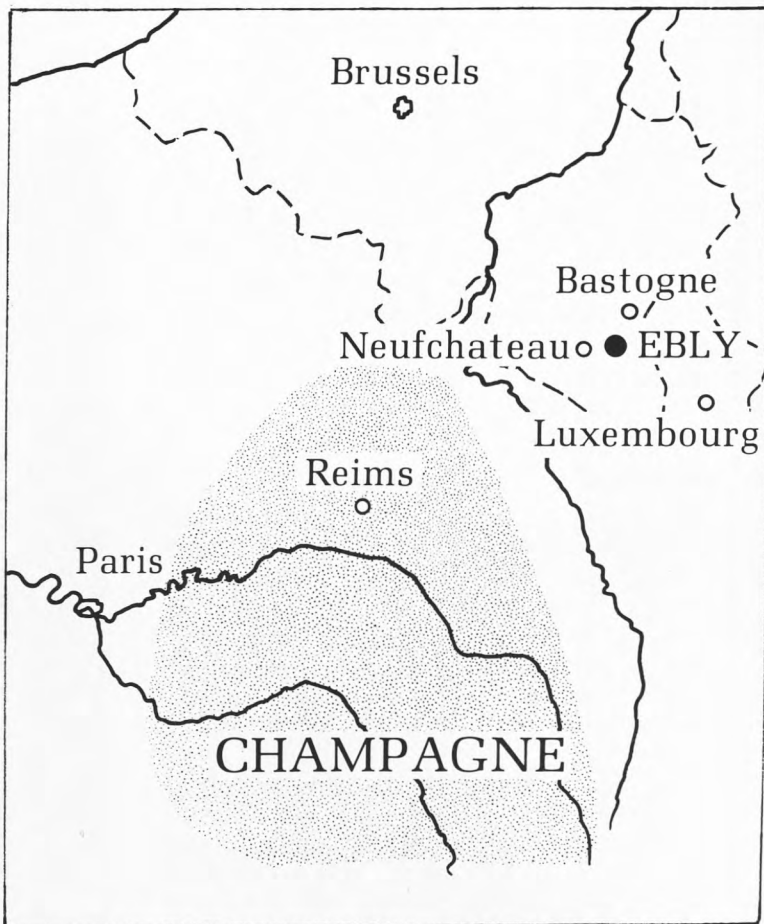
Gallo-Roman villa which had been excavated by the Abbé Hector in 1940; its outlines were still visible from the burial mound as crop marks. Apparently the Gallo-Romans frequented the tumulus of "Le Belloy," as several potsherds of this period were found in the plowed zone. Indeed, on the eastern side of the mound the many

sherds from a single vessel seem to have been from the container of a Gallo-Roman cremation burial set into the top of the mound.

The mound was first divided into four equal parts. The excavation then proceeded by the layers of each quadrant being peeled back in succession, with the NW



Artifacts found in the Ardennes. Left: iron spearhead; right, above: iron belt-hook; below: painted jar. All La Tène Ia period.



Map of general area where excavations were made.



Excavations proceeding at "Le Belloy."

quadrant left as a control. This revealed that the mound had been made of local clay heaped onto the surface all at one time. Soil and pollen samples were taken from each level (plow zone, mound fill, original ground surface), and from some central pit fills. These samples are at present under study.

A burial was found just off the apparent center of the mound, in the SE quadrant. It contained a broken cinerary urn, with the burned bones lying nearby. Iron nails found in the vicinity had probably once been inside the urn. Other sherds were scattered all through the mound fill, apparently scooped up at the time of constructing the tumulus.

The La Tène Iron Age pottery is of three kinds: 1) a well made local ware, 2) a coarser local ware, and 3) a ware similar to that of the East Group of the Marne culture in Champagne (yellow with painted wide red stripes). The well made native ware tends to be black, dark gray or sometimes orange or red with a black interior. While it is reasonably well polished, it does not attain the high glossy sheen of the ware that appears to have been imported from Champagne or was made to imitate Marnian pottery. The coarse native ware is buff, also black inside, but it is rough in texture and contains a temper that consists not only of little schistous grits but also of red ocher and pieces of broken pottery.

Local Iron Age pottery such as described here from Ebly was also found at

the tumulus at Massul, with rusted remains of a chariot. Apparently a man was buried in this mound with bronze bracelets and iron spears.

Comparative studies were made with material previously excavated in the region and preserved in the museums at Namur, Neufchateau and Arlon. While the material is at present in a preliminary stage of analysis, it already seems clear that our excavations answered the primary questions being posed.⁴ This similarity of the pottery to some of the most distinctive pots of the Marne culture indicates that the main contact between two important cultural centers, the Marne and the Hunsruck-Eifel, at the time when iron was being used as a basis of technology, was by way of the Ardennes Crest, an area then heavily forested. It is still not clear why this should have been the route rather than one which seems more direct. We plan to excavate further at Ebly and in the environs, in order to explain more fully how and why the Ardennes Crest region functioned as the connection between the Marne and Hunsruck-Eifel cultures. Was it merely the most convenient route or did it serve as a true link between its neighbors to the northeast on the Rhine and those on the southwest in northern Champagne? At this moment only further excavation may hold the answers.

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¹Supported by a fellowship from the American Association of University Women and a grant from the Research Council of the University of Missouri, travels to museums, libraries and archives were made in 1968-69 and study of the Bronze Age in Belgium was undertaken since its contents could influence the validity of the study of neighboring Champagne.

²We are indebted to Mrs. Anne Strite, then an assistant at the Museum, for suggestions in this field.

³This was under the direction of Professor Pierre Bonenfant.

⁴The hypotheses on which we worked were conceived in collaboration with Professor Pierre Bonenfant of the Free University of Brussels. Our research was

supported by grants from the Belgian-American Foundation, the Research Council of the University of Missouri, and the Cercle de Terre du Neufchateau. Material assistance was also provided by the Free University at Brussels, which, with the Cercle de Terre, also supported excavations led by Professor Bonenfant. Pierre Guebel, President of the Cercle de Terre du Neufchateau, conducted the overall site survey. Staff members included Jeannette Jackson Thompson, graduate student in anthropology at the University of Missouri-Columbia, who served as staff photographer, Majorie Hoefmans, graduate student in Classics at Ghent University, and Johannes Lievens, instructor in art history at Ghent University.

Relief-Amphoras of Archaic Crete



1. Cretan relief-amphora in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Photo courtesy Ashmolean Museum.

One of the characteristic aspects of Minoan Crete is the use of terracotta storage jars. No Minoan palace was complete without extensive magazines containing these large vessels. The storage jars, or *pithoi*, held such commodities as wine, olive oil and grain; they were usually decorated with painted floral designs and occasionally with geometric patterns in relief or impressed into the surface of the jar.

After the brilliance of the Minoan era many traditions lingered on in the island, and foremost was that of making and using large storage jars; the form now changed to one with a high cylindrical neck and two large handles, an amphora rather than a pithos. The decorative motifs changed with influence from other parts of the world reaching Crete, and yet many Minoan qualities were retained. During the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Cretan art experienced a brief renaissance in which the decoration of great storage jars played an important role.

The amphora of the seventh century is a large terracotta vessel 1.25-1.50 m. tall

(Fig. 1),¹ having a high foot which splays slightly to a flat bottom so that it could be set up without any additional support. From this foot the body of the amphora rises in an inverted piriform shape, contracting gently at the shoulder. Separated from the shoulder by an overhanging moulding, the neck rises vertically to a heavy rim; the mouth is large. Two large band-handles running from neck to shoulder are usual; decorative roundels often flank the upper attachment of the handle.

Such amphoras were constructed in sections and the joining lines were strengthened and concealed by added bands of clay; these were often decorated with impressed or stamped designs. Ridges were also used as a purely decorative element where no join was involved.

The relief-amphoras of the seventh century B.C. represent one of the last Cretan wares of any distinction. Some of the geometric motifs which the seventh-century artists used, such as spirals, rosettes and knobs, are reminiscent of those seen on Minoan pithoi. However, the figural repre-

sentations, including such mythical creatures as griffins and sphinxes, separate the amphoras from their predecessors.

