THE GEORGE ORTIZ COLLECTION

IN PURSUIT OF THE ABSOLUTE

« Why do you collect? How and when did you start? » I keep being asked.

It all goes back to my adolescence. I lost my religious faith, studied philosophy and became a Marxist. I was looking for God, for the truth and for the absolute.
In 1949 I went to Greece and I found my answer.
The light was the light of truth and the scale of everything was on the scale of man. And Greek art exuded a spirit which I was much later to perceive as what I believe to be the spiritual birth of man in the same fashion that this physical birth took place in East Africa some two million years ago.

What is that spiritual birth?

It is the awareness that man is the centre of things and that the elements or the gods must be placed in their right contexts. A new anthropocentric but not ethnocentric approach that achieved fulfilment in Athens, in the 5th-4th century B.C.
It is a humanism wherein the rational mind helped by observation, pragmatism and logic has the potential to seek everything there is to learn about man and the cosmos.
It is a search after the truth and the universal principles in each man, leading to universal concepts, guided throughout by a moral approach.
It is the need perpetually to call into question oneself, one's beliefs, one's attitudes, one's stance, one's image of oneself and others. For as Polonius says in « Hamlet » :

> « This above all – to thine own self be true,
> And it must follow, as the night the day,
> Thou canst not then be false to any man. »
> (I, III, 78-80)

It is the realization that man is a political animal, and the choice of democracy as the most appropriate system within which there is absolute political equality for all, embodying discussion and debate and the right for each to express himself. Each citizen protected by the sacred inviolability of the law.
It should ensue that each man assumes his full dignity and responsibility in freedom within an ethical context propitious to the fulfilment of his potential, each contributing thus to the evolution of humanity.

The acceptance of this spiritual birth should enable all men to understand and to relate to each other, the above concepts being the same for all, regardless of race, religions or mores.
Already in Greece, in late Summer 1949, I realized that the answer to all my problems and anguish was to be found within myself. It was no fault of others, of systems or circumstances. It was within myself that lay all the answers.
I soon gave up my Marxism, realizing that its implementation, the putting into practice a theory in contradiction with human nature, could only become a depraved deformation of an utopia – however beautifully moving and appealing the « from each according to his ability, to each according to his need » (K. Marx and F. Engels, Complete Works, vol. 19, p. 20).
Back in Paris in the Autumn of 1949, I went to see a dealer who had a « Cycladic » forehead and whom I had met in the Herakleion Museum and said : « I want to collect Greek art, will you help me? »

And that is how I started. Possibly I instinctively hoped that by acquiring ancient Greek objects I would acquire the spirit behind them, that I would be imbued with their essence.
I had no knowledge; I had never studied archaeology; and I did not go to museums.
My approach was purely intuitive, instinctive. The vision of certain objects struck me viscerally, then they came to fascinate and move me, I let them speak to me, I let their content and spirit nourish me. I began to go to museums and looked with intensity. I learnt by looking, by feeling, and

then reading the labels and comparing. Why, what, when?
One of my earliest acquisitions was the Neolithic idol, no. 42. She moved me when I first saw her, and amazingly when I looked at her in moments of anguish or doubt these disappeared. I wondered why. In her time she was an idol of fertility, a protection against the fates, fire, flood, drought. She was a promise of plenty and the continuation of the race.
What is it in this idol that alleviated the anguish of Neolithic man and mine though of an apparently different nature?
I once read that in Africa certain immensely fat women are held in the highest esteem, for in time of famine, they survive longer thanks to their fat. Was not mine also an existential anguish? Thus the idol's steatopygous forms are not only physical but contain a spirit, the answer to man's most primeval needs, still a part of all of us, however deeply buried.

The miracle of Greek art is to have succeeded in expressing the maximum of perfection with and within an acceptance of man's finiteness and scale.

Art is a projection of the ego, an urge for survival, a need for beauty and the absolute. After all, is it not a material manifestation of man's noblest feelings, a surpassing of oneself? An expression of an idealism, visionary but harmless, essential to his existence and survival. This is neither the case with religions nor ideologies often responsible for extensive crimes against humanity and in untold millions of deaths.

Little by little over the past forty-three years, the collection has grown more and more into a coherent whole. Objects came my way, and some of them unquestionably because they had to do so. It is as though, imbued with the spirit of their creator, they came to me because they knew I would love them, understand them, would give them back their identity and supply them with a context in keeping with their essence, relating them to their likes. But this is no place to go into detailed stories of certain precise examples that would prove this.

The most recent example was Prince Siddhartha, no. 173. A surprising series of circumstances led me to the awareness of his existence and, notwithstanding all manner of pressures on me, he joined the collection. This may seem surprising, as Gandharan art does not particularly attract me. But he is of a dimension that surpasses all contingencies, an overpoweringly strong presence. He is a very handsome prince, the son of reigning monarchs, he has a beautiful young wife and a little son whom he adores, all the trappings of wealth and power, and he is adulated by his future subjects. But one morning he wakes up, abandons all and goes forth into the world in the pursuit of truth. He is the future Buddha.

The collection has become almost as though a living entity which I have to go on looking after. Today its main body is Greek art from the Neolithic to the Byzantine with many of the peripheral cultures, preceded however by a few examples from the greatest civilizations that came before the Greeks, and born on great rivers: Sumer in the fertile crescent between the Tigris and the Euphrates, Egypt with its main artery the Nile, and China with the Yangtze and Yellow River, represented here by one example only, no. 209.

As an early Greek philosopher observed, everything is in flux and man is perpetually in evolution. Thus it is important to realize that, whatever the miracle of this spiritual birth, Greek civilization was enormously indebted to the Near East and Egypt. There started the first sedentary settlements that became in time cities with their religious and political hierarchies, leading to the invention of writing, mathematics, astronomy, etc. What changes is the assessment of facts, a new perspective, a heretofore unknown awareness, a humanism which reached its maturity in 5th century Athens in the plastic and dramatic arts and in some other centres of the Greek world at that time. This humanism is foreshadowed in the Neolithic art of Greece. For example the seated terracotta idol, no. 44, with the tenderness expressed in the pose of the forearms and the hands on the right knee, some five thousand years earlier. In no other Neolithic

art that I have looked at do I perceive such feelings.

Certain cultures and civilizations of the past have admirably portrayed different animals, but none with the personal and human touch of the Greeks who loved them so much, harmonizing with their images and making some of them as though they were almost human: man become animal, in a Platonic sense, conveying the characteristic of their essence. Some of them exude spontaneity, vitality and humour, not to mention a sensitivity of feeling.
For example the Geometric mare, no. 76, expressing maternal love as she tilts her head towards the foal which she is about to suckle, and which is now missing. Also, the doe, no. 78, as though on the edge of a forest in the mist of early dawn as she quivers with an almost human hesitancy in an awareness of potential danger. Note the spirited mischievousness of the smiling goat, no. 108, of the Archaic period from Greece proper with a human glint in his eye; the playful « dancing » bull, no. 120, from Magna Graecia where it is fun to live, for the land is bountiful.
The Kriophoros, no. 140, from the Greek world stands at this exceptional moment of transition from aristocracy to democracy, from archaic art to classical art, from stylisation to naturalism, in the period called Early Classical or the Severe Style. The ram and his bearer are realized with considerable naturalness, but above all the bend of the animal's neck with its slight bulging on the underside expresses with infinite tenderness the apprehension of the ram because of his unnatural and somewhat uncomfortable position. Has the artist portrayed the animal's premonition of the fate that may await him?

The rhyton in the form of a deer's head, no. 154, was surely executed by a Greek influenced by the « Animal Style » of the Scythians and possibly produced for a Scythian prince. One almost sees and feels the life that permeates the animal's muzzle with such sensitivity. The same approach is also to be found in the Achaemenid-style rhyton with a buck protome, no. 206, surely Greek workmanship and of an earlier date but from a similar or maybe even the same workshop, produced this time for a Scythian nobleman, a wealthy Greek of the coast of Anatolia or a Persian satrap of the same region. The poise of the head with its one remaining antler conveys a humanistic understanding of an animal's sensitivity that I find deeply moving and particularly beautiful; it is, if I may use the expression, a dream object.
Pure Achaemenid objects such as the amphora with ibex handles, no. 205, and the rearing ibex, no. 207, whatever their artistic merits, lack the humanism of previously mentioned works of art. The same is true of the admirable onager heads, no. 209, with their quivering liveliness.
Particularly attractive is the so-called « Animal Style », so spirited and imaginative. Note the naturalism of the Scythian stag on tiptoes, no. 214 bis.

In the early Byzantine period permeated with Greek spirit, whose birth is contemporary with the end of the Roman Empire, a new dimension is added. In the head of Gratian (?), no. 246, executed like a cameo, we see the portrait of a young prince, twelve to fourteen years of age, imperious, very spoilt and possibly somewhat cruel. In no. 251 which we think of as the head of the Virgin, we see a juxtaposition between the virginal purity of her lower face with a young girl's chin and mouth, and the pathos of her sad eyes, full of melancholy and suffering, with the longitudinal creases between the eyebrows. And the portrait of a high official, no. 248, exudes a compassionate understanding and spirituality.

How does ethnography fit this collection? Because some of it is very powerful, very pure or very beautiful sculpture, or both, often with a strong inner content. I have always liked African sculpture when it is genuine, which means unadulterated by European contact. And the Africans as no other peoples have been able to capture and express the savagery of nature in some of their sculptures, for nature is not burdened with considerations of morality or justice, it just is. See for example the Nok head, no. 261, with its powerful psychic content, and « Bulgy eyes », no. 263, with its mystical strength.

Some twenty-five years ago I went to the Pacific and discovered a sky different from that of Greece but equally of a pureness as nowhere else and an ocean with its atolls surrounded with necklaces of white foam as the sea beats against the outlying coral reefs – a breath of fresh air, an escape from the rational and technical materiality of the western world.
Notice the purity of forms of the wood stool, no. 269, the basalt pounder, no. 268, the Easter Island paddle, no. 270, the implement, no. 277, and the dagger, no. 276 not to mention the Matty dish, no. 279, of which I once wrote « the most successful form for a dish ever made in any civilisation, of masterful abstract and pure line. The relationship of curve and plane, of solidity and lightness, of strength and elegance to its form creates a volume which is a great sculpture – a sheer delight to the eyes, an homage of man to space.
Might it not be that the timeless quality of life in some primitive societies contributed to their being able to create such perfection ?» This timeless quality surely applies also to the Cycladic vase, no. 49.
Feel the savage presence of the Hawaiian sorcery image, no. 278, the might of the Rarotonga figure, no. 274, probably a representation of Tangaroa the Polynesian God of creation and of the sea, with the seat of his « mana » (the concept of prestige and puissance) in his overpowering head, and the purity, simplicity of line and perfection of form of the Nukuoro deity,
no. 280.

What has happened to this spiritual birth in the West?

It is responsible for our scientific and medical discoveries implemented by technology, resulting in our high standard of living. The shortcomings are the exaggerated materialism that ensues and the practical difficulties of democracy working with vast populations; the impossibility of paralleling the Athenian Agora where each citizen, humble or high-born, poor or rich, could speak out and be heard, participate, discuss and vote in full understanding.
Today, our populations have little real concern, no time although our material progress results in more free time. In the measure that they are informed it is by the media that forget their sacred responsibility to relate information as objectively as possible. They should express all opinions truthfully, with equanimity, regardless of their personal leanings and, honestly stating their stance, comment freely.

Most of the politicians in the West have forgotten their mission and consider politics a career; their ego projections, self-interest and power more important than their call to serve humanity. They are responsible for not giving the right example and for our failing ethical and educational standards. Materialism has impaired our courage, but it is not materialism that is at fault. It is the escape into materialism, it is a refusal of most men to develop their potential and assume their responsibility.

What has happened to this spiritual message in the rest of the world?

It has not been understood or seen as what it is. It has been assessed as somewhat distorted by Judaeo-Christian religions and associated with western white man. It has been equated with our racism and our past politics of colonialism and imperialism, with the dogmatism of our religions, with our distortion of the use of reason giving birth to ideologies which have been responsible for millions of deaths and immense suffering.
The rest of the world is in the process of aping, copying and enlarging upon the science and technology that flowed from this spiritual birth, but simultaneously rejecting the most important aspects of this birth for reasons I have suggested above.

It is, I am convinced, the spiritual birth of all humanity, and it is only because it took place geographically where it did, that the West has been lucky enough to benefit from it.
There is a certain hope in certain peoples wishing to adopt the political system of democracy.

Humanity will not survive unless all men can relate to each other, unless all men can develop a humanistic and ethical approach to life and to each other. The difficulty for all is the balance between elites and the masses, the masses' understanding and elites' giving of themselves, in the hope that each man will assume his dignity in a responsible way.
The other difficulty is that, superior animals that we are, we tend to find ourselves distorted by the material creations of our intelligence which enable possession, accumulation and power. A precarious balance can surely be maintained within the political system of democracy, the rule of law, the division of powers between the legislative, the executive and the judiciary, and the awareness of each that if his role and participation in the « res publica » is no ethically conditioned and imbued with humanism, there will be no long-term survival.
The collection you will see is a message of hope, a proof that the past is in all of us and we will be in all that comes after us. Let these works of art speak to you, hopefully some of them will move you by their beauty and reconcile you to your fellow men however different their religions, customs, races or colour.
For these works of art are the product of humanity.

George Ortiz
2004

CHAPTER 1

NEAR EAST

1. WORSHIPPER (temple attendant?)

Gypsum
H: 42.5 cm
Allegedly from the Diyala river region (NE of Baghdad)
Sumerian
Early Dynastic II-III. c. 2700-2500 B.C.

Sculpted from a block of gypsum.
Condition: fragment of a large statue, restored from six pieces. The top of the head is missing with most of the left eye, ear and nose. Also missing a wedge-shaped section from the right shoulder near the neck and from the right elbow, a piece between the left elbow and the right wrist, a slab on the front all the way up to the beard with which the front arms and hands were at one and the whole lower part from slightly below the wide and very thick belt.
The eyes were originally inlaid (probably with shell and the iris of black limestone, both fixed with bitumen).
The surface somewhat eroded, weathered and chipped.

A temple figure, probably a votive, he stands with clenched hands held together in front of his chest. Both his angular forms and the stylization of his face are far from realistic. He wears a long beard and his hair centrally parted, as indicated at the back by the Λ shape, hangs on the chest on either side of it; though a wig is possible, it is most unlikely (1).
For the general type and context one may refer to a figure from Tell Asmar (2) and to the whole group (3) found there.

(1) Verbal communication Prof. Pierre Amiet, 6 July 1991.
(2) Frankfort, H.,: Sculptures of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah, OIP 44 (Chicago, 1939) pls. 9, 10 (though with differences).
(3) Spycket, A., La statuaire du Proche-Orient Ancien (Leiden/Cologne, 1981) pl. 37.

2. SQUATTING FEMALE (seal)

Marble?
H: 1,8 cm
Provenance: no indication
Proto-Sumerian
Late Uruk-Djemdet Nasr period. c. 3200-2900 B.C.

Ex collection:
Ada Small Moore (no. 124)

Made of alabaster or marble, and polished.
Condition: bust somewhat worn but probably intact (1)

She is seated showing her right profile (2), has full cheeks and an aquiline nose. Her long hair is dressed in a braid, topped by a round cap with upturned brim.
There are carefully drilled depressions on the back, large and deep on top becoming smaller and lighter below, the eighth and last particularly so. Such drill-holes are characteristic of the Protoliterate Period; it is probable that this bust was used as a seal stone, and maybe also as a pendant or amulet (3,) or both. Two good parallels are similarly squatting female stamp seals in London (4) and New York (5).

Exhibited and Published:
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Selections from the Collection of the Ancient Near East Department (Tokyo, 1983) cat. no. 113.
Published:
Eisen, G,A., Ancient Oriental Cylinder and other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore, OIP 47 (Chicago, 1940) no. 14.

(1)The underside slightly irregular with a small hollowed out section.
(2) As indicated by comparison with seated figures such as shown on a cylinder seal of the same period, Moore no. 102 (Eisen, G.A., OIP 47, 1940, no. 2) and another cylinder Kh. III 683 (Frankfort, H., Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region, OIP 72 , Chicago, 1955, no. 312, pl. 31) showing 4 squatting pigtailed women.
3) Eisen, G.A.:, op.cit., p.23.
(4) British Museum WA 120 963.
(5) Metropolitan Museum of Art L. 1983. 125.5: Pittmann, H. and Aruz, J., Ancient Art in Miniature. Near Eastern Seals from the Collection of Martin and Sarah Cherkasky (New York 1987) 50, no. 7

3. RITUAL VASE

Limestone
H: 6.2 cm. Diam: 6 cm
Allegedly from Ur
Proto-Sumerian
Djemdet Nasr period. c. 3000 B.C.

Condition: complete but with several cracks and three small pieces glued back in place on the chipped rim, and a hole behind the reclining heifer. A few stains on the surface.

A vessel decorated with a standing bull in low relief, his turned head in high relief; also in low relief a reclining young heifer and a sacred stable surmounted by emblematic poles (1). The stable built of reeds with reinforced tubular uprights and horizontals. An Early Sumerian bowl in stone from Khafaje has a similar type of representation (2).
These form part of the same iconographic group as a magnificent gypsum trough from Warka decorated in low relief with a sacred stable and sheep, probably used for the temple flock (3); their purpose is ritual, to invoke divine providence for the herd or to manifest gratitude to the god for past bounty (4) possibly dedicated to the god of vegetation Dumuzi, the "Real Son" legendary king of Uruk, called the Shepherd, who is later known as Tammuz (5).

Exhibited and published:
Picasso, Sous le soleil de Mithra, 210-211, cat n° A2, col. ill.

1) A parallel for the stable and poles is a fragment of a large ritual alabaster vase of the Djemdet Nasr period in Paris, Louvre Museum AO 8842: Amiet, P., L'Art Antique du Proche-Orient (Paris, 1977), 354, 442, no. 231; for greater resemblance, see a cylinder seal in limestone from Khafaje, likewise of the Djemdet Nasr period, in the Baghdad Museum: Orthmann, W., Der Alte Orient, PKG 14 (Berlin, 1975) 226, no. 127b, - here the surrounding herds are ascribed to Tammuz (?).

2) Baghdad, Iraq Museum: Orthmann, W., op. cit., 183, pl. 71b.

3) London, British Museum WA 120 000: Frankfort, H., The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient (Harmondsworth, 1970) 27, fig. 12.

4) Porada, E., “Problems of Style and Iconography in Early Sculptures of Mesopotamia and Iran”, in: In Memoriam Otto J. Brendel (Mainz, 1976) 4.

5) Amiet, P., op. cit., 566.

4. RECLINING BULL (seal)

Limestone
H: 3.8 cm. L: 5.17 cm
Provenance: no indication
Proto-Sumerian
Late Uruk to Djemdet Nasr period. c. 3000 B.C.

Sculpted out of hard limestone and then highly polished.
Condition: pierced vertically for suspension. Tip of right ear a modern restoration and shell inlay of left eye reaffixed.
The carving on the back almost all made with a drill.

By this period, such seals - functionally largely replaced by cylinders - probably served primarily as amulets. The seal device composed of animals difficult to identify conveys ideas rather than words. Somewhat mechanically executed, it harks back to earlier models used both as seals and amulets.
An example of an extraordinary artistic achievement that reveals a new evolution which is the mastery of sculptural volume, completely unknown in the preceding El Obeid and Early-Middle Uruk periods.

Exhibited and published:
Picasso, Sous le soleil de Mithra 212-213, cat no. A3, col. ill.

5. BEARDED MALE BUST

Gypsum
H: 9.45 cm
Provenance: no indication; probably Diyala Valley (Khafaje?)
Sumerian
Early Dynastic II/III. 2700-2500 B.C.

Condition: whole lower part of body, right arm from below the shoulder, left shoulder and arm missing. Tip of nose chipped.
Eyes probably once inlaid with shell fixed on bitumen, and possibly also inlaid the deeply grooved central hair parting. Weathered surface, mottled light honey and white.

For the type, see a comparison for this votary in the bust in the Pennsylvania University Museum (1).

1) 37.15.38, said to be from Khafaje, 2700-2600 B.C.

6. MALE HEAD

Gypsum
H: 7.3 cm
Provenance: no indication; probably Diyala Valley (Khafaje?)
Sumerian
Early Dynastic III. c. 2600 B.C.

Condition: material slightly veined, maybe crystallized gypsum or poor alabaster. It has a heavy feel and the texture of marble. Unevenly broken at the neck, a slice off the front of the nose and a chip on the chin.
Eyes once inlaid probably with shell on bitumen, and eyebrows formerly inlaid also.

This head of a worshipper bears very strong resemblance to that of a male statue from the Sin Temple IX at Khafaje (1) .

1) Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum A 12413: Frankfort, H., Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah, OIP 44 (Chicago, 1939) no. 22pp. 58-59, no. 22, pls. 36, 40

7. FEMALE HEAD

Gypsum
H: 7.75 cm
Provenance: no indication; probably Diyala Valley (Khafaje?)
Sumerian
Early Dynastic II-III. c. 2700-2500 B.C.

Condition: broken at the neck, at the back along the hairline. A scrape running through tip of nose, upper lip and across cheeks. Wear to hair on left side of diadem and back of hairdo. Traces of black colour over hair.
Missing: inlay of left eye (shell on bitumen) and inlays for eyebrows.

This head was part of a statuette of a worshipper. Exact comparisons are not to be found for artists of the period never reproduced exactly the same model. However, there were distinct styles and it is unquestionable that this head belongs to the types found at Khafaje.
A tress of hair encircles her head and ends in a flattened bun forming a pointed pyramid at the back, a similar headdress to that of a female statue from the Sin Temple IX at Khafajei (1) There are affinities with other heads from the same temple (2). A comparable type of head is in the Pennsylvania University Museum (3) which originally had eyes in shell fixed on bitumen.

1) Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum A 12412: Frankfort, H., Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah, OIP 44 (Chicago, 1939)), no. 104, pp. 68-69, no. 104, pl. 74.
2) Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum A 12337: Frankfort, H., op. cit., no. 136, pp. 70-71, no. 136, pl. 87.
3) 38.10.51: labelled as alabaster, though probably of limestone or gypsum.

8. FEMALE HEAD

Stone
H : 4.4 cm.
Provenance : no indication ;
probably Khafaje, Diyala Valley (Khafaje ?)
Sumerian
Early Dynastic II-III. C. 2700-2500 B.C.

Ex collection :
Hans & Marie-Louise Erlenmeyer

Condition : unevenly broken at the neck, chipped, abraded and considerably worn. Missing eye inlays.

See cat. no. 7 for general remarks.
Her hair is elaborately dressed in the same general style as cat. nos. 6 and 8. A tress encircles her head ending in a cone-shaped bun at the back, in front the hair is wavy and ends in a fringe of scallops over her forehead. She wears a beaded necklace.

9. FEMALE HEAD

Gypsum
H: 3.25 cm
Provenance: no indication; probably Diyala Valley (Khafaje?)
Sumerian
Early Dynastic II-III. c. 2700-2500 B.C.

Condition: deeply fissured in several places, unevenly broken at neck. The surface somewhat weathered and "changed" in places.

See cat. no. 7 for general remarks.
She wears an elaborate hairdo surmounting her hair at the back in the shape of a prominent cone. She bears similarity with some small heads from the Sin Temple VIII at Khafaje (1). Her eyes are not inlaid, but carved and, though in the minority, other small heads from Khafaje are worked like this (2).

1) Baghdad, Iraq Museum: Frankfort, H., Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah, OIP 44 (Chicago, 1939) no. 133, pp. 70-71, no. 133, pl. 86.
2) E.g. Baghdad, Iraq Museum: Frankfort, H., op. cit., no. 140, pp. 72-73, no. 140, pl. 88.

10. MALE HEAD (applique)

Limestone?
H: 2.95 cm. Thickness: 1.12 cm
Provenance: no indication
Sumerian
Early Dynastic III. c. 2600-2340 B.C.

Ex collection:
Professor and Marie-Louise Erlenmeyer

Condition: broken on a slant through the lower neck and the middle of a round drilled hole which probably held a peg that helped fix the figure to its background. The lower right side of nose abraded, eyebrow, eye and upper part of nose slightly flaked. The odd little nick and a few small pits on the surface.

The present head fits the "smiling style", the softening of forms and most especially the shaved head and sculpted eyes, characteristics ascribed to the Early Dynastic III period by A. Spycket (1). It comes from a narrative composition of the type illustrated on the Standard of Ur inlaid in shell (2) with multiple small representations; but in keeping with its material and thickness, it must have decorated a relief such as the "dairy scene" (3) composed of limestone figures fixed on a bituminous stone background, whether partially inlaid or not is uncertain (4).
Stylistically, we see a rapport with works of the period such as the mace head of Eannatum I or II (5) for the line of the skull and nose with its very slight dip over the nose bridge, the contour of the eye, the line of the neck and jaw up to the lobe of the ear. The same line

of the neck and the shape of the ear are to be found on a votive stele (6) similarly attributed.

1) Spycket, A., La statuaire du Proche-Orient Ancien (Leiden/Cologne, 1981) p. 75 ff.
2) London, British Museum WA 121 201: Strommenger, E. and Hirmer, M., Cinq millénaires d'art mésopotamien (Paris, 1964) no. 72, pp. 68-69, no. 72, ill., pls. X, XI.
3) Baghdad, Iraq Museum: Strommenger, E. and Hirmer, M., op. cit., no. 78, p. 70, no. 78, ill.
4) If there were any traces of this, the slight wear of time has erased them, as probably broken off in antiquity.
5) London, British Museum WA 23 287: Strommenger, E. and Hirmer, M., op. cit., no. 70, p. 68, no. 70, ill.; Amiet, P., L'art antique du Proche-Orient (Paris, 1977)no. 333, pp. 370, 445, no. 333, 370 ill.
6) London, British Museum WA 130 828: Strommenger and E., Hirmer, M., op. cit., 68, no. 71, p. 68 ill.

11. STANDARD BEARER

Shell
H: 3.44 cm. W: 2.93 cm. Thickness: 0.56 cm
Provenance: no indication
Sumerian
Early Dynastic III. Mid 3rd millennium B.C.

Condition: slight chip to top of pole, two diagonal holes at back for the passing of a wire or thread for attachment, a hole through the front reaching through to them.
Surface smooth, a warm yellowish hue.

The upper part of a figure holding a pole (for a standard). This inlay has a rapport with cut-outs for inlaying and might have been part of an ensemble somewhat similar to those appearing on the mosaic "standard" from the Royal Cemetery at Ur (1) and various shell figures from Mari (2) .

1) London, British Museum WA 121 201: Strommenger and E., Hirmer, M., Cinq millénaires d'art mésopotamien (Paris, 1964) 68-69, no. 72, pp. 68-69, pls. 10,11.
2) Paris, Louvre Museum AO 19820: Parrot, A., Mission archéologique de Mari I. Le temple d'Ishtar (Paris, 1956) 145-146, nos. 458-459, pp. 145-146 fig. 87.

12. TEN SMALL HEADS

These little heads, all of the mid 3rd millennium B.C., probably served some amuletic function, perhaps to protect the wearer against evil spirits, in addition to their role as ornaments, possibly as necklace elements. Those with horns represent gods (1) and those without were probably heads of goddesses. Often found in tombs, where they accompanied their owners; sometimes strewn over temple sites (2), suggesting that they may have been worn by the priests or priestesses (3).

a. HORNED HEAD with bull's ears
Shell
H: 2.1 cm. W: 1.97 cm. D: 1.41 cm
Provenance: no indication; East Syria?4 (possibly region of Mari)
Mesopotamian

Ex collection:
His Grace the Duke of Wellington, K.G. (1961), from the collections of the 2nd Duke of Wellington, c. 1860

Condition: pierced vertically for suspension; left ear and horn missing. Deep hollow eyes once inlaid. Below either ear representing a lock of hair5 (see head b). Smooth, ivory-coloured surface, the whole somewhat worn, especially the right ear. Traces of earth deposit around mouth, in eyebrows, etc.

b. HORNED HEAD
Shell
H: 1.85 cm. W: 2.05 cm. D: 1.26 cm
Provenance: no indication

Sumerian. Early Dynastic III
Condition: pierced vertically for suspension. Eyes hollowed and once inlaid. Below either ear representing a lock of hair (see head a. and footnote 5). Smooth surface with incrustations: spots of dark earth limestone.

c. HEAD
Shell
H: 1.98 cm. W: 1.94 cm. D: 1.74 cm
Provenance: no indication; probably East Syria
Mesopotamian

Condition: grooves on head with traces of bitumen, probably once inlaid. Eyebrows grooved and perhaps once inlaid; hollowed-out recess below each ear for inlay (see head e). Eyes inlaid with shell and irises in lapis lazuli.
Slight abrasion to end of nose, half of left ear missing and right ear worn down. Surface weathered and incrusted with earth deposit and traces of blackish pigment.

d. HEAD
Shell
H: 1.65 cm. W: 2.01 cm. D: 1.21 cm
Provenance: no indication; probably East Syria
Mesopotamian

Condition: pierced vertically for suspension. Eyes hollow with remains of bitumen for inlays, now missing. Much worn, especially the eyebrows, nose and mouth. Traces of dark pigment, possibly once blue, and earth deposit in eyes.

A comparison which would tend to confirm a Syrian provenance is the small head6 found in the priests' room on the site of the Temple of Ishtar at Mari.

e. HORNED HEAD with bull's ears
Alabaster-like greyish stone, limestone?
H: 1.53 cm. W: 1.67 cm. D: 1.1 cm
Allegedly from Syria, possibly region of Mari
Mesopotamian

Condition: pierced vertically for suspension. Eyes and hollowed-out recess below each ear once inlaid. Smooth surface.

f. HEAD
Shell
H: 1.08 cm. W: 1.25 cm. D: 0.81 cm
Allegedly from Syria, possibly region of Mari
Mesopotamian

Ex collection:
Count Chandon de Briailles

Condition: pierced vertically for suspension. Whole right side of face broken off. Holes for irises of eyes once inlaid. Surface smooth and worn.

g. HEAD
Shell
H: 1.07 cm. W: 1.22 cm. D: 0.75 cm
Provenance: no indication
Mesopotamian

Ex collection: Professor and Marie-Louise Erlenmeyer

Condition: pierced vertically for suspension. Irises once inlaid. Intact save for slight damage to lower part of right ear. Surface smooth.

h. HEAD
Shell
H: 1.4 cm. W: 1.48 cm. D: 0.98 cm
Provenance: no indication
Mesopotamian

Ex collection:
Professor and Marie-Louise Erlenmeyer

Condition: pierced vertically for suspension. Irises hollow, probably once inlaid. Most of ears missing, much worn and pitted as though pinpricked.

i. HEAD
Shell
H: 1.34 cm. W: 1.36 cm. D: 0.81 cm
Provenance: no indication; probably East Syria
Mesopotamian. Early Dynastic III

Condition: pierced vertically for suspension. Irises of eyes once inlaid. Whole surface worn and very smooth resulting in the fading of the linear decoration around the eyes, the hairline across the forehead and the line of the mouth.

j. HEAD
Shell or stone?
H: 1.26 cm. W: 1.39 cm. D: 0.78 cm
Provenance: no indication
Mesopotamian

Ex collection:
Professor and Marie-Louise Erlenmeyer

Condition: pierced diagonally for suspension from top to middle of back. Irises drilled out, possibly once inlaid. Fissured, spotted and very worn.

1) Verbal communication Prof. Pierre Amiet, 6 July 1991.
2) Parrot, A., Mission archéologique de Mari I. Le temple d'Ishtar (Paris, 1956) 156.
3) Parrot, A., op. cit., 163. These may be temple attendants and are not priests in the modern sense.
4) East Syria corresponds essentially to the Middle Euphrates region, which is Northern Upper Mesopotamia.
5) For a representation of a lock of hair in relief, though curling forward, see the marble statuette of a woman in the British Museum: Moortgat, A., The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia (London/New York, 1969) pl. 94. Is it merely coincidence that both this head and head b, both horned and representing gods, have the locks engraved curling backward?
6) Aleppo Museum M. 366: Parrot, A., op. cit., 156, no. 366, pl. 58.

13. WORSHIPPER (temple attendant?)

Gypsum
H: 70 cm
Allegedly from the Diyala river region (NE of Baghdad)
Sumerian
Early Dynastic II-III. c. 2700-2500 B.C.

Sculpted from a block of gypsum.
Condition: without restoration, but reassembled from three large sections, plus a fragment of the "kaunakes" and the front of the right foot. Missing the right shoulder and arm to the wrist, including the outer right side of the back and edge of hair; large wedge on right front of "kaunakes", with large chip on lower left front and side of "kaunakes", another at belt and right of waist. A chip off the left front corner of the stand to the middle of the back, this part restored for stability.
Surface somewhat eroded and with limestone deposits on left and left back side of "kaunakes". A round hole in remains of lower right forearm.
Eyes once inlaid (possibly with shell fixed on bitumen or limestone with lapis lazuli for the irises).

His hair is depicted on his back in the typically masculine fashion of the period. He wears a three-tiered "kaunakes" falling like a skirt of feathers, a stylization of sheepskins (1) (with the wool) probably sewn together; it is possible that the "petal-shaped tufts of wool in an overlapping pattern" (2) were woven.
We are undecided as to whether he represents a temple attendant or a worshipper.

1) Spycket, A., La statuaire du Proche-Orient ancien (Leiden/Cologne, 1981) 55.
2) Lloyd, S., The Archaeology of Mesopotamia (London, 1985) 114; The nature of this garment has given rise to much discussion and Strommenger (Strommenger and E., Hirmer, M., Cinq millénaires d'art mésopotamien [Paris, 1964] 65) thinks that animal skins are the most plausible explanation, though she does not exclude its having been a woven garment imitating skins; For a general discussion on this subject, see Cherblanc, E., Le Kaunakès, Histoire Générale du Tissu, Document no. II (Paris, 1937).

14. THREE WORSHIPPERS

Copper
H: 11.3 cm. Diam: 19.9 cm
Allegedly from Afghanistan
Bactrian?
Late 3rd-early 2nd millennium B.C.

Solid-cast upside down by the lost wax process, the molten metal being poured in from the underside.
Condition: reassembled from four large pieces and five small fragments. The whole very slightly bent out of shape, particularly noticeable for the right forearm of the central figure.
Missing: two branches from the tree and the four elements that are either branches or the arms of a support of which only stumps remain at the top, and a small, flat section of one of the crossbars of the ring.
The surface is rough, in appearance granular and with longitudinal parallel ridges, a thick crust of light bluish green to dark green, flaked in places to reveal a Burgundy-coloured reddish copper.

This cult group has no direct parallel. It represents three figures at worship, a stylized tree behind them. The central figure with long hair, two braids framing the face and beard, is dressed in a skirt, his waist girt by a wide belt with a large central knob; he may be a priest. The two attendants are smaller, naked and beardless, perhaps an indication of their lower rank.
The stylized tree - maybe a "tree of life" - shows three complete branches still in place with curious double knobs on two of them, possibly phallic in connotation. The four protuberances on the top may be remains of support elements for a bowl, a lamp, or some offering.

The whole group is mounted on a metal ring with flat crossbars.
The ensemble may have had a comparable function to that of the stand bearer (cat. no. 16) and to the goat vessel support (cat. no. 30).
For the projections at the top of the stylized tree a comparison with those surmounting the head of the nude male figure from the Temple Oval at Khafaje (1) seems appropriate. For the crossbars of the ring, there is a rapport with our stand bearer (cat. no. 16), with what was in all likelihood the base of the bull stand in Washington (2), and the rectangular grating of the ibex in Baltimore (3).
There is a bearded kneeling copper figure of somewhat earlier date, said to have been found near Warka (ancient Ur) (4). He is seated with his legs tucked up under him and wears a broad belt. He is rounder and less oval than the central figure of our group but related to the alabaster bust of a bearded figure from Uruk of same date in Baghdad (5), as are the two limestone statuettes probably from Uruk in Paris (6). Also related are the composite figures of chlorite and limestone (7). All these figures share a similar style of beard with shaven upper lip and oval lower edge.
The present group has affinities with other sculptures from the end of the 4th millennium B.C. down to objects found at Shahdad, dated mid to late 3rd millennium B.C., but also illustrates a particular characteristic which is the position of the three figures seated on their haunches, one knee up and the other leg tucked under. This posture is to be found mainly on seals from Iran, dated to the first half of the 3rd millennium B.C. (8)
This ensemble is reminiscent of material from Mesopotamia (though the gesture of adoration of the three worshippers with palms flat is non-Sumerian) and Southern Iran, but belongs to Central Asia (9).

Exhibited and published:
Afghanistan, 12-13, cat. no 19, col. ill.

1) Baghdad, Iraq Museum: Frankfort, H., Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah, OIP 44 (Chicago, 1939) 76-77, no. 181, pls. 98-101.
2) Arthur M. Sackler Gallery S. 87.0135.
3) Walters Art Gallery 54.2328: Vorys Canby, J.,The Ancient Neat East in The Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1974) no. 40.
4) In the collection of Jonathan P. Rosen, New York; ascribed by E. Porada (A Male Figure in the Style of the Uruk Period, in: Mori, M. <ed.>, Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, vol. V <Wiesbaden, 1991> 335 ff.) to the style of the Uruk period and probably Mesopotamian (offprint kindly relayed by Mr. Rosen).
5) Iraq Museum: Amiet, P., L'art antique du Proche-Orient (Paris, 1977) 357, 443, no. 248, ill.
6) Louvre Museum AO 5718/9: Amiet, P., op. cit., 354, 442, no. 226, ill.
7) E.g., Louvre Museum AO 21104: Amiet, P., L'âge des échanges inter-iraniens, 3500-1700 av. J.-C. (Paris, 1986) 200, 331, fig. 206. - One in the Fouroughi coll. Teheran: 7000 Jahre Kunst in Iran (Villa Hügel Essen, 1962) 45, cat. no. 4, ill.
8) Amiet, P., L'âge des échanges inter-iraniens, 244, fig. 20.1-2, 245 fig. 20.6, 246 fig. 22.1; all ascribed to Susa II (= Late Uruk period).
9) Discoveries of recent years have shown that Bactria (Northern Afghanistan) was a major centre of ancient metalwork in the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia B.C. An extensive network of exchange connected this Central Asian culture with the various regions of Greater Iran as far west as Susa (this trade network is thoroughly discussed by P. Amiet, see footnote 8).

14bis CEREMONIAL AXE

Silver, part with gold sheet
Max. L: 12.68 cm
Allegedly from North Afghanistan
Bactrian
Late 3rd/early 2nd millennium B.C.

The whole cast by the lost wax process. The boar covered with a sheet of gold annealed and hammered on, some 3/10-6/10 mm in thickness, almost all the joins covered up with silver. At the base of the mane between the shoulders an oval motif with irregular indents. The lion and the boar hammered, elaborately chased and polished. A shaft opening - 22 holes around its edge laced with gold wire some 7/10-8/10 mm in diameter - centred under the lion's shoulder; between these a hole (diam: some 6.5 mm) front and back for insertion of a dowel to hold the shaft in place, both now missing.
Condition: a flattening blow to the boar's backside where the tail curled out and another to the hair between the front of his ears, his spine worn with traces of slight hatching still visible, a slight flattening and wear to his left tusk and lower left hind leg. A flattening and wear to the left side of the lion's face, ear, cheek, eye, nose and jaw and a flattening blow to the whole right forepaw and paw. Nicks to the lion's tail. The surface with traces of silver chloride under the lion's stomach and around the shaft opening.

The closest parallel stylistically is the famous silver axe in New York (1) with an almost identical shaft opening, but laced with silver wire, and hole for the dowel. The boar is less realistic, a hanging posture somewhat unnatural with a distortion to the front section of the upper part of its spine, to fit the function of the axe head and blend in with the rest. On our example the posture is naturalistic as would befit a dead boar. The eyes of both bear a similarity and their tails

end in two separate tufts (2).
The New York axe is ritualistic and clearly thematic as it illustrates some myth, saga or religious belief which may explain a certain stiffness. For another wild boar, but with a tiger, his stripes inlaid in silver, and a goat, there is the bronze axe in London (3), very different for the shaft opening and mode of attachment with its multiple rivet holes and rivets. The eyes are shaped as round holes and were possibly once inlaid.
There is a fourth axe (4) with a boar in similar posture, in bronze - attacked from below by two lions, their hindquarters attached to a cylindrical shaft with a projection on its other side.
Shaft hole axes were made throughout the Near East over a long period. P. Amiet fully describes the considerable exchange of metalwork that took place towards the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. throughout vast expanses of Greater Iran. T. Potts tells us that the Sumerian examples are consistently plain whereas the more elaborate types are from the Luristan, Kerman/Lut and Bactrian regions. Luristan examples and others further east have animals in high relief along the butt, whereas Bactrian hammers and axes have an animal protome projecting from it. He further adds that there is very little evidence of exchange between Mesopotamia and the highland regions; however, if influence there was, it would have been with Susa and Luristan as they were close neighbours. However, there "is clear indication of an active and widespread exchange network stretching the entire breadth of the Iranian plateau from Bactria through south-east and south-central Iran as far as Susa" (5).
Where did our particular type of axe originate? This author feels that it was in Bactria. There is an interesting bronze hammer in Paris (6) with an inscription of Shulgi, from Susa, T. Potts (7) says it is typologically Bactrian with lock-like curls on the butt and birds' heads rising from the top, and is surely an exotic item. A very similar hammer (8) of purer stylization, finer workmanship, and in silver with the tail plumage partially gilt is also said to be from North Afghanistan.
The understanding of the nature of a wild boar would be in keeping with a Western-Central Asian provenance where the beast thrived in the lands around the Oxus. The distinctive mark of oval shape between the shoulders is neither a solar emblem nor a tuft of hair; may we suggest that it could be a clan identification (9)? The boar's juxtaposition with a lion - the latter possibly expressing the victory of the ruler over the dark forces of nature - would be well suited to ceremony and prestige.

Exhibited and published:
Afghanistan, 18-19, cat. no.20, col. ill.

1) Metropolitan Museum, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, James N. Spear and Schimmel Foundation, Inc. Gifts, 1982.5 (L: 15 cm): Pittman, H., Art of the Bronze Age, Southeastern Iran, Western Central Asia and the Indus Valley. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1984) 66 ff., fig. 36; Amiet, P., L'âge des échanges inter-iraniens 3500-1700 avant J.-C. (Paris, 1986) 195 ff., 317, fig. 173; Potts, T., Mesopotamia and the East. An Archaeological and Historical Study of Foreign Relations 3400-2000 BC. Oxford Committee for Archaeology Monograph 37 (Oxford, 1994) 170 ff., fig 27.
2) Misdescribed in the above example as a split tail: Pittman, H., op. cit., 67.
3) British Museum 123268 (L: 17.8 cm, misdated 5th-4th century B.C.): Dalton, O.M., The Treasure of the Oxus with other examples of early Oriental Metal-work (London, 1964) 47-49, no. 193, pl. 24; Amiet, P., op. cit., 195, 317, fig. 172.
4) Christie's, New York, 15 December, 1994, lot 68 ill. (L: 15.2 cm): its condition after extensive cleaning from what must have been a lump of chloride renders comparison of details difficult; however the shape of the eye seems to be as with the New York and present example.
5) Potts, T., op. cit., 172.
6) Louvre Museum Sb 5634 (N 883; L: 11 cm; H: 9.3 cm), the inscription reads "Shulgi, powerful hero, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad". Shulgi was a king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, he reigned in Mesopotamia in the last century of the 3rd millennium B.C.: Amiet, P., Elam (Auvers-sur-Oise, 1966) 243, no. 176.
7) Potts, T., op. cit., 176.
8) In the author's collection and said to be from the same region as this ceremonial axe, a very strong new indication of their provenance and manufacture.
9) In China, jades from Hongshan (Shanghai region) carried clan marks from c. 3500-1800 B.C. and bronzes from Erligang (name of site and period) at Zhengzhou, Honan, from 1800 B.C. onwards. This does not necessarily suggest a connection.

15. BULL-MAN

Alabaster
H: 34.8 cm
From Umma (present-day Djokha)
Sumerian
Early Dynastic II-III. c. mid 3rd millennium B.C.

Ex collection:
Charles Gillet, Lausanne (1950-1972)

Condition: face reaffixed; bust reaffixed to legs, with a strip filled in below belt at back and with a section filled over stomach between belt knot and clasped hands; right arm reaffixed, two small wedges filled, consolidated with glue here and there. Abrasion to tip of penis and testicles.
Missing: back of head, upper right side of face with half of eye, section of beard, left elbow, inverted V-shaped wedge on lower right side of right leg and a large diagonal section sliced from upper front to end of back of left thigh.
Also missing: the horns for which there remains over half the section of a large, deep round hole for the insert of the left horn, showing that the horns were inset c. 2 cm and thus were probably of lapis lazuli; there is also the remains of a deep round perpendicular hole drilled in the head just behind the insertion emplacement for horns on a slight forward slant; the ears; the inlaid eyes and eyebrows; the hair of the beard that was probably a worked sheet of metal; whatever was affixed to the two holes on the chest; the tail for which there remains the large, deep hole between the buttocks, and the lower legs and hooves that were possibly of silver (1) or copper (2) for which there remains a section of the large hole in the left thigh, c. 3.5 cm long, for affixing the lower leg.
The inlays could have been of shell, lapis lazuli, gold, silver or copper.

The two holes in the left elbow, six holes in the break on the left thigh and the two holes on the end of the right thigh are modern and made for affixing restoration. All modern restoration removed save for above-mentioned fillings.
The alabaster a lovely greenish-yellow with rust-colour veins and large striations and patches of an orange hue. The present surface of the face is somewhat discoloured and has lost its sheen, as immersion - to remove the plaster restoration - has leeched out the calcium sulphate in the alabaster. The rest of the figure retains its original smoothness and lustre.
The history of this figure is worth mentioning as, since its discovery at Tell Djokha with another similar piece around 1930, a confusion as to its ownership and location has arisen, leading to erroneous information being given in scholarly publications.
Both figures of translucid greenish alabaster were a chance find and found together. This example entered a private collection and its companion piece, measuring 27.5 cm, the Iraq Museum Baghdad (3). A temporary exhibition there at the end of the second world war was described by Seton Lloyd (4). Notwithstanding what precedes, H. Frankfort (5) mentions the location of the present figure as Baghdad Museum and reproduces the plaster cast (6) in possession of the Museum. The mistake is taken up by J.A. Potratz (7) and, curiously, repeated with an added error in Treasures of the Iraq Museum, by Faraz Basmachi, a publication of the Ministry of Information 1975-76, where the Bull-man is reproduced pl. 67 and given inventory 51023 which belongs to its smaller brother and pendant. A. Spycket (8) mentions both figures, mistakenly ascribing them both to the Iraq Museum and reproduces the present example.

Umma was a major Sumerian city, best known today for the war (9) with its neighbour and rival Lagash, modern al Hiba.
The inscription behind the right shoulder has proved difficult to read (10), but is generally accepted as: "For Enlil. Pabilgagi, king of Umma" (11). At this time many Sumerian rulers also assumed the role of priests.
The statuette's nudity and his representation as a bull-man identify him as a mythological figure. Seton Lloyd (12) suggests that the copper statues represent naked priests or "heroes" functioning as stands.
The vertical hole in the head of the present statue and the square hole in its smaller pair may suggest that both figures served as cult objects, possibly fulfilling the function of stands for a lamp or bowl of incense (13). May we conjecture that they were placed in the cella of the temple in front of the divinity, maybe the king himself assuming the role of the god.
This statuette and its pendant in Baghdad of a particularly fine greenish alabaster with rust-coloured veins are the only two examples of bull-men in the round that have been found so far in Mesopotamia. Notwithstanding the difference in size between them, the workmanship of the sex, nose and mouth, the similarity of the three-tiered belt, the way the stone is carved to reveal veining across the shoulders, their polish and general appearance suggest that they are not only from the same major workshop but in all likelihood by the same hand.
The bull-man, often ithyphallic, appears on seals with heroes and in animal combat scenes.
Likewise in semi-translucent alabaster of a warm, slightly amber colour is a naked, bearded, kneeling figure with a similar girdle, four- or five-tiered, though in a different stance and not ithyphallic, found at Tell Asmar (14). He may be a product of the same workshop, the hollowed-out cavity on top of the head probably indicating that the figure was also a support (15).
These objects probably form part of what we may call, for want of a better word, temple furnishings, and are not ex-votos, although they adopt the clasped-hands gesture of worshippers (see cat. nos. 1, 13). To the same general tradition belongs the earlier kneeling figure in limestone holding a vessel on its head from the Sara temple at Tell Agrab and dated Early Dynastic I/II, c. 2800-2600 B.C. (16)

On loan and exhibited:
Iraq Museum Baghdad: 1930s
Published:
Frankfort, H., Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah, OIP 44 (Chicago, 1939) 12, 41, 78-79, no. 206, pl. 115E;
Potratz, J.A., Die Kunst des Alten Orient (Stuttgart, 1961) pl. 8,1;
Spycket, A., La statuaire du Proche-Orient ancien (Leiden/Cologne, 1981) 56-57, fig. 20 (dated ED II, 2750-2600 B.C.); Art of the First Cities, 51-52, cat. no. 18, ill.
The inscription:
Lambert, M., Sumer III(1947) 131 ff; Edzard, D.O., Sumer XV(1959) 20-22; Steible, H., Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften 2, Freiburger altorientalische Studien 5 (Wiesbaden, 1982) 265-266; Cooper, J.S., Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions, I. Presargonic Inscriptions, The American Oriental Society, Translation Series 1 (New Haven, 1986) 91-92.
Mentioned:
Lloyd, S., “Some Recent Additions to the Iraq Museum”, Sumer II(1946) 1-2. ; Hansen, D.P., in: Orthmann, W., Der Alte Orient. PKG 14 (Berlin, 1975) 163.

1) A smaller representation and of a bull with decoration and various anatomical parts likewise added in different materials, still has three of its legs which are of silver: Hansen, D.P., in: Orthmann, W., PKG 14, 162, no. 14b, pl.14b.
2) Frankfort, H., OIP 44, 12.
3) IM 51023: Hansen, D.P., in: Orthmann, W., op. cit., 163, no. 16, pl. 16.
4) Sumer II(1946) 1-2: "On the left is a coloured plaster cast of a damaged figure in veined, greenish alabaster, found at Tell Jokha (ancient Umma) in about 1930 and at present in private possession".
5) Frankfort, H., op. cit., 12, 78-79, no. 206, pl. 115E.
6) As evidenced by the photograph, in that the rust-coloured veins on the right shoulder are painted on and the two holes on the chest for inlay show plaster remains.
7) Potratz, J.A., Die Kunst des Alten Orient, 424, pl. 8,1 (taken after Frankfort).
8) Spycket, A., La statuaire du Proche-Orient ancien, 56-57, fig. 20.
9) Related on numerous inscribed stone and clay monuments.
10) Spycket, A., op. cit., 56, n. 52.
11) Cooper, J.: Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions, I. Presargonic Inscriptions, 91-92. T. Potts says: "For Enlil, Pabilgagi, king of Umma (dedicated this)".
12) Lloyd, S., The Archaeology of Mesopotamia (London, 1985) 128.
13) Such holes could have served for the insertion of a rod for a basket-like support which are usually found held up by human figures or protruding from the backs of animals in metal (see cat. nos. 16, 30).
14) Frankfort, H., op. cit., 58-59, no. 16, pl. 26-27.
15) Spycket, A., op. cit., 56.
16) Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum: Hansen, D.P., in: Orthmann, W., op. cit., 169, no. 36a.

16. STAND BEARER

Copper
H: 27.3 cm
Allegedly from South Iran
Mesopotamian?
Mid to late 3rd millennium B.C.?

Solid-cast by the lost wax process with some cold-working.
Condition: the figure bent towards the right and the rectangular grating on its right side greatly distorted upwards.
The patina a thick crust, green, azurite and hard reddish-green with deposits of yellowish to brownish earth, mostly flaked and chipped off to reveal an undersurface, a smooth "blurred" colour, dark brownish-red, aggressively abraded in many parts. The lower part of the sash, hanging from the belt, bent back. The circular ring surmounting the four-armed support slightly distorted.

This statue has affinities with a group of arsenical copper figures (1) (all vessel supports) to which have been related the Bull-man (cat. no. 15) and his pair. It may be compared for details such as its ears and the shape of its nose with the nude male statue in New York (2), and though the general almond shape of the eyes bears resemblance, on the New York figure they are solid with a central slit, whereas here they are hollowed out to receive an inlay. However, they are basically dissimilar. Particularly noticeable on the present figure are the high ridges for the eyebrows and a similarly exaggerated accentuation of the collar-bones. He wears a skirtlet held up by a wide belt, a thick sash hanging down in front, and thus differs greatly from all the other figures that are naked. Because of his dress and cap with raised visor, he is ascribed to a slightly later

period, though the dating of the other copper figures and the alabaster bull-men varies among scholars between Early Dynastic I and II (3).
Its style may derive from Southern Mesopotamia or from Southwestern Iran (4). All these statues appear to belong to a common tradition and served a somewhat similar purpose.
This figure probably fulfilled the function of a temple attendant holding up a bowl of incense, a lamp or some other offering.

1) Baghdad, Iraq Museum; Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum A 9270, A 9271: Frankfort, H., Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah, OIP 44 (Chicago, 1939) 76-77, nos. 181, 182, 183, pls. 98-103.
2) Metropolitan Museum 55.142: Muscarella, O.W., Bronze and Iron. Ancient Near Eastern Artifacts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1988) 323-327, no. 464, .
3) Muscarella, O. W., op. cit., 326, for the different points of view.
4) O.W. Muscarella replied to our query on 5 June 1995 saying that one cannot go beyond this which is "an 'intelligent' guess, nothing more".

17. SMALL JAR WITH INSCRIPTION

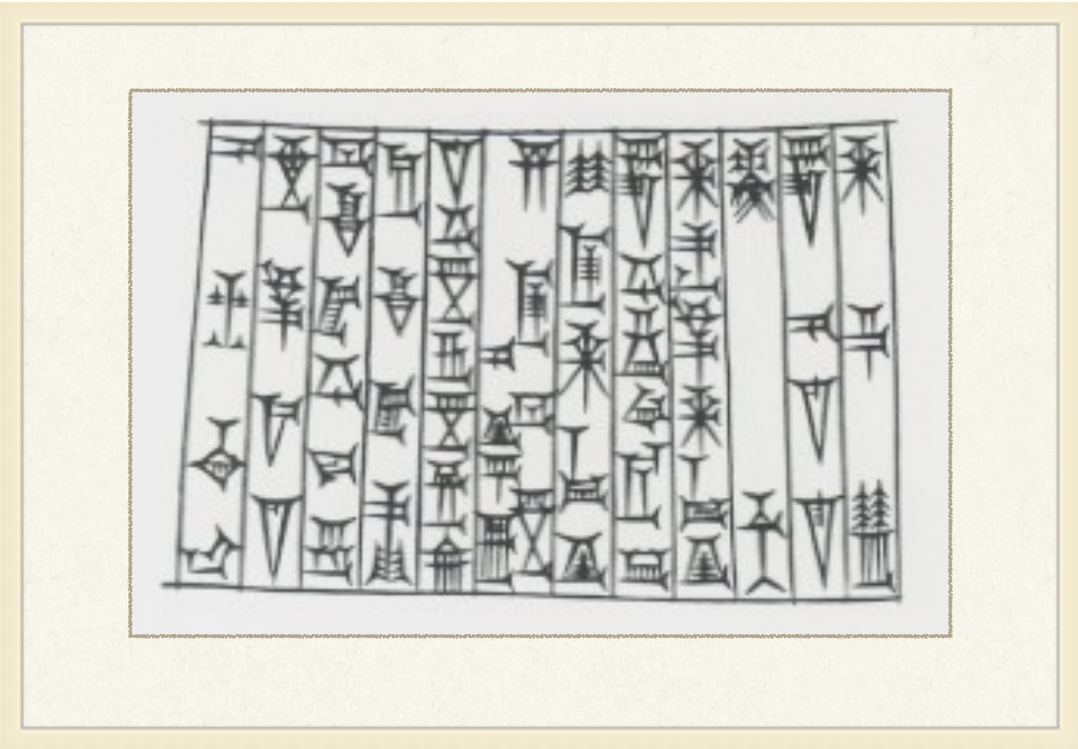
Rock crystal, silver and gold
H: 8.52 cm
Larsa (1), South Iraq
Babylonian
c. 1823-1763 B.C. (2)

Ex collection:
Countess de Béhague

The vessel carved of two pieces of rock crystal and polished; the body of slightly tapering cylindrical form and the underside of the foot made with three concentric stepped levels. The rim of the mouth with a hammered gold lip, the foot circled with a strip of silver (possibly a modern replacement) likewise hammered. On the body an incised inscription within a rectangular frame.
Condition: at the mouth a wedge of rock crystal fissured and the vessel's base once broken, glued together from three pieces. Adhering to the inside of the vessel what appears to be some bronze residue in the shape of a "rocaille", of a green cuprous chloride colour with earth deposits. The surface of the rock crystal slightly weathered with traces of green cuprous chloride deposit on the inscription and in some of the signs, also faint traces of some blackish material that might be bitumen.

A votive jar, the Sumerian cuneiform inscription reads "To Amurru, his lord, for the life of Rim-Sin, King of Larsa, Shep-Sin son of Ipqusha, chief physician, the servant who reverences him, gave (this) stone vase, its lip inset with gold, its base with silver". (3)
The inscription fits nicely with the practice of the time when officials made offerings of precious objects to the gods for the good health of the ruler in power. This text is unrecorded elsewhere.

There is no indication as to the contents (4) of the vessel, though these would have been in keeping with the occasion, and the receptacle itself made of rock crystal embellished with rims of gold and silver attests the significance of the offering.



Published:
Antiquités et Objets d'Art. Collection de Martine, Comtesse de Béhague, provenant de la succession du Marquis de Ganay, Sotheby's, Monaco, 5 December 1987, 42-43, lot 66.
Klotchkoff, I.S., Gift of Shep-Sin, Journal of Ancient History 2 (Moscow, 1994) 107-110.
Mentioned:
Moorey, P.R.S., Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries. The Archaeological Evidence (Oxford, 1994) 95.

This entry, as it appeared in the Royal Academy catalogue, was based on the description in Sotheby's sale catalogue (5 December 1987) for which all the information was supplied by Prof. W.G. Lambert, since modified thanks to references and additional data communicated to us by Prof. Lambert to whom this writer is greatly indebted. This vessel and its inscription are unique and the reference to the Oriental Institute as probably having a pair is a confusion, as A.1803 is the archive number on a photo of our vessel. The revised entry has been slightly modified thanks to information received from Dr. Igor Klotchkoff (24 February 1995), Renée Kovacs and Prof. M. Civil (22/30 January 1995).

1) In a letter of 5 April 1994, Pierre Amiet refers to A. Parrot's report (Archéologie méspotamienne, I, Les Etapes <Paris, 1946> 361 ff.) that, before official excavations commenced at the royal city of Larsa, several objects of considerable value from secret digs arrived in Europe. The latter describes two bronzes partially covered with gold foil acquired by the Louvre, and adds "une coupe en onyx au nom de Rim-Sin faisait partie du lot offert mais ne fut pas retenue, en raison du prix considérable qui en était demandé". With reference to this last, Pierre Amiet says "je pense que la 'coupe en onyx' pourrait très bien être votre gobelet, 'onyx' ayant été mis pour 'pierre dure', surtout si A. Parrot n'a pas vu l'objet, ce qui est vraisemblable". (René Dussaud was Keeper of Near Eastern art at the Louvre at the time.) "En outre aucun autre objet précieux inscrit au nom de Rim-Sin n'est apparu depuis lors ... . C'est du moins l'hypothèse que je formule." We consider that the jar was in all likelihood acquired by Countess de Béhague in the late 1920s or early 1930s and must surely be this one.
2) I. Klotchkoff informs us (see above) that "the inscription was cut after 1800 B.C. when Rim-Sin began to write determinative of god before his name." Since the vessel is surely contemporary with the inscription, if this be so, the higher date should be slightly lowered.
3) Frayne, D.R., Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 B.C.), The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods 4 (Toronto/Buffalo/London, 1990) 285, 305-306, ill.
In a letter of 3 October 1991, W.G. Lambert writes: "D.R. Frayne, op. cit. p. 305, takes the Sumerian sha'usha in line 8 as the name of the vessel because it is explained sappu in the ancient lexical list Urra = hubullu XI 386. However, this list gives three other Babylonian translations of this Sumerian term in the context: asmarû 'lance' (line 381), makdadu 'scraper' (line 387), and hasinnu 'axe' (line 388), and all four cases equip the Sumerian term sha'usha with the determinative urud 'copper'. Thus the context does not favour any kind of vessel, and the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, vol. S (1984) p. 166, understands this sappu meaning 'lance'. Also the signs taken by Frayne for the type of stone have in fact no rendering preserved in the lexical source he quotes, though it can be cited that they could be a stone name. Since there is only one determinative in the line, at the beginning, and 'stone', it is best to assume that the remaining signs are the name of this particular type of vessel and their reading must await more evidence."
A propos this note R. Kovacs writes "it is reasonably certain that sha'usha = sappu 'a vase'", and Prof. M. Civil "the two entries sappu A and sappu B in Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, p. 166 should be collapsed in one and there is only one meaning: 'vase'. The references from UET 5 under sappu B all refer to a domestic utensil, not a 'lance'. Furthermore, sappu is nothing but a variant of the better known shappu 'vase'. The stone name is problematic since we would expect zu-babbar (babbar = 'white'), not zu-MI (MI = 'dark, black'); a type of scribal error, or word play, may be involved."
Pierre Amiet informed us in the letter referred to in footnote 1 that the script was Sumerian, of the time of Hammurabi, a contemporary, victor over Rim-Sin. Amurru was a god, the homonym and patron of Semites that came from the west to Mesopotamia, thus called Amorites. He added that the "worshipper of Larsa" in the Louvre carries a dedication to Amurru and with the three ibexes in bronze (Parrot, A., Sumer <Paris, 1960> 390, figs. 349-350) must come, as our jar, from the same illicitly dug temple. He believes that the Béhague acquisition is of the same time.
An added indication is the mention in Dussaud, R., MonPiot (1933) 1-10 that the same dealer offered together to the Louvre: the Béhague rock crystal jar, the two bronze groups now in the Louvre and the bronze ram that went to Canada (information kindly supplied by A. Caubet, 9 June 1994).
4) Though ancient, the bronze residue adhering to the inside is, in the writer's opinion, extraneous. Timothy Potts, in August 1994, said: "It seems that many stone vessels were offered for themselves rather than their contents. Certainly in the case of your vessel, it would have been a precious gift and I doubt that it would have contained anything."

18. EIGHT ZOOMORPHIC WEIGHTS

Haematite
Provenance: no indication
Babylonian
First half of the 2nd millennium B.C.

Starting fairly early in the 2nd millennium B.C., a considerable quantity of haematite weights were produced in Babylonia and Susa (1) usually an elongated cylinder of keg shape varying in size and weight. Less common were those in the form of shells, frogs, and ducks with their heads turned back, almost always of well-polished workmanship and a most satisfying plasticity (2). Highly appreciated in their time, both rare and costly, they also fulfilled the function of amulets and often accompanied their owners in death. In the tomb of Ilsu-Ibnisu of Larsa (3) damaged specimens attest their preciousness and the high esteem in which they were held.
Among examples known to this writer, the squatting baboon is unique and without close parallels. However, there are reproductions of monkeys in various materials, shapes and sizes in the Near East from the 4th millennium onwards, usually represented in the round in stone and alabaster, or on seals. The blocked out execution of this baboon and certain grooves, e.g. the one at the waist, are reminiscent of a squatting monkey (4) in stone, hands raised to mouth, from a foundation deposit of a temple on the acropolis of Susa, though different as to facial expression and eyes. This parallel is dated c. 3200-3100 B.C., thus suggesting that a long tradition preceded the present weight.

a. SQUATTING BABOON
Weight: 83.93 g. H: 4.31 cm. W: 2.34 cm. D: 2.8 cm
Condition: hollow eyes once inlaid. Surface smooth with very small nicks here and there. The polish weathered.

b. SHELL (gastropod, *Olividae* family)
Weight: 25.51 g. L: 3.38 cm. H: 1.4 cm. W: 0.8 cm
Condition: intact. Surface highly polished and very smooth.

c. **SHELL** (gastropod, *Nassariidae* family? Anomaly as laevogyre instead of dextrogyre)
Weight: 6.13 g. L: 2.16 cm. H: 1.3 cm. W: 1.41 cm
Ex collection: Marion Schuster
Condition: minute nicks, fissure on back. Smooth and finely polished.

d. SHELL (gastropod, *Cypraeidae* family?)
Weight: 5.29 g. L: 2.4 cm. H: 0.74 cm. W: 1.42 cm
Ex collection: Marion Schuster
Condition: nick on right side and on left edge and underside. Smooth and finely polished.

e. FROG
Weight: 9.51 g. L: 2.53 cm. H: 1 cm
Condition: left front leg missing. Small nick to hind left foot and under front right foot. Smooth and finely polished.

f. FROG
Weight: 5.23 g. L: 2.15 cm. H: 0.95 cm
Condition: intact save for piercing across centre of body. Smooth and finely polished.
The hole for suspension done in antiquity to enable wearing as an amulet.

g. BOAR'S HEAD
Weight: 8.79 g. L: 2.33 cm. H: 1.47 cm
Ex collection: Mr. D'Avray
Condition: intact, save for slight chips to ears. Surface highly polished and very smooth.

h. DUCK
Weight: 1.77 g. L: 1.56 cm. H: 0.98 cm
Condition: intact. Highly polished and very smooth.

1) See Belaiew, N.T., Métrologie élamite, Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse 25 (1934)
2) E.g. Paris, Louvre Museum SB 2833, a series of duck-shaped weights in various materials - agate, carnelian, malachite, haematite: Amiet, P., Elam (Auvers-sur-Oise, 1966) 453, fig. 346 B.
3) Arnaud, D., Calvet Y., and Huot, J.-L.: “Ilsu-Ibnisu orfèvre de L'E.Babbar de Larsa. La jarre L. 76.77 et son contenu”, Syria 56 (1979) 1-2, 24 ff.
4) Paris, Louvre Museum SB 2983: Amiet, P., op. cit., 115, no. 73.

19. BUST OF YOUNG PRINCE

Copper
H: 14.6 cm
Provenance: no indication
(probably from the region of Anshan - maybe from Fars, Persia - high plateau between Persepolis, Shiraz and Anshan)
Elamite
12th century B.C.

Thick-walled hollow-cast with elaborate cold-working. Details such as the double braids were cast separately and added, inserted in round holes reserved for the purpose beneath the "helmet" and annealed onto the double scarves across the chest. At the initial stage of carving the wax around the core, the arms and hands were made separately of solid wax and then either applied to the body and cast with it, or possibly cast separately and added to the statue, in the same fashion as were the braids.
Condition: missing the body from the waist (1) down; a fragment from each left braid, a large piece of the back right braid and the entire front right braid. Eyes once inlaid.
The whole bust is battered, nose and mouth abraded. The entire surface was previously covered with a hard white limestone deposit - still visible in the socket of the left eye - removed in a modern cleaning that has revealed the very fine engraving. Present patina a bright green and azurite blue over parts of the bust; copper-coloured metal shining through on the edge of the "helmet", eyebrows, nose, braids, etc.; parts a dull-coloured metal.

Originally the statue was almost 30 cm high. Certain characteristics such as it being hollow-cast with considerable differences in thickness, varying from 3 mm at the waist to about twice that at the neck, and casting flaws around the waist indicate that we are still at

the inception of this method, close to the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. in this part of the ancient world.

The unbearded, soft, juvenile face, the short-sleeved shirt - a specifically male garment - and the way the hands are joined - also a masculine manner of representation (2) - point to his being a youth, in all likelihood a prince. The two lion heads that decorate his bracelet are in style somewhat comparable to the one in gold on the handle of a whetstone from Susa (3) ; and the element around his neck is the same as on the little prince figured between his parents, the king and queen, on the rock relief of Shikaft-i Salman from Izeh/ Malamir (4).

On his head a coif with a visor; interlacing at the back indicates that it was adjustable and therefore probably of felt or possibly of leather.

An element of considerable importance are the two double braids for they, with details of costume, headgear, position of hands, find their parallels in the comparisons (5), all in low relief (6), which have enabled Prof. Amiet to both date and attribute this unique sculpture in the round to the Middle Elamite period, that is, to the late 12th century B.C., or slightly thereafter.

However, should the date of the Kul-i Farah III relief follow (7) the siege of Susa by Nebuchadnezzar and its downfall at the end of the 12th century, it would mean that an Elamite monarchy survived to the east.

Published:
Amiet, P. “Bronzes élamites de la collection George Ortiz”, AMI 25 (1992) 83-86, pls. 16, 17.

This entry is based on Pierre Amiet's article. Any mistakes or differences are the responsibility of this writer.

1) Broken here probably because this is the thinnest part of the casting with flaws as still visible on the jagged inside edge of the break.

2) For women, hands are flat on top of each other.

3) Paris, Louvre Museum SB 2769: Amiet, P.: Elam (Auvers-sur-Oise, 1966), fig. 320; probably contemporary with Shutruk Nahhunte, 12th century B.C.

4) Vanden Berghe, L., IrAnt III (1963) pls. XXII-XXIV; Prof. Amiet in both cases calls this element a necklace, though this writer wonders whether it is not simply the border of his shirt.

5) Enamel brick relief from the temple built in the 12th century B.C. by Shutruk Nahhunte and his two sons; the usurped stele with the image of the king of Elam wearing the same costume, double braid and "helmet"; likewise the rock relief of Shikaft-i Salman from Izeh/Malamir: Amiet, P., AMI 25 (1992) 82, 85, figs. 1-3.

6) With one double braid only, since shown in the profile.

7) See Amiet, P., AMI 25 (1992) 86 and no. 21.

20. MIRROR

Bronze
H: 18.6 cm. Diam: 13.44-13.66 cm
Provenance: no indication; probably from South Iran
Elamite
End of the 2nd-early 1st millennium B.C.

Hammered and cut from a thick cast plaque of bronze, burnished and engraved. The mirror disc itself slightly convex.
Condition: the whole surface, covered with a thick crust, granular and greenish, and with limestone deposits, is slightly cleaned - revealing a very reddish copper, especially for the figure and the odd spot, where thoroughly cleaned.

The handle (1), a kneeling figure, bare-chested, wearing skirt and boots, upholds a slightly convex disc that is surrounded by an openwork torsade symbolizing the waters that encircle the world. Thus within a cosmic context, a radiating solar disc, the viewer would have had his image thrown back to him slightly enlarged.
The parallel enabling an attribution is the Elamite relief of four figures acting as kneeling atlantes that hold up a royal image (2). Particularly similar is the position, the floating hair, the beard and other details.
This writer sees a rapport for the hair, the incisions of various details, the kneeling position and the fringe on the garment with an earlier Middle Assyrian low relief in gypsum (3), a predecessor to our mirror and comparable with it.
The reliefs of Kul-i Farah III and VI must date, as does the present mirror, to around the end of the 2nd-early 1st millennium B.C. and suggest that relations between the Elamites and the ancestors of

the Persians from the highlands lasted longer than previously thought.

Published:
Amiet, P., “Bronzes élamites de la collection George Ortiz”, AMI 25 (1992) 86-87, pl. 19.1.

This entry is based on Pierre Amiet's article. Any mistakes or differences are the responsibility of the author.

1) The use of the human figure for mirror handles probably made its first appearance in Egypt, though there as in later examples from the Middle East, such as found in Khurvin or Bactria, the figure is always feminine.
2) Kul-i Farah relief III: Amiet, P., AMI 25 (1992) 86, fig. 4.
3) Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum: Orthmann, W., Der Alte Orient, PKG 14 (Berlin, 1975) 308-309, no. 195; this relief decorated an altar dedicated by King Tukulti Ninurta I in the second half of the 13th century B.C. in Assur.

21. HEAD OF A PRINCE ?

Bronze
H: 4.9 cm
Provenance: no indication; Near or Middle East
Neo-Elamite
Probably 7th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and worked in the cold. The eyes and eyebrows once inlaid, the deep groove which runs across the top of the head and down its sides (1) served to hold in place precious metal sheets which covered it. Though unlikely, this writer wonders whether the groove might not have served for attaching the head to a sceptre by means of a leather thong, gold or silver wire (2).
Condition: probably broken off a statue; a blow or crushing has squashed back and cracked the visor of the cap; there is a flattening to the top of the back of the head, to the end of the nose and to a protuberance on the chin. Some nicks to the underside of the neck. The surface which is weathered, with most of the original skin of the bronze worn away, gives an overall appearance of roughness and pitting. The present colour varying shades of green and greyish-green with traces of beige earth and blackish limestone deposits.

Prof. Amiet notes the delicate modelling of the face and considers what this writer interprets as a sort of cap with a crushed visor following the contour of the hairdo to be the hair itself. We see as hair ending in sideburns what comes down over the temples in front of each ear. He also notes the smiling realism of the face, a carry-over from Neo-Sumerian tradition attested by small-scale sculpture from Susa of the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. He considers the pertinent comparison to be two little bronze busts that surmounted linchpins for chariot wheels. They were found at Uruk in ruins of the

Parthian period, surely not their original context, and must have had, he says, an Iranian provenance.
The technique of bronze cast on iron pins is unknown before the early 1st millennium B.C. and is very indicative of a survival of Elamite tradition at a period later than the Shutruk Nahhunte Dynasty, notwithstanding differences with the linchpin bronze busts. This little head with its particularly refined smile can be compared to Neo-Elamite works (3), that are the origins of an art to be referred to preferably as Elamo-Persian rather than Proto-Achaemenid in view of the importance of the Elamite influence.

Published:
Amiet, P., Bronzes élamites de la collection George Ortiz, AMI 25 (1992) 87 ff., pl. 18.

This entry is based on Pierre Amiet's article. Any mistakes or differences are the responsibility of this writer, who admits that he had originally thought that this head could be Kassite, 1500-1200 B.C.

1) Would have continued down both sides of the figurine if, as P. Amiet thinks, the present head has been broken off a statuette. Cf. Louvre Museum SB 2823, Elamite god of the 18th century B.C.: Amiet, P., Elam (Auvers-sur-Oise, 1966) 312-313, fig. 234A-B, col. pl. 1. Cf. Amasya Museum, Hittite male divinity around 1400/1200 B.C.: Orthmann, W., Der Alte Orient, PKG 14 (Berlin, 1975) 422, no. 334a-b.
2) We consider the neck possibly too cylindrical to have surmounted a statuette and its end too flat to have been broken off one. Furthermore, might not the groove (3 mm deep and about 3 mm wide) be rather too large for insertion of the metal sheets ?
3) Calmeyer, P., " Zur Genese altiranischer Motive. VII. Achsnägel in Form von Betenden", AMI 13 (1980) 104-105, pls. 27-28.

22. WORSHIPPER ?

Bronze
H: 9.06 cm. W: 4.92 cm
Provenance: no indication; probably Iran
Khurvin
End of the 2nd-early 1st millennium B.C.

A combination of casting by the lost wax process with hammering, cutting, and other cold-working. The arms made separately (1) and affixed by fusing to the body without solder, both parts heated at the points of joining.
Condition: a loop at the back of the knobbed head broken off in antiquity, and casting faults on the back. The whole beautifully soft from an exceptional amount of wear: the knobbed head possibly once surmounted by a helmet crest, the place of attachment worn down, though a sort of round cap is perceptible; part of the back of the head so worn down that traces of the loop are hardly identifiable, the nose completely worn down and only the corners of the mouth still visible. The eyes were probably once inlaid. On the right hand, both the fingers and the bracelets around the wrist much faded, on the left these are totally worn away. Chips to the tip of the right hand and under the crossbar between the feet. The surface a shiny pale olive green.

The pendant has counterparts in a bronze statuette (2) from excavations in the necropolis at Khurvin, some 80 km north-west of Teheran, another in Berlin (3) and conjoined statuettes in London (4). Vanden Berghe's description of the Khurvin example as being the representation of a warrior, though it was once worn as a pendant also, applies to all four figures. The comparisons wear crests and though this figure does not, the tremendous wear is such that there may have been one broken off in antiquity, of which no definite trace remains.

All five figures have incised decoration possibly representing leather protections.
Whether a warrior or not, the position of the arms may indicate a worshipper.

1) On account the casting difficulty of projecting arms evidenced by imperfections between and around the shoulder-blade region. The British Museum joined figures are crudely cast and arms cast separately. As each figure has a loop for suspension at the back of the head, and the join between them is at the shoulders only, and not also at the feet, the author hypothesizes that each was cast as an individual statuette and, either as an afterthought or as a later repair, joined, a simpler operation than making two more arms and attaching them. As far as can be gleaned from photographs, this is not the case with either the Teheran or Berlin examples.
2) Teheran, Maliki collection: Vanden Berghe, L., Archéologie de l'Iran Ancien (Leiden, 1959) 123 ff., pl. 156 b.
3) Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte XI c 4844, allegedly from "Adjin Dodjin", though find-spot not certain. This information kindly supplied by Dr. Melitta Brönner of the Museum in a letter dated 4 November 1992; upon our insistence and after she kindly consulted with Dr. E. Strommenger, Dr. Brönner informed us verbally on 28 June 1993 that Adjin Dodjin is the modern name of a hamlet situated in the vicinity of Khurvin.
4) British Museum WA 132986: BMQ 26 (1962-63) 36-37, pl. 45(c).

23. STANDING OFFERER (with bowl)

Bronze
H: 16 cm (with remains of tangs: 16.3 cm)
Provenance: no indication; Northern Syria?
Levant or Anatolia
End of the 3rd-mid 2nd millennium B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process with very little cold-working. A strip of metal joined the tangs (broken but still in place).
Condition: the surface uneven and fairly granular, partially transformed with red and dark green patches and with the metal showing through in places, as on the back of the belt. Dark earth incrustations here and there. The eyes once inlaid.

The figure is dressed in a tight-fitting garment with a well-marked neckline, the lower part of elliptical section ending in a hem around the knees, and from a belt over his hips hang two short strands on either side.
He has very long arms, the upper parts pressed to the body, bent at the elbows, the forearms raised in front of his chest hold a heavy bowl in powerful hands, a strap across the back of the right one possibly representing a handle on the bowl.
His head and face are schematic though individualized. The most notable feature perhaps is the beautiful curving outer line as it flows from the large nose into the skull and around the prominent occiput, ending at the nape as if one continuous, invisible stroke to the tip of the chin, at which point the lower face rises in a flat plane to meet the nose at right angle. Of equal significance the large round eyes and perhaps the most distinctive feature the curving ridges, created

by a deep groove, that form the eyebrows, a continuation of the nose that seems to split over the forehead and continue back to contour the large ears, curving forward again to meet the jawbones. The mouth is small, marked by a little groove above the softly pointed chin; two furrows from the nostrils to the corners of the mouth.

Noteworthy are the body's flattish shape and broad shoulders, the spine marked by a slight indent from the shoulder-blades to the waist as he stands on rather coarse cylindrical legs slightly apart, the toes indicated on his stumpy feet.

This figure poses a problem.

He stands somewhat humbly as he presents his offering. Notwithstanding two fairly small breasts halfway down his torso, often featured on male figures from the Levant, he is a male offerer (1). We have found no parallel for the head and face despite its particularities. A Kourotrophos from Horoztepe (2) might be considered to bear a distant relationship because of her round eyes - though less deep and funnel-shaped - a somewhat similar outline of face with a flat plane from under the nose to the chin, though all the rest is different. The neckline of the tight-fitting garment is of similar shape to the one on the bust of a young prince (cat. no. 19), but resembles far more the same V-shaped neckline on the Mountain Culture female idol (cat. no. 24). However, this is a feature found on other statues from the Near East. Likewise the garment with its lower hemline bears a relationship to other statuettes from the Levant, especially seated figurines. There is the odd comparison for a particular feature such as the curving lines that flow up from the nose to form the eyebrows and circle the ears, visible e.g. on the face of a female in Paris (3).

We sense a distant familiarity with the odd Phoenician or Ras Shamra work, and an affinity in this figure's attitude - his head and the hands holding up the bowl - with Sumerian art. At this stage, it would be foolish to be more precise than to give him a Levant or Anatolian label.

1) Badre, L., Les figurines anthropomorphes en terre cuite à l'âge du bronze en Syrie (Paris, 1980) 122.
2) Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilisations 18529: Orthmann, W., Der Alte Orient, PKG 14 (Berlin, 1975) 422, no. 332a-b: Hittite, around 2000 B.C.
3) Part of the couple, Louvre Museum AO 1327: Negbi, O., Canaanite Gods in Metal (Tel Aviv, 1976) 143, no. 11, pl. 4: from Cyprus, of unknown origin, dated around the end of the 3rd millennium B.C.

24. FEMALE IDOL ("fertility goddess")

Copper
H: 27.5 cm (with tang: 30.7 cm)
Allegedly from Syria, though Central-South Lebanon more likely
Mountain Culture of Central-South Lebanon
c. 2000 B.C. (or slightly thereafter)

Ex collection:
Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Stafford (1955-1986)

Solid-cast head up by the lost wax process, a flat, transverse rectangular tang under the feet with a round hole for affixing to a stand. The male figures were made up of separately fashioned pieces of wax assembled before being solid-cast (1); though the female figures are considered to have been made in one piece (2), both arms of this statue from just below the shoulders to the point where they reach the body were modelled separately in wax before casting. Head and neck were likewise possibly modelled separately. A very porous cast with some poor cold-working, for example the right unfinished eyebrow and the slit of the mouth. Her hollow eyes formerly inlaid.
Condition: surface fairly rough, a few holes here and there due to the molten metal being unalloyed and possibly cooled too fast. A blow to the upper right cheek. The patina varying shades of darkish green to blackish olive green, the metal a reddish copper where it shows through, and deposits of dark brown earth.

Her long hairdo with two braids across the forehead covers the back of her head and neck ending below the shoulder-blades in a straight line with two longer central plaits.
She wears a skirt with ten oblique fringes down the right side held up by a cord from which hang several plaited cords. Though the

torso is usually naked, in this case as with one of the figures from Kafer Chouba in Istanbul (3) there is what Seyrig sees as a guilloche neckline indicating that they may have worn a tight-fitting dress (4). She is shod in what appear to be thick-soled leather slippers slightly upturned at the big toe and with a thick rim at the ankles.

She is said to have been found in Syria with the male figure in Geneva (5) and another male figure in Copenhagen (6), we rather doubt this Syrian provenance and believe with Seyrig that Lebanon is far more likely, though the difference in distance is minimal.

They belong to what is known as "The Lebanese Mountain Group" of which all the statuettes were discovered fortuitously thus lacking a scientific archaeological context. The first recorded figure was in the collection of the Comte de Caylus (7) already in 1752. It is a statuette similar to ours (8). In the intervening time, the odd find has added to the group which already numbered thirty-one when Seyrig published his article. Twenty-four are reputed to come from Lebanon, two come from Kafer Chouba (Syria).

They all bear a distant relationship with other groups of bronzes such as those from Tell Judeideh, Ras Shamra/Ugarit, and certain Syro-Anatolian and Phoenician figures. However, they are a particular sculptural production in their own right.

The figures of almost pure copper (9) were probably cast of metal that came from Cyprus. Both the size and heaviness of the statuettes attest to the wealth of these mountain people acquired from the forests they exploited and the commercial routes to the coastal cities which they controlled from their heights. A sort of archaic stiffness in the statues reflects that they were a somewhat backward society.

About twice as many male figures have been found as females, suggesting that at the time the male enjoyed both as a mortal and as a god a higher social position. They have been sometimes found in pairs and the male figure is always taller than his companion. It is possible that either the statuette in Geneva or in Copenhagen was the counterpart to the present figure.

Their function was religious (10) and they probably fulfilled the role of cult statues, gods and goddesses, though they may have been votive offerings: the males holding spears indicating warriors, and the females holding one hand to the breast and the other over the stomach indicating, despite their relatively flat bodies, that they are fecundity images. Thus, they might have been votive offerings to a cult image that could have been made of wood in several sections (11).

Exhibited and Published:
Odyssey of an Art Collector, 34-35, 146, cat. no. 5, ill.
Published:
Gjodesen, M., “Deus ex Machina”, MeddelGlypt 8 (1951) 25-26, figs.10-11;
Seyrig, H., “Statuettes trouvées dans les montagnes du Liban”, Syria 30 (1953) 4, 30, 33, 39-42; Negbi, O., Canaanite Gods in Metal (Tel Aviv, 1976) 70, 180, cat. no. 1560.
Mentioned:
Seeden, H., The Standing Armed Figurines in the Levant, PBF 1 (Munich, 1980) 15, no. 25.

1) Seyrig, H., Syria 30 (1953) 31-33; endorsed by Seeden, H., PBF 1, 14.
2) Seyrig, H., op. cit., 33, with the exception of his nos. 3 and 7.
3) Istanbul Museum 4513: Seyrig, H., op. cit., 30, no.5, pl.11.4.
4) In Egyptian art feminine figures sometimes, as here, give the impression of being bare-breasted, when in fact they are wearing tight-fitting dresses; in the present case, though unlikely, the neckline could represent a necklace.
5) Musée d'Art et d'Histoire: Seyrig, H., op. cit., 29, no. 15, acquired c. 1948 (32.7 cm; 35.7 cm with tang).
6) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Gjodesen, M., MeddelGlypt 8 (1951), figs. 4-7; - Seyrig, H., loc. cit., no. 16 (36 cm; 39.5 cm with tang).
7) Reputedly found in Egypt (probably untrue), given by Caylus to Louis XV and in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Published in the Recueil d'Antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines (Paris, 1752).
8) The smaller (17.7 cm) Caylus example holds her right breast with her left hand and her right hand is placed on her stomach, the exact reverse.
9) Tin was too rare and precious for the coastal cities to let them have any which explains the imperfect casting.
10) Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian "Middle Bronze Age deposits prove that the cult of a war god and a fertility goddess was widespread" (Negbi, O., Canaanite Gods in Metal, 141).
11) Seyrig, H., op. cit., 47, who further suggests that the most unusual technique of modelling the wax by sections for most of the statuettes may have derived from this wood technology.

25. IDOL

Marble
H: 33.5 cm
Allegedly from the region of Polatli (Galatia, Anatolia)
Early Bronze Age II
Mid 3rd millennium B.C.

Condition: whitish, granular marble; surface weathered and with yellowish deposits. Large break on lower right side of the body and chipping on left side of head.

This female fertility idol was probably part of a double figure. This is supported by the large break on the right side with a higher hip-line and a shorter right arm. There are examples of paired or double idols of different materials in Bronze Age Anatolia.
A very close parallel is the "Sykeon idol" (1). The height (32 cm) is almost the same, as well as the shape of the figure, the outline, the breasts, nose, etc. It is interesting to note that ancient Sykeon, modern Sarilar in Galatia, is only some 70 km distant from Polatli.

On view : Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1971-1973.
Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 17, ill.
Kunst der Kykladen, 401, 561-562, cat. no. 559, ill.

1) Crowfoot, J.W., “Exploration in Galatia Cis Halym”, JHS 19 (1899) 34, fig. 1.

26. MOURNER

Alabaster
H: 14.92 cm
Allegedly from the region of Amasya? (Anatolia)
Early Bronze Age III-early Middle Bronze Age?
Last quarter of the 3rd-early 2nd millennium B.C.?

Condition: eye inlays missing; chip on left bottom side of tunic; surface somewhat weathered with sporadic limestone deposits.

Our female figure and especially the head is stylized in keeping with pre-historic tradition which favours a non-realistic approach as the artists are not trying to represent reality.
In general, though there are exceptions, funerary art is very rare in the Near East before classical times. However, her gesture of holding her arms up to her head would have been one of mourning in the more recent 1st millennium arts of Assyria, Phoenicia and Greece. An example for this gesture is to be found in a series of mourners in low relief on the sarcophagus of Ahiram (1).
We can find no parallel for the oval cushions over her cheekbones, though they are reminiscent of sheeps' ears, and there is an animal element, in a way, in her beaked face with no indication for the mouth.
Linear incisions decorate different parts of the figure: the two outside curves leading up to her shoulders, the arms modelled in four facets, the two exterior ones each engraved with half a herring-bone pattern, the concentric lines around her neck representing necklaces, the hair on top of her head indicated by a central parting and irregular herring-bone incisions, crowned by a band of tressed

hair and a long, single braid of hair engraved with lozenges falling down her back. There are infinitesimal traces of black colour in some of the incisions.
She is clad in a tunic, its low neckline - baring both breasts - indicated at the back and at the front by two engraved parallel curves, its skirt ending in a wide row of superimposed lozenges between two lines. Similar parallel lines, lozenge hatchings and herring-bone patterns are to be found on Kültepe idols, likewise in alabaster (2).
There are no convincing parallels for this unique figure whose function was almost certainly funerary. She could have belonged to one of several cultures, hypothetically stretching both in time and space from Alaca Höyük to Kültepe or even further afield.
It should be noted that the excavations at Alaca Höyük revealed thirteen royal tombs, the wealth and artistic importance of their contents indicating an important settlement; though neither temples nor palace, if such ever existed, nor habitations were dug as they lay beneath Hittite remains (3).

1) Bossert, H.Th., Altsyrien (Tübingen, 1951) 30, no. 440, pl. 138, from Byblos and now dated early 1st millennium B.C., formerly dated too high by Bossert.
2) Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilisations 24957, Ankara, Kayseri Museum 535, both c. 2000 B.C.: The Anatolian Civilisations I (Istanbul, 1983) 120-121, nos. A271, A272, and even more pertinent the three-headed disc-shaped idol: Bossert, H.Th., Alt-Anatolien (Berlin, 1942) 40, nos. 346-347, pl. 70, and three in the author's collection.
3) Verbal communication Prof. James Mellaart, 6 January 1989.

27. BEADS OR WARP WEIGHTS? (an ensemble of 8)

Gold
Weight: 780.87 g (65.13-113.31 g). Diam: 2.59-2.93 cm. H: 1.72-2.6 cm
Allegedly from the region of Troy (Asia Minor)
Late Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age
2500-2000 B.C.?

Solid-cast by the lost wax process.

Biconical beads, spanning a period from the late 4th millennium B.C. through the 1st, of similar shape and size (2-3 cm) have been found over a vast area covering Anatolia and Greece.
These beads are the only examples of such size in solid-cast gold. All the others known are of different materials: stone, frit, terracotta (the great majority) and in one case, a set of eight in bronze (1). All the stone and terracotta examples of similar size are thought to be spindle whorls or warp weights. Some Middle Neolithic examples from Sesklo in the Volos Museum (2), also some terracotta ones in brown ware from Alaca Höyük (3) and a vast number of terracotta examples from Troy are all described, with reservations, as spindle whorls.
There are four possible explanations for our beads:
- elements of a sceptre or staff
- beads for a necklace
- the weight for a spindle whorl
- warp weights.

We question their use for the first two because the cylindrical perforations are of different diameters and the beads do not fit well together. Moreover, they appear unsuited for a necklace, since, though of the same type, they are of different sizes and shape, as well as very heavy. (There is a necklace of biconical gold beads, but very small, 2-3 mm - from memory and seen through the case - in Athens (4), from the round graves on Levkas attributed to Troy II, and also six gold biconical necklace beads, 2.25-2.5 mm, of the same date from the second settlement in Troy (5).

However, it should be noted (6) that there is the exceptional find of bronze cast beads also numbering eight from the largest Bronze Age grave in Sesklo, of a date when bronze was very precious.

According to the excavation publication, a long cylindrical element of bronze was interposed between each bead, and these different elements formed a necklace whose position in the grave indicated that it was around the body's neck. The weight must have been considerable, as the beads are massive, approximately 1.6 cm in diameter and 1.2 cm in height, but they are smaller than our gold examples. Finally, the biconical bronze beads are identical in both size and shape as would befit a necklace.

If spindle whorls, why eight in number? The number eight is just as appropriate for a necklace as for a vertical loom, so the identical number in bronze and gold is probably fortuitous.

Archaeological excavations have brought to light a huge quantity of terracotta and stone examples used as warp weights for the vertical loom, which was the type in use in Greece and the Near East. If we also take into account the story of a queen weaving and directing the royal mills (attested by clay tablets found on the Assyrian site of Tell el Rimah (7)), which must have been a source of considerable revenue, it seems reasonable to suggest that our biconical beads might have served as warp weights for a queen or princess, and been in their time prestigious attributes of a royal prerogative.

Exhibited and Published:
L'Or et son Mythe, 121, 229, cat. no. 523, col. ill.

1) Tsountas, Chr., Ai proistorikai Akropoleis Dimeniou kai Sesklou (Athens, 1908) 137, pl. 5. 14.
2) Theocharis, D.R., Neolithic Greece (Athens, 1973) pl. 121.
3) Arik, R. O., Les Fouilles d'Alaca Höyük 1 (Ankara, 1937) no. Al.162, pl.135.
4) National Museum A 6285.
5) Blegen, C. et al., Troy I (Princeton, 1950) I, 351, II, fig. 356.
6) See footnote 1.
7) These describe the weaving activities of Queen Iltani in the Palace, early 2nd millennium B.C., see Dalley, S., Mari and Karana - Two Old Babylonian Cities (Harlow, 1984) 101 ff. - Information kindly supplied by Geoffrey Turner.

28. STAG (finial)

Bronze
H: 18.1 cm (with tang: 21.6 cm)
Allegedly from Anatolia
Alaca Höyük, Early Bronze Age II-III?
c. 2300 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process in heavily leaded bronze. The antlers possibly made separately. Chiselled, hammered in the cold and most of the surface filed and highly burnished. The ankle of the left hind leg and the tang for affixing annealed to correct casting deficiencies.
Condition: patina a silver grey with dullish yellow metal showing through in places; a patch of green on right haunch.
Left antler missing after the first point; right antler broken and reaffixed, originally carrying seven points, of which two are lost; casting fault above the missing tail; a few pits and nicks.

This emblem of cult or power could have been affixed to a staff, standard or canopy pole or on a chariot.
The obvious comparisons are the finials found in the excavations of Alaca Höyük, as for instance, a stag of about 20.5 cm in height, in Ankara (1), also with fourteen points, less linear in modelling.
There is a very good parallel in a silver bull with gold inlays in the British Museum (2), probably from Alaca Höyük and also to be dated c. 2300 B.C. Though these belong to different species, the similarity is striking, especially with respect to the plastic flow of the body and the tang.
The stag seems to be of the red deer species, cervus elaphus, and the antlers indicate that he is about fifteen years of age.

One should note, however, that other examples also have fourteen points, and there is one that even appears to have sixteen points.
The conclusion is obvious: the old stag is the one who carries magnificent antlers and his representation is the embodiment of great prestige, somewhat in the similar spirit that certain pendants in Polynesia were worn by the arii as the embodiment of mana (3).

1) Museum of Anatolian Civilisations 11826: The Anatolian Civilisations I (Istanbul, 1983) 99, no. A 208.
2) British Museum WA 135 851: Kosay, H.Z., Ausgrabungen von Alaca Höyük (Ankara, 1944) pl.112. We are indebted to Dr. J.E. Curtis who kindly answered our query with a complete bibliography for their silver bull and added : "... probably from Alaca Huyuk ... it is probably the same date as your piece, perhaps as early as 2500 BC."
3) See Polynesian section of catalogue.

29. OXEN ON RINGS (standard)

Bronze
H: 21.1 cm
Allegedly from Anatolia
Alaca Höyük, Early Bronze Age II-III
c. 2300 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process. Almost certainly chiselled and hammered in the cold, though barely visible in its present condition.
Condition: patina a rough-surfaced dullish (1) olive green transformed by cuprous chloride or carbonate; here and there chipped to reveal a smooth greenish or uneven reddish surface.
The whole bronze very oxidized with deep cracks; large chip on muzzle and lower front right leg of left ox and the tips of all four horns missing.

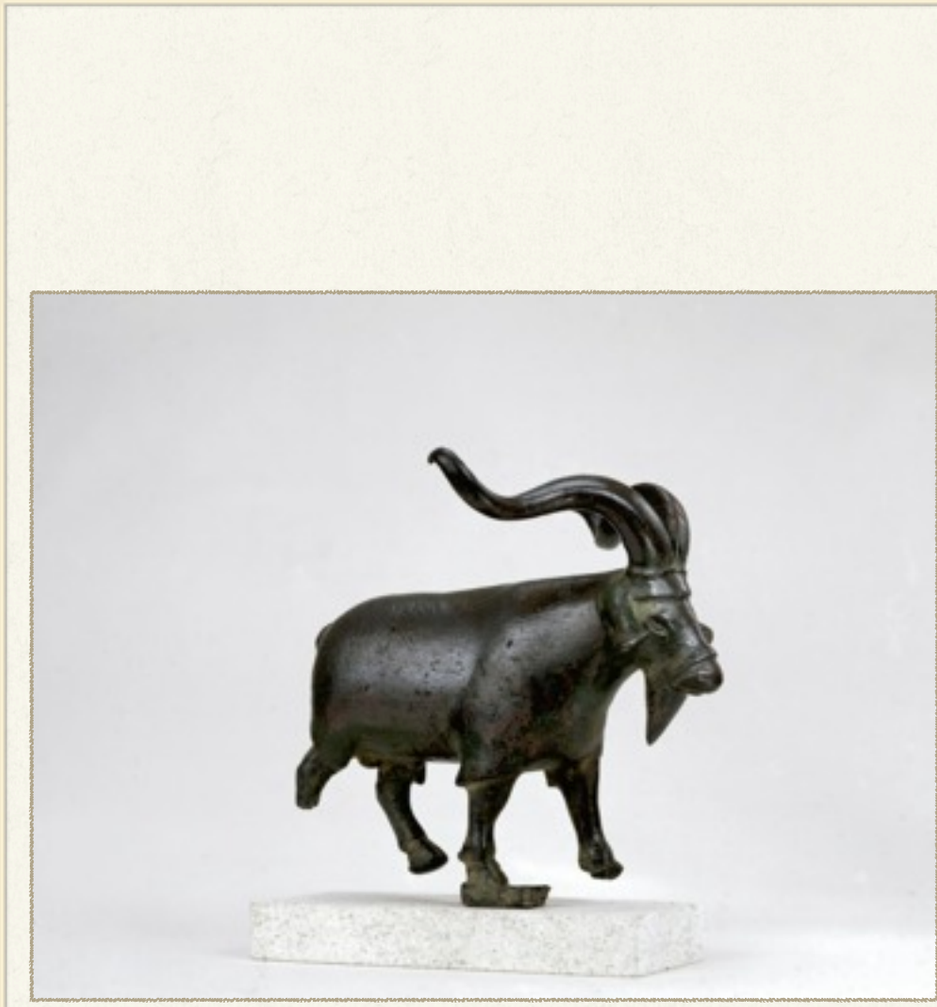
The paired oxen illustrate with their two little rings on top of the yoke that real rings like those on which they stand were affixed to yokes and served as chariot rein-holders. An interesting comparison for the paired oxen is the ceremonial symbol in Istanbul (2), from Oymaagaç. The two cylindrical shafts for attachment under the rings on the two pieces are very similar to those found on the so-called solar discs at Alaca Höyük.
They may have been affixed to the yoke that joined the paired oxen to the chariot via the shaft. This hypothesis was suggested for the piece in Istanbul (2) and is proven by this one which portrays the same two rings on top of the yoke joining the two oxen.
It is likely that these standards, whose mode of attachment is by the two cylindrical shafts, may have been affixed to yokes for ritual purposes. When the chariot was dismantled, all the elements were placed in the tomb.

Exhibited and published:
Picasso, Sous le soleil de Mithra, 216-217, cat. no. A5, coll. ill.

1) The consequence of modern benzatriazol treatment to arrest further chloride transformation.
2) Archaeological Museum, Dept. Ancient Orient 13061: Land of Civilizations, Turkey (Tokyo, 1985) no. 44.

30. GOAT (vessel stand)

Bronze
H: 14.85 cm. L: 16 cm
Provenance: no indication
Eastern Anatolian? (possibly region of Armenia)
Late 3rd-early 2nd millennium B.C.?



Cast by the lost wax process, probably with a central core to economize metal, and cold-worked.
Condition: missing the offering stand of which the shaft emerged from the middle of the back - unfortunately removed in modern times by a previous owner and its emplacement smoothed down to the line of the rest of the back; also missing the lower part of the right hind leg, the hoof of the front left leg and the rectangular openwork grating to which all four hooves would have been affixed - a 2.2 cm fragment of this still attached to the front right hoof. A deep gash across his belly. The eyes once inlaid.
Surface smooth, reddish-brown metal, originally covered with dark green and red patina, mostly cleaned off. Traces of brown earth deposits in the recesses.

The goat's (1) legs were originally affixed to a rectangular grating of the type under the stand bearer (cat. no. 16), somewhat comparable to the one that joins the legs of a long-horned ibex in Baltimore (2). A bull (3), also on a grating of which only pieces remain attached to the hooves, retains its complete support, a cylindrical, slightly tapering shaft from which project four arms surmounted by a ring.
The lack of any excavation data for these pieces and of any scientifically ascribed comparative material renders their dating and attribution hazardous.
The writer thinks that the zoomorphic vessel support in New York (4) mounted on a foot that bears some affinity with those under

figures from the Temple Oval at Khafaje (5) is, as described, probably of an earlier date (second quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C.) and would tend to date this figure end of the 3rd or beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C.
As with the Bull-man (cat. no. 15) and the stand bearer (cat. no. 16), this goat was probably also a stand for cult use in a temple.

1) Mrs. Juliet Clutton-Brock, D.Sc., FSA, of the Mammal Section of the Natural History Museum London kindly informs us, after viewing photographs, which is always difficult, that he "... looks most like a male domestic goat ... evident from the beard, and the dropped ears indicate domestication. .... The 'ruffs' around the legs and the nose could be meant to show that the goat has a long shaggy coat."
2) Walters Art Gallery 54.2328: Vorys Canby, J., The Ancient Near East in The Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1974) no. 40.
3) Washington, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery S.87.0135.
4) Metropolitan Museum 1974.190: Muscarella, O.W., Bronze and Iron. Ancient Near Eastern Artifacts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1988) 333-336, no. 467.
5) Baghdad, Iraq Museum; Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum A 9270, A 9271: Frankfort, H., Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah, OIP 44 (Chicago, 1939) 76-77, nos. 181-183, pls. 98-103.

CHAPTER 2

EGYPT

Middle Kingdom - Reign of Amenemhat III (1843-1798 B.C.)

The Old Kingdom centered in Lower Egypt started dissolving at the end of the 6th Dynasty as local governors became too powerful. Menthu-hetep II towards the end of the 11th Dynasty reunited Upper and Lower Egypt, laying the groundwork for the 12th Dynasty when the administrative centre moved from Thebes to Memphis, close to the Old Kingdom pyramids.

The Middle Kingdom (2050-1750 B.C.) was considered by the Egyptians to be the classical period of their civilization, its apex. Writing in the form of hieroglyphic script, begun around 3000 B.C., achieved formal perfection around 2000 B.C.

Art influenced by the Nile Valley with its ever renewing life cycle reflected time and space. Its artistic standards, with their thematic formality and rigidity of pose, were perfected in centralized royal workshops retaining the same monolithic aesthetic for three millennia. It served to express religious and political truths that represented the immutability of the natural order and embodied universally accepted ideals. There was always an intimate correlation between art and religion. Its supreme virtues were moderation and constancy; its achievement perfect balance and harmony.

Being a representational art, whose function was to illustrate the purpose of present life and after life, its statues were considered as animate beings perpetuating and inseparable from the person represented. Statuary fulfilled a crucial religious and mortuary role for both king and commoner.

Even before the creation of an organized state, which took place during the Dynastic period (c. 3100 B.C.), sculpture was a means of manifesting royal power. Flourishing and sometimes realistic during the Old Kingdom, the arts add a new dimension to classical perfection during the extraordinarily creative reign of Senusret III (1). Bodies remain totally idealized conforming to type, whereas the faces are realistic and reveal in conjunction with an awareness of self (2) the wear and tear of absolute power. Individual portraiture revealing human character and royal icon are combined in abstract formalism to convey the official mood. In his statues a subtle modeling gives life to his features which express a new realism revealing his energy, his autocratic power undiminished, "... a new way of expressing an unchanging view of divine kingship" (3). The Kings of the Middle Kingdom used art as an effective means of representing sovereignty.

Sculpture of the Middle Kingdom thus achieved its apex under Senusret III and his son Amenemhat III in a culmination of classical measure, a happy mean between the severe realism of the Old Kingdom and the almost manneristic humanism of the New Kingdom. Senusret III became the archetype of the Pharaoh (Herodotus, Diodorus). This period so impressed later dynasties that its sculpture, both royal and civilian, was to be reused and imitated - in the measure that it was possible and appropriate - by future Pharaohs, officials and priests.

During the early Middle Kingdom a major evolution in ideas leads to a secularized and absolute conception of sovereignty embodying considerable realism and individualism (4) in art.

Technical data (5)
Lost wax casting was practiced from the Middle Kingdom onwards. The following figures, cat. nos. 33-37, the bust of Amenemhat III, a statue of him kneeling (6), his consort, and two viziers, form the main body (7) of an unique group executed in this technique. They were solid-cast of copper alloy (8) by the lost wax method, with parts hollow-cast, carefully chased in the cold, incised and polished.
Condition: once heavily incrusted with cuprite and copper carbonate (malachite) (9) as usually produced by sandy desert contexts. The group was first subjected to rapid manual stripping (10) and in a subsequent (11) operation was most carefully and ably cleaned and restored.
The surface of contrasting patches of red cuprite, malachite green and varying shades of dark green, brownish red.

The author is indebted to Dietrich Wildung's excellent study of the Middle Kingdom (L'Age d'Or de l'Egypte. Le Moyen Empire [Fribourg, 1984]) from which he has gleaned much information for the entries of this group. Naturally, he bears full responsibility for all and any mistakes.

(1) Senusret III (1862-1844) who recreates one kingdom centralizing the power that had been enjoyed by provincial governors and is the father of Amenemhat III.
(2) Wildung, D.: op. cit., p. 203.
(3) Bourriau, J.: Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian art in the Middle Kingdom (Cambridge, 1988), p. 42.
(4) Wildung, D.: op. cit., p. 17.
(5) Resulting from visual observation only; scientific analysis to be conducted in the future will confirm or invalidate and supply the answer to certain questions.
(6) See cat. no. 37, footnote 3, for his unusual patination and its explanation.
(7) The others are: another figure of the king, standing and solid-cast (Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 6982), two more high officials (Paris, Louvre E 27153 and Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 7105), a large wig of a queen (Geneva, private collection), and the figure of a crocodile (Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 6080), though the appurtenance of this last to the group has been questioned by H.-W. Müller (Eine ungewöhnliche Metallfigur eines blinden ägyptischen Priesters, BAW, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Heft 5, 1989, pp. 5-33), and this author has his doubts. D. Wildung states that it unquestionably belongs.
(8) Technical analysis will reveal whether the alloy is natural or induced by human action. This should be by AAS = Atomic Absorption Spectral Analysis. (Unfortunately several drill holes 1 mm in diameter are necessary for samples.)
(9) Possibly copper chloride (atacamite), analysis will determine.
(10) Carried out in Switzerland.
(11) Work carried out by Anna Plowden on the whole group with exception of the Queen, cat. no. 35, before it entered the Tempelsman collection.

31. GUINEA FOWL (make-up palette)

Schist or slate H: 9.56 cm. W: 12.3 cm
Provenance: no indication
Predynastic
Naqada II. Mid 4th millennium B.C. c. 3500-3300 B.C.

Made by chipping, drilling and polishing down using abrasives with water.
Condition: some weathering, ends of feet broken, the centre of the side used slightly worn from grinding the cosmetics. Very thin layer of light-coloured limestone deposit here and there.

Such palettes were for grinding green malachite, a copper ore for eye paint. Other minerals for cosmetic purposes were also ground, such as red ochre, probably used as rouge.
Our guinea fowl has a round hole to enable suspension when not in use.
The type, stylization and simplicity of the shape are indications for the date.

Published:
Germond, P. and Livet, J., Bestiaire égyptien (Paris, 2001) 22-23, fig. 18.

32. HIPPOPOTAMUS (amulet ?)

Amber
L: 4.11 cm. H: 3.34 cm
Provenance: no indication
Middle or New Kingdom
1800-1450 B.C.

Carved from a piece of amber, drilled, polished and incised.
Condition: surface very slightly weathered with a small chip here and there, particularly to front left and back paws. The inlays for the drilled eyes and for the clover-leaf inset on the forehead missing. A slightly tapering transversal hole below the ears drilled from right to left side, possibly not contemporary. The perpendicular hole on the centre of the back between the shoulders probably made in modern times.

This small sculpture is a problem for its material, the carving of the clover-leaf, other round holes, and its stance.
The hippopotamus native to the Nile, wallowing on its banks, was not only familiar to the Egyptians but a favoured subject appearing on limestone low reliefs of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms, and reproduced in the round in faience during the Middle Kingdom (see cat. no. 38). However the present figure differs in stance, maybe because of slight damage to the lower front paws and to most of the hind legs which have been filed down since discovery. What is the explanation for the clover-leaf formed by three round drill holes? For this is a technique encountered on early Sumerian limestone sculptures of the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C. inlaid with lapis lazuli, bitumen or gold; but the hippopotamus is not familiar to the fertile crescent, though it may be depicted in the early 2nd

millennium B.C. in the Levant.

In conclusion, this little hippo probably was executed in Egypt during the New Kingdom period, when contacts with the Keftiu from Crete and more particularly the Canaanites from the Levant (1) - these last traders in amber - could explain the presence of a piece of this material (2).

1) After writing this entry, we read the news (Archaeology, Sept. 1991) that discoveries in the great royal palace of Avaris in the Egyptian delta prove strong connections already in the 15th-16th Dynasty between Crete and the northern rulers of the kingdom, the Hyksos (who possibly originally came from the Levant, that part which is now Israel - formerly Palestine - and Lebanon), preceding their destruction by Ahmose in the early 18th Dynasty.

2) It would appear that the Ancient Egyptians sometimes employed resins and possibly amber in lieu of precious and semi-precious stones in the confection of jewellery and amulets. Though unlikely, it is conceivable that this little hippopotamus is made of resin and not amber. A scientific analysis would be conclusive (Lucas, A., Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries <London, 1962> 386-388).

33. SEN-USRET (a high court official)

Copper alloy
H: 24.2 cm
Allegedly from Hawara, Faiyum
Middle Kingdom
12th Dynasty, Reign of Amenemhat III (1843-1798 B.C.)

Ex collection:
Maurice Tempelsman, New York (1971-1986)

See general heading for technique and condition.
Solid-cast, probably with a core (1) for the lower part of the figure. Originally mounted on a rectangular hollow stand as for Seneb-su-ma, cat. no. 34.
Condition: roughly half of the underside of the statuette retains the thick incrustation that covered the whole figure before cleaning, as do the tangs under the feet, each pierced with a round hole still retaining the remains of the nail-plug that served to fix the statue on its base. The lower half of the skirt at the back, and to a lesser extent in the front, slightly eroded. The rest of the surface is smooth.

Four high officials are known to belong to the original group, among whom the viziers Sen-Usret and Seneb-su-ma. Viziers were the highest court officials of the Pharaoh to whom they were directly responsible. The chief vizier, tjaty in Egyptian, was the foremost executive. He was known as "the will of the master, the ears and the eyes of the sovereign", he was also "wisest among the wise" and was in control of the whole bureaucratic apparatus (2). As such and in view of their high office, their statues could be placed alongside royal sculpture inside sacred precincts.
Realism and individualism in art, showing diversity of features, are not only applicable to Senusret III and Amenemhat III, but also (3) to representations of private individuals. This vizier and Seneb-su-ma with the other two high officials are such examples; their portraits

give us an insight to their personalities.

Sen-Usret like his three peers is dressed in an apron wound above the waist and knotted below the right breast which hangs to his ankles, with its outer edge on the left side dropping below the hemline; the position of the outer edge varies slightly on the other three. These details are typical for aprons of the later Middle Kingdom (4). The apron is marked with horizontal double lines probably indicating it was composed of strips of cloth sewn together.

Like his peers he once stood fixed on a hollow rectangular stand of copper alloy, as shown by the remains under his feet, with left foot and leg slightly forward (a position taken over much later from Egyptian sculpture by the Greeks for their kouroi), and his arms and hands are lowered in a gesture of submission. He is unshod as are the Paris and Munich examples.

Emerging from the formal construction of the figure is the personalized and realistically shaped head with, in this case, the rather dour look of an older man of considerable experience.

Running down the front of his apron an inscription, unusually abridged to fit the available space, reads: "The King be gracious and determine that the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Ni-Maat-Re (Amenemhat III) (bestow offerings) for the grand steward of the household Sen-Usret".

The formula is somewhat unusual in that there is no mention of the god's name and the function of patron is instead assigned to the king himself, but whether a more extended version of the sacrificial formula appeared on the missing base is a matter of speculation.

Mentioned :

Smith, W.S., The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt (rev. ed. W.K. Simpson, Harmondsworth, 1981) 183. - Schoske, S., “Statue Amenemhets III.”, MüJb 3rd series, 39 (1988) 210; id., “ Statue eines beleibten Mannes”, MüJb, 3rd series, 43(1992) 177-181.

We are much indebted to Jürgen Settgast, who very kindly gave us permission to publish the translation he had made of the inscription for private use in October 1983, accompanied by certain comments.

1) As with Louvre E 27153 (Delange, E.: Musée du Louvre. Statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire. 2060-1560 avant J.-C. <Paris, 1987> 211-213); for present figure future x-ray will determine.

2) Posener, J., Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne (Paris, 1959) 301, s.v. vizir .

3) Wildung, D., L'Age d'Or de l'Egypte. Le Moyen Empire (Fribourg, 1984) text to figs. 188 ff. A different interpretation is expressed by J. Bourriau: "If we are entitled to apply the word 'portrait' to royal sculptures of Senusret III and Amenemhat III, can we also apply it to the statuary of private individuals of the late XIIth Dynasty? In my view, with some exceptions the answer must be 'no'." (Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom <Cambridge, 1988> 39).

4) Schoske, S., MüJb 3rd series, 43 (1992) 177.

34. SENEB-SU-MA ("count" and keeper of the seals)

Copper alloy
H: 33.7 cm
Allegedly from Hawara, Faiyum
Middle Kingdom
12th Dynasty, Reign of Amenemhat III (1843-1798 B.C.)

Ex collection:
Maurice Tempelsman, New York (1971-1986)

See general heading for technique and condition.
The upper part of the torso and head solid-cast, arms solid-cast separately and probably affixed (1) with rectangular tangs in slots. From the garment down hollow-cast. Fixed below the skirt a plaque of copper alloy (6-10 mm in thickness) solid-cast, into which the lower legs, probably cast separately (2), were inset. Under the feet, tangs inserted the hollow base held in place with nail-plugs still partially extant. The base itself made of metal sheet. The underpart a separate sheet joined to the rest and the hollow space between the two reinforced with four cylindrical sections of metal of about 5 mm in diameter.
Eyes inlaid of polished crystalline limestone (calcite, Egyptian alabaster), the cornea inset of rock crystal - presently with no traces of a pupil underneath, and the outline of the eyes formed by silver or electrum inlay (3).
Condition: the skirt with gaps on the lower left side and a large crack (4) on the front right side. On the right arm the metal is much fissured; most of the thumb missing, the right side under the arm and much of the skirt eroded. The top and back of head slightly eroded, the face and other parts fairly smooth, the plaque and feet with incrustation, the latter shod with flat sandals. Parts of the sheet of the base missing, the front left side section with two smaller pieces on the inside of both sides at the back a modern restoration. Much of the surface uneven and rough, most of the inscription still visible.

He is comparable to his three peers for the canon of traditional forms and for his dress, but different in that he wears sandals. His expressive eyes are inlaid, in the same way as are those of the officials in Paris and Munich, whereas Sen-Usret's are not. His corpulence, whether realistic or not, reveals his well-being but does not attain the proportions of the Munich official. He shares with the latter a certain smugness of expression which stems, D. Wildung says, from their secure position in the service of a consolidated state (5). However, he is the key figure among the non-royal statuettes. His portrait is extremely personalized with its great projecting ears, prominent cheekbones, its eyes set far apart under barely suggested eyebrows, the whole face lively and fresh. His trunk is also admirably modelled. To quote J. Settgast, he is more "distinct than anything of the kind yet found of a high Egyptian official at the court in the days of King Amenemhat III, radiating experience, intelligence, vivacity - but also a trace of scepticism and mild resignation ... without the slightest taint of stylized or idealized embellishment".

An inscription, an integral sacrificial text, reading from right to left on four horizontal lines, was incised by an expert engraver/calligrapher on the front top of the base. The text reads:

"The King (be gracious) and determine that (the god) Sobek, who lives in Crocodilopolis, might bestow (a death offering of bread and beer, of beeves and fowl,)

of linens and fabrics, of incense and oils, of bounties and viands, (for the soul) of the hereditary prince and count, keeper of the seals, sole secretary and chief of the sealers,

(Seneb-) su-ma, the reborn, born of Seruch-ib."

The text gives us invaluable information concerning the historical significance and attribution of the whole ensemble within its artistic and religious context. There is a mention of Sobek, the crocodile god, in Crocodilopolis, the principal centre of the Faiyum Oasis. We learn of the subject's name with an important clue to his genealogy, since his mother's name Seruch-ib is given. There are three stelai of the Middle Kingdom in Cairo (6) mentioning a man of this name and matronymic. This identity and genealogical information may allow us to infer that he might be the same person, which, if it were so, would give us the name and occupation of his father and other relatives. However, there are differences that give rise to doubt. But on a stele in London (7) there is Seneb-su-ma with exactly the same array of titles as here but unfortunately no genealogical reference.

Within present knowledge it is impossible to tell whether all these sculptures refer to the same keeper of the seals and chief of the sealers. There are thirty-one known scarabs of a certain "keeper of the seals, sole secretary and chief of the sealers" bearing the same name. The only difference is that the titles "hereditary prince and count" are absent on all the scarabs. In fact the scarabs list all his actual titles whereas the two missing epithets are high honours surely awarded to Seneb-su-ma towards the end of his career. This, in addition to the inscription, indicates that the present portrait shows him towards the end of his life, which is in keeping with some of his features.

Mentioned:
Simpson, W.K., The terrace of the great god at Abydos (New Haven, 1974) pls. 26-27; Smith, W.S., The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt (rev. ed. W.K. Simpson, Harmondsworth, 1981) 183; Franke, D., Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (Wiesbaden, 1984) Dossier 668; id., Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden 68(1988) 61-64; Schoske, S.,“Statue Amenemhets III.”, MüJb 3rd series, 39 (1988) 210; id. “Statue eines beleibten Mannes”, MüJb 3rd series, 43 (1992) 177-181.

We are much indebted to Jürgen Settgast, who very kindly gave us permission to publish the translation he had made of the inscription for private use in October 1983, accompanied by certain comments.

1) See the statue of a high official in Munich (Schoske, S., MüJb 43 < 1992> 177-181, figs. 3-5) and Louvre E 27153 (Delange, E., Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire. Musée du Louvre <Paris, 1987> 211 ff.).

2) The figure probably made in the same fashion as the copper statue of a high official in Munich (see footnote 1), where it is stated: "... feet, base and underside of apron cast separately".

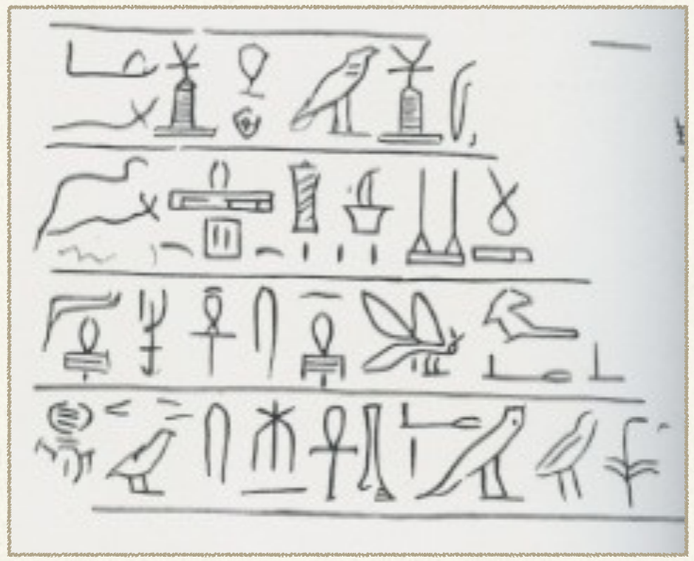
3) As also for the bust of Amenemhat III, cat. no. 36. This is also how the outline of the eyes of the Louvre high official (see footnote 1) is described. However, for the standing king in Munich (Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 6982: Schoske, S., MüJb 39 <1988> 207-210) the outline of the eyes is stated as being inlaid with electrum, but for the statue of a high official in the same museum (see footnote 1), the eye inlays are said to be of silver. It is to be noted that silver on Egyptian objects is seldom pure since it was used as an alloy with gold and copper; thus without analysis it is difficult to differentiate between silver and electrum (verbal communication A. Giumlia-Mair, 26-27 November 1994).

4) Which probably goes back to the time of casting; for a similar occurrence, see Schoske, S., loc. cit. (footnote 1).

5) Wildung. D., L'Age d'Or de l'Egypte. Le Moyen Empire (Fribourg, 1984) 100.

6) National Museum, Catalogue général, nos. 20075, 20334, 20459.

7) British Museum 252.



35. QUEEN (consort of Amenemhat III)

Copper alloy
H: 69.5 cm
Allegedly from Hawara, Faiyum
Middle Kingdom
12th Dynasty, Reign of Amenemhat III (1843-1798 B.C.)

See general heading for technique and condition.
The body solid-cast by the lost wax process. The thick-walled head was hollow-cast in one piece with a deep plastron-like V-section which inserted to form the central part of the upper body.
The arms solid-cast separately with projecting tangs that inserted into a rectangular slot under the shoulders. A lozenge-shaped plaque of metal under both rectangular slots held in place by four rivets. The lower legs with ankles and feet cast separately and inserted under the dress, surely with large solid tangs for fixing to a base.
The whole body once covered with silver sheet evidenced by the long strips down both sides, inserted in a V-shaped slot and held in place with silver rivets. There are silver rivets or the now empty holes they fitted, here and there, over the body. Above the shoulders remains of large rivet-like nails for holding the sheet that covered the body.
A large fissure runs from the sternum to above the right hip - a casting defect. A small near-rectangular patch at the front centre just above the hips - a casting repair.
Condition: the whole surface of the body very much abraded (1), rough and pitted. The missing head broken away unevenly at the lower neck off the plastron-shaped wedge, now out of position. Its lower section jutting forward in front, recessed at the back and the upper part slightly recessed in front and projecting at the back.
The upper right arm (2) and shoulder still preserved but the position distorted.
Almost all the silver that sheathed the body now missing, save for most of the two longitudinal strips and many of the nails that held it in place. The upper plastron-like central part of the body was covered probably with far thicker

sheet and possibly of a different type of precious metal.
The left arm, lower legs with ankles and feet missing.

In all likelihood the Queen would have been placed next to her consort (his surviving bust, cat. no. 36). The sculpture epitomizes the subtlety of modelling, the controlled plasticity and the careful workmanship that characterized Middle Kingdom sculpture at its best. She is incredibly sensitive. Her head was surely covered by a wig, as there are no traces of hair on the back of her neck.
An interesting comparison is the ivory figure of a woman in the Louvre (3), which illustrates the elongated canon of feminine figures during the Middle Kingdom. Very similar is the way the bust rises from the narrow waist (4) and the lower body flows down from it, and the shape of the plastron (5). Similar also is her profile from the waist up especially for the shoulder line. However, the ivory is static and, though she has a slightly curved line for the belly, her buttocks are much flatter, whereas here they are more plastic as they flow down into her thighs giving her a new and added dimension, as without any "déhanchement" she has her left leg forward. The movement starts with her upper left thigh being slightly more forward followed by the back of the leg, her left shoulder is also slightly forward with the right slightly back. This is an unusual position for the right shoulder as, with the left leg forward, it should also be forward, as is usual for Egyptian art of the period. It is an indication that the Queen was surely on the left of her spouse, Amenemhat III, and thus turned slightly towards him.
This incipient expression of movement illustrates, as do also to a lesser extent the viziers (cat. nos. 33, 34), an extraordinary sculptural progress difficult to achieve in stone, but which the lost wax process enabled in bronze. It is a new technology which gave the artisan of the Middle Kingdom a new dimension.

Mentioned:
Schoske, S., “Statue Amenemhets III.”;, MüJb 39 (1988) 210; id.: “Statue eines beleibten Mannes”, MüJb 43 (1992) 177-181; Philips, J., “The Composite Sculpture of Akhetaten. Some Initial Thoughts and Questions”, Amarna Letters 3 (1994) 63, n. 25.