During the seventh century the decoration of amphoras was composed of applied figural reliefs, applied strips of clay and impressed patterns of geometric design stamped directly onto the surface of the amphoras or onto some of the applied strips. The vases are divided into three classes according to the nature of the decorative motifs. The first group comprises vases whose decoration is generally borrowed from the earlier Minoan repertory; the second, forming a transition into the Archaic period, is characterized by the adoption of motifs borrowed from the East, termed "Orientalizing"; the third displays an unusual trend, unique in the history of ceramic relief, that of imitating certain architectural elements. It is with amphoras of the Orientalizing class that we shall be dealing here.

The decoration on the storage jars generally consists of two different types of reliefs, in addition to designs stamped directly onto the surface of the vessel. The first type of relief is that formed in a mould and then applied to the amphora; the second type involves strips of clay which are applied and then modeled or impressed. The reliefs were joined to the body of the vase either by using a little water or dilute slip as an adhesive or by scratching the surface of the vessel and then using water or slip. After the appliqué was in place, details were added by hand.

The figural decorations are in the so-called Daedalic style, first characterized by Jenkins² as embodying a departure from naturalism to a rigid mathematical conception, especially evident in the treatment of planes in the very triangular human faces, which are nearly always rendered frontally. But material recently published from the sanctuary on the acropolis at Gortyna in Crete³, which has yielded a complete sequence of development, illustrating Daedalic art from the Late Geometric phase through Late Daedalic to Early

Archaic representations, shows that Jenkins' earlier statement of a departure from naturalism does not seem quite accurate. The whole of Daedalic art appears to be a progression from the abstract qualities of Geometric art to a greater naturalism.

Such relief-amphoras from Crete have been known for a long time; no less than seventy-six items are included in Schaefer's catalogue of 1957.⁴ But of these there is but one fairly complete amphora (his No. 6) among the forty-seven pieces belonging to his first three groups and four complete amphoras in his fourth group (Nos. 48-51), which are later than those we shall be discussing here. However, the picture has been drastically changed by recent large finds of relief-amphoras, entire or fragmentary, believed to have been found mainly at Aphrati, the ancient Arkades; these have been widely scattered, and the seven fragments published here seem most likely to have been part of this large group. A large number (forty-four) of amphora fragments were gathered for the exhibition *Daedalische Kunst auf Kreta im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* recently held in Hamburg, Germany, at the Museum fuer Kunst und Gewerbe;⁵ of these no less than three are fairly complete amphoras of Schaefer's first three groups. A fourth amphora, in the Ashmolean Museum (see Fig. 1),⁶ a fifth, in the Metaxas Collection in Crete,⁷ and a sixth, in Salonica,⁸ have been published, while two others, in Basel and Paris,⁹ have only been mentioned. Yet many of the latest finds are still not noted in any publication. It is possible that, in the dispersion of this large body of material, pieces from a single amphora may have found their way to widely separated places. Only the publication of all the pieces will show if this is so, and to this end the seven fragments in the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri (two in its possession, the others on loan)¹⁰ are presented here. One of these fragments is from the body of a relief-amphora, extending from the thick neck join to the point at which



2. Fragment of relief-amphora with griffins and sphinxes, in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia (Acc. No. 67.49).

the body tapers toward the base; the other six fragments are all from the vertical portion of the offset necks of various amphoras. The neck fragments all show the same central decorative motif: two sphinxes heraldically positioned upon a platform supported by volutes.

The griffin-sphinx fragment (Fig. 2) is the largest of the pieces in the collection.¹¹ It is made of rather coarse clay containing much grog, and the fabric is light orange in color. The thick moulding which forms the shoulder-neck join is decorated with spirals (eleven of which are preserved) impressed in a very uneven manner. Triple-ridged bands run horizontally beneath the shoulder edge and just above the heads of a band of crouching sphinxes. In this upper shoulder zone there are six such sphinxes facing left, their heads facing front

(Fig. 3). They were made in a mould and all are remarkably similar except for a few body details which were added later. The sphinxes are separated by vertical rows of four impressed spirals, except for the sphinx farthest right, which is flanked by vertical rows of five lozenges.

Another triple-ridged band separates the zone of sphinxes from that below containing griffins, which is composed as a triglyph-and-metope frieze (Fig. 4). The outer bands of the triglyphs are composed of two vertical applied strips of clay, each stamped with lozenges, usually five on the left strip and six on the right; the areas between the strips are decorated with three large impressed hexafoil rosettes. Each of the four metopes preserved is filled with a griffin walking to the left; at the right end the metope is delimited by only a single



3. Left: detail of sphinx from vase in Figure 2.

4. Above: detail of relief-amphora in Figure 2, showing griffins and triglyph-metope frieze.



vertical strip, there is no triglyph, and the area beyond is left blank. The griffins are mould-made; the body of each is delineated by incised lines showing muscle patterns; the wing feathers and the mane are elaborately detailed. The griffins are larger than the metopes and extend up into the triple band, interrupting its two lower ridges.

The triglyph-and-metope frieze is bordered below by another triple-ridged band; beneath this band the body of the amphora begins to taper slightly towards the base. The zone below is decorated with alternating raised circular knobs and impressed hexafoil rosettes; this is the lowest preserved zone of this amphora fragment.

The other six fragments are all from the high, cylindrical necks of amphoras and all have in common decoration with pairs of sphinxes in heraldic opposition. The lar-

gest fragment preserves the full height of the rim from the heavy mouth moulding to the shoulder join and even a bit below (Fig. 5).¹² The clay is soft and pale red in color; the soft fabric of the appliqué is rather badly worn. The high decorated zone in this instance contains three of the heraldic sphinx groups, here placed very close together, beginning from a handle attachment at the right; there were only three groups between the handles. Each of the sphinxes has three feet on a voluted platform and one on the groundline; they are in profile with their heads turned frontally; their wings are turned back and meet their elaborate voluted headdresses. A stamped rosette is located in the small section of the shoulder of the amphora which remains below the shoulder ridges on the left.



5. Rim and neck fragment of relief-amphora, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia (Acc. No. 70.343). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.

The other neck fragments are smaller and vary in quality of craftsmanship. The clay is coarse in all cases, ranging in color from light red to pale orange. The composition of the neck zone varies in each case, always using the same central motif. On one fragment (Fig. 6)¹³ vertical rows of impressed octafoil rosettes divide the pairs of sphinxes, while a single rosette fills the space between the right group and the handle attachment. While very badly worn, the sphinx groups can be seen to be very like those on the previous fragment. On another piece (Fig. 7)¹⁴ the sphinx groups are separated by two vertical strips of applied clay stamped with six hexafoil rosettes; the narrow space between the strips is free of decoration. In essence, this is a triglyph-and-

metope composition with the triglyph abbreviated. A rope pattern appears above the single pair of sphinxes preserved on another piece (Fig. 8);¹⁵ above the rope is a band of alternating impressed rosettes and discs. On still another fragment (Fig. 9),¹⁶ only a pair of sphinxes is shown, with no accompanying geometric designs preserved.

The last piece in the group bearing the heraldic motif has been singled out because of the excellent quality of the decorative motifs as well as their exceptional state of preservation (Fig. 10).¹⁷ Here the triglyph-and-metope scheme is fully carried out, much in the manner of the griffin frieze on the shoulder fragment (see Fig. 2). The single preserved triglyph is formed of two raised strips of clay stamped with hepta-



6. Left: fragment of neck of relief-amphora.
Marks Collection.



7. Right: fragment of neck of relief-amphora.
Marks Collection.



8. Left: fragment of neck of relief-amphora in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (Acc. No. 71.19). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric H. Marks.



9. Right: fragment of neck of relief-amphora. Marks Collection.



10. Left: two joining fragments of the neck of a relief-amphora; below, left: the lefthand fragment; right: the righthand fragment. Marks Collection.



foil rosettes, while the space between is filled with a vertical running spiral impressed onto the surface of the vessel. Below this zone is a series of alternating circular knobs and rosettes. Better firing was most likely responsible for the harder fabric and the beautifully preserved surface, both of the vessel and the applied ornament. Nowhere among the Missouri fragments or any of those published can the details of the heraldic sphinx group be seen better than in this fragment; the "Etagenperuecke," that is, the elaborate headdress with two large plumes rising and ending in spirals and a third plume extending to either side and meeting the tip of the wing, the wing feathers, the details of body musculature, the double spiral volutes that form either side of the platform, all are perfectly formed in these impressions; the impressed ornaments are equally carefully done and well preserved.

The heraldic motif common to the six fragments is related to the "Sacred Tree" cult. In the Minoan-Mycenaean religion, not only were growing trees objects of worship, but branches and boughs were also. The "Tree" is often represented as merely a bush, or even stylized into an ordinary palmette. In the glyptic art of the Minoans it also became a column standing on an altar. When animals are shown with the "Sacred Tree" the tree becomes symbolic of the shrine of the god guarded by the animals, if the animals are fantastic creatures, or else it may indicate that the shrine contains sacrificial animals, if the animals are the more usual bulls or goats.¹⁸ The column indicating the "Sacred Tree" may be omitted, leaving only the altar.¹⁹ Thus the heraldic sphinx groups seen on the relief-amphoras of Archaic Crete may represent the shrine of a god guarded by two sphinxes.

Just as the group of antithetic sphinxes is most common in the fragments published here, so too it is found very often on other Cretan relief-amphoras in al-

most identical form and similar compositions, always on the neck zone.²⁰ On the other hand, the crouching sphinx on the shoulder fragment (Fig. 3) is much less common. A neck fragment in Tokyo, exhibited in Hamburg,²¹ has an almost identical figure in an upper neck band, and four parallels are cited.²² The griffin from the same shoulder piece in Missouri has no published parallel but is very like one in the identical position on an unpublished amphora in Basel, as well as in a metope in the neck zone of another unpublished amphora in Paris. Schaefer did not know the motif, which occurs only in the amphoras most recently found.

The Daedalic style of art, as presented by Jenkins, was divided into three phases: Early Daedalic, dated ca. 670-655 B.C., Middle Daedalic ca. 655-630 B.C., and Late Daedalic ca. 630-620 B.C. The changes from phase to phase involve largely the treatment of the head. From Early to Middle Daedalic the temples broaden and the face becomes fuller; three-dimensionality increases during the Middle Daedalic period.²³ This scheme was later changed somewhat by Schaefer, and with slight variation this was adopted in the catalogue of the recent exhibition, *Daedalische Kunst*.²⁴ The most recent chronological scheme is that proposed by Rizza for the material excavated at Gortyna,²⁵ but after thirty years the changes from Jenkins' original scheme are slight.

By any of the chronological schemes, the relief-amphoras first appear in the second quarter of the seventh century B.C., reach their zenith in the next quarter-century and show a final, declining phase in the last quarter of the seventh century. The large griffin-sphinx fragment in Missouri (see Figs. 2-4) would seem to be the earliest piece in this group, to judge from the quite angular faces of the sphinxes, with features of little depth. A date late in the Early Daedalic period (ca. 670-655 B.C.) is probable. The groups of heraldic sphinxes show less shallow relief and the faces are more oval than triangular. All would seem

to belong to the Middle Daedalic style, ca. 650-625 B.C.

Crete declined once again during the sixth century B.C. This time there was no renaissance, as there had been in the eighth and seventh centuries. In the relief-amphoras of the seventh century, "we see the last flight of imagination of the old civ-

ilization of Crete before it settles into the darkness of its exhausted, lethargic sleep."²⁶ As Daedalic stylization gives way to more natural representations in art, the focus of attention shifts from Crete to mainland Greece.

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¹Thanks are due to the authorities of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for permitting the reproduction of this photograph.

²R. J. Jenkins, *Daedalica* (Cambridge 1936) 14.

³G. Rizza and V. Santa Maria Scrinari, *Il Santuario sull'Acropoli di Gortina* (Rome 1968) 160-188, 213-244. The vast quantity of material in the Daedalic style is all dated by the excavators within the seventh century B.C.; it is divided into four groups: 1) *protodaedalico* and 2) *dedalico antico*, both belonging to the years 700-670 B.C., 3) *dedalico medio*, from 670 to a little after 640, and 4) *dedalico tardo*, to about 620 B.C.

⁴J. Schaefer, *Studien zu den griechischen Relief-pithoi des 8.-6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus Kreta, Rhodos, Tenos und Boiotien* (Kallmunz 1957) 9-44.

⁵W. Hornbostel, "Kretische Reliefamphoren" in *Daedalische Kunst auf Kreta im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Hamburg 1970) (hereafter *DK*) 56-93. The chronology used here, a variant of that used by Schaefer, with changes suggested by N. Kontoleon, is as follows: 1) first quarter of the seventh century B.C., 2) second quarter of the seventh century B.C., 3) second half of the seventh century B.C., 4) turn from the seventh to the sixth century B.C., 5) 590-570 B.C. Most of the relief-amphoras belong to stage 3.

⁶Ashmolean Museum, *Report of the Visitors, 1969* (Oxford 1970) 16, pl. 3.

⁷*Archaiologikon Deltion* 20 (1965) *Chronika* 550-555, pl. 694a; *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 92 (1968) 995, fig. 6.

⁸*Arch. Delt.* 24 (1969) *Chronika* 293, pl. 301.

⁹*DK* 68 (Basel) and 74-75, No. C 12 (Paris).

¹⁰The large body fragment was purchased in 1967; the following year the six neck fragments were placed on loan by Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks of New York, who kindly permitted their cleaning, study and publication. The seven pieces were the subject of a

thesis for the M.A. degree at the University of Missouri (June 1968) by the author. This paper has been abstracted from the thesis, with additions and changes. The largest neck fragment was donated to the Museum by Mr. and Mrs. Marks, to whom the other five fragments have now been returned. The fragment with the corded band over the heraldic sphinx group (Fig. 8) was subsequently given by the owners to the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (Acc. No. 71.19). See *DK* 68 for a brief mention of this group. The large shoulder fragment was illustrated in *Muse* 2 (1968) 6, (before cleaning).

¹¹Acc. No. 67.49. Max. width 1.15 m.; max. height 46 cm. The sphinxes measure 13.2 cm. x 9.4 cm.; the griffins 15.6 cm. x 16.3 cm.

¹²Acc. No. 70.343. Max. width 49 cm.; max. height 38 cm.; thickness of rim 7.8 cm. The sphinxes are ca. 17 cm. high.

¹³Max. width 52 cm.; max. height 27 cm.

¹⁴Max. width 29 cm.; max. height 26 cm.

¹⁵Max. width 21 cm.; max. height 16 cm.

¹⁶Max. width and height 17 cm.

¹⁷Max. width 56 cm.; max. height 32 cm.

¹⁸M. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (Lund 1950) 294.

¹⁹*Ibid.* 255.

²⁰*DK* Nos. C 26-29, pls 25 and 27a. Here (page 83) five other examples are cited besides those published here, making fifteen in all; at least one other unpublished example exists.

²¹*DK* 74 No. C 11, pl. 27b.

²²*DK* 74.

²³Jenkins, *op cit.* 59-65.

²⁴*DK* 56.

²⁵See note 3.

²⁶D. Levi, "Early Hellenic Pottery of Crete," *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 18.

Evidence for an Etruscan Workshop

Among the many sorts of monuments of Etruscan art and life which remain to us, Archaic pottery has perhaps received the least attention. Although this ware is considered a lowly step-sister of the contemporary Greek pottery, growing interest is fostering a new awareness of early Etruscan wares for themselves. A wheel-made jar of fine red impasto¹ ware in the Museum of Art and Archaeology² may well be a link which can help us to understand the development of thoroughly Etruscan pottery styles. This jar can be ascribed to a workshop which has been identified by Friedrich Hiller,³ or to one closely related. Hiller defined a shop which produced incised bucchero ware;⁴ the piece discussed here would link his shop with parallel work in painted impasto.