(1) Apparently, after discovery, the figure was immersed in a barrel of liquid to strip off the thick incrustation - the result of this unfortunate attempt only too visible here.
(2) A fragment comprising the lower section with elbow and upper forearm (outer length: c. 22.3 cm) has not been restored and reattached since the position of the upper arm is distorted and the overall effect would be both misleading and aesthetically unattractive.
(3) E 14697: Delange, E., Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 2060-1560 avant J.-C. Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1987) 173-174.
(4) Exaggerated in the object compared.
(5) Which in the parallel has a smooth and undecorated surface indicating that this is her skin.

36. BUST OF AMENEMHAT III (1843-1798 B.C.)

Copper alloy
H: 46.5 cm
Allegedly from Hawara, Faiyum
Middle Kingdom
12th Dynasty
Ex collection: Maurice Tempelsman, New York (1971-1986)

See general heading for technique and condition.
Bust and head hollow-cast together, thick-walled bronze upwards of 1 cm. A recessed thick ring section extending 3.5-4.5 cm below enabled insetting into lower body. The arms, now missing, were cast separately and fixed by means of tangs slotted into longitudinal grooves inset from the shoulders down. The right one broken off, remains still in place.
A recessed rim around the head holds in place the royal headcloth, cast separately by the lost wax process and worked in the cold.
Eyes inlaid, see Seneb-su-ma, cat. no. 34 (for the left eye the rock crystal cornea inset and the pupil underneath missing), with the difference that for the right eye the pupil would appear to be indicated here by a painted black dot (1).
The temples inlaid with silver strips. Right nipple still extant, left missing. At lower right of navel a silver rivet-like protuberance and straight above it under the breast a round hole for another rivet, a large protruding silver rivet on the left side of the back halfway between shoulder-blade and waist and on the right remains of a cavity for receiving an identical nail; these surely served to fix a sheet of silver (2) over the bust.
Condition: the head and neck and the upper bust with large fissures, three below the left breast attest the difficulty of casting such a mass of metal at such an early stage of a new technological development.
The circlet is missing that would have hidden the join between the head and the royal headcloth, deeply fissured in places, the lower right lappet broken off and reattached, the lower left one missing. The uraeus cast separately and inlaid with gold; its right cheek with a gold rectangle, the right eye of an

indeterminate substance (garnet?) inset in gold; the left eye and cheek inlay missing; the dilated hood below the head once with seven gold inlays, two of quarter moon shape, serrated on the curving edge, still in place.

Great King of the 12th Dynasty, Amenemhat III was responsible for transforming the swamps of the Faiyum into rich cultures. He built a first pyramid at Dahshur, and then a pyramid at Hawara accompanied by a vast funerary temple. The present group and all the other pieces belonging to it possibly come from this funerary ensemble, maybe buried in antiquity during the Hyksos period (3).
We are told (4) that from early times royal statues were placed in the temples of the gods. In certain texts the king appears as the central figure and the population's wellbeing depends on its loyal attitude towards him. Venerating Amenemhat III included a spiritual aspect as he was the high priest, the only human in contact with the gods (5).
The alleged find-spot would be in keeping since, during the Middle Kingdom, the Pharaoh's protection and patronage was sought for the after life as much as for actual life. Thus the setting for sculptures could be a temple or mortuary temple celebrating the king's cult, but palace or tomb were also possible. It was necessary to be buried close to the royal tomb, which explains the enormous cemetery complexes (6).
This bust is what remains of what was surely the central figure of the whole group, his consort on his left. The author is unsure as to whether he would have been seated or standing and what the rest of his body would have been made of. If wood, probably acacia since it would have been covered with a sheet of precious metal - gold, silver or electrum. The standing figure of the King (7) from the same group may have been added to it towards the end of his life or slightly thereafter, since "his sunken cheeks and other characteristics represent the traits of an ageing personality". The universal image of an absolute monarch, in appearance untouchable, with his distant dignity, "rarely in Egyptian art has a king been represented so directly and frankly, so revealing in his deep psychology, his personality so little disguised" (8). He epitomizes the new style of the end of his dynasty with his contained expression of interior life. To look at him is to admire him, he is the greatest of monarchs for though he will suffer no contradiction his presence is promise of protection and well-being in this world and the next.

Published:
Wildung, D., L'Age d'Or de l'Egypte. Le Moyen Empire (Fribourg, 1984) 208, figs. 184, 210-211; Michalowski, K., L'art de l'Egypte (rev. ed. J.-P. Corteggiani, Paris, 1994) 137, no. 91, pl. 91; Philips, J., “The Composite Sculpture of Akhetaten. Some Initial Thoughts and Questions”, Amarna Letters 3 (1994) 60-61, 63, n. 8, ill.; The Pharaohs, 48, 389, cat. no. 12, col. ill.
Mentioned:
Smith, W.S., The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt (rev. ed. W.K. Simpson, Harmondsworth, 1981) 183; Schoske, S., “Statue Amenemhets III.”, MüJb 39 (1988) 212, n. 20; Müller, H.-W., “Eine ungewöhnliche Metallfigur eines blinden ägyptischen Priesters”, SBMünchen 5 (1989) 27; Schoske, S., “Statue eines beleibten Mannes”, MüJb 43 (1992) 177-181. – Hill, M., Royal Bronze Statuary from Ancient Egypt (Leiden and Boston, 2004) 96, no. 129.

1) Possibly made from charcoal or ground antimony.
2) Possibly electrum, for silver on Egyptian objects is seldom pure since it was used as an alloy with gold and copper; without analysis it is difficult to differentiate between silver and electrum.
3) Schoske, S., MüJb 39 (1988) 210.
4) Russmann, E.R., “An Egyptian Royal Statuette of the Eighth Century B.C.”, in: Simpson, W.K. and Davis, W.M. (ed.), Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham (Boston, 1981) 153, n. 17.
5) Wildung, D., L'Age d'Or de l'Egypte, 211.
6) Of which the most popular site was the "terrace of the great god" at Abydos, the great god is Osiris, primeval king of Egypt and ruler of the dead.
7) Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 6982: Schoske, S., op. cit.
8) Wildung, D., op. cit., 210.

37. KNEELING FIGURE OF AMENEMHAT III (1843-1798 B.C.)

Copper alloy
H: 26.5 cm
Allegedly from Hawara, Faiyum
Middle Kingdom
12th Dynasty

Ex collection:
Maurice Tempelsman, New York (1971-1986)

See general heading for technique and condition.
Solid-cast by the lost wax method, four thick tangs project from under the knees and from below the toes for insertion into the stand. The arms, now missing, cast separately and fixed by means of tangs into the longitudinal grooves inset from the shoulders down (see bust of Amenemhat, cat. no. 36). Rising from the crown of the head a recessed rim to enable fixing the royal headcloth, now missing. Gold inlay on both temples. The apron (1) formerly inlaid with silver (2). A round hole on the upper outer right thigh probably for fixing a rivet, now missing, to hold the apron in place; traces possibly of a now filled hole on the left thigh.
Worthy of note are two round holes above the nipples and a round hole on the upper centre of the back, probably to enable steadying the headcloth by its two front lappets and its central plait down the back.
Just above the knees on the inner thighs two small round holes face each other, 2 cm apart. In view of the superlative polish and black patina of the head, torso, legs and feet, it is certain that these parts were not sheathed with any precious metal. This writer does not think that the two holes related to the casting process, thus their purpose remains open to question.
Condition: cleaned manually, revealing a superbly polished original mirror-like surface of a shiny silvery black (3) sheen. Abraded and with blows here and there. The left eye damaged as well as the cheek; blows to the chin, centre of

mouth and tip of nose; the right nipple smashed flat. Both small toes sliced off. The inside of the shoulder slots, the recessed rim on the crown of the head, the tangs and the surface between and inside the lower legs uncleaned. Most of the tang under the right foot broken off in antiquity and missing.

The most salient physical characteristic of Amenemhat III is his elephant-like ears. On this statue they are very similar to those of his head on the bust (cat. no. 36), though here they are clearly visible since his headcloth is missing. His gaze is extraordinary as he looks out towards the distant outer world of the gods to whom he must be making an offering. Unlike the expression that emanates from his rock crystal eyes (cat. no. 36), which is a manifest projection of absolute power, here as high priest he officiates to a power greater than himself. His arms were possibly extended in offering maybe holding vessels, as for instance in a later figure of a king (4) in Berlin. This latter figure would also seem to explain the two little holes mentioned above on the inner thighs, as they may have served to fix a lappet that hung below his apron.

The finish and fluid sensitivity of the body, typical of the closed forms and attention to surface of Egyptian sculpture, is a sheer glory, a sublime expression of Middle Kingdom art.

Exhibited and Published :
Egypte – Moments d’éternité, 71, 73-74, cat. no. 40, col. ill.
Published:
Michalowski, K., L'art de l'Egypte (rev. ed. J.-P. Corteggiani, Paris, 1994) 137, no. 90, pl. 90; Clayton, P.A., Chronicle of the Pharaohs. The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers and Dynasties of Ancient Egypt (London, 1994) 6, ill.; Forman, W. and Quirke, S., Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt (London, 1996) 88; Giumlia-Mair, A., “Das Krokodil und Amenemhat III. aus dem Faiyum”, in: Antike Welt 4 (1996) 313-321; id. “ Early Instances of Shakudo-type Alloys in the West”, in: Bulletin of the Metals Museum (June 1997) 3-15; Giumlia-Mair, A. and Quirke, S., “Black copper in bronze age Egypt”, in: RdE 48 (1997) 95-108, pl. 9 c; Giumlia-Mair, A. and Lehr, M., Patinating black bronzes: texts and tests, BUMA IV (May 1998); Vassilika, E., “I metallotechnia ti 2. kai 1. chilietia p. Ch.”, in: I Kathimerini (19 March 2000) 27-28, ill.; Hill, M., Royal Bronze Statuary from Ancient Egypt (Leiden and Boston, 2004) 196, no. 128, 286, pl. 1.

Mentioned:
Smith, W.S.: The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt (rev. ed. W.K. Simpson, Harmondsworth, 1981) 183; Schoske, S., “Statue Amenemhets III.”, MüJb 39 (1988) 212, n. 20. - id., “Statue eines beleibten Mannes”, MüJb 43 (1992) 177-181; Philips, J., “The Composite Sculpture of Akhetaten. Some Initial Thoughts and Questions”, Amarna Letters (1994) 63, n. 24; Giumlia-Mair, A., Experiments on ancient patination processes of black bronzes (Achaeometry Conference, Budapest, 26 April-1 May 1998).

1) For a very similar apron, the surface likewise recessed by about 1 mm, see the statue of Amenemhat in Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 6982 (Schoske, S., MüJb, 39 <1988> 207-210).
2) A trace of which is still visible slightly left and below his belly-button on the recessed part. It would seem that the Egyptians did not always differentiate between gold and silver which they "evidently regarded as two forms of the same mineral, distinguished only by colour, referring to the latter as 'white gold'" (Harris, J.R., Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals <Berlin, 1961> 41). It was comparatively rare and was considered more valuable than gold, several times its value, until the end of the Middle Kingdom (Lucas, A. and Harris, J.R., Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries, 4th ed. <London, 1962> 246-248). Silver on Egyptian objects is seldom pure since it was used as an alloy with gold and copper; without analysis it is difficult to differentiate between silver and electrum.
3) Purple black patina is attested in Egypt since the 18th Dynasty, called hmti km, known afterwards as the famous Corinthian bronze (aes), and later in Japan as shakudo. In Egypt it results from the metallurgical use of a copper alloy with the addition of a little silver (about 1%) and gold (1-2 %) followed by a surface treatment (iosis). In Japan the percentages vary and the treatment is done using an aqueous solution containing various substances, e.g. verdigris, copper sulphate, alum, or some sulphur and arsenic minerals. Though one cannot determine visually whether we have here hmti km, its use for this King officiating as a high priest would be highly appropriate since this material was essentially employed for ritual objects and is thought to have been produced mainly in temple workshops. See Giumlia-Mair, A.R. and Craddock, P.T., “Corinthium aes. Das schwarze Gold der Alchimisten”, Antike Welt, 24. Jg., Sondernummer 1993; id., “Hsmn-Km, Corinthian bronze, shakudo: black-patinated bronze in the ancient world”, in: La Niece, S. and Craddock, P. (eds.), Metal Plating and Patination. Cultural, Technical and Historical Developments (London, 1993)101-127; id., “Irogane Alloys in Classical Antiquity”, Bulletin of the Metals Museum, 20 (November 1993) II, 3-17.
4) Ägyptisches Museum 10645: Priese, K.-H. (ed.), Das Ägyptische Museum Berlin (Mainz, 1991) 52, no. 33.

38. HIPPOPOTAMUS

Faience
L: 13.5 cm
From tomb 416 at Abydos, excavated in 1907
Middle Kingdom
12th-13th Dynasty. 1850-1700 B.C.

Ex collection:
Rev. William MacGregor
Baron Maurice de Rothschild, Pregny
Charles Gillet, Lausanne
Marion Schuster, Lausanne

Fashioned from sandy earth, glazed and fired. The glaze a turquoise colour with painted decoration in manganese violet: lotus flowers, leaves, rosettes and a dragonfly (1) - characteristics of his environment.
Condition: broken in 2 pieces and restored. The glaze nicked on the right ear, chipped on the left side of the snout, on a section of the left lower jaw and on the small toe of the left forepaw; the front legs broken off and reattached, a slice of the lower left hind paw missing. Missing the teeth, probably of ivory, that were inserted in holes prepared for that purpose.

Whether or not such representations gave pleasure to the Ancients as they do to us, hippopotami were both feared as well as revered. Terrifying by their volume and size, destructive of the river banks and the nearby fertile fields which they both trampled and laid waste with their gluttony, they were hunted by the Ancient Egyptians. They were thus an enemy and often considered as an expression of negative forces (dedicated to Seth, the Evil One). Illustrated on the walls of Old Kingdom tombs, the hippopotamus, incarnating chaos, a permanent menace to both the earthly and divine world, is often

shown about to be put to death by the owner of the tomb. This symbolic act expresses the deceased's contribution to securing harmony in the universe. However, the fattier females symbolizing fertility and rebirth were worshipped as propitious to human survival and fulfilled an amuletic function during childbirth. It has even been suggested that their colour represented the primeval waters from which the world was created, and the lotus, which closes at night and opens in the morning, another symbol of rebirth. Because of their great protective power, they were sometimes placed inside the coffin of the deceased (2).

Exhibited and Published:
Ancient Egyptian Art, 56, cat. no. 1a, pl. 37 (left); Egypte – Moments d’éternité, 90-92, cat. no. 55, col. ill.; Gifts of the Nile, 148, 238, cat. no. 143, col. ill.
Published:
Schäfer, H.and Andrae, W., Die Kunst des alten Orients, PKG II (Berlin, 1925) 56, 282, fig, 2; Steindorff, G., Die Kunst der Ägypter (Leipzig, 1928) 274 (left); Keimer, M.L., “Nouvelles Recherches au Sujet du Potamogeton Lucens L. dans l'Egypte Ancienne et Remarques sur l'Ornementation des Hippopotames en Faîence du Moyen Empire”, REgyptAnc 2 (1929) 222, 223, 233, 237, 239, 241, no. 20, figs. 15, 31.3, 41.6, 44.4, 48.8.15; Kemp, B. and Merrillees, R.S., Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt (Mainz, 1980) 144-145, pls. 10, 11; Sotheby’s, Ancient Jewellery, Middle Eastern, Greek, Etruscan, Roman and Egyptian Antiquities, South Italian Greek Pottery Vases, Ancient Glass and Art Reference Books, London, 10 July 1990, 94-97, lot 319; Bolshakov, A., “Egyptian Hippopotamus Amulet”, in: "Hermitage Readings". The George Ortiz Collection, St. Petersburg (12 April 1993) 4-6, 24.
Mentioned:
Hall, H.R., “Three Hippopotamus-Figures of the Middle Kingdom”, JEA 13-14 (1927) 58; Müller, H.W., “Eine viertausend Jahre alte Nilpferdfigur aus ägyptischer Fayence”, Pantheon, Sonderheft 33.4 (1975) 291 n.

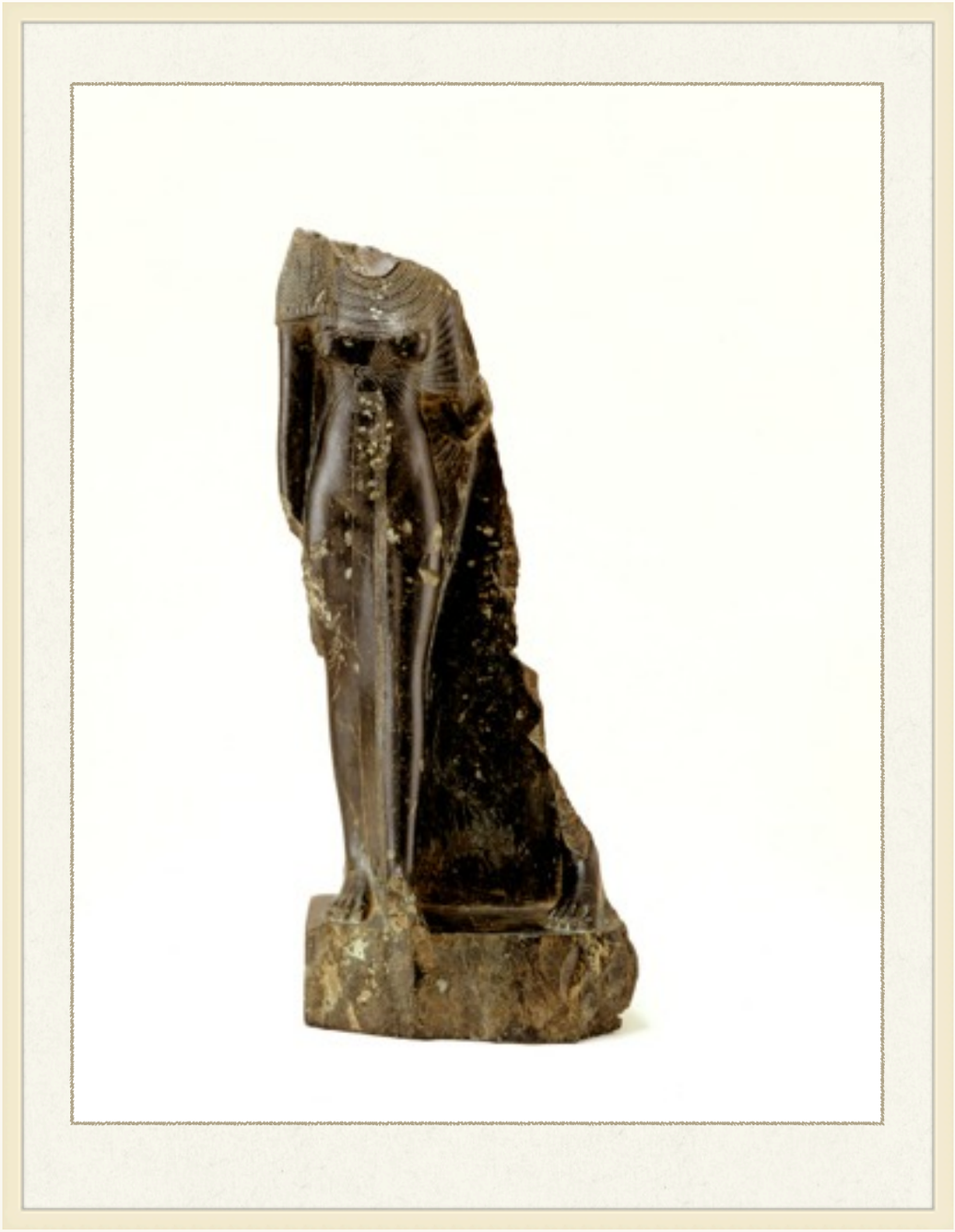
1) Of the fifty to sixty surviving examples of faience hippopotami there are only five represented with their head turned and this is the only one which figures a dragonfly.
2) Bourriau, J., Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian art in the Middle Kingdom (Cambridge, 1988) 119.

39. PRINCESS ISIS (with Amenhotep III)

Serpentinite
H: 48.5 cm
From Egypt
New Kingdom
18th Dynasty. Reign of Amenhotep III (1390-1353 B.C.)

Ex collection:
André Bircher, collector-dealer, Cairo (before 1914)
J. J. Walen (in the family until 1986)

Sculpted, incised, inscribed and polished from a block of serpentinite, a type of serpentine.
Condition: missing the head of Isis, both wrists and hands, the front of her left foot and all of the Pharaoh Amenhotep but for his right foot. Also missing roughly half of the inscription in hieroglyphs which covered three columns (possibly four, though unlikely). Chipped and fissured.



Part of a royal group (1) that represented Amenhotep III (2) with Princess Isis qualified in the inscription as his daughter and consort.
The sensitive fluidity of the ensemble, its wealth of refined detail, its finish and polish attest the high quality of sculpture during his reign, the forerunner of Akhenaton's artistic developments.
Isis seems to have been his favourite of the four princesses known as the royal daughters by his great consort, Queen Tiy. Each was also his concubine for a short while.
The inscription (3) at the back not only bears witness to the relationship between art and language in Ancient Egypt, where the one is as important as the other, but describes Isis not only as daughter of the king but also with the title "king's wife". It confirms the date and what remains of her wig, the way it is executed with its

particular locks over the right shoulder, is representative of the formal hairstyle for princesses of the time of Amenhotep III and IV, characteristic of fashion at the end of the 18th Dynasty and appropriate for solemn occasions.
In commanding the present group, it may be that, beyond fulfilling the Pharaoh's whim and honouring his favourite daughter, the representation of the short-term union of father and daughter was justified by the political expediency of dynastic continuity (4). However, more likely, the sculpture was made in conjunction with the Pharaoh's first sed festival (5), indicated by the inscription referring to him as: "Strong Bull who appears at the sed festivals", and his figuring with Isis, his daughter and concubine, symbol of youth and life, and the colour of the material used, a blackish-green, associated with "agricultural renewal" (6).

On view: Cleveland Museum of Art: 1988-1992

Exhibited and Published:
Tentoonstelling van Antieke voorwerpen uit Egypte en Voor-Azië, 47, 46, cat. no. 275, ill. 9; Egypt's Dazzling Sun, 206-208, cat. no. 24, ill.; Egypte – Moments d'éternité, 126-127, cat. no. 76, col. ill.
Published:
van de Walle, B., "La princesse Isis, fille et épouse d'Aménophis III", ChronEg 43, no. 85
(1968) 36-54; Antiquités Classiques, Drouot, Paris, 11 April 1986, lot 135.
Mentioned:
Vandersleyen, C., "The Sculpture in the round of Amenhotep III: Types and Purposes", in: The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical analysis (Cleveland, 1990) 3, no. 7, 8.

1) Though Princess Isis's right foot is behind and her left slightly forward of the Pharaoh's right foot, his left foot was certainly ahead of hers; thus as it ought to be, the king stood forward in the pre-eminent position. We do not believe that the great queen Tiy, her mother, was part of the group making up a triad, because the inscription mentions "king's wife Isis may she endure".
2) From his father Tuthmosis IV he inherited an empire at its zenith; though he participated in great hunts and implemented during his reign a programme of self-glorification, his neglect of military action, which diplomacy could not make up for, left free rein to the expansion of Hittite influence. Nonetheless he was a great Pharaoh, builder and patron of the arts, to whom bear witness monuments in the Theban necropolis, the great temple at Luxor dedicated to Amun, the colossi of Karnak and his palace-city near Medinet Habu.
3) Column 1: "Live the Horus, Strong Bull who appears at the sed festivals, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatre, the King's daughter Isis, may she live!".
4) An ingenious suggestion by Leclant, J., "Tefnout et les Divines Adoratrices thébaines", MDAIK 15 (1967) 169-170.
5) Within this hypothesis, though, C. Vandersleyen would seem to prefer the second or third sed festival.
6) Three reasons given by Bryan, B.M., loc. cit.

40. PAIR OF ANTELOPE PROTOMES

Bronze
H: a. 8.3 cm; b. 8.42 cm
Provenance: no indication
New Kingdom
Late 18th Dynasty. c. 1400-1300 B.C.

Ex collection:
Rev. William MacGregor

Hollow-cast by the lost wax process, cold-worked and polished.
Condition: once heavily incrusted with green malachite (1) and red cuprite as usually produced by sandy desert contexts, thoroughly cleaned manually shortly after discovery.
a: the surface similar in colour to its pair, but far smoother and hardly damaged by the aggressive cleaning to remove the incrustation. The details fairly sharp and clear.
b: traces of incrustation on rear lower section of left horn. The present surface partly smooth and partly abraded with remains of incrustation - a mottled texture of greenish black, brownish red, red and green.

The protomes are of the dorcas gazelle, a small antelope, common to North Africa, Arabia and the Near East. Square sockets at the back served to fix them as adornment to a chair or possibly a vase. Many of their features conform to the style (2) of the late 18th Dynasty: the undulating volumes, the broad forehead, the rounded profile of the back of head and neck, the slightly almond-shaped eyes with lids a series of multiple lines, the interaction of the ears and horns.
Comparisons are to be found on Theban tomb reliefs and paintings as well as on examples of painted terracotta plastic head vases of

the Amarna period.
There is a rapport for the general feel with two faience antelope heads dated 15th-14th century B.C., possibly fragments from a vessel, of comparable size in St. Petersburg (3); what remains of their horns is identical. Other comparisons, especially close for their sensitive heads, are in the Metropolitan Museum: a bronze weight (4), ascribed to the 18th-20th Dynasty and dated c. 1400-1100 B.C., though the ears are slightly different, and a gazelle (5) in ivory and wood attributed to the 18th Dynasty, c. 1355 B.C., though both ears and horns are missing.
The protomes exude a strong Cretan influence, their spiritedness reminds us of mountain goats in Cretan art (6). There were Keftiu (Cretan) artists working at the court of Amenhotep III in Egypt; at the time interrelations between Crete and Egypt were considerable as new discoveries will certainly confirm (7). Metal vases were exported from Crete to Egypt and Egyptian objects are found in Cretan tombs.

Exhibited and Published:
Ancient Egyptian Art, 79, cat. no. 31, pl. 20; Trésors de l'Ancien Iran, 118, cat. no. 657.
Published:
Germond, P. and Livet J., Bestiaire égyptien (Paris, 2001) 24, fig. 20.

1) Possibly copper chloride (atacamite), analysis would determine.
2) As told us by Robert S. Bianchi.
3) Hermitage Museum 550, 551 (Landa, N.B. and Lapis, I.A., Egyptian Antiquities in the Hermitage <Leningrad, 1974> 97, no. 98), acquired in 1862 from the Castiglione collection.
4) Metropolitan Museum 68.139.1, Lila Acheson Wallace Fund Gift, 1968: Clark, K. (ed.): Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1970) 94-95, no. 33.
5) Metropolitan Museum 26.7.1292, Carnarvon Collection, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1926: Clark, K. (ed.): op. cit., 93, no. 30.
6) Steatite rhyton from Zakro, Herakleion Museum 2764: Sakellarakis, J.A., Herakleion Museum, Illustrated Guide (Athens, 1990) 76; dated Late Minoan Ia-b.
7) After writing this entry, we read the news (Archaeology, September 1991) that Minoan frescoes, one of which shows a bull-jumper, had been discovered in the great royal palace of Avaris in the Egyptian delta. Thus we would already have political "and possibly religious connections between Early Minoan Crete and Old Kingdom Egypt", which indicates that interrelations between them go further back and were of a stronger nature than previously thought.
However, in the above quote, "Old Kingdom" is surely a mistake as the period in question is probably the 15th-16th Dynasty.

41. CAT ON PAPYRUS

Glazed terracotta
H: 20.35 cm
Provenance: no indication
Probably Ptolemaic (possibly Saïte, 26th Dynasty, 664-525 B.C.)
304-30 B.C.

Fashioned of sandy earth, glazed and fired. The glaze a bluish-green (1).
Condition: the lower part of the papyrus broken and missing as is the sceptre which it surmounted; part of the left ear chipped away, slight chip to top of right ear, chest, left hip, lower centre back and front right side of tail. Two chips on papyrus and slight abrasion to right hip. The glaze on the right side of the face pitted and abraded from the firing and weathering; over parts of the body the bluish-green has veered towards a mottled white.

The cat was sacred to Egypt and was worshipped as the goddess Bastet in her temple at Bubastis, her sacred city in the Delta. The present example has a scarab, her emblem, inscribed on the forehead. She is unique for her size, though comparisons are to be found in small amulets that were worn (2). Sitting on top of stylised petals that surmounted a papyrus sceptre (wadjet) or column, she fulfilled the function of a very large votive.
Green being the colour of vegetation, this cat is a symbol of rebirth and life.

Published:
Germond, P. and Livet J., Bestiaire égyptien (Paris, 2001) 30, 33, fig. 33.

We are indebted to Robert S. Bianchi for enlightening us with regard to various aspects of this piece.
1) Robert S. Bianchi tells us that the structure and colour of the glaze is of the Roman period. This indication would favour a date in the late Ptolemaic or early Roman period.
2) Flinders Petrie, W.M. , Amulets (1914, repr. Warminster, 1971) 46, no. 226 a+b, pl. 39.

CHAPTER 3

GREEK WORLD

42. STEATOPYGOUS IDOL

Terracotta
H: 13.7 cm
From Thessaly (between Volos and Lamia) - found in a well
Early Neolithic
6th millennium B.C. (1)

Modelled with the help of a spatula-type instrument.
Condition: greyish green clay with faint traces of white clay slip with various discolourations due to exposure; whether the black discolouration was caused by fire or not is uncertain. Slight chippings to the top of the head, front of the right foot and damage to the front of the left thigh.

Very carefully executed; note such details as the fleshy folds on her back and her right hand resting on top of her stomach, whereas the left hand appears to be drawing attention to her bosom.
The space between the legs is fairly uncommon, as is the representation of painted locks visible on the left side of her face and neck.
Her extraordinary presence testifies to her being a representation of a goddess.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 110, cat. no. I 1, ill.; Kunst der Kykladen, 214, 421, cat. no. 11, ill.
Mentioned:
Buchholz, H.G. and Karageorghis, V., Altägäis und Altkypros (Tübingen, 1971) 95-96.

1) Faced with this Neolithic section, entries 42-46, the author, somewhat unsure of his dating, in view of the divergence of opinion in various publications, and wishing to approach the truth in the measure of the possible in order to advance knowledge, consulted Colin Renfrew, explaining what precedes. Unfortunately he declined to help on the ideological grounds of what the Americans call "political correct thinking"; in this he has been joined by Lauren E. Talalay whom we consulted as a last resort. We had previously consulted Saul Weinberg who very kindly replied but we have preferred to follow Miss Amy Raymond's slight modification of our dates, for which we would like to thank her.

43. SEATED IDOL

Terracotta
H: 6.37 cm
Allegedly from Thessaly
Early Neolithic
6th millennium B.C.

Modelled with the help of a spatula-type instrument and a stick. The navel marked by a hole.
Condition: head and right foot missing.

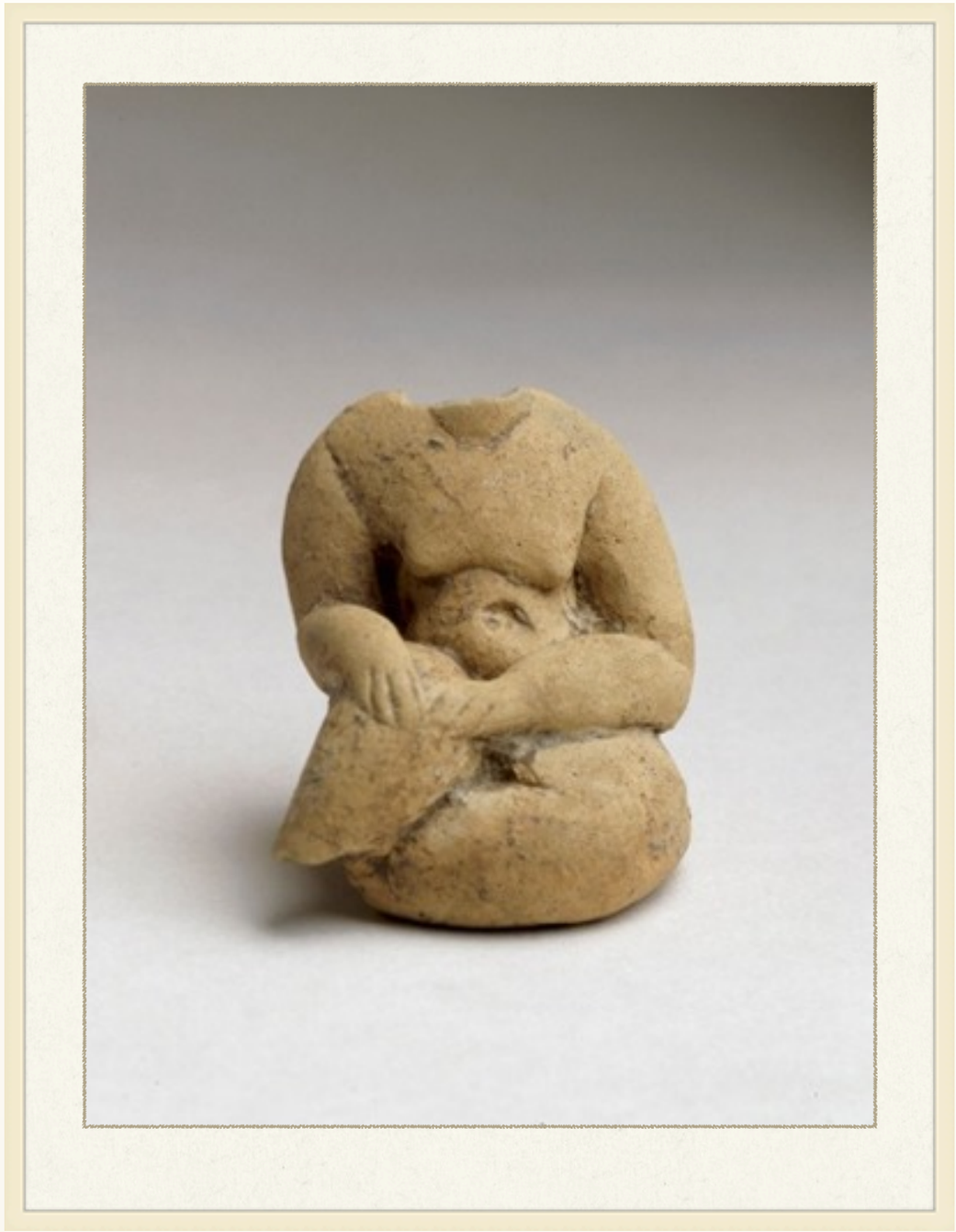
Of similar stance is the figure in the Volos Museum (see cat. no. 44, footnote 1), but for the different position of the arms raised to the chest on our example.
The figurine is highly abstract and the buttocks very steatopygous.

44. SEATED IDOL

Terracotta
H: 5.05 cm
Allegedly from Sesklo (Thessaly)
Middle Neolithic
5th millennium B.C.

Modelled with the help of a spatula-type instrument.
Condition: head and both feet missing. There are possibly traces of slip.

A parallel of comparable size and with her legs in the same position, from the region of Pharsala (1), is ascribed to the Middle Neolithic period.
Nevertheless, our figure's less pronounced general steatopygia and the position of both her hands on one knee may suggest the Middle towards the Late Neolithic period.
Another comparison (2) from Soufli Magoula appears to be more in keeping with the sensitivity expressed by our piece.
May we perceive a degree of tenderness and humanity in her whole attitude and in the delicate manner in which her hands rest on her knee. In no other expressions of the Neolithic, in Europe or Anatolia, do we apprehend such feelings.
Does this attest an artistic sensitivity beyond the context of its time, a fortuitous accident, or is this a premonition of Greek humanism that was to develop three and a half millennia later?



1) Volos Museum M 168: Theocharis, D.R., Neolithic Greece (Athens, 1973), no. 38, col. ill.
2) Brought to our attention by Miss Amy Raymond of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in a letter dated 29 April 1993, where she suggests that "the modeling of the breasts, shoulders and thighs compare well with

45. STEATOPYGOUS IDOL

Marble
H: 8.5 cm
Allegedly from Thessaly
Late Neolithic
Early 4th millennium B.C.

Condition: white marble; the front, part of the sides and the head stained and incrusted with very hard limestone deposits.

This idol is almost certainly Thessalian, supported not so much by the alleged provenance but by the characteristics of terracotta figurines from various Thessalian sites.
However, the variety in shapes and details does not offer valid comparisons for either its parts or whole, a consequence of the obvious freedom enjoyed by artists of the period.
The statuette's mastery of line, shape and volume reveals the immanent presence and power of a religious and social community.
The steatopygous and fertility characteristics make her in our eyes eminently satisfying.

Exhibited and Published:
Kunst der Kykladen, 422, cat. no. 16A.
Published:
Demargne, P., Naissance de l'Art Grec. Univers des Formes (Paris, 1964) 36, 438, fig. 37, ill.

46. IDOL

Marble
H: 8.8 cm
Allegedly from Porto Rafti (Attica)
Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age
Late 4th-3rd millennium B.C.

Condition: whitish marble with spots of erosion, the whole back covered with a thick deposit of light-coloured limestone.

This standing female idol is fairly characteristic of Greek neolithic idols such as the one from Koufovouno near Sparta, in Athens (1). Steatopygous in type, our example has less heavy buttocks than the norm, however, the bulging stomach, elongated neck, hands placed beneath the breasts, are usual for this type.
The face, with its prominent nose, ears and indications for the eyes and the mouth, suggest a date towards the late 4th to the 3rd millennium B.C., but in view of the scarcity of these idols and the divergence in chronology between authorities, dating is open to discussion.
As to the place of manufacture, it could be either the Cyclades or mainland Greece. There were close contacts between Porto Rafti and the Cyclades during this period.

1) National Museum 3928: ascribed by C. Renfrew, “The Development and Chronology of Early Cycladic Figurines”, AJA 73 (1969) 28, fig. 4, to the Early Neolithic.

47. "EGG"

Marble
H: 4.5 cm
Allegedly from the Cyclades
Early Cycladic
3200-2100 B.C.

Condition: slight weathering and partially incrusted with ochre limestone deposits.

The purpose of this object is not known.
Pierced with a hole 4 mm in diameter and 9.5 mm deep (1), it might have served as a knob or finial.

Exhibited and Published:
Kunst der Kykladen, 374, 542, cat. no. 473, ill.

1) At present used for the mounting.

48. BIRD (dove or partridge)

Marble
H: 13.4 cm. L: 17.4 cm
Provenance: no indication; Anatolia or Cyclades?
Early Bronze Age II/Early Cycladic II
2700-2300 B.C.

Condition: whitish marble with smooth surface, polished in parts, one side thickly incrusted with hard brown deposits with root marks.

It seems that both the dove and the partridge were indigenous to the Cyclades and to Anatolia.
This unique figure has always been described as a dove and Cycladic, but both description and attribution are open to discussion. Crete was also once given as a provenance.
The marble itself, the very hard incrusted brown limestone deposits, sculptural characteristics such as the way the flat bottom tails up, the modeling of the head, the abstract and schematic appearance of the whole and the indication of an originally white polished surface might suggest a work from Anatolia, contemporary with the Kilia-type anthropomorphic idols.
The bird might be attributed to Crete or the Cyclades, since it is in keeping with their ritual customs (1), and it may be added that there is no definite parallel from elsewhere.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1971-1973

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 23, ill.; Kunst der Kykladen, 365, 533, cat. no. 433, ill.
Mentioned:
Mertens, J.R., in: Glories of the Past. Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection (New York, 1990), p. 5.

1) D. Mitten in a verbal communication (20 August 1994) reminded us of the bird and bird vessel in the Goulandris collection (Doumas, Chr., The N.P. Goulandris Collection of Early Cycladic Art <Athens, 1968> nos. 305, 329) where mention is made that the dove appears in early Cycladic art. Doumas adds that doves were believed "to be imbued with supernatural qualities" and in speaking of the marble dove vessel says that it "had a special magico-religious function, related probably to funeral rites for the dead".

49. VASE

Marble
H: 10.2 cm. W: 12.1 cm (with handles)
Provenance: no indication; Syros?
Early Cycladic II, Keros-Syros Culture
2700-2300 B.C.
Ex collection: Count Chandon de Briailles

Condition: surface with incrustation and a certain amount of corrosion on the inside; minor chips on foot and rim.

This darkish grey vessel with its wide mouth has a pair of double tubular lugs and a flaring foot.
The attribution to Syros is based on the colour of the marble, on the workmanship, and by comparison with terracotta vessels of very similar style from Syros, of which there are several examples in the National Museum in Athens.
A close comparison, as far as can be seen from a small reproduction, is the marble vessel of the same type found in 1976 in a Cycladic tomb on Naxos (1). It is not as fine in workmanship and slightly damaged.
The masterful execution and harmonious proportions are found on a vase (2) of Parian marble from a grave on Naxos, dated Early Cycladic II.
In view of the similarity of the foot and the perfection of the workmanship, we conclude that the Naxos vessel must have been made either locally by an artist from Syros or imported from Syros. It may be from the same workshop as our vase.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1971-1973
Exhibited and published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 36, ill.
Kunst der Kykladen, 330, 512, cat. no. 344, ill.
Published:
Getz-Gentle, P., Stone Vessels of the Cyclades in the Early Bronze Age (Pennsylvania, 1996) 296, cat. M6, pl. 102b.

1) Touchais, G., “Chronique des fouilles en 1976”, BCH 101 (1977) 637-638, fig. 291.
2) National Museum 6133.2: Papathanassopoulos, G., National Archaeological Museum - Athens. Neolithic and Cycladic Civilization (Athens, 1981) 166, no. 88.

Greek World: Minoan Crete

We confine our remarks to Minoan sculpture in bronze (1). The statuettes come principally from cave and grotto sanctuaries, a few from summit sanctuaries, rural ones and also possibly from household shrines, and were placed among the offerings around the altars. Thirty-one statuettes come from Hagia Triada and are associated with the villa. Their clenched right hand is raised to the forehead in a gesture of prayer and adoration.

Votive offerings represented the faithful and possibly cult images; their find context and their attitude confirm their religious function. Those found in palaces or houses come from the aristocratic quarters, which probably indicates that the workshops were in the palaces themselves, thus contributing to the power, prestige and hold that the ruling aristocracy had over the people. Since they were offered by all sections of the population their quality varies greatly.

Cast by the lost wax process with barely any cold-working, Minoan bronzes are impressionistic, most especially with reference to the Style of Princes within the Classical Style (MM III-LM Ia). The small of the back is particularly curved at the acme of their artistic development.

1 Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E.: Die bronzenen Menschenfiguren auf Kreta und in der Ägäis, PBF I, 5 (Stuttgart, 1995). This study has induced certain revisions in the entries. The find contexts, even in the measure that they are known, are not very revealing. Lack of data, different styles and the difficulty to establish an evolution ensue in most assessments seeming hypothetical. E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis does consider that a number of these small bronzes could be cult images.

50. FEMALE VOTARY

Bronze
H: 5.7 cm
Provenance: no indication; mountain sanctuary on the Iuktas? (1)
Neo-Palatial I, MM III
1700-1580 B.C.

Solid cast by the lost wax process, grooving done in the cold.
Condition: patina dark green to lighter green with many parts the colour of anthracite to brown. The face somewhat abraded revealing rust-reddish cuprite. Casting excrescences on right side of face and neck, in both armpits and around feet.

Ascribed by Verlinden to the Neo-Palatial, "period of formation" and as an early example of the group on account of certain analogies with her numbers 3 and 4 of the previous, Paleo-Palatial phase.
These have not been illustrated, but we may observe striking differences from her number 13, which she calls representative for the period.

Exhibited and Published:
Gods and Mortals, 83, cat. n° 56, ill.
Published:
Verlinden, C., Les statuettes anthropomorphes crétoises en bronze et en plomb du IIIe millénaire au VIIe siècle av. J.C. Archaeologia Transatlantica IV (Providence/Louvain-la-Neuve, 1984) 185, no. 15, pl. 5.

1) Suggested by C. Verlinden.

51. MALE VOTARY

Bronze
H: 6.85 cm
Provenance: no indication; Psychro? (1)
Intermediate Classical, MM III-LM Ia
c. 1600-1500 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, the legs ending in a tang surmounting a blob which were the canal and funnel for the molten metal.
Condition: patina blackish green with traces of medal-coloured bronze. Very slight traces of the mould.

Placed by Verlinden in the Neo-Palatial Intermediate Classical period. Her remark that the taut, arched stance of the male statuettes is truly the artistic canon of Minoan art of the highest period, is notable in view of the present statuette's conformity to it, despite belonging to a later phase.
A fine sculpture executed in a most satisfying impressionistic cast that exemplifies the spontaneous dynamism of Minoan art in its Classical phase, as the figure surges forward from the ankles, curving up to the head in natural tension, conscious of its votive mission.

Published:
Verlinden, C., Statuettes, 195, no. 59, pl. 29.

1) Suggested by C. Verlinden.
In the English catalogue for the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 20 January - 6 April 1994, the illustrations for 51 and 52 were inverted with 52 on the lower left and 51 on the lower right of the plate.

52. MALE VOTARY

Bronze
H: 6.8 cm
Provenance: no indication; Psychro? (1)
Classical Style (unusual), LM Ia-LM II
c. 1530-1400 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, the feet resting on a vertical rectangular element which would have been used as the entry channel, a small outcropping at its lower end from the pouring. Some cold-working, as on the separating line between the buttocks and the legs, front and back.
Condition: patina blackish to medal-brown, traces of green malachite and red cuprite with a few remains of brown earth deposit. Fairly smooth surface.

Ascribed by Verlinden to the Classical Style and dated to the second half of the Neo-Palatial period. She finds the piece unusual, since it partakes of earlier classical characteristics. One may compare its volume with the statuette cat. no. 51; and a statuette in Berlin (2) for the position of the hands, the modelling of the arms and torso and the face (to some degree for the frontal view but certainly not for the profile); moreover, the Berlin statuette is far more static.

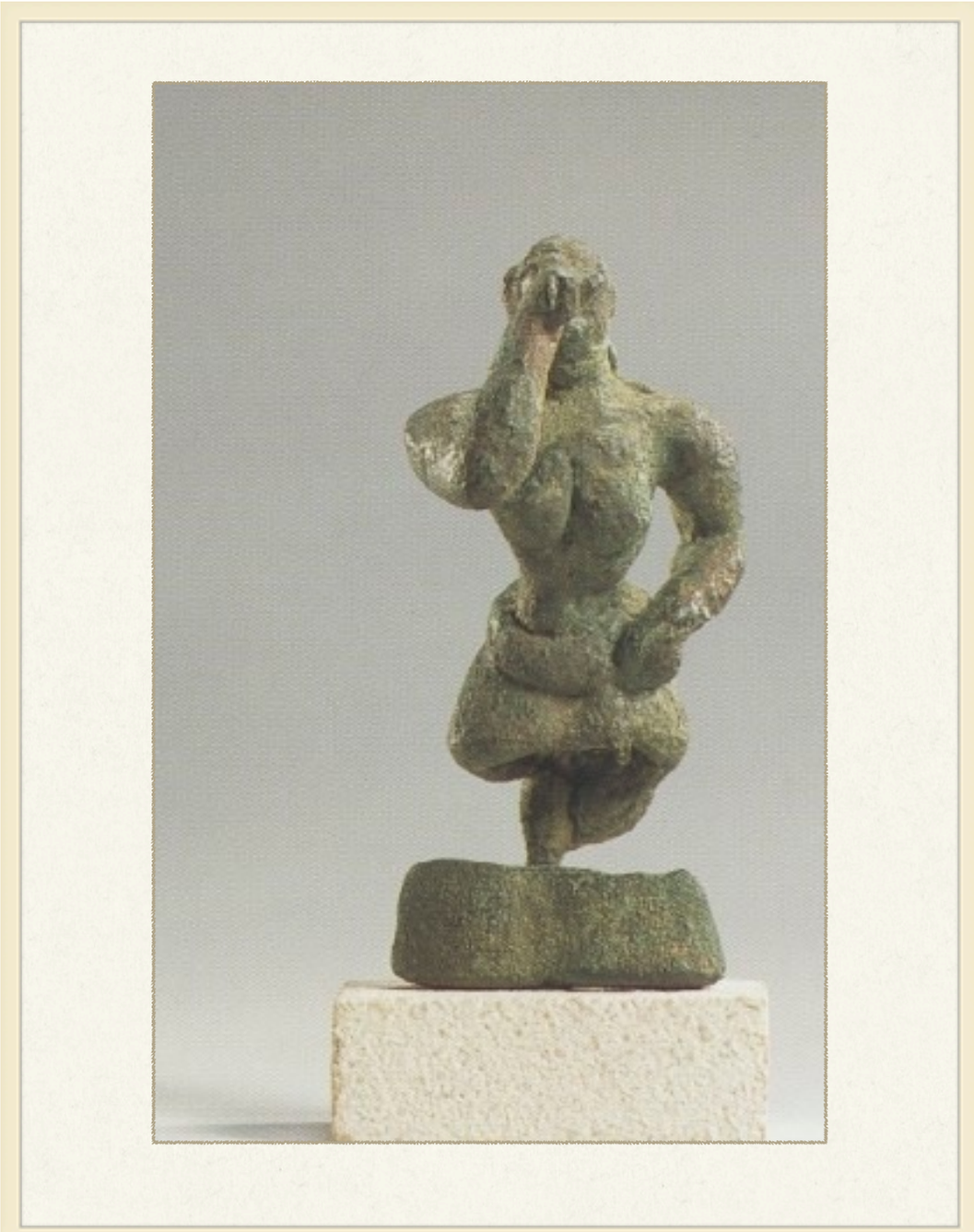
On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1968-1969

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 73, ill.
Published:
Davaras, C., “Chalkinoi minoikoi latreis tes sylloges Metaxa”, AEphem (1977) 115, no. 75; Verlinden, C., Statuettes, 200, no. 98, pl. 45

1) Suggested by C. Verlinden.

53. FEMALE VOTARY

Bronze
H: 5.48 cm
Allegedly from Tylissos (altar on mountain or Trapeza Grotto?)
Minoan Classical, Pure Style or Style of Princes, MM IIIb-LM Ia
c. 1600-1500 B.C.



Solid-cast by the lost wax process with serious casting faults (1) a deep groove chased in the cold down the middle of the chest and under each breast.
Condition: patina an uneven green with parts the colour of anthracite and considerable patches of rust-reddish cuprite. The surface is somewhat rough, granular over the back of the skirt with a casting fault above the left buttock. The metal which should have flowed around to form the missing three fifths of the skirt has lumped below the statuette, only attached by a single rod. This is a major casting fault: the metal cooled too fast or was not hot enough to run evenly in the space previously filled by wax to form her skirt; maybe the space was too narrow.

This statuette is seen by the writer as extremely close to the masterpiece in Berlin (2). Verlinden concurs and ascribes both to the "Style of Princes" which is the highest point (3) in the evolution of these votive statuettes. Notwithstanding the casting fault, a magnificent example of the Classical Style, obviously produced at a high moment of Minoan culture. Delicate in detail, very naturalistic in expression and vibrant with vitality, she epitomizes femininity and dignity.

Published:
Verlinden, C., Statuettes, 191, no. 36, pl. 18; Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E., PBF I. 5, 64, no. 109, pl. 12.

1) By analogy with very close comparisons, Verlinden cat. nos. 33, 34, the height of our figure would have been around or slightly more than 6.5 cm.

2) Berlin, Antikenmuseum Misc. 8092: Verlinden, cat. no. 33.

3) E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis concurs that the Berlin figure and this example are at the acme of Minoan bronze sculpture, charcterized, she says, by their "baroque" style.

54. MALE VOTARY

Bronze
H: 5.3 cm
Provenance: no indication
Intermediate Classical, MM III-LM Ia
c. 1600-1500 B.C.

Ex collection:
Adamidi Frasheri Bey

Solid-cast by the lost wax process.
Condition: patina reddish brown with traces of green on sandy surface. Both feet missing. Casting flaw below left shoulder and on right elbow.

Ascribed by Verlinden to the Neo-Palatial Intermediate Classical period.
The figure is perhaps to be considered a very early example of the group, "the Style of Princes". This is shown by the figure's spirit, the quality of the details, shortness of bust, breadth of shoulders, position of the right arm, its elbow held high and separate from the body as well as the quality of the long hair. Particularly noticeable is the taut stance as the figure, with raised right arm, surges forward up to the waist, the small of its back curved in (1), the chin pulled back lending tenseness to the head. A detail shared with the British Museum figurine (2) is the mode of attachment of the hair at the neck, where two wavy strands fall, which on our example end in curls recalling the three intertwined ones on the back of the Berlin lady (3).

It may not be fortuitous that this statuette, and those in the British Museum and Herakleion Museum (4) all represent mature men.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1968-1969

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 74, ill.
Published:
Davaras, C., “Chalkinoi minoikoi latreis tes sylloges Metaxa”, Aephem (1977) 115, no. 76; Verlinden, C., Statuettes, 193, no. 45, pl. 23; Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E., PBF I.5, 95-96, no. 167, pl. 12 (dated Palatial period).

1) Characteristics typical for the prime phase or acme (Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. PBF I, 5, p. 96).
2) 1918. 1-1.114: Verlinden, cat. no. 31.
3) Antikenmuseum Misc. 8092: Verlinden, cat. no. 33.
4) Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 1762: Verlinden, cat. no. 30.

55. MALE VOTARY

Bronze
H: 9.45 cm (with tang: 11.15 cm)
Allegedly from the port of Knossos (Poros)
Neo-Palatial, LM Ib
c. 1500-1450 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, the tang under the base is from the entry channel for the molten metal. A spatula or similar implement was used on the wax model, and the left hand as well as the end of the tang pinched after casting.
Condition: patina varied, the colour of anthracite with a brown hue veering in places to dark green or light green, with traces of the mould here and there; casting imperfections visible on the strand of hair as it falls from the right shoulder, on the surface of the face, upper chest and right arm which are somewhat porous.

Ascribed to the Neo-Palatial period by Verlinden and categorized as Style B from the group assembled around the Gournia statuette (1), dated to Late Minoan Ib, which is the archaeological context of its find. However, Verlinden sees the Gournia figure as unfinished, clumsy, and stiff, though the muscles are not taut. Tension is lacking and the back is no longer arched.
Verlinden's grouping and the sharing of several important elements may be accepted. But there seem to be considerable differences which are mainly qualitative and might indicate that the statuette is probably the earliest of the group, certainly the finest and closer to the "Classical Style" of which it retains certain characteristics. For instance, the relation between shoulders, waist and hips; the palm of the left hand facing back; also the features of the face being more

distinctive. Verlinden also notes that the figures of group B are a deformation of the "Classical Style".
Most important, unlike the rest of the group, the statuette maintains a tension, indicated by the line running from under the girdle over the hip down to the ankle, the beautiful arching of the back from the middle strand of hair down to the buttocks, and the continuous flowing line from the shoulder down to the ankle. Further, the codpiece, though of the same type as the Gournia figure's, is infinitely more refined with its moulded bottle shape; it is held up by the belt. There is a delicacy in the way two of the three strands of hair flowing from three large curls on the forehead fall behind the ears, over the shoulders, in a lovely curve ending, one at the waist and one slightly above.
Does this mean that the statuette is only earlier and therefore more refined? Is it possibly the prototype for the group or is it simply the product of a better artist working for a palace or villa aristocrat?

Published:
Evans, A., Palace of Minos IV (London, 1935) 198, fig. 153; Biesantz, H., Kretisch-mykenische Siegelbilder (Marburg, 1954), 169, no. 15; Davaras, C., “Trois bronzes minoens de Skoteino”, BCH 93 (1969) 626, no. 8; Verlinden, C., Statuettes, 201, no. 102, pl. 47; Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E., PBF I.5, 57, no. 98, pl. 25 (dated end of Neo-Palatial period).

1) Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 612; from Gournia, the small palace of the local governor built during LM I and destroyed at the end of the same period: Verlinden, cat. no. 101.

56. FEMALE VOTARY

Bronze
H: 11.3 cm. Skirt: 6 x 4.2 cm
Allegedly from the cave of Eileithyia at Tsoutsouros, SE Crete
LM Ib1
c. 1500-1450 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, the skirt hollow.
Condition: patina a light green to which adhere patches of hardened mud and traces of yellowish rust.
A large casting fault on the lower right side and back of her skirt and a small one on the top left front of her skirt, both repaired by annealing with the addition of metal.
Corroded on the face and on the upper right of the skirt, the right shoulder, arm and breast deeply fissured and split with smaller fissures down the right at the back of her head and neck, probably produced by the dripping of water and the mud in the alleged find-spot, the Tsoutsouros cave.
This female votary (cat. no. 56) is the one on the right side of the plate.

The only female of a special group which Verlinden builds around the Gournia statuette and which she considers the earliest figure from the Tsoutsouros cave. The rounded forms and originally smooth surface hark back to the Classical Style.
Verlinden's dating seems plausible; though the lack of resemblance to others in the group and the lack of comparisons is disconcerting.
A very individual statuette in her own right; we concur with Verlinden that the artistic care with which she is made reveals her to be the result of a typological and stylistic transformation, the product of an internal evolution in Minoan art.

Notwithstanding the damage of time, we can still sense the well-modelled face and appreciate the beauty of the bosom framed by two strands of hair ending at her skirt and the voluptuous braid of hair that cascades down her back. Her left profile is particularly beautiful and enables one to realize how she once was.

Exhibited and Published:
Master Bronzes, cat. no. 5A, 29-30, ill.
Published:
Verlinden, C., Statuettes, 202, no. 109, pl. 50.
Mentioned:
Thomas, R., Griechische Bronzestatuetten (Darmstadt, 1992) 45, 174, n. 28.

57. FEMALE VOTARY

Bronze
H: 11.5 cm. Skirt: 6.3 x 3.4 cm
Allegedly from the cave of Eileithyia at Tsoutsouros, SE Crete
Post-Palatial, LM IIIa
c. 1400-1300 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, the skirt hollow.
Condition: patina a light green - a transformation due to chlorides - to which adhere patches of hardened mud; a spot of reddish cuprite above the right breast. A chip missing from the lower front of the skirt, a crack and three holes on the left back where the metal of the skirt appears to be thinnest. Parts of the smooth surface rough and with casting edges unremoved. The head and face with small fissures, weathered and damaged. Two small protuberances on the lower back of the hair-bun and one on the left shoulder-blade, the result of oxidization or possibly the unremoved remains of air vents (for the casting).

Found with cat. no. 56 and also the only female of her group which Verlinden ascribes to the early Post-Palatial period, Late Minoan IIIa. She bears little resemblance to others in the category in which she has been placed.
In addition, it is notable that she is of almost identical size to cat. no. 56, also a female naked from the waist up, wearing a skirt and with similar patina and weathering (these last more often than not a consequence of the environment: the soil's composition, the electrolytic currents and the water).
Because of the differences in volume and style we are inclined to accept Verlinden's dating. The differences could be due to different hands working contemporaneously in different styles; though, of course, the Tsoutsouros cave was in use over a very long period.

Exhibited and Published:
Master Bronzes, 29-30, cat. no. 5B, ill.
Published:
Verlinden, C., Statuettes, 208, no. 143, pl. 64.
Mentioned:
Böhm, S., Die "nackte Göttin". Zur Ikonographie und Deutung unbekleideter weiblicher Figuren in der frühgriechischen Kunst (Mainz, 1990), 46, n. 218.

58. RING

Gold
Weight: 2.53 g. H: 1.7 cm
Allegedly from Crete
Late Neo-Palatial period, LM Ib-II (-LM IIIa)
1500-1400 B.C. (-1350 B.C.)

The bezel cast in gold, touched up in the cold. The band hammered, curved, annealed to the bezel and then engraved with horizontal lines humped in the middle (1).
Condition: the surface and the edges of the bezel worn.

The scene represents a Minoan priestess or attendant (2) of the cult, right arm bent at the elbow, forearm extended toward a shrine with tree, the tree with rich foliage (3); on the right, two columns surmounted by a roof may perhaps indicate the goddess' sanctuary. The significance of the ritual depicted is not certain. A gold ring in Oxford (4) is comparable for general shape and lined bezel, as well as for a similar type of representation with a female figure, building and trees.
A precise date is difficult; for though, on the one hand, a certain plainness in the figure is indicative of an early date, her static quality is more in keeping with the later conception of the Mycenaeans.

1) The hump is due to the line having been cut from the outside edges of the band towards the centre. This decorative element finds an almost identical parallel in the appearance of the horns on the climbing wild goats of the steatite rhyton from Zakro: Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 2764, dated LM I a-b: Sakellarakis, J.A., Herakleion Museum, Illustrated Guide (Athens, 1990) 76.
2) As indicated by her gesture, see JHS 110 (1990) 192-198 (C. Sourvinou-Inwood).
3) Probably a fig tree; see Evans, A., “Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult”, JHS 21 (1901) 99-204.
4) Ashmolean Museum 1938.1127 from Knossos, LM: Kenna, V.E.G., Cretan Seals (Oxford, 1960) 125, no. 250.

59. RECLINING BULL

Silver
Weight: 51.86 g. H: 2.7 cm. L: 3.7 cm
Tylissos?
Knossos Palace Style, MM IIIb-LM Ia
1600-1500 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process then worked over in the cold by hammering, filing and punching.
Condition: excellent, with a crack near the tip of the right horn.

This is the only example of its kind known so far. The closest parallels in feeling and style are the bulls on the two gold cups from Vapheio (1), though these represent bulls in action, being trapped in a net or drawing a plough.
Notwithstanding the difficulty of comparing animals in different positions - standing and in movement as against reclining and static, and in low relief as against in the round - a similar naturalism associated with superb workmanship link them in the same tradition.
For the pose, there are two reclining goats in bronze from Hagia Triada (and ascribed to exactly the same period) (2), though not of the same artistic quality, as well as the wild goats reclining on the roof of the sanctuary on a steatite rhyton from Zakro (3), dated Late Minoan I a-b.
From near Knossos, a sardonyx seal, though considerably later in date, represents a reclining bull about to rise and the back view of the head and neck of another (4), that bear resemblance with the head, horns, etc. of our example.

The bull was sacred in character and central to the Minoans for acrobatic and other sporting and ritual festivities. Our bull is certainly a votive (5) and surely produced by a palace workshop, possibly Knossos (6).
The delicacy of the surface, somewhat unsmooth and imprecise, shimmers with naturalism and conveys the underlying strength and inherent tension which reveals the spontaneous vitality of artistic creativity at this, the highest moment of Minoan civilization6.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1968-1969

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 78, ill.; Picasso. Sous le soleil de Mithra, 222, cat. no. A 10, col.ill.

1) Athens, National Museum 1758, 1759: Karouzou, S., National Museum, Illustrated Guide (Athens, 1977) 36-38.
2) Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 822, 823: Sakellarakis, J.A., Herakleion Museum, Illustrated Guide (Athens, 1990) 68-69.
3) Herakleion, Archaelogical Museum 2764: Sakellarakis, J.A., op. cit., 76.
) Herakleion, Archaelogical Museum 1656: Sakellarakis, J.A., op. cit., 84-85.
5) Though of little bearing, two reclining bronze animals from Cyprus, filled with lead, one in a similar position, dated later in the Late Cypriot II period, might have been weights: Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 1963.X-19. 2, C 966: Buchholz, H.-G. and Karageorghis, V., Altägäis und Altkypros (Tübingen, 1971) 162-163, nos. 1738, 1739.
6) Also in all probability from a palace workshop in Knossos there is a most unusual statuette of very fine quality representing a figure of high rank found at Katsaba in the neighbourhood of Knossos (Herakleion, Museum 1829). It is of comparable date, ascribed by C. Verlinden, Les statuettes anthropomorphes crétoises en bronze et en plomb du IIIe millénaire au VIIe siècle av. J.C. Archaeologia Transatlantica IV (Providence/Louvain-la-Neuve, 1984) 125, no. 93, to the same hand as her cat. no. 54, reputedly from Tylissos, which is also the alleged find-spot of our reclining bull.
The similar plastic quality and most especially surface details on both the body of the bull and the Katsaba statuette, leave one thinking that the same mind might have guided the hand of the artist. There is a kinship between the face of the silver bull and those on the Vapheio gold cups and some steatite rhytons (see footnote 3), thus indicating a connection between them and/or pointing to a central palatial workshop working in more than one medium. The status of the artist responsible for some of these creations would have predisposed him to try his hand at different forms of expression and in different materials, which might explain these unusual but exceptionally fine examples. Why could there not have been, as in the Italian Renaissance, an all-round artist in the Minoan world at this time?

60. MALE VOTARY

Bronze
H: 13.9 cm
Provenance: no indication
Post-Palatial (unusual), LM III
1400-1100 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process.
Condition: patina a greyish green with incrusted traces of reddish brown earth. The upper half of the body retains casting burrs and barbs, one or two of them possibly the remains of vents, visible on the middle of the back and right side, on the left shoulder, but mainly on the left side and back of head and on the inside of the right upper arm where, obviously, the mould must have been defective. The feet somewhat melt into the blob of which they are a part and which served as the channel entry.

Verlinden places this exceptional statuette in her Post-Palatial period under "unusual examples", for it embodies so many different characteristics.
Several of the comparisons she gives - mainly for the shoulders (1), the hair-bun on the crown and the engraving of the locks (2) - are slight. Chronologically, they cover a period from Paleo-Palatial to the advanced Post-Palatial. She finds the statuette's style slack, undynamic and without rigour; the appearance non-energetic and soft. This assessment applies to the lower half of the body; but certainly not to the top. And, if the figure presents a certain harmonious whole, it is due to its having been fashioned by one hand.

We see a presence in the face, the broad shoulders, the gestures of the arms and the curve going from just above the buttocks to the back of the head.
The representation of a strong personality, almost as though we were confronted with a real person, an attempt at portraiture.
The heavy buttocks and short legs are plastically poor, perhaps the consequence of an attempt at realism. Perhaps what mattered more to the artist was the spirit of the figure, dedicating itself to the deity, expressed by the pose of the upper body.
We are uncertain as to whether this difference in appreciation has a bearing on the statuette's date and grouping.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1968-1969

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 76, ill.
Published:
Verlinden, C., Statuettes, 213, no. 179, pl. 73; Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E., PBF I. 5, 96, no. 168, pl. 27.
Mentioned:
Davaras, C., “Chalkinoi minoikoi latreis tes sylloges Metaxa”, Aephem (1977), 115, no. 77.

1) Berlin, Antikenmuseum 10518: Verlinden, cat. no. 11; Paleo-Palatial. - Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR 4.1927: Verlinden, cat. no. 132; early Post-Palatial. - Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 423: Verlinden, cat. no. 154; Post-Palatial.
2) Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 3487: terracotta male figure, Paleo-Palatial, MM I. - George Ortiz Collection: Verlinden, cat. no. 42; Neo-Palatial, end of MM III-LM Ia. - Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 238; LM I. - Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR 4. 1927; early Post-Palatial.

61. MALE VOTARY

Bronze
H: 10.65 cm
Allegedly from Archanes
Classical Style (unusual), MM III
1700-1580 B.C.

Ex collection:
Eric de Kolb

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, a few grooves reworked in the cold.
Condition: patina green spotted with red cuprite. Rough surface with the casting edges unremoved.

The feet rest on a rectangular base under which is the channel entry, a pipe-like section, ending in the funnel for pouring, its underneath surface wavy and though combed in different directions, a knob of metal to one side.
There is a curious coincidence in the base funnel, which seems a mound of metal on our statuette, and the bottom part of a figurine from Phourni (1) near the Archanes temenos. We see a similarity in the metal as well as what appears a similarity in the surface texture between the two statuettes (2). Verlinden agrees that the underneath surfaces of both are very similar and affirms that this is a natural state of the molten metal when it hardens without any human intervention (3), such as combing, chiselling, etc. She adds that the channel mound on the present statuette would normally have been cut off. Might it not be that the Minoan artisans were in

general able to gauge correctly the amount of metal needed (4) and that often the channel section of the mould would not fill up. See for example cat. nos. 52 and 62, though they still retain a small knob.
To an enquiry whether a few other exceptions with this part still attached (5) had the same wavy combed surface, Verlinden stated that for various reasons (their being affixed or embedded in modern museum stands, etc.) she had been unable to examine these features.
It is noteworthy that cat. nos. 53 (which ends in a lump), 51 and 60 (which end in blobs, the blob of 51 described as the funnel), are all smooth underneath.
Verlinden's dating for the figurine which almost certainly comes from Archanes, may be accepted, but the casting similarity to the figurine from Phourni, which is apparently correctly dated from a tomb to the end of the Pre-Palatial period, is perplexing.

Published:
Verlinden, C., Statuettes, 200, no. 97, pl. 44; Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E., PBF I. 5, 46-47, no. 77, pl. 16 (dated early Neo-Palatial period); Sakellarakis, Y. and Sakellarakis, E., Arcanes. Minoan Crete in a New Light (Athens, 1997) 529, fig. 528.

1) Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 3093: Verlinden, cat. no. 1.
2) The writer knows the Phourni figurine only from the poor reproductions in Verlinden's publication.
3) A modern sculptor and a most competent restorer both confirm the fact.
4) This does not explain how with no pressure (in modern casting a very large funnel is filled and the sheer weight ensures that the metal runs through the whole mould) the Minoans usually achieved such well cast statuettes. It would, however, explain why there were so few burrs, avoiding the need to go over the whole bronze in the cold. This results in the figures being so marvelously impressionistic in appearance. However, we do not believe that this is merely an accidental technical coincidence but rather a deliberate choice for unknown reasons. John Boardman suggests that maybe they rejected and melted down dozens of the things before they got one more or less right.
5) E.g., Paris, Louvre Museum BR 4294, Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 1829 and Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AE 619 (a head with neck surmounted by the channel mound - most unusual, signifying that the figure was cast head up).

62. FEMALE VOTARY

Bronze
H: 7.38 cm
Provenance: no indication; Psychro? (1)
Sub-Minoan I
1100-1000 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, the arms hammered.
Condition: patina brownish metal with red cuprite throughout.

Wearing a bonnet, matronly in her attitude and exuding pride, she exemplifies a Post-Palatial naive naturalism as well as the survival of certain Minoan characteristics, such as the skirt and its belt, and the manner of casting (note the small knob still attached to the channel below the skirt).
The gesture of her arms is the one most frequently observed in the diversity of the Sub-Minoan period.

Published:
Verlinden, C., Statuettes, 215, no. 191, pl. 78.

1) Suggested by C. Verlinden.

63. KOUROTROPHOS

Terracotta
H: 12.8 cm
Provenance: no indication; Central Greece?
Late Mycenaean III B?
14th-13th century B.C.?

Ex collection:
Mr and Mrs Frederick Stafford

Modelled by hand, the long tress and the child added in strips, with the help of a spatula-like instrument (a thumb-nail?); the whole smoothed with the help of a brush.
Condition: light chamois colour clay, polished and with traces of earth.
Painted decoration in red of undulating and linear strips and short strokes on her polos and tress.

The purpose of these clay objects, whether they be Kourotrophoi, figurines, thrones or animals is uncertain. Since they were found all over settlements: in tombs, mostly children's (in which case they probably represent toys), and the larger figures with cylindrical bodies in cult contexts, etc., we may surmise that their function depended on their ultimate use.
It is also most likely that the Mycenaeans gave religious meaning to the objects that accompanied the deceased in their tombs.
A rare type (only two other complete examples known). The mother is PSI-type, i.e. with both arms upraised; her child hanging on her breast, not held. The bird-like face surmounted by a concave-topped polos behind which hangs a long tress. Her tubular body

flares at the foot.
It is generally thought that the PSI-type is a goddess, evolving from Minoan cult figures. The PHI-type is thought to be a nurse, and it may be that the upraised arms of our figurine are simply the consequence of the combination of one popular form with a less appropriate function - holding a child.
The Kourotrophos probably represents a mother goddess.

Exhibited and Published:
Odyssey of an Art Collector, 8, no. 8, ill.

64. MOTHER AND CHILD

Bronze
H: 6.4 cm
Allegedly from the Cyclades
Sub-Mycenaean/Proto-Geometric?
1150-1000 B.C.?

Solid-cast by the lost wax process with a few details added in the cold.
Condition: the lower part of the head pierced from side to side for suspension. On top of the head a smaller hole which has no purpose and which originally may have been begun to serve as a mode of suspension. Somewhat weathered; emerald green patina with traces of metal coming through on the left leg and, to a lesser extent, on the right leg where scraped.

This pendant or amulet is unique and poses problems, since there are no valid comparisons; we know of no bronze statuettes from the Cyclades from the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. There is, however, some similarity with Mycenaean terracottas of the Late Helladic period (1400-1150 B.C.): for instance, the terracotta statuette of a Kourotrophos seated on a throne in the Louvre (1?, its legs apart as on our example, and bearing a choker indicated by parallel painted lines, where our bronze has the lines engraved. Mycenaean heads usually have pointed faces, though round heads are found.
However, foremost is the similarity with the plasticity of the arms of Mycenaean terracotta Kourotrophos statuettes, and the way the child is held or applied to the bosom of the mother, as though the arms and other parts were strips of wax; one can almost feel the wet clay being applied. See the terracotta Kourotrophos with two

babies from Mycenae (2) and this catalogue no. 63.
In the case of the bronze there are differences, which point to a more advanced evolution, such as the fingers on the mother's left hand (for a Mycenaean comparison, see a female idol with her right hand holding her breast (3)), the left foot of the child and a greater feeling for three-dimensional volume, in addition to which there are differences due to the medium.
The likeliest placing for our pendant with its Mycenaean reminiscences is in a transitional period between Mycenaean and Geometric.
As to the region where it was made, it could be the Greek mainland, the Cyclades, or Crete.

Exhibited and Published:
Ancient Art, 25, cat. no. 128, pl. 33; Eckstein, F., Gnomon 31 (1959) 644; Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 13, 112, cat. no. I.10, ill.; Eckstein, F., Gnomon 33 (1961), 402; Coming of Ag in Ancient Greece, 225, cat. no.22.

1) CA 1872: Mollard-Besques, S., Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques et romains. I Epoques préhellénique, géométrique, archaïque et classique (Paris, 1954) 1-2, A3, pl. I.
2) Athens, National Museum 2493: Das mykenische Hellas - Heimat der Helden Homers (Berlin, 1988) 190-191, no. 165.
3) Nauplion, Archaeological Museum 15001: loc. cit. (footnote 2) 192-193, no. 167.

65. RHYTON

Terracotta
H: 45 cm
Provenance: no indication; Greece or Asia Minor?
Late Mycenaean III A
1400-1300 B.C.

The whole upper part of the vessel was turned on the wheel, the lower part hand-modelled. The loop handle was made separately and affixed. Parts smoothed.
Condition: chamois colour clay inside with a reddish hue outside. Rust-coloured painted decoration of wide parallel horizontal bands interspersed with thin rings; the upper part figuring stylized papyrus flowers separated by four horizontal bands.

The high conical rhyton with its loop handle and pierced rounded tip served as a funnel. Both its shape and decoration are typical of the 14th century B.C. The form derives from Late Minoan prototypes and like them, our vessel was used either in religious functions or domestically (1).

1) H. Hoffmann informed us in a letter (14 May 1994) that there is disagreement among scholars. He mentions that the arguments by Koehl, Platon, Cadogan and Säflund for "domestic" versus "ritual" use are summarized in Hägg, R. and Marinatos, N. (eds), Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age (Lund, 1981) 187 ff.

66. THREE THRONES

Terracotta
H: a. 8 cm; b. 7 cm; c. 8.2 cm
Provenance: no indication; Greece?
Late Mycenaean III
1400-1200/1150 B.C.

Modelled with the help of a spatula-like instrument. Parts smoothed with the help of a brush.
Condition: example a, chamois colour clay with rust-red painted linear and wavy linear decoration; the left front leg a modern restoration.
Example b, chamois colour clay, with painted linear-curvilinear decoration in dark brown to rust-red with slight chipping to the upright on right side. For colour of paint and technique, compare the rhyton in the shape of a pig in Athens (1).
Example c, chamois colour clay with a reddish hue, painted rust-red decoration impressionistic and imaginative. For brushwork, compare the throne from the Argive Heraeum (2).

For the purpose, see remarks cat. no. 63.
The three-legged nature of our thrones (3) is a further indication that the Mycenaeans most likely gave religious meaning to the objects that accompanied the deceased in their tombs (4).
On example c, the top of the backrest looks like a stylization of bull's horns which continue the upper painted decoration. And what appears to be a small building with a pointed roof, painted on example a, may be a shrine, indicating that these are cult objects.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 80A-C, ill.

Mentioned:
Amandry, P., Sièges mycéniens tripodes et trépied pythique, in: Mélanges Mylonas (Athens, 1986) 167 ff., 174, nos. 73-75 (no. 73: Art Antique no. 80A, here no. 66b; no. 74: Art Antique no. 80B, here no. 66c; no. 75: Art Antique no. 80C, here no. 66a).

1) National Museum 6878: Das mykenische Hellas - Heimat der Helden Homers (Berlin, 1988) 224-225, no. 214.
) Athens, National Museum: Higgins, R.A., Greek Terracottas (London, 1967), xviii, pl. 4C.
3) For a complete discussion and up-to-date bibliography see P. Amandry, “Sièges mycéniens tripodes et trépied pythique”.
4) Mylonas, G.E., “Seated and multiple Mycenaean figurines”, in: Studies presented to Hetty Goldman (New York, 1956) 118 ff.; Kranz, P., “Frühgriechische Sitzfiguren. Zum Problem der Typenbildung und des orientalischen Einflusses in der frühgriechischen Rundplastik”, AM 87 (1972) 49.

67. TURTLE?

Terracotta
H: 5.1 cm
Provenance: no indication; Greece?
Late Mycenaean III
1400-1200/1150 B.C.

Fashioned by hand of clay with some use of a spatula-like instrument. Some of the surface smoothed with the help of a brush.
Condition: chamois colour clay with slight reddish hue on flat top, painted, decoration of lines, curves and circles in rust-red.

For the purpose, see remarks cat. no. 63.
The identification is most hypothetical.
Its three legs relate it (symbolically?) to three-legged thrones, which might indicate a religious purpose (1); but also its flat top would be appropriate for a table or altar.

1) Mylonas, G.E., “Seated and multiple Mycenaean figurines”, in: Studies presented to Hetty Goldman (New York, 1956) 118 ff.

68. BIRD

Terracotta
H: 6.7 cm
Provenance: no indication; Greece?
Late Mycenaean III
1400-1200/1150 B.C.

Fashioned by hand of clay with some use of a spatula-like instrument. Some of the surface smoothed with the help of a brush.
Condition: buff colour clay with painted decoration of broad strips and dots in dark brown. The left leg a modern restoration.

For the purpose, see remarks cat. nos. 63 and 67.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 82, ill.

69. MALE VOTARY

Bronze
H: 13.95 cm
Allegedly from Palaepaphos
Late Bronze Age, Late Cypriot II (c. 1475 - 1200)?
c. 13th century B.C. (within LC IIc)

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, hammered and cold-worked.
Condition: patina brownish metal with traces of green and spotted throughout with red cuprite deposits; traces of brown earth and in the crevices of the arms and legs slight remains of the mould. Toes on left foot missing.

This unique bronze, a votive statuette, stands like a child in front of a severe parent.
The figure is fairly flat, salient features are: the two knobs above the forehead, like incipient horns, reminding us of the famous "horned Apollo" from Enkomi (1) of later date and of Oriental influence, though our figurine is indigenous; what appears to be a flattened bun of hair on the back of the head; the eyes, circled holes in a face of triangular section; the nipples and the navel expressed as slightly marked uneven depressions; the genitals rudimentarily shaped; the hands with three grooves each, indicating four fingers; the feet, a prolongation of the legs, hammered to thin, flat toes which are indicated by engraved lines.
Some features are to be found in Cypriot terracottas - though these almost all represent female idols - and certain of them hark back to the first half of the 2nd millennium, which prompts attribution to a local tradition.
The flatness of the body must find its distant origins in the abstract plank-like idols of Red Polished ware of Early Bronze Age III. For

the shape of the ears, the engraved hands and incipient outline of the body, we have at the end of Early Bronze Age III a human figure in New York (2). The tradition of the body finds a more evolved example in a bearded male idol (3) of the Middle Bronze Age.

For a closer parallel, though of a female (hollow and in the round), there is the figure (4) of Late Bronze Age II featuring the same arch of the eyebrows, mouth slit, long neck (all the earlier examples also have long necks) and, most importantly, the tapering legs, somewhat faceted, pressed together, with grooved toes, as are the fingers of the hands. The same features are to be found on other examples (5).

Comparable also for certain traits and spirit are two Kourotrophoi (6) of Late Bronze Age II. And there is another parallel, especially for arms and hands in the same position as our statuette (7).

The particular manner in which the line separating the legs is grooved, as well as those between the arms and body, finds its parallel on the groove between the legs of many of the terracotta comparisons; it is obvious that our bronze sculptor was highly influenced by, if not directly working in a terracotta tradition.

A terracotta group of a bull and man from a tomb at Kazaphani (8) of Late Bronze Age II, is comparable mainly for the shape and feel of the plank-like body.

The figure should be a votary, which means that the two knobs above the forehead are stylized tufts of hair; for if these were incipient horns, our figure would represent a god, and in view of his small size, probably from a household shrine.

1) Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 19 (1948): Karageorghis, V., The Civilization of Prehistoric Cyprus (New York/London, 1983) 207, no. 175.
2) Metropolitan Museum 74.51.1544: Karageorghis, V., op. cit., 130, no. 100.
3) Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 2028/1 from Nicosia-Hagia Paraskevi: Karageorghis, V., op. cit., 116, no. 83.
4) Larnaca, Pierides Foundation, H: 22.5 cm: Karageorghis, V., op. cit., 192-193, no. 157.
5) Avgorou & Chatos, Coll. Hadjiprodromou 1333, 1334, 355, 1335: Karageorghis, J., La grande déesse de Chypre et son culte (Paris, 1977), pl. 19a.
6) Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 1944/IX-8/8, 1934/IV-27/23: Karageorghis, V., op. cit., 194-195, nos. 160-161.
7) E.g., Aström, L., Studies on the Arts and the Crafts of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age (Lund, 1967), no. 3, pl. 57.
8) Nicosia, Cyprus Museum CS 1829: Karageorghis, V., op. cit., 196, no. 162.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1968-1969
Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 77, ill.

EUROPEAN BRONZE AGE

The Bronze Age, evolving out of the preceding Chalcolithic period, is a fascinating moment of evolution with important economic and social changes as metallurgy develops, while stone implements are still being used and made.

Mining expands with ensuing contacts and commercialization; fire is mastered and a new class of metalworkers emerges. Most of the production is composed of tools and weapons such as celts, axes, spearheads, daggers and swords; personal ornaments such as bracelets, fibulas, torques are also made in considerable quantity.
Parallel with the above, gold was sought after and beautifully fashioned, in part to answer the demands of a new warrior aristocracy.

The Bronze Age smith was particularly sensitive to line and form as exemplified by his production. We are fortunate in having here two superlatively successful examples, one in gold and one in bronze.

The chronology of this period is somewhat in flux and arbitrary, though many dates are based on sound contexts from excavation. The divisions between the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age differ according to countries and schools of thought. Thus, we have adopted the French chronological table by R. Joffroy for the gold armlet (cat. no. 70) and the Hungarian one for the bronze arm-guard (cat. no. 71).

70. ARMLET

Gold
Weight: 611.37 g. L. of trumpet-shaped elements: 11.36 cm; 11.5 cm
Found in the Charente Maritime, France
Middle Bronze Age
1500-1250 B.C.

The gold spiral (1) itself in all likelihood made by moulding, stretching and hammering; it terminates in trumpet-shaped elements, probably cast, which were affixed to the end of the spiral by hammering. At the join a notched circle in relief serves both to hide it, and as a decorative element.
Annealing was used throughout the production process.
One of the elements bears a wedge-like indent which might be some sort of hallmark or workshop signature.

Such gold arm bracelets have been found over a vast region from Ireland and the Atlantic Coast to Iberia and as far east as the Carpathian Mountains. Though more numerous in Ireland, Scotland, England and to a lesser extent Spain, there are a few examples from France such as the one from Ille-et-Vilaine in the Cluny Museum (2), though the spiral is twisted. They were produced for religious reasons and/or social prestige and the gold was no doubt often obtained by trading in wheat.
This example is outstanding for its volume and purity of line.

1) Approximate L. coiled: 13.7 cm, uncoiled: 149.5 cm. (from upper end to upper end of trumpet elements along inside of coils).
2) Déchelette, J., Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique et celtique. 2. Age du Bronze (Repr. Paris, 1987) 355, fig. 140.2.

71. ARM-GUARD

Bronze
Diam. spiral: 17.5 cm (1)
Central Europe, probably Hungary
Transitional Middle to Late Bronze Age
c. 1300 B.C. (Koszider Period)

Ex collection:
Pfeffer
Dr. Samuel Egger, Vienna
John Ball?
S.E. Lucas
John Hewett
Lord McAlpine of West Green

Made probably with the use of moulds but mainly by repeated hammering with annealing, the section joining the spiral to the armring is chased with parallel lines, hatched triangles and chevron designs. The ridge of some of the spirals is decorated with nicks. In the centre of the spiral is a moveable circular plate with a central conical projection made separately and affixed at the back with a small cross-piece.
Condition: patina a dark to lighter green olive, traces of deposit and some yellowish stains.

The guard was made for the left arm and was obviously originally one of a pair. For very close parallels there are some examples in the London Egger sale (2), found in Hungary, a pair that would appear to have similar decoration from Berkesz in Hungary (3) and, another (4) from the same find. They were massive, flexible and sturdy; their execution a technical feat for the period.

Though variously described as wrist-guards or arm-guards, it is unlikely that they could be the former, though conceivable as elbow-guards, however impractical - we prefer to think of them as shoulder-guards as their construction would seem more suited to this purpose.

On view: Hertfordshire County Museum, St. Albans

Published:
MacGregor, A. (ed.), Antiquities from Europe and the Near East in the Collection of The Lord McAlpine of West Green (Oxford, 1987) 94, no. 8.7.

1) Measurement taken across centre from outer edge to outer edge (including outer loop slightly detached).
2) Sotheby, Wilkinson, Hodge, 25 June 1891, lots 140, 141.
3) Mozsolics, A., Bronzefunde aus Ungarn (Budapest, 1985), pl. 178.1+2.
4) Mozsolics, A., op. cit., pl. 179.1-2.

72. AMPHORA

Terracotta
H: 76.5 cm
Provenance: no indication
Corinthian
Middle Geometric II. First half of the 8th century B.C.

A neck amphora with broad lip, on short, slightly conical foot, of pale Corinthian clay decorated with paint that has fired red, reddish-brown and brown-black; the double handles in the shape of stylized horns moulded separately and applied obliquely just above the largest circumference.
Condition: a few minor chips, most of the paint worn off from about one sixth of the body on a section from the centre of one handle towards the back where the paint is somewhat faded.

Painted decoration: on the neck a meander between two strips of verticals with "double axes".
Similar strips border the main frieze which consists on either side of the pot of three metopes of concentric circles with centre stars, the four corners decorated with dot rosettes, the two lower ones linked by a line of dots. The divides are vertical triple lines with hatching. Under the neck - a line of dots bordered by two lines; on the lower body down to the foot - reserved bands with double lines.
There is a very similar pot, though Attic, somewhat more sophisticated and less well turned, without such a broad lip and with lower body more elongated and slightly less spherical (1).

1) Early Art in Greece. The Cycladic, Minoan, Mycenaean and Geometric Periods, 3000-700 B.C. Münzen & Medaillen A.G., Basel; André Emmerich Gallery, Inc. (New York, 1965), cat. no. 108, pp. 37, 38 ill.

73. STANDING FIGURE

Bronze
H: 7.1 cm
Allegedly from Olympia
Laconian
Severe-Ripe Geometric. 850-750 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process with finishing touches added in the cold: punching for the eyes, hammering for the hands and chiselling for the fingers.
Condition: the patina a mottled greenish-black on a somewhat grainy surface; a large patch of greenish hardened copper chloride on the outer-underside of the right foot. The lower right leg and foot distorted.

The statuette is Laconian mainly on account of the flat broad hammered hands with the clearly marked fingers. This characteristic is to be found on the best comparison, the upper part of a bronze figurine found in Olympia (1) and on another rustic figure from Sparta (2). Similar large hands with cut-out fingers are to be seen on some Geometric pottery fragments from the Amyklaion (near Sparta) (3).
The date of this unique figurine with its lovely flowing line that curves from the top of the head down to the heel of the left foot is open to question.
There is no doubt that the contortion was deliberately created by the artist notwithstanding the distortion to the lower right leg and foot; the position of the arms is original.
It has been variously dated: to c. 900 B.C., applying Kaulen's hypothetical assessment of the characteristics of sculptural

development to our statuette, which he discusses; or to the 9th century B.C., Early-Severe Geometric (Demargne); and by the writer, following Demargne, to anywhere between 900 and the early 8th century B.C. (Hommes et Dieux).
The comparison in bronze from Olympia has been dated to the first half of the 8th century (4).
As there are no sexual features although male statuettes always seem to be sexually differentiated, even if only summarily, our figure could be a young girl.
This votive offering, full of intensity and vivacious in movement, thus represents a mortal, possibly dancing.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1967-1968

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 127, 128, cat. no. I 48, ill.; Hommes et Dieux, 202-203, cat. no. 122, ill.
Published:
Demargne, P.: Naissance de l'Art Grec. Univers des Formes (Paris, 1964) 306, 445, fig. 398-399, ill.; Kaulen, G., Die Stilphasen der geometrischen Kunst in Keramik und Plastik (Cologne, 1962) 15, 29 n. 24.
See: Langdon, S., Art, Religion, and Society in the Greek Geometric Period: Bronze Anthropomorphic Votive Figurines (Diss. Indiana Univ. 1984) 321, C187.

1) Kunze, E., OB 4 (1940) pl. 32.3.
2) Lamb, W., BSA 28 (1926-27) pl. 8.1.
3) Buschor E. and von Massow, W., AM 52 (1927) pl. 4. This reference kindly brought to our attention by J.-L. Zimmermann who confirmed that the large hands were a characteristic of the Laconian school at this time but added that they were not a chronological factor.
4) According to J.-L. Zimmermann in a verbal communication.

74. SEATED FIGURE ON BASE

Bronze
H: 3.47 cm. Base: 2.18 x 1.5 cm
Provenance: no indication
Peloponnesian
Late Geometric. 750-700 B.C.

Ex collection:
Capt. E.G. Spencer-Churchill

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, some working in the cold: the hollow eyes (formerly inlaid), the wedge-shaped left ear, the slit of the mouth. Also, a coarse volcano-like pit (diam. c. 5 mm) made at the place of the right ear, filled with metal (there are traces of soldering), and a very small similar incrustation at the base of the right hip probably served to affix a small chain, surely transformations indicating that later our figure was worn as a pendant.
Condition: patina green black and smooth, possibly from wear and repeated fondling as an amulet or pendant; but slightly mottled, pitted and bright green in a few places. The front, inside of the body left rough.

This ithyphallic figure is more probably a monkey than a man wearing a simian mask, notwithstanding the wide sash around his midriff. He holds something to his mouth, probably some sort of fruit unless it be a cup from which he drinks.
A definite attribution to a workshop is difficult. His very long drawn-up legs and somewhat shorter arms are very fluid and though limbs of similar feeling are to be found on later objects from Thessaly (1), he is definitely, on account of his plastic density and superior execution, not to mention the carefully worked base, Peloponnesian. The base plate is incised on its edge with a line, clearly visible on the front,

back and still on the right side though worn; it has completely disappeared from the left. The underneath (2) is divided lengthwise by a central line, on either side an undulating line and hollow interstices.

Few comparisons are convincing as the finest examples (3) are highly individualistic. A parallel is to be drawn with a statuette (4), unfortunately of unknown provenance, like our statue very naturalistic though rather coarse.

The school or workshop that produced him was in Argos, Tegea, Sparta, or possibly, a Laconian workshop in Olympia. However - in spite of features in favour of Tegea (see footnotes 2 and 3, the figure's head of somewhat similar shape, and the manner in which the waistline flows into the hips and buttocks, the left leg, etc.) - we think that our figure belongs to Sparta, for the undulating lines under the base, found under Laconian horses, but most especially for the way the hipline with a broadening of the pelvis flows into the buttocks and curves up into the legs (see footnote 3).

For the meaning of our figure we agree with Susan Langdon (5).

Derived from the East, the figure of the monkey amused and stirred the imagination of the Greeks, who created their version with an intentional ambiguity which leaves us often perplexed as to the exact identity of the statuettes. Satisfying the Greeks' sense of bawdy humour, in essence representing man, such figures combined "eroticism, fertility and regeneration". They were at first dedicated as votives, and later adopted as talismans, when they were worn as pendants (6), as exemplified by this figure.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1967-1968

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 104, ill.
Hommes et Dieux, 203-205, cat. no. 124, ill.
Published:
Langdon, S., “From Monkey to Man: The Evolution of a Geometric Sculptural Type”, AJA 94 (1990) 411, no. 11.
Mentioned:

Boardman, J. and Vollenweider, M.-L., Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger Rings I. Greek and Etruscan, Ashmolean Museum (Oxford, 1978) 2; Hiller, F., “Zur Form der spätgeometrischen Plastik”, JdI 94 (1979) 26, n. 1; Kozloff, A.P., Mitten, D.G., et al., The Gods Delight. The Human Fig ure in Classical Bronze (Cleveland, 1988) 50-51; Langdon, S.(ed.), From Pasture to Polis. Art in the Age of Homer (Columbia, 1993) 207.

See: Langdon, S., Art, Religion, and Society in the Greek Geometric Period: Bronze Anthropomorphic Votive Figurines (Diss. Indiana Univ. 1984) 138, 323, C201.

1) E.g. a bronze figurine from Kozani, BCH 85 (1961) 777 ff., fig. 8-9.
2) For an almost identical pattern see the underside of the base of a stag, Tegea Museum 338: Dugas, Ch.: BCH 45 (1921) 347, no. 13, fig. 7.
3) From the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Sparta Museum 2155: Dawkins, R.M., The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (London, 1929) 197, pl. 77a; from the sanctuary of Athena Alea, Tegea Museum 329: Dugas, Ch., op. cit., 354-355, no. 52, fig. 17; reputedly from the Alpheios Valley, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 54.789: Kent Hill, D., Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in The Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1949) 77, no. 167, pl. 36; from Eretria, Eretria Museum 9929: Langdon, S., AJA 94 (1990) 409, 410, no. 5, fig. 5.
4) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1936.608: Jantzen, U., AA 67-68 (1952-53) 64, fig.10, 67 no. 7; it surmounted a pendant composed of a shaft with outgrowing knobs and is to be placed among the earliest types of this huge series of objects found in Northern Greece and elsewhere that certainly hark back to a Peloponnesian prototype similar to our figure. Stylistically, this is confirmed as both the figurine and the knobbed shaft evolve within the series from a full plasticity towards a flat cut-out angularity, almost an abstraction of the prototype.
5) Langdon, S., AJA 94 (1990) 422 ff.
6) Probably from the belt, as were wont to be the knobbed shaft pendants.

75. PYXIS

Terracotta
H: 18.3 cm
Allegedly from the Kerameikos
Attic Middle Geometric II (1)
800-760 B.C.

Ex collection:
English private collection

The roundish body of our pyxis with its flat bottom was turned on the wheel. The relatively flat lid and its ribbed knob were likewise turned on the wheel and then joined. The visible parts of the pale clay vessel were painted brown-black before firing. The flat inner lip of the vessel and the edge of the lid are each pierced with four holes (two on each side) by which the lid was tied on and the whole possibly hung.
Condition: superlative, a very slight abrasion to the rim of the bowl and a few nicks on bowl and lid.
Very slight wear to the paint in two or three places and a small brown stain.

The painted decoration is a variety of geometric motifs and running around the circumference of the bowl is a large hatched meander.
Pyxides made of various materials - most commonly no doubt of wood, the largest extant ones of terracotta - were employed as containers in daily life for precious objects. Often dedicated as funerary offerings they usually accompanied women - and in the Geometric period also men - to their graves.

On view: Archaeological Institute, University of Zürich: 1962-1971

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 116, ill.

1) J.N. Coldstream, on a visit on 8 September 1993, kindly gave us this dating which we have adopted. In the Russian catalogue it appeared as Attic Geometric, 760-750 B.C.

76. MARE ON SOLID BASE (foal missing)

Bronze
H: 9.6 cm. Base: 7.35 x 5.37 cm
Provenance: no indication
Argive
Late Geometric I. Third quarter of the 8th century B.C.

Ex collection:
L. Walinet

Solid-cast by the lost wax process; the main entry for the metal was probably the breast point between the shoulders. Surface filed and polished in the cold.
Condition: dark olive green patina, a little brown metal showing through, and traces of brown earth deposits.
Right front leg bent back and cracked below the hock; tail broken, upper and lower part bent forward between hind legs. Visible where the right thigh meets the trunk is a protuberance, the remains of what must have been the teat of the mare and the tip of the muzzle of the foal.
Foal missing with traces of his four legs on base and lower end of his tail bent down.

A votive offering probably for the purpose of pleasing the gods in the hope that they render breeding more fertile or in gratitude for past bounty.
Unquestionably Peloponnesian and almost certainly Argive, now placed by Zimmermann in his Lousoi-Olympia Argive group (1).
Nice comparisons illustrated on Argive Geometric pottery are on a tripod-amphora from Argos (2) and a kantharos from Mycenae (3) - both dated Late Geometric II by Coldstream (4) - for plastic feeling and volume, curves of chest, for stance of horse (especially front

legs) and head; and a pyxis (5) - dated Late Geometric I by Coldstream (6) - also for the stance of the horse and for a leaf placed at the same angle between the fore- and hind legs as the foal would have been in this group. We are uncertain as to whether the leaf has a meaning beyond the decorative function of filling a space, but do not think it is a coincidence that it is placed in the same diagonal in respect to the mare as are foals in groups such as ours. The mare illustrates typical Argive characteristics such as long legs, tall flat neck and flat mane, and high rounded rump. She is more vivacious and lifelike than her somewhat schematic Laconian counterparts. Her modelling throughout is truly three-dimensional, the rendering of her ears is typical and her hocks are marked - all traits of Argive production at its best during this period.

The base is decorated underneath with a meander, consisting of rather deeply incised wide flat lines, a motif and execution that are fairly common in contemporary Argive works (7).

We visualize a mare in a field suddenly coming to a halt, front legs outstretched, as her foal approaches to suckle. Her head slightly tilts and we sense her looking at her offspring with tenderness. In addition to the group being a votive and a statement of desired stock fertility, we interpret the scene as an expression of maternal love which, at such an early stage of the development of Greek art, notwithstanding the servitudes of geometric stylization, would be a truly moving achievement.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1967-1968

Exhibited and Published:
Primitive to Picasso, 18, 94, cat. no. 9, ill.
Art Antique, cat. no. 102, ill.
Published:
Zimmermann, J.-L., Les chevaux de bronze dans l'art géométrique grec (Mainz, 1989) 24, no. Arg 71, pl. 4.
Mentioned:
Boardman, J. and Vollenweider, M.-L., Catalogue of Engraved Gems and Finger Rings I. Greek and Etruscan, Ashmolean Museum (Oxford, 1978) 2; Heilmeyer, W.-D., Frühe Olympische Bronzefiguren, OF 12 (1979) 106, n. 144; Hiller, F., Zur Form der spätgeometrischen Plastik, JdI 94 (1979) 28, n. 25; Fairley, J., The Art of the Horse (New York, London and Paris, 1995) 28, 32, col. ill.

See: Spier, J., Minor Arts and regional styles in East Greece, 700-500 B.C. (Diss. Oxford Univ. 1987) 13.

1) Zimmermann, J.-L., Les chevaux de bronze dans l'art géométrique grec, 36 ff. Such groups have been found in Lousoi, Arcadia (Weber, M., “Eine arkadisch-geometrische Bronzegruppe”, StädelJb, N.F. 1 <1967> 7 ff.), Olympia, Elis (Heilmeyer, W.-D., OF 12 (1979) 105 ff.) and elsewhere, attributed to Argos.
2) Nauplion Museum 10006: Coldstream, J.N., Greek Geometric Pottery (London, 1968) 134-135, pl. 28d.
3) Nauplion Museum 1915: Coldstream, J.N., op. cit., 138, pl. 29f.
4) Coldstream, J.N., op. cit., 134 ff.
5) Nauplion Museum: Coldstream, J.N., op. cit., pl. 30c.
6) Coldstream, J.N., op. cit., 142.
) Cf. two stone seals from the Argive Heraeum, see Waldstein, C., The Argive Heraeum II (Boston/New York, 1905) 348, nos. 26, 30, pl. 138.
Cf. bronze bases Eretria 9930, Zimmermann, J.-L., op. cit., 23-24, Arg 70, Swiss art market attributed to Heraeum of Argos (?), Athens, National Museum 15338, 7647 and others, see Zimmermann, J.-L., op. cit.

77. HORSE ON OPENWORK BASE

Bronze
H: 7.35 cm. Base: 5 x 2.9 cm
Provenance: no indication
Laconian
Late Geometric I. c. 730 B.C.

Ex collection:
Vladimir G. Simkhovitch

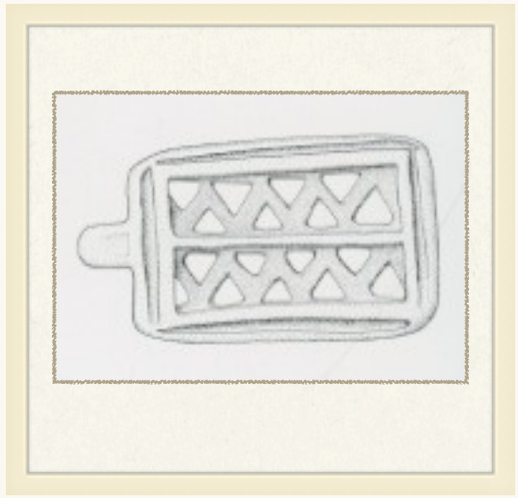
Solid-cast by the lost wax process; from wax modelled and sculpted; the casting done with the main entry for the metal being the muzzle, with traces of a subsidiary entry or air vent at the point of his breast between the shoulders. Surface filed and polished in the cold.
Condition: patina mottled medal brown and black; right foreleg bent in and broken above the fetlock. Some wear - the muzzle ring groove and ear grooves as well as the once serrated edge of the mane are almost completely worn away. The middle of the base slightly bent.

A votive offering dedicated in a sanctuary to curry the favour of the gods or to exhibit power and social rank.
The horse was par excellence a symbol of the aristocracy and of their status, justified by courage and war-like prowess at a time when their code of honour and pursuit of arete (excellence) were in keeping with the mores of the Homeric poems.
The horse was also the finest artistic expression of all Geometric zoomorphic creations. Usually larger than most other animal representations, he condenses by and in his forms the essence of horsiness in the Platonic sense.

Definitely Laconian, he is a good example of this school: the high legs, the very short and cylindrical body, the long head resting on a short, powerful neck and, most characteristic of all, the rectangular base (often with openwork triangles) with its prolongation for the tail (1). It also conforms to the usual Laconian casting technique.
There are numerous parallels with minor variants for both the horse and the base (2). The affinity between Zimmermann's Lac 92, 94 (the present example), 58 and most especially the animal part of the centaur, his Lac 60, could indicate a common workshop.

Exhibited and Published:
Gods and Mortals, 83, cat. no. 56, ill.
Picasso und die Mythen, 212, 253, cat. no. 146, col. ill.
Published:
Zimmermann, J.-L., Les chevaux de bronze dans l'art géométrique grec (Mainz, 1989) 129, no. Lac 94, pl. 30.

1) Herrmann, H.-V., “Werkstätten geometrischer Bronzeplastik”, JdI 79 (1964); Zimmermann, J.-L., Les chevaux de bronze dans l'art géométrique grec, 167.
2) For close comparisons, Zimmermann, J.-L., op. cit., 128-129, Lac 92 (private collection, Switzerland) of uncertain provenance; for body and base, Olympia B 3003; for the base, Munich 3734, also of uncertain provenance; for almost identical hindquarters, the centaur in New York, Metropolitan Museum 17.190.2072.



78. DOE ON OPENWORK BASE

Bronze
H: 6.2 cm. Base: 3.6 x 2.8 cm
Provenance: no indication
Sparta or Tegea
Transition Late Geometric I-II. c. 725 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process. Probably a wax block carved out - sculpted and the casting done with the main entry for the metal being the muzzle, with possible traces of a subsidiary entry or air vent at the point of her breast between the shoulders. A burr on the back upper part of right foreleg and beneath tail. The neck and back to the rump striated lengthwise; surface filed and polished in the cold. A very thin sheet of metal added and annealed to the upper part of the base after the original cast to fill the triangular interstices, of which parts remain.
Condition: patina very dark green with traces of metal on end of muzzle and tips of ears. Back left corner and right side of base missing due to imperfect flow or shortage of metal while casting.

Some thirty years ago the writer ascribed the doe to Boeotia, probably on account of its extreme elegance, and in view of the delicacy of certain Boeotian works such as the famous "deer and fawn" from the Cabirion of Thebes (1). Central Greece is not to be wholly excluded but, if so, Locris is to be preferred (obviously strongly influenced by neighbouring Boeotia).
Sparta or Tegea seem the prime possibilities. In favour of Sparta is the casting technique, the stand (2), the profile of the opening between the fore- and hind legs (3). There are two comparisons for the outline of the opening between the front legs and a similar plastic feeling in two horses ascribed to Sparta by Zimmermann (4).

A parallel in Baltimore (5) is from the same school as ours, with the same base but without addition of thin sheet metal on top, with identical body stance though less refined and elegant than our doe and with head and neck in less stylized posture.
However, in favour of Tegea is the probably considerable quantity of deer in the Arcadian mountains as well as the historical predilection of the Arcadians towards the doe since she appears in several of their legends (6).
A doe (7) from the sanctuary of Athena Alea, though incomplete, and as far as we can see from the reproduction, conveys a similar mood through a certain fluidity and the bearing of the head. Also, a technical detail is worthy of note: its neck is described by Dugas as not being cylindrical but worked lengthwise in six more or less contrasting planes. This bears a relation with the far more subtle working on the neck of our example. A sort of faceting which would be in keeping with working in hard wax.
From the same sanctuary are several representations of stags (8).
She is vibrant with naturalism though highly stylized and expresses exactly the spirit of her living counterpart in nature: a doe at dawn reaching the edge of a forest and suddenly stopping, her head alert, her ears pricked up, as her inner instincts apprehend the possibility of danger.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 129, 131, cat. no. I 62, ill.

1) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, H.L. Pierce Fund 98.650: Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., Greek, Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Boston, 1971) 5, no. 3. We named the artist "Master of the Boston Deer and Fawn" and attached a few works to him; this was communicated verbally to Prof. David Gordon Mitten, suggesting that with a little research, the group could be enlarged. This he did, publishing six figurines in BMFA 65 (1967) 14, n. 26; taken up by H. Hoffmann (Ten Centuries that shaped the West <Houston, 1970> 148); and now, the subject of an article by J.-L. Zimmermann, “Bronziers béotiens et cervidés géométriques”, Quad. ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche 19 (1990) 10 ff.

2) Cf. Sparta 2216, identical: Zimmermann, J.-L., Les chevaux de bronze dans l'art géométrique grec (Mainz, 1989) 130, Lac 106; Paris, Cabinet des Médailles B 69311, from Olympia: Zimmermann, J.-L., op. cit., 131, Lac 124, central division different, a wavy line.
3) Sparta 2216, Zimmermann, J.-L., op. cit., 130, Lac 111; Athens, National Museum 6555, Zimmermann, J.-L., op. cit., 135, Lac 167, also for similar front profile line from top of neck to stand.
4) Zimmermann, J.-L., op. cit., 131, Lac 123, Lac 124.
5) Walters Art Gallery 54.2382: Kent Hill, D., AJA 59 (1955) 40 pl. 29, fig. 4-5, here called a fawn but without attribution to a definite school.
6) Dugas, Ch., “Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée”, BCH 45 (1921) 346 ff. for Apollodorus and Pausanias.
7) Dugas, Ch., op. cit., 347, 365, no. 17, fig. 19.
8) Dugas, Ch., op. cit., 346 ff.

79. FEMALE FIGURE SEATED ON BENCH

Bronze
H: 7.2 cm. L. bench: 8.1 cm
Provenance: no indication
Thessaly or Macedonia?
End of the 8th century B.C.

Ex collection:
Vladimir G. Simkhovitch

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, worked in the cold and polished.
Condition: patina greyish green to dark green with light green incrustations, traces of reddish cuprite and reddish brown metal showing through here and there.
Eye inlays missing. Grooves on middle of back of head indicating hair strands worn away. Tips of bench ends abraded; loops of "snakes" missing as well as sphere and extended lower part of pendant. Her feet also missing.

We are faced with the questions: who is she, what does she represent, what was her religious or social function, what is going on?
Seated on a bench, her raised right arm blends into the ear as though the ear were her right hand; similarly, the left hand, imperceptibly outlined, rests through the dress on her left knee - both simplifications in keeping with the period. Her head surmounting a long thick neck is somewhat monkey-like with its intense expression, hollow eyes, beak-like nose, the curve of which, marked with a line for the mouth, extends to the chin at the tip of a triangular jaw. The hair, a series of longitudinal incisions, is thick over the nape as though rolled. She is clothed in a simple garment

that ends at mid-calf without any indication as to where it starts, leaving us to conjecture whether her button-like breasts are bare or not.
The bench has mysterious side-pieces (1): concave on top and pointed, an open space beneath as though a stylization derived from a recumbent quadruped with his legs drawn up under him. Between the figure and the ends, the plank of the bench is pierced by two round holes; in our opinion to enable suspension. On the underside, the end and front edges are decorated with wavy strips recalling snakes.
Below the bench is the beginning of a stand in the form of a shaft, rectangular in section, of which the continuation is missing as it flares outwards with a downward curve, clearly visible on the front and left side, into what would have been a sphere (2), hollow-cast, probably with slit openings and ending below in a small knob (see cat. no. 80), but more likely with a further section, a shaft ending on a flat circular disc (3). The figure's feet probably rested on the upper part of the sphere.
In the past the piece has been tentatively ascribed to the Peloponnese with a question mark. In favour of this are the "snakes" below the bench similar to those found on the underside of certain horse bases from Arcadia and Laconia, her long wire-like arms that bear resemblance to figures from there (4), her affinity with the monkey-man ambiguity of certain of these figures, and her quality. The last is a somewhat subjective criterion, considering her a Peloponnesian type that was later developed and adopted in Northern Greece. However, notwithstanding also the facial resemblances with such as the figure from Athena Alea in Tegea4, figures on a circular, oblong or biconical sphere seem unknown in the Peloponnese (5).
In addition there are the two "man on cage" figures from Macedonia, the one from Mavrochôri (6) which has a similar body and is in the same position with right hand to head and left to knee, and the one from Kozani (7) which has a similar body but where the position of the arms is inverted, right hand to knee and left to head. It is to be noted that all these figures from the Peloponnese and Northern Greece are males and we do not know their meaning.
In conclusion, however appealing be our female figure seated on a bench, we do not know what her gesture represents nor whether she is a divinity or a mourner. The "snakes" below the bench may suggest that she is a mourner, as they recall the wavy plastic lines on handles of small Late Attic Geometric funerary vases.
The suspension holes probably indicate that she is either a votive offering to be hung in a sanctuary or an amulet to be worn around the neck or hung from the belt.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1967-1968

Exhibited and Published:
Ancient Art, 30, cat. no. 187, pl. 57.
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 128, 127, cat. no. I 49, ill. (Eckstein, F., Gnomon 33 <1961> 402).
Hommes et Dieux, 271, cat. no. 181, ill.
Gods and Mortals, 78, 79, cat. no. 52, col. ill.
Mentioned:
Gehrig, U.L., Die geometrischen Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos (Hamburg, 1964) 21-22, n.1; Kunze, E., Kleinplastik aus Bronze, OB 8 (1967) 224, n. 24; Kranz, P., “Frühe griechische Sitzfiguren”, AM 87 (1972) 18, n. 61; Özgan, R., Untersuchungen zur archaischen Plastik Ioniens (Bonn, 1978) 19, 148, n. 44; Langdon, S. (ed.), From Pasture to Polis. Art in the Age of Homer (Columbia, 1993) 154.
See: Langdon, S.H., Art, Religion, and Society in the Greek Geometric Period: Bronze Anthropomorphic Votive Figurines (Diss., Indiana Univ. 1984) 206, 322, C192.

1) Probably used as air vents in the casting which would have been head down.
2) Usually referred to as balls or cages.
3) Kilian-Dirlmeier, I., Anhänger in Griechenland von der mykenischen bis zur spätgeometrischen Zeit, PBF XI.2 (Munich, 1979) pl. 28, fig. 542-546; Pariente, A., “Chronique des Fouilles en 1990”, BCH 115 (1991) 899-900, fig. 87.
4) Paris, Louvre Museum MND 728: de Ridder, A., Les bronzes antiques du Louvre. I. Les figurines (Paris, 1913) 19, no. 84, pl. 10, from Olympia; Tegea Museum 329: Dugas, Ch., BCH 45 (1921) 354-355, no. 52, fig. 17, from the sanctuary of Athena Alea; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 54.789: Kent Hill. D., Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1949) 77, no. 167, pl. 36, from the Alpheios Valley.

80. HORSE ON TWO OPENWORK SPHERES

Bronze
H: 9.9 cm. L: 6.7 cm
Philia? (as allegedly from the region of Karditsa) (1)
Thessalian
c. 720-690 B.C.

The model built up piecemeal in wax and the whole probably cast head down in one operation, a considerable achievement in addition to the technical difficulty presented by the two spheres. Polished in the cold and engraved, the traces of which are difficult to identify on account of ancient wear and later surface incrustation. On the neck, dot-and-circle decoration (compass-drawn?) with one such on the lower left section of the front sphere. Possibly two parallel lines across the left thigh.
Condition: a greenish black surface with limestone-like burnt brown earth incrustation, a few spots of green (carbonate?), and red cuprite.

This obviously harks back to a mannerist Corinthian prototype (2), which is also Zimmermann's assessment, either via Aetolia or directly from Corinth (3).
Probably a pendant and hung from the waist; possibly a votive hung from the branch of a tree in a sanctuary. Though its use as a rattle has been mentioned, we do not think it likely, since to our knowledge none of the openwork spheres from Central or Northern Greece have ever been found with a ball still inside.

Exhibited and Published:
Master Bronzes, 38, 39, cat. no. 20A, ill.
Published:
Bouzek, J., Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes (Prague, 1974) 74, 0: 4.
Gehrig, U.L., Die geometrischen Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos (Hamburg, 1964) 55, pl. 25.1.
Kilian-Dirlmeier, I., Anhänger in Griechenland von der mykenischen bis zur spätgeometrischen Zeit, PBF XI.2 (Munich, 1979) no. 609.
Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs (Fribourg, 1983) 62-63, no. 41, ill.
Zimmermann, J.-L., Les chevaux de bronze dans l'art géométrique grec (Mainz, 1989) 245, no. The 33, pl. 59.
Mentioned:
Rolley, Cl., Fouilles de Delphes V.2 (1969) 83, n.1; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, N., “Geometrisches Bronzepferdchen in Bonn”, AA 89 (1974) 550, n. 17; Kilian, K., Fibeln in Thessalien von der mykenischen bis zur archaischen Zeit, PBF XIV.2 (Munich, 1975) 208; id., Prähistorische Zeitschrift 50 (1975) 22, 26; Kilian-Dirlmeier, I., “Drei Kleinbronzen im J. Paul Getty Museum”, GettyMusJourn 6-7 (1978-79) 130, n. 45; Heilmeyer, W.-D., Frühe Olympische Bronzefiguren. Die Tiervotive, OF 12 (1979) 91, n. 124.

1) According to Gehrig, U., Die geometrischen Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos, 55.
2) For a discussion of schools in the Geometric period, see Herrmann, H.-V., “Werkstätten geometrischer Bronzeplastik”, JdI 79 (1964).
3) Zimmermann, J.-L., Les chevaux de bronze dans l'art géométrique grec, 253.

81. DUCK (on a pyramidal base)

Bronze
H: 4.8 cm
Provenance: no indication
Workshop undetermined
End of Late Geometric II. 715-700 B.C.

Ex collection:
A. Moretti, Lugano (received as gift from)

Solid-cast by the lost wax process with large diagonal hole for suspension from the small of the back to the front of the breast. Three herring-bone indents in front of spatula-shaped tail.
Condition: patina medal colour to dark green with bright green and red granular oxidization and traces of earth.

It is not possible to make a definite attribution to a school, though Zimmermann (1) would probably place it in his school of Phocis in Central Greece.
Kilian-Dirlmeier (2) puts this example in her "Corinthian-type" group, on account of the profile of the base, and more particularly under variant (3), for it has a rib below and three ribs above the spherical pearl. We agree with her grouping for nos. 973, 974 and 975 (the present example).
This duck might be a Peloponnesian (3) product from Sparta, Tegea or Argos, and if so, is to be dated between Late Geometric I and II, c. 725 B.C. This would be in keeping with Rolley's contention that all the types have a common Peloponnesian origin and were later

imitated in the North (4). But it is more likely to be from Central Greece (5): Phocis, Locris, Boeotia (6) or even Northern Greece, Thessaly (7), whose production often takes after Central Greek or Peloponnesian types and lasts over a longer period; in this case it would certainly not be before the end of the 8th century and possibly already in the 7th.
It could have been used as an amulet, an element of a necklace or hung from the belt, since such objects have been found in graves; if found in a sanctuary, they could have been votive offerings.

Exhibited and Published:
Das Tier in der Antike, cat. no. 151.
Published:
Kilian-Dirlmeier, I., Anhänger in Griechenland von der mykenischen bis zur spätgeometrischen Zeit, PBF XI.2 (Munich, 1979) 165, no. 975, pl. 53.

1) Zimmermann, J.-L., Oiseaux géométriques de Grèce centrale et septentrionale, Quad. ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche 17 (1988) 37-53; though recently (1 December 1990), when showing him this entry and the bird, Zimmermann, upon reflection, would ascribe it to Boeotia.
2) Kilian-Dirlmeier, I., PBF XI. 2, 1 adopts J. Bouzek's (Eirene 6 <1967> 115 ff.; 9 <1971> 89 ff.) terminology "Corinthian and Central Greek bird-type" and she goes on to say that it is conventionally applied in literature, though it does not point to the provenance of the individual bronzes, that there remain difficulties and uncertainties in establishing types determined by regions, place of production or stylistic particularities. Cl. Rolley, FdD V.2 (1969) 90 ff. refutes Bouzek's classification.
) Cf. a bird from the Argive Heraeum, Athens, National Museum 13953: Waldstein, C., Argive Heraeum II (Boston/New York, 1905), no. 40, pl. 76 though without eyes. With eyes, there are examples from Olympia, Br. 6892: Kilian-Dirlmeier, op. cit., 165, no. 971, pl. 53 (in all probability made in Sparta) and very close in feeling to ours, from Tegea, see Dugas, C., BCH 45 (1921) 350 ff., fig. 10.30 (though we cannot discern whether with or without eyes).
4) loc. cit.
) Cf. Delphi 2971: Rolley, Cl., op. cit., 84, no. 133, pl. 22.
6) For the pyramidal base and a somewhat comparable underside, see from Elateia, Athens, National Museum 14568, 14569, 14570: Kilian-Dirlmeier, op. cit., 164-165, nos. 964, 966, 970, pl. 52.
7) For a similar example though coarser, with the tail higher than the head, whereas on ours it is lower, and on a disc instead of a pyramidal base, but with identical central shaft, see from Pherai, Athens National Museum 8279: Biesantz, H., Die thessalischen Grabreliefs (Mainz, 1965) pl. 54 L 73 top right.

82. FIBULA

Bronze
L: 8 cm. H: 5.2 cm
Provenance: no indication (though probably Thessaly, possibly Pherai or Philia)
Thessalian
End of the 8th century B.C.

Cast and hammered; filed, engraved, punched and chiselled in the cold.
Condition: patina greyish green to pale green and a few spots of light green. The pin complete but broken at the hinge. A small section at the end of the upturned lower edge of the plate missing.

The fibula with catch-plate is the ancient safety pin, and as such a major improvement on the plain pin; the earliest examples go back to the Late Mycenaean period (13th-12th century B.C.) and were probably a Mycenaean invention (1); from the time of Ripe Geometric onwards, locally characterized types developed.
The catch-plate is incised with scenes:
- on the obverse a prancing horse, its body covered with engraved tremolo (2) patterns, above its back horizontally depicted a standing hunter holding two spears, the remaining surface covered with four water-birds and two lozenges; the corner above the horse's head engraved with parallel lines and a row of triangles of uncertain significance (3); the whole framed by two parallel lines followed by two opposed rows of double semi-circles with central dot on a dividing line;
- on the reverse or pin side - a lion with six huge fangs, long tongue, his body likewise covered with engraved tremolo patterns, is about

to ingurgitate the head and neck of a man, whose corpse and two spears are figured horizontally above the monster; between the latter's legs a fallen hunter lies; two water-birds and three lozenges fill the spaces; the upper left hand corner likewise engraved with oblique lines and a row of triangles; framed as on the obverse though the lower side is different because of the pin's emplacement, for here we have a double line of which the second is dotted with an outer row of double semi-circles facing inward and bordered on the exterior by a single line. The upper edge of the plate curves in, the upturned lower edge forming a groove for the pin (an explanation for the name "catch-plate") is engraved with a line of overlapping semi-circles with central dot on a single line.

The bow or stirrup is arched with at its centre a large faceted pearl flattish on the underside, and ornamented from the plate to the hinge with alternating beads and sections of four to six disc mouldings. The hinge is rhomboid in section, engraved with a line (4) on the two upper facets, attenuating as it tapers down towards the point.

The function of the catch-plate fibulae was utilitarian and decorative, they were used for woollen clothing (Herodotus V, 87) and they are found in houses, tombs and as votive offerings in sanctuaries. Small examples such as ours were made to be used, and were then often dedicated, the purpose of the very large examples was probably only votive (5).

The workshop is in all likelihood Thessalian. The type of engraving, the depictions and the framing of the scenes is different on Boeotian examples. The wide frame, the filling of all the spaces (even the bodies of horse and lion with the tremolo pattern), the features of the figures and animals, are all typical of Thessalian work (6). Though we have an example from Tegea (7) and another from Olympia (8) that bear some affinity, these are not sufficient to justify a Peloponnesian origin.

The same, in our opinion, holds true for the odd example from Elateia (Phocis) (9).

Mentioned :
Kozloff, A., “Animal Style Bronze Art and Its Closest Parallels: A Bronze Belt and Axe Head”, BClevMus 81.5 (May 1994) 125, fig. 8.

1) Blinkenberg, Chr., Fibules grecques et orientales, Lindiaka V (Copenhagen, 1926) 38 ff. P. Jacobsthal (Greek Pins, <Oxford, 1956> 1) places the beginning of the Greek pin in the Sub-Mycenaean period, not before the later 12th century B.C.

2) What the Germans call the "Tremolierstich" (A. Furtwängler, K.A. Neugebauer) and D. Kent Hill (AJA 59 < 1955> 39) the "rocking pattern".

3) Probably a stylized branch to indicate a wooded landscape if we follow D. von Bothmer (Glories of the Past. Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection <New York, 1990> 96, no. 77); however, we have the same motif on a fibula in Basel (Blome, P., “Eine mittelgriechische Plattenfibel in Basel”, AntK <1980> 117-123) and on one in Kainourgion (Kilian, K., Fibeln in Thessalien, PBF XIV.2 <Munich, 1975> 161, no. 1884, pl. 62) with four fishes incised on the plate which impede us from adopting von Bothmer's attractive hypothesis.

4) At the very beginning of the hinge the inside facet is engraved with two lines which merge into one by the second coil.

5) See for example Kilian-Dirlmeier, I., “Drei Kleinbronzen”, JPGettyMusJourn 6-7 (1978-79) 123 ff.

6) There is a group of related fibulae, Early Art in Greece. The Cycladic, Minoan, Mycenaean and Geometric Periods, 3000-700 B.C. Münzen & Medaillen, A.G. Basel; André Emmerich Gallery, Inc. (New York, 1965) 35, nos. 98-101: no. 99 for the engraving of the horse and the filling of the empty spaces and most especially no. 100, where on the obverse we have a comparable lion and the only example we have found of the row of double semi-circles with central dot on a dividing line on the other side of which face another row of double semi-circles likewise with central dot and placed in an alternating position in relation to their opposite on all four sides of the obverse of the catch-plate. There is another example with the same design on the lower border only (Megaw, A.H.S., Archaeology in Greece, Archaeological Reports for 1963-64, JHS 83-84 (1963-64) 15, fig. 15: from Philia).