The fine-textured surface of the Missouri jar, of an even, bright red color, was produced by self-slipping.⁵ The body is ovoid, with a short conical neck but no base. The jar has two double handles on the shoulder, attached horizontally but tilted so that they slant upward. The cover has a low, dome-like top and straight, almost vertical sides. From the center of the lid projects a tall knob with a flange.

The over-all scheme of decoration is reminiscent of Greek Late Geometric ware, with zones of simple motives filling all the available space and subordinating figure representations. All the decoration is in fugitive matt white paint;⁶ there is no incision.

At the bottom of the vase are four bands, and above these four main zones of decoration. The lowest two consist of series of uniform, closely spaced, narrow triangles, their bases underlined by four thin continuous lines. Just above these is a running S-band bordered above and below by five thin lines; this marks the transition

to the third and most prominent zone, a band of nine encircled palmettes. The volutes of each encircling scroll are linked together by five thin lines, and each scroll to the next by ten. Each palmette consists of ten or eleven identical narrow straight leaves which fan downward from a filled semicircle. Smaller leaves depend from the lines connecting the scrolls. Closely packed groups of vertical lines connect the encircled palmettes to three horizontal lines above, which in turn form the lower border of a second running S-band. Four more thin lines, the upper border of this S-band, are interrupted by the handles (decorated with painted bands), and from these lines two cross-hatched triangles extend up under each handle. The running S-bands, together with their borders, thus form broad borders for the palmette zone. In the fourth main zone, on the shoulder between the handles, are two birds on each side, in profile facing right. These are shown running, with their wings slightly lifted. They resemble geese, but have long pelican-like bills and long, downward-circling tail feathers. Four bands on the neck complement those at the bottom of the vase. On the side of the cover is another running S-band, with nine thin lines below and five above. Much of the paint on the top of the lid is lost, but the body, tail and foot of another bird exactly like the others can be discerned. There is room for three others in the circle. The knob of the lid is banded.

As the whole design seems carefully planned to suit the vase and its cover, there can be no doubt that the two belong together. All the birds can be seen from above, while the palmettes are prominent if the jar is viewed from the side.

Compared to the decoration on other impasto vases, this painting was very meticulously, even elegantly, executed. The art-

Etruscan impasto jar with lid, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia (Acc. No. 68.71).





Left: opposite side of the jar, shown without the lid.



Right: side view of the jar, showing the handles.

ist was a master draftsman. There are no loose ends—no extraneous motives or crowded elements. As the freehand work was completed swiftly and with assurance, there was no need to retouch.

Two jars of shape identical to that of our vase were found in a tomb in Caere (modern Cerveteri).⁷ These, however, lack any paint. Six close parallels come from Tomb 10 of the "Zona A 'del Recinto'" in the Banditaccia necropolis of Caere published by Goffredo Ricci.⁸ Since these jars are virtually identical to the Missouri jar, only the slight differences are noted here. As to form, only the lids differ from ours. The cylindrical top-knots are supported by four arching struts attached to the edges of the lids. As for decoration, some have four bands of triangles in place of our two. The triangles are correspondingly shorter, but their bases are about the same width. On

at least one of these jars⁹ the birds are replaced by a band of interlocking semi-circles. On the others there are no birds, and the substituted design is not clear from the published photographs.

Since these are the only vases that look at all like ours, and since they are so very similar, we may confidently suggest that our jar was made in Caere, in the same workshop as those found by Ricci. To speculate further, however, as to their date or stylistic affiliation, we must make do with a study of the various decorative elements, for there is not another vase published, unless I am mistaken, which bears the slightest resemblance to these.

In many particulars all these jars look like early seventh-century products. Fine quality impasto ware appeared soon after the beginning of that century. The potter's wheel entered Etruria at the time of the first imitation of Greek vases, probably in



Detail of the neck as on view at left on page 37.

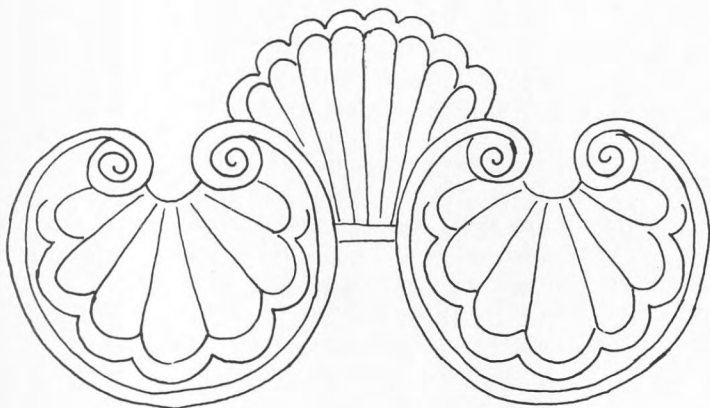
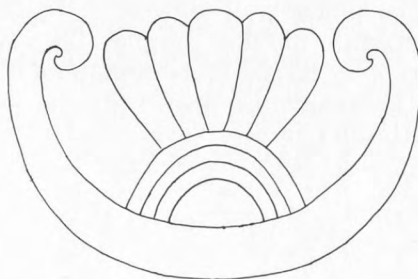
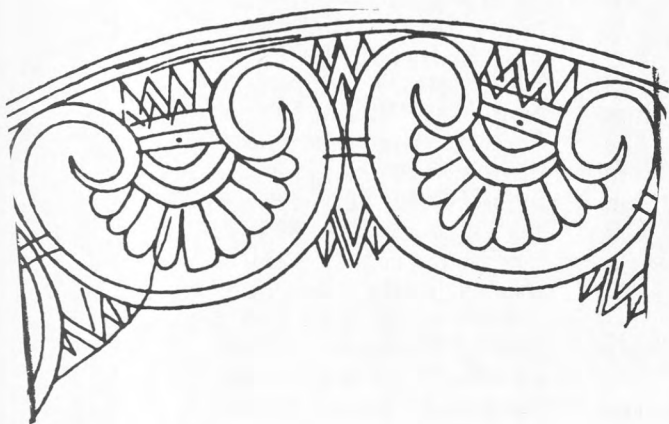
the first quarter of the century.¹⁰ The vase form has no obvious foreign prototypes. Most probably it developed from the more spherical Villanovan urns under the influence of imported Protocorinthian jars and the use of the potter's wheel.¹¹ The cover of the Missouri vase is like earlier Villanovan ones, but more angular. The covers of Ricci's are more advanced, using a principle which may be seen in many bucchero chalices (none well dated) which are supported by four plaques as opposed to a central stem.¹²

Most of the ornament is thoroughly Italo-Geometric, of a date somewhat after 700 B.C. The bodies, necks and heads of the birds on the Missouri vase are painted in the Italo-Geometric fashion, in a single S-band. They differ from the standard Italo-Geometric types in that their wings are lifted slightly and are clearly differentiated from the body.¹³ Yet since the wings are not raised high or spread, they still look more like the Late Geometric-Early Orientalizing types than the Protocorinthian. The type may have been brought to Etruria from the Cyclades, where the Late Geometric bird style made use of a similar wing position.¹⁴ These wings are simply drawn in outline, their anterior edge shown as a straight line diverging from the dorsal

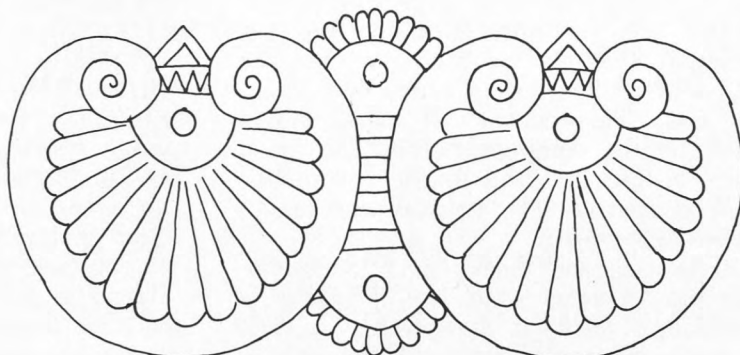
body line directly from the base of the neck. The Cretan and Ionian types are not so similar, since their wings are much more curved and arise from the central body.¹⁵

Taken separately, none of these decorative or technical characteristics would lead us to date the Missouri vase later than 650 B.C. Yet here we see a carefully organized decorative scheme which is not like any Greek prototype—a style, to be sure, incorporating elements from various Greek sources of about 725 to 675 B.C., yet quite Etruscan. The high quality of our piece bespeaks a thorough transformation of such elements—a process several steps removed from the prosaic copying of Greek prototypes. Again, the existence of several close parallels from Caere leads one to suspect that this was the work of an established Etruscan shop.