7) Dugas, C., Le sanctuaire d'Athéna Aléa à Tégée, BCH 45, 1921, no. 149, p. 383 fig. 19, 43.

8) Furtwängler, A., Olympia IV (Berlin, 1890) 189, nos. 366, 366a, pl. 22.

9) Blinkenberg, Chr., op. cit., 131, 142, fig. 161, 180.

83. GROUP WITH SHEPHERD ON SOLID BASE

Bronze
H: 10.25 cm. Base: 7.95 x 6.7 cm (not including prolongation for lion's tail support)
From Pisa near Olympia (found around 1812-1816)
Probably Laconian
c. 725 B.C.

Ex collection:
André Zaïmis

Solid-cast by the lost wax process. Carefully incised, polished and worked in the cold. The edge of the base is decorated with a double parallel line and the upper edge with regular notches; the eyebrows of the shepherd notched more naturalistically, and his hair indicated by horizontal zigzag lines is delimited at the nape by notches. The eyes of the shepherd and the lion may have been inlaid.
Condition: patina olive green partly incrusted with green chloride which has caused slight damage, a little reddish earth and on the left side of the shepherd's belt and buttock reddish cuprite with traces of iron. Missing: the right forearm of the shepherd and the weapon, of which a small piece of the shaft still protrudes from the back of the lion, the tip of his tail as well as that of the dog. A fissure through the left leg of the man above the ankle and his left forearm fractured at the wrist.

A votive offering, recalling Homeric similes involving shepherds and attacking lions (1).
Peloponnesian (2) and probably Laconian as is also the bronze group found on Samos (3), a composition from the same workshop

(4).
The relationship between Olympia, Laconia, Arcadia and Argos was very close in the Late Geometric period and cross-influences obviously considerable. The earliest of the three groups, the man and centaur said to be from Olympia (5), is considered to be Laconian on account of the similarity of the body of the centaur to Laconian horses and most especially for its typical Laconian base.
There is an affinity in spirit expressed in the subject matter, the confrontation between man and beast, and in details such as the hollow eyes and the headdress of the man, not to mention the general attitude, though the whole is both sharper and more static than our group, being of earlier date.
To be noted however, is its triple belt like the one on a nude warrior found in Olympia, ascribed to Argos, of similar date around 750 B.C. (6), like that of our shepherd. But our shepherd shows an affiliation with the charioteer from Olympia in Berlin (7) and the charioteers with parts of their chariots in Olympia (8), now ascribed to Laconia (9), for the general shape of the face (though the eyes differ), the hairline over the nape, the short thighs and the ankles and feet. These last three would seem to be products of a Laconian workshop active in Olympia.
Disturbing however is what this author perceived to be an Argive-type of decoration under the stand: a labyrinth made of the same rather deeply incised wide flat lines as under the base of the Mare (cat. no. 76 n. 7). Of similar execution and spirit of design is the swastika under the group found on Samos (10). The famous bronze seal from Mersin (11) (Cilicia) with four swastikas underneath is done in a similar though less angular fashion. Since artisans worked in the same quarter, they must have taken over ideas from each other and for the present ensemble and the lion group found on Samos the Argive-type design surely adapted better to the shape of the base.
Notwithstanding the Greek debt to myths, ideas and artistic prototypes from the East, to be more precise in this case, the heroic struggle between man and beast, the swastika motif, and the headdress of the shepherd, there is no doubt that the lion groups are pure Peloponnesian products made in Olympia (12): a Laconian workshop probably produced the present group though the possibility remains that an Argive(13) workshop may have done so.
The centre of our group is the terrifying lion with his jaws and fangs. Somewhat to the side appears a shepherd (14) whose greater height indicates his mastery of the situation as he tries to save the calf. If we imagine the missing forearm and short sword, we have a more homogeneous composition that reminds one of a semi-pyramidal construction as also in the other lion group.
In spite of a certain awkwardness, a masterly artistic and technical achievement for the period.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1967-1968

Published:
Phillips Stevens, G., A small primitive bronze group of either Greek or Etruscan origin, Assoc.Intern.Studi Medit., Boll. 4, no. 6 (1934) 27 pl. 7. 2-5; Hanfmann, G., Altetruskische Plastik, I (Tübingen, 1936) 116; Gehrig, U.L., Die geometrischen Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos (Hamburg, 1964) 26 ff; Müller, P., Löwen und Mischwesen in der archaischen griechischen Kunst (Zürich, 1978) 233, no. 20; Heilmeyer, W.-D., Frühgriechische Kunst (Berlin, 1982) 47 ff., ill. 39-40; Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs (Fribourg, 1983) 58-59, 228, no. 35, 216 (base), ill; id.: La sculpture grecque. I Des origines au milieu du Ve siècle (Paris, 1994) 109-111 fig. 95.
Mentioned:
Kukahn, E., Der griechische Helm (Marburg, 1936) 13, no. 2, n. 120; Brommer, F., Herakles (Münster/Cologne, 1953) 69, n. 3; Kübler, K., Die Nekropole des 10. bis 8. Jahrhunderts, Kerameikos V.1 (1954) 179-180, n. 176, 287, n. 2; Kent Hill, D., AJA 60 (1956) 35, n. 6; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, N., Bemerkungen zur geometrischen Plastik (Berlin, 1964) 8, n. 2; Rolley, Cl., Monuments figurés. Les statuettes de bronze. Fouilles de Delphes V.2 (1969) 53, n. 4; Schweitzer, B., Greek Geometric Art (London, 1971) 151, n. 111; Hiller, F., “Zur Form der spätgeometrischen Plastik”, JdI 94 (1979) 28, n. 25; Felsch, R, “Apollon und Artemis, Kalapodi Bericht 1973-77”, AA 95 (1980) 60, n. 91; Mattusch, C., Greek Bronze Statuary (Ithaca/London, 1988) 113, n. 81; Kozloff, A.P., Mitten, D.G. et al: The Gods Delight. The Human Figure in Classical Bronze (Cleveland, 1988) 49, 51; Zimmermann, J.-L., Bronziers béotiens et cervidés géométriques, Quad. ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche XIX

(1990) 13, n. 22; Langdon, S.(ed.), From Pasture to Polis. Art in the Age of Homer (Columbia, 1993) 58.

See: Langdon, S., Art, Religion, and Society in the Greek Geometric Period : Bronze Anthropomorphic Votive Figurines (Diss. Indiana Univ. 1984) 155, 321-322, C190.

The author, pressed for time, ascribed the group with considerable emphasis to Argos, basing himself on outdated scholarship (B. Schweitzer et al.) and possibly over-emphasizing the importance of the motif on the underside of the base. We are grateful to Prof. W.-D. Heilmeyer for telling us verbally in June 1994 that the group is Laconian because fragments of unquestionably Laconian horses belonging to very similar charioteers have been found in Olympia (Heilmeyer, W.-D., OB 9 <1994> 195 ff.).

1) Homer Iliad 11, 548-555; 12, 299-306; for further references see Lonsdale, S.H., Creatures of Speech. Lion, Herding, and Hunting Similes in the Iliad (Stuttgart, 1990), part. p. 49 ff., 143. S. Lonsdale wrote to us on 8 June 1994 "... such a bronze ... dateable to 725 corroborates the impression that the Homeric epic tradition was describing realities of contemporary concern to shepherds, etc. in order to emphasize the pastoral theme of the epic."
2) Cl. Rolley (Les bronzes grecs, 58) endorsed this attribution, though dating the group in the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.
3) Schweitzer, B., Greek Geometric Art, fig. 186-187.
4) The figures of our shepherd and the shepherd or warrior of the Samos group bear striking resemblance: hollow eyes, same mouths, originally same profiles, similar build, etc. The lions' paws and claws are identical and the dogs very similar. Though the compositions are somewhat different and placed differently on the stands, both they and the designs underneath the bases are similar. For the base of the group found on Samos, see Bol, P.-C., StädelJb N.F. 10 (1985) 11 fig. 10.
5) New York, Metropolitan Museum 17.190.2072: Mertens, J.R., “Greek Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum”, BMetrMus 43.2, Fall 1985, 18-19, no. 7.
6) Olympia Museum B 4600: Kunze, E., OB VII (1961) 145 ff., pl. 60-61.
7) Antikenmuseum Ol. 3680: Neugebauer, K.A., Staatl. Museen zu Berlin. Die minoischen und archaisch-griechischen Bronzen (Berlin, 1931) 12-13, no. 15, pl. 4.
8) Olympia Museum B 1670: Kunze, E., OB 4 (1940-41) 110-111, ill. 91. Athens, National Museum 6190: Heilmeyer, W.-D., OB 10 (1981) 68 (Br. 6507), pl. 3, 3-4.
9) See above for change in attribution. Formerly ascribed to Argos by Schweitzer, B., op. cit., 147.
10) See footnote 4.
11) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1892.1420: Boardman, J. and Vollenweider, M.-L., Catalogue of Engraved Gems and Finger Rings, I Greek and Etruscan, Ashmolean Museum (Oxford, 1978) 2, no. 3, pl. 1. A Greek work, though ascribed possibly to East Greece; it has led some also to attribute the two lion groups to an East Greek workshop (since one of them was found on Samos).
12) Heilmeyer, W.-D., OF 12 (1979) 54 ff.
3) D. Kent Hill (Gnomon 54, 6 <1982> 608) in her review article stresses the historical dominance of the Laconian workshops between 776 and 740 B.C., with Argos recouping her original dominant position from then on until 700 B.C.
14) J.N. Coldstream on a visit on 8 September 1993 suggested possibly an early representation of Hermes, in his role as protector of the flocks and on account of his pointed hat.

Archaic Greece - East Greece

Early contacts with the east coast of the Aegean Sea already in the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C. are attested by Minoan and to a greater extent Mycenaean remains. By the early 1st millennium B.C., Greek settlements from the mainland were firmly established along much of the coast of Asia Minor.

East Greece played a preponderant role in the development of Greek civilization and there were major contributions from Ionia in art, philosophy and poetry. For the purposes of this exhibition, art from the Ionian centres of Asia Minor, Rhodes and Cyprus is grouped together under this heading.

In view of the considerable number of great cities: centres of artistic, cultural and monetary wealth; the paucity of archaeological remains, of systematic archaeological digs and of the lack of publication of most of the few finds; on account of the destruction of ancient sites in antiquity and modern times and the lack of data for many chance finds, it is impossible in most cases to ascribe a definite school to the artistic products of the area.

East Greece acted as a transmitter and filter of multiple influences from both the older and the contemporary civilizations of the Near East and Egypt.

84. MOTHER GODDESS WITH CHILD

Terracotta
H: 20.8 cm
Allegedly from Greece
Northern Attic or Boeotian
c. 700 B.C.

Modelled in clay, painted and fired. An instrument, probably a wooden spatula, used to incise the fingers of the hands and to mark certain other details. Some parts of the surface smoothed.
Condition: one or two chips with slight flaking and wear to part of the painted decoration.
The facial features of mother and child, her hair, hands and slippers, the "stair" and the "crenellated meander" patterns of the seat as well as its concentric circles and horizontal lines are a black glaze that turned to a reddish, rust reddish and brown to light brown colour due to the firing. Her long-sleeved dress painted a matt purple, partially incrusted with a limestone film.

Dressed in a long garment with sleeves and wearing slippers, she is seated on a high throne, a hollow cylinder, narrowing as it rises from its base, with a platform for foot-rest, the seat section of squarish shape slightly flaring out and closed on three sides. She holds her child across her lap and against her breast in a loving and protective manner.
In 1960 this figure was ascribed to Boeotia, on account of its general appearance, the painted decoration and the cylindrical lower part of the seat, similar to the tubular Boeotian mourning figures of later date.
P. Kranz in his first publication adopted this attribution. In a second, more detailed study he places her between the Late Geometric Attic terracotta charioteer from the Agora and the Early Proto-Attic

terracotta funerary chariot from Vari. In his words, "the consistency and the colour of the clay as well as the colour of the varnish and the painting do not speak in favour of a Boeotian workshop" (1). Further, he feels that "the rendering of the hair and the face with its large almond-shaped eyes, the prominent nose and the narrow mouth above the heavy chin distantly recall figures on Proto-Attic vases of the early second Black-Figure style" (2).

A definite attribution is not possible since many of the finds from Attica - Brauron, Eleusis and the Acropolis - still await publication.

In conclusion, the writer feels that to decide with certainty between a Boeotian or an adjoining Northern Attic workshop for this unparalleled sculpture is too speculative.

However, if the date of 700 B.C. or shortly thereafter is accepted, Attica is indeed a strong contender, though a later dating towards the end of the century would tend to indicate a Boeotian production.

Worthy of note is a certain delicacy - one might say almost refinement - expressed by the modelling of the shoulders and upper arms which rest tenderly on the sides of the seat, revealing a motherly protectiveness.

In all probability found in a tomb, she represents a Mother Goddess with child, a fertility figure propitious to the afterlife, a good spirit to protect the deceased. She may have fulfilled the same function in a votive context.

1) Kranz, P., AA (1978) 321.
2) Kranz, P., op. cit., 324.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 136, 139, cat. no. II 84, ill; Hommes et Dieux, 52-53, no. 15, col. pl.
Coming of Age in Ancient Greeece, 60, 225, cat. no. 23.
Published:
Kranz, P., “Frühe griechische Sitzfiguren. Zum Problem der Typenbildung und des orientalischen Einflusses in der frühgriechischen Rundplastik”, AM 87 (1972) 14, n. 48, 47, n. 167, pl. 4, 1-2; id.: “Ein Meisterwerk frühattischer Koroplastik”, AA (1978) 317-329, fig. 1-4.
Mentioned:
Özgan, R., Untersuchungen zur archaischen Plastik Ioniens (Bonn, 1978) 16, 147, n. 24; Böhm, S., Die "nackte Göttin". Zur Ikonographie und Deutung unbekleideter Figuren in der frühgriechischen Kunst (DAI. Mainz, 1990) 88.

85. BOXER

Bronze
H: 15.4 cm
Provenance: no indication; Olympia?
Peloponnesian
c. 675 B.C.

Ex collection:
Vladimir. G. Simkhovitch

Solid-cast by the lost wax process.
Condition: front of plaque broken. The ancient hole for attachment enlarged for modern mounting.
Patina: after manual cleaning, the surface shows up green, mottled with lighter green specks and smooth red cuprite deposits.

This figure, full of vitality, with haughty expression and tense body, probably represents a boxer standing with clenched fists.
The rhomboid-shaped plaque under his feet is unevenly broken in front; could this mean it was once a long strip with a second figure facing him?
There is an original hole in the plaque which would have served in antiquity for attaching the figure or group to a tripod or vessel (probably a cauldron).
Certain characteristics and the attempt to be naturalistic clearly place the boxer in the transitional phase between Late Geometric and Early Archaic.
His poise and some plastic similarities to an earlier tradition, exemplified by a seated figure from the Alpheios Valley (1), lead us to ascribe him to a Peloponnesian workshop which, together with the patination, points to Olympia.

On view: Musée d' Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1967-1968
Musée Olympique, Lausanne: 1994-1995
Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 136, 139, cat. no. II 85, ill; Hommes et Dieux, 207-208, cat. no. 127, ill; Gods and Mortals, 81, cat. no. 54, ill; Le sport dans la Grèce Antique, 361, cat. no. 230 ill; Olympism in Antiquity II, 100, ill.

1) Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 54.789: Kent Hill, D., Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1949) 77, no. 167, pl. 36.

86. OVOID CRATER

Terracotta
H: 26.4 cm. Diam. mouth: 13.3 cm
Provenance: no indication; Athens?
Late Geometric IIb/Early Proto-Attic (1)
c. 700 B.C.

Ex collection:
Lord Elgin, Broomhall, Fife
The Right Honourable Robert Erskine

Condition: yellowish-beige clay with tinges of ochre in places; the painted decoration very dark brown to lightish brown. The foot and lid missing (unfortunately, fragments of a lid which Beazley said may have belonged, and probably did, have since been lost).

The centaur, who will normally appear henceforth with a horse's body and hindquarters, is here unusual in that his backlegs end in lion's paws.
The abstract design behind him represents a Tree of Life which on the other side is replaced by three superimposed birds. The lower zone is decorated with grazing horses save for one walking with upraised head.
The handles of the crater in the form of large stylized horns.
Beazley, in 1951, wrote about this vase as follows: the crater "gives us our first view of a figure which barely appears in the Geometric period but which is very popular in the Proto-Attic, and remains so, woven into legend, throughout antiquity - the centaur (12). Here he returns gaily from the chase, a branch, his usual weapon, in one hand, a deer in the other. Long thin barrel; bristly back, tail, and hind-legs; large head and eye; open mouth; long sharp nose and

chin; wavy hair. The face is drawn in outline, with more detail than in any of the vases we have looked at so far. A plant is seen beside him, another between his legs; birds perch and float. It is tempting to guess that the other ingredients of the picture are not mere filling-ornament but represent real objects: rocks, stones, serpents or worms :

> ceu duo nubigenae cum vertice montis ab alto
> descendunt Centauri Homolen Othrymque nivalem
> linquentes cursu rapido; dat euntibus ingens
> silva locum, et magno cedunt virgulta fragore (13).

Below, an old subject, horses grazing, but with a grand new swing from ear to rump. The vase is fragmentary; the missing parts of the body, and the lid, can be restored after a complete vase of the same shape and very much the same style, but far inferior, in Cambridge (14). The Cambridge horse looks like a broken-down version of the Broomhall."

K. Van Gelder calls it Proto-Attic and points out that the painter is forward-looking. J.N. Coldstream, in his latest assessment, considers it to be transitional and as in the heading. A definitive assessment is difficult but there can be no sharp division; the end of a period embodies the beginning of the next which, in turn, retains remnants of the past. The painter is creative at this transitional moment, whether the vase (2) belongs to the last decade of the 8th century or the first of the 7th. Whether the date still be in the 8th, the spirit is Proto-Attic of the early 7th.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 123, ill; Hommes et Dieux, 113-114, cat. no. 59, ill.
Published:
Beazley, J.D., The Development of Attic Black-Figure (Berkeley/Los Angeles/ London, 1951) 5-6, n. 105, 12-14, pl. 2; Coldstream, J.N., Greek Geometric Pottery (London, 1968) 78, 81, n. 39; Fittschen, K., Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen (Berlin, 1969) 94-95; Rombos, Th., The Iconography of Attic Late Geometric II Pottery (Jonsered, 1988) 512, no. 332, 234-235, Table 34; Van Gelder, K., “A Protoattic Krater in a Swiss Collection”, in: Mussche, H. (ed.): Studies in South Attica II, Miscellanea Graeca 9 (1994) 97-113.
Mentioned:
Lullies, R., Eine Sammlung griechischer Kleinkunst (Munich, 1955) 17 (for no. 30).

1) In the Russian catalogue, it appeared as Proto-Attic, 700-690 B.C. In the catalogue for the Royal Academy, Attic Late Geometric IIb, 710-700 B.C. After the very thorough article by Van Gelder and further correspondence with J.N. Coldstream, we have settled for the above date.

12) The pupil of the centaur's eye is slightly damaged. The picture on B is similar, but birds take the place of the plant on the left. Below, five full-sized horses and under one of the "goat-horn" handles a small one...

13) Vergil, Aeneid 7, 674.

14) Cambridge 30.2; CV 2 pl. 15.8. With this and the Elgin vase compare also the ovoid krater Berlin A 16 (CV. 1, pls. 7.2, 8.1).

2) The author refers to this vessel as a crater for Beazley does. It is to be noted that its inside is the natural yellowish beige clay and that it had a lid.

87. BOWMAN

Bronze
H: 9.9 cm (with tang: 10.5 cm)
From the region of Axos (Crete)
Early Cretan/Post-Geometric
First quarter of the 7th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and worked in the cold. A tang under the left heel for affixing.
Condition: patina dark brown, earthy colour with casting imperfections owing to poorly fused metal or too rapid a cooling down, as evidenced by fillings at the lower back of the neck and the middle of the chest, faulty casting on the raised right foot with most of the toes missing. The left leg from the knee down bent out of position and the left arm slightly bent inwards.

This statuette exemplifies, with its highly rhythmic vitality, the transition from the static to movement in a most imaginative creativity as it evolves from the immediately preceding Geometric period. Because of his liveliness and his having been mounted too high off the stand, he has always been called a running man.
Comparison with the centaur on the crater, cat. no. 86, is striking both for their similar spirit, and dynamic stance, and certain features, such as the pointed head and face, and the triangular torso.
There are parallels however:
a Cretan bronze figure in London (1) which is very similar as to its belt, triangular torso, buttocks, though these are slightly less prominent and pointed. It finds a parallel for its hairstyle in a statuette from Kato Syme Viannou (2), dated in the 8th century B.C., which appears to have a pointed face like our bowman.

For style, our figure is comparable with the painting on a pinax from Praisos (3) and the mitra from Rethymnon (4).
There are interesting precedents in late Geometric pottery, one example of which (5) may help explain what our figure was holding. It may have been a bow in the left hand, the right hand drawing back the bowstring with an arrow, as might be indicated by the notch in the middle of the mitten-like upraised fingers.
For a similar happening, see cat. no. 200, though the bowman in a slightly different position is balancing on his right leg and resting his right hand, holding the bow, on his upraised left thigh.
In all likelihood a votive offering possibly representing Apollo, Herakles or a hunter.

Exhibited and Published:
Ancient Art, 30, cat. no. 196, pl. 58; Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 138, 139, cat. no. II 90, ill; Hommes et Dieux, 208, cat. no. 128, ill.
Published:
Hanfmann, G.M.A., Classical Sculpture (London, 1967) 16, 304, no. 23, ill.
Mentioned:
Himmelmann-Wildschütz, N., Bemerkungen zur geometrischen Plastik (Berlin, 1964) 26, n. 69.

1) British Museum 1924.7-15.1. D. Williams informed us verbally that the British Museum has no record of a find-spot and that the statuette is unpublished.
) Catling, H.W., “Archaeology in Greece, 1978-79”, JHS 99 (1979) 38.
) Pendlebury, J.D.S., The Archaeology of Crete (London, 1939), pl. 42.
) Poulsen, Fr., “Eine kretische Mitra”, AM 31 (1906), pl. 23.
5) Attic oinochoe LG I, c. 760-735 B.C., in Athens, National Museum 194: Kahane, P., “ Die Entwicklungsphasen der attisch-geometrischen Keramik”, AJA 44 (1940) 476, pl. 32,2. (Information as to attribution, dating, location and publication kindly supplied by Prof. J.N. Coldstream.)

88. SET OF FOUR VESSELS

Terracotta

a. "scoop":		11.7 x 10.7 cm.	H: 2.9 cm
b. dish:	Diam:	12.4 - 12.6 cm.	H: 3.2 cm
c. dish:	Diam:	11.3 - 11.6 cm.	H: 3.0 cm
d. dish:	Diam:	10.9 - 11.1 cm.	H: 2.2 cm

Provenance: no indication
Boeotian?
7th century B.C.

The set composed of three shallow round dishes and a squarish rectangular "scoop" was handmade with the help of rudimentary tools but without the use of a wheel and the painted decoration applied with a multiple brush.
Condition: slight chips on "scoop" and dishes; the larger dish b. broken in two and repaired.

Such vessels were associated with a ritual context (1) as evidenced for their shape and use by a considerable quantity discovered at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. The dishes served to hold grain as offering to the goddess. Since these in votive form were always found in threes on trays, it has been suggested that they were connected with the Eleusinian Triad of Demeter, Kore and Triptolemos.
With these dishes were also found "scoops" identified as likna, models of winnowing fans, which have equally come to light on the Athenian Agora (2), as attributes of terracotta female figures.
Painted to imitate basketry, this ensemble seems to fit between Boeotian geometric production and early 6th century terracottas. The decor of multiple wavy lines (a Boeotian characteristic), circles and dots and the way these are applied on a creamy background

with brushstrokes in black paint turning to orange brown due to misfiring indicate the same source or a neighbouring district.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 124 A-C, ill.

1) We are grateful to Ronald S. Stroud who in a letter dated 28 February 1994 confirmed our suggestion and brought our attention to his article “The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. Preliminary Report I: 1961-1962”, Hesperia 34 (1965).
2) Thompson, Dorothy B., “Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas. Excavations Athenian Agora”, Hesperia 23 (1954) 96-98, 102 (referred to by R.S. Stroud, footnote 1).

89. HORSE WITH FOUR AMPHORAS ON ITS BACK

Terracotta
L: 20.6 cm
Provenance: no indication
Cypriot. Cypro-Archaic I
c. 700 B.C.

Built up of wet clay by sections, fashioned by hand using a spatula and scraper here and there, painted and then fired.
Condition: the black paint and red in good condition, though it is possible that some of the red colour has been touched up in modern times.
On the front of the horse and the lower half sides of the mane whitish limestone deposits.

This votive, a unique representation of particular elegance and delicacy, belongs to a period with vast output of horses with riders, of centaurs, and warriors.
The four jars with their lug handles are a Canaanite form (1) and attest to the trade with and the influence from the coastal regions of the Near East. Somewhat coarsely modelled they are aligned haphazardly, imparting a humorous feeling which the horse's long neck and big eyes complete.
The explanation for the missing fifth jar is difficult to determine; maybe in joining the body, originally longer, to the forepart it was just one pot too many in relation to the horse's neck curving so pronouncedly back, as it would seem that the artist started placing the jars from the tail forwards, at least their pyramidal bases, since these were added before the body was joined to the neck and front legs. In so doing, the base may have been pushed to one side. We do not believe that the break is accidental.

It might be that in order to achieve efficiency of production, one worker made the body, hind legs, tail and pots, and a more gifted one the head, neck and front legs of an artistic line and flow that somewhat contrasts with the rest, though the whole achieves a most pleasing effect. Likewise the same artisan may have made both, lavishing more care on the forepart.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 130, ill.
Published:
Karageorghis, V.: The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus II. Late Cypriote II - Cypro-Geometric III (Nicosia, 1993) 94, cat. LGH 1, pl. 42.5 (where tentatively "dated to the Late Cypro-Geometric III period <850-750 B.C.> though a Cypro-Archaic I date <750-600 B.C.> cannot be excluded").

1) Verbal communication Prof. V. Karageorghis (November 1990).

90. MALE HEAD

Limestone
H: 39 cm
Provenance: no indication
Cypriot
Early 6th century B.C.

Ex collection:
Armand Trampitsch

Condition: all of the lower beard and a large slice of the turban/bonnet in front missing. Most of the nose broken off. The surface relatively smooth, notwithstanding minor abrasions and chips. Once part of an over life-size statue, a section of the upper left chest and a small part of the shoulder still attached.

Larger than life-size, this head belongs to the early group of bearded male figures; probably from Eastern Cyprus. He wears an Oriental turban/bonnet (1+2).
The head is sober and very eastern. It predates Ionian Greek influence characterized by a smiling expression, when the different parts of the face blend more softly into one another. A. Hermary considers the head an important document within Cypriot sculpture, he concurs with our dating, adding that for the time being it is to be considered as head of a series.
There is an interesting comparison with a male head, likewise from a statue, in Vienna (3). We have no really satisfying parallel (4), though several of the traits of our head are comparable to others for the arch of the eyebrows, the shape of the eyes, the pinched mouth,

the beard, etc. not to mention the bonnet.

On deposit: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1968-1976

Exhibited:
Chypre des origines au Moyen-Age, Geneva 1975
Mentioned:
Cerati, C., Mistero della scultura etrusca, Arte Figurativa, January-February 1957, 26-27, no. 1 (with erroneous indications).

) Herodotus VII, 90: "... the Cyprians ..., their princes wore turbans wrapped round their heads; ...". A headgear still in use throughout the Near East.
) We sent this entry to Antoine Hermary asking for comparisons and a critical assessment, he kindly replied 30 June 1992: "Je pense, comme vous, que ce type de coiffure désigne probablement les personnages comme des rois ou des princes locaux. On note qu'une statuette découverte dans le dépôt de Kazaphani (région de Kyrenia) montre un homme coiffé de la sorte qui tient dans sa main un grand couteau, comme un sacrificateur: V. Karageorghis, Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (1978) 184, pl. 23, 58. On sait qu'à Chypre les rois faisient aussi fonction de prêtres."
3) Kunsthistorisches Museum I.20. (unpublished).
4) Antoine Hermary mentions as parallels two heads from the sanctuary of Apollo at Idalion: Pryce, F.N., Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum, I.2: Cypriote and Etruscan (London, 1931) 38, nos. 77-78, and a head from Golgoi in the Louvre: Hermary, A., Antiquités de Chypre, Sculpture (Paris, 1989) 260, no. 529.
We had not compared these, though aware of them, for they have a fringe of hair (a row of spiral curls or dentil locks), whereas here the turban/bonnet ends in a tight-fitting band across the forehead; also their date is around 540-530, some half a century later.

91. KYLIX

Terracotta
H: 15.6 cm. Diam: 17.7-18.1 cm
Provenance: no indication
Cypriot, Bichrome IV Period
7th century B.C. (Cypro-Archaic I)

Before firing, the body of the vessel and the foot made separately on the wheel; the foot affixed and handles added, using a spatula or similar instrument; and the decoration painted on in black and red, whence the term bichrome.
Condition: the black paint with red highlights on the creamy background in very good condition, slight wear here and there with some yellowish-brown limestone deposits. A slight crack with a little chip on the centre of the rim above the he-goat.

The body is divided horizontally by a ridged line painted in black and in each register and on both sides, long rectangles are marked off by a group of vertical black lines. The scene represents a winged he-goat sniffing a bird-flower. The reverse is similar but with a she-goat facing right.
The representations are full of humour and spirit in keeping with the Cypriot character of the period, also attested by contemporary production of terracotta horses and riders.
The artist has given a certain free rein to his imagination for his painted decoration is light and airy and his goats have flowers with birds' eyes either growing out of or appearing from behind their wings.
The inside of the kylix is decorated with multiple concentric black circles with a large red band below the rim and a smaller black one on the bottom.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 131, ill.

Published:

92. HEAD OF KORE (vase)

Terracotta
H: 28.2 cm
Allegedly from Afrati (Crete)
Dedalic
640-625 B.C.

The head vase as a form comes from the Near East and Egypt. Dedalic Art is the arbitrary term given to a Dorian Creto-Peloponnesian art style of the 7th century B.C. Though the centres were Corinth, Rhodes, Crete and Sparta, the leading workshops from which the influence spread were on Crete.

The basic form was first turned in two sections, upper and lower, on the potter's wheel;
a side section was then cut out and the facial mask, made in a mould, was applied;
also applied were wet strips of clay which were hand-worked with the help of a spatula into hair tresses and ears;
the curls above the forehead were made in the same way;
the whole was then covered with a thick slip and fired.
Condition: restored from pieces, the major sections of considerable size. The back of the head and the mouth of the vessel are missing. Minor plaster restorations, tinted but clearly visible. Chip to the chin and the slip in parts flaked off.
The grainy, reddish-brown clay turned grey in many parts.

We do not know its function, but its artistic quality precludes it from being a domestic vessel. It must have had its place in a sanctuary as a cult object or ritual vessel.

The closest parallel is the head vase from Arkhanes in Herakleion (1) (there may be confusion here and it may too have come from Arkades /Afrati). Probably from the same workshop but certainly not by the same artist.
The head vase under discussion is to be placed in the broad context of Dedalic development: preceded by the Dame d'Auxerre (2); almost contemporary with the bronze kouros in Delphi (3) and the stone head from Mycenae (4) and probably slightly before the considerable production of large terracotta relief pithoi which have close stylistic affinities with it and for which Afrati was a major production centre.
Further comparisons can be made with Corinthian, Laconian and Rhodian works, whether of stone, bronze or terracotta; the last often small terracotta vases.
Finds from centres in Crete such as Gortyn and lesser finds at Astritsi, Axos, and Phaestos (5), help to fill in the picture of a distinguished contribution to the development of Greek Art.

On view: Archaeological Institute, University of Zürich: 1967-1970

Exhibited and Published:
Dädalische Kunst, 118-120, cat. no. E 10, pl. 52-53; Hommes et Dieux, 178-180, cat. no. 105, ill.
Published:
Ebertshäuser, H.C. and Waltz, M., Antiken I, Vasen-Bronzen-Terrakotten des klassischen Altertums (Munich, 1981) 54-55, fig. 65; Blome, P., Die figürliche Bildwelt Kretas in der geometrischen und früharchaischen Periode (Mainz, 1982) 32 ff., pl. 18,3; Rolley, C., La sculpture grecque. I Des origines au milieu du Ve siècle (Paris, 1994) 129, 136 ff., fig. 114.
Mentioned:
Martinez, J.-L., La Dame d’Auxerre (Paris, 2000) 38,39, fig. 38, col. ill.

1) Herakleion Museum 6639: Davaras, C., Die Statue aus Astritsi, AntK 8. Beih. (1972) fig. 31.
2) Paris, Louvre Museum 3098: Davaras, C., op. cit., fig. 9, 10.
3) Delphi Museum 2527: Davaras, C., op. cit., fig. 32, 33.
4) Athens, National Museum 2869: Davaras, C., op. cit., fig.30.
5) E.g., F. 4502: terracotta head in relief, fragment from a pithos, from Chalara: ASAtene 45/46 (1967/68) 165, fig. 124.

93. SEATED FIGURE

Terracotta
H: 7.3 cm
Allegedly from Crete
Cretan
7th-6th century B.C.

Hand-built of wet clay with the help of a spatula and a pointed rounded instrument.
Condition: the face, fingers (missing on left hand) and the toes are a beige clay, all the rest is painted dark brown - a reddish brown in places due to misfiring.

The figure is an enigma.
He may embody the man-monkey ambiguity with which the Greeks were so taken during the later 8th and the 7th century B.C. See cat. no. 74.
A hole on his underside indicates that he was affixed to some sort of a vessel or seat, possibly part of a group.
His ritualistic function is undetermined, possibly a votive offering, associated maybe with some fertility cult or feast.
The writer sees him as humorous and comical, and exuding strength, possibly a combination of his spirit, attitude and modelling.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 166, ill; Hommes et Dieux, 116, cat. no. 61, ill.

94. NAKED YOUTH

Bronze
Total H: 20 cm. H. figure: 14.6 cm
Allegedly from Ionia
South Ionian, Milesian?
Second quarter of the 6th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, carefully worked in the cold.
Condition: broken in two in antiquity (1) and recently glued together. Missing are the tips of the fingers of the right hand, the bowl, shaft and stand.
The blackish bronze skin (2) abraded to a greyish green with traces of earth deposits.

This statuette was the main element of a candelabrum or thymiaterion.
The bowl would have been affixed on the head and below the statuette a length of shaft would have joined it to a foot.
Such lamp-stands originated in the East and the predilection in Ionia for this form spread throughout the ancient world.
For an example with a female statuette, see cat. no. 101; one from Cyprus, in the British Museum (3); from Lindos, the type of bowl that would have surmounted our statue (4) and a bust, now in Copenhagen (5) with a similar but square attachment, resting directly on the hair - iconographically comparable though differing from our figure. The type spread to South Italy, see cat. no. 124, and Etruria.
This is definitely the product of a mainland East Greek workshop. It is rare testimony to the importance of artistic creativity in South Ionia in the Archaic period and is to be dated before the middle of the 6th century.

It seems not to belong to the complex of artistic centres that Langlotz calls North-East Greek (6) and that spread from Smyrna northwards, but rather to the South Ionian part of the Asia Minor coastline and its hinterland.

There are similarities with Samian figures; but the rounded compact forms, the pectorals, the particular development of the collarbones, the lower abdominal muscles and his fleshy thighs ending in voluminous buttocks are un-Samian, as is also the detail of facial features.

The single flowing curvaceous line from the top of the head running down the hair into the small of the back and flaring out at the buttocks, both very distinctive and aesthetically appealing, does also characterize certain bronzes found on Samos. Our statuette, earlier in date than most of the archaic bronzes found on Samos, is surely a work from the centre that initiated this characteristic.

A close parallel is the masterpiece from Samos in Berlin (7) which is possibly a product imported from one of the other great artistic centres of South Ionia. Though very similar to Samian bronzes, he is different and the difference is not just due to his outstanding quality.

Also to be noted on the Berlin statuette is the distinctive front part of the hair which seems independent of the rest and appears almost added as part of a wig; the same feature appears on our Kouros, though the hair is rendered differently.

Published:
Vokotopoulou I., Ellènikè Technè, Argyra kai chalkina erga technè (Athens, 1997) 130, 251, n° 123, col. pl..
See: Spier, J., Minor Arts and Regional Styles in East Greece, 700-500 B.C. (Diss., Oxford Univ., 1987) 116, 123-124, no. 19, fig. 153.

1) As evidenced by incrustation in the breaks before cleaning.
2) In the present example the surface was originally highly burnished to a great smoothness and subsequently possibly suffered a fire.
3) See Pryce, F.N., “A Greek Lamp-Stand”, BMQ 9 (1934-35) 132-134, no. 86.
4) Blinkenberg, Chr., Lindos. Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914 (Berlin, 1931) pl. 27, fig. 674.
5) National Museum 10.337; see Blinkenberg, Chr., loc. cit., fig. 681.
6) Langlotz, E., Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst (Mainz, 1975).
7) Antikenmuseum 31098: Buschor, E., Altsamische Standbilder IV (Berlin, 1960) figs. 293-300; the base of the statuette still in Samos.

95. KOUROS

Marble
H: 36 cm (originally almost 2/3 life-size)
Allegedly from Ionia
South Ionian, Milesian?
c. 530 B.C.

Condition: the original whitish thick-grained marble flaked in places.
A large section centred above the right temple is sliced off. Much of the nose flattened and worn away. A longitudinal bow-like sliver chipped off the right breast. A piece of the the lower left upper arm missing, as well as both forearms and all the statue below the high waistline.
Incrusted with hard greyish limestone deposits and root marks.

The stance is uncertain: seated or standing?
The tilt of his head might favour the former, but the fold of his cloak over his left shoulder might then have fallen less straight in front, and it would certainly not be depicted on the back - as it is here - unless the throne or seat were backless which is unusual (1). Unfortunately, the break is too high on the waistline and on the arms to give the answer.
The characteristics of this statue are South Ionian:
the spherical head; rounded volumes; the facial features, a compact harmonious whole, blending into and part of a profile that is a continuous curve; the thick lips.
This points definitely to a workshop in the region between Miletus and Ephesos.
A detail such as the rounded lower line of the eyes and two comparisons, an archaic head from Miletus (2) and the head from Kalymnos (3), which we think is Milesian, lead us to attribute him to Miletus.

1) Cf. the Branchidae seated figures. However the paucity of surviving sculptures from this region and in this period prohibit any generalizations.
2) Head (n. inv.): von Graeve, V., Milet/Archaische Skulpturen, IstMitt 35 (1985) 116, no. 1, pl.24.1-2: Von Graeve assesses that the complete Kouros would have been almost 2/3 life-size. It should be noted that the Dionyshermos, Louvre Museum MA 3600: Özgan, R., Untersuchungen zur archaischen Plastik Ioniens (Bonn, 1978), figs. 31, 36, is slightly above half life-size.
3) British Museum B 323: Pryce, F.N.: Catalogue of Sculpture I.1 (London, 1928) 153-155, fig. 193.

96. AIDOION VASE

Terracotta
H: 9.7 cm
Allegedly from Etruria
Rhodian
600-580 B.C.

Plastic vases, mass-produced between the end of the 7th and the middle of the 6th century B.C., were extremely popular and exported throughout the Greek world and beyond.
Corinth and Rhodes were two of the most important centres of production.
Used as recipients in the trade of scents or scented oils, they were also appreciated in their own right as precious objects on account of their humour and charm.
The motifs were a function of various factors: religious use, funerary or chthonian purpose, folkloric ideas, or simply and most often because picturesque and responding to the fashion of the day.
Plastic vases, produced with considerable care and artistically superior to the terracotta statuettes of the period, were made either using two moulds, the ridge of the join removed afterwards, or turned on the wheel.
The majority were in terracotta, decorated with black, red or brown paint, fired and then occasionally incised. The faience examples were glazed, painted decoration added and fired.

Condition: tip of triangular section on left, where pubic hair painted, once broken and reattached; a crack with some chipping, behind scrotum and across back, repaired.

Brown clay with black glaze, reddish-brown in places. Edges of pubic hair on top and semi-circular mouth of vase engraved with meander, herring-bone pattern engraved on lower edges of pubic hair.

Three very close comparisons with only slight differences in the colour scheme of the painted decoration are:
a vase in Copenhagen of almost identical size (1);
a British Museum example with member missing (2);
a vase in a private collection in Berlin, also incomplete (3).

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 147, 148, cat. no. II 127, ill.
Published:
Johansen, F.m, “En ostgraesk parfumeflaske fra 6. ärh. f. Kr.”, MeddelGlypt 33 (1976) 87-88, 90, figs. 5-7.
Mentioned:
Karusos, Chr., Aristodikos (Stuttgart, 1961), 75; Ducat, J., Les vases plastiques rhodiens archaïques en terre-cuite (Paris, 1966) 147.

1) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 3389: Johansen, F., MeddelGlypt 33 (1976) 86, figs. 1-2.
2) W 442: Robertson, C.M., “Plastic Vases”, JHS 58 (1938) 42-43, fig. 2; Johansen, F., op. cit., figs. 10-11.
3) Johansen, F., op. cit., figs. 8-9.

97. RECUMBENT LION (plastic vase)

Terracotta
L. plaque: 7.7 cm. H: 4.56 cm
Allegedly from Italy
Samian or Rhodian?
c. 600 B.C.

Condition: decorated with black glaze and matt purple paint, the terracotta, though seeming to be orange-brown, may have been originally yellowish-brown (the colour of the kernos). The opening - a hole on top of the head - and the plaque under the lion - a suspension hole between the two paws - painted matt purple.

For general remarks see cat. no. 96.
A very close comparison is the lion on the kernos found on Samos (1) which Vierneisel unequivocally ascribes to a Samian workshop, the most important argument being that the clay is Samian.
Though our lion is a free-standing plastic vessel and the one on the kernos is part of a composition, they are both very similar, almost identical as to all details, save that the Samian example has his front left leg and paw slightly curving up and is somewhat weathered. Possibly the same hand made them both, or the figure on the kernos is inspired after ours (notwithstanding Ducat's (2) remark as to a model), though the contrary is possible, or maybe they both hark back to an unknown prototype. If our lion is Rhodian, the artist who made him could have travelled to Samos and made the kernos "in situ" unless only our lion or its pendant found its way there.
We are not in a position to assess the similarity or dissimilarity between their respective clays.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 148, ill.

1) Vierneisel, K., “Neue Tonfiguren aus dem Heraion von Samos”, AM 76 (1961) 25-59.
2) Ducat, J., Les vases plastiques rhodiens archaiques en terre-cuite (Paris, 1966) 118: "Le lion du Kernos de Samos ... ne semble pas avoir pris pour modèle direct un vase plastique rhodien déterminé."

98. SPHINX

Silver
Weight: 17.10 g. H: 2.72 cm. L: 3.2 cm
Allegedly from Larissa (Thessaly)
Greek
Mid 6th century B.C.

The body and the head with hair solid-cast separately in silver and joined; possibly also made separately the right upraised leg and the tail, inserted and annealed. Two wings (now missing) silver gilt with gold foil fashioned apart and attached as shown by the groove around the left shoulder and remains of a wing beneath the hair at the back. The whole with considerable and delicate chasing in the cold, burnished throughout.
Condition: the surface nicked here and there, wear to the left eye and tip of nose. Missing also the lower four legs, the tail. The left hind leg fissured and cracked at the hock.

The sphinx, a creation of the Near East, made its first appearance in Greece during the Mycenaean Age to reappear later towards the end of the Geometric period. It decorated painted pottery, surmounted marble grave stelai and ornamented different types of objects. Small figurines made of silver are very rare in the archaic and classical periods; most appear to have served as attachments to vessels or other objects. However, the pose of the present sphinx is highly unusual and she is an enigma as to her place of origin and function (1).
The author sees in her strong Ionian influence though she bears a resemblance to various works from different regions. The subject was favoured on the rim of Clazomenian sarcophagi (2) often with a front paw upraised, as here, an eastern characteristic, and the way the hair bunches behind the nape of the neck and other details

seem comparable with the sphinx on the sarcophagus in Chapel Hill (3). There are the walking sphinxes with one paw upraised on the frieze of a silver aryballos from Vani (4), surely East Greek, though later in date, c. 500 B.C. Also two solid silver sphinxes with heads turned, sitting on their haunches, front paws extended and joined, on the rim of the bowl of a kyathos of Lydian-Achaemenid manufacture from the Lydian treasure formerly in the Metropolitan Museum (5). There are sphinxes in repoussé on a damaged gold strip from Ialysos on Rhodes (6). Others on bronze shields and strips from Crete, still within the end of the Geometric period, are among the earliest representations in Greek art since the Mycenaean Age. Striding sphinxes with all four paws on the ground are depicted in repoussé on a bronze shield in Delphi (7). Bronze sphinxes in the round were an adjunct of ornate mirrors usually from the Peloponnese, as for example the two sphinxes on the shoulders of a Kore mirror handle from Corinth (8) and on mirror discs such as one in Copenhagen (9). On both these the back feet are joined as the sphinx rests on its haunches with the right front paw upraised. They often figure on top of grave stelai of the 6th century. Two little sphinxes, one in bronze and one in silver, are seen on Ionic capitals in the Bastis collection (10). They both, in the author's opinion, surmounted long pins. However, both are sitting on their haunches, front and back legs joined.

To go on enumerating sphinxes will not supply the answer. However, the marble head of a sphinx from Thasos in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (11) offers a nice parallel for the wavy hair over the forehead and particularly for the way it dips behind the neck to fall on the shoulder ending in sort of tufts. The contours for the eyes are similar. In conclusion, the present work is probably Ionian.

Exhibited and Published:
Hommes et Dieux, 117-118, cat. no. 62, col. pl.

) For a discussion, see Hoffmann, H., “The riddle of the Sphinx: a case study in Athenian immortality symbolism”, in: Morris, I. (ed.): Classical Greece: ancient histories and modern archaeologies (Cambridge, 1994) 71 ff.

2) See Cook, R.M., Clazomenian sarcophagi, Kerameus, Forschungen zur antiken Keramik 3 (Mainz, 1981).

3) Chapel Hill 77.25.1: Cook, R.M., op. cit., 8-9, no. 3A, pl. 4.3.

4) Tiflis Museum: Boardman, J., The Greeks overseas, their early colonies and trade (London, 1980) 254, fig. 294.

5) Rogers Fund 1966 (66.11.26): von Bothmer, D., “A Greek and Roman Treasury”, BmetrMus (Summer 1984) 41, no. 59. (Now returned to Turkey.)

6) British Museum: Poulsen, F., Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst (Rome, 1968) 145, fig. 167.

7) Verdélis, N.M., “L'apparition du sphinx dans l'art grec”, BCH 75 (1951) 5, fig. 2.

8) Athens, National Museum 11691: Keene Congdon, L.O., Caryatid Mirrors of Greece (Mainz, 1981) 138, no. 16, pl. 11.

9) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 294: Keene Congdon, L.O., op. cit., 152, no. 34, pl. 32.

10) Oliver, A., Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis (Mainz, 1987) 300, no. 178.

11) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2823: Holtzmann, B., “Une sphinge archaïque de Thasos”, BCH 115 (1991) 125 ff.

99. HEDGEHOG (plastic vase)

Faience
H: 5.565 cm. L: 6.2 cm
Allegedly from Etruria
Rhodes or Naucratis
Second quarter of the 6th century B.C.

Made of glazed composition imitating Egyptian ware.
Condition: glazed blue-green with details in blackish brown. Infinitesimal chips.

For general remarks see cat. no. 96.
The shape of the neck and mouth derives from the Corinthian aryballos. The space between the handle and the neck served for suspension.
Examples abound (1), and among many comparisons, there are two in Rhodes (2).

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 141, ill.

1) For a general discussion see Webb, V., Archaic Greek Faience. Miniature scent bottles and related objects from East Greece, 650-500 B.C. (Warminster, 1978).
2) Archaeological Museum 2586, 2787.

100. NECKLACE AND TWO HAIR "CLASPS"

Gold
Necklace: Weight: 51 g. L: 27.7 cm
Clasps: Weight: 21 g; 20.50 g. L: 4.07 cm; 4.1 cm
Allegedly from Asia Minor
Ionian Art
Second-third quarter of the 6th century B.C.

The drops (1) and interspaced beads made of gold sheet - shaped, cold-worked and polished.
The hair "clasps" made of gold sheet, each spool-shaped element made separately, annealed, hammered and polished. The two elements joined by a section of hammered gold plate cut to shape and embellished with filigree work: S-shaped loops, gold beads and the rosettes they nest in, two tear drops, all made separately and soldered on - gold to gold.
Condition: almost as when made, the surface very slightly scratched and worn.

The necklace consists of nineteen drops and twenty beads, probably derived from vegetable forms. The drops originally possibly acorns (2) evolved into a stylized vase-shape, e.g. the necklace on the Kore in Berlin (3) allegedly from Keratea in Attica. The earliest jewellery prototypes surely originated in the Near East.
The hair "clasps" derived from astragals are comparable to simpler examples in ivory and bone from Ephesos. There is a pair in gold in Berlin (4) said to be from the grave of a Lydian maiden, but they are plain and without any filigree decoration on the flat section that joins the spools. They are alleged to be from Ephesos and found with pottery datable to the first half of the 6th century. Reputably from the same find an electrum fibula in the form of a hawk is an added indication for Ephesos.

For their function, they have even been thought to be ear studs (5). However, in view of their size we doubt that East Greek korai, for that matter Greek korai anywhere, would have had holes in their ear lobes (6) sufficient to accommodate them.
We think that their most probable use was as hair "clasps" though they could have been strung so as to hang from the ear lobes.

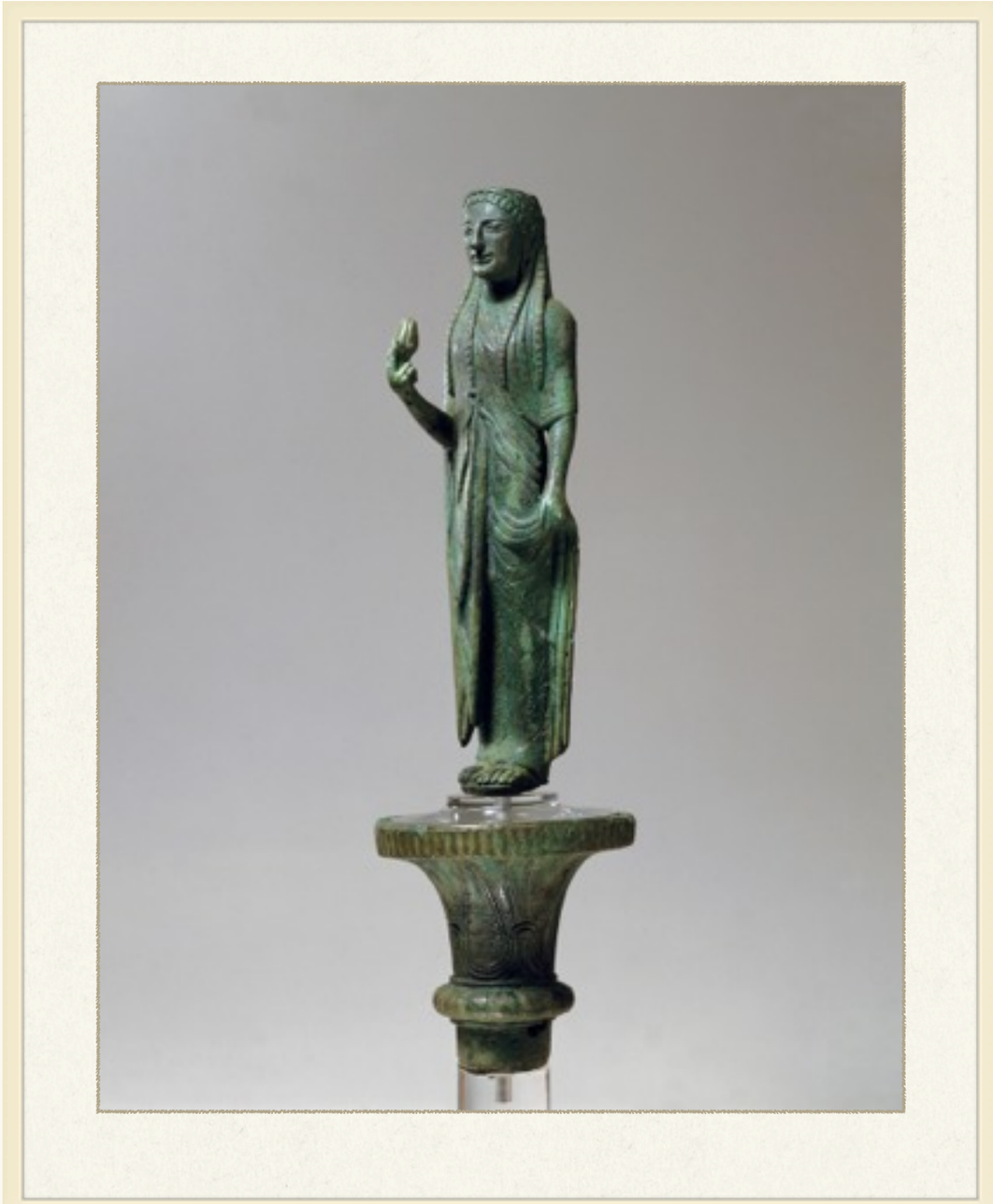
Exhibited and Published:
L'Or et son Mythe, 156, 232, cat. no. 623, col. ill.

See: Spier, J., *Minor Arts and Regional Styles in East Greece, 700-500 B.C.* (Diss. Oxford Univ. 1987) 327-328, fig. 320.

1) These made in three parts: the body, neck and head annealed together.
2) See e.g. those found in a grave dated 550 B.C. at Gordion: Young, R.S., “Gordion – 1950”, University of Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin, 6.1 (May 1951) 17-19, fig. 3.
3) Staatliche Museen 1800: Richter, G.M.A., Korai. Archaic Greek Maidens (London, 1968) 39-40, no. 42, figs. 139-142.
4) Greifenhagen, A., “Schmuck und Gerät eines lydischen Mädchens”, AntK 8 (1965) 13 ff.
5) Brein, F., “Ear Studs for Ladies”, AnatSt 32 (1982) 89 ff.
6) The Indians of South and Central America wore huge ear-rings through their lobes, but we are not aware of such practice in the Mediterranean world.

101. KORE

Bronze
H. statue: 16.2 cm. H. base: 6.75 cm
Allegedly from Ionia
South Ionian?
Early third quarter of the 6th century B.C.



Solid-cast by the lost wax process, carefully worked in the cold.
Condition: missing are the bowl, the intermediate element on top of the head, the plate under the feet connecting the figure to the flaring element as well as the shaft and stand.
Remains of an iron plug on top of the head and traces of iron on the lower edge of the flaring element.
Patina: varying shades of green, the metal showing through in places, with some earth and malachite green deposits.

The Kore was the main element of a candelabrum or thymiaterion - the bowl would have been affixed to the flat top of her head.
There are two comparisons:
a statuette in Berlin (1), clothed like our figure in a chiton and himation.
Her general stance and attitude are the same, in her upraised right hand she holds an open lotus flower, whereas it is closed on our example. Other features, in spite of differences, evoke a similar feeling, in part because they fulfil a similar function. For instance, the cylindrical cushion elements above her head and below her feet; on the Berlin piece the moulding on the elements is divided by three vertical incisions and on ours by a raised ridge.
The Berlin statuette is acknowledged as a typical Laconian bronze, but here the face and short thorax are very different as to the volume which is both rounded and compact.

Furthermore, the Berlin figure is sober in comparison to our more voluptuous eastern Kore with the flaring element under its feet carrying a stylized lotus and palmette pattern, and other details such as the more complicated folds of her clothing and the rich engraving on her sleeves.
The other comparison, somewhat later in date, is the Boston Artemis from Mazi (2) which has one strikingly similar feature, the hair fillet and the treatment of the hair above the headband. Remarkably coincidental is the following small detail: the herring-bone pattern on the fillet goes counter-clockwise on the Boston bronze and is marked by a central incision whereas on our bronze, it goes clockwise and is marked by a ridge. A slight differentiation in rendering certain decorative features already observed on the previous comparison.
In conclusion, these differences lead us to believe that the Kore is one of what must have been numerous East Greek prototypes responsible for so many features of Laconian artistic production of the period and responsible for influencing other areas as well (3).
She probably comes from an artistic centre in the Miletus-Didyma region.
A possible comparison, though it is only a fragment, in marble, different in many details and later in date, is the Kore from Didyma (4).

Published:
Vokotopoulou I., Ellènikè Technè, Argyra kai chalkina erga technè (Athens 1997) 130, 251, n° 122, col. pl.
See: Spier, J., Minor Arts and Regional Styles in East Greece, 700-500 B.C. (Diss. Oxford Univ. 1987) 105, 112-113, no. 15, fig. 134.

1) Antikenmuseum Misc. 7933: Heilmeyer, W.-D., Antikenmuseum Berlin (Berlin, 1988) 62-63, no. 4.
2) H.L. Pierce Fund 98.658: Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., Greek, Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Boston, 1971) 20-21, no. 19.
3) E.g., a late 6th-century limestone statue from Memphis, Cairo Museum 27431: Boardman, J., The Greeks Overseas (London, 1980) 136-137, fig. 161.
4) Berlin, Antikenmuseum 1793: Richter, G.M.A., Korai (London, 1968) 92, no. 162, figs. 516-519.

102. DISH HANDLE

Bronze
W: 20.2 cm
Allegedly from Greece
Thessalian?
c. 600 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, chased and engraved in the cold.
Condition: the four rivets still in place. Light green patina.

This handle with two horse protomes was one of a pair. Originally, the fairly flat dish of hammered bronze sheet would have measured roughly 57 cm in diameter.
Such dishes were probably made in different workshops, located in Athens, Corinth, Argos and Sparta (1). The closest parallel for our handle is one dated in the Proto-Corinthian period and found in the Argive Heraeum (2), together with many votive dishes. The hatching and ground are for all intents and purposes identical on both pieces, as are the four rivet holes.
However, the gentler curve of the horse protomes and their outlines with the more evolved manes and less stylized eyes, suggest that this is a later imitation, product of a Thessalian workshop.

1) Jantzen, U., “Griechische Bronzeteller”, AM 63-64 (1938-39) 154.
2) Athens, National Museum 14027: Jantzen, U., op. cit., 143, no. 12.

103. HARE (plastic vase)

Terracotta
L: 8.1 cm
Allegedly from Etruria
Corinthian
c. 600-590 B.C. (Early Middle Corinthian)

Condition: the light cream-coloured Corinthian clay covered with painted decoration in red, matt purple and some dark brown and black.
A suspension hole through the joined ears.

For general remarks see cat. no. 96.
This lively hare, symbol of love, has a very close parallel in an example from Eretriai which in our opinion is by the same hand, though the point of the snout is painted slightly differently.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 147-148, cat. no. II 122, ill.
Mentioned:
Ducat, J., “Les vases plastiques corinthiens”, BCH 87 (1963) 442, no. 13.

1) Athens, National Museum 3929: Ducat, J.: BCH 87 (1963) 443 fig. 10.

104. COMAST (plastic vase)

Terracotta
H: 9.7 cm
Allegedly from Etruria
Corinthian
600-590 B.C. (Early Middle Corinthian) (1)

Condition: Corinthian clay, his back, shoulders and thighs decorated with painted floral motifs, his right thigh with a winged six-legged insect - probably a wasp. The painted decoration in red, matt purple, reddish brown. A lot of it on the beard and hair worn away.
The tip of the penis missing; his back slightly chipped.
Two holes for suspension on either side of the neck.

For general remarks see cat. no. 96.
This representation may be of an actor in the guise of a satyr in a favoured squatting position, or it may allude to a man defecating and hence be a joke as the vessel was used as a scent bottle.
Demons whose act of crouching symbolized their ties to the earth could have a certain association with satyrs.
A popular subject, there are many similar examples; such is a comast from Perachora (2).
Compare the faces (3) on other representations from the same workshop:
sphinxes in the British Museum and in the Louvre (4);
one in Berlin (5) possibly by the same hand;
but especially a siren, the face probably modelled by the same artisan (6).
The comast and the hare, cat. no. 103, could be from the same workshop, and the similarity in the way the openings are made on top of the heads might indicate the same hand. Possibly, they were

both painted by the same artisan. Moreover, they are said to have been found in the same tomb. However, we have no indication as to whether such vessels were made and painted by the same person.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 147-148, cat. no. II 120a, ill. (Eckstein, F., Gnomon 33 [1961] 403.)
Hommes et Dieux, 247-248, cat. no. 161, ill.
Published:
Ducat, J., “Les vases plastiques corinthiens”, BCH 87 (1963) p. 440, no. 8; Wallenstein, K., Korinthische Plastik des 7. und 6. Jahrhunderts vor Christus (Bonn, 1971) p. 117, no. 20 h.

1) K. Wallenstein places the comast in Amyx's Middle Corinthian Pyxides Group II (595-585 B.C.), which supports he author's dating.
) Payne, H., Perachora I (Oxford, 1940) 235, no. 199, pl. 104.
3) K. Wallenstein's asserting that a widespread head-matrix was used for the making of sirens, sphinxes and comasts reinforces the author's observation that certain other faces belong to the same workshop.
4) British Museum 60.4-4.35: Higgins, R.A., Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum II (London, 1959) 40, no. 1670, 28; Louvre Museum A 476: Ducat, J., BCH 87 (1963) 440, no. 7.
5) Antiquarium F. 1320: Ducat, J., op. cit., 440, no. 6.
6) Athens, National Museum 16512: Payne, H., op. cit., no. 217, pl. 105.

105. BEAKED OINOCHOE (body missing)

Bronze
H: 11.65 cm
Vitsa (Epirus)
Corinthian
c. 580 B.C. (Late Middle Corinthian)

The body, neck and mouth made by hammering from a sheet of bronze possibly already cast into an appropriate shape. The grooved handle cast by the lost wax process with the palmette hammered. Two rivets attached the upper part of the handle to the neck of the vessel and the palmette on the lower part was affixed to the vessel's shoulder with tin solder. The protome on the handle, the two discs and the palmette itself carefully chased and cold-worked.
Condition: casting defect to the back of the handle behind the right side of the protome.
Patina: green to light green, typical for Dodona.

A very interesting comparison (1) is the protome in bronze on a similar handle in Athens (2), almost identical in spirit though certain details on it, such as the eyes, are different in execution since it is slightly earlier in date. The female protome itself has parallels in terracotta and we are at a high moment of Corinthian plastic creation, when terracotta, bronze and marble sculpture shared similar characteristics and expressed a common ethos.
This purely Corinthian production is at the beginning of a series of bronze oinochoai with the female mask close to Early Middle Corinthian terracotta protomes; the engraved palmette flat (it becomes more plastic as the series evolve); and the body of the vessel (3) squat, with slightly curved shoulder and low foot-ring.

As a production develops, most of the extant examples of the type are made by local North Greek workshops imitating the Corinthian model.

1) The information used in this entry is due in part to Dr. Julia Vokotopoulou.
2) National Museum, Carapanos collection 341: Vokotopoulou, J., Chalkai Korinthiourgeis Prochoi, pl. 14a-b.
3) J. Vokotopoulou (Vitsa, 44-45, no. 3, pl. 61) has identified the body of an oinochoe, Joannina Museum 2254, as belonging to our handle.

106. FLUTE-PLAYER

Bronze
H: 10 cm
From the Messara Plain (Crete)
Workshop undetermined
c. 520 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and worked in the cold.
Condition: a large hole in place of the mouth with indents on either side (to receive a wide mouthpiece enabling attachment of the phorbeia which kept the musician's cheeks from puffing out). The flute, phorbeia and mouthpiece missing, as well as right arm, left hand, right leg from below the knee and left foot. Great pressure has flattened the left thigh on the left front and the right thigh on the back right. Hair over neck and back very worn.
Dark bronze medal colour with traces of green patina and spots of reddish cuprite.

The only close parallel is the youth on galloping horse in Boston (1), dated c. 520 B.C. and said to have been found in Thessaly.
Kunze (2) sees a plausible relation to Corinth on account of the horse, and Vermeule suggests "Leukas, a leading Corinthian colony on the western mainland" (3).
The sculptural tradition of these pieces appears to be that of the Tenea Kouros, a generation or two earlier, and like him they express "the Greek feeling for life and movement" (4).
Dressed in tight-fitting tunics, they wear floppy petasoi, the hairline over the forehead is very similar, as is the pointed nose and the shape of the face. The ears are comparable and the hair, though different, has a certain wig-like appearance on both.

They exhibit a tight, compact corporeality, with the flute-player expressing some Ionian influence. His eyes are different since they are half closed in mystical ecstasy as he plays his flute. In view of the similarity, the flute-player may be either a product of a North-East Peloponnesian workshop or of a school strongly influenced by this region (5). He probably represents a shepherd.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1967-1968
Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 178, 179, cat. no. IV 182, ill. (Eckstein, F., Gnomon 33 [1961] 404.); Hommes et Dieux, 248, 249, cat. no. 163, ill.

1) Museum of Fine Arts, H.L. Pierce Fund 98.659.
2) OB 3 (1938-39) 141, n. 3.
3) Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., Greek, Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Boston, 1971) 35, no. 33.
4) Richter, G.M.A., Kouroi, 3rd ed. (London, 1970) 75.
5) There may be a vague resemblance, since only seen from the drawing, with a bronze cut-out plaque representing a votary, dated slightly earlier, from the Syme sanctuary on the southern slopes of Mount Dikte in Central Crete, not too far from the Messara plain (Lembessi, A. and Muhly, P., “Aspects of Minoan Cult. Sacred Enclosures. The Evidence from the Syme Sanctuary (Crete)”, AA 105 [1990] 327, fig. 16).

107. RECUMBENT GOAT

Bronze
L: 7.9 cm. H: 5.2 cm
Provenance: no indication
Corinthian?
c. 540 B.C.

Ex collection:
Stanley Casson

Hollow-cast (1) by the lost wax method, engraved, cold-worked, carefully burnished and polished.
Condition: patina a dark olive green, flaked and scraped here and there, the metal showing through on the middle lower front edge, on the right paw, on tip of horns and ears. Missing: small section below the tail, the rod surmounted by a rivet head that would have closed the hole on the neck and served from the inside to attach the goat to the rim of a cauldron with the lead filling (2).

This reclining goat and the following three, cat. nos. 108, 110, and 111, and the lion, cat. no. 109, were attached to the rims of cauldrons or craters, embellishments fashionable in the second half of the 6th century B.C. The author is particularly fond of these goats, acquired in his early years of collecting, for somehow they embody humanism, and with the Greek tiller of the soil, who was also a shepherd, they shared a particular affinity. We used to feel they conveyed the spirit of the region where they were produced, but over the years have come to realize that to attribute them to definite regional schools is, within our present knowledge, in many cases problematic. However, since Sparta and Corinth would appear to be the main production centres for large bronze vessels of the period, it is more than likely that many of these goats should be given to them. Most scholars seem inclined to favour Corinth for

a great many of the surviving examples. Central Greece, Boeotia, and Northern Greece: Thessaly and Macedonia in the east, and Epirus in the west, surely also produced their versions.
The present example, the first we acquired, is without a provenance.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 146-147, cat. no. III 115, ill.
Mentioned:
Classical Art from a New York Collection. A. Emmerich Gallery, Inc. (New York, 1977), for no. 65; Ostergaard, J.S., “En graesk gedebuk af bronze”, MeddelGlypt 44 (1988) 105, n. 39.

1) The forelegs, horns, ears, snout and goatee solid-cast.
) Though possibly some may have been attached by a rod alone; there are examples of goats and lions that were filled with lead and only attached with the help of soldering, others, as in this case, with a rod surmounted by a rivet head (see cat. no. 111).

108. RECUMBENT GOAT

Bronze
L: 7.3 cm. H: 5.9 cm
From Trebeniste
Corinthian school
c. 540 B.C.

Made as previous example, cat. no. 107 (1), and still filled with lead as fitting for recumbent animals attached to cauldron rims.
Condition: patina a pale to bright emerald green. The surface granular in places such as the face and goatee, and with earth incrustation. Traces of solder on the underside. Metal showing through on tips of horns.

This spirited example was once attached to crater no. 69 from the necropolis of Trebeniste (29. There is no doubt that it is by the same hand as the other remaining example still on the shoulder of the crater in Sofia which the author personally examined. The only difference between the two goats is their size, the one in Sofia being slightly smaller (6.8 cm long, 5.3 cm high). We have always thought it was the product of a Corinthian school somewhere in North-West Greece. However, C. Stibbe (3) considers the treatment of the fringe on the forehead and the beard as characteristic of Sparta, as also, we think he said, the hatching on the hindquarters indicating hair. Cl. Rolley (4) calls the above-mentioned Trebeniste example a rather close parallel for a reclining goat in the Statathos collection, with which we see no similarity save for the species, the function and the always repeated position. E. Walter-Karydi (5) says that our goat belongs to the circle of Dodonan art. W. Gauer (6) concurs that our mountain goat is to be ascribed to Corinth. We

consider that it belongs to a North-West Greek Corinthian school, but in this case from exactly where is uncertain.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 176, ill.
Mentioned:
Walter-Karydi, E., “Bronzen aus Dodona - eine epirotische Erzbildnerschule”, JbBerlMus 23 (1981) 28, n. 37; Ostergaard, J.S., “En graesk gedebuk af bronze”, MeddelGlypt 44 (1988) 100, n. 18, 102, fig. 9; Gauer, W., Die Bronzegefässe von Olympia I, OF 20 (1991) 151 n. 497; Stibbe, C.M., The Sons of Hephaistos. Aspects of the Archaic Greek Bronze Industry (Rome, 2000) 68-69, fig. 43.

1) Though without a hole for a rivet-headed rod to secure to vessel but, under the extended forelegs, channels with remains of lead filling to help do so.
) National Museum 6926: Filow, B.D., Die archaische Nekropole von Trebenischte (Berlin/Leipzig, 1927) 51-54, nos. 68-69, figs. 49-53.
3) In a verbal communication on a visit in November 1993.
4) Collection Hélène Statathos III. Objets antiques et byzantins (Strasbourg, 1963), pl. 13.31.
5) JbBerlMus 23 (1981) 28, n. 37.
6) OF 20 (1991) 151, n. 497.

109. RECUMBENT LION

Bronze
L: 10.8 cm. H: 4.8 cm
Provenance: no indication; Perachora?
Corinthian
550-540 B.C.

Ex collection:
Vladimir G. Simkhovitch

Thick-walled hollow-cast by the lost wax method. The tail, haunches, extended forelegs (1) and head solid. Cold-worked and burnished.
Condition: patina olive green with varying shades of bright green and greyish green. The surface generally smooth, somewhat pitted here and there, with slight abrasion to face and top of hair. On the back of the head the mane only indicated by two locks. A scrape on upper left flank.

We had always ascribed this reclining lion to the Corinthian school indicating as provenance Perachora (?) by comparison with two lions from Perachora, dated (2) probably in the third quarter of the 6th century, thus inferring that there might have been a local workshop there. It would seem to be reminiscent of the tradition of Corinthian plastic vessels. H. Gabelmann (3) says that in the second and third quarters of the 6th century regional differences appear in lions and there emerges a "Mainland Collar-Type" which he ascribes to Corinth, a new type developed in the Peloponnese "characterized by a crown of tufts of hair encircling the head like a halo of tongues of fire". Our lion fits what he says is the fuller and wider modelling of the faces, with less stylization, characteristic for this Corinthian development. Th. Karagiorga (4) considers that certain characteristics such as the soft homogeneous roundness of

the surfaces, producing a relaxed and fluid feeling throughout the figure, is found in Corinth in the minor arts such as lion figurines, mentioning ours among others as being an example, though she dates it much earlier in the century.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 146, 148, cat. no. III 118, ill; Gods and Mortals, 88, 89, cat. no. 64, ill.
Published:
Gabelmann, H., Studien zum frühgriechischen Löwenbild (Berlin, 1965) 115, no. 60; Karagiorga, Th., Gorgeie kephale (Athens, 1970) 146, pl. 23d.
Mentioned:
Gauer, W., Die Bronzegefässe von Olympia I, OF 20 (1991) 138, n. 423.

1) Along the underside of both of these a shallow channel once filled with lead to help secure to the vessel.
2) Payne. H., Perachora I (Oxford, 1940) lions pl. 43.8-9.
3) Studien zum frühgriechischen Löwenbild, 66.
4) Gorgeie kephale, 146.

110. RECUMBENT GOAT

Bronze
L: 9.55 cm. H: 5.8 cm
Provenance: no indication
Mainland Greece
c. 540 B.C.

Ex collection:
F. Ephraim

Made as cat. no. 108.
Condition: patina dark olive green with greyish overtones. Surface smooth, the odd spot of cuprite, slight traces of earth here and there. Missing: part of the right horn and the lead filling.

Unfortunately we have no satisfying comparison for this goat and no grounds for ascribing him to a region or a school. We incline to feel that he is likely to belong to the Peloponnese and possibly to Sparta, if C. Stibbe is right in characterizing the vertical strokes over the forehead and for the goatee as Laconian features. If this be so, however, a certain lack of precision in these details, in the way they are incised, might suggest an imitation of a Spartan type made elsewhere. The author admits that all this is hypothetical.

111. RECUMBENT GOAT

Bronze
L: 7.9 cm. H: 6.6 cm
Provenance: no indication
North Greek
c. 540 B.C.

Made as cat. no. 107, but the hole filled with the rivet-headed rod for securing to vessel still in place through middle of back (down through the lead filling).
Condition: patina irregular and splotchy, varying shades of greyish green and metal undertones here and there. Surface rough in places with green chloride incrustation and earth deposit. A casting fault at the back on the middle of the neck next to a scrape mark. On the underside the rod cut off and lead around it hollowed out (1). Tail damaged and partly missing. Metal visible on tip of left ear and a small nick on upper left side of goatee.

As with the preceding goat, we have no satisfying comparison. However, he is sturdy, rough and uncouth and indubitably belongs to Northern Greece, characteristics appropriate for this region in the 6th century B.C. Every time that we look at him we are reminded of the three hundred brave and hardened Macedonians who, some two centuries later, near the modern Hissar on the Koh-i-nor mountains, volunteered (2) to climb at night, in the winter's snow and cold, a rock face unguarded, since it was considered unsurmountable, and thus enabled Alexander on his march to Taxila to overcome the Sogdian citadel that held up his advance.
This he-goat exemplifies what we expressed in the entry for cat. no. 107, epitomizing the spirit of a region, exuding a similar roughness to that of the Macedonian volunteers who helped carry the day for Alexander.

Mentioned:
Stibbe, C.M., The Sons of Hephaistos. Aspects of the Archaic Greek Bronze Industry (Rome, 2000) 70, n. 65.

1) Probably a modern attempt at removal.
2) Lane Fox, R.: Alexander the Great (London, 1973), p. 315 ff.; however, Alexander had announced that the first to reach the top "would receive twelve talents, twelve times the bonus paid to allied troops for four years' Asian service; the rest would be paid according to their position in the race to the summit."

112. YOUTH IN HELMET AND BOOTS

Bronze
H: 19.6 cm
Allegedly from Greece, Olympia?
North-East Peloponnesian, Sicyon?
c. 520 B.C.

Ex collection:
Jorge Ortiz Linares (1954-1965) (1)

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and carefully worked in the cold with delicate engraving and chasing.
Condition: crack through the helmet crest support, surface abraded. Green patina with traces of reddish earth.

We know of no valid comparison for this youth which would help either to explain him or to locate his school.
He is not an ordinary warrior, for in addition to being naked, he wears boots and a helmet.
His footwear is interesting, various elements represented realistically but combined in an unrealistic fashion. The low boots are of the endromides (2) type, soleless and of soft leather, the shaft reaches to the calf with a wide V (3) above the ankles. The lacing and tongue are figured on the front of the boots for a decorative purpose, as though a gabled window - the lacing threaded through four eyelets that criss-cross with two simple ties. In reality they should reach to the top of the shaft to make the boots wearable.
His decorative Attic-type helmet is surmounted by an imposing high crest for which an interesting comparison is a Palladion (4) from

Tegea in Arcadia, variously considered Laconian or an Arcadian imitation (5). Though far shorter, the element supporting the crest of the Athena terminates in the same volute and the crest itself is very similar in shape, with the same pattern of horsehair engraving save for the part of the crest falling down the back. Also, the engraved circles on the volute and the edge of Athena's peplos are like the one above each ear on the helmet of our youth and for the eyelets on his boots.

We can draw no conclusions from the above though a distant rapport is probable.

Langlotz conjectured a Sicyonian school and by elimination this seems the most likely attribution for the youth, though one should not totally exclude the possibility that he was an unusual Attic creation.

He may have held a spear in each hand and represents a hero or athlete dedicated as a votive.

1) Father of George Ortiz and understandingly acquired at the latter's request.
2) For footwear in general consult: Morrow, K.D.: Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture (Madison, 1985).
3) For an example of this, see a boot of a terracotta equestrian figure from the Athenaion in Gela (ASAtene 27-29 [1949-1951] pl. 5).
4) Athens, National Museum 14828.
5) Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs (Fribourg, 1983) 112, fig. 95.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 176, 181, cat. no. IV 173, ill; Master Bronzes, 55, cat. no. 38,
ill. (Hoffmann, H., Apollo 86, 69 [November 1967] 334, no. 4); Primitive to Picasso, 20, 96, cat. no. 12, ill; Hommes et Dieux, 216, 217, cat. no. 134, ill.6 ill., col. pl. at p. 215.
Published:
Charbonneaux, J., Les bronzes grecs (Paris, 1958) 69, 141, pl. 8.1; Häfner, U., Das Kunstschaffen Lakoniens (Münster, 1965) 158; Vokotopolou J., Ellenike Techne. Argyra kai Chalkina Erga Technes (Athens, 1997) 78, 230-231, no. 52, col. ill.
Mentioned:
Gjödesen, M., “Greek Bronzes. A review article”, AJA 67 (1963) 334; Jost, M., “Statuettes de bronze de Lykosoura”, BCH 99 (1975) 357, n. 68; Jucker, H., “Der archaische griechische Standspiegel in Cincinnati”, in: In Memoriam Otto J. Brendel (Mainz, 1976) 32, n. 46; Walter-Karydi, E., “Bronzen aus Dodona”, JbBerlMus 23 (1981) 31, n. 42; Richardson, E., Etruscan Votive Bronzes (Mainz, 1983) 177, n. 17; Herfort-Koch, M., Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens, Boreas Beiheft 4 (1986) 58, n. 206; Kozloff, A.P. and Mitten, D.G. (eds.), The Gods Delight. The Human Figure in Classical Bronze (Cleveland, 1988) 84, 86.

113. RUNNING SATYR

Bronze
H: 5.7 cm
Allegedly from the Alpheios Valley (Elis)
Elean workshop
c. 525 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process with very little working in the cold.
Condition: the once originally smooth surface considerably eroded to the detriment of most of the details. Tips of fingers of left hand missing, as also toes of right foot and left foot and ankle.
Greenish black patina with earth deposits over the eroded parts.

Full of life and with his broad smile, this satyr runs in the archaic fashion, one knee to the ground. He has no tail and human feet, particular features of Laconian satyrs (1) in the 6th century B.C. This woodland spirit, characterized by his big eyes, upturned pointed nose, large mouth and goatee, was presumably part of a group.
Somewhat earlier in date than the following companion piece, he is probably from a local workshop under Laconian influence.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1967-1968
Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 178, ill; Hommes et Dieux, 107, 108, cat. no. 54, col. pl.
Published:
Pipili, M., Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century B.C. (Oxford, 1987), 67, 117, cat. no. 185.
Mentioned:
Herfort-Koch, M., Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens, Boreas Beiheft 4 (1986) 61, n. 214.

1) Pipili, M., Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century B.C., 67.

114. ITHYPHALLIC SATYR

Bronze
H: 5.2 cm
Allegedly from the upper Alpheios Valley (Elis)
Elean workshop
Beginning of the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.

Ex collection:
Henry Walters
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, inv. no. 54.1142 (acquired by exchange in 1961)

Solid-cast by the lost wax process with little working in the cold.
Condition: worn down as a pebble in the sands of a river bed, particularly noticeable on the right hand and foot. The left foot missing.
Brown medal bronze with smooth red oxidization and patches of dark green.

Sharing certain characteristics with his companion piece, cat. no. 113, manifesting lubricity and exaggeratedly ithyphallic, the quintessence of his species, he seems to be grinning with glee as he runs away, having been up to some prank, possibly molesting maenads.
Our satyr covers (1) his left eye in a pretense of decorum over his state and mischievous carryings-on.
Certainly from the same workshop as his companion - with similar shaped face and indication of the hair above the forehead; the ears, broad mouth and beard identical.
The body build, very resemblant though somewhat freer and less archaic, hints at a slightly later date.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1967-1968
Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 179, ill; Hommes et Dieux, 107, cat. no. 55, ill.
Published:
Hill. D. K., Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculptures in the Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1949) 42, no. 85, pl. 19; Pipili, M., Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century B.C. (Oxford, 1987) 67, 117, cat. no. 186.
Mentioned:
Herfort-Koch, M., Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens, Boreas Beiheft 4 (1986) 61, n. 214.

1) Though satyrs are not bashful, this gesture cannot be interpreted as an attempt at aposkopeuon, for the left hand does not act as a visor but is flat and completely covers his left eye.

115. WARRIOR

Bronze
H: 13.42 cm
Allegedly from North-West Greece?
North-West Greek
c. 525 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process with considerable engraving and chasing in the cold.
Condition: left forearm and both feet missing; deep casting flaw on the back of the hair with further casting imperfections on the back.
Light green to greyish green patina with some pitting and oxidization.

The hoplite was a subject for which the Spartans had a particular predilection; from the middle of the 6th century B.C. onwards it adhered to a certain type which was imitated by various regions of Greece.
This warrior wears a crested Corinthian helmet, a bell-shaped cuirass in two parts and greaves, as well as a short tunic that covers his buttocks and is scallop-shaped in front leaving his genitals exposed. He strides forward and formerly held a spear in his upraised right hand and a circular shield (the so-called Argive type) on his left forearm.
A very close comparison is a larger warrior in the Christos G. Bastis collection (1) which features engravings on the right side of the helmet: triangles, horse hair-like hatchings and different mouldings identical to those on the present example. Identical also is the palmette, lotus and volute decoration on the front of the cuirass; the dotted border of the tunic which does not continue on his left side and the dotted edge of the greaves which likewise is not engraved on his left below the knees. The same applies to the mass of hair

which is only indicated with horizontal lines on his right side.
All these details, even down to the casting flaws, are so similar on both statuettes that they must not only come from the same workshop but be by the same artist and probably from the same votive ensemble, such as vessel and tripod, or the like. They are meant to be seen from the right side and from a three-quarter back or front view only.
For their manneristic and effeminate characteristics, these two warriors belong to a North-West Greek school, though they are in keeping with their Peloponnesian prototype, probably Corinthian (2). Their expression and style place them in the late Archaic period and they should be dated around 525 B.C.

Exhibited and Published:
Schutz und Zier, 21-23, fig. 17.

1) Antiquities from the Christos G. Bastis Collection, (Mainz, 1987) 176-178, no. 90.
2) Payne, H., Necrocorinthia (Oxford, 1931) 102, pl. 34.7.

116. BANQUETER

Bronze
L: 11.5 cm. H: 6.78 cm
Allegedly from Greece
North-West Greek
c. 530 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and worked in the cold.
Condition: the metal strip on his left with traces of the hole for riveting broken off and in antiquity a new hole drilled in what remains (present overall length about 7 mm shorter than originally). The eyes and nose slightly flattened.
Patina a dark olive green.

The banquet in Ancient Greece, whether intimate or with many guests, fulfilled an important social function, reserved for men - free women were not admitted, though female servants, musicians, dancers and courtesans were present.
Originally an eminently boisterous gathering given over to wine-drinking, the serving of food, entertainment, and accompanying music, it evolved over time into an occasion also for cultural intercourse: the reading of poetry, philosophical debate and other intellectual pursuits.
The smiling banqueter wearing a wreath is reclining on a kline (1), his left elbow resting on a cushion - the hand holding a phiale; a drinking horn in his right hand.
A remarkably close comparison is a banqueter in the Volos Museum (2). They are very similar for some of the cold-working such as the two parallel engraved lines that terminate the drapery over the ankles, on the Volos example also what appears to be a zigzag or lozenge filling, similar to the zigzag lines on either side of the seam of their cushion. Their couches are identical and the mattresses of both decorated with groups of triple vertical strokes. Both pieces are

very close in size and could come from the same vessel.
A good parallel is the banqueter in the British Museum (3), said to have been found at Dodona, usually ascribed to a Peloponnesian workshop, more precisely Corinth, and dated in the second half of the 6th century, though E. Walter-Karydi ascribes it to a local Dodona school (4).
He is substantial, of finer modelling and engraving and with a magnificent plastic flow; more sophisticated and spirited, beaming with humour, he is a superior creation to these slightly provincial examples, with their rather awkwardly upright position. But the British Museum banqueter has a valid claim to being the finest extant Greek bronze. He is also solid-cast, his couch is wider, imperceptibly curved with flat underside, and most likely once attached to a vessel.
By contrast, the present statuette is on a narrower curved couch - as is the Volos example - with the underside hollowed out (5), but on either side of both perforated metal strips project for riveting.
The great similarity and discrepancies between the three banqueters pose a problem. There is a contrast between the spirited expression of the British Museum banqueter - the plasticity of his body and drapery, and the simple rendering of the couch - with the parallels. The British Museum banqueter seems to show a neckline of a tunic, though he is naked from the waist up; Volos has a faint resemblance of a neckline (also slanting incisions on his left arm) and our example no indication. The British Museum banqueter rests his right hand on his right knee and in his left holds a solid-cast phiale with an engraved line for the inner rim to indicate depth; the Volos example rests his right hand slightly behind the knee and holds a rhyton in his left; and on ours the right hand holds a rhyton and the left an omphalos phiale. The three pieces differ for the tilts of their heads: ours with the neck slightly tilted forward but the gaze straight ahead, and on the British Museum and Volos examples the necks held straighter and the eyes gaze slightly up.
On the British Museum figure the mass of the hair down the back is admirably worked with the greatest detailing also over the forehead and on either side of the neck. The hair on Volos is trying to imitate the British Museum style though the cold-working is far less refined, especially so for either side of the neck, with on ours only simple horizontal strokes; over the forehead of the Volos a simpler rendering is similar to that on our example. The top of the head of all three is smooth, the mass of hair down the back is smooth on ours and we cannot tell for Volos.
The same artist could not have produced all three; but are the present example and Volos by a lesser artisan in the same workshop? More likely, they are imitations by an artist from a different school who saw and admired the ensemble to which the British Museum example (6) belonged, whether in a sanctuary at Dodona or thereabouts (7).
Our banqueter and the Volos example could be from one of several centres of North-West Greece, possibly a workshop at Apollonia on the periphery of Epirus, or from a Thessalian workshop inspired by the school that produced the British Museum banqueter.

Mentioned:
Stibbe, C.M., The Sons of Hephaistos. Aspects of the Archaic Greek Bronze Industry (Rome , 2000) 149, n. 174.

1) In reality, klinai usually had legs which are never shown on bronze examples with banqueters made to be fixed to the rims of vessels.
2) Volos Museum M 111, H: 6.7 cm L: 11.5 cm from Philia near Karditsa (found 1962), Thessaly (the author unfortunately has not seen the piece but was sent by a friend a most useful frontal snapshot, but poor due to the lighting conditions). K. Romiopoulou brought our attention to the latter and a similar piece (M 115, H: 5.8 cm; L: 9.8 cm, from Crannon (found 1965), Thessaly, "not as good in quality as the former" in a letter dated 27 June 1994.
3) British Museum GR 1954.10-18.1.
4) Walter-Karydi, E., “Bronzen aus Dodona-eine epirotische Erzbildnerschule”, JbBerlMus 23 (1981) 20, 30, no. 20.
5) For the present example and surely also for the Volos bronze, possibly for affixing with lead to a vessel rim.
6) To enable comparison, a metal analysis was carried out (at our suggestion graciously approved by Brian Cook) at the British Museum on the present example and theirs: and though the tin content was similar in both, the lead content on ours was far higher (17.5 against 10.7%) which, added to their

117. WARRIOR

Bronze
H: 17 cm
From Yemen
Laconian?
c. 540-530 B.C.

Ex collection:
Major Tadeus Altounyan (acquired from a Bedouin in Yemen,who had the piece 11 years) and thence to his son Andrew Altounyan

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and worked in the cold.
Condition: the ends of both forearms are missing but the solid cast was originally flawless and of very fine quality. A thick sand-induced patina forms a layer which, where chipped or worn down, lays bare the original metallic forms. Such a surface can only be induced by hundreds of years of burial in sand, a sure proof that the hoplite reached Yemen in antiquity. The figure was worn by the Bedouin finder for eleven years against his chest, as a fetish. The metal shows through yellow on the stumps of the arms, midriff, nose, point of helmet crest, genitals and toes. The rest of the statuette is a yellowish-brown medal colour with large patches of red cuprite and gritty sand and pebble deposits.

For the type, see cat. no. 115, though the present figure wears no tunic.
The warrior probably held a spear in his right hand and a circular shield on his left forearm.
There is a rapport with a warrior from Dodona (1,) once fixed to the rim of a cauldron. Whether our hoplite was also fixed to a vessel remains uncertain on account of his condition. The double moulding on the left side of the helmet crest seems not to have been repeated on the right side, if this be so, the figure is to be seen from the left. Since almost all warriors from the rims of vessels as well as figures in appliqué on the shoulders of craters are shown moving

from left to right, our figure probably had a counterpart facing him on the edge of a vessel or belonged to a free-standing group.
In style the closest parallel for the proportions of the body and the relationship of parts, is the hoplite from Lykosura in Messenia (2), though the crest of the helmet is very different. Also very similar would appear to be a little hoplite from the Samian Heraeum (3) (extremely oxidized).
Our warrior in all probability was produced in Sparta or possibly by a Spartan working in Dodona. In Schutz und Zier we had suggested "Laconian? or a North-East ? Greek workshop (Ambrakia, Epirus) in Laconian style".
In favour of the Laconian attribution is his massive volume and the proportions of his body to which should be added the find-spot, in view of Sparta's ties to Samos and East Greece.
Historically, the discovery in Yemen is surprising but plausible. If there was trade with Arabia in incense, myrrh and other spices in the 6th century B.C., it would have been conducted by East Greeks, but the figure might easily have passed from hand to hand via Egypt or the Levant.

Exhibited and Published:
Aus dem Reich von Saba, Jemen, 12-13, 91, col. pl.; Schutz und Zier, 21-23, fig. 16.
Published:
Beazley, J.D., “An Archaic Greek Statuette from South Arabia”, BSA 40 (1939-40) (publ. 1943) 83-84, fig. 1-2; id., Man, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 43, no. 68, fig. 1-2 (same text as previous); Ashmole, B., The Bicentenary of the British Museum - III, The Listener, 2 July 1953, 17-18; Segall, B., “The Arts and King Nabonidus”, AJA 59 (1955) 315-318, pl. 93.1-3; Herfort-Koch, M., Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens, Boreas Beiheft 4 (1986) 56, 116, no. K 133; Daum, W., Jemen. 3000 Jahre Kunst und Kultur des glücklichen Arabien (Innsbruck/Frankfurt am Main, 1987) 13, 91 ill.; id., Yemen. 3000 Years of Art and Civilisation in Arabia Felix (Innsbruck/Frankfurt am Main, 1988), pp. 13, 91, ill.; Antiquities, Sotheby's, London, 14 July 1986, 52-56, lot 141; Boardman, J., The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity (London, 1994) 163-164, pl. 5.11; Stibbe, C.M., Das andere Sparta, Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 65 (Mainz, 1996) 139, 142, pl. 9; id., “Een curieuze handelsroute”, Hermeneus, Tijdschrift voor antieke cultuur 69.1 (February 1997) 7-11, fig. 8.

Mentioned:
Bloesch, H., “Spartanischer Krieger”, MusHelv 16 (1959) 250, n. 6; Kunze, E., Kleinplastik aus Bronze, OB 7 (1961) 175; Häfner, U., Das Kunstschaffen Lakoniens (Münster, 1965) 50, 95, n. 95; Jucker, H., “Bronzehenkel und Bronzehydria aus Pesaro”, StOliv 13-14 (1966) 81, n. 263; Jost. M., “Statuettes de bronze de Lykosoura”, BCH 99 (1975) 360, no. 20; Parlasca, K., Bemerkungen zu den archäologischen Beziehungen zwischen Süd-Arabien und dem griechisch-römischen Kulturkreis. Actes Coll. inter. sur l'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel (Strasbourg, 1987); Boardman, J., The Greeks Overseas (London 1980) 18, 268, n. 8.

1) Berlin, Antikenmuseum 7470: Neugebauer, K.-A., Die griechischen Bronzen der klassischen Zeit und des Hellenismus (Berlin, 1951) 56-58, no. 46, pl. 25.
2) Athens, National Museum 7644, Jost, M., BCH 99 (1975) 355 ff., figs. 29-31.
3) Vathy Museum: Jost, M., op. cit., 359, no. 15; Buschor, E., Altsamische Standbilder III (Berlin, 1935) 48 ("mag aus Sparta gebracht worden sein") figs. 170-171.

118. WARRIOR

Bronze
H: 17.7 cm (L. of spear: 16.6 cm)
Allegedly from Central Italy (30 km NNE of Rome)
Italiot from Campania
End of the 7th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, chiselled and engraved.
Condition: patina very light green with yellowish overtones, the undersurface showing in places a whitish cuprous chloride (nantokite); the metal showing through here and there. His original spear and shield missing. Chips on the crest of the helmet and tip of the left hand.
The spear has a similar patina; the butt once broken off about 3.7 cm from the end now refastened.

The warrior with his provincial Dedalic face presents a certain enigma (1) - a true reminder that artists and works of art travelled, styles circulated and overlapped, old ones carrying on alongside new. We often have only the odd representative for the production of certain regions, and know little of the artistic production of most of the localities in contact with Greek colonies and outposts (2).
The warrior was probably made by a first-generation Greek in Italy but might even have been made by a native Italian under strong Greek influence.
Greek is the general stance, the angular arms, the raised right hand that held a spear, the left forearm against which a shield was attached through a rivet in the hand, the parallelogram base with a hole through its centre for affixing to a large vessel (for a similar attachment see cat. no. 85).
Italic is the loincloth and its punched circle border; the helmet is inseparable from the hair, somewhat like a skull-cap, rather South Italian in feeling, with its unusual crest representing a horse's tail,

carelessly incised; the long trapezoid face with a square chin; the concave indent (3) vertically between the chin and the cheekbone at mouth level; the strip in low relief below the nose; the use of a vertical line of punched circles to decorate the back, and the same punched circles to indicate the navel and nipples.

Though we may sense a Corinthian or Euboean (4) aura, probably due to the inspiration behind him, his broad flat neck and almond eyes surmounted by grooves for eyebrows, give him a forceful presence, a somewhat uncouth Italic characteristic.

There are parallels for certain details: the punched circles and the "rocking" pattern on the helmet close to the skull on local products from the region of Sinuessa probably datable around the early 6th century B.C.

There is also a fluidity and naturalism of the buttocks, thighs and legs above the short feet that are, as Rolley (5) rightly points out, of a suppleness unimaginable before the 7th century.

If our statuette has been dated to the first quarter of the 7th century, this is because it could not be otherwise if it were Greek from the mainland, whether Thessalian or North-East Peloponnesian.

However, in Italy, it is some half a century or more later, as shown by the more advanced characteristics and parallels with local works. There is in addition a certain time element for a Euboean, Argive or Corinthian style to be appreciated by a native population and exercise a lasting influence on local production.

It should be remembered that whatever the main influence, there will be a convergence of currents embodied, however subtly, in such a work.

If our attribution is correct, some of these currents will ensue from trading relations between the Etruscans (those of Cerveteri under Corinthian influence) and the Euboeans of Cumae and Pithecoussai; in addition, the ebb and flow of influence between Campania and Magna Graecia should not be overlooked, possibly responsible in the present case for our statuette's distant affinity to certain Tarentine (6) products.

The original spear was not found and the one exhibited does not belong to the warrior. It was given to the owner most generously by Capt. Spencer-Churchill; it fits the statuette beautifully in size, type and colour. Though its find-spot is unknown, it is in all probability Italy, and the mouldings, shape of the point and finial of the butt are in keeping with a date in the 6th century B.C.

Exhibited and Published:
Master Bronzes, 34, cat. no. 12, ill. (Archaeology 20, 4, October 1967); Hommes et Dieux, 211-213, cat. no. 132, ill.
Published:
Rolley, Cl., “A propos de la statuette Ortiz”, BCH 93 (1969) 673-678, fig. 28-32; Galestin, M., Italic and Etruscan bronze statuettes (Warfhuizen, 1987) 26, no. VI 9.
Mentioned:
Sarian, H., “Terres cuites géométriques d'Argos”, BCH 93 (1969) 664; Kopcke, G., “Eine Bronzestatuette des Zeus in der Münchner Glyptothek”, MüJb, 3. Folge, 27 (1976) 16, n. 36.

1) Despite the alleged find-spot, we had once thought that this was a Thessalian product on account of its patina, of the punched circles and above all on account of the "rocking" pattern that covers much of the surface on the helmet crest - somewhat like the decoration of the catch-plates of Thessalian fibulae; and for its general provinciality. See Sarian, H., BCH 93 (1969) 664, n. 2.

2) Though not directly relevant to the bronze, an example of a parallel type of problem is the Aristonothos crater from Cerveteri dated around 650 B.C., in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (Bianchi Bandinelli, R. and Giuliano, A., Les Etrusques et l'Italie avant Rome, Univers des Formes <Paris, 1973> figs. 436-437), likewise somewhat of an enigma. What we have here is a local Italiot production from Sicily, Magna Graecia or Etruria, probably by a first-generation Greek in Italy under the strong influence of a major centre in his homeland.

3) A feature also of Corinthian terracottas, e.g. Athens, National Museum 16491, found at Perachora.

4) David Mitten told us that the piece might be Euboean from Italy, of the late 8th century B.C. since the Euboeans were on Ischia/Pithecoussai from around 750 B.C. We might then have an extremely early Greek colonial work made on the island or mainland.

5) Rolley, Cl., BCH 93 (1969) 678.

6) For instance, a terracotta head of a statuette of Dedalic style, Taranto, Museo Nazionale, of the mid 7th century B.C. (Pugliese Carratelli, G. et al., Megale Hellas. Storia e civiltà della Magna Grecia <Milan, 1983> fig. 306) and a terracotta antefix in Trieste, Museo Civico, dated 610-600 B.C. (Pugliese Carratelli, G., op. cit., fig. 312).

119. CORINTHIAN HELMET

Bronze
H: 22.2 cm
Provenance: no indication; probably South Italy
Magna Graecia
Second quarter of the 6th century B.C.

Ex collection:
Lord Londesborough?
S.E. Lucas

Made by hammering thick bronze sheet, probably already cast to an appropriate spherical form, working up from the sides towards the top.
The crown is very thin, a normal consequence of the metal being stretched by repeated hammering and annealing, its curvature and shape giving it structural strength, which nose-guard, lower half and rim possess on account of their considerable thickness.
The exterior decoration is then added in the cold by chasing, using an anvil.
Condition: part of left eyebrow missing, a few holes on crown of helmet.
Patina: a brownish medal bronze with traces of green, rusty earth deposits, etc.

The so-called Corinthian helmet (1), probably invented in Corinth, became the helmet par excellence during three centuries: the 7th, 6th and 5th.
Produced in Greece, Central and South Italy, it was worn all over the Greek world, by Etruscans and adopted by some other non-Greeks.
Examples are found over much of the ancient world: primarily in sanctuaries in Greece and in tombs in Italy.
Its development followed three main phases.

The present example belongs to the second phase in which there are two prominent types: the so-called Myros-Group and Lotus-flower-on-forehead-Group.
The two groups overlap, though it would appear that the earlier examples of the second phase were the Lotus-flower-on-forehead with very thick nose-guard (c. 9 mm). In this group we observe that the lower line of the eye cut-out meets the line of the cheekpiece in an upturned angle.
This helmet, on which the lower line of the eye cut-out curves only very slightly at the angle, belongs to another group, near the Lotus-flower group.
Another unique feature, a narrow ridge about 5 cm in length going straight up from the junction of the eyebrows, is also reminiscent of the group, and the thickness of the nose-guard (9 mm) is characteristic. The eyebrows look like a stylization of bulls' horns, a symbol of both courage and strength.
Our helmet was once dedicated as a votive offering in a sanctuary and affixed by a squarish hole in the middle of the nape.
The cheekflaps were turned up at the lower corners to prevent reuse. After a while, to make place for new dedications, votive offerings were disposed of. This is attested on our helmet, since the attachment hole was ripped and the top of the helmet crushed in antiquity (hammered out since discovery).
The attribution to Magna Graecia is based on the type, which is mostly found and therefore produced there. An additional clue is its having belonged to an English collection - possibly the property of Lord Londesborough - in the late 18th or early 19th century. Such collections were almost entirely made up of finds from Italy.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 144, cat. no. II 108, ill.

1) For a general discussion on Corinthian helmets, see: Bol, P.C.: Antike Bronzetechnik. Kunst und Handwerk antiker Erzbildner (Munich, 1985); Pflug, H., in: Antike Helme. Sammlung Lipperheide und andere Bestände des Antikenmuseums Berlin (Mainz, 1988) 65-106; id., Schutz und Zier (Basel, 1989).

120. "DANCING" BULL

Bronze
H: 5.8 cm
Provenance: no indication
Graeco-Italic
Second half of the 6th century B.C.

Ex collection:
Professor Friedrich Sarre

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and linear decoration added in the cold. Pierced horizontally through the middle of the body for fixing to a tripod stand by a rod.
Condition: back of left ear and right front nostril flattened.
Olive black to dark brown patina with red and green deposits; the metal showing in certain places through wear.

This bull, though rounder, less angular and stiff and probably later in date, can be related to the Armentum horse and rider - often related to Tarentum.
They share a certain kindred spirit and linear type of engraving.
We agree with Rolley that the so-called "Grumentum Rider" (1) from Armentum is not Greek nor Tarentine, but local Italic work under Greek influence.
All over the hinterland, behind the Greek colonies on the coast of Magna Graecia and Sicily, indigenous towns thrived; in our present state of knowledge, these form a sort of cultural no man's land - they had sanctuaries, and some of them workshops also.
Even on the coastline, the influences were diverse and the cross-currents many: Tarentum influenced by Spartans, Metapontum by

Achaeans, with traders stopping by and foreigners passing through, etc., etc.
For instance, in Pesaro (2), we have a hydria handle representing warriors, modelled after North Greek examples, which in turn derive from Laconian prototypes. Other bulls from Andria (3) in Apulia, though different, share certain characteristics with ours.
Our bull, from a similar complex as the Armentum "Horse and Rider" under Tarentine influence, is from one of those local Italic workshops. Notwithstanding the fact that their art is marked by local colour, it generally expresses a character and sometimes a humour that owes much to the Greeks.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 180, 185, cat. no. IV 186, ill.

1) British Museum GR 1904.7-3.1: Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs (Fribourg, 1983) 122-124, no. 110.
2) Museo Oliveriano 3315, from Treia: Jucker, H., “Bronzehenkel und Bronzehydria in Pesaro”, StOliv 13-14 (1966) pl. I.
3) Berlin, Antikenmuseum 8386, 8385: Jantzen, U., Bronzewerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien. JdI 13. ErgH. (Berlin, 1937) pl. 8.

121. SPHINX

Bronze
H: 7.93 cm. Max. L: 7.3 cm
From Magna Graecia
Tarentine?
c. 550 B.C.

Ex collection:
Count Afan di Rivera Capialbi (in the family 19th century - 1956) (1)

Solid-cast (2) by the lost wax process, carefully worked in the cold, burnished and polished.
Condition: patina darkish olive green where smooth, lighter where sandlike and granular, and with earth deposit. A speck here and there of red cuprite and traces of blue on the back of the capital. The tail ends in a carefully worked ledge (3) to which would have been added its extremity, indicating that it probably had a decorative aspect and was possibly of precious metal (4). Beneath it, the back of the volute's cusp open, a casting imperfection, used for modern mounting. Probably both volutes were inlaid, as well as the top of the polos which has a similar cuplike hole.
Under the front volute, on its lower back edge a small modern hole (5).

The ascribing of bronzes from Magna Graecia or Sicily to specific schools is very complex and highly problematic. The artists and workshops of the various cities developed their own styles full of originality that varied according to the centres, the extent of their founders' influence, and an infinite variety of circumstances depending on the artisan's travels, his contacts, his qualifications. There were currents and cross-currents between East Greece, Mainland Greece and Crete, with the colonies in the west, among

the colonies themselves which were also influenced by the indigenous population.
The sphinx is probably Tarentine and shows strong Laconian influence, as can be expected in one of Sparta's colonies. However, at the same time, the author sees in it a Cretan influence in keeping with a comparison (6) he pointed out and which is supported by Cl. Rolley. This is a bronze in Athens (7) from the cave of Mt. Ida, surely a local product. It differs from our sphinx and its companion in London, "... cast from the same melt, and likely to have come from the same vessel" (8), in that the head appears slightly more frontal, and the upper edge of the wing has a ridge which is not incised as here, a Laconian characteristic. The tail is more curved, attached at the rump and also at the wing, it descends in a loop ending in a closed lotus bud-like shape; also, the front paws are attached to each other and the section between the volutes is divided into fifteen narrower divisions rather than into ten rectangles. Though the eyes and hair are very similar, the workshop must be different. A. Lembessi told the author that local sculpture in Crete was influenced by Corinth towards the end of the 7th century, and when he mentioned Cretan contacts with Magna Graecia, she confirmed this and added "also in the late 7th century and particularly with Gela". The polos on the sphinxes is very Laconian and is a characteristic commonly reproduced in Crete from the Dedalic period onwards.
It was probably attached to a bronze vessel, or possibly a piece of furniture. Roughly comparable pieces are three sphinxes from Trebeniste (9) which Cl. Rolley ascribes to Corinth (10). They are different but their tails and the odd detail bear resemblance to the sphinx from Mt. Ida. There is a sphinx from Reggio Calabria (11) assigned by I. Caruso to a Peloponnesian area, possibly Corinth.
P. Arias (12) attributes the present sphinx to a Locrian workshop. Sphinxes in Weimar and Paris ascribed by Jantzen (13) to Tarentum are comparable, however, though with differences, more Ionian and with less of a local touch and possibly more refined. This sphinx is tentatively ascribed to an area influenced by Tarentum.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1969-1973
Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 174, ill.
Published:
Arias, P.E., “Bronzetti inediti di provenienza italiota”, CdA 5.1 (1940) 4, no. 4, pl. 4, fig. 8; Fuhrmann, H., “Archäologische Funde”, AA 56 (1941) 675, fig. 147; Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs (Fribourg, 1983) 118-119, no. 104, col. pl.
Mentioned:
Herfort-Koch, M., Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens, Boreas Beiheft 4 (1986) 63, n. 219.

1) For the most part assembled by Count Vito di Rivera Capialbi in the first half of the 19th century.
2) A small hole in the inguinal region might indicate that the body itself had a central core, unless it be only the result of an air bubble.
3) On which there seem to be slight traces of soldering.
4) Both plausible reasons for this element having been made separately.
5) Drilled by the British Museum Research Laboratory at the request of Brian Cook, at the author's suggestion, for the purpose of analysis and comparison with the bronze sphinx in the British Museum 1867.5-8.766, formerly in the Duc de Blacas collection, which the author had always thought came from the same vessel and was by the same artist. The Research Laboratory report of 23 November 1989 supplied a detailed table of 14 different metals and traces thereof, stating "... the two sphinxes show that they are of identical composition, well within the analytical errors of the technique. The obvious conclusion is that they were cast from the same melt, and were likely to have come from the same vessel." (D.R. Hook).
6) See Art Antique, no. 174.
7) National Museum 11769.
8) See footnote 5.
9) Popovic, L. et al., Anticka Bronza u Jugoslaviji. Narodni Muzej-Beograd (Belgrade, 1969) 75, no. 48.
10) Rolley, Cl., Les vases de bronze de l'archaïsme récent en Grande Grèce (Naples, 1982) 87 ff., pl. 44, figs. 201-203.
11) Caruso, I., “Bronzetti di produzione Magnogreca dal VI al IV sec. A.C.: La classe degli specchi”, RM 88 (1981) 33, pl. 14.2.
12) Arias, P.E., CdA 5.1 (1940) 4, no. 4, pl. 4, fig. 8.
13) Jantzen, U., Bronzewerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien, JdI 13. ErgH. (Berlin, 1937) 70, 76, pl. 33.

122. KORE (mirror stand)

Bronze
H: 17.4 cm. Stand: 6.52 x 6.27 cm
From Magna Graecia
School of Sybaris
c. 520 B.C.

Ex collection:
Count Afan di Rivera Capialbi (1)

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, the base cast separately (2). Carefully and elaborately worked in the cold by means of different chisels and punches. The curved capital on top of the head worked to receive the mirror disc, a rectangular cavity in its top now filled with oxidized lead, surely to help secure the mirror. It is probable that the round hole above the hair tress in front, now filled with the remains of a broken rivet, and on top of the hair at the back, were to help hold the mirror disc vertically in place.
Condition: patina olive green of varying shades. The right side of dress, arm and hand a reddish brown, a combination of cuprite and an iron deposit removed by modern cleaning. Traces of red oxidization on both statue and base. Surface fairly smooth with slight earth incrustation. The odd minute air bubble, a large one on top of left shoe.

The Kore, clad in an Ionian chiton, with her arms slightly akimbo, stands on a stepped base decorated on its face with an ovolo frieze indicated by double line contours. On the top right front corner two incised ovolos; maybe a mistake by an apprentice, or a start of the decorative motif that on second thought was found more appropriate as it is at present. The short mantle on her shoulders has a wide engraved meander on its lower front border with a line of punched dots which runs above, between the meander and an

outer line and below, between the meander and the edge of the mantle. This only continues around the back. A wide fold down the middle of the front of her skirt divides the pleats indicated by curved lines as each hand holds it up on either side. Curiously, at the back, the same pleats are formed by a double incised line and, though no fold separates them, they alternate from each side and end haphazardly, some slightly beyond the groove formed on the skirt by the parting of the legs. Punched circles decorate the skirt on the back from her buttocks down.

Over the back of her head and ending below her shoulder-blades, the undulating mass of her hair is indicated by vertical lines and horizontal incisions.

The author has always ascribed her to Sybaris and Rolley has confirmed this attribution in publishing a bronze statuette from the sanctuary of Athena from "la Motta" at Francavilla Marittima near Sybaris (3). She would be an antecedent to our statuette, as he dates her in the second quarter of the 6th century and ascribes her to Sybaris with a question mark. The face, in more simplified fashion and without the sophisticated smile, bears a close resemblance, especially for the hairline above the forehead. She also wears a mantle, the chiton belted below it, its skirt ending above the slippered feet that protrude. Cl. Rolley nicely characterizes both of them as an Ionian expression of the west.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1969-1973
Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 224, ill; Hommes et Dieux, 190-191, cat. no. 114, ill.
Published:
Arias, P.E., “Bronzetti inediti di provenienza italiota”, CdA 5.1 (1940) 1-2, pl. 1, figs. 1-2; Zanotti-Bianco, U., ArchStorCalabria 10 (1940) 367 ff; Fuhrmann, H., “Archäologische Funde”, AA 56 (1941) 671, fig. 142; Keene Congdon, L.O., Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece (Mainz, 1981) 238-239; Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs (Fribourg, 1983) 124-125, no. 111, col. pl.

1) See Sphinx, cat. no. 121.
2) The shoes of the statuette soldered onto the stepped base, bronze metal added and annealed.
3) Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs, 124, 126, no. 113.

123. FOUR HUMAN MASKS (appliques)

Silver gilt
H: a. 3.7 cm; b. 4.8 cm; c. 3.43 cm; d. 4.75 cm
Allegedly from Policoro (Lucania)
Tarentine?
Last quarter of the 6th century B.C.

Made of silver sheet covered (1) with gold foil. The masks first roughly shaped probably over a wooden matrix and the details finely chiselled in successive operations. Perfectly cleaned before applying the gold foil. Thin gold leaf will stick to silver without adhesive, but possibly a fine adherence of the two metals was obtained (2) with the help of some organic substance; followed by burnishing all over. In a final step, surely backed with a substance, possibly mineral dust (clay, terracotta or marble) mixed with wax and/or a resinous material for purposes of consolidation.
Condition: the four heads with parts missing and broken, parts of the gold foil, either by chemical action or by tearing, broken away; a., c. and d. with modern consolidation: a. over the forehead and the tip of the nose, c. at the right temple and eye, and d. below the left corner of the mouth and the tip of the nose.

The four masks are illustrated clockwise starting from the top with the male head a., followed by three heads of Korai.
Because of their size and high relief, they were surely appliques (3) and not elements for a necklace, and having no holes for attachment they were probably not backed with cloth or leather. In all likelihood they were decorative elements, maybe for a casket.
For a predecessor to the type, there is a similar head of a male (?), from Athens (4) made in the same manner of very thin silver foil in repoussé. We have several comparisons: a gold necklace with six head pendants, female protomes, from Ruvo di Puglia (5),

interpreted as heads of the great goddess Demeter, and placed on the breast of the deceased. Also probably from the same workshop as ours are eight heads in silver gilt repoussé from Canosa (6). Two more very similar heads, in silver gilt, in Boston (7) ascribed to the region of Tarentum and said to be perhaps decoration from a casket. A further three heads, also in silver gilt repoussé, and ascribed to Tarentum around 500 B.C., are in a New York collection (8).

The present masks are probably Tarentine, as all the others, though they could come from a different centre located somewhere in Lucania or Apulia.

Mentioned :
Treister, M. Y. : Hammering Techniques in Greek and Roman Jewellery and Toreutics. Colloquia Pontica 8 (ed. J. Hargrave. Leiden, 2001), p. 23 n. 54.

1) Cleaned and restored by W. Haberkorn. Unfortunately they had previously been partly cleaned and somewhat too hastily restored by someone else for the dealer who sold them to the author. They bore traces of knife marks (possibly made by the finders) and scratches made with a glass brush.

2) Verbal communication from W. Haberkorn. For general gilding techniques see Borrelli Vlad, L.: Note sur la dorure, in: Les chevaux de Saint-Marc Venise (Paris, 1981), p. 179 ff. with sources and references. Often noticeable on such silver gilt objects is a sort of fusion of the two metals resulting in an unusual colour.

3) Originally part of a group of fifteen. These and the rest of the ensemble are published by Ariel Herrmann in: A Passion for Antiquities. Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman (Malibu, 1994) 120-123. The catalogue first appeared for the 13 October 1994 opening of the exhibition in Malibu, in which reference is made only to the Ortiz handbook for Russia which appeared in February 1993, but not to this full entry which was in the hands of the public in January 1994 in London. A.H. differs with the author in stating that the heads were made by hammering the metal into molds.

4) Munich, Antikensammlung, ex Loeb collection S.L.663: Lullies, R., “Neuerwerbungen der Antikensammlungen in München”, AA, 53 (1938) 426, fig. 5.

5) Tarentum, Museo Nazionale IG 6429: Langlotz, E. and Hirmer. M., Die Kunst der Westgriechen (Munich, 1963) 64, pl. 7.

6) Tarentum, Museo Nazionale: Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto I, 2: Il Progetto del Museo (Tarentum, 1990) pl. 4.

7) Museum of Fine Arts 58.395, 396: Boston. Museum of Fine Arts. Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art (Boston, 1963) 47, 60, fig. 45.

8) Classical Art from a New York Collection. André Emmerich Gallery (New York, 1977), no. 130.

124. CANDELABRUM

Bronze
H: 1.527 m. H. of statuette: 19.3 cm
Allegedly from Metapontum
Magna Graecia
End of the 6th century B.C.

Composed of seven main elements, all solid-cast, worked in the cold: hammered, chased, burnished and polished. The various elements joined to each other either with solder or inserted and secured by a linch pin of round or rectangular section.
The statuette, soldered by its feet onto a rectangular plate, damaged by a felling blow and/or crushing: the right forearm and hand bent inwards with tip of index, thumb and lotus bud they held, missing. Damage to the left shoulder and to the top and left side of the diadem. Nicks to the tip of her nose, upper lip, chin, left cheek, hairline, left forearm and back of hand.
The tubular shaft on her head fits over a cylindrical projection (1). Slight casting damage at its base and two cracks on the rim at the top, on which rests a Doric capital transfixed by a central rod (2) soldered in place, which inserted into the element, secured by a transverse pin (now missing).
The Doric capital, which would have been surmounted by a dish, possibly rectangular and now missing, pierced on its four corners with traces of iron, maybe pins, from which must have dangled (3) decorative elements: short chains from which possibly hung birds.
The surface of the statuette and shaft is granular, the patina uneven, spots of bright green over a dark brownish to brownish red metal that shows through here and there. The odd traces of blue cuprous silicate?
The Ionic capital on which she stands with blue, and green cuprous chloride, iron deposits and light medal bronze visible.
The stand is cast in one piece with a large, slightly tapering hollow down through its central section to enable insertion of the shaft. It is composed of

three feet, palmettes at their intersection, each surmounted by an ivy leaf, a snake protome on the curve with lion paws projecting from their mouths.
One of the three feet broken below the ankle and reattached; one of the ivy leaves, forepart and top of snake's head with nasty gashes, the odd nick here and there. The present surface of a slightly sandy texture of varying greens from whitish to dark, traces of blue, brownish to reddish brown bronze showing through here and there and considerable earth incrustation.
The column tubular and slightly tapering up, cast and forged with fifteen flutes, a lower recessed section tapering down and slightly over 10 cm in length, pierced through near its lower end with a rectangular opening to enable the fitting of a peg to secure it when inserted through the foot.
On the lower half of the column two rectangular cut-outs, one repaired in antiquity with the fitted piece still in place, but missing for the other. The top with a barely tapering recessed section about 3.6 cm long to enable the fixing of the Ionic capital through its tubular section and hollowed-out middle. On either side of the echinus iron deposits from the pin holding it in place.
The rectangular plate beneath the feet of the Kore surmounts the capital.
Surface rough owing to the patina of varying shades, malachite green in places, earth incrustations over the brown to brown reddish metal which shows through here and there.

The statuette of the Kore that surmounts the candelabrum is dressed in a chiton and a himation that passes from her right shoulder under the left breast and arm.
Cl. Rolley informed the author that she was photographed in Metapontum in 1926 and says "very probably made on the spot" (4). An example of the Ionian taste in Magna Graecia, as Cl. Rolley suggests, on account of the way she is treated, both spread out and round, the importance given to her dress which takes predominance over her facial features and the somewhat manneristic elegance of her gesture. An interesting parallel for the position and the general composition of the statuette, more Laconian in its facial expression and ascribed to Tarentum, is the mirror handle, Aphrodite with sphinx, in London (5). A still closer comparison is a marble statue from the Punta del Tonno near Tarentum (6) and as unfinished surely being made in a local workshop, probably by a local artisan, though possibly by an artist called in from another centre in Magna Graecia, maybe from nearby Metapontum. It is very similar for the folds of the himation worn in the same manner with the border diagonally across the breast; almost identical is the upper central fold and the way the himation falls to either side. The position of the legs is similar as is the lower hem of the chiton, though the left front leg would appear to be on the way to being sculpted in a slightly more naturalistic fashion.
Thus Cl. Rolley's attribution to Metapontum for the present statuette is highly probable, and though this author sees in it a strong Tarentine influence, a centre or an artist from somewhere between Tarentum and Siris ought not to be excluded.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 202, ill.; Hommes et Dieux, 191, cat. no. 115, ill.
Published:
Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs (Fribourg, 1983) 120-122, nos. 107, 108, ill., col. pl.
Mentioned:
Rutkowski, B., Griechische Kandelaber, JdI 94 (1979) 201, n. 112; Ebertshäuser, H.C. and Waltz, M., Antiken I. Vasen-Bronzen-Terrakotten des klassischen Altertums (Munich, 1981) 112-113, ill. 130; Rolley, Cl., Les vases de bronze de l'archaïsme récent en Grande Grèce (Naples, 1982) 67, n. 168; The Gods Delight. The Human Figure in Classical Bronze (Cleveland, 1988) 159.

1) Bent out of shape towards her left in keeping with the damage to her right forearm and hand and since restored more or less to its original position.
2) Its lower part where the pin went through missing, enough remains to indicate that the capital was placed with its corners on the axes of the figure.
3) The four holes would not be needed to hold the dish in place as the rod projects above the centre of the capital, and the latter's surface is most appropriate for fixing the dish with solder.
4) Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs, 122.
5) British Museum 548: Langlotz, E. and Hirmer, M., Die Kunst der Westgriechen (Munich, 1963) 63, no. 27.
6) Tarentum, Museo Nazionale: Langlotz, E. and Hirmer, M., op. cit., 66-67, no. 42.

125. HEAD OF KORE

Marble
H: 25 cm
Allegedly from Metapontum
Magna Graecia
c. 525-510 B.C.

Sculpted of a fine, thick-grained marble.
Condition: the surface where still smooth an off-white to beige colour, parts covered with a skin of limestone of sandy texture with blackish specks. Much damaged and the whole back of the head sliced off.
Missing: sections of the diadem and hair over the right ear-ring and nose; hair over forehead and right of forehead badly chipped, as well as right cheek and chin, abrasion to left eyebrow, both eyes and left side of face.

This archaic head with its enigmatic and captivating smile fascinates and intrigues but keeps its secrets. A true product of Magna Graecia she exemplifies its finest work and expresses its artistic koine. However, though she bears comparison for some features such as the general contour of the eyelids with terracotta heads from Medma, a Locrian colony, and though she has a distant rapport with certain heads from temple E in Selinunte, not to mention parallels with the silver gilt masks, cat. no. 123, and for her diadem with the candelabrum statuette, cat. no. 124, we are unable to attribute her to a particular school. However, just as the marble Motya youth was in this author's opinion probably made in Selinunte or nearby, by an artist from the Locri-Reggio area, this head also is the creation of an outstanding artist. With her enigmatic Ionian smile she is probably to be ascribed to the region of Metapontum, her maker, maybe widely travelled and cognizant of what was going on throughout most of the main centres in Magna Graecia, or of a

personality sufficient to leave his imprint on its output.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1987-1991, 1994-1995.

126. ATHENA PROMACHOS

Bronze
H: 13.9 cm
From Selinunte (Sicily)
Local Greek work (in Laconian style)
c. 580-560 B.C.

Ex collection:
Marquis de Sarzana
George Ortiz (1955-1958)
Charles Gillet, Lausanne (1958-1972)

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, front and profiles detailed in the cold with careful engraving of the skirt, and burnished to different degrees. The back left almost as when cast.
The snake protomes, the tail of the helmet crest and the belt were fashioned separately in wax and applied before casting, as was probably the helmet crest (1). The spear and shield, this last attached to the left hand by a round hole, were made separately.
Condition: patina dark olive to lighter green with spots of red cuprite and metal of varying shades showing through here and there, parts of the surface granular with slight earth incrustation.
Missing the crest of the helmet, spear and shield and two of the eight snake protomes. The right wrist (2) broken off and reattached in antiquity.

The helmeted goddess standing in a static position once held a spear in her upraised right hand and a shield in her left. Both epithets, Promachos and Palladion, apply to her; however, draped with her aegis we see her more as the former exuding the spirit of a "fighter in the front rank and protector" (3), though her stance and tight-fitting robe ending at the ankles are in keeping with a

Palladion.
She is the earliest known representation in Greek art of Athena with the aegis (4), here fastened by two leather thongs hanging alongside the braids on either side of her chest.
An exceptional representation, she has been described as a local but barbarian work (5), probably a misreading of her tremendous presence; whereas we see her as a product of local Greek workmanship, affected by the environment but strongly influenced by Laconian sculpture (6).
A fitting parallel is the bronze female figurine in Olympia (7) dated towards the end of the 7th century B.C., described as "... certainly the representation of a goddess" (8); though the latter's braids are more primitive and her peplos more elaborately decorated, their proportions and stocky appearance are similar as is the development of their bodies, the position of their feet and the way these protrude from under the peploi. The decoration of the lower part of their peploi bears resemblance with its squares separated by double horizontal lines and other linear motifs.
Both the Laconian influence and provenance would be in keeping with history and tradition. Palladia existed in certain cities of Magna Graecia (9) and there is also a Laconian myth that she originated in Sparta.
Selinunte, says Rolley (10), did not have a cohesive artistic tradition and in general Ionian influence predominated. This Athena was a cult image and being Doric was in all likelihood made by a Dorian Greek emigrated there; though however unlikely, she was possibly imported.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 167, ill.; Hommes et Dieux, 36-38, cat. no. 2, ill., col. pl.; Goddess and Polis, 128, 146, cat. no. 2, ill., col. pl.
Published:
Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs (Fribourg, 1983) 124-125, no. 112, col. pl.; Demargne, P., LIMC II, 1, 971, no. 138, II, 2, 719, no. 138; Vokotopoulou I. , Ellènikè Technè, Argyra kai chalkina erga technè (Athens 1997) 95, 237-238, n ° 77, ill., col. pl.
Mentioned:
Stibbe, C.M., “Lakonische bronzene Hopliten. Die erste Generation”, AntK 38 (1995) 75-76, n. 62. Stibbe, C.M.: The Sons of Hephaistos. Aspects of the Archaic Greek Bronze Industry (Rome, 2000) 96, n° 195.