The palmettes provide the link to such a shop and the clue to a more advanced date for the vase. Hiller has noted some remarkably similar palmettes engraved on fragments of a bucchero pitcher¹⁶ which he believes was produced by a Caeretan workshop active in the latter half of the seventh century B.C. He was able to identify several incised bucchero pieces from this shop by independent analyses of animal



Schematic drawings of typical palmettes, 7th—6th century B.C. From top to bottom: incised palmettes like those on bucchero pitcher of Phase B, Hiller's workshop; "Phoenician palmette"; Rhodian palmette; Protoattic palmette.



style, frieze composition and forms of plant ornament. In the same way he distinguished two stylistic phases of development which he labeled "A" and "B." During the first phase Eastern influence was strong, while in the second the potters turned more often to Greek models. The latest of the latter were transitional from Late Protocorinthian to Early Corinthian style.¹⁷ Therefore the "B" phase should fall early in the last quarter of the seventh century. The correlation of these two changes tallies well with W. L. Brown's interpretation of the parallel developments in Etruscan animal style in general.¹⁸

The palmettes drawn in the shop are of particular interest here, and in order to understand their development one must note the way in which the compass was used. During the "A" phase it was used for drawing simple bands of interlocking semi-circles such as are inscribed on some bucchero pieces from the workshop,¹⁹ as well as on a bucchero olpe in Missouri, probably from this same shop.²⁰ Similar bands were painted on Ricci's jar no. 32, apparently with the use of a compass.²¹ Continuous bands of palmettes also appeared in the "A" phase, but these were enclosed in "heart-shaped" scrolls.²² The compass could not play any part in the drawing of such palmettes. By the time of the "B" phase, however, the potters of this shop were putting the compass to more imaginative use—they produced bands of encircled palmettes by first inscribing the semi-circles of the scrolls with a compass. That technique was certainly used on the one "B" phase example with palmettes—the pitcher with palmettes so much like those on our vase. The accuracy of measurement afforded by the compass helped the artist to plan a uniform and truly continuous band of palmettes. The volutes and leaves were added afterward.

While compass marks are not apparent on the Missouri vase, the influence of the technique used on the pitcher is clear from the semicircular form of the scrolls. Both stylistically and technically, then, the

palmettes on this vase are closely related to those on the pitcher. Like it, the Missouri vase should belong to Hiller's shop and to its "B" phase. By the same token, Ricci's vases find an equally secure place there, as Hiller has already suggested.²³ The Missouri vase and Ricci's as well must date from a time just shortly after the transition from Late Protocorinthian to Early Corinthian, or about 625 B.C.

If we compare the various examples of the palmette, the incised bucchero example, the painted jars from Caere and the one in Missouri differ slightly from one another. The incised example has pointed triangular leaves between the palmettes. The leaves formed of straight lines were surely easier to incise, whereas the rounded forms would have been easier to paint. The palmettes on Ricci's jars differ from ours probably only because of different hands. Some of Ricci's jars show the work of a painter who had trouble painting free-hand curves. The semicircles were probably painted with the aid of a compass, but the more tightly curled volutes, as compared to those on our vase, are much thicker and bulbous at the ends, and seem to have been retouched. On our jar these volute ends taper off nicely to a point, but they are so tightly curled that an unusually wide space is left between them. These slight variations in the proportions of the palmettes can be read as variations within a school. All examples follow a single set of rules for drawing the palmettes, from which none deviates except as a function of the material or individual talent.

We do not mean to imply that the encircled palmette was new to Caere or to Etruria in general at the time when these vases were produced. Etruscan metalworkers produced original designs based on the lotus-and bud²⁴ and the so-called "Phoenician" palmette²⁵ between 675 and 625 B.C. The potters were more conservative. Only after the middle of the century did some of them begin to develop their own designs for fine pottery.²⁶ The Caeretan shop which produced the Missouri vase was es-

established soon after mid-century and took part in the first flowering of a truly Etruscan style of pottery decoration.

The palmettes show how our jar fits into the development of Etruscan pottery; however, the foreign origins of these palmettes remain to be discussed. Hiller pointed to a Rhodian source because a few bronze plates engraved with similar palmettes passed from Rhodes to Etruria during the latter half of the seventh century.²⁷ His reasoning was sound, but the connection is not quite so obvious, for the palmettes of the Rhodian material are not so much like ours as one might wish. Moreover, there are Athenian examples which are preferable to the Rhodian in this connection. E. H. Dohan first suggested Athenian prototypes for similar Etruscan palmettes.²⁸ Thanks to recent fuller publication of Protoattic pottery,²⁹ Mrs. Dohan's theory has been vindicated, for among the material from the Athenian Kerameikos there are vases with palmettes very similar to the examples from the Caeretan workshop—more similar, indeed, than any of the Rhodian examples—and these are definitely earlier than the ones from the shop. Three lidded bowls are particularly notable. Two are from *Opferplatz a /IV*;³⁰ both have continuous bands of palmettes like ours, and on one (Cat. no. 3) there are small birds painted between and under the palmettes. The third example³¹ also has a continuous palmette band like ours, and the palmettes on it are the closest parallels which do not come from Hiller's Caeretan workshop. The first two examples Kuebler would date to the early 680's at the

latest, and the last, from *Opferinne β /IX*, less securely to the last quarter of the eighth century.³² These dates may seem rather early for our vase, but Kuebler observes that the Athenian potters kept to this same style of palmette band through the first half of the seventh century.

The "Phoenician" palmette seems to have had little influence elsewhere in Greece at this time;³⁴ therefore the intermediary may be either Rhodes or Athens, with stylistic evidence pointing toward Athens, while the palmettes in bronze mentioned above suggest a Rhodian origin.

Judging from the style of its palmettes, the Missouri vase must have come from the same shop as Hiller's examples, or from one closely related. It may be that one shop specialized in *impasto*, the other in *bucchero*.³⁵ Logically, one would expect other examples of fine Etruscan *impasto* to have come from the same shop, but as yet a footed amphora of unknown provenience in Copenhagen is the only other vase that might be considered.³⁶ Even with the limited number of pieces already attributed to this shop, one sees the formation of a distinctive style. There are foreign influences but no foreign prototypes for these vases. Imported decorative motives were transformed and combined to suit the potters' purposes. There can be little doubt that the Missouri jar comes from a Caeretan workshop of more professional status than any of an earlier time in Etruria.

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¹The Italian term *impasto* is used to describe any of the light-colored early Etruscan wares. These are usually much redder than wares of most other areas because of a high iron content in the clay. The term *bucchero* identifies by contrast the gray or black wares of the Etruscans. At its best *bucchero* ware is jet black and highly burnished. One should not suppose that these wares were made of different clays.

The difference in color is produced in firing. Oxidation turns the clay red (Fe_2O_3 = haematite), while reduction yields a black ware. See M. Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Art from West Coast Collections* (Santa Barbara, California 1967) 19-24.

²Acc. No. 68.71. Provenience unknown. Museum purchase. Height 46 cm., with cover 56 cm.; diam. rim 16 cm.; diam. base 12 cm. The body is intact. Height of

cover 15 cm.; diam. at bottom 25 cm. The cover is restored from four pieces. Two large triangular chips are missing from its side and the top part of the knob is chipped. The jar is of a type used for storing dry foodstuffs but is so elaborately decorated and so well preserved that it must have been a tomb offering.

³F. Hiller, "Beitraege zur figuerlich geritzten Bucherokeramik," *Marburger Winckelmannsprogramm* 1965 (Marburg-Lahn 1966) 16-29.

⁴See above, note 1.

⁵In self-slipping the vase is rubbed lightly with a damp cloth when the clay is still damp or "leather-hard." This brings the finer particles of the clay to the surface. Burnishing would enhance the sheen further, but the tell-tale marks of this process are not apparent on this vase.

⁶The lime paint was generously applied. Most of it flakes off very easily, but a thin layer is firmly bonded to the red surface. This state of affairs suggests that the paint was applied after the clay became hard, but probably before firing.

⁷L. Pareti, *La Tomba Regolini-Galassi del Museo Gregoriano Etrusco e la civiltà dell'Italia Centrale nel sec. VII A.C.* (Vatican 1947) 439, nos. 652 and 653 (pl. 70). It is uncertain whether these were from the sixth peripheral tomb or from a tomb nearby.

⁸G. Ricci, "Necropoli della Banditaccia. Zona A. 'del Recinto,'" *Monumenti Antichi* 42 (1955) 315 ff., especially 317, no. 32, fig. 63; 318, no. 41; 319, no. 56; 322, no. 94, figs. 62 and 63; 323, no. 97, figs. 61 and 62; 323, no. 103. The jars numbered 32, 94 and 103 are said to be identical, as are the other three numbered 41, 56 and 97. The tomb (no. 10) was first reported by R. Mengarelli in "Caere e el recenti scoperte," *Studi Etruschi I* (1927) 145 ff. Note there pls. 26a and 28b to see the original positions of the jars.

⁹Ricci, *op.cit.* no. 32 (see note 8). The same should hold true for nos. 94 and 103.

¹⁰E. H. Dohan, *Italic Tomb-Groups in the University Museum* (Philadelphia 1942) 109.

¹¹*Ibid.* Narce 19M, pl. 18, no. 4.

¹²Pareti, *op.cit.* no. 528, pl. 67.

¹³Dohan, *op.cit.* 63-64, Narce 2F, no. 1, fig. 38; 55, Narce 1, nos. 5-6, pls. 30-31. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Great Britain 10 (British Museum 7) IV Ba, pl. 6, no. 2a. E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre I* (Paris 1897) D 143, pl. 33. A. Åkerström, *Der geometrische Stil Italiens*. (Uppsala 1934) has given an analysis of the type.

¹⁴C. Dugas, *Délos XVII. Les vases orientalisantes de style non Mélien* (Paris 1935) pls. 26 and 28.

¹⁵*CVA Deutschland* 27 (Heidelberg 3) pl. 127, nos. 2, 3, 9, 10 especially no. 2; also a Cretan Geometric hydria in our museum (Acc. No. 69.118) published in H.A. Cahn, *Early Art in Greece* (André Emmerich Galleries, New York, May 1965).

¹⁶Hiller, *op.cit.* no. 5, fig. 2, pl. 7.1, in a private collection.

¹⁷*Ibid.* 22.

¹⁸W. L. Brown, *The Etruscan Lion* (Oxford 1960) 41-49.

¹⁹Hiller, *op.cit.* 16, no. 1, pl. 9.

²⁰*Ibid.* 29, note 17. Museum of Art and Archaeology, Acc. No. 66.339. Illustrated in *Muse* 1 (1967) 5.

²¹Ricci, *op.cit.* fig. 63. Here the design is more elaborate, clearly showing its origin in the running lotus-and-bud of Near Eastern ivories, e.g., M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains II* (New York 1966) figs. 501, 502. The same design occurs on much Etruscan metalwork of the later seventh century: Pareti, *op.cit.* nos. 1, 151, 237. It appears, perhaps later, as a plastic design on the jars nos. 631, 632, 635 and 654, pls. 69 and 70.

²²Hiller, *op.cit.* 16, no. 1, pl. 9; 17, no. 2, pl. 5.2; 17, nos. 3 and 4, that is, all the examples of the "A" phase. Cf. Pareti, *op.cit.* no. 303, pl. 39; Brown, *op.cit.* 14-26.

²³Hiller, *op.cit.* 29, note 33.

²⁴See above, note 21.

²⁵Pareti, *op.cit.* gold breastplate no. 28, pp. 190-192, pl. 9 (center). H. Hencken, *Tarquinius, Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1968) 404, fig. 390. The palmettes in the latter's fig. 391 (O. Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie* . . . [Stockholm 1895-1919] II, 2, pl. 294, no. 10) would definitely place this gold bracelet in the sixth century, along with the ivory pyxis in Florence (Brown, *Etruscan Lion* 49, pl. 20).

²⁶Brown, *op.cit.* 41-45.

²⁷See above, note 23.

²⁸Dohan, *op.cit.* 108.

²⁹J. M. Cook, "Athenian Workshops around 700," *BSA* 42 (1947) 139-155; Eva Brann, *The Athenian Agora VIII, Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery* (Princeton 1962) *passim*. See also note 30.

³⁰K. Kuebler, *Kerameikos VI, Die Nekropole des spaeten 8. bis fruehen 6. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1970) 416, no. 2, pl. 5; 418, no. 3, pl. 4.

³¹*Ibid.* 437, no. 27, pl. 16.

³²*Ibid.* 114.

³³*Ibid.* 358-360.

³⁴There are only two clear Protocorinthian examples that I have seen: H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1932) pl. 2; and Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* (Berlin 1933) pl. 29, no. 5. Both seem more closely related to the Rhodian material than to the Attic or the Etruscan.

³⁵See above, note 19.

³⁶*CVA Denmark* (Copenhagen National Museum 4) pl. 205, no. 7. To avoid confusion, I list here some comparatively well known vases which I believe do not come from this workshop: J. H. Iliffe, "Large Etruscan Jar of Red Impasto Ware," *Bulletin of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology* 10 (May 1931) 2 and illustration on cover; E. N. Pryce, "Two Etruscan Vases," *British Museum Quarterly* 4 (1929) 31, frontispiece and pl. 15a; P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della collezione Castellani* (Rome 1930) pl. 19; E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre I* (Paris 1897) pl. 33; H. B. Walters, *British Museum Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases I, part 2* (London 1912) no. H 230 (the Polledrara Amphora).

A Greek Myth Through Renaissance Eyes

A copy of an early sixteenth-century Italian engraving entitled *Iphigenia Recognizing Her Brother Orestes* (Bartsch XIV, 194),¹ attributed to Agostino Veneziano,² is in the collections of the Museum of Art and Archaeology.³ While the print itself is of only moderate quality—Agostino having produced both finer and poorer works—it is of interest in that it offers a glimpse of an average sixteenth-century artist's attitude toward both his public and the antique.

From the time of Bartsch the print was thought to have been based on an unknown drawing of Baccio Bandinelli.⁴ This seemed probable because the style of the figures, the rather academic approach and the Classical subject matter of the engraving were suggestive of Bandinelli's work, and because Agostino is known to have executed a number of such designs for the sculptor.⁵ However, in a supplement to Bartsch, Wessely indicated that the engraving was not after Bandinelli but rather reproduced the design of the left half of the front of a Roman sarcophagus, at the time in the Palazzo Accoramboni in Rome.⁶ The sarcophagus was in this location when it was included in Winckelmann's *Monumenti antichi inediti* of 1767⁷ and in Millin's *Galérie mythologique* of 1811,⁸ but found its way to the Glyptothek in Munich in 1817 after passing through the Ridolfi collection while still in Rome.⁹

There is little doubt that Agostino had access to the original sarcophagus, since he is known to have worked in Rome on at least two separate and lengthy occasions: the first from 1516 until a year after the sack of the city in 1527 (during which time he was a pupil of, and collaborator with, Marcantonio Raimondi), and the second from 1531 until his presumed death in the late 1530s. During one of these periods

Agostino executed the print known as *Iphigenia Recognizing Her Brother Orestes*.