1) Since casting the figure head down with the snake protomes was technically feasible, the centrally placed helmet crest would be less of a problem. Thus in all probability the crest broke off in antiquity, maybe simultaneously with the wrist, and was replaced/repaired as evidenced by the stepped section on top of the helmet to enable fixing a new crest.
2) Walter Haberkorn - to whom we are indebted for recent light cleaning of the bust to harmonize with the owner's cleaning of the lower part some forty years ago, for the present drawing of the ancient repair and for its explanation - glued the slightly rotating right hand in its correct position. Fascinating are both the emplacement of the repair and the technology employed. He explains the distorted position of the snake protome as a deliberate choice to enable the reattaching of the right hand above its forearm, though leaving a break of some 1-1.5 mm. We do not concur, for one would have thought appropriate and easier to fix the hand to the arm; however, if the snake protome was bent out of place when the hand broke off, it would not have been possible to reattach the hand in the correct position.
Thus, the artisan in antiquity chose a complicated way: to drill the small snake head and join it to the wrist "in a ball-and-socket joint". A short plug was flattened into the snake head and forced into the wrist (see drawing), with in addition a certain amount of soldering (traces still visible) to hide the gap, with the probable fixing of a bronze plaque to strengthen the repair and cover the join visible from the front.
3) Seyffert, O., A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities (London, 1957) 520.
4) Pointed out to the author, with the mention of other early examples such as the Burgon amphora (Corbett, P.E., “ The Burgon and Blacas Tomb”, JHS 80 (1960) 52 ff., pl. I), dated around 560 and the lead figurines from Artemis Orthia (Wace, A.J.B., Artemis Orthia <London, 1929> 249-284 with plates), dated second quarter of the 6th century B.C., by John Marszal in an oral communication August 1988.
5) Demargne, P.: LIMC II, 1, 971, no. 138.
6) C.M. Stibbe considers this Athena to be Laconian, basing his attribution on the patterns and details on her long chiton which he compares to the Laconian headless female figure (see footnote 7) which he relates to other works from Sparta, and to the Potnia from Grächwil (pl. 18,5) (AntK 38 (1995) 68 ff., pls. 17-19).
7) B 34OO: OB VII (1961) 166 ff., fig. 98, pl. 69.
8)100 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabung in Olympia (Munich, 1972) 93, no. 38 (B. Fellmann).
9) For instance, in Siris some fifty kilometers north of Sybaris which boasted Trojan ancestry. There are the legends of Aeneas bringing a Palladion from Troy over to Italy and of Diomedes stealing the image (Paribeni, E.: EAA V, 893)
10) Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs, 124.

127. MINOTAUROS ?

Bronze
H: 12 cm. Base: 4.15 x 3.14 cm
Allegedly (1) from South-West Sicily
West Greek
Second quarter of the 6th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, cold-worked, burnished and polished. Traces under the base plate of metal leveled down from the casting funnel.
Condition: patina pale green to greyish green with spots of red, white chloride and traces of blue. Surface smooth in parts, slightly pitted and granular elsewhere.
Missing: the attribute held in the left hand as evidenced by a vertical round hole and inlay of eyes; damage to tips of right ear, horns, extremities of hands and front of base plate.

One of the most ancient of the heroic traditions represented in Greek art is the myth of the Minotauros, a monster half-bull and half-man, who lived in the Labyrinth in Cnossos where he devoured the Athenian youths and maidens who were sent as tribute to King Minos. He was slain by the Athenian hero Theseus. Pictorial representations of this episode starting around the middle of the 7th century, were frequent in Greek art throughout the archaic and early classical periods.
A very fine earlier statuette is the bronze Minotauros in Paris (2) that once ornamented (3) the ring handle of a Late Geometric tripod; he is generally considered Attic and is said to have come from Olympia, but this is undocumented. However, his patina is typical of certain bronzes from the sanctuary.
Our statuette has no close parallel either stylistically or iconographically. In nearly all depictions the Minotauros is portrayed

in the context of the story of Theseus (4); the monster is either alone (in the Labyrinth) awaiting Theseus or in the act of fighting and being defeated by him. Here, he stands on a rectangular flat base of which three sides are carefully finished whereas the front is somewhat irregular, probably the result of corrosion. He is represented naked with a bull's head. Both his forearms are extended forward. His left hand clenched with a round hole indicating that he probably held a staff or spear. His right hand, extended forward one palm facing the other, gives us no indication. However, in all the known illustrations of the Minotauros he holds rocks with which he fought Theseus. His stance with the left foot forward and his hair falling in long tresses across his shoulders and down his back would fit a kouros making an offering, but the way his hair is indicated at the back with vertical lines and even his left leg forward are illustrated on a stamnos in Paris (5), apparently of Megara Hyblaean manufacture reminiscent of Crete, with which relations are well attested for this period. There is another related stamnos in Basel (6) figuring a Minotauros fighting Theseus, surely also from Sicily.

Noteworthy are his prominent buttocks and somewhat provincial legs - the indication for the knees a most unusual X rather than an upright lozenge - revealing that he is a local creation influenced by Greek tradition. Thus, he is surely a Sicilian work, a votive offering, and may represent a local divinity (7) rather than the mythological Minotauros.

Exhibited and Published:
Hommes et Dieux, 115-116, cat. no. 60, ill.
Published:
Woodford, S., LIMC VI.1, 577, no. 39 ('uncertain representations of Minotaurus').

1) Owing to wrong information, Palazzolo Acreïde (Acrai) was given as the indicated provenance for this piece in Hommes et Dieux.
2) de Ridder, A., Les bronzes antiques du Louvre, I (Paris, 1913), 21-22, no. 104, pl. 12; Coldstream, J.N., Geometric Greece (London, 1977) 128-129, fig. 41, 355.
3) Riveted to the handle and the element under his feet attached to the rim of the cauldron.
4) See Woodford, S., LIMC VI.
5) Louvre Museum CA 3837: Blome, P. “Theseus und Herakles auf einem polychromen Stamnos aus Sizilien”, AntK 34 (1991) 157, pl. 25.3.
6) Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 1432: Blome, P., op. cit., 156-168, pls. 24, 25.1-2, 26.
7) J. Spier in a letter 16 May 1994 does not accept the Minotauros hypothesis and believes that we are here in the presence of a river-god, perhaps Achelous, making a libation, a representation important in Southern Italy and Sicily. He draws the author's attention to the representation on coins and particularly the famous stater of Metapontum dated c. 450 B.C., which depicts the river-god Achelous as a bull-headed man (Kraay, C.M. and Hirmer, M., Greek Coins <London, 1966 > 307, no. 230, pl. 82).

128. DISCUS

Bronze
Weight: 3.570 kg. Diam: 18.6-18.9 cm. Thickness (greatest): 1.9 cm
Provenance: no indication
Boeotian
End of the 6th century B.C.?

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, dedication inscribed in the cold.
Condition: a fairly rough surface in order to avoid slippage would appear to be the finish of disci actually employed and not just made for dedication. On the reverse, two parallel longitudinal grooves.
A patch which is an after-casting repair, a fairly common occurence on disci actually used. A few nicks and the odd smaller pit left unfilled.
A rusty brown bronze with remains of olive green patina and the light green which was underneath it.

The throwing of the discus was one of the favourite sports of the ancient Greeks (1), one of the five disciplines that made up the pentathlon, the others being: the long jump, the foot-race, the throwing of the javelin and wrestling.
These five disciplines required considerable physical and mental skills and were considered then as now the qualifying criteria of the ideal athlete.
Made of stone, iron, lead, but mostly of bronze, the discus varied both in size and weight (2), depending on the category of the athlete using it, whether boy or man, and the site of the games.
Our attribution to Boeotia is based on the inscription which reads :
= Simos made me, in the Boeotian script.
We are most grateful to Theodore Selov-Kovedjajev who studied the inscription closely and concludes that it is definitely Boeotian

and, by comparison with all analogies, to be dated in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. and no later than the end of the century (3).

On view: Musée Olympique, Lausanne: 1994-1995
Exhibited and Published:
Le Sport dans la Grèce Antique, 286, 290, cat. no. 151, ill; *Goddess and Polis*, 166, cat. no. 33, ill; *Olympism in Antiquity* II (IOC Lausanne, 1996) 101, ill.

1) Papadiamantopoulou-Kalliodi, S., Le corps et l'esprit (Lausanne, 1990) 61, 104, cat. no. 45, mentions discus contests in Homer. However, in the Odyssey (VIII.186 ff.) it is simply a stone or rock that is being thrown, whereas in the Iliad (XXIII.826 ff.), it is a lump of rough-cast or meteoric iron that is hurled. If these are not precise references to Olympic-type contests, they are, in any case, their fore-runners.
2) Variations in diameter from 17 to 34 cm and in weight from 1.450 to 6.600 kg. We have reference to at least two marble disci weighing 7 kg or slightly more, with inscriptions, but which were victors' prizes; v. Jacobsthal, P., “Diskoi”, BWPr 93 (1933) 18 ff.
3) Alan Johnston, in a letter dated 6 March 1986, without having studied the discus and only on the basis of photographs, thought the inscription Boeotian and because of the ei perhaps already to be dated in the 5th century B.C.
In response to the suggestion: could not the inscription, difficult to explain otherwise, be taken as dedicatory? Selov-Kovedjajev remarks that from the Archaic period onwards "so-and-so has made" might be construed as a dedication if the object so dedicated - vase, statue, etc. - was made by the offerer, which obviously in the present, would be the artisan. Thus he concludes that we are entitled to consider our discus as having been dedicated by its maker.
One might have expected a bronzesmith-athlete, dedicating a discus of his own making, to have expressed his concept better.

128bis WEIGHT (1) for jumping

Bronze
Weight: 1.847 kg. H: 10.8 cm. L: 19.63 cm. Thickness: c. 1.55 cm
Allegedly from Greece
Thessaly?
Early 5th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and extensively cold-worked for the inscription of the dedication and decoration.
Condition: the odd nick here and there, the corners slightly rounded, a small hole (casting flaw due to a bubble) at the tip of the beak of the cock on the reverse side of the inscription.
A pale greyish green to darker green with patches of earth stains that have worked themselves into the surface.

One of a pair of halteres used in the long jump, one of the five events of the pentathlon (2). A standing cock (3) is engraved on either side of the heavier forepart and the lower butt end is pierced with a round hole. Along its edge on both sides runs a sort of metope-and-triglyph motif. The inscription is engraved on one side and above the squarish section on the edge. Many examples, the ancestors to our modern dumb-bells, survive of different shapes and materials. The types vary according to the period: from club-shaped in the 6th century they become more spheroid or cylindrical, and later on more oval with emplacements for the fingers as Pausanias (V 27,8; VI 3,4) tells us. They were made of stone, black stone, green diorite from the Taygetos, of lead, of terracotta (4), these last obviously as votives.

This specimen is the only extant bronze one known to the author. That such examples existed is certain. There is a bronze engraved discus in Berlin (5) from Aegina dated around 470 B.C. that illustrates a spear thrower on one side and on the other a long jumper holding weights. These are surely of bronze as shown by their sharp outline and in keeping with the material that a toreutic artisan would have favoured. Also of bronze seem to be certain of those illustrated on early 5th century Attic pottery that shows us athletes in various stages of the long jump itself or in preparation for it. Thus the outside of a kylix attributed to Onesimos in Boston (6) showing a long jumper in the middle of a leap, and also curiously enough at the same moment, or what seems to be, the figure on the outside of a cup by Douris, c. 490 B.C. in Basel (7). However in the Chiusi example the position is realistic, the same as that a modern jumper would adopt (8) ; but the Basel illustration would seem to be in the gymnasium and the jumper is in a sort of dream-like, unrealistic position, his legs drawn up under him, his elbows to his body, the forearms parallel to the thighs, the weights held out in front above his knees, a sort of ritualistic leap in a dance perhaps, for behind him we have an aulos player. The position expresses a measured formalism.

How was the long jump performed (9) and what was the purpose of the weights? Five successive leaps were executed. The athlete started from a standing position by swinging the weights up forward, arms extended, swung them back bending his legs, then straightening these out propelled himself with his legs and arms forward; as he lands his arms go back, his legs bend and straightening these out he throws his arms forward as he takes off for the second bound. He only lets go of the weights on the fifth and final landing. The weights conferred to the body an added springiness at the moment of the take off contributing to forward momentum, apparently ensuing in each leap covering slightly more ground than the previous, and to a controlled landing on both feet side by side.

Unlike modern jumping where only the record is all important, for the Greeks the form, the perfection and the beauty of the whole exercise was an integral part of the sport. One would have been disqualified if one did not land harmoniously. Their sports were an important part of their education and upbringing, and in the author's opinion the manner of proceeding, ritual adapted to context, was a training for ethical behaviour in general.

The inscription is incomplete for there were originally always two weights and the dedication would have been inscribed over both. This can be deduced from two contemporary or slightly earlier weights with inscriptions also in hexameter, one in stone dedicated in Olympia that belonged to Akmatidas of Lacedaemon, and one in lead dedicated in Eleusis that belonged to Epainetos (10). Thus, it was necessary to have both to be able to read the whole dedication. When dedicated our weights would have appeared as shown here. On the surface of the weight the inscription (A) is to be read from left to right and says:

"and it is Eumelos who has dedicated me to the good thrower Apollo"; and on the edge (B) it reads from right to left: "I belong to Eumelos".

A does not follow B and there is a fundamental difference between the two inscriptions though they both refer to the same person. On the one hand there is a prose text (B) for the owner of the object and the other text (A) is a verse in hexameter.

D. Knoepfler tells us that the script indicates that it is in Aeolian dialect for which the patronymic adjective Eumeleios (for the genitive Eumelou) is decisive, for this is an almost exclusively Thessalian form to indicate the owner of an object, in addition to which we have several examples of the name in Thessaly. The only difficulty is in the form of the word Apollo, which however could have been preferred to the dialectical form Aploun for metrical reasons.

Thus, the inscription would point towards a date in the beginning of the 5th century contemporary with the Persian Wars, and the comparisons we have given are also to be dated in the first quarter

of the 5th century. In conclusion, though we do not know where the object was made - artisans and athletes travelled - we concur with D. Knoepfler that our weight was in all likelihood dedicated in a sanctuary of Apollo Pythios in Thessaly, the homeland of Eumelos. The latter's victory in the pentathlon probably took place in Delphi during the pan-Hellenic Pythian games which attracted many Thessalians.

On view: Musée Olympique, Lausanne: 1994-1995
Exhibited and Published:
Vanhove, D. (ed.), *Olympism in Antiquity* II (IOC Lausanne, 1996) 102-103, cat. E., ill.
Published:
Knoepfler, D., “Haltère de bronze dédié à Apollon Hékabolos dans la collection G. Ortiz (Genève)”, *CRAI* (1994) 2, 337 ff.
Mentioned:
Millner, S.G., *Ancient Greek Athletics* (New Haven 2004) 64-65, fig. 119.

1) Called in Greek halter from the verb hallesthai, to leap.
2) See previous entry, cat. no. 128, Discus.
3) A most appropriate bird for his association with Apollo, as symbol of the agon, the athletic contest, as representative of courage with a taste for combat and victory. The author concurs with D. Knoepfler's suggestions that the missing weight also may have carried the engraving of a cock.
4) E.g. the Attic example in the National Museum in Copenhagen (Jüthner, J., Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen II [Vienna, rev. ed. 1968] 169, n. 29).
5) Antikenmuseum Fr. 1273: Heilmeyer, W.-D., Antikenmuseum Berlin (Berlin, 1988) 105, no. 5; Fellmann, B. and Scheyhing, H., 100 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabung in Olympia (Munich, 1972) 112-113, no. 87. This was first pointed out by the author to D. Knoepfler.
6) Museum of Fine Arts 01.8020; Beazley, J.D., Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters (Oxford, 1963) 321, no. 22; Jüthner, J., op. cit., pl. 64.
7) Antikensammlung & Sammlung Ludwig, Käppeli Collection Kä 425: Basle Museum of Ancient Art and Ludwig Collection (Basel, 1987) 33; Schefold, K., Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst (Basel, 1960), 188, 193, no. VI 207, ill.; Boardman, J., Athenian Vases. Archaic Period (London, 1975) fig. 26b; Carpenter, T.H. (ed.), Beazley Addenda, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1989) 236, no. 31.
8) Gardiner, E.N., Athletics of the Ancient World (Oxford, 1930) fig. 108.
9) Laporte, W. and Bultiauw, P., Le Sport dans la Grèce Antique. Du Jeu à la Compétition (Brussels, 1992) 106-109.
10) Guarducci, M., Epigrafia Greca III, 48-49. For the weight of Akmatidas see Fellmann, B. and Scheyhing, H., op. cit., 112, no. 84.

129. KERYKEION

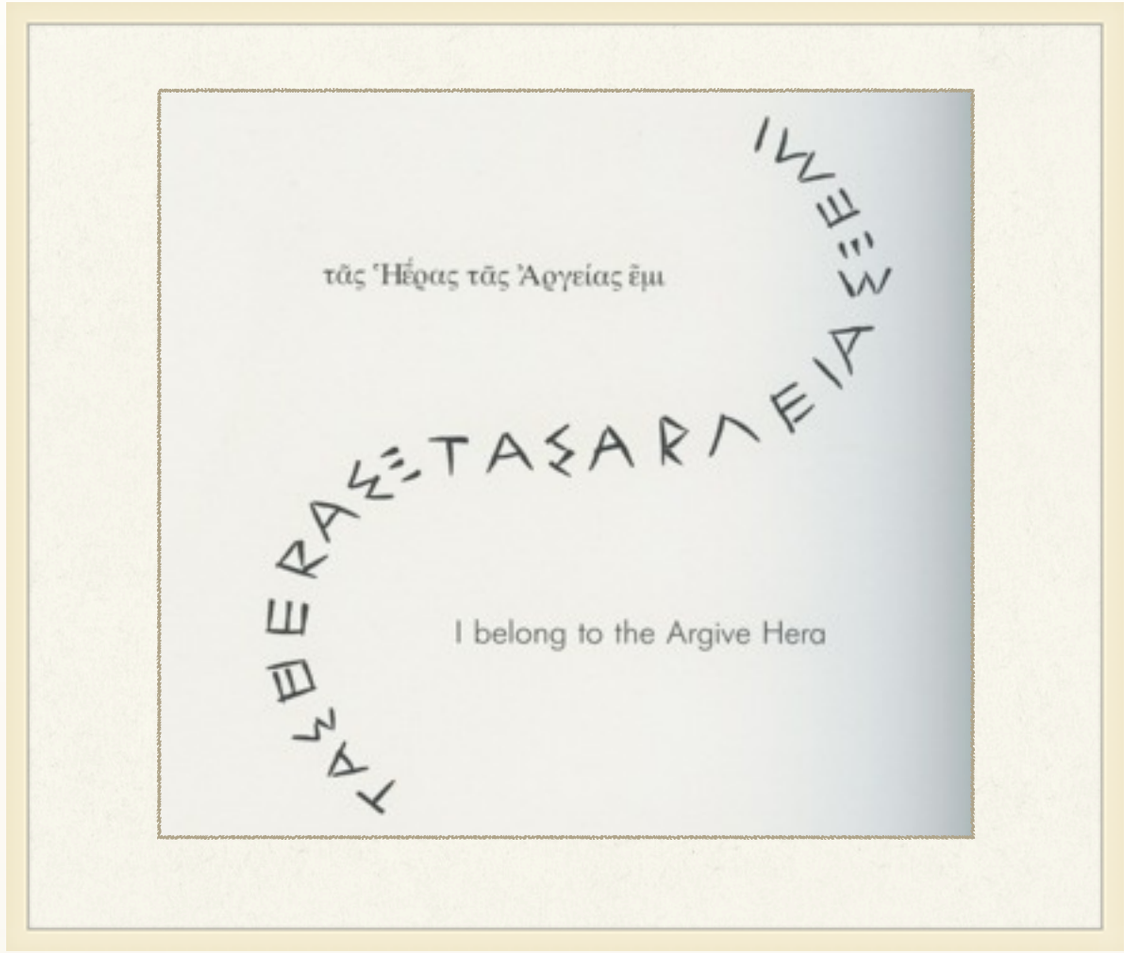
Bronze
H: 17.2 cm
From Polyrrhenia (Crete)
Cretan?
First half of the 5th century B.C.?

Solid-cast by the lost wax process with hollow column shaft below capital for affixing on top of a wooden pole (1). Dedication inscribed in the cold.
Condition: green patina with medal-colour bronze appearing in places and traces of earth.

The origin of the kerykeion is not known; but already in Homer's time it is associated with Hermes appearing as a golden forked twig, his attribute as the "bringer of blessings" (2). It was a herald's staff. Heralds were messengers, ambassadors who fulfilled important political, military and religious functions, beyond compromise and held in high esteem in Homeric society. Their office carried a mystical significance. They were the divine successors of Hermes.
Kerykeia were used as cult objects in sanctuaries and dedicated as votive offerings either new or after having served. It is only from the 5th century onwards that kerykeia end in animal heads and the first example with snakes is on a cup by Macron (3), c. 480/70 B.C., found on the Acropolis.
Notwithstanding the Archaic form of the Ionic capital (4) and the relative simplicity of the snakes' heads, we feel that the present example, though it may be the earliest we know, is of Cretan manufacture (5) and possibly to be dated in relation to its inscription (6) in the first half of the 5th century B.C.

Any difference in time between the manufacture and the inscription is not likely to exceed more than two or three decades.
However, if the function of herald was hereditary, the kerykeion could have passed on from one generation to another and have been dedicated a considerable time after manufacture.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1967-1968
Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 180, 225, cat. no. V 184, ill.
Published:
Vlasova, E., “Bronze Kerykeion”, in: “Hermitage Readings". The George Ortiz Collection, St. Petersburg (12 April 1993) 12-13, 25.
Mentioned:
Hornbostel, W., “Syrakosion Damosion”, JbHamKuSamml 24 (1979) 33-62, part. 51, 54; Antiquities from the Christos G. Bastis Collection (Mainz, 1987) 188, no. 96; Kirchhoff, W., Die Entwicklung des ionischen Volutenkapitells im 6. und 5. Jhd. und seine Entstehung (Bonn, 1988) 321, n. 663.



1) Akin to a bishop's crosier.
2) Crome, J.F., “Kerykeia”, AM 63-64 (1938-39) 125.
3) Crome, J.F., loc. cit., 124.
4) Which led Karl Schefold (Meisterwerke, 40) to date the kerykeion in the 6th century B.C., though he placed the inscription towards the middle of the 5th century.
5) Regarding Hera and Crete, Prof. Philippe Borgeaud wrote us as follows in a letter dated 30.7.90: "L'absence d'une Héra explicitement argeia ne doit toutefois pas nous interdire de penser que son importance comme argienne était inconnue en Crète, loin de là: en plein milieu du 5ème s., les cités de Cnossos et Tylisos font appel à la médiation d'Argos, et le traité qu'elles concluent, dont l'exemplaire argien a été retrouvé, fait état d'un sanctuaire d'Héra localisé en Crète".
6) We are indebted for this information to Th. Selov-Kovedjajev who studied the inscription at length and dates it in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. and at the very latest in the middle of the century.

130. OWL

Bronze
H: 7.58 cm. L: 8.23 cm
Allegedly from the peninsula of Cnidus
East Greek
First half of the 5th century B.C.

Solid-cast, the feathers carefully chased in the cold with an infinite number of hatchings to render the barred and speckled plumage.
Condition: beak fissured by oxidization, most of claws missing, some hatching abraded and part of surface covered by hard earth deposits.
Patina: blackish over eyebrow and beak, light green to whitish green with traces of oxidization and chlorides.

Birds were agents of the god's will and omens. The owl, particularly associated with the goddess Athena (1), was the symbol of Athens and considered an omen of good luck by her citizens. It appeared on the city's coinage which was widespread in Ionia. This bird is the glaux, or little grey owl.
Possibly it was once held on the open palm of a statue representing Athena.
Though difficult to date, attitude, stance and plumage suggest the early Classical period.

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1971-1973
Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 234, ill; Goddess and Polis, 150, cat. no. 9, ill.

1) Often called glaukopis, meaning "bright-eyed" as well as "owl-eyed" (Hoffmann, H., “Heroic Immortality on Athenian Vases”, in: Goldhill, S. and Osborne, R. (eds.), Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture [Cambridge, 1994] 37).

131. HAND MIRROR ORNAMENT (1)

Bronze
H: 10.7 cm (with tang) (2) (1:1)
Allegedly from Elis (3)
Magna Graecia (Locri?)
c. 460 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, the knobs fashioned separately on the end of thick pins inserted in round holes in the volutes; the whole carefully worked in the cold with particular attention to the hair and face, the wings sharply delineated; the surface burnished and polished. The tang for fixing in the handle and the back roughly smoothed off, though leveling the pins with precision, save for the one on either end of the volute plinth for directly attaching to a joining plate to the mirror.
Condition: patina green with slightly granular surface deposits, traces of cuprite, green chloride and blue carbonate or silicate, iron deposit on the right thigh and lower leg; damage to the filling palmette behind the figure and to the edge of the top volute.
Missing: the end of one of the pins at the back.

The winged youth or Eros is shown in a crouching position. He is probably playing knucklebones (4) and is just about to make the throw, his right arm drawn back, his left held forward for balance and direction. A different interpretation is possible, though highly unlikely because of the position of the arms. For a somewhat comparable position, but with a different scene, there is the crouching youth, cat. no. 132, and a warrior about to unsheath his sword on an openwork bronze disc from Locri (5). The volutes and the wings of our piece bear comparison with a hand mirror dated by R. Lullies (6) around 470 B.C. attributed by U. Jantze (7) to Locri, and siren handles such as one in Paris (8) and another (9) in

Athens showing an Eros in frontal stance, crouching, with left leg in similar position.
The school to which our example belongs is open to question. The silver and bronze sphinxes (10) that probably surmounted pins, said to have been found with it, as they surely were, could give an indication. However, A. Oliver in the catalogue of the Bastis collection avoids any attribution. The provenance for these three objects given as "from Elis" may not correspond to reality. In any case, even if it does, the ensemble could have been imported. We had once said "local work" (11) then "possibly ... but more probably from a centre of Magna Graecia" (12), and later writing to Claude Rolley: "with Ionian influence ... more probably Magna Graecia" (13). The latter, in his publication (14), tells us that mirrors were characteristic products of Locri; that there were simple ones to which this openwork type of the second quarter of the 5th century belongs, where a purely decorative element separates the handle from the mirror disc. He ascribes this example to the Ionian style of Magna Graecia, Locri (?). The more elaborate types are those where the mirror is supported by a statuette.
In conclusion, we are inclined to share the attribution to Locri, though the Peloponnese remains a remote possibility.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 236, ill; Hommes et Dieux, 210, cat. no. 130, ill.
Published:
Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs (Fribourg, 1983), 119, 121, no. 105, col. pl. (reproduced in the reverse)

1) The attachment (cradle) that joined the mirror disc, highly polished bronze, to the handle of turned bone, ivory or wood.
2) The element or cradle came with its mirror disc (diam: 18.51-18.76 cm) which has a raised border with a pearl rim above an egg-and-dart motif. Since separate when acquired and the handle missing, it was not reattached for it would have squashed the cradle and distorted the proportions which originally were harmonious when all three elements formed an entity.
3) Said to have been found with the two sphinxes on Ionic capitals (see footnote 10), one in silver and one in bronze, which probably surmounted long pins and would have been, like the hand mirror, part of a lady's paraphernalia.
4) Could be a reference to the popular female game, a love oracle.
5) Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Locri Epizefirii, necropolis Lucifero, tomb 844: von Duhn, F., “Funde und Forschungen. Italien 1914-1920”, AA 36 (1921) 149-150, fig. 28; Atti del sedicesimo convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1976 (Naples, 1977) 552 ff., pl. 85.
6) Eine Sammlung griechischer Kleinkunst (Munich, 1955) 79, no. 251, pl. 82.
7) Bronzewerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien. JdI 13. ErgH. (Berlin, 1937) 68, no. B4.
8) Louvre 4376: Oberländer, P., Griechische Handspiegel (Hamburg, 1967) 158-159, no. 263 (illustrated erroneously as no. 264).
9) Vlastos collection: Oberländer, P., op. cit., 180, no. 268.
10) Oliver, A., Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis (Mainz, 1987) 300, no. 178.
11) Art Antique, cat. no. 236.
12) Hommes et Dieux, 210, cat. 130, ill.
13) 28 November 1980.
14) Les bronzes grecs, 129-130.

132. CROUCHING YOUTH (lebes handle?)

Bronze
H: 5.4 cm
Provenance: no indication (1)
Magna Graecia? (possibly East Greek)
c. 450 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, chiselled in the cold, carefully burnished and polished.
Condition: patina the colour of anthracite, much of the surface with cuprite and green cuprous chloride or carbonate, here and there abraded and with excrescences. Right hand missing.

The crouching youth was probably holding a bantam (2), a fighting cock (3). The other handle (4) would have shown its adversary similarly held by its owner. He has been described as a lebes handle because of the shape of the curve made to fit the shoulder of the vessel, though in Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst (5) we had qualified it as a situla handle, a view which K. Schefold endorsed. In favour of it belonging to a lebes are two pairs in Greece (6), kindly brought to our attention by J. Vokotopoulou, one representing squatting silenoi, and the other winged figures, arms outstretched, running in archaic fashion, one knee to the ground. She considers (7) that they are imports from Cumae and that our example belongs to a lebes from Magna Graecia probably also from there.
Though all these conform to the same type of handle, the representations and their style are different, but the Macedonian examples are earlier in date. She also mentioned an example in Naples (8) with a silenos in a frog-like position, his arms partially encircling the loops as his beard slightly protrudes over the inside lip of the vessel. Similar silenoi are the incomplete example in Copenhagen (9) and a pair with their two handles in Basel (10).

In favour of a rapport with the Basel examples are the grooves that underline the muscles on the outside of the calves of the silenoi and the present example and the similarity in the surface area around the knee caps, as well as the curve of the line that divides thigh from calf. It is difficult to assess such details from photographs and to make an attribution based on such slim observations would be hazardous. For the Copenhagen silenos a Corinthianizing workshop in Magna Graecia or Sicily has been proposed.

E. Langlotz (11) had suggested an East Greek origin, primarily on the basis of the shape of the head, the eyes, and the features in general. He compared it to a youth in the British Museum (12), from Rome, which U. Jantzen (13) attributed to a Sicilian workshop. We do not quite see the similarity between the comparisons which he gives, though there is an Ionian element to our handle. For in this period there is a general ethos throughout the Hellenic world and one can find apparent rapports with several very differently provenanced works: the head of the youth in New York (14) which is said to come from from Smyrna, the candelabrum in the Hermitage (15) from Nymphaeum, a stooping youth in Boston (16) reportedly from Southern Italy and a statuette from the Blacas collection in the British Museum (17) which D. Williams cautiously suggested (verbally) as "possibly Croton or Locri". This last would seem, for its general feel, to be a good comparison for the head. However, it is difficult to compare a head in profile in low relief caught between two rings with a head in the round. Similar are the hairline, the hair around the ear and at the back, the line from the ear to the chin. However, the eyes are slightly different and the ears, though of similar shape, are more vertical and differently finished inside, as is the hair, engraved as little flat tufts, whereas on all Locrian bronzes the hair is usually expressed in more regular strokes.

In conclusion, Magna Graecia would appear the best tentative attribution, though stylistically its features hark back to the Peloponnese and the Severe Style, which became popular in Southern Italy and Sicily, and to a lesser extent in East Greece, where a good comparison is the profile of the head on the Nisyros stele (18) dated 460-450 B.C.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1968-1973
Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 223, 226, cat. no. V 271, ill.; *Hommes et Dieux,* 210-211, cat. no. 131, ill.
Published:
Langlotz, E., *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1975) 150-152, pl. 44.4.

1) E. Langlotz (Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst, 151) states "... said to have been acquired in Smyrna"; unfortunately accompanied with no indication as to the source, and possibly erroneous (the book contains numerous errors and was unfinished at the time of Langlotz' death). It entered this collection by acquisition at a sale at Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, on 12 June 1956, 27, no. 305, pl. 10, with no indication as to provenance, find-spot, collector or otherwise.
2) Verbal suggestion of J.D. Beazley to the author in the 1950s in Paris.
3) For the symbolism of the cock, see Hoffmann, H., “Hahnenkampf in Athen. Zur Ikonologie einer attischen Bildformel”, RA 2 (1974) 195 ff. and for the iconography, ibid., 205, fig. 9 on the shoulder of a Black-Figure neck amphora.
4) Another handle, almost certainly the pair to this one, though the author never saw them side by side, was on the market in the early 1950s and said to be from Greece. It entered the Charles Gillet collection, Lausanne. Its present whereabouts are unknown. A smaller handle, very similar, was on the London art market around the early 1980s, both provenance and present location unknown.
5) 68, 226, cat. no. V 271.
) Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, from Pydna. Unpublished.
7) Information received in a letter dated 17 March 1992.
8) Museo Nazionale: Gabrici, E., “Cuma”, MonAnt 22 (1913) 558 ff., fig. 208, pl. 78.2.
) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 3424: Ostergaard, J.S., En senarkaisk silen af bronze, MeddelGlypt 47 (1991) 5 ff., fig. 1.
10) Antikenmuseum & Sammlung Ludwig BS 524: Schmidt, M., “Auszug aus dem Jahresbericht 1992”, AntK 36 (1993) 80-81, pls. 19-20.
Op. cit., 150-152, pl. 44,4.
2) British Museum 515: Langlotz, E., op. cit., pl. 44,2-3.
13) Bronzewerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien. JdI 13. ErgH. (Berlin, 1937) 55, no. 10.
14) Metropolitan Museum 08.258.10: Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 224, 228, no. V 262.
15) GK/N 91: Vanhove, D. (ed.), Le Sport dans la Grèce Antique. Du Jeu à la Compétition (Brussels, 1992) 205-206, no. 64.
16) Generally ascribed to an Argive workshop, Museum of Fine Arts 96.710: Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., Greek, Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston, 1971) 50-51, no. 51.
17) GR 1867.5-88.741: British Museum Catalogue, no. 603.
18) Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 1142: Pfuhl, E. and Möbius, H., Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs (Mainz, 1977) 14, no. 14, pl. 5.

133. THYMIATERION (heron with bowl)

Bronze
Total H: 19.9 cm (H. bird: 11.27 cm. Diam. stand: 7.16 cm; bowl: 8.93 cm)
Allegedly from South-West Sicily
Greek work from Sicily
First half of the 5th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, chased in the cold; the bowl, bronze sheet cut and hammered, is supported by a forged rod of squarish section with a flat rivet on top - its lower end, narrower and round, transfixes the bird's head vertically. The bird stands, its webbed feet soldered on a slightly convex base of thick, hammered bronze plate.
Condition: varying patina: smooth silvery grey, green, blue; rough granular surface with spots of red cuprite, deposits of whitish limestone and iron.
The bowl, a small section missing and a few breaks mended, secured on top of the rod; the base reattached.

Herons in bronze are rare and unfortunately the author is unable (1) to give a comparison for a similar incense burner. A small solid-cast heron of classical date, similar in stance and type, was in the Schimmel collection (2); a rivet through its webbed feet indicates that likewise it was affixed to a base. The best depictions are to be found on late 5th century gems as described and illustrated by J. Boardman (3): the closest for the stance is a heron on an agate sliced barrel.
Herons as a motif were especially common in the late 5th century appearing on Attic vases, and engraved on gems and rings. Often illustrated with women, they are thought, like cranes, to have been kept as domestic pets: a chalcedony scaraboid shows a reclining

half naked woman as she pets a heron, on a mottled jasper scaraboid she is standing behind a heron with her right arm extended above its head as if she is about to feed him a locust or grasshopper, and a cornelian cylinder illustrates a half naked woman walking alongside the strutting bird as she touches its head with her right hand (4).

Also in this period women are shown standing or seated next to a thymiaterion: standing as for example on gold rings from Ithaca and Crete, and on a silver ring, but seated on a gold ring acquired in Constantinople5.

Thus, using a heron as a support for a thymiaterion would be appropriate for a household furnishing and in keeping with the popular imagery of the time.

1) Unless the author's memory fails him, some twenty-seven years ago in the old museum in Syracuse, up the main stairs turning right on the landing and going into the room on its end, with two windows on the opposite side, in the old wall-cupboard vitrine on the right as one entered stood, among many items, an almost identical heron, smaller, somewhat damaged, possibly with a protuberance on top of its head. Obviously from the same workshop and surely found in Sicily. The exhibits in those days were accompanied by very old, lovely little hand-written ink labels, thoroughly informative, attached with thread. However over the years, time and the sporadic dusting of the cases had detached many of these from the objects they belonged to. The staff were absent and notwithstanding all his efforts the author could find no inventory number or reference. The museum was closed for over ten years and when the author visited the new one some four years ago, on a Sunday, no staff obviously, he could not locate the heron. Over the past four years he has written several letters to the museum joining a photograph of the present heron and requesting information but unfortunately has never received a reply.

2) Settgast, J. (ed.), Von Troja bis Amarna. The Norbert Schimmel Collection New York (Mainz, 1978) no. 33.

3) Boardman, J., Greek Gems and Finger Rings. Early Bronze Age to Late Classical (London, 1970) 290, no. 519.

4) Boardman, J., op. cit., 288, no. 482; 291, no. 547; 293, no. 595.

5) Boardman, J., op. cit., 300, nos. 749, 753, 754; 301, no. 791.

134. HEAD OF SILENOS

Bronze
H: 3.6 cm
Allegedly from Selinunte
Greek work from Sicily
c. 460 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, carefully chased in the cold and burnished. Condition: patina greyish green with a malachite green deposit on upper left of beard, blackish to brownish red metal showing through in spots. Once part of a statuette, unevenly broken off at the neck, with the lower part of the hair at the back missing. Point of beard bent back and damaged. Blows to tip of nose, left cheek, occiput, right ear, and a few dents.

This head of a silenos is very lively and has an individualized expression, almost as though he were a portrait - and a portrait he is, but not so much of an individual as of a type. In style he is already far removed from archaic depictions with his high balding pate, wide eyes, pug-nose, thick lips, moustache and long oval beard. He is to be dated towards the end of the Severe Style.
Whether this head surmounted a statuette, as we think, or was attached to a handle is uncertain.
Silenoi were a favoured subject with the Greeks, illustrated on red-figure vases, and reproduced in bronze and terracotta sculptures. They are the subject of a group of lebes handles perhaps from a workshop at Cumae (1) though these are different in style. There is no good comparison for this piece, though terracotta masks of silenoi have been found in Rosarno (2) (ancient Medma, a nearby colony of Locri). A bronze satyr with amphora bears resemblance for the face; he is dated towards the mid 5th century B.C. and attributed to a Campanian (?) workshop (3), a sensible attribution, we feel. From the sanctuary of Malophoros at Selinunte a group of

late archaic terracotta silenoi masks were found (4). Though obviously earlier in date, there would appear to be a resemblance for the outline of the eyes. Thus, we would have a tradition for the type that fits the alleged provenance.
He is surely to be ascribed to Sicily though the workshop is undetermined.

1) See Crouching Youth, cat. no. 132, text and footnotes 6, 8, 9, 10.
2) Arias, P., “Scavi di Calabria (dal 1939 al 1942)”, NSc 1946, 135-136, fig. 2.
3) Fabing, S., The Gods Delight. The Human Figure in Classical Bronze (Cleveland, 1988), 232-235, no. 42.
) Gabrici, E., “Il santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte”, MonAnt 32 (1927) 222, pl. XLI,3.

135. SYRINX PLAYER (silenos, squatting)

Bronze
H: 4.4 cm
Allegedly from Syracuse
West Greek
First quarter of the 5th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, carefully worked in the cold, burnished and polished. Three round holes: one between the buttocks, carefully worked, retains traces of tin soldering unless it be simply tenorite (CuO, a black copper oxide); on top of the head, slightly off centre, larger in diameter with traces of tenorite (?) on the rim; and one smaller irregular hole in the lower lumbar region.
Condition: patina light to greyish green with traces of tenorite, abraded in places, a long scrape on left of back reveals metal; the odd excrescence and pitting of surface, the syrinx chipped and corroded, the extant lower half cracked. The eyes, irises once inlaid, still retain their tenorite sheet covering, traces of tenorite adjoining here and there. It is probable that the whole figure was covered with tenorite to give it the appearance of silver. Missing: both hands, toes of feet and probably a tail which would have been inset in hole in lumbar region.

This naked squatting silenos is playing the syrinx, his eyes gazing upwards, carried away, as though in trance, by his own music. He belongs to the world of comasts and satyrs.
Compact in execution, an appropriate form for a finial, whether surmounting a pin, the lid or handle of a vessel, for which the carefully worked hole between his buttocks would be fitting. Another hole just above his coccyx was for the attachment of his tail, and a third one slightly off centre on the back top of his head might have served to attach a chain, as we had suggested for the geometric

seated figure, cat. no. 74, indicating that he could have been worn as a pendant.
He is to be dated at the very end of the Archaic period, and though very Corinthian in style, is surely from a Syracusan workshop. Syracuse was a colony of Corinth with which close political and commercial ties were kept.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 222, 224, cat. no. V 252, ill; Hommes et Dieux, 250-251, cat. no. 165, ill.

136. HUNTER (Herakles ?)

Bronze
H: 9.22 cm
Allegedly from Gela
Greek work from Sicily
c. 470 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, the face and certain details worked in the cold, the edge of his cloak incised with a line.
Condition: surface very granular with earth deposit and covered with bright green cuprous chloride (?), spots of red; patina a pale green where visible. Missing: club - once held in right hand - and front of right foot. Both hands, spot above left knee and heel of right foot damaged by corrosion.

This statuette, which we and others have called Herakles (1), would be highly unusual for the hero in that he wears a chlamys, and a cap on his head. We know of no other representation of him dressed in this fashion, for normally he should wear, if anything, a lionskin. The closest parallel for the stance is the dynamic masterpiece in Paris (2), a magnificent work of art, where the hero is represented holding a club in his upraised right hand behind his head and in his left hand, arm outstretched, the remains of a bow, an oft repeated motif. Two representations in the round of him fighting a snake are a bronze statuette in Athens (3) from Messenia, where he is dressed in a corselet, his right hand was raised behind his head (4) (surely holding a club), he is shown grasping the snake in his left hand as it is trying to lunge for his face, and a statuette in Paris (5) from Doris where he is dressed in a lionskin his club likewise raised, but with what was probably a bow in his outstretched left arm - the snake cast separately rearing up like a

cobra.
We had always thought that the four rope-like ridges on his upper left arm represented what remained of a snake (6), which his left hand would have grasped just below the missing head. Today, upon close re-examination, it would seem that his chlamys starts pleating above his left thigh and that these pleats become thick as they bunch up over his left arm. Expressed clumsily as though coils of rope, we had in the past imagined a snake. Also, the hole that bores through his clenched right hand is too narrow for the handle of a club, and its direction would have followed (7) that of his face which looks down to the ground slightly to the right in front of him. Thus, he is probably a countryman, a shepherd, spearing a boar or a predator coming to attack his flocks. His left fist is clenching the chlamys to avoid it getting in his way.
The inspiration for the stance in this case, though a very natural one, could possibly be the so often illustrated figure of Herakles on Greek vases, bronzes and gems.
A charming work with some gusto but rather provincial with its column-like left leg and lack of sophistication in the manner the folds of the chlamys are shown over the left arm, he is surely the product of a local Greek workshop in Sicily, possibly in the region of his alleged find-spot.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 235, ill.; Hommes et Dieux, 99, cat. no. 47, ill.
Mentioned:
Thomas, R., Athletenstatuetten der Spätarchaik und des Strengen Stils (Rome, 1981) 144, n. 692h; Boardman, J., LIMC IV.1, 735, no. 30.

1) Art Antique, cat. no. 235; Thomas, R.: Athletenstatuetten der Spätarchaik und des strengen Stils, 144, n. 692h; Hommes et Dieux, cat. no. 47; LIMC IV.1, 735, no. 30.
) Bibliothèque Nationale, donation Oppermann: Babelon, J., Les Trésors du Cabinet des Antiques. Choix de Bronzes et de Terres Cuites des collections de Janzé et Oppermann (Paris, 1929) 29-30, no. 18, pl. 16.
3) National Museum 15276: Boardman, J., LIMC V.1, 119, no. 2827, V.2, pl. 111.
4) We suppose that the reproduction in LIMC is the same figure as the one reproduced in AJA, 38, 1934, p. 310 fig. 4. In the meantime, if the same, which it must be, the statuette has been ruined. Herakles has lost the lower part of his left leg and foot, and the tang that relayed it to the snake; and his right forearm. The snake has lost his lower jaw which gave him a magnificent expressive head. Herakles' head, intense in purpose, has now taken on a weakling's expression.
5) Louvre 157: Boardman, J., loc. cit., no. 2829.
6) Upon consulting LIMC, loc. cit., on 4 December 1993, we noted that J. Boardman had said of the chlamys ("part taken wrongly for a serpent in Dörig, J."). J. Dörig was the editor of Art Antique, but this author was responsible for the entry and thus for the mistake.
7) Presently not quite so as the position of the wrist is slightly distorted.

137. KOUROS

Marble
H: 66.2 cm
Allegedly from Magna Graecia (region of Anzio?)
West Greek
c. 485 B.C.

Sculpted of large-grained marble (1).
Condition: yellowish white to grey, some oxidization and surface discolouration. Missing: the head and neck, arms (2) from above the elbows and both legs from the upper thighs, penis missing with serious damage to testicles. The surface weathered and badly abraded, especially over the breasts and shoulders; the whole back deeply gashed with a section of about 10 cm hacked out from the neck break down.

This youthful torso is shown in a conventional frontal stance, the weight on his right leg and the left one slightly advanced. His torso is well modelled but relaxed with pectoral and stomach muscles clearly indicated, the latter divided by three horizontal lines. His broad back is carefully modelled with the shoulder-blades in slight relief, a well marked spinal furrow and developed buttocks. The profile view shows a gently curved contour for the back.
A rare surviving example of a type of sculpture that must have been fairly well represented throughout the Greek centres of Magna Graecia and Sicily (3). Local styles developed influenced by East Greek, Island or other schools. Groups may be suggested around examples of kouroi from Megara Hyblaea, a Syracusan workshop and the circle of Pythagoras in the region Reggio-Locri. Sicilian production would seem to be characterized by a certain elongation and tense muscularity, somewhat more plastically firm than the heavier South Italian. Particular traits of the latter is the heavier

anatomy with its distinctively muscular stomach and back, though the frontal view is fairly flat. There is a rapport for his muscular characteristics and spinal furrow with an older Metapontum (Lucania) (4) example.

Several scholars have expressed varying opinions. G. Richter places him in her Ptoon 20 group (5) as a late member, but her groupings are mainly concerned with the development of types. K. Schefold considers our example to be by an Eastern Ionian artist (6) who probably worked in Magna Graecia, and possibly in Locri, an Ionian colony. And E. Langlotz would place (7) him in the workshop of Pythagoras under which he lists the New York (8) bronze reputedly from Smyrna which, though of later date and developed in movement, is in our opinion comparable. There is no doubt that the soft modelling and delicate outlines relate our example to Eastern Ionian art. However, it must be remembered that in addition to multiple influences that reached South Italy and Sicily around this time, the local schools of sculpture influenced each other and their artists travelled.

Consequently, with the greatest caution we would like to express the opinion that this torso is a local South Italian example from the region Reggio-Locri, possibly an early creation within the circle of Pythagoras if such a grouping can be defined, and to be dated rather later than earlier on account of a certain provincialism.

On view:
Archaeological Institute, University of Zürich: 1960-1971 (save for interlude June-October 1960, Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, Basel).
Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1971-1982
Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 213-214, cat. no. VIII 234b, ill.; Plastik, Vasen und Kleinkunst, cat. no. 1, ill.; Weltkunst aus Privatbesitz, cat. no. A 58, pl. 23; Art Antique, cat. no. 228, ill.
Published:
de Luca, G., “Ein Jünglingstorso in der G. Ortiz Sammlung”, Antike Plastik IV (Berlin, 1965) 7-12, pls. 1-5; Richter, G.M.A., Kouroi 3rd ed. (London, 1970), 157, no. 189a, figs. 642-645.
Mentioned:
Richter, G.M.A., Kouroi 2nd ed. (London, 1960), 147; Langlotz, E. and Hirmer, M., Die Kunst der Westgriechen (Munich, 1963) 76 ("...limestone torso..."); Berger, E., “Auszug aus dem Jahresbericht 1971”, AntK 15 (1972) 71-72, pl. 17; Langlotz, E., Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst (Mainz, 1975) 177, n. 31; Holloway, R.R., Influences and Styles in the Late Archaic and Early Classical Greek Sculpture of Sicily and Magna Graecia (Louvain, 1975) XI, n. 10, 11, n. 40; Barletta, B.A. “The draped Kouros type and the workshop of the Syracuse youth”, AJA 91 (1987) 241, n. 44, 45.

1) In Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, the marble was described as Chiot, which though a possibility is far from certain. In June 1959, a small chip had been taken to the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum for analysis which they kindly passed on to the Department of Mineralogy of their Natural History Department who wrote back the following: "We are unable to identify this marble with certainty but can be sure that it is not Pentelic or Parian, at least as far as we can tell from comparison with accessible specimens. ... It resembles certain marbles from Asia Minor and the Ionian Islands (notably Chios) both in its dark purple fluorescence and its texture, but I would not be justified in positively attributing it to this source." (S.E. Ellis). The author believes that, except for a few major quarries, the ascribing of marble to a definite source is still problematic. There are yet quarries to be located that were worked in ancient times and others that are still exploited today where, in some cases, traces of ancient quarrying have been obliterated.

2) The stump at the break of the right arm is in all likelihood fortuitous, though its appearance is highly unusual and there is a remote possibility that it could be the remains of the inset for the rest of the arm that would have been made separately, and if so, probably an ancient repair.

3) Ridgway, B.S., The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture (Princeton, 1977), 71; Barletta, B.A., AJA 91 (1987) 241.

4) Potenza, Museo Archeologico: Richter, G.M.A., Kouroi (1970) 147, no. 187, fig. 553-555.

5) Richter, G.M.A., op. cit., 157, no. 189a, figs. 642-645.

6) Schefold, K., Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 56.

7) Verbal communication to the author in the very early 1960s.

8) Metropolitan Museum 08.258.10: Langlotz, E., Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen (Nuremberg, 1927) 147 ff., no. 1, pl. 88.; Schefold, K., op. cit., 224-228, no. V 262.

138. CARYATID MIRROR

Bronze
H: 42 cm. Diam. mirror disc: 17.5 cm (1)
Allegedly from Dodona
North-East Peloponnese, Sicyon?
c. 470 B.C.

Comprised of three main elements joined together: the mirror disc, the caryatid and the stand.
The mirror disc probably cast by the lost wax (2) process and in a second step cold-worked: hammering and shaping from the back, going over and adding to the decoration with careful punching and chiselling, the slightly convex mirror surface burnished and polished to a high sheen.
The caryatid solid-cast by the lost wax process, finely chased, chiselled, punched and grooved in the cold and carefully burnished. The lotus bud in her left hand made separately and inserted. The intermediary element above her head to which the mirror is attached was either cast separately, possibly from an open mould and fusion-welded in a cavity prepared on top of her head or cast together with the caryatid. Damaged in antiquity it has been repaired. On the front, above her head extra metal has been fusion-welded on and a joining strip at the back has been added to replace the brace (3).
The stand hollow-cast by the lost wax process, its three feet solid-cast. Chiselled in the cold, carefully burnished and polished, the hollow part filled with lead.
Condition: the mirror disc: patina a smooth olive green almost entirely covered with a granular incrustation of light green cuprous chloride and azure with ingrained hardened brown earth deposit.
The statuette and intermediary element a lighter smooth olive green almost completely covered with a granular surface of bright green cuprous chloride and spots of bright dark blue and ingrained hard brown earth deposit. The back of the statuette fairly smooth, the brownish earth like a slip over most of the

surface with spots of green cuprous chloride. A nick to the tip of her nose and to her fillet at the back.
The stand a smooth olive green with brown earth incrustations. A crack above one of the paws and to one of the palmettes, slight wear to the claws of the paws.

Delicately modelled and clothed in a supple belted chiton, the Kore stands - with her left leg slightly forward and with her feet shod in slippers - on a tripod decorated with palmettes and volutes, resting on three lion paws. The chiton is fastened with six or seven buttons over the shoulder and along the upper arms on each side, three lines mark its neckline; its front is decorated with engraved delicate double line ripples. Single lines like rays of sunshine radiate from under the breasts to the edge of the kolpos. Below, double lines undulate diagonally towards the centre, where they meet or slightly overlap. The back is undecorated. A thick fold is indicated by ridges on either side of the chiton.
She holds an apple in her extended right hand and in her left a large lotus bud. Her hair is dressed in horizontal tresses over the forehead leaving the ears free. At the back it is combed down in wavy lines and drawn up in a bun over the nape. She wears a diadem.
The mirror support described (4) as a "simple inward 'Y' arc cradle" is engraved; its present brace a coarse artisan's repair of the period. The front surface of the disc is embellished with a double row of punched connected circles (a sort of double guilloche) and the raised beaded rim is decorated on its outer section with a frieze of narrow ovolos.
This caryatid mirror is difficult to assign to a given artistic region or school. The author had ventured Sicyon (?) (5) and Cl. Rolley said North-East Peloponnese (Sicyon?) (6) giving weight to the attribution. L.O. Keene Congdon has said "strongly influenced by the Sikyonian school, probably South Italian". (7)

It is of course possible that the "allegedly from Dodona" be a misleading indication for the provenance, though, of course, a work of this sort could very well have been made in Magna Graecia and have found its way to Dodona. In favour of a South Italian provenance might be her similarity with the general shape of the face and ears of the enthroned goddess from Tarentum in Berlin (8), though their mouths are different. However, it should be remembered that Sparta was in the lead during the first half of the 6th century and influenced Corinth. Thus in the latter part of the century and at the beginning of the 5th, the same background at one removed would have, to a certain extent, had its bearing on Tarentum and the North-East Peloponnese.
The Kore bears a rapport for her elongated form and what she is holding in her right hand with a far earlier representation in Athens (9) dated to the end of the first half of the 6th century, ascribed by L.O. Keene Congdon to Sparta and which U. Häfner calls provincial. However, there is also a distant rapport with the mirror in Paris (10) said to be from Thebes and given by E. Langlotz to Sicyon. This latter has been grouped with the St. Petersburg (11) mirror which E. Langlotz ascribes to Aegina and with which L.O. Keene Congdon concurs saying "Aeginetan", the Boston mirror (12) attributed by L.O. Keene Congdon to Sicyon, and the Cleveland mirror (13) that E. Langlotz gives to Sicyon. The Cleveland and Boston examples are said to belong to Argos by R. Tölle-Kastenbein (14).
If R. Tölle-Kastenbein's attributions be followed, it is possible that the present caryatid might belong to the last phase of Argive production. All the above references are listed only "en passant" for they require serious and lengthy analysis.
In conclusion, we think that, though Magna Graecia is not totally to be dismissed, the caryatid belongs to the North-East Peloponnese and have kept the attribution to Sicyon. An unusual and particularly sensitive example of the new style that evolved out of the Archaic period.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1976-1982, 1988-1992
Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 227, ill; Hommes et Dieux, 192-193, cat. no. 116, ill; Pandora's Box, 131-132, cat. no. 2.
Published:
Keene Congdon, L.O., Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece (Mainz, 1981) 239-240; Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs (Fribourg, 1983) 95-97, no. 75, col. pl.

1) The measurements of the different parts are: H. of statuette alone: 15.9 cm; H. of statuette with intermediary element (cradle): 18.9 cm; H. of stand: 7.4 cm.
2) Though conceivably hammered to shape from bronze plate. If by the lost wax method, this might have been prepared either by pouring wax on hot water, which was then allowed to cool, or shaping a clay form on a potter's wheel and then making the wax on it. For the former, the degree to which the water was heated conditioned the curvature of the disc. In both cases the edges of the wax disc are curved up and decorated on the front, a mould is then built around for casting. The author is unable to assess the validity of L.O. Keene Congdon's Water-casting concave-convex wax models for cire perdue bronze mirrors (AJA 89, 3 [1985] 511 ff.); however, Claude Rolley (RA [1986] fasc. 2, 379) calls it a curious and useless method.
3) A rivet from front to back through the intermediary element (cradle) and the strip (brace), a lumpy head in front, a flattened hammered one at the back. The artisan who made the repair originally thought to pass the rivet right through the thickest part just above the fillet in front and started drilling a hole for this purpose; surely realizing that it would come out too low at the back to secure the strip strongly, he started again above.
4) Keene Congdon, L.O., Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece, 90. fig. 12, 112, fig. 20.
5) Art Antique, cat. no. 227; Hommes et Dieux, 193, cat. no. 116.
6) Les bronzes grecs, 95-96, no. 75.
7) op. cit., 240.
8) Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung A 17: Langlotz, E. and Hirmer, M., Die Kunst der Westgriechen (Munich, 1963) 69, no. 50.51.
9) National Museum 7465: Keene Congdon, L.O., op. cit., 128-129, no. 4, pl. 3; Häfner, U., Das Kunstschaffen Lakoniens in archaischer Zeit (Münster, 1965) 96, n. 36.
10) Louvre Br. 1688 (formerly MNC 992): Keene Congdon, L.O., op. cit., 142-143, no. 22, pl. 20; Langlotz, E., Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen (Nürnberg, 1927) 30, no. 4, pl. 18c.
11) The Hermitage Museum B 815: Keene Congdon, L.O., op. cit., 146-147, no. 27, pl. 24; Langlotz, E., op. cit., 99, no. 6, pl. 54a.
12) Museum of Fine Arts 01.7499: Keene Congdon, L.O., op. cit., 149-150, no. 31, pl. 26, 27.
13) Cleveland Museum of Art 50.7: Keene Congdon, L.O., op. cit., 151-152, no. 33, pl. 29, 30, 31; Langlotz, E., op. cit., 30, no. 5.
14) Tölle-Kastenbein, R.: Frühklassische Peplosfiguren (Mainz, 1980), no. 19c, pp. 136-137, pl. 89, 90a-b; no. 19b, pp. 135-136, pl. 87a,d, 88.

139. HERMES ?

Marble
H: 43 cm
Allegedly from Sicyon
Sicyonian
Severe Style. c. 470 B.C.

Sculpted of a fine-grained tight white marble.
Condition: chipped and scratched, the colour a light yellowish golden with limestone incrustation in places.
Missing: the head and part of the neck, the right arm from the elbow down, the left arm from just above the wrist, the right leg from below the knee and the left leg from across the knee. In the stub of the left arm a hole c. 25 mm deep and c. 6 mm in diameter, probably for an ancient repair.

The figure stands with his weight on his left leg, the right upper leg forward and slightly bent back at the knee. He wears a short chiton, visible across the chest just below the collar-bones and with sleeves ending above the elbows, with two thick overlaps at the waist surely girt by a belt. The tight-fitting chiton ends below the buttocks around the upper thighs. A chlamys is draped over the shoulders and falls in folds, it is fastened on the right with a circular fibula. In archaic times the folds of his cloak would have been treated differently: more schematically, spaced closer, sharper, more pointed and drawn in straighter lines. Here, at the inception of the early Classical period, they are softer and more natural.
This youthful figure, who must be Hermes (1), epitomizes the miraculous transition from the archaic to the classical, from aristocracy to democracy, from static severity to natural movement, at the beginning of a transitional period in sculpture called Early Classical or Severe Style. This sculpture embodies this moment of

spiritual and political transition with its feel and awareness of the human body, when subject matter becomes more important than type. Perhaps the first and one of the last extant great marble sculptures that both announces and expresses the transition, for henceforth the artists were to prefer bronze for its potential, a medium appropriate to the rendering of naturalism and the new conception of man. It is because we have no large-scale bronzes for this period but only the marbles of Olympia, that a clear vision of the process of contemporary development in sculpture is difficult. Further, regional differences that determined art before the Persian invasions, had given place to a less differentiated sculptural output, a consequence of the citizen's awareness of his individual importance (they rowed the triremes at Salamis and carried the day), and a new national consensus as many Greeks had contributed to repulsing the Medes.

One senses his youthful assuredness as he steps forward, his body still imbued with archaic purity about to burst from the bonds of archaism to the reality of his natural self. The subtlety of the planes and curves of the lower front tunic, is of a plastic virtuosity unsurpassed in the writer's opinion in any sculpture of any age.

Herein lies the Greek miracle, when man was at the dawn of a new realization of self.

There are contrasts between the different parts: the tunic, the thighs, the subtle volumes of the lower neck and the upper part of the back where they join, and we feel life emerging through the collar-bones. This miraculous moment of transition is in considerable part expressed by the curves, folds and draping of the chiton and chlamys over the body, the way it clings to it and hangs off it, and outlines the nascent expression of life and movement.

In sculpture the style is reputed to have started at Sicyon. Sicyon, somewhat in the shadow of Corinth, had a long reputation for its prowess in sculpture and if one looks at the Sicyonian treasury at Delphi, the metope with the Dioskouroi (2) as they lead the cattle, one can understand the greatness and eminently satisfying soberness of archaic sculpture at its best. This Hermes, though embodying the birth of a new development, the greatest that humanity has ever known, had his plastic roots in the past. The manner in which on the Dioskouroi the chlamys falls over their shoulders with its folds ending in a point in front, their waists belted, and their proud bearing are true antecedents. The difference is naturalism, the modelling between the trapezia and the clavicles, in the way the knees are represented; it is in the folds, and above all it is in the incredibly subtly curved plane on the lower front of the chlamys.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1988-1992
Mentioned:
Ortiz, G., Connoisseurship and Antiquity. Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World (Malibu, 1990) 274-275, fig. 26.

1) François Chamoux, on a visit 16 August 1994, questioned the date c. 480 B.C. suggesting 470/460, within the sphere of the Olympia pediments, because of the evolution of the drapery, the incredibly fine workmanship (e.g. the right knee and the buttocks less salient than in earlier times) and the attribution because of the refinement of the dress inappropriate for Hermes/shepherd, and suggested maybe a funerary statue of a youthful warrior of aristocratic background, possibly holding a spear. On a visit the next day N. Himmelmann likewise thought the date too early by a decade, but saw no objection to it being a Hermes.

2) Limestone metope c. 560 B.C.: Jeffery, L.H., Archaic Greece. The City-States c. 700-500 B.C. (London, 1976) fig, 24.

140. KRIOPHOROS

Bronze
H: 11.2 cm
Provenance: no indication
Greek, North-East Peloponnese?
First quarter of the 5th century B.C.

Ex collection:
Giorgio Sangiorgi, Rome

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, the casting flawed (1), but otherwise delicately worked over in the cold and burnished.
Condition: dark olive green to a light green, in parts overlaid with brown earth deposit that has become smooth; the odd spot of blue, parts of the surface scraped, a nick to the left side of stepped base and holes here and there over the surface from air bubbles.
The figure slightly leaning to the left, bent at the ankles, the neck and head of the figure with a section of the ram's back missing.

A possible representation of the god Hermes, messenger and guide, and respectful emissary of Zeus. Hermes was also shepherd and god of Arcadia with its bountiful flocks of sheep. Here he is dressed in a cloak which falls in two wide folds ending above his knees and which at the back clings to his body, curving in above and moulding the buttocks, and ending across the middle of the thighs. A wide pleat at the back, a turning over of the edge, falls in front in swallow-tail folds and frees his right arm and hand which probably held a shepherd's crook, though a kerykeion is possible. Shod in high boots with a tongue above the middle of the shin, he stands on a two-tiered base very similar to the one under the New York Apollo (2).

He carries the ram draped over his shoulders holding it with his left hand by its left front leg and its right hind leg, but also possibly by the other hind leg tucked in behind. The animal is portrayed with extreme sensitivity depicting its discomfort, the bend of its neck with its slightly bulging underside expressing its apprehension. Its fleece indicated by incised criss-crossing lines forming unusual rhomboids without a satisfying parallel; though there is a statuette of Athena in Hanover (3) of unknown provenance whose aegis is decorated in a very similar fashion. She is ascribed by R. Tölle-Kastenbein to a provincial master whom she says is neither definitely Arcadian nor Laconian. The statuette is indeed provincial, but we are surely in the Peloponnese.

Though there is a whole group of terracotta Kriophoroi from Medma, they only bear comparison for the subject except for one (4) which is dated to the beginning of the 5th century, where the shepherd's cloak - though very plain - clings to the front of the body somewhat in the same spirit as it does here on the back of the statuette. The terracotta statuette would also seem to have sharp shins. A heavy-set bronze Kriophoros (5) from the sanctuary of Apollo at Metapontum is only thematically related. The author recalls a terracotta statuette whose body and legs are almost identical to this ram-bearer, in the museum in Palermo, which must come from the Malophoros deposit at Selinunte. The ram's head bears comparison with certain Attic rhyta (6) in the round and though on these latter the muzzle is very similar in profile, they are not as narrow towards the nostrils.

The epithet Kriophoros for the god harks back to an historic event when Hermes managed to avert a plague from the town of Tanagra by carrying a ram round the city walls (7). Kalamis, a Boeotian sculptor much influenced by Sicyon, made a famous statue (8). It may be that the present statuette and a bronze once belonging to Sabouroff (9) are precursors of the cult statue of Tanagra.

The Hermes Kriophoros in Boston (10) described as perhaps Sicyonian (11) is possibly a predecessor for the subject. Our statuette straddles the borderline between the end of archaic and the early Severe Style and in all likelihood is to be placed in the North-East of the Peloponnese, probably a work to be ascribed to Sicyon where the new style was born, though neither Corinth, Arcadia, or Sicily should be totally excluded.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1968-1973
Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 222-223 (ill.), no. V 254; (Nicholls, R.V., JHS 82 (1962) 204.); Hommes et Dieux, 230-231 (ill.), no. 146.
Published:
G. Siebert, G., LIMC, V.1, 312, no. 274.
Mentioned:
Dörig, J., “Kalamis-Studien”, JdI 80 (1965) 223, n. 366; Ortiz, G., Connoisseurship and Antiquity. Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World (Malibu, 1990) 274-275 with fig. 27.

1) With air bubbles owing to a bad mixture of the molten metal and/or more probably to a too rapid cooling responsible for the break on the animal's back.
2) Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.91: Richter, G.M.A., The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Greek, Roman and Etruscan Bronzes (New York, 1915) 41-42, no. 60, said to be from near Andritsena, Arcadia (see mention cat. no. 142).
3) Kestner-Museum 1961.17: Tölle-Kastenbein, R., Frühklassische Peplosfiguren (Mainz, 1980) 237, no. 42d, pl. 166a.
) Reggio, Museo Nazionale: Langlotz, E. and Hirmer, M., Die Kunst der Westgriechen (Munich, 1963) 70, no. 56.
5) Metapontum Antiquarium 31142: Rolley, Cl., “Trois bronzes de Métaponte”, RA (1989) 115-117.
6) Hoffmann, H., “The Persian origin of Attic rhyta”, AntK 4 (1961) 21 ff.
7) Pausanias IX.22.2.
8) Dörig, J., JdI 80 (1965) 220 ff.
9) Dörig, J., op. cit., 222, fig. 66 (recorded in Furtwängler, A., Slg. Sabouroff II, pl. 146, now lost).
10) Museum of Fine Arts H.L. Pierce Fund 99.489: Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., Greek, Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Boston, 1971) 25-26, no. 23.
11) The Gods Delight. The Human Figure in Classical Bronze (Cleveland, 1988) 81-86, no. 9 (M. True).

141. KORE - mirror caryatid

Bronze
H: 13.2 cm
Provenance: no indication
Argive
c. 465 B.C.

Ex collection:
Jacob Hirsch (1)
Sigmund Wassermann, Berlin
M. Ante Mimara

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, finely chased and worked in the cold, highly burnished and polished.
Condition: patina dark, greenish and black brown with gold overtones; specks of cuprite.
Missing (2): the mirror, its attachment and the circular stand on three lion paws, the tips of the fingers of the right hand with most of the lotus bud held between the index and thumb, as well as the left foot.
The lower left eyelid damaged and a nick to the right side of lower lip; small casting flaws to right foot.
Where the attachment for the cradle rested on the head, hair has been grooved though fortunately without reworking the finely engraved original hair over the rest. The left foot is a modern restoration.

The caryatid mirror statuette dressed in a Doric chiton was still complete in 1921 with its stand, cradle, brace and disc. She stood on a tripod base supported on lion paws. The supporting cradle seems to have been of the arc type (3) surmounted by a disc, apparently plain with a beaded rim. Her Doric chiton at the back falls in regular folds. Her hair is parted frontally and combed back

and tucked up in a fillet. She is of extremely fine workmanship.
She has a rather expressive long and narrow oval face that ends in a pointed chin. Her nose is straight and narrow; there is a deep furrow beneath her lower lip.
Still early in the Classical period she represents a persistence of certain archaic characteristics both for the representation, a mirror handle, and for her gesture lifting her chiton with its vertical pleats with her left hand.
Classical is the contrapposto position with the weight on the left leg, the right turned slightly outwards and the very slight incipient turn of her head.
She belongs to a class of mirrors (caryatid mirrors) of which there are a considerable number. These have been variously grouped, but unfortunately with little consensus. For example, R. Tölle-Kastenbein (4) places her within her Toronto caryatid mirror group comprising six Korai and which she ascribes to Athens; whereas L.O. Keene Congdon (5) discusses her within her "Argo-Corinthian - B" group. For certain aspects close parallels are the caryatid mirror in London (6) ascribed to Argos by L.O. Keene Congdon and to Kleonai by E. Langlotz, and the Athens (7) example classified by L.O. Keene Congdon under "Argive - A" and as Corinthian by E. Langlotz. Both these last are grouped under "Athens" by R. Tölle-Kastenbein (8). However, this author, though recognizing a rapport with Attic statuettes, considers that particularly her hair and her drapery find their closest parallels in Argive works. V.H. Poulsen (9) calls her hairstyle typically Argive.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1967-1968
Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 223, 226, cat. no. V 267, ill; Hommes et Dieux, 195, 197, cat. no. 117, ill.
Published:
Tölle-Kastenbein, R., Frühklassische Peplosfiguren (Mainz, 1980), 14, 29-30, 221, cat. no. 3f, pl. 16b, 17c; Keene Congdon, L.O., Caryatid Mirrors in Ancient Greece (Mainz, 1981) 182-183, no. 73, pl. 68-69.
Mentioned:
Poulsen, V.H., “Der strenge Stil”, ActaArch 8 (1937) 20, no. 8; Blümel, C., "Sitzung am 10. Mai 1955", AA 70 (1955) 309-315; Biesantz, H., MarbWPr (1957) 20; Thomas, R., Athletenstatuetten der Spätarchaik und des Strengen Stils (Rome, 1981) 155, n. 752; Brommer, F., “Aus einer früheren Mainzer Sammlung”, AA 102 (1987) 237 ff., n. 32.

1) Vente de biens allemands ayant fait l'objet d'une mesure de sequestre de guerre. Collection Hirsch (première vente), Paris, 30 June-2 July 1921, lot 209 pl. II. Hirsch was a dealer, but in view of his importance during the first half of this century and the particular circumstances surrounding this sale, the author has listed him.
2) The ensemble was complete (save for the left foot, see Blümel, C., AA 70 (1955) 310-315, part. ill. 6) still in 1921 but by the time it was sold to Wassermann around 1925, it had been separated from all the now missing parts, a deliberate mutilation by the Paris dealer who had acquired the bronze at the sale, probably thinking thus to make it more valuable as a statuette in its own right rather than just being an element of a mirror.
3) Keene Congdon, L.O., Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece, 112 fig. 20.
4) Frühklassische Peplosfiguren, 14, 29-30, 221, no. 3f, pl. 16b, 17c.
5) op. cit., 183.
6) British Museum 240: Keene Congdon, L.O., op. cit., 160, no. 45, pl. 40; Langlotz, E., Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen (Nuremberg, 1927) 68, no. 4.
7) National Museum 6197: Keene Congdon, L.O., op. cit., 185-186, no. 75, pl. 72, 73; Langlotz, E., op. cit., 80, no. 3, pl. 40b.
8) Tölle-Kastenbein, R., op. cit., 17-18, no. 1b, pl. 2; 33, no. 4f, pl. 20.
9) Poulsen, V.H., ActaArch 8 (1937) 15-16.

142. APOLLO

Bronze
H: 12.3 cm
From Lousoi (Arcadia)
Peloponnese, Tegea ?
c. 460-450 B.C.

Ex collection:
Martine de Béhague (some time in the 1890s-1939)
Marquis de Ganay (1939-1987)

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, carefully chiselled and worked in the cold. The bow made separately. The inscription punched and chiselled on.
Condition: patina a greyish green to a blackish olive green; surface smooth, specks of earth deposit and very minor incrustations here and there of slightly granular green cuprous chloride.
Missing: the right hand and wrist, both feet and the bowstring. Very slight abrasion to centre of headband and slight damage to tip of nose, a nick to left side of upper lip, scrape marks along right arm and on left upper arm. A blow to inside of right knee and a few very small air bubbles from the cast.

What are the antecedents for this youth? What are the sculptural influences? To what school does he belong? What was his function or purpose, and what does the inscription mean?
E. Langlotz postulated a school of Kleonai (1) geographically located between Sicyon (next to Corinth) and Argos under which he grouped a number of sculptures that relate to certain characteristics of Sicyonian and Argive production. He did not consider Arcadian statuettes justified an Arcadian school (2). We feel that many of the associations among statuettes and other sculptures in which he places this Apollo are well founded. To what extent is a school a

group of workshops or artists, to what extent does a great artist alone or with his assistants constitute a workshop does not seem to have been defined.

W. Lamb (3) ascribed a whole group of bronzes of varying quality to Arcadia in which she includes the present statuette and states that Tegea (well placed on the road between Argos and Sparta) had a strong claim to be the centre of production though it was possible that there was more than one centre.

There must have been small workshops throughout Arcadia that produced a varied output that share certain rough though not uncharming traits, second-rate artistically but influenced by neighbouring Argos and to a lesser extent by her other neighbours. Because the present Apollo was dedicated in Lousoi (Arcadia) and is certainly from the same workshop and possibly by the same artist as the bronze statuette of Perseus in Sparta (4) found at Mantineia very close to Tegea, we agree with A. Delivorrias that there must have been a major school located in Tegea. To this school surely belongs some of the sculpture attributed by E. Langlotz to Kleonai. Whether a school ever existed located geographically there is an open question, though to give a name to most of the ensemble that he constituted seems appropriate.

The Apollo stands "in a modest attitude of self contentment" (5), calm and rather taut, his body of a slim but compact build. His head slightly turned to his right as is his right leg with the knee jutting forward, his weight is on the left leg. The position of the twist of the head is unusual but he looks where he does since he probably held a laurel twig in his right hand, symbol of his power as a god. The bow in his left is simply an attribute (6).

E. Langlotz sees his antecedent, which he places within the same group, as being the Aristomacha votive offering (7); they bear comparison for the oval of the head, the low forehead, the face with its soft modelling of the brow and lids, and the full rounded cheeks. A comparison slightly later in date than the Apollo and ascribed to the same workshop by E. Langlotz is the mirror in Dresden (8); indeed similar, it bears comparison for the general softness of the surface, the way the hair is incised, the neck, and to a lesser extent the eyes and mouth. But a closer and telling comparison - for the facial expression which is so similar, its oval shape, the eyes and the mouth, indeed the way the hair is grooved, which he also cites - is the girl with an offering in Boston (9), only very slightly later in date.

Most revealing, a twin in certain aspects and only slightly later in date, is the statuette of Perseus in Sparta (10). The hair, for its shape, fillet and engraving, is identical, as are the face, forehead, eyes, nose and mouth, and they both share a somewhat sullen expression. The body is also so similar that the same artist must have made them both, as suggested by A. Delivorrias. The only differences stem from the gesture of the upraised right arm and the slightly greater contrapposto with less severity in the outlines of the bust.

These last two statuettes differ from stockily built Argive youths in the feeling they give that their torsos are shorter and their thighs longer. They are milder and more delicate in appearance, they seem to have a certain freshness and elasticity of body though with a somewhat dry and awkward grace (11). These traits characterize an individualistic manner that fits this Apollo and the school, though not a powerful one, to which he belongs, and which E. Langlotz (12) describes as having the build and attitude of Sicyonian works and the softness of modelling of Argive sculptures.

It seems that the period between 470 and 450 B.C. corresponding to the middle and later Severe Style produced the greatest quantity of large statues of Apollo (13). A.W. Johnston (14) considers the small statuettes to derive from large-scale sculpture and that when they do so, as in this example, they possess a freedom from constraint and a liveliness which would not have been permissible for large cult images. Our Apollo's half-long hair is an Argive influence and unusual for Apollo in this period, and thus surely a

local characteristic of this school in this time, as are the forehead and cheeks finely framed by the hair.
Where was the statuette placed? Its inscription would indicate that it was a votive offering within the precinct but not necessarily to be placed at the altar. Though we have a context where a statuette said to represent Apollo in Kalapodi (15) is embedded from the lower calves down in lead in a votive altar of a sanctuary said to belong to Artemis. The image of Apollo, a god of conciliation, would be a fitting offering for Artemis Hemera (= gentle).
For a statuette of Apollo similar for his right hand extended forward in offering, possibly here holding a phiale, and his left grasping a bow, is the earlier bronze in New York (16) said to be from Hagios Sostes near Andritsena (Phigalia, in Arcadia). A local antecedent for the iconography.
The inscription in Doric dialect which is here given in the original Greek offers certain difficulties for its interpretation and translation. This author is totally incompetent to discuss the matter. Apparently the basic text, says L.H. Jeffery (17), is clear: "I am of Artemis the Gentle one". The rest of the inscription is open to different interpretations.

Exhibited and Published:
Ancient Greek Art (London, 1904) 45, no. 33; Picasso und die Mythen, 144, 232, cat. no. 26, ill.
Published:
Furtwängler, A., Arkadische Bronzestatuetten. Neue Denkmäler antiker Kunst. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Bd II, Heft IV, 1899 (Munich, 1900) 566 ff., fig. 2-3; id., Kleine Schriften II (Munich, 1912-13) 458, fig. 2-3; Froehner, W., Collection de la Comtesse R. de Béarn, I (Paris, 1905) 21-24, pl. 5; Lamb, W., “Arcadian Bronze Statuettes”, BSA 27 (1925-26) 144, no. 34; Langlotz, E., Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen (Nuremberg, 1927) 69 ff., no. 26, pl. 6; Pfeiff, K.A., Apollon. Die Wandlung seines Bildes in der griechischen Kunst (Frankfurt, 1943) 80 ff., pl. 30;
Lambrinudakis, W., Apollo, LIMC II.1, 219, no. 292; II.2, pl. 207; Les sept joyaux de la collection de Haute Curiosité du Marquis de Ganay, Connaissance des Arts, 15 August 1955, 42; Antiquités et Objets d'Art. Collection de Martine, Comtesse de Béhague, provenant de la succession du Marquis de Ganay, Sotheby's, Monaco, 5 December 1987, 96-99, lot 120.

Mentioned:
Poulsen, V.H., “Der strenge Stil, Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen Plastik 480-450”, ActaArch 8 (1937) 34; Salmann, G.S., “Five Thousand Years of Creative Activity in Europe and on the Mediterranean: Masterpieces in some leading French private collections”, Connoisseur (October 1961) 121; Karousos, Chr., Aristodikos (Stuttgart, 1961) V, no. 4, 81; Delivorrias, A., “Zum Motif des triumphierenden Perseus”, AntK 12 (1969) 22-24, pl. 16.4; Fuchs, W., Die Skulptur der Griechen (Munich, 1969) 66-67, figs. 57, 58; Thomas, R., Athletenstatuetten der Spätarchaik und des Strengen Stils (Rome, 1981) 104-105, n. 474-475, 113, n. 529, 125, n. 589, 157, n. 763; Mitsopoulos-Leon, V., “The Statue of Artemis at Lousoi: Some Thoughts”, in: Palagia, O. and Coulson, W. (eds.), Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia (Oxford, 1993) 37-38; Raftopoulou, E.G., “Sur certains archétypes de thèmes iconographiques du centre du Péloponnèse”, in: Palagia, O. and Coulson, W. (eds.): op. cit., 8-9; Thomas, R., Griechische Bronze-Statuetten (Darmstadt, 1992) 85, 86, 100, fig. 72.

For the inscription:
Hiller v. Gaertringen, F., Inscriptiones Graecae V.2 (Berlin, 1913) 403; Jeffery, L.H., Local scripts of Archaic Greece, (Oxford, 1961) 210-211, n. 1, no. 14, 215; Dubois, L., “La dédicace d'un petit Apollon de bronze”, BCH 112.1 (1988) 531-534; Raubitschek, A.E., “Die Inscrift auf dem Apollon Béarn”, in: Froning, H., Hölscher, T. and Mielsch, H. (eds.), Kotinos. Festschrift für Erika Simon (Mainz, 1992) 171; Johnston, A.W., “Some thoughts on the Béhague Apollo”, in: Palagia, O. and Coulson, W. (eds.), Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia (Oxford, 1993) 41-45, figs. 1-3,5,7.

1) Langlotz, E., Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen, 68 ff.
2) Langlotz, E., “Die Herkunft des Olympiameisters”, JdI 49 (1934) 34, n. 2.
3) Lamb, W., BSA 27 (1925-26) 133 ff.
4) Archaeological Museum 6277: Delivorrias, A., AntK 12 (1969) 22 ff.
5) Langlotz, E., Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen, 72.
6) Pfeiff, K.A., Apollon. Die Wandlung seines Bildes in der griechischen Kunst, 80.
7) London, British Museum 188: Tölle-Kastenbein, R., Frühklassische Peplosfiguren (Mainz, 1980) 235-236, no. 42a, pl. 164.
8) Staatliche Kunstsammlungen ZV.807: Tölle-Kastenbein, R., op. cit., 34, no. 4g, pl. 21.
9) Museum of Fine Arts H.L. Pierce Fund 98.668: Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., Greek Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Boston, 1971) 54-55, no. 55.
10) See footnote 4.
11) Pfeiff, K.A., op. cit., 81.
12) Langlotz, E., Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen, 70. The present author agreeing with A. Delivorrias in ascribing this Apollo and the Perseus to Tegea, has applied to them the characteristics E. Langlotz uses to describe his school of Kleonai.
13) Pfeiff, K.A., op. cit., 80.
14) Johnston, A.W., Some thoughts on the Béhague Apollo, 41 ff.
15) Felsch, R.C.S., “Apollon und Artemis. Kalapodi Bericht 1973-1977”, AA 95 (1980) 89 ff.
16) Metropolitan Museum 07.286.91: Richter, G.M.A., The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes (New York, 1915) 41-42, no. 60.

143. ZEUS

Bronze
H: 17.7 cm (with tang: 18.2 cm)
Allegedly from Greece
Argive?
c. 450 B.C. or slightly later

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, profusely cold-worked and engraved.
Condition: back of right hand flattish - to receive the eagle - with tip of index missing, serious gashes revealing the original bronze, mostly over the back of the figure. Also missing the bird and most of the thunderbolt held in left hand.
Patina: a smooth deep green, pitted in places, with red cuprite and green deposits.

This must be a Zeus for his stance, his bearded face and the attributes he probably once held; though he no longer conforms to the Archaic type of the striding, castigating god brandishing the thunderbolt.
The attributes have changed sides: the eagle, now missing, would have been on the right hand and the thunderbolt in the left.
Cast separately, the bird was affixed through the hole in the back of the hand; the fingers are curled under in order to avoid damage, the normal position for holding a bird of prey - falcon or eagle. In his left hand are the remains of what must have been the thunderbolt.
He is probably the product of a North-East Peloponnesian school as he has affinities with: the slightly earlier Argive youth from Ligurio (1), and the Herakles from Mantinea (Arcadia) (2) generally ascribed to Argos.

We sense also a rapport with a bronze which in its time would probably have been an interesting comparison for our statuette. This we know only through a free marble copy in Olympia (3), which must reflect something of its original as a work of art.
Argive characteristics are the middle parting of the hair and the hair band (4). For the beard, we have a comparison with the Mantinea Herakles. However his facial expression and the workmanship in the engraving of his beard and hair - but not their style - hint also that he could be the product of a Thessalian workshop under Attic influence whilst reproducing an Argive canon. For Attic work he is both too heavy and too static in feeling.
In a letter, P.C. Bol (5) says that this statuette of Severe Style is of particular importance because though it closely reminds us of the early production of Polykleitos, it expresses characteristics that are totally different from his figures. This reinforces the growing theory that traits considered as Polykleitan need not be of his invention. Rather, according to Bol, he would have assembled in a canonic system formal elements that were developed in various schools during the first half of the 5th century. In conclusion, this statuette incorporates many of the characteristics that contributed to a new balance, a new equilibrium. An existential evolution to be embodied in a new convention, a synthesis that we owe to Polykleitos.

On view: Musée Olympique, Lausanne: 1994-1995
Exhibited and Published:
Polyklet, 510, cat. no. 5, ill; Le Sport dans la Grèce Antique, 266, 267, cat. no. 129, col. ill.

1) Berlin, Antikenmuseum Misc 8089: Neugebauer, K.-A., Die griechischen Bronzen der klassischen Zeit und des Hellenismus. Staatl. Museen zu Berlin (Berlin, 1951) 8-12, no. 6, pl. 6.
2) Paris, Louvre Museum Br. 4171: Rolley, Cl., Les bronzes grecs (Fribourg, 1983) 89-90, fig. 67.
3) Olympia Museum 109 from the Nymphaeum of the period of Herodes Atticus, the original ascribed to c. 450 B.C. (Yalouris, A. and Yalouris, N., Olympia. Ein Führer durch Museum und Heiligtum <Athens, 1987> 93, 95, fig.c).
4) Poulsen, V.H., “Der strenge Stil”, Acta Archaeologica 8 (1937) 15-16.
5) Dated 27 November 1987.

144. HYDRIA

Bronze
H: 48.8 cm
Allegedly from Greece
Greek
Towards 450 B.C. (or shortly thereafter)

Composed of five elements variously worked but all finished with careful burnishing and polishing. The neck and mouth with its tongue pattern cast (1) to shape, its prolongation a squat body originally of same thickness as the rim, was hammered and annealed repeatedly, thinning the metal and stretching the vessel to its present form. The handles and the foot solid-cast. All the parts of the hydria save for the neck elaborately worked in the cold, hammered, cut and chiselled.
Foot and handles attached to the body by soft solder (tin or lead).
Condition: patina of the handles a pale sandy green with blue areas. The vertical handle with three beaded ribbed strips broken in two across the back, its lower extremity, a Gorgo palmette, missing.
The body of the vessel in many pieces, about one fifth missing. The mouth and neck intact, broken off at the shoulder.
The body just above the foot was damaged in antiquity and replaced with a hammered section. This overlaps the original vessel by about 2 cm and was attached to it using soft solder. The whole restored (2) and mounted in recent times.

Hydriai served mostly to carry water though they were also employed for other uses. They were sometimes given as prizes for sporting events and formed part of temple treasuries. They also served as burial urns.
The body of this vessel is decorated with two registers of tongue pattern separated by a band of guilloche framed by concentric circles. The foot is ornamented with lotus flowers and stylized

palmettes, its rim is ribbed.
Those examples with a lion's head on the vertical handle were produced from the late 6th until after the middle of the 5th century B.C. (3) Details of the vertical handles differ, some have gorgons at the base, others sirens, lion scalps or palmettes, and additional motifs are generally rams, sometimes pegasoi. We have too few specimens to enable the establishment of workshops to which one could ascribe individual vases with any degree of certitude. Also, the find-spots suggest that hydriai were made in different locations in Greece and Magna Graecia. Both H. Payne (4) and Cl. Rolley (5) have explained the problems involved, and the difficulties in the attribution of vessels that are very similar though found at different sites.
Among several handles comparable for the type are one in Athens (6) from Dodona and another in Naples (7), probably Campanian. This hydria is surely from the Peloponnese, and probably to be given to Corinth.

On loan: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1973-1992

1) All cast parts done by the lost wax process.
2) Work carried out on and off over a three-year period by the Head Restorer of a major museum; unfortunately, though he found a brilliant solution to support the whole on a plastic form inside the foot, faced with difficult problems, he adapted some of the metal sheet to the plastic. Since the metal had in places distorted and joins were difficult, the edges of some of the pieces were ground. The author had strongly suggested that a body for the vessel be made of plexiglass, however this proved impossible to realize notwithstanding attempts in Switzerland and England; he further expressed the wish that the material used be transparent, or at least light in colour, and the sheets of bronze of the body fixed on to it with clips, resulting in a restoration of total purity. However, the missing parts were about to be made against the author's instructions of a greenish colour. In preparation for this and probably to enable a better adherence of the glue, many of the edges had been ground, making any new assessment as to the validity of the placing of some of the fragments almost impossible, and at best problematic. This is very serious, for in any restoration, there must be total respect for the work of art and not for the material(s) which serves for this restoration. In view of what precedes, the odd spot of glue having been left shining on the vessel, and the disagreeable aspect of the plastic where parts of the body were missing, the vessel, since its return from Russia, has been entrusted to Walter Haberkorn who has done his best to repair the irreparable.
3) Diehl, E., Die Hydria (Mainz, 1964) 25-28, 216-217; Gauer, W., Spätarchaischer Beckengriff mit Tierkampfgruppe, OB X (1981) 139-140; Wealth of the Ancient World (Beverly Hills, 1983) 109-111, no. 34; von Bothmer, D., “Bronze Hydriai”, BMetrMus 13.6 (February 1955) 193-200, for handles of an hydria now in New York; Neugebauer, K.-A., RM 38-39 (1923-1924) 371-383. This hydria combines aspects of the lion-head type with the "Gorgoneion Group" noted by E. Diehl; e.g. Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., Greek, Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Boston, 1971) 289, nos. 413, 414; Diehl, E., op. cit., B38-39.
4) Payne, H., Necrocorinthia (Oxford, 1931) 221.
5) Rolley, Cl., Les vases de bronze de l'archaïsme récent en Grande Grèce (Naples, 1982) 73-79.
6) National Museum, Carapanos collection: Gauer, W., op. cit., 139, 148, fig. 65.
7) Museo Nazionale: Langlotz, E. and Hirmer, M., Die Kunst der Westgriechen (Munich, 1963) 78, no. 93.

145. HEAD

Marble (Pentelic?)
Max. H: 25.5 cm. Max. W: 19 cm
Provenance: no indication
Attic
435-420 B.C.

Carved from what would appear to be Pentelic marble.
Condition: terribly damaged, and with little of the original surface preserved: a small bit of the forehead on the right and most of the surface on the section of the right side of the face. Clearly recognizable here are the outline of the eye, the slightly curved groove that flows beneath the eyebrow from the inner corner of the eye and beyond its outer corner. The sensitively indented curve of the surface below the eye and another one on either side of the nose above the nostrils below the bulge of the cheek, the corners of the mouth and the lower contours around what is left of the lower lip, with a deep groove below the latter which separates it from the rounded protuberant chin.

This fragmentary head exudes the ethos of Attic sculpture of the period which, notwithstanding its damaged state, is revealed by comparison with other works. We feel, however daring, that it could belong to the west pediment of the Parthenon. It has been suggested though that the head appears to be post-Parthenon, perhaps of the decade 430-420 B.C. The excessive play of light and shade around the chin and mouth, the half-open lips and the general softness of the expression are not to be found in the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon, still somewhat severe looking. In addition, the softer traits of this head are characteristic of post-Phidian works of the 420s; moreover, the triangle of the forehead is too regular, the eyes too narrow and too bulging by comparison with Parthenon examples. Finally, the scale seems too

small to have belonged to any of the headless female figures on the west pediment of the Parthenon. A further suggestion is that it may be possible to associate this head stylistically with another Attic work of the 420s, the male head from the Temple of Apollo Zoster in Vouliagmeni (1), certainly later than the sculptures of the west pediment.

His eyes are wider, though also bulging and both heads are roughly of the same scale, besides which, their corrosion is similar.

E. Berger told us that the above remarks were in principle right, though he did not exclude it belonging to the Parthenon, and though the dating c. 420 was an ideal one, it did not mean it was the right one. "There were already progressive sculptures in the 430s. It is always possible that it be a very ripe sculpture from the west pediment. Of course, the size is determinant".

The head is very close indeed to the Apollo head from Vouliagmeni, and exudes for us a similar feel to some of the Parthenon sculptures. If indeed the present surface is comparable to that of the Apollo, possibly because carved from a marble from the same part of the quarry, maybe the hazard of time, its damage and the colour of the remaining original surface compares with much of surviving Parthenon sculpture.

The Vouliagmeni head which reveals Parthenon influence has been brought up in a paper by E.G. Raftopoulou (2) where she discusses a new fragment in Athens. In discussing the group she relates the fragment with the head in Athens from the Kerameikos, dating them towards 430 and stating that their dependence on Parthenon art may now be acknowledged. Such characteristics as the large oval of the face, thick eyelids little recessed, rich volume of the hair and large structure of the head fit our head admirably, and correspond to the dynamic forms of the heads that come from the Parthenon or are attributed to it (3). She also discusses other Attic pieces deriving from this influence, such as the Apollo from Vouliagmeni where the eyes are unusually open, another feature that fits our head.

Some of these heads were obviously made by first-rate sculptors. A great master would be ahead of his time, thus sculpture that stylistically appears of slightly later date (4) may still be a part of the Parthenon. Various masters worked on the monument and the pediments were by different sculptors.

As to the west pediment of the Parthenon, J. Boardman (5) says that "The centerpiece was a great cross of the two gods, Athena and Poseidon, ... The rearing chariots behind them ... seated, reclining and kneeling figures of both sexes and all ages attend rather than watch the outcome of the struggle. They must be the early kings and heroes of Attica and their families, an identification of individuals is not easy."

Might not this head be from the west pediment and possibly, however hypothetical, one of the daughters of Erechtheus? (6)

1) Athens, National Museum 3646 (Berger, E. (ed.), Parthenon-Kongress, Basel 1982, II <Mainz, 1984> pl. 52.3-4).
2) En marge du Parthénon: fragments d'une statue masculine, in: Berger, E. (ed.), op. cit.I, 303 ff.; II, pls. 47-52.
3) Op. cit., 305.
4) Taking the Parthenon as the standard or measure.
5) Boardman, J., Greek Sculpture. The Classical Period (London, 1985) 99.
6) Legendary king of Athens who, after consulting the Delphic Oracle, sacrificed his youngest daughter to save the city from Eumolpos and the Thracians.

146. YOUTH

Bronze
H: 16.6 cm
Allegedly from South-West Asia Minor
Local work (1)
Early 4th century B.C. (though possibly still late 5th)

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and then cold-worked.
Condition: right thumb and tips of right fingers missing, also missing front of right foot and all of left foot from just above the ankle, damage to sex. Much of surface damaged by copper chlorides with some pitting. Ancient casting flaws carefully repaired at the time.
Patina: a smooth greenish-black, small parts almost greyish-green, the original golden brown of the bronze visible in places, much of the surface with varying shades of green, and red oxidization.

Possibly a young athlete making a libation, the extended right hand might once have held a phiale, his lowered left hand a laurel branch.
Both the date and the workshop pose problems. In its stance, certain characteristics and the mood expressed, this statuette shows a very strong Polykleitan influence though it is an original creation. The stance - the position of the legs, the tilt of the head, the line of the left arm with its bent wrist and the position of the hand - creates a certain elastic tension.
The mood is conveyed by this and by the sensuous mouth with the curving, well-marked lips. Other Polykleitan characteristics are: the particular way in which the space is filled beween and including the "trapezia", a line hypothetically drawn between the top of the shoulder-blades, and the base of the neck, like an incline; the wide and marked edge of the rib-cage; the hair, which, like that of the

earlier Doryphoros and other Roman copies of Polykleitan works, seems placed on the head like a bonnet or wig and makes the head appear more voluminous.
The subject, a victorious young athlete, was a particularly popular theme of late Polykleitan works. They conveyed a lyrical mood and the pose displayed a generally harmonious equilibrium.
The alleged provenance, shared with a bronze statuette of a dead or sleeping youth (2) that is dated Early Classical and tentatively attributed to an Attic workshop may, if correct, help us. They share the same thin nose bridge, narrow nostrils, similar sensuous curved lips, fingernails and double parallel lines on the right wrist of the dead youth and the left wrist here. The sterno-mastoid muscles ending in a V-shape are similar as are "valleys" outlining other muscles on different parts of the body. Related too are the iliac crest, rib-cage and pectoral muscle as well as the "valley" formed by the deltoid. The profile lines of the Achilles tendon and the ankles are the same. Completely different, however, are the eyes and the different twists of the body.
Both youths have tight bottoms though somewhat different, the buttocks more sensuous on ours.
For technique, the arms of the dead youth are said to be cast separately, as shown by X-ray. We think that this is also true of our statuette, though it has not been tested. Very similar on both statuettes are "extensive and extremely careful repairs of flaws" carried out after casting.
Our statuette has a repair patch cast on the forehead above the nose, one on the right side of the chin and several very careful small round patch repairs located at the right elbow, above the pubic hair on the right side, in the middle of the back and on the upper exterior right thigh. In conclusion, though the piece compared has been tentatively ascribed to Attica and dated to the Early Classical or Severe Style, c. 480-460 B.C., we feel that the date is already well into the third quarter of the 5th century and that our statuette is to be dated somewhat thereafter, possibly still in the late 5th, but more likely already in the early 4th century.
We feel that our youth is definitely local work, perhaps Ionian, and not an import, and we are in favour of a similar attribution for the dead youth.
In this context differences in style may depend on a variety of factors: if, for instance, the work is a product of a local artist, the extent to which he has absorbed foreign influences or might be impressed by an Athenian sculptor working in the same workshop; if made by a migrant Athenian artist, the length of his stay in his new homeland or the degree to which he adapts new conventions or modes of expression.
It is worth recalling that Polykleitos, renowned throughout the Greek world, went to Ephesos around 435 B.C. and made a famous statue of an Amazon for the Artemision. During his stay he was almost certainly favoured with private commissions and the presence of such a personality must have influenced the local schools. Furthermore, shortly thereafter Athenian artists, probably already aware of some of the innovations of Polykleitos and following the upheavals of the Peloponnesian Wars, migrated to Ionian cities in quest of work.

On view:
Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1988-1991
Musée Olympique, Lausanne: 1994-1995

Exhibited and Published:
Polyklet, 624-625, cat. no. 152, ill.
Mentioned:
Ortiz, G., “Connoisseurship and Antiquity”, in: Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World (Malibu, 1990) 275-278, fig. 28 a-b.

1) Probably by an Athenian immigrant artist, but in any case under strong Attic influence.
) True, M., The Gods Delight. The Human Figure in Classical Bronze (Cleveland, 1988) 86-90, no. 10.

147 FEMALE HEAD

Marble
H: 18 cm
Allegedly from South-West Asia Minor
Atticizing
Last quarter of the 5th century B.C.

Medium-grained white marble.
Condition: broken at the neck. Front of the chin below the lower lip razed off. Chip on left and right of neck at the break, the lower half of the nose mostly broken away. The odd little nick to the face and eyebrows, the eyelids lightly abraded. Left ear weathered, edge of right ear chipped. Above left temple and ear a lumpy volume either unfinished or too damaged for identification - over right temple and ear a large much damaged section, in it two round drilled holes (21 and 23 mm deep, diam. about 13 mm).
The top and back right side of head and section over nape of neck left unfinished. The surface on right top and back side of the head claw-chiselled. The section above nape of neck left unfinished, the back of the head sliced off roughly with four more round holes (21.5-25.5 mm deep, diam. c. 13 mm). Ear-lobes pierced to enable attachment of ear-rings.
Surface of varied hues: greyish dirty bluish white, the right side of head with a yellowish tinge. Most of the face and part above the forehead (whether hair or fillet) incrusted with limestone deposit of mottled texture.

This head is an enigma. It was probably from the pediment of a naiskos. Though less likely, it could represent the servant girl on a funerary monument in very high relief. Some parts of the figures must have been in the round. She wears a sakkos, sometimes worn by maidservants on grave reliefs, creating a slight depression in her hair.

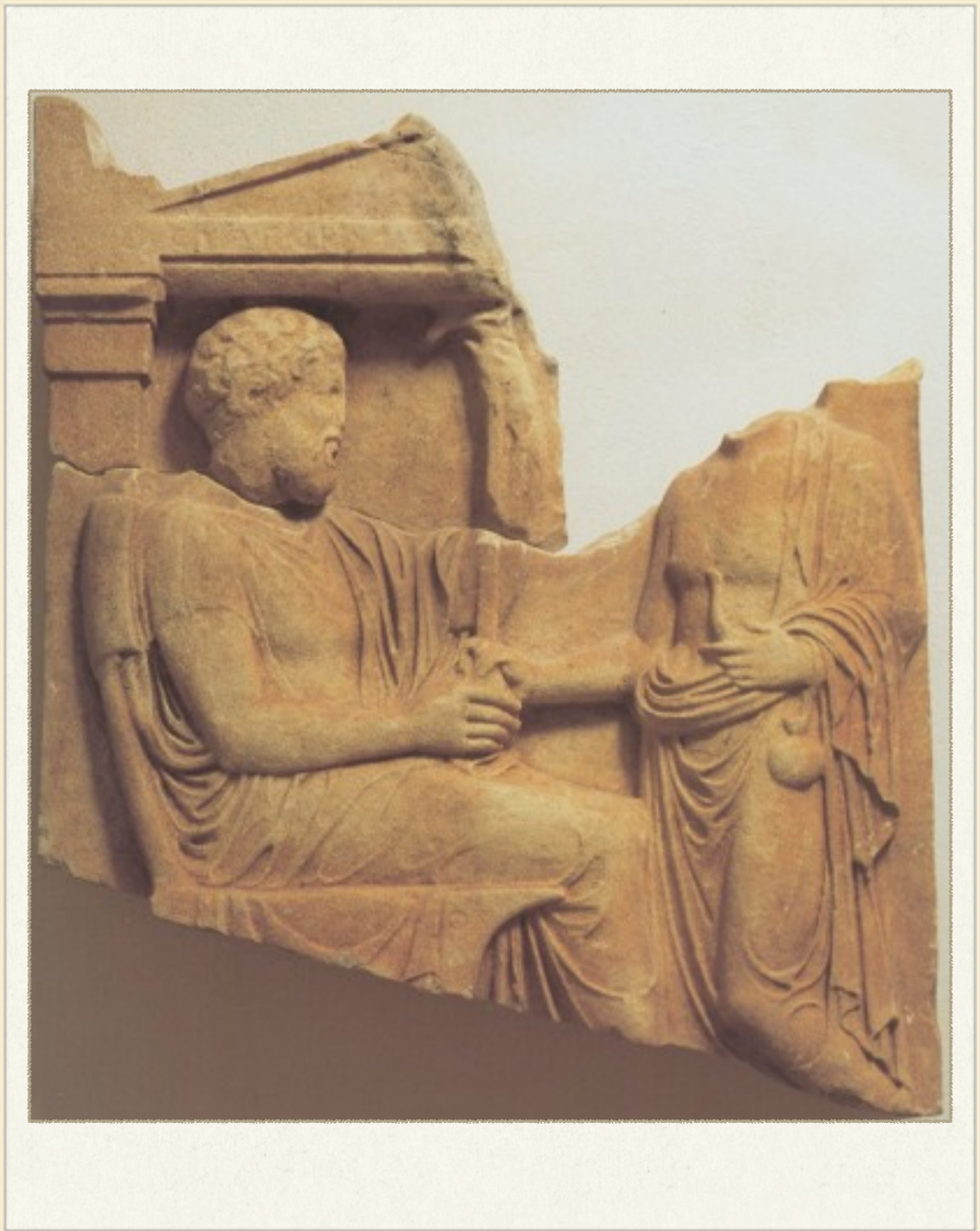
We cannot explain the six drilled round holes on the head, four at the back and two above and slightly forward of the right ear. Whether made for attaching, repair, or for reuse in a different context, we do not know.
The general feel, her eyes, the bridge of her nose, her mouth, are not only very Atticizing but bear close resemblance with the features of certain heads on the Parthenon frieze. We think that she was surely made by an Athenian artist who had emigrated to Asia Minor after the Peloponnesian Wars in search of work. The head is more Attic in its execution than the grave stele of Euagoras (cat. no. 148).

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1988-1992

Exhibited and Published:
Pandora's Box, 140, cat. no. 9.

148. GRAVE STELE OF EUAGORAS

Marble
H: 1.062 m. W: 0.94 m
Allegedly from Asia Minor
East Greek, Atticizing
c. 400 B.C.



Medium-grained marble.
Condition: much weathered, a reddish orange, off-white colour with greyish and blackish stains.
In two pieces mounted together. Missing: the upper right hand side with the head of the youth and the lower part of the stele - on a slant from the viewer's left to right, from the back of the chair, the lower legs of the seated figure to the left foot of the youth. Slightly chipped and scratched here and there. A wedge missing on the edge of the stele behind the seated figure; the back of the stele is roughly hewn.

The composition is typical of Attic and other Greek stelai depicting the deceased. Represented here is a bearded man wearing a cloak and an undergarment, a short-sleeved chiton, seated on a klismos, a chair with a back rest. His name is Euagoras (1) as incised on the horizontal plinth on the preserved part of the cornice and he majestically holds a staff in his upraised left hand. Standing facing him his son, holding a strigil in his left hand with an aryballos dangling by a strap from his wrist, who though draped like an adult in a mantle, has the proportions of a youth barely out of his teens.
Central to the composition and touching in its humanism is a small bird which both their right hands gently enclose. The deceased with a serene protective gaze towards his son appears (2) to pass him the bird which the latter seizes between his thumb and fingers. The

scene expresses the deep love common to all for life, however fleeting, which the old man lovingly and caringly passes on and entrusts to his son. Depictions of family members accompanying the deceased, as he was in life, are common on Attic stelai of this period. Such representations symbolize the continuing communion between the living and the dead.

There are no direct comparisons though this funerary high relief fits into a tradition and sculptural development. Its stylistic traits are in keeping with numerous sporadic finds from the coastal region of Asia Minor and its offshore islands. The usual relation, the connection between the figures by a handshake, is here replaced by their meeting in a reciprocal gesture around the bird. A different expression from the usual typology, for though the bird is a favoured attribute of grave reliefs, it fulfils a less emotional role than it does on several Eastern Ionian reliefs. On stelai where several figures are depicted it is customary for the older person to pass on a bird to the younger. Occasionally in such cases the bird would appear to have an allegorical meaning, as here, with the symbolical passing on of precious life.

We do not believe either that the bird is a symbol of happiness in the after-world, a meaning it may occasionally have had from the Hellenistic period onwards, or that it symbolizes a re-encounter in the after-world, or that it accompanied the deceased there.

Where was this stele carved? Was it sculpted in East Greece by an Athenian artist seeking work there after the Peloponnesian Wars, was it sculpted by an Ionian artist influenced by the Parthenon on which he may have worked? It is difficult to be certain but though E. Berger agrees that it reveals a strong Atticizing influence, certain characteristics would indicate to him that it is of local East Greek workmanship, possibly executed by an artist in the region of Bodrum-Marmaris.

The figure of the deceased with his very dignified bearing wears a short-sleeved linen chiton as an undergarment which was no longer depicted in Continental Greek (3) sculpture as it had ceased to be the fashion after the Persian Wars. However, in Asia Minor the Ionian chiton continued in use not only for women but also for men. Mausolos wears it in the 4th century.

Though somewhat reminiscent of the lofty solemnity of Parthenon figures, there is an evident conscious attempt to imitate their simple naturalness. A certain lightness is missing. The line of the pleats of the garments appears thicker, the bodies are more massive with a softness and heaviness of flesh, and the articulations of the elbows, wrists and hands are not detailed.

E. Berger tells us that from an Eastern Ionian region there is an interesting antecedent for the subject of our relief in the Vatican, earlier in date, around 440 B.C. A naked youth holds his right hand lowered and clenched, and between his thumb and index one may recognize the severely damaged and hitherto unremarked remains of what would seem to be the small head of a bird peeping out, as he greets his servant boy who holds in his hands an ointment vessel and a strigil. It was possibly executed by an Eastern Ionian who had emigrated to South Italy. Another example (4) of a later date placed in the first quarter of the 4th century by Elisabeth J. Milliker is, Berger suggests, from the same workshop as our stele. We think it is surely from the same ambience though considerably more linear, rather static, expressing little of the humanism that we perceive in the present example.

Very few stelai in Attic style have been found in East Greece. Pfuhl and Möbius (5) believed the few known examples to be imitations of Attic works, E. Berger considers this stele to be of East Greek manufacture whereas Chr. Clairmont not only considers it to be Attic (6), but calls the marble Pentelic and says that the alleged provenance is highly unlikely. We consider that the present stele was probably made by an Athenian emigrant but in any case by an artist who had surely had some training in Attica for it is the most Atticizing of the surviving examples from Ionia.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1971-1986
Published:
Clairmont, Chr.W., Classical Attic Tombstones II (Kilchberg, 1993) 108, no. 2.159, ill.

We are deeply indebted to Ernst Berger, for when we telephoned him on 14 October 1993 to ask him about a detail of the present stele, he told us that he had spoken about it in a conference in Berlin in 1972, never published, and kindly sent us his notes. These have formed the main basis of this entry, but we are responsible for the presentation and any and all mistakes.

1) RE VI 1 (1907) 820 ff., no. 8 ff., s.v. Euagoras.

2) Appears, for the bird is looking at the bearded figure as though looking back at the one whom life has left; for it might be thought by the position of the youth's hand around the bird's neck and upper part of its body, that it was he who was passing the bird to his father.

3) It was still worn, however, by some professional classes: craftsmen, warriors, priests, musicians and charioteers; however none of their attributes are here visible.

4) Glories of the Past. Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection (New York, 1990) 124-126, no. 97.

5) Pfuhl, E. and Möbius, H., Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs (Mainz, 1977) 3 ff.

6) Clairmont, Chr.W., Classical Attic Tombstones, II, 108.

149. VOLUTE CRATER

Bronze
H: 66 cm
Allegedly from Greece
Corinthian ? (possibly Magna Graecian)
400-350 B.C.

Composed of six elements variously worked but all finished with careful burnishing and polishing. The neck and mouth with its ovolo and beaded border cast (1) to shape, its prolongation a squat body, of same thickness as the rim, was hammered and annealed repeatedly, thinning the metal and stretching the vessel to its present form. The handles and the foot solid-cast, the former and the crater's mouth to which they were attached elaborately worked in the cold, hammered, cut and chiselled.

The stand (hypokreterion) made in two parts: the upper flaring section into which the foot of the crater insets cast as it now appears, and the lower part cast to the general shape, then hammered and annealed to fit. Such detailsails as the tongue pattern of the upper flaring section with the parallel lines of the stand's rim were carefully tooled in the cold. The lower moulding on the upper section served as reinforcement and, to hide the join, it rested on the lower section into which its continuation, a short tubular segment, was inserted.

The sieve, also composed of two parts, fitted an indent on the mouth of the crater. It was made by hammering and annealing two previously cast round sheets. The strainer part was hammered to a shield boss shape, fusion-welded to the plate-like section whose centre was cut out with the edge hammered down and folded over to fit. All traces of the join on the outside were carefully tooled away. The strainer punched with holes forming an elaborate design: two pairs of concentric lines separated by quarter-moon sections outlined by holes; the innermost part quarter-moon sections running in an opposite direction with, in the centre, a six-armed star shape.

The handles and the foot attached to the crater by soft solder (tin or lead) and the two parts of the stand, though a very tight fit, reinforced with the same.
Condition: the patina of the whole a bluish green with paler sandy green and yellowish overtones here and there.
The body with parts missing and pieces broken off has been restored without any additions. Missing are two small handles formerly soldered on the upper edge of the sieve at the emplacement of the cut-outs to accommodate the crater's handles. Also missing the palmette (2) with a central leaf that was soldered on the outside of the handles between the volutes, on and just above the arch that ends in two swans' (3) heads. The lower part of the foot-stand is a modern replacement down to the foot-ring (4).

Volute craters are difficult to date and defy attribution to a given school. The foremost specialist, Claude Rolley (5), aptly sums up the problem as follows: he believes that the preponderance of production is unquestionably (6) West Greek, that artisans probably travelled from Magna Graecia to Macedonia, that the direction of trade from the end of the archaic period onwards was beween the west and North Greece, to be more precise, between Campania and non-Greek Apulia with Epirus and Macedonia. Rolley judiciously points out the difficulty in dating and considers that one should give up trying to guess whether the Vaste, Agrigento and Derveni volute craters were brought from the west or the east. For the Vaste example he finds neither there nor in the indigenous tombs of Messapia any antecedents and considers that the usual comparisons are on a route Sala Consilina-non Greek Apulia and Northern Greece. Historical facts would confirm this assessment. He reckons that, by comparison with the famous Apulian red-figured volute crater from Ruvo representing Orestes in the temple of Delphi (7), the production was centred in Apulia, as with both the Boston and the Herculaneum 4th century B.C. classical bronze examples which are possibly, he says, Tarentine.
With respect to dating (8) one should be extremely prudent for Rolley has the impression that there were bronze vase workshops that were very conservative for a long time. This can be seen for instance with the volute crater from Agrigento buried at the end of the 5th century B.C. which is identical to the one from Derveni, made, so he says, in Macedonia in the second half of the 4th century, in keeping with the homegeneity of the Derveni vessels.
The earliest example in bronze belongs to the late 5th century B.C. and was found in a tomb in Agrigento (9) dated by the pottery; the closest parallel, though it lacks the flow and delicacy of our example, is the larger crater in Boston (10) from Vaste with a certain South Italian heaviness. It differs for minor details with its fluting on the outside of the vessel's mouth and on the foot-ring, a slight difference with the lower volutes of the handles, with its circular ridge round the foot of the stand and its less curved neck and slightly more rounded body.
Unfortunately there is no definite indication for the date or find context of the Boston example, and though two oinochoai (11) from the same collection were said to have been found with it, nothing indicates that they come from the same tomb (12). It is to be noted, however, that one of these oinochoai with the lower end of the handle ending in a siren has been ascribed by Neugebauer to South Italy, possibly Tarentum, and identified as Corinthian by Payne (13).
Other comparisons are the vessel from Agrigento to be dated in the second half of the 5th century B.C., slightly less ornate in details, with a similar foot but undecorated rim for the outside of the mouth; the Louvre example (14) dated 5th century B.C., of unknown provenance, with similar handles but the body considerably restored; and the Derveni crater with a beaded rim like this example, but with a fluted foot, dated by the tomb's context to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. though we believe that it could be somewhat earlier.
Without wishing to contradict Rolley, and agreeing with most of his assessments, we would like to point out the following: there is in the National Museum in Naples (15) an Attic red-figured volute crater

dated 475-450 B.C. by the Niobid Painter representing Greeks fighting Amazons, that was found in Ruvo, Apulia. Could this not be the prototype for the Orestes terracotta volute crater that is dated in the first half of the 4th century B.C.

Attic red-figure volute craters obviously had bronze prototypes, for among other things the handles are fragile and their mode of attachment to the shoulder propitious for bronze, thus though the author does not know of any surviving early example, the prototype is surely continental Greek, possibly Attic.

However, by the 5th century B.C. Corinth overshadowed by Athens would have been likely to imitate the latter's production as Geometric potters had been wont to do in earlier times. In view of Corinth's prestigious craftsmanship in metal vessels in the 4th century B.C., surely they produced to order for the newly emerging powerful Macedonian court and some of their artisans must have worked on the spot. We believe that it is more than likely that the Derveni volute crater and other vessels from Derveni could have been produced by Corinthian craftsmen. The refinement of the present example, certain unique details - such as the way the palmettes were made separately and soldered on, as were the little handles now missing from the sieve - and the colour of the patina which would tend to confirm the alleged provenance, could indicate Corinthian manufacture.

Mentioned:

Barr-Sharrar, B., “Observations on the Derveni Tomb A Bronze Volute Krater”, in: ΜΥΡΤΟΣ. ΜΝΗΜΗ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΒΟΚΟΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ (Thessaloniki, 2000) 159ff., fig. 3; Themelis, P. and Touratsoglou, J., Οι ταφοι του Δερβενιου (Athens, 1997) 31 (Sideris, A., “Les tombes de Derveni : quelques remarques sur la toreutique”, RA (2000) 4-5, I, figs. 1- 3).

1) All cast parts done by the lost wax process.
2) As indicated by traces of soldering, the incised outline of the central leaf and a groove on either side of the end of the moulding on the lower inside of the volutes.
3) Usually so called, though interpreted as geese on the crater from Derveni: La civilisation grecque. Macédoine, royaume d'Alexandre le Grand (Athens, 1993) 223, no. 260 (Vokotopoulou, J. and Koukouli-Chryssanthaki, C.), and as ducks for the South Italian crater: Greek, Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Boston, 1971) 315-316, no. 441 (Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C.).
4) Since the original which is preserved had cracked free of it, had a fissure or two, and was distorted, it would have been impossible to hammer back to shape and repair without ruining the metal surface and patina.
5) We are indebted to Claude Rolley for sending us the text of his talk at Nijmegen: "Datations impossibles: à propos de quelques cratères de bronze" (International Bronze Congress 1992) and for pointing out that the discovery of an example of a calyx crater from South Macedonia dated to the middle of the 4th century B.C. on a high moulded stand proves that such stands already existed at an early date, and for giving us his impression that there were vase bronze workshops that were very conservative for a long time.
6) And mentions a fragment with a swan's bill slightly different but found on the territory of Sybaris and points out that it is to be dated before 510 B.C.
7) Naples, National Museum 2081: Bassi, D., et al., Musée National de Naples (Naples, n.d.) 276, no. 1426.
8) It would seem that the production of volute craters in classical times spanned a whole century, covering the last quarter of the 5th through the third quarter of the 4th., and that these were produced in considerable quantity in Magna Graecia.
J. Vokotopoulou, “The Kalyx Krater of Sevaste in Pieria”, in: Worthington, I. (ed.), Ventures into Greek History [Oxford, 1994]) mentions 4 volute craters (199-200), suggesting that the Boston and Naples examples are the precursors for the Sevaste hypokreterion and adding that they must date to the end of the 5th century B.C.
9) Agrigento, Museum AG 20733: Veder Greco: Le Necropoli di Agrigento (Rome, 1988) 244-245, 264-267.
10) Museum of Fine Arts H.L. Pierce Fund 99.483: Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., Greek, Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 315-316, no. 441.
11) Museum of Fine Arts Boston, H.L. Pierce Fund 99.481, 99.479: Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., op. cit., 296-298, no. 423, 310-311, no. 436.
12) See footnote 5.
13) Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., op. cit., 298.
14) BR 2634: de Ridder, A., Les bronzes antiques du Louvre, Tome 2: Les instruments (Paris, 1915) 103, 105; Descamps, S., La Grande Grèce (Marcq-en-Baroeul, n.d.), no. 12 (ill.).
15) Naples, National Museum 2421: Bassi, D. et al., op. cit., 272, no. 1414 (2359) pl. 47, fig. 98a (1454); Beazley, J.D., Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters (Oxford, 1963) 600, no. 13.

150. SNAKE

Bronze
L: 15.6 cm
From Athens where it was found in December 1887
Attic
5th century B.C.

Ex collection:
Sir Hermann Weber
Capt. E.G. Spencer-Churchill

Solid-cast by the lost wax process; the visible parts carefully worked in the cold, especially the scales and head. On the inside of the coil there are special markings, notches, for attaching.
Condition: patina darkish to lighter green with traces of brown earth. A few air bubbles.

This snake (1) was surely a votive offering and was probably part (2) of a group as indicated by the markings. Snakes are extremely common in Greek myth and cult for which their mysterious nature made them appropriate. They often signify a connection between man's world and the divine, especially the chthonic deities of the underworld. From the 7th century onwards snakes are frequently dedicated, but so were other animals. For example, a gold snake was found among the 7th/6th century B.C. votives in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos (3) and a bronze snake was among the many votive animals found in a sanctuary near Cesme in Ionia (4), probably of late 6th century B.C. date. Another coiled snake inscribed with a votive dedication to the Peloponnesian cult deity Zeus Melichios is in Berlin (5). Two snakes dedicated to Artemis at

her sanctuary at Lousoi (6), Arcadia, have been found, one in the form of a key. Many other bronze snakes continued to be made into the Roman period (7).

Stylistically, this snake belongs to the 5th century B.C. and has a distant rapport with the serpent (perhaps meant to be the Hydra) fought by Herakles in a small bronze group in Paris (8). However, the closest parallel is a snake in Boston (9), his head raised on upright neck and fairly stretched out as he wriggles forward. His scales appear similar, he is also said to be from Athens, and he is dated c. 400 B.C. Our example is probably of local, Attic manufacture.

1) Probably the Coluber, the common grass snake.
2) G.M.A. Richter (Animals in Greek Sculpture <New York, 1930> 36) says that they "occur frequently in art, but generally as an adjunct rather than a single representation".
3) Hogarth, D.G., Excavations at Ephesus (London, 1908) 115, pl. 17.6.
4) Haynes, D.E.L., "A Group of East Greek Bronzes", JHS 72, 1952 (1952) 77, no. 33, pl. 5 (British Museum 1951.3-29.7).
) Neugebauer, K.-A., Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Die griechischen Bronzen der klassischen Zeit und des Hellenismus (Berlin, 1951) 38-40, no. 27, pl. 17 ("5th century") and 38, no. 26, pl. 17, an attachment in the form of a coiled snake from Dodona. Neugebauer (op. cit., 39, n. 11) also notes a snake from the Idaean Cave on Crete, and another from Megara, in New York (5th century): Richter, G.M.A., op. cit., 36, 78, fig. 181.
6) Athens, National Museum: Neugebauer, K.-A., op. cit., 39, n. 12; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.7515: Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., Greek, Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston, 1971) 435-436, no. 638.
7) British Museum: Walters, H., Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan (London, 1899), nos. 1907-1910.
8) de Ridder, A., Les bronzes antiques du Louvre I (Paris, 1913) 30, no. 157, pl. 17.
9) Museum of Fine Arts 13.182: Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., op. cit., 61, no. 63.

151. LION ATTACKING A FAWN (applique)

Bronze
H: 6.6 cm. L: 12.6 cm
Allegedly from Asia Minor
Greek
5th/4th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process - the modelling blocked-out but fluid - restrained working in the cold and highly burnished.
Condition: patina a thin blackish to greyish green, a light medal colour bronze showing through, traces of whitish earth deposits. The surface much worn in places, the left side of fawn's head: the details of the eye barely visible, the left nostril not at all; tips of horns worn down as well as both ears, the left with a nick. The left hind lower leg slightly bent upwards.
A round hole on the left haunch of the lion (diam. almost 8 mm) filled with lead and a similar one just below the left shoulder of the fawn still partially filled with lead and traces of solder on the left side of the left front paw of the lion and on the left back haunch and upper leg of the fawn for attaching (to vessel?).

The motif of one or two lions attacking a prey (stag or bull) was already popular in the Archaic period and probably started in Athens (1). It appears on monumental sculpture on archaic temple pediments: the east limestone pediment of the old Parthenon with on its right side a lioness bringing down a bull (2), on its left side surely its pendant, dated in the first half of the 6th century B.C., a group in limestone from the late archaic temple of Apollo in Delphi destroyed in 548 B.C. (3), the marble pediment of the Pisistratids in Athens around the middle of the 6th century, and a limestone group from the Agora in Athens dated 500-490 B.C. (4) It was popular in vase-painting in the late Archaic period (5). It appeared on archaic

Greek gems (6).

In bronze, an applique of unusual size (22.5 cm long) and dated 475-400 B.C., from the temple of Athena at Vouni (7) on Cyprus shows a bull attacked by two lions, and we have a whole group of bronze basin handles: two lions attacking a deer(?) from the Acropolis, a similar subject in Copenhagen of unknown provenance of late archaic date, and the one in Olympia (8). There is the caryatid mirror from Kherson in Crimea (9) with on its cradle two lions devouring a bull, dated around 500 B.C., either Northern Greek or Scythian, says L.O. Keene Congdon, Scythian say the Hermitage and most others, and workshop of Kherson says U. Jantzen, but ascribed to Attica by W. Gauer (10). It is surely not Attic.

A monumental marble group of lions attacking a deer from Sinope (11) has been ascribed by L. Budde to the first half of the 4th century. Though the comparison between monumental sculpture in stone and small bronzes is full of pitfalls and though the Sinope group is more naturalistic and later in date, we find a resemblance. Shortly after this applique entered the collection, E. Langlotz told us that he thought that it could be Thracian or Macedonian, late 5th/ early 4th century B.C.

Our fawn represents a young buck possibly in November or December to judge by his antlers. A decorative element probably attached to the rim of some sort of vessel. However the considerable wear, which has somewhat erased certain details, has in no way impaired the fluidity of the composition and the poetry of the mood.

Somewhat at a loss as to how to attribute the group, we are inclined out of respect for E. Langlotz' knowledge and experience to favour a North Greek attribution. Nevertheless the lion and fawn are very close to the animal spirit of the Black Sea region as influenced by Scythian taste. They are exhibited here in the same case as the silver rhytons, cat. nos. 152 and 154, with which they are in perfect harmony.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 268, ill.
Mentioned:
Treister, M. Y., Hammering Techniques in Greek and Roman Jewellery and Toreutics. Colloquia Pontica 8 (Leyde, 2001) 222, n. 46.

1) Buschor, E., “Burglöwen”, AM 47 (1922) 92 ff; Gauer, W., Spätarchaischer Beckengriff mit Tierkampfgruppe, OB X (1981) 134 ff.
2)Acropolis Museum 4: Frantzi, E., L'Acropole d'Athènes (Athens, 1971) 33, no. 40.
3) Themelis, P.G., Delphes. Le site archéologique et le Musée (Athens, 1980) 50-51, fig. 26.
4) Gauer, W., op. cit., 135, n. 73.
5) Buschor, E., op. cit., pl. 12-14.
6) Boardman, J., Archaic Greek Gems. Schools and Artists in the Sixth and Early Fifth Centuries BC (London, 1968), 126, no. 384 (an agate scarab from Etruria where a lion attacks a stag), and in what J. Boardman calls the Group of the Cyprus Lions, 130, nos. 418-420 (with a panther attacking a stag, a lion attacking a stag and a panther attacking a stag, this last from Vulci).
7) Nicosia, Archaeological Museum: Budde, L., Eine Tierkampfgruppe aus Sinope, Antike Plastik II (Berlin, 1963) 55 ff., ill. 8.
8) Athens, National Museum 6647: Gauer, W., op. cit., 125, figs. 54, 55; Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum: Gauer, W., op. cit., 126, figs. 56, 57; Olympia B5110: Gauer, W., op. cit., 111 ff., pl. 13.
9) St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum 2/8: Keene Congdon, L.O., Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece (Mainz, 1981) 212-213, no. 117, pl. 96.
10) Op. cit., 133 n. 63.
11) Budde. L., op. cit., 55-74, pls. 38-44.

152. RHYTON (stag's head)

Silver, partially gilt
Weight: 829.24 g. L: 29 cm. Diam. neck: 12.8 cm
Allegedly from the region of the Black Sea
Provincial Greek work
c. 400 B.C.

The body of the vessel roughly formed (1) from a silver sheet cut into a disc, hammered into dish shape (2). From time to time, during the whole fabrication process, the dish had to be annealed (heated to cherry red) to resoften the silver hardened and rendered brittle by repeated hammering. The dish was held against an anvil and working around it hammered from the bottom upwards to raise the sides; gradually a beaker form would have been born. This was then hammered over various shaped stakes to produce the general form of the rhyton, the surface then planished to smooth out the ridges and heavy hammer marks. The final shaping was carried out by the repoussé method which is forming the design by beating out the shape and details from the inside and outside as required, using a variety of punches. Bitumen/pitch or a mixture of powdered sulphur rock and fine sand would have been used to support the vessel during this process. After the repoussé work details such as the downy skin over the forehead and muzzle and the little hairs around the snout and below the mouth were chased in. The inner corners of the eyes are accentuated with niello (3), as were once the nostrils and the mouth (as indicated by remains).
Ears hammered and shaped from a sheet of silver cut to size, each with a flaring base, held in place by three rivets (4) hammered down near its burnished edge. The antlers cast and inserted by means of a projecting plug that is affixed into a pipe-like section on the inside, held in place by solder. The handle forged into shape and soldered onto the vessel. All the gilding done by burnishing on gold leaf (5).

Condition: central hole in lower lip for short spout filled in and two holes for spouts made in antiquity on either side - spouts now missing. Nostrils torn with metal missing. Eyes, probably once of enamel or glass paste - inlays appropriate to the depth of the orbits. The helmets, spears, shields, scabbards and their straps, swords of figures, and the latters' pubic hair, gilt, as are the antlers, insides of ears, both palmettes of the handle and the rim of the vessel. Slightly worn here and there. Tips of ears slightly distorted, restored to shape, left antler broken and reaffixed. Handle slightly twisted, straightened out before affixing.

This rhyton, the largest so far known of several examples, is particularly interesting for the frieze of six naked warriors fighting around its wide neck. Five of them are beardless and all have their heads covered with different types of helmets and carry shields and scabbards. Over the deer's forehead two pairs of sturdy youths advance towards each other. Behind its right antler, the front figure, wearing a pilos, with anguished expression and lips grimacing in fear, faces a figure, wearing a Corinthian helmet, about to jab his adversary with a spear held high in his right hand. His companion, wearing a petasos, backs him up with shield and spear in similar position. On the other side, the supporting figure aggressively rushes forward, sword at the ready in his lowered right hand, wearing an Attic helmet, decorated with a spiral motif which continues the outer curved line of the top of the helmet and with cheek-guards raised.
At the back next to the handle, there is another duel. A youthful figure flees and looks behind in anguish as he draws his sword, while an older bearded man is vigorously thrusting with a spear, its point seemingly already buried in the youth's shield. Both figures wear a pilos. None have any body armour, except helmets. If they are meant for Greeks, or even Thracians, nothing in their dress or features betrays it. An interesting detail of the frieze is the foreshortening and the positioning of the sometimes overlapping lower legs and feet.

Are these scenes purely decorative ?
The closest parallel is the famous rhyton from Tarentum in Trieste (6) which J. Dörig dates 420 B.C., while he places our example around 380 (7). M. Pfrommer (8) dates the Trieste deer around 400 and ours still in the 5th century (9).
This is not the place for detailed comparisons with all other known examples, whether from Bulgaria, Thrace, South Russia, the Hellespont, Asia Minor and even Egypt. However, it should be noted that if the other examples show an Achaemenid influence, our rhyton is, M. Pfrommer says, the only exception. Thus we call it provincial Greek work, and unlike many of the others known, it is probably not from a Persian satrapy. It may be that this rhyton is still to be dated towards the end of the 5th century and it can be observed that the head of the stag itself is less sensitive than the deer's head, cat. no. 154, where the decoration bears closer resemblance to vessels found in South Russia. Thus, though the two rhytons and the Janus-headed amphora, cat. no. 153, are from the same ambience, all three are by different hands and in all likelihood from different workshops.

Exhibited and Published:
The Search for Alexander, 128-129, cat. no. 53, ill., col. pl. 6.
Published:
Dörig, J., Les trésors d'orfèvrerie thrace, RdA Suppl. 3 (1987) 18, no. 13; Melikian-Chirvani, A.S., “L'emblème de gloire solaire d'un roi iranien du Pont”, in: Altman Bromberg, C. (ed.): Iranian Studies in Honor of A.D.H. Bivar, BAsInst, New Series, 7 (1993) 23 ff., figs. 4, 7.
Mentioned:
Pfrommer, M., “Italien-Makedonien-Kleinasien. Interdependenzen spätklassischer und frühhellenistischer Toreutik”, JdI 98 (1983) 274, n. 190; id., “Ein Grab - Drei Kulturen”, IstMitt 43 (1993) 343, n. 29; Treister, M. Y., Hammering Techniques in Greek and Roman Jewellery and Toreutics. Colloquia Pontica 8 (Leiden, 2001) 98, n. 161.

1) The firm of Plowden & Smith Ltd. has performed the conservation work on this rhyton and the two catalogue entries 153 and 154. We are deeply indebted to Peter Smith and Peter Willett for discussing technical details and enlightening us with respect to the technology employed in the making of such vessels.

153. JANUS-HEADED RHYTON

Silver, partially gilt
Weight: 815.33 g. H: 28 cm
Allegedly from the region of the Black Sea
Local work under Greek influence
Early 4th century B.C.

The body of the vessel roughly shaped by repeatedly hammering and annealing as it is raised (1) from a dish of silver sheet, in a technique that is called raising or back raising possibly on a wooden stake in a step-by-step operation followed by planishing to smooth out the ridges.
In view of its varying diameter the shapes were knocked out by the artist as he went along, proceeding by sections in repoussé from the inside out and working in both directions. This work divided in three stages: the elaboration of the base with its two feline-mask spouts, the working of the flat sheet up to the top of the foreheads, and the raising and hammering in of the sheet, shaping it in and then out to flare at the mouth, hammering a thickened rim before cutting off any excess metal and finishing with a guilloche tongue pattern on the edge.
To work from the outside the body is filled with either bitumen/pitch or with a mixture of powdered sulphur rock and fine sand, heated to render fluid. Once hardened, shaping can proceed (2).
In this vessel all the details were chased with bronze punches and chisels. The lips and noses were repoussé from the inside as were the upper eyelids. The hair was outlined using fine chasing tools.
The ibex (3) handles solid-cast in silver and elaborately worked in the cold before fixing onto the vessel by soldering; they were then partially gilt as were different parts of the vessel's body. All the gilding done by burnishing on gold leaf.
Condition: a rip and break on the edge of the mouth restored; the handles reattached, one of them missing the leaf attached to lower front knees that

would have helped to fix it to the neck of the vessel under the rim. A crack with a little metal missing on the upper neck of the vessel below this handle and further down the metal worn through.
A hole (or gash) beneath the lower lip of the male head, his chin slightly indented.
A blow to the thick edge of the base.
The gilding worn slightly here and there.

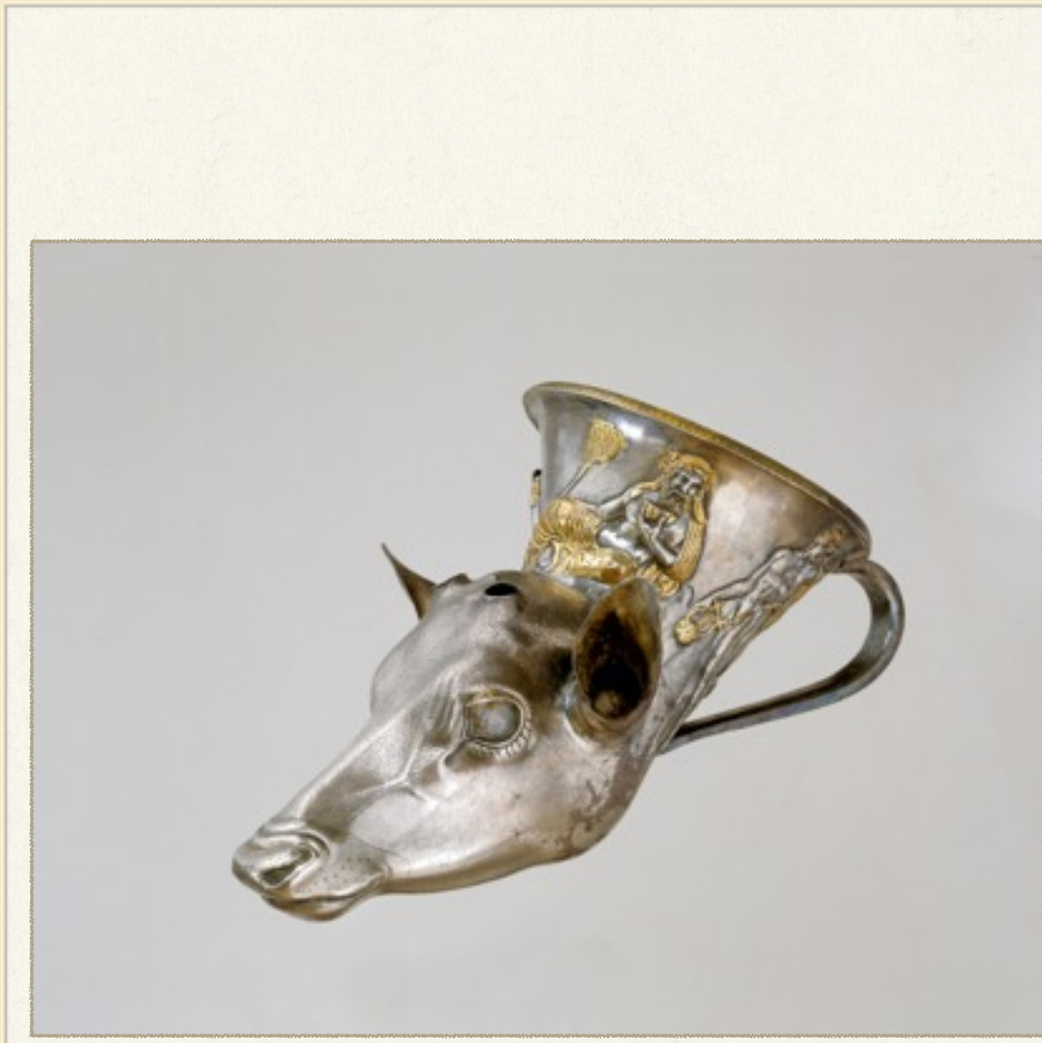
This double-headed (4) vase is unique for its shape, with a male and a female head back to back, and with ibex handles. It is, with the rhytons, cat. nos. 152 and 154, and the one from Tarentum (5), among the earliest of such vessels. Examples in precious metal are known from recent discoveries in the north: Panagyurishte, Rozovets and Borovo in Bulgaria, and from old and more recent finds in South Russia. Less stylized and somewhat decadent is a later gold hoard from Panagyurishte (6) with a generally accepted date at the end of the 4th, beginning of the 3rd century B.C.; similar for the use of a head - single ones here - which have a lion protome-spout at the base. There is a resemblance for the turban around the hair tied in a bow with a metal hair ornament over the forehead below it. Little gold heads were used as pendants, ear-rings and surmounting spiral ornaments, see cat. no. 161, as of the 4th century.
Particular details of our vase are the ear-studs worn by the female head, the necklaces around both necks with the lion spouts as pendants, and especially the Achaemenid-type handles in the form of ibexes.
The workmanship of the hair, of the necklaces, of the egg-and-dart and beaded rim, though different, seems to have some affinity with Thracian output, whether it be the bull-rhyton (7) from the Borovo treasure, first half of the 4th century, the greave (8) from the Vratsa treasure dated 380-350 B.C., or the silver gilt plaques (99 from the Letnitsa treasure dated 400-350 B.C. On the greave, though the hairstyle is different, formed of little curls, both these, the fringe and the locks are executed technically as on our vessel; the fine strokes for the eyebrows and eyelashes on our heads find a parallel in the strokes on the inside of the outline of the eyelids. The execution of the figures on all the above parallels is somewhat coarse and awkward.
This must be the creation of a superior craftsman working under Greek influence save for the handles of which the model and the subject are Achaemenid, though probably executed by the same artisan.
Greek goldsmiths from Classical times onwards worked for Thracian kings and Scythian princes, the Persian satraps and the wealthy Greeks of the Ionian coast.
It is an early vessel such as this one, with rhytons, cat. nos. 152 and 154, that must be at the inception of production that led to the Panagyurishte treasure. The workmanship of this rhyton is probably Thracian and the expression of the heads resembles those on the above-mentioned four plaques that are later in date and local Thracian. Though the female head is more attractive than the male, they both have the rather boorish unrefined features of the faces on Thracian works.
J. Dörig (10) assigns a date around 370 B.C. and suggests that the female head may represent the Thracian goddess Kotys paired with Attis, who has the traits of a youth. We would like to think that this vessel could have been a marriage present for a princely occasion which would have permitted, instead of the modern kiss, that bride and groom drink from it simultaneously.

Exhibited and Published:
Hommes et Dieux, 185, 186-187, cat. no. 110, col. pl.
Published:
Dörig, J., Les trésors d'orfèvrerie thrace, RdA Suppl. 3 (1987) 19, no. 15.
Mentioned:
Vickers, M. et al., From Silver to Ceramic (Oxford, 1986) pl. 22; Pfrommer, M., “Ein achämenidisches Amphorenrhyton mit ägyptischem Dekor”, AMI 23 (1990) 197, n. 44, with further references; Treister, M. Y., Hammering Techniques in

1) In the initial stages a hollowed-out tree trunk may be used, laying the silver sheet over it and working it down.
2) After having fulfilled its purpose, the core can be made fluid again by heating and removed.
3) Possibly of the caucasica species.
4) Vessels in the form of a head, see cat. no. 92, and double-headed were made in terracotta from the Archaic period onwards. However, it is only during the Hellenistic period that one finds them made in metal (bronze).
5) See cat. no. 152, footnote 6.
6) Svoboda, B. and Concev, D., Neue Denkmäler antiker Toreutik. Monumenta Archaeologica IV (Prague, 1956).
7) Maier, J.-L., L'Or des Thraces. Trésors de l'art et de la culture thraces dans les terres bulgares (Mainz, 1980-81) 136, 144, no. 286, ill.
8) See footnote 7: 138, 146, no. 289, ill.
9) See footnotes 7, 8: 133, 140-142, nos. 266, 267, 271, 276, ill.
10) RdA Suppl. 3 (1987) 19, no. 15.

154. RHYTON (deer's head)

Silver, partially gilt
Weight: 565.63 g. L: 25.4 cm. Diam. neck: 12.1 cm
Allegedly from the region of the Black Sea
Local work under Greek influence
Early 4th century B.C.



For the way it is made, refer to stag-headed rhyton, cat. no. 152.
After the repoussé work delicate details such as the downy skin over the forehead and muzzle, the eyelashes and the little hairs around the snout and below the mouth, were chased in (1). The upper eyelid was gilt. The lower eyelashes were once nielloed as were the nostrils and the mouth (as indicated by remains). Ears made as on the larger rhyton (cat. no. 152) folded to join at the base, the edges, applied against the side of the deer's head, held in place by three rivets that come through from a disc on the inside of the head. These are then worked down and, as with the join at the base, burnished. The handle forged, chased and soldered on. All the gilding done by burnishing on gold leaf.
Condition: missing: horns and small spout in centre of mouth. On the right side of the vessel's neck, the upper part of the female figure crushed and partially restored to shape, missing small fragments and others just above the deer's right ear. The latter bent and pushed in at the upper side of its base, now straightened out. Joins around the ears and section above left ear showing cracks. The inlay of eyes, fashioned as for cat. no. 152, also missing. Handle reattached.
The figures are partially gilt; insides of the ears, the upper eyelashes, the decorated edge of mouth and the engraved back of handle all gilt - gilding now somewhat worn.

The decoration on the neck of the vessel is composed of Dionysos (2), half reclining with right leg extended and left tucked up, his hair

held by a scarf-headband, its tips over his shoulders and on either side of his temples locks of hair flutter in the breeze. He wears a mantle draped over his left shoulder, he is bare to the pelvis but his thighs and legs are enveloped in drapery. He holds the thyrsus in his right hand, and in his left a wide ribbed bowl. Turning her back to the god is a female figure seated on a ledge, perhaps an altar, partially reclining, supporting herself on her left hand, as she bends her head towards her right. With right arm extended, she holds a phiale with omphalos over her right knee. She wears a chiton and ends of drapery - perhaps a mantle - lie across her thighs; her feet are shod in slippers. Behind her right arm a child, bare-chested with a fold of drapery over his left shoulder faces to his right. Possibly they represent a nymph with child. Maybe this is Dionysos and one of his children such as Oinopion or Staphylos with their mother Ariadne. On either side of the handle and with their backs to it are young satyrs. The one on the left of Dionysos with beautiful arched tail advances like a Nijinsky with a light dancing step. His head slightly bent looks out over his left shoulder, with lowered right arm he holds a lyre and in his left thrown back and raised a double-flute; over the arm hangs an animal skin. His counterpart advances as though in ecstasy with his head thrown back, both arms stretched out. He holds torches (stalks?) in both hands and a panther skin, head and long tail visible, hangs draped over his left arm.

Should one attempt to differentiate the dates of these three vessels, this rhyton would be later than the other two. That is, if one follows H. Hoffmann's (3) theory with respect to later Apulian terracotta rhytons, where he observes that those with a sharper angle between the animal's head and the neck are later in the series. This implies that one both accepts his theory and that it also fits older metal vessels. It might then be that this rhyton could be dated towards the latter part of the first quarter of the 4th century B.C. However, in as much as it seems to bear fairly close comparison with the example from Tarentum (4), both for the handle and the angle of the neck, which has been dated respectively 420 and 400 B.C., it is probably safer to keep the dating to the early 4th century B.C. Its decoration is closer in spirit, we feel, to some of the precious metal vessels (5) produced with an Eastern Greek touch for the Scythians of South Russia, and the animal's head is particularly sensitive. Thus, might not this rhyton have been produced for a Scythian prince?

Published:
Melikian-Chirvani, A.S., “L'emblème de gloire solaire d'un roi iranien du Pont”, in: Altman Bromberg, C. (ed.), Iranian Studies in Honor of A.D.H. Bivar, BAsInst, New Series, 7 (1993) 23 ff., figs. 3, 5, 6.
Mentioned:
Pfrommer, M., “Ein Grab - Drei Kulturen”, IstMitt 43 (1993) 343, n. 29.

1) The detailing is slightly different from rhyton, cat. no. 152, both as to the tools employed and the workmanship.
2) Said by Melikian-Chirvani to represent King Midas associated with a ritual wine libation and commenting that, though the execution of the vessel is in a definite Greek style, the idea of such vessels is Iranian in origin as revealed by certain details. This Iranian character is evidenced by the gyrating solar rosette incised on the head to signify that the wine substituting for blood is liquid solar light (BAsInst, New Series, 7 (1993) 26). We concur with the "Iranian influence" but do not agree that King Midas is represented since there is no explanation for the other figures, and we think that the solar motif is probably only used here as a decorative element.
3) Hoffmann, H., Tarentine Rhyta (Mainz, 1966).
4) See catalogue no. 152 footnote 6.
5) E.g. a ritual vessel with Scythian nobles and their servants, Kiev, Museum of Ancient Ornaments A3C-2358: Piotrovsky, B. et al., Scythian Art. The Legacy of the Scythian World: mid-7th to 3rd century B.C. (Leningrad, 1986), pls. 166-170.

155. ACTOR

Bronze
H: 7.94 cm. W: 7.3 cm
Provenance: no indication
Attic
Early 4th century B.C.

Ex collection:
H. de Nanteuil

Solid-cast by the lost wax process with some cold-working, burnishing.
Condition: patina a blackish brown to olive green with incrustation of light mustard-coloured earth.
Missing: both serving trays with their lids once held in the upraised palms of his hands and fixed by two rivets still in place. Minor blows to top of head, patina scraped on upper right forearm, front of right foot stubbed and a couple of air bubbles at base of skull.

This amusing statuette of an actor represents a Phrygian slave either in the guise of a cook, a kitchen or banquet servant, a very popular character and one of the earliest in Attic Comedy. He is dressed in a long-sleeved undergarment, his phallus bound up (anadedemenon), and with leggings (anaxyrides) characteristic for comic actors. Under the lower part of his short-sleeved dress (exomis) fastened over the left shoulder, pads front (progastridion) and back (propygidion) add to his comic aspect. His mask is typical for the type and period with its high forehead, the huge arched eyebrows, the silenos nose, his gaping and over-sized mouth piece (formed by his beard and lips), a "spira" which served to amplify the

voice, a feature especially characteristic of later Old and Middle Comedy.
He once carried a large dish with turning cover on each upstretched palm as in the Olynthos (1) example.
The type originated in Athens and there are comparable examples in museums, usually very similar in stance, but with variations for the expression of the mask, Far more frequent, however, are terracotta masks and statuettes. The Olynthos actor has been dated 380-350 B.C. Ours differs slightly from other examples in that he is somewhat more compact and harmonious in structure. Most appear (2) more like stand-ins, somewhat more comical in the way their limbs protrude from the body in a less organic fashion, probably differences due to the workshops that made them. Here, he appears to have suddenly stopped to declaim; he already makes us smile as we look at him. He is surely Attic of the time of Aristophanes' early Middle Comedy and to be dated in the early 4th century B.C.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 255, 262, cat. no. VII 342, ill.; *Hommes et Dieux*, 245, cat. no. 157, ill.

Published:
Webster, T.B.L., *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy*, 3rd edn. (London, 1978) 39 ff. (G.R. Green).

For this entry we have adopted and closely followed the information contained in D.M. Robinson, Excavations at Olynthus X. Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds (Baltimore, 1941) 1-6, pl. 1.
1) 31.234: Robinson, D.M., op. cit., 1 ff., pl. 1.
2) Judging from photostats of photographs in comparison with the original which may be misleading.

156. AMBLING LION

Bronze
H: 5.9 cm. L: 9.1 cm
Allegedly from region of Smyrna
East Greek (School of Chios or Ephesos?)
4th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax method, carefully and elaborately cold-worked, burnished and polished.
Condition: patina a black olive green, traces of cuprite, pin-points and patches of green, slight abrasions to surface, a scrape on back behind mane reveals a yellowish metal, greyish earth incrustations on left sides of hind legs. The right foreleg and paw bent back slightly inwards out of position, the third claw abraded. The odd small nick and a blow to rump.

A loner on the look out, with his hungry flanks, and his tongue hanging out in expectancy, the lion prowls possibly in the hope of prey.
He is difficult to place or compare. In certain aspects there would seem to be a rapport with the famous chimaera from Arezzo (1) in Florence which may be slightly later than the date usually ascribed to it. What they have in common is their multi-layered mane, the tufts less flame-like on this small example, and a similar rendering for the ears, though in this case they are striated but smooth on the Arezzo chimaera. One could also compare their muzzles, but what really makes them comparable is that they are lions and both extremely well executed. Stylistically, Etruscan artistic production is sometimes very close to works from East Greece.

Though later in date, around the middle of the 4th century, and bearing a rapport, are the lions in the British Museum (2) from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. There are also the lions from the marble group from Sinope (3) dated in the second quarter of the 4th century.
Lions were produced in considerable number throughout the classical world and in the 4th century often associated with funerary monuments. For a later example in marble, but of a very different style because he is Attic, is the large lion, cat. no. 160.
With no close parallels but given his style and to a lesser extent the indicated provenance, he must be an East Greek work, possibly to be attributed to a Chiot or Ephesian workshop.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1967-1968

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 229, ill.

1) Archaeological Museum 1: Parlavecchia, P. (ed.), Les Etrusques et l'Europe (Paris, 1992) 379, no. 366.
2) GR 1857.12-20.247: Ashmole, B., Architect & Sculptor in Classical Greece. The Wrightman Lectures (London, 1972) 156 ill. 177.
3) Budde, L., “Eine Tierkampfgruppe aus Sinope”, Antike Plastik II (Berlin, 1963) 55 ff., pls. 38-44.

157. PLATE WITH MEDALLION

Bronze
Diam: 22.5 cm
Allegedly from Galaxidi (near Delphi)
Corinthian?
c. 340 B.C.

Solid-cast, turned on the lathe and extensively cold-worked, burnished and polished. The medallion worked separately in repoussé, filled with lead and soldered on. At the back traces of an attachment, probably in the form of an acanthus, with a hinged loop to enable suspension.
Condition: patina a blackish green with metal showing through here and there, varying in shades between warm to bright yellow, medal bronze, rust brown and reddish copper. A section of the border with crusty cuprite and green cuprous chloride. Traces of earth deposits. Traces of soldering around the medallion and where the attachment was fixed at the back.
The tip of the nose and a spot on the chin of the medallion worn away revealing the lead filling. The outer border of the plate warped at about 10o where, owing to pressure, the thickness of the handle would have pushed it out of shape. Since manufacture the medallion probably reaffixed because of traces of soldering and not in the axis of handle.

The plate is decorated in its centre with a medallion in relief representing a youth (1). The outside of the raised border ends in a pearl rim above an egg-and-dart motif. The underside of multiple concentric circles of varying breadth and planes is comparable to terracotta examples though far more sophisticated and elaborate than any of these. Traces of soldering and a vague outline indicate that there was an attachment possibly in the form of an acanthus or

palmette with a hinged loop to enable suspension, though it might have been in the form of an animal mask, maybe a lion or panther, though the latter is usually found on vessels of an earlier date.
We know of no direct comparison. It is more like a decorative tondo than an utilitarian vessel, with its border similar to those of mirrors. Its alleged find-spot in the Galaxidi plain below Delphi would suggest that this is a temple offering (2). Probably from Delphi, it was either buried in order to hide it or looted and dropped during barbarian invasions.
There is a rapport for the medallion with the protomes at the bottom of silver chalices such as those found in Macedonia (3), though these are completely in the round. The author, when he saw the head of a woman in relief in repoussé on a box mirror in former East Berlin (4), labelled Corinth, mid 4th century B.C., thought that it could be related to the medallion for the way the hair is worked, though not for its style, the mouth and the shape of the nose. However, after having recently received (5) a photograph, he is somewhat unsure of this. It is more likely to be a rapport due to the type, an applique, and the period involved. Another comparison is an applique in repoussé in the Louvre (6) from a volute-crater; it is from Galaxidi, ascribed by S. Karouzou to a Corinthian artist.
Bearing in mind the comparisons and the ascription of many of them to Corinth, and the fame of Corinthian metal plate in the 4th century B.C. as attested by Pliny (7), our votive dish is probably Corinthian.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 252, 261, cat. no. VII 319, ill. (Ortiz, G., “Trois millénaires d'Art Grec”, L'Oeil, 67/68 [July/August 1960] 25.); Primitive to Picasso, 21, 97, cat. no. 14, ill; The Search for Alexander, 15, cat. no. S 53 (suppl. to catalogue).
Published:
Richter, G.M.A., “Prototypes of Roman portrait Emblemata. Hommages à Albert Grenier”, Coll. Latomus 58 (1962) 1326, pl. 261, figs. 12-13.

Mentioned :
Treister, M. Y., Hammering Techniques in Greek and Roman Jewellery and Toreutics. Colloquia Pontica 8 (Leiden, 2001) 110 n. 258.

1) In the past sometimes described as that of a maenad (Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst <K. Schefold, 88, whereas the author had said "... head of a youth">, Primitive to Picasso, The Search for Alexander, 15 <D. von Bothmer>). The author's original identification shared by A. Delivorrias who on a visit, 8 November 1991, said "not a maenad because of the short hair". It is unlikely, though possible, that it represents a head of Medusa.
2) E. Langlotz on a visit 18 May 1956 told the author "perhaps from a temple treasure of Delphi".
3) Dion, Archaeological Museum 2546-2548: Vokotopoulou, J., La civilisation grecque. Macédoine, royaume d'Alexandre le Grand (Athens, 1993) 235, nos. 279-281.
4) Pergamon Museum M.I.7747: Züchner, W., Griechische Klappspiegel, JdI 14. Ergh. (Berlin, 1942) no. 123, pl. 30. Unfortunately the author has no other information.
5) We are very grateful to Agnes Schwarzmaier for the photograph received 2 October 1993 and her remark that its provenance from Corinth is uncertain and that she cannot include it in her Corinthian workshop. Also for her comments about the difficulty of assigning schools to productions that are wont to be found on different sites, their workmanship obviously from different centres of production. She proceeds to create workshop groups based on "little craft indications as foldforms and so on".
6) Br. 1717: Karouzou, S.: Technourgoi krateron, Fragmente bronzener Volutenkratere, AM 94 (1979) 85, pl. 24.1-2.
7) Pliny, N.H. XXXIV. 6-7.

158. LENTOID ARYBALLOS

Glass
H: 9 cm. W: 6.6 cm
Allegedly from Apulia
West Greek?
4th-3rd century B.C.

Core-formed glass originated in Mesopotamia and Egypt in the Late Bronze Age. It underwent a revival in the east in the 8th century, and in the Greek world was much produced on Rhodes between the 6th and early 4th century and thereafter in Italy, followed closely by Alexandria.
It was made (1) by winding trails of molten glass around a core probably composed of mud that was built up over a metal rod. The outside was heated, marvered and tooled. The decoration of opaque coloured threads was added in the same way, followed by the foot and the handles. It was carefully annealed and the core removed.

Our vessel is core-formed, has a rim disc, vertical handles and rests on stand-rolls. The body is patterned with ten vertical feather panels made by dragging the horizontal trails alternately up and down. Three yellow trails around the neck and one underlining the lip.
Condition: most of the surface covered with a sheen, slight weathering in a few spots with iridescence and traces of lime deposits.

There are similar pieces in the British Museum (2) and Toledo (3).
1) We are indebted to Gawain McKinley for enlightening us as to certain technical details.
2) British Museum 1868.5-1.19: Harden, D.B., Catalogue of Greek and Roman Glass in the British Museum, I (London, 1981) no. 296.

159. BEARDED HEAD (pendant)

Glass
H: 6.3 cm
Provenance: no indication
Phoenician or Carthaginian
4th-3rd century B.C.

Rod-formed (sand-core glass): hot glass is wound to the desired shape over a pointed metal rod coated with clay or sand as a separating agent, a suspension loop is added, after which individual features are applied by means of tooled blobs and threads of different coloured glass.
Condition: slight fissures over facial layer.

The earliest type of head-pendants date to the 6th century B.C. and were produced in Phoenicia (Lebanon-Palestine). A more evolved type (1) was probably made in the latter's main colony Carthage as a great many of these pendants have been found there. Other find-spots, some of which were also production centres, correspond on the whole to Phoenician and Carthaginian settlements and trading outposts: Cyprus, Rhodes, Egypt and South Russia to the east; Sardinia, Sicily, Ibiza and Spain to the west.
These pendants are highly ornamental elements of necklaces; their function was certainly not religious, though possibly sometimes talismanic. Most have been found outside of stratigraphic or datable contexts, but there is sufficient evidence to ascribe the present type to the 4th-3rd century B.C.

1) Type C3 according to Seefried, M.: Les pendentifs en verre sur noyau des pays de la Méditerranée antique (Rome, 1982).

160. LION

Marble
H: 1.31 m. L: 1.40 m
Provenance: no indication; Greece?
Attic
c. 335-325 B.C.

Sculpted of a block of whitish marble.
Condition: the surface of mottled and uneven colour with iron oxide patches and incrustations of whitish grey limestone deposit.
The front right leg, with a sliver and its lower section missing, reattached; missing: all of the left foreleg, the left hind leg, the lower part of the right hind leg and the tail. The left side, mane, shoulder and thigh seriously abraded as is also the stomach. The muzzle, right cheek and right eyebrow slightly abraded. Ears and several tufts of the mane chipped; the odd nick over the body.

In Greece lions were associated with funerary monuments from the second half of the 7th century B.C. Such depictions became generalized on funerary reliefs in the second half of the 5th century, but most of them were in the round from the second half of the 4th century onwards. They are found also in sanctuaries and as acroteria.
Symbolizing strength and courage they were usually placed on the graves of heroes of which they were the guardians (1). U. Vedder wonders whether in 4th century Greece this funerary symbolism still played a role or whether lions had become simply representative.
In the round they were sometimes shown seated on their haunches - (the lion of Chaeroneia 338 B.C., with which our lion bears a slight stylistic rapport though the weathered condition of the former makes

any comparison as to details difficult) - but the stance usual in the last quarter of the 4th century is cowering, positioned to attack, probably after an attitude common to dogs.

A considerable number of Attic 4th century lions in the round associated with funerary monuments have survived in various states of preservation, C. Vermeule lists some forty-eight (2), we would guess the total might reach some six dozen.

This lion is standing and we have found no reproduction of another standing lion of the second half of the 4th century. He is somewhat more regal and static than the vast majority of such representations dated in the last three decades of the century, suggesting that he is slightly earlier. He is still classical and to be placed in a 330s context.

It is hazardous (3) to attempt to give pertinent comparisons. However, we would venture to suggest that the following lions are somewhat related: the later example in Athens (4) for the eyes and the way the mane frames the face, the Piraeus lions (5) dated by C. Vermeule and U. Vedder around 320 B.C. very similar for the shape of the deep-set eyes and for the line of the mane on the back. Their heads rounder and less angular and the snout less pointed, and the lion in Copenhagen (6) that has a similar head with the tufts of his fur around his head and down his chest extremely similar, almost as though by the same hand, and a lion in Athens (7).

Visiting the Piraeus Museum in 1994, the author sensed that there was a similarity between the lion and the head of an old man (8) from a funerary relief dated third quarter of the 4th century for the way the surface was treated, hollows and contours, outline of eyes, creases of brow and the feel of the hair and beard.

It seems possible that our lion with his undramatic stance bears comparison (9) with the calm body of the youth on the Ilissos tombstone from Athens. Surely, if such a tombstone was made by one of the leading Attic masters of the time "whose influence on Greek funerary sculpture can still be traced" (10), it is more than likely that a first-rate sculptor could have produced a different funerary monument such as this lion. If one feels that its ethos corresponds to the late period of Scopas usually dated around 340 B.C. or soon thereafter, the comparison is valid. It is certain that some of the best funerary sculpture contemporary with our lion must have reflected Lysippan and Scopaic influences.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1990-1992, 1994-1995

Slightly cleaned and admirably mounted by Karl Faltermeier, Chief Restorer of the Antikenmuseum & Sammlung Ludwig Basel.

1) For general information on lions in a funerary context see U. Vedder: Untersuchungen zur plastischen Ausstattung attischer Grabanlagen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXXVIII Archäologie, vol. 7 (Frankfurt/Berne/New York, 1985) 115 ff.

2) Vermeule, C. and von Kersburg, P., “Appendix: Lions, Attic and Related”, AJA 72 (1968) 99-101.

3) On photographs made from different angles with different lighting, from small reproductions in archaeological reports and photostats.

4) National Museum: Willemsen, F., Die Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier vom Dach des Zeustempels, OF IV (1959) pls. 61-62.

5) Archaeological Museum 2243, 2244: Vermeule, C.: Greek Funerary Animals, 450-300 B.C., AJA 76, 1972, pl. 14 fig. 12a, 12b; Vedder, U.: op. cit., T 67, T 68, p. 297.

6) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2448: Vedder, U.: op. cit., T 51, p. 294; Willemsen, F.: op. cit., pl. 61.

7) National Museum 4001. This last is an indication given to us by E. Berger following his visit in Autumn 1993.

8) Piraeus Museum 191; however, it may be that the resemblance is only due to the ethos of the period and the general way of sculpting.

9) Jiri Frel once suggested to us that this lion was possibly from the same workshop that made the Ilissos stele (Athens, National Museum 869): Lullies, R., Hirmer, M.: Greek Sculpture (London, 1957), no. 218, p. 71, ill.

10) Lullies, R., Hirmer, M.: op. cit., p. 71.

161. SPIRALS WITH FEMALE PROTOMES (a. one of two; b. a pair)

Gold
Weight: a. 17.18 g; b. 11.73 g; 11.33 g. H: a. 4.15 cm. H. heads: 2.58 cm; 2.67 cm (damaged one). H: b. 3.9 cm. H. heads: 2 cm
Allegedly from Selinunte
Tarentine
Third quarter of the 4th century B.C.

The spiral tubular element1 and the head protomes of thin gold sheet, the latter made in two halves from a mould and then soldered together. Placed over the ends of the tubular element they were held in place.
a: on a tubular section which covered the join between the heads and the spiral. The heads with additional repoussé work and finely chased with elaborate ear-rings made separately, inserted by means of a hook through the lobe of the ear and spiral pendants of one piece of wire soldered slightly forwards (to a strand of hair?). A wire necklace, the front half with round beads, encircled the necks. The tubular joining section elaborately embellished with an undulating filigree wire, straight, roped and gadrooned wires.
On b. the heads are held by a wire that circles the base of the neck passed through holes front and back; on the edge of the neck a decorated wire was soldered on; spirals - a simplified version - formed of two pieces of looped wire were soldered below the ears on the head protomes.
Condition: a: the spiral element with a large dent and a few small ones, its ends slightly torn. The face of one of the protome heads slightly damaged and restored to shape.
b: a few small dents to spiral, a slight opening on the joining seam of one of the necks and behind the ear of one of the other protomes; the second spiral with a few small dents and a break encircling almost the entire tubular element on one of its lower loops, small cracks on the other lower loop, on one of the heads a hole in the seam at the ear, an opening on top of the head and one of the loops

of the helical pendant on one of the heads missing.

Scholars are unanimous in ascribing such spiral ornaments surmounted by female protomes to Tarentum, though there is controversy as to whether they are to be considered as hair-rings or ear-rings. B. Deppert-Lippitz2 describing a pair with lion heads dated in the first half of the 5th century, on the basis of tetradrachms from Syracuse3, says that these prove that they were worn not only on the ears but through the ear lobes. She states though that they have been repeatedly interpreted as hair ornaments. However, she is using coins from Sicily, quite distant from Tarentum, though these ornaments, fashionable and highly prized at the time, were surely exported throughout Magna Graecia and Sicily, which the alleged find-spot of the present examples supports. Coins are struck with a die and it is difficult to show clearly in low relief the detail of how they were hung, which would have been of little import; what was important was to embellish the head on the coin with a becoming ornament. We disagree because we believe (as we did with the two hair "clasps", cat. no. 100), that the the top centre of the spiral is too large in diameter to fit through a Greek kore's ear. Though they may have been adornments for the ear, they were strung probably on a thread. But how these were worn is open to question, whether around the ear, through the lobe on a wire or possibly attached to the hair.

But who better than the goldsmith himself who makes such precious jewellery would be able to tell us how they were worn? Spiral a. gives us the answer. Note particularly that both female heads are shown wearing long elaborate ear-rings and hanging in front of the lower part of their ears and attached to the hair are spirals, here made of twisted wire surmounted by conical elements. The undamaged head on spiral a. is the finest example we know of. It is a magnificent rendering of a beautiful woman, her neck adorned with the best of filigree work, a Tarentine speciality. The different embellishments are rendered with infinite detail, even her necklace, a wire to which are fixed globular pearls, is attached at the nape with a loop and hook. Heads also adorned ear-rings as pendants. These were composed of a rosette formed of multiple petals and bordered by pearl motifs, from which the head hung framed by long pendants attached to each side of the rosette. Such an example was on a terracotta head of a woman found in Tarentum4. This last resembles in type the heads of pair b. There are slight variations between such heads with respect to their coiffure; sometimes they even wear a Phrygian cap5. A very close parallel to our pair b., and maybe even by the same hand, is an example that was in a Geneva collection6. The necks of all these heads are enriched with filigree work from simple embellishment to highly elaborate, as in the large example a.

These heads are usually considered to represent Aphrodite as depicted on Apulian vases7. Such jewellery was worn but also offered as dedications to deities.

Published:
Saverkina, I., Les pendentifs en forme de spirale de Tarente. "Hermitage Readings". The George Ortiz Collection, St. Petersburg (12 April 1993), 10-12, 25.
Mentioned.
Treister, M. Y., Hammering Techniques in Greek and Roman Jewellery and Toreutics. Colloquia Pontica 8 (éd. J. Hargrave, Leyde, 2001) 92, no. 110.

162. SEATED YOUNG WOMAN (applique)

Bronze
L: 11.28 cm
Allegedly from Lake Bracciano
Hellenistic (Magna Graecia: Tarentum?)
3rd-2nd century B.C.?

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and considerably cold-worked, burnished and polished. The right foot cast separately was inserted under the skirt in a niche prepared for the purpose. The back slightly hollowed out to facilitate soldering and enable better adhesion to the vessel's shoulder.
Condition: patina a greyish green with thick incrustation, granular green of various shades and with spots of cuprite.
Right foot missing.

This statuette in a semi-reclining attitude, her lower limbs covered in a himation, raises her left arm which probably held a mirror as she looks at herself, possibly after bathing. There was a pendant (1), a similar figure, possibly one of four, that was surely fixed also as adornment to the shoulder of the vessel, maybe a small volute crater. The best comparison is a beautiful figure in London (2) of a youth in high relief said to be from Lake Bracciano and described as Greek, c. 300 B.C. His attitude, modelling in the round and clothing are similar, as was probably his function.
W. Lamb (3) discusses Greek appliques from South Italy: decorative relief work that adorned armour, the London youth, and among others a situla in Boston (4) dated to the second half of the 4th century. She ascribes the above examples to Magna Graecia, and we concur.

Our applique is probably Tarentine and a charming comparison gives weight to the attribution. It is a Hellenistic terracotta figurine of a young woman (5), standing on tiptoes, admiring her body. Similar are the shape of the face and the hair, but above all the modelling of the body, breasts, arms and the hollow formed by the spine.

1) Found with it and once on the market, present whereabouts unknown.
2) British Museum: Walters, H.B., Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan (London, 1899), 40, no. 286, pl. 8.
3) Greek and Roman Bronzes (London, 1929) 174 ff.
4) Museum of Fine Arts, Francis Bartlett Collection 03.1001: Comstock, M., Vermeule, C., Greek, Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Boston, 1971), 302-303, no. 428.
5) Tarentum, Museo Nazionale: von Matt, L. and Zanotti-Bianco, U., La Grande Grèce (Paris, 1962), 188, figs. 215-216.

163. ALEXANDER (hunting)

Bronze
H: 14.1 cm
Provenance: no indication
Lysippos or his circle
Last quarter of the 4th-first quarter of the 3rd century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, very carefully worked in the cold, burnished and polished.
Condition: patina pale olive green to darkish green. The surface and hair flaked in places revealing hardened (pale green) cuprous chloride.
Missing: the left arm, which was possibly once damaged in casting and reattached, annealing it to the shoulder with hot metal as indicated by the different colour metal below the shoulder (see air bubbles at the join), the index of the right hand and the spear it held. The face: the left eye damaged with the cheek pitted, a flake on the forehead and to the right of the right eye. It would appear that the face was left unfinished or was modified after finishing on account of a wish to change the expression, as though the artist hacked at it in a rage at not achieving exactly what he wanted.

This youthful figure of Alexander portrays him as he rushes forward to spear an animal in front of him slightly to his left. For the stance there is a figure on the lion-hunt on the painted frieze (1) of the tomb of his father, Philip II. On the viewer's right the latter is on horseback spearing a lion and in the centre of the scene a horseman (Alexander?), his head wreathed and with his right hand upraised, prepares to hurl a spear against the same beast from a distance. But almost as central and slightly to the horseman's right a wild boar set upon by dogs is about to be speared by a naked figure in a similar stance to our Alexander.

Our statuette is an original of exceptional quality, a one and only, and thus very difficult to ascribe correctly, since comparisons are lacking. We believe it is not impossible that this is an original by Lysippos, and if not surely by one of his immediate followers.
"The early Hellenistic period is ... the most obscure phase in ... Greek sculpture with Pliny's cessavit ars of 292 the chronology, never completely secure even for the 4th century suddenly becomes chaotic, ... the school of Lysippos is an enigma for the first quarter of the century and apparently peters out in the third, ... " (2).
There is no comparable statue or statuette but a marble portrait of Alexander (3) found near Pella and ascribed to the end of the 4th century B.C. (4) - "in some respects" maybe "a close reflection of a Lysippan prototype" (5) - and a portrait of him from Megara in Malibu (6), dated around 310 B.C. are very close for the shape of the face, the line across the brow, the almost uniform thickness of the nose throughout its length, the deep-set eyes, the thickness of the neck, and the tilt of the head and general feel of the hair. A later version of the type and deriving from the above is the head in Olympia (7), dated to the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C.
However, the style of our statuette fits perfectly the characteristics that Pliny (8) ascribes to Lysippos: "He is said to have done much to advance the art of sculpture in bronze by his careful treatment of the hair and by making the head smaller and the body more slender and firmly knit (corpora graciliora siccioraque) than earlier sculptors, thus imparting to his figures an impression of greater height. There is no Latin name for the 'canon of proportions' (symmetria) which he carefully observed, exchanging the square-built figure of the older artists for a new and untried system"; also "extreme delicacy of the work even in the smallest details" was Lysippos' most individual feature.
Our statuette has a very small head in proportion to the whole. The body flows tightly knit with its firm elongated musculature, the hair is carefully and deeply grooved, the feet are realized with utmost sensitivity: the toes detailed and the instep, ankle and Achilles' heel modelled with great purity. Among Lysippan details enumerated by F. Johnson regarding a statue in the Vatican (9), accepted as a copy after Lysippos, are the hands and the rather long and flat feet very carefully made, the neck rather thick with the larynx marked off by grooves, characteristics that apply to our statuette.
Since Lysippos is credited with major changes in sculpture these surely were in the systems of proportions. To slightly modify the Polykleitan canon with its square-built figures would not have justified (10) this reputation.
Lysippos who became Alexander the Great's court sculptor, surely very active in the second half of the 4th century, lived to an old age (probably into the first decade of the 3rd). He was very prolific and reputed to have made fifteen hundred statues.
Would it not be in keeping with Alexander's intrepid impetuousity to jump off his horse, to confront the wild boar on foot, and as here - a youth - be represented in heroic nudity?
However bold the suggestion, the name of Lysippos inevitably comes to mind. Maybe a "bozzetto" for proposing or submitting to Alexander the Great himself, or a work of one of his immediate followers, one of his sons or maybe Teisikrates, a second-generation sculptor of whom Pliny says "a Sicyonian also, the one who has the narrowest ties to the school of Lysippos". The statuette is, in our opinion, too exceptional to be placed differently (11).

Exhibited and Published:
Ancient Art, 31, cat. no. 219, pl. 65; Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst, 255, 262, cat. no. VII 346, ill.; The Search for Alexander, 121, cat. no. 43, ill.
Published:
Trofimova, A., Bronze Statuette of "Alexander Hunting","Hermitage Readings". The George Ortiz Collection. St. Petersburg (12 April 1993) 8-10, 24-25.

1) Andronicos, M., Vergina. The Royal Tombs (Athens, 1984) 102 ff., fig. 58-63.
2) Stewart, A., Attika. Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age, Soc. Prom. Hell. Stud., Suppl. Paper 14 (London, 1979) 3, with as chapter heading Pliny (N.H. XXXIV, 51-52): "In the 121st Olympiad (296/2 B.C.) there flourished Eutychides, Euthycrates, Daippos, Kephisodotos, Timarchos and Phyromachos; and then the art languished".
3) Pella, Archaeological Museum GL 15: Akamatis, I.M., La Civilisation Grecque. Macédoine, Royaume d'Alexandre le Grand (Athens, 1993), 204-205, no. 239.
4) Though J.J. Pollitt (Art in the Hellenistic Age Cambridge, 1986 21. fig. 6) tentatively dates c. 200 to 150 B.C., its long mane of hair richly flowing characteristic of portraits of the 'heroic Alexander'. The "sort of image which came to express the spirit of the 'Alexander legend'". However, he adds "its relative lack of dramatic exaggeration, however, and the way the general treatment of the eyes and hair approximate those of Greek sculpture of the late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C."
5) Pollitt, J.J., loc. cit.
6) The J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AA.27: Vermeule, C., The Search for Alexander, 101, no. 6, col. pl. 2.
7) Archaeological Museum 245: Kokkorou-Alevras, G., see 101, footnote 6, no. 7, col. pl. 3.
8) N.H. XXXIV, 65.
9) The so-called Apoxyomenos in the Braccio Nuovo: Johnson, F.P., Lysippos. A study of the work of Lysippos, and an attempt to identify in existing sculpture copies of his original works (Durham, North Carolina, 1928), 81 ff., pls. 12-13.
10) Johnson, F., op. cit., 84-85, n. 55, mentioning A. Maviglia.
11) A. Trofimova (Bronze Statuette of "Alexander Hunting", pp. 8-10, 24-25) says that it is a modification of Lysippan style in the Hellenistic period and is not to be dated earlier than the end of the 3rd century B.C.; but, A. Delivorrias, on a visit on 8 November 1991, said that its movement was Lysippan. At the opening of the exhibition Ancient Art (December 1954), a Lysippan specialist, E. Sjöqvist, said to us that this statuette gave him for the first time in his life the feeling, an impression of what Lysippos' statue of Kairos must have been like. For the first time he said he could visualize it.

164. EAR-RINGS ON OXIDIZED SILVER NECKLACE

Gold, silver
Weight: 180 g. L: 6.4 cm
Allegedly from Egypt
Hellenistic
Around the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C.

The protomes hammered and fashioned from a lump of gold and fitted over the wider end of the hoops, the latter made by winding gold wire over a long horn-like core. The heads themselves considerably cold-worked: chiselled, chased, punched, with decorative elements added of plain and beaded gold wire and beaded spirals annealed on. On the foreheads a small calyx with beaded rim to receive an inset - glass or precious stone - and the eyes hollow for inlay. A thick gold loop under the lower jaw of the bulls to allow insertion of the narrow end of the hoop, here composed of strands of wire annealed together.
The necklace a chain of silver links (?).
Condition: hoops slightly bent with a slight crush on each. Inlays missing. The necklace now a lump of silver and silver chloride. Traces of wool thread (visible under a microscope).

Hoop ear-rings of this type appeared in the second half of the 4th century B.C. and most of the earliest that come from dated contexts were found in Macedonia and Tarentum (1). They became popular throughout the Greek world during the Hellenistic period. The earliest ones had lion protomes, later other animal heads and humans - Negro heads, maenads and sometimes half figures - are represented. The bull headed examples would appear to be a Ptolemaic speciality since most have been found on Cyprus and in Egypt. An important jewellery hoard with several very similar

specimens was found in the ruined temple at Toukh el-Qarmous (Egypt) (2), destroyed around 240 B.C., which gives a dating of around 270-240 B.C.
The traces of wool may suggest they were once placed in a little bag or wrapped in cloth for safe-keeping.

1) Deppert-Lippitz, B., Griechischer Goldschmuck. Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 27 (Mainz, 1985) 222 ff.
2) Pfrommer, M., “Untersuchungen zur Chronologie früh- und hochhellenistischen Goldschmucks”, IstForsch 37 (1990) 162-168, 208-209, 390-397.

165. NEGRO YOUTH

Bronze
H: 5.04 cm
Provenance: no indication
Alexandrian
2nd-1st century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and worked in the cold. Originally an element (1) was inserted on top of the head, of which only a small knob remains.
Condition: patina dark green with cuprite here and there, the surface in places scraped down to the underlying brownish metal. The whole considerably worn and with earth deposits.

This Negro youth, an Ethiopian slave or servant, is shown squatting in a position that harks back to a type found throughout the Greek world. It originated in the early 5th century B.C. and carried on through Roman times (2). His most attractive antecedent is the magnificent sleeping youth in bronze said to be from Dodona in Vienna (3). His body is relaxed, but the curls of his hair, the thick lips and the broad flattened nose are a beautiful stylized rendering of the same Negro features as on our statuette. Early examples in terracotta found at Selinunte were grave goods, those from the Malophoros sanctuary votives (4). There are others from Rhodes, at Lindos (5) and Camiros (6). The motif appears on gems (7) of the second half of the 5th century, and in a bronze statuette (8) which was the finial of a candelabrum from Vulci. Usually said to be sleeping: weary of waiting and sometimes shown in Hellenistic art with a lamp at his side to accompany his master home.

A close parallel for the position and size is the statuette in Copenhagen (9). His back is more curved, his left hand rests on the ground and the right side of his face leans against his hand above the knee. On our example, the back is far straighter, the hand is on his lower left thigh and the head turned also more erect, rests on its lower right cheek. These variations denote different purposes: the Copenhagen example surely surmounted a vessel, possibly the finial of a candelabrum, whereas here, the little knob on top of the head, the remains of a broken hooked rod, would have enabled use as a steelyard weight. Thus the need for a more compact vertical construction.

His style suggests a late Hellenistic date and his patina is typical for Egyptian bronzes.

1) Either a rivet to enable fixing to a plate or tray, or a rod that ended in a hook.

2) Hadzisteliou-Price, T., “The Type of the Crouching Child and the Temple Boys”, BSA 64 (1969) 103.

3) Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikenabteilung VI 2551: Gschwantler, K. et al., Guss + Form. Bronzen aus der Antikensammlung (Vienna, 1986) 70, no. 66 ("Greek, second quarter 5th century B.C. H: 4 cm").

4) Simon, E. (ed.), Die Sammlung Kiseleff im Martin-von-Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg. Teil II. Minoische und griechische Antiken (Mainz, 1989) 165-166, no. 265, pl. 103.

5) Blinkenberg, C., Lindos I. Les petits objets (Berlin, 1931) 577, no. 2384, pl. 112.

6) Higgins, R.A., Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, I (London, 1954) 94-95, nos. 261, 262, 268, pl. 45-46.

7) Berlin, Antikenmuseum FG 347: Zwierlein-Diehl, E., Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen, II Berlin (Munich, 1969) 75, no. 160, pl. 36.

8) On the market in 1991. Another similar figurine, but not a Negro, in Hafner, G., Die Bronzen der Sammlung Dr. Heinrich Scheufelen in Oberlenningen. Ehemalige Sammlung des Prinzen Christian August von Waldeck in Arolsen (Mainz, 1958) 11, no. 38 (450), pl. IV.

9) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2755: Poulsen, F., Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen, 1951) 609, Br. 16; Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstvaerker (2nd plate suppl., Copenhagen, 1941), pl. 17.

166. GROTESQUE (dwarf)

Bronze
H: 5.58 cm
Provenance: no indication
Alexandrian
1st century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and touched up in the cold with a large circular hole under the faceted, curved section.
Condition: patina brownish, sprinkled with cuprite, a few spots of green chloride.

Statuettes depicting grotesque figures, caricatures, parodies, mimes, dwarfs, and others were very popular in the late Hellenistic period. It is usually thought that they originated in Alexandria, though they were surely made also in Asia Minor as well as in Rome. A favourite type was the dancing dwarf with large phallus, sometimes shown fighting his own monstrous member. Here, with a hooked bar, he appears to have just removed its tip from a temple-like forge and is about to strike it a mighty blow with the hammer in his upraised left hand.
Spirited comparisons are a dancing dwarf in the Louvre1, and one in Vienna2 possibly about to hit the end of his distended phallus with a clapper. All three probably from Alexandrian workshops.
We have no explanation for his function; he possibly surmounted the lid of a vessel or served as the handle of a small skewer.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 308, ill.

1) De Ridder, A., Les bronzes antiques du Louvre. I Les figurines (Paris, 1913) 97, no. 704, pl. 48.
2) Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung VI 2795: Gschwantler, K. et al., Guss + Form. Bronzen aus der Antikensammlung (Vienna, 1986) 125, no. 184.

167. PORTRAIT OF A SYRIAN RULER

Marble
H: 21.4 cm
Allegedly from Sheizar (ancient Larisa on the Orontes), or possibly Apamea
Hellenistic
Third quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

Sculpted of fine-grained marble, at the back a large inclined section of wide open V-shape bears traces of rasping and was completed originally in plaster as evidenced by stucco remains.
Condition: the left side of the head and the back with fairly smooth limestone incrustation of a warm reddish brown colour. The forehead worked away (1), inscribed, with the right side of the head thoroughly cleaned and the marble very slightly ivory-coloured. Its right side with chips and missing several hair locks, a chip on the cheek - considerable part of nose missing and upper lip - broken at the neck just under the chin.

This portrait is said to be of the Macedonian (?) general and condottiere who usurped the Seleucid throne to become King Diodotos Tryphon (2), he ruled from 142 to 139 B.C. Taking advantage of squabbling between Demetrios I, Ptolemy VI and Alexander Balas, he murdered the young prince whose protector he pretended to be, broke away from the Seleucid dynasty and proclaimed himself "Basileus Tryphon Autokrator" (Tryphon, King in his own right). His reign ended when the young energetic Antiochos VII came back from exile in Sidon, a Greek city, to claim his rights. The troops rallied to the rightful heir and Tryphon committed suicide in Apamea (3).

Both alleged find-spots would be most appropriate for a portrait of Tryphon, for he started his career at Larisa and the seat of his reign was in the region of Apamea where he ended his life.
The basis for the identification is by comparison with his coin portraits and his distinctive hairstyle (4), with a slight difference, as on the coins (5) it is more unruly and reaches further down in the nape. However, marble sculpture does not permit the same freedom of execution. Also, the feeling we get from the surface of the head with its lack of tension and movement fits the period (6).
On the diagonal front plane there is an inscription which is later than and bears no relation to the portrait. The head was surely discarded following Tryphon's suicide and reused for a votive inscription soon thereafter, dated by H. Seyrig (7) still in the 2nd century B.C. It is a votive dedication from a certain Panderos to Artemis, no doubt in a sanctuary of the goddess in Syria. It reads:

(Seyrig, H.: op. cit., fig. 2. The letters in dotted lines are restitutions.)
Panderos, son of Panderos,
saved (8) from great dangers,
(offers this) to Artemis,
in fulfilment of a dream.

May we suggest that Panderos, possibly a soldier lucky enough to have escaped the bloodbath that followed Tryphon's demise, used the discarded head of the usurper for a votive dedication to Artemis?

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1967-1975

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 302, ill.; Gesichter, 24-25, cat. no. 5, ill.
Published:
Seyrig, H., “Deux pièces énigmatiques: tête de marbre avec inscription”, Syria 42 (1965) 28; Robert, J. and Robert, L., Bulletin épigraphique, REG 79 (1966) 435, no. 468; Fischer, Th., “Ein Bildnis des Tryphon in Basel?”, AntK 14 (1971) 56, pl. 24; Fleischer, R., Studien zur Seleukidischen Kunst. I. Herrscherbildnisse (DAI. Mainz, 1991) 69-70, pls. 37e-41 (with complete up-to-date literature).

Mentioned:
Berger, E., AntK 11 (1968) 123-124, n. 10; Houghton, A., “The portrait of Antiochus IX”, AntK 27 (1984) 123, n. 3; Niemeier, J.-P., Kopien und Nachahmungen im Hellenismus (Bonn, 1985) 45, 188, n. 255; Smith, R.R.R., Hellenistic Royal Portraits (Oxford, 1988) 181, no. 17; Meischner, J., “Ein Porträt Antiochos’ VI. Epiphanes Dionysos in Mersin”, IstMitt 51 (2001) 278, n° 18.

1) Whether when made, which is probable, or later on is open to question.
2) Fischer, Th., AntK 14 (1971) 56.
3) Jucker-Scherrer, I., Gesichter, 24-25, no. 5.
4) Fischer, Th., loc. cit.
5) Kraay, C.M. and Hirmer, M., Greek Coins (London, 1966) 374-375, no. 754, pl. 206.
6) Niemeier, J.-P., Kopien und Nachahmungen im Hellenismus, 45.
7) Seyrig, H., Syria 42 (1965) 28.
8) This rendering is the most recent as published by R. Fleischer, op. cit., p. 70 with reference for the interpretation of the inscription to J. and L. Robert, REG 79 (1966) 435, no. 468; but in Gesichter, 25, the translation read "Panderos, twice saved ...".

168. HEROIC FIGURE

Bronze
H: 22.6 cm
Allegedly from Italy
Hellenistic from Etruria
Second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, the penis made separately and inserted, as were the left index and the lance or staff (all three now missing). Two large sections on upper right thigh and left buttock with inlaid patches of great precision and a small round inlay on upper part of left foot to camouflage a casting bubble. Considerable cold-working with careful burnishing and polishing.
Condition: patina a greyish green with a yellowish beige hue in parts, the inlay on upper right thigh slightly different and on buttock a bright green. The patera with limestone deposit and a section of its rim chipped. A scrape to upper right foot.

This statuette illustrates a new koine that owes its origin to the representation of the 4th century Alexander by Leochares as exemplified by the Rondanini head (1) with its flowing hair. The type was adapted for rulers or deities (e.g. Zeus, Poseidon or the Dioskouroi). It gives the feel of being a portrait with details such as the high round forehead with its furrow and the bulge above the brows, the mouth and other features. It closely resembles coin portraits of the 3rd century B.C. with the slightly hooked nose and slightly open mouth, such as the one of Demetrios I Soter. For the period in general it also shows a rapport with marble heads as for instance one in Venice (2), possibly Ariarathes V, dated around the

middle of the 2nd century.
In short, it owes much to Greek art on account of the charismatic Alexander whose idealized and heroic images were a strong stylistic influence. However, it lacks a characteristic feature of the type, the direction of the glance. Greek originals are usually shown with an upward glance such as the contemporary head in marble of the god Helios from Rhodes (3) which bears distant comparison for the general shape of the face, the mouth and some of the hair. Our figure is a Hellenistic Etruscan bronze in its own right that exemplifies Etruscan receptiveness to foreign influences. It is a local product revealed in the way the body is built as though of different segments, and in its static and expressive appearance (4). Similar statuettes sometimes represented local Etruscan deities.
The phiale in his right hand is a feature favoured by the Etruscans that carried on down through Roman times, as shown on the Lake Nemi figures, for example a bronze in Boston (5), a late expression of this koine in his attitude, hair and general build. Other features are his headband and the staff or lance which he held in his upraised left hand.
The tuft of hair rising straight up between the locks over his forehead is somewhat of an enigma. We feel that it is really a tuft of hair though W. Wohlmayr who has carefully published this statuette thinks that it is a "Zapfen" (6), probably part of the star of a Dioskouros. Having carefully examined this detail, we are sure that it was, as now, a tuft (7) of hair. Maybe the artist's original intention was to place here the Dioskouroi star but on second thought considered a tuft of hair preferable. Dioskouroi may be represented without a star.
Various features of this bronze find parallels in other statuettes, but the closest resemblance for the attitude, the spirit of its expression and the muscular development of the body are Etruscan bronzes: the Veiovis in Viterbo (8) and to a lesser extent the statuette of Veiovis in Munich (9). The superlative casting of this statuette, notwithstanding the problems of a solid cast which complicates the cooling process, its particular finish and patina are characteristic of Etruscan casting of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. as is also the brilliant patchwork. Possibly a coincidence, the rectangular patch on his left buttock (of a very different colour from the rest) is repeated on the Viterbo Zeus Veiovis (10) in the form of a round patch in the same place, but we do not know its hue.
In conclusion, our statuette, which A.-M. Nielsen (11) includes among a group she calls Alexandroids, is an example of what W. Wohlmayr calls an Etruscan hybrid, a conflation of Alexander-Zeus-Veiovis which he names here a Dioskouros. Though surely a votive, for us his identity remains uncertain.

Exhibited and Published:
The Search for Alexander, 20, cat. no. S 67, ill. (suppl. to catalogue).
Published :
Wohlmayr, W., "Alexander in Etrurien", ÖJh 58 (1988) Beibl., 58-70, ill.
Mentioned:
Nielsen, A.-M., “Alexandroider”, MeddelGlypt 47 (1991) 30 ff., fig. 9.

1) Bieber, M., Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art (Chicago, 1964), pl. 6.6-7.
2) Archaeological Museum 362: Traversari, G., Museo Archeologico di Venezia. I ritratti (Rome, 1968) 15-16, no. 1.
3) Rhodes (Athens, 1977) 36, fig. 40.
4) Wohlmayr, W., ÖJh 58 (1988) Beibl., 58 ff. We are much indebted to W. Wohlmayr's article for this entry.
5) Museum of Fine Arts, J.H. and E.A. Payne Fund 59.10: Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., Greek, Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Boston, 1971) 134-136, no. 155.
6) op. cit., 66 (a German word which we do not know exactly how to translate to transmit the author's real thoughts).
7) For we can see no sign or traces of a break indicative of a missing attachment.
8) Wohlmayr, W., op. cit., 67 fig. 6
9) Wohlmayr, W., op. cit., 68 fig. 7.
10) Nielsen, A.-M., MeddelGlypt 47 (1991) 43, fig. 11.
11) Op. cit.

169. IDEALIZED HERO

Marble
H: 85 cm
Allegedly from Asia Minor
Hellenistic
c. 125 B.C.

Made of very fine tight-grained marble veined in places. Eyes inlaid in white alabaster, the tear duct indicated and the outer circle of the iris of black glass, apparently at one with remains of fragments of the iris of an undefinable colour, very pale greyish green with slight yellowish hue. The penis made separately and inserted.
Condition: on the front, the surface is a mottled white to golden brown resulting from a modern cleaning of the limestone deposits on what was originally a finely polished surface. The back, less well finished, with traces of limestone deposits. The head, carefully worked in front and left rough on the back, also incrusted. The ridge of the nose burnished down in antiquity. The upper left buttock with remains of a lead inset attachment, the lower part cut down and a chunk broken off. Repaired in Roman times: the head at the neck, the left leg, the right leg and right forearm with hand, the latter (1) a Roman replacement attached with iron rods which, having rusted, split the marble and had to be drilled out in the modern restoration.
The tip of the penis broken and missing, a chip to the lower left testicle.
The underside of the replacement forearm and hand with limestone deposits, the index and the thumb chipped. A chip missing on the front and at the back left of the neck at the join, below the front of the right knee and behind the left knee cracks, and three pieces broken off and reattached.

A representation of a youthful Herakles, he belongs stylistically to the Hellenized east where the image of Alexander the Great, who

claimed descent from the hero through his father, exercised an overwhelming and durable influence.
This marble poses problems with respect to its attribution, in part because of its present state. The new right arm and the right leg had been reattached in antiquity. The right leg is original, the right forearm with the hand holding the apples of the Hesperides is a Roman repair as indicated by the workmanship of the fingers and what we see as a different marble.
The head was not reattached in antiquity and must have broken off after the Roman repair. It has a slightly different patina but we feel sure that it belonged to the body originally (2). However, L. Davydova (3)who had full leisure to examine the marble when on view at the Hermitage considers that it comes from a different statue.
It has been suggested (4) that the head is unquestionably from an Alexandrine workshop and represents a juvenile Ptolemaic prince. If this is not so, were he an idealized Hellenistic ruler he would have longer hair and a parallel enabling an identification should come to mind. Thus, he may be a statue of Herakles in keeping with his stance, short curly hair and diadem. Since the right forearm with its hand is a Roman repair, its original position (5) is uncertain. He may not have held apples but still have been Herakles.
The pose would be suitable for a variety of figures, whether a god such as Eros, a hero, a ruler or an athlete.
The unworked back of the head and the less well polished back of the torso, with a large lead insert in the upper left buttock, might suggest that he was intended for a niche. Possibly attached to our hero's left buttock was the tree of the Hesperides which would have hidden part of his back and be an added explanation for its less well finished surface.
Certain observations and comparisons come to mind. The head has certain features fitting for portraits of late Hellenistic rulers and the elongated body is appropriate for the late Hellenistic style. A very good analogy is the hero, the youthful Herakles (6) from Syracuse-Achradina, a marble statue of the late 2nd century B.C. E. Langlotz states that it still is on its original plinth and calls it a cult image, but adds that it does not seem to be a work from Magna Graecia. It belongs to a group of numerous small images of gods from the Hellenistic east such as were found in Priene and elsewhere, and there is a statuette in Smyrna (7) that does not correspond exactly but is similar in many details. He describes the Achradina statue as Lysippan with its small head, elongated proportions and build, harking back to a prototype of the end of the 4th century. However, the construction of the torso is too dry for the period and points towards the end of the 2nd century B.C. We note a strong similarity with the nape and the way the hair is sculpted at the back, though different in style, as well as the lines of the shoulders, the upper arms, and the marked linear edge to denote the pubes.
A Graeco-Roman statue (8) in the United States, said to have been found in the Benevento, is an example for the general type of Herakles with a small head. C. Vermeule makes him into a Hellenistic diademed king of the 2nd century B.C. in the guise of Herakles; but in our opinion, he is only a representation of the hero.
Our Herakles, standing relaxed, looks out with a detached gaze and fits W. Fuchs' (9) assessment for the period, when he says that around the year 130 there are works that are restful and calm thus giving the impression of being classical when in fact they are classicistic. For as S. Gisel-Pfankuch says "he is worked in the classical style without having the spontaneity of an original".

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1977-1983
Musée Olympique, Lausanne: 1994-1995

Published:
Davydova, L., "Einige Bemerkungen zur Gestalt eines idealisierten Helden","Hermitage Readings". The George Ortiz Collection. St. Petersburg (12 April 1993) 6-8, 24.
Mentioned:
Weill Goudchaux, G., “Cleopatra Unveiled”, in: Minerva, vol. 12, n° 2, 23-24, figs. 4-5.

1) Though difficult to judge visually we believe that the right forearm and hand are Roman replacements for they seem of different workmanship and marble. Strongly in favour of this assessment is that the join above the elbow has been smoothed down on the stump of the original upper arm and is smooth on the repair. Whereas the break at the wrist is a natural uneven one indicating, though also mended in ancient times with an iron rod, that it was a second restoration following new damage after the first repair. A piece of marble on the upper arm at the repair join and several at the wrist with one on the palm of the hand reattached in the modern restoration, with the addition of two pieces in plastic - a large pyramidal section on the original upper front forearm and a smaller patch at the wrist.
2) The whole statue was slightly cleaned, brilliantly restored and mounted by Karl Faltermeier, Chief Restorer of the Antikenmuseum & Sammlung Ludwig, Basel. He confirmed our impression and assured us that in his opinion the head was not a repair: for the break, join and the marble indicated that it was the original.
3) "Hermitage Readings". The George Ortiz Collection, 6-8, 24.
4) Guy Weill Goudchaux in a letter dated 10 January 1995. L. Davidova (see above) says that royal portraits of Ptolemaic families typically have inlaid eyes and that the ribbons were signs of royal power.
5) Karl Faltermeier informed us that the breaks above the elbow had been reworked to enable the matching of the new forearm, thus destroying any evidence on the upper arm that would give an indication in this respect.
6) Langlotz, E. and Hirmer, M., Die Kunst der Westgriechen (Munich, 1963), 100-101, no. 164/165 (H: 49.3 cm).
7) See above footnote 6 where E. Langlotz gives the reference to Wiegand-Schrader, Priene (Berlin, 1904), p. 366 ff. for those found in Priene and elsewhere. Unfortunately, the author has not been able to consult this work or find reproductions of any of the statues.
8) Kansas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Nelson Fund, 46-37: The Gods Delight. The Human Figure in Classical Bronze (Cleveland, 1988) 172-175, no. 30 (H: 57.8 cm).
9) A free translation of the French translation of W. Fuchs' German original as given by Gisel-Pfankuch, S., Herakles Statue (Proseminararbeit Prof. E. Berger, Wintersemester Basel, 1981/82).

170. SATYR dancing and playing the aulos ?

Bronze
H: 39.5 cm
From the Egyptian Delta (Herakleiopolis?)
Alexandrian
Early 2nd century B.C.

Ex collection:
1st Baron Melchett (acquired 1928),
thence by inheritance (1951)
Jorge Ortiz Linares (1951-1965) (1)

Solid-cast by the lost wax method, carefully worked in the cold and burnished. The musical instrument made separately, now missing. Inlaid eyes of bone or ivory, the pupils missing.

Condition: patina green to black with patches of smooth red cuprite and patches of brightish green. A small section of brownish metal on the left shin. When found, the whole statuette was thickly incrusted with cuprite and atacamite as is wont with bronzes buried in a desert context. Since then cleaned (2), at the time the right arm strengthened, possibly even reattached below the shoulder.

Two locks of hair broken, ends of some others chipped or abraded as is the point of the right ear.

Much of the original sharpness of the chiselling somewhat dulled by the removal of the incrustation. The surface now fairly smooth with the odd nick and with a few large pin holes, casting bubbles.

The back left side of the right heel and the tangs on the front of both feet missing. A modern hole drilled under the left foot from a previous mounting.

This satyr is a lone survivor and unfortunately we can find no close parallels. Sensitively modelled and harmoniously executed, he appears as though turning axially on the tips of his toes. He is dancing to his music as he plays a wind instrument, now lost. It has been suggested (3) that he is an utricularius or bagpipe player, which would fit his whole posture and be suited to the position of his hands for fingering the holes on a bagpipe. Annie Bélis (4) has confirmed that his attitude is indeed more indicative of a bagpiper: position of the hands, left elbow raised as though pressing on the bag of the instrument, which given our provenance and date would be in keeping with the Alexandrians' passion for wind instruments. However, she adds, that his face does not seem marked by the effort of blowing on the pipes, thus a single-reeded aulos or a double aulos is more likely, though any of the foregoing hypotheses are possible.

Though he has been dated anywhere in the 4th to the 1st century B.C., on stylistic grounds and by comparison with distant analogies we have placed him in the early 2nd century. Surely the work of an Alexandrian artist.

A popular subject in Hellenistic and Roman times. For example, such figures appear on Roman marble candelabrum bases and we recently saw one dating to the third quarter of the 1st century B.C. in the Archaeological Museum in Venice (5). Its three sides are decorated with a maenad and two satyrs. One of the latter is dancing, aulos in hands and with feet in the same position as on our statue, though the right is forward and the left back.

For a somewhat similar stance with respect to the position of the torso, the arms, the turn of the head, and also playing an aulos but with the right foot only slightly raised and the left flat on the ground, there is the Roman bronze statuette of a satyr from Villa Pisones in Herculaneum (6). The various Hellenistic satyrs from Asia Minor (7) are of a different style and really bear no rapport. It would appear that there is a similar statuette in the Luxor Museum (8) for which unfortunately the author has no data (9). Though little comparable material has been found in Egypt there is the very late Hellenistic group in the Louvre (10) of Dionysos, two maenads and an aulos-playing satyr from Lower Egypt, an interesting ensemble though not of very good quality and rather provincial.

His vivid style is in marked contrast to the later typically classicizing satyrs found at Pompeii, Herculaneum and elsewhere in Italy.

Exhibited and Published:
Pompeii, 136, cat. no. 244; Hommes et Dieux, 109 col. pl., 110-111, cat. no. 56, ill.
(Holtzmann, B.: Universalia, 1983, p. 47.)
Published:
Strong, E., Catalogue of Greek and Roman Antiques in the Possession of the Right Honourable Lord Melchett (London, 1928) 22-23, no. 16, pls. 21-26.

1) Father of George Ortiz and understandingly acquired at the latter's request.
2) First undertaken when in the hands of the dealer Amin Khawam, Cairo, during the early years of this century before the job was continued or redone in Paris in 1920/21 by the Maison André.
3) In a letter received from Leo Stevenson, an artist, 31 March 1994.
4) Information kindly proffered on the basis of a photocopy of the satyr in May 1994 following the author's letter with Stevenson's suggestion and asking for help.
5) Archaeological Museum 35: Cain, H.-U., Römische Marmorkandelaber (Mainz, 1985) 196, no. 123, pls. 35.4, 36.1-2.
6) Naples, Archaeological Museum 5296: Waldstein, Ch. and Shoobridge, L., Herculaneum. Past, Present & Future (London, 1908) pl. 10.
7) E.g. Philipp, H., “Eine hellenistische Satyrstatuette aus Izmit (Nikomedia)”, AA 102 (1987) 133-143.
8) Unpublished. The author was kindly informed of the existence of this related bronze statuette by K. Parlasca in a letter dated 28 October 1988. He himself has not seen this statuette nor a reproduction of it.
9) In the Royal Academy edition of this catalogue, we had mentioned a similar statuette in Athens from Tanis, reference kindly provided by K. Parlasca (Parlasca, K., La Mosaïque gréco-romaine II, Colloque Vienne 1971 <Paris, 1975> 365 n. 20). In the meantime the author has seen a reproduction and does not concur, save that the figure is a dancing satyr (but with head thrown back and arms raised).
10) Charbonneaux, J., Martin, R. and Villard, F., Grèce Hellénistique. 330-50 av. J.-C. Univers des Formes (Paris, 1970) 316, fig. 346.

171. MULE'S HEAD

Bronze
H: 10.7 cm. L: 10.6 cm
Allegedly from Adana
Hellenistic
Late 2nd-1st century B.C.

Cast by the lost wax process, thoroughly worked in the cold, a swastika-meander on the harness inlaid with silver.
Condition: patina light green, blackish where rubbed. A large and deep crack along the left side of the head below the eye and a thin one in front of the ear. Right eye and muzzle worn. Part of the silver inlay missing.
Converted into a weight by making a hole through the mane above the ears to enable suspension and filling with lead which was covered by a thin sheet of bronze, edges frayed with parts missing.
At bottom of neck one point bent inwards, the other broken off.

The mule head decorated the upper end of a fulcrum, the curved head board of a reclining couch (kline), on its front left end. On the lower end there would have been a medallion with a bust or head almost in the round. This example belongs to a type that appeared in the first half of the 2nd century B.C. and carried on through the first half of the 1st century A.D. They have been the subject of a full study (1) that takes into account their evolution, that classifies them in groups determined by shapes and details their different characteristics. The principal criteria are the frames, which unfortunately is lacking for this example.
Apparently the first representations of beds with end-rests appear painted on Greek vases of the 6th century B.C. and they come in

use more and more as a piece of dining-room or triclinium furniture. A new impetus is brought to this model after Alexander's expeditions and the ensuing influence of Achaemenid practice; from the 3rd century B.C. onwards the type becomes widespread. W. Lamb (2) suggests that it originated in Asia Minor.

The present example shows the mule protome with a panther skin and a saddle-cloth ornamented with a silver-inlaid swastika design and ending with three tassels. One of the panther's paws hangs down the neck of the protome, whereas the animal's head - open jawed, with eye and ear carefully indicated - slightly protrudes sleepily (he is dead) over the neckline. Little tufts of hair are engraved over the skin.

The mule head itself has most expressive eyes, rather sad and sensitive, and the muscles of his head are realistically featured. The front of the mane over the forehead forms a beautiful protuberance of five tufts as though a plant in bloom. The mane is composed of short tufts of hair as though combed that lean to both sides, most of them towards the front.

We do not discuss any comparisons since this has been carefully considered by S. Faust. She mentions the mule protomes from the Gulf of Juan shipwreck as an indication for the date and lists this applique under her group III. We have followed her chronology though it is possible, we feel, that the present example could be placed slightly higher in the second half of the 2nd century B.C.

Exhibited and Published:
Master Bronzes, 142, cat. no. 147, ill.
Published:
Faust, S., Fulcra. Figürlicher und ornamentaler Schmuck an antiken Betten, RM, 30. ErgH. (Mainz, 1989) 216, no. 429, pl. 46,2.
Mentioned:
Letta, C., “Due letti funerari in osso dal centro italico-romano della valle d'Amplero (Abruzzo)”, MonAnt 52 (1984) 91, n. 51.

1) Faust, S., Fulcra. We have borrowed heavily for this entry from her work.
2) Greek and Roman Bronzes (London, 1929) 234.

172. SHALLOW BOWL

Mosaic glass
Greatest Diam: 13 cm. H: 3.43 cm
Provenance: no indication
Late Hellenistic
1st century B.C.

Cast mosaic vessels were fashioned of segments of pre-formed mosaic canes and made in a mould. Though rod or cane-formed glass originated in the Near East and Egypt (1) in the Early Bronze Age, a similar production re-emerged in the Hellenistic period, the earliest examples of which are referred to as the Canosa Group.
The main workshops were probably located in Italy, but in all likelihood there were others in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Cast from segments of cane in a mould. The surface of the interior and top of rim rotary-ground and polished. The exterior probably fire-polished.
Condition: on the underside a small casting flaw, like a whirl, possibly a minute air bubble passing through the thickness of the glass.

Translucent aquamarine glass interspersed with colourless strips.
The surface with yellow spirals and spirals outlined in white; a reddish eye for a few of them.
The rim a horizontal trail of ochre brown with vertical trails in opaque white.
There are two round suspension holes below the rim.

1) Goldstein, S.M., Pre-Roman and Early Roman Glass in The Corning Museum of Glass (New York, 1979) 29 ff.; Grose, D.F., The Toledo Museum of Art. - Early Ancient Glass (New York, 1989) 49 ff.

173. PRINCE SIDDHARTHA?

Marble
H: 58 cm (without topknot: 48 cm)
Allegedly from the region of Peshawar (Pakistan)
Gandharan
2nd century A.D.

Sculpted of white marble, the topknot made separately, a large roundish hollow section on top of the head for holding it in place. The hair formerly stuccoed and gilt, the odd speck of gold still visible. The eyes made separately of marble with inlaid irises.
Condition: traces of fire on surface, nose and other parts broken and missing. The face - reassembled of two large pieces; the forehead in three sections: two parts attached to hair; and a sliver - cracked with wedge-like bits missing, the right upper eyelid chipped and the left one with a long flake. Missing: right eye, the irises, and the inlay for both pupils, possibly rubies. Right ear lobe damaged, the cheek section below it missing, the neck one large piece with the left shoulder and a smaller piece at the join with the face; the hair in eight large fragments and three smaller ones, a lock of hair above left ear lobe and wedge-like bits missing, flaked here and there. The topknot, with a large chip on top and a flake at join, one quarter missing and broken in three.
The head has been slightly cleaned and the black stains induced by fire over the forehead attenuated in the process.

Siddhartha Gautama, a historical figure, was born a Kshatriya prince in the Nepalese Terai on the border with India c. 563 B.C. (1) He was the son of king Suddhodana and queen Maya of the Sakyas in the kingdom of Magadha and belonged to the clan of Gautama (2). "He renounced kingdom, wife and child to become an ascetic". He wandered, meditated, preached and achieved enlightenment.

He became the first Buddha, founder of Buddhism in North India.
In this region at the crossroads of Asia, the 6th century B.C. was a period of intellectual and spiritual ferment, of development in commerce and politics.
Our prince, the future Bodhisattva, was at first reacting against the suffering, injustice and poverty he discovered around him, and to some extent against Brahmanism. Considering that suffering results from desire, his first quest was for moral discipline leading to nirvana, a "transcendent state in which there is neither suffering, desire nor sense of self (atman), with release from the effects of karma (extinction of illusions)". However, far nobler than this individual pursuit was the path he took, travelling and preaching to relieve the sufferings of humanity.
This admirable work of art is unique. It is within our present knowledge incomparable and thus very difficult to place.
The region that produced him was a conflation of influences from the Mediterranean, Persia, India and China, and fulfilled a role of absorption and diffusion. Unfortunately all Gandharan chronology is very relative. It is to be remembered that the Kushans (known as the Yueh-chi by the Chinese), a nomadic Indo-Scythian race, had no monumental tradition in art. Their kings (c. A.D. 40-240) adopted Buddhism and having secured power in the realm realized the propaganda value of imagery, both political and religious. They employed to a certain extent the picture language of the Hellenic world borrowing either from Parthia or Rome directly, their coinage with Greek inscriptions and names reveals the close contacts between India and this world. Various of their kings carried on relations with Rome, thus Kujula Kadphises with Augustus. Embassies visited Rome several times during the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) who had adopted conciliatory measures towards the eastern powers: "the Bactrian kings sent him envoys as suppliants for his friendship" (3). A.C. Soper (4) suggests "that one such mission secured at the capital the services of a master sculptor, who was escorted back to Peshawar to lend properly imperial note to the rapidly expanding art of Gandhara"; though there is no known evidence to prove such a claim, he adds, its plausibility may be inferred from the very character of Gandharan sculpture. Could not our head lend credence to this suggestion? We have noted a high relief in Peshawar (5) where larger than the Buddha is Bodhisattva, his head and richness of hair appear to bear resemblance with our prince. It is according to H. Ingholt an idealized legendary representation. Another Roman source tells that the Indians (6), Bactrians and Hyrcanians sent envoys to Antoninus (A.D. 136-161); during this period King Kanishka and his son Vasishka may have continued contacts with Rome.
This portrait has both the ushnisha (topknot) and the urna (tuft of hair or hairy mole on centre of forehead still indicated) (7). However, his youth and fleshy face with its sensual mouth suggest that he is still Prince Siddhartha before he abandons all on his quest. This portrait would also be exceptional as representing the Prince before he became the Buddha, the richness of his hair having taken the place of jewellery. His fleshiness and hair vaguely call to mind portraits of the idealized Antinous, but here we are in a different world.
The head is made of beautiful marble whereas Gandharan sculpture is usually of a soft bluish-grey schist. A foreigner may have sculpted it though in all likelihood an Indian was its maker in keeping with its spirit, ethos and soul for the inspiration is Gandharan, though the material and workmanship are unusual. Doesn’t this head illustrate the meeting between East and West?
Prince Siddhartha is the only Bodhisattva portrayed in Gandharan sculpture and might this not be an expression of him just before he becomes Bodhisattva in keeping with what J.M. Rosenfield says: "The faces of the Gandharan Bodhisattva types are invariably idealized masks related, like the Buddha countenance, to an Apollonian prototype, so that, like the later Roman portraits of divine emperors, they could be said to represent the personage in

a kind of apotheosis, transfigured and deified in the form of eternal youth." (8)

Published:
Boardman, J., The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity (London, 1994) 144-145, pl. 4.91.
T. Yasumoto : A marble head of Bodhisattva from Gandhara and Roman sculptures around the latter half of the 2nd century – Including the stylistic relations of clay-sculptures from Tapa-Shoort (Haddda)
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1 This date places his death around 480 B.C. Sri Lankan chronicles variously date his death Mahaparinirvana between the second half of the 6th century and the first half of the 4th, thus the date of his birth would have to change to correspond. There is at present no consensus.

2 The name is applied to him by southern Buddhists; northern Buddhists usually call him Sakyamuni (the Sage of the Sakyas), the latter part of which means "wise" or "saint" in Sanskrit.

3 Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Hadrian 21.14 (see Soper, A.C., 'The Roman Style in Gandhara', AJA 55 (1951) 316, n. 30).

4 Soper, A.C., op. cit., 305.

5 Ingholt, H., Gandharan Art in Pakistan (New York, 1957) 85, fig. 121.

6 For example, tradition has it that Saint (Doubting) Thomas travelled from Jerusalem to India, where he designed a palace for the Parthian King Gondophares.

7 "The former almost certainly deriving from the chignon in which Prince Siddhartha, the future Buddha, wore his hair under his turban, were both personal to the historical Buddha and thereafter to all Buddhas" (Errington, E., Cribb, J., and Claringbull, M. (eds.), The Crossroads of Asia. Transformation in Image and Symbol <Cambridge, 1992> 43-44).

8 Rosenfield, J.M., The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans (Berkeley Los Angeles, 1967) XV.

CHAPTER 4

SARDINIAN

174. FEMALE IDOL

Marble
H: 21 cm
Allegedly from Riola Sardo (Sinis)
Late Bonuighinu-early Ozieri Culture
Late Middle Neolithic. End of the 4th millennium B.C.

Sculpted of a thick-grained white marble with two large bluish-grey veins. The eyes hollow, possibly once inlaid. The ears indicated.
Condition: the surface, originally smooth and polished as still visible in places, is incrusted with light-brown beige limestone deposit, thick and rough on the lower buttocks, back of legs and underneath. The face weathered (1), right-hand corner at back of head and a section below right ear abraded, chips to the back, the odd scratch here and there. Restored from three pieces: a break across midriff and a section from back of right upper arm through elbow, where a sliver is missing.

The figure exudes a tremendous presence with its flattish nose and face - a prolongation of the swollen neck at one with the torso - with deep round holes for the eyes, and the ears slightly indicated. She stands on short stubby legs with a swelling for the buttocks, her back profile a continuous flowing line from the top of the head to the bottom of the legs; stylized indications for the shoulder-blades, arms and breasts, her hands touching over the stomach.
Though unlike any other example known from Sardinia, she is surely a local creation though she bears resemblance to the so-called Plastiras type idol from the Cyclades (2). Several features in particular are similar, though the mass of her volume is very different as is also what the author perceives as the power of her

presence.
However, one should not overemphasize such resemblances for similarities between neolithic expressions in the Mediterranean may be explained in part by the common agricultural background of the various cultures. The above idol spans the transition between steatopygous sculptural forms corresponding to an expression of woman as a symbol of fertility and life and a more symbolical image of woman reflecting her new status in a more evolved community.

Exhibited and Published:
Kunst Sardiniens, 243, 361, cat. no 2, ill.

1) In a manner usually resulting from a saline environment.
2) Thimme, J., Kunst Sardiniens, 361, no. 2, with reference to Thimme, J., Art and Culture of the Cyclades (Karlsruhe, 1977) 231-233, 436-440, nos. 65-72, ill.

175. MOTHER WITH CHILD

Bronze
H: 13.1 cm (with tang: 15 cm)
Allegedly from Lodé (region of Siniscola)
Nuragic
10th-9th century B.C.?

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, cold-worked and burnished.
Condition: patina a grey-green where surface visible, the rest thickly incrusted with cuprous chloride warts and heavy granulation dull to bright green, and splashes of red cuprite (1). Traces of whitish-grey limestone deposits. The tang under the feet still encased in the lead, presently oxidized, that held the statuette in place on a limestone block (2).

An offerer, she stands, dressed in a linen undergarment protruding below the woollen garment wrapped around her body, its flap end visible as it hangs down her left side. A mantle made of very thick wool (3) (unwashed and retaining its natural fat), hangs over her shoulders fastened at neck level. With her left arm bent she supports her child in the hollow of her elbow. His right arm extends behind his mother's shoulder, his hand at the join of her neck and back, his left hand to his knees. Her left hand, palm up, holds a phiale while her right hand is extended forward, palm down, indicating that she is an offerer.
We concur with Thimme (4) when he compares this figurine with three others for the subject of mother and child asking for a divinity's help, but not with his generalization that the gesture and the sacrificial bowl of the present example induce one to conclude that such representations in Nuragic art depict a mother with a sick

child.
However we agree in two instances with his opinion, supported, as he says, by the discovery of two of these representations of mothers with children on their laps from a well-sanctuary at Santa Vittoria di Serri (5), visited by the sick in search of healing, as attested by a statuette found in situ of a shepherd (6) offering his crutch in thanksgiving.
There are notable differences between the four groups. In the case of the two from Santa Vittoria, the child appears sick, his head is leaning back resting on the mother's arm, as she envelops him with it cradling him, her hand ending on the child's thigh. However, the third example, also a mother on a stool with child on lap called "la Madre dell'Ucciso" from Urzulei (Nuoro) (7), is different. Her child is already a young man wearing a beret usually worn by a "capotribu", with his dagger slung across his chest, indications of his rank, maybe a young aristocrat (says Lilliu), confirmed by the bearing of his head held high. He could represent her dead son, since the group was found in a sacred cave associated with chthonian cults, and may be a votive to the Mother Goddess, an intercession in favour of his afterlife. The mother's right forearm is broken and missing but was surely also advanced in a position similar to that of our statuette in a gesture of offering.
It is to be noted that this example is unique for its stance and reminds us of Romanesque Virgins with Child from the Auvergne region of France, though the latter are usually seated and the right arm of the Child is upraised rather than placed over its mother's shoulder. What is similar is the healthy appearance of the child, his head held high.
Thus we prefer the hypothesis that the present statuette represents a mother offering and sacrificing, but whether to thank for her sick child having been healed or for his future or some purpose, such as the safe return of her husband from a warlike expedition, is uncertain.

Exhibited and Published:
Kunst Sardiniens, 300, 392, cat. no. 139, ill.

1) A bunch of bracelets (some broken), since removed, adhered to the statuette and these traces are where they had fused-oxidized to it; a fragment of one of them, a brownish-red, still adheres, visible on the right side of the head.
2) Sardinian votives (e.g. statuettes and long blades) were wont to be grouped on large limestone blocks with holes for their insertion.
) M.E. Burkett suggested in a letter 13 September 1994 that the cloaks of this figure and the "Capotribu", cat. no. 176, were made of felt.
4) Thimme, J., Kunst Sardiniens, 117, 392, no. 139.
5) Lilliu, G., Sculture della Sardegna Nuragica (Verona, 1966) 228-232, nos. 123, 124.
6) Thimme, J., op. cit., 117, 291, 387, no. 119, ill.; Lilliu, G., op. cit., 126-127, no. 62.
7) Thimme, J., op. cit., 78, 108, ill.; Lilliu, G., op. cit., 135-137, no. 68.

176. "CAPOTRIBU" (Chief of the clan)

Bronze
H: 24.7 cm (with tang: 27.1 cm)
Allegedly from near Uta
Nuragic
10th-7th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax method and summarily (1) worked in the cold. The hollow eyes probably once inlaid.
Condition: the medal colour bronze, where visible, has veered to a purplish-reddish, is almost entirely covered with a green patina and has remains of hardened light to brownish earth. Green cuprous chloride in places. The whole surface presently somewhat rough.
Missing: fingers of the right hand, the left hand with the staff it held as also the left foot (with its long tang (2)) to which it was probably attached.
A section of the mantle on the right middle back side pushed in, the right edge of the mantle frayed, fractured in places, the lower corner missing and a nick to the lower border.

Such "capitribu" have been variously interpreted as being the representations of a Nuragic prince, a shepherd-king, a tribal chieftain, or simply as chief of the herdsmen, which we prefer. Sardinian society at the time was aristocratic and feudal. We ignore the distinction between the local "prince" and the local religious leader, possibly one and the same. In Sumeria, for instance, with their god-kings, the chief of the herdsmen was also the chief or religious leader, as the clergy owned sacred flocks. Surely this "capotribu", on account of his size and bearing, was at the top of the social hierarchy.

He stands with his right hand raised in a gesture of prayer or adoration in front of a divinity. He wears a small cap probably an attribute of his rank. Slung across his right shoulder and curving around the left side of his torso a large strap holds his slightly curved dagger, a male attribute and symbol of virility.
He wears a shirt hung over his left shoulder and an undergarment (3) decorated with two tassels and below these there is a double border which might exceptionally indicate a second undergarment. For the undergarment and tassels there is a rapport with the dress of "Syro-Hittite" seated and standing figurines.
Over his shoulders is slung a large mantle made of very thick wool (4) (unwashed and retaining its natural fat).
The present figure belongs to the Uta-Abini group and is from the same workshop (5) that produced, and in all likelihood by the same artist who made, the "Lady with a Hat" (cat. no. 177), allegedly found with him, and the "Donna orante" (6) in Cagliari.

Exhibited and Published:
Kunst Sardiniens, 285, 385, cat. no. 112, ill.
Mentioned:
Jurgeit, F., “Beobachtungen zu einigen sardischen Gewändern”, in: Antidoron J. Thimme (Karlsruhe, 1982) 119-124, figs. 1, 3.

1) A correct assumption if one judges that the irregular horizontal and vertical lines on the inside and outside of the cloak and on its upper folds over the arms were made on the wax; Thimme feels that the striations are the remains of the wax model. Should they be the result of cold chiselling, "summarily" would not apply. Such striations have been interpreted as the fur of an ibex (Jurgeit, F., Beobachtungen zu einigen sardischen
Gewändern, 120) or as goats' hair cloth (Lilliu, G., Sculture della Sardegna nuragica
[Verona, 1966] 46).
2) Originally probably like the one under the right foot, the filled casting funnel for the molten metal, forked at its lower extremity - probably after cooling - to enable a more secure fixing with lead to the stone base.
3) For a thorough discussion on Sardinian garments see Jurgeit, F, op. cit., where the present statue is discussed.
4) Possibly felt, see cat. no. 175 footnote 3.
5) As mentioned to Thimme on 17-18 August 1978 and taken up in the catalogue Kunst Sardiniens.
6) Lilliu, G., op. cit., 152-154, no. 79, from Terralba (province of Cagliari). The alleged find-spot of cat. nos. 176 and 177 is roughly some 55 km distant from Terralba.

177. LADY WITH A HAT (consort of "Capotribu", cat. no. 176)

Bronze
H: 10 cm
Allegedly from near Uta
Nuragic
10th-7th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax method, touched up in the cold and burnished. The hollow eyes probably once inlaid.
Condition: green patina dulled by traces of brownish earth deposit, spots of reddish purple, and green cuprous chloride.
The whole brim of the hat chipped off, a section on the right side broken off and restored. The left forearm and the right arm from above the elbow with fold of cloak missing as also the whole lower body and cloak from the waist downwards.

She stood as did her consort (cat. no. 176) with her right hand raised in a gesture of prayer or adoration in front of a divinity. Her left hand extended forward surely held either a bowl, a loaf of bread or a dish with offerings. The same characteristics must apply to her comparison, the "Donna orante" in Cagliari (1), 17 cm high. The preserved height of our Lady with a Hat is 10 cm and if one restores her with the same proportions as the "Donna orante", they appear to be almost of identical size.
Her hat, fragmentary as that of the "Donna orante", also resembles it. Conical in shape, they rise in smooth concentric zones to a knob on top, with vertical striations in the case of the comparison. Both Lilliu and Thimme think that their headgears were originally a sort of large sombrero, such as the one on the statuette in Copenhagen (2)

or the hat on a head in Cagliari (3) which Thimme describes as having an upturned brim in front, but which from the photo seems to us to be a deformation due to damage. It gives the impression, from the way it is placed on the head, of having been made of straw, which may have been sewn to the veil to secure it. These veils cover the ears, the back of the heads and end beneath the mantles; on the present example and the "Donna orante" they are identical and both veils are similar to the one worn by the statuette in Copenhagen.

As her comparison, she is clad in a close-fitting dress which probably ended in two broad hems and a garment girt at the waist and folding over in a kolpos. Like her consort (cat. no. 176) and the related figures, she wears a mantle (4).

Exhibited and Published:
Kunst Sardiniens, 303, 393, cat. no. 143, ill.
Mentioned:
Jurgeit, F., “Beobachtungen zu einigen sardischen Gewändern”, in: Antidoron J. Thimme (Karlsruhe, 1982) 119-124, fig. 2.

1) See cat. no. 176 and footnote 6.
2) National Museum, Dept. of Antiquities: Lilliu, G., Sculture della Sardegna nuragica (Verona, 1966) 154-156, no. 80.
3) Lilliu, G., op. cit., 156-157, no. 81; Thimme, J., Kunst Sardiniens, 303, 393-394, no. 144, ill.
4) For a thorough discussion on Sardinian garments, see Jurgeit, F., Beobachtungen zu einigen sardischen Gewändern.

178. TWO ARCHERS (joined by a root)

Bronze
H: a. 14.2 cm (archer in front); b. 15 cm (archer behind).
L. root: 19.5 cm
Allegedly from Mamoiada (Nuoro)
Nuragic
9th-7th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, worked in the cold and burnished.
Condition: a: dull green on fairly smooth surface with traces of dark brown earth.
Points of horns on headdress broken, right hand, both ankles and feet missing.
b: same as a. but patina with black speckles in places. Points of horns abraded, bowstring broken where already repaired in antiquity, end of lower legs and feet missing. The root an accident of nature which joins the bronzes together, presently drying out.

The root is that of a particularly sturdy species (1) that is wont to grow over certain inland regions of Sardinia. Amazingly, though unfortunately now drying out and possibly over a millennium in age, it has grown through the two statuettes breaking them off the limestone block on which they would have been fixed with lead by the tangs under their feet.
The "ambiente" that produced them has tried to claim them back, but hopefully the product of this movingly poetical accident will survive for many years to come.
Such archers are votive dedications representing aristocratic warriors or hunters in attitudes of devotion. We observe that they are divided in two categories, warriors as fighting archers, and

hunters.
Their shared characteristic is a particular headdress, a sort of ridged helmet with a crest at either end and horns jutting forward, but they are differentiated by various details of their attire.
The present examples show two such figures, hunters, wearing their horned headdress, a squarish pouch over their chests, dressed in a long shirt over shorts, their right hand extended forward in a gesture of offering. On the back of the front figure are the three usual items: a quiver with a small case attached to it on one side - which Lilliu thinks was either for holding arrow points or a product to grease the cord of the bow - and on the other a long sword with haft. On the back of the rear figure there is also a small case and a quiver, and though a sword seems to be hidden behind it, it may simply have been omitted by the artist.
The face of the figure in front is artistically more sophisticated and better sculpted with his chevron eyebrows and well-formed features. The other figure's face shows less strength and character. For the type of representation we may compare Lilliu nos. 26-28 (2).

1) Probably either the root of the Erica arborea L. from which the Sardinians make pipes or that of the Juniperus oxycedrus L., a sturdy wood for making doors, frames, etc. An analysis could be decisive but would cause damage.
2) Lilliu, G., Sculture della Sardegna nuragica (Verona, 1966) 78-82.

179. ARCHER

Bronze
H: 17.2 cm. W: 12 cm
Allegedly from Oliena (Nuoro)
Nuragic
9th-7th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, cold-worked and burnished.
Condition: patina smooth, green to dark olive green with speckles of reddish-brown and black, mainly copper oxide. Traces of earth deposit.
Missing left foot and end of right leg and foot.

This is a fighting archer, a warrior. What differentiates him and the companion piece cat. no. 180 from the hunters on a root, cat. no. 178, is their attire.
Their necks are are protected, encircled by two wide collars one above the other (1). In front of their chests a rectangular protection, which we think must have been of leather, hangs down almost to their waists, though Lilliu (2) mentions that it might also have been of metal.
This archer wears a sort of knee-guard, another piece of equipment that characterizes warriors, and his left forearm is protected by a brassard. On his back, as with the archers, cat. no. 178, are a small case, a quiver and a long sword, though the case is not very well defined. All the above paraphernalia is to be found on the very fine warrior with sword and bow in Cagliari (3). Worthy of notice is that two archer-warriors in Cagliari (4) show a triangular opening between the upper and lower right arm as they draw back the arrow with the string of the bow as does this example and its companion

piece, cat. no. 180. The typology of their profiles bears some resemblance and they may be the product of the same workshop. Both comparisons come from Teti (Nuoro) and if the alleged provenance of our two examples, Oliena (Nuoro) is correct, their find-spots are less than 30 km apart, an additional indication.

1) Such protection for warriors is represented sometimes simply by two rings e.g. Lilliu, G., Sculture della Sardegna nuragica (Verona, 1966) 72-73, no. 21, 75-78, no. 24, 25, by a simple large ring and sometimes a protection formed of superimposed rings that may even extend down over the shoulders and collarbones, e.g. Lilliu, 180-181, no. 95. On this last, though it has no bearing on this entry, we would like to point out the extraordinary conical helmet, the central portion of which is composed of a wide band of herring-bone elements that appear to be a simplified version of the Mycenaean boar-tusk helmets, e.g. the helmeted heads of warriors in ivory, Athens National Museum (Karouzou, S., National Museum. Illustrated Guide to the Museum [Athens, 1978] 22, no. 2468; Poursat, J.-C. Catalogue des ivoires mycéniens du Musée National d'Athènes [Paris, 1977] 161, no. 466/2055, pl. 51).
2) Lilliu, G., op. cit., 59, no. 11.
3) Lilliu, G.: loc. cit.
4) Lilliu, G.: op. cit., 66-67, no. 16; 71-72, no. 20.

180. ARCHER

Bronze
H : 13.34 cm. W : 10.43 cm.
Allegedly from Oliena, Nuoro
Nuragic
9th-7th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, and cold-worked.
Condition : patina sandpaper to smooth pale greyish green with specks of red and green cuprous chloride and traces of whitish limestone deposits. Small casting burrs still visible.
A crack through upper bow and a fissure on bowstring.
Both legs missing from below tunic.

For the explanation of why this figure is a fighting archer, please refer to his companion, cat. no. 179 : like him his left forearm is protected by a brassard.
The same remarks hold true for both examples : his shirt and shorts are similar, and though his legs are completely missing, they must also have worn knee-guards. Very similar but with slight differences, but very similar and though better executed, e.g. the small case next to the quiver is carefully shaped he is surely from the same workshop as his companion.

181. STAG

Bronze
H: 14.4 cm. L: 13.7 cm
Allegedly from around the southern part of Lake Bolsena
Nuragic
10th-8th century B.C.?

Cast by the lost wax method, polished and worked in the cold. A slit between the shoulders on back to enable mounting.
Condition: patina a pale green with some traces of grey metal surface showing through, the odd spot of cuprite and whitish green cuprous chloride. Tip of snout, lower left front leg, part of rump and right leg cracked with brown earth incrustations.
The front left leg bent outwards, the body slightly contorted resulting in some distortion to the right hind leg. A small gash to the upper inside of right leg and two nicks on rear underside of body.

This stag served as a finial for a votive sword (1). As such, it not only enhanced the importance of the offering but surely added a note of sacredness and magic to the sword, rendering the offering more ingratiating. Possibly it in part fulfilled a similar function to the Anatolian stag finial, cat. no. 28, though in a different context.
For the style, there is a distant family resemblance to a bull (2) in Cagliari for the body construction, neck and legs and a very distant rapport with two other bulls (3) also in Cagliari. Closer comparisons are the groups of a stag and dog (4) and of double-protome stags (votive finials on the end of long swords), and particularly two (5) in Cagliari, with tongues protruding as on our stag.

Considering the stag's alleged provenance from the southern Villanovan area, he is probably from a Villanovan tomb of the 1st or 2nd Benacci period around the first quarter of the 1st millennium.

Exhibited and Published:
Kunst Sardiniens, 236 col. pl., 309, 396, cat. no. 151, ill. (Thimme, J., Altsardische Kunst, Bildhefte des Badischen Landesmuseums Karlsruhe [Karlsruhe, 1980] 27, fig. 17).

1) These were wont to be long and slender, e.g. the one in the author's collection, L: 126.8 cm (Thimme, J., Kunst Sardiniens, 336, 409, no. 201, ill.), and three swords composing a trophy, L: 127 and 129 cm, Sassari, National Museum 2050 (Thimme, J., loc.cit., no. 202).
2) National Archaeological Museum: Lilliu, G., Sculture della Sardegna nuragica (Verona, 1966) 329-330, no. 209.
3) National Archaeological Museum: Lilliu, G., op. cit., 330-331, no. 210; 331, no. 212.
4) Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum: Thimme, J., op. cit., 307, 395-396, no. 149, ill.
5) National Archaeological Museum: Lilliu, G., op. cit., 362-364, nos. 253, 257.

CHAPTER 5

ETRUSCAN

182. TWO VOTIVE BOOTS

Terracotta
H: a. 16.8 cm (left boot); b. 16.5 cm (right boot). L: a. 13.7 cm; b. 13.55 cm
Allegedly from Vulci
Proto-Etruscan (1)
750- 700 B.C.

Each boot hand-shaped (2) of clay with the help of a spatula, two round holes drilled at the back and on the inside face of the rim, probably to enable suspension.
The surface decorated (3) with concentric circles and lines of hatchings to give the effect of a real boot with its seams and lacing.
Condition: brown terracotta, originally painted or varnished black of which speckles remain over the whole surface; hardened deposits of cream-coloured earth here and there and in the incised decoration.

There are historical precedents for the general type that go back to the early 2nd millennium B.C. with the Anatolian civilization of Kültepe (4) and other cultures.
A close comparison is a Villanovan pair in Geneva (5) although the clay is different, being reddish, and the leg of the boot is squat with a flaring lip. Other examples are: one from the Veneto (6) of different shape and artistically mediocre; another, shaped like ours (7) and decorated in the same spirit, though with flaring top and different incisions and patterns, comes from excavations at Karmir-blur (near Erevan) in Armenia.
Most of the known examples are from cemeteries and like our pair were part of tomb fittings, though for a short while before burial they may have served as libation vessels.

Published :
Haentjens, Ann M. E., “Ritual Shoes in Early Greek Female Graves”, in : *AntCl* 75 (2002) 171-184, fig. 7.

1) The decoration is early, close to the proto-Etruscan "Villanovan", in which the vessels are rather heavier. The author has unfortunately not been able to handle comparisons, for the weight difference by feel would be an indication.
2) Surely built up over a core later removed.
3) The same motifs are to be found on terracotta askoi of contemporary date or slightly earlier, e.g. one in the Bologna Museum (Art et Civilisation des Etrusques [Paris, 1955] 8, cat. no. 17, fig. 1) dated 8th-7th century B.C., also of brown earth.
) E.g., The Anatolian Civilisations I. Prehistoric/Hittite/Early Iron Age (Istanbul, 1983) 197, no. A. 513.
5) Private collection, P... N... of unknown provenance, dated 7th century B.C. H: 11 cm; Etruscan Art from Private Geneva Collections, Les Amis du Richemond 1988 (Milan, 1988) 31, 69, no. 6, col. pl. 6.
6) Prima Italia. Arts italiques du premier millénaire avant J.C. (Gent, 1980) 80-81, no. 38; of the 2nd Middle Atestine period, second half of the 8th-first quarter of the 7th century B.C.
7) Tesori d'Eurasia (Milan, 1987-88) 56, no. 64; dated in the 7th century B.C.

183. HORSE

Bronze
H: 8 cm. L: 11.1 cm
Provenance: no indication
Villanovan, Central European or Danubian
9th-8th century B.C.?

Ex collection:
Henry ("Bogey") Harris

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, slightly cold-worked and burnished.
Condition: patina a greenish-brown reddish metal with traces of thick dark green, and red cuprite deposits. Surface smooth but slightly pitted in places.
Tip of right ear broken, ends of legs missing, and tail once affixed to cavity created for this purpose.
A modern hole under the belly now filled with copper served to mount it.

This sculpture is an enigma - the one and only survival of its type that we are aware of.
The writer had related it in the past to Villanovan bronze horse bits of the 9th-7th centuries B.C. considering it to be a predecessor, and notwithstanding connections with the horses on bronze tripods from Etruria (1), its attribution poses a problem. Though the cylindrical way of representing the neck, the mane and most especially the ears with their median groove do bear strong resemblance to both the above. However, this horse exudes a plastically satisfying fullness, a purity of line and an extended flowing muzzle that are not to be found in the above-mentioned comparisons. Furthermore, he is both free-standing and in the round which partially explains the differences. He probably formed part of a cult-votive ensemble,

maybe something like the bronze wagon from Strettweg (2) and could be dated anywhere between the "Urnenfelderzeit" and Early Hallstatt, i.e. 1200-700 B.C.
A survival of this figural type can be seen in the bronze horse protomes that are part of the handles of a bronze urn from Chiusi, in Berlin (3), dated in the second half of the 7th century B.C.
This horse was used by "Bogey" Harris as the pommel of his walking-stick for some thirty-five years.

Exhibited and Published:
Master Bronzes, 156, cat. no. 155, ill.

1) Hencken, H., “Horse Tripods of Etruria”, AJA 61 (1957) 1-4, pl. 1-4.
2) Graz (Austria), Landesmuseum Joanneum: Megaw, J.V.S., Art of the European Iron Age (Bath, 1970) 59, no. 38, fig. 38.
3) Antikenmuseum Misc 7031: Heilmeyer, W.-D., Antikenmuseum Berlin (Berlin, 1988) 201, no. 1.

184. FIGURINE

Bronze
H: 6.5 cm
Provenance: no indication
Villanovan
c. 700 B.C.

Ex collection:
Vladimir G. Simkhovitch

Solid-cast by the lost wax process.
The wiry arms bent into position after the hammering of the hands and the engraving of the fingers. The eyes and ears drilled, the mouth grooved.
The sex is an enigma, for it would seem that it was first a longitudinal slot that was later drilled. Thus, originally, we probably had a female figurine that for some unknown reason was later made into a male by drilling the hole and probably inserting a penis.
The whole surface carefully burnished.
Condition: patina dark green with traces of yellowish brown earth deposits, yellowish to brown metal showing through in places.
A slight crack at the nape and the patina somewhat flaked around the neck which may explain partially the tilt of the head.
The thin, flattened tang under the right foot broken off.
Eyes missing if once inlaid, penis also if once inserted.

According to Mrs. Richardson "the nicest Geometric bronze I know" (1) and belonging to a group from Arezzo that were used as pendants for necklaces; they were also the earliest votives from Etruria. Later versions were made in the region of Picenum.
This figurine might have been a pendant or amulet hung by the ears or been dedicated as a votive and affixed to a base by the tangs.

Maybe they were made thus to fulfil both functions, as did some Northern Greek Geometric bronzes.

Exhibited and Published:
Gods and Mortals, 98, cat. no. 76, ill.

Published:
Hanfmann, G.M.A., "The Origin of Etruscan Sculpture", *CdA* II (1937) 156-166, pl. 120, fig. 1; Richardson, E., *Etruscan Votive Bronzes*. *Geometric, Orientalizing, Archaic* (Mainz, 1983) 11, 381, no. 19.

1) Verbal communication 4 April 1986.

185. SEATED FIGURE

Bronze
H: 5.2 cm
Lucera (Apulia)
Oscan art
Early 7th century B.C.

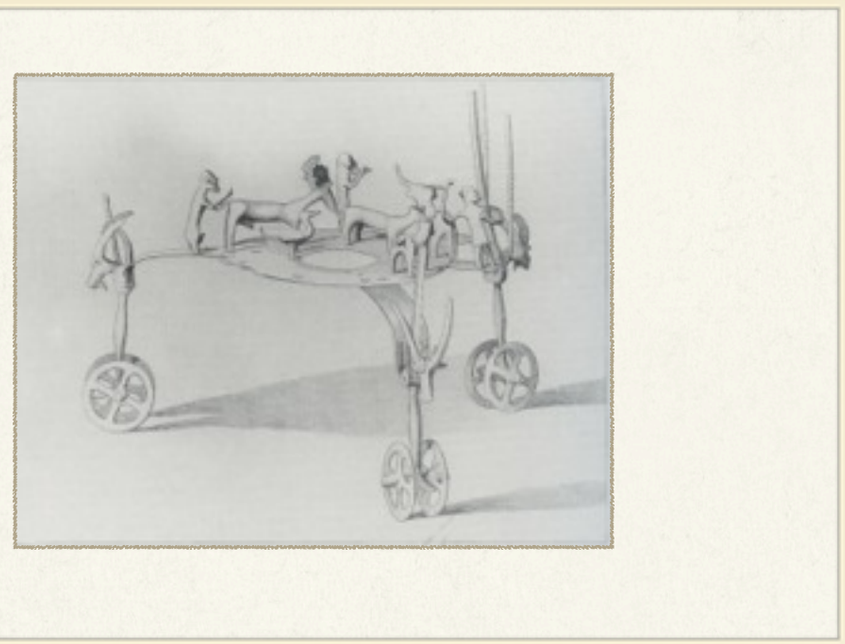
Ex collection:
Cavaliere Onofrio Bonghi, Naples (1800-c. 1860s)

Solid-cast by the lost wax process.
The wiry arms and legs bent into position after the hammering of hands and feet and chiselling of fingers and toes. The eyes drilled, a deep wide groove for the mouth.
The elliptical seat under the figure and the twisted rope rising on either side for suspension hammered in the cold.
A peg extending down from the coccyx transverses the seat through a drilled hole and is hammered underneath so as to broaden slightly forming a rivet head. The seat is thus held in place leaving the figure free to rotate slightly.
Condition: patina mottled green with traces of yellow and reddish brown metal coming through in places. Earth deposits on the rope.
Left hand missing, finger point on right hand and most of the twisted rope. Two important cracks through the right arm. A depression beneath the left eye where virulent cuprite has been removed in modern times.

He comes from a group that was made up originally of eight human figures and six animals fixed onto or suspended over a votive "chariot". It consisted of a disc of bronze with a central opening; three wide strips attached to it by rivets and extending down were each fixed onto the lower part of a human leg resting on an axle between two four-spoked wheels. A goat protome, horned and

bearded, adorned the join of each strip to the leg. Six of the human figures and all the animals were fixed to the disc; the other two - of which this is one - were suspended from above (1).
The short history of this ensemble is as follows: discovered on 4 January 1800 on the steep hill below the castle of Lucera by Cavaliere Bonghi, it entered his collection and was first mentioned by E. Gerhard (2) and nine of the figures later reproduced by him (3). W.M. Wylie acquired from Cavaliere Bonghi in Naples the ensemble still in his hands during the Winter 1865/66, shortly thereafter offering it to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford where it still is (4). In all likelihood, by then, the present figure as well as that of a wolf seizing a lamb in his jaws (5) were no longer in Bonghi's possession.
Comparable cult ensembles of the first half of the 1st millennium B.C., though rare, have been found unexpectedly here and there. The origin for such votive "chariots" goes back to the Near East as evidenced by examples from the second half of the 2nd millennium from Cyprus, whence the influence spread first to Sardinia and later to different regions of Italy.
The bronze amphora from the necropolis of Olmo Bello, Bisenzio (6) and the Capodimonte "chariot" (brazier on wheels) (7) are two comparisons very close in date and mood to the ensemble of which this figure was a part. An example that reveals the cross-currents that inter-influenced various peoples and their artistic output at the time.
For instance, he has a spiritual rapport with the Peloponnesian figurine, cat. no. 74, whose man-monkey ambiguity, though in essence representing a man, likewise combines "eroticism, fertility and regeneration" (8). There is also a connection with the figurine from Central Etruria, cat. no. 184.
The influence may possibly have come from Northern Greece via the Ionian sea, up from the region of Laconian-influenced Tarentum and/or across by way of Cumae and Campania.

Padre Raffaele Garrucci has a most attractive explanation of the cult involved. Apparently, Lucera was famous in antiquity for its flocks of sheep and the superior quality of their fleece.
The group represents a pastoral scene with a wolf absconding with a lamb. Thus, there are various figures: naked without indication of sex - such as this one, girt and well-endowed, one blowing the murex, as well as two armed figures to ward off danger.
This ensemble of a sacred character is according to Garrucci an offering at a shrine of the god Faunus Lupercus. The festival of the Luperci consisted of sacrifices to the god to protect the flocks from wolves. Inherent also is another intent, that of rendering the flock fertile.



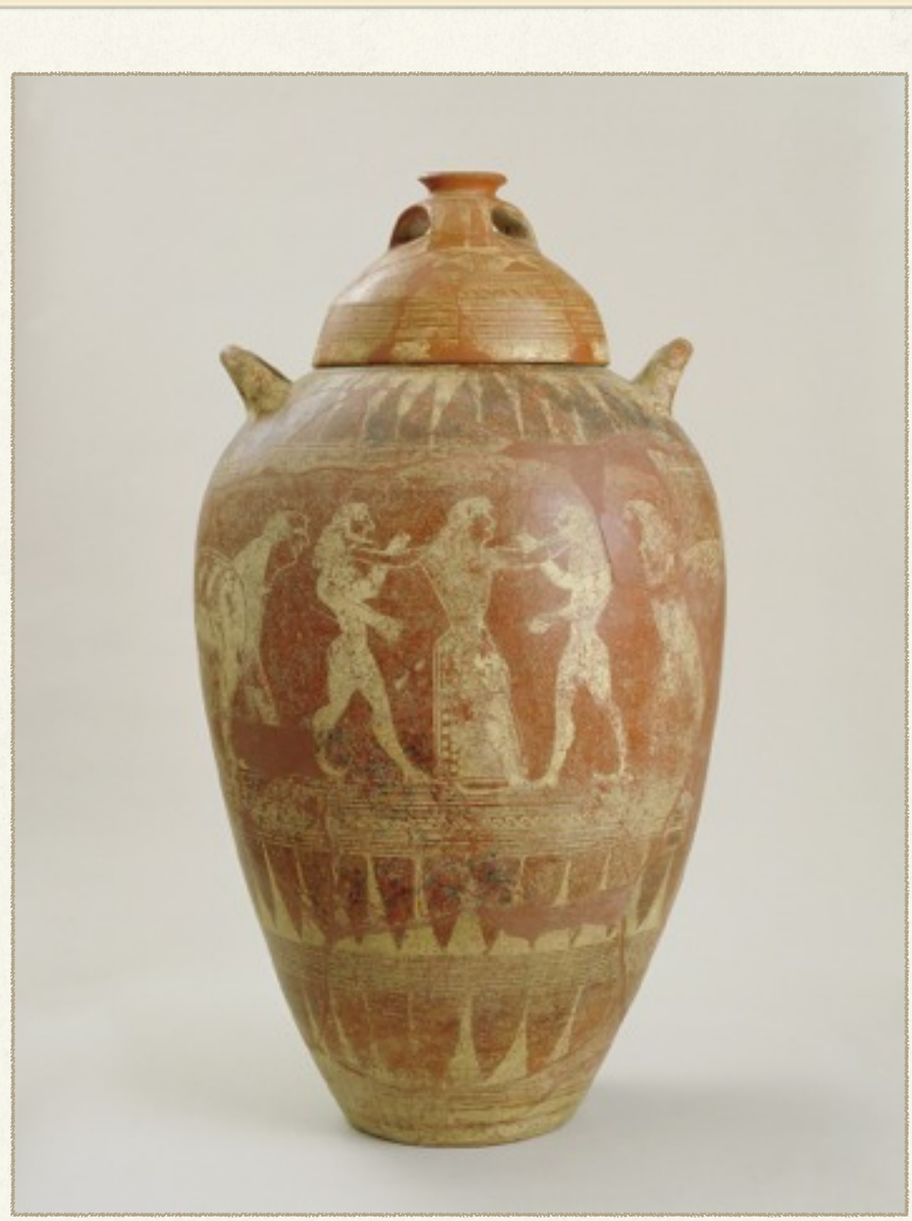
This figure and his pendant in the Ashmolean Museum with one hand over the mouth and the other covering the forepart of the body, a dual symbolism to conceal the organs of speech and sex, are in conformity with the most ancient Italic traditions.
The whole group is an illustration of the the old Italic festival of the Luperci.