The subject of the section of the relief upon which Agostino's engraving is based derives from Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*.¹⁰ As a prelude to the action of the play, Artemis has asked for the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon.¹¹ But instead of allowing the young maiden to die, Artemis whisks her away in a cloud of smoke at the last moment, leaving a hind in her place. The young girl is transported to the land of the Taurians (Tauric Chersonese, modern Crimea) where she is made a priestess in the temple of Artemis. It is to this place that, many years later, Orestes, Iphigenia's brother, is directed by the Oracle. He is sent there in order to bring the image of Artemis back to Greece as a last effort to stop the Furies from persecuting him.¹² However, upon landing, Orestes and his faithful companion Pylades are captured by the native herdsmen and bound over for sacrifice to the priestess Iphigenia, since it is the custom in this land to sacrifice strangers to the goddess. Knowing only that they are Greeks, Iphigenia questions the men at length on events following the Trojan War. She then decides to save one of them in order to allow him to return with a secret message to her brother Orestes (whom she believes is at Argos). In her letter she tells him she is safe but asks for deliverance "from this wild land" and to save her from "these sacrifices . . . wherein mine office is to slay the stranger."¹³ On hearing this plan but not the contents of the note, Orestes insists that his friend Pylades be saved by being the messenger. The latter, after some persuasion, acquiesces but expresses fear that the letter might be lost in a

storm, in which case he would wish to be absolved from his oath. For this reason Iphigenia reads aloud the contents of her letter. As Orestes and Pylades hear Iphigenia say:

“Say to Orestes, Agamemnon’s son—
This Iphigenia, slain in Aulis, sends,
Who liveth, yet for those at home
lives not — ”¹⁴

they realize that they are standing before Orestes’ sister.

With Euripides’ text in hand, we see that the scene portrayed on the sarcophagus and reproduced by Agostino Veneziano should not be *Iphigenia Recognizing Her Brother Orestes* but rather *Iphigenia Receiving Orestes and Pylades for Sacrifice*. From the dialogue of the play it is quite clear that not only does Orestes recognize Iphigenia first, but that Orestes and Pylades are overcome with surprise and happiness by the time they are able to convince Iphigenia of Orestes’ identity. In ad-



Agostino Veneziano: engraving of a scene from Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

dition, the two representations indicate an earlier stage of the play, since both men are still in chains. For it is before, not after the scene of recognition that Iphigenia commands her guards to "unbind the strangers' hands, that, being hallowed, they be chained no more."¹⁵ Indeed, at the moment of Orestes' recognition of his sister, he embraces her:

"Dear sister mine, albeit wonder-struck,
With scarce-believing arm I fold thee round,
And taste delight, who hear things marvellous!"¹⁶

This action of Orestes is confirmed by the chorus, which reprimands him, saying:

"Stranger, thou sinn'st, polluting Artemis' priestess,
Casting about her sacred robes thine arm!"¹⁷

Thus, the scene on both the sarcophagus and the engraving are best related to Iphigenia's first glimpse of the captives as they are brought to her, when she says:

"Lo, hither with pinioned arms come twain,
Victims fresh for the Goddess's fane:—
Friends, hold ye your peace.
Nolyng message the herdsman spoke:
To the temple be coming the pride of the folk
Of the land of Greece!"¹⁸

In Agostino Veneziano's version of the sarcophagus relief—and it is a version rather than a copy—there are a number of details that diverge not only from the relief but from the original story as well. The greatest change from both sources is the interior setting that the engraver has provided. It is clear from Euripides' play that the portrayal of an outdoor scene is intended and it is thus shown on the sarcophagus.¹⁹ This is proved by the fact that the scene of recognition immediately follows Iphigenia's words to the guards:

"Depart ye, and within make ready all
For them whose office is the sacrifice."²⁰

Moreover, the scene as interpreted above, that is, *Iphigenia Receiving Orestes and Pylades for Sacrifice*, could not have taken place in the shrine, since even before Iphigenia begins to speak to the captives for the first time, she directs her guards:

"Then pass within the temple, and prepare
What needs for present use, what custom bids."²¹

It is, in fact, in the added interior that Agostino most clearly shows his weakness as an artist, that is, as a draughtsman without a model. The poorest details of the print are found in the five concave niches in the walls, which Agostino has attempted to show as both flat-topped and arched. He has not only failed to give them a logical depth but has made the arched ones seem convex at the bottom.

While the rest of the print is of considerably higher quality, it nevertheless differs from the sarcophagus in several significant details. In the relief the scene is flanked by two trees, whereas Agostino eliminates that on the right.²² The tree to the left (now incongruously growing inside the temple) resembles its model but is thinner and lacks the hanging severed heads and bucranium with which the latter is supplied. The statuette of Artemis has also been changed: instead of being fully clothed and holding a knife and sheath, she is nude and without attributes. Moreover, the pose is that of the Venus Pudica, adapted from the Medici Venus (Uffizi, Florence—at that time apparently still in Rome) or some similar ancient model. Even the relative size of the figure has been altered, the statue being about one-third the height of the adjacent human figures as compared to somewhat less than one-half their size in the relief. Finally, the pedestal on which Artemis stands has also been changed in the print, lacking there the moulding of the original and having a swathe of drapery on the side in place of a garland.



Sarcophagus with relief scenes from Euripides' Iphigenia in Tauris, in the Glyptothek, Munich (Inv. No. 363). Photo courtesy of the Glyptothek.

The most original details that Agostino introduced into his scene are to be found in the major figures, the clearest being the addition of a guard between Iphigenia and Orestes. In addition, while the other four figures are in positions essentially the same as those seen in the relief, the pose of the guard at the right has been modified so that his legs are crossed, repeating in reverse the position of the legs on the image of Artemis. Both guards have been given the barbarian trousers seen on the sarcophagus, but they also have tunics that reach their knees and thus partially cover their foreign costumes. More important, neither wears the Phrygian cap seen on the guard in the relief. But even in the major protagonists who come closest to their Roman prototypes, Agostino has made interesting and significant changes. Iphigenia, for example, does not carry a sheathed sword in her left hand but holds a flaming torch over the urn. Moreover, while in the original relief she hides her uncovered breasts with her right arm, in the engraving she exposes her right breast, despite the drapery Agostino added from her right shoulder to her left side.²³ Finally, while Agostino has kept Orestes' basic pose, he has moved the hero's knees slightly wider apart in order to give him a more graceful stance. In doing so, however, the artist was apparently unable to account anatomically for the higher posi-

tion of the right leg and thus simply placed a flat stone under the foot to supply the necessary support.

The iconographic changes which Agostino introduced into his engraving show a tendency to simplify the story by the reduction of details. At first this may strike the viewer as simply a commercial engraver's method of making less work for himself, but this is contradicted by the unnecessary inclusion not only of the interior backdrop but of an extra figure as well. Indeed, Agostino has gone to some trouble to engrave additions that could easily have been omitted had he merely wanted to supply his public with a reproduction of a Roman relief. Nevertheless, there are several objects missing that one might have expected the artist to include in order to clarify the story. But it is the very absence of these details that Agostino seemingly felt would make his presentation of the tale more accessible to his audience.

To begin with, the artist has ignored the severed heads and bucranium on the tree overhanging the altar. The former apparently allude to victims of Artemis' cult, the latter either to the location of the scene (*Tauris* being quite close to the Latin *taurus*: bull), the sacrificial altar (*bucranium* meaning not only a decorative ox skull but a place of sacrifice), or, according to Winckelmann, the heads and paws of wild



beasts killed by hunters and placed there in honor of the deity. In the case of the bucranium, any of these explanations would probably not have been immediately obvious to those of Agostino's patrons without some Classical education, while the presence of the human heads might have aroused real confusion. The flaming urn and torch (rather than a sheathed sword) in Iphigenia's hand would have indicated immolation rather than decapitation of sacrificial victims. The reasons behind such simplification would also explain the changes Agostino made in Artemis and the guards: by illustrating the goddess in

the well known pose of the Medici Venus and by giving the guards lances in addition to swords, long tunics to disguise their barbarian trousers, and eliminating their Phrygian caps, the engraver brought the scene more in line with what was likely to be accepted as ancient, at least by his print-buying public.