Published:
Gerhard, E., Etruskische Spiegel (Berlin, 1843) pl. 18, fig. 5; Padre Garrucci, Raffaele, “Remarks on a Bronze Object found at Lucera, and on the Worship of Pan Lycaeus, or Faunus Lupercus”. Text of a conference, 15 November 1866, communicated and translated by W.M. Wylie in: Archaeologia, 41 (1867) 275-282, ill.; Petersen, E., “Dreifuss von Lucera”, RM 12 (1897) 1-26.
Mentioned:
Hanfmann, G.M.A., Altetruskische Plastik I (Tübingen, 1936) 115; Söldner, M., “Ein italischer Dreifusswagen in Olympia”, OB IX (1994) 215, n. 13.

1) Padre Garrucci, R., Bronze Object found at Lucera ...
2) Bulletin de l'Institut de Correspondance Archéologique (Rome 1830) 15; the account of the discovery given by Cavaliere Bonghi, quoted by Gerhard.
3) Gerhard, E., Etruskische Spiegel, pl. 18, fig. 5.
) Brown, A.C., Ancient Italy before the Romans (Oxford, 1980) 29, pl. 9.
) Gerhard, E., op. cit., pl. 18, fig. 12; later in the collection of Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, New York and presently in the author's collection.
6) Bianchi Bandinelli, R. and Giuliano, A., Les Etrusques et l'Italie avant Rome (Univers des Formes. Paris, 1973) 44, fig. 46.
7) NSc. 1928, 440 ff., pl. 8.
8) Langdon, S., AJA 94 (1990) 422 ff.

186. PITHOS WITH LID

Terracotta
H: 90 cm (without lid: 76 cm). Max. Diam: 51.3 cm
Etruria
Caeretan
Second half of the 7th century B.C.



Made of typical reddish Caeretan clay. Body wheel-turned with double lug handles hand-fashioned and joined; the lid and its handle (1) also wheel-turned.
Condition: reassembled from several large pieces. Missing body and hind legs of the left sphinx, the right hind leg of the panther, most of its face and jaw, the left front paw of the right sphinx.
The lid restored from many pieces surely belongs (2) as the painted decoration reflects that of the vessel, though the terracotta is of slightly different colour.
The painted decoration in white slip is somewhat weathered and damaged.

The central band of figures is approximately 26 cm in height. The decoration below it is formed by concentric lines of white on red with a central row of gadroons; below which a large band (c. 10 cm) with white rays separated by concentric lines white on red from a second band of white rays; the lowest section white concentric lines on red.
Above the scene is a section of white concentric lines on red divided by a central row of gadroons, above which a band of white rays pointing downwards separated from the mouth by several wide concentric bands of white on red.
On one side of the pithos the main scene represents Helen or maybe a goddess greeting or separating two male figures approaching her, either her brothers, the Dioskouroi, or Theseus and Perithous. Two large winged sphinxes with long curled tails frame the group. The lesser scene on the other side is made up of a

huge panther, just about to bite, unless already doing so, into the back of what seems to be an indetermined quadruped.
For comparison we have what appears to be a pair of twin pithoi with lids, almost identical in shape, without figurative scenes but with similar motifs, from the "Tomba dei doli" at Cerveteri (3) and a large somewhat restored Caeretan pithos with a figurative central band in the Hermitage Museum (4).
It is to be observed that if one places the lid upside down, its handle becomes a beautifully architectured foot for the slightly conical round bowl. We do not believe that this is accidental and may imagine that the Etruscans, with their practical approach, here adapted successfully the utilitarian to the beautiful. Thus the lid could have served to hold a measure of the pithos's contents.

1) How the handle was made is problematic. It was either wheel-turned in two parts and then joined, wheel-turned in one piece, the rough parts underneath the arches clay added for reinforcement, but whether one or the other, the three arched sections were cut out; unless only the top part was wheel-turned and the arches built up by hand.
2) Though it is possible that there was a pair to this pithos, in which case it is not to be excluded that the lid belonged to it, e.g., the pithoi from the "Tomba dei doli" (see infra and footnote 3).
3) Boëthius, A., Etruscan Culture. Land and People (Malmö, 1962) 67, fig. 76.
4) St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum: Cristofani, M. and Gras, M., Gli Etruschi. Una nuova immagine (Florence, 1984) 72, ill.

187. DECORATIVE RELIEF

Gold
Weight: 80.5 g. L: 52.2 cm. H: 7.7-7.9 cm
Allegedly from Western Central Etruria
Etruscan
630-600 B.C.

The band made of gold sheet hammered, repoussé, punched and chiselled. The outlines of the decoration lightly traced on the surface and the plaque worked back to front and front to back repeating the operation as often as required; details such as the triple spiral border incised. Originally backed by a sheet of hammered bronze of which fragments are still in place under the folded back edges of the gold; these cut off on the reverse of the relief at the holes that were closely punched in from the front between the spiral border and the edges. The surface carefully polished.
Condition: broken in four sections and restored (1), the parts joined to each other using small rectangular patches of gold, and three of the five very small fragments missing from the border and edges mended with plain gold sheet, after straightening out small parts slightly bent and reshaping a few little bits that were somewhat crushed.

A prestigious adornment of power, wealth and position, the low relief decoration exemplifies the eclecticism of the Etruscan spirit. The frieze is a product of their unbridled imagination, a juxtaposition of elements to embellish probably with no intention of conveying any specific message.
In the centre of the relief a double-headed Potnia Theron (2) holding a bird in each hand; on either side three groups composed of humans, real and mythical animals, lesser creatures of the animal world and plant life. The animals holding different elements in their mouths step lightly towards her.

The main decoration from the viewer's left to right is as follows: a lion-headed chimaera with a human leg dangling out of its six sharp- toothed jaw, preceded by a griffin-lion with a palm leaf hanging out of its mouth, behind a warrior in full armour about to mount a horse-drawn biga driven by a charioteer with whip in right hand. On the other side of the Potnia Theron a biga with charioteer, also with whip, is drawn by two lions, followed by a sphinx-headed lion holding in her right and only hand - a human one - a bird, a snake dangling from its beak. The bird is the same as those held by the goddess. To the far right a griffin-headed chimaera with lion body and two wings, one behind its head, the other coming down in front of its chest. From the chimaera's mouth hangs a wiggling snake.

Secondary elements are, on the ground, a bird and a running hound; on the right side of the plaque a feline or hound with a human leg hanging from its jaw; and on the upper right hand corner a smaller feline or hound.

Plant life is represented by single and double palm leaves, lotuses and half lotuses with a hanging leaf; from the top border six triangles point downwards.

The whole relief is framed by an intertwined triple knobbed band that spirals around knobbed cones.

Most of the contours are incised and the outlines of many of the animals and figures are composed of a raised ridge with embossed knobs between two parallel lines. Elements of dress, of the chariot, the breasts of the birds, the necks and busts of the Potnia Theron are composed of small scale-shaped, lozenge or rectangular elements with central knob or ridge, their outlines incised.

The overall decorative effect is achieved using differently formed incisions and raised shapes. Several interesting details reveal the goldsmith's attempt at perspective: the three spearheads on the end of two spear shafts held by the fully armed warrior intimate a third shaft behind; his chariot, with its wheel frame and five spokes identical to the other chariot's, has here a smaller inner circle intimating the other wheel.

We know of no pertinent comparisons in gold but for the type of hammered metal band worked in a similar fashion and probably attached to furniture or to a xoanon (a figure usually in wood) a group of bronze strips in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek bear some relation (3). For the technique there is similarity with the workmanship of two gold bracelets in Florence (4). Various aspects of its style can be found among different surviving works of art such as the baroque universe of mythical animals as represented on the Tomba Campana in Veii (5); there is a similarity to the mythical animals on a silver situla from the Tomba Regolini-Galassi at Cerveteri (6); and in a simplified form mythological beasts appear on Faliscan pottery and engraved Bucchero vessels, e.g. the chimaera on the left end of the relief can be found in a far less sophisticated version on a Bucchero kyathos (7) in Rome.

We would like to thank Flemming Johansen for a lengthy preliminary listing of the decoration of the plaque and for communicating his date c. 600-590 B.C.

1) By Klaus Sommer. The adhesive used was cyanoacrylate. He also supplied a list of stylistic comparisons.

2) A representation that originated in the Near East and that harks back to pre-Hellenic times, associated with Pallas Athena and more especially Artemis. She is related to Cretan imagery with trees and serpents and to the Mycenaean Lady of Beasts and Palaces (a continuation of the Cretan protectress of the household). Here, being winged, a Near Eastern characteristic, and dressed in a long Ionian chiton, indicates that she is probably an Artemis. The birds and her association with the plant world illustrated here by flowers and palm leaves reinforce this identification.

3) Johansen, F., Reliefs en bronze d'Etrurie (Copenhagen, 1971). This publication covers very fully the subject with respect to iconography, ornaments, style, chronology and technique.

4) Archaeological Museum 74837, from Vetulonia: Formigli, E., Tecniche dell'Oreficeria Etrusca e Romana (Florence, 1985) 22 ff., pl. 1.II.

5) Steingräber, S., Etruskische Wandmalerei (Stuttgart, 1985) 197, 382, no. 176, ill.

6) Pareti, L., La Tomba Regolini-Galassi (Vatican City, 1947) 217 ff., pl. 15.

7) Private collection: Bonamici, M., I Buccheri Graffitte (Florence, 1974) 76-78, pl. 55a.

188. CRATER

Terracotta
H: 41.3-43.7 cm. Diam: 57.7-58.6 cm (of mouth with rim)
Etruria
Caeretan
c. 600 B.C.

Clay body and hollow foot built up separately on the wheel and joined; two handles with deep central groove and two knobs hand-fashioned and attached; painted decoration then added.
Condition: lid and one knob missing, a crack to the foot. The reddish Caeretan terracotta has turned a darker and deeper hue; the painted decoration in white is much weathered and oxidized.

A scene illustrating two animals facing each other separated by the knob on each side between the handles. On one, two elaborately bridled horses lightly stepping, their muzzles over a cauldron (just above the knob) mounted on a tripod, the end of the halter coiled between their front paws. Rising from the ground beneath their bellies a plant appears to grow out of a lotus though it was probably thought of as behind it. The flowers above their backs may represent a palm tree and there is a stylized rosette between their hind legs, one with thirteen and the other with fourteen petals. One of the horses has a double spiral on its haunch.
Below and above each handle and passing through its loop, a luxuriant stylized plant, probably a palm tree, which may symbolize the Tree of Life.
On the other side, two striding lions separated by a bull protome on a powerful neck (as though rising out of the base of the knob, now missing), a garland-like decorative element above their backs and

their long tails curling down to the ground between their hind paws. A large rosette with seventeen petals beneath the belly of one of the lions.
Three white lines run around the crater above and below framing the decorative scenes. Triangular hatching designs on the handles, the groove with traces of white.
The crater belongs to a particular Caeretan Orientalizing production of which there are four other examples from Caere, in the Louvre Museum, D 148-151 (1).
The painted scenes vary (2) though most have some plants; the horse is often represented; the decorative patterns differ slightly: composed of rectangles, hatchings, triangular motifs and such.
It is uncertain whether these craters were cinerary in purpose or employed for storing grain. They may have fulfilled one or several functions.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 132, ill.

1) Pottier, E.: Vases antiques du Louvre I, Salles A-E (Paris, 1897) 39, D 148, 149, Inv. Campana 6, 3196; 40, D 150, 151, Inv. MNB 1780, 1781, these last brought to the Museum by F. Lenormant in 1879.
They have the same profiled mouth, D 149 and 150 have identical feet, and D 149 and 151 have identical grooved handles. Slight variations, in the same fashion that D 148 has three and D 151 four feet, that the handles of D 148 and 150 are flat, and the lids slightly different: a button on top of four grooved arched strips for D 149 and a plain button for D 150; maybe one of these lids does not belong. We feel that the more elaborate lid is more in harmony with the four-footed vessels and that the simple knobbed lid is appropriate to the type of the present crater.
2) D 148 has on one side a horse, a sphinx or griffin and birds, on the other a similar horse and birds. D 149 has on one side two roaring lions facing each other as on our example, on the other side a lion and a bull. D 150 has a different type of representation, on one side two warships with three fishes, on the other a lion and a chariot with two horses. On D 151, on one side a draped Zeus seated on a folding stool faces a bearded figure holding a cock and Hermes with his caduceus (dixit Pottier) looks back in astonishment, on the other side a bearded man sticks his spear into the Calydonian boar, behind him two other armed hunters, and a dog on top of the boar's rump which he bites.

189. FEMALE WORSHIPPER (Priestess?)

Bronze
H: 7.5 cm
Provenance: no indication
Chiusine
Post-Dedalic. c. 580-560 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, burnished and certain anatomical details as well as hatching on the braids, etc. done in the cold.
Condition: patina bluish-green with reddish cuprite patches over a dark greyish metal surface.
The four long fingers of the right hand missing.

The figure stands on short, stubby feet, arms outstretched with hands extended, the left palm open. She wears a long, sleeveless dress, probably a peplos, belted high beneath the short overfold. Her head, on top of an inexistent neck, is trapezoidal and projects forward; a short fringe over her forehead is surmounted by a small, smooth cap. Her long hair hangs down in braids, two on either side of the face and five down her back. Both her dress and hairstyle show Greek influence (1).
She is almost certainly a votive.
We have an almost identical comparison from the same workshop, possibly even by the same hand, though slightly less fine, in Perugia (2).
From memory, it seems to us that it might be of interest to compare with the head (face and profile) of an Etruscan bronze centaur in Berlin (3).

Exhibited and Published:
Italy of the Etruscans, 122-123, cat. no. 131, ill.

190. SEATED LION

Bronze
H: 9.8 cm (with tang: 10.6 cm). L: 9 cm
Provenance: no indication
Etruscan (Perugia?)
Second half of the 6th century B.C. (1)

Ex collection:
Vladimir G. Simkhovitch

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, chiselled in the cold and burnished.
Condition: original smooth surface covered with a grainy patina of varying shades of green with spots of reddish cuprite, smudges of malachite green, the whole covered with a cellulose lacquer.
Slight cavity in the tip of the tongue and tail missing.
To enable mounting, the front paws filed down on the underside, a modern peg inserted from above as a rivet and a peg affixed under the back paws - the Etruscans would have used a lead or tin solder.

This lion has a pendant (2), likewise formerly in the Simkhovitch collection; they both remind us of the famous marble lions on Delos to which they are very close in spirit, both in manner and stance.
The Greek influence is obviously visible and probably harks back to a Cycladic type.
By general feel and in particular, on account of the shape and outline of the eye, we see a rapport with the oinochoe handle (3) from Perugia and with another lion of unknown provenance but from the same ambiance, both now in Munich.
Rather than attached to a crater, we feel that they are more likely to have been affixed to a four-wheeled brazier and have been four in

number, unless coupled with a different pair - which would be somewhat unusual.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1967-1968

Exhibited and Published:
Gods and Mortals, 101, cat. no. 82A, ill.
Published:
Gabelmann, H., Studien zum frühgriechischen Löwenbild (Berlin, 1965), 77-78, 118, no. 93 b.

1) G. Kokkorou-Alewras' article “Die Entstehungszeit der naxischen Delos-Löwen und anderer Tierskulpturen der Archaik”, AntK 36 (1993) 91-101, has prompted this new dating.
) New York, Metropolitan Museum 1972.118.58: von Bothmer, D., Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities (New York, 1950) 7, no. 11, ex collection and bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971.
3) Antikensammlung 9: Llewellyn Brown, W., The Etruscan Lion (Oxford, 1960) 109, pl. 42a 1 -3.
4) Antikensammlung 3536: Llewellyn Brown, W., op. cit., 110-114, pl. 43a 1-2.
5) Rudolf, W., Of Gods and Mortals, 101.

191. HORSE AND RIDER

Nenfro (tuff)
H: 69.2 cm. L: 111.3 cm
Etruria
Vulcian
Towards the middle of the 6th century B.C.

Sculpted in a somewhat blocked-out fashion from nenfro (1).
Condition: missing is the entire front of the horse's head, both front legs and a section of his lower chest on the right, most of his back legs and almost all of the tail.
The horseman's head and face are unfortunately sadly disfigured, his lower right leg and foot damaged.
The whole surface is much weathered, pitted and abraded in part owing to the nature of the volcanic stone which is somewhat crumbly and incapable of receiving a fine finish (2).

The horseman belongs to a group of funerary sculptures made to be placed at the entrance to tombs. Most of the surviving examples are lions, winged lions, sphinxes, etc. Less usual are a figure riding a sea monster and a centaur in Rome (3) and a helmeted horseman on a short mount in Copenhagen (4).
Sculpturally, he bears a certain affinity with the above-mentioned centaur, as to the general volume of the horse's body, rump and thighs and a particular, the fronts of the upper hind legs that are rather flattish. His sex, only visible from the right, is indicated by a single round shape whence protrudes a tubular penis with tip missing. However, the present horse differs both from the Copenhagen mount and the Villa Giulia centaur by his abnormally elongated body. Notwithstanding this difference, we think that in all

likelihood they come from the same Vulcian workshop.
The horse's mane, still visible on the right, was possibly braided on top.
Observe how the horseman, naked, his hair falling down his nape and shoulders, is added to his mount as though placed on top and not forming one with the animal. His forearms rest on his thighs and his hands on his knees hold a thick halter looped around the horse's neck (5). Odd is the manner in which his buttocks hang like bags on either side of the horse's flank.
By reference to the dates usually ascribed to various sculptures from Vulci, such as the head of a sphinx in Berlin (6), the centaur and the man on a sea monster in the Villa Giulia (7), we place the horse and rider towards the middle of the 6th century B.C. An added indication for the date is an absence of sophistication and the manner in which the horseman is put on - but is not at one with - his mount.
There is also the sculptural peculiarity of the buttocks - clinging to the horse's back - as the sculptor has not yet mastered either perspective or how to realistically portray a seated rider on his mount.

1) Nenfro is the local stone of Vulci, a friable grey tuff. Tuff, from the latin tofus or tufus, is a porous stone - a by-product of lava formed from volcanic ashes.
2) Brown, W.L., The Etruscan Lion (Oxford, 1960) 62.
3) Villa Giulia: Vighi, R. and Minissi, F., Il nuovo Museo di Villa Giulia (Rome, 1955), pl. 1 (man on sea monster); Ducati, P., Storia dell'Arte Etrusca II (Florence, 1927) pl. 62 fig. 193; pl. 63 fig. 195 (centaur); Hus. A., Recherches sur la statuaire en pierre étrusque archaïque, B.E.F.A.R. 198 (Paris, 1961), dates the centaur 600-590 B.C. (p. 172) and the sea monster around 540-530 B.C. (p. 178 ff.).
4) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
5) See for other examples the two drawings: Hus, A., op. cit., nos. VI, VII, pl. VIII, nenfro sculptures found 1828-29 in the excavations of the Prince of Canino at Vulci, presently lost and tentatively dated by Hus in the second half of the 6th century B.C.
6) Hanfmann, G.M.A., Etruskische Plastik (Stuttgart, 1956), pl. 6a.
7) See footnote 3.

192. AKONTISTES

Bronze
H: 6.5 cm
Provenance: no indication (probably Italy)
Etruscan-South Italy?
Towards the middle of the 6th century B.C.

Ex collection:
Sir Guy Laking
Capt. E.G. Spencer-Churchill

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and worked in the cold.
Condition: patina dark green with red oxides; abraded in parts to a medal colour bronze and with yellowish brown earth deposits. Both feet and the spears missing, small section of the shafts of four under his left arm.

The attribution of this statuette poses an enigma.
Firstly, as to the representation itself.
The naked figure wearing a Corinthian type helmet (nick (1) on the right border, though not figured on the left, is an indication that helps ascribe the helmet to the second development phase, a type found from Populonia to Taranto).
In his raised right hand he once held a spear and under his left arm were wedged four spears or javelins.
John Boardman reminds me that an akontistes (2) is an unarmed spear-thrower and therefore ought not to be wearing a helmet; on the other hand, he adds, if he is a hoplite, he ought to be holding a shield (3) and might be expected to wear more armour.
It may be that in Etruria and South Italy we meet with a certain poetic license in the representation of Greek subjects or prototypes,

in the way that Greek myths were sometimes misinterpreted.
We know of two figures that are definitely from the same workshop: one in the Vatican (4), slightly shorter but stockier, though uncannily similar to our figure in every other aspect.

The other in Buffalo (5), c. 11 cm high, complete with a magnificent swan-crest on the helmet (6). Removing the crest and the feet, the figure is, again, uncannily similar to ours, even as to size. Unfortunately, the provenance of the Buffalo akontistes is uncertain; acquired on the New York market with Etruria as the indicated provenance.

But our akontistes might owe his unusual helmeted nakedness to a Greek background. Although the provenance of two of the figures is Italy (which in all likelihood is that of ours also), their helmets are Corinthian and the outline technique of their figures is reminiscent of the Laconian lead cut-outs from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (7).

Thus, these statuettes, probably the product of an Etruscan workshop, would represent naked hoplites, the explanation of their lack of armour being the problem. Snodgrass (8) tells us that the bronze panoply of a hoplite is not adopted universally, e.g. bronze figurines with Corinthian helmets may have no body armour; he further indicates that in Etruscan art they are depicted sometimes in slightly idiosyncratic form and in representations that are unorthodox as to their weapons or somewhat deficient in their armour. We have called our figure an akontistes, a javelin-thrower; but it is to be noted that the light-armed soldiers of Greece wore no body armour either.

The centre that made them might be in the area of Campania, bearing in mind the Etruscan presence there.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1967-1968

Exhibited and Published:
Hommes et Dieux, 214, cat. no. 133, ill.
Published:
Antiquities from the Northwick Park Collection, Christie's, London, 21-23 June 1965, no. 450, ill.

1) A characteristic of Corinthian helmets that appears in the early phase and becomes particularly pronounced in the second development period (Pflug, H., Antike Helme. Sammlung Lipperheide und andere Bestände des Antikenmuseums Berlin [Mainz, 1988] 76 ff.).
2) Is an akontistes a light-armed hoplite? As such would he only have one spear, a jabbing spear. If an akontistes is not a light-armed hoplite, then is he a javelin-thrower and thus may carry a bunch of javelins under his left arm. Under the left arm of the Buffalo figure there is a round hole and in all likelihood a similar hole was prepared in this and the Vatican example, now filled with the remains of a bunch of spears, javelins or stakes, probably four here, two or more in the case of the Vatican piece, and surely several under the arm of the Buffalo example.
3) There would appear to be no trace of where a shield would have been fixed on the left arm and the left clenched fist certainly never held anything. The same remarks apply to the Vatican (footnote 4) and Buffalo (footnote 5) examples which, as far as we can see from the photographs, have no traces of a shield on the left arm.
4) Museo Etrusco Gregoriano 12055: Richardson, E., Etruscan Votive Bronzes. Geometric, Orientalizing, Archaic (Mainz, 1983) 179, no. 6: "... must represent an akontistes". Published in Micali, G., L'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani (Florence, 1821), where almost all the items come from Etruria.
5) Society of Natural Sciences 42143/Br 215.
6) The helmets of our figure and of the Vatican example were never surmounted by crests.
7) Dawkins, R.M., The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (London, 1929) pl. 183.
8) Snodgrass, A.M., Arms and Armour of the Greeks (London, 1967) 57, 75, 78.

193. KOUROS (thymiaterion support)

Bronze
H: 17.9 cm
Allegedly from Vulci
School of Vulci
c. 500 B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process with a certain amount of careful chasing in the cold - still visible on the head - before burnishing.
Condition: the volumes save for the head, back, right shoulder and upper arm, buttocks and left leg deformed by radical changes in the original bronze due to bloating and splitting with deep fissures and some of the surface shaly on account of virulent chemical and physiological change induced by water and electro-chemical elements in its burial context - the whole presently stabilized.
Patina: the surface disfigured and granular, a pale blue-bright green and azurite appearing as though sprinkled with a reddish, rust-coloured to beige earth. A purplish-red in a few spots where chipped and split.

Imbued with Ionian sensuality, the figure glorifies in his youthful assuredness. A vestige of what was once a masterpiece of Late Archaic Vulcian sculpture representing in the full bloom of youth a kouros, his left foot slightly forward; the central element of the shaft of an incense-burner (1).
Incense-burners (2) usually consisted of a statuette standing on an intermediary element (sometimes absent) which rested on a three-footed support (3).
Above the figure's head rises the shaft which was generally decorated with a variety of circular mouldings, sometimes embellished with inverted bowls in openwork or adorned with

vegetable motifs. On top an open stylized lotus flower (4) to which would have been affixed a small bowl.
Here, it seems that the stem of the lotus flower rose up directly out of the moulded element above his head creating a compact whole.
A product of the School of Vulci and of a type much in favour - typically Vulcian are his very broad shoulders and the way his hair is folded up behind in a sort of bun held in place by a hairband (5).

1) The statuette's possible function as a lamp support should not be totally excluded, though highly unlikely.
2) What follows describes the general type, though there are variants - tall examples - with as many as one to three figures forming part of the shaft above the statuette (Giglioli, G.Q., Arte Etrusca [Milan, 1935] pl. 217, nos. 3, Berlin, Antiquarium, 5, Munich, Antikenmuseum).
3)There are exceptions such as a chariot-stand for a thymiaterion, Louvre, De Ridder 3143.
4) Sometimes absent, as for instance on the thymiaterion in the Louvre, see preceding footnote, and Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Giglioli, op. cit., pl. 212, no. 2) - both with barely any shaft.
5) For this detail, see Louvre, De Ridder 3145 and this catalogue no. 195.

194. LEBES

Bronze
H: 27.16 cm (includes lid with reclining satyr). Diam: 35 cm.
Thickness lid: 1+ mm; body: 1+ mm. Satyr: H: 4. 16 cm. L: 7.17 cm
Allegedly from Santa Maria (Capua Vetere)
Etrusco-Campanian from Capua
c. 500 B.C.

The body and lid of hammered bronze sheet; the satyr solid-cast by the lost wax process, stamped, cut, filed and rasped in the cold.
Condition: patina of urn and lid a dark green to light green with earth deposits around the whole lower section, earth incrustations with traces of cloth, spots of green atacamite (1). Downward running stains on the body of the vessel probably the result of condensed moisture in the tomb; a very small section of the vessel worn through at the bottom.
Slight traces of soldering on the lid and under the elbow and feet of the satyr.
Patina of satyr green with specks of emerald green and with dark metal showing through in places. Smooth red cuprite patch behind right elbow and on left buttock, and on tip of nose yellow metal showing through. Under the left armpit traces of fibres.

Capua was renowned for its cinerary urns (2), the majority elaborately engraved and surmounted with various types of figures: Scythian archers on horseback, a ram-bearer, the blower of a great horn and other representations (3).
The simplicity of this urn, so appealing to the modern eye, should not mislead us with regard to its position within the output of the period. Its purity derives from its basic craftsmanship for it was not a sophisticated product.

The reclining (4) figure holding his head, of spirited and cursory workmanship, is as though roughly hacked out. The artisan has - from pride in his skill and possibly to compensate for the intentional frugal appearance of urn and figure - hammered the vessel to a most perfect shape.
Notwithstanding this - the alleged find-spot, the genre of this vessel and the execution of some slight details perceptible in the reclining statuette relate it to certain sophisticated creations from Capua.
For example, a few minor details on the imposing lebes in Berlin (5), however inconsequential, such as the hooves of the horses and the lower parts of their hind legs, the way the horn-blower's horn and arms are made, the way his fingers and feet are chisel-struck in the cold, recall the chisel cuttings on our figure, betraying a similar basic approach.
The writer sees him also as having an affinity with certain Chiusine statuettes and Chiusi particularly, among Etruscan centres, influenced Capua.
The purpose of our vessel was to receive the ashes of the deceased. The Etruscan practice was to expose the body of the recently departed in order that his family and relatives might take leave of him. The lying in state could not last for obvious reasons and was followed by the funerary banquet and cremation on a pyre.
Such vessels as ours wrapped in cloth and fitted in specially hollowed-out tufa blocks, which explains the absence of a foot for our urn, have been found in cemeteries near Capua and Suessula in Campania. Some of the more sophisticated examples did have feet or were placed on bronze/iron tripods.
We do not know whether the reclining figure on the lid of the vessel bears a relation to the funerary banquet or whether his hand to his head recalls the deceased and his regret or sorrow at leaving this world.
However the writer, a product of this day and age, likes to see in this ensemble a representation of man in his relation to the cosmos - wherein he is everything and nothing - and wonders whether subconsciously the Etruscan artist did not feel the same.

1) Possibly copper carbonate (malachite), analysis would determine.
2) Richter, G.M.A., "A Bronze Cinerary Urn (Acquisitions of the Metropolitan Museum)", AJA 45 (1940) 431 ff; Adam, A.-M., "Bronzes campaniens du Ve siècle avant J.-C. au Cabinet des Médailles", MEFRA 92 (1980-82) 641-679.
3) E.g., Berlin, Antikenmusem. Misc 6216, Misc 7872: Heilmeyer, W.-D., Antikenmuseum Berlin (Berlin, 1988) 213, nos. 6, 7; an elaborate example is an urn in the British Museum GR 1873.8-20.262 with a standing draped woman on the lid and four sirens on the edge (Haynes, S., Etruscan Bronzes [London, 1985] 161, 268-269, no. 63); and others.
4) For a figure in the same position see Gabrici, E., MonAnt 22 (1913) 555, fig. 203 (as from E. Stevens's excavation around the 1880s), reprint Mainz 1979. E. Gabrici mentions that vessels such as the present one were destined for the ashes of the deceased. Though very similar, the Stevens statuette is dressed in a short chiton, while the hand rests on the right knee and a row of short curls adorns the forehead. It is possibly from the same workshop as far as can be assessed from the reproduction in the reprint, which is barely legible.
5) Formigli, E., Heilmeyer, W.-D., "Capuaner Aschenurne in Berlin", AA 99 (1984) 395 ff.

195. SHEPHERD LEANING ON HIS CROOK

Bronze
H: 8.3 cm
Provenance: no indication
School of Vulci
Towards the middle of the 5th century B.C.

Ex collection:
Giorgio Sangiorgi, Rome
Vladimir G. Simkhovitch

Solid-cast by the lost wax process with considerable chasing in the cold prior to burnishing.
Condition: smooth dark green patina with traces of brown earth deposit; a nick to the tip of his nose, the lower part of the staff and the rim of his circular base, revealing a reddish metal.

This youth was the prime decorative element, the finial that adorned the top of a candelabrum.
The candelabrum would have been composed of a tripod surmounted by a long vertical shaft to which, near its upper extremity, was affixed a branch-like element with four spikes (1) crowned by our statuette.
It has been suggested that this figure could represent Paris or Herakles (2), since the Etruscans were much influenced by the Greeks and were wont to represent figures of Greek mythology, though often misinterpreted or misunderstood.
Nevertheless we feel that he is simply a shepherd boy leaning on his crook which has taken the curious shape of a crutch.

We have ascribed our bronze to Vulci though no traces of a workshop have ever been found there (3), but then again, traces of bronzeworks are rarely discovered. The archaeological site of Vulci is huge, both badly and incompletely excavated in the old days with considerable areas remaining to be dug.
A great quantity of very fine bronzes, adorning utensils of all sorts, have been ascribed to Vulci and reveal certain common traits.
Our statuette is unique and though defying precise comparison, conforms in being a candelabrum finial and illustrates certain characteristics that are found on several bronzes ascribed by the best scholars to Vulci (4).
Here, these are:
the volutes of his crook, the large number of the folds of his chlamys with their fluid lines, his wavy hair tucked up in a bun flowing back in strands indicated by deep incised parallel lines -
also his very broad shoulders, his crossed legs with the bulging calves and the emphasis on muscles visible on the dorsals, the plasticity of his cheekbones - these last all recall a slightly earlier Vulcian bronze which is also a candelabrum finial (5).
There is not much evidence of Greek influence on our shepherd with the exception of his hair-style, which is obviously inspired by those illustrated on imported Greek pots, and what we perceive as a somewhat Ionian feeling.
However, he further fits in with characteristics (6) commonly ascribed to Vulcian output - a sense of ornate decoration, a harmony that enchants the eye and keeps it glued on the statuette which, in our case though fairly flat, is three-dimensional and fully satisfying in the round.
Whether the output to which he belongs is strictly Vulcian, as we think, or is part of a broader Central Etruscan style encompassing Tarquinia and Orvieto, is still debatable; but in any case, Vulci would seem to us to be the appropriate heading for such a regional production.
For a related piece or two, we may cite:
a youth in a very similar position though his head faces forward, in Boston (7), described as Greek provincial and which though strongly influenced by Greek art is, we feel, definitely Etruscan - made in Campania, Etruria or possibly in the ambience of our bronze. His function as a candelabrum finial is more in keeping with Etruscan custom and above all his broad shoulders are most un-Greek;
from a similar workshop to our statue comes another candelabrum finial, a statuette of Turms (Hermes) in the Louvre (8) from Vulci.
In any case, he exudes a purely Etruscan ethos with his perky and delightfully humorous face, as relaxedly he watches over his flock on the enchanting Tuscan countryside.

Exhibited and Published:
Master Bronzes, 173, cat. no. 174, ill.; Gods and Mortals, 104, cat. no. 86, ill., col. pl. on cover.

1) Each spike jutting out radially at right angle from the next, composed of a three-pronged element of which the central point is longer to enable the candle to be affixed on its end. For an illustration of this, we have a wall-painting: Golini tomb II in Orvieto (del Chiaro, M., Re-exhumed Etruscan bronzes [Santa Barbara, 1981] 23, fig. B).
2) Ramage, A., Master Bronzes, 173, no. 174.
3) Ferraguti, U., “I bronzi di Vulci”, StEtr. 11 (1937).
4) Neugebauer, K.-A., “Archaische Vulcenter Bronzen”, JdI 58 (1943); Hus, A., Vulci étrusque et étrusco-romaine (Paris, 1971) 84-85.
5) Adam, A.-M., Bronzes étrusques et italiques. Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1984) 52-53, no. 52.
6) Hus, A., loc. cit.
7) Museum of Fine Arts, Perkins Collection 96.709: Comstock, M. and Vermeule, C., Greek, Etruscan & Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston, 1971) 49, no. 50.
8) MN 347 inv. 181: De Ridder, A., Les bronzes antiques du Louvre (Paris, 1913) 45, no. 269, pl. 24.

196. WARRIOR

Bronze
H: 24.8 cm (with tangs: 26.5 cm)
Provenance: no indication
Umbrian
5th century B.C.

Ex collection:
Richard von Kaufmann, Berlin (c. 1900) (1)

Solid-cast by the lost wax process and then cold-worked: filed, chiselled, punched, engraved and burnished.
Condition: patina a green-black underneath, the overall appearance a reddish-brown to brownish-brown and light greenish-brown with light green in places; the bronze in part with green incrustation and with traces of blue on the bust.
The upraised right arm slightly bent, the left arm missing from slightly above the elbow, the right leg broken below the knee and reattached. Tip of tangs broken and missing, also missing his spear and shield.

A votive, he is represented striding and in full armour - his upraised right hand once held a spear and a shield covered his left forearm. On his head a helmet, cheekpieces upturned, surmounted by an ornate horsehair crest. He is clad in a leather cuirass with front shoulder flaps and a belt, a short skirt of lappets over a pleated tunic, his legs protected by greaves. His armour and dress are richly decorated with the most elaborate designs.
The type is clearly influenced by the Etruscans whose representations are in turn marked by Greek hoplites as represented on early 5th century pottery.
This warrior probably belongs to Colonna's "Todi" group (2). We see a very close comparison with two statuettes from it: the one in

Rhode Island (3) of almost identical size, ascribed by Colonna to his Master A (4), and the example in the Bibliothèque Nationale (5), only three-quarters of the size of ours, attributed by him to his Master C. Colonna says of the latter that it is very close to his "Todi" examples, differs by its more classical face (6), ascribes it to his Master C, but still belongs to the "Todi" sphere.

It should be noted that both our warrior, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Rhode Island examples have short necks whereas some of Colonna's "Todi" group, Masters A, B and C have long or longer necks. Also some of his Masters A and B have drooping upper eyelids whereas neither the present example, nor the Rhode Island, nor the Bibliothèque Nationale ones do.

The role of the master in relation to the workshop has not really been considered. Was there one master-artist to a workshop with different hands, or could, though less likely, more than one master share the same workshop?

Within our present state of knowledge, certain of the striking details mentioned above surely reveal either different workshops or hands; but then again, to what extent is the time factor responsible for such changes?

Since the elaborate engraved designs are a general feature found on almost all related examples to a greater or lesser extent but varying in the quality of execution (7), their slight differences probably do not denote a different master or workshop. But taken in conjunction with striking details they may eventually help us to attribute with greater precision.

We are inclined to think that the three parallel examples under discussion here are from the same workshop (8).

This warrior is surely from a workshop in the vicinity of Central Etruria and is unquestionably Umbrian from a region that includes the towns of Perugia, Todi, Calvi and extends as far east as Ancarano.

To date more precisely than the 5th century is difficult, though we feel he has a good chance of being towards the middle of the century.

Exhibited and Published:
Italy of the Etruscans, 129, cat. no. 139, col. ill.; Picasso und die Mythen, 142, 239, cat. no. 57, ill.

1) Not included in the auction catalogues vols. I-III, Berlin 1917 (Paul Cassirer), as kept in the family.
2) Colonna, G., Bronzi votivi umbro-sabellici a figura umana. I - Periodo "Arcaico" (Florence, 1970) 76 ff.
3) Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art, Mary B. Jackson Fund 34.011: Mitten, D.G., Museum of Art Rhode Island School of Design. Classical Bronzes (Providence, 1975) 119-122, no. 34; previously in the Vicomte Bernard d'Hendecourt collection and before that in the collection of Sir Hermann Weber.
4) Op. cit., 76 ff., no. 176, pl. 50 ff.
5) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale B.B. 187; Colonna, G., op. cit., 81, no. 186.
6) Adam, A.-M.: Bibliothèque Nationale. Bronzes étrusques et italiques (Paris, 1984), no. 257, pp. 173-174 follows Colonna's assessment.
7) For example, a warrior in a private collection, Santa Barbara, California (Richardson, E.: Etruscan Votive Bronzes. Geometric, Orientalizing, Archaic <Mainz, 1983>, no. 6, p. 183 pl. 125 fig. 425-426), particularly noticeable on the helmet and crest.
8) The examples assigned to the Todi group by Colonna have been called a workshop and added to by Q. Maule: Etrusco-Italian Bronzes: The Todi Workshop, StEtr vol. LVIII-MCMXCII-(Serie III), 1993, pp. 75-88, pl. XIII-XXII.

197. OFFERER?

Bronze
H: 14.7 cm
Provenance: no indication
Italic
4th century B.C.?

Ex collection:
Capt. E.G. Spencer-Churchill

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, stamped, chased and burnished in the cold.
Condition: patina shades of light to dark green with incrustations of brown earth. The surface abraded over the front top of the head, the end of the nose, the right thumb, a whole layer missing around the left thumb.
There is a pit, a casting fault, on his left upper arm at the shoulder.
Missing most of the element he would have been holding in his clenched right fist.

His hair-style is composed of imprecise zigzag-like locks starting at the crown. The head surmounts a large thick neck. He has huge fleshy hands, the fingers well grooved, and short stocky feet with the toes chisel-marked.
He is wearing a tunic and a short toga, a sort of semi-circular cloak, which ends in a triple tassel just above the small of his back. The tunic's wide neckline is bordered with a herring-bone pattern which extends on either side over the shoulder-line to the edge of the sleeve decorated with short strokes.
The figure poses a problem as neither the author nor anyone else seems to know to what school and date he belongs.

Capt. Spencer-Churchill had given Sparta as a provenance (1). The "fr. Sparta" has us puzzled. The writer had first thought that he bore a vague resemblance to Byzantine Pro-consuls of around the 6th century A.D. and might be a provincial statuette of this period from the Peloponnese.

However, notwithstanding his impressive presence and monumental stature, which is also reminiscent of the bronze colossus of Barletta (2), he exudes a coarseness and curious proportions such as the huge right shoulder - as though an afterthought suddenly added on.

Obviously, he belongs somewhere and relates to something.

The writer feels, despite the lack of a close comparison, that he is a local Italic product, somewhat related, though later in time, to the votive bronzes grouped under "umbro sabellici" (3), from a region that must cover the Picenum territory in Central-Eastern Italy.

His stance seems to indicate an offerer. There are no visible traces of his having held anything on his open left palm and the remains of the rod that projects from below the right hand in an elliptical, slightly tapering tube, is square on the upper end next to the thumb, giving no indication as to what is involved.

1) Capt. Spencer-Churchill had a small black note-book in which he had been wont to enter over the years his acquisitions for his collection of "B.C's" as he called his antiquities. The entry reads: "a well-patinated (brown and green) bronze figure of a cloaked man, 5 5/8" h., complete except for broken staff in right hand, left hand open. Fr. Sparta, about 600 B.C. Lambessis £75, May 2 1931". This does not help us for Lambessis was a well-known Greek dealer of Greek antiquities in the early part of this century.

2) Possibly the Emperor Marcian (A.D. 450-467), originally about 16 ft. high, in front of the Church of San Sepolcro, Barletta.

3) Colonna, G., Bronzi votivi umbro sabellici a figura umana. I - Periodo "Arcaico" (Florence, 1970).

198. MIRROR

Bronze
H: 29 cm (1). Diam: 18.75 cm
Allegedly from the region of Bolsena, Capodimonte
Etruscan (Perugia?)
Last quarter of the 4th century B.C.

Cast by the lost wax process, very carefully and elaborately engraved with a chisel, etc. and then burnished.
Condition: broken slightly below the disc at the section which carried on into the tang, which would have been inserted in an ivory or bone handle now missing.
In view of the high quality of the mirror itself, an "elaborately turned ivory handle" (2) is more likely than a handle of bone, though sometimes the handles were not turned but were engraved in low relief with a figure (3).
At present, the piece with the tang broken in antiquity has been reaffixed in its original position (4). However, at the time of the break a rough restoration had been carried out by simply taking the broken metal element, turning it back to front and riveting (5) it onto the mirror.
Patina: light, shiny bluish-green on both back and front with, on its decorated surface, a slight patch of copper-coloured metal showing through and adjoining a large patch of rough incrustation.

The scene illustrates a moment of a legend (6) in which Herakles visits Troy during his expedition against the Amazons and in a meeting with King Laomedon is promised the latter's divine horses should he free the city of the ketos, a marine monster sent by Poseidon and to which the King's daughter, Hesione, is to be offered as prey.
Going from the viewer's left to right we observe helmeted Lamtu (Laomedon) shaking hands with Hercle (Herakles) to seal the

agreement. On Hercle's left we have Vilia (Princess of the House of Troy-Ilion, i.e. Hesione) held on the knees of Echpa (Hecuba), her mother whose right hand is extended in a gesture of supplication. Beneath the scene the terrifying sea-monster ketos like a modern-day "Jaws" (7)!

There are anomalies in the inscriptions of the names, testifying to the imprecision with which the Etruscans were wont to illustrate and interpret Greek legends. In the present, these are particularly interesting as they reveal hitherto unattested forms.

The dating of the mirror to the last quarter of the 4th century is fairly secure, based on its style and its various components.

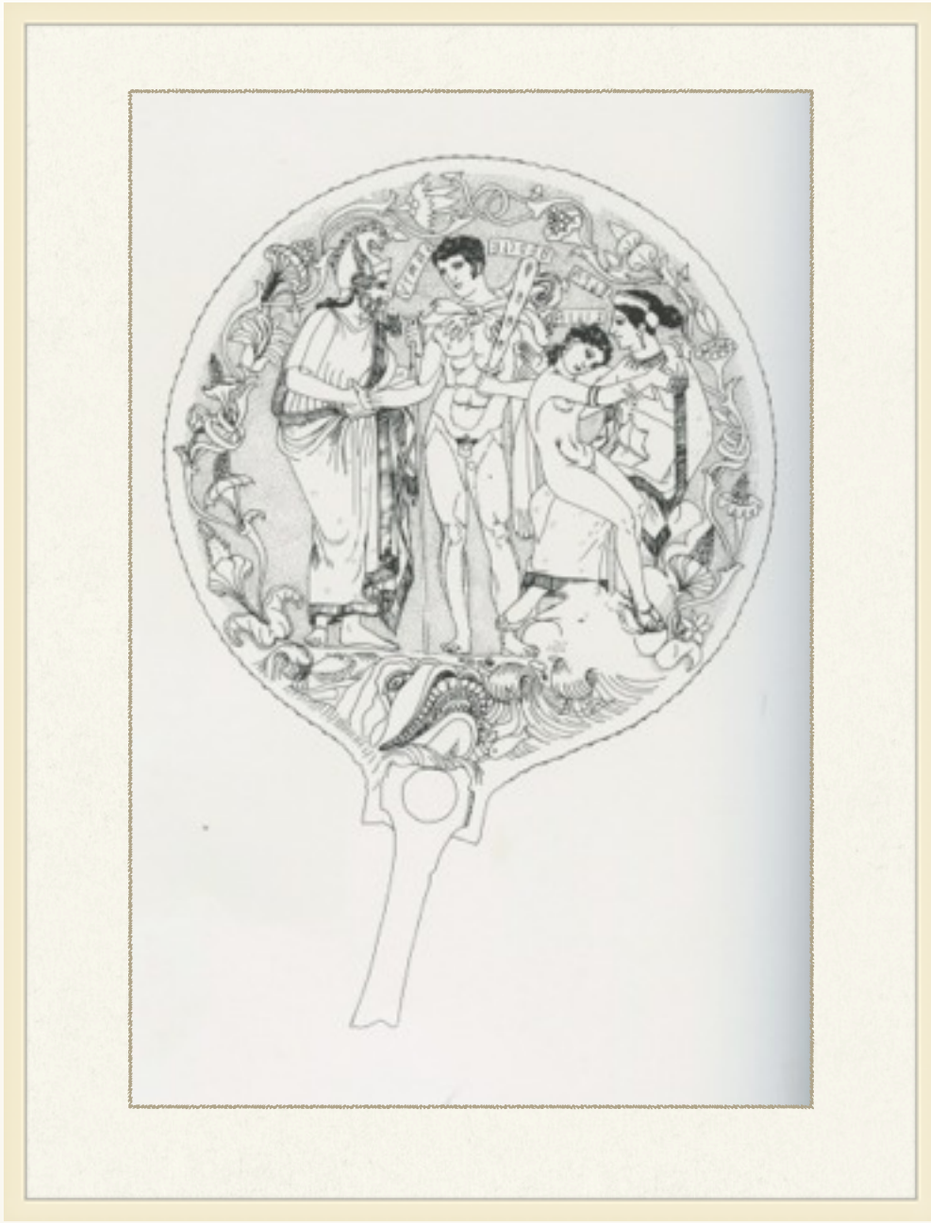
The school responsible for its production is less easy to define. It could have been the product of an Orvietan, Perugian or Chiusine workshop.

Though Chiusi was the largest centre for the production of mirrors in this period, of which the incised figures were characterized by slimness and height - notwithstanding a certain fluidity in the representation of Vilia, we agree with Ines Jucker that the present example bears close resemblance with the Lamtun mirror from Perugia (8). In addition, since three of the four documents relating to the adventure of Hesione come from there, we would likewise incline to attribute the above piece to Perugia.

Exhibited and Published:
Italy of the Etruscans, 100, 101, cat. no. 116, col. pl.
Published:
Jucker, I., “Hercle bei Lamtu”, AntK 29 (1986) 126-136, pl. 24-26; Schwarz, S., LIMC V.1 (1990) 226, no. 268.

1) The total height with the sculpted or turned handle would probably have been in the region of 31-34 cm.
2) Jucker, I., AntK 29 (1986) 126. In view of this very thorough publication of the piece, we wish to acknowledge that the facts for this entry are based on I. Jucker's article.
) Mirror with handle, Florence, Archaeological Museum 80933 from Perugia: Beazley, J.D., “The World of the Etruscan Mirror”, JHS 59 (1949) 12, pl. 9.

4) By means of a vetro-fibre textile glued with araldite apoxy after impregnation of the original surface with paraloid B 72 to preserve the patina. The above operations responsible for the vertical rectangular patch. The restoration is reversible - the paraloid B 72 removable with the help of acetone or toluene.
5) This can be seen in Jucker, I., op. cit., 129, fig. 3, col. pl. 24, pl. 26.1 and is still visible presently on the back of the mirror with the engraved scene - see the hole and the pin of the rivet that fitted into it - on its front by the large flattened rivet head and traces above it where the pin almost came through from the other side.
6) See under Herakles, LIMC V.1, 111 ff. (J. Boardman).
7) The Hollywood motion film produced by Steven Spielberg, California USA, 1970s.
8) Archaelogical Museum 976: Jucker, I., op. cit., pl. 26.2, fig. 4.



199. BALSAMARIUM (female head)

Bronze
H: 8.6 cm
Provenance: no indication
Etruscan
3rd century B.C.

Hollow-cast by the lost wax process with extensive and very careful cold-working. The two loops for suspension hammered rods folded over and inserted through holes, their strands opened inside the vessel to hold in place.
Condition: the stopper or lid, which would have been on the bun at the top back of the head and cast by the lost wax process, now missing, as also the hammered sheet bottom of the vessel that was affixed by soldering. Also missing the chain for suspension, of which part of one link, a section of wire, still in place through the right loop.
Patina a light bluish green chipped (1) here and there especially along the ridge of the nose and lower right cheek.

Such vessels in the shape of heads have been thought to represent Turan (29 (Aphrodite) or Lasa (3).
A lady's toilet article, they were probably used for scented substances, but also fulfilled a funerary function and accompanied the deceased to her tomb.
Unfortunately, they are difficult to date and on the present example different characteristics such as the melon hair-style, the ear-rings with small discs and pyramidal pendants, her diadem, etc. are not of much help. The hair-style started in the 4th lasting for several centuries and the jewellery is really too imprecise, though her ear-rings were in fashion in the 3rd century B.C. Likewise attribution to a particular workshop is problematic.

These vessels, usually fairly stereotyped, have a somewhat boring expression in keeping with a mass-produced output - the present example is unusual in its refinement and with its imperceptible evanescent smile is truly a delightful expression of feminity in Etruria.

Published:
L'art étrusque dans les collections privées genevoises. Les amis du Richemond (Milan, 1988) 71, no. 23, col. ill. front cover and pl. 23.

1) Most of the melon-coiffure as well as the right eye was incrusted with hardened earth deposits which were, where still visible in a few places, like mud patches on a dried out lake bottom; a recent cleaning has removed most of these; unfortunately a previous owner's attempt at removing them led to the loss of the original bronze surface which the passage of time had rendered less hard. It is almost like a crust of which the underlying bronze has become - owing to chemical mutation - somewhat crumbly, as is sometimes wont to happen with Etruscan bronzes. This particularity is frequently encountered on statuettes from Falterona on which the underlying metal is even more friable having often deteriorated to a powdery texture, a pale white or green cuprous chloride.
2) Haynes, S., “Etruskische Bronzekopfgefässe”, JbZMusMainz 6 (1959) 124 ff.
3) Menzel, H., “Etruskische Bronzekopfgefässe”, loc. cit., 114 (calls Lasa a goddess, whereas S. Haynes characterizes them as genies, see footnote 2).

CHAPTER 6

IBERIAN

IBERIAN VOTIVES

Almost all known examples come from sanctuaries in South and South-East Spain. The most important are the great cave and hill sanctuary of Despenaperros and the cave sanctuary of Castellar de Santisteban, both at the foot of the Sierra Morena in the province of Jaen. From them have come over six thousand figurines.

There are also dozens of minor sanctuaries and innumerable chance finds. By far the most important of the smaller of these is the one of La Luz near the modern town of Murcia with less than two hundred figurines. Unlike the two main sites, it is man-made, having neither cave nor source. The votives are later in date and correspond to the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Most of all the known ex-votos were found scattered around the caves or lying outside, the first some three hundred years ago. It is only since the beginning of this century that archaeological excavations have taken place. The dating is still problematic and extends anywhere from the 6th century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D., with the greater output probably belonging between the 5th and the 2nd centuries B.C.

The statuettes themselves are not cult images but represent the offerers in their costumes and with their attributes. The best and most detailed would seem to be the earlier examples, the simpler more filiform types belonging to the Roman period. The unusual statuettes often reveal, directly or indirectly, different influences, whether from one or several of the following: the Ionian coast of East Greece, Phoenician Syria and Lebanon, Cyprus, Crete, Greece proper, Magna Graecia and Sicily, Etruria, Sardinia and Carthage. However, most of the production is purely indigenous.

200. WARRIOR ARMING HIS BOW

Bronze
H: 9.3 cm
Allegedly from Spain
Iberian?
7th-3rd century B.C.

Solid-cast with some cold-working and polished.
Condition: patina anthracite with greenish overtones, spotted with cuprite, green chloride and probably tenorite, an oxide.
A few of the teeth on the top edge of the serrated helmet crest somewhat abraded. Point of missile broken away.

This bowman is naked but his head is covered with a helmet surmounted by an unusual saw-toothed crest. His left foot is raised to help him balance his bow with his left hand as his right arms it with an arrow.
He is unique and his style is original. Thessaly comes to mind and there is a very distant rapport with a bronze horseman in Copenhagen (1), also with a curious though different helmet, and the jutting out penis, but probably this similarity is one of provincialism, in relation to the anecdotic character of the representation. He belongs to a group of late Geometric bronzes from Thessaly which are probably to be dated in the very early 7th century B.C.
Our bowman could seem to be a distant echo of lead cut-outs from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta. For example, for their attitude and spirit, bowmen with one knee to ground about to shoot their upright bows (2); but for the position of his legs a telling

comparison is a figure (3) playing a flute.
We know of no valid comparison and the above suggestions are merely an attempt to find related material. The line of his nose is reminiscent of Phoenicia but is to be found on certain Iberian bronzes.
L. Prados (4), with whom we corresponded, knows of no similar crested helmet on an Iberian statuette nor of such a bow, save for one on a recently studied statuette in a New York private collection. However, it is to be noted that there are Iberian figurines with identical but uncrested helmets and that others have their legs outlined in the same way. There is a similarity with the warrior on horseback from Mojente in the Archaeological Museum of Valencia.
Iberian votives can be full of imagination as shown by this statuette, an example of some of the multiple currents that influenced Spain at that time and found their expression sometimes charmingly in local work with its provincial touch.

1) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 3359: Johansen, F., “Graeske geometrisker bronzer”, MeddelGlypt 38 (1982) 73 ff., fig. 4; belonging to the same group is a blacksmith.
2) Dawkins, R.M., The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (London, 1929) pls. 191.18-19, 197.33.
3) Loc. cit., pl. 189.13.
4) Letter dated 27 March 1990, where she adds that most Iberian votives are static and that his movement, possibly a dance, can be found on some painted Iberian pottery.

201. VEILED WORSHIPPER

Bronze
H: 11.97 cm (with tang: 13.62 cm)
Provenance: no indication
Iberian
First half of the 5th century B.C.

Solid-cast, chiselled in the cold and burnished.
Condition: patina light olive green, surface with a myriad of small nicks and scratches and traces of brown earth deposit. Some light pitting. Slight wear to upper edge of veil.

This Kore wears a chiton with a long mantle over it and is a pertinent example of direct Greek influence on Iberian culture, and in the present case on artistic production.
A very fine comparison is with the so-called lady with a himation from the sanctuary of Despenaperros (1) which M. Almagro-Basch rightly dates to the end of the 6th century B.C., remarking that its face resembles heads found at Miletus and Korai from Clazomenai. The comparison is telling for the attitude though we feel that our example is slightly less Ionian and one step removed, the way her lowered left hand touches the pleat of her mantle but does not grasp it to lift it as in the piece compared. Thus, we have dated her in the first half of the 5th century.

1) Madrid, National Archaeological Museum 37708: Almagro-Basch, M., “L'influence grecque sur le monde ibérique”, in: Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques. 8ème Congrès International d'Archéologie Classique, Paris 1963 (Paris, 1965) 87 ff., pls. 1-2.

202. WORSHIPPER

Bronze
H: 6.7 cm
Provenance: no indication
Iberian
5th-4th century B.C.

Solid-cast, carefully worked in the cold and burnished.
Condition: patina olive green with a few spots of red cuprite and some brown earth deposit.
A small dent to tip of nose and right thumb bent upwards.

A true votive and beautifully worked, he stands with arms lowered, palms open in a gesture of offering and worship, giving himself up to the divinity. He is clothed in a tunic, with a V opening at the neck, which ends above his elbows and knees held in at the waist with a huge quadrangular belt clasp. If his right thumb had not been slightly bent up, an accident of time, he would be of a symmetrical perfection and execution unusual for Iberian work, though he is typically an indigenous work.
The workshop that made him produced other munecos (puppets), as Iberian votives are popularly called in Spain: similar votives (1), the worshippers' hands outstretched, an identical belt clasp decorated with circular rivets on all four corners, warriors with right hand in same position, holding a spear in left hand (2), and a horseman (3). They are similar for the way their eyes are made, for the shape and character of their faces, their little caps, their hair falling in a ringlet on either side behind the ears.

Since all the comparisons in the National Archaeological Museum come from the sanctuary of Despenaperros and the one in R. Lantier in all likelihood also, our statuette is surely to be ascribed to the same sanctuary.

1) Madrid, National Archaeological Museum 29272, 28941: Alvarez-Ossorio, F., Museo Arqueologico Nacional. Catalogo de los exvotos de bronce, ibéricos (Madrid, 1941) 62, nos. 249, 250, pls. 39, 40; Lantier, R., Bronzes votifs ibériques (Paris, 1935), 51, no. 57, pl. 8.
2) Madrid, National Archaeological Museum 28611, 28612: Alvarez-Ossorio, F., op. cit., 60-61, nos. 227, 229, pl. 37.
3) Madrid, National Archaeological Museum 31843: Alvarez-Ossorio, F., op. cit., 97, no. 595, pl. 77.

203. HORSEMAN

Bronze
H : 6.92 cm L : 5.1 cm (1 :1)
Allegedly from Sierra Nevada
Iberian
5th-3rd century B.C.

Solid-cast, worked in the cold and very carefully burnished.
Condition : patina a very pale olive green. The original metal has undergone a cuprous
chloride mutation over which the present surface is a thin crust, cracked, chipped and abraded here and there with damage to the right side of the helmet, particularly to the right side of the horse's head, and to the horse's hooves. Traces of yellowish orange earth deposit.

This charming horseman sits elegantly on his mount reining in his horse with his left hand on the bridle. He is a warrior with helmet, shield on his back, and scabbard with sword held across his waist. Unfortunately, though details for horseman and mount are found on other Iberian votives, we know of no close comparison, but he is for stance, spirit and execution a typical, though uncommon, Iberian ex-voto.

204. MALE STATUETTE

Bronze
H: 11.05 cm
Provenance: no indication
Celto-Iberian
4th-2nd century B.C.?

Solid-cast, a few traits underlined by chisel in the cold, and burnished.
Condition: patina a dark black to olive green, surface with a few pin-holes (casting bubbles) and small nicks all over. Traces of brown earth.

With his unusual bulbous expressive head with slight tilt forward, he stands with closed hands in an attitude of awe and worship. Whether he was dressed in a tight-fitting tunic is uncertain. The closest parallel for type, stance and arms, but with a different head, less bulbous and more oval, is a statuette, neither as sensual, compact or harmonious in execution or finish, of an otherwise very similar offerer (1). R. Lantier describes it as having a "rough body with large pear-shaped head with over-sized chin". It has similar short legs with small feet. Probably also from the sanctuary of Despenaperros since a comparison for the type and of similar appearance is a statuette in Madrid (2). Thus, for the same reasons as for the worshipper, cat. no. 202, we tentatively ascribe this male statuette to the sanctuary of Despenaperros.

1) Lantier, R., Bronzes votifs ibériques (Paris, 1935) 48, no. 36, pl. 5.
2) National Archaeological Museum 29022: Alvarez-Ossorio, F., Museo Arqueologico Nacional. Catalogo de los exvotos de bronce, ibéricos (Madrid, 1941) 92, no. 553, pl. 73.

CHAPTER 7

ACHAEMENID

205. AMPHORA (with ibex handles)

Silver
Weight: 451.08 g. H: 22.76 cm
Allegedly from the region of the Black Sea
Achaemenid
Second/third quarter of the 5th century B.C.

The body of the vessel roughly shaped (1) by repeatedly hammering and annealing as it is raised (2) from a disc of silver sheet in a technique that is called raising or back raising (3) possibly on a wooden stake in a step-by-step operation followed by planishing to smooth out the ridges.
The lower part of the vessel is virtually brought to a finish with some of the outline of the design drawn out using a fine chasing tool. The decorative motifs detailed by repoussé and chasing, leaving at the lower section of the neck a ridge embellished with a tongue pattern. The upper part is then worked, the neck raised and planished to the finished shape.
The handles of silver sheet made in two halves by repoussé; the horns and ears made separately and inserted in holes prepared for them. The two halves joined together and burnished, and soldered to the flaring mouth and shoulder of the vessel. A spout soldered on the back of one of the handles, made by forming a piece of silver like a plain gargoyle, the end with a thickened rim, most of the top covered with silver sheet cut to size and soldered on. At the join of this handle to shoulder of vessel, a hole enabled the liquid to flow through the spout.
Condition: a small section of the flaring mouth, bent outwards and cracked, restored to shape. Part of the lower body, between the base of the spout-handle and a hole, slightly crushed in and restored. Both handles reattached; the one with the spout damaged and reshaped in part has a horn missing as well as a section of the right side of the ibex's head and neck. The surface of the vessel smooth with the odd patch of silver chloride.

The sources of Achaemenid art which under Cyrus the Great (559-529 B.C.) at Pasargadae shows a certain Greek and Ionian influence are ancient and varied. However it is under the prestigious reign of Darius (522-486 B.C.) that it acquired its "Court Style" (4) and formalism with its repertory of shapes. Achaemenid art may be considered his royal achievement. Foreign workers, craftsmen and artisans contributed to the artistic output and to the royal buildings: Egyptians, Syrians, Ionians, and in particular Carians are mentioned on the Persepolis Treasury tablets as being the silversmiths (5). P. Amandry says that to qualify an object as Achaemenid in keeping with a relative unity of style is far more a chronological assessment rather than a judgment on its place of origin.

There is for this amphora with zoomorphic handles and spout a most pertinent parallel, the vessel in Sofia (6) from the treasure of the Koukova Mogila tumulus (Duvanlij). It is identical for its shape, type of handles and decoration. The differences are in certain details, the handles are fantastic beasts with lion head and ibex horns, whereas here they are ibexes. Probably because the Duvanlij vessel is larger it has a double frieze of facing lotus flowers and palmettes separated by a guilloche, below these the vertical fluting. On the present example the only difference in this respect is that we have one frieze, the same as the upper one in Sofia, but with the guilloche here placed between the frieze and the fluting. Under both vessels there is a rosette, with twenty-seven petals at Duvanlij and twenty on ours. Certain gilt details on the Duvanlij amphora have been preserved, there are no traces of gilding on this example. There is no doubt that they must be from the same workshop (7).

The Schimmel silver rhyton with a ram protome in the Metropolitan Museum (8) has on the outside circumference of the cup's lip an identical frieze and guilloche although it is surely from a different workshop and the repetition of these two motifs is to be explained as part of the koine of Achaemenid art. There is a silver amphora handle of tubular form, flaring at its base (9), showing a winged bull as he looks back, of the same type as on the present examples, from a silversmith's hoard in Mesopotamia that belongs to a similar general type of production.

Both vessels, the Duvanlij and this amphora, are in spirit as in shape, decoration and style truly Persian (10) in character and are as N.K. Sandars has said "absolutely typical of the unlocalised Achaemenian court style" (11).

Mentioned:
Pfrommer, M., “Ein achämenidisches Amphorenrhyton mit ägyptischem Dekor”, AMI 23 (1990) 191-209; Treister, M. Y., Hammering Techniques in Greek and Roman Jewellery and Toreutics. Colloquia Pontica 8 (Leiden, 2001) 244, n. 77.

1) The firm of Plowden & Smith Ltd. has performed the conservation work on this amphora with its ibex handles. We are deeply indebted to Peter Smith and Peter Willett for discussing technical details and enlightening us with respect to the technology employed in the making of such vessels as this amphora and the rhyton, cat. no. 206.

2) In the initial stages a hollowed-out tree trunk may be used laying the silver sheet over the cavity and working it down.

3) Raising from top downwards to reduce size of bottom area.

4) Amandry, P., “Orfèvrerie achéménide”, AntK 1 (1958) 15, n. 52 quoting E. Herzfeld, Iran in the Ancient East (New York, 1941) 247, 274.

5) Amandry, P., op. cit., 18.

6) Archaeological Museum 6.137: Fol, D.R.A., Tesoros de las Tierras Bulgaras (San Fernando, 1988) 64, no. 25. This ensemble had been dated to the first half of the 5th century (Fol, D.R.A., loc. cit.), the amphora to the second quarter by P. Amandry (“Toreutique achéménide”, AntK 2 [1959] 40) and E.S.G. Robinson (A "silversmith'shoard" from Mesopotamia, Iraq 12 (1950) 48).

7) The author pointed this out to M. Pfrommer when he visited. He seems to concur and writes "... ein anscheinend werkstattgleiches Exemplar...". (AMI 23 [1990] 193.)

8) New York, Metropolitan Museum 1989.281.30a,b (gift of the Norbert Schimmel Trust): Muscarella, O.W., “Gifts from the Norbert Schimmel Collection”, BMetrMus, (Spring 1992) 16-17.

9) As with our example, and surely the Duvanlij amphora, to enable practical and aesthetic attachment to the shoulder of the vessel. Robinson, E.S.G., op. cit., 44 ff., pl. 23.

10) Amandry, P., op. cit. (footnote 6), p. 40 citing S. Casson, H. Luschey and P. Jacobsthal. The style of the frieze and palmettes has been considered Greek but it should not be forgotten that the Greeks adopted and made common use of these forms which they took from the Near East.

11) Antiquity 45 (1971) 108 quoted in Hoddinott, R.F., Bulgaria in Antiquity. An Archaeological Introduction (London/Tonbridge, 1975) 61.

206. RHYTON (with buck protome)

Silver, partially gilt
Weight: 391.21 g. H: 23.5 cm
Allegedly from the region of the Black Sea
Achaemenid
Late 5th-early 4th century B.C.

For the technique employed refer to the amphora with ibex handles, cat. no. 205 and footnotes 2 and 3.
In view of the vessel's length, it was back raised from about the middle. The vessel was then filled with either bitumen/pitch or with a mixture of powdered sulphur rock and fine sand, heated to render fluid. Once hardened the fluting was then hammered in or impressed from the outside (1). The decorative details are also chased.
The lower end is then trimmed and the inset bezel for the protome finished.
The mouth of the vessel is then hammered and annealed to shape and the lotus frieze is outlined by "tracing", the surface within the contours lightly grooved and thin gold sheet applied and burnished into place.
The protome formed as the vessel and in keeping with its sophistication worked extensively and elaborately by the repoussé method from both sides.
The ears and antlers shaped separately by cutting and hammering, the former inserted by means of a dowel, the latter, it would appear, by a sort of plate held in place by three dowels. The various thin gold sheet elements executed as the lotus frieze. The inlays for the rosettes (2), the legs and hooves would appear to be of electrum. A round hole in the centre of the muzzle to enable passage of the liquid through a spout.
Condition: the body of the vessel with a few indents here and there, a large one on the underside at its lower end. The whole forepart of the protome crushed in and torn, the left cheek and jaw with part of the neck crushed, the left antler and spout from centre of muzzle missing, the left ear pushed up in restoration.

The horn conforms to type both for the vertical fluting and the decoration around the outer lip. The buck protome is of such extreme sensitivity, the author would like to say humanism, that it is probably the work of an Ionian Greek producing for a Persian satrap. The art is Achaemenid though it does not partake of its cold formalism.

A close parallel is a bull-headed partially gilt silver protome in the National Museum in Copenhagen (3) that must have belonged to a comparable rhyton. It was acquired in 1955 and said to have come from Sinope. This is all the more interesting since the Achaemenid handles on an amphora in Paris (4) in the shape of ibexes ascribed to the region between Sinope and Trabzon (5) bear a strong similarity with ours for the style and gilding of the mane, and the amphora's fluting is similar with its rounded chased tops. There is also a rapport for the mane with the handles divided between Paris and Berlin (6) surely from the same vessel said to be from Amisos to the east of Sinope and according to other sources from Armenia (7). It is interesting to note, says P. Amandry, that an amphora with griffins on the Persepolis reliefs is held by an Armenian.

In conclusion, it is obvious that precious metal vessels were produced in different centres throughout the empire. The present example is exceptional but bears comparison for several details with the above. Whether the workshop and the artist who produced it was an Ionian Greek working in Caria, in the region of Kyzikos, in a centre around Sinope or located in Armenia is impossible to determine and must await lengthy study or further discoveries to enable a better attribution.

Published:
Melikian-Chirvani, A.S., “L'emblème de gloire solaire d'un roi iranien du Pont”, in: Altman Bromberg, C. (ed.), Iranian Studies in Honor of A.D.H. Bivar, BAsInst, New Series, 7 (1993) 23 ff., figs. 8, 9.

1) After having fulfilled its purpose the core can be made fluid again by heating, and removed.
2) A solar motif, the gyrating solar rosette represents liquid sunlight symbolized by wine, "a substitute ... to replace the sacrificial blood of a bull". This substitution probably took place around the time of the Zoroastrian reforms (Melikian-Chirvani, A.S., “Light of Heaven and Earth”, in: Altman Bromberg, C. et al. (eds.), In Honor of Richard Nelson Frye. Aspects of Iranian Culture, BAsInst, New Series, 4 [1990] 105). Appropriate for a vessel destined for the ritual of wine libations (Melikian-Chirvani, A.S., BAsInst, New Series, 7 [1993] 26).
3) National Museum 13.534.
4) Rothschild collection: Amandry, P., “Toreutique achéménide”, AntK 2 (1959) pl. 24.
5) Amandry, P., op. cit., 48, n. 84.
6) Amandry, P., op. cit., 50, pls. 26.2, 27.2-3, 28.4.
7) Amandry, P., op. cit., 53-54.

207. REARING IBEX (handle of vessel)

Bronze
H: 19.1 cm
Provenance: no indication; probably Persia
Achaemenid
First half of the 4th century B.C.

Ex collection:
Archduke Ferdinand II, Count of the Tyrol (1) (died 1595)
Ambras Castle, Imperial collections down to the last Habsburg owner (2), Ferdinand Karl, Archduke of Austria, known as Mr. Burg since 1911
Mr. Meyer (1911/1915-1950/51)
Erich Lederer
Baron Elie de Rothschild (1954-1979)

The body hollow-cast by the lost wax process, the legs and horns solid-cast. Elaborately cold-worked with very fine engraving and chasing.
Condition: unfortunately tampered with in the 16th century to conform to the taste of the day. The whole surface was stripped down to the metal and then covered with blackish lacquer, presently almost all worn off.
The ends of the broken horns filed down to the same length; the hind legs missing and the breaks also filed down. A hole behind the testicles and a jagged gash in the lower stomach; a large round hole between the front paws, possibly made in the 16th century.
The surface a smooth metal, a light medal colour at the much-rubbed knees, with traces of blackish lacquer and a few minute specks of green patina and reddish cuprite.
The engraving worn but visible on most parts.

Characteristic of Achaemenid art is the animal's somewhat "human" upper face with its brow almost like a diadem, in addition to which it bears some resemblance for the plasticity of its body and neck to

the silver gilt handles in Berlin (3) and the Louvre (4). The slight twist of the head relates it to the handles of the amphora in Paris (5) and there is also a rapport for the ears. The incised undulating lines around the thickening of the horns are a schematic way of showing what are usually portrayed with gilded ripples in low relief on the silver gilt handles of amphorae, and which are represented in a similar way but without gilding on the silver ibex handles of the amphora, cat. no. 205.

This rearing ibex was surely the handle of a bronze ensemble - but whether of an amphora, some other vessel or possibly even a piece of furniture, is uncertain - for we have the remains of a groove just under the knees of the forepaws, but the hind paws are broken too high to give a more precise indication. However, the stance would indeed be appropriate for an amphora-type vessel.

Notwithstanding the wear by depatination and repeated handling for over four hundred years, the remains of the elaborate chasing over different parts of the head and body and the punched dots on the muzzle point to the first half of the 4th century and to an artistic centre somewhere in the Achaemenid Empire.

Published :
Amandry, P., “Toreutique achéménide”, AntK 2 (1959) 38 ff., pls. 26-28; Porada, E., Alt-Iran, die Kunst in vorislamischer Zeit (Baden-Baden, 1962) 164-165; Cooper, D. (ed.), Great Private Collections: Baron Elie de Rothschild (London, 1963) 172; Porada, E., The Art of Ancient Iran. Pre-Islamic Cultures (New York, 1965) pl. 48.

Mentioned :
Treister, M. Y., Hammering Techniques in Greek and Roman Jewellery and Toreutics. Colloquia Pontica 8 (Leiden, 2001) 244, n. 77.

Dr. Alfred Bernhard-Walcher of the Antikensammlung, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, at our request, has researched the history of the ibex. We would like to express here our deepest gratitude

1) Imperial Vicar in the Tyrol and younger brother of the Emperor Maximilian II.

2) P. Amandry says of the ibex: "private collection, provenance unknown", and E. Porada mentions "private collection, Paris" and adds: "Possibly, this piece belonged formerly to the Ambras collection and perhaps this ibex has passed on from hand to hand since the time of its production". The "hand to hand" is a very nice idea but highly improbable, for the piece was surely buried and what the bronze's surface underwent is explained above.

It belonged to Archduke Ferdinand II, one of the great collectors of the 16th century, its provenance unrecorded, was part of the Ambras collection and remained in the Habsburg collections until the early 20th century. Our first record of it is in an inventory made in 1596 "also a long animal of metal, three feet and both horns broken"; again in the inventory of 1788 as still in Innsbruck: "No. 174. An animal with very long body, short tail, two horns and a beard. Is in my opinion a sort of Egyptian goat. The entire body is covered with long hairs. Made of bronze, 7 1/2 inches in length (= c. 19.5 cm)". Between 1806 and 1808, documentation in the archives shows that the ibex was for a very short time in the KuK Münz- und Antikenkabinett in Vienna: "a large ibex, his body stretched powerfully, about to make a great leap". The inventory of 1821 (collection in Vienna) reads: "No. 233. A long animal seated on its hind legs, like an Egyptian goat. The forepaws are broken, the horns slightly damaged. Bronze. 7 1/2 inches long". Still in Vienna in 1877: "Inv. no. 233, elongated jumping goat, defective". (Excerpts from the inventories appear here translated from the German texts relayed to us by Dr. Bernhard-Walcher in a letter of 28 November and a card of 14 December 1990.)

It is last mentioned in the imperial collections in a revised inventory of 1884, for in a newly-established Kunstkammer inventory of 1896 which included the objects of the Ambras collection, it is no longer listed. It possibly went to a small castle in Merano, Schloss Rottenstein, which was furnished with lots of apparently minor objects which came from the Emperor's castle at Ambras. Archduke Ferdinand Karl (1868-1915), lost his imperial family rights when stripped of his title by Emperor Franz Joseph in 1911 when the latter learnt that his nephew had secretly married a commoner in 1909, Bertha Czuber; he was from then on known as Mr. Burg. However the emperor magnanimously allowed him to keep his financial prerogatives and gave him Schloss Rottenstein fully furnished.

3) Amandry, P., AntK 2 (1959) 52.

4) Porada, E., Alt-Iran, 169, col. pl.

5) Rothschild collection: Porada, E., op. cit., 167, col. pl.

208. DUCK (rhyton)

Glass
H: 9.88 cm. L: 17.7 cm
Allegedly from North-West Iran
Iranian Kurdistan-Eastern Azerbaijan
8th-2nd century B.C.

The rhyton fashioned of hot fused glass to an ovoid shape over a friable core supported by a metal rod through the mouth. An internal metal armature must have supported the spout, possibly extending beyond the opening to facilitate the complex manipulations required in applying and smoothing the molten glass. The vessel, a bubbly dark turquoise blue, fairly even in thickness, was decorated with applied twisted glass threads (1) of various colours. These were tooled free-hand into a zigzag pattern and marvered into the surface of the vessel.
There are slight depressions and indents, pinchings or tool marks made when shaping: on the body, at the base of its mouth, at the inception of the bird's neck, and longitudinal depressions on either side of the breast.
The vessel was finely polished.
Condition: parts of the body iridescent and pitted. Two pieces at the back right side of the neck and mouth of the rhyton broken and glued back, a chip missing (2).

There is no exact parallel for this unique duck. There is however an ovoid-bodied beaker (3) with a wide flaring lip, comparable to the early glazed composition vessels from Assur and Ziwiye, of identical colour, similar decorative pattern and possibly from the same workshop. Its matrix is also a bubbly transparent blue, and the lip has an applied opaque yellow and turquoise twisted thread. Its shoulder is decorated with a partially marvered thread in opaque

yellow rather loosely tooled into a meander. It is said to come (3) from Azerbaijan, where excavations have revealed traces of early glass manufacture.

The early glazed vessels from Assur and Ziwiye are antecedents and provide distant parallels both for the ovoid body and wide lip and for spouted vessels (5). For the subject, there is a duck vessel in enamelled faience from Ziwiye (6), this latter more naturalistic - with its well-defined neck and head and with a high-collared opening on its back. However, these vessels dated 9th-6th century B.C. are not in glass, are less stylized and show other differences, but they do imply that the present rhyton harks back to an earlier tradition.

Ducks, like other animal-shaped vessels, were used for pouring out wine as a substitute for blood libations, banned in early times probably with the advent of Zoroastrianism (7).

What is most revealing is the decoration on a blue background of wavy and zigzag yellow and white lines, similar to that on Greek-shaped glassware of the Mediterranean basin, contemporary with the Achaemenid Empire.

This duck rhyton of stylized form must belong to a region south of the Caspian Sea, artistically peripheral to Achaemenid court art, an example of the adaptation by local artists of Eastern Mediterranean glass techniques to an iconographic tradition harking back to earlier times.

Exhibited and Published :
Trésors de l'Ancien Iran, 124, cat. no. 705, col. pl. V.

We are deeply indebted to Pierre Amiet for his pertinent observations both as to decoration and date (5th-4th century B.C.) in helping to ascribe this vessel, and to E. Haerinck for informing us of his feeling that the piece belongs to the Achaemenid period, 5th-3rd century B.C., and confirming our geographical attribution. D. Barag confirms these opinions but would tend to place the glass in the Early Parthian period, to which it was also ascribed in Trésors de l'Ancien Iran. We thank Gawain McKinley for help with respect to technical data and fabrication and for informing us in detail about the New York piece. He believed, as we at first did, that both were to be placed around the 8th-7th century B.C. The author had thought that the enamelled faience duck vessel from Ziwiye gave a telling insight and that an earlier date accorded with the revival of glass manufacture in Mesopotamia, Iran and the Mediterranean basin which goes back to around the 10th century B.C. He also believed with Gawain McKinley that the present example must belong to a region south of the Caspian Sea, formerly part of the Kingdom of Mannaï, between Ziwiye and Hasanlu, invaded by the Assyrians during the 9th to 7th centuries B.C. The remains of its art reveal various influences from Hasanlu III and Urartu at a time when these regions were frequently in flux and subject to multiple influences.
In conclusion, the author has adopted the well-founded assessment of Pierre Amiet confirmed by Haerinck and Barag without excluding the eventual possibility of the earlier date, and thinks it appropriate to quote from a letter (6th June 1992) from Pierre Amiet: "Je pense donc qu'il faut renoncer à une attribution à Urartu ou à Ziwiyé, comme à la date 'haute', dans la première moitié du Ier millénaire. Je penserais plutôt à la transposition de la technique des verriers de Méditerranée orientale par les artisans d'Iran du Nord à l'époque perse, mais en toute indépendance par rapport à l'art officiel achéménide. La stylisation des formes reste fidèle aux traditions iraniennes plus anciennes: c'est même, à mon sens, ce qui fait une bonne part de la beauté de votre vase, qui est le premier à révéler une telle transposition de l'art du potier dans l'art de luxe du verrier."

1) An opaque yellow thread was trailed on. It starts on the back of the "right wing", above a white thread, moves across the breast and breaks off on the "left wing". Here it starts again, crosses down over the white thread and circles back around the body twice, ending on the lower part of the right breast just before where the white thread stops. A short strand of yellow is embedded accidentally on the right rear shoulder of the rhyton. (Similar yellowish patterns as on this duck are to be seen on Egyptian glass of an earlier period ranging between 1500 and 1200 B.C; however, the resemblance is surely purely fortuitous.) An opaque white trailed thread begins on the lower right side of the breast, meanders over it, circles the whole vessel passing over the breast twice again and then trails up from the right side to loop over behind the ridge on the spout and ends on the left shoulder.
A translucent turquoise greenish blue tubular thread is applied on top of the lip of the mouth and falls alongside it at the back; another circles the lip of the spout from the right forming a ridge along the top as it is drawn back. These tubular threads have been embellished with short curving opaque yellow trails.
2) A small section of the tubular thread and the edge of the lip.
3) New York, private collection. Unpublished. As described by Gawain McKinley who considers the present duck and the beaker to be from the same workshop, an assessment we respect and consider possible based on a little snapshot of the vessel.
4) Supposedly found with a transparent purple glass.
5) Fukai, S., Ceramics of Ancient Persia (New York/Tokyo/Kyoto, 1981) fig. 19, an oval spouted vessel with flaring lip, dated 9th century B.C., said to be from the vicinity of Ziwiye (Iranian Kurdistan).
6) Teheran, Archaeological Museum: Amiet, P., L'art antique du Proche-Orient (Paris, 1977) 310-311, no. 135, dated 7th century B.C. and also Ziwiye.
7) Melikian-Chirvani, A.S., “Les taureaux à vin et les cornes à boire de l'Iran islamique”, in: Bernard, P. and Grenet, S. (eds.), Histoire et Cultes de l'Asie Centrale Préislamique (Paris, 1991) 101-125. A.S. Melikian-Chirvani informed the author 3 December 1995 that he has identified duck-shaped vessels as wine ducks in Iranian Wine Birds from early Antiquity to Islamic times in a monograph to appear dealing with the meaning and evolution of bird-shaped vessels with two openings (BAsInst, 1996).

CHAPTER 8

CHINA

209. HORSES (pair of finials)

Bronze
H: a. 13.43 cm; b. 13.75 cm
Probably from a tomb in H'siao-t'un (1) (Northern Honan)
Early Chou
c. 1000 B.C.

Ex collection:
Dr. Otto Burchard, Beijing
George Eumorfopoulos

Mould-cast (2) with a core, worked in the cold and very thoroughly burnished and polished.
Condition: lustrous silvery grey patina with heavy red cuprite and rough green patches and ochre earth deposits. The present surface with the odd hole (3), a large one on the left side of both manes bears traces of soldering, probably remains of an ancient repair; on the upper middle of the neck of a., a pit also with similar traces. Holes around the mouth possibly for fixing hairs (4) and oval-shaped indents in front of each ear probably once inlaid.
Point of right ear of a. slightly chipped.

The horse heads and the other fittings surely adorned the same chariot (5) and were from the same workshop. Possibly from the same tomb whence reputedly came a celebrated bronze vessel of the kuei class (6) which W.P.Yetts thinks was in all probability manufactured in the nearby Wei capital. The finials, because of their high artistic quality, were surely also made there in an imperial workshop.
Since rumour had it that these four fittings came from the same tomb as the bronze vessel, it is interesting to note that W.P.Yetts, working on the vessel's inscriptions, suggests that it belonged to a

ssu-t'u (one of the three highest administrative officials in a feudal state), a "'Minister of Instruction'; but probably his duties largely military". Thus the vessel would have been an offering in the family shrine to commemorate the ssu-t'u's contribution to the putting down of a revolt over the recently conquered Shang-Yin country. What could be more fitting for this Minister under the Marquis K'ang (7) who ruled over what became the Wei state than to have a magnificent chariot as part of his burial? The horse heads and the other fittings would have adorned it.

According to E. Bunker (8), a very similar bronze horse finial has been excavated on the Chinese mainland and dated 10th century B.C. For similar protomes of lesser quality there is a single example in the Paul Singer collection (9) and another in the Avery Brundage collection. The vibrant and highly naturalistic finials under discussion here, protomes of the small wild horse originally from the steppes of Central Asia, reveal an understanding that results from a close relationship with the animal.

The use of horse and horse-drawn chariots was associated with war and the ruling classes at the time.

On view: Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1940

Exhibited and Published:

Commemorative Catalogue of the Chinese Exhibition 1935 (London 1936) 8, no. 148, pl. 19; Chinese Exhibition (Manchester, 1936); Golden Gate International Exhibition (San Francisco, 1939), no. 19, pl. D; The Animal in Chinese Art, cat. no. 211 (Neave-Hill, W.B.R.: Oriental Art XIV, no. 4, Winter 1968, 324-325, fig. 7); Animal Style Art, 88, 100, cat. no. 59, ill.

Published:

Siren, O., Kinas Konst Under Tre Artusenden I (Stockholm, 1942) 97 fig. 66; Watson, W., China before the Han Dynasty (London, 1961) 157 pl. 27; Watson, W., Early Civilization in China (London, 1966) fig. 47; Keim, J.A., L'Art animalier des Steppes, Jardin des Arts 194 (Jan. 1971) 14-21, ill.

Mentioned :

Loehr, M., Relics of Ancient China from the Collection of Dr. Paul Singer (New York, 1965) 154 (for cat. no. 43).

1) Next to river Huan near Hsü-Hsien or An-Yang Hsien. Also exhibited here two other fittings (H: 10.08 cm, 10.43 cm) since from the same tomb and, the author believes, from the same chariot. They are similar in metallic appearance, surface and incrustation. On the George Eumorfopoulos oval collector's label the horse heads bore the numbers Br. 6 and Br. 7 followed by Br. 8 and Br. 9 for the two other fittings.

2) Cast using a multiple-piece mould, each ear in a separate section. This would be in keeping with the Chinese technique of the time when the great Shang and Chou vessels were made using multiple moulds all assembled together. The four finials exhibited were cast with the open end up, the molten metal remains being cut away and the tubes ground down.

3) Some casting faults, some to enable the insertion of pins to hold the core in place and the odd one later used for fixing the finials.

4) E. Bunker wrote us: "No way! Instead they are stylistic devices to suggest the texture of real hair." (23 August 1994.)

5) Watson, W., China before the Han Dynasty, 255-256, no. 27: "... probably came from a chariot burial."

6) Yetts, W.P., “An Early Chou Bronze”, Burlington Magazine 70 (1937) 168-177. After the author acquired these at a Sotheby's sale on 5 April 1960, he was told that W.P. Yetts considered that they came from the same tomb as this vessel, information supplied to him by Burchard, the collector and dealer in Beijing, after his article appeared. In it, Yetts states "The tombs are known to have been rifled before and between the occasions when scientific excavation was in progress, and to have yielded many bronzes."

7) Mentioned in the inscription p. 174 (see previous footnote).

8) Animal Style Art, 100, no. 59.

9) Loehr, M., Relics of Ancient China from the Collection of Dr. Paul Singer, 154, no. 43. For a mention of the Avery Brundage example see E. Bunker, op. cit. (footnote 8).

CHAPTER 9

EURASIA

210. BELT CLASP

Bronze
H: 16.2 cm. W: 3.86 cm
Provenance: no indication
Northern Central Caucasus, Koban Culture
9th-7th century B.C.

Solid-cast by the lost wax method; the parts chased out for inlaying - probably done using wooden punches (1) - and the longitudinal slit with rectangular holes prepared in the wax model. Hatchings, spirals and semi-circles as well as border lines chiselled in, in the cold; face and edges carefully burnished and polished. The inlays of powdered glass, probably following a cloisonné technique, were molten in situ; the animals in red and the two square sections (with the lozenges and central bar in bronze) in blue (2).
Condition: patina very deep dark green to greyish green with yellowish metal showing through in a few places. The red glass inlay must have oxidized and is aggressively pitted and abraded by an earlier removal of this oxidization. In the square sections the blue glass oxidized to yellow-green before turning to the present pale sand colour of a bluish-green-yellowish hue. The two top corners with casting faults. The back of the clasp scratched and in places slightly patchy or uneven.

The main representation (3) is three fierce dogs or wolves one above the other facing left in profile with the usual divisions of inlaid square sections, hatchings, spirals and semi-circles.
Such clasps fastened and adorned large protective leather belts. The representations of stags or a somewhat mythological animal, a fierce dog or wolf, attest their prestigious function.
Frequently found in the tombs of warriors of the Koban civilization, they fulfilled both a useful purpose and one of prestige.

1) Born, H., Meisterwerke kaukasischer Bronzeschmiede, Bilderhefte der SMPK Berlin, 47 (1984) 18-21.
2) A pigment derived from imported cobalt was used. Analysis by X-ray fluorescence carried out under F. Schweitzer at the laboratories of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva (December 1995) shows the presence of cobalt. Its production was a trade secret of the Phoenicians who exported cones of the material to different parts of the Ancient World in the late Bronze Age - early Iron Age. First suggested by L. Oppenheim in 1972 interpreting Tell el-Amarna tablets as mentioning ingots of glass from Tyre and confirmed by a 14th century B.C. shipwreck at Ulu Burun containing some discs of cobalt blue glass (The National Geographic, 172, no. 6, December 1987, 716-718).
3) In the Berlin example (see footnote 1, 19, col. ill.), there are three square sections and two animals very similar to ours which H. Born describes as horses.

211. AXE-HEAD

Bronze
L: 17.19 cm. Max. W: 6.88 cm
Allegedly from Kars
Northern Central Caucasus, Koban Culture
9th-7th century B.C.

Solid-cast, extensively chiselled and punched in the cold, very carefully burnished and polished.
Condition: metal, a rich copper colour; patina, shades of greyish green to bluish green with rust-coloured patches and a spot or two of green.
A nick to the outer edge of the oval shaft hole and minute dents to the edge of the blade.

Characteristic of the best of the type, this example is highly plastic with facets of varying curves and slightly convex and concave planes, each blade surface decorated with a fleet-footed prancing stag, its antlers ending in flame-like points. Three closely hatched ribs strengthen and adorn the outer sides of the shaft hole.
Such axe-heads were employed in combat, must have had a cult significance and were probably also emblems of power (1).
The present example is characteristic, like the belt clasp no. 210, of the imagination usually inherent in such artefacts which are wont to be found associated with burials in stone cistas.

Mentioned:
Kozloff, A., “Animal Style Bronze Art and Its Closest Parallels: A Bronze Belt and Axe Head”, BclevMus 81.5 (May 1994) 139, n. 22.

1) Domansky, Y.V., Avant les Scythes, préhistoire de l'art en U.R.S.S. (Paris, 1979) 158, cat. no. 143.

212. MYTHOLOGICAL BEAST

Bronze
H: 7.7 cm. L: 6.95 cm
Allegedly from Turkey
Undetermined
8th-7th century B.C. ?

Made by the lost wax method and coarsely chiselled in the cold. Eyes hollow possibly for inlaying.
Condition: the original smooth skin of the surface eroded, the colour a greyish green with traces of earth deposit. A small pit here and there and holes, casting imperfections. Casting burrs visible on inside of hind legs, under belly and at the end of the tail loop. A small section of the circular ring below the feet missing and a piece attached to the tail broken.

We know of no comparison. Somewhat syncretic and expressive of various influences, he is a problem with respect to his date, the artistic production to which he belongs and his function. Though possibly anywhere between the 11th and 7th century B.C., the chevrons, the manner in which his eyes are expressed and the general feel he exudes encourage us to place him late within this span.
His provenance could be anywhere from the mountains of North Iran to and including the Anatolian plateau. He seems to bear some affinity to Late Hittite (the collar of chevrons around his head), Urartaean, Luristan and certain Animal Styles of the Eurasian steppes. P. Amiet thinks he might be the handle of a tube (1) and mentions as a comparison a Luristan example in the form of a mountain goat (2). Maybe he was mounted on a pole and served on a funerary canopy in similar fashion to the 3rd millennium silver and

gold bulls from Maïkop.
He reminds us somewhat of an aurochs for his shaggy legs, though his claw-like paws would better fit the brown bear of Asia. A rather frighteningly powerful, mystical beast whose purpose may have been to keep evil spirits at bay.

1) For drinking at ritual or secular festivites, see Frankfort, H., Cylinder Seals. A Documentary Essay on the Arts and Religion of the Ancient Near East (London, 1939) 77-78.
2) Amiet, P., Collection David-Weill. Les Antiquités du Luristan (Paris, 1976) 88 ff., no. 198.

213. MIRROR DISC (with animal on reverse)

Bronze
Diam: 15.26-16.37 cm
Provenance: no indication; Central Asia
Local culture
5th century B.C.?

Made by the lost wax method, cold-worked, ground down and highly polished on the mirror face. The handle tang (1) with a section of the disc presently missing, the curved section, as though cut out, with several groups of holes of two different types drilled on its edge, probably indicating two repairs.
Condition: the metal on the decorated side where visible a greenish-greyish black to bronze medal and brownish red with green, luminous in places, with incrustations of greenish to yellowish grey earth. The mirror side - formerly incrusted with a sandy green patina and earth deposits, cleaned to reveal a mottled surface of varying shades of yellowish to reddish brown with gooseberry red spots - still reflects.

Peculiar to this type is the raised edge of the reverse side whose surface is usually decorated in high linear relief with the representation of one or more stylized animals. Sometimes, as on this example, the top edge of the rim is marked by a stepped projection (2).
The missing tang would have been inserted in a handle of wood, horn, bone or ivory; but when broken and missing it would seem that the mirror disc was inset in a new handle by means of a groove fixed with pegs or laced.
On two similar mirrors (3) a stag is represented. Another example is a round mirror in the Hermitage (4) showing a circle of six elks in linear relief with raised ridge but without a stepped projection.

They usually accompanied their owners to their tombs.
The culture (5) that produced such artefacts is to be placed, in keeping with data available at present, in Central Asia and to be dated between the 6th and the 4th centuries B.C.
The oldest mirror of this class, the previously mentioned example with six elks, was found in the Altai and dated in the 7th century B.C. Those with projecting rim show hooved animals which were brought to the Lower Volga but were not native to it.
The origins of this art are to be found in various sources: the nomadic cultures of Central and Eastern Asia with certain of the details found on their horse trappings, stone altars with their particular shape and border similar in outline to the mirrors such as the type found near the Aral Sea in Western Kazakhstan and dated to the 7th to 6th century B.C. (6) and the closest parallels for the decoration are on petroglyphs found in Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and Southern Siberia, dated to the late 6th to 4th century B.C.
A mirror of this type illustrating an elk was found in tomb 87 of the Zuevsky burial ground in the Kama River region, Urals, and dated to the 4th century B.C. (7)

Published:
Korol'kova, E., "Four bronze mirrors decorated in Animal Style", in: "Hermitage Readings". The George Ortiz Collection, St. Petersburg (12 April 1993) 14-16, 26.

1) One of the comparisons, the mirror found at Selitrennoie in the Astrakhan region, Lower Volga Basin, shows this section intact. It may be that the mirrors of this type all originally had such tangs for insertion in a handle.
2) For comparable examples see a mirror (W: 15.6 cm), though oval in shape, with same rim edge, top projection and small cut out with holes for handle repair. An animal in linear relief on the reverse, in this case a horse (?): Sotheby's, Antiquities and Islamic Art, New York, 23 June 1989, no. 29, ill; also the mirror illustrating an elk and found in the Kama River region (see text).
3) See MatIsslA, No. 30, 1952, pl. XXVI,12; Archeologij SSSR, 1989, pl. 66,18. (Information kindly supplied by the Department of Pre-History and Early History of the State Museum of the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, headed by Dr. Galina Smirnova, in a letter dated 5 April 1990, at the author's request. Originally all the Hermitage specialists on China, Siberia and the Caucasus refused to accept the present mirror and its parallels as belonging to their respective fields. In this letter it was suggested that the closest affinity was probably to be found in the culture of the Sauromatians and to be placed between the Don, the Volga and the Southern Urals, with close ties to the so-called "anagninskaja" culture.)
4) State Museum of the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (Borovka, G., Scythian Art <1928. Repr. New York, 1960> 101, no. 41, ill.)
5) This entry which conforms to the author's original attribution of the present mirror to this part of the world is confirmed by additional data presented by Mrs. E. Korol'kova (Chezina) in her paper "Four bronze mirrors decorated in Animal Style" (pp. 14-16), given during the colloquium organized on 12 April 1993, following the closing of the exhibition, by the Classical Department of the Hermitage Museum, entitled "Hermitage Readings". The George Ortiz Collection.
6) From Uygyrak, tumuli 22 and 30 (horse trappings) and tumuli 15 and 11 (stone altars), see Vishnevskaya, O.A., The culture of Saka tribes in the lower part of the Syrdar'ya River in the VIIth-Vth centuries B.C. (Moscow, 1973).
7) In the letter mentioned in footnote 3, G. Smirnova wrote: "Zbroueva (A.V. Zbroueva, The history of the peoples of Prikamiya (Kama river basin) in the Anianian period, Materials and Researches on the Archaeology of the USSR, No. 30, Moscow 1952), date ce complexe de la sépulture N 87 IV s. av. J.C. (Meaning that the burial ground to which tomb no. 87 belongs is dated to the 4th century B.C.) Mais selon les recherches plus récentes (S.V. Kuzminyeh, The metallurgy of the Volga-Kama region in the early Iron period <Moscow, 1983>) la nécropole peut dater VI-le commencement IV s. av. J.C. Votre miroir est du VI s. av. J.C. Les bornes et l'animal traité en cercle en témoignent", though E. Korol'kova in her recent paper (see footnote 5) gives the 1952 publication date, 4th century B.C.

214. GALLOPING IBEX (appliques)

Bronze
H: a. 3.86 cm; b. 3.97 cm. L: a. 5.55 cm; b. 5.45 cm
Weight: a. 18.38 g; b. 20.31 g
Provenance: no indication
Mongolia
Mid 1st millennium B.C.

Ex collection:
a: Pelliot (from the 1928 André Citroën archaeological expedition)
b: no precision (1)

Cast by the lost wax method. An explanation for the fact that the 2 examples are extremely similar, though with slight differences, such as the loop at the end of the horn over the middle of the back and other lesser details, is that probably they were made (as was the boar cat. no. 218) from wax models taken from the same mother mould. From this a wax would have been prepared which was later encased with clay for casting. The eyes hollow. Each plaque has two horizontal loops at the back for attachment: on the reverse of the buttocks and above the hole for the eye.
Condition: a: patina a purplish red metal, dark green in places and with spots of red cuprite. A casting fault on the buttock. b: metal a brownish red with traces of dark green.

Probably affixed as embellishments to leather or cloth, part of human dress, as indicated by their size and attachment loops. In this they are in keeping with Scythian practice where we have numberless finds of gold sheet appliques with repeated motifs. Evidently produced in a certain quantity (2) as attested by the five pieces of same size here mentioned, the fifth being an example

formerly in the O. Le Corneur collection and sold in Paris in 1986 (3). There is a drawing of what seems to be an identical piece (4) in Chenlova pl. 32 no. 27.
An interesting detail, which tends to confirm the carving of a negative for the purpose of making the wax, is a similar casting fault on the buttock of the Le Corneur example.
Their galloping stance evokes the spirit of the steppes and the vision of nomads constantly on the move.

1) From a fitted box with 2 other similar pieces and lesser items that were acquired at a Paris auction in the 1970s (?) by Dr. Elie Borowski. The best example from this lot is the present one.
2) E. Bunker informs us that there is an example from the estate of Arthur M. Sackler, V-3176, which she says is definitely a fake; its length is 5.1 cm and its height 4.4 cm; it weighs 22.68 g and also has a tiny flaw on the haunch and shows absolutely no wear or patina. It is to be noted that the Sackler example would seem to be higher but shorter and is heavier. Its contour edges are rough and its surface seems uneven.
3) Hotel Drouot, 21 March 1986, lot 109 ill.; the measurements appear slightly different because they have been taken as though the natural position of the animal were with its hind leg lying flat on the ground. In fact, all five examples are of the same size.
4) Information and photostat kindly supplied by E. Bunker, unfortunately it is not an excavated item.

215. COILED ANIMAL (applique)

Bronze
W: 4.68-5.65 cm
Provenance: no indication
Central Siberia, Tagar Culture II
5th-4th century B.C.

Cast by the lost wax process, the back hollow, and summarily worked in the cold.
Condition: the metal a bronze medal colour with green, red cuprite and traces of tinning on the surface. The hollowed back a shiny bright green patina.
Several of the openwork loops on the outer side broken as is attachment of tail end to jaw.

The wolf appears to be biting his tail near the end of his curled body which terminates in a griffin protome. The coiled animal form is a typical Scythian motif.
Possibly part of horse trappings.
A fairly close parallel is to be found in the C.T. Loo - afterwards Baron von der Heydt - collection (1).

Exhibited and Published:
Animal Style Art, 75, 78, cat. no. 48, ill.

1) Salmony, A., Sino-Siberian Art in the Collection of C.T. Loo (Paris, 1933) 45, no. 10, pl. XV; Griessmaier, V., Sammlung Baron Eduard von der Heydt Wien (Vienna, 1936) 52-53, no. 77.

216. HEAD OF WADER (1) (finial)

Bronze
L: 21.8 cm
Provenance: no indication
Western Inner Mongolia
Warring States Period. 481-221 B.C.

Ex collection:
D. David-Weill (inv. no. 2143)

Cast with a central core between two half moulds tied together, the metal poured in from the neck end, the edges cut down and burnished in the cold. The casting seams, running the length of the bird's head and neck above and below, are made decorative use of and only cold-worked to the extent necessary. The core still in the beak with an iron rod coming from it visible in the head cavity, the neck emptied for insertion of a staff or pole which would have been held in place by a transverse dowel through the hole on either side of the neck. A squarish hole on top of the head for inserting an ornamental element(s). Two oval ones on the left side of the beak and cheek of indeterminate purpose.
Condition: patina a dark green, speckled with greyish earth deposit, yellowish metal showing through here and there, iron-coloured earth incrustation. A few nicks on the upper left side of the beak, a crack adjoining the hole on the right side of the neck and a slight casting fault on the right cheek.

There are similar finials with slight variants as for instance an eared bird with a long beak, perhaps a raven (2).
Whether used as pole top, a chariot fitting or surmounting a canopy is uncertain.

Exhibited:
Ostasiatiska Samlingarna, Stockholm 1933
Published :
Jansé, O., L'Empire des Steppes, Revue des Arts Asiatiques, Annales du Musée Guimet 9 (March 1935) pl. IV.1d.

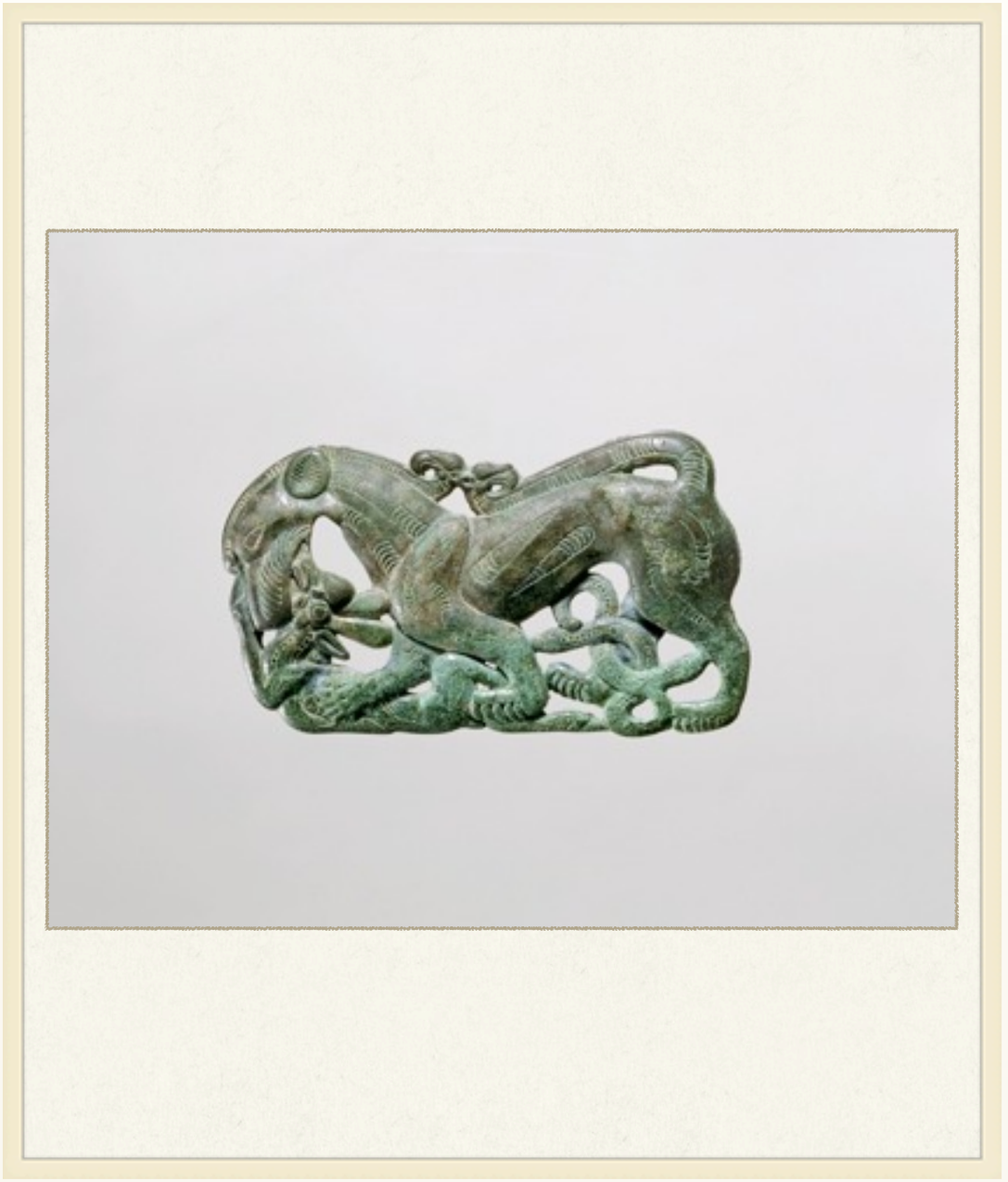
1) The wader is a marsh bird, this finial probably represents the painted stork.
2) Bunker, E., "Animal Style" Art from East to West (New York, 1970) 123, 142, no. 98.

217. OPENWORK PLAQUE

Bronze
H: 5.92 cm. W: 10.2 cm
Provenance: no indication
Inner Mongolia-North-West China
Warring States Period (481-221 B.C.). 4th century B.C. (1)

Cast by the lost wax method (the wax probably made by pressing into a mould, then removed and touched up), extensively cold-worked, hammered, chiselled and burnished. A vertical loop for attachment behind the rump at the back.
Condition: patina a varying greyish green with silvery tinges and bright green chlorides with touches of blue and parts a mat purplish brown. An iron stain deposit on the shoulder.

A wolf with mane and tail ending in raptor heads relishes his kill as he is about to devour a deer; two snakes intertwined below his body. Somewhat hybrid in keeping with E. Bunker's mention (2) that the snakes are a Chinese Warring States subject matter and that the raptor heads - a hybrid design - are a typical steppe motif. She also adds that snakes adorn many Qin artefacts, to which we would like to add that they also are characteristic of decorative reliefs, ornaments and belt plaques of the Dian from the high plateau of the Dian lake in Central Yunnan. With respect to this belt plaque, she says that very similar pieces have been excavated in nomadic sites in Southern Ningxia and Southeast Gansu: "... probably made by the state of Qin during the Warring States period expressly to trade with the nomads for horses which the Chinese desperately needed. The Qin occupied most of the Shaanxi province which explains their contact with pastoral tribes buried in Ningxia and Gansu."



Exhibited and Published:
Animal Style Art, 129, 143, cat. no. 112, ill.

1) We have adopted the dating of E. Bunker. A. Salmony (Sino-Siberian Art in the Collection of C. T. Loo <Paris, 1933>) some sixty years ago reproduced several plaques pl. XXIV nos. 3, 4, 5 of a similar type to this example and embodying some of its details and features. The products of artistic intercrossings, he stated they are no longer a part of the steppe circle and dated no. 3 around A.D. 500 as being the earliest type; however, the other two are relatively illegible and discussing this he dated them later and up to the end of the millennium.
2) In a letter to the author dated 14 May 1993.

218. BOAR (plaque)

Gilt bronze
H: 6.1 cm. L: 11.17 cm
Provenance: no indication
Inner Mongolia-North China
3rd century B.C.

Cast by the lost wax method. The wax model which would have been encased with clay for casting was probably prepared from a carved negative, or one stamped in clay. Two horizontal loops at the back for attachment: at both ends, on the reverse of the eyebrow and lower buttock. The surface was cold-worked, mercury-gilt, then burnished.
Condition: most of the gilding worn away revealing a light brown metal with patches of green patina and spotty splashes of red cuprite.

Good comparisons are a gilt bronze plaque in Los Angelesi, though here two boar protomes are joined at the midriff, and two gilt bronze boar plaques in Chinaii.
E. Bunker writesiii to us: "Your boar was probably made during the Qin or early Western Han period at some Chinese metalworking center to trade with the Xiongnu who were the major pastoral tribes at the time on China's northern borders."

219. OPENWORK PLAQUE (belt clasp)

Bronze
H: 12.3 cm. W: 13.1 cm
Provenance: no indication
Caucasus
1st-2nd century A.D.

Ex collection:
Professor Friedrich Sarre

Cast by the lost wax method, the wax probably prepared as for the boar, cat. no. 218; a cone on each of the four corners; the stag's shoulder and thigh bulbous and decorated with incised circles; on the reverse a loop and hook. Lightly worked over in the cold.
Condition: patina a light green with a dark claret-coloured metal showing through and the odd spot of iron deposit; on the reverse the hollow body of the stag with casting burrs. A crack through the border behind the buttock, a nick on the lower edge, a crack through the upper body of the bird; two different parts of the tail - that curves up and forward above the stag's body ending in a spiral - missing; an indent on the croup.

The rectangular belt clasp is decorated with a wide border, a double row of S-spirals framed by three double lines. The central motif of the openwork design a stylized stag and, in keeping with the usual pattern, three smaller animals - here, on the present example, a dog (1) below its belly and another in front of its chest, and a bird of prey above its back.
There are many similar plaques with similar type borders, sometimes with three rows of S-spirals or with herring-bone patterns and other slight variants; the same holds true for the scene of which the central animal is usually either a stag or horse and the

lesser figures dogs, birds, goats or foals.
A close comparison is the belt plaque in Los Angeles (2).

Exhibited and Published:
Kunstschätze aus Iran, 185, cat. no. 888.

1) Usually described as such and probably indicating a hunting scene. The thought that it might be possible to see in these creatures two fawns, one attempting to suckle and the other reaching up to its mother's face in a gesture of playful tenderness, is a tempting one, though their long ears are more in keeping with those of dogs.
2) County Museum of Art M.76.97.612: Moorey, P.R.S. et al., Ancient Bronzes, Ceramics and Seals. The Nasli M. Heeramaneck Collection of Ancient Near Eastern, Central Asiatic, and European Art (Los Angeles, 1981) 184, no. 944 (E. Bunker). With the following slight differences: the border three rows of S-spirals enclosed by four single lines and the antlers numbering three with double loops, whereas the present example features two antlers.

CHAPTER 10

ROMAN

220. AJAX

Bronze
H: c. 29 cm. L (greatest): c. 33 cm (toe-arm muscle); tip of beard-top of head: 7.7 cm
Allegedly from Asia Minor
Roman
Early Augustan

Hollow-cast by the lost wax method in five parts (1) joined to each other by fusion-welding, extensively cold-worked: patched, chased, burnished and polished. The eyes silver, the inlaid irises missing. Lips, nipples and button on pommel of sword inlaid in copper.
Condition: patina light olive green to blackish green, copper-coloured metal showing through in places, specks of light green cuprous chloride here and there, the odd spot of cuprite, traces of light-coloured earth incrustation; the surface, originally very smooth, in places scraped with superficial spots of pitting, a few pin-points - casting faults at join of arms and upper left thigh to body.
Missing the sword blade, the scabbard, the base on which he would have been seated, and at the join with the head a rectangular patch on the upper left side of his neck and a small one on the nape, at the hairline.

Ajax at daybreak comes to his senses. The instant when dawns upon him the terrible realization that only death can cleanse his honour. This is the Sophoclean version of Ajax (2).
Meditating his suicide, brooding and despondent, he would have been seated on a rock (3) probably cast at one with a small section of landscape figuring slain cattle and sheep. In his upraised right hand he held the unsheathed sword - maybe Hector's, which he exchanged for his belt - of which the blade might have been of

copper or silver, and in his left the scabbard.
Until recently (4), this was the only known representation of him in the round. The best previous comparison for the subject was a bronze patera in Lyon (5) with, on its omphalos in low relief, the same representation at this very pathetic moment of the drama. His right hand also in the same position holds the sword and he is seated on a draped rock with dead cattle at his feet; across his upper left thigh rests a scabbard and over his left forearm is the strap that would have held it. The latter an added indication, if one be needed, that the representation is Ajax, son of Telamon, King of Salamis; for Telamon means baldric in Greek. The Lyon patera has been dated by its handle and decorative elements to the 1st century A.D. Another revealing comparison is a terracotta lamp (6) reputedly from Naples in Vienna. The scene is almost identical but in addition there is a tree in the background. There are numerous gems illustrating the scene, among which one in Munich (7) shows a very similar representation.
In archaic times Ajax would have been shown in action, or dead. Only the great Black-Figure artist Exekias shows him contemplating suicide, and here, as with all the comparisons mentioned, we have a psychological study where the moment represented is before the action.
Why a representation of Ajax at this time? B. Shefton (8) says: "It is very well possible that a Classical prototype, perhaps under the influence of Sophocles' play is indeed behind this particular iconography. It is then, however, puzzling that all its surviving precipitation should come at the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire". At first the author in his talk at Stara Zagora thought that this work harked back to a Classical original of the late 4th century, maybe a work by Lysippos, or in his tradition, though at his Getty conference he rhetorically asked "What is the date and what is the purpose or function of this admirable statuette?
On account of its close parallel to the Belvedere Torso, its best comparison, its classical spirit and yet its Roman characteristics (such as the treatment of certain details, the left thigh, the shoulder-blades, the head and hair very well modelled and chiselled, the furrowed brow, also the stressed musculature, almost exaggerated, and the spinal groove, his beard and hair somewhat similar to the Boxer), we perceive between its classical inspiration and its execution reminiscences of baroque Pergamene art with eastern influences expressed in the muscles and thorax. I feel that we should place him in the second half of the 1st century B.C. and probably in the early reign of Augustus." The 1st century B.C. is a very eclectic period, but in spirit it is classicizing: Greek artists worked for Augustus. Ajax' expression bears strong resemblance with cameos of his time.
J. Marszal, on a visit, pointed out that a detail such as his very severe eyebrows are characteristic of the Augustan Age. The subject of Ajax in a similar position was represented on a painting by Timomachos, one of the two paintings (9), which Julius Caesar brought back to Rome from Kyzikos for the temple of Venus Victrix. Whatever the date of the painting, whether 3rd or 1st century B.C., it reveals, with other examples such as the scene representing Ajax on the Tabula Iliaca Capitolina of the last quarter of the 1st century B.C., that Romans of the period were keenly aware of the subject.
The Torso Belvedere, contemporary in date, third quarter of the 1st century B.C., is the closest parallel and is also primarily to be seen from one viewpoint: "einansichtig".
Historically, psychologically and philosophically such a representation of Ajax is most appropriate for the period.
The last century B.C. was a terribly difficult time. There is civil war when Octavian becomes Augustus, with an atmosphere of perpetual uncertainty and insecurity. A representation of Ajax would have served a political purpose, have been a warning against dissension and disorder, and by inference would have been meant to be dissuasive.
Suetonius (Frgs. on the works of Augustus, 85,2) tells that Augustus was very interested in the psychology of Ajax and wrote a tragedy

on the subject, which he later destroyed. When his friends asked him what was becoming of his "Ajax", he answered "that he had thrown himself on a sponge". Augustus is here making a pun on the title of his tragedy, for Ajax threw himself on his sword, while Augustus has thrown himself on a sponge to erase any traces of his verses.

Historically both suicide and Ajax were in fashion just before and during the time of Augustus. Ajax was a very popular subject, for in a certain manner he incarnated the tragic condition of man, victim of the injustice of his peers. In philosophy the renewal of Stoicism honours the hero for his moral strength and will power, thus serving as an example for all humans. As with Ajax who, shown in a moment of disarray and despair, feeling dishonoured, commits suicide; an act which the Stoics admitted, even approved of, if well planned. Suicide was an acceptable form of escape and served also as a mark of opposition to a bad prince or emperor.

Romans in official speeches, wishing to extol the virtues of an emperor, always referred to Ajax, Achilles or Hector.

In conclusion, it is probable that this work was made in the metropolis after an original of the 2nd century B.C. by a Greek artist, just as was his closest comparison, the Belvedere Torso, whose identity the author had suggested the Ajax might reveal. It is however R. Wünsche who appropriated the idea, developed and published it. It is, nevertheless, also possible that our Ajax was made in one of the great workshops of the Eastern Roman Empire for a Roman general or a philhellene prince or ruler.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1988-1992

Published: Wünsche, R., “Deutung und Wirkung des Torso vom Belvedere”, Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie 8 (1991-92) 61-69, fig. 57; id., Wünsche, R., “Torso vom Belvedere”, in: Il Cortile delle statue. Der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan. Akten des internationalesn Kongresses zu Ehren von Richard Krautheimer, Rom 21.-23. Oktober 1992 (Mainz 1998) 305-306, with note 71; id., “Der Torso vom Belvedere. Denkmal des sinnenden Aias”, MüJb 3. Folge, 44 (1993) 7-46; Himmelmann, N., “Anmerkungen zum Torso vom Belvedere”, AA 1996, 475-483; id., « Der Torso vom Belvedere », Minima Archaeologica. Utopie und Wirklichkeit der Antike Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 68, (Mainz, 1996) 187 ff., figs. 100-101; Wünsche, Raimund, Der Torso. Ruhm und Rätsel. Eine Ausstellung der Staatlichen Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München, München, 21. Januar bis 29. März 1998 (München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, München, 1998) 74-75, fig. 106 (drawing); Hafner, G., “Der Torso vom Belvedere”, ÖJh 68 (1999) 41-57; Wünsche, R., “Belvedere-Toersen, Interpretation ved rekonstruktion”, Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek NS 3 (2001) 31, 34, fig. 11 (drawing).
Meyer, H. : Doch Prometheus ? Zum Typus des Torso vom Belvedere und seiner antiken Wirkungsgeschichte, …..

The author gave a twenty-minute exposé on this statuette of Ajax on 30 May at the VIIIth International Colloquium on Ancient Bronzes which took place at Stara Zagora on 28 May to 1 June 1984, and a one-hour talk at The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, entitled "Ajax contemplating suicide" on 25 April 1985. On these occasions he discussed different aspects and at the Malibu talk developed the historical context of the statuette covering the last two centuries that led up to it. But in both he drew attention to its closest parallel and comparison, the Belvedere Torso of which he showed several slides, matching views with the Ajax and said "en passant" that the present statuette could furnish the indication for the identification of the torso.

Subsequent to the author's 1985 talk and a visit to his collection by R. Wünsche when the author suggested the identification for the Belvedere Torso, Wünsche obtained photographs for study purposes only; but later he published a photograph and the identification in an article in 1991-92, neither acknowledging the paternity of the idea nor informing the author. This accomplished, a more thorough publication appeared in 1993, of which the author, once again, was not informed; but since he had written a letter of protest to Wünsche after the first publication, this time minimal acknowledgment was given.

At the closing of the George Ortiz Collection in the Hermitage, in a small symposium, George Ortiz spoke of Ajax, cat. no. 220, in detail, showing its closest comparison to be the Belvedere Torso and suggesting once again that the bronze could be the explanation for the latter's identification.

1) These are: the body with the right leg, the head (the join circling the base of the beard and continuing around at the hairline), both arms (the join below the shoulders), the left leg (the join running under the thigh where it meets the buttock following naturally the inguinal line and crossing on top at the back of the thigh and on its outer side). In fusion-welding the two parts are melted together at the join, adding superheated metal of similar composition. This is both a difficult and wasteful process: one has to fill the two parts with clay to avoid the hot metal running in (here it partially filled the left leg) and mount a mould inserting ducts and vents to allow the wax and gases to escape. Here, considerable cold-work has been carried out to attenuate the fusion-welding imperfections.

Below the buttocks traces of the soldering (probably soft solder - roughly 50% Pb & 50% Sn) that served to hold the figure on its base; a long oval opening below the right foot surely for the same purpose; the iron rod running down through the core of the right leg probably once extended into the base through the opening in the foot, though it may have been only to hold the core in place.

2) The tragedy (446-420 B.C.) of which a résumé of the argument is given us in F. Storr, Sophocles, Vol. II Loeb Classical Library (London/New York, 1919) as follows: "The arms of Achilles, claimed by Ajax as the bravest warrior in the host", bulwark of the Achaeans, erchos Achaion (Homer, Iliad III 229), the greatest hero after Achilles, whose body he recovered at great risk from under the walls of Troy that he might receive appropriate burial among his own "were through intrigue given to Odysseus, and Ajax vows vengeance both on the winner and on the awarders of the prize. But Athena, his patron goddess, whom his arrogance has estranged," for he committed the sin of hubris - he told her when she came to help him

'Go and look after other Achaeans, the line will never break where I stand' and to his father Telamon, King of Salamis, who asked him if he had sacrificed to the gods, that he could win glory without their help. He is punished for his arrogance and through intrigue the Achaean chieftains vote with a bare majority that the arms go to Odysseus, Athena's new protégé - "sends him a delusion so that he mistakes for his foes the sheep and cattle of the Greeks. Athena, when the play opens, is discovered conversing with Odysseus outside the tent of Ajax; she will show him his mad foe mauling the beasts within. The mad fit passes and Ajax bewails his insensate folly and declares that death alone can wipe out the shame. His wife Tecmessa and the Chorus try to dissuade him, but he will not be comforted and calls for his son Eurysaces. The child is brought, and after leaving his last injunctions for his brother Teucer, Ajax takes a tender farewell. He then fetches his sword from the tent and goes forth declaring that he will purge himself of his stains and bury his sword. Presently a Messenger from the camp announces that Teucer has returned from his foray and has learnt from Calchas, the seer, that if only Ajax can be kept within the camp for that day all may yet be well. The Chorus and Tecmessa set forth in quest of Ajax, and Tecmessa discovers him lying transfixed by his sword. Teucer finds the mourners gathered round the corpse and is preparing to bury him, when Menelaus hurries up to forbid the burial. After an angry wrangle with Teucer, Menelaus departs, but is succeeded by Agamemnon, who enforces his brother's veto and is hardly persuaded by Odysseus to relent." Odysseus says (Ajax 1357): "with me his worth outweighs his enmity." "Ajax is carried by his Salaminians to his grave, a grave (so they prophesy) that shall be famous for all time."

3) As suggested by the comparisons and indicated by the uneven surface under his buttocks and the traces of soldering. The position also bears comparison with that of the Herakles in Tarentum, as described by Strabo (64 B.C.-A.D. 21).

4) The author was lucky enough to be offered from New York a small bronze statuette of Ajax (H: 6.75 cm), allegedly also from Asia Minor, seated on a draped rock, cast in one on a piece of landscape, its base, on which lie three dead animals, an ox, a ram and what appears to be a doe. His right hand in a similar position to that of the present statuette also holds the pommel of a sword, the blade missing, and in his left resting on the forearm is the scabbard, whereas on the present statuette it would have been held inside his arm.

5) Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine à Lyon Br. 144: Armand-Caillat, L., “Patères en bronze trouvées près de Lyon à l'Ile-Barbe”, RA (1959) 65 ff; Boucher, S. and Tassinari, S., Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine à Lyon. Bronzes Antiques I (Paris, 1976) 122-123, no. 138.

6) Kunsthistorisches Museum V 3601: Armand-Caillat, L., op. cit., fig. 4; LIMC I.1, 328, no. 101, ill. I.2, 245 (O. Touchefeu).

7) Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek A 458: LIMC I.1, 328, no. 99, ill. I.2, 245 (O. Touchefeu).

8) Agamemnon or Ajax? RA, 1973, 217-218.

9) The other was of Medea reflecting on the assassination of her children.

221. PERFUME BOTTLE

Cameo glass
H: 14 cm
From Estepa (Spain)
Roman
25 B.C.-A.D. 14 (Augustan)

Ex collection :
D. R. Machuca

Cameo glass was probably first made in Rome during the 1st century B.C.
Thus named because after blowing or casting the raw material, it was then carved in the technique utilized for semi-precious stones composed of two or more layers of different colours. Blue and white are the two colours almost always used.

The present example was made in two stages: the general shape was first blown, casing the layer of one colour over another; the outer layer of white glass was then cut away and carved with the help of a cutting wheel and hand tools which further cut, faceted, scraped, ground and polished, revealing the contrasting blue layer which in turn was also worked.
Condition: glued together from several pieces without any filling or restoration. A few slivers missing from the undecorated parts. Slightly weathered and iridescent.

This perfume bottle was probably made in Rome and, for its similarity in style to cameos of the Augustan period, it should be dated around the turn of the century.

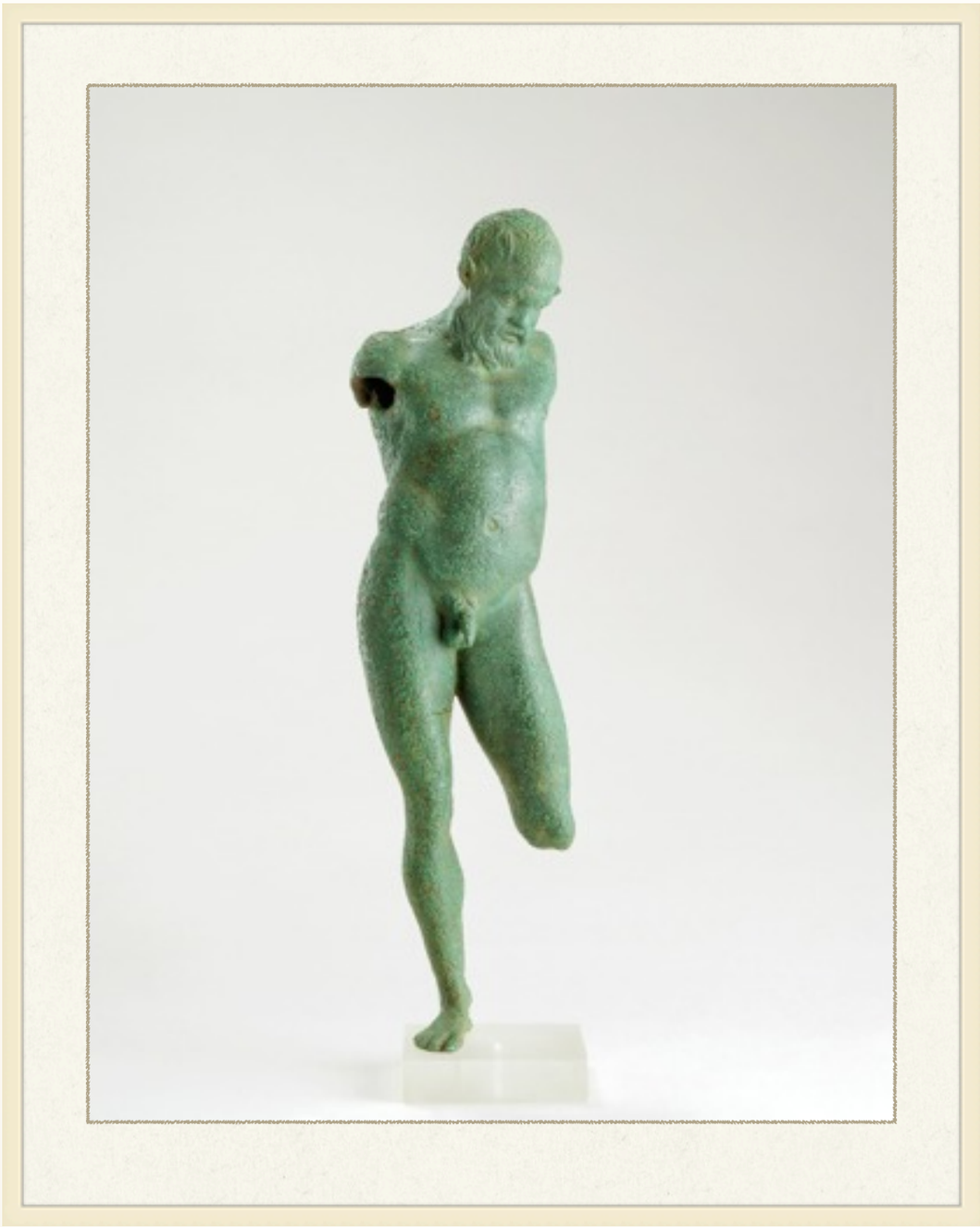
It is of "translucent deep blue glass with an opaque white overlay" (1), decorated with great delicacy with two erotic scenes: one of a man and a woman, the other of a man and a boy. The upper and lower decoration repeat the same motifs all around.
The closest parallels for the subjects, as pointed out by Whitehouse (2), are to be found on Arretine pottery and in cameo glass, a fragment of a cup in the British Museum (3). The perfume bottle from Torrita di Siena (4) in the Archaeological Museum in Florence is of this shape. The Seasons Vase (5) has garlands that are similar to those on ours.

Exhibited:
Glass of the Caesars, Corning N.Y. 1987 (hors catalogue).
Published:
Caldera Castro, M. del Pilar, “Un balsamario de vidrio camafeo procedente de Ostippa (Estepa, Sevilla)”, Archivo Espanol de Arquelogia 59 (1986) 211-218, nos. 153-154.
Whitehouse, D., “Cameo Glass”, in: Newby, M. (ed.), Early Imperial Roman Glass (London, 1990); Painter, K. and Whitehouse, D., “Early Roman Cameo Glasses”, JGS 32 (1990) 161-162, figs. 124-125, A15; Whitehouse, D., Cameo Glass in: Newby, M. and Painter, K. (eds.), Roman Glass: Two Centuries of Art and Invention, Occasional Papers from the Society of Antiquaries of London, 13 (1991) 19 ff., pls. 6-7; Clarke, J. R., Looking at Lovemaking. Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art 100 B.C. – A.D. 250 (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1998) 79-81, figs. 3-4, col. pl.; Pollini, J., “The Warren Cup : Homoerotic Love and Symposial Rhetoric in Silver”, in: Art Bulletin 81 (March 1999) 29-30, fig. 10-11; Clarke, J. R., Roman Sex – 100 B.C. – A.D. 250 (New York 2003) 84-85, fig. 57-58.
Mentioned:
Herrmann, A., “The boy with the Jumping Weights”, BClevMus, 80 (September 1993) 307, fig. 11.
Discussed:
Whitehouse, D., Cameo Glass (Conference held in conjunction with the British Museum Glass Symposium, December 1987.)

1) Whitehouse, D., Cameo Glass. Conf. BM, Dec. 1987. (We would like to thank David Whitehouse for having given us a copy of the text of his lecture which has been much used for this entry.) Since writing it M. del Pilar Caldera Castro's article has been received, and although the present piece is extensively discussed, it has not induced changes.
2) op. cit.
3) British Museum GR 1956.3-1.5.
4) Florence, Archaeological Museum 70811: Painter, K. and Whitehouse, D., JGS 32 (1990) 145-146, A5, figs. 103-106.
5) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles: Painter, K. and Whitehouse, D., op. cit., 158-160, fig. 122, A13.

222. SATYR

Bronze
H: 23.42 cm
Allegedly from Corsica
Roman
1st century A.D.



Hollow-cast by the lost wax method, the lower legs possibly solid. The left arm separately cast and fusion-welded to the body; probably also the right arm but attached below the shoulder. The tail possibly made separately and fusion-welded on. Carefully cold-worked, burnished and polished. The eyes of silver, the inlay for the irises missing; the nipples also once inlaid in copper (?).
Condition: patina a smooth light greyish green here and there, though most of the surface has been seriously pitted and abraded by cuprite and green chloride creating a very mottled surface. Missing: the left arm, the right arm below the shoulder, the left leg below the knee as well as the tail of which only a stump remains; a crack on the inside upper right thigh ending below the buttock. The back of the head flattened.

Looking down, his horse's ears sticking out, paunchy and balding, the satyr stands with his weight on his back foot. Since Archaic Greek times satyrs were shown in innumerable poses: in bronze, marble, and terracotta statuettes and illustrated on vases. For two earlier Greek satyrs see cat. nos. 113, 114, where not only are they represented full of spirit, but embody a symbolic meaning. Later examples, such as the Hellenistic bronze, cat. no. 170, and this figurine fulfil a purely decorative function.
A revealing comparison is the example in the Bastis Collection. For though the stance is very similar, details and spirit are strikingly different. The Bastis satyr is a late Hellenistic original (1) in baroque

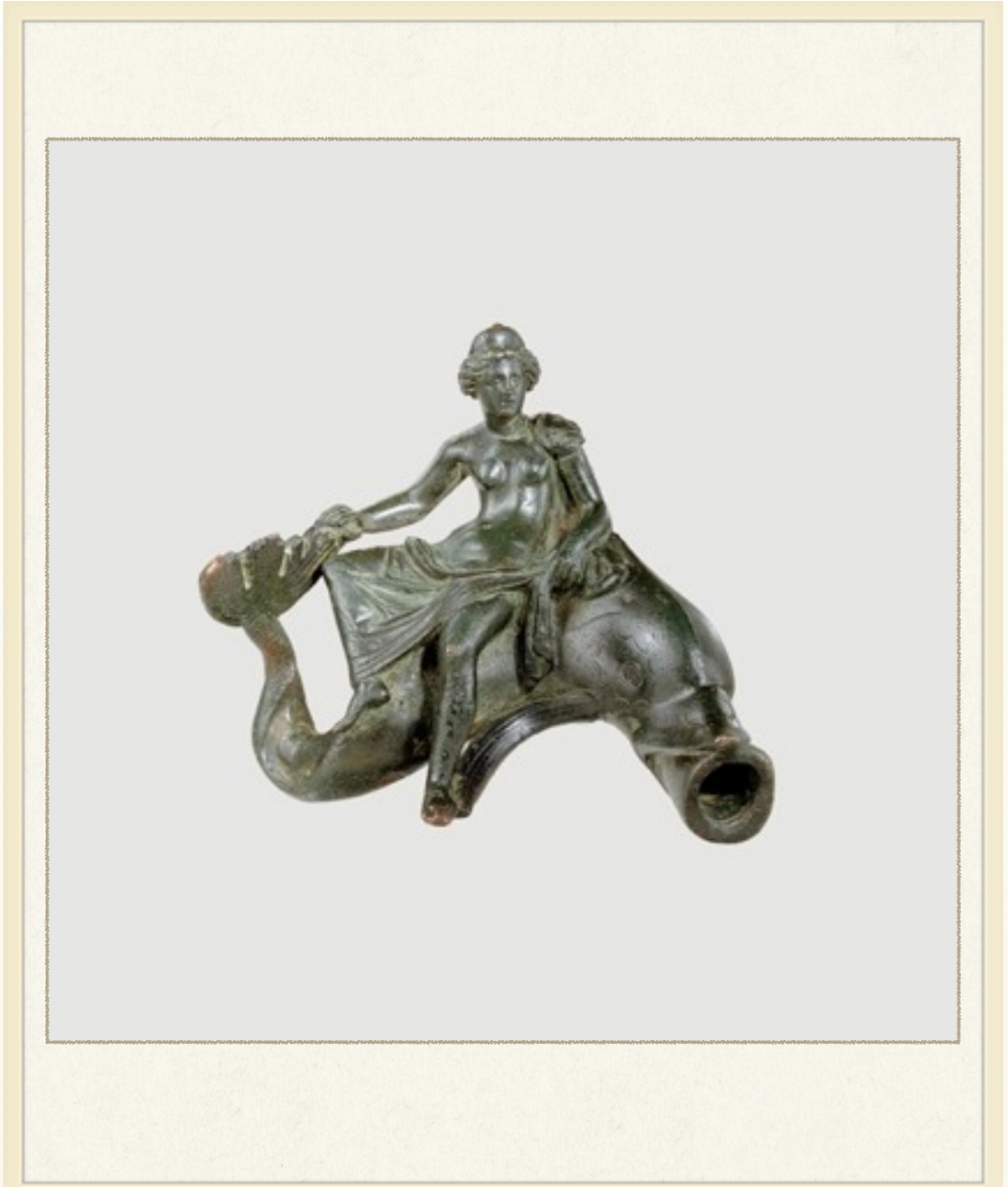
style, whereas our statuette is Roman, as shown by the classicizing execution and his inlaid silver eyes, typical for Roman works from Pompeii, Herculaneum, and elsewhere.

1) Oliver, A., Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis (Mainz, 1987) 198, no. 110; here dated as 3rd or 2nd century B.C., in part substantiated by comparison with a Herakles in Jerusalem excavated at Samaria and datable before the city's destruction in 107 B.C. We agree with the comparison, which gives a terminus ante quem towards the end of the 2nd century B.C. but does not justify a much earlier date.

223. GIRL ON A DOLPHIN (table fountain spout)

Bronze
H: 7.6 cm. W: 7.7 cm
Provenance: no indication
Metropolitan Rome
27 B.C.-A.D. 14 (Augustan)

Ex collection:
Stanley Casson



Solid-cast by the lost wax process save for a hollow pipe-like section running through and protruding from the dolphin's head, at the back it is circled by a special section for attachment (with traces of soldering). The eyes of the dolphin inlaid with tenorite (CuO, a black copper oxide).
Condition: patina a dark olive green, and yellowish, reddish or bronze medal colour showing through in a few small places. A crack through the right wrist and another halfway through the dolphin's tail. Part of the tenorite inlay of the eyes missing.

The girl seated on the dolphin is probably Aphrodite (1) or a Nereid (2).
The ensemble formed the spout of a small table fountain, an object of refinement and prestige in a wealthy Roman household.

Exhibited and Published:
Master Bronzes, 303, cat. no. 304, ill; Pompeii, 136, cat. no. 243, ill.
Published:
Delivorrias, A., LIMC II.1, 101, no. 979.

1) A. Delivorrias (LIMC II, 1, 101, no. 979) lists her among his examples of Aphrodite riding a dolphin.

224. RING

Gold
Weight : 8.20 g. H : 2.1 cm. W : 2.35 cm.
Provenance : no indication
Late Hellenistic / Roman ?
1st century B.C. / 1st century A.D. ?

The bezel cast in gold, the scene extensively cold-worked; the band drawn, hammered, curved and annealed to it
Condition : slightly worn.

The scene is a landscape, a genre found in Roman wall-painting. On the left a tree, its trunk broken, rises from uneven ground indicated by an undulating line, its two vigorous branches and their offshoots covered in rich foliage extending over the whole. Alongside the trunk four small bushes or flowers with petals, another aboce the top branch, and at the foot of the three a dog on its haucnhes faces an old man hatted and cloaked as he approaches, stopped and helped by a staff in his left hand, Behind the old man on a mound a sixth small bush or flower with petels.
Whether the idyllic scene is purely decorative, gratuitous and for the viewer's pleasure or has a specific meaning, is uncertain. If allegorical, it may symbolize the contrast between advanced age and approaching death represented in the figure of the old man and life exemplified in the flowering tree. The dog may be waiting to guide his master to the other world.

225. CHILD IN A TOGA

Bronze
H: 7.15 cm
Allegedly from Asia Minor
Julio-Claudian
Mid 1st century A.D.

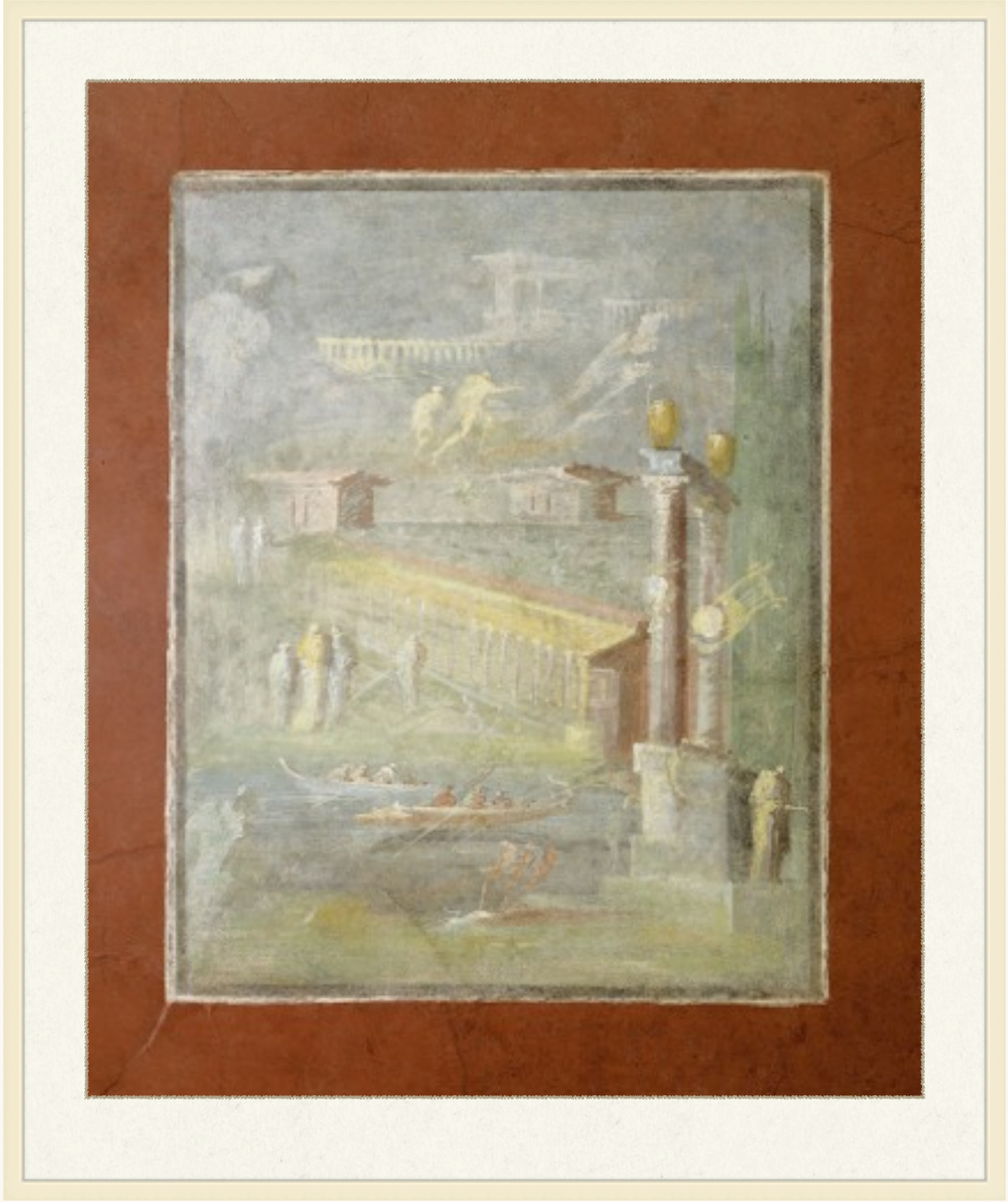
The body hollow-cast by the lost wax method; the head, left arm and both feet with lower legs solid-cast, these last made separately as were also possibly the right arm and head. The different parts would have been joined by fusion-welding. The whole carefully cold-worked, burnished and polished. The eyes possibly once inlaid, a pin still in place in the right eye.
Condition: patina a blackish olive green with reddish brown traces, yellowish metal with red cuprite shows through on the abraded tip of the nose. All the fingers of the right hand missing, his right big toe stubbed.

This confident smiling child, though he is not wearing the toga praetexta, is in line with a tradition (1) of the early Imperial period that produced many statues of youths, thus draped, usually Julio-Claudian princes. Those free-born were allowed to wear this, the dress of officials, until they were of an age to wear the toga virilis. The toga praetexta was usually shown in conjunction with the bulla, the insignum ingenuitatis.
This child seems to be dressed in an imperial toga and his stance is that of a prince or ruler.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 369, ill.

226. LANDSCAPE

Fresco
Scene: 66.2-66.6 x 52.3-52.8 cm (White border: 2-7 mm. Red wall: 7.7-15.5 cm)
Allegedly from Stabiae
End of Third Style
c. A.D. 40



Painted by the fresco technique (1), the first layer may have been the greyish-blue of the border and it would have been burnished, thus bringing out moisture, enabling the multiple impressionistic brushstrokes of the scene using a great variety of colours, subtle shades: pale blue, green and grey, pink, yellow, reddish brown, white. The surface was afterwards polished. The central panel still surrounded by parts of the background wall whence it came, a red colour with a high burnish and polish.
Condition: very good. The scene itself with a few narrow fissures, a horizontal sliver about 10 cm long and 2-3 mm wide missing below the feet of the two upper figures and retouched in tratteggio (2). A crack runs the full length of all four borders along the narrow white band (3); the surrounding wall parts fissured here and there, touched up in tratteggio.
The panel has undergone restoration (4) and has been thinned down at the back so that the thickness of the original is presently about 1 cm embedded in the modern backing (nylon cloth with cellulose stucco).

The interpretation of the various scenes in this sacro-idyllic landscape is somewhat difficult: a portico, two figures at one end and four figures in front, a jetty, on a stretch of water a race between two boats each with three oarsmen, three figures on a third boat drawn up on the water's edge hauling up a net with a large fish (?); on the right a pedestal with two columns hung with a lyre and a

ram's head (5) and surmounted by an architrave topped by two large vases, on the far right a figure sacrificing and tall cypresses; above the portico two smaller buildings and two hunters bounding towards an "acropolis".
A good parallel is a panel from Boscotrecase (6) for many of its features and accessories: the two columns also decorated with motifs, surmounted by similar capitals supporting an architrave on which two vases. A. Barbet informs us that it is of considerable size and the scale completely different. Thus, though the treatment is similar as she agrees, it is close but not identical, and she adds that it is to be dated to the early part of the Third Style, 11 B.C. Another panel (7) from the same villa is, she points out, of the same vocabulary but not the same treatment. We find a similarity for the figures, the triremes and the buildings with a panel from Stabiae (8) which A. Barbet tells us belongs to the Fourth Style and bears analogy for the brushwork. She suggests that the closest parallel is a painting from Pompeii (9), from the Casa del Sacerdote Amando, a landscape with Polyphemus and Galatea which is of the Third Style in its ripe phase, A.D. 35 to 45.
Executed in a fluid and allusive Impressionistic manner in very light colours with the light coming from the left, the landscape bathes in an aura of poetical mysticism.

Exhibited and Published:
Pompeii, 219, cat. no. 378.

For this entry we are much indebted to Roger Ling, Roman Painting (Cambridge, 1991), chapter 10, Technique, and to Mrs. Alix Barbet for the trouble she has taken to enlighten the author who assumes all responsibility for any errors.
1) This implies painting on damp plaster, the plasterer working alongside the painter. The wall is covered with various layers depending on the quality of the execution; the lower layer(s), rough plaster (arriccio), a mixture of lime with sand or powdered pottery and fine gravel, the top layer(s), a finer and more compact plaster (intonaco), powdered limestone, marble dust. The layers went from thick to progressively thinner for two practical reasons: firstly to convert the rough surface of the wall to a fairly flat even surface, secondly the thickness retained its moisture much longer and once the painting was finished as the wall dried out from the back to the front it helped fix the painted surface as certain elements were brought to the fore.
2) Modern School of Rome scientific method of restoring ancient frescoes: the missing parts are filled, smoothed and then touched up (a reversible procedure) by means of watercolour applied with vertical brushstrokes giving a harmonized visual effect from afar but visible to the naked eye from close to. More recently and for Augustan-period paintings whose surface is burnished, watercolour is applied in a myriad of pinpoint dots, a sort of very closely-knit "pointillé" (information verbally supplied by Alix Barbet on a visit 11 September 1993). In the present case, the restorer has made an exception to the rule by using both vertical and horizontal brushstrokes.
3) The artist who painted the scene would not have been the one to paint the surrounding wall; the fissure indicates that the panel corresponded to a "giornata di lavoro", that is a section to be done in one session.
4) Ateliers et Laboratoire Crephart, Genève, 1972.
5) We are grateful for this indication given us by Alix Barbet on a visit 11 September 1993. The two representations on the column might be a suggestion for the cult of Apollo and Mercury.
6) Naples, Archaeological Museum 147502: Blanckenhagen, P.H. von and Alexander, C., The Augustan Villa at Boscotrecase (Mainz, 1990) pl 31; Ling, R., Roman Painting, 146, fig. 153.
7) Naples, Archaeological Museum 147501: Blanckenhagen, P. H. von and Alexander, C., op. cit., pl. 24.
8) Ling, R., op. cit., 147, fig. 155.
9) Pompeii I 7,7: Blanckenhagen, P.H. von and Alexander, C., op. cit., pl. 58.

227. TINTINNABULUM (and lamp)

Bronze
H: 24 cm
Provenance: Herculaneum, excavated 16 August 1740
Pompeian? possibly Alexandrian
Late 1st century B.C.-early 1st century A.D.

Ex collection:
Charles VII (1), King of Naples and Sicily (2) (1740-1759)
Ferdinand IV and III (3), King of Naples and Sicily (1759-1803)
Napoleon Bonaparte (4) (1803-1808)
Josephine de Beauharnais, Empress of the French (1808-1814)
Hortense de Beauharnais, Duchess of Saint Leu (1814-?)
James Alexander, Count de Pourtalès-Gorgiou (5) and by inheritance (?-1865)
Stoneborough (England, late 19th century)?

Cast by the lost wax method in several sections: the head, the body and both phalluses. A long rectangular patch on the left leg. Cold-worked and burnished. The chains made separately of tressed and coiled bronze wires, the bells cast and fitted with a forged iron clapper held in place by a bronze loop.
Condition: surface presently a reddish purplish brown, green to dark green in parts, the yellow bronze showing through here and there. A crack below the neck. Restored and cleaned, evidently once thickly covered with oxide and chloride incrustation which has been manually cut away, the front phallus possibly reattached.

The figure has an opening at the nape, through which the lamp was filled with oil. In front, an oversized phallus ending in a ram's head

with a round hole for the wick between the horns. From the rear emerges another phallic construction with horns and near its base project two smaller phalluses. The dwarf wears a winged petasos from which juts up a pierced tang enabling suspension by means of a tressed chain, his hair encircled by a wreath of ivy leaves tied at the back with a fillet, two knobs protrude from his forehead and two warts from his face; from the phalluses and from under his feet seven bells dangle on chains.

This writer feels that his physiognomy is more in keeping with the Alexandrian models of the Late Hellenistic period, possibly indicating an Alexandrian origin, though the object may very well have been made in the Pompeian region.

Such representations were wont to be suspended in Roman villas to bring good luck and give magical protection against evil spirits; maybe this example hung at the entrance of a cabaret or lupanar, the ringing bells announcing a visitor. Among comparisons are two tintinnabula in Naples (6), one in the form of a gladiator.

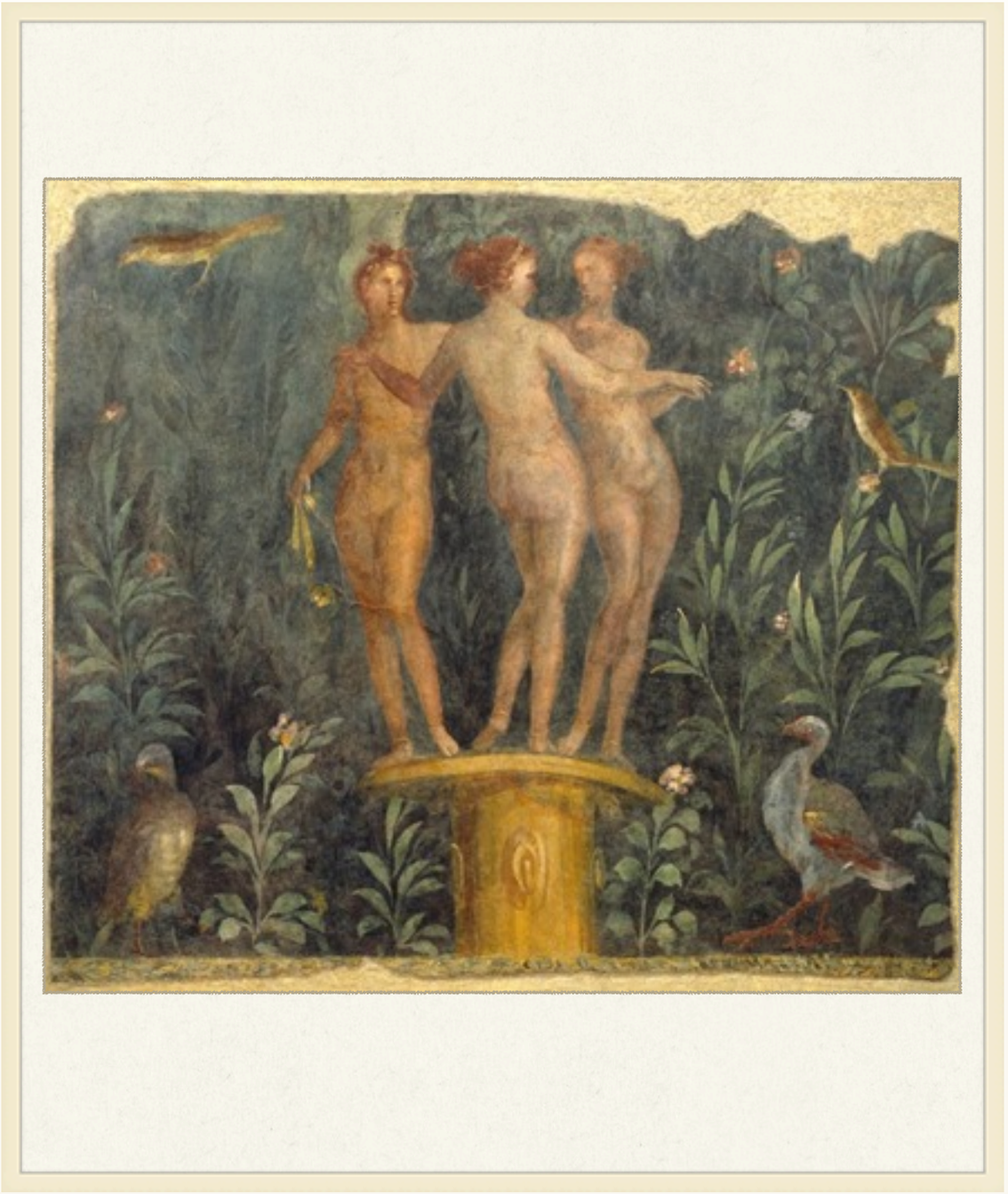
Exhibited and Published:
Pompeii, 106-107, cat. no. 105.
Published:
Degli antichità di Ercolano. Tomo sesto o sia secondo dei bronzi (Naples, 1771), 389-393, 395, pl. 96; Neverov, O., “Une lampe de bronze d'Herculanum”, in: "Hermitage Readings". The George Ortiz Collection, St. Petersburg (12 April 1993) 22-23, 27.

The author is indebted to O. Neverov for the collection history of this item. It was revealed during a small symposium, organized for their members by the departments of ancient art, that took place on the morning following the closing of the exhibition of the George Ortiz Collection at the Hermitage Museum. Papers were given and published in Russian in a booklet entitled "Hermitage Readings" with short résumés in English, French and German.

1) His dates: 1716-1788. Responsible for excavation of Herculaneum and Pompeii.
2) Over which he ruled from 1734 to 1759; in 1759 he became Charles III of Spain.
3) His dates: 1751-1825. Third son of Charles VII, he succeeded to these thrones of Naples and Sicily on the abdication of his father in 1759. He became Ferdinand I in 1815 when the two thrones were reunited as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.
4) Received as diplomatic gift from Ferdinand IV of Naples in 1803, when Napoleon Bonaparte was still First Consul. In the Spring of 1801 discussions were begun among the King's advisers regarding the French excavations and their representatives which resulted in 123 objects from the Royal Museum of Portici being given to the Malmaison, among which the tintinnabulum. The Malmaison and its contents were given to Josephine de Beauharnais as part of her divorce settlement in 1808.
5) Sale catalogue Paris, 6 February 1865, no. 614, p. 120 (FF 860).
6) Naples, Archaeological Museum 27853: Licht, H., Sittengeschichte Griechenlands, Erg. Bd. (Zürich, 1928) 90, pl. opp.; Pompeii AD 79 (Boston, 1978) 188, cat. no. 206; Naples, Archaeological Museum: Licht, H., op. cit., 159, ill.

228. THE THREE GRACES

Fresco
H (greatest): 114.8 cm; W (greatest): 134.3 cm
Allegedly from Stabiae
Fourth Style
c. A.D. 60



Painted by the fresco technique (1). It would appear that the intonaco was greyish. The first layer of paint was green, the general background colour; it would have been burnished to bring out the moisture, in order to enable the varying shades of colour: green and grey, reddish brown, a plum-coloured maroon, yellow, touches of white, to adhere. The paint is thickest on the figures of the Three Graces, the central composition of the painting.

The lower border a garland of leaves from either side that meet at the centre and serve to cover the join between two zones (2). The colour of the wall around the painting is unknown.

Condition: good, but the top and side borders missing. Surface with fissures visible mostly in the lower half, one long fissure runs across the whole panel passing through the midriff of the Three Graces.

Missing: the edges of the painted surface at the upper left hand corner with considerable loss of painted surface on the top right hand side and below the corner; also small patches here and there filled in and touched up in tratteggio (3). The surface is somewhat worn on the upper part of the panel and in a few other places, there is some serious loss of paint on the torso of the central figure and the Grace on her right, these surfaces have been visibly touched up in tratteggio. A certain amount of wear shows up here and there, e.g. on the right side of the left figure.

The painting before restoration (4) was in one piece but the surface of the panel in several places on different levels, with a few important fissures.

The Three Graces grouped harmoniously, in keeping with their symbolism, stand atop a gilded candelabrum (5), the background a garden with flowering plants and shrubs. All three wear anklets, the outside two have ear-rings, their hair appears to be held by a ribbon that circles their heads and two of them have their hair tied up at the back. The figure on the left with hair tied on top of her head - a hair-style of Aphrodite - holds in her lowered right hand a yellow ribbon.
The scenery of green plants is poetical and naive, enlivened by flowers and birds. A red nightingale on the upper left hand corner and another slightly down on the right side perched on plants. On the foreground and on either side what appears to be a rock partridge (Alectoris graeca), the left one raising his left leg as he looks back over his right shoulder, while his companion on the right proudly struts towards the centre.
The origin of the Three Graces (χαριτες) is uncertain, but there is mention in Homer; Hesiod is the first who says that they are three in number - Euphrosyne, Thalia and Aglaia - and the daughters of Zeus and Eurynome. In early times they were adored as nature divinities associated with life and fertility. Pausanias tells us that they belonged to Aphrodite, goddess of Spring and beauty. Their cult was practised throughout Greece and the oldest and most famous of their sanctuaries was at Orchomenos in Boeotia where they were represented by stones.
Whether their appearance harks back to an original in painting or sculpture is uncertain though A. Furtwängler thought that since meant to be seen from one side, a painting was probably the first representation of them in their present poses.
Clothed in early antiquity they were shown naked from Hellenistic times onwards.
The closest parallels in painting are the two examples in Naples (6) that come from Pompeii. Notable is that on both of these the outside Graces, their hair-styles varying from that of ours, look outwards whereas on our panel they look in towards the central figure, indicating a different prototype for our painting.

Physically and intellectually they represented charm, grace and beauty, but philosophically they have a moral significance. It would seem that since Aristotle there was a play on the double meaning of the word "charis" which signifies not only "grace" but the "service that one renders or receives". The Stoics considered that the attitude of the Three Graces symbolized the ties between the one who renders service and the one who received it. Servius in his commentary on the Aeneid explains their interrelation and the fact that one is shown from the back; it is because when we do a good deed it is returned to us twofold (7).

On view: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva: 1976-1978

1) See Landscape, cat. no. 226, footnote 1.
2) Verbal communication Mrs. Alix Barbet.
3) See Landscape, cat. no. 226, footnote 2.
4) Ateliers et Laboratoire Crephart, Genève, 1972.
5) Verbal communication Mrs. Alix Barbet.
6) Archaeological Museum nos. 9231 (H: 53 cm; W: 47 cm), Reg. VI, ins. Occid., Third Style?, 9236 (H: 56.5 cm; W: 53.5 cm), Reg. IX, 2, 16, from the tablinum K of the villa of T. Dentatus Panthera, Third Style?: Barbet, A., in: Guillaud, J. and Guillaud, M., La Pittura a Fresco al Tempo di Pompei (Paris/New York, 1990), 8-9 col. ill.
7) Lavagne, H., “Les Trois Grâces et la visite de Dionysos chez Ikarios sur une mosaïque de Narbonnaise”, in: Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics, Bath, part I; Suppl. JRA (Ann Arbor, 1994) 238-248, esp. 247. We are much indebted to Mrs. Alix Barbet.

229. HEAD OF A BOY

Marble
H: 21.2 cm
Provenance: no indication
Trajanic
c. A.D. 100

Sculpted in thick-grained marble, possibly of eastern provenance.
Condition: greyish limestone deposits, a yellowish brown underneath, and traces of roots predominantly on the left side of his face, on the hair over the left eyebrow and behind the left ear. Chips on the hair, the ears damaged. Chip to the right upper eyelid, a smaller one on the left. A few chips on the eyebrows and lips, chips to the chin. Most of the nose broken away from the bridge down. Break slanting up backwards and leftwards through the middle of the neck.

This portrait of a youth, notwithstanding certain traits (1) that are to be found in the second half of the 4th century A.D., is Trajanic, on the borders of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. This was rightly explained in Gesichter by such details as: the eyes not being drilled and the hair combed forwards (with a little change of direction on the forehead over the right eye) having little to do with the fuller cap-like hairdos of the later 4th century portraits, notwithstanding a superficial similarity and resemblance. The polish of this head is likewise different from the more "porcelain-like" finish of these later heads.
Also to be noted is his sad and detached expression, characteristics encountered in childrens' heads of this period.
A plausible explanation (2) is that this is because they are funerary portraits with the added remark that as such they make the subject

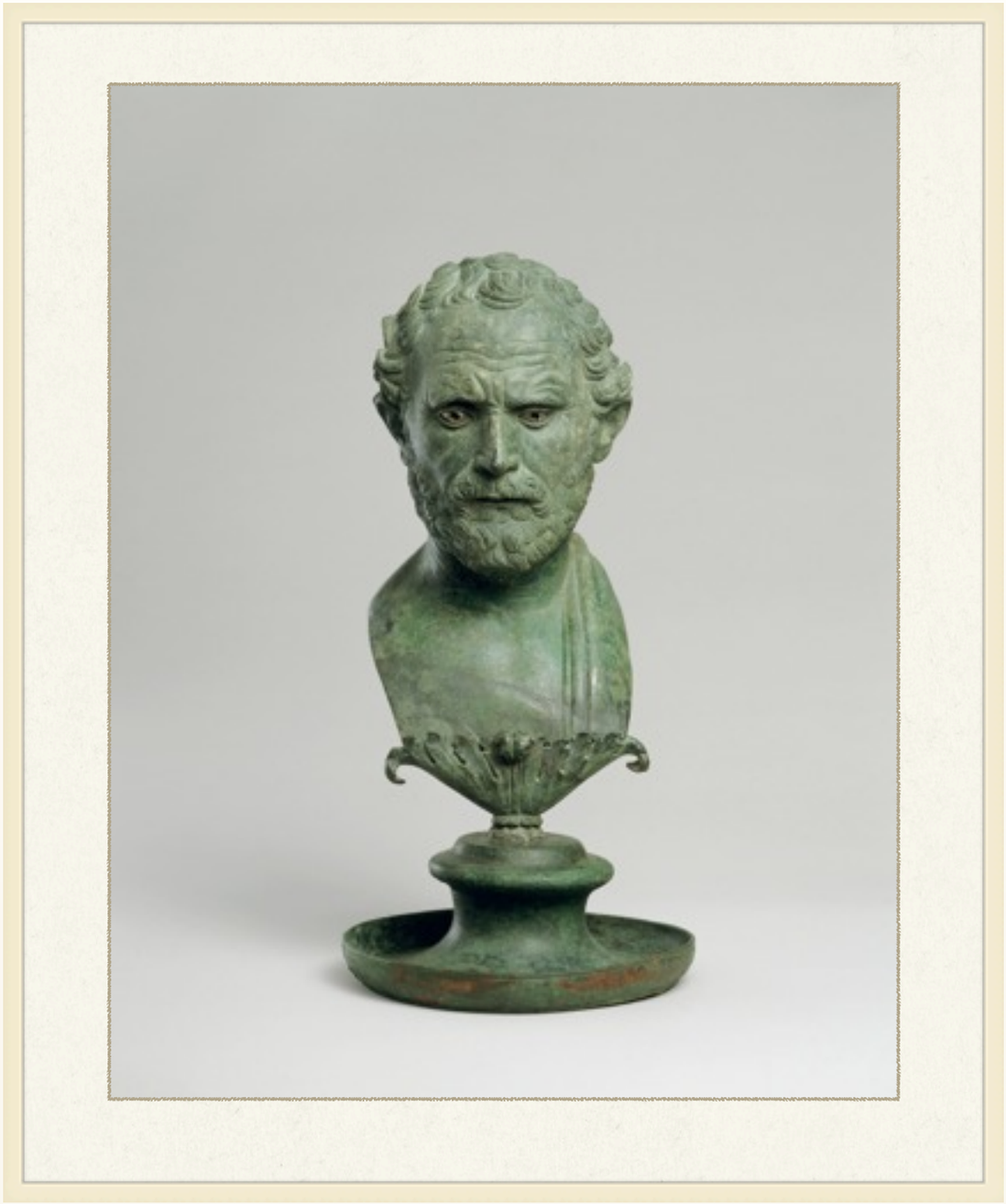
appear older than he was in reality at the time of his death, thus rendering the determination of the youth's age difficult.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 387, ill.; Gesichter, 120, 121, cat. no. 49, ill. (Frel, J., “Ein unbekannter kynischer Philosoph”, HASB 10 <1984> 22, no. 49).
Mentioned:
Fittschen, K., “Kinderporträt und offizielles Porträt im 2. Jh. n. Chr.”, Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato, Atti II Conf.Intern. sul Ritratto Romano 1984, Rome (Rome, 1988) 306; Goette, H.-R., “Beobachtungen zu römischen Kinderporträts”, AA 104 (1989) 460, n. 36.

1) These were set out by us in Art Antique, cat. no. 387, though we drew the wrong conclusion from them despite the observation "Notwithstanding the absence of pupils ..... , and the affinity with boys' portraits made during the reign of the Emperor Trajan, we may be confronted with a subject dating to the period between the reigns of Constantine and Theodosius." (Translated from the French.)
2) Goette, H.-R., AA 104 (1989) 460, n. 36.

230. DEMOSTHENES

Bronze
H: 31.3 cm. Diam. stand: 15.35 cm
Provenance unknown; probably Greece
Roman
Late 1st century-early 2nd century A.D.



The head hollow-cast, very carefully and extensively cold-worked. The eyeballs of silver, the irises formerly inlaid. The bust cast separately, joined to the head by fusion-welding, cold-worked and extensively burnished and polished. The acanthus leaf cast, hammered and cold-worked. The present base, a forged element, probably the top section of a lamp stand (1), here upside down.
Condition: patina a bright green to blackish olive green, most of it a greyish green with traces of earth and limestone deposits. The surface a sandy to smooth texture. Traces of cuprite and green chloride, the odd spot revealing the copper-coloured metal. The lower section of the bust slightly bent out of shape and restored, the tang under the acanthus leaf repositioned in base.

All portraits of Demosthenes hark back to the bronze statue by the artist Polyeuktos that was erected in the Athenian Agora around 280 B.C., where it stood until Roman times. Demosthenes (c. 384-322 B.C.), the Athenian politician and orator, gained great fame for his passionate speeches against Philip II of Macedon and in defence of the independence of Athens. Born to a wealthy and privileged land-owning family, he became an orphan at a young age and was almost totally dispossessed by his tutors. Though he had a stutter, he taught himself to speak in public, overcoming his handicap by training with pebbles in his mouth, so tradition tells us. He developed great character in adversity, and Plutarch says he had an

"embittered and hard character, great severity of expression." He was probably unjustly accused of taking bribes from Harpalos, governor of Babylon, and condemned to pay an enormous fine. He left Athens but was recalled from exile after the death of Alexander the Great to rally the fight against Macedon. Unfortunately, the Athenians were defeated at Krannon, and Demosthenes was condemned to death. He fled to the island of Kalaureia, found refuge in the temple of Poseidon, and took poison to avoid capture.

A great patriot and orator, he was especially highly regarded in Roman times, when he was considered a model for the study of rhetoric. The more than fifty surviving portraits from this period attest to his fame. Popular in the late 1st century B.C., his portrait appeared on ringstones, among which is a notable gem by the artist Dioskourides, the court engraver of the Emperor Augustus (2). Cicero even tells us in one of his orations (Orat. 110) that Brutus kept a bronze bust of him in his villa at Tusculum.

There is also a bronze bust in Naples (3) inscribed with his name, but artistically it is poor, somewhat crude, and little reflects his character. For a better comparison, though the nose is a modern restoration, both for the expression and particularly the hair, there is a marble herm in Munich (4). Stylistically our bust may be his finest surviving portrait, and the detailing of the hair and beard and the ethos which his face exudes, incline us to think that he may belong to the Hadrianic period, probably made by a Greek artist.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1994-1995

1) The acanthus leaf and base are not original to the bust though they are an ancient repair, for stylistic reasons contemporary or nearly contemporary (a decade or two). Busts terminating in an almost straight line were usually mounted on circular bases such as those found in Naples: e.g. busts of Zenon 5468, Epikouros 5465, Hermarchos 5466 and Demosthenes 5467 (Richter, G.M.A., The Portraits of the Greeks II <London, 1965> figs. 1086-1088, 1175-1177, 1291-1293, 1438-1440). Busts mounted on acanthus leaves seem always to end in a curve (Jucker, H., Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch <Olten, 1961>, e.g. bust of Domitian, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 768, pl. 15 B5). A further indication is a rivet on the lower right hand corner of the bust, slightly protruding at the back and broken, which would have served to fix the bust on a projection from a circular base. Traces of soldering in the groove of the acanthus leaf and on the edge of the bust confirm a mounting in antiquity, the bulbous tang under the acanthus was inserted into the present base with lead, and to this end the present upper section of the base was adapted in antiquity. To place correctly, the two elements have been detached in modern times and repositioned.

2) Richter, G.M.A., op. cit., c, 222, figs. 1504, 1506.

3) National Museum 5467, from the Villa of the Pisoni, at Herculaneum, found with other busts; see footnote 1. Richter, G.M.A, op. cit., 217-218, no. 12, figs. 1438-1440.

4) Richter, G.M.A., op. cit., 220, no. 36, figs. 1476-1477.

231. PHILOSOPHER

Bronze
H: 18.3 cm
Allegedly from Asia Minor
Late Hadrianic-early Antonine Period
c. A.D. 130-140

Hollow-cast by the lost wax process; the feet and probably the arms cast separately and fusion-welded beneath the pallium. Cold-worked, but without repairing the casting faults, burnished and polished.
Condition: patina greyish (a slight yellowish hue) to blackish green, the bronze metal visible in a few places in particular on a long scrape on the outside left fold of the pallium. Spots of reddish to claret-coloured cuprite and bornite (?) (1), the surface at present granular.
Missing: the right arm from slightly above the elbow, the left from below the elbow, and the left foot broken off beneath the hemline of the pallium. The middle of his chest slightly dented. The odd rough-edged holes are casting faults. A heart-shaped section missing on the outside of the pallium, probably a fusion-welding defect when inserting the left leg.

He is dressed in a short sleeved chiton and himation, draped around his waist, one end with tassels hanging down on his left side. His feet are shod in low boots. Though the representation is rare for the period, both his dress and his spiritual face suggest a philosopher. However, it is difficult to find a comparison, for he is an original of the period rather than the usual version of a Greek prototype.
His short beard, long hair, and sensitive features suggest a date in the early Antonine period. A marble portrait that bears a rapport and

is from the same part of the world as the alleged provenance of this statuette is the head of a man ascribed to the early Antonine period in Adana (2).
We are impressed by this idealized portrait of a philosopher, where the attention is drawn to the face by its rendering and the flat simplicity of the himation over the chest.

Exhibited and Published:
Master Bronzes, 268-269, cat. no. 259, ill.

1) A copper sulphide, Cu3FeS3.
2) Inan, J., Rosenbaum, E., Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor (London, 1966) 203-204, no. 280, pl. 155.3-4.

232. SABINA?

Marble
H: 44.3 cm (1)
Provenance: no indication; Greece?
Hadrianic
c. A.D. 130

Sculpted from a block of small-grained white marble, the pupils hollowed, the face, neck and ears polished, the back of the neck left rough, the part for insertion blocked out.
Condition: surface white to pale ivory with thick rough limestone deposit and root marks. A nick to the left eyelid and one to the "tragus" of the left ear. A chip and a nick to the turban, the odd chip on the hair.

The marble and the workmanship of this head appear to be Greek, which does not facilitate comparison with other similar portraits, almost all of which are of Roman manufacture. Her hair-style, forehead, ears, eyes, nose, and the shape of her mouth all bear strong resemblance to portraits identified as Sabina, wife of the Emperor Hadrian who ruled from A.D. 117 to 138. However, her face appears here somewhat more narrow and elongated. This portrait is possibly a representation of her towards the end of her life, when disillusionment with her husband's behaviour shows in the saddened expression of her face, as evidenced by the two sharp furrows above the bridge of the nose and the creases that run from above the nostrils down below her cheek ending at mouth level. The pupils of her eyes are hollowed, a technique that started around A.D. 130 (2), an added indication that this portrait is to be placed late in her life (she died in 137). She is known to have visited

Greece with the Emperor in her youth, and although a later visit is not recorded, it is probable that one took place. The best comparison appears to be a portrait in Athens (3) and although the hair-style is different, it too has tresses wound around her head like a turban. Both the hair and the style of cutting befit the Hadrianic period. In conclusion, all details of her profile as well as the line formed by the back of the hair and the nape of the neck bear very strong resemblance to those on coins and marble portraits ascribed to Sabina.

1) Head and neck alone 38.2 cm.
2) Information from a note by G. Hafner.
3) Athens, National Museum 449: Wegner, M., Hadrian. Das römische Herrscherbild, II, 3 (Berlin, 1956) 126.

233. MOUNTED BARBARIAN (applique)

Bronze
H: 10.7 cm
Allegedly from Gela
North Italian workshop?
Second half of the 2nd century A.D.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process with the horse's body left hollow. The back, left rough, with tool marks from the wax visible on the right side of the horse's neck and hind legs.
Condition: patina a bright shiny to dark green overlaid in parts with an azurite carbonate. A nick to the shield.

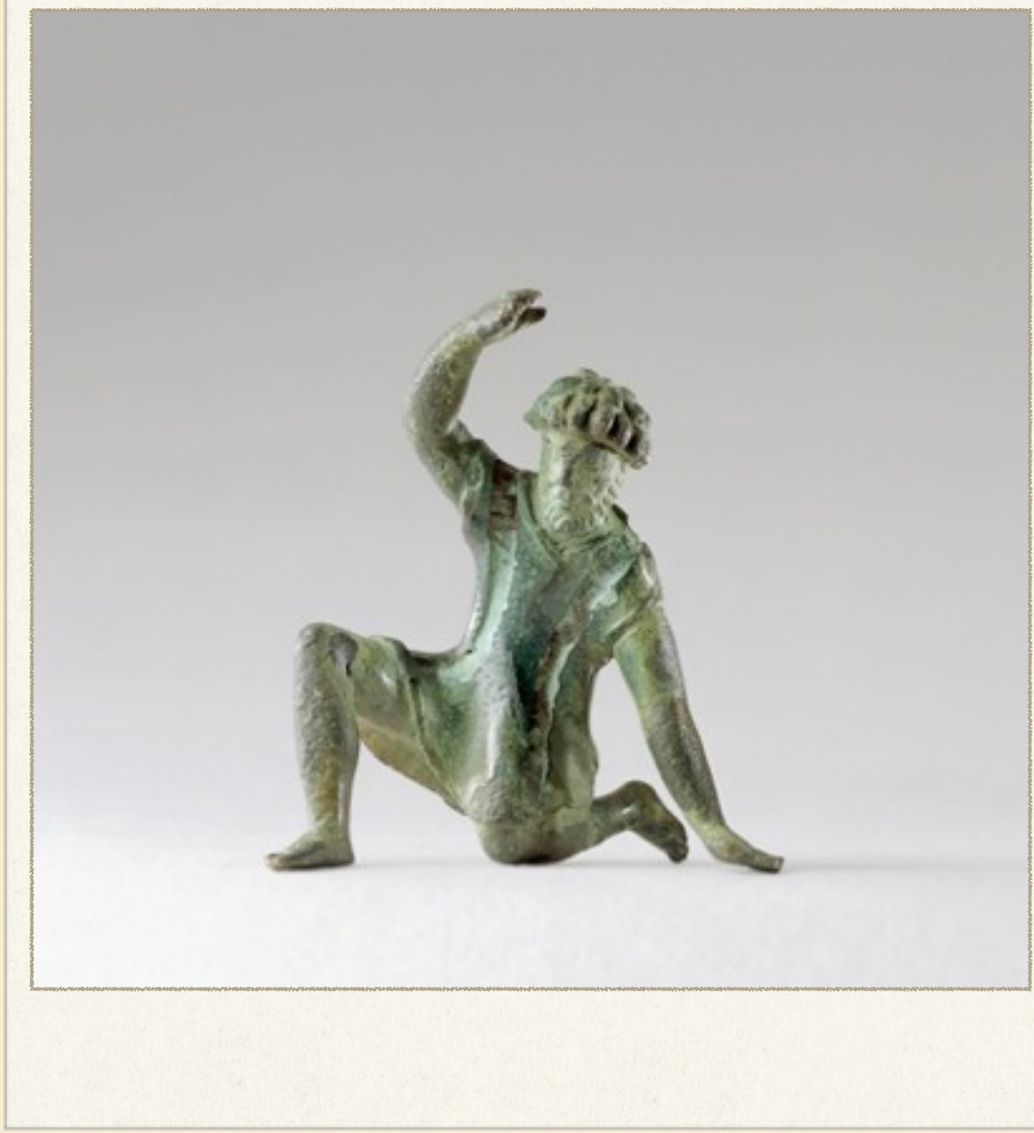
Appliques such as this, which hark back to Hellenistic battle scenes, were produced in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. for the embellishment of protective breastplates (baltei) for horses. They usually show mounted Romans depicted as victors juxtaposed with barbarian horsemen either fleeing or in the process of being dismounted. Such scenes also show figures on foot in various positions of combat, wounded or dying as they lie on the ground, or begging mercy from the victors. There is a superb and complete balteus in Aosta (1) with some of its appliques almost completely in the round. Other groups with numerous figures are the ones without their balteus in Velia (2), Torino (3), and Vienna (4), and the complete example in Brescia (5). Such baltei have been found primarily in Italy and Central Europe, and they must have been produced in several workshops, the best of which were probably located in Northern Italy.

Our example shows a mounted barbarian in flight, though his expression shows little anguish.

1) Carducci, C., "Un balteus de Aosta", ArchCl 11 (1959) 36-49, pl. 21-26; Bianchi Bandinelli, R., Rome. The Late Empire (London, 1971) 121-123, fig. 111.
2) Walde, E., "Der Prunkbalteus aus Elea", Griechische und römische Statuetten und Grossbronzen. Akten der 9. Tagung über antike Bronzen in Wien, 21-25 April 1986 (Vienna, 1988) 323-329 (dated late 1st/early 2nd century A.D.); Neutsch, B., “Archäologische Grabungen und Funde in Unteritalien 1949-1955", AA 71 (1956) 337-344 (dates them second half of the 2nd century A.D.).
3) Carducci, C., op. cit., pl. 24.3-4.
4) Gschwantler, K., Guss + Form. Bronzen aus der Antikensammlung (Vienna, 1986) 168-169, no. 311 (found in Yugoslavia).
5) Carducci, C., op. cit., pl. 24.1.

234. BARBARIAN IN SUBMISSION

Bronze
H: 6 cm
From Germany (1)
North Italian workshop
2nd-3rd century A.D.



Solid-cast by the lost wax method, cold-worked, burnished and polished with two clavii (2) front and back running the length of the tunic, formerly inlaid in silver (?). A casting fault on the inside of the right knee repaired in ancient times.
Condition: patina a light to bright deep green, the bronze metal showing through in places; the surface flaked here and there. All the inlay of the clavii missing; the lower left leg bent, cracked, and the surface flaked; toes of both feet somewhat damaged, and tips of fingers on both hands missing.

This statuette is somewhat of an enigma, for though he appears to belong to the types that were part of baltei (see previous cat. no. 233) and notwithstanding close similarities for the position, gesture, and mood, he is different. He is also different in technique, as his tunic was inlaid with silver (?). His hair is wig-like, matted in thick clusters. Though with considerable differences, we see a rapport with a squatting figure (3), a weight, for the hair-style, though here composed of five superimposed layers of twisted curls carefully executed. The hair-style of our statue differs from that of the Nubian (?), as would befit a Celtic barbarian. However, they may not be too far apart in date.
Though our example was described as Migration period, 5th-7th century A.D. in the great Early Christian and Byzantine exhibition of

1947, we feel that it belongs more likely to the 2nd century A.D., as the previous catalogue no. 233, although it could be slightly later in date. For the dress, the short tunic he is wearing, and both for the stance and subject, a vanquished barbarian in submission imploring for his life, he resembles the figures from baltei, but being in the round he could not have come from one. However, he may have belonged to a similar type of scene and have been part of a group entirely in the round.

Exhibited and Published:
Early Christian and Byzantine Art, 58, no. 208, pl. 35.

1) According to the entry in Early Christian and Byzantine Art.
2) The above catalogue, footnote 1, states "the clavii inlaid with silver, partly vanished." Unfortunately, today, there are no traces of it left.
3) In the author's collection; formerly in the Gréau and de Clercq collections: de Ridder, A., Collection de Clercq, 3 (Paris, 1905) 189-190, no. 274, pl. 44, described as a Nubian (?) slave and with no provenance given; Froehner, W., Catalogue Gréau (Paris, 1885), no. 330, pls. 65-66, fig.; Reinach, S., Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine, Tome II vol. II (Paris, 1931) 562, no. 7.

235. DOMITIAN ? (miniature portrait)

Chalcedony
H: 3.38 cm
Allegedly from Asia Minor
Roman
A.D. 81-96 ?

Carved in chalcedony (1) and finished with a very high polish.
Condition: broken on a slant at the neck, the nose broken off, the upper lip abraded, a chip to the right of the mouth and right side of the chin, the left ear chipped, the right ear levelled down. The colour a variety of shades on a light grey to brownish grey base with the odd white speck.

Small imperial portraits of semi-precious stone of different varieties of chalcedony, rock crystal, aquamarine, and turquoise were made since the time of Augustus (2). They are most common in the 1st century A.D. but continued until the time of Julian in the mid-4th century A.D. How these heads were set or displayed remains an open question.
It had originally been suggested to the author that the little head could have been a portrait of Nero reworked in the time of Domitian, and possibly once again close to the time of the Tetrarchy. However, we can observe no traces of reworking, and the technique fits the Flavian-Trajanic period, as can be seen by comparisons with other miniature portraits of the time.
We think it most likely that it is a portrait of the Emperor Domitian (3), for whom the broad, square face with prominent chin and creased brow are fitting. Also indicative is the hair-style, with the

hair brushed towards the front, as he wished to hide his balding pate. This fashion was adopted only by the Emperors Nero and Domitian, but Nero's portraits are particularly distinctive and differ from the features of our little head. The closest comparison is the marble head on a life-size statue in Copenhagen, which is described as having the features of Nerva, with the observation that it keeps the unquestionable traits of a reworked Domitian (4). The attribution is uncertain. A small chalcedony bust in Paris (5) and a small bronze bust in Copenhagen (6), both ascribed to Domitian, seem to us to bear a resemblance.

1) Chalcedony is a more generic term than agate, which was used in the Russian catalogue, brought to mind by the souvenir of our master marble used for shooting marbles from school days; however, agate is a chalcedony with streaked colouring, whereas here the stone is mottled.
2) Megow, W.-R., Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus (Berlin, 1987), who lists numerous heads including portraits of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius and many of Trajan. A late example is the chalcedony bust of Julian the Apostate (A.D. 361-363) in the Hermitage.
3) This had first been tentatively suggested to the author by R. Wünsche on a visit in June 1988. J. Spier concurs with this attribution and sees no reason to think that the head was either recut or is later in date than Domitian.
4) Poulsen, V., Les portraits romains, Volume II (Copenhagen, 1974) 61-62, no. 31, pls. 48-50.
5) Megow, W.-R., op. cit., 220-221, no. A109, pl. 37.
6) Poulsen, V., op. cit., 43-44, no. 8, pls. 14-15.

236. SNAKE-THREAD GOBLET

Glass
H: 14.56 cm
Allegedly from Alexandria
Alexandrian
Late 2nd century A.D.

Blown colourless glass decorated with applied opaque white tooled trails referred to as snake-thread.
Condition: the foot a modern repair; a crack around the lower body consolidated with transparent glue. Slight dulling to minor parts of the colourless glass owing to weathering.

The trails depict waders in a poetic representation of reeds and vegetable growth (along the banks of a river, symbolized by the movement of the liquid contained in the goblet).
Most (1) snake-thread glass has been found in the region of Cologne in the Rhineland. Though first produced there by migrant workers, with gradual improvements and refinements added as time went on, the type originated in Syria and Alexandria. The author knows of no examples from Cologne decorated with birds. For a comparison, there is a bottle with birds in Düsseldorf (2) ascribed to Syria and dated to the first half of the 3rd century A.D. However, it is to be noted that the dissimilarities probably indicate a different workshop: the greenish hue, the trails in opaque yellow and the execution of the trails and hatchings.
The present goblet seems among the earliest products of this type. Its alleged provenance and what appears to be the inspiration of the

Nile and the natural life on its banks render both an attribution to Alexandria (3) and an early date plausible.

Exhibited :
Glass of the Caesars (hors catalogue)

1) Harden, D.B., “Snake-thread glasses found in the East”, JRS 24 (1934)50 ff.
2) Kunstmuseum, Hentrich collection P.1970-3: von Saldern, A., Glassammlung Hentrich, Antike und Islam (Düsseldorf, 1974) 88, no. 89, col. pl. IV; Ricke, H., Die Glassammlung des Kunstmuseums Düsseldorf mit Sammlung Hentrich. Eine Auswahl (Düsseldorf, 1989) 31, no. 33.
3) Several months after this entry was written, Prof. von Saldern kindly sent the author a xerox of a paper by Dan P. Barag ("Flower and Bird" and Snake-thread Glass vessels, Annales du 4e Congrès International d'Etude Historique du Verre, Ravenne-Venise, 13-20 mai 1967, 55-66) and the author was comforted to read (p. 57) that Barag agrees with Harden's fourth possibility that such "ware was first made in the East and was introduced almost at once to western workshops by migrant artisans" and that "snake-thread ware, both monochrome and polychrome, was made in Egypt, presumably Alexandria, during the second century A.D."

237. JULIA MAMAEA

Marble (Carrara)
H: 17.1 cm
Italy
Severan
A.D. 222-235

Sculpted in a fine-grained white Carrara marble and finished off with a high polish.
Condition: the face sliced off the head where it meets the neck and broken across the forehead but still retaining traces of hair above the temples. Missing: both ears and much of the nose, part of the right eyebrow with a large chip above; abrasion to right eye and eyelid and to right cheek and lower right jowl. The surface a shiny mellow white with traces of limestone deposit leaving brownish red stains where worn off.

This face from a portrait head and its twin in Bochum (1) were reputedly found in Italy together with the mutilated head of Alexander Severus and fragments of his bust. Alexander Severus became emperor in A.D. 222 at the age of thirteen. At that time, his mother, Julia Mamaea, assumed the regency with full powers, bearing the resounding title "Mother of our most sacred lord ... Mother of the armed forces, of the Senate, of the Country and of the entire human race". Though under Alexander's rule the country had known fourteen years of peace "with no evil or bloodshed as far as his subjects were concerned ... he was known for his gentleness and good deeds," he was weak, cowardly, and rather lazy. Apparently, it was the overbearing personality of his mother and her "petty minded greediness ... that brought shame upon him". At the

beginning of a campaign in Illyria to stop the incursions of the Germanic tribes from the other shores of the Rhine and Danube, Maximinus, whom Alexander had put in charge of the army, rallied the troops around him, seized power, and had the emperor, his mother, and all his partisans murdered.

The twin heads of Julia Mamaea display a gaze directed towards the upper right in contrast to the serenity of the face and the simplicity of the hairstyle, which is a stylistic trait of the period. This marble portrait, with its lovely, polished surface, must be identified as Julia Avitia Mamaea based on the large number of replicas (more than two dozen) and the resemblance to her coin portraits. The only other possibility would be that they represent Orbiana, who was the wife of Alexander Severus for a short, two year period, A.D. 225-227. However, since coins of Orbiana are rare and she was repudiated by the emperor, the identification is to be dismissed. Though it would seem that neither the emperor nor his mother were the subject of a damnatio memoriae, most of their effigies were willfully damaged, suffering axe or spear blows obviously directed towards the heads. It is noteworthy that the three faces of this group show broken noses, blows, damage to the emperor's eyes, but not to the eyes of Julia Mamaea save for the slight abrasion to the right eye of this portrait. The damaged condition of these three marbles must result from intentional desecration.

Her portrait exalts her beauty without revealing the nasty side of her character, as related by Herodian.

Exhibited and Published:
Gesichter, 174-175, cat. no. 72, ill.; Marc Aurel und seine Zeit, 36, cat. no. C 33, ill.
Mentioned:
Datsouli-Stavridi, A., “Weibliches Porträt spätseverischer Zeit im Museum von Nauplion”, AM 113 (1998) 255, n. 11.

1) Gesichter, cat. no. 73; Kunisch, N., “Bildnis der Julia Mamaea”, Jb Ruhr-Universität. Bochum (1982) 11-17. For this entry we are considerably in debt to Dr. Kunisch's paper, in which he very thoroughly treats the twin portrait, substantiating the attribution and relating in detail the historical context by quoting extensively from the sixth book of the History of the Roman Empire by Herodian of Antioch.

238. MEDALLION OF GORDIAN III (necklace)

Gold
Weight: 350 g. L. chain: 45.5 cm. Diam. medallion: 5.2 cm
From Egypt
Roman
A.D. 242 (setting and chain: probably second half of the 3rd century A.D.)

Ex collection:
Victor Abram Adda (1920s-1965), thence by inheritance

The gold medallion struck from dies; its frame cast, cut, hammered, chiselled and burnished. The necklace is a chain composed of intricate layers of interlocking foil made from gold strips hammered and cut, at its extremities two snake protomes, repoussé, hammered, chiselled, and worked in and out from gold sheet; a gold wire fusion-welded to the edge of the necks, in front of which a round-headed pin on either side secures the chain. A thick, round wire section protrudes from the mouth on one, formed into a loop and fusion-welded to it, and just above on the other, formed into a hook. The medallion hangs from the chain by means of a thick, ribbed gold strip that is hammered to a pointed hook at one end and at the other to a wire that goes through a small section of ribbed gold strip folded over into a cylinder and soldered onto the edge of the mount; as the wire comes out it is coiled around like a spring which fits over the hook. Thus, in antiquity it was very easy to unhook the loop and slide the medallion off it or pry open the loop, freeing it from the chain.
Condition: the medallion in mint condition, the mount reset on the back and minor restoration to the chain where slightly damaged in four places.

Medallions to mark significant events, such as this, were struck at the imperial mint in Rome as presentation gifts for important officials. Emperor Gordian III (ruled A.D. 238-244) accompanied by Timesitheus, prefect of the guard, led his army across the Hellespont on his way to Syria at the onset of his campaign against Shapur I, the Sassanian king.

The obverse of the medallion shows Gordian as a victorious warrior with spear and shield, the latter decorated with a scene of the emperor on horseback accompanied by two winged Victories in the act of crowning him. An abbreviated inscription reads: IMP(ERATOR) GORDIANUS PIUS FELIX AUG(USTUS). The reverse depicts the sea crossing at the Hellespont, with the inscription TRAIECTUS AUG(USTI)--"the crossing over by the Emperor". Several other related medallions with the same reverse (most in bronze) have survived (1), but this is the largest and finest so far known.

The medallion found its way to Egypt, known for being a wealthy province, and it was probably there that it was set in an openwork mount to enable hanging on an elaborate chain ending in snake heads. A comparable necklace, but ending in lion heads, is in Baltimore (2). The chains composed of layers of intertwined gold bands, which produce wavy surfaces, are so juxtaposed with each other that they throw off a shimmering light.

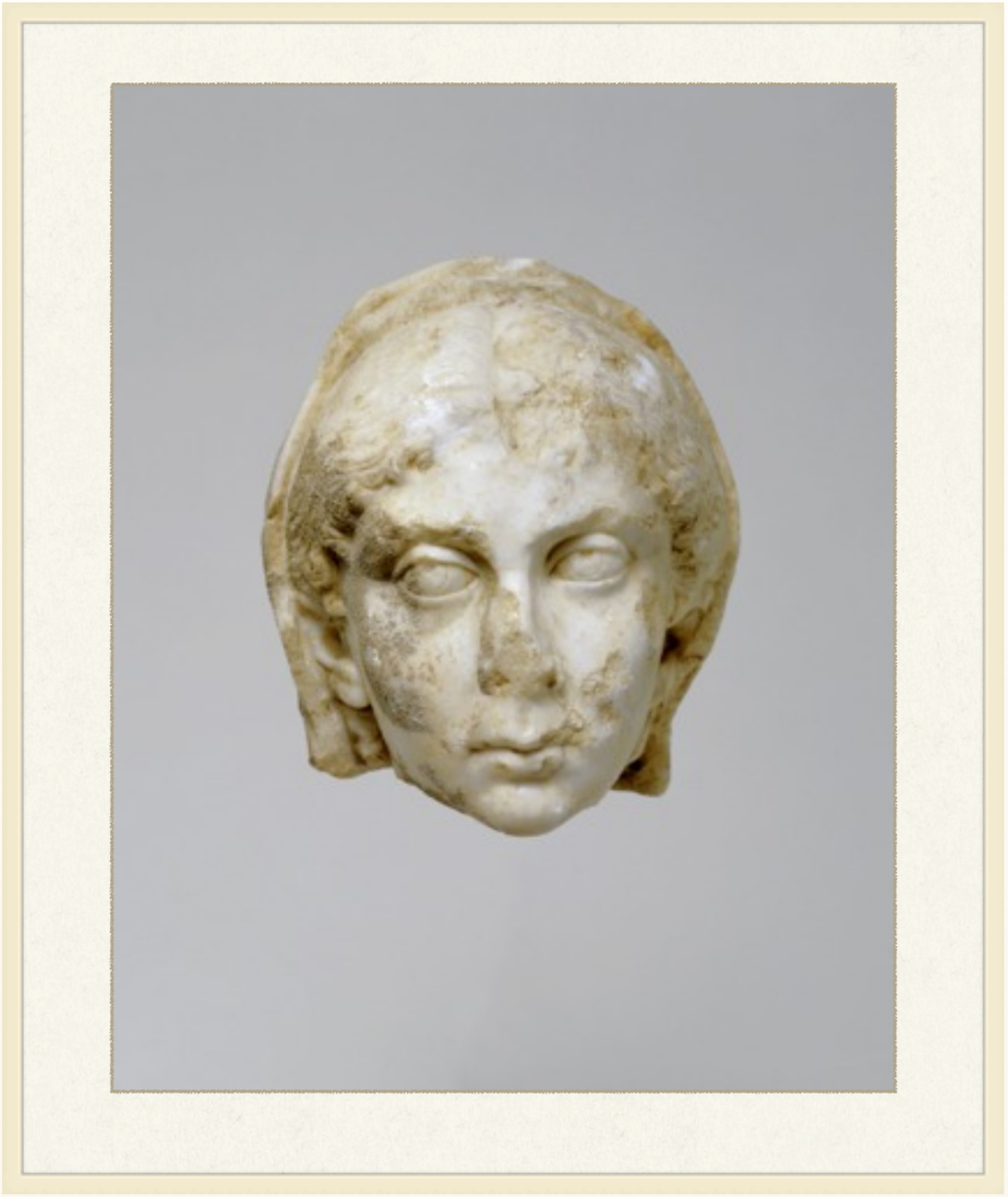
Snake heads of very similar style and construction are to be found on the ends of two gold bracelets: one in the British Museum (3), which also happens to be from Egypt, and another in Berlin (4), but without a provenance. It would seem that all the above examples belong to the 3rd century A.D. and suggest that the necklace and the mount are almost contemporary with the medallion.

Exhibited and Published:
Gesichter, 302-303, cat. no. 181, ill.

1) Gnecchi, F., I medaglioni romani II (Milan, 1912) 91-92, nos. 39-43; and one example in gold, once in the Jameson Collection: Mattingly, H., Sydenham, E.A., Roman Imperial Coinage (London, 1949), vol. 4.3, no. 323.
2) Oliver, A., Jewelry. Ancient to Modern (Baltimore, 1979) 118, no. 327 (from Lycia); another similar chain: Zahn, R.: Galerie Bachstitz (Berlin, 1921) 11, no. 33.
3) Marshall, F.H., Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan & Roman in the British Museum (London, 1911) 330, no. 2815, pl. 65 (as "2nd-3rd century").
4) Greifenhagen, A., Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall II (Berlin, 1975) 41, pl. 35.4 (formerly Guilhou Collection, as "3rd century").

239. VEILED LADY

Marble
H: 24 cm
Asia Minor
Roman
c. A.D. 250



Made of an originally fine-grained white crystalline marble. The face carefully polished as well as the veil on either side, left rough on top and at the back.
Condition: the head's surface a pale to warm yellowish ivory hue with thick rough earth-coloured limestone deposits on its right side and back. Broken at the neck, the face and hair heavily chipped and flaked.

Since calling her a priestess in the Russian catalogue, we are beset with doubts. The type of veil she is wearing would be suitable for various occasions, and for ritual reasons the covering of the head was required in many Roman ceremonies. Thus this element of costume could befit a priestess, a mourner, a person sacrificing, a bride, or a matron. Under the veil one distinguishes a large plait of hair drawn up from the nape and ending on the crown of the head, illustrative of a hairstyle which first became fashionable in the 240s. To be in fashion could be expected of a bride; however, the age visible in the face of this portrait inclines us to discard the possibility of this identification.
In Gesichter, a date in the Post-Gallienic years around the middle of the second half of the 3rd century was suggested by the stylization of the face ("abstract contruction" and "spiritual expression") in contrast to works of the middle of the century. Supporting this

assessment, a comparison is made with the Annona sarcophagus in Rome (1) drawing attention to the stylization of the face of the central female figure and suggesting that they have a similar physiognomy. However, we do not share this interpretation. Both the slight turn of the head and the gaze of our example are still close, in our opinion, to the Severan period.
The very strong character and spirituality of this portrait is, we feel, due to the sitter, and would be in keeping, may we suggest, with a great Roman matron. She may have been the wife of an important official, in charge of running a large household, full of children, servants, and slaves, always ready to second her husband in his political and social functions. We observe the permanence of such character in great women and see in her the same spirit that infuses the squatting female of the little Sumerian bust of some three thousand years earlier, cat. no. 2.

Exhibited and Published:
Gesichter, 206-207, cat. no. 87, ill.

This entry is much indebted to H. Heinrich's text for the catalogue Gesichter.
1) Rome, National Museum 40799: Koch, G. and Sichtermann, H., Römische Sarkophage. HdArch (Munich, 1982) 102, 257, no. 102.

240. URN

Marble
H: 22.7 cm. W: 25 cm
Provenance: no indication
Roman
3rd century A.D.

Made of an originally crystalline white marble (1) with the help of a lathe and highly polished.
Condition: near the foot traces of hard brownish limestone deposit which probably covered the whole vessel which seems to have been cleaned in modern times. The present colour a warm ivory with a greyish hue. The odd nick to the lid and one of the "petals" of the rosette knob broken away with parts of the adjoining "petals". Several nicks to the lower edge of the foot.

The body of the urn has three concentric ribs, a wide ridge on the shoulder; the top of the mouth of the vessel with a groove on its circumference. The lid with a narrow flat outer rim slightly curves up to dip in the centre, from which rises the rosette knob with thirteen "petals", a round flat button on top divided into four equal segments and pierced by a central point.
For many years the author has searched for a parallel. He even wrote to several scholars (2). However, notwithstanding the failure of all these attempts, he remained convinced of the unquestionable authenticity of the vessel and its appurtenance to the Roman world, probably from its eastern provinces and possibly from Egypt. In December 1993, a friend (3) sent him a photostat of what appears to be an identical pot (4), but slightly larger and unfortunately with the lid missing. Uncannily similar in detail, and the bad photostat

notwithstanding, the comparison is totally convincing. The pot comes from Ockov in the district of Trencin and is described as an "Alabaster vase-urn. The globular slightly asymmetrical body of the vessel is separated in three horizontal sections by concentric grooves (5). Low cylindrical foot. Maximum height 27 cm, maximum diameter 34.2 cm. An import from the Mediterranean region. 3rd century A.D." The vase belongs to the Archaeological Institute of the Slovakian Academy of Sciences.

The following additional information (6) is conclusive: the parallel is an alabaster or marble urn from tomb 222, a real ossuarium - to be dated by its contents (7) around the first half of the 3rd century A.D. - from the necropolis of Ockov, where most of the tombs were urn burials, in use from the second half of the 2nd century until the beginning of the 5th century A.D. The indent on the mouth, identical to the one on our example, was to enable the lid to inset and T. Kolnik concurs that this may be assumed. He adds that "all the other urns in this Germanic necropolis of Ockov were terracotta vessels most of which were hand-formed." Close by, grave no. 208 contained a precious terra sigillata urn confirming that "these graves certainly belonged together and represented a higher social stratum in the given milieu, perhaps traders." He adds that not far from the Ockov necropolis at Straze-Krakovany Germanic princely tombs - containing rich Roman imports with silver, bronze and glass vessels - were discovered, of which the corpse burials are among the richest Germanic graves of the 3rd century A.D. throughout the whole of Free Germania.

T. Kolnik concludes his communication to the author stating that the present urn must have fulfilled a same function also "in a period in which cremation was the customary funerary practice in the Roman Empire" and concurs that both urns were certainly from a workshop in the eastern Mediterranean, are absolutely authentic and that the suggested date is correct.

1) Examination by magnifying glass confirms that the crystals are marble.

2) For this urn as well as for the porphyry vase, cat. no. 241, our thanks to Margherita Bolla of Milan who sent us bibliographical references; to Catherine Metzger of the Louvre who unfortunately knew of no parallels; to the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz who sent some bibliographical references; to the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier where Karin Goethert kindly wrote on 30 July 1992, saying "we think that your two marble urns are not Roman ..."; to Ellen Reeder of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore who supplied some bibliography.

3) Michael Ward, New York, to whom we had mentioned our urn in the past ad who had just acquired the publication from a visiting citizen of an Eastern European country.

4) Kolnik, T., Römische und Germanische Kunst in der Slowakei (Bratislava, 1984) no. 142, ill.

5) Whereas on our example these are ribs. This is a working detail of importance: for to groove is far less work than to have to work away a layer of surface to produce ribs in relief.

6) In a letter 8 July 1994 from Dr. T. Kolnik (in reply to the author's questions in a letter of 22 June 1994) for which we are deeply grateful.

) These were "the cremated body of an adult of indeterminate sex with the following grave offerings: a simple bronze fibula with foot bent back; fragment of a terra sigillata vessel from the Comitialis workshop from Rheinzabern in the Rhineland or Westerndorf, dated between the late Antonine and early Severan period; fragments of a comb made of bone and so-called 'urn resin'".

The author is deeply indebted to Mrs Olivier Maus, Consul General of the Czech Republic in Geneva, and to her assistant, Mrs Mahula Slama, for all their efforts to contribute information and establish contact between the author and the Slovakian Academy of Sciences.

241. VASE

Porphyry
H: 24.2 cm. W: 29.2 cm
Provenance: no indication
Late Roman?
2nd-4th century A.D.?

Made from a block of porphyry hollowed out and shaped, using various tools with the help of abrasives and water.
Condition: the colour a rich red brown with light pinkish speckles; the whole surface once highly polished, now nicked and chipped and the inside surface somewhat worn.

Particularly satisfying for the simplicity of its shape and execution, harmonious in form and eminently adapted to its function, this vase was probably used as a mortar. However, its date and place of manufacture remain a problem. As with many utilitarian items, however much sought-after with today's taste for simplicity in form and function, such products have proved throughout the ages of little interest historically either to scholars or collectors. This, and the lack of examples from archaeological sites add to the difficulties. Such scholars as Delbrueck (1), who studied the material, usually confined themselves to elaborate vases that were favoured in imperial circles. Two of these in the Palazzo Doria (2), taken for antique, are in this writer's opinion more likely to be late Renaissance. Simpler shapes, illustrated by the same scholar, such as a mortar in a private collection in Bonn (3), tentatively dated to the 4th century (?) and allegedly bought in Città Castellana, and another from a princely collection in the Albertinum in Dresden (4), dated to the 2nd century (?), give no foundation for attribution.

A porphyry jar with cover in two parts, unique to our knowledge, appeared at public auction in 1967 (5) as having been acquired in Egypt. If Egypt is indeed the find-place, it would be strong evidence for ascribing these types to a Roman context. And if the above mentioned three vessels prove to be of Roman date, there is no doubt that our example is also Roman. However, it would seem that most examples described as Roman, with the exception of elaborate vases, are rather small, delicate vessels, similar to examples in semi-precious stone, as evidenced by fragments from the Tiber (6).

All porphyry, in whatever form that has survived, was quarried from Mons Porphyrites in Egypt, exploited by the Romans between the 1st and the 5th centuries A.D. A valuable and much appreciated material, it was reused throughout the centuries. Simpler forms served functional purposes, mortars for kitchens or medicinal use from Roman times well into the early Medieval, when they were also favoured for church use as baptismal and holy water fonts. A porphyry urn with slender tapering body and short straight neck with upright loop handles appeared at Sotheby's in 1969 (7). Its finish indicated that it was made for certain of its parts - foot, mouth and handles - to be enriched with metal; whether of Roman or later date is uncertain. A similar vessel, but of better workmanship and finer finish, is the vase with silver gilt mounts (foot and mouth) that belonged to l'Abbé Suger in the Galerie d'Apollon in the Louvre (8).

A famous workshop flourished in Norman Sicily. The earlier Byzantines monopolized Roman porphyry for the embellishment of the churches and palaces of Constantinople, which were used as a much appreciated source by the Venetians. During the early Gothic period and the following centuries, the façades of Venetian palaces were adorned with porphyry tondos and hexagonal and octagonal panels. Princes in the Renaissance and the kings of France had porphyry column drums recarved into imposing vases. In conclusion, though there is a strong chance that our vase is Roman, it could just as likely be a Byzantine or early Medieval vessel.

1) Delbrueck, R., Antike Porphyrwerke (Berlin, 1932).
2) Delbrueck, R., op. cit., 210-211, pl. 89.
3) Delbrueck, R., op. cit., 96, fig. 99.
4) Delbrueck, R., op. cit., 196, fig. 100.
5) Author's collection. Sotheby's, 24 April 1967, lot. 70, said to be from the collection of the Earl of Ashburnham and acquired in Egypt.
6) Pasqua, R.B., "Vases and Inlays in Marble and Semi-Precious Stone", in: Radiance in Stone. Sculptures in Colored Marble from the Museo Nazionale Romano (Rome, 1989) 104-110, figs. 22-27.
7) Sotheby's, 1 December 1969, lot 75.
8) Gaborit-Chopin, D., Le trésor de Saint-Denis (Paris, 1991) 184-187, no. 31.

242. GIRL WITH DOVE

Marble
H: 54 cm
Provenance: no indication
Phrygian
Late 2nd-early 3rd century A.D.

Sculpted in an originally crystalline white marble, detailed in front, the back treated summarily. Parts such as the face highly polished. An inscription chiselled on the front of the base.
Condition: her tunic and mantle with traces of pink colour in front and wine-red at the back; other parts possibly once painted but no traces now visible. Missing: the head and neck of the dove, a piece of the front side of the base with part of the inscription and a small section of her tunic, also a sliver from the back right side of the base; the tip of her nose chipped, a nick to the front of her veil, a chip on the fold of mantle near her right thumb, the end of her left slipper broken away. Much of the frontal surface covered by a creamy limestone incrustation. The original surface, where visible, now slightly ivory-coloured.

This charming girl, a torque around her neck with crescent-shaped pendant, stands on a plinth. She is dressed in a long chiton, over it a mantle with two tassels, her head covered with a veil - a tassel at either end - which falls over the back of her shoulders. Her right hand is held over her breast and in her left she is holding a dove.
On the plinth are the remains of an inscription with the last two letters of a name followed by the word "Theo" (to God) and with letters that may mean "as vow". Thus the inscription should read:

(personal name)

(cult name of god)

Since the inscription indicates that she is a vow, she must have been "dedicated to a god presumably in his temple or sanctuary. It might seem surprising that a masculine god (θεός) should receive the statue of a girl, but I don't think it is a difficulty. Possibly the dedicator wished to dedicate the statue of someone close to him, say, a child who had been saved from danger, though if that was so I would have expected him to say so. More likely, this was a cherished work of art which he wished to give to the god as a gift" (19.

She is rather exceptional in that she is carved and modelled with an unusual sensitivity, and though a free-standing statue relates stylistically to a very large number of distinctive grave stelai that were manufactured in Phrygia from the mid 2nd century until the beginning of the 4th century A.D., probably in or near the city of Soa in the upper Tembris valley (2). The author visiting the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul a few years ago and looking for a comparison, noted the closest parallel to be one of these stelai bearing at the time the inventory no. M 73.64.

They usually depict a male and female - sometimes accompanied by children - standing in a rigid frontal view though on some stelai there is only a single figure. They are dressed in similar fashion to this statue, note especially the way the mantle is draped around the right arm with the right hand protruding out from under it; the left usually holds an object at the side - the women a spindle and young girls as here a bird. They all strike a similar pose. Note the way the folds of the drapery hang over her chiton forming an arch over the left knee. This is the same on the stelai, and when not holding an object their left hands are flat over the arch and slightly to the side.

All these stelai are rather provincial carvings, usually in fairly flat relief, though some are in high relief, and one in Malibu almost in the round (3). They are all of mediocre quality.

1) Thanks to David Mitten the author consulted Christopher P. Jones to whom we are grateful for having written regarding the inscription, stating that the statue is "surely not a funerary monument" as we had qualified her mistakenly in the previous editions of this catalogue.

2) Koch, G., “Zwei Grabreliefs aus Phrygien im J. Paul Getty Museum”. Roman Funerary Monuments in the J. Paul Getty Museum 1, Occasional Papers on Antiquities 6 (Malibu, 1990) 115-132.

3) J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AA.32: Koch, G., op. cit., ill. 12.

CHAPTER 11

SASSANIAN

243. PLATE (Herakles and the Erymanthian Boar)

Silver partially gilt
Weight: 500.53 g. Diam: 19.9 cm. H: 3.5 cm
Provenance: Iran
Sassanian
5th-7th century A.D.

Made from a disc of silver sheet hammered (1) into shape, leaving a thickened rim. The emplacement for the relief parts are outlined, grooved out, the background roughened. The relief elements are solid and prepared by hammering; once inserted the joins are annealed. The whole is touched up in the cold; the flowers punched in, the details of the feline's skin and the decoration of the pot done with tracer and punch. Different parts are mercury-gilt: the edge of the dish, the wavy line for the ground and all the inlays save for the faces and necks of Herakles, Eurystheus and the latter's hands. The plate was then burnished and polished; its foot, a hammered ring of silver made from a strip, soldered on.
Condition: the gilding worn in places. On the underside two long cracks, parts of which appear on the inside; also smaller cracks on the underside, one of which comes through on the feline's upper hind paw. Missing are the inlays of the boar's head, of most of Herakles' left arm and of a section of Eurystheus' left forearm. The plate slightly warped.

This dish poses problems, for among the many known Sassanian silver plates it is unique for its iconography and style. It has been variously described and dated anywhere between Parthian, c. 200 A.D. (2), to possibly the region of Tabaristan (south of the Caspian Sea), 7th-8th century A.D. (3).
B. Marschak on a visit in June 1989 called the dish Sassanian to be placed in the 5th century A.D., during the last wave of classical

influence from the west.

The illustration depicts one of Herakles' labours, where the hero carries on his shoulders the Erymanthian boar he has captured, to the courtyard of the palace of King Eurystheus. The king emerges from the pithos (grain-jar) where he has taken refuge, raising his arms, throwing his head back as he looks fearfully up at Herakles who intends to drop the boar onto him. On late Archaic Greek vases (4) we see the spirited expressions of Herakles and the king in conjunction with action, as the hero already has his left foot resting (5) on the edge of the jar ready to hurl the boar into it. On our dish, the scene has lost the vitality of action, it is decoration, it narrates an event devoid of emotional content almost as though a distant echo of a story whose real meaning has somewhat faded from memory. There are slight differences in detail from the Greek scenes. The jar, with its decoration (6) of cross-hatching with dots, rests on the ground, not buried with only its mouth visible. The wavy line for the ground, under Herakles' feet and the pot, sometimes finds its equivalent on Sassanian dishes in the form of rocks or a stylization such as the leaves at the bottom of a dish in New York (7) and the wavy decoration at the bottom of a late Sassanian plate also in New York (8). Noteworthy are the features of Herakles and the king. Their noses differ, possibly representing racial differences (9). Their faces show unquestioned quality of execution, whereas the feet and what is left of the hands a simple schematization. For an earlier dish, but somewhat akin in feeling, is a silver plate in Cleveland (10) of Anahita stepping similarly over the ground.

In conclusion, may we remark that loot from Antioch at the time of Khusro I (A.D. 531-579) might have been the inspiration for a dish such as ours.

Exhibited and Published:
Trésors de l'Ancien Iran, 121, cat. no. 677, pl. 71.

1) Though possibly partially cast for the basic form and then turned by hand into shape for which a point on the centre of the underside would be an indication. W. Haberkorn, who sometimes restores for us, suggested this and observed what he thinks are traces of fingerprints on the gilding above the right leg/knee and on the pot. If these prints are on the silver and visible through the gilding, it would prove that these parts were cast by the lost wax method

2) Trésors de l'Ancien Iran, 121, cat. no. 677.

3) A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, for possibly Tabaristan and the date (verbal communication).

4) LIMC, VI, 2, pl. 63-64 for several examples.

5) Louvre G 17: Beazley, J.D., Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painting (Oxford, 1963) 62, 83 (for this particular).

6) A motif characteristic of terracotta pots without handles of the 8th-9th century onward over regions that were the former Persian Empire.

7) Metropolitan Museum 63.152: Harper, P.O., The Royal Hunter. Art of the Sasanian Empire (New York, 1978) 42-44, no. 8.

8) Metropolitan Museum 63.186: Sasanian Silver. Late Antique and Early Mediaeval Arts of Luxury From Iran (Michigan, 1967) 136, no. 54.

9) In a verbal communication A. Leskov on a visit on 12 January 1990 remarked the difference and suggested that the anthropological types and dress of Eurystheus may be that of Sogdians or Sakas. This would be possible but could only be explained if a Sassanian craftsman had made it for a non-Persian client.

10) Cleveland Museum of Art 62.295: Sasanian Silver, see footnote 8, 110, no. 23.

244. PAIR OF VESSELS

Silver gilt
Weight: a. 475.03 g (526.83 g with lid); b. 527.23 g. H: a. 16.46 cm (18.4 cm with lid); b. 16.7 cm (without modern lid)
Provenance: Iran
Sassanian
5th-7th century A.D. (1)

Ex collection:
Maurice Tempelsman

The body roughly formed from a silver sheet cut into a disc and hammered into an approximate shape, excess silver cut off at the rim. For detailed analysis of the general technique see cat. no. 152. Repeatedly worked alternately repoussé from the inside and chased from the outside. The foot made separately and annealed on; on a., an inscription punched underneath. Extensively worked and chiselled in the cold; the gilding applied by the mercury technique; the gilded parts carefully burnished both to strengthen their adherence and for visual effect; the silver neck and rim burnished and polished. The lid made up of three parts: a hammered metal disc with the motifs chiselled in, but in relief as the rest of the surface is hammered back; its underside with a circular strip - hammered, cut, joined and soldered onto it - enabling insertion into the neck of the vessel; the knob made by hammering and cutting with a tang inserted through a hole in the lid and flattened underneath. Gilding, burnishing and polishing as for body.
Condition: a. vessel cleaned but traces of limestone deposit on neck, mouth and under foot, also some oxidized silver under foot. The gilding on the lid's knob, a pomegranate, three fifths covered with a green cuprous chloride, an emanation from the silver's copper content, its calyx slightly worn.

b. vessel also cleaned but with limestone deposit on two of the birds, in a few other places and on rim of mouth. Missing, the lid, the present cover a modern replacement.
Vessel a. is the one on the right side of the plate.

These vessels for wine are unusual for being a true pair and most exceptionally one of them still has its original lid (2) surmounted with a pomegranate. One of the jars has an inscription on its underside, which unfortunately has not yet proved decipherable (3). The shape is common, and many examples are to be found in American museums and private collections acquired over the past forty years (4). The floral motifs would indicate an early date, probably in the 5th century. However lovely the decorative effect, the floral decoration with the addition of the little birds must have had a symbolic meaning, which unfortunately escapes us.

1) Melikian-Chirvani, A.S., Argenterie et le bronze iranien, 7e.-11e. siècle. Chapter 2 (doctoral dissertation unpublished). A.S. Melikian-Chirvani in an oral communication told us that he believes the date to be 7th-8th century A.D.
2) All these vessels probably had lids, but this appears to be the only surviving one.
) A.S. Melikian-Chirvani brilliantly photographed it in the author's house but unfortunately the two Pahlavi specialists he entrusted it to for reading eventually declared that they could make nothing of it.
4) E.g. von Bothmer, D. (ed.), Glories of the Past. Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection (New York, 1990) 60-62, nos. 44, 45 (T.S. Kawami); Gunter, A.C. and Jett, P., Ancient Iranian Metalwork in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and the Freer Gallery of Art (Washington, 1992) 188-193, nos. 33, 34.

CHAPTER 12

BYZANTINE

245. IMPERIAL PORTRAIT?

Marble
H: 29 cm
Allegedly from Constantinople
Byzantine
Second half of the 4th century A.D.?

Tight-grained crystalline marble. The present portrait reworked from a head of the Trajanic period as evidenced by the large locks of hair at the back. The surface of the face once polished, lightly weathered. The hair is smoothed down and combed forward somewhat freely and in fine strands from the occiput. The pupils are carved out like large scallops.
Condition: broken at the neck, several slivers above the break. The tip of the nose is abraded, damage to the right nostril. Left ear broken away, the back edges of the right ear severely chipped. Blows and chips to the hair above the right temple and eye, over the left temple and elsewhere. Above the left ear a slice flaked off leaving a rough surface. Nicks to the eyebrows. The right cheek and the right side and centre of the upper lip abraded. Two spots of damage to the left and right side of chin. The surface of the head a creamy white with a very slightly yellowish hue and reddish tinge coming through over much of the head. Traces of granular pinkish limestone deposit. The left cheek stained and scratched, with a small flake.

The portrait may be that of a young emperor or prince of the later 4th century, although there is no imperial attribute to confirm his identity. His hair-style and serious demeanour derive from Constantinian prototypes, but the style is somewhat later and fits either the period of Valentinian I (A.D. 364-375) or early in the reign of Theodosius I (A.D. 379-395). However, portraits of the second half of the 4th and first half of the 5th centuries are rare, and since

scholars seldom agree regarding dating and attributions to workshops, this makes a precise identification very difficult.
We note a strong similarity between his ears and those of Gratian, dated c. 375, cat. no. 246. Though we know of no heads of identical style, there are a number of examples which display similar features in a more stylized manner and which may be only slightly later in date. Such may be the female portrait in Copenhagen (1) with a similar mouth, variously dated between A.D. 350 and 450, though we would tend to favour the dating proposed by Kiilerich, c. 390. For the physiognomy, the female head from Side (2) attributed to the Constantinian period bears such close comparison to our head for certain of its features, that one would like to imagine a parental affiliation. These are: the profile view of the chin leading up to the lower lip, the crease going down from the mouth on either side and more particularly the upper lip and the space between it and the nose, and the crease from the nostrils to the corners of the mouth. There is also some relationship to portraits in what L'Orange (3) termed the "Subtle Style" of c. A.D. 400 and stylistic affinities to heads on the base of the obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople are also apparent (4).
The head retains much of the Constantinian style while anticipating the portraiture of the Theodosian period and may therefore possibly be ascribed to the late Valentinian-early Theodosian period.

On view: Antikenmuseum, Basel: 1987-1992

1) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 835: Stutzinger, D., Spätantike und frühes Christentum (Frankfurt am Main, 1983) 456-458, no. 63 ("early 5th century"); Meischner, J., “Das Porträt der theodosianischen Epoche II (400 bis 460 n. Chr.)”, JdI 106 (1991) 385 ff., pl. 87.4 ("440-450"); Kiilerich, B., Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts (Odense, 1993) 119-120, fig. 66 ("390s").
2) Side, Museum: Inan, J. and Rosenbaum, E., Roman and Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor (London, 1966) 201-202, no. 277, pl. 154.
3) L'Orange, H.P., “Der subtile Stil - Eine Kunstströmung aus der Zeit um 400 nach Christus”, AntK 4 (1961) 68-75.
4) Dr. Marianne Bergmann, in correspondence (2 January 1991), suggests the Theodosian parallels saying "I find almost everything comparable with the faces on the base of the obelisk of Theodosius, but especially the part surrounding the mouth, the soft dips at the corners of the mouth ... I find the entire structure of the face similar on the 'Aelia Flacilla' and also, if I remember rightly, the faint wrinkles running from the inner corner of the eye into the face. The small, refined mouth with its very thin upper lip and the 'protruding' lower lip is a favourite shape of the period, compare also the portrait that L'Orange has grouped under the heading 'Subtle Style', in particular the two sculptures in Saloniki (AntK 4 <1961> pl. 27)." The present author finds the sculptures in Saloniki a rather distant comparison.
Dr. Jutta Meischner in a letter to the author dated 31 October 1990, in answer to our dating the head post-Constantinian, replied that it was middle-Constantinian. In a second letter dated 5 March 1991 she replied to the author's query that by post-Constantinian she meant 350 and later, and that if she had agreed with the author's opinion formerly, after reassessing the matter she was now sure its dating was late- or post-Gallienic, around

246. GRATIAN?

Marble
H: 13.5 cm
Allegedly from Constantinople
Constantinople
c. A.D. 375

Made of a very fine white to purplish white crystalline marble, the face and neck highly polished in contrast with the strongly different texture of the smoothed hair. The hairs on the ridges of the eyebrows wavy chiselled scratches as though freely drawn. The eyes incised with horse-shoe shaped pupils. At the back, the head and the edge of the tunic roughly blocked out and left unfinished.
Condition: broken at the neck, the end of the nose chipped on the left side, the edge of the right ear chipped and the left ear rather severely broken. A chip to a hair lock above the left eyebrow, chisel marks visible on the back of the head. The smooth surface of the face cameo-like in appearance. Speckles of brownish limestone deposits and root marks over the whole with a few minor yellowish orange stains.

This half life-size portrait of a boy belongs to the Valentinian period (1) which produced several examples of realistic portraiture revealing individualized characteristics and blending flesh and bone structure naturally and harmoniously. It is almost worked like a cameo so polished and refined is its texture.
The identity of the youth is uncertain but if he is a member of the imperial family, he is most likely Gratian, the son of Valentianian I, who was made Augustus in A.D. 367 at the age of eight. It has been proposed (2) that he could be his half-brother Valentinian II who became Augustus in A.D. 375, but since he was only four at the

time this seems highly improbable. It has also been suggested that he more likely belongs to the class of the senatorial aristocracy (3). The difficulty with an identification lies in the lack of an Augustan or imperial attribute and the fact that the youth appears to be ten or twelve years of age. On the other hand his height, which would have been in keeping with that of the small statue of Aelia Flacilla (4) with its back surface also left unfinished as is the back of his head, is suited to a rare size of sculpture adapted to niches appropriate for an imperial palace. His highly aristocratic expression with its self-assuredness exudes a certain nastiness explicable in an emperor's son spoilt by court life.

Exhibited and Published:
Age of Spirituality, 25, cat. no. 18, ill.; Gesichter, 272-273, cat. no. 125, ill.; Spätantike und frühes Christentum, 446-447, cat. no. 56, ill.
Published:
Hannestad, N., “The Ruler Image of the Fourth Century : Innovation or Tradition”, ActaAArtHist 15, 95-107, fig. 9.
Mentioned:
Frel, J., “Ein unbekannter kynischer Philosoph”, HASB 10 (1984) 25; Wegner, M., “Verzeichnis verlässlicher oder vermeintlicher Herrscherbilder von Valentinianus I. bis Herakleios”, Boreas 10 (1987) 120, no. 19; v. Heintze, H., "Ein Bronzebüstchen des Kaisers Gratianus", in: Vivarim, Festschrift Th. Klauser, JbAC Beih. 11 (1984) 164, n. 128, 165 (neither Gratian nor Valentinian II). Late Constantinian, pre-Theodosian; Meischner, J., “Das Porträt der valentinianischen Epoche”, JdI 107 (1992) 217 ff., pl. 90.2; id., “Spätantike Kaiserikonographie”, JdI 110 (1995) 440, n. 43; Hannestad, N., “The Ruler Image of the Fourth Century: Innovation or Tradition”, in: ActaAArtHist 15, 93-107.

1) Adopting the author's suggestion at the time, J.D. Breckenridge (Age of Spirituality) ascribed the head to Gratian and dated it c. 370-375.
See Meischner, J., JdI 107 (1992) 227-231, for "Valentinian realism"; Jucker, H., “Verkannte Köpfe”, MusHelv 16 (1959) 284-291, pl. 4, for the head in Trier; Inan, J. and Alföldi-Rosenbaum, E., Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei. Neue Funde (Mainz, 1979) 226-227, no. 196, pl. 147.3-4, for the unusual head from Aphrodisias.
) Trümpler, S., Gesichter, cat. no. 125.
) Stutzinger, D., Spätantike und frühes Christentum, cat. no. 56.
4) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 13: Sodini, J.-P., Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises (Paris, 1992-93) 36-37, no. 4, sometimes suggested to be Pulcheria, her granddaughter and daughter of Arcadius.

247. PARADE BELT FITTING

Silver, partially gilt
Weight: 328.90 g. L: 23.5 cm
Provenance: no indication; Asia Minor?
Late Roman
Late 4th-early 5th century A.D.

Made (1) of multiple elements of silver sheet, strips, beaded wire and rods: hammered, cut, chiselled, punched, grooved, folded, chased and repoussé. Certain parts mercury-gilt: the plates, loop and tongue save for the beaded borders and hinged sections.
Condition: the gilding slightly worn, the silver parts somewhat oxidized, three of the studs at the back loose; the rectangular plates a little warped.

This belt fitting (2) is composed of three rectangular plaques with a buckle and hinge pin. The central and most important panel shows on its right Apollo leaning on a tripod with a snake, his Delphic attributes, which leave no doubt of identity. Holding a laurel wreath in his lowered right hand and turning his head toward his right he looks detachedly at Daphne represented on a smaller scale as she turns into a laurel tree, seemingly indifferent to his frustration and her transformation. The scene represents synoptically the myth of Daphne of which only two representations are so far known, funerary reliefs in limestone of the imperial period found in Germany (3). The two panels on the right and left are hunting scenes showing an imperial figure or general on horseback, a lion under his leaping mount turns his head towards his aggressor about to spear him. The sport is taking place in a wood or forest as shown by the trees on the upper corners.

M. Feugère reminds us that in Late Antiquity the cingulum was recognized as a sign of high office of which it became the synonym. Such an opulent fitting allegedly found in Asia Minor (4), representing a classical myth and conferred on a member of the social elite at this time of deep mutation both political and religious, might appear as the vindication of classical culture with its centuries-old roots, when Christianity was spreading throughout Anatolia. It is also to be remembered that during Late Antiquity people continued to learn to read using the names of pagan gods and heroes, and that mythology remained the foundation of a culture that Christians chose to assimilate rather than to replace or fight.

Thus the present belt, like the Thetford buckle with its plaque representing a satyr found with spoons dedicated to Faunus, reflects a pagan subject at a time of great social change.

Published:
Feugère, M., “Apollon et Daphné sur une boucle de ceinturon tardo-romaine en argent doré”, AKorrBl 22 (1992) 125-136; id.: Les armes des romains de la République à l'Antiquité tardive (Paris, 1993) 253-254.

1) The fitting is composed of a loop and tongue, and three rectangular plates. These five elements are hinged to each other. The loop and the tongue are cut, hammered, embossed and elaborately chiselled. Each rectangular plate is made of silver sheet cut and worked, the central scene repoussé and worked from both sides, the inner frames slighty varying with circles, wavy lines, herring-bone pattern, zigzags and triangles punched and chiselled in; the raised chevron border is separately made from strips of silver hammered, chiselled and cut. Four in number, they are bevelled at the angles and fusion-welded on each plate.
The outer border of the plates, a length of beaded wire soldered into place on cusps prepared for each bead on the sheet turned up on top and bottom. The last bead on the lower right hand corner of the first plate has been repaired with a round-headed rivet running through it, its flattened end still visible on the underside. The beaded wire on either side extends just above the transverse beads.
On the right side of the last plate the silver sheet is coiled over into a hollow tube that strengthens it and contributes to holding the vertical beads in place. On the left of this plate and the central one, the coiled over section is cut away at top and bottom to enable a fit with the two coiled over sections on the right side of the first and middle plate.
The hinge-pins with their conical shaped heads are slipped through these three-sectioned tubes and flattened at the lower ends, thus holding one plate to the next; the whole sufficiently flexible for the leather belt backing, to which they were attached by the four flat-headed studs on each plate. The studs with mushroom-shaped heads, their stems composed of a silver strip folded over into a tubular section, cut to length and soldered underneath. Four rivets visible in the corners of the central scene come through on the back and fit into these tubular sections.
The same principle for tying one plate to the next serves to attach the loop and tongue - the loop by means of two flat strips held in place with round-headed rivets and the tongue with a smaller strip, fusion-welded on the back and on the front worked so as to hide the join.
2) We have made extensive use of the brilliant and very thorough publication by M. Feugère. This appeared three years after his visit in August 1988 to the author, who had pointed out to him that the closest comparison was the gold buckle with plaque from Thetford (Johns, C. and Potter, T., The Thetford Treasure. Roman Jewellery and Silver <London, 1983>) and that the present fitting was to be dated around A.D. 400.
3) Feugère, M., op. cit., 133-134.
4) Supposedly found with silver vessels: two plates, an oinochoe and a sort of tall bottle, also a bowl that is in the author's collection with a hunting scene - a booted man in a tunic faces a lion with a sort of pig-stick, with rocks and a tree in the background. A punched inscription in Greek would tend to reinforce the suggestion that these objects were made in and for the Eastern Empire (Feugère, M., op. cit., 133).

248. HIGH OFFICIAL?

Marble
H: 34.8 cm
Provenance: no indication; Asia Minor
Byzantine
Early-mid 5th century A.D.

Ex collection:
The Marquess of Lansdowne

Sculpted from a block of large-grained marble from Asia Minor, the crystals slightly greyish blue. The curls over the forehead and temples drilled, also the nostrils.
Condition: broken below the Adam's apple in front. Missing: a section of the join of the shoulder to the neck on the right side and the lower chin with the beard; sections of the left ear and all the outer edge of the right ear. Broken away are two thirds of the right eyebrow from the bridge of the nose and the nose is seriously damaged. The left eyebrow chipped, the upper left eyelid missing on its outer side, abrasion to the lower centre of the right eye with its lower lid and adjoining pouch. The beard and the moustache with its lower right end missing nicked here and there.

A mature portrait full of inner life, he looks out with a pensive intent gaze. A number of portraits of bearded men discovered in Asia Minor display a related style with elongated face, solemn expression and staring gaze. Once again, scholars differ in their assessments and this is no place to enter into a detailed analysis of one of the most difficult and certainly the most fascinating period in ancient portrait sculpture. Thus, he can be dated anywhere between A.D. 380 and 480.

There are two different (1) types of portraits, both ascribed by some to Theodosian times, and one, by others, as a later development. Also, comparisons are made between different traits that characterize examples dated differently. Certain features of this head, such, once again, as his ears (see cat. nos. 245 and 246), his similarity for other features to the head from Sebastopolis in Tokat and related portraits (2), might incline to an early Theodosian date if one accepts, as J. Meischner does, that two facial types are possible for the same epoch. B. Kiilerich does not agree, stating that since none of the three heads (3) have been found in datable contexts, they must be dated on stylistic evidence, and sums up saying that "the facial expression of the c. 380-400 head type is calm and harmonious, whereas that of the c. 450 head type betrays worry and unrest" (4). The present head does not really fit either characterization and surely belongs in the first half of the 5th century; a reminder that artistic creation is not that easily compartmentalized. Whether it is to be attributed to an Aphrodisian or Ephesian workshop is uncertain, and though two examples from Constantinople, the bust of a priest and the head of a bearded official (5) in Istanbul, do bear some resemblance, we prefer to leave the matter open. Also related are the heads from an unknown location in Asia Minor, now in Karlsruhe and Bonn (6), the latter particularly for the surface treatment.

Exhibited and Published:
Romans and Barbarians, 174-175, cat. no. 192 A, ill.; Gesichter, 222-223, cat. no. 95, ill.
Published :
Kranz, P., “Ein Bildnis frühtheodosianischer Zeit in der Sammlung George Ortiz bei Genf”, AA 94 (1979) 76 ff.; Meischner, J., “Das Porträt der theodosianischen Epoche I (380 bis 405 n.Chr.)”, JdI 105 (1990) 303-324, part. 321, fig. 17; Kiilerich, B., “Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts. Studies in the so-called Theodosian Renaissance”. Odense University Classical Studies, vol. 18 (1993) 237 ff., 384, fig. 108.
Mentioned:

Inan, J., Alföldi-Rosenbaum, E., Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträt-Plastik aus der Türkei. Neue Funde (Mainz, 1979) 306; Meischner, J., “Fragen zur römischen Porträtgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung klein-asiatischer Beispiele”, BJb 181 (1981) 160 ff.; id., “Zwei theodosianische Priesterköpfe”, JbStKSDresden (1988) 24, n. 19, 28; id., “Das Porträt der theodosianischen Epoche II (400 bis 460 n.Chr.)”, JdI 106 (1991) 407, n. 70; id., “Das Porträt der valentinianischen Epoche”, JdI 107 (1992) 229, n. 58, 231, n. 64.

1) Meischner, J., JbStKSDresden (1988) 27 who says that there are two types of faces in this time and that both trends are already visible on the reliefs on the base of the Theodosian obelisk. The groups are determined by their content rather than by their shapes. There is a court or academic portraiture - two examples of which are the priests in Athens and Dresden - and a more realistic type - the present portrait and the ones in Karlsruhe and Tokat.
2) Meischner, J., JdI 105 (1990) fig. 13.
3) The present portrait and the ones in Karlsruhe and Tokat.
4) Kiilerich, B., Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts, 241.
5) Inan, J. and Alföldi-Rosenbaum, E., Römische und Frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei, 282-286, no. 274, pl. 252; 286, no. 275, pl. 260.
6) Karlsruhe, private collection: Meischner, J., op. cit. (footnote 2), ill. 18; Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum B 287: Meischner, J., JdI 106 (1991) fig. 92.1 (placed A.D. 400-420).

249. SACRIFICE OF ISAAC (ring)

Garnet inset in gold
Weight: 9.38 g. Greatest L: 3.03 cm. L. cabochon: 1.39 cm
Provenance: no indication; Asia Minor?
Sassanian
5th-6th century A.D.

The garnet worked to an oval convex shape; the scene incised using various tools (1) of which the cutting sections could have been of flint, obsidian or emery stone employing drills mounted on a horizontal lathe operated by bow and string and the cutting wheel with the help of emery or diamond dust mixed with oil as abrasive. Straight files were also used. The stone after being finely polished was inset in the ring (2) made of gold, the projecting knob made separately and fusion-welded on. The ring likewise finely polished.
Condition: the surface of the garnet and the hoop of the ring both slightly weathered and scratched.

On the centre of the impression, Abraham facing right raises his hands in offering to God over the head of Isaac represented with hands tied behind his back floating horizontally (3) on his side over an altar (4); the latter is composed of a stepped base, a column and a capital surmounted by a round slab. Under Isaac's head and pointing to the ground the large sacrificial knife or dagger. Behind Abraham a proud ram advances towards him from under the branches of a tree (5).
Symbolically the scene as it appears in Genesis (XXII, 1-14) reproduces certain characteristics of Christ's passion (6), the father agreeing to the sacrifice of the son who opposes no resistance. It harks back to the earliest church fathers and illustrates the ideal of asceticism and obedience to God (7). This depicts the moment

before God manifested himself symbolized by a hand, not shown here, which illustrated God's divine intervention in time of spiritual or physical peril. The moment when Abraham became aware of the providential ram usually shown in a bush. Here there is no hand and no bush, the tree takes its place. The theme of the sacrifice of Abraham, as it is also called (8), was illustrated in early Judeo-Christian iconography in a variety of fashions with differences in detail.

This ring probably belonged to a Christian within the Sassanian empire; though it could have been the property of a Jew, for the placing of Isaac across the altar is only paralleled in non-Sassanian art in the synagogue at Dura-Europos. However, without an inscription it is impossible to determine.

Mentioned :
Bernard, P., “Catalogue des petits objets”, in : AFRASIAB. Fouilles de la mission franco-uzbèke 1989-1997, sous la direction de Fr. Grenet et M. Isamiddinov, pl. 15-17.

1) Boardman, J., Greek Gems and Finger Rings. Early Bronze Age to Late Classical (London, 1970) 379-382. Though Boardman is referring to earlier periods, the techniques for working gemstones barely changed until the last century.
2) By chasing and burnishing the edges of the cavity over the edges of the stone to hold the latter in place.
3) Typical for the representation on Sassanian seals which "does not derive from a known early Christian or Byzantine model." (Lerner, J.A., Christian Seals of the Sasanian Period <Leiden, 1977> 20-21).
4) "... a type of fire altar that appears on Sasanian coin reverses of the third through sixth centuries, ..." (Lerner, J.A., op. cit., 20).
5) A similarly constructed tree but without the smaller offshoots on the branches is to be found on the sacrifice of Isaac on the mosaic from the 6th century A.D. floor of the Beth Alpha Synagogue in the Beth Shean Valley (Weitzmann, K., The Age of Spirituality <New York, 1977> 369, fig. 45). Sassanian seals with comparable trees (Lerner, J.A., op. cit., 36, nos. 32, 33, pl. 4, fig. 25, 26). For another rendering of the sacrifice of Isaac, there is a cornelian intaglio of same shape showing Abraham as he looks back over his shoulder at the ram: Boardman, J. and Scarisbrick, D., Ralph Harari Collection of Finger Rings (London, 1977) 45, no. 99.
6) Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie (Paris, 1903) 111 ff., s.v. Abraham.
7) The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium (Oxford, 1991) 6, s.v. Abraham.
8) See footnote 6.

250. NECKLACE

Gold, amethysts, glass and pearls
L: 16.5 cm
Provenance: no indication; Syria?
Byzantine
A.D. 450-550?

Preserved are thirteen elements of an originally unknown number. Frames of gold foil - square, oval and tear-drop shaped - hold differently coloured glass insets. The frames are shaped in the cold and their backings annealed on, the square ones interlock by hinges: a closed loop inserted between two others, held in place by wire with a flat nail top, a small natural pearl at the lower end, the wire coiled to hold it in place. One loop and one pearl now missing.

The lower oval and tear shaped elements linked to each other by a ring soldered on each, below the tear shaped element a wire is double looped, coiled, one strand for about 5 mm at the end of which is a pearl and a pear shaped amethyst pendant. These held in place by the other strand which passes through the coiled element, the pearl and the amethyst, ending with a flat nail head similar to those on top of the hinges.

On the right end of the necklace is one of the square terminals with a round loop that, connected to the other terminal, probably would have enabled securing the whole around the wearer's neck. On the left end two loops indicate that an unknown number of elements with the terminal one are missing.

The tubular elements on top of the necklace, made of gold strip folded over with beaded extremities fusion-welded on, are soldered onto the square frames and were probably strung on a gold wire or thread to enable dual hanging or serve as the safety clasp.

Condition: the glass insets iridescent, originally a very light green; the square ones - emerald green and blue green - presently green with white iridescence, the oval and tear shaped ones nearly colourless, somewhat opalescent. Grooved parts in the gold frames reveal red toning due to decomposition of the

alloy.

We know of no close comparison.
Various elements of this necklace are to be found in jewellery of the period. A slightly later example (1) though very different does bear comparison for the square shaped elements with insets, the type of mounting, the rings and for the terminal pendants - here described as aquamarines. Such a technique for mounting precious stones in gold conforms to an ancient eastern tradition (2). This and other of the necklace's features are in keeping, and that is why different parts may be documented to as early as the 1st/2nd century A.D.: example a pair of Roman ear-rings found in Syria (3) for the little danglers with their closed loops, coiled wire and little pearls; a pair of ear-rings in Baltimore (4) - though of slightly later date - for the insets, the ring connections, the terminal pendant.
The influence of such workmanship can be observed in different parts of the ancient world over a period that covered the 1st millennium A.D. For instance, many of its features and those of this necklace are to be observed on different items of the famous Guarrazar Treasure (5), some of it possibly made in Constantinople itself, the rest locally in the royal Visigothic workshops in Spain.

Such necklaces, the apanage of ladies of royal households, the very powerful and the rich, must have been in fashion from the 5th through the 7th centuries A.D. Unfortunately, precious metals and jewellery mounts were generally melted down and the stones reused, and jewellery is hardly ever found in buried treasures but almost only, and that very rarely, in the odd tomb that has not be rifled between antiquity and the present day.

1) Berlin, Antikenmuseum 30219: Heilmeyer, W.-D., Antikenmuseum Berlin (Berlin, 1988) 358-359, no. 2.
2) Age of Spirituality (New York, 1977-78) 310 ff., no. 284 (K. Reynolds Brown).
3) Rhode Island School of Design, Mus. of Art 19.024a,b: Hackens, T. and Winkes, R., “Gold Jewelry”, Aurifex 5 (1983) 124-125, no. 31.
4) The Walters Art Gallery 57.560, 561: Age of Spirituality, 314-315, no. 289.
5) See a votive crown from this treasure which was offered to the church in Toledo by King Receswinthe: Madrid, Archaeological Museum: Hubert, J., Porcher, J. and Volbach, W.F., L'Europe des Invasions, Univers des Formes (Paris, 1967) 233, 364, fig. 248.

251. HEAD OF THE VIRGIN ?

Marble
H: 27.1 cm
Allegedly from Pamphylia
Byzantine
5th century A.D.?

Sculpted in large-grained crystalline off-white marble with a bluish grey vein running through the right side of the veil ending towards the lower right eyebrow.
Condition: broken at the neck, the present surface weathered and of uneven colours varying through different shades of grey. A large ochre-stained area on the right side of the veil. Missing: the lower part of the veil and a diagonal slice up to the left ear, also a small part of the left ear-ring. The lower half of the nose broken diagonally from the right nostril leftwards. A nick to the right eyelid and abrasion to left eyelid. A large chip to the turned up fold of the veil and a couple over the forehead. Much weathering to the left side of the face and to the veil on top and to the left; on the right side of the veil the marble eroded.

The representation and date of this head pose an enigma. Various scholars have dated her differently. J. Meischner (1) simply calls her a veiled female head and would place her in the post-Theodosian period, in the third quarter of the 5th century. J.D. Breckenridge (2) calls her a magnificent example of metropolitan portraiture from the post-Justinianic period and dates her in the mid to late 6th century mentioning that the closest analogy (3) was the Head of the Virgin in the 6th century icon belonging to St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai. D. Stutzinger (4) calls her portrait of a lady of high rank and dates her in the mid 6th century. S. Trümpler (5) (under H. Jucker's editorship) calls her a young woman of the late-

Theodosian epoch and dates her around the middle of the 5th century A.D.

The author is not yet prepared to abandon his original impression, namely that she is a life-size representation of the Virgin Mary, the only one so far known having survived from before the iconoclastic period which started around A.D. 726. He sees in her face a dichotomy between the virginal purity and youthfulness of the lower third of her face, mouth and chin, with the melancholic sad expression of her eyes with the furrows at the bridge of her nose, expressing pathos and suffering in keeping with the characteristics that would befit the Theotokos.

The analogy with the Virgin and Child in St. Catherine's monastery (6) is telling for the frontal position and other details. It is to be noted that the veil on the right side of her head must have flown behind her shoulder, the same as it would appear on the left side of the face, where it might have come forward in front of her left shoulder, possibly indicating that she held Jesus in her right arm, either seated or standing. If so, this might express a contrast with her air of pathos, possibly little visible in the dimly lit church with daylight filtering through alabaster windows.

In the catacombs of the Coemeterium Maius in Rome there is a painting described as the Virgin and Child with a Chrismon (7), and she wears jewellery. However, K.S. Weitzmann explained to the author that after the Council of Nicaea A.D. 325 it would have been impossible that the Virgin wore even hair-rings in the East. The author wonders whether such rules would have been adhered to so strictly so far from the capital, for if she comes from Pamphylia where there are many monasteries, her surviving the iconoclastic period could be explained by the Sassanian-Byzantine wars of the 5th/6th centuries A.D. when she might have been buried.

Of course, it may be safer to express the possibility that she is simply a lady of high position portrayed with a spiritual aura.

Exhibited and Published:
Age of Spirituality, 295-296, cat. no. 273, ill.; Gesichter, 226-227, cat. no. 96, ill; Spätantike und frühes Christentum, 474-475, cat. no. 77, ill.
Mentioned:
Özgan, R. and Stutzinger, D., “Porträtplastik des 5. Jhs. n. Chr.”, IstMitt 35 (1985) 273, n. 118.

1) In the text of a lecture that she had given on the subject of portraiture in the post-Theodosian period up to A.D. 500 and of which she kindly sent the author her manuscript (5 March 1991).
2) Age of Spirituality, no. 273.
3) Adopting the author's suggestion of 27 September 1976 and stating "which has similar fullness of modeling, pursed full mouth, and even the same slight double chin."
4) Spätantike und frühes Christentum, no. 77.
5) Gesichter, no. 96.
6) Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine: Boyd, S.A., Age of Spirituality, 533-534, no. 478.
7) Mancinelli, F., Catacombs and Basilicas. The Early Christians in Rome (Florence, 1981) 44, fig. 86.

252. HORSE

Bronze
H: 13.74 cm. L: 13.3 cm
Allegedly from the region of the Black Sea
Constantinople
First half of the 6th century A.D.

Cast (1) by the lost wax process, the missing tail was cast separately and inserted. The hollow eyes were formerly inlaid, probably with glass paste. Above the rump a square patch with iron deposit and a small one on the right thigh. Very carefully cold-worked with veins, muscles, knee joints and anus (2) highlighted, as also the hair of the coronets and on the back of the legs. The features of his head realistically detailed.
Condition: patina a blackish olive green with undertones of medal bronze, yellowish, slightly reddish metal showing through in places. Traces of earth deposits. Part of right ear broken off, hind legs bent up inwards; gashes on the lower right side of the body, the odd nick elsewhere and a small casting fault at base of left side of mane. The muzzle weathered.

The most pertinent comparison for this horse is to be found on the so-called "Barberini ivory" showing a triumphant emperor, possibly Justinian (527-565), celebrating his eternal peace with the Persians (3). It reveals similar stylization for the body and particularly for the head with its different features, most especially the muzzle, and also for the folds around the neck. Other details are very similar, among which the hooves, coronet, pastern and the elbow. This elegant short horse with his heavy rump, his powerful chest, neck, withers and shoulders, is surely characteristic of the breed of horses that served the emperor, his generals and officers in the Byzantine army.

It has been suggested (4) that his raised front leg in combination with the turn of the head and the direction of the weight-supporting left front leg corresponds to the Greek schema for the left inner horse in a quadriga. There may be a rapport with the monumental gilded bronze quadriga (5) until recently6 on the façade of S. Marco in Venice, where it had been taken after the looting of Constantinople in 1204. The group had been brought to the capital of the Eastern Empire and erected with a chariot carrying Helios on porphyry columns in the Milion by the Emperor Constantine. Our horse was probably part of a small quadriga, and possibly one of Helios.