It is, in fact, in these small but telling details that we see a value in Agostino's print beyond its modest artistic achievement, that is, as a document of the relationship between artist and client. That there was a gap between the artistic education of the aristocracy and the middle class in the Renaissance (particularly in Rome) is clear. But it is well to recall that while Michelangelo, Raphael and even Giulio Romano catered to the most sophisticated of audiences, the era always had a second and perhaps larger public with a strong interest in, but weak knowledge of, art in general and the antique in particular. Thus it was a public that patronized artists whose works were not only within their financial reach but who satisfied their simpler tastes. Agostino Veneziano's engraving may well be a typical product of such a relationship.

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¹A. Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur* XIV (Wuerzburg 1920) 85, no. 194. (Original edition Vienna 1821).

²Agostino Veneziano (also called Agostino dei Musi, sometimes Latinized by him to Augustinus Venetus De Musis) was born ca. 1490 in Venice and died in Rome ca. 1538. In 1516 he was in Florence, where he engraved a *Christ with Mourning Angels* after a now lost painting by Andrea del Sarto (the *Puccini Pietà*). (See J. Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto* (Oxford 1965) I, pl. 46a; Bartsch XIV, 25, no. 40.) According to Vasari, Andrea did not like the work and refused Agostino permission to engrave any other of his paintings. In the same year Agostino traveled to Rome and began work under Marcantonio Raimondi. In 1528 Agostino returned to Florence (or possibly went to Bologna) but was in Rome again by 1531.

There he remained until his death. His last dated work is from the year 1536 but, according to Petrucci, he continued to update a portrait of the Bishop of Brindisi and Oria, Gerolamo Aleandro (Bartsch 517) until 1538. In addition to engraving works after Andrea del Sarto, Agostino did prints after Jacopo de'Barbari, Giulio Campagnola and Duerer while still in Venice, and later after Raphael, Marcantonio and Baccio Bandinelli. Cf. Bartsch 40; Thieme-Becker, *Kunstlerlexikon* 25 (Leipzig 1931) 292; A. M. Hind, *A History of Engraving and Etching* (New York 1963) 98 f.; and A. Petrucci, *Panorama della incisione italiana* (Rome 1964) 94, note 23.

³Acc. No. 64.100.1. Height 26.1 cm., width 19.4 cm.

⁴Bartsch, *op. cit.* 85f.

⁵Perhaps the two best known examples of Agostino's work after Bandinelli would be the early *Cleopatra* of 1515 (Bartsch 193) and the *Bandinelli with His Pupils in his Studio, Working by Candle-Light (Bandinelli Academy)* of 1531 (Bartsch 418), not to be confused with E. Vico's print of the same subject. Cf. M. G. Ciardi Dupré, "Per la cronologia dei disegni di Baccio Bandinelli fino al 1540," *Commentari* 17 (1966) 146, fig. 2; also R. Klein and H. Zerner, *Italian Art, 1500-1600, Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1966) Frontispiece. The Vico version of the *Bandinelli Academy* is illustrated in Ciardi Dupré, *op. cit.* fig. 26.

⁶J. E. Wessely, "Supplemente zu den Handbuechern des Kupferstichkunde," *Repertorium fuer Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1882) 51.

⁷J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti* (Rome 1767) I, 149; II, 200 ff.

⁸A. L. Millin (de Grandmaison), *Galérie mythologique* (Paris 1811) pt. 2 no. 626, 106 f., pl. 171 bis. There is, however, the distinct probability that Millin was merely using Winckelmann's material.

⁹L. Urlichs, *Die Glyptothek seiner Majestaet des Koenigs Ludwig I von Bayern* (Munich 1867) 72. The sarcophagus is discussed in R. Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques* (Paris 1966) 148 pl. 6b and is dated A.D. 120-130. I am most grateful to Dr. D. Ahrens, Konservator of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek in Munich, for this information.

¹⁰*Iphigenia in Taurica*, translated by Arthur S. Way (London 1912). Loeb ed. *Euripides* Vol. II (the edition hereafter cited). The play was known in the sixteenth century through two manuscripts of the fourteenth century: the *Codex Palatinus* in the Vatican Library (no. 287) and the *Codex Florentinus* (Flor. 2) in the Laurentian Library in Florence. Cf. *The Iphigenia Among the Tauri of Euripides*, trans. E. B. Noland (London 1886) xxx f. and *Euripides, Iphigenia in Tauris*, trans. W. N. Bates (New York 1904) 19 f.

¹¹At least two versions exist as to the reason for Iphigenia's being sacrificed. The first, and most often accepted, is that Agamemnon, having angered Artemis by boasting of his ability to best her in the hunt, was punished by the goddess for his presumption. Artemis sent winds against the Greek fleet at Aulis to keep it from sailing to Troy, and only the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter, Iphigenia, would placate the deity. The second version tells us that in order to obtain victory, Agamemnon offered Artemis the best that the year brought forth; this being his daughter, he eventually offered her for sacrifice.

¹²The Furies persecuted Orestes because he had murdered (or, from his point of view, executed) his mother Klytemnestra for her killing of Agamemnon, his father.

¹³*Euripides, op. cit.* ll. 775-776.

¹⁴*Ibid* ll. 769-771. Winckelmann (*op. cit.* 201) suggested that the empty tablet at the foot of the tree was the message to be carried by Pylades. A similar

object appears in Agostino's print in the form of a signature tablet frequently used in Renaissance engravings. In this case, however, the tablet shows neither a message nor Agostino's monogram, but Winckelmann's description is probably correct.

¹⁵*Euripides, op. cit.* ll. 468-469.

¹⁶*Op. cit.* ll. 795-797.

¹⁷*Op. cit.* ll. 798-799.

¹⁸*Op. cit.* ll. 456-462. It is possible, of course, that Agostino conceived of the scene as Iphigenia recognizing her brother Orestes, but as we shall see, the details of the print make this unlikely. Interestingly enough, the Orestes sarcophagus was used over two centuries later by Benjamin West as the basis for a painting entitled simply *Pylades and Orestes*, without reference to a recognition scene (Tate Gallery, London; see G. Evans, *Benjamin West and the Taste of His Times* [Carbondale, Illinois 1959] fig. 9.)

Another earlier use of the Orestes sarcophagus bears a more direct relationship to our engraving. An early sixteenth-century parcel-gilt silver plaque by Moderno (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. No. 1170) representing a *sacra conversazione* contains a figure of St. Sebastian that is clearly adapted from the figure of Pylades in the Munich relief. Such a resemblance might be mere coincidence, as the pose is rather a common one. However, this relief and its companion piece (*Flagellation of Christ*, also in Vienna) show several antique and specifically Roman motifs (for example, an adaptation of the Laocoon for Christ's pose in the *Flagellation*), and the reliefs are considered to be from Moderno's Roman period. Equally important, Moderno executed relief designs after Marcantonio Raimondi. Given Agostino Veneziano's relationship to Marcantonio, it would seem logical to assume that he and Moderno knew each other in Rome and were familiar with the same antique models. See L. Planiscig, in Thieme-Becker 24, 604 f., and *Die Bronzeplastiken. Kunsthistorisches Museum in Wien, Publikationen aus den Sammlungen fuer Plastik und Kunstgewerbe IV* (Vienna 1924) 247, no. 409.

¹⁹A similar scene can be found in a Pompeian fresco where the chained friends stand to one side and speak to each other. See J. White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space* (New York 1958) pl. 63a, "Pylades Before Thoas and Iphigenia."

²⁰*Euripides, op. cit.* ll. 725-726.

²¹*Op. cit.* ll. 470-471.

²²When Winckelmann had the engraving of the sarcophagus made, separating it into two parts for clarity, he also showed the left third as a single scene and logically utilized the right-hand tree seen in the relief to frame it.

²³The poses of the male protagonists have also been changed so that the down-turned head of Pylades has been lifted into a straight profile, while Orestes' head has been raised up in an attitude of incipient anguish.

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