Exhibited and Published:
Art Antique, cat. no. 389, ill.; Age of Spirituality, 105-106, cat. no. 97, ill.; Splendeur de Byzance, 78, cat. no. Sc.4, ill.

1) The bronze feels heavy and solid: visible through the hole where the tail was attached is a narrow hollow about 3 cm in length. Without x-ray we are unable to tell whether solid-cast or hollow-cast. The head and legs surely solid-cast, the body probably so, though if not, very thick-walled with the core still in place.
2) Its representation is unusual and unknown to us elsewhere on small bronzes, though it is featured on the horses of S. Marco.
3) Paris, Louvre Museum OA 9063: Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises (Paris, 1992) 63-66, no. 20. This comparison was already established by the present author in Art Antique, no. 389, for which he wrote the entry.
4) Schrader, J.L., Age of Spirituality, no. 97.
5) For a full discussion see I cavalli di San Marco (Venice, 1977).
6) Replaced by copies, the originals in the Museum of the Tesoro del Duomo.

253. PLATE WITH MAENAD

Silver
Weight: 337.23 g. Diam: 13.7 cm
Provenance: no indication; Constantinople?
Constantinople
A.D. 550-565

Hammered, punched, chiselled and chased. The maenad on the face of the plate embossed by repeated hammering and chasing, working up the relief and pushing back the background. The foot-ring made separately and fusion-welded on the underside, five stamps struck on with a die within its circumference.
Condition: the surface on the edge of the plate and especially on the side behind the maenad starred with a multitude of infinitesimal nicks. A pointed dent next to the roptron, the whole plate somewhat worn on both surfaces, its edge worn and nicked, the foot-ring slightly bent. The silver lightly stained and with a few blackish traces.

The face of the plate is decorated with a maenad dressed in a sleeveless long chiton girded below the breasts and a himation. She advances almost in a dance-like step, as she looks out from the plate, her left arm extending forward holds in the upraised hand a bell, while her extended lower right hand holds a roptron (1). The back of the plate has a leaf-scroll between concentric lines around the foot-ring which encloses five control stamps of varying size and content which date the dish to the later part of Justinian's reign (527-565).
The closest parallel for the maenad is the later and larger plate of a dancing maenad with Silenos in St. Petersburg (2) which also has

five control stamps. A closer comparison for the maenad's stance is the tondo of a plate in Berlin (3) which has been dated in the 4th century A.D. as coming from Thebes in Egypt and must be a classical predecessor. On both plates the scene is outdoors, as shown on the back of this dish by the leaf-scroll and the suggestions of plant life on its face. For the roptron a fragment of a large tapestry in Riggisberg (4), also from Egypt and dated to the 4th century, illustrates a figure holding one (5) in a Dionysiac scene.
It has been said that our dish is from the same workshop as the plate, also in St. Petersburg, from Ust'-Kishert' (6) near Perm, on account of the foliate design on its face and the control stamps at the back.
M.-X. Garezou has identified the instrument depicted in these various illustrations as representing a roptron, basing herself on E. Bushala's (7) brilliant article on its form and function as a musical instrument - inferred from ancient texts as being a noise maker or clapper to be used primarily to beat time in orgiastic dancing. She concludes that it would have been an instrument with a bronze handle from which dangled a leather strap used to strike, functioning as a percussion instrument (Plutarch). The leather strap might even have been a sort of pouch containing something to rattle that would give two different sounds when striking.
Nonnos, she tells us, reveals its mystical function and thus it is to be considered with the thyrsus and the cista as an essential instrument of Dionysiac mysteries. She deduces that it must have been a polyvalent instrument used in war, in peace, in religious ceremonies, in profane life, and, by interpretation of an ivory in Paris (8), may also have been associated with the awakening of the infant Dionysos.
In conclusion, the present dish is surely a product of a metropolitan Constantinople workshop and illustrates the survival of classical models. Since the meaning of the mysteries was lost, their representation had become innocuous, and during the whole Byzantine period percussion instruments continued, says M.-X. Garezou, to be used. She even adds that Dionysiac music has survived to our days in the folklore of Greece. This author would like to refer to the end of the entry on the parade belt, cat. no. 247, where, as here and in the same spirit, the new Christian religion assimilated the traditions of the past.

Exhibited and Published:
Age of Spirituality, 149-150, cat. no. 128, ill.; Splendeur de Byzance, 134-135, cat. no. O.4, ill.
Published:
Toynbee, J.M.C. and Painter, K.S., “Silver Picture Plates of Late Antiquity: A.D. 300 to 700”, Archaeologia 108 (1986) 19, 38, no. 40, pl. 17c; Garezou, M.-X., “Le roptron et la clochette: musique dionysiaque sur un plat byzantin”, AntK 36 (1993) 111-119, pls. 28-30.

1) Garezou, M.-X., AntK 36 (1993) 111-119, pls. 28-30.
2) Hermitage Museum W 282: Garezou, M.-X., op. cit., pl. 28.1.
3) Antikenmuseum Misc. 10824: Heilmeyer, W.-D., Antikenmuseum Berlin (Berlin, 1988) 348-349, no. 5. It represents in low relief a bucolic scene with a draped female, child on back, moving forward in the same spirit as the maenad on our dish. There is a very strong similarity in feeling, the tilt of the head, the neck and the general hairdo are similar as are strikingly so the right arm and hand.
4) Abegg-Stiftung 3100: Willers, D., “Zur Deutung eines spätantiken Wandbehangs aus Ägypten”, WissZRostock, G-Reihe 37 (1988) 79 ff.
5) Garezou, M.-X., op. cit., 118.
6) Shelton, K.J., Age of Spirituality, 149-150, no. 128; Hermitage Museum W 351: Dodd, E.C., Byzantine Silver Stamps (Washington, 1961) 82, no. 15.
7) Bushala, E.W., “roptron as a Musical Instrument”, Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 10 (1969) 169 ff.
8) Diptych of Bourges, Bibliothèque Nationale 4652: Garezou, M.-X., op. cit., 114, n. 26, pl. 30.1.

254. SEATED FIGURE (Apostle?)

Bronze
H: 6.9 cm (Greatest H: 7.35 cm)
Allegedly from Monastir (Tunisia)
Byzantine
4th century A.D.

Solid-cast by the lost wax method; the underneath part behind his legs hollow and the edges on either side slanting, indicating that he was probably fixed on a vessel or piece of furniture. Summarily cold-worked, the hair made with a triangular punch and over the forehead with chiselled grooved lines showing it was combed forward. His cloak deeply grooved. A torque around his neck and a bracelet around his right arm made of circles of bronze wire not joined. Condition: patina a greyish green with undertones and spots of red cuprite, traces of earth deposit with yellowish undertones. The right arm slightly bent in, the odd very slight nick or casting fault.

The figure has no close parallel, but the round face with the cropped hair and beard would indicate a 4th or 5th century date. Statuettes of this period may take the form of steelyard weights (see cat. no. 255), wagon fittings (1), elements of lamps, attachments to furniture or other objects (2). Our bearded figure wears a chiton and himation; his appearance and garb suggest a man of letters, perhaps an official or a philosopher; figures of apostles also derive from such imagery. The meaning of the torque and bracelet are unclear. A bronze steelyard weight of the same period depicts the bust of a young imperial prince or high official (3) wearing a similar torque; maybe an indication of high status reflecting continuation of a Celtic tradition.

For seated figures in the round there is a group of three from a wagon fitting in New York (4); their iconography is uncertain, but they are surely learned men and may have a Christian identity, perhaps depicting apostles or prophets. However, more pertinent, we feel, are comparisons with several bronze lamps with a Christian subject. The most famous of these is the one in Florence (5), in the shape of a boat, with St. Paul (6) standing and St. Peter seated, holding the rudder.

This seated figure was possibly part of a group and from the position of his hands it may be surmised that he held a tubular element or rope. In view of the rarity of surviving statuettes, the best clues as to what he is about are surely to be found on paintings, mosaics, or sarcophagi. There is a painting in Rome (7), in the Chapel of the Sacraments in the catacomb of St. Callisto, depicting Jonah being thrown to the whale; at the other end of the boat two figures, one still seated, has just let go of his oar, and the position of his upraised hands would appear to indicate that they could have been in a position similar to the hands of our figure. However the painting is still in the first half of the 3rd century, our figure's garb is inappropriate for a rower, and his hands would seem to be on the same horizontal, which might contradict him being a rower unless it be the moment when he is feathering his oar.

Thus, the identity of this statuette remains uncertain but the way his hair is indicated by deep triangles, for which we can find no comparison, his large round head and his expression - the general spirit of the representation - encourages us to date him still in the 4th century. We also feel that there is a rapport between his hairline, his beard and his expression with a bust on a funerary slab from Tabarka (8) which would agree nicely with the indicated provenance.

1) For example an attachment with a fisherman: Age of Spirituality (New York, 1977-78) 278-279, no. 255 (probably 5th century) and one with a horse: op. cit., 347-348, no. 331.

2) Two attachments depicting bearded men in similar garb vaguely resemble our piece, but both are of uncertain date and iconography: Guida, P. and Loseri, L., Bronzetti a figura umana dalle collezione dei Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte di Trieste (Venice, 1978) 112, no. 90; Ross, M.C., Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, vol. 1 (Washington, 1962) 50, no. 55, pl. 38.

3) Vranje Museum br. 135: Popovic, L.B., Anticka Bronza u Jugoslaviji (Belgrade, 1969) 156, no. 335.

4) Now in the Metropolitan Museum: Strzygowski, J., “Bronzeaufsatz im Besitze von Hans Grafen Wilczek in Wien”, ÖJh 4 (1901) 189-203, pl. 7; Early Christian and Byzantine Art (Baltimore, 1947) 58, no. 212, pl. 37.

) Archaeological Museum: Burckhardt, J., Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen (Vienna, n.d.) pl. 92 (dated 4th century).

6) For a related figure see the St. Paul recently found on Sardinia: Pani Ermini, L., “Un piccolo bronzo da Cornus raffigurante S. Paolo”, RendPontAc 61 (1988-89) 3-25; see also a late antique lamp showing Odysseus tied to the mast of his ship: Age of Spirituality, 222-223, no. 199.

7) Grabar, A., Le premier art chrétien. 200-395. Univers des Formes (Paris, 1966) 103, 320, no. 100, ill.

8) Mosaic in Tunis, Bardo Museum: Grabar, A., op. cit., 236, 324, no. 261, ill.

255. Constantine I? (steelyard weight)

Bronze
Weight: 375.38 g. H: 10.8 cm
Provenance: no indication; Asia Minor?
Byzantine
5th/6th century A.D.

The figure solid-cast by the lost wax process with suspension loop above the head, the lower section - seat with back of shield, cloak and legs - a thick-walled hollow cast formerly filled with lead. Cold-worked with chisel and punch, burnished and polished.
Condition: patina a blackish olive green to lighter green with traces of purplish red and a few spots of bright green chloride, a medal bronze showing through on the left forearm and folds above the left elbow where struck by a tool, probably when found. Light greenish to yellowish earth deposits. The surface slightly worn in places; the front of the right shoe stubbed, damaged and with a nick, the front of the smaller left shoe worn. Under his right hand a bronze lump with a roundish knob of indeterminate nature.

Some half a dozen weights of this type are known but far more numerous are those that take the form of the bust of an empress, tentatively identified as Licinia Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III (1), and at least once as Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II (408-450) (2). All these weights were used with a steelyard and surely took the form of an imperial image to guarantee the accuracy of the standard.
The present example shows the emperor on a seat, its back and recessed side incised with a lattice pattern composed of lozenges with central dot. His head is encircled with a jewel-studded diadem, the insignia of the emperor which under Constantine the Great

replaced the former laurel and oak wreath. He is cloaked, holds the globe - another attribute of his status - in his right hand, and his left hand rests at his side on a shield decorated in pointillé with an early cross of eastern origin composed of four triangles of which four points meet around its central boss.

The type for this representation surely started in Rome and stylistically may bear comparison with statues of Tiberius and Septimius Severus carved on either side of the emperor on the Arch of Constantine; but A. Alföldi and M.C. Ross think the iconographical prototype could have been the colossal statue that was in the Basilica of Maxentius/Constantine. A. Alföldi has definitely established their figure type as of Constantine the Great (3). Two of these, coarser than the eastern examples, are the one in Dumbarton Oaks (4) ascribed to Rome and an example in Princeton (5) said to have been found in Gaul.

The closest parallels for the present example are the one in Berlin said to be from Pergamon (6), dated around A.D. 330 and ascribed to Rome (?), which we would question, and the one from Kherson (7), in the local museum there. They appear so close that the three are in all likelihood from the same workshop. The author agrees that the prototype harks back to Constantine the Great but wonders, in view of the inaccuracy of the portraiture and given that a great many of the bust-weights are generally thought to be representations of Licinia Eudoxia, whether the three which he thinks to be eastern examples might not represent her husband, Valentinian III.

Exhibited and Published:
Gesichter, 276, cat. no. 128, ill.

1) Brown, K.R., Age of Spirituality (New York, 1977-78) 345, no. 328; And possibly also Uhlmann, V., Gesichter, 274, no. 126 (in the author's collection).
2) Berlin, Antikensammlung 31 392: Effenberger, A. and Severin, H.-G., Das Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Mainz, 1992) 101-102, no. 26b.
3) Ross, M.C., “Bronze Statuettes of Constantine the Great”, DOP 13 (1959) 179-183.
4) Dumbarton Oaks 56.10: Kitzinger, E., Handbook of the Byzantine Collection. Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, 1967) 36, no. 131.
5) The Art Museum, Princeton University 55-3257: Breckenridge, J.D., Age of Spirituality, 20-21, no. 13.
6) Antikensammlung Misc. 10 817: Effenberger, A. and Severin, H.-G., op. cit., 101, no. 26a.
7) Ross, M.C., op. cit., 180, fig. 15.

256. SAINT?

Bronze
H: 5.25 cm
Allegedly from Asia Minor
Byzantine
7th century A.D.

Solid-cast by the lost wax process, cold-worked with punch and chisel and burnished.
Condition: patina a dark blackish olive green with parts a reddish cuprite and yellowish bronze showing through in places, as for instance on the staff with its top missing held in the left hand. Greyish yellowish earth deposits. The underside of the base with slight traces of soldering; probably once attached on a lid.

We know of no close parallel for this bronze, either stylistically or iconographically. Its style is Byzantine of the 6th or 7th century, a period for which we have very few bronze figurines. In the exhibition catalogue produced for Russia (1) he had appeared as "Pilgrim?" (2). The figure, bearded and carrying a cross in his right hand, is probably a saint; the staff in his left hand may have also been surmounted by a cross. He wears an embroidered tunic, a sort of cloak with a tablion (3) over his chest, belted at the waist, and boots. The costume derives from Roman military garb and is often worn by saints who were martyred soldiers (4), especially in Eastern Byzantine depictions.
His function is uncertain though he may have served as a decorative element, possibly the attachment to the lid of a lamp, a common utensil of the period. These are frequent among a whole group of bronzes from Coptic Egypt that have a distinctive style

making them easily recognizable but to which this statuette bears little resemblance. Thus, the alleged find-spot of the saint with his eastern elements suggest an East Anatolian or possibly a Syrian origin.

1) The George Ortiz Collection. Antiquities from Ur to Byzantium (Berne, 1993) cat. no. 256.
2) When the author acquired this statuette in 1966 he thought it was a saint, St. John the Baptist or possibly St. Peter. It was suggested to him in 1991 by Donald LaRocca, Helen C. Evans and Bill Wixom of the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts that it was most probably a pilgrim. Recently Jeffrey Spier has said "surely a saint".
3) A traditional piece of masculine court costume that from the 6th century onwards appeared at chest level; though generally a mark of civilian status, military saints are depicted wearing over their armour a chlamys adorned with a tablion (Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, vol. 3 <Oxford, 1991> 2004, s.v. tablion).
4) See, for example, St. Menas on an ivory pyxis: Dalton, O.M.: Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum (London, 1901) 54-55, no. 297, pl. 9; and on an ivory plaque: Age of Spirituality (New York, 1977-78) 578, no. 517 (either 7th century Syrian, or a later copy); also St. Phocas on a 6th/7th century clay token in St. Petersburg: Vikan, G., Byzantine Pilgrimage Art (Washington, 1982) 14-15, fig. 6.

257. LARGE PATEN (with engraved Chrismon)

Silver, with gilding and niello
Weight: c. 11.2 kg. Diam: 73.8 cm
Allegedly from the Sion Treasure (Kumluca, Lycia)
Constantinople
c. A.D. 560-565

Shaped and hammered from a very thick sheet of silver and worked from both sides, front and back. Elaborate chiselling and chasing, the letters inlaid with niello first chased out, possibly with the help of special punches. Parts mercury-gilt. The whole very carefully burnished and polished. The foot-ring, a thick silver strip hammered into shape and soldered on the underside.
Condition: the present surface a variety of silvery hues of all shades owing to heavy limestone deposits and silver chlorides removed in cleaning (1). The border somewhat distorted over two cusps above the Chrismon, parts of it still incrusted with silver chloride and left uncleaned as underlying surface is too fragile.

This paten is possibly part of a large hoard of silver objects, which includes several other very similar (2) patens among its varied contents, probably making up a significant portion of the ecclesiastical furnishing of one church (3). Some of the objects bear inscriptions naming Holy Sion (4) indicating that the treasure may have belonged to the Holy Sion church at Korydalla (near Kumluca). It has been suggested that it was looted or buried during the Arab invasions of the 7th century (5).
In its centre a large gilded Chrismon is encircled by an inscription in niello between two bands:

"Eutychianos, most humble bishop, presents this to the Great God, for the forgiveness of his sins" (6). On the outside an elaborate

border is composed of twenty-six cusps with gilded medallions in repoussé rising to a flat rim with leaf motif and egg-and-dart moulding also in repoussé and gilt. There are no control stamps.
In view of the quality of the workmanship, much finer than that found on the numerous examples of Byzantine church silver discovered in Syria, this paten, though not necessarily made in Constantinople, may have been fashioned locally imitating an example from an imperial workshop (7).

Exhibited and Published:
L'Or et son Mythe, 136, 230, cat. no. 550, col. ill.
Published:
Zalesskaya, V., Constantinople and Asia Minor in the VI century, "Hermitage Readings". The George Ortiz Collection, St. Petersburg (12 April 1993) 16-18, 26; Boyd, S.A. and Mundell Mango, M. (eds.), Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium, Symposium Dumbarton Oaks, May 16-18, 1986 (Washington, 1993) 19, no. 3, figs. S3.1-3.2.

Since publication of the Royal Academy catalogue January 1994, a major publication, The Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, was received later that year, which is a prime reference for this item and the following.

1) The calcareous incrustations by means of 10% formic acid, the silver chloride mechanically under microscope. The distorted section of the border with cracks and a small hole consolidated and filled with polyester resin (reversible process). The cleaned surfaces sealed with micro crystalline wax.
2) Antalya Museum 1020: Özgen, E. and Özgen, I., Antalya Museum (Ankara, 1988) 219, no. 158, Diam: 61 cm from Kumluca (Korydalla); also Dumbarton Oaks 63.36.1: Kitzinger, E.: Handbook of the Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, 1967) 18, no. 63, almost identical though smaller, Diam: 60.5 cm.
3) Boyd, S., “A Bishop's gift: openwork lamps from the Sion Treasure”, in: Baratte, F. (ed.), Argenterie Romaine et Byzantine (Paris, 1988) 191; Hellenkemper, H., “Ecclesiastical Silver Hoards and Their Findspots: Implications for the Treasure Found at Korydalla, Lycia”, in: Boyd, S.A. and Mundell Mango, M. (eds.), op. cit., 65-70.
4) Inducing the unlikely suggestion that these furnishings belonged to the monastery founded by St. Nicholas of Sion in the mid-6th century in the mountains above Myra, some forty km from Korydalla (Hellenkemper, H., loc. cit.).
5) It was off the coastal section that in 655 the Arabs inflicted a crushing defeat on the Byzantine navy commanded by the Emperor Constans II himself, who barely managed to escape (Boyd, S., op. cit., 198, n. 3).
6) Sevcenko, I., “The Sion treasure: The Evidence of the Inscriptions”, in: Boyd, S.A. and Mundell Mango, M. (eds.), op. cit., 19, no. 3, 39-56.
7) Dodd, E.C., “The Question of Workshop: Evidence of the Stamps on the Sion Treasure”, in: Boyd, S.A. and Mundell Mango, M. (eds.), op. cit., 62.

258. BOOK COVERS

Silver, partially gilt
a. H: 33.5 cm. W: 26.3 cm (front cover); b. H: 33.3 cm.
W: 26.4 cm (back cover)
Allegedly from Asia Minor
Constantinople?
Third quarter of the 6th century A.D.

Hammered, repoussé, worked back and front from silver sheet with elaborate and carefully detailed chasing; parts mercury-gilt; the faces of the covers burnished and polished.
a: visible on the left are two flat-headed silver nails for holding the cover on its wooden backing. On the right edge four longitudinal slits that probably held leather straps for tying to others from the back cover.
b: visible on the right two nails with conical heads but still with their ends coiled to hold the wooden backing in place. On the top right hand corner a silver wire, a piece of wood still attached to it at the back, ends in a closed loop (1). Likewise on left edge as for a. four longitudinal slits.
Condition: restored (2) in recent times. a. with a few holes, cracks and slight distortion. b. with a slit along Christ's nose and minor damage to edges. a. the colour a steel bluish silver, the gilding well preserved. b. the colour a bluish with purplish black parts, gilding well preserved but stained in places.

A young beardless haloed Christ, his right hand upraised and his left holding a book which rests on his left knee, is seated on a throne within an aedicula. The latter is composed of two columns with spiral fluting that rise from elaborately moulded bases and are surmounted by foliate capitals that support a gabled roof. This is formed by a decorated band framing a shell motif with a second small shell in its centre, in the spandrels on either side are peacocks with vegetal and floral ornaments. The outer gilt border is

decorated with birds, florals and crosses and the four corners are formed by squares with quatrefoils.

There are precedents for the position of the figure of Christ among which a drawing on parchment (3), copied from an original dated to the 4th century, shows Constantius II seated on a similar throne in almost identical pose and gesture, save that in his left hand he is holding the consul's staff. Some of the motifs (4) found on various of the book covers resemble known Byzantine illuminated manuscript pages, but whether they were inspired by the illuminated manuscripts or vice versa is open to conjecture.

Though generally referred to as book covers, it is likely that some of these plaques were not, since there are three matching ones from the Sion Treasure (5), and others also have been referred to as plaques (6). However, in the present case, their identical decoration shows us that they belonged together and there is no doubt as to their having been book covers for the same book, on account of the nails and the longitudinal slits placed in keeping with a front and back cover.

The closest parallel are the two incomplete panels showing three figures from the Sion Treasure (7) in Dumbarton Oaks, and the third related piece in Istanbul, almost identical for all the decorative elements save for the figures represented - here Christ enthroned, there Christ between two Apostles - and the variation in the motifs on the outer gilt border, though the four square corners are identical. They are surely from the same workshop and in all likelihood were made in Constantinople. Likewise two other plaques in Dumbarton Oaks showing a cross (8) and said to be also from the Sion Treasure probably come from a metropolitan atelier - possibly the same one. Related in various aspects are some of the other examples, usually said to have been found in Syria and probably made there, such as the plaques figuring St. Peter and St. Paul in the Metropolitan Museum (9); these last a provincial production inspired by the art of Constantinople.

Published:
Zalesskaya, V., Constantinople and Asia Minor in the VI century, "Hermitage Readings". The George Ortiz Collection, St. Petersburg (12 April 1993) 16-18, 26.

1) Possibly to enable attaching by a hook to the back cover.
2) The calcareous incrustations removed by means of 10 % formic acid. Fragments of outer frame glued, cracks and joins strengthened on the reverse with fine lens paper and polymethacrylate ester. The faces of the book covers sprayed with nitro cellulose lacquer. (Save for cleaning, all the processes are reversible.)
3) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Barb, lat. 2154: Zwirn, S.R., Age of Spirituality (New York, 1977-78) 78-79, no. 67 fol. 13, drawings of the Calendar of A.D. 354 copied in France in the early 17th century.
4) On the Rossano Gospels fol. 121r, generally ascribed to the second half of the 6th century, we have a parallel for the conch and the columns; on the Rabbula Gospels fol. 9v, completed in 586, we have a St. Matthew raising his right hand, his left holding a book on his knees, he is a reflection of the type for ancient philosophers and poets from which he derives; and there are birds figured above the cupola. For the seated figure of Christ and the setting in general a closer comparison, also from the Rabbula Gospels fol. 14r, is Christ Enthroned (Weitzmann, K., Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination <New York, 1977> 96, 100, 104, pls. 33, 35, 37).
5) Dumbarton Oaks 63.36.8, 65.1.3: Kitzinger, E., Handbook of the Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, 1967) 20, no. 69, and one in Antalya: Firatli, N., “Un trésor du VIe siècle à Kumluça en Lycie”, Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie, Trier 1965 (Vatican City, 1969) figs. 7, 8, all three with three figures under a gable.
6) New York, Metropolitan Museum 50.5.1, 50.5.2: Mundell Mango, M., Silver from Early Byzantium. The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures (Baltimore, 1986) 199-205, nos. 44, 45, with the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul; also in the Metropolitan Museum 47.100.36: Mundell Mango, M., op. cit., 206-210, no. 46, figuring two saints with a cross, and a fragment in Paris, Louvre Museum MNE 659: Mundell Mango, M., op. cit., 211, no. 47, that is surely from the pendant to the latter plaque in the Metropolitan Museum.
7) See footnote 5.
8) Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 63.36.9-10: Kitzinger, E., op. cit., 20, no. 70; id., “A Pair of Silver Book Covers in the Sion Treasure”, in: Gatherings for Dorothy E. Miner (Baltimore, 1974) 3-17.
9) See footnote 6.

259. RELIQUARY CROSS (enkolpion)

Gold, with niello
Weight: 12.44 g. H: 3.87 cm
Provenance: no indication; Asia Minor? Syria?
Byzantine
10/11th century A.D.

Composed of two halves. The back half holds a compartment with an openwork, thin gold sheet cut out to the shape of a patriarchal cross (with two horizontal bars), its sides held in place under pressure with the odd point of soldering; the compartment once held a relic, probably a splinter of the True Cross. Each half is hammered and cut to shape from a sheet of gold; some of the edges are turned up, while others are added strips of gold sheet, fusion-welded and burnished. The letters and the parts of the figures to be nielloed are cut out and chiselled.
On the front side, two closed gold loops are annealed on top and bottom, and on the back of the cross there are two loops at each end. When the two halves are closed, the loops fit together. The lower loops are held together by a hinge-pin, enabling the cross to open. The top loops would have been held together by a pin, probably with swivels, with an attachment for hanging from a necklace.
Condition: on the front side pieces of the niello inlay are missing: the body of Christ, some of his garments at his feet, and the bodies of the two soldiers at the foot of the cross. The inlay of the figure to the left of the cross is much damaged; the faces and the surface are worn, with the odd nick, dent, and scratch. On the other side, the inlays and surface are better preserved, although all the inlays of the two kneeling women are missing. The surface is slightly worn with some small scratches.

The Crucifixion, in conventional Middle Byzantine style, appears on the front of the cross. Christ is on the cross, flanked by the Virgin and St. John. At the foot of the cross two soldiers cast lots for

Christ's clothes. The abbreviated inscription are Christ's word to the Virgin and his disciple: "Behold thy son!" and "Behold thy mother!" (John 19, 26-27).
The other side depicts Christ's appearance before Mary Magdalene and Mary, the mother of James and Joseph, following his resurrection (told in Matthew 28, 8-10). The two Marys first go to the tomb of Christ, where an angel tells them that Christ has risen: "And as they went to tell his disciples, behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him." The scene is labelled with Christ's words, chairete, "All hail". The episode is not common in Byzantine art (only rarely on icons of feast cycles), but it does occur sometimes (1). A closely related depiction appears already in the 6th century illuminated Syriac gospels now in Florence (the Rabbula Gospels) (2), where the scene is similarly set in a garden.
Several similar reliquary crosses with niello inlay survive, including a recently discovered example from Pliska, Bulgaria (3). The finest related object is the so-called Fieschi-Morgan staurothek in New York, a reliquary box decorated with enamel and niello inlay (4). Although this group of objects has generally been dated to the 7th or early 8th century A.D., Kartsonis has correctly seen that the style and iconography cannot be placed before the 9th century (5). The Pliska cross and this example are unlikely to have been made before the 10th century A.D.

Exceptionally this entry has not been written by the author, but by Jeffrey Spier, a friend, at the latter's request and also because one of his chief specialties is the Byzantine period. The author supplied the technical data which J. Spier has taken over verbatim, expressing certain parts slightly differently.

1) Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, I., Byzantine Icons in Steatite (Vienna, 1985) 163-164, no. 68 (for an example in steatite).
2) Cecchelli, C., Furlani, G. and Salmi, M., The Rabbula Gospels (Olten, 1959) fol. 13a.
3) Tschilingirov, A., "Eine byzantinische Goldschmiedewerkstatt des 7. Jahrhunderts", in: Effenberger, A. (ed.), Metallkunst von der Spätantike bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter (Berlin, 1982) 76-89.
4) Frazer, M.E., Age of Spirituality (New York, 1977-78) 634-636, no. 574.
5) Kartsonis, A.D., Anastasis. The Making of an Image (Princeton, 1986) 94-123, who dates the Fieschi-Morgan reliquary to the first quarter of the 9th century.

260. CROSS

Silver sheet partially gilt and nielloed, over iron core with bronze tang
Weight: 330.04 g. H: 25.4 cm. W: 14.65 cm
Allegedly from Eskisehir (Phrygia)
Byzantine
End 11th-12th century A.D.

Ex collection:
Athanasios Ghertsos, Zürich

The iron armature carefully worked and shaped; each of the four arms of the cross end in two points, pierced with round holes for the rivets that held elements sheathed over them, all presently missing, composed of a cuff topped by a pointed ball. These decorative elements helped keep in place the silver sheet covering the front of the cross, which was elaborately and carefully worked front to back and back to front, repoussé and punched before being fixed on the armature with the help of solder. All the detailed elements and decoration gilt. On the back, the silver sheet folded over the edges of the cross extended some 2 mm under the front sheet, on it letters, tondi and figures were inlaid in niello with parts gilt.
Condition: six points of the sheet on the front of the cross torn and missing, the lower two were cut clean at the edge of the hole; little dents and slight damage to four of the relief busts on the tondi, the one of the Virgin unscathed. On the back sheet, the eight points were cut clean, a few have suffered minor damage. The front and the back of the cross with the odd nick. The top arm of the cross bent forward and the lower arm also, but very slightly. A bronze tang, now broken, juts out below the cross and would have been inserted in a long handle now missing.

The front side has gilded repoussé medallions and border decoration. In the centre the bust of Christ, on his right the Virgin and on his left John the Baptist. On the top of the cross is the Archangel Michael and at the bottom the Archangel Gabriel. The respective names are figured in each medallion with letters formed by punched dots.

The flat, borderless back has in its centre the standing figure of the Archangel Michael, his wings outspread and holding a spear in his right hand. On his right the Archangel Uriel and on his left the Archangel Raphael. On the top of the cross stands St. Paul in military garb and at the bottom the bust of St. Niketas. Their names or monograms are inlaid in niello.

This cross belongs to a group of fragments and crosses, most of which probably come from the same workshop: they are the three fragments in silver with niello, all three probably from the same cross, in Dumbarton Oaks1; the large cross in Cluny2; the top three arms of a cross in Cleveland3; the Matzkhvarichi cross4 and the coarser Geneva cross5.

This cross originally surmounted a long staff and would have been held in front of the faithful during religious ceremonies. The representation of St. Niketas, an uncommon saint, probably indicates that the cross belonged to a church dedicated to him.

Exhibited and Published:
The Glory of Byzantium, 66-67, cat. no. 27, col. ills.
Published:
Marković, Miodrag, “Notes on a Byzantine Processional Cross from the George Ortiz Collection”, 2004-2005) 33-52.

1) Dumbarton Oaks 64.31: Kitzinger, E., Handbook of the Byzantine Collection. Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, 1967) 23, no. 79, ill.; Jenkins, R.J.H. and Kitzinger, E., “A cross of Michael Cerularius. An Art-Historical Comment”, DOP 21 (1967) 235-249; Mango, C., “La croix dite de Michel le Cérulaire et la croix de Saint-Michel de Sykéôn”, CArch 36 (1988) 41-49.
2) Cluny Museum Cl 23295: Caillet, J.-P., “La croix byzantine du musée de Cluny”, RLouvre 3 (1988) 208-217 (57.5 cm without tang).
3) Cleveland Museum of Art: Mango, C., op. cit., figs. 7, 8.
4) Mango, C., op. cit., figs. 3, 4.
5) Musée d'Art et d'Histoire: Mango, C., op. cit., figs. 5, 6.

CHAPTER 13

AFRICA

261. HEAD

Terracotta
H: 19 cm
From Nok (Northern Nigeria)
Nok Culture
c. 500 B.C. - A.D. 200

Ex: Koro hunter from Masaru Neville de Bourbel Priestley, Somerset (1936-1972)

Nok terracottas were built up in wet clay, parts formed by cutting away and while still plastic certain details incised and impressed on the surface before firing. This example was built up piecemeal, traces of fingers and of a rudimentary implement still visible on the inside.
Surface adornments such as tresses of hair would have been made separately and applied, and the terracottas may have been covered with a slip before burnishing.
This head is of a grey red clay mix with small particles of quartz and mica.

The face has the typical Nok style almond shape of eyes, punched eyebrows and the ears, outlined by two braids of hair, are surmounted by a cross which may be the artist's signature. Both the pupils and the ears have been pierced. The head is surmounted by a cap and the neck is adorned with thick strands that may represent necklaces of plaited fibres.
Bernard Fagg saw a similarity in the shape of this head with one (1) in Jos and with two figures (2) also in Jos. We think that the smaller kneeling one (3) is probably by the same hand as the present head (4).
Nok is the name given to the culture because the first terracotta sculptures of this hitherto unknown art were found six to forty-two

feet deep on the western part of the Jos Plateau, in a village called Nok where tin was being mined in alluvial deposits.
The first example appeared in the 1920s, unidentified, and in the 1940s, Bernard Fagg proceeded to look out for and collect these terracottas. The dating is based on radio-carbon and geological data.
The previous owner of the present example, a professional white hunter in Nigeria who later retired to England, told me the following: "The actual date of the finding of this (head) is not known. It was found by a Koro pagan hunter 'many years ago' when hunting at Nok. His village was Masaru, about 12 miles west of Nok, in the Zaria province of Northern Nigeria. We hunted together for many years and before he died, as I was travelling at the time, he told his eldest son to give it to me, saying, to 'bring me luck and safety in hunting'. My Koro friend had set it up in his abode and always made offerings to it before we left on a hunting expedition and, though we had some very narrow escapes, no harm ever befell either of us".
We wonder whether the head had something to do with this.
Evidence so far and conjecture point to the Nok culture being an agricultural society proficient in iron smelting and forging. A society hierarchically structured with a common religious and/or political focus.
The Nok people probably practised ancestor cult and believed in witchcraft. An element of ancestor worship is usual in West African belief.
Religious in purpose as evidenced by their subject and attitude, many of the Nok terracotta figures were cult objects and commemorative figures representing deities, spirit figures, mythical beings or deified ancestors. The sculptures are imbued with both vitality and life. The strength of the psychic content that we feel inherent in this head leads us to see in it an expression of its importance as the seat of vital strength.
Nok sculpture in terracotta, the oldest we know of in Africa so far, is of such sophistication and technical excellence that it cannot be an act of spontaneous creativity and must be preceded by a developed tradition. It has high artistic merit both in form and beauty. Furthermore, it may possibly have had a profound influence, even if only a collateral one, on subsequent Yoruba art tradition, after having meanwhile contributed to various expressions of terracotta sculpture.
Though the transition in time and space between Nok and Yoruba is largely unaccounted for, we feel that future discoveries may give the answer, as was the case with Greece for the period between Mycenaean and Geometric.

Exhibited and Published:
Arts africains dans les collections genevoises, 103, 46 fig. 22, cat. no. 86; Afrikanische Keramik, , 206, col. pl. 1, cat. no. 43; Ouvertures sur l'art africain, 19, 57, cat. no.3, ill.; Corps sublimes, 17, 29, cat. no. 19, ill.; Africa. Magia y poder, 42, cat. no. 3, ill.
Published:
Fagg, B, Nok Terracottas (Lagos, 1977) no. 59, pl. 59; Arseniev, V., Culture de l'ancienne espace nigérienne, in: “Hermitage Readings", The George Ortiz Collection, St. Petersburg (12 April 1993) 18-22, 27.

1) Jos Museum 70 J 20.9: Fagg, B., Nok Terracottas, no. 10.
2) Jos Museum 60 J 2; 70 J 20.10: Fagg, B, op. cit., nos. 15, 20.
3) Jos Museum 60 J 2: Fagg, B, op. cit., no. 15.
4) On account of its appearance and the feeling which it exudes.

262. ROYAL COUPLE

Bronze
Total H: 16.3 cm
Found in Benin City
Lower Niger bronze workshop
Possibly 16th century

Ex collection:
Lt. Gen. Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers, DCL., FRS., FSA, Farnham, Dorset

Cast by the lost wax process. Most of the sides, front and bottom of the rectangular box-like altar are no longer extant, probably owing to the thinness of the casting. Thickness of bronze sheet: 1-1.6 mm.
Of the core which was not removed after casting, a substantial amount remains. The casting itself bears testimony to the prowess of the artist.
Patina: medal-brown with dark, olive-green undertones with traces of reddish earth.

The group is on a rectangular box-like altar that has a central band of lozenges at the back which also ran in front. It is dominated by a recumbent quadruped with a long tail, wearing a very broad collar composed of herring-bone strands from which hang three bells under his throat. The quadruped is probably a leopard, though he could be a mongoose or a mythical animal.
Seated against him are the figures of a male with crossed legs and a female with her legs outstretched wearing anklets. Both figures wear five-ringed bracelets around their forearms and the male holds a staff in his right hand, his left hand resting majestically on the quadruped's collar, while the female with her hands over her

stomach, seat of her fertility, also has a royal bearing. She wears her hair in a most elaborate fashion, plaited in two stiff braids (the right one broken and missing); on top, her hairdo would appear to finish in a bun. Between the braids at the back of her head there is a knob which is usually considered a symbol of royalty. She wears a double-stranded necklace, whereas the male wears a richer, single-stranded one and his elaborate hairdo is topped by a projecting braid.

In front of both figures is a gaming board composed of three rows with ten circles in each, probably for mancala (ayo).

W. Fagg (1) is responsible for having set apart a remarkable group of sculptures in bronze which, though very different, probably all originated in the Lower Niger, hence his grouping them under the title "The Lower Niger Bronze Industries". Fagg considered that they obviously had been made by different tribes, but we are not able, at this stage, to attribute any with certainty. As he brilliantly observed, they are highly original and distinctive and, however different, conceived with a similar sensitive understanding. We agree with him that they have an exciting and moving beauty.

Notwithstanding the difference in subject matter and in execution, one may note certain features common to both our group and the famous Lower Niger hunter (2) in the British Museum: around the latter's base one finds the same circles as on the gaming board, and the hunter's dog, like our leopard, also wears a collar with one hanging bell only. A certain affinity in spirit emanates from both groups.

We believe that we are in the presence of what Margaret Trowell (3) would call "Spirit-regarding art", confronted with a royal couple and the leopard, as a mythical animal, embodying the power of royalty.

We think that our group's appurtenance is to ritual and that it probably expresses the African sense of the unity of the spiritual and the physical world and served a purpose in harnessing spiritual power for the benefit of the living members of the community.

Exhibited and Published:
Nigeria. 2000 Jahre Plastik (Munich, 1962), cat. no. 23 (Fagg, W. and List, H.); Die Kunst von Schwarz-Afrika,382, cat. no. K9, 157 ill.; Afrikanische Kunstwerke. Kulturen am Niger, cat. no. K9; Kunst uit Afrika. Rond de Niger - de machtige rivier, cat. no. K9; Africa. Magia y poder, 106, cat. no. 87, ill.
Published:
Pitt Rivers, A., Antique Works of Art from Benin (London, 1900) 46, fig. 134, pl. 23; von Luschan, F., Die Alterthümer von Benin (Berlin, 1919) 326, 327, 475, chapter 14, ill.; Fagg, W. and List, H., Nigerian Images. The Splendor of African Sculpture. (New York/London, 1963) no. 61, pl. 61.

1) Fagg, W., List, H., Nigerian Images. The Splendor of African Sculpture, part. p. 39 ff.
2) Fagg, W., List, H., op. cit., 40, no. 58, pl. 58.
3) Trowell, M.: Classical African Sculpture (3rd ed. London, 1970), p. 25 ff.

263. "BULGY EYES" (head)

Bronze
H: 26.2 cm. Thickness of bronze: 1-2.5 mm
Found in Benin City
Yoruba Culture
Probably 16th century

Ex: Webster 6366
Ex collection: Lt. Gen. Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers, DCL., FRS., FSA, Farnham, Dorset

Cast by the lost wax process, the underneath with an internal flange mostly bent in and with parts broken and missing.
Patina: blackish-brown to medal colour with traces of green chloride in certain recesses.

Yoruba kingdoms with their divine kingship, which was far from absolute since they consulted their peoples through a group of chiefs (1), were centred in such towns as Oyo, Owo, Ijebu and Ife, and go back over a millennium.
Their religious belief was in a cosmos (2) divided into two distinct but inseparable worlds: aye, the visible tangible world of the living, and orun, the invisible spiritual realm of the gods, ancestors and spirits. Aye and orun were (competing) forces in the cosmos exemplifying the tensions as well as the resolutions of conflict. Among their gods, Olodumare was creator of life and of ase, the life force. Individuals like the gods were invested with values, good and evil, but it is their modes of action which differ as they realize their ase.

In art it would seem by observation of their respective works that the Yoruba must have had strong artistic ties and a "close on-going relationship with Benin" (3).

Our head was found during the British Benin punitive expedition in February 1897 in Benin City. Made in the Yoruba tradition: though possibly in Ijebu (4) it could very well have been made by a Yoruba artist in Benin City and it is even conceivable that "Bulgy Eyes" (5) could be a late Ife work.

This bronze head bears tribal markings above the eyes and on the forehead. On either side of the Bini-like ears hang coral pendants with small crotals or nuts at their end. On the back of the head is something of indeterminate nature, either a rattle, bell or large nut. The hair and beard represented by cross-hatching which extends also above the upper lip.

With its immense bulging eyes and wide, hooked nose with flat nostrils, this head is one of the most extraordinary expressions of African art. We see in it the essence of Nature's savagery and the "bulging eyes represent an extreme of the Oshugbo convention suggesting spiritual force and presence." (6)

It is precisely such a masterly achievement that ranks African sculpture among the great art achievements of mankind.

It may have been placed on a royal ancestral altar, found in what Pitt Rivers called "Ju-Ju" houses and would have been used in spirit cult. It could have been surmounted (7) with a headdress, as Drewal suggests. By its mystical strength, we feel that this unique head is a universal work of art.

Exhibited and Published:
Exposition de Bronzes et Ivoires du Royaume de Bénin, 13, cat. no. 55; Die Kunst von Schwarz-Afrika, 146, 147, 381, cat. no. K1, ill.; Afrikanische Kunstwerke. Kulturen am Niger, cat. no. K1; Kunst uit Afrika. Rond de Niger - de machtige rivier, cat. no. K1; Arts africains dans les collections genevoises, 49, 84, 102-103, cat. no. 24; The Art of Metal in Africa, 133, 155, cat. no. H14, ill.; Yoruba. Nine Centuries of African Art and Thought, 116-117, 125, fig. 128, 132 (H. Drewal); Africa. Magia y poder, 122, 183, cat. no. 192, ill.
Published:
Pitt Rivers, A., Antique Works of Art from Benin (London, 1900) figs. 265-266, pl. 35; von Luschan, F., Die Alterthümer von Benin (Berlin, 1919) 363-364, chapter 24E, no. 535, ill.; Underwood, L., Bronzes of West Africa (London, 1949)19 f, no. 28b, pl. 28; Falgayrettes-Leveau, Chr. , Arts d'Afrique (Paris, 2000) 55, fig. 38.

1) Fagg, W., Pemberton, J., and Holcombe, B., Yoruba. Sculpture of West Africa (New York, 1982) 30.
2) Drewal, H.J., Yoruba Nine Centuries of African Art and Thought, 14.
3) Drewal, H.J., op. cit., 13 ff.
4) Drewal, H.J.: op. cit., 120.
5) We are grateful to Frank Willett for reminding us that, since this is an unique work of art, it is impossible to make a definitive attribution given our present knowledge, and for pointing out that "he has a number of features in common with unpublished Ife works". We are also grateful to Hermione Waterfield for her suggestions.
6) From text of label for "Bulgy Eyes" in the New York venue of the exhibition Yoruba. Nine Centuries of African Art and Thought.
7) It is unlikely that it served to hold an elephant tusk as some of the tall and heavy Benin heads of later periods did.

264. FLY-WHISK HANDLE

Ivory
H: 39.8 cm
Probably from Ndengésé region of Zaïre
Ndengésé art
Probably 17th century

Ex collection:
Schoveau, Brussels
George Ortiz (1971-1978)
Count Jean-Jacques de Launoit (1978-1981)

Carved from elephant tusk ivory, the handle beautifully polished. The lower section of the pointed shaft faceted, its central part with circular grooves to enable fixing of the whisk (now missing).
Condition: a blackened longitudinal hairline crack down the left side of the face with slight abrasions above the left eye.
Patina: rich yellowish honey colour with traces of a dark resinous substance.

The handle is surmounted by a human head and the somewhat flattened face shows three round scarifications, one in front of each ear and one above the bridge of the nose. A large circular knob protrudes beneath the occiput. The lower part of the handle ends in a tapering knob with circular ribbing. On top of the head a long faceted shaft tapers to a point.
Formerly ascribed to the Bakuba, though the stylistic affinity to the Ndengésé was noted, we now consider that, by comparison with the firmly ascribed wooden figure (1) in the Völkerkunde Museum of Zürich University and another figure (2) in the Musée Royal du

Congo Belge in Terveuren, this royal fly-whisk (3) is certainly Ndengésé.
The circular knob beneath the occiput, a symbol of royalty, confirms the attribution.

Exhibited and Published:
Arts africains dans les collections genevoises, 81, 103-104, cat. no. 87, fig. 60-61; Objets interdits, 14, 22, col. and b&w ills.; Meisterwerke afrikanischer Plastik, 55, 85, cat. no. 41, ill.
Published :
The George Ortiz Collection of Primitive Works of Art. Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 29 June 1978, 50-51, no. 55, col. ill.

1) Leuzinger, E., Die Kunst von Schwarz-Afrika (Zürich, 1970-71) 306, 406, no. V 20, ill.
2) Leiris, M. and Delange, J., Afrique Noire. La création plastique (Univers des Formes. Paris, 1967) 29, 410, no. 28, ill.
3) Shortly after the author's acquisition W.B. Fagg expressed verbally that the date of this piece was 16th-18th century and that it was in all likelihood a royal fly-whisk rather than a sceptre.

265. RITUAL CUP

Wood
H: 20.9 cm
Probably from Kuba territory (Kasaï - Sankuru area of Zaïre)
Kuba art
Possibly 19th century

Ex collection:
Dr. Stephen Chauvet

Patina: dark reddish brown surface highly polished, must have formerly been smeared with a red paste of ngula (1) of which there are still traces behind the ears on the hair-line.

Carved with admirable proficiency out of hard wood in a highly realistic fashion, this beaker exhibits the primacy of the aesthetic with its sophisticated decorative details which are sometimes said to derive from the patterns of fibre mats, raffia-pile or "velvet" cloths for which the Kuba were famous; note the decorative patterns on the flaring foot. The two vertical bands of scarification on the cheeks may indicate that this is the stylized portrait of a courtier.
The elongated neck not only contributes to elegance but serves to centre attention on the face.
We see the head as expressing a certain sensitivity and controlled imagination associated with impressive power and a refined cruelty.
The origins of the Kuba kingdom lie in the early 17th century. This beaker or goblet in the shape of a human head is one of the sumptuous objects which surely formed part of elaborate court ritual. Its evident quality suggests royal and court interest in and patronage of the arts.

This highly developed court art of carving confirms Paul S. Wingert's (2) statement "... by ... the magnificence of their technique, these carved cups ... represent the finest examples of African decorative sculpture."

Exhibited and Published:
Arts africains dans les collections genevoises, 80, 104, cat. no. 88, fig. 59; Meisterwerke afrikanischer Plastik, 54, 84-85, cat. no. 40, ill.
Mentioned :
Roudillon, J., Le Docteur Stephen Chauvet - Initiation à l'Etude de l'Art Nègre, Primitifs 5 (Juillet-Août 1991) 57, fig. 3.

We are indebted to B.J. Mack, Keeper of the Department of Ethnography of the Museum of Mankind, for reading our previous entry, which made use of L. Segy and some of his theories (“Bakuba Cups: An Essay on Style Classification”, The Midwest Journal 4.1 [Winter 1951-1952] 27), and for suggesting a more up-to-date approach. We are grateful for his indications but bear full responsibility for any mistakes in this entry.

1) Also called tukula which is a red powder made from the bark of the ptero-carpus tree.

2) Wingert, P.S., The Sculpture of Negro Africa (New York, 1950) 63.

266. RELIQUARY FIGURE

Wood
H: 35 cm (with tang: 40.4 cm)
Probably from the valleys of Ogooué and Okano (Gabon)
Southern Fang, Nzaman / Betsi tribe ?
Probably 19th century

Ex collection:
Charles Ratton
Morris Pinto

Patina: blackish brown with traces of magical materials with which the figure would have been ceremonially anointed.

A hieratic style of carving in keeping with the sculptural treatment common to these figures, the almost triangular face with the protruding sad mouth surmounted by a huge forehead. The remains of one of its copper sheet eyes is still in place. The head is surmounted by a stylized hairdo falling in tresses at the back and forming a rectangular rounded type of halo engraved with decorative patterns in front.
The Fang, both fearful warriors and cannibals, carved their bieri, which exemplify a serene beauty, for their ancestor cult. This figure would have been fitted by its tang on the cylindrical lid of a bark box in which a revered ancestor's skull and maybe some of his small bones would have been kept, in order to guard them from harm.
These figures represent the Fang's conceptualization of man and his destiny and would have ensured the perpetuation of the spirit power of his ancestors.

Exhibited and Published:
Meisterwerke afrikanischer Plastik, 15, 77, cat. no. 1, ill.
Published:
Perrois, L., La statuaire Fan du Gabon (Paris, 1972) 372, fig. 262; Paulme, D., L'art sculptural nègre I, Art et Style (Paris, 1962) no.1.

CHAPTER 14

AMERICA

267. TOUCAN (finial)

Gold
Weight: 228.08 g. Max. L: 16.2 cm
Probably from the department of Bolivar (Colombia)
Sinu
Pre-Columbian. 8th-15th century

Ex collection:
Sir Jacob Epstein, London

Cast by the lost wax process, this finial in the form of a bird hasbeen described as tumbaga with an enriched (1) surface, now we prefer to call it gold (2).
Condition: two of the loops under his beak missing. A few casting flaws mainly at the butt end of the finial with two holes and two repairs by the addition of annealed gold patches. A further large patch on the lower front of neck to the left.

The bird appears to be a toucan. He has slit eyes, a crest of spirals surmounts his head and under his long beak are small loops from which probably dangled gold pendants.
The toucan perches on a socket that may have been attached almost horizontally to a ceremonial staff; it is possible, though unlikely, that it served as the hook of a ceremonial spear-thrower.
The finial attests to the high degree of artistic and technical development achieved by the Pre-Columbian goldsmiths.
"In the sixteenth century the Sinu was one of the richest and most populous areas of Colombia. Juan de Castellanos (1589) noted that the Sinu goldsmiths made 'figurines of various kinds, aquatic creatures, land animals and birds, down to the most lowly and unimportant; also javelins with hoops of gold of various sizes, or

covered with gold leaf, and large drums, flutes, vessels of diverse kinds, and models of flies, spiders and other unpleasant insects.'" (3)

The products of the Sinu goldsmiths were widely traded.

In the Autumn of 1960, the Epstein collection of tribal and exotic sculpture, the best private collection of its kind, was shown in London. I barely managed to rush through it in thirty-five minutes on the miserable closing day. It was drizzling and foggy, night was falling - the light in the exhibition was bad. Suddenly, in the angle of a case, the bird shone like a bright sun, a ray of hope.

Shortly after Epstein's death in 1961, Lady Epstein entrusted the collection to Charles Ratton for sale and I was able to acquire the bird. Upon visiting Lady Epstein two years later to thank her for facilities extended to me, she said: "By the way, did I tell you that my husband had been wearing an old tweed jacket for the last two days of his life and that when I hung it in the closet after he died I noticed a big bulge in one of the pockets, it was your bird."

I am touched by the thought that during the last two days of his life Epstein had fondled the Sinu bird.

Exhibited and Published:
The Epstein Collection of Tribal and Exotic Sculpture, cat. no. 221, pl. 12; Primitive to Picasso, 14, 91, cat. no. 3, ill.; The Gold of El Dorado, 154, cat. no. 235, col. ill.; Sonderausstellung El Dorado. Der Traum vom Gold, 162, cat. no. 235, col. ill.; L'Or et son Mythe,120, 229, cat. no. 522, col. ill.; Circa 1492, 628, cat no. 523.
Exhibited:
Gold of El Dorado: The Heritage of Colombia, no. 235.
Published:
Lavallée, D. and Guillermo Lumbreras, L., Les Andes de la Préhistoire aux Incas (Univers des Formes. Paris, 1985) 253, no. 229, full page col. ill.; Bassani, E. and McLeod, M.D., Jacob Epstein Collector (Milan, 1989) 51, fig. 66, 171, no. 735, ill.

1) Tumbaga is gold with a high copper content of which the surface has been enriched. It used to be thought that this enrichment was obtained through adding and applying gold by amalgamation (the mercury then evaporating); recent scholarship inclines to the technique of depletion gilding, which is the process of leeching out copper by means of acids, leaving a purer gold on the surface. In practice, this means heating the object, resulting in an oxidized black surface to which one applies the acid, lemon juice or some other mixture, to remove the oxidization. This operation is repeated as often as required. What comes to the surface and oxidizes is the copper. After sufficient surface copper has thus been removed, the cleaned surface may be burnished resulting in a beautiful shiny gold.
2) In both the Epstein and Primitive to Picasso catalogues this bird is described as gold. In the Gold of Eldorado, W. Bray called it "cast tumbaga with enriched surface" which this writer adopted for the exhibitions L'Or et son Mythe and Circa 1492. Upon re-examination and observing not the slightest trace of copper carbonates or chlorides, which necessarily would appear over half a millennium, we conclude with the most competent living restorer from Colombia that this bird ought to be qualified as gold. The copper content is insufficient to justify the term tumbaga.
3) Bray, W. , The Gold of Eldorado, 41, section 8 Sinu Region.

267bis "GODZILLA'S" REALM

Gold
Two palm trees: Weight: 82.11 g; 49.63 g. H: 28.1 cm;
24.4 cm. W: 9.5 cm; 7.4 cm
"Godzilla": Weight: 41.65 g (1). H: 11.94 cm. W: 5.72 cm
Provenance: El Bolo, Cauca Valley (Colombia)
"Malagana" related to Calima Culture
c. 100 B.C.-A.D. 100

The palm trees were made of gold (2) by casting the general outline, a pin surmounted by a thick plate. This was hammered and heated as required, the branches were cut out after the correct thickness had been achieved.
"Godzilla" was made of gold sheet in six parts (3): the face with the front including the upper arms to the groin, the wing-like back with the rest of the head, the two forearms and the two legs. The sheet would have been hammered to a correct thickness, heated to render it highly malleable, and this was repeated as needed. It would have been cut to the size required, roughly worked to shape and then possibly fixed on to a wooden statuette (4) of "Godzilla" for all the detailing. The legs probably worked in the same way over a wooden form which might have been pegged into the statuette's body. The figure was fixed on to its form: the back part held in place by folding over the edges, the front by means of nails (5) inserted in the 28 holes around the contour. On the back of each hand a round hole served the same purpose. The edges of the different sections were folded over each other and burnished.
Missing: left forearm with its hand - here a modern restoration.
The items were carefully burnished and polished.

The Pre-Columbian treasure of El Bolo is called the Malagana Culture after the hacienda where found. Probably part of an agricultural centre, a crossroads where different clans came

together to trade, it was half-way between the Inca civilization to the south and the Caribbean to the north.
Located about 800 to 1000 m above sea level in a fertile agricultural valley with a tropical but dry climate.
The Malagana gold items, both cast and hammered, are of able workmanship revealing a sense for form, more stylized and less baroque than, for instance, Calima objects. Many of the hand-modelled figures, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, represent wild animals, jaguars, tatous (armadillos), monkeys, tortoises, frogs, bats, and all sorts of birds. Included in the find were great masks, many with pendants, an extraordinary crown, and innumerable representations, covering objects also from Calima, San Agustin, Tolima, Tumaco, Tierradentro, Quimbaya.
"Godzilla" represents an anthropo-zoomorphic winged figure - mythical and heroic - an ancient cultural image which combines human, bird and reptile attributes. His head is crested and animal-like, its hollow eyes were once inlaid and its open mouth has rows of sharp teeth. The position of his hands would suggest that they held something.
He is an expression of the belief that in early times there was no strict division between man and animal. Both beings could transmute, each to the other; and animals had the faculty to talk. Still today, there are shamans who believe that with the help of hallucinatory drugs or prolonged fasts they can transmute into jaguars, certain types of birds, and thus visit the supernatural world. "Godzilla" may be a fabulous creature or represent a shaman transformed into an heroic figure of the past, a fusion of animal and human traits in probable reference to a pantheon.
The palm trees were fibulas for clothes or used to remove lime from the poporo (lime flask). Palms were important in ancient Pre-Columbian societies for their fruit rich in protein and fats, and for their fibres used in clothing. In the form of fibulas they also fulfilled religious-mythological functions. They were used in initiation ceremonies for males at puberty, when the shaman would hand them a small calabash saying "Now I give you woman as you are now a man, I give you woman". Following which the adolescent perforated the poporo with the pin of the palm fibula to symbolize coïtus.
The fibula and poporo served in everyday life, and on various social occasions; they stood for certain concepts and were used in association with whole series of formulas, gestures and positions.

Information for this entry has been taken from short unpublished text by L.M Toro Garrido and O. Gomez Palacio.
1) Weight includes modern glue used in restoration.
2) The source was nuggets or in whatever form found, usually in the valleys of the Cauca and Magdalena rivers. Such gold often contains natural silver and trace elements of other metals. The mineral would have been smelted into different shaped ingots. Sometimes the natural gold, if deemed pure enough, would have been smelted directly.
3) We are indebted to Walter Haberkorn for the restoration of "Godzilla" and for various technical explanations. He undid the poor glueing, worked on the joining edges slightly distorted, consolidated the fissure on the right side of the head and put the six parts together again using acrylic glues.
4) The holes indicating the use of nails hammered in from the outside make this suggestion the most plausible. It is of course possible that the different parts were worked first in section moulds and with the use of forms made of a mixture of resin, wax and clay, which served the same purpose as the natural bitumen employed in antiquity in the Near East.
5) Probably wooden pegs their flattish round heads covered with gold foil or maybe gold nails.

"GODZILLA'S" REALM (continued)

Gold
Two male figurines: Weight: 36.10 g; 39.5 g. H: 3.43 cm
Bird on pin: Weight: 24.19 g. Total H: 15.5 cm. L. bird: 3.72 cm
Provenance: El Bolo, Cauca Valley (Colombia)
"Malagana" related to Calima Culture
c. 100 B.C.-A.D. 100

The two male figurines were solid cast of gold and chiselled in the cold.
The bird-pin was made as the palms but with a small plate on top, not on the same plane, probably thicker and horizontal. After repeated hammering and annealing, the wings of correct thickness would have been detoured by cutting, and the whole cold-worked.
These items also carefully burnished and polished.

The two small male anthropomorphic figures belong to the Calima Culture which was characterized by class divisions. They may be dancers, indicated by the position of the hands, associated with special ceremonies, votive or funerary, in the latter they would have accompanied the deceased to the other world.
The bird-pin fulfilled the same functions as the palm tree fibulas. Here the bird is shown wings open, in full flight, and his beak may suggest he is a toucan. Birds had various symbolical meanings, one of which would have been a shaman in flight.

CHAPTER 15

PACIFIC

268. POUNDER (penu)

Basalt
H: 16.8 cm. W. across bar handle: 12.8 cm. Diam. base: 15 cm
Society Islands
18th century

Ex collection:
William Gambier-Parry, Highnam Court, Gloucestershire
(estate sold on 3 November 1971)

Made of black compact basalt from Maupiti, Society Islands.

Pounders are of three types: with forked top, with cross-bar and with faceted top. This belongs to the cross-bar type which is the classical Maupiti form.
These pounders were used to make a paste from the pulp of fruits and edible roots, mainly bread-fruit and taro, by crushing them on a stone or wooden surface; this was generally a plateau, often on four feet, a papahia or 'umete.
This mash was fermented and called by the Tahitians mahi, though it is generally known as poi which is the Hawaiian term.
William Parry, the 18th century artist, painted the Ra'iatean (1) Omai with Banks and Solander who accompanied Captain Cook (2) on his first voyage. The pounder was almost certainly given to Parry by one of them.
A. Kaeppler (3) says: "Omai may also have given Tahitian objects as gifts to his English hosts. For example, Omai was painted with Banks and Solander by William Parry, at whose estate Omai was a guest. Indeed, it may be that objects from Omai (or Banks or Solander) were included in the sale of the estate of Gambier-Parry

in 197122." Footnote 22 reads: "For example, a carved object from the Australs and a Tahitian food pounder now in the Ortiz collection, Geneva."
Two very close comparisons are one in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris (4) and another which appeared in a Christie's Tribal Art sale (5), from Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson, in all likelihood also from one of Cook's voyages as he probably acquired his pounder directly from Sir Joseph Banks or their mutually close friend Sir William Hamilton.

Exhibited and Published:
The Art of the Pacific Islands,149, cat. no. 5.9.

1) Omai was born on Ra'iatea which belongs to the Leeward group of the Society Islands. He later went to Tahiti and Huahine.
2) Captain James Cook was entrusted with the task of surveying and drawing up charts of certain parts of the Pacific Ocean by the British Admiralty and The Royal Society of London. The first voyage (1768-1771) "... was primarily to observe the transit of the planet Venus ..." (Duff, R., “A Retrospect of Cook's Polynesians”, in: No sort of iron. Culture of Cook's Polynesians [Christchurch, 1969-70] 7). Sir Joseph Banks contributed financially to this expedition for which he and Daniel Solander were the naturalists.
On the return of the second trip (1772-1775) Omai at his own request visited England sailing on the Adventure. He was the first Polynesian to do so and while there was under the protection of Lord Sandwich and Sir Joseph Banks. A great social success, he was much in demand and admired by the ladies for his nice manner and fine looks. On the third voyage (1776-1780) Cook was unfortunately murdered in Hawaii in February 1779 owing to a misunderstanding. It was on the early part of this trip that Omai returned to Huahine, settling on land that Captain Cook had bought for him.
3) Kaeppler, A., Artificial Curiosities. An Exposition of Native Manufactures Collected on the Three Voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N. (Hawaii, 1978) 44.
4) Dept. Oceania, 78.1.201: Garanger, J., Pilons polynésiens. Musée de l'Homme. Série E. Océanie I (Paris, 1967) 37, no. 19.
5) Christie's, London, 23 June 1986, 63, lot 136.

269. STOOL (iri or nohora'a)

Wood
W: 86.1 cm. H: 48.2 cm. H. to middle of seat: 37.7 cm. D: 33 cm
Probably Tahiti (Society Islands)
18th century

Ex collection:
A private collection, Channel Islands?
Col. Heywood (acquired 1910), thence by inheritance
Caradock Court, Sellack, Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire: contents sold on 3-6 May 1977 (lot 1258)

Carved (1) from a single piece of wood (probably Artocarpus altilis/bread-fruit 'uru). The long curved seat of varying thickness rests on four tubular-like legs joined at the feet by transverse arched sections. Two of the legs with this section have been at one time broken and reaffixed.
The upper part of one of these with a small piece of the seat itself, also broken off at the time, has been reaffixed.
Condition: the seat has one corner missing and on the other end where the small section broke off with one of the legs, a little piece is still held in place by a thin strip of European iron. There are traces of another such repair (2) but the wood is missing.

Wooden stools were of two types: those with joined feet and those with four separate feet, the latter from elsewhere in Central Polynesia.
In Polynesia, household furnishings took abstract and aesthetic forms. William Ellis tells us of the inhabitants: "In general they sat cross-legged on mats spread on the floor, but occasionally used a stool ... The rank of the host was often indicated by the size of this seat, ...". (3) Stools of this size and perfection were used only by

those of highest rank, the hereditary chiefs arii.
It should be noted that the wooden pillows (uru'a), of similar design, called headrests and found in Western and Eastern Polynesia, were mainly used by chiefs.
The only comparable example is a large stool now in the British Museum (4), which is, the author feels, slightly Post-Contact, probably late 18th century; it differs in the mechanical, fairly uniform thickness of its seat, unlike this one which exemplifies a particular finesse with different parts of varying thinness. Another difference, which may have a bearing, is that the British Museum example has a flat bridge (5) joining the feet underneath, whereas here they show a low-curving arch, a refinement.
Two smaller examples are the seat (6), now in the Tahiti Museum, that belonged to Omai, the first Polynesian to come to England, who arrived in July 1774 on the H.M.S. Adventure, and a seat (7) in the Swedish Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm, brought back by Sparrman on Cook's second voyage (8).

Exhibited and Published:
The Art of the Pacific Islands, 152-153, cat. no. 5.13.

1) The author thinks without metal tools, however instantaneous was the adoption by natives of any they could get a hold of, and feels that the stool was surely made before Contact, by the very nature of details of its shape, of surface and of weathering. It is to be noted however that the earliest metal tools that they used were of iron, not of hardened steel, which like sharp stone tools were wont to make slightly bruising impacts, and to differentiate between them is highly problematic, if possible at all.
2) The damage and repair would appear to go back to the 18th/early 19th century, after the stool had been collected.
3) Ellis, W., Polynesian Researches, 1 (2nd ed. London, 1839) 189-190.
4) Width: 99 cm; Tribal Art, Christie's sale, London, 7 July 1982, lot 139 ill.
5) With respect to curves, Ellis says (loc. cit.) "Those in more ordinary use were low, and (the seat) less curved, ...". The author wonders whether curves in relation to seats may possibly have been a characteristic proper to rank while for him they are an aesthetic quality. It is of course true that the two comparisons mentioned below also have flat bridges, however they are both smaller and Omai was not a high-ranking arii; a seat made for the latter would have been executed by the best craftsman doing the best work possible. Inasmuch as the British Museum example may be slightly Post-Contact and made for barter or to satisfy a demand, it is both sturdy and usable, and would not have been made in the spirit of the present example.
6) Tribal Art, Christie's sale, London, 23 June 1986, lot 141 ill. (width: 55 cm) and shown held by Omai in his left arm in the portrait by Nathaniel Dance, engraved by F. Bartolozzi and dedicated to Lord Sandwich 25 October 1774.
7) Swedish Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm, R.M. 1405.
8) Söderström, J., A. Sparrman's Ethnographical Collection from James Cook's 2nd Expedition (1772-1775). The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm, New Series Publication no. 6, 1939, 30-31, no. 14, pl. VI.2 (width: 57.5 cm).

270. PADDLE (rapa)

Wood
L: 83.8 cm
Easter Island (Rapanui)
Late 18th-early 19th century

Ex collection:
James Hooper (1), Watersfield, Sussex

Made of a finely grained hard reddish wood from the local, now extinct, Sophora toromiro tree.

These double-bladed paddles were twirled by male dancers to the rhythm of chants during feasts (2) and as with the Tongan paki, they served only in ceremonies.
It should be noted that all Polynesian canoes without exception were propelled by a single-bladed paddle. Therefore, the double-bladed Easter Island examples may hark back to an ancestral navigational implement, the protuberance at the lower end serving to stick into shallow sands. Such knobs exist on sea-going paddles of the Marquesas and Mangareva.
We believe, as is generally accepted, that these double-bladed paddles are a highly stylized abstract representation of the human figure. One blade has a conventionalized human face; the fine, raised central ridge symbolizing the nose splitting into two equally fine arches for the eyebrows, running down into the ear lobes stylized by knobs that represent carved circular ear plugs. The lower blade with a projection symbolizing the penis.
Among similar examples is another one of identical size formerly in the James Hooper collection (3), and two in New Zealand, formerly

in the W.O. Oldman collection (4) comparable for the type and close in size.
Our rapa exemplifies the admirable embodiment of the tactile and the visual in Polynesian art.

1) James Hooper (1897-1971), a passionate, devoted and learned collector, centred his life around his collection and notwithstanding very limited means, achieved an ensemble of considerable "quality and scope". Throughout his life he exchanged and during the latter half sometimes allowed two or three acquaintances to acquire the odd object from him. In this manner, he exchanged the Nukuoro, cat. no. 280, for a flat Easter Island figure later passed on to the Belgian Jeff van der Straat, also a passionate collector and dealer by necessity. The present paddle was acquired by Carlebach, a New York dealer at the end of World War II, who sold it to Ben Heller, another New York dealer who kept it until Sotheby's sale, London, 14 July 1970, lot 85, ill.
2) The Polynesians had a predilection for this form of recreation accompanied by dancing and they also enjoyed sporting events and games of skill.
3) Phelps, S., Art and Artefacts of the Pacific, Africa and the Americas. The James Hooper Collection (London, 1976) 87, 419, no. 383, pl. 43.
4) Oldman, W.O., The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts (New Plymouth, 1943) 50-51, nos. 360 a-b, pl. 90.

271. HEI TIKI (pendant)

Nephrite (pounamu)
H: 10.5 cm
New Zealand: Maori
18th century

Ex collection:
Sir Francis John Ford, 3rd Baronet (1818-1850) (1) and thence by inheritance to Lady Ford (sold at Christie's, London, 23 June 1983)

Of a translucent, pale grey-green nephrite, this amulet was many months in the making and of all the Maori's artistic creations, technically the most difficult to execute. The work was done by chipping with much fly-wheel drilling with points of obsidian (mata) and flint (hiri papa), using powdered quartz and sand with water as abrasives. It was then brought to a high finish and finely polished. The circlet for the eyes was recessed for inlay with a disc made of iridescent haliotis (paua) shell. The left eye still intact.

This pendant represents a female, her sex indicated below her plump ribbed body. Her head rests on her left shoulder, whereas more frequently, it rested on the right one; the position was determined by the shape of the raw material - nephrite pebbles.
Hei means neck ornament and tiki human; it was worn on the breast suspended on a plaited cord of flax fibre attached to a toggle made from the bone of a bird's wing.
The hei tiki, shaped as a male or female figure was an expression of mana, whose concept embodies both prestige and power; it is the "active and positive principle of Polynesian life" (2). Our pendant, a family heirloom, was a most prized possession, regarded with great affection by the owner as connected with the past history of his ancestors and worn as a memorial of a venerated

relative. It was passed on from generation to generation, its mana increasing with each successive wearer.

1) Sir Francis John Ford married in 1846 Cornelia Maria, eldest daughter of General Sir Ralph Darling who was a friend of Sir Edward Parry from whom he had received in 1830 some Maori fish hooks and most probably other items such as our hei tiki. Sir Edward Parry was a direct descendant of William Gambier-Parry (see cat. no. 268, Pounder).
2) Barrow, T., Art and Life in Polynesia (London, 1972) 47.

272. PENDANT (rei)

Cachalot (sperm whale) ivory
W: 6.35 cm. H: 5.38 cm. D: 4.4 cm
Central Polynesia: Austral or Cook Islands
18th/early 19th century

Made from a whale tooth of exceptional size and carved from the section where the crown projects from the root with an unusual understanding of the grain and pattern of the ivory. The lug, which we thought might represent a vulva, is more likely to be, with its grooved rim, a representation of wrinkled skin.

Most Polynesians of high rank wore breast pendants called rei or lei. About fifteen necklaces with amulets in the shape of testicles, stylized rectangular seats, pigs and the odd ridged element have survived. These pendants of cachalot ivory were emblems of the chief's virility, rank, wealth and food. The amulets were strung by loops of sennit on a sennit cord wrapped with braided human hair; they were worn as emblems of authority and power.
There are examples of rei, sets of testicles of smaller size, worn by chiefs as ear pendants.
It is to be noted that the Rarotonga Deity, cat. no. 274, when brought back, had a small rei attached to each ear by a string of braided human hair.
We know only of one other example of such exceptional size, in Cambridge (1), which was given to the Rev. J.J.K. Hutchin by Ngamaru. He was one of the three ariki (chiefs) of Atiu, who probably brought it with him - maybe a family heirloom - when he married Makea, a chieftainess and the most important ariki of Rarotonga.

Both amulets are probably Pre-Contact and would have been of enormous value because of the rarity of cachalot ivory at the time. Considering their size they were probably not part of a necklace and would have been worn around the neck as a single emblem or sometimes hung from the waist, which gave its wearer when thus worn certain rights over any woman he encountered (2).

The origin of such amulets and necklaces is still a debated question. Buck (3) assigned these to the Cook Islands of Atiu and Mangaia, since some of them were supposed to have been found and to have been made there, though he recognized an Austral influence. However, Duff, by comparison with a bowl from Rurutu of sperm whale bone with two little piglets at the handle end and two necklaces (4) found on Rurutu or Tupua'i (Tubuai), Austral Islands, ascribed these necklaces to the Australs. Barrow (5) would seem to agree. Idiens (6) leaves the question open as does Phelps (7) who gives a clear account of the subject.

In any case, their origin is Central Polynesia and whether only made in the Australs and exported to the southern Cook group or also made there, is uncertain.

1) Cambridge University Museum Z.6097 (W: 6.7 cm, H: 5.3 cm, D: 4.3 cm): Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck), “Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands”, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 179 (1944) 114, fig. 60.
2) Buck, P.H., op. cit., 114-115.
3) Buck, P.H., loc. cit.
4) Duff, R., No Sort of Iron. Culture of Cook's Polynesians (Christchurch, 1969-70) 28, figs. 26-27.
5) Barrow, T., Art and Life in Polynesia (London, 1972) 117, no. 192.
6) Idiens, D., “A Recently Discovered Figure from Rarotonga”, Journal Polynesian Society, 85.3 (1976) 362-363.
7) Phelps, S., Art and Artefacts of the Pacific, Africa and the Americas. The James Hooper Collection (London, 1976) 146.

273. FLY-WHISK HANDLE

Wood
H: 13.7 cm
Austral Islands, probably from Rurutu
18th century

Ex: Stone House School Museum, North Foreland, Broadstairs, Kent (1)

Beautifully carved (2) of a hard wood, of fine workmanship and finish.

Rhomboid fly-whisk handles formed by two highly stylized janiform figures have been ascribed in the past to Tahiti. However, Roger G. Rose, in an abstract (3), ascribes them to the Australs and maybe to Rurutu.
All fly-whisk handles surmounted by a single figure are from Tahiti (Society Islands).
Rose divides the Austral group into three types, of which we think his Type A, the ones with larger figures (4), more angular and open-worked, are Post-Contact. We feel that the earlier examples, in our opinion Pre-Contact, are his Types B and C, with figures half the size of Type A. Types A and B have disc grips while on Type C, to which our example belongs, the grip is a fluted column divided into eight or nine facets with chevrons.
The whisk itself would usually have been of sennit fibre - though human hair was sometimes used - coir-bound to the shaft.
Comparable pieces to ours, though with disc-shaped grips, are the one from Rurutu in a drawing (5) by John Frederick Miller done in 1771 of a piece probably collected by Sir Joseph Banks on Rurutu during Cook's first voyage; another comparison is in Vienna (6)

which came from the Leverian Museum collections assembled by Sir Ashton Lever from items collected during Cook's voyages and dispersed in 1806. This piece was also probably from Cook's first voyage and like Banks's example, collected on Rurutu in 1769.
Examples of handles with chevrons are one in Auckland (7), one in the Hooper collection (8) (attributed by Steven Phelps to the Austral Islands) and another in Oxford (9).
The confusion with Tahiti - due to the lack of reliable sources - stems from the fact that religious and artistic contacts were very close in earlier times between the Cook, Austral and Society groups and all such items probably hark back to a similar origin. Also, the earlier voyagers were wont to label specimens with the term "Otaheite", using it generically rather than specifically, to cover a whole group of islands.
The body form is Central Polynesian but the style is Rurutu, evidenced by the equilibrium and symmetry of the figures with similarities to figures on Raivavae (Austral Islands) drums.
The body of this example is pierced through the centre and the two knobs on each head represent tufts of hair.
Fly-whisks were symbols of power and prestige and as such were possibly also used during funerary ceremonies around the body of the deceased that was exposed for several days before cremation.
However, they also had a utilitarian function since the Polynesians would not put up with flies on their food.
Our example as well as Oldman collection 386 (10) ends in a pencil-like point; we wonder whether these pieces were not intentionally made (11) thus either to be placed in a little house shrine or, however far-fetched, around the corpse during funerary ceremonies.
We do not know the significance of the figures themselves, whether they relate to ancestors or to deities, but in any case, they reveal artistic competence in a clearly defined style that betrays a great sense of composition and technical virtuosity.

Their formalism is comparable to the best Greek geometric bronzes, however, we feel, with greater plastic density and spiritual content.

Exhibited and Published :
La découverte de la Polynésie, cat. no. 18.

1) The object's history is unknown. The school probably received it from an "old boy" and when it closed down after the second world war, its records were destroyed and its assets sold off.
2) The author thinks without the help of any metal tools (see cat. no. 269, footnote 1).
3) Kindly sent to the author before publication of his article "On the Origin and Diversity of Tahitian Janiform Fly Whisks", in: Mead, S.M. (ed.), Exploring the Visual Art of Oceania (Honolulu, 1979) 202-213.
4) E.g. a sacred fly-whisk in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 58.57: Art of Oceania, Africa, and the Americas from the Museum of Primitive Art (New York, 1969) no. 17.
5) British Library Add. Ms. 23,921.53: Kaeppler, A., "Artificial Curiosities" (Honolulu, 1978) 39, fig. 50.
6) Museum für Völkerkunde 143: Kaeppler, A., op. cit., 159, no. 4, 162, figs. 297-298.
7) Auckland Museum 31894: Ex W.O. Oldman collection: Oldman, W.O., The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts (New Plymouth, 1943) 7, no. 387, pls. 11, 12.
8) Phelps, S., Art and Artefacts of the Pacific, Africa and the Americas. The James Hooper Collection (London, 1976) 421, no. 510, pl. 61.
9) Pitt Rivers Museum 1886.1.1369, transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1886. From Tahiti, according to the records.
10) Oldman, W.O., op. cit., pl. 11.
11) This is a hypothesis that is open to question, as it may be more likely that having been broken, they were carved down to a blunt end.

274. DEITY (atua)

Wood
H: 56.5 cm
Rarotonga (Cook Islands)
Late 18th-early 19th century

Ex collection:
Elijah Armitage (1) (about 1834) and thence by inheritance to
D.L. and G. Armitage Esq. (sold on 5 December 1972) (2)

Sculpted by a ta'unga (specialized carver) from a dense brown hardwood, probably toa, known as ironwood (Casuarina equisetifolia), of which the Rarotonga staff gods were made. Traces of "rather blunt edges and shallow curves" indicate the use of traditional stone or shell adzes (3).
Condition: the odd fissure down the back of the head and the body, a crack on the lower left half of the back of the head, a fault in the grain of the wood. A hole above the right shoulder-blade, a knot in the wood. The odd nick here and there: to the top right side of the head, to the right ear and to the jutting chin. A large chip off the back of the left foot and the front of both feet broken into some four pieces and reaffixed.

Rarotonga is the largest of the Cook group (Eastern-Central Polynesia), a group that bears the Captain's name though he hardly stopped there. The main island was inhabited by three tribes (vaka), each ruled by its own ariki, whose respective territories comprised the shoreline and the hinterland up to the top of the mountains. It was a hierarchical society that adhered to the concepts of mana and tapu, with the tribal ancestors of the most important families regarded as deities.
The sculptural production was by all accounts very considerable. It comprised staff gods possibly representations of Tangaroa,

fisherman's gods, such images as this with the only other so far known example in the British Museum.
The Missionaries, responsible for the massive destruction of idols, nonetheless saved the odd example to take back to England; unfortunately, however, without recording the name of the god represented or paying much attention to their provenance.
It is to be remembered that Central Polynesian sculpture portrays features that find their echo in the different groups since they all hark back to a common origin (see fly-whisk handle, cat. no. 273). His hands on his stomach are a trait typical of Central Polynesian sculpture, whether from the Society Islands, the Cook or the Australs. However, Rarotongan sculpture has its specific characteristics, of which this god is typical with his heavy proportions, large head - one third of the total height - with its particularly distinctive features: a large highly-domed forehead with the central line running down to form the nose, elliptical eyes with protruding eyeballs and lines for the eyelids and eyebrows; also the pronounced ears, pointed chin and the incised zigzag grooves for the toes. His head is tucked into his raised flat squarish shoulders. He shares many of the characteristics of the so-called fisherman's gods.
When discussing this figure with Dale Idiens, the author suggested that it was deliberately left unfinished, some parts being intended to be wrapped in tapa or barkcloth. Idiens thought it more likely that the sculptor might have died during the course of its making or as she said "... he might have infringed some part of the strict ritual associated with the process of creating a sacred image before it was completed, and owing to the operation of a 'tabu', none other could continue the work." The author notes that the central part of staff gods, which were wrapped, were likewise left rough compared to the rest of the carving. The question remains open.
Their sculptures represented their gods (atua) who were tribal gods, supernatural spirits and deified ancestors. Chief among these were Tangaroa, the creator and sea god, Rongo, the god of peace and agriculture, and Tane, the god of fertility and craftsmen. Unfortunately, we do not know who is represented here and we are even uncertain about the famous figure in the British Museum, acquired by Williams in 1821 from Rurutu, who described him as the god A'a, for Ellis published the piece in 1829 as Tangaroa (4).
It should be noted that on our image appear six little stylized figures, the two on the chest fairly well finished and those on the thighs and buttocks left rough. They bear very close resemblance to the bat-eared figures that appear on the sides of the staff gods, in a stylization that functions as though they were the body, arms and legs of the head and bust of the figures along the shaft themselves interspersed with other bat-eared figures of a larger size and in the round.
These staff gods are sometimes thought to be Tangaroa "..., the Polynesian god of creation, in the process of generating other gods and men, and an ancestor deified as the founder of a lineage" (5). Their lower end terminating in a large penis would be an added symbol of fertility. It is to be noted that both the example in the British Museum and our image have large penises and when this one was brought back, his ears were adorned with a pair of whale ivory testicles dangling from each on finely braided human hair, surely an import from the Australs, but also a symbol of fertility (see the major example, cat. no. 272).
Since both images have secondary figures, it could be that they are representations of Tangaroa.

On view:
Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh: 1975
British Museum, London: 1975-1977
Exhibited and Published:
Art of the Pacific Islands, 21, col. pl. 11m, 142, cat. no. 4.5; Els Moai de l'illa de Pasqua, 171-174, 208, cat. no. 58, 248, col. pl.
Published:
Idiens, D., “A recently discovered figure from Rarotonga”, Journal Polynesian Society, 85.3 (1976) 359-366; Ortiz, G., Quinze chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art des mers du Sud, Connaissance des Arts, 315 (May 1978) 99; The George Ortiz Collection of Primitive Works of Art, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 29 June

1978, 158-165, no. 191; Barrow T., The Art of Tahiti (London, 1979) 78, 80, no. 88, 81, 85, ill.; Idiens, D., “Cook Islands Art”, Shire Ethnography 18 (Bucks, 1990) 16 f., fig. 6.

This entry is based on information gleaned from S. Phelps (Art and Artefacts of the Pacific, Africa and the Americas. The James Hooper Collection), Buck (Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands), and especially Idiens and Barrow who have published the piece.

1) A member of the London Missionary Society, he went to Tahiti in 1821 to teach cotton-spinning and, hoping to find more efficient workers, to Rarotonga in 1833. Unfortunately machine-made imports doomed the venture to failure and he returned to his home in Manchester in 1835, bringing the image back and keeping it for himself.

2) Acquired by the author at this sale and perforce included in the Sotheby auction of his collection in 1978, where luckily bought back.

3) Idiens, D., Journal Polynesian Society, 85.3 (1976) 366. The author agrees, though there is always the possibility that iron tools were used.

4) Idiens, D., op. cit., 365.

5) Idiens, D., Cook Islands Art, 19.

275. PENDANT (lei niho palaoa)

Cachalot (sperm whale) ivory
H: 5.4 cm
Hawaii
Second half of the 18th century

Ex collection:
Dr. Robert Browne, Honolulu

Carved - from a whale tooth - in the shape of a stylized hook with a fine finish, the lower end of the shank pierced with an irregular squarish hole.
A clean break across the hole, both parts glued together.
Colour: a soft pale to golden brown.

This pendant of a shape peculiar to Hawaii would have been suspended by hair cordage. Its size, the way the suspension hole is made, its general smoothness and wear attest to its Contact or slightly Pre-Contact dating. When Cook arrived, only small specimens like it, some even tinier, were in use, sometimes made of shell, coral, wood or stone since cachalot ivory was extremely rare.

After the first contacts, ivory pendants became more common, though of much larger size, as marine ivory from whalers and traders was available (1) in quantity. Large hooks were fashioned and worn suspended by coils of human hair consisting of eight-ply square braids ending in cords of olona for tying behind the wearer's neck.
Whale ivory pendants, whether on Hawaii or other Polynesian islands, were ornaments of the nobility. Only the ali'i, the chieftains or ruling class and certain high-ranking women wore these as

symbols of their mana and rank.

The meaning or significance of the shape is uncertain; the hook element may depict a protruding stylized tongue. Some think that it represents the "chin-mouth-tongue" (2) complex or the overhanging brow of certain 'aumakua type sculptures. Others consider that upside down it may be the stylization of a chieftain's head, or we may simply be faced with the embodiment of the mana of an ancestor.

1) Phelps, S., Art and Artefacts of the Pacific, Africa and the Americas. The James Hooper Collection (London, 1976) 69.

2) Cox, J.H. and Davenport, W.H., Hawaiian Sculpture (rev. ed. Honolulu, 1988) xiii, 41.

276. DAGGER (pahoa)

Wood
L: 52.1 cm
Hawaii (Kauai?)
18th century

Ex collection:
Earls of Warwick (1), Warwick Castle

Made of a hard wood, straight in grain, probably kauila (possibly uhiuhi or pua), a tall straight very narrow-trunked tree. Carved and faceted with the usual tools, the butt of the grip pierced for the wrist loop attachment, a cord made of olona, presently missing. Particularly carefully finished and beautifully polished with tapa or bamboo leaves and repeated applications of kukui, candlenut oil, by hand rubbing.

When Hawaiians warred, they fought in the open and did so according to certain rituals, first from a distance with spears and slings and quickly closing in to hand to hand combat which they preferred.
The pahoa was employed for parrying incoming spears and in close hand combat for stabbing.
The dagger is peculiar to Hawaii where with spears it was cherished as a weapon for fighting. Throughout the rest of Polynesia, the favourite weapon was the club, almost each island having its characteristic type, beautifully carved and finished, though spears were also widely used.
The blade with its central ridge and tapering form ending in a sophisticated grip that is more than the simple extension it appears

to be, exemplifies the Polynesians' feeling for shape rendered plastically with an understanding of three-dimensionality. This dagger is yet another example of their unique gift for marrying the utilitarian with purity of line.

For a comparison there is a similar piece (2) in Berne, brought back by John Webber (3), and a dagger (4) brought back by Cook on his third voyage.

For the provenance of our dagger, Kauai is a strong possibility, for Cook's two major landings were Kauai and Niihau. He relates how he saw many natives on Kauai carrying daggers as well as spears (5). Cook's party was struck by the sheer quantity of pahoa on Kauai and this re-inforces the likelihood that the present example came from there.

Published :
A Collection of American Indian and Oceanic Art, The Property of the Trustees of the Warwick Castle Resettlement, Sotheby's, London, 8 December 1969, no. 177 ill.

1) For a brief outline relating how items from the islands of the South Seas entered their collections see cat. no. 278.

2) Historical Museum HAW 7: Kaeppler, A.L., Cook Voyage Artifacts in Leningrad, Berne, and Florence Museums, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 66 (Honolulu, 1978) 61, fig. 117, 62-63.

3) Born (1751) in London the son of Abraham Wäber, a sculptor by profession. He went back to Berne, his father's native town, to study painting there for three years, and then to Paris for five. Daniel Solander, the Swedish naturalist who was on Cook's first trip, chose him and the Admiralty appointed him to be the "sketcher and painter" for the third voyage which left England in July of 1777. He made more than two hundred drawings and "sixty-four of them were copper-engraved and published by the Admiralty in 1784 as a pictorial atlas to the three-volume work, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean ... by Cook and King (London, 1784)". On the trip, Webber made a small personal collection of artefacts which he subsequently gave to the library in Berne. Today it is in the Historical Museum there. He died in 1793 (Kaeppler, A., op. cit., 25 f.).

4) Cook, J., A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean ..., 1, XCV.

5) Cook, J., op. cit., 3, 89, 93-94, etc.

277. LEIOMANO (implement)

Wood and shark tooth
Greatest L: 17.2 cm
Hawaii
18th century

Ex collection:
Sir Ashton Lever ? (1)
Morris Pinto

The implement made of a hard wood, consists of a curved wood handle, the flattened section ending in a socket in which is inset a single shark tooth (niuhi, Carcharadon carcharias), attached by cross-lacing of a fine cord of olona (somewhat damaged) passing through two round holes in the handle and three in the tooth. The butt end of the handle pierced through the base and side for a wrist cord of olona.

Though various interpretations as to its use have been ascribed to this implement, such as weapon, scarifying knife, engraving tool and/or saw, we feel that the instrument is almost too fine and delicate to have been used as a war weapon. It could have served as a knife to cut open the stomach of a slain enemy as was the custom, or to slash someone's throat. It would seem adapted for delicate carving such as the engraving of a calabash or the grooving of a tapa beater. Some have suggested that the notches on the tooth could have been used as a saw, which may be so in view of their wear, but obviously for very delicate work only.
For comparable examples there is a specimen in Cook's collection (2), one in Christchurch (3), and one in Berne (4) brought back by

1) In all likelihood part of the 1806 sale of the contents of Sir Ashton Lever's museum, when acquired with other items for a certain Richard Hall Clarke probably in the name of his agent using the pseudonym of R. Rowe. His descendants entrusted items from the Lever Museum to Bearne's of Torquay which were included in the sales of 1967 and 1971. This leiomano was acquired at one of these two sales, passed through several dealers' hands: Ralph Nash, Sandy Martin, Merton Simpson, the collector Morris Pinto, and lastly Lance Entwistle who gave it to the author.
2) Hawkesworth's Atlas, no. 2, pl. 67.
3) Canterbury Museum E. 150.1208, ex W.O. Oldman collection no. 541: Oldman, W.O., The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts (New Plymouth, 1943) 71, pl. 127.
4) Historical Museum HAW 4: Kaeppler, A.L., Cook Voyage Artifacts in Leningrad, Berne, and Florence Museums, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publications 66 (Honolulu, 1978) 61, fig. 117.
5) See footnote 3 previous entry, Dagger, cat. no. 276.

278. ‘AUMAKUA’ (sorcery image)

Wood
H: 26 cm
Hawaii
18th century

Ex collection:
Earls of Warwick, Warwick Castle (1)
George Ortiz (1973-1978)
Count Jean-Jacques de Launoit (1978-1981)

Made of a lightish brown wood probably darkened with plant juices and polished, with strands of human hair pegged into holes on the head, a deep cavity in the centre of the crown for placing various fetish materials. Left eye still inlaid with pearl shell.
Condition: the odd strand of matted hair missing: over left eye, above outer corner of right eye and at centre back of head behind cavity. A deep crack down the front of the cone-shaped circular flaring base (2.)

This image is in all likelihood an 'aumakua, a sort of personal god, "... the primary idea of the word 'aumakua is the spirit of an ancestor, deified and rendered potent for good or evil" (3). Carved according to a certain ritual by sculptor priests called kahuna kalai and activated when finished, he was probably used in sorcery and associated with magic. Hawaiians had an anthropomorphic concept (4) of the universe and their sculptures embody ancestral deities and cosmic spirits. To the Polynesians, gods were invisible spirits symbolized by material objects.
The author has lived with him for most of the past twenty years and is certain that the shaman-priest that used him in his invocations

imbued him with fearsome magical power (5), as revealed by his sculptural (6) forms. His facial expression is aggressive, awesome and frightening; his forms are bold, vigorous and of an incredible power. He has a large head since it is the seat of mana. He is vitally present, and his body and limbs are faceted and sculpted in relation to each other in a manner that renders him terrifyingly dynamic. His profile with its incredible jutting chin personifies brutal might.

A very good comparison is the 'aumakua image in London (7) collected in 1825 by John Knowles at Hale-o-Keawe Honaunau, Hawaii, when the H.M.S. Blonde called there. Though very similar there are differences: it is fifty percent taller, the mouth is almond-shaped and it has no cavity on the crown of the head or in its back for fetish materials. It was probably made by a different sculptor at a later date, maybe even Post-Contact. The eyes, mouth, the arms and the tall neck, among other features, are less strong, maybe an indication, with the lack of a cavity, that this god functioned as a protective spirit and was not used for sorcery. Its blackened surface is slightly different. However, it surely stood on a base which may have resembled that of this figure, since the outer underside of both its feet (8) is blackened and only the inside is the colour of the wood, as are the breaks on the front and inside of both feet. The back of the right foot is broken off.

In this entry the author has not discussed Hawaiian religion but has gone into the history of this image at length and has even related his personal experience. The reasons are as follows: an assessment of their religion would be conjectural, and just before the arrival of Europeans important cultural changes were taking place, a reformation of ideas and particularly religion (9). The kapu system was completely overthrown in 1819. The history of this image is essential as he may be one of the few that is genuine in the sense of having been sculpted - before the arrival of Europeans - with all the prescribed ritual, and activated. This is demonstrated by the way he is made and the ethos he exudes. Moreover, he was almost certainly brought back on the third voyage, although when the Resolution and the Discovery docked in England, they were surely already carrying on board images made during their stop in Hawaii. He is unusual in that he stands on a pedestal and his hands are connected to his thighs, features common only to temple images (see footnote 2). Why this is so is uncertain. Very few of the extant images can be old for a variety of reasons: climatic conditions would have ensured that they were short-lived, and the disruption of a highly formal class system would have meant that a political and religious climate propitious to their creation no longer existed. However, the immediate awareness of the Europeans' desire for curios motivated a sculptural production for barter. Davenport (10), following a suggestion by Kaeppler, says "..., it is quite possible that some of the images that came back with the early European voyages may have been made expressly for trade to Europeans rather than for religious or other traditional uses". Though the outward appearance and the physical way of making such images may be the same, even if metal tools were used, they are devoid of content and were not activated. The natives may have kept the outward forms of ritual for some time but without true faith their images would have been devoid of meaning, and that is what matters.

What is it that imbued the Polynesians with this unique gift for creating what are among the most perfect sculptures that the author knows of, where outward appearance may reveal content ?

Exhibited and Published:
La découverte de la Polynésie, cat. no. 177; Eleven Gods Assembled, 8, ill.; Els Moai de l'illa de Pasqua, 175-179, cat. no. 65, 213, 249, col. pl.
Published:
A Collection of American Indian and Oceanic Art, The Property of the Trustees of the Warwick Castle Resettlement, Sotheby's, London, 8 December 1969, no. 178, ill.; The George Ortiz Collection of Primitive Works of Art, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 29 June 1978, 202-203, no. 232, full page col. ill., col. ill. on cover; Art at Auction (1969-70) 277; Cox, J.H. and Davenport, W.H., Hawaiian Sculpture (Honolulu, 1974) 101, fig. 51, 167, cat. no. A24 (and revised edition,

Honolulu 1988); Peignot, J., Découvrir la Polynésie, Connaissance des Arts 240 (1972) 49, full page col. ill.; Archeologia 46 (May 1972) 7, full page col. ill. on cover; Bounoure, V., Vision d'Océanie (Paris, 1992-93) 223, no. 88, ill.

1) It is almost certain that this work was acquired in Hawaii on Captain Cook's third expedition in 1779, and entered the collection of the Earls of Warwick through Sir Joseph Banks and Charles Greville possibly soon afterwards and, if not then, surely in 1806.
In a letter dated 20 August 1973, after he had sold me the piece which he had acquired at Sotheby's auction of the Warwick estate on 8 December 1969, Ralph Nash wrote that after much investigation and research, he was convinced that the piece was "brought back on Captain Cook's ill-fated third voyage" and ended up in "the great collection of Sir Ashton Lever" who had bought in 1781 almost all the artefacts from this voyage. This so strained his finances that he was forced to "sell his entire Museum". He attempted to set up "a trust to operate his Museum" but found "no one interested" and failed. His desperate efforts to have the "British Government buy the enormous collection for the British Museum at a fraction of its worth", also failed. In 1786, he was forced to dispose of his Museum by lottery but only eight thousand 1 Gn tickets were sold out of thirty-six thousand and he died a disillusioned and broken man two years later in Manchester. "A Mr James Parkinson drew the winning number" and became the owner of "the Museum and all its collections valued at the time at £ 53.000". Everything was "removed to a house in Albion Street near Blackfriars Bridge. In 1806 a public auction was made of the entire collections by King and Lochee in a 65-day sale from May 5th to July 19th 1806 and comprised over 7800 different lots and at this sale interested parties came from all over Europe, England, etc. and it was at this sale that the Vienna Museum acquired all of its Cook material which they have to this present day in their collections. Also at this sale was Joseph Banks who bought anonymously both for himself and for his friend the Hon. John Greville, eldest son of the Earl of Warwick, and at this sale your Hawaiian figure was sold and so entered the collections of Warwick Castle as did a number of other items all subsequently sold at Sotheby's".
Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society from 1778 to 1820, was the financial sponsor of the scientific part of the expedition and was the coordinator of the results of the voyages of exploration and must have been concerned with the collection brought home by the expedition after Cook's death in 1779. The Hon. Charles Francis Greville, F.R.S. (1749-1809) was a very close friend of Banks and, like him, a member of the Dilettanti Society. He was the younger brother of George, 2nd Earl of Warwick from 1773 to 1816, F.R.S., who was also a friend of Banks and the greatest collector of his family. Charles Greville is the natural channel through which this work could have entered the collections of the Earls of Warwick. He himself may have been the earliest English owner of the work; and it is relevant to note that he predeceased his brother, died unmarried and lived in the latter part of his life at Warwick Castle. It may also be noted that Greville was the nephew of Sir William Hamilton, who presented to the King of Naples "curiosities ... of Captain Cook's collecting amongst the islands of the South Seas (entry of 5 June, 1787 in the Italian Journal of Captain Robert Scott, National Library of Scotland MSS. 2893-95). As relations between them were close, it is likely that Greville helped Hamilton to make this acquisition of Pacific antiquities. In referring to objects from the Collection of the Earls of Warwick, The Trustees of the Warwick Castle Resettlement, Dr. A. Kaeppler says (Artificial Curiosities <Honolulu, 1978>, p. 5 n. 9): "Some of the objects from this collection were certainly from Cook's voyages, but no documents can be found that can identify which objects came from Cook's voyages and which did not".
M.W. Farr, Warwickshire County Archivist, kindly wrote to the author on 7 November 1986 stating that a description of the Castle was made by the Rev. William Field, published in 1815. In it is described the Armoury Passage, The Museum, where, says Farr: "... there was a very large collection of miscellaneous armour and antiques". An inventory was made in 1853 and Farr adds: "Unfortunately most of the exhibits were beyond the descriptive powers of the maker of the inventory, but he does apply the words 'South Sea' to quite a lot of them, mostly in what he calls the 'Indian Department'. There is an 'Indian God' between some stuffed owls and a flying fish on an earlier page, but it is impossible to say whether this is really your Hawaiian figure. The whole area was an extraordinary muddle of interesting but unrelated things." He concludes: "I think your carving must have been on show in this part of the Castle". It should be noted that under the section "The Indian Department", there were pieces of South Sea ornament and manufacture.
2) Cox (Cox, J.H., Davenport, W.H., Hawaiian Sculpture [Honolulu, 1988] 101) points out that its being on a pedestal is unusual as are also the hands connected to the thighs, features common only to temple images.
3) Kaeppler, A.L., Eleven Gods Assembled, 4.
4) Cox, J.H. and Davenport, W.H., op. cit., 23 (Cox).
5) The author has become an agnostic and does not believe in any religion or ideology but is convinced that there is a power of mind over matter and that certain humans can imbue material objects with powers which may be beneficial or malevolent to certain beholders. During the first few years of his ownership of this image, every woman that saw it in his home was horrified and disliked it. It made them feel uneasy. For unfortunate personal reasons the author had to sell his collection at Sotheby's. When the 'aumakua came up and just as Peter Wilson, a friend of the collector and Chairman of Sotheby's, had his arm raised about to drop the hammer, the author turned to his wife at the fractional instant and blurted out as though from the depth of his plexus "Do you think that he'll forgive me for letting him go?" The author's wife was horrified. Three years later he was able to buy him back and one day having told been told of a Greek Orthodox priest who practised exorcism, he said to himself "why not, let's try something". He arranged an appointment and the priest accepted to conduct a forty-minute ritual with incense and invocations over the 'aumakua as the author sat silent on a chair. Amazingly enough, from that day onwards, the image no longer gives off evil, he has been neutralized. The author cannot explain this but can only relate what he observes.
6) Cox, J.H. and Davenport, W.H., op. cit., 94-103. In these pages Cox discusses very thoroughly 'aumakua images with comments on the present figure, 101, pl. 51, text p. 103.
7) British Museum 1944 OC 2.716: Cox, J.H. and Davenport, W.H., op. cit., 166, A19 (Cox).
8) The author wishes to thank Mrs. Jill Hassel who answered his questions over the phone after having kindly examined the British Museum example in storage.
9) Cox, J.H. and Davenport, W.H., op. cit., 104 (Cox).
10) Cox, J.H. and Davenport, W.H., op. cit., 23 (Davenport).

279. DISH

Wood
L: 43.6 cm
Matty (Wuwulu) (1), North-East of New Guinea
Early 19th century

Ex collection:
Count Rodolphe Festetics de Tolna (2)
Musée de la Rochelle (3)

The dish of rectangular form, carved from a single piece of hard wood without the help of metal tools, has inward curving sides and sweeps up towards its ends. The plateau for purposes of solidity and use is of a thickness that varies between 10 and 11.2 mm, whereas the top of the curving sides are only 2.2 to 2.5 mm.
Condition: a crack on one of the ends of the plateau and a hole on the underside made in the Musée de la Rochelle to enable suspension by means of a hook (since removed by the author).
The surface a blackish red patina, most of it incrusted with what may be the remains of smeared food mash.
The inside of the dish, in part cleaned (4), reveals a stained red surface with a painted decoration composed of a starfish, small circles and seesaw patterns.

Vessels such as this, of sophisticated form and superior craftsmanship, had in all likelihood a metal prototype, maybe originating with the earliest wave of immigrants who came from South-East Asia. Though we know of no example, a culture such as the one of Dong son, late 1st millennium B.C., may have been the source of inspiration.

The author once wrote of another example: "The most successful form for a dish ever made in any civilisation, of masterful abstract and pure line. The relationship of curve and plane, of solidity and lightness, of strength and elegance to its form creates a volume which is a great sculpture - a sheer delight to the eyes, a homage of man to space. Might it not be that the timeless quality of life in some primitive societies contributed to their being able to create such perfection?" (5)

A similar vessel is the example (6) given to the National Museum of Hungary by Count Festetics de Tolna and from the same voyage as this one, there is a smaller one (7) in New York, a larger one (8) of beautiful shape formerly in the author's collection, several in Chicago (9) of which most are of the later 19th century, and a fine and old example in the Cambridge University Museum, Cambridge.

280. DEITY (dinonga eidu)

Wood
H: 58.4 cm
Nukuoro (Caroline Islands)
Early 19th century

Ex collection:
Lord and Lady Brassey, London (1876-1919)
Hastings Museum, England (1919-1948/51)
James Hooper (1948/51-1953) (1)
Marie-Ange Ciolkowska (1953-1984)

Made of a reddish brown wood probably of the bread-fruit tree, native to the Nukuoro atoll.
Condition: a sliver missing down the front of the neck; two holes above the left breast which is dented, a blow to the back upper left arm, a chip off the lower left buttock, the odd nick here and there. The left side of the stand, carved at one with the figure, missing. A round hole c. 3.5 cm deep drilled in the break. Iron nails, obviously Post-Contact additions, embedded one on either side of the throat and under each buttock.
On the back of the stand inscribed in ink the number E 257 (see footnote 14).

The Carolines are one of the four major groups of Micronesian islands, since the 16th century a few of these were called on or sailed by. The Marianas north of the Carolines were visited by Magellan in 1521, became a Spanish colony in 1564 and were a stop on the route to the Philippines. Missionaries tried to convert the islanders, but on the whole failed.
Nukuoro, or the Monteverde Island discovered by a Spaniard of that name in 1806, is a Polynesian outlier in the Eastern Caroline

Islands. Their inhabitants are Polynesian in culture and speak a Polynesian language. The people were particularly handsome and the men over six foot tall, of a friendly and cheerful disposition possibly because of the harshness and precariousness of life. Some of the atolls had no water and very little earth and were constantly subject to the unpredictability of Nature.

In the early 19th century various sailors or ships stopped by, but as late as 1830 Captain Morrell (2) on the Antarctic had an unpleasant experience: the natives, friendly on first contact and immediately following, became treacherous, aggressive and attacked. Soon thereafter things must have changed for already on 15 September 1852 the Rev. Doane and Sturges visited Ponape to found the first Protestant mission, in early February 1855 they returned to begin their missionary work and towards the end of the year, on 24 December, they both left for Kosrae for a mission meeting, returning to Ponape on 11 January 1856 (3). In October of 1857 the king of Mac Askill, one of the islands surrounding Ponape to the north of Nukuoro, said to the Rev. Doane accompanied by two other visitors "he wanted a missionary to come and live on his island" (4).

The above data supply important indications of the population's changing attitude as their religions were abandoned, and this has a direct bearing on the sculpting of their tino (5).

Kubary, a special envoy sent by the Godeffroy Museum in Hamburg to collect specimens, made a first short visit in 1873 and stopped again in 1877 for a longer stay to study the Caroline Islands, mainly Nukuoro. By this time their religious practices were very considerably modified and since 1874 a trader lived there.

He reports, but without specifying on which trip, that he had someone buy two images on his behalf, one of these was the goddess Ko Kawe (6), venerated as a large idol in the Amalau (7). She was the spouse of the god Te ariki and patron goddess and protectress of the Sekawe, one of the five clans. The author believes that all the deities brought back by Kubary to Hamburg were probably collected on his second visit in 1877, but that in any case they were surely made (8) for the purpose of barter and trade as are almost all the surviving examples.

The coral island of Nukuoro had been ruled by two chiefs, one religious and one secular, for the latter the function being handed down from parent to child, or a family member, regardless of sex.

This image is the representation of a god or of a mythical ancestor that was worshipped. It was either kept with the main cult figure in the Amalau, the community's religious cult house, or possibly in one of the nine smaller god houses.

The main cult figure would have been adorned with flowers, paraded on certain festivals and offered human sacrifices in addition to other offerings; some of the smaller images were probably similarly venerated.

Eilers (9) tells us that the main ritual in the cult of the gods was the draping of the tino in new clothing, a sort of matting, during harvest (takatona period) at the same time that special cult ceremonies took place.

The four iron nails embedded on either side of the throat and under each buttock were surely added to this image either to enrich her or more likely to attach new clothing, obviously at a time when she was still worshipped with the ritual that fitted true belief. The iron nails might have been one of the earliest and most treasured items bartered or received from a visiting ship. The Rev. Doane relates: "It is manifestly the iron age with this people, as iron hoop was eagerly taken in exchange for their small wares" (10). We are told that when Cook anchored on his first trip in Wallis' Royal Bay (11) in April 1769, the natives were so avid for the metal that Cook had to pass an order that "No short (sort of) Iron or anything that is made of Iron, ... are to be given in exchange for anything but provisions ... ".

A feature of these carvings is the triangle ending in a prominent "mons veneris", the indication of a tattoo (te mata) which was obligatory for women. Such an adornment was reserved for a small elite and associated with long religious ceremonies.

This sculpture and the goddess Ko Kawe are the oldest and finest (12) of the few images that are known.

This image was collected by Thomas and Annie Brassey on their yacht Sunbeam during one of its voyages 1876-1883. Since they never stopped at Nukuoro, it was probably collected at Hawaii (13) where they called. It was surely already some time in Hawaii and probably collected before 1874, since apparently the Rev. Doane did not land on that visit. Back in England it was first exhibited in Claremont (14), Hastings, in 1885, described as Idol, called by the savages Se-Tu. Miknor, Caroline Islands. Then it was shown in a sort of museum at their house in Park Lane.

Spiritual tranquillity and presence emanate from this Nukuoro sculpture, and notwithstanding the earthiness of its lower limbs it has an amazing unity of line and form. One's gaze is drawn upwards to the head, seat of its mana.

The profile is calm and tense exuding strength, and the vision of its back (15) reveals a creation of such conceptual purity that each time the author looks at it, he is overwhelmed. He knows of no abstract organic sculpture of such sublimity in any culture.

Exhibited and Published:
Els Moai de l'illa de Pasqua, 165-170, 204, cat. no. 50, col. pl. at p. 247.
Published:
Wright, B., A Catalogue Raisonné of the Natural History, Ethnographical Specimens and Curiosities Collected by Lady Brassey during the Voyages of the "Sunbeam", 1876-1883 (London, 1885) 60, no. 501.
Hooper, J. and Burland, C.A., The Art of Primitive Peoples (London, 1953) 134, pl. 48 a-b.

1) See cat. no. 270, footnote 1. The Easter Island female figure (Moai paapaa) which he exchanged with M.-A. Ciolkowska is now in the Carlo Monzino Collection, Lugano (Orefici, G., La Terra dei Moai. Dalla Polinesia all'Isola di Pasqua [Venice, 1995] 244, no. 130, ill.).
2) Eilers, A., Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910 II B, 8. Inseln um Ponape (Hamburg, 1934) 163.
3) The details for these visits are to be found in a paper by Fr. Francis X. Hezel SJ (Foreign Ships in Micronesia [Pruk, Caroline Islands, 1979] 54, 59, 61) which was shown to the author on 16 October 1993 by Bernard de Grunne who had found a copy in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris.
4) Eilers, A., op. cit., p. 414.
5) For a commentary on this refer to the 'Aumakua, cat. no. 278.
6) J. Kubary (“Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Nukuoro- oder Monteverde-Inseln”, Mitt. d. Geograph. Gesell. in Hamburg 16 [1900] 96, n. 33) states in a footnote "this idol together with another one was bought on my behalf (probably as a result of his 1873 visit, the author believes) and loaded on board a ship, but I lost it through the dishonesty of the captain". This is the monumental goddess Kawe, 2.2 m in height possibly the one mentioned by Rev. Doane as "a very large one and being in their temple", presented (see footnote 7) to the Auckland Museum in 1878 by a local trader Mr. G. Cozens, as having but shortly before been worshipped and offered human sacrifices.
When the author was in New Zealand in the early 1970s and tried to find out about this image, he was informed that until recently it had been stored in a derelict toilet of the museum where leaking water had rotted its feet; its provenance was not exactly known. Apparently it was left in a warehouse at the Auckland docks until it entered the Museum. Whether Mr. Cozens was the local trader inhabiting Nukuoro or how it was obtained from the "dishonest captain" is not known.
7) Davidson, Janet, M., “A wooden image from Nukuoro in the Auckland Museum”, Journal of the Polynesian Society, 77.1 (March 1968) 77-79, and almost certainly the one mentioned by Rev. Doane, The Geographical Magazine, August 1, 1874, 205: "... a very large one being in their temple".
8) It is noteworthy that the four large tino that were formerly in the Godeffroy Museum (Godeffroy nos. 2606, 2607, 3457, 3458: Eilers, A., op. cit., 278-279, ill. 201-204) - the largest presently in Berlin and the other three still in Hamburg - all bear tattoo marks engraved on their shoulders and upper arms. Though many Polynesians were wont to tattoo themselves, the author knows of only one instance of such tattooing being represented by "engravings" on their images. These embellishments on the Godeffroy examples surely cannot be in keeping with prescribed ritual or true religious belief, scratched in as they appear to be. The exception is that all extant Nukuoros do have a prominent "mons veneris" with the indication of the tattoo (te mata) obligatory for some women; however in the case of Ko Kawe and this image it appears as part of the sculpture, more plastic than graphic. Of course, there are other exceptions, some of the sculptures from the Cook Islands embellished with patterns in black, decorated with the same painting used in tattooing and dyeing barkcloth (Idiens, D., Cook Islands Art [Bucks, 1990] 16), and the fisherman's gods from Rarotonga, such as the ones in the British Museum (inv. 9866) and in the Peabody Museum Cambridge, Mass. (inv. 53,517) with various painted motifs (Buck, P.H. [Te Rangi Hiroa], “Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands”, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 179 [1944] 313-314, figs. 192, 193. Buck states "Some of the motifs are the same as those used in tattooing, but they are not always placed in the same position as similar designs on the human body."). These are however painted and not "engraved" or sculpted.
9) Eilers' article is based on Kubary, op. cit.
10) Doane, Rev., loc. cit.
11) Matavai Bay (Tahiti): Duff, R., No sort of iron: Culture of Cook's Polynesians (Christchurch, 1969) 8.
12) It is to be observed that the hands are finished in a way that strongly resembles those of the cult goddess Kawe. The author supposes that the cult image would be carved by the best sculptor, the same artist who may have executed the smaller figure, achieving thanks to its manageable size a perfection that his tools and practice may not have permitted for the very large figure.
It may be worthy of note that there is in Hamburg (Museum für Völkerkunde E 1824: Dodd, E., Polynesian Art [New York, 1967] 262, ill. top left) a figure of considerable size (1.63 m), though less well executed but with hands that recall the others, and another almost identical in height (1.68 m) and very similar in Berlin (Museum für Völkerkunde 46934). These carvings have somehow lost their ethos and they appear devoid of content though their outer and exterior forms are similar. They are of unpolished style and may be made with the help of iron tools (notice the divisions of the toes) and their surfaces lack the careful finish and polish that religious belief commands. As soon as European contact was made that went beyond a mooring to avoid a storm or a short stop for fresh water and food, the natives immediately produced the artefacts that the visitors wished to take home as souvenirs. By Cook's second visit to any island, newly-made artefacts were already available. It may even be that certain images with no wear or patina brought

back on a first visit by Cook from Hawaii, for instance, may already have been made during his stay for exchange with his crew.

Dr. Clara Wilpert kindly supplied the following information: in 1886 the contents of the Godeffroy Museum were sold off, the company owning it having suffered financial setbacks. Hamburg acquired four images of which the largest is presently in Berlin (Museum für Völkerkunde 46934, acquired in 1962 from Hamburg, H: 168 cm). The second largest is still in Hamburg (E 1824) and measures 163 cm in height. The other two are large, being around 150 cm. Many of the items from the Godeffroy Museum went to Leipzig and there are three small Nukuoro in Cologne.

13) Hawaii was the base for the rare missionary voyages of the American Board of Commissioners to the Caroline Islands. The American Mission in Micronesia had a station at Ponape, one of the main call groups of the Caroline archipelago. Mr. Doane, a missionary, was on the Star, the boat of the mission that visited Nukuoro in 1874; though nobody landed, the natives came out to barter. It is of course possible that the image was brought back then, though the author thinks it more likely it was acquired in the 1850s by the Rev. Doane or Sturges during their missionary work on Ponape.

14) Sir Thomas Brassey was MP for Hastings, and his former house, Claremont, was converted into the Hastings Institute and School of Fine Arts, where the figure was first exhibited, appearing under cat. no. 501. In 1886, Lord Brassey installed a museum in his house at 24 Park Lane. The idol was apparently placed in the entrance to the house, its contents listed in a manuscript catalogue - under the entry E 257 appears: Idol, Nuknor, Caroline Islands. In 1919, after the death of the second Lord Brassey, the collection was given to the Hastings Museum.

15) The exterior line from the base of the nape down along either side to the tip of the hands, the cut-out between the arms and the body - with their relation to each other and the space between them - outlines the figure as the line flows down to the base, as does the opening formed by the legs; the whole is in harmony with the different parts. The relationship with the neck and head that surmount the body and the curve of the lower back leading out to the flat buttocks and from there to the back of the knees, frames the body's back yet leaving it free in space and harmonizes it with the short lower legs.

CREDIT

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Photography: Yoram Lehmann, Jerusalem

Drawings: Hanna Ast-Dettwiler, Berne
W.M. Wylie, cat. No. 185; Susan Moddle, cat. No. 198

AEDICULA

from the Latin: "small building". Refers in figurative art to a framework consisting often of two columns or pilasters supporting a pediment

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Termes connexes du glossaire

Faire glisser ici les termes connexes

Index Rechercher un terme

AIDOION

usually used in the plural *ta aidoia* and referring to the privy parts of men and women alike

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Termes connexes du glossaire

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AKONTISTES

javelin-man

Termes connexes du glossaire

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AMPHORA

two-handled vessel for the storage of wine, cereals and other food

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Termes connexes du glossaire

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ANTEFIX

architectural ornament for concealing the ends of the roof tiles

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Termes connexes du glossaire

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ARETE

excellence

Termes connexes du glossaire

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ARYBALLOS

small vessel for carrying olive oil or perfume, worn by athletes suspended from the wrist

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ATACAMITE

bright to dark green copper chloride (CuCl2 3CU(OH)2)

Termes connexes du glossaire

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AULOS

double flute

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AZURITE

blue copper carbonate (2CuCO3 Cu(OH)2)

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BALSAMARIUM

container for scents and perfumed substances

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BIGA

chariot drawn by a pair of horses

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BULLA

pendant of leather or metal, usually of circular shape, worn by Roman youths round the neck as an amulet, ornament and sign of free birth, until they reached adulthood

---

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C.

circa = about

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CANTHAROS

two-handled drinking cup

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CELT

stone or metal chisel-edged prehistoric implement

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CHITON

women's long linen garment, attached along arms to make sleeves

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CHLAMYS

short woollen cloak worn by men (and Amazons) and fastened on right shoulder

---

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CHRISMON

or *Christogram*, the monogrammatic abbreviation of the name of Christ

---

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CINGULUM

belt, especially used in military context, sword-belt

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COMAST

reveller

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CRATER

bowl with broad body and wide mouth for mixing wine with water

---

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CUPRITE

ruby red copper oxide (Cu_2O)

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ECHINUS

curved moulding just below the abacus (upper member of capital supporting architrave) of a Doric capital

---

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EILEITHYIA

goddess of childbirth, venerated especially in Crete and Laconia

---

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ENKOLPION

qualifies portable reliquaries worn on the bosom

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FIBULA

pin, clasp, brooch for holding drapery together at shoulder

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FULCRUM

head board of a kline

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GUILLOCHE

running ornament of interlacing bands having the effect of a plait or braid

---

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HALTER

weight for jumping, from the Greek hallesthai, to jump

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HIMATION

mantle, generally of wool

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HOPLITE

heavily-armed infantry soldier

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HYDRIA

three-handled water-pitcher

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IBEX

wild goat with large, ridged, recurved horns

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INSIGNUM INGENUITATIS

symbol of free birth

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ITHYPHALLIC

having erect, often over-sized, penis

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KERNOS

a vessel bearing small cups around its lip; an East Mediterranean form of ritual function

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KERYKEION

herald's staff, an attribute of the Greek god Hermes in his role as messenger of the gods

---

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KETOS

a sea monster of Greek mythology

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the Greek couch, used not only for sleeping and reposing but also for the symposium

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KLISMOS

chair with curving back and legs

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KOINE

the stylistic characteristics sometimes common to different geographic regions during a particular epoch

---

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KOLPOS

overfold of drapery from a type of linen garment for women (e.g. the Greek chiton) pulled over the tightly belted waist

---

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KORE

maiden, designates the statue of a draped girl

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KOUROS

youth, used especially to designate the archaic statue of a nude youth in frontal attitude

---

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KOUROTROPHOS

woman who rears children, nursing-mother

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KRIOPHOROS

ram bearer

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KYATHOS

cup, or dipper, with single high vertical handle

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KYLIX

wide and shallow cup with two handles and on pedestal base; the earlier have a low conical foot and deep bowl

---

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LEBES

a cauldron with rounded bottom and without handle

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brothel

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LUPERCI

religious festival in honour of the god Faunus Lupercus, protector of the flocks against predators

---

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MAENAD

ecstatic woman, especially Bacchant (priestess, votary of Bacchus-Dionysos)

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MALACHITE

green copper carbonate (CuCO3 Cu(OH)2)

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MARVER

hard, smooth slab on which the glass can be rolled or pressed during manufacture in order to shape it; used in core-formed ware to roll the added trails flush with the surface

---

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METOPE

panel between the triglyphs with relief sculpture in the upper part of a Doric temple

---

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MILLEFIORI

from the Italian, meaning "thousand flowers"

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MITRA

piece of armour, sort of a metal guard worn round the waist (otherwise, a head scarf)

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MUREX (BUC(C)INA)

a primitive trumpet made initially out of a sea shell, especially used by shepherds and country folk

---

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NAISKOS

diminutive of the Greek naos "temple"

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NEMES

Egyptian royal head cloth

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NENFRO

volcanic stone, crumbly and incapable of taking a fine finish, see also tufa

---

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NIELLO

a technique of decorating gold or silver with a black inlay (from the Latin nigellus = 'black'). The grooves of an engraved design are filled with powdered copper, silver, lead and sulphur with the addition of flux. When heated the alloy melts, runs and becomes fused in the grooves

---

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NU

Egyptian offering phiale

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OINOCHOE

one-handled wine jug

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PALLADION

statue (usually primitive) of the Greek goddess Athena in full armour

---

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PEPLOS

woollen garment, also called the Doric chiton, worn by women; often open down one side and fastened on both shoulders

---

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PERIOECUS

those dwelling in the country round a town, as in the case of Sparta and who, though retaining their personal freedom, did not enjoy citizen status

---

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PETASOS

wide-brimmed, floppy hat worn, e.g., by the Greek god Hermes

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PHIALE

libation bowl, without handle

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PHORBEIA

mouthband of leather worn round the lips of flautists

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PINAX

plate or plaque

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PITHOS

large clay storage jar with lid

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POLOS

cylindrical headdress of goddesses

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PROMACHOS

epithet of the Greek goddess Athena in armour, meaning "fighting before"

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PROTOME

head or forepart of a human or animal body

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PYXIS

container for toilet articles, with lid, named after the boxwood of which such containers were originally made

---

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meaning here, as in technological works: "hammered into relief from both sides or either side"; and not only as in the Concise Oxford Dictionary: "(ornamental metalwork) hammered into relief from reverse side"

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RHYTON

pourer in the shape of a drinking horn, which may be stylized as an animal's head

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ROCKING PATTERN

zigzag pattern produced by "rocking" a narrow chisel (German "Tremolierstrich")

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ROPTRON

musical instrument, noise maker or clapper used primarily to beat time in orgiastic dancing

---

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SAKKOS

women's headdress - coif or hairnet

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SED

jubilee festival in Ancient Egypt

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SILENOS

an older satyr

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SITULA

bucket-like vessel

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STEATOPYGIA

excessive development of fat on the buttocks

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STELE

upright stone slab used for gravestone or public inscription

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TABLION

one of a pair of rectangular or trapezoidal embroidered panels sewn on the chlamys, or other civilian cloak

---

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TEMENOS

sacred precinct

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TENORITE

black copper oxide (CuO)

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THYMIATERION

incense-burner

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TINTINNABULUM

bell, especially a small tinkling one

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TJATY

chief vizier in Ancient Egypt

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TOGA PRAETEXTA

toga (ancient Roman citizen's loose flowing outer garment) decorated with a wide purple border, worn by boys, magistrates

---

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TOREUTICS

art of chasing, carving and embossing, especially metal

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TORQUE

neck ornament (sometimes of twisted metal)

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TROPAION

trophy; memorial of victory

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TUFA

from the Latin tofus or tufus; volcanic stone, crumbly and incapable of taking a fine finish, see also nenfro

---

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URAEUS, NAJA

cobra protome fixed on the nemes - Egyptian royal head cloth

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WADJET

papyrus sceptre of Ancient Egypt

